

OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI



OPERA OMNIA  
DESIDERII ERASMI  
ROTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA  
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

ORDINIS PRIMI TOMVS PRIMVS



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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

As early as 1523 Erasmus was envisaging the possibility of a posthumous edition of his collected works. In his famous letter to John Botzheim, printed by P. S. Allen at the beginning of the *Opus Epistolarum*, he wrote: 'Iam audio quosdam amicos subinde mussantes de lucubrationibus meis omnibus in tomos digerendis. An sit quicquam meorum scriptorum quod posteritatem mereatur, aliorum esto iudicium; certe si ad posteros peruenient, optarim mihi Tyronem quempiam fidum ac doctum, qui hoc mihi vita defuncto praestet, quod ille suo Ciceroni. Et tamen si cui visum erit hoc conari, age, viam indicabimus, quo id fiat commodius.'<sup>1</sup> He then proceeds to give a survey of his writings, indicating the way in which according to their nature they may be grouped into categories and, correspondingly, divided over nine or ten tomes. Seven years later Erasmus sent a similar *Index lucubrationum* to Hector Boece.<sup>2</sup> This had, of course, been brought up to date, but with a few exceptions it follows the same pattern.

In contrast to the modest reserve shown in his letter to Botzheim, Erasmus in his first will, executed 22 January 1527<sup>3</sup>, explicitly stated his wish that his collected works be published: 'In editione meorum operum, quod ab herede et exequutoribus fieri volo ...', after which he gives detailed instructions for the execution of the work. The arrangement of the volumes is to be in accordance with the dispositions contained in the letter to Botzheim. An editorial board is to be set up for which Erasmus suggests the names of Henry Glareanus, Conrad Golenius, Beatus Rhenanus, Boniface and Basil Amerbach, and Sigismund Gelenius. Financial provisions are made for those who are willing to accept the charge. The printer – Erasmus expresses the hope that either John Froben or his successor will undertake to publish the *Opera Omnia* – is to receive certain subsidies from the estate. The number of copies to be printed shall not be less than 1500.

Early in 1534 Erasmus, then living at Freiburg, either drafted or executed a

<sup>1</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. I, i, Basel, 30 Jan. 1523, p. 38, ll. 12–18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 2283, Freiburg, 15 March 1530.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. VI, app. xix.

second will<sup>4</sup>, which has not survived. We may assume, however, that this contained no provisions for an edition of his works. For on January 15th, 1533 he had written to Boniface Amerbach: 'Cogito de renouando testamento. Si is, quem prius heredem institui, non abhorret ab onere, non mutabitur. Sic tractabo rem, vt longe minus habeat negotii, et plus commodi. Nam de excudendis libris post fatum meum prorsus abiiciam.'<sup>5</sup> Erasmus' last will, executed at Basel on February 12th, 1536<sup>6</sup>, contains no provisions whatsoever for an edition of his works.

Beatus Rhenanus, in his life of Erasmus prefixed to the Basel edition of the *Opera Omnia*, gave the following explanation for Erasmus' attitude in this matter: 'De libris porro suis, quos in omni vita conscripsit innumeros, quam sacros quam prophanos, coniunctim et vniuersim aedundis, vir modestissimus nihil moriens statuit, opinatus futurum vt cultioribus quotidie emergentibus ista sua facile negligerentur.'<sup>7</sup>

In January 1536 Damianus a Goes proposed to publish the *Opera Omnia* at his personal expense<sup>8</sup> but soon after Erasmus' death he withdrew this offer.<sup>9</sup>

From a letter written by Beatus Rhenanus to Boniface Amerbach on August 20th, 1536<sup>10</sup> it becomes clear that very shortly after Erasmus' death there were already more or less definite plans for an authorized edition of his collected works. There were good reasons for expediting matters; many forgeries had been passed under Erasmus' name during his life and it was not to be expected that this practice would cease after his death. In order to protect his reputation and establish the canon of his writings, Froben and Episcopius in 1537 published *Catalogi duo operum Des. Erasmi Roterodami ab ipso conscripti et digesti ...* with a prefatory letter by Boniface Amerbach to John Paungartner dated 1 February 1537.<sup>11</sup> In a letter to John Lasky, dated 26 December 1536<sup>12</sup>, Froben and Episcopius express the fear that financial difficulties may slow down the realization

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 2898, Freiburg, 23 Jan. 1534, to Nicholas Olah, l. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 2754, ll. 7-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. XI, app. xxv.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. I, iv, p. 71, ll. 550-553.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 3085, Padua, 26 January 1536, ll. 25-40; cf. Ep. 3132, Nuremberg, 15 July 1536, ll. 32-51.

<sup>9</sup> *Am. Kor.* 2093, Padua, 14 Dec. 1536, ll. 10-16; Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Gois. The life and thought of a Portuguese humanist*, 1502-1574. The Hague, 1967; pp. 82-87.

<sup>10</sup> *Am. Kor.* 2055, ll. 26-33.

<sup>11</sup> Ep. 3141, to John Paungartner. The *Catalogi duo* contained the texts, unaltered, of the letters to Botzheim and to Hector Boece, and the *Index Lucubrationum* which had accompanied the last-mentioned. This index had been brought up to date, so as to include the works published between March 1530 and Erasmus' death, and shows modifications in some other respects as well. In this form it probably represents the plans for the Basel edition as they were standing at that moment. After some further changes the index was printed at the head of t. I where it serves as the table of contents for the complete edition.

<sup>12</sup> *Epistolarum ab illustribus et claris viris scriptarum centuriae tres*, ed. S. A. Gabbema. Harlingae Frisorum, ex officina Heronis Galama, 1664; ep. X, pp. 23-24.

of their plans. In all other respects they regard themselves as ideally placed to publish the *Opera Omnia*. 'Quantum ad typographicam operam ac industriam attinet, nobis nihil deesse scimus, imo nemo melius aut aequè poterit bene atque nos excudere, quibus multa adhuc ab ipso autore recognita et luculenter aucta sint reposita, quae vi [sic] reseruantur aeditioni.' Especially the last part of this sentence is important: it strongly suggests that Froben and his partner had in readiness Erasmus' corrections and additions, hitherto unpublished, to a considerable number of his writings.<sup>13</sup>

The order in which the volumes of the Basel *Opera Omnia* appeared may have been influenced to some extent by the firm's desire to give precedence to those volumes for which they were most justified in expecting a ready market. According to Allen, tome III, containing the *Epistolae*, was published first, in 1538. It proved to be a success and after revision it was reprinted in 1541 and again in 1558. The *Adagia* and *Novum Testamentum* appeared next as Tomus II and Tomus VI in 1539; finally in 1540 the remaining six tomes were published.<sup>14</sup>

It is generally assumed that Beatus Rhenanus supervised the Basel edition.<sup>15</sup> Although there is no documentary evidence bearing out this view, there is much to be said for it. Rhenanus had belonged to the circle of Erasmus' most intimate and trusted friends, and in the will of 1527 had been mentioned among the possible castigators of the posthumous edition. He was an editor of great experience and had supervised the printing of many Erasmian texts.

As long as the rôle of Beatus Rhenanus remains a matter for conjecture, the name of another scholar should not be overlooked: Sigismund Gelenius. Although Gelenius was perhaps not as close a friend of Erasmus' as Rhenanus, he certainly enjoyed his confidence as a scholar and he too was named in the will of 1527 in connection with the collected works. Like Rhenanus he had seen a number of Erasmus' works through the press. Since 1524 he had been attached to the Froben firm as a corrector and, generally, as a collaborator of high standing. He remained with the firm until his death in 1554, whereas Rhenanus had definitely returned to Schlettstadt in 1529. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine that Gelenius was in no way concerned in the work of the great edition.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps we may assume that a division of labour between him and Beatus Rhenanus was arrived at; the only part which we are quite certain Rhenanus was responsible for is his preface to t. I which appeared under his name.

In his first will Erasmus had stipulated: 'Castigatoribus nolo permitti vt

<sup>13</sup> This is confirmed by a remark at the end of *Catalogi duo*.

<sup>14</sup> The volumes often show differences between the date mentioned on the title-page and the one given in the colophon. Moreover it is difficult to find sets which are completely made up from first issues.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *A.D.B.*, art. K. Hartfelder.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hartmann's note<sup>2</sup> to *Am. Kor.* 2123.

suas additiones assuant meis operibus: tantum emendent errores typographorum incuria commissos, aut etiam mea, modo sit dilucidum, idque faciant paucissimis verbis, post habitam inter ipsos collationem. Aduigiletur etiam diligenter in excudendis citationibus auctorum, librorum et capitum.' Although technically these stipulations had been superseded by the last will, it can be said that in a general sense they were respected by those responsible for the Basel edition. A definite appraisal of their punctiliousness will only be possible after the present critical edition will have proceeded much further. In the meantime we can refer the reader to some observations made in this connection by Professor Waszink in his introduction to Erasmus' translations from Euripides in the present volume.

As far as the contents are concerned the editors equally complied with Erasmus' wishes. The only significant deviation from the canon is the omission, probably for commercial reasons, of Erasmus' editions of classical and patristic texts.<sup>17</sup> For the rest the Froben edition was planned according to the 'ordines' laid down by the humanist in the index sent to Boece: 1 'ordo librorum qui spectant at institutionem literarum', 2 *Adagia*, 3 Epistles, 4 'ordo quartus, moralia continens', 5 'ordo quintus pertinentium ad pietatem', 6 New Testament and *Annotationes*, 7 *Paraphrases*, 8 translations from Chrysostomus, Athanasius, Origenes and Basilius, 9 *Apologiae*.

Towards the end of the 17th century Petrus vander Aa, bookseller at Leyden, commissioned Joannes Clericus to supervise the publication of a new edition of Erasmus' collected works. Clericus (Jean Leclerc, 1657-1736) was the descendant of French Huguenots who under Charles IX had taken refuge in Switzerland. As a theological student he had undergone the influence of the leaders of Dutch Arminianism; in 1684 he definitely left Geneva, the city of his birth, and settled in Amsterdam where for nearly fifty years he served the Remonstrant cause, mainly as a professor in philosophy, philology, Hebrew and Church history, at the Seminar of the Remonstrants.

Leclerc was a liberal thinker and an encyclopaedic scholar, possessed of a vast but not always profound knowledge. As a philologist he held revolutionary views; these, and a certain lack of accuracy, eventually brought him into conflict with such pillars of the established order as Bentley and the elder Petrus Burmannus. Many of his writings reflect his desire to bridge the gap between theology and philosophy; his interest in metaphysics was limited. It is not difficult to imagine that to him the task of editing Erasmus was a congenial one. The Leyden edition and his literary journals, which he published in French under various titles between 1686 and 1727, are, perhaps, the best fruits of his tremendous industry.

There is no doubt concerning Clericus' editorship of the Leyden edition,<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Some of these were, in the course of time, reprinted by the Froben firm as separate ventures. Cf. Beatus Rhenanus' remark in his life of Erasmus, *Op. Ep. t. I*, iv, p. 71, ll. 567-570.

<sup>18</sup> It is asserted by all bio- and bibliographical sources, including *Joannis Clerici ... vita et*

but Vander Aa, and probably Clericus himself, were strangely ambiguous in proclaiming it. In some of the copies which we have inspected Clericus' name appears on the general title-page and in the heading of the *Praefatio*, both in the first tome. In other copies, however, among them the one from which the reprint, published in 1961 by Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung at Hildesheim, was made, Clericus' name was omitted. No further mention of it is to be found in the entire edition.

An explanation for this amazing tactical move may perhaps be found in Clericus' vulnerable position as a scholar or in the desire to avoid association, in the minds of the public, of the new edition with any religious controversy. In this last respect it is interesting to see that for the benefit of Catholic readers an *Index Expurgatorius Hispanicus et Romanus ... operum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* was added to the tenth and last tome. In his preface to tt. IX and X Clericus explains with becoming ingenuousness how this *Index* can be used in more than one way: '... vt Catholici qui nolunt ea legere, quae a Congregatione examini Librorum Romae aut Madriti praefecta damnantur, praetermittere, si ita videatur, ea possint. Notatae sunt paginae Editionis Basileensis, vna cum huiusce paginis, vt qui habent vetera Exemplaria in quibus loca censura notata detracta sunt, aut atramento deleta, qualia multa occurrunt, videre hinc facile queant quid in suis Exemplaribus desit, si modo ea legendi potestatem eis fecerint ii, quibus eam negare, aut concedere jus est adtributum.'

In his prefaces to the various volumes Clericus shows himself fully in sympathy with Erasmus, but he is not prepared to agree with him in all matters, a restraint which saves his praise from becoming meaningless. Between the lines he makes it quite clear that his own foes are of the same kidney as those who embittered Erasmus' later years and repeatedly he points out the parallel between the two epochs.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from this the prefaces contain a certain amount of factual information on the Leyden edition, part of which deserves to be summarized here. Before we do so it should be pointed out that the Leyden edition confronts us with a chronological problem. The 'Privilegie', granted by the States of Holland and West Friesland, printed at the beginning of t. I, is dated 10 September 1699. The dedication to the magistrates of Rotterdam in the same tome is subscribed 'Dabam Lugduni Batavorum, a.d. Non. Octob. Anni MDCCII'. This tome has the date 1703 on the title-page. The tomes II, III i, III ii and IV show the same year date on their title-pages, V is dated 1704, VI 1705, VII, VIII, IX and X 1706. Yet in his preface to III the editor states that the prepara-

*opera ad annum MDCCXI, amici eius opusculum ... Amstelodami, apud Joann. Ludovicum de Lorme, 1711, which has on good grounds been attributed to Clericus himself. For a comprehensive study on Clericus see: Annie Barnes, Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736) et la République des lettres. Paris, 1938.*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. his *Vita*, cited n. 18.

tion of the considerably enlarged collection of letters had taken much more time than had been expected: 'sed dum auctaria ... exspectantur, dumque omnia ad Editionem parantur, triennium effluere, aliosque Tomos interea in lucem erumpere necesse fuit'. Moreover his combined preface to tomes IX and X, both of which have the year date 1706 on their title-pages, has the subscription 'scribebam Amstelodami, Calendis Januariis anni MDCCVII'. With the aid of Leclerc's own statements in various issues of his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, however, we can with reasonable accuracy reconstruct the actual chronological order in which the ten tomes were published: 1703: I, II, IV; 1706: III i-ii, V, VI, VII, VIII; 1707 init.: IX, X.<sup>20</sup>

In his general preface in t. I Clericus expresses his joy that Erasmus' works, now scarce and hidden in only a few libraries, will once more be made available to the public. He explicitly states 'Sequuti igitur sumus Editionem Frobenianam anni M.D.XL.<sup>21</sup> neque quidquam detraximus, aut in voluminum ordine nouauimus, quem obseruandum censuerat ipse Erasmus', and adds that it had been difficult to obtain a complete and undamaged set of the Basel edition. Apart from correcting obvious mistakes of the Basel compositors he has adapted the orthography to contemporary fashion. Throughout the edition footnotes have been added for which Clericus hastens to disclaim full responsibility: 'In hasce si quid vitii irreperit, nobis absentibus, id emendatum iri, sine malignitate, ab aequis hominibus speramus.' As users of the Leyden edition know, these notes are by no means abundant and appear in very unequal dosages throughout the edition. Although some of them stem from Clericus and his collaborators, notes from other sources were sometimes added. Thus certain of the Adages (II) have been summarily elucidated with notes by Henri Etienne, Paul Leopardus and Clericus himself. To the *Laus Stultitiae* (IV) the entire commentary by Gerard Listrius was added.

Furthermore the following additions and innovations should be noted: in I the *Compendium Vitae*<sup>22</sup> was incorporated among the numerous preliminary pieces. At the end of the Colloquies, Clericus included the *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*, printed for the first time by Petrus Rabus in his annotated edition of the *Colloquia familiaria*, Rotterdam, J. Borstius, 1693. *De pronuntiatione*, also in the first tome, is preceded by an erroneous account of the genesis of

<sup>20</sup> See: Jean le Clerc, *Bibliothèque choisie ...*, année 1703, t. I, Amsterdam, H. Schelte, 1703, pp. 380/1, 383/4, 388, 395/6; année 1705, t. V, p. 145; année 1705, t. VI, p. 238; année 1706, t. VIII, p. 229; année 1707, t. XII, p. 1. Meanwhile see Allen, *Op. Ep.* t. I, p. 603, n. 1. A statement in the *Vita*, p. 145, says: 'Cooperat prostare iam ab initio anni tertii eiusdem saeculi volumen primum, et aliquot alia; sed dum expectantur Epistolae ineditae, quae tertio insererentur, aut postponerentur, dum sequentia volumina excuduntur, additamentisque nouis instruuntur, anni aliquot abiere'.

<sup>21</sup> This principle was not always applied in the strictest philological sense. In his preface to IV Clericus says in so many words that in editing the *Laus Stultitiae* he followed 'exemplar Basiliense anni CIOICLXXV', i.e. the Basel edition of 1676.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. I, ii, pp. 46-52.



this dialogue taken from Gerard Vossius' *Aristarchus, sive de arte grammatica*, Amsterdam, 1635.<sup>23</sup>

For his edition of the *Epistolae* Leclerc could, of course, profit from posthumous editions by which the total of the letters had been considerably increased. For details concerning the composition of III i and ii and especially the discovery, at the last moment, of the Deventer letter-book, we may refer the reader to Allen's admirable account.<sup>24</sup> Compared with the Froben edition, the Leyden one has the merit of being the first to attempt a chronological arrangement of the letters. In his preface to III Clericus acknowledges the help which he received from J. de la Faye and pays tribute to J. Gronovius who had assisted in deciphering the ms. texts.

The handling of the New Testament (VI) was made easier by the insertion of the verse-numbers in the margins, and by the incorporation, at the foot of the columns, of the *Annotationes*, which hitherto had been printed separately. In his preface Clericus rightly warns the reader that the *Annotationes*, which refer to the Vulgate, do not completely tally with Erasmus' own translation. Among further additions should be mentioned a *Summa totius Sacrae Scripturae* and an *Index vocabulorum et locorum*. In the *Paraphrases in Nouum Testamentum* (VII) the corresponding verse-numbers were brought into the text and, moreover, from *Mt.* 8 onwards, the integral text from the Vulgate was added in the margins. Clericus explains that this was the result of a sudden inspiration: 'nam principium tantum versuum in prioribus Editionibus erat, quo factum est vt huius rei ab initio in mentem non venerit'.<sup>25</sup> In his preface to this tome Clericus further remarks: 'Editio enim Frobeniana anni 1540. est cum duabus aliis Editionibus recentioribus collata a viro erudito, qui correctioni praefuit, et qui varias nonnullas lectiones, si quae essent memoratu dignae, sub ima paginarum ora addidit.'

This mistaken attempt at textual criticism led only to a very few notes in the vein of: [adspectum\*] \*Alia Editio, *conspectum*. Apart from the translations from the Greek Fathers tome VIII contains some juvenilia not incorporated in the Froben edition. Part of this early work had never been published at all: *Oratio de pace*, *Oratio funebris in funere Bertae de Heyen*, *Epitaphium Bertae de Heyen* and *Carmina varia*.<sup>26</sup> Non-Erasmian additions to VIII were Franciscus

<sup>23</sup> V. Allen, introd. Ep. 1949; cf. H. de Vocht, *History of the foundation and the rise of the Collegium Trilingue Louaniense*. IV, Louvain, 1955; pp. 127/8.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. I, app. vii, pp. 598/9, 602; app. viii, p. 603 sqq.

<sup>25</sup> A further proof of the pressure under which the editors must have been working is to be found in a curious oversight: the *Perigrinatio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* was printed both in VI (col. 425-432) and VII (col. 653-659), the text having been set up in type twice.

<sup>26</sup> Clericus in his preface to VIII says that just when it became clear that the translations alone would only fill a disproportionately slender volume, a ms. which had formerly belonged to Petrus Opmeer came into the hands of Vander Aa; this ms. contained the prose compositions enumerated here, and the *Conflictus Ithaliae et Barbariei*. But this, as we have seen, was already printed in I! The *Carmina varia* were found, according to Clericus, in another ms. which had been in possession of Petrus Scriverius. This last ms. is now to be found in the

Robertellus' *Annotationes in Apophthegmata ab Erasmo versa e Laertio* and *Philopseudes*, John Herold's defense of Erasmus against an anonymous attack.<sup>27</sup> As the material contained in the last tome of the Froben edition, together with the substantial general index which had been prepared and the further additions which the editor thought necessary, exceeded the size of a normal volume, Clericus decided to add a tenth tome to his edition, in which the pagination of IX was continued. The *Apologiae* take up the whole of IX and the major part of X. Then follow Martinus Lydius' *Apologia pro D. Erasmo Roterodamo*, hitherto unpublished, the *Index expurgatorius* already discussed, Gulielmus Insulanus' *Oratio Funebris in obitum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (1536) and the *Index generalis in omnia Des. Erasmi opera*, which covers all tomes except III i and ii, the letters having been provided with their own separate index. II and VI also have their own indexes, but, as Clericus explains, 'quia non erant tanti, melius nos facturos iudicauimus, si vniuersali miscerentur.' In the light of modern scholarship it would not be difficult to point out shortcomings in the Leyden edition, but it would be both unfair and unrealistic to attach too much weight to them. For over 250 years 'LB' has served its purpose as an eminently useful tool for the study of Erasmus' works. Even after they will eventually have been superseded in this function, Clericus' eleven folios, well-produced and beautifully adorned, will always stand as a monument in which 18th-century civilization expressed its indebtedness to one of its great teachers.

A new era was ushered in by Percy Stafford Allen's majestic edition of the *Opus Epistolarum* (1906–1958). The admirable presentation of the letters, his well-balanced introductions and valuable short annotations and, above all, his careful reconstruction of the chronology of Erasmus' life and works have provided a completely new basis for research. The impact of Allen's work is unmistakable: we can easily observe how, as publication of the volumes progressed during the first half of the present century, the quality of Erasmian studies steadily improved. Although this beneficial influence extended far beyond the domain of Erasmus' correspondence – it is no exaggeration to maintain that the *Opus Epistolarum* is the key to the *Opera Omnia* – the need for a new critical edition of the complete works was in the past decades felt by an increasing number of scholars. One of the attempts made to provide for this need should not be passed over in silence here. In 1948 the *Institut für Reformationsforschung E.V.* of Munich, founded two years previously in that city, published a pamphlet in which it announced its intention, among other projects,

library of the *Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* at 's-Hertogenbosch. It contains both the prose compositions and the poems, and, moreover, 61 letters. Nineteen of these made their first appearance in print in III i. It seems that Clericus had momentarily got lost in his dossiers or had misunderstood the information given him by De la Faye or another collaborator, for there can be no doubt that only one ms. was involved, which had first been in the possession of Opmeer and had later passed into the hands of Scriverius. See Allen's note, *Op. Ep.*, IV, xxiii; Reedijk's introduction to *Carm.* 1, *Poems*, p. 131 sqq.

<sup>27</sup> *The Philopseudes* was first printed by R. Winter at Basel in 1542.

to publish a critical edition of Erasmus' collected works, 'long overdue after the Leyden edition'. Dr. K. A. Meissinger, the president of the institute, had, some six years before, briefly outlined such a plan in his *Erasmus von Rotterdam*.<sup>28</sup> The editorial work was to be entrusted not to one person, but to a team of scholars 'unter straffer Oberleitung'. According to Meissinger's initial views the works were to be published in their chronological order. From the announcement in 1948 it becomes clear that this intention was abandoned in favour of Erasmus' own arrangement, followed by the Basel and Leyden editions. Unfortunately, circumstances prevented the Munich project from being carried out. We feel indebted to Dr. Otto Schottenloher, who was to have occupied a central position in the German undertaking, for his willingness to join the group of scholars who take their share in the work for the present edition.

The initiative for this edition was taken in Rotterdam, Erasmus' native city. In 1960 the historical society 'Roterodamum' addressed a letter to the municipality containing a number of suggestions for the commemoration of the fifth centenary of Erasmus birth in 1969.<sup>29</sup> One of these suggestions was that the municipality encourage an investigation of the question whether there was a need for a new critical edition of the works of Erasmus and, if so, by what means such an edition might be accomplished. The then Burgomaster of Rotterdam, Mr. G. E. van Walsum, addressed himself to the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences and Letters with the request to advise him in the matter. The Royal Academy, through its Section for humane letters, appointed a commission to formulate answers to both questions. This commission, consisting of J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, R. R. Post, J. H. Waszink and C. Reedijk, agreed that there certainly was a need for a new critical and annotated edition and that such an edition could only be achieved as a cooperative project for which the services of an international team of scholars should be enlisted. The Royal Academy endorsed these views and accordingly informed the municipality of Rotterdam. An understanding was reached as to the further procedure, the Royal Academy declaring itself willing to include the preparations for the edition among its current projects, whereas the city of Rotterdam undertook to give facilities for such international meetings as might prove necessary. The Royal Academy then acquainted the *Union Académique Internationale* with its intentions, asking that body to lend its support to the enter-

<sup>28</sup> Wien-Zürich, [1942], p. 355 sq.; 2nd ed., Berlin, 1948, p. 349 sq.

<sup>29</sup> The choice of this year-date was influenced by an authoritative study by Prof. R. R. Post: *Geboortejaar en opleiding van Erasmus*, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, deel 16, no. 8, Amsterdam, 1953, pp. 327-348. French translation: *Quelques précisions sur l'année de la naissance d'Erasmus (1469) et sur son éducation*, BHR, t. XXVI. Genève, 1964, pp. 489-509. Post's conclusions have been questioned by E.-W. Kohls: *Das Geburtsjahr des Erasmus*, TZ, Jahrg. 22, Basel, 1966, pp. 95-121. Cf. Post's reply: *Nochmals Erasmus' Geburtsjahr*, TZ, Jahrg. 22, 1966, pp. 319-333; and Kohls' final observations, TZ, Jahrg. 22, 1966, pp. 347-353.

prise. To this the *Union* agreed, leaving it to the Royal Academy to convene an international group of experts for the purpose of discussing concrete proposals. Thus, on 6–8 December 1963 a first meeting took place at Rotterdam; the participants were J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink (Leyden, chairman), Léon-E. Halkin (Liège), Otto Herding (Münster), K. F. Kumaniecki (Warsaw), Pierre Mesnard (Tours), Sir Roger Mynors (Oxford), R. R. Post (Nijmegen), C. Reedijk (The Hague, honorary secretary), F. Schalk (Cologne), Antonio Vilanova (Barcelona), Christoph Vischer (Basel) and J. H. Waszink (Leyden).

At this meeting a number of fundamental decisions were taken concerning editorial policy and the organization of the work. The participants agreed to constitute themselves as a *Conseil international pour l'édition des œuvres complètes d'Erasmus*, Mr. Bakhuizen van den Brink and Mr. Reedijk being continued in their respective functions. From their midst the members nominated a small committee for the purpose of working out the editorial rules on the basis of the principles which had been agreed upon. In between the meetings of the *Conseil* liaison with the Royal Academy and, later, with the publishers, as well as the handling of current business devolved on the Dutch members. Moreover an editorial board was established which now consists of J. H. Waszink, Léon-E. Halkin, C. Reedijk and C. M. Bruehl. Since this first meeting the *Conseil* has met annually, once at Basel, otherwise at Rotterdam. To the authorities of both cities the members of the *Conseil* feel deeply obliged for the hospitality extended to them on these occasions and for practical assistance in many forms which contributed greatly to the efficiency of these meetings. There is evidence that in the early years of the 18th century the City Fathers of Rotterdam gave some measure of financial support to Petrus vander Aa to help him in his great venture. The encouragement now given in various ways by the city of Rotterdam to the new enterprise shows that in this most modern and businesslike community of the Netherlands there is a strong awareness of historical values and traditions.

Thanks to yearly grants from the *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wenschappelijk Onderzoek* (Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research) the appointment became possible of a permanent assisting secretary. Thus a considerable centralization of bibliographical research, editorial work and other duties could be effectuated. It goes without saying that the best possible use was made of the matchless collection of *Erasmiana* in the City Library of Rotterdam. Its chief librarian, E. van Gulik, who later joined the *Conseil*, made a further contribution towards bibliographical efficiency by building up a union catalogue of *Erasmian* holdings in the principal libraries of the world.

In the course of the year 1964 an announcement of the project was distributed among some 65 scholarly reviews. This announcement, and an extensive correspondence with individual scholars, had good results: by now the allocation of texts has proceeded as far ahead as is compatible with the pace of

publication which is being aimed at. An important step forward was made when, on April 12th, 1965, a contract for publishing the new edition was signed between representatives of the Royal Academy and the *Conseil* on the one hand and the directors of the North-Holland Publishing Company on the other hand. It should be mentioned here that, as early as 1947, Mr. M. D. Frank, senior director of this firm, which handles the Academy's publications, had broached the question of a new Erasmus edition to the governing body of the Academy.

An extensive search was undertaken to locate unknown ms. sources. The most interesting result so far is the discovery that apart from G.K.S. 95 fol., which has been accurately described by Allen<sup>30</sup>, the Royal Library at Copenhagen has among its possessions two other volumes of rough drafts in Erasmus' handwriting.<sup>31</sup> Although most of these drafts are not fit to serve as the basis for the establishment of the respective texts, they throw interesting light on Erasmus' working methods and will as such deserve the attention of the editors. A few unknown fragments occurring in the Copenhagen mss. will in due course be incorporated in the new edition. On the strength of this unexpected find we feel justified in reiterating our appeal to librarians and private collectors for information concerning ms. material in their possession.

A few remarks upon the present edition remain to be made. It was decided that, like its predecessors, it was to be arranged according to the canon laid down by Erasmus in his letters to Botzheim and Boece. The alternative, a chronological sequence, was given due consideration, but the benefits which might be expected from it were outweighed by its disadvantages. Determining the date of composition, for instance, is a serious difficulty in the case of a number of writings, the genesis and growth of which extended over many years. For those wishing to study Erasmus' works in the precise context of his life and circumstances, a chronological survey of his writings will be added to the final volume. Although the editors would not have hesitated to allow coercive arguments proposed by contemporary scholarship to override considerations of respect for Erasmus' own conception, it gave them some satisfaction to find that this formula still proves to be the most practicable. Thus the framework of the 'ordines' will stand; within these, however, the sequence of the writings may deviate from that in the Basel and the Leyden editions. It is self-evident that for reasons of expediency such a measure may be called for in order to ensure the regular pace of an edition in which a considerable number of scholars is involved.

As to the contents of the new edition the Erasmian canon will be observed,

<sup>30</sup> *Op. Ep.* t. III, app. xiii, pp. 630-634; Margaret Mann Phillips, *The 'Adages' of Erasmus. A study with translations.* Cambridge, 1964, p. 148 sqq.

<sup>31</sup> C. Reedijk, *Three Erasmus autographs in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.* In: *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey.* Amsterdam, [1968], pp. 327-349.

but not rigidly so, as this would, for instance, prevent the incorporation of such lesser works as have been rightly included by Ferguson in his *Erasmi Opuscula*.<sup>32</sup> At this moment there seems to be no urgent call for a decision concerning the *Epistolae*. Erasmus' poems were published not many years ago in a chronological edition.<sup>33</sup> It was decided not to break them up again and distribute them over the new edition in accordance with their sometimes arbitrary position in *LB*. Poems closely connected with or integrated into prose texts will, as a matter of course, be included. At a much later stage it can be decided whether the main body of poetry is to be reprinted as an appendix to the new edition. Erasmus' editions of classical and patristic texts, included in his 'ordines' but already omitted in the Basel and Leyden editions, will not form part of the new *Opera Omnia* either. It is our intention, however, to edit their prefaces anew, even though most of these have been printed by Allen; grouped together in a suitable way these prefaces will serve to recall to mind the enormous amount of time and energy which Erasmus devoted to some of his great editions. As to Erasmus' translations from the Greek (apart from the New Testament) the editors will allow themselves some freedom. As will be seen the present volume includes Erasmus' translations from Lucian, Galen and Euripides, the significance of these exercises appearing to warrant their being reprinted. The translations from the Fathers will similarly be judged on their merits before a decision concerning their incorporation will be taken.

The average volume will number between 500 and 800 pages. Thus the contents of a single tome of the Leyden edition may extend over three to four volumes of the present one. In many cases a number of separate texts will be published in one volume; sometimes a single work may fill one volume, whereas works of the extent of the Adages and the New Testament will occupy several volumes.

Each text will be preceded by an introduction placing it in its appropriate context. This introduction will also give an account of the genesis of the text and of its printing history up to 1540. If necessary a very brief outline of its fortunes after 1540 will be added. At the end of the introduction a numbered list of the editions up to 1540 will be given. The editions which have been used in establishing the text will, apart from the above-mentioned numbering, be further distinguished by the *sigla* used in the *apparatus criticus*; they will be recorded in some more detail than the remaining ones. Dedicatory letters, prefaces etc. will be printed in so far as they have a bearing on the main text. In principle the first edition authorized by Erasmus will be the basis for the establishment of the text. Variants from the other authoritative editions are recorded in the *apparatus criticus*. Readings from editions which are clearly

<sup>32</sup> *Erasmi opuscula. A supplement to the Opera Omnia*. Edited with introductions and notes by Wallace K. Ferguson. The Hague, 1933.

<sup>33</sup> Leyden, 1956.

reprints published without Erasmus' knowledge will, of course, not be accounted for. This applies, for instance, to vast numbers of Lyons and Leipsic reprints. The basic edition will equally be the criterion as to orthography. As neither the compositors nor Erasmus himself worried a great deal about consistency in this matter, any semblance of orthographic unity will be lacking in our presentation of the texts. We follow Allen's example in permitting ourselves an exception to the above-mentioned rule when too close an adherence to the original, especially in the case of the termination -e for -ae, might impair intelligibility. Equally in accordance with the *Opus Epistolarum*, contractions and abbreviations are normalized. For j we print i and for u we have adopted, with Allen, the form v as initial and u as medial or final, unless a different form occurs in an Erasmian autograph. Greek texts will be rendered in a completely modernized form. Anybody conversant with the practice of writing and printing in this language in Erasmus' days will appreciate the impracticability of any other procedure. For similar reasons no attempt is made at reproducing the original punctuation. The only instruction given to collaborators was to apply punctuation as sparingly as possible.

All quotations in the text will be printed in italics, including those of which Erasmus does not mention the source; in the case of quotations that are not completely literal only the forms of words coinciding with the original appear in italics. Marginalia occurring in the collated editions will be recorded in the *apparatus criticus* with an asterisk. For the sake of typographical economy marginalia referring to quotations will be reproduced in a standardized form in the commentary. There they are also marked with an asterisk. If they are incomplete the additional elements follow after the asterisk, e.g. Aristot.\* *Eth. Nic.* III, 6, 6. The lines of the text on each page are numbered 1-5-10 etc. In order to facilitate collation with the Leyden edition the numbers of the columns in that edition are given in the outer margin, e.g. LB 1691, the exact break in the Leyden columns being indicated by a vertical stroke.

At the foot of the page the notes for the identification of quotations and the explanatory notes are merged into one apparatus, unless an abundance of both types of notes makes it advisable to split them up into two typographic entities. Notes having a bearing on Erasmus' letters refer, of course, to Allen. Works not yet printed in the new edition are referred to according to the Leyden edition. In the introductions and notes Erasmus' works are referred to according to a list of standardized titles which will be included in later volumes. Outside the texts proper names are given in their vernacular form, unless this would prevent them from being recognized. Thus: Reuchlin, not Capnion; but: Conrad(us) Goclenius, not Conrad Wackers von Gockelen. In short titles printers' names are given in the vernacular. In the fuller titles they are reproduced in the form in which they appear on the title page or in the colophon.

For obvious reasons this edition will be less uniform in its inner organiza-

tion than Allen's *Opus Epistolarum*. Taken one by one Erasmus' writings show among themselves considerable differences as to their genesis and structure. Deviation from the editorial principles, including some of those referred to above, will therefore be necessary in a number of cases.

The introductions and commentaries will be published in English, French or German. In principle it is possible that all three languages will occur in one volume; in practice, however, this will be avoided as much as possible by a judicious grouping of contributions. In this way we have succeeded in producing a linguistically uniform first volume.

Shortly before this first volume was completed, the *Conseil* suffered two severe losses: on October 27th, 1968, the death was announced of Monseigneur Professor Regnerus Richardus Post who had, from the very beginning, done everything in his power to further the plans for the new edition. Although the last years of his life had to be devoted in the first place to the completion of his great book on the *Devotio moderna*, which he saw between covers on his last birthday, he nevertheless gave a great deal of his time and energy to the Erasmian tasks allotted to him. Others will have to finish his share, which included *De contemptu mundi* and *Exomologesis*. On March 12th, 1969, we lost another highly valued member and collaborator: Professor Pierre Mesnard, *Membre de l'Institut* and director of the *Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance* at Tours. Two months earlier Professor Mesnard had brought to an end his work on the *Dialogus Ciceronianus* and only a few days before his sudden death we received his introduction and commentaries for the *Moria*. His contributions will appear in later volumes.

The *Conseil international pour l'édition des œuvres complètes d'Erasmus* to which, apart from those mentioned earlier on, now also belong S. Dresden (Leyden) and Craig R. Thompson (University of Pennsylvania), wishes to express its thankfulness for help received from many quarters. A variety of libraries in Europe and the United States have lent their Erasmian treasures to the secretariat or to individual collaborators. Requests for information, microfilms etc. were always met with promptness and courtesy. Many scholars have given valuable advice; foremost among them is Paul Oskar Kristeller (New York), who in an early stage of the plans, when an accumulation of difficulties threatened their materialization, urged us to carry on regardless. We feel indebted to the cities of Rotterdam and Basel and to the *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* for support already described, to the Royal Netherlands Academy for its confidence and for its willingness to lend its authority to the new edition, and to the *Union Académique Internationale* for bestowing its patronage upon our work. The directors of the North-Holland Publishing Company, who for the production of the new *Opera Omnia* are relying exclusively on their own resources and who are indefatigable in finding solutions for the technical problems with which we have to confront them time and again, are entitled to our profound gratitude. To express our feelings towards



them we can repeat the words in which Clericus voiced his sentiments for Petrus vander Aa: 'Je ne manquai pas de le louer, & d'encourager l'Entrepreneur, autant qu'il me fut possible.'<sup>34</sup>

Prinsessegracht 30, The Hague  
17 March 1969

The editorial board:  
J. H. Waszink  
Léon-E. Halkin  
C. Reedijk  
C. M. Bruehl

<sup>34</sup> *Bibliothèque choisie*, année 1703, t. I, Amsterdam, H. Schelte, 1703, p. 380.



# ANTIBARBARORVM LIBER

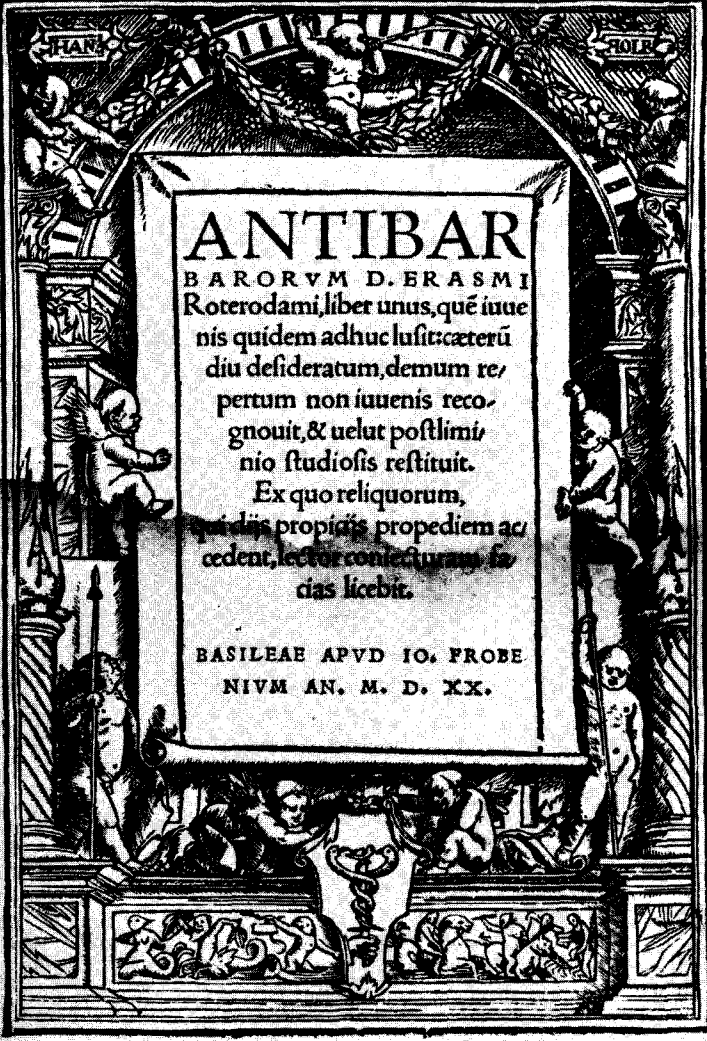
edited by

KAZIMIERZ KUMANIECKI

Warsaw

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86

4



# ANTIBAR

BARORVM D. ERASMI

Roterodami, liber unus, quē iuue-

nis quidem adhuc lusit: ceterū

diu desideratum, demum re-

pertum non iuuenis reco-

gnouit, & uelut postlimi-

nio studiosis restituit.

Ex quo reliquorum,

quod diis propitiis propediem ac-

cedat, lector coniecturans fa-

cias licebit.

BASILEAE APVD IO. PROBE-

NIVM AN. M. D. XX.



disciplinam a seña <sup>Alipia</sup> doceret. Idem id frandis natu / sibi opus adesse legit <sup>in se</sup> m. filios) Curo.  
Peteera corp illa id nobilis hoc com sho qd msho. Vrad quos sibi placent / con  
modestissimi potius hois videt. Hac modesta gernerur cot solus ab Apolline Sapiens  
iudicaret. Qd quim alij sibi vidrent sine ad msho. hnt tunc ad reteris veymandi  
quomo sapientior. Id qd illa apd Platoni disputatioe hnt iudicat In qdus apparer sibi  
Dios quidem et acut. s; msho potius q; sapientis ratio. Et o vrad nra ipse philoso  
phastri / qui nro fastid obijuit. q; ois phie / parentis verendum q; Goigis gumpid gne  
vulnere malle imitari. Cui quim in sua quid iporu voce msho / magna fiducia  
quomo de re pntiant / probat / dantur / preceptu / prescribit. Sed aliquid exempla  
prosequamur. An fut qd vno Pythagora vel acutius vel datus. hnt certe supioris  
phos. q; eadivrom com tam modesta superavit. Cui quim an id phs Sophi + sapientis  
sibi cent appellari. qd pmo nois arrogantia vruatur / se se phosorum + sapie studio  
q; sapientia sui malus Platoni nomuli ob msho. Suind quondam sthmiter. fastus m  
mulant. At m hor ipu quanta modestia. ubi at; pceptus disciplinam q; ad pland hnt  
pernde ar si msho ant ad / quot maria / q; terras transtus legi. Sed ubiq; qd ad dant  
Cui artemis mag; fuerit et potens. (Hecommianis in obis hnt vni) cuiusq; doctrine  
archadame gymnasia psonabat. fuerit amos pceptus atq; disciplinis. malus alura ve  
rumid dnt. q; sua impud; ingrat. Cui de Soloni et Herodoti loquitur / quos id natu  
grando ois eois angulos pugnatos videm. Labiosa vtiq; pceptu hnt. q; mmpoge  
supie mecturos. Theophrastus pho ad hnt pceptus / moriens reuic et cormialis iudisse  
legi. q;us na vrad tam diuinau reuissit. hor tam egria. Et q; omi opinioe dnt  
maud hntas tenere putabat. ut se n; q;ebat epingui / quim id quid est sapi vni / cepit  
Et vrad in tantis ingenij tanta modestia. ab imperitia m / q; vni. an q; dntio  
pauis quada singit. Cuius tam hntio palud in / Poetas iudicat. hntio msho  
fuisse dntio. ut dum in rebus epd. pulis indiget. inferior habent. hnt a fuisse  
indoro evagor comit. s; hntio agitibus a. Cuius tam onato laudatus paxi  
modestia et hntio nra et hntio paxi. Cui ad d; cmtans commoet / quond longi  
pcepte hntio msho dntio. quondio. quondio pceptu. vni hntio. s; hntio.  
tium hntio. hntio cor dntio. Cuius q; pcepte pceptu. quondio. Augustino id  
quid eruditus. at quid eodem modestus. quondio sibi se vel ab annulo pcepte dntio panud  
fuit. hntio nra quid errat. pceptu. at scripud suad m pceptio dntio. Cuius hnt  
modestiam et nra ipu vradis vniq; est imitatus. On sud Augustino vel cmtans vel dntio.  
hntio pceptu quom indorois tanto arrogantior. Cui qd supierit q; dntio vadi  
vadi hntio celsibus oraculis sua senmra reu; coolus. De pcepte dntis hor loquitur Nam  
egrege dntio hntio ad hntio reu; quim in ree singulari modestia apnoicim dntio  
et arrogantis indorois vradis hntio dntio et sapientis sibi hntio vadi. s; vni hntio  
ntio senmra. Cuius i; in hntio q; m vni hntio modestia obis. nra ista ipu eia mod  
ta senmra se imodestia. hntio ego. Sed de modestia dntio / modestie sed obis. Adius a in  
re dntio dntio dntio dntio. hntio hntio. Ego sic in pceptu. si qui arrogant  
et sibi placent vradis / ad pceptu esse non creda. Inq; qd est supbia ad dntio pceptu id m  
ne supbia solum vel remedio videt esse.

Idem pauli dntio msho quo ampud d; <sup>epnois</sup>  
Cuius msho msho suo mox et illud pauli msho. dntio msho. dntio msho. dntio msho.  
Cur non ment' inquit aet apu. Innti s; a. msho msho. dntio dntio o hntio.  
et idem msho. In msho hntio vni senmra et paulo dntio. msho vni msho. Cui  
ako m dntio. Et si impetans pcepto. no id s; hntio. s; audis glant p ad pcepto hntio hntio  
legem dntio. Non liberos membrana pcepto sibi pceptio. Cuius paulo m msho  
msho. ut quim fuerit vel vniq; hntio. qm s; hntio. hntio vniq; hntio. hntio vniq;  
tao dntio pcepto / q; vno m dntio hntio a senmra dntio. Cuius q; hntio s; hntio hntio.  
hntio nra s; hntio. Cuius vniq; hntio q; msho. Cuius quod hntio. in dntio  
msho. s; et pcepto et hntio msho msho. hntio. hntio hntio. hntio hntio.  
hntio q; hntio erat dntio paulo de dntio hntio hntio in quod ipu hntio hntio hntio.  
tate quada hntio. se hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio.  
at msho hntio hntio hntio. Et vni quid msho hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio.  
et msho quid hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio.

**U**ced msho msho suo mox et illud pauli msho. dntio msho. dntio msho. dntio msho.  
Cur non ment' inquit aet apu. Innti s; a. msho msho. dntio dntio o hntio.  
et idem msho. In msho hntio vni senmra et paulo dntio. msho vni msho. Cui  
ako m dntio. Et si impetans pcepto. no id s; hntio. s; audis glant p ad pcepto hntio hntio  
legem dntio. Non liberos membrana pcepto sibi pceptio. Cuius paulo m msho  
msho. ut quim fuerit vel vniq; hntio. qm s; hntio. hntio vniq; hntio. hntio vniq;  
tao dntio pcepto / q; vno m dntio hntio a senmra dntio. Cuius q; hntio s; hntio hntio.  
hntio nra s; hntio. Cuius vniq; hntio q; msho. Cuius quod hntio. in dntio  
msho. s; et pcepto et hntio msho msho. hntio. hntio hntio. hntio hntio.  
hntio q; hntio erat dntio paulo de dntio hntio hntio in quod ipu hntio hntio hntio.  
tate quada hntio. se hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio.  
at msho hntio hntio hntio. Et vni quid msho hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio.  
et msho quid hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio hntio.







## INTRODUCTION

Before 1930, that is, until the appearance of A. Hyma's *Youth of Erasmus*<sup>1</sup>, Erasmus' short work, *Antibarbarorum liber primus*, was known exclusively in its second version, which was the final version as written by the author in 1518–1520. It was first printed by John Froben in Basel in May, 1520, and re-edited nine times during Erasmus' lifetime. In 1930, Hyma published the original version from the Gouda manuscript, which was written in Halsteren in the spring of 1494 or 1495.

Before turning to a discussion of these two versions, it might be interesting to give a brief sketch of the genesis of this unusually interesting work, whose pre-history goes back even further than the first version, as found in the Gouda manuscript. According to certain remarks to be found in the preface to the edition printed in Basel in May, 1520, Erasmus began to work on *Antibarbari* before attaining the age of twenty: 'nondum annum vigesimum attigeram,'<sup>2</sup> i.e., before 28 October 1488<sup>3</sup> (for it was then that he turned twenty) and that a few years later (after 1488–1489) he re-worked the original version into a dialogue: 'pauculis deinde annis visum est idem argumentum in dialogum retexere'. According to this statement the first version (no longer extant) was not written in the form of a dialogue. Actually the theme of struggle against the 'barbarians', the enemies of classical Latin and classical literature, had been a passion with Erasmus from early youth. Proof of this is Erasmus' poem,<sup>4</sup> mentioned in Cornelius Gerard's letter to Erasmus (May, 1489?), *Carmen lamentabile super contemptu artis poetice*, which was later re-worked by Cornelius Gerard into a *Dialogus Apologeticus*,<sup>5</sup> and finally appeared as a poem entitled *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii sub Dyalogo lamentabili assumpta aduersus*

<sup>1</sup> Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*. Ann Arbor, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Less exact in the letter to Botzheim dated 1523 (*Op. Ep.* t. I, i, p. 19, l. 16): 'admodum adolescens aggressus sum Antibarbaros'. Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Die Wandlungen der Antibarbari* in 'Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam', Basel, 1936, p. 52 (reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften*, München, 1960).

<sup>3</sup> I accept 28 October 1469 as Erasmus' date of birth (see General Introduction).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 19, l. 5 (Gerard's letter dated May (?) 1489): 'devenit ad manus nostras nobilis ingenii tui carmen lamentabile super contemptu artis poeticae' Cf. *Poems*, p. 161 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Allen, t. I, p. 586, app. iv; *Epp.* 20, l. 49; 22, l. 31; 23, l. 31; 25, l. 31; Pfeiffer, p. 52.

*barbaros qui veterum eloquentiam contemunt et doctam poesim derident*<sup>6</sup>, on which Erasmus and Gerard collaborated. Besides this poem, of which he is the co-author, Erasmus wrote a prose work in 1489 (?) in which he undertook to defend classical literature, putting the words of the defence into the mouth of his friend, Cornelius Gerard. According to a letter (Ep. 30, l. 13 sq.) written to his friend in 1489 (?): 'hanc rursus operam tui causa suscepimus orationemque tuam quam petieras quo potuimus studio absoluimus. Partes praeterea oratorias itidem quam quaeque speciem, quem quaeque colorem habeat, studiose annotare curauimus, ut tu quidem potiari voto tuo gratulenturque studio nostro literati videant autem et inuideant illiterati erubescant scioli et iactabundi.' That the words 'orationemque tuam' refer to the first version (no longer extant) of *Antibarbari*, which was written in the form of an oration delivered in defense of literature by Erasmus' friend, Cornelius Gerard, has been pointed out by Allen<sup>7</sup> and R. Pfeiffer<sup>8</sup>. According to the above-mentioned letter, Gerard's oration was delivered against two categories of opponents: (1) against 'illiterati', who had no use for classical literature as they did not know it, and (2) against those who had not studied anything and yet thought they knew everything: 'earum sibi rerum quas nunquam didicerunt vendicare peritiam.' R. Pfeiffer<sup>9</sup> has correctly observed that in the extant versions of *Antibarbari*, although Batt's speech is arranged somewhat differently, and names not two but three categories of opponents, he none the less takes to task only the first group, i.e., the 'illiterati', who do not know classical literature at all. Pfeiffer correctly suggests<sup>10</sup> that this portion of the extant version of Batt's speech contains elements taken from the first version, that is, the no longer extant version of Gerard's speech. It is also interesting that a large number of expressions found in the two versions of *Antibarbari* which we know, had also already appeared in the letters dating from the period 1487-1489.<sup>11</sup> This can be explained by the fact that they were already found in the first version, which was Gerard's oration.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The poem is published in *Poems*, No. 14, pp. 162-169.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Allen's remarks on Ep. 30, l. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Allen Ep. 29, n. l. 21 (1489) had already pointed out two parallels. Erasmus demands that Gerard should give satisfaction for the unjust attacks against Valla in conformance with the law of the *fetiales*; analogically he declares war against the opponents of literature on the basis of the law of the *fetiales* (*Antib.* p. 71, l. 10); in Ep. 22, l. 18, 25 (1489) he refers in his battle against the 'barbarians' to the same two passages in Hieronymus' letters which he uses for the same purpose in *Antibarbari* p. 103, l. 12; p. 111, l. 18. To this Pfeiffer (p. 65) adds the parallel between Ep. 31, where there are attacks against Mediaeval grammarians and textbooks, and the phrases *Talpis caeciores ... assentatores istos ... Gnatonem ... Thrasonem* (which appear in *Antib.* p. 81, l. 14, 22). One might add the phrase 'tibi cura recessit' (Ep. 3, l. 1; 16, l. 20). *Antib.* p. 96, l. 3 *tibi cura recedat*, 15, 19 and 39, 157 *omnia labore vendunt* cf. *Antib.* p. 133, l. 24.

<sup>12</sup> R. Pfeiffer, 65-67, made an attempt to reconstruct the lost original version.

Erasmus then decided to re-work Gerard's oration in part into a dialogue. When completed it was to comprise two books and the main character was to be Cornelius Gerard; other friends of literature were to appear together with him in the second book. We know of this through Erasmus' letter to Cornelius Gerard, which Allen tentatively places in the spring of 1494,<sup>13</sup> but whose chronology is not certain.<sup>14</sup> There Erasmus writes: 'Si quid agitem rogas, est mihi in manibus de litteris opus, quod diutissime minatus sum, idque inter rusticationem curo, quantum procedat parum scio. Id quidem operis duobus libellis absoluere in animo est. Prior in refellendis ineptis barbarorum rationibus totus fere versabitur; in secundo te tuique similes doctos amicos de laude literarum loqui faciam. Itaque quandoquidem communis erit gloria, aequum est laborem quoque esse mihi tecum communem. Si quid igitur legisti (quid enim tu non legisti?) quod ad has res facere putabis, id est quo vel literarum studium vituperari queat vel laudari, quaeso ad me mittere cures atque per nostram amicitiam candidus impertias.' The first book was then to contain a rebuttal of the 'barbarians' objections; Erasmus does not give any details as to the form he planned to give it. Perhaps it was to be identical to that of Gerard's oration. The second book was to be written in the form of a dialogue and was to be devoted to a discussion of the objections made against literature (si quid vituperari queat), or else to its glorification (laudari). Gerard was to play the leading role in it; other friends were to appear together with him. But even this version was not to be the final one. We hear nothing more of it apart from the information contained in the letter. In the preface to the first Basel edition of 1520 Erasmus makes no reference to a version which was to comprise two books. Having established the fact that he began to write *Antibarbari* before the age of twenty, he continues: 'pauculis deinde post annis visum est idem argumentum in dialogum retexere, quo lectio minus haberet taedii.' Next he states that he divided the material into four books and discusses their contents, adding that he has finished only the first two, begun the third and collected the material for the fourth: 'Primus refellebat ea quae quidam vel superstitiosi vel hypocritae religionis verius quam religiosi solent nobis in os iacere. Secundus subornata persona, qualis est apud Platonem Glauco, summis eloquentiae viribus vituperabat eloquentiam .... Tertius refellebat secundi voluminis argumenta, verum id nondum absolueram. Quartus agebat separatim causam poetices mihi puero tenere adamatae. Hunc nondum digesseram, sylva tantum ingens erat congesta operi futuro.' The change, however, referred not only to the structure and the contents of the books. In place of Cornelius Gerard, who was to play the leading role in the first version, and who was equally to play the main role in the version which was to have comprised two books, Erasmus introduced his new friend, James Batt, secretary

<sup>13</sup> Ep. 37, l. 9-19, cf. Allen, app. v.

<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer correctly states that the letter might have been written earlier.

of the city Bergen op Zoom. Another friend of Erasmus' also figured in the dialogue, namely, William Herman, as did the mayor of Bergen and the doctor, Iodocus. The action of the dialogue takes place in Halsteren, on the country estate of Henry of Bergen, bishop of Cambrai, in whose service Erasmus was then working. The scene of the action, that is, Halsteren, points to the fact that this new version came into being after Erasmus left the monastery at Steyn (which occurred after 25 April 1492, and perhaps not until 1494)<sup>15</sup>, and entered the service of Henry of Bergen. The terminus ante quem this work came into being is absolutely certain. It can be established as October 1495. For according to the letter of the well-known Parisian humanist, Robert Gaguin (7 October 1495?), Erasmus, who was then in Paris, offered Gaguin at least one (and very probably two books)<sup>16</sup> of his new work, asking him for his opinion. The following passage, in which Gaguin expresses his opinion of the work<sup>17</sup>: 'Bellum ... aduersus despicabile hominum genus qui studiis humanitatis detrahere non desinunt, suscepisti... apte componis, ornas venuste nec deest tibi Carneadis vehemens disputatio. Vnum, Herasme, ab amico non moleste feras. Protendis longiuscule prohemium et Battum primas partes agentem, quod absque interlocutore longiusculus sit, quippiam forte reprehendet ... Plato ille inter Graecos inter Latinos Cicero et alii nonnulli iuniores tibi autores erunt'. Thus in all probability the first two books of the new version, which was to comprise four books, came into being in the spring (the action takes place in the spring) of 1494 or 1495,<sup>18</sup> in any case, before October 1495.

Erasmus later gave these same two books to Colet for his opinion, in all probability during his first trip<sup>19</sup> to Oxford in 1499-1500. Colet especially liked the second book, which included attacks against literature<sup>20</sup>. The third, which was to refute these attacks, was not yet ready. The next information we have about *Antibarbari* concerns the year 1506. In the preface to the 1520 edition we read that Erasmus expanded Book I in Bologna (the end of 1506 or the beginning of 1507) with the intention of printing it, and that he amended Book II: 'Primum librum locupletaram Bononiae iam meditans aeditionem. Secundum emendam.' He writes of this in detail in his letter to Botzheim (30 January 1523) (*op. Ep.* t. I, i, p. 34, l. 6) in which he speaks of expanding both books: 'Antibarbarorum duos libros recognoueramus ac locupletaueramus Bononiae, in reliquos sylvam iam olim congestam habebamus.' Similar

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Allen, t. I, pp. 587-590, app. v.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 55.

<sup>17</sup> Ep. 46, l. 1 sqq.

<sup>18</sup> A more exact date cannot be established. Cf. Allen, t. I, pp. 587-590, app. v; Pfeiffer, p. 54, 'als äusserster, freilich unsicherer, terminus post quem hatte sich durch die 2-teilige Zwischenform Frühjahr 1494 (??) ergeben'.

<sup>19</sup> Whether this had happened during Erasmus' first trip to Oxford (1499-1500) or during the second trip (1505-1506) cannot be answered in all certainty. Cf. Allen's notes to Ep. 1116, l. 29, Pfeiffer, p. 55.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ep. 1110, l. 30.

information appears in *Lucubrationum Index* (1 January 1519)<sup>21</sup>: ‘Antibarbari quod opus pene puer coeperat mox non<sup>22</sup> mutato argumento vertit in dialogum. Denique duos libros Bononiae recognouit et locupletavit.’ Thus in Bologna towards the end of 1506 Erasmus was thinking of publishing the first two books. This never took place, however. On leaving for Rome in December, 1508, Erasmus gave the manuscript of both books, together with the material for Books III and IV, which he collected in Ferrara, to his friend, Richard Pace<sup>23</sup>, with whom he also left the manuscript of *De copia*<sup>24</sup> and *De ratione studii*<sup>25</sup>. Pace, in turn, entrusted the two books of *Antibarbari* and the other materials to Thale<sup>26</sup> before leaving Ferrara for Bologna. At this point the two books disappeared<sup>27</sup>, and Erasmus kept trying to recover them, all to no avail. He writes of this matter to Andrew Ammonius in a letter (21 December 1513) (Ep. 283, l. 167): ‘Rogo ne graueris in proximis ad Paceum litteris ascribere vt tibi significet quid actum sit de libris meis quos Ferrariae deposueram’. In a letter to Pace (4 September 1515) (Ep. 350, l. 3) he has not yet lost hope of recovering these materials: ‘Si commentarii nostri iam advecti sunt, vt puto, fac diligenter recondas aut quod malim apud Morum deponas donec reposcam.’ He also wrote about this matter to Thomas More (5 November 1517) (Ep. 706, l. 27) from whom he received none too happy news: ‘Paceus adhuc non redit neque scire possum quando sit rediturus ... Miror ab illo non redditum tibi librum, scribam ad eum diligentissime.’ There is a further comment in a letter (6 December 1517) to Beatus Rhenanus (Ep. 732, l. 24) in which Erasmus expresses his doubts concerning Pace’s loyalty: ‘Antibarbaros Pacaeus scribit e Massylia Romam relatos. Subolet mihi et Pacaei mutatum ingenium, licet simulet pristinam amicitiam.’ In a later letter to Pace (22 October 1518) Erasmus expresses the hope that Pace’s library (and with it the manuscript of *Antibarbari*) will finally come from Italy, but he also expresses the fear that *Antibarbari* has disappeared (Ep. 887, l. 3): ‘Iam olim  $\chi\alpha\nu\omega\nu$  expecto de reditu tuae bibliothecae, misereque metuo ne nostrae nugae perierint.’ As of 1 January 1519 he had still not lost hope, cf. *Lucubrationum Index* (Allen, introd. Ep. 1110): ‘Exemplar bis descriptum deposuit apud amicum quendam, vnde nondum potuit recipere.’ It is important that at this time (1517) Erasmus

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 1110.

<sup>22</sup> <non> mutato or <im>mutato, Pfeiffer’s corrections, p. 55, n. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the Preface to the 1520 edition ‘relicturus Italiam deposui apud Ricardum Pacaeum virum omni virtutum et ornamentorum genere cumulatam’. Letter to Botzheim, op. Ep. t. I, i, p. 34, l. 19: ‘Haec cum nonnullis aliis perierunt, non quidem perfidia Ricardi Pacaei, apud quem Ferrariae deposueram, Romam abiturus, sed alterius cuiusdam.’

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ep. 260.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ep. 66; 244; cf. Allen, Ep. 244, n. 1. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ep. 244, l. 7–22.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Preface to the 1520 edition (Ep. 1110) ‘Apud hunc (sc. Pacaeum) vterque periit eorum videlicet culpa (sc. Thale) quorum fidem vir syncerissimus e suis moribus aestimabat’. Letter to Botzheim, op. Ep. t. I, i, p. 34, l. 19: ‘Haec cum nonnullis aliis perierant ... perfidia ... alterius cuiusdam (sc. Thale) qui dum sibi nimium esset amicus, nulli poterat esse fidus amicus.’

was thinking of introducing his new friend, Thomas More, into *Antibarbari* (most likely in the third and fourth books, which had not been written yet). Evidence of this would seem to be in More's letter (5 November 1517) (Ep. 706) in which he assures Erasmus that he will try to recover the manuscript of *Antibarbari* for personal reasons as well. For he knows that Erasmus wants to make a monument of their friendship out of this work: 'Sentio te meditari in eo opere ut extruas amicitiae nostrae monumentum quod ego pyramidibus omnibus et omnibus mausoleis antefero.' Next More reflects on the manner in which Erasmus will introduce his person into the dialogue, in which Herman and Batt take part, the latter of whom died when More was still quite a young man (Ep. 706, l. 39): 'Tantum tibi cogitandum est quo pacto nos coniungas cum illo (*sc. Batto*) qui me vix viro, imo ne viro quidem, decessit. Sed ista comode tu machinaberis. Sed heus tu, proximus sum egomet mihi. Partem paciscor plane proximam tibi: loquacior sum, ut scis, quam vt esse patiar persona muta, praesertim in ea comoedia ex qua mihi immortalitatem spondeam.' As can be seen, Erasmus was thinking of increasing the number of persons taking part in the dialogue and of introducing his new friends into it<sup>28</sup>, but all his efforts to recover the Bologna version were futile. Erasmus lamented the loss of the second book the most. He wrote a resentful letter to Pace (11 June 1521, that is, after Book I had appeared in print) (Ep. 1210, l. 15): 'Illud me male cruciat quod de commentariis Romae relictis nihil audio ... si redeat modo secundus liber Antibarbarorum! Caeterorum iacturam facile patiar.' During the time that elapsed between the writing of this letter (11 June 1521) and a letter to Botzheim (30 January 1523) Erasmus succeeded in finding some fragments of the beginning of Book II, which he received from England, and parts of the end of Book II, which were found in Brugges: (*op. Ep.* t. I, i, p. 34, l. 11): 'quanquam post forte nactus sum ex Anglia sequundi libri principium et Brugis finem, multis paginis in medio desideratis. Si sequundus contingeret, caeteros facile absolverem; nec dubito quin lateat apud aliquem Lauernam, quum ego geminum exemplar deposuerim.' These were only scanty fragments; for a long time Erasmus kept hoping<sup>29</sup> that he would succeed in finding the second book and the material for the following ones. He did not give up his search, it would seem, until 1535; for in the 1535 edition of Book I he omitted the remark on the title page, which is found in all the editions of Book I from 1520 onwards: 'Ex quo reliquorum (*sc. librorum*) qui diis propiciis propediem accedent, lector coniecturam facias licebit' (Allen, introd. Ep. 1110).

Let us return, however, to May, 1517. Two facts indicate that Erasmus was thinking of printing *Antibarbari*.<sup>30</sup> In a letter from Basel dated 10 May, Beatus

<sup>28</sup> His plan to introduce More into the work was only a passing idea. Cf. Pfeiffer p. 58, n. 27.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer p. 59.

<sup>30</sup> This title appears first in *Vita Hieronymi* preceding the 1516 edition: 'et nos olim adolescentuli minoris annis viginti lusimus in istorum stulticiam Dialogis quos Antibarbaros

Rhenanus informs his friend that people in Basel are looking forward to the publication of several of Erasmus' works, among which he names *Antibarbari* (Ep. 581, l. 21): 'Paraphrasis apostolicarum epistolarum tua cupidissime expectatur (this work did indeed appear in November, 1517, cf. Allen, Ep. 581, n. l. 21) sed et De componendis epistolis opus et Antibarbaros nec non Copiam retextam et auctam omnes desyderant studiosi.' That very same month (30 May) Erasmus informs his friend More that he is sending him a gift of a diptych in which he is portrayed together with Peter Gilles (Ep. 584, l. 6): 'Petrus Aegidius et ego pingimur in eadem tabula: eam tibi dono breui mittemus.<sup>31</sup> This double portrait was painted by Quentin Matsys in Antwerp in May, 1517. On the original panel representing Peter Gilles, now at Longford Castle, various books can be seen. The one to which Peter Gilles is pointing, bears, on its upper cover, the title ANTIBAPBAPOI.<sup>32</sup> It is a well-known fact that at that time Erasmus was seriously thinking of publishing *Antibarbari* and entertained the hope that he would finally receive the text from Pace. At Louvain, perhaps in July 1517, or possibly somewhat later, but in any case in that year, he came in the possession of the original version of the text of Book I, which he wrote in Halsteren in 1494-1495, and which was in general circulation. He speaks of finding this older version of the book I in the preface to the 1520 edition thus: 'Louanium ubi commigrassem (i.e., in July, 1517) comperi primum librum, ut olim a me scriptus erat, latius esse sparsum quam ut premi posset. Parum enim abfuerat quin iam evulgatus fuerit a quibusdam, qui sedulo magis quam prudenter fauent Erasmo. Id nequando fieret, ipse recognitum librum typographis commisi cum alioqui perpetuo suppressum maluissem: praesertim cum hac de re prodiderit opus eruditum acutum et expolitum Hermannus Buschius cui titulum fecit, Vallum humanitatis. Sed tamen a nobis vtcunque recognitum exire malui, quam sic vt erat descriptus nempe depravatissime. Addetur secundus, si licebit nancisci.' Obviously unable to wait any longer for the return of the Bologna version, and dissatisfied with the original version of Book I found in Louvain, which was circulating in copies, he decided finally to rewrite the original version, fearful that someone would print the original version without his knowledge. Since still in October, 1518 and in January, 1519 (as indicated by the above-mentioned passages in the letters) he expected to recover the Bologna version<sup>33</sup>, and Pfeiffer<sup>34</sup> correctly assumes that the decision to re-edit the original version written in Halsteren was made in 1519 when the prospect of recovering the Bologna version had decreased. In any case the new version, which expanded and amended the Halsteren version,

inscripsimus'. The title was very probably thought up for the Bologna version. Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 56.

<sup>31</sup> Quentin Matsys' diptych portraying Erasmus and Peter Gilles was indeed finished and sent to Thomas More in September, 1517. Cf. Allen, Ep. 584, n. l. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Allen, Ep. 684, n. l. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Allen, introd. Ep. 1110.

<sup>34</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 58.

found its way into the hands of Froben in Basel in April of 1520.<sup>35</sup> The text was printed in May<sup>36</sup> but without the preface to Sapidus, which was still lacking on May 25th<sup>37</sup>. For that matter, on July 22 the whole was still not ready for publication.<sup>38</sup> During the first half of August copies were already being distributed<sup>39</sup>, and on September 26th Alciati saw the work in Avignon.<sup>40</sup>

The expanded and amended version was printed ten times during Erasmus' lifetime. I shall speak of these editions later. At the present a few words must be said about the original shorter version, which was written in Halsteren, and a copy of which was found by P. S. Allen<sup>41</sup> in the Gouda municipal library and published by Hyma in 1930. The manuscript, written in 1519 (completed on 11 July 1519),<sup>42</sup> in all probability by the hand of one of the brothers of the Brethren of the Common Life at Gouda, is found at the end of Vol. IX of the edition *Opera Hieronymi* published by Froben in Basel in 1516. This book belonged to the library of the brethren, as indicated by the notes found on fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>: 'Pertinet ad librariam domus fratrum collationis sancti Pauli apostoli in Gouda' and on fol. 203<sup>vo</sup>: 'Pertinet ad librariam domus fratrum Collationis in Gouda civitate Hollandiae.' The last printed page of this volume is fol. 204<sup>ro</sup>. On its verso there appears a manuscript copy of a letter from Erasmus to Cornelius Gerard (Ep. 37, spring 1494?). Then follow bound up with the volume, 16 separate folios which contain in manuscript the original version of *Antibarbari* (but without this title, which very likely was thought up in Bologna)<sup>43</sup> but entitled *Liber apologeticus Desiderii Herasmi Roterodami, in quo refelluntur rationes inepte barbarorum contra poesim et literaturam secularem pugnantium*. It is worth noting that this title resembles a passage in the above-mentioned letter from Erasmus to Cornelius Gerard, Ep. 37, l. 12 sqq. (1494?) in which he speaks of his plans to write a work in two books; his remarks about the subject of the work are almost identical with the title as found in the Gouda manuscript: 'prior in refellendis ineptis barbarorum rationibus totus fere versabitur.' If we take cognizance of the fact that the action of the dialogue, as found in the Gouda version manuscript, takes place in Halsteren (just as in the second version, for that matter) there can be no doubt

<sup>35</sup> Cf. H. Froben to Zwingli *Corp. Ref.* 94 (1911) p. 297, No. 131: 'Erasmus ... dedit recens quae totiens promisit Antibarbara, tamen primum saltem librum.'

<sup>36</sup> Basileae in aedibus Ioannis Frobeni, mense Maio MDXX.

<sup>37</sup> Alb. Burer to Beatus Rhenanus, 25 May 1520 (*BRE* No. 166): 'Erasmi Antibarbaron misissem, sed deest praefatio.'

<sup>38</sup> Jac. Nepos to Zwingli, 22 July (*Corp. Ref.* 94, p. 335, No. 148): 'Brevi Erasmi nostri Antibarbari emittentur.'

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Nicolaus Episcopius to Beatus Rhenanus, 11 August 1520 (*BRE* No. 174): 'Antibarbarorum librum ... misimus.'

<sup>40</sup> Andreas Alciatus to Franciscus Calvus, 26 September (M. Gudius, *Epistolae*, ed. Burmann., 1697, p. 80).

<sup>41</sup> Allen, V, p. xx, addenda vol. I, p. 135 and vol. IV, p. 278.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the colophon on the last page: 'τέλος finitum anno domini XV<sup>c</sup> et XIX in translatione beati Benedicti ad vsum et librariam domus fratrum Collationis in Gouda.'

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 60.



that we have to do with the original version as it came into being in Halsteren in 1494–1495. It is worth remembering Erasmus' words from the 1520 preface, in which he recalls that when he returned to Louvain numerous copies of the first version of *Antibarbari* were in circulation there. There can be no doubt that this 1519 copy, found recently in Gouda, belongs to the same category as the first version then in circulation of which Erasmus speaks with disfavour in the 1520 preface, one of the copies which contained the version of his work 'vt olim a me scriptus erat' and which Erasmus did not want to see printed, stating that he would prefer to rewrite it rather than having it published in the original version: 'a nobis vtunque recognitum exire malui, quam sic ut erat descriptus nempe depravatissime.' For that reason he rewrote it.

Much as Erasmus refused to have the first version printed, it is none the less of considerable interest, for the changes made by Erasmus in 1519–1520 are very characteristic, and cast light on the evolution of his thought and style. Before turning to a discussion of the differences between the two versions, however, let us give a brief résumé of the dialogue and its composition as it appears in the first redaction and in the second, without taking into consideration for the moment the additions and the changes introduced into the second version. The action takes place (in both versions) in the Brabant countryside ('Brabantico rure'), i.e., in Halsteren, where Erasmus is staying. When his close friend William Herman comes to see him, Erasmus informs their mutual friend James Batt, who was then the secretary of the city of Bergen of this visit. After Batt's arrival the three friends go for a stroll; Erasmus wants to show Herman the environs. During their stroll they notice the mayor of Bergen, Wilhelm Conrad, who has arrived from the city for a rest at his near-by villa. He was in the company of his wife and the doctor Iodocus. After they have greeted one another and exchanged a few jokes, the five participants in the dialogue begin to speak of the weather, the climate and the surrounding area. Finally the conversation turns to a more topical subject. The friends attempt to discover the reason for the decline in the *optimae artes* in the contemporary world ('in veterem quidem illam sed prorsus iustissimam nostrorum temporum querelam incidimus'). The doctor is of the opinion that this decline is due to the activity of the stars, the mayor puts the whole blame on the Christian religion, namely, on the fact that Christianity turned its back on pagan literature and looked upon beauty with disdain. To be ignorant of pagan literature was regarded as a virtue. According to the third friend, Herman, the decadence of the *optimae artes* was caused by the ageing of the world and by its degeneration. Finally Batt, who is to play the main role in the dialogue, speaks, and voices the opinion that evil, ignorant teachers are to blame for everything. He jokingly attacks the mayor for allowing things to reach such a catastrophic state of affairs in the city, stating that the teachers ought to be punished as severely as possible. Neither the stars nor religion, but ignorance alone is the cause for the decline of the *optimae artes*. The mayor makes a joking remark

that Batt himself is at fault, as in his position of secretary he ought to have brought the matter to the attention of the mayor. Next Batt relates how he fought the backwardness of the school of that time with such zeal upon his return from the University of Paris, how this brought down upon him the wrath of both the clergy and the social classes under its influence, and how finally he emerged victorious. Herman jokingly states that Batt deserves a triumph for that victory; the mayor asks him to present the arguments in favour of pagan literature, as he says that he is helpless in the face of the arguments of his opponents, who claim that certain people want to introduce the works of writers who are not only pagan, but difficult as well, and what is most important, licentious. Erasmus enters the discussion at this point, encouraging his friends to discuss the subject at greater length; he points out that the charming area in which they find themselves at present reminds him of the scenery of Plato's and Cicero's dialogues, and the pear tree under which they are going to seat themselves will remind them of the plane tree under which the discussion in Plato's *Phaedrus* takes place. This concludes the first introductory portion of the dialogue. Urged by his friends Batt then begins to speak. He states that there exist three categories of enemies of pagan literature: first there are those who, moved by envy and ignorance, condemn all literature in general because they do not know it, cloaking themselves in religious authority; others agree to allow theology to be taught, but reject classical literature (*humanitatis literas*), without which any form of learning is blind (*sine quibus caeca est omnis doctrina*); finally, the third category acknowledges poetry and rhetoric, but only on the condition that they themselves be considered the best poets and rhetoricians, which obviously is not true. Batt states that for the moment he will answer the arguments of the first category of opponents and will do so by making use of: (1) very strong arguments – '*validissimis rationibus*', (2) literary evidence – '*litterarum testimoniis*', (3) examples taken from history – '*exemplorum copia*'. Batt's speech does in fact hold to this outline throughout the remainder of the work, interrupted only from time to time by the remarks of the other participants. First he cites '*validissimae rationes*', next '*litterarum testimonia*', then '*exempla*'. He begins his attack against know-nothings by declaring war against them in the ancient Roman style, citing an invented '*oratio foecialium*'. Next there is a virulent attack against illiterates and the statement that they despise *belles-lettres* ('*studia secularia*', in the first version – '*studia politiora*', in the second) only because they do not know them. Batt then refutes the arguments of his opponents who claim that they do not despise ancient literature but merely disregard it, pointing to the simplicity ('*rusticitas*') of the apostles. Battus states that illiteracy is not the result of the religiosity of his opponents, but of envy (the passage entitled '*Invidium esse, haud religiosum odisse literas quas nescias*'). Then he proves that one may and ought to hold in disdain those things that lure man away from virtue, but not pagan literature. One ought first to

get to know it, and only then can one hold it in disdain, if one must. He calls on St. Augustine in order to prove this thesis. (The passage entitled: 'Quae res cum laude contemnantur et quae secus'.) Next there follow two longer passages. In the first Batt proves that it is absurd to condemn everything that the pagans have invented ('Absurde reprehendi quippiam non ob aliud nisi quod ab ethnicis inventum'), in the second he states that pagan inventions were not made without God's initiative and that God wanted in this way to prepare mankind for the coming of the golden age during which He was to descend to earth in order to redeem it. (Title: 'Diuino consilio disciplinas ab ethnicis expolitas, vt nos vteremur, non vt contemneremus'.) Batt states next that there does not exist any special Christian eruditio (Christians have not invented anything), there exists only a secular eruditio (secularis), which can also be called Christian: 'Ego igitur nullam esse eruditionem puto nisi quae sit saecularis (sic enim appellant antiquam) aut certe seculari literatura condita et instructa. Eam (si perversa et impia absit opinio) Christianam etiam patiar appellari.' Next he disposes of the objection that knowledge leads to conceit, stating that ignorance leads to pride, while erudition leads to humility. He cites examples of conceit on the part of theologians, who give various pompous titles to their works, such as *Gemmula* or *Margarita*. He contrasts them with the humility of Socrates, Pythagoras, Solon, St. Jerome, Augustine and many others. (Two passages entitled: 'Homines ignorantia potius quam eruditione insolentiores fieri' and 'Ignorantiam esse superbiae matrem, Eruditionem contra modestiam parere'.) The next long chapter, entitled: 'Illud Pauli "scientia inflat", quomodo accipiendum' remains in close connection with these conclusions. The opponents of learning, hoping to prove their thesis that learning leads to pride, cite the phrase of St. Paul 'scientia inflat'. Batt refutes this argument and on the basis of the context in which the words 'scientia inflat' were used as well as of other passages from St. Paul he gives a correct interpretation of St. Paul's position, which calls forth the joking remark from the doctor that he would never have thought that Batt was so well versed in theology.<sup>44</sup> Later the doctor adds that he has often met people who claim that a knowledge of pagan literature can never be reconciled with Christian piety (*non cohaerere cum pietate Christiana literaturam secularem*). Batt replies that Jerome, Cyprian, Augustine and many others were able to reconcile the two. The doctor remains firm in his position, however, that religion cannot be acquitted of the charge that it contributes to the spreading of disdain for pagan literature. According to him, there are people who claim that literature lures one away from virtue, removes all good thoughts rather than leads to them, that it is stupid to cultivate beautiful speech to the detriment of morality: 'litteras a virtute reuocare animos nec bonam parare (*praestare* in the original version) mentem sed eripere magis.

<sup>44</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 67, correctly assumes that this chapter comes from the first version of *Antibarbari*, from the oratio Gerardi, in which not Batt, but Gerard, who was well versed in theology, spoke.

Stultum est, inquit, disertam habere linguam, mores incompósitos.' Batt answers this charge by saying that he agrees that pagan literature does not lead to good thoughts, but that ignorance does not lead to them either. One ought not combat knowledge itself, but rather its misuse. The doctor then cites further arguments of the opponents of education to the effect that not only educated people will go to heaven. In his reply Batt cites the statement of Hesiod, who names three categories of people. The first consists of those who know what is good and act accordingly; the second consists of those who do not know what is good but follow the advice of the first category of people; the third consists of those who are stupid and do not listen to good advice. Thus, in his opinion, there ought to be as many people as possible in the first category, the second ought to be tolerated. There exists a need for a large number of educated people who would be able to advise the uneducated. In the same way, a good leader has simple soldiers in his army, and tolerates the fact that there are also cowards among them; but he would rather have only brave men like Scaevola and Decius. Next the doctor asks Batt in which category to place educated people who are also evil. To this Batt replies that he would add one more category to those of Hesiod: people who know what is good but none the less follow the wrong path. Batt proposes that they take an educated but evil man and place him next to an uneducated but evil man, then he asks which of the two is better. The doctor replies that the first, i.e., the educated but evil man, is worse. Batt says that in his opinion the answer to that question is difficult, but in the final analysis the educated man finds himself in a better position, as at least he knows what is good and has at his disposal the weapon which may eventually lead him to virtue, whereas the uneducated and evil man sees nothing but virtue in his vices ('e vitiis suis etiam laudem sibi pollicetur'). Finally he cites St. Jerome, who 'sanctae rusticitati sanctam eruditionem anteposuit'. Know-nothings fear learning, which, in their opinion, leads to pride, and stand in fear of that which ought not to be feared. One ought to seek knowledge, so as not to be open to the charge that one has buried one's talent in the earth. With this the first, and largest, portion of Batt's speech closes. The second and third have the common title: 'Confutat autoritates autoritatibus', and follow the outline given in the opening of Batt's speech. In this part Batt answers first the 'testimonia literarum' and sets other testimonia against them; then he combats the opponents by making use of exempla. In the opening of the second part Batt states that he has already defeated his opponents. They are now resorting to arguments taken from the Scriptures, however, and so he must destroy these arguments. First he quotes passages from St. Paul, St. James and the prophets, which the opponents use to support their thesis that wisdom is pernicious. Then by means of interpretation he explains that these statements do not contain a rebuke against learning; they are directed against those who by virtue of the fact that they are somewhat more learned than others elevate themselves above others, are set in their

opinion and arrogant. Next he combats the arguments based on the opinion of Gratian, picturesquely describing his acquaintance, who quoted Gratian's opinion 'Episcopus gentilium libros non legat', but who had not read other passages in Gratian, where he advises bishops to try 'vt magistri et doctores constituentur, qui studia literarum liberaliumque artium dogmata doceant quia in his diuina maxime manifestantur atque declarantur mandata.' Equally colourful is his story of how his acquaintance, owing to his lack of education, was unable to understand a passage in St. Jerome. Then he cites whole passages from St. Jerome and St. Augustine which prove that both of them laid great stress on knowing not only pagan literature, but also other arts such as dialectics, arithmetic, grammar and philosophy. Finally, in agreement with the original outline, Batt turns to the third part of his speech: 'Quoniam aduersarios primum rationibus, deinde testibus reuicimus, vnicum illis profugium superest, exempla quorundam probatoris vitae, quos aut citra eruditionem doctos habitos aut virtutis studio literas contempsisse obiiciunt.' Batt begins by demolishing the argument most often put forward, namely, that the apostles were uneducated fishermen. This opinion causes him to rise in indignation: one cannot call the apostles uneducated, as they were the disciples of Christ, the 'father of philosophy'. Assuming, however, that they were to be accepted as being uneducated, today's theologians are not following their example; they lead dissipated lives, far removed from the simple lives the apostles led. He cites as an example a feast in Flanders in which he took part, and very artfully describes the figure of a clergyman who castigates the classical poets, while at the same time leading a dissipated and drunken life. Batt states that he who claims to imitate the apostles ought above all to imitate their attitude toward life. After this digression he gives an example of people who were both educated and saints. He names Moses, the apostle Paul, the prophets, Clement of Alexandria, Origenes, Gregory of Nazianzus, Lactantius, Cyprian, Jerome, Beda, and Thomas Aquinas. Here the mayor remarks that he has strayed from the subject somewhat. He agrees with Batt that many saints were versed in classical literature, the fact remains, however, that the apostles, the creators of our religion, were uneducated men. To this Batt replies: In life follow the example of the apostles, in learning, that of Jerome: 'vt moribus apostolos exprimas, eruditione Hieronymum.' At this point the mayor remarks that they were discussing pagan literature and not divine (divina), which the apostles knew; secondly, they received divine knowledge as a gift from Heaven and not owing to their own human efforts (non humano studio, sed coelesti munere sunt consequuti). Battus replies that people must not wait for the Holy Spirit to enlighten them but ought to strive after knowledge on their own initiative, and cites St. Augustine to confirm this thesis. At this the mayor cites a passage from the Gospel in which Christ tells his disciples that they ought not to fear to speak in the presence of kings, as not they will be speaking but the Holy Spirit: 'Dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini, neque enim vos estis

qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis.' In reply Batt states that Christ did not intend to frighten his disciples away from learning; he was only trying to give them courage for that moment when they, uneducated people, would have to speak in the presence of kings. Later he states that it is impious (impium) to wait in idleness for wisdom to come down to us from Heaven: 'impium est ... apostolorum more sapientiam e nubibus ociosos expectare.' The Holy Spirit increases only that which we have achieved through our own efforts. Finally the mayor expresses yet one more doubt, citing a passage from St. Bernard, who states that his teachers were oaks and beech trees ('se quercubus et fagis vsum pro magistris'). Batt treats the mayor's remarks with humor. He cites Socrates' opinion that he learned nothing from trees, only from people, and says that in speaking in this manner St. Bernard was merely imitating the poets, who look for out-of-the-way woods and springs when writing verses. The mayor puts forward his final objection: the Holy Spirit did not give any of the apostles a knowledge of secular literature, dialectics, rhetoric or poetry, and most certainly would have done so had he thought there was a need for it. Batt agrees with this statement; indeed the Holy Spirit did not give any of them this knowledge, but on the other hand, neither did he take it away from anyone, e.g., he did not take it away from St. Paul, and yet he most certainly would have done so had he thought this knowledge harmful. With this Batt's conclusions come to an end. He claims that he has defeated one category of opponents; it remains to destroy the arguments of those who claim that a Christian ought not to concern himself with eloquence but that task is more difficult. Batt would rather that someone else, someone more capable than he take this task upon himself. The participants in the dialogue do not agree to this. At that moment a boy from the villa of the mayor appears with an invitation to dinner and encourages them to hurry lest the dinner should spoil; the mayor's wife is waiting impatiently. Everyone moves in the direction of the mayor's villa; the mayor declares that the discussion will continue in his garden after dinner.

When Erasmus showed his dialogue to Robert Gaguin in Paris in the autumn of 1495, the Parisian humanist, among the many praises that he showered on Erasmus, made two objections: too long an introduction and too great a role given to Batt (Ep. 46, l. 32): 'Protendis longiuscule prohemium et Battum primas partes agentem, quod absque interlocutore longiusculus sit quippiam forte reprehendet', and set up Plato's and Cicero's dialogues as models. These charges are only partially justified, and wishing to defend himself Erasmus could very easily cite Cicero, especially his dialogue *De oratore*, where the introductions to the individual books are rather long and where the speeches of Antonius or Crassus are fairly lengthy and interrupted by the remarks of the interlocutors only from time to time. The very fact that the conversation took place at a country manor under a pear tree in the garden, and that Erasmus orders cushions to be brought so that the participants in the dialogue might

be more comfortable, resembles greatly the scene of the dialogue in *De oratore*; Batt's long speech, only intermittently interrupted, resembles the speeches of Antonius and Crassus. Just as in Cicero's dialogue, the interlocutors speak up mainly when Batt's speech appears to be coming to an end; by putting forth objections they give Batt material by which to combat the arguments of the opponents of pagan literature. Thus the livelier parts of the dialogue are to be found only at the end of parts I, II and III of Batt's. For when Batt approached the end of part I in which he combatted his opponents by means of 'validissimae rationes' and disposed of their arguments when they cited the opinion of St. Paul, 'scientia inflat', to support their thesis, the doctor enters the conversation and Batt's discussion with him closes part I of Batt's argumentation. Similarly, the second part of Batt's speech, in which he deals with the opponents' charges based on passages from the Gospel, closes with a livelier dialogue between Batt and the other participants in which they express their wonder at Batt's reasoning. It is the same at the end of part III when the mayor makes new objections after Batt has finished his argumentation. Thus part I closes with the objections of the doctor, part III with the objections of the mayor. Herman and Erasmus<sup>45</sup> speak up the least often. However, not only the scene and the outline of the dialogue are modelled on Cicero's *De oratore*. The light humorous vein in which the participants speak to one another (principally in the introductory part, but also in the short interruptions of the interlocutors during Batt's speech) also greatly resembles the tone of the conversation in Cicero's dialogue. It must be added that according to the conclusion of the work, the discussion was to continue in the afternoon, just as in *De oratore*. Unfortunately, the second book, which contained this discussion, was lost. Finally, it must be emphasized that the introductory part of the dialogue was marked by great liveliness and naturalness in the first version already, and in this respect resembled the later *Colloquia familiaria* and other works. It can be stated that although Erasmus did not succeed in equalling Plato (and in this Gaguin was correct), he most certainly equalled Cicero, whom he took as his model.

Let us turn now to a discussion of the differences between the first version (Halsteren 1494-1495, in the Gouda manuscript) and the second (published in 1520). When the Gouda manuscript was still unknown Paul Mestwerdt<sup>46</sup> assumed that the attacks against the Mediaeval school were sharper in the first version and were toned down in the second one. The discovery of the Gouda manuscript not only destroyed Mestwerdt's hypothesis, but also revealed that the situation was quite the reverse. The tone of the attacks not only was not

<sup>45</sup> In the first version Erasmus spoke more often; in the second version some of Erasmus' remarks were put into the mouth of Batt. Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 61, n. 40.

<sup>46</sup> P. Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus: Humanismus und 'Devotio moderna'*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 248: 'So ist anzunehmen, das er die ursprünglichen Gedanken eher gemildert als verschärft hat.'

softened, but on the contrary in 1518–1519 it was considerably sharpened. It is now much easier to trace these changes thanks to the publication of Hyma's book in 1930, where both versions were placed side by side. As our edition is also a parallel edition of the two versions (though in contrast to Hyma's edition, which presents the Gouda version with Beatus Rhenanus' edition of 1540, our edition presents the Gouda version set against the 1520 edition and the following), and as Pfeiffer<sup>47</sup> has written a very good study of the two versions, we shall limit ourselves to only a few examples, referring the reader to the critical notes of our edition. Thus, for example, in the introductory remarks of the mayor Erasmus added the sharp statement that the abbots intentionally desire to hold the monks in ignorance as they prefer to rule sheep rather than people: (p. 47, l. 25) 'Atque hinc est quod abbatum vulgus hodie nihil magis cavet quam ne monachi altius penetrent ad bonas disciplinas. Malunt enim ovibus quam hominibus imperare nec ob aliud malunt nisi quia facilius est'<sup>48</sup>, whereas the monks themselves were described as follows (this passage did not appear in the first version): 'Mox cum hi quoque supercilio turgidi ad luxum sese verterent, neglectis linguis, neglecta antiquitate, nata est nescio quae perturbata doctrina et prorsus inerudita eruditio qua non solum humanae disciplinae verumetiam ipsa theologia miseris modis vitiata fuit.' Even sharper passages about stupid monks who lead dissipated lives, together with the names of the Minorites, the Jacobites and the Carmelites were introduced twice into Batt's speech; once in his first speech (p. 57, l. 16), the second time in his long speech where he tells of the concubines of specific orders (p. 74, l. 20–p. 75, l. 17). It is worth mentioning also that the pejorative term 'ptocho-tyranni'<sup>49</sup> was not introduced until the second version.

As far as alterations are concerned, it must be stressed that the introduction to part I of the dialogue underwent the greatest expansion. Erasmus tried to extend it by adding many details which would better describe the people who appear in the dialogue, picture the calm atmosphere of the area in which the dialogue takes place, and accentuate even more the humorous vein in which the dialogue is conducted. In one place only was the original text of this part shortened, namely, that part which praised Erasmus' oldest friend, William Herman (p. 38, l. 20).

It is obvious that during the period between 1494–1495 and 1520 Erasmus' erudition grew.<sup>50</sup> True in 1494–1495 he already knew St. Augustine and Jerome quite well; he therefore did not increase the number of quotations from their works in the second version. On the other hand, in the new version he added the names of the Greek fathers of the Church, Basil and Chrysostomus (p. 78, l. 16), where originally he had named only Augustine; the names of

<sup>47</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 60–64.

<sup>48</sup> A paragraph of similar content was also added in *Antib.* p. 101, l. 18–24.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 62.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 64, n. 48.



Basil, Origenes and Chrysostomus were similarly added in another passage (p. 96, l. 6), and those of Hilary and Gregory in yet another (p. 125, l. 3, 5). The situation is the same with the attacks on Mediaeval grammarians; they appeared in the first version already and were directed against Alexander de Villa Dei, Graecista and Ebrardus, Mammetrectus and Catholicon. In the second version there are two places (p. 58, l. 11; p. 61, l. 16 sq.) in which Erasmus added attacks against Modista and the Breviloquus of Johannes de Mera.<sup>51</sup>

The title, too, underwent a change. In the first version it read *Liber apologeticus Desiderii Herasmi Roterodami in quo refelluntur rationes inepte barbarorum contra poesim et literaturam secularem pugnantium*; in the second, *Antibarbarorum liber primus autore Des. Erasmo Roterodamo*. In the meantime, as we see, Erasmus' name also underwent a change. In the first version it reads (constantly) Herasmus<sup>52</sup>, in the second, Erasmus. Classical literature, which Erasmus is defending, also underwent a change in name; in the first version he most often speaks of 'litterae seculares' or 'literatura gentilis'; in the second the adjective 'seculares' is replaced by 'bonae', 'humanae', 'liberales' or 'elegantiores', 'politiores'<sup>53</sup> or 'profanae'. In Erasmus' later period 'secularis' is the name which the enemies of literature use, perhaps this is why he discarded it and introduced other definitions. In general he also tries to remove the adjective 'gentilis' from the second version, replacing it with the synonyms 'ethnicus' (82, 2; 112, 21; 117, 6; 129, 18) or 'prophanus' (130, 28), which he considered more elegant.

Turning to a discussion of the minor stylistic corrections, we shall only touch upon examples. Some of them were inserted to make the sentences more flowing, e.g., insertion of 'esse' in acc. c. inf. constructions (84, 28; 120, 5) which were lacking in the first version, the addition of the missing 'est' (76, 25; 102, 2; 116, 3), the addition of 'es' (101, 14), 'vt' (86, 7), 'inquam' (84, 21; 117, 11), 'inquit' (96, 7), 'inquires' (95, 9), 'interloquens' (129, 18), 'enim' several times (102, 4; 102, 28; 131, 27) 'quidem' (101, 8), 'quoque' (100, 5). To this same category belongs the addition of 'ne' to interrogative sentences: 'idcirco' (86, 21) was changed to 'idcirco ne'; 'nulli' (86, 29) to 'nulli ne'; 'Non' to 'Non ne' (99, 5), as well as the attempt to create more elegant forms of opening sentences. In this way, e.g., the member, 'Vera sunt fere quae narras, sed' (101, 24), which was lacking in the first version, was added to the beginning of the doctor's interruption. Besides these examples, illustrative of a tendency to give greater fluency to the sentences, there occurs another, which consists in substituting for the originally used word one that better expresses the thought of the writer. In this way the word 'religiosos' was replaced by the more ironical and more expressive 'religiosulos' (86, 1), the word 'miror' by the word 'admiror' (97, 5), better in this instance, 'affert' by 'approbat' (113, 17), the expres-

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 64, n. 52.

<sup>52</sup> The form Erasmus appears for the first time in 1506. Cf. Allen, Ep. 1, n. 1. tit.

<sup>53</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 64.

sion 'mutis animalibus mutiores' by 'mutis piscibus mutiores' (77, 1), the expression 'obscure' by 'subobscure ac perplexe' (124, 20). There also occurs a substitution for words used in the first version by words which Erasmus obviously considered (and most often rightly so) more elegant, e.g., replacement of 'Nempe' by 'Nimirum' (83, 6), 'palliandam' by 'tegendam' (106, 11), 'instincti' by 'instructi' (132, 26; 134, 7), 'dona linguarum' by 'linguarum dotem' (91, 7). Other stylistic changes introduced into the second version were made so as to better accentuate the thoughts of the writer and set them off by means of rhetorical figures. This was accomplished by changing the title: 'Absurde reprehendi quippiam quod ab ethnicis inventum' to the more expressive title 'Absurde reprehendi quippiam non ob aliud nisi quod ab ethnicis inventum' (79, 1); using the more emphatic beginning 'Atqui nihil' instead of the ordinary 'Non' (80, 18), expanding the ordinary 'certe viderent' to 'certe viderent quod vel caeco apparet, viderent' (81, 22), the addition of 'vere' (83, 24), changing the sentence 'non tantum ad aequales ad finitimos, verum ad peregrinos' to 'non tantum ad aequales, non tantum ad finitimos, verum etiam ad peregrinos' (103, 24). Sometimes Erasmus was concerned with making a statement stronger or weaker. For this reason, for example, he changed the original 'certe' to 'propemodum' (83, 9). At times the passage was made stronger by the addition of ironical remarks. We shall cite a few sentences from the passage on ancient inventions as an example (79, 23): 'Aerariam fabricam nemo exerceat, hanc Chalybes monstrasse tradunt. Figulinam Choroebus, sutrinam Boethus, fulloniam Niceas, textoriam Aegyptii, tinctoriam Lydi.' This passage was expanded by the addition of ironic phrases and now reads: 'Figulinam Choroebus, ferientur figuli. Sutrinam Boethus quidam, nemo Christianus consuat calceum. Fulloniam Niceas, nemo sordes vestium eluat. Textoriam Aegyptii, redeamus ad ferarum pelles. Tinctoriam Lydi, nemo lanam ab ove detonsam fuco adulteret.' Finally, it must be added that Erasmus changed the word order in nearly 40 places: 63, 27; 63, 28; 63, 30; 64, 8; 64, 14; 66, 2; 70, 1; 73, 12; 73, 22; 74, 5; 78, 1; 78, 14; 81, 2; 82, 20; 83, 22; 85, 30; 88, 14; 95, 7; 95, 22; 95, 27; 96, 24; 97, 4; 99, 14; 100, 24; 101, 9; 101, 32; 102, 3; 104, 11; 106, 9; 112, 3; 117, 5; 117, 6; 119, 5; 119, 8; 120, 32; 123, 18; 123, 20; 126, 18; 127, 16; 131, 1; 131, 12; 131, 24; 132, 5; 133, 3; 135, 22. These changes concern, i.a., two changes in the order of the genitive: 81, 2 instead of 'damnatione ethnicorum' there appears 'ethnicorum damnatione'; 95, 7 'linguarum dotem' instead of 'dona linguarum'. 'Opinor', which was inserted, was moved twice (73, 22; 123, 18), 'inquit' (74, 5) and 'inquiens' (82, 20) were moved once, 'quoque' twice (64, 14; 133, 3), 'potius' once (135, 22), 'paulo' once (64, 6), 'enim' once (70, 29), the pronoun 'mihi' was twice moved closer to the predicate (78, 1): 'mihi literaturam comparauero' was changed to 'literaturam mihi comparauero'; 'mihi distributae videntur' changed to 'distributae mihi videntur' (83, 22). The same happened to 'sibi': 102, 22 'sibi laudem pollicetur' was changed to 'laudem sibi pollicetur'. A more

natural word order was introduced several times (e.g., 66, 2; 131, 12; 136, 20); in order to achieve a chiasmic word order 112, 3–4 the original ‘nonnulla proposuisse et aliqua respondisse’ was changed to ‘proposuisse nonnulla et aliqua respondisse’.

Having discussed the changes made by Erasmus while preparing *Antibarbari* for its first publication in 1519–1520, we ought to discuss briefly the Gouda manuscript which contains the first version, and the 10 printed editions of the second version which appeared during Erasmus’ lifetime. I have already spoken of the Gouda manuscript written in 1519 (cf. p. 24 sqq). I should only like to remind the reader that it is found at the end of Vol. IX of Erasmus’ edition of *Opera Hieronymi* which was put out by Froben in Basel in 1516. This volume, together with the manuscript, is in the Municipal library in Gouda. The manuscript has been described by Hyma.<sup>54</sup> Next to the first hand, which is responsible for the main body of the manuscript – and which wrote the copy of Ep. 37 on fol. 204<sup>vo</sup> – there appears a second, later hand, which introduces corrections and additions into the first version on the basis of the second printed version. The first hand (*MS*<sup>1</sup>), dating from 1519, gives the first version of Erasmus’ work. The orthography differs greatly from that used in the printed editions. *MS*<sup>1</sup> almost always writes ‘nichil’, ‘qum’, ‘qur’, ‘quotiens’, ‘totiens’, ‘aliquotiens’ (later corrected by the second hand to ‘quoties’, ‘toties’, ‘aliquoties’). Erasmus’ name consistently reads Herasmus, and William’s, Guilmus (in the second version, Guilhelmus). The first hand almost always writes ‘hii’, ‘hiis’ (in the printed editions ‘hi’, ‘his’), ‘vmquam’ (in the printed editions, ‘vnquam’), ‘vtrimque’ (in the printed editions, ‘vtrinque’), ‘auctor’ (in the printed editions, usually ‘author’). Very often instead of ‘ne’ the first hand writes ‘nec’ (the second hand corrects it to ‘ne’), it always uses the abbreviation ‘res p.’, almost always ‘immo’ (in the printed editions, usually ‘imo’), always ‘clipeus’ (in the printed editions, ‘clypeus’); on the other hand *MS*<sup>1</sup> writes ‘pyrus’ (instead of ‘pirus’), ‘archanus’ (instead of ‘arcanus’), ‘ydoneus’ (instead of ‘idoneus’). The orthography of words derived from Greek is also different from that of the printed editions. Thus, in the Gouda manuscript we consistently read ‘Achademia’, ‘ydolum’, ‘ydolatria’, ‘enthimema’, ‘sillogismus’, ‘caracteres’, ‘Calybes’, ‘Caldei’, ‘misteria’, ‘mistica’, ‘dyalogus’, ‘dyalectica’, ‘dyabolicus’, ‘Hyppocraticus’, ‘cathalogus’, ‘scola’, ‘scolasticus’, ‘phisica’, ‘Chrisippus’, ‘Israhel’, ‘Israheliticus’, ‘Gorgyas’ etc. In certain words the orthography wavers: next to the more often ‘michi’ we also have ‘mihi’, next to ‘Solomon’ we also have ‘Salomon’, ‘litera’ and ‘littera’. Diphthongs are consistently not observed: ‘ae’ and ‘oe’ are always written ‘e’.

The second, later hand (*MS*<sup>2</sup>) corrects the first version according to the second printed version. It makes these corrections either by writing the words of the second version between the lines of the first, or else, if there is no room,

<sup>54</sup> A. Hyma, pp. 239–241.

in the margin of the text, sometimes (but not always) noting in the text where the words of the second version ought to be written in. The second hand is not always consistent, however; several times it forgot to 'correct' some word in the first version according to the printed version, so that the original word remains 'uncorrected'. Sometimes the second hand merely writes the words of the second version between the lines, sometimes, however, it also crosses out the words of the first version. However, as the first hand also crosses out certain words, there are times (few, to be sure) when it is difficult to determine whether the original was crossed out by the first or the second hand. Neither is it an easy task to determine which printed edition the second hand (*MS*<sup>2</sup>) made use of. It is my opinion that it made use of Froben's first Basel edition printed in 1520. I arrive at this conclusion on the basis of the following reasoning: *MS*<sup>2</sup> most certainly did not make use of the 1520 Cologne edition (*C*), the Deventer 1520 edition (*D*) or the 1524 Cologne edition (*H*), for these editions are, as it will later appear, very closely connected with one another. They have a number of common errors, none of which is repeated in *MS*<sup>2</sup>. For these very same reasons *MS*<sup>2</sup> could not have made use of Knobloch's editions (*E* 1520, *F* 1521, *G* 1522, *I* 1527) which have certain common features which do not appear in *MS*<sup>2</sup>. By the nature of things then only the three Basel editions would remain to be examined: May 1520 (*A*), December 1520 (*B*) and 1535 (*K*)<sup>55</sup>. Of these three editions, the 1535 edition must be discarded, as it contains quite a lot of corrections in the text in relation to all the previous editions, corrections unknown to the second hand (*MS*<sup>2</sup>). In my opinion what speaks in favour of the first edition (*A*) is the sentence from Juvenalis quoted by Erasmus 58, 21, where *MS*<sup>2</sup> repeats the error 'glaciabilem' just as in edition *A*. In the December edition (*B*) the error 'glaciabilem' was corrected to 'glaciale' <sup>56</sup>.

Let us now turn to a discussion of the printed editions, which represent the second redaction of the text. The first edition, (*A*), as is well known, was printed by Froben in Basel with the date May 1520. (Actually it was distributed only in August after the preface was received and printed.) The title page reads: *Antibarbarorum D. Erasmi Roterodami, liber vnus, quem iuuenis quidem adhuc lusit: caeterum diu desideratum, demum repertum non iuuenis recognouit et velut postliminio studiosis restituit. Ex quo reliquorum, qui dijs propicijs propediem accedent, lector coniecturam facias licebit. Basileae apud Io. Frobenium an. M.D.XX.* The preface to Sapidus which did not appear in the first version is found on pp. 3-6 and the text itself on pp. 9-150. On page 151 we read: 'BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IOANNIS FROBENII MENSE MAIO, ANNO M.D.XX.'

The May edition (*A*) was quickly sold out, judging by the fact that Froben

<sup>55</sup> It is characteristic that *MS*<sup>2</sup> repeats the error (p. 48, l. 24) *pertinet*, which appears only in the Basel *ABK* editions.

<sup>56</sup> It is true that the correct lection 'glaciale' appears also in *C D H* and *K*, but these editions do not enter into consideration as *MS*<sup>2</sup> nowhere gives very characteristic lections for these editions.

published edition *B* as soon after as December, 1520. The title page of this edition is identical with that of the May edition. The preface to Sapidus is found on pp. 3–6: ‘Erasmi Roterodami in Antibarbaros praefatio’, on pp. 7–147, the text. On page 147 we read: ‘Antibarbarorum Libri Primi Autore. D. Erasmo Roterodamo FINIS’. Next we read: ‘BASILEAE APVD IOAN. FROBEN. MENSE XBRI ANNO M.D.XX.’ This edition is a re-print of the May edition. No essential changes were introduced; as far as I could ascertain in only two places: 58, 21 ‘glaciabilem’ was corrected to ‘glaciale’; 60, 7 the incorrect ‘Angeae’ to ‘Augeae’. I also noticed only a few orthographic changes such as, e.g., 42, 15 ‘negociorum’ (*A*) to ‘negotiorum’ (*B*) (and from then on in all the editions); on the other hand, 53, 25 ‘concionatoribus’ (all other editions ‘contionatoribus’) and 72, 9 ‘convicium’ (all other editions ‘convitium’) remained.

Besides these two editions, authorized by Erasmus, there appeared three unauthorized<sup>57</sup> editions: the Cologne edition (*C*), the Deventer edition (*D*) and the Strassburg (*E*). Let us discuss the first two, the Cologne (*C*) and the Deventer (*D*) editions, as well as the 1524 Cologne edition (*H*), which is a re-print of edition *C*, leaving aside the Strassburg (*E*) edition for the moment.

The 1520 Cologne edition (*C*) has a title page similar to that of the editions *A* and *B*. It contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. On the last page we read: ANTIBARBARORVM LIBRI PRIMI AVTORE D. ERASMO. FINIS. COLONIAE ANNO DOMINI M.D.XX.

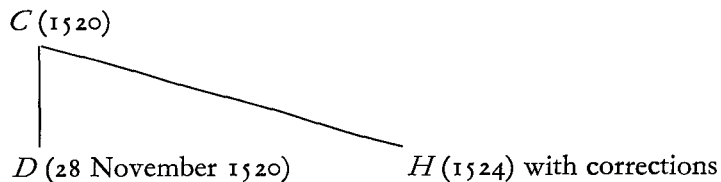
The 1520 Deventer edition (*D*) has a title page similar to that of the editions *A B C*. At the bottom of the title page we find: ‘Venumdatum Dauentriae in aedibus Theodorici de Borne’. It contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. At the end we read: ‘Impressum Dauentriae in aedibus Theodorici de Borne. anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo die vigesimo octavo novembris.’

The 1524 Cologne edition (*H*), being a corrected re-print of edition *C* (Cologne, 1520), has a title page similar to that of the editions *A B C D*. It contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. On the last page we read: ‘Antibarbarorum Libri primi, autore D. Erasmo Roterodamo, Finis. Impressum Coloniae Anno Domini M.D.XXIII.’

A number of errors which appear only in these three editions indicates that they depend on one another very much. The following is a list of the most characteristic of their common errors: the omissions 45, 21 om. ‘nos’; 53, 7 om. ‘principis – tractant’; 54, 18 om. ‘malae’; 56, 26 om. ‘hoc’; 59, 15 om. ‘quid’; 68, 18 om. ‘ipse’; 62, 20 om. ‘iam’; 64, 21 om. ‘tam’; 69, 17 om. ‘in’; the additions 84, 5 ‘<solo> suo’; 130, 3 ‘<quoniam> excerptit’; re-ordering of words 87, 26 ‘se inter’ (instead of ‘inter se’); 102, 23 ‘sanus sibi’ (instead of ‘sibi sanus’). Characteristic errors: 47, 31 ‘praesides’ (instead of

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 1110.

'praesules'); 67, 21 'mouebant' (instead of 'mouebunt'); 88, 11 'comparabimus' (instead of 'comparauerimus'); 97, 8 'inter' (instead of 'intra'). In one place only was the correct reading 129, 3 'probatae' retained in them (in all other editions, the incorrect 'probitate'). Characteristic of these editions only is the orthography 'otium', 'negotium', 'stultitia', 'vafritiem', 'mollities' and 'auaritia'. It is difficult to solve the problem of which of these two editions (*C* and *D*) appeared first. Since the Deventer edition, apart from the errors common to *C* also, has in several places the more correct reading (cf., e.g., 52, 21 where *C* has the incorrect 'vigilent', *D* the correct 'vigilant'), and since it did not appear until 28 November 1520, it can be assumed, though not proved, that the Cologne edition is an earlier one and was the basis for the Deventer edition. It is much easier to determine the relation of the 1524 Cologne edition (*H*) to the 1520 Cologne edition (*C*). It is merely a corrected re-print of the earlier one. Although it repeats many errors characteristic of *C* and *D* (cf. above), there are places where these errors were corrected in *H*, e.g., 53, 8 incorrect 'fugiendum' in *C* and *D* was corrected to 'fingendum'; 53, 20 'vt si mores', incorrect in *C* and *D*, 'vt mores' in *H*; 53, 21 'quamquam', incorrect in *C* and *D*, correct 'quantum' in *H*; 54, 36 'criminantur', incorrect in *C* and *D*, 'criminamur' in *H*; 61, 10 incorrect 'inscita' in *C* and *D*, 'insita' in *H*. The relation of these three editions can be illustrated by the following diagram<sup>58</sup>:



In September of 1520 there appeared yet another unauthorized edition of *Antibarbari* in Strassburg by Knobloch (*E*). The title page was similar to that of the above-mentioned editions. At the bottom of the title page, we find: 'ARGENTINAE APVD IO. KNOBLOVCHIVM ANNO M. D. XX.' It contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. At the end we read: 'ANTI-BARBARORVM LIBRI PRIMI Autore D. Erasmo Roterodamo. FINIS. MENSE SEPTEMBRI ANNO M.D.XX.' This edition contains a certain number of errors, most often orthographic, e.g., 36, 2 'degesseram' (instead of 'digesseram'), 50, 30 'clarius' (instead of 'charius'), 62, 18 'est' (instead of 'es'), 111, 31 'candorum' (instead of 'candorem') 118, 13 omission of 'ab'.

Knobloch's December 1521 edition (*F*) was based on this (*E*) edition. The title page is similar to those of the other editions. On its verso the imprint

<sup>58</sup> That *H* follows *C* and not *D* is borne out by the fact that it does not include the errors and lections which appear only in *D*. E.g., p. 41, l. 18, where *H*, just as *C* (and, in fact, all the editions) has 'quoties' and not 'quotiens', as appears in *D*.

reads: 'Argentinae apud Io. Knoblochium Anno M.D.XXI'. At the end: '*Antibarbarorum Libri Primi Autore D. Erasmo Roterodamo. Finis. Mense Decembri Anno M.D.XXI.*' A number of errors point to the fact that this edition is based on edition *E* as they appear only in these two editions, e.g., 50, 23 'quod minus' (instead of 'quo minus'); 52, 31 the omission of 'ne'; 68, 15 'rudis' (instead of 'rudes'); 103, 3 the omission of 'sacro'; 111, 31 'candorum' (instead of 'candorem'); 118, 4 'vinis' (instead of 'viuis'); 118, 13 the omission of 'ab'; 124, 2 'supplex' (instead of 'supellex'); 126, 17 'certe' (instead of 'recte'). Some of the errors in edition *E* were corrected in edition *F*, however, e.g., 36, 2 'digesseram' (instead of 'degesseram'); 50, 30 'clarius' was corrected to 'charius'. On the other hand, new errors appeared in edition *F*, which did not occur in *E*, e.g., 74, 24 'scorantes' (instead of 'scortantes'); 98, 32 the omission of 'nos inducunt'; 104, 15 'stupet' (instead of 'student').

In August 1522 Knobloch printed a third edition (*G*). The title page is again similar to those in the other editions. On the verso of the title page the imprint reads: 'Argentinae apud Ioan. Knoblochium, Anno M.D.XXII'. The edition contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. At the end: '*Antibarbarorum Libri Primi Autore D. Erasmo Roterodamo Finis. Mense Augusto Anno M.D.XXII.*' This edition is considerably better than the two preceding ones. The major portion of errors which appear in editions *E* and *F* were removed, as well as those errors which were new to *F*. The fact that in 98, 32 the words 'nos inducunt' were not omitted (omitted in *F*) would seem to point to *E* and not *F* as the basis of the new edition.

Five years later, in July 1527, Knobloch printed a fourth Strassburg edition (*I*). The title page is the same as in the other editions. At the bottom of the page we read: 'Argentinae apud Ioan. Knoblochium, Anno M.D.XXVII.' This edition contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. At the end we read: 'Antibarbarorum libri primi Autore D. Erasmo Roterodamo Finis. Argentorati Ioannes Knoblochus excudebat, Anno M.D.XXVII Mense Iulio.' This edition is based on the third edition (*G*). It does not contain either the errors characteristic of editions *E* and *F* or those which appear only in *F*. On the other hand, in several places there are repetitions of the misprints which appear only in *G*, which would seem to indicate that edition *G* was the basis for the printing of edition *I*. I present the following errors which appear only in *G* and *I* as an example: 119, 8 'alium' (instead of 'aliam'); 128, 3 'accederetur' (instead of 'accederet'); 136, 20 'perniciosus' (instead of 'perniciosas'). Several lections characteristic of all preceding Knobloch editions were also repeated in *I*, e.g., 118, 10 'praestrinxisse' (instead of 'perstrinxisse'); 133, 27 'ipsi' (instead of 'ipse'); 137, 28 'consultare' (instead of 'consulare').

Having discussed the unauthorized editions it would now be proper to take a look at the last authorized edition which appeared during Erasmus' lifetime, i.e., the 1535 Basel edition of Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius

(*K*). It is significant that Erasmus must have given up all hope of ever recovering the lost books of *Antibarbari*, as for the first time the title page does not include the words 'quem iuvenis ... licebit', and the title reads laconically in comparison with the other editions: '*Antibarbarorum Des. Erasmi Roterodami liber vnus.*' At the bottom of the page: 'Froben An. M.D.XXXV.' The edition contains the preface to Sapidus and the text of *Antibarbari*. At the end of the text we read: 'EXCVSVM BASILEAE IN OFFICINA FROBENIANA PER HIERONYMV M FROBENIVM AC NICOLAVM EPISCOPIVM ANNO M.D.XXXV MENSE AVGVSTO.' This edition is very important as it is the first to introduce a number of essential corrections into the text, which, the fact that it had already been printed nine times notwithstanding, still contained a number of obvious errors only now corrected by Erasmus, e.g., 37, 6 'deterrima' (instead of 'teterrima'); 46, 19 'singularum' (instead of 'singularium'; 'singularum' appears only in the *MS* and in *K*); 48, 32 'quadam' (instead of 'quaedam'; 'quadam' appears only in *C D K*); 56, 27 'stoliditate' (instead of 'soliditate'); 57, 24 'sint' (instead of 'sunt'); 62, 10 'nostrae' (instead of 'vestrae'); 62, 19 'Museis' (instead of 'Musis'); 71, 14 'pugnae' (instead of 'pugna'); 72, 17 'amaracino' (instead of 'amaricino'); 75, 17 'quo' (instead of 'qua'); 80, 6 'piis' (instead of 'impiis'); 86, 21 'sanctissimisque' (instead of 'scientissimisque'); 91, 23 'fit' (instead of 'fieret'); 94, 2 'in membrana' (instead of 'membrana'); 94, 18 'conscientia' (instead of 'scientia'); 95, 21 'potest' (instead of 'non potest'); 109, 24 'nolunt' (instead of 'volunt'); 113, 7 'Epicuro' (instead of 'Epicureo'); 114, 9 'retractationumque' (instead of 'retractionumque'); 122, 22 'Falso' (instead of 'Falsa'); 127, 17 'chronica' (instead of 'chronicas'); 128, 1 the addition of 'ac'; 131, 8 'illabatur' (instead of 'elabatur'); 131, 14 the addition of 'vt'; 135, 1 'quae' (instead of 'qui'); 136, 27 'excitare' (instead of 'exercitare'). It may be added that here for the first time the proper name 'Magnus' (111, 27) is written with a capital letter, as is the word 'Euangelia', while the title of the Medieval grammar reads 'Mammetreptus', and not 'Mammetrectus'. It is true that in some places there is some doubt as to whether these corrections are conscious corrections, or whether they are merely misprints. Thus, for example, in 79, 15 where the earlier editions (*A-I*) give the reading 'nos', in *K* we read 'vos'; both readings make sense, thereby making it difficult to determine which is the correct one. It is the same in 105, 14, where the earlier editions (*A-I*) have 'erit', whereas edition *K* has 'erat'. Unfortunately, besides the absolutely certain correction of the text, undoubtedly made by Erasmus, there are in this edition new misprints, which did not appear in the previous editions, and which were passed on to the 1540 Basel edition (*BAS*) and from it to edition *LB*. These errors are the following: 35, 6 the omission of 'me'; 51, 33 'curantur' (instead of 'curentur'); 52, 16 'vel qui' (instead of the correct 'qui vel'); 53, 33 'deportetur' (instead of 'deportatur'); 57, 17 'sit' (instead of 'fit'); 79, 20 the omission of 'ne fornicibus'; 89, 2 the omission of 'nisi'; 90, 20 the omission of 'se'; 98, 32 the omission of 'nos inducunt' (this



omission also occurred in *F*); 99, 14 the omission of 'isti'; 100, 17 'dico' (instead of 'edico'); 103, 3 'sacrilegio' (instead of 'sacrilegii'); 103, 3 the omission of 'sacro'; 104, 15 'stupent' (instead of 'student'); 122, 21 'et' (instead of 'etsi'); 131, 6 'spiritibus' (instead of 'spiritus'). It is an interesting thing that some of the errors (51, 33; 89, 2; 98, 32; 104, 15) had already found their way into the 1521 Strassburg edition (*F*).

All of Erasmus' corrections which appear in the 1535 edition (*K*), and almost all the misprints in that edition were repeated in Vol. IX (pp. 1388-1432) of Erasmus' Opera, printed by Froben in 1540 (*BAS*). I noticed only a few changes: 37, 12 the original 'e Germania' was changed to 'a Germania'; 38, 12 'defugiendi' was corrected to 'defugiendae' (as it was in *MS* and *C D H*); and 119, 24 'in hac re' (instead of 'hac in re'). The most important change was 64, 13 from Erasmus to Battus (cf. Pfeiffer 61, n. 40). Here too there appeared two new errors which did not appear in the previous editions: 106, 1 'oportet' (instead of 'oporteat') and 131, 23 'libris' (instead of 'libros'). The fact that these last two errors (together with all the corrections and errors which appear in *K* and the 1540 edition) are found also in the Leclerc 1703-1706 edition (*LB*) in Vol. X (1690-1744), indicates that in this edition the *Antibarbari* text is based on the 1540 edition.

In conclusion I should like to make a few remarks about the present edition. Since in the first part of the text the original version as it came down in the Gouda manuscript (*MS*<sup>1</sup>) greatly differs from the text of the second redaction, represented by the printed editions (*A B C D E F G H I K*), it was decided to print this first part of the work (*LB* 1693 B-1701 A) in both redactions: the upper half of the page will present the text of the Gouda manuscript, the lower half, the text according to the second redaction. The text of the second edition will be printed alone from 1701 A where the differences are no longer so great, and the readings of the first redaction (*MS*<sup>1</sup>) will be listed in the critical notes. The lections of the second hand of the Gouda manuscript (*MS*<sup>2</sup>) will also be listed in the critical notes. Listing the lections of the second hand (*MS*<sup>2</sup>) in the first part would excessively burden the critical notes; it is also unnecessary to do so as the readings of *MS*<sup>2</sup> coincide with those of the second redaction, of which the first part is printed in its entirety in our edition: thus only those few lections of *MS*<sup>2</sup>, part one, which do not coincide with the second redaction will be listed.

As concerns the second redaction itself, there is no great difficulty involved in arriving at a correct text. The text must be based on the early Basel editions authorized by Erasmus (*A B*) and on the text of edition *K*, also authorized, which introduced a number of essential changes into the text. A number of misprints which came about in the *K* edition (and were inherited by the 1540 Froben edition, and passed on to the Leclerc 1703-1706 edition) can easily be removed by returning to the good readings of editions *A* and *B*. The errors in *A* and *B*, on the other hand, can be corrected by using edition *K*. It must be

emphasized that in several places good lections are to be found only in the Gouda manuscript (*MS*). Although a good text of *Antibarbari* can be established on the basis of the three authorized editions mentioned above and on the basis of the Gouda manuscript, I have also taken into account in the critical notes unauthorized editions, which are divided into two groups with lections characteristic of one group and the other. The first group is made up of editions *C D H*, the second, of the Strassburg editions (*E F G I*). A consideration of these editions will not excessively burden the critical apparatus, and will, in my opinion, be a rather interesting contribution to the history of Erasmus' text in the 16th century. It is interesting to note that certain correct lections are found for the first time in the unauthorized editions, cf., e.g., the correct lection 48, 32 'quadam' (instead of 'quaedam') which first appeared in editions *C D* and later in *K*; 83, 13 the correct 'memoriam' (instead of 'memoria') appears already in *D*; 127, 17 the correct 'chronica' (instead of 'chronicas') appears already in *C D H*; the correct 'probatae' 129, 3 appears only in editions *C D H*.

As concerns the orthography, in general I kept to that of editions *A B* and *K*.



## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

*MS*<sup>1</sup>: first handwriting of the Gouda manuscript.

*MS*<sup>2</sup>: second handwriting of the Gouda manuscript.

*A-K* = *A B C D E F G H I K*.

*A*: ed. pr. Basil., I. Froben, mense Maio 1520 (*BB* 286).

*B*: ed. Basil., I. Froben, mense Decembri 1520 (*BB* 289).

*C*: ed. Coloniae, 1520 [Ceruicornus] (*BB* 290).

*D*: ed. Dauentriae, Th. de Borne, 28 Novembris 1520 (*BB* 288; *NK* 776).

*E*: ed. Argentinae, I. Knobloch, mense Septembri 1520 (*BB* 287).

*F*: ed. Argentinae, I. Knobloch, mense Decembri 1521 (*BB* 291).

*G*: ed. Argentinae, I. Knobloch, mense Augusto 1522 (*BB* 292).

*H*: ed. Coloniae, 1524 (*BB* 293).

*I*: ed. Argentinae, I. Knobloch, mense Iulio 1527 (*BB* 294).

*K*: ed. Basil., H. Froben et Nic. Episcopus, mense Augusto 1535 (*BB* 295).

*BAS*: ed. Basil., H. Froben Opera, Vol. IX, pp. 1388–1432.

Miram quandam esse naturae vim atque ἐνέργειαν vel hinc colligo, Sapide charissime, quod cum me puero prorsus exularent ludis literariis bonae literae, cum deessent librorum ac praeceptorum subsidia, cum nullus honos adderet ingenio calcar imo cum passim omnes ab his studiis detererent et ad alia com- 5 pellerent, me tamen non iudicium, quod mihi tum per aetatem esse non poterat, sed naturae sensus quidam ad Musarum sacra velut afflatum rapiebat. Inuisos habebam quoscunque noueram humanioribus studiis infensos. Adamabam quos eadem delectabant, qui in his aliquid opinionis sibi parassent, eos ceu numina 10 quaedam venerabar ac suspiciebam. Huius animi ne senem quidem adhuc poenitet. Non quod aliorum studia damnem, quae mihi non perinde placuerunt, sed quod intelligam quam frigida, manca caecaque sit eruditio, si quis Musarum detrahat praesidia. Caeterum dictu pudendum quam hanc longe optimam doctrinae portionem stolidè contemnant quidam poetriam appellantes, quicquid ad 15 vetustam ac politioem literaturam pertinet. Hi cum mihi puero satis odiose facessent negotium meque a meis amoribus depellerent, institueram ulcisci me calamo, sic tamen, ut nullius nomen perstringerem. Nondum annum vigesimum attigeram, cum hoc operis sum aggressus. Pauculis deinde post annis

1 ERASMVVS: *A-I*, Des. Erasmus *K* | 2 ἐνέργειαν: energeian *D*, energiam *E F G I K* | 6 me: *om. FK*

1 Ioannes Sapidus (Iohannes de Witz), 1490–1561, humanist and poet, author of Latin epigrams, epitaphs and dramas. Cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 323; E.-W. Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus* Bd. I, Basel, 1966, pp. 206–210 Exkurs, III.

14 Cf. Ep. 1007, l. 51: “Haec” inquit, “horrenda dictu nascuntur ex poetica”; nam hoc vocabulo traducunt quicquid est elegantioris doctrinae, hoc est quic-

quid ipsi non didicerunt.’ Cf. Epp. 1126, l. 335; 1153, l. 215; 1196, l. 450, 559.

17 *Nondum annum vigesimum* Before 28 October 1488. More generally in his letter to John Botzheim, Allen I, p. 19, l. 15: ‘Admodum adolescens aggressus sum Antibarbaros.’

18 *Pauculis deinde post annis* Spring 1494 or 1495.

visum est idem argumentum in dialogum retexere, quo lectio minus haberet taedii. Operis summam in quatuor libros digesseram. Primus refellebat ea, quae quidam, vel superstitiosi vel hypocritae religionis verius quam religiosi, solent nobis in os iacere. Secundus subornata persona, qualis est apud Platonem

5 Glauco, summis eloquentiae viribus vituperabat eloquentiam totamque rhetorices panopliam ex intimis illius armariis petitam in ipsam rhetorice expediebat adeo, vt felicitis memoriae Ioannes Coletus simulatque librum eum legisset,

LB 1692 serio mihi dixit in familiari colloquio: plane liber tuus mihi persuasit neglectum eloquentiae. Cumque monerem, suspenderet sententiam, donec audiret

10 eloquentiae patrocinantem, negabat a me posse dilui, quae intendissem. Tertius refellebat secundi voluminis argumenta, verum id nondum absolueram. Quartus agebat separatim causam poetices mihi puero tenere adamatae. Hunc nondum digesseram, sylua tantum ingens erat congesta operi futuro. Primum librum locupletaram Bononiae iam meditando aeditionem. Secundum emendam

15 relicturus Italiam, deposui apud Ricardum Pacaeum virum omni virtutum et ornamentorum genere cumulatum. Apud hunc vterque periit eorum videlicet culpa, quorum fidem vir syncerissimus e suis moribus aestimabat. Prioris libri iactura me sane leuiter mouit, quod nimium resiperet ingenium puerile. Et in hunc crassissima quaeque congesseram. Caeteros malebam superesse, sed aliter

20 visum est fucis istis, qui cum ipsi nihil praeclari moliantur, insidiantur alienis laboribus. Louanium ubi commigrassem, comperi primum librum, vt olim a me scriptus erat, latius esse sparsum, quam vt premi posset. Parum enim abfuerat, quin iam euulgatus fuerit a quibusdam, qui sedulo magis quam prudenter fauent Erasmo. Id nequando fieret, ipse recognitum librum typographis

25 commisi, cum alioqui perpetuo suppressum maluissem, praesertim cum hac de

2 digesseram: degesseram *E* | 10 a: apud *H*

5 *Glauco* One of the persons taking part in the Platonic dialogue *Respublica*. Erasmus has in mind Glaucon's speech in *Rep.* II, 358 b–362 c. Erasmus makes reference to the same passage, Ep. 26, l. 13 (letter to Gerard dated 1489): 'quem admodum apud Platonem Glauco vituperata iusticia Socratem ad iusticiae defensionem prouocat.' Cf. also Ep. 222, l. 34.

7 *Felicitis memoriae Ioannes Coletus* John Colet, 1466?–16 Sept. 1519, one of the leaders of the revival of learning in England from 1499 onwards, a close friend of Erasmus. Cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 106. Erasmus showed the first two books of *Antibarbari* to Colet either in 1499 or in 1505–1506. Cf. Allen, Ep. 30, n. l. 16. John Colet died 16 Sept. 1519.

14 *Bononiae* Erasmus was in Bologna from November 1506 to October 1507. Cf. J. Huizinga, *Erasmus* (deutsch von W. Kaegi), 4th ed., Basel, 1951, p. 72.

15 *deposui* At Ferrara on his way to Rome in the Spring of 1509. *Ricardum Pacaeum* Richard Pace, 1482?–July 1536. Cf. Allen, Ep. 211, n. l. 43.

16–17 *eorum videlicet culpa* Erasmus has in mind Thaleus (Thale) to whom Pace entrusted *Copia*, *De ratione studii* and *Antibarbari* before moving to Bologna. In spite of frequent appeals to Pace, the bulk of the compositions never reached Erasmus. Cf. our introduction, p. 11.

21 *Louanium ... commigrassem* Erasmus settled in Louvain in July 1517 and remained there, except for short breaks, until October 1521.

re prodiderit opus eruditum, acutum et expolitum Hermannus Buschius, cui titulum fecit, Vallum humanitatis. Sed tamen a nobis vtcunque recognitum exire malui, quam sic vt erat descriptus nempe deprauatissime. Addetur secundus, si licebit nancisci. Reliquum operis addetur e pectore nostro, nisi penes quos lateant nostri commentarioli, maluerint esse boni viri, quam alienarum vigiliarum furunculi. Quibus haec pars, quae totius operis deterrima est, non omnino displicet, aduigilent, vt caetera quoque peruestigentur. Eo libentius dabimus et alia quae nobis adhuc in schedis sunt indolata, velut opus de conscribendis epistolis. Interim tibi dicabitur hoc fragmentum, eruditissime Sapide, qui tuae ciuitatis iuuentutem | non minus diligenter instituis bonis moribus, quam bonis literis. Constanter perge quod coepisti, neque conquiescito, donec omnem barbariem pro tua virili e Germania nostra profligaris. Satis diu nos ipsos ignorauimus pene pro beluis habiti iis, qui sibi nihil non tribuunt. Bene vale. Louanii.

5

LB 1693

11

1 Hermannus: Hermanus *K* | 6 deterrima *K*: teterrima *A-I* | 12 e: a *BAS*

1 *Hermannus Buschius* or van dem Busche, 1468–April 1534, born in the castle at Sassenberg. He composed numerous works for the advancement of education and learning. His best-known work is *Vallum humanitatis*, Cologne, Nic. Scallinger, 12 April 1518. Cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 830 and Ep. 1110, n. l. 54 for his

relations with Erasmus.

10 *tuae ciuitatis* Schlettstadt, where Iohannes de Witz probably was born, and where he was known as a member of the literary circle to which Beatus Rhenanus Wimpfeling Volz and many others belonged.

LIBER APOLOGETICUS DESIDERII HERASMI ROTERODAMI in quo refel-  
luntur rationes inepte barbarorum contra poesim et literaturam secularem pug-  
nantium.

5 Cum adolescens admodum, pestilentie (que tum apud nostrates mirum in mo-  
dum seuiebat) defugiende studio Brabantico rure et salutari et ameno quan-  
dam quasi academiam mihi meisque edificarem, quod locus qum saluti tuende  
tum studiorum secessibus vel maxime ydoneus videretur – nam silentii habet  
plurimum, amenitatis etiam quantum philosopho satis esset fortassis et Musis; –  
hic igitur qum agerem, inuisit me Hermannus Guielmus, equalium meorum vnus

10 ANTIBARBARORUM LIBER PRIMUS AUTORE D. ERASMO ROTERODAMO.

Cum adolescens, pestilentiae quae tum apud nostrates inclementissime saeuiebat  
defugiendae studio, in rusculum quoddam Brabanticum me contulisset tum  
salubre tum amoenum, quod is locus non solum tuendae saluti verumetiam  
studiorum secessibus vel maxime videretur idoneus, hoc nomine vel Platonis  
15 Academia potior, quod ocio par, salubritate vinceret, cum illam pestilenti  
coelo fuisse legamus, hic praeter salubris aurae commendationem habebat et  
silentii plurimum, amoenitatis etiam quantum philosopho satis esset fortassis et  
Musis, quae lypidis fontibus ac ripis smaragdinis et opacis nemorum umbris  
delectari feruntur; – hic latitantem ac suauiter rusticantem praeter spem inuisit  
20 Hermannus Guilhelmus, tum aequalium meorum vnus

7 videretur – nam: videretur. Nam *MS* | 8–9 Musis; – hic: Musis. Hic *MS* | 10 D.: *A–I*, Des.  
*K* | 12 defugiendae: *CDH*, defugiendi *ABEFGIK* | 16 hic praeter salubris aurae com-  
mendationem habebat: hic vero salubris aurae commendatione polleret *MS*<sup>2</sup> in marg.

1 Cf. Allen, Ep. 1, n. for *Erasmus* and *Herasmus*.

5 *Brabantico rure* Halsteren near Bergen. Cf. Opmeer, *Opus Chronographicum*, Antwerp, 1611, I, p. 438: 'Dum Episcopus profectionem adornat, in castello Haltereno agri Bergensis libros Antibarbaro-

rum conscribit.' Cf. Allen, I, p. 588, n. 7.  
9 *Hermannus Guielmus* or William Herman of Gouda, one of Erasmus's best friends, 1461?–18 July 1510. See Allen, introd. Ep. 33. Erasmus praises him in his letters, Epp. 17, l. 53 sqq.; 28, l. 5.



et optimus et doctissimus et de quo dubitare possis, moribus ne sit amabilior an ingenio admirabilior; illis enim nichil candidius, hoc sublimius nichil. Sed a coniunctissimi hominis laude temperasse prestiterit, ne quid amici studio in amicum peccem. Peccarem autem, si virtutem eius eximiam mea predicatione eleuarem. Que enim ab amante vel inferiora vero dicuntur, amori potius quam iudicio tribui solent, et aut falsa aut minora putari. Verum nec mihi quidem ipse de Guielmo satis. Accedo integris, credo doctioribus qui quum multo minus ament plus videant, longe tamen audacius et predicant et mirantur. Cum hoc igitur a teneris (vt est in Greco prouerbio) vnguiculis singularis quedam charitas saneque iucunda studiorum societas accreuerat mihi cum ipsa prope etate, iis vinculis, ea fide conglutinata, vt nec Horresti Piladem nec Pirithoo Theseum nec Patroclo Achillem nec Damoni Pythiam nec Eurealo Nisum coniunctiorem fuisse crediderim. Ex huius ergo expectatissimo aduentu quum incredibilem cepissem voluptatem, ne hoc tanto bono solus adeo fruerer, communi amico

longe mihi charissimus,

quicum mihi a teneris (vt aiunt) vnguiculis singularis quaedam charitas saneque iucunda studiorum societas sic cum ipsa prope aetate accreuerat, ac penitus iis vinculis ea fide ea beneuolentia conglutinarat, vt nec Oresti Piladem nec Pirithoo Theseum nec Patroclo Achillem nec Damoni Pithiam nec Eurialo Nisum coniunctiorem fuisse crediderim. Adeo copulat arctius animos hominum puerilium studiorum communio quam vlla cognationis aut affinitatis propinquitas. Ex huius igitur aduentu, vel hoc etiam gratiore, quod esset inexpectatus, cum incredibilem cepissem voluptatem, ne hoc tanto bono solus adeo fruerer inuidus, communi amico

10 saneque iucunda: saneque iud iucunda *MS* (iud *del.*) | 13 expectatissimo: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, inexpectatissimo *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 20 copulat arctius: arctius copulat *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 23 cepissem: coepissem *A-I*

3-4 *Sed ... peccem* A similar idea occurs in Ep. 23, l. 70: 'Malo autem abs te illius audire laudes, ne ego amore falli existimer.' Cf. also Ep. 49, l. 55: 'Meo tamen vnus iudicio non satis fidebam, veritus ne coniunctissimi nominis amore allucinatus parum recte perspexerim.' Cf. also Ep. 38, l. 71.

3 *coniunctissimi* Cf. Ep. 23, l. 68: 'Gulielmum Gaudanum' ... minime silentio praeterirem, nisi mihi et familiaritate et studio esset coniunctissimus.' Ep. 83, l. 10: 'ab amico non modo vetustissima necessitudine verumetiam, quod arctissimum ego vinculum puto, studiorum societate coniunctissimo.'

9 *a teneris ... vnguiculis* = ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαλῶν ὀνόχων Cf. *Adag.* 1,7,52, *LB* II, 283 A; Otto No. 1822,5. Cf. Ep. 49, l. 21: 'Gulielmus Hermanus Goudensis quo vno semper et a teneris (vt Graeci aiunt) vnguiculis quum omnibus in rebus tum liberalibus studiis Patroclo Pirithooque iucundissimo sum vsus, prima ac summa nostre Hollandie spes est.' Cf. Ep. 146, l. 138: 'inde a tenellis vnguiculis.'

11 The examples Orestes and Pylades, Pirithous and Theseus, Damon and Phinthias also appear in Epp. 17, l. 41; 83, l. 125; Pirithous is mentioned also in Ep. 58, l. 177.

Jacobo Batto, qui tum erat opidi Bergensis publicus a secretis, per puerum renuncio, homini quum non indocto tum candidissimo, qui iampridem partim mea predicatione, qua de vetere amiculo libens apud recentem vti solebam, partim ipsius literis accensus, incredibili quodam Guielmi videndi desiderio ardebat.

5 Is vero simul atque accepit, ascito e congerrionibus suis vno dumtaxat non dicam accurrit, sed plane aduolat, idque adeo nocte fere concubia, eo quod interdium per negocia ciuilia egre ab vrbe abesse licebat, praesertim quod nuper in rei p. administratione vocato omnia popularius accuratiusque essent obeunda. Minima eius noctis porcio somno tributa est. Vixdum diluxerat: consurgimus,

10 operisque ex more distributis, vbi deinde edificium demonstrassem, vt totius plane regionis faciem Guielmo ante oculos ponerem, in agrum educo. Ibi nobis in diuerticuli ponte consistentibus,

Jacobo Batto, qui proximae ciuitatis Berganae tum erat publicus a secretis, confestim renunciandum curo, homini, deum immortalem, quo candore, qua morum suauitate, qua doctrina, quam felici facundia.

15 Is iampridem partim mea praedicatione, qua de veteri sodali lubens apud recentem vti solebam, partim ipsius literis accensus, incredibili quodam videndi Guilhelmi desiderio flagrabat. Neminem enim adhuc mortalium vidi qui sic admiraretur, sic veneretur, sic adamaret eruditos, praesertim in his literis, quas non absque causa bonas appellant. Is vero simulatque rescuiit,

20 ascito e congerrionibus suis vno dumtaxat non dicam accurrit, sed prorsus aduolat, idque adeo nocte fere concubia, quod interdium aegre liceret abesse, praesertim quod nuper in administrationem Rei p. vocato omnia popularius ac studiosius essent obeunda. Eius noctis minima portio somno tributa est.

25 Vixdum diluxerat: consurgitur, reditur ad literatas fabulas, mox coeli serenitas ad prodeambulandum inuitat. Obambulatur, ac loci situm regionisque faciem hospiti demonstro. Ibi forte fortuna in diuerticuli ponte consistentibus,

12 nobis: nobis nobis *MS (sed alterum nobis del.)* | 18 Erasmus ait se adhuc neminem mortalium vidisse qui appellat. Atque hic Iacobus Battus *in marg. adscr. MS<sup>2</sup>* | 23 Rei p.: *A B H*, Rei pu. *E F*, Rei pub. *G I K*, Rei publicae *C D*

1 *Jacobo Batto* James Batt, 1465?–1502, a native of Bergen, was nearly 29 years old in 1494 when Erasmus was writing *Antibarbari*. He studied in Paris but returned c. 1492 to Bergen where he became master of the public school. He later became secretary of the town council. Cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 35.

13–15 Cf. Ep. 93, l. 55: 'Iacobum Battum, deum immortalem, quam rara doctrina quam eximia vitae totius innocentia,

quam singulari facundia virum.'

14 *deum immortalem* An oath often used by Erasmus cf. *Antib.* 60, l. 8; 105, l. 17; 135, l. 4; Epp. 103, l. 1; 126, l. 21; 132, l. 33; 141, l. 23; 146, l. 122; 193, l. 29.

17–18 *incredibili ... flagrabat* William Herman also wanted very much to make Batt's acquaintance. Cf. Allen, Ep. 38, n. l. 4.

27 *forte fortuna* Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 134, 564; appears also in Ep. 155, l. 11.

de improviso Judocus medicus, vir  
 tum humanus tum eruditus, vna cum Guielmo Conrado viro primario de via  
 sese ostendit. Erat huic prope a nobis predium rusticum, quo sese vir pruden-  
 tissimus recipere solitus erat, quotiens vrbis vrbanoꝝque negociorum cepisset  
 hominem sacietas, quotiens fluctus illos ciuiliuꝝ causarum voluisset paulisper  
 effugere, quotiens nugari liberius ac *discincto ludere* libuisset. Porro perpetuum  
 hoc tempus quod ruri agebatur aut ille apud nos aut nos apud illum  
 eramus, tum quod hominis et comis consuetudine delectabar, tum quod huius  
 potissimum ope atque opera ad id quod parabamus vteremur. Is vbi nobis con-  
 spectis blandius suo more arrisisset, Quo tam mane (inquam), fugitiue? Male  
 (ita me Deus amet) cum re p. agitur que tibi sit tradita, qui tanquam lucinia  
 quedam nemoribus nichil anteponis, vrbem non secus quam caueam odisti.  
 Quid tibi cum rure, homo omnium qui viuunt turbulentissime?

de  
 improviso Iodocus Medicus, vir cum primis humanus atque eruditus, vna cum  
 Guilhelmo Conrado, eius vrbis ciue primario, de via nobis sese ostendit. Erat  
 huic haud procul a nobis praediolum rusticanum, quo vir prudentissimus  
 recipere sese solitus erat, quoties eum vrbis vrbanoꝝque negociorum cepisset  
 satietas (nam apud suos summo magistratu subinde fungebatur), quoties fluctus  
 illos ciuiliuꝝ causarum voluisset paulisper effugere, quoties nugari liberius  
 atque (vt ait Flaccus) *discincto ludere* collubitum esset. Porro perpetuum hoc  
 tempus quod ruri agebatur aut ille apud nos aut nos apud illum eramus, tum  
 quod hominis et comis et eruditi consuetudine delectabar, tum quod essent  
 mihi quaedam communia cum illo negocia. Is vbi nobis inspectis suo | more  
 blandius arrisisset, mox ego: Quo tam mane, inquam, fugitiue? Male (ita me  
 deus amet) cum Rep. agitur quae tibi sit tradita, qui tanquam luscinia quaedam  
 nemoribus nihil anteponis: vrbem non secus quam caueam odisti. Quid cum  
 rure consuli, quid tibi cum hoc ocio, homo hominum qui viuunt turbulenti-  
 sime?

8 et comis: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, et comis et eruditi *suppl. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 10 Quo: et quo *MS (et del.)* | 11 lucinia:  
*MS*<sup>1</sup>, luscinia *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 13 cum rure, homo: cum rure et cum hoc ocio consuli, homo *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 18  
 cepisset: *K BAS*, coepisset *A-I* | 21 discincto ... collubitum esset: discincto vt ait Flaccus  
 ludere collibuisset *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 26 Rep.: *A B C D E F H*, Repub. *K*, Republica *G I*

1 *Judocus medicus* Cf. Allen, I, p. 588, n. 9:  
 'Possibly Ioannes a Mera, who is de-  
 scribed as a "primarius ciuis" of Bergen  
 in Lond. XXVII. 5, *LB* 1230.'  
 6 Hor. *Serm.* 2, 1, 73 (about Scipio, Africa-  
 nus Minor and Laelius): 'discinti ludere  
 donec decoqueretur olus soliti'; allusion

to the same place, Ep. 909, l. 10.  
 11 *ita me Deus amet* An oath often used by  
 Erasmus, cf. Epp. 54, l. 1; 58, l. 17;  
 83, l. 83; 108, l. 58; 116, l. 14; 118, l. 11;  
 137, l. 14; 145, l. 62; 147, l. 48; 193, l. 42;  
 282, l. 31; 283, l. 22.

Tum ille prorsus (inquit) tuis deliciis inuideo, homo hominum qui viuunt felicissime, qui dum nos miseri turbulentissimis illis negociorum vndis sine fine iactamur, beatus interim ruri cum tuis te Camenis oblectes. Quo minus miror si nobis persepe vocantibus tu a tuis istis nemoribus in vrbem extrahi nequeas. Hic ego familiarius arridens Sane, inquam, tu tuis collegis paulo minus desipis, qui istoc sis animo, quod si tue te Syrenes sinerent, cupiditas atque ambitio, mirum ni fluctus istos plane cum totis vrbibus contemneres. Excutiam me fortassis aliquando, inquit, et Scipionem illum tuum, quem mihi predicare non desinis, imitabor. Verum interim, qum per dies aliquot ferias futuras scirem et heri forte vespertinus occasus serenitatem polliceri videretur, sub auroram rus cum tota familia me contuli. Ac mox Battum quoque intuitus Et vnde (inquit) tu huc? aut quinam, cedo obsecro, qui nobiscum heri ad multam vsque noctem cenaueris?

Ad haec ille exhilaratus: Prorsus, inquit, tuis delitiis inuideo, homo hominum qui viuunt felicissime, qui dum nos miseri turbulentissimis illis negociorum vndis sursum ac deorsum iactamur, ociosus interim ac vacuus cum tuis Camoenis obambulas et animum oblectas, nunc cum amiculo quopiam quicquid libuit garriens, nunc cum veterum scriptorum aliquo confabulans, interdum poeticam aliquam cantilenam modulans, nonnunquam chartis ceu fidis sodalibus committens quod animo versaris. Quo minus miror si nobis persaepe vocantibus tu a tuis istis nemoribus in vrbem extrahi nequeas. Hic ego: Nae tu, inquam, non paulo minus desipis quam tui collegae, qui istoc sis animo. Quod si tuae te Sirenes sinerent, cupiditas atque ambitio, mirum ni istos fluctus plane cum totis vrbibus facile contemneres. Sed dum parum optimatam videri pudet, parum recte quid ad iucundam vitam sit optimum eligis. Tum ille: Non ita procul, inquit, a scopo tua aberrat oratio. Atque vtinam inficiari liceret quod dicis, sed excutiam me fortassis aliquando, et Scipionem illum tuum, quem mihi praedicare non desinis, imitabor. Verum interim, cum per dies aliquot ferias a negociis futuras scirem et heri forte vespertinus occasus serenitatem polliceri videretur, sub auroram rus me cum tota familia contuli. Simul autem et Battum intuitus, ex insidiis se proferentem: Et vnde, inquit, tu huc? aut quinam, cedo, tam mane, qui nobiscum heri ad multam vsque noctem potaris?

8 aliquando: aliquando inquit aliquando *MS* (*postea aliquando inquit del.*) | 17 Camoenis: *BAS*, camoenis *A-K*

6–7 *Syrenes ... cupiditas atque ambitio* Cf. Ep. 47, l. 65: ‘Syren illa laudis ac famae.’

8 *Scipionem* Cf. note to p. 41, l. 6.

16 *sursum ac deorsum iactamur* Cf. Ep. 83, l. 89: ‘sursum ac deorsum iactatus.’

17 *amiculo* A diminutive form often used by Erasmus, cf. Epp. 76, l. 7; 80, l. 80; 92, l. 16; 125, l. 32; 181, l. 12.

26 *a scopo tua aberrat oratio* Cf. *Adag.* 1, 10, 30, *LB* II, 376 B: ‘id est aberrare a scopo.’

Mirari (inquit Battus) non debes, si nocturnum compotorem tuum mane ruri offendas. An ignoras quanta soleam esse noctua? Adest qui me Dedalum fecit, et si quid est Dedalo ingeniosius. Simulque Guilmum conueniens significabat. An tu Battum a tam desiderati capitis conspectu tenebellas istas remorari potuisse censes? quas leuioribus eciam in rebus magno contempsit animo. 5

Quod simul atque consul intellexit, continuo ipse quidem vna cum medico de rheda descendit, vxorem vero cum sua pompa (vt aiebat) in villam premisit. Tu, inquam, de nostro rure permaligne sentis, qui tantum puellarum gregem tecum portaueris. Quid ita? respondit ille. Satis apparet te credere neque Pieridum neque Charitum neque Driadum neque Naiadum vllam in nostris versari nemoribus. Imo chorum, inquit, facere volui. 10

Tum Batto paululum seducto familiarius in aurem: Scelerate, inquit, cur non passus es me Icarum tuum vna tecum volare? Battus. Quia, inquit, terrebar omine.

Hic Battus homo ad iocos factus: Mirari, inquit, non debes, si nocturnum compotorem tuum mane ruri offendas. An ignoras quanta soleam esse noctua? Adest qui me Daedalum fecit. Apud Nasonem cuidam *pedibus timor addidit alas*, mihi amor alas plusquam Daedaleas assuit. Atque interea Guilmum conuiuens subindicabat. An tu putas fieri potuisse, vt Battum a tam desiderati capitis conspectu tenebellae illae remorari possent, quas leuioribus etiam in rebus saepenumero fortiter contempsit? 15 20

Arrisit consul, conscius Battum in prima adolescentia ad furtiuos puellarum amores fuisse propensum, a quibus tamen mox auocarunt literae. Porro vbi de Guilhelmo sensit consul, continuo ipse quidem cum Medico de rheda descendit, vxorem vero cum sua pompa (vt aiebat) in villam praemisit. Hic ego: An non, inquam, de nostro rure perquam maligne sentis, qui tantum puellarum gregem tecum apportaris? Quid ita? respondit ille. Quia satis apparet, inquam, tuo iudicio neque Pieridum neque Charitum neque Dryadum neque Naiadum vllam in nostris versari nemoribus. Imo chorum, inquit, facere volui, et vestras semideas cum his humani generis Nymphis coniungere. Sub haec Batto paululum seducto familiarius in aurem: Scelerate, inquit, cur non passus es me Icarum tuum tecum huc aduolare, praesertim cum scires me non minus teipso hominis videndi desiderio teneri, idque adeo tua opera. Primum omine terrebar, 25 30

3 conueniens: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, conuiuens *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 13 Quia: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, Quia primum *MS*<sup>2</sup>

3 *Dedalo ingeniosius* Cf. *Adag.* prol., *LB* II, 13 B: 'Daedalo ingeniosior.'  
17-18 Erasmus made an error; the quotation is not from Ovid. but from Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 224.  
18 *alas ... Daedaleas* Cf. *Adag.* 3,1,65, *LB*

II, 733 A; cf. Ep. 103, l. 13: 'alatis pedibus huc accurreres; Daedalum te fieri optares.'  
19-20 *tam desiderati capitis* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 24,2 'tam cari capitis'.

Consul Praesertim, ait, qum me scires non minus teipso hominis videndi desiderio teneri, idque adeo tua opera. Ingenue fateor (Battus inquit), inuidebam tibi; expletus, tum denique te vocassem. Quare, ne quid dolo dicam, nunc venisse quoque molestum est. Vereor enim ne homo negociosissimus ocium  
 5 nostrum non nichil sis inturbaturus. Judoci quoque quem tecum ducis tetricam philosophiam odimus. Nos perpetuum hoc triduum meris nugis iocundissimisque susurris transigere decreueramus. Nichil nobis interim cum fascibus, tantundem cum supercilio philosophorum. Consul. Imo (inquit) in tempore assumus: vna nugabimur omnes. Nam et ego domi consulem reliqui et Judocus  
 10 philosophiam omnem vxori commisit.

Que qum risissemus, Agite (inquit Battus), si fidem datis ita futurum, recipimus vos in gregem nostrum. Deinde qum Guielmum meum vterque magnifice salutauisset, vulgatoque iam more saluum venisse gratulatus esset, obambulare visendi studio cepimus, non sine variis (vt fit) sermonibus, de regionis situ, de  
 15 soli felicitate, de coelo, de coepta operis ratione;

inquit;  
 deinde, ne dolo dicam, inuidebam tibi tam opiparam voluptatem, ipse adhuc famelicus; expletus, tum denique sodales aduocassem, quare (vt ingenue fatear) nunc quoque venisse te submolestum est. Vereor enim ne homo negociosissimus, qui non solum vt Caecias quispiam attrahas negocia, verumetiam vltro sequentia fugientem nusquam non tecum circumferas, ocium nostrum nonnichil  
 20 sis inturbaturus. Iodoci quoque quem tecum adducis tetricam philosophiam odimus. Nos perpetuum hoc triduum meris nugis liberrimisque susurris transigere decreueramus. Quid inter haec nobis cum fascibus aut quid cum supercilio philosophorum? Tum consul: Imo, inquit, in tempore adsumus; vna  
 25 nugabimur omnes. | Nam et Iodocus quicquid seuerioris philosophiae vxori commisit (habebat autem submorosam) et ego consulem domi reliqui.

Quae cum risissemus, Agite, inquit Battus, si fidem datis ita futurum, recipimus vos in gregem nostrum. Deinde consalutato Guilhelmo, perreximus  
 30 obambulare, non sine variis (vt fit) sermonibus, de regionis situ, de soli natura, de coeli salubritate, de calamitate nostrae Hollandiae;

6 Nos: Nos quoque *MS* (quoque *del.*) | 15 felicitate: *MS<sup>1</sup>, del. MS<sup>2</sup> et suprascr.* natura

8 *supercilio philosophorum* Cf. *Adag.* 1,8,49, *LB* II, 317 B: 'philosophorum supercilium quis ferat?'

9 *vna nugabimur omnes* Cf. Ep. 80, l. 7: 'Qua libertate vna nugabimur!', cf. also Ep. 89, l. 7.

20 Concerning Caecias cf. *Adag.* 1,5,62, *LB* II, 206 D.

31 *de calamitate nostrae Hollandiae* Cf. Allen, Ep. 35, n. l. 50: 'On 19 Nov. 1488 there was a fresh outburst of the struggle between the Hoeks and the Kabeljaus, aggravated in 1490 by the popular rising

known as the Bread and Cheese War. The latter was concluded on 16 May, the former on 13 Oct. 1492.' Cf. the letter from W. Herman to James Batt (1494), Ep. 35, l. 49: 'Quam pestem plus satis nuper experta est Hollandia perniciosissimo illo bello, dum quisque dominari vult, exorto.' Holland's defeats were also the subject of Ode 3 by Erasmus's friend, William Herman: *Guilelmi Hermanni Gou-densis, theologi ac poetae clarissimi Sylua Odarum*, Paris, G. Marchand, 20 Jan. 1497.

tandem (vt solet inter fabulandum alius ex alio sermo incurrere) in veterem quidem illam sed prorsus iustissimam nostrorum temporum querelam incidimus. Querebamus non sine vehementi admiratione, que tam vasta calamitas tam optimarum artium frugem dissipasset; quod tam dirum proluuium omnes prope veterum literas olim purissimas tam turpiter confudisset; qui fieret vt nos veteres illos scriptores tam immenso interuallo sequeremur, vt qui nunc doctrine arcem tenerent vix idonei viderentur quibus olim latrine committi debuerint, et qui nunc imperatores exercituum, apud illos ne inter gregarios quidem milites ascribendos fuisse decebat.

At medicus quidem, vt erat astrologiae quum studiosus, tum inter primos peritus, omne negocium in sydera reiicere moliebatur, permulta in eam rem disserens tum acute tum probabiliter: ab hiis rerum humanarum vicissitudines proficisci, hinc orta atque extincta rursus imperia, hinc regna aliunde alio translata, hinc tociens immutatos mortalium animos

tandem (vt solet in huiusmodi fabulis alius ex alio sermo incurrere) in veterem quidem illam sed prorsus iustissimam nostrorum temporum querelam incidimus. Quaerebamus non sine vehemente admiratione, quae tam vasta calamitas tam vberem, tam florentem ac laetam optimarum artium frugem dissipasset, quod tam dirum et immane proluuium omnes prope veterum literas olim purissimas tam turpiter confudisset; qui fieret vt nos priscos scriptores tam immenso interuallo sequeremur, vt qui nunc doctrinae tenerent arcem, pauculis quibusdam exceptis, vix idonei viderentur qui cum priscorum mulierculis aut pueris elementariis in palaestra literaria possent decertare, et qui nunc imperatores exercituum ducerent, apud illos ne inter gregarios quidem milites ascribi mererentur, quique nunc disciplinarum clauum moderarentur, tunc ne in sentina quidem locum inuenissent.

Ac Medicus quidem, homo promptae facundiae, sed astrologiae mire deditus, cui nihil non tribuebat, alioqui vir pius ac probus, totius mali causam in sydera reiicere moliebatur, permulta in eam rem disserens cum acute tum etiam probabiliter: ab his rerum humanarum vicissitudines proficisci, hinc orta atque extincta rursus imperia, hinc regna aliunde alio translata, hinc toties immutatos mortalium animos

2 veterem: *MS*<sup>2</sup>, vterem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 *alt.* tam: *ex tantum corr.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 omnes: *MS*<sup>2</sup>, omnis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 moliebatur: nitebatur moliebatur *MS* (*sed nitebatur del.*) | 21 nos: *om. C D H* | 28 promptae facundiae: promptae quidem facundiae *E F K BAS*

10 *astrologiae* For Erasmus's attitude towards astrology, cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, p. 43-45.

13-14 *regna aliunde alio translata* For the idea of 'translatio imperii', cf. H. Grundmann in the preface to his edition of Alexander von Roes, *De translatione imperii*, and

Iordanus von Osnabrück, *De prerogativa imperii Romani*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1930; E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern, 1948, p. 36 sqq., A. Buck, *Das Geschichtsdenken der Renaissance*, Krefeld, 1957, p. 7.

mores habitus studia fortunas fluxisse dicebat. Syderum vices esse certas quasdam, nec vim omnibus eandem; alia studiis amica, alia contra infensa. Ita fieri vt illis vicissim imperia alternantibus studia quoque inuicem modo fugere modo vigere, modo iacere modo in  
5 precijs esse contingeret; et a mundi inicio vsque repetens singularum prope etatum mutationes doctissime collegit.

At consul literarum interitum multis coniecturis in Christianam potissimum religionem conferre nitebatur, quod Christianos olim ethnicas nescire literas neutique turpe, contemnere pulchrum eciam dixisse crederet, partim quidem  
10 fidei zelo quodam vehementi magis quam sapienti et aduersariorum odio, cum quibus vsque adeo nichil commune esse voluerunt, vt vel optima relinquerent, partim quod natura abhorrerent, partim vero laborem fugientes inerciam honesto religionis nomine pretexebant. Nonnulli fortassis (et haud scio an multo maxima pars)

15 mores habitus studia fortunas fluxisse docebat. Syderum certas quasdam esse vices, nec vim omnibus eandem; alia studiis amica, alia rursus infensa. Ita fieri vt illis imperia vicissim alternantibus studia quoque inuicem modo frigere modo vigere, modo iacere, modo in precio esse contingeret; et ab orbe condito prope repetens singularum aetatum mutationes  
20 magna admiratione memoriae collegit.

At consul non improbat is vsquequaque quae disseruerat Medicus, literarum interitum multis coniecturis in Christianam religionem conferre nitebatur. Non quod de hac parum pie sentiret, cui et si quis alius erat addictus, sed quod ab  
25 hac crederet ansam esse porrectam. Videbant exordia nostrae religionis non a philosophis, non ab oratoribus, non a dialecticis aut mathematicis, sed a simplicissimo Christo nata, ab idiotis apostolis propagata. Proinde mundanas disciplinas prisci religionis cultores vt rem Christo inimicam horrebant, et pulchrum habebatur nescire prophanas literas, neque minus laudis erat negligenti philosophiam Aristotelicam aut Platoniam quam contemnti regna, calcanti  
30 diuitias, spernenti voluptates. Quicquid enim mundus suspiciebat, hoc fastidiit religio, cuius studio vehementi magis quam sapienti et immodico quodam aduersariorum odio, cum quibus adeo sibi nihil voluerunt esse commune, vt vel optima relinquerent, neglectae sunt disciplinae liberales, nihilo prudentius agentibus quam si Gallus odio Britannorum mallet nudus incedere quam panno  
35 apud Britannos texto vestiri, aut si Britannus mallet siti disrumpi quam vinum bibere apud Gallos natum. Et fortassis erant qui simpliciter errantes negligerent studia literarum; erant et qui laborem fugientes inertiam suam honesto religionis nomine praetexerent, quando sub nulla vmbra melius tegitur iners ocium et segnis ignauia. Nonnulli fortassis, et haud scio an multo maxima pars,

4 fugere: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, frigere *corr.* *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 19 singularum: *K*, singularium *A-I*

24 ansam esse porrectam Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,4, *LB* II, 152 C-F.



non alia de causa oderant quam quia non didicerant. Alii in pietate omnia collocantes, simplicitate sua contenti, cetera superis permittebant. Postremo, inquit, non optime religioni cum eruditione per se conuenit. Habet fere religio sine literis nescio quid supine stoliditatis adiunctum, a quo qui literas sapiunt longe abhorrent. Quibus rebus factum fuisse auguror, vt neque studiosis suis honos haberetur, et optimi libri vtique literarum custodes aut perderentur aut neglecti interirent.

Porro Guilmus tum plurimis coniecturis

non  
 alia de causa oderunt bonas literas quam quia non didicerant, et pigebat simul  
 ac pudebat discere. Huc adiuuerunt primum tyranni quidam qui Christianis  
 scholas praecludebant, existimantes fore vt religio destituta doctrinae facun-  
 diaeque praesidiis sponte sua consenesceret et tandem aboleretur. At cum  
 sentirent | se per aduersarios eruditionis et eloquentiae praesidiis vrgeri, coepe-  
 runt et ipsi iisdem armis ac telis communire sese, vt hostem suo (quod aiunt)  
 gladio iugularent. Deinde secuti sunt homines impense pii, qui cum animadu-  
 uerterent ex ethnicorum libris, vehementer adamatis ob eruditionis splen-  
 dorem et illecebram eloquentiae, hauriri etiam nonnihil paganismi, iamque sic  
 vbique propagatam esse religionem Christianam, vt eorum librorum vsus non  
 magnopere desideraretur ad confutandos aduersarios, huc incumbabant vt  
 extincta superstitione Iudaeorum et Ethnicorum simul et literae et linguae  
 tollerentur. Fortassis et illud perspexerunt, non optime conuenire purae reli-  
 gioni et perfectae doctrinae. Pietas fide nititur, eruditio vestigat argumentis  
 et rem in quaestionem vocat. Postremo fit nescio quo pacto, vt minus tracta-  
 biles sint eruditi quam idiotae. Atque hinc est quod abbatum vulgus hodie  
 nihil magis cauet quam ne monachi altius penetrent ad bonas disciplinas.  
 Malunt enim ouibus quam hominibus imperare nec ob aliud malunt nisi quia  
 facilius est. His rebus factum est vt neque studiis suis honos haberetur, et  
 optimi quique libri vnici literarum custodes aut data opera perderentur aut  
 neglecti interirent. Mox eo deducta res, vt turpe etiam sibi ducerent principes  
 ac praesules scire literas. Ne tamen omnino caeca esset hominum vita, si nulla  
 extaret eruditio, omnis cura professioque literarum in monachos est relegata, a  
 quibus aliquandiu non omnino pessime tractatae sunt. Mox cum hi quoque  
 supercilio turgidi ad luxum sese verterent, neglectis linguis, neglecta anti-  
 quitate, nata est nescio quae perturbata doctrina et prorsus inerudita eruditio  
 qua non solum humanae disciplinae, verumetiam ipsa theologia miseris modis  
 vitata fuit. Haec aliaque in hanc sententiam cum disseruisset consul, Guilhel-  
 mus tum plurimis coniecturis,

18 etiam nonnihil: nonnihil etiam *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 28 His: Hiis *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 31 praesules: praesides *C D H* |  
 33 hi: hii *MS*<sup>2</sup>

15-16 *suo ... iugularent* Cf. *Adag.* 1,1,51, *LB*  
 II, 48 D; Otto No. 760; appears also in

*Ep.* 39, l. 57 and 39, l. 80.

tum maximorum scriptorum auctoritate sese permoueri dicebat, vt omnium rerum quoddam senium esse crederet, mundum vniuersum senescere, omnia sensim ab illa iuuenta in deterius prolabi, Chibelem illam deorum parentem sterilesce-  
 5 re et que olim iuuenes deos gignebat, nunc longo pariendi vsu effetam vix homines producere. Non pauca in hanc sententiam e priscis illis Theologis, nostratibus tamen, proferebat, sed que ad rem non admodum pertinent vt hic verbosa oratione recenseam. Eo euasit, vt nostri temporis homines ingenio minus valere dicerent quam veteres illi valuissent, naturamque quasi senescentem, quae olim non corpora modo  
 10 prestantiora verum et ingenia magis (vt ita dicam) mascula felicioraque produxerit, nunc homunciones vt pusillos corporibus, ita ingenio non paulo deterioribus generare; itaque demum fieri, vt que veteres inuenire potuerunt, nos nec percipere quidem possemus inuenta.

Que cum admirarer quadam quasi declamatoria ratione adeo scite a singulis  
 15 disputata, vt nemo non concessa dixisse videretur,

tum grauissimorum scriptorum auctoritate sese moueri dicebat, vt omnium rerum senium quoddam esse crederet. Mundum vniuersum et quicquid hic gignit mundus sua quadam iuuenta subolescere, ac  
 20 rursum posteaquam ad summum vigorem suis auctibus peruenerit, tandem ad senium vergere ac sensim in deterius prolabi; Cybelen illam deorum parentem iam sterilesce- re et quae olim iuuenes deos gignebat, nunc longo pariendi vsu effoetam, vix homines producere: huc enim referebat aenigma huius fabulae. Non pauca in hanc sententiam et e priscis illis theologis, nostratibus tamen, adferebat, sed quae ad rem non admodum pertinent, vt hic verbosa oratione  
 25 recenseam. Breuiter eo euasit, vt nostri temporis homines ingenio minus valere diceret quam veteres illi valuissent, naturamque quasi senescentem, quae olim non corpora modo praestantiora verumetiam ingenia magis (vt ita dicam) mascula felicioraque producebat, nunc homunciones vt pusillis corporibus, ita ingeniis non paulo deterioribus generare. Itaque demum fieri, vt quae veteres  
 30 inuenire potuerunt, nos ne percipere quidem possemus inuenta. Cumque illi mirabilem doctrinae vim cum eloquentia pari coniunxerint, nos alterum etiam horum parum feliciter tentare. Quae cum admirarer quadam quasi declamatoria ratione adeo scite a singulis disputata, vt mihi nemo non confessa dixisse videretur,

4 que: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>, *inter lin. adscr.* MS<sup>2</sup> | 8 vt: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>, *inter lin. adscr.* MS<sup>2</sup>; dicerent: diceret MS<sup>2</sup> | 9 quae olim: *corr.* MS<sup>2</sup>, quam dum MS<sup>1</sup> | 11 pusillos: MS<sup>1</sup>, pusillis MS<sup>2</sup> | 14 admirarer: *corr.* MS<sup>2</sup>, admiramur MS<sup>1</sup> | 20 Cybelen: Cybelem *FK* | 24 pertinent: pertinet *ABK* MS<sup>2</sup> | 32 quadam: *CDK*, quaedam *ABEF GHI*

3 *mundum vniuersum senescere* For the idea of 'mundus senescens' in Christian litera-

ture, cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I p. 46.

Battum iam dudum dicturientem animaduerti et nescio quid secum parturientem. Erat enim vt ingenua quadam dicendi libertate non sine dicaci vehementia peditus, ita non secus ipse barbaris quam illi literis infensus. Hunc ceteris expectantibus intuitus Hierasmus Dormis, inquam, Batte, et iam Battus non es. Arrisit et caput mouit. 5  
Deinde vt plane hominem excitarem, rogabam, ecquid ista probarentur. Tum ille vultu quo solet faceto Perquam magnifice quidem dixistis omnes (inquit), verum interim promissa non prestat fides. Conuenerat ne quid preter nugas ageretur, et in mediam philosophiam repente incidimus, quanquam vestra ista vel iratum me nonnichil delectarunt. Verum quid nostre cessaciuncule cum 10 istis tam impeditis, vt vix Chrisippus eciam ipse aut Carneades et ieiunus et helleboro purgatus expediuerit? Nam tu quidem, Judoce, ita philosophum domi reliquisti, vt astrologum nobis attuleris, et tu ita consulem posuisti, vt philosophum (si superis placet) indueris, Dyonisium credo imitatus. Quanquam nec in sentiendo quidem cuique vestrum accedo. 15

Battum meum iamdudum dicturientem animaduerti ac nescio quid secum parturientem. Erat enim vt ingenua quadam dicendi libertate non sine dicaci vehementia praeditus, ita non secus ipse barbaris quam illi literis infensus, adeo vt ad occursus horum frequenter aut nausearet aut incandesceret, nonnunquam velut omen infaustum mutata via declinaret. Hunc igitur caeteris expectantibus intuitus: Dormis, inquam, Batte, et iam Battus non es. Vides ne iamdudum equum in planitiem suam prouocari? Arrisit ille et mouit caput. Mox vt magis etiam hominem excitarem, rogabam, ecquid ista probarentur. Tum ille vultu quo solet faceto: Perquam magnifice quidem dixistis omnes, 20 inquit, verum interim promissa non praestatur fides. Convenerat ne quid praeter nugas ageretur, et in mediam philosophiam repente incidimus; quanquam vestra ista vel iratum me nonnichil delectarunt. Verum quid nostrae cessatiunculae cum istis tam impeditis, vt vix Chrysippus etiam ipse aut Carneades et ieiunus et elleboro purgatus expediuerit? Nam tu quidem, Iodoce, ita philosophum domi reliquisti, vt astrologum nobis attuleris, et tu ita consulem posuisti, 25 vt philosophum (si superis placet) indueris, Dionysium opinor illum Syracusanum imitatus. Quanquam quod attinet ad sententias, nemini vestrum prorsus accedo, 30

6 ista probarentur: ista sibi probarentur *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*sed sibi del.*) | 10 nostre: nostre huic *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*huic del.*) | 19 ad: *om. F*

8 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 552 'fides cineri promissa Sychaeo', *Aen.* VI, 346: 'en haec promissa fides est?', *Aen.* IX, 107: 'Ergo aderat promissa fides.'

11-12 *Carneades et ieiunus et helleboro purgatus*

Cf. *Adag.* 1,8,51, *LB* II, 318 A.

14 Allusion to Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Syracuse, 367-343, and his relations with Plato.

Alius enim sydera in  
 crimen vocauit, alius optimam religionem incusauit, alius nature nescio quam  
 senectam causatus est. Iniquissime quidem (quantum ego sentio) omnes. Quale  
 enim est hominum culpam in res ipsas reiicere? quod nichilo est equius quam  
 5 si libidinosus iuuentam, auarus ac sordidus senectam, ambiciosus fortunam,  
 iracundus naturam accuset. Quin ego omissis ambagibus rei istius quem celo  
 terraque queritis auctorem vel indice (si libet) demonstrabo.

Herasmus. Quod vt faceret flagitantibus omnibus, consulem digito signi-  
 ficans Tute, inquit, (si nescis) huius auctor es rei, in tuum caput omnis refundi-  
 10 tur culpa, cui cum res p. suas fortunas omnes, suam salutem dignitatem ampli-  
 tudinem in manus dederit, tu tam pestilentes homines in ciuitate impune se-  
 dere sinis. Quos ais?

atque interim ingenium et eloquentiam miratus sum potius  
 quam iudicium. Alius enim innoxia sydera vocauit in crimen, alius optimam  
 15 religionem poenae ream egit, alius naturae nescio quam senectam causatus est.  
 Iniquissime (quantum ego quidem sentio) omnes. Quale enim est, obsecro,  
 culpam hominum in res ipsas reiicere? Et quod nostro vitio commissum est,  
 quouis relegare potius quam culpam nostram agnoscere? Quod si studio nobis  
 est malorum causam, quae negari non possunt, a nobis depellere, quin quicquid  
 20 in vita mortalium accidit mali in Aten Homericam reiicimus? Quemadmodum  
 apud eum poetam facit Agamemnon et Iuppiter, vtque Christianorum vulgus,  
 quicquid sua stulticia designant, in cacodaemonem autorem et instigatorem  
 reiiciunt. Quam fenestram si patimur aperiri, quid obstiterit quominus posthac  
 libidinosus iuuentam, auarus ac sordidus senectam, ambitiosus fortunam,  
 25 iracundus corporis temperaturam accuset? Quin ego omissis ambagibus istius  
 rei autorem, quem coelo terraque quaeritis, vel indice si lubet, commonstrabo.

Quod vt faceret flagitantibus nobis, consulem digito designans: Tute, inquit,  
 si nescis, istius autor es mali, in tuum caput omnis haec culpa refunditur. Cui  
 cum Res p. suas fortunas omnes, suam salutem, dignitatem, amplitudinem,  
 30 denique quo nihil habet charius, suos liberos in manus dederit, tu tam pestilen-  
 tes homines in ciuitate sedere, quid autem dixi sedere? imo regnare sinis  
 impune. Cumque consul admiratus interpellasset: Quos tandem istos ais tam  
 pestilentes?

13 ingenium et eloquentiam: *A-K*, eloquentiam et ingenium *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 16 *parenthesis signa desunt*  
*FK* | 21 Agamemnon: Agamemnon *FGI*; Iuppiter: *B IK*, Iupiter *ACDEFGH* | 23  
 quominus: quod minus *EF* | 29 Res p.: Resp. *A-H*, Respub. *IK*, Respublica *BAS* | 30 nihil:  
 nil *MS<sup>2</sup>*; charius: clarius *E*

7 *indice ... demonstrabo* Cf. *Adag.* I, 10, 43,  
*LB* II, 380 C; Otto No. 543, 9.

20 *Aten* Cf. Ep. 948, l. 25: 'Dixisses Aten

quampiam turbare studiosorum nego-  
 tium.'

21 Cf. Hom. *Il.* XIX, 86-138.

Hos, inquam, asellos Archadicos quos publicis in ludis asinina impudentia passim rudere vides, qui magna (vt est apud Fabium) confidentia atque auctoritate *suam stulticiam perdocent*; qui se ob eam rem ludo literario praefectos, imo adeo natos arbitrantur, vt nos quicquid est bonarum literarum dedoceant, vt omnibus suam inscitiam inculcent. Simulque permultos nominabat, qui per id tempus insigni stoliditate nobiles habebantur; quorum ego nomina prudens supprimo, maxime quod huius generis maximus vbique sit numerus. Hiscine, inquit, belluis miseri ciues sua viscera committunt? Hiis nobilissimi principes liberos suos, generosissimis ingeniis bonarumque artium audissimos adolescentes, quos ex ingenuis rusticos, ex indoctis indociles, ex stultis insanos reddant? Hec, inquam, in tua re p. fiunt, te ciue te primate te consule. Priuataque adeo minimi momenti negocia mirum est quanta vigilantia curentur: hec pestis et publica et tanta, quanta

Hos, inquit ille, asellos Arcadicos, siue mauis Antronios, quos publicis in ludis in quibus optima litera tradi debuerant, impudentia plusquam asinina passim audis non loqui sed rudere, qui magna (vt est apud Fabium) confidentia atque auctoritate *stulticiam suam perdocent*; qui se ob eam rem ludo literario praefectos, imo adeo natos arbitrantur, vt nos quicquid est bonarum literarum dedoceant, vt omnibus suam inculcent inscitiam ac sui similes reddant. Simulque permultos nominabat, qui id temporis insigni stoliditate nobiles habebantur, cum quibus monstris Batto continuum et irreconciliabile bellum erat, donec publicum eius vrbis ludum moderaretur (nam hinc ad secretarii munus erat ascitus); quorum ego nomina prudens supprimo, siue quod hoc ipsum famae illis inuideam, dignis qui sempiternae obliuionis tenebris sepulti iaceant, siue quod nolim meas chartas spurcissimis nominibus inquinari, praesertim cum huius generis maximus vbique sit numerus, vt semper fuit pessimiarum rerum maxima foecunditas. Hiscine, inquit, beluis miseri ciues sua viscera committunt, his clarissimi principes liberos suos credunt, his generosissimis ingeniis praediti adolescentes et iidem bonarum artium auidi committuntur, quos ex ingenuis rusticos, ex indoctis indociles, ex stultis insanos reddant? Haec, inquam, in tua Re p. fiunt, te ciue, te primate, te consule? Priuata atque adeo minimi momenti negocia mirum est quanta vigilantia curentur; haec pestis et publica et tanta, quanta

15 debuerant, impudentia: debuerant asinina plusquam impudentia *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 18 imo: immo *C D H* | 31 Re p.: Rep. *A-F*, Repub *G H I*, Republica *K* | 32 adeo: *om. D* | 33 curentur: curantur *FK*

1 *asellos Archadicos* Cf. Iuv. 7, 160: 'nil salit Arcadico iuveni', and Scholiasta for the same place: 'Arcadico: asino ac per hoc stulto, hebeti.' Cf. Otto No. 157.

3 Quint. Inst. I, 1, 8: 'imperiosiatque interim

sacientes stultitiam suam perdocent.'

10-11 *ex indoctis ... reddant* Cf. Ep. 23, l. 91: 'stultiores reddentes discipulos quam acceperant.'

14 *Antronios* Cf. *Adag.* 2, 5, 68, *LB* II, 571 E.

in re p. maior omnino nequeat existere, negligitur, imo fouetur. In sontes alios, qui vel paulum aliquid priuati damni dederint, perquam seure animaduertitur: hic mulctatur, ille vapulat, alius in exilium eiicitur, aliis laqueo guttur frangitur; et eum qui liberos vestros, quibus (vt par est) nichil habetis antiquius, vnam rei p. spem, tam indigne corrumpit, non eiicitis? Qui tot chara ciuitatis pignora perdidit, eum non iugulatis? Si villicus hic tuus, huius vicinus, felicem agrum zyzania ac iuncis sereret, quid faceres? Profecto eiiceret, in ius vocares, damni dati reum ageres; et nullo supplicio dignus videtur, qui generosam puerorum indolem ita imperitiae spinis ac vepribus occupauit, vt non sarculo modo sed nec incendio quidem repurgari queant? Qui in feriendo numismate paulum modo aliquid fraudis commisit, horrendis exemplis penas legibus dare cogitur; at qui pueros in suam fidem acceptos pro ingenuis literis nil nisi meram stulticiam docuit, premio dignus videbitur?

15 in Re p. non queat vlla maior existere, negligitur, imo fouetur? In alios sontes, qui vel paulum aliquid priuati damni dederint, perquam seure animaduertitur: hic aere mulctatur, ille vapulat; alius ob aes alienum vltra diem prolatum in | carcerem detruditur, alius in exilium eiicitur, aliis ob inuolatum poculum aut nummorum pauxillulum  
LB 1698  
20 laqueo guttur frangitur. In his et huiusmodi valet disciplinae seueritas, valent leges, vigilant magistratus; et eum qui liberos vestros, quibus (vt par est) nihil habetis antiquius, nihil dulcius, vnicam Reipublicae spem, tam indigne corrumpit, non eiicitis, nullo supplicio dignum ducitis? Capite plectitur qui equum abduxit, et qui tot tam chara ciuitatis pignora prodidit, imo perdidit,  
25 eum non iugulatis? In eum qui equum conductum secus quam debuit habuit, ex legibus est actio, et filii male tractati nulla est actio? Si villicus hic tuus, huius vicinus, felicem agrum tritici feracem zizaniis ac iuncis consereret, dic mihi, te quaeso, quid faceres? Nimirum eiiceret, in ius vocares, damni dati reum ageres; et nullo supplicio dignus videtur, qui felicem ac generosam  
30 puerorum indolem ita imperitiae spinis ac vepribus occupauit, vt non sarculo ac ne incendio quidem repurgari queat? Qui in feriendo nomismate paulum modo aliquid fraudis admisit, horrendis exemplis poenas legibus dare cogitur; at qui pueros in suam fidem acceptos pro liberalibus et saluberrimis literis nil nisi meram stulticiam docuit, praemio dignus videtur?

2 In sontes: Insontes *MS* | 10 modo sed nec: *MS<sup>1</sup>*, modo sed *postea del.*, *supra sed scripsit ac MS<sup>2</sup> vt nunc legatur*: sarculo ac ne (*aut nec*) incendio | 15 Re p.: Rep. *A-F*, Repu. *G*, Repub. *IK* | 16 qui vel: *A-E GHI*, vel qui *FK* | 19 poculum: poculatum *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 20 his: iis *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 21 vigilant: vigilant *C* | 22 Reipublicae: Reip. *A-D F GHI*, Reipu. *E*, Reipub. *K* | 24 imo: immo *C D H* | 31 ne: *om. EF*; nomismate: numismate *C D H*

7-8 *felicem ... sereret* Allusion to the Biblical story *Mt.* 13,24-30, 36-43.

Quin tanta pestis publicis manibus discerpitur? Quin non in solas terras publicitus deportatur?

Nec alia in re sunt vel  
 oscitantiores vel infeliciores summi etiam principes. Adhibentur multi qui  
 praegustent cibum; non adhibentur qui dispiciant, quid in animum ac pectus 5  
 illorum infundatur. Periclitatur medicus aut chirurgus, si parum accurate tractauit principis corpus; et nihil est periculi istis, qui sic tractant animum tam  
 multis imperaturum? Non temere committis equum curandum ac fingendum;  
 nec circumspicis cui credas fingendum filium? Quasi patris officio functus sis, si  
 modo genueris, ac non multo maxima pars sit officii paterni recte instituere 10  
 quod genueris. Quid enim refert bene natum esse, nisi ad naturam accedat honesta educatio? Non cuiuis credis colendum fundum, consulis probatos agricolas longoque rerum usu probatos; et filium praeceptori traditurus ex ptocho-  
 tyrannis istis quempiam in consilium adhibes, et viam quam ille caecus tibi  
 monstrauerit ingredereis? Ex horum sententia quemlibet scholae publicae prae- 15  
 facis, quorum iudicio non debebas stabularium asciscere? Nihil est similium regno quam ludi literarii moderator; et his tyrannidem permittimus in liberos, quos, si nosse, nolles imperare canibus tuis? Magno conducitur, qui iuuentutem verberibus ac minis excarnificatam doceat et scire nihil et sibi videri  
 nihil nescire; quin saepenumero fit vt mores istorum nihilo sint meliores literis. 20  
 Quantum autem flagitium, primam illam ac felicissimam aetatem, bonis disciplinis a natura datam, iis inficere quae aut maiore labore post dediscenda sint nobis, aut magno nostro malo tenenda. Tria sunt vnde potissimum rerum  
 publicarum salus aut etiam pestis mihi pendere videtur: a principe recte aut  
 secus instituto, a concionatoribus publicis, et ludi magistris. Sed huius postremi 25  
 par erat potissimum curam agi, quod ludi magister primum innoxiam ac rudem aetatem curat, quae sibi nondum potest prospicere, deinde optimae spei annos, qui et fugiunt ocysse et redeunt nunquam. Apud Rhomanos olim atrocissimo supplicio necabatur, qui non ex vsu publico gessisset imperium. Vtinam extaret  
 similis aliqua lex, quae in perniciosos pueritiae moderatores dignum aliquod 30  
 exemplum statueret. Nunc honos etiam isti beluae, et sic merito, datur ex publico merces. Quin tanta pestis publicis manibus potius discerpitur? Cur non in solas terras aliquo deportatur?

5 dispiciant: despiciant *CF* | 7 principis ... tractant: *om. CDH* | 8 fingendum: fugiendum *CD* | 15 ingredereis: ingredieris *E* | 20 vt mores: vt si mores *CD* | 21 Quantum: Quaquam *CD* | 28 Rhomanos: *ABEFG*, Romanos *CDHIK* | 33 deportatur: deportetur *FK*

14-15 *viam ... ingredereis* Allusion to the proverbial saying 'Neque caecum ducem neque amentem consultorem' = μήτε τυφλὸν ὀδηγόν, μήτε ἀνόητον σύμβουλον

cf. *Adag.* 3,3,78, *LB* II, 799 A.  
 23 *Tria sunt* Cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, p. 50 sqq.

Cur tu consul Camillum illum tribunum  
 militem non imitaris ut, quemadmodum ille infidelem ludi magistrum  
 nudato a tergo corpore vinctisque manibus pueris iisdem quos hostibus pro-  
 diderat flagris in Faliscorum urbem tradidit redigendum, ita pari pompa istos  
 5 ex tua urbe tradas exigendos? Miraris interire literas cum cerdones ludos te-  
 neant litterarios? Miramur antiquam illam iam olim degenerare doctrinam, cum  
 doctoribus ipsis nichil sit indoctius? Magis mirarer ni sic eueniret. Queso te,  
 quid a rudi preceptore possit expectari, nisi rudior discipulus? Et ut in vetere  
 prouerbio est: Quid a malo coruo nisi malum ouum? Quando asellus genero-  
 10 sum equum progeniuit? Quando paunem noctua? An potius, ut vere scripsit  
 Horatius,

*Est in iuencis, est in equis patrum*

*Virtus, nec imbellem feroces*

*Progenerant aquilae columbam.*

15 *Fortes creantur fortibus.*

Quid hic sydera et celum innoxium in crimen vocamus?

Cur tu consul Camillum tribunum illum  
 militem non imitaris ut, quemadmodum ille malae fidei magistrum nudato a  
 tergo corpore vinctisque manibus pueris iisdem quos hostibus prodiderat flagris  
 20 in Faliscorum urbem redigendum tradidit, ita pari pompa pueritiae corrup-  
 tores istos ex urbe tua cures exigendos? Miraris interire literas, cum cerdones,  
 LB 1699 imo caudices, ludos | teneant literarios? Miramur antiquam eruditionem iam  
 olim degenerare, cum doctoribus ipsis nihil sit indoctius? Magis equidem mi-  
 rarer, ni sic eueniret. Quaeso te, quid a rudi praeceptore possit expectari nisi  
 25 rudior discipulus? Atque, ut est in vetere prouerbio: Quid a malo coruo nisi  
 malum ouum? An hic verum non est, quod scripsit Horatius:

*Est in iuencis, est in equis patrum*

*Virtus, nec imbellem feroces*

*Progenerant aquilae columbam:*

30 *Fortes creantur fortibus.*

Atqui fieri videmus ut filii non semper referant corporum vitia quae erant in  
 parentibus. Noui ipse fratres aliquot caeco patre matre clauda natos, quorum  
 nemo tamen caecus esset aut claudus. Caeterum ubi animus in animum trans-  
 funditur et ingenium ab ingenio formatur, fieri non potest quin discipulus  
 35 referat praeceptorem, velut animi parentem. Quid hic sydera et coelum inno-  
 xium criminamur?

18 malae: om. C D H | 36 criminamur: criminantur C D

1 Cf. Liv. V, 27,9.

9 a malo ... ouum Cf. Adag. 1,9,25, LB II,  
 343 E.

12-14 Hor. Carm. IV, 4,30-32.

15 Hor. Carm. IV, 4, 29.

27-30 Est... fortibus Hor. Carm. IV, 4, 30-32,  
 29.



Quid immerentem naturam incusamus? Quid salutifera religio commeruit, vt in tantam inuidiam adducatur? Tu modo preceptorem ydoneum para; videbis nimirum neque sydera neque ingenia nostris seculis, imo nec regionibus, adeo defuisse. Quod si ipsi nobis (vt facimus) defuerimus, frustra nobis vel vniuersum arrideat celum. 5 Nihil itaque miror extingui literas, quas certatim omnes contendunt extinguere, vindicare perpauci. Vbi nunc honos literis debitus? Vbi locus expolito ingenio dignus? Vbi fructus quem longos egregiosque labores consequi par fuit? Religiosi qui vocantur summam inscitiam consummatam pietatem arbitrantur; ecclesiastici Epicurum quam Crisippum malunt imitari. Principes, quorum 10 liberalitate studia et prouocari solent et foueri, non Platones sed Gnathones sibi asciscunt.

Quid immerentem naturam incusamus? Quid salutifera commeruit religio, vt in tantam inuidiam adducatur? Tu modo aduigila, vt parentur idonei praeceptores; dent operam principes, vt sit honos bonis literis: 15 videbis nimirum neque sydera neque ingenia nostris seculis, imo nec regionibus, adeo defuisse, tametsi non inficior vix aliam reperiri crassiorem, quod ad literas duntaxat attinet. Quod si ipsi nobis (vt facimus) defuerimus, frustra vel vniuersum arrideat coelum; apud nos fatales illi cometae sunt, qui suo afflatu pestem inuehant optimis studiis. Nihil itaque miror extingui literas, quas certatim omnes contendunt extinguere, vindicare perpauci. Vere dictum est *Honos alit artes*, et illud: *Sint Maecenates: non deerunt, Flacce, Marones*. Vbi nunc honos literis debitus? Vbi locus expolito ingenio dignus? Vbi fructus quem longos egregiosque labores consequi par fuit? Qui hodie professione religionis sese venditant, consummatam pietatem arbitrantur nihil scire, ac maxima ex parte 20 aut quaestui seruiunt aut ventri; ecclesiae proceres Epicurum fere quam Ciceronem malunt imitari. Principes, quorum liberalitate studia literarum et prouocari solent et foueri, non Platones iam sed Gnathones sibi asciscunt. 25

11 solent: soleant *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*sed a del. a prima vt videtur manu*) | 22 Maecenates: Moecenates *MS*<sup>2</sup> *I BAS*, Mecoenates *A-HK*

11 *Gnathones* Gnatho, a parasite and flatterer in the comedy *Eunuchus* by Terence. Cf. *Adag.* prol., *LB* II, 13 B: 'Gnathone adulantior.' Also appears in *Epp.* 26, l. 5; 26, l. 55; 30, l. 34; 31, l. 72; 44, l. 20; 104, l. 38; 145, l. 125; cf. also Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, 49.  
15 *dent operam principes* Cf. *Inst. princ. Chr.* *LB* IV, 592 E.  
19 *apud ... sunt* Cf. *Ep.* 1005, l. 1-7: 'Video

plerosque mortales in hac esse persuasione vt felicitatis aut infelicitatis causas e supernis corporibus petant ... Proinde stellas obseruent alii, si lubet; ego in terris quaerendum existimo quod nos felices aut infelices reddat.'

21-22 *Cic. Tusc.* I, 2,4; also quoted *Adag.* 1,8,92, *LB* II, 330 F.

22 *Martial VIII*, 56,5; also quoted *Adag.* 1,8,92, *LB* II, 331 A.

Et quis tandem sani capitis velit sese tam diuturnis macerare laboribus, sine quibus nec mediocris quidem literatura comparatur, odium denique et summam invidiam pro premio laturus? Iam porro fac citra conatum eruditionem contingere; quis erit tandem qui non malit vel in vltimas Indie solitudines profugere quam has literatorum simias ferre? Equidem priscorum more  
 5 inter pecora vitam transigere non paulo prestabilius dixerim quam inter hos brutorum omnium brutissimum hominum genus, quibus apud nos omnia michi redundare videntur, qui alienam doctrinam contemnunt.

## Munera

ferunt moriones, palpones, voluptatum architecti. Pluris est qui canem bellum adducat quam qui librum eruditum porrigat. Sacerdotiorum ampli census aut venalia sunt aut malorum obsequiorum praemia. Ad abbatias caeterasque dignitates stupidissimi quique potissimum irrumpunt. Queritur Satyrographus, quod diuites *tantum admirentur laudentque disertos, vt pueri Iunonis auem*. At hodie  
 10 probro est scire literas. Nusquam magis regnat quam apud nos pestilens hoc hominum genus, quos merito ptochotyranos dixeris: hi rerum omnium censuram sibi vindicant praesertim apud stultas atque etiam impudicas mulierculas, et apud imperitam multitudinem; his persuadent egregii sycophantae haeresim esse scire Graecas literas, haeresim esse loqui quo more locutus est Cicero. Et  
 20 quis tandem sani capitis cupiat sese tam diuturnis macerare laboribus, sine quibus nec mediocris literatura paratur, odium denique summamque invidiam praemii vice reportaturus? Iam porro fac citra conatum eruditionem dormienti contingere, quis non malit vel in vltimas Indiae solitudines profugere quam hos literatorum simios ferre? Equidem priscorum hominum more, quos e  
 25 truncis arborum natos finxit antiquitas, non paulo malim inter pecora vitam transigere quam inter hoc brutorum omnium brutissimum genus, quibus apud nos mihi differta videntur omnia, qui pari stoliditate et suam rusticitatem admirantur et alienam doctrinam contemnunt.

2 quidem: *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*postea del.*); comparatur: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, paratur *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 12 caeterasque: certasque *C H* | 13 Queritur: *C D H*, Quaeritur *A B E F G I K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 15 Nusquam: *D H K*, Nunquam *A B C E F G I MS*<sup>2</sup> | 16 hi: hii *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 17 vindicant: vendicant *C D H* | 18 his: hiis *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 26 hoc: *om. C D H* | 27 stoliditate: *K*, soliditate *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup>

4-5 *in vltimas ... profugere* Cf. Ep. 61, l. 240: 'Erasmus in extremas Indiae solitudines deportandum.'

14 Iuv. VII, 31 'tantum admirari tantum laudare disertos vt pueri Iunonis avem'; also quoted *Adag.* 4,1,84, *LB* II, 988 C. 18 Cf. Ep. 948, l. 32: 'apud imperitam plebem vociferantur'; Ep. 1007, l. 45: 'tantum apud imperitam plebeculam stultasque mulierculas vociferantur.'

24-25 quos ... antiquitas Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII,

314: 'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata', and Serv. to this place: 'hoc figmentum ortum est ex antiqua hominum habitatione qui ante factas domos aut in cauis arboribus aut in speluncis manebant, qui cum exinde egrederentur dicti sunt inde procreari'; Iuv. 6,12: 'Viuebant homines qui rupto robore nati'; cf. also Hom. *Od.* XIX, 163, Stat. *Theb.* IV, 276 sqq.

En tibi alterum genus superioribus illis haud multo minus tum odiosum tum pestilens, qui religionis larua personati, si quando a parentibus super salute iuuenum consuluntur, quibus artibus potissimum instituendos, quibus preceptoribus committendos censeant, vt Demodocus ille Platonius Socratem consulebat, tum nichil Socratis preter vultum et taurinum intuitum imitantes, mira autoritate a poetarum oratorum lectione ante omnia deterrent. Vestigia quibus ipsi sunt ingressi

Sed inter has beluas verius quam homines, nullum odiosius aut pestilentius aut Musis omnibus infensius quam isti quidam religionis larua personati, de quibus modo dicere coeperam, qui venerando cultu | simulataeque sanctimoniae specie non mediocrem autoritatem sibi pararunt apud idiotas, praesertim apud mulierculas, quarum et stulticia abutuntur et libidini fortiter succurrunt, tauri egregie obesi neque vulgariter mutoniati: hos adhibent in consilium, et si non adhibeant, ipsi qua sunt impudentia vltro semet ingerunt, volentibus nolentibus. Consultitur igitur camelus de saltatione, de cantione asinus. Quid enim aliud fit cum Minorita aut Iacobita aut Carmelita velut oraculum consultitur, cui puer ad optimas disciplinas destinatus formandus tradi debeat, quibus rationibus et autoribus instituendus sit, non aliter, quam Demodocus ille Platonius consulebat Socratem? Ibi mihi consultor ille stupidus ac superciliosus, nihil Socratis referens praeter vultum et taurinum intuitum, mira seueritate cum primis deterret a lectione poetarum. Porro bliteis istis poetae sunt et Quintilianus et Plinius et Aulus Gellius et Titus Liuius, breuiter, quicumque Latine scripserunt; adeo non intelligunt quid sit poetice, quam poetriam vocare solent, vt nec poetae qui sint aut dicantur intelligant. Vestigia quibus ipsi sint ingressi

16 fit: *A-I MS<sup>2</sup>*, sit *K* | 24 sint: *HK*, sunt *ABCDEFGHI* | 25 sint ingressi: ingressi sint *CD*, ingressi sunt *H*

5 Ps. Plat. *Dem.* III, 380a.

6 *taurinum intuitum* Cf. *Adag.* 3,7,47, *LB* II, 894 C: 'Βλέπειν ταυρηδόν i.e. tauricum intueri.'

10-12 Cf. Ep. 1007, l. 45.

14 The adjective *mutoniati* occurs in Martial.

III, 73,1; XI, 63,2; *Priap.* 52,10 Buech. 15 *volentibus nolentibus* Cf. *Adag.* 1,3,45, *LB* II, 130 F.

15-16 *camelus de saltatione* Cf. *Adag.* 2,7,66, *LB* II, 630 A; Otto No. 311.

16 *de cantione asinus* Allusion to the proverbial saying 'asinus ad lyram' cf. *Adag.* 1,4,35, *LB* II, 164 B, or 'asinus ad tibiam' cf. *Adag.* 4,1,47, *LB* II, 980 F; Otto No. 180,5; also appears in Erasmus's letters: Epp. 58, l. 187; 61, l. 199; 61, l. 209.

17 *Iacobita* The Parisian name of the Dominicans, as their house was located on

St. Jacob's Street and close to St. Jacob's church, which belonged to them. Erasmus often uses this name. Cf. *Antib.* 74, l. 29; 75, l. 8; 96, l. 11; Epp. 1153, l. 113; 1155, l. 15; 1172, l. 3; 1173, l. 101; 1196, l. 511.

22 *bliteis istis* Cf. *Adag.* 2,4,72, *LB* II, 546 B: 'Bliteos appellant stupidos' where classical sources are cited.

24 *quam ... solent* Cf. Ep. 1126, l. 334: 'qui quicquid ipsi non didicerunt "poetriam" appellant.'

25 sqq. There are very frequent attacks against Mediaeval grammarians in the letters of Erasmus. Cf. Epp. 26, l. 89; 35, l. 83; also in Herman's letter to Batt, Ep. 56, l. 32; similar attacks in *Coll.* *LB* I, 892 F.

commonstrant, homines mera barbarie educati. Deinde preceptorem si quem egregie indoctum nouerint, ad eum miserrimos adolescentulos mittent. Nec difficile persuadent, quippe qui sint callidissimi simulande probitatis artifices, et vulgus ignarum deterioribus facilius acquiescit. Quem inter haec non pigeat viuere? Quem non *ultra Sauromatas et glaticalem oceanum fugere libeat*, qui quidem veterum illorum et modestiam et eruditionem cum huius nostri seculi et arrogantia et inscitia componat?

commonstrant, homines ex mera barbarie nati, simul et educati. Alius iubet edisci psalterium, alius censet linguam Latinam petendam ex prouerbiis Solomonis, alius vocat ad insulsissimum autorem Michaellem Modistam, alius ad Mammetrectum, alius ad Catholicon; vt quisque infectus est, ita dant aliis consilium. Deinde si quem nouerint praeproptorem tam insigniter asinum quam ipsi sunt insigniter hypocritae, ad eum mitti iubent miserrimos adolescentulos. Nec difficile persuadent primum idiotis, deinde callidissimi simulandae probitatis artifices, postremo vulgus hominum fere deterioribus acquiescit libentius. Contra, si quem olfece-  
rint politius eruditum, abominantur. Caue, inquiunt, poeta est, parum Christianus est. Haec nusquam non instillant auribus hominum in concionibus, in quibus regnant, populi stulticia freti, in priuatis colloquiis, in arcanis illis confessionibus, in quibus sibi dii videntur. Quem inter haec portenta non pigeat viuere? Cui non *lubeat et ultra Sauromatas et glaticalem Oceanum fugere*, si modo veterum illorum et modestiam et eruditionem cum huius nostri seculi tum arrogantia tum inscitia componat?

5 qui: *MS<sup>1</sup>*, si *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 10 Solomonis: *A B C D G H I MS<sup>2</sup>*, Salomonis *E F K* | 11 Mammetrectum: *A-I MS<sup>2</sup>*, Mammetreptum *K* | 15 *post* deinde *aliquid excidisse videtur*; *fortasse aliis supplementum aut callidissimis scribendum* | 17-18 Christianus: Christianus parum *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 20-21 portenta ... viuere: non pigeat viuere portenta *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 21 glaticalem: *B C D H K*, glaciabilem *A E F G I MS<sup>2</sup>*

3 *calidissimi ... artifices* Cf. *Antib.* 74, l. 15 'simulandae religionis artificio'. Cf. also Ep. 1007, l. 47: 'religionis ... simulandae miri artifices.'

5 Iuv. II, 1: 'Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaticalem Oceanum.'

11 *Michaellem Modistam* Possibly Michel de Marbais, author of a compendium entitled *De modis significandi*. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Sprachlogik* in: *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, Bd I, München, 1926, p. 104-146, E. Gilson, *La philosophie au moyen age*, Paris, 1948, p. 405. Erasmus also attacks him, *Coll. LB I*, 892 F. *Mammetrectum* Mammetrectus, or Mammothrectus, or Mammethreptus in the later

editions, *ad Bibliam*, a Biblical dictionary, written by Joannes Marchesinus, (Marchesinus of Reggio, c. 1466?), published very often. The first edition published in Mainz, 10 November 1470. Cf. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, Oxford, 1914, p. 53. Attacks against this dictionary, Epp. 337, l. 317; 372, l. 13; 535, l. 30.

12 *Catholicon* A Latin grammar and dictionary written by John Balbi, a Dominican from Genoa, c. 1286. It was printed in Mainz, 1460. Cf. Allen, Ep. 26, n. l. 89, and Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, Oxford, 1914, p. 43 sqq. Erasmus attacks this work also in Epp. 26, l. 86; 35, l. 85; 56, l. 32; 332, l. 317; 372, l. 13; 535, l. 29.

Sed quid longam et inanem querelam ingredimur? In te (vt dixi) omnis hec culpa recidit, qui si hos et indoctissimos doctores et consultores inconsultissimos vel eiiceres vel (quod illis dignius erat) culeis insutos in mare vicinum precipitares, ad quiduis supplicii deposci non recusauerim, nisi mirabilem eruditorum prouentum propediem videas efflorescere. 5

Quibus commemorandis quum vehementius Battus incandesceret, subridens consul Probe, inquit, intelligis me priuatum hic adesse, qui tanta ista in me libertate audeas vti. Verum ego vicissim te (si pateris) recriminabor, qui tuum officium preterieris: Tuum enim prorsus erat, qui publico munere fungereris, ista tam nephanda ad consulem referre. De referendo michi narras impudens, 10 respondit Battus, quasi ista in re non omnes Herculis labores susceperim, imo prope vicerim? Meminisse me scio (quanquam eciam falsus dissimulas) vt ante biennium fere a Parrhisiiis reuersus, ludi huius amministrationem vobis auctoribus inirem.

Sed quid longam et inanem querelam ingredimur? In te vt dixi, omnis ista culpa recidit, qui si istos et indoctissimos doctores et inconsultissimos consultores vel eiiceres vel, quod illis esset dignius, culleis insutos cimicibus ac pulicibus differtis in mare vicinum praecipitares, ad quiduis supplicii deposci non recusarim, nisi mirabilem eruditorum hominum prouentum propediem cernas efflorescere. 20

Quibus commemorandis cum Battus vehementius incandesceret, nam homo alias placidus ac lenis hic sibi temperare nunquam potuit, sic adamabat bonas literas, subridens consul: Quo supplicii genere perdendi sint isti, Batte, inquit, post consultabimus; ego, si Iuppiter essem, omnes in asinos verterem et camelos. Sed interim probe videris intelligere me hic priuatum adesse, qui tanta ista 25 libertate in me ausis vti, tanquam cum Conrado tibi res sit, non cum consule. Verum ego te vicissim, si pateris, criminabor, qui tuum officium praeterieris. Siquidem tuum prorsus erat, qui publico munere fungereris ista tam nephanda ad consulem ac senatum referre, nisi forte frustra sedes in consilio; certe tuae partes erant monere. Haec ideo consul, vt magis etiam inflammaret ardentem. 30 Tum Battus: De referendo mihi narras impudens, quasi ista in re non omnes Herculis labores susceperim, imo prope vicerim? Meminisse te scio, quamquam male salsus dissimulas, cum ante biennium fere reuersus a Lutecia Parisiorum, administrationem ludi literarii suscepissem,

3 illis: *inter lin.*, *MS prima manu vt videtur suprascr.* | 8 audeas: *MS<sup>1</sup>*, ausis *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 12 me: *MS<sup>1</sup>*, te *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 15 quid: *om. C D H* | 24 Iuppiter: *A B D*, Iupiter *C E-K* | 33 salsus: *A-I MS<sup>2</sup>*, falsus *MS<sup>1</sup> K B A S* | 34 administrationem ludi literarii: ludi litterarii amministrationem *MS<sup>2</sup>*

3-4 *culeis ... precipitares* Cf. Herman's letter to Batt in Ep. 35, l. 90: 'digni qui culeis insuti cum suis voluminibus deuoluantur in Tiberim.' Cf. also Ep. 49, l. 16.  
11 *Herculis labores* Cf. *Adag.* 3,1,1, *LB II*,

701 D; Otto No. 800, 2; Erasmus makes frequent use of this expression, cf. e.g. Ep. 52, l. 50.  
12-13 *ante ... reuersus* Batt returned to Bergen c. 1492.

Dii boni, quas nugas, que somnia, que ludibria, quam barbariem, quos sentes infelicissimis adolescentibus inculcauerant ii, qui ante me docuerant! Tum re quidem ipsa Fabianum illud approbau: non paulo molestiorem dedocendi quam docendi esse laborem. Nam simul atque zizaniam illam ita  
 5 (vt erat necesse) euellere instituissem, mirum dictu fuit, quam amaris odiis, quam agmine, quam digladiatorio animo

quod ibi Augeae stabulum  
 repperim. Deum immortalem, quas nugas, quae somnia, quae ludibria, quam  
 LB 1701 barbariem, quos sentes, quam fecem | infelicissimis adolescentibus inculca-  
 10 uerant ii, qui ante me nihil scire docuerant! Tum re quidem ipsa Fabianum illud  
 nimium approbau, non paulo molestiorem esse dedocendi quam docendi labo-  
 rem. Nam simulatque zizaniam illam, ita vt erat necesse, instituissem reuellere,  
 dictu mirum quam amaris odiis, quam deuoto agmine, quam gladiatorio animo

7 Augeae: B H K, Angeae A C-G I MS<sup>2</sup> | 12 ita: om. H

7 *Augeae stabulum* Cf. *Adag.* 2,4,21, LB II, 530 A; Otto No. 206.

8 *Deum immortalem* Cf. note to p. 40, l. 14.  
 10 Quint. *Inst.* II, 3,2 'onus ... et quidem dedocendi grauius ac prius quam docendi.'

*nihil scire docuerant* Cf. Ep. 23, l. 90: 'docere inquam magna mercede nil scire.'

13 *gladiatorio animo* A proverbial expression. Cf. *Adag.* 1,3,76, LB II, 140 EF, where Ter. *Phorm.* 964 is cited as a source.

sint coorti in nos illi imperitiae magistri. Age, quid vnquam in tua Republica vidisti ea seditione turbulentius? Incitauerant in me de clero simili dementia imbutos, quae maxima multitudo est; tum oppidi primores, quorum animi auitum adhuc rus sapiebant; praeterea iuuenum maiores plerosque, quorum pietatem religioso metu sollicitabant, vt filiorum pudori mature consulerent. Incenderant et fabros, fullones, cerdones, pharmacopolas, mendicos, mimos, blaterones, aucupes, piscatores, essedarios, cetarios, coquos, fartores, baiulos, a quibus non perinde ingenio differunt atque cultu. Ad haec tonsores, lenones, lenas, aniculas, et quos non? Vulgi infimi partem multo maximam, id quod nequiquam ardui erat negocii, tum quod per se sit irritabile vulgus, tum quod pro insita stoliditate literas habet inuisas, tum quod pari temeritate absurdissima quaeque perlibenter et miratur et tuetur. Sed ducum virtutem prosequamur. Hi vero tantis copiis freti passim in me diras atque atroces voces iactabant, in foro, in compotationibus, in officinis, in tonstrinis, in lustris, publice priuatim, ebrii sobrii, dictitantes externum hominem nescio quem nouam quandam haeresim serere; optimos illos autores, Alexandrum, Graecistam, Ebrardum, Modistam, Breuiloquum, Mammectum, Catholicontem, quibus et aui et proau ipsorum doctissimi euasisent, nunc indigne extrudi; inaudita quaedam atque horrenda ethnicorum induci portenta, Flaccum, Maronem, Nasonem; iuuenibus iam nihil nisi de amando praecipere, ea pueris inculcari quae ne grandioribus quidem scire fas esset. Nisi quamprimum prospectum fuisset, actum esse de religione Christiana; Anti-

1 Age: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; vnquam: vnquam *MS* | 5 Incenderant: *incederant A* | 6 cerdones: sardones *MS<sup>1</sup>*; blaterones: balatrones *K* | 7 baiulos: baiullarios *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 7-8 a ... Ad haec: *om. MS* | 9 infimi: *ex infimam corr. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 10 insita: *inscita CD* | 14 in tonstrinis: *om. MS* | 15 externum: *extremum MS* | 16-17 Modistam ... Catholicontem: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 16 Mammectum: *Mammectum K* | 17 aui: *au sui MS<sup>1</sup>*; ipsorum: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 20 grandioribus: *MS<sup>1</sup>, BAS, grandibus A-K MS<sup>2</sup>* | 21 prospectum: *profectum MS<sup>1</sup>*

3-4 *auitum ... rus* Cf. Iuv. 16,36; Sil. VII, 261.

9 *et quos non?* Cf. Ep. 30, l. 39: 'et quae non?' 12-13 *tantis copiis freti* Cf. Ep. 1126, l. 343 sqq.

15 *haeresim* Cf. Ep. 1126, l. 342: "Sat habent dixisse 'Error est', 'Suspectum est', 'Haeresis est'."

16 *Alexandrum* Alexander de Villa Dei, c. 1200, the author of a Latin grammar in verse, *Doctrinale puerorum*. Cf. Reichling's edition, Berlin, 1893; cf. Allen, Ep. 23, n. l. 56. Attacks against this grammar also in *De puer. inst.*, LB I, 514 F. It is also cited in Ep. 456, l. 229.

*Graecistam Ebrardum* Eberhard of Bethune in Artois, 12th cent., surnamed Graecista as he was the author of a Latin grammar in verse entitled *Graecismus*, which explains Latin words derived from Greek. It was printed at Paris, P. Levet,

4 Jan. 1488. Cf. Wrobel's edition, Breslau, 1887; cf. P. Gröber, *Übersicht über die lateinische Literatur von der Mitte des VI Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1902, p. 387; Ep. 26, l. 89 sq.

*Modistam* Cf. note to p. 58, l. 11.

*Breuiloquum* Probably *Brachilogus*, composed by Johannes de Mera; cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Die Wandlungen der Antibarbari*, in: *Gedenkschrift...*, Basel, 1936, p. 64, n. 52. Not *Vocabularius breuiloquus* by Reuchlin. Attacks against a *Graxyloquus* occur in Ep. 35, l. 86, against a *Brachylogus* in Ep. 56, l. 72 and *De conscr. ep.*, LB I, 447 C. *Mammectum* Cf. note to p. 58, l. 11.

17 *Catholicontem* Cf. note to p. 58, l. 12.

21 *actum ... Christiana* Cf. Ep. 456, l. 46: 'actum putant de religione Christiana'; Ep. 1126, l. 350: 'actum fuerit de doctrina Euangelica.'

christi seculum iam aut adesse aut certe quam proxime instare. Venisse enim doctores, qui blandirentur iis quibus aures essent nouarum rerum auditate prurientes, quique iuxta Pauli vaticinium a veritate auocarent, ad fabulas traducerent adolescentes. Vidisti ipse testis in eo tumultu, quantum me Herculem  
 5 praestiterim, quot leones, quot sues, quot Stymphalidas aues, quot tauros, quot Antaeos, quot Geryones, quot Diomedes, quot Nessos confecerim, vt Cerberum e latebris illis, vbi exangues vmbras territabat, extractum coelo ostenderim, quanta virtute Lernaeam hydram foecundam suis mortibus igne Graeco vix tandem extinxerim, et haud scio an adhuc spiret pestis illa omnium perniciosissima.  
 10 Urbis nostrae Pompeius, quanquam ille Midae quidem similior quam Pompeio, quid molietur, haud me praeterit. Tot vnus monstris obiectus non cessi tamen, imo peruici, iis quibus sanior erat mens persuasis, caeteris clarissima ratione confutatis, contemptis nonnullis. Quae cum Battus dixisset, Moriar, inquit Guilhelmus, ni tu, mi Batte, non supplicatione modo verumetiam triumpho  
 15 dignissimus es. Nam si Ion ille rhapsodus apud Platonem, quod vnum Homerum laudibus extulisset, meritum se iactitat, cui eius poetae studiosi coronam auream imponent; tu vero, qui vniuersam prope literaturam contra tot portenta strenue defendisti, quanto dignior es cui Musae aut ipse etiam Apollo lauream triumphalem imponat, aut certe qui in omnibus Museis stes aureus. Ad  
 20 quem iocum cum arrisissent caeteri, Battus quoque iam hilarior: Age, inquit, rideor Hercules, et vobis Pyrgopolinices quispiam videor; tamen qualisqualis sum, quod potui sum conatus; quod si, Guilhelme, huic animo tua lingua eruditioque fuisset adiuncta, melius fortasse cum literis ageretur. Tum consul: Age inquit, Hercules, quid si tibi pro rebus fortiter gestis triumphum de|cernamus  
 LB 1702 et quidem speciosiore, quam vnquam vel Paulo Aemilio vel Pompeio conti-  
 25

2-3 blandirentur ... vaticinium: prurirent auribus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 me: *MS*<sup>1</sup> *BAS*, *om. A-K*, *del. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 5 quot tauros: quos tauros *MS* | 6 Antaeos: Antheos *MS*; Geryones: Geriones *MS K*; Diomedes: Dyomedes *MS* | 7 ostenderim: ostenderem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 foecundam: fecundam *MS* | 10 nostrae: *MS K*, vestrae *A-I*; quanquam ... Pompeio: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 nonnullis: nonnullis. *Guilmus. MS* | 14 Guilhelmus: *Guilmus MS* | 17 imponent: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, reponent *A-K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 18 es: *om. I*, est *E*; ipse: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> *C D H* | 19-22 aut certe ... qualisqualis sum: Rideor ego Hercules, respondit Battus, quanquam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 Museis: *K*, Musis *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup> | 20 iam: *om. C D H* | 22 potui: potui quidem *MS*; Guilhelme: *Guilme MS* | 25 et quidem: equidem *MS*<sup>1</sup>; vnquam: vnquam *MS*

3 2. *Tim.* 4,3: 'magistros prurientes auribus et a veritate quidem auditum auertent, ad fabulas autem conuertentur.'

4-5 quantum ... praestiterim Cf. *Ep.* 113, l. 171: 'edomandis quibus heu nimium bonae obsidentur literae monstris Herculem te praesta'; *Ep.* 145, l. 128: 'Hercules alter praestandus.'

9 adhuc spiret Cf. *Hor. Carm.* IV, 9,10: 'spirat adhuc amor.'

13-14 Moriar ... ni tu Cf. similar expressions in *Epp.* 146, l. 25; 156, l. 6; 281, l. 17.  
 15 *Plat. Io* 530 d.

25 *Paulo Aemilio* Aemilius Paulus, Roman consul, 182 B.C. His magnificent victory at Pydna (167 B.C.) over Perseus, king of Macedonia, is described by *Liv.* XLV, 40 and *Plut. Vita Aem.* 32-35.

*Pompeio* Cn. Pompeius Magnus (106-48 B.C.) celebrated three triumphs in 79, 71 and 61 B.C. The most magnificent of these was the triumph in 61, described by *Plin. Nat.* VII, 98. Concerning Pompey's three triumphs cf. *F. Miltner, RE* XLII, B, Stuttgart, 1932, 2073-2076; 2087-2089; 2124-2126.



gerit. Cras niueis equis vectus vrbem laureatus ingredieris, plaudentibus vtrin-  
 que vniuersis bonarum literarum studiosis; barbari duces tua virtute domiti  
 reuinctis (vt digni sunt) post tergum manibus triumphalem currum antecedent,  
 victori populo supplices manus ostendent. Miles victor a tergo imperatoris  
 laudes cantabit, praeda circumferetur, trophaea figentur Phoebō, nouemque  
 5 sororibus opima spolia dicabuntur. Quid quaeris? deum te facimus, vt iam non  
 alter sis Hercules, iuxta prouerbium, sed prorsus ipse sis Hercules; quid  
 vnquam simile promeruit ille? verum ea lege, si hoc prius feceris, quod victores  
 facere consueuerunt, vt rerum abs te terra marique gestarum et totius certami-  
 nis huius rationem nobis luculenta oratione exponas, quod etiam vt triumphum  
 10 tantum contempnas, recusare tamen nequaquam debes vel nostra causa, qui  
 tantopere id flagitamus, vel literarum amore, quibus scio tibi nihil esse anti-  
 quius, vel denique Reip. causa, in quam tu nuper receptus sollicitudinem illi et  
 pietatis officium debere coepisti. Nam quod tu me modo insimulabas, quid me  
 15 posse censes vnum inter tot hominum capita longe aliter sentientium? An me  
 vis (quod dici solet) aduersum stimulum calces? praesertim cum nec mihi ipsi  
 satisdum sit haec confirmata sententia, ita nonnunquam istorum disputationibus  
 labefactor, vt partes vestras vix satis tutari queam. Et quod nunc quidem serio  
 dicendum sit, Batte, si vera sunt quae mihi de tuis endoxis, adoxis, amphidoxis  
 20 soles disputare, non minimam profecto turpitudinis partem causa vestra videtur  
 obtinere, non apud vulgus modo, verumetiam apud literis aequiores. Nam sunt  
 vestri autores, ne mentiar, primum ethnici, quod tamen vtcunque poterat  
 defendi, deinde cognitu perquam difficiles, quod ipsum non paucis odium  
 parit, postremo quod est grauissimum, lasciuī, imo etiam obscoeni. Nunc  
 accipe rem, Christianos autores eiicitis, inducitis ethnicos, notos expellitis, in-  
 fertis ignotos, veteres extruditis, producitis nouos, faciles tollitis, obscuros  
 25 nobis obiicitis; denique, quod est caput, castos interdicitis, lasciuos iuuenibus  
 proponitis. Quid oris tum esse mihi credis, quoties consulem me rogant mei  
 ciues, num ideo ludus sit in urbe publicus, vt iuuenes meretricios perdiscant  
 amores, perinde quasi parum ipsi sint ad haec studia suoapte ingenio proclius,  
 30

1-2 vtrinque: vtrimque *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 post tergum: *om. MS* | 5 trophaea: *trophea MS K*; nouem-  
 que: nouem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 opima: optima *MS*<sup>1</sup> *D*; Quid quaeris: *ecquid MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6-8 vt ... ille: *om.*  
*MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 Reip.: *reip. MS*, *Reipub. K* | 15 posse: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; tot: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16-17 mihi ... sit:  
 mihi quidem ipsam satisdum fit *MS*<sup>1</sup> (quidem ipsam *del.*) | 19 sit: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; endoxis: *eudo-*  
*xis MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 ne: non *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 27 est caput: *caput est MS* | 28 credis: *creditus MS*<sup>1</sup>; quoties:  
 quotiens *MS*; consulem me: *me consulem MS* | 30 sint ... suoapte: *ad haec studia suoapte*  
*sint MS*

7 *alter ... Hercules* Cf. *Adag.* 1,7,41, *LB II*, 277 F, cf. *Ep.* 145, l. 128: 'Cum his quoque monstris mihi decertandum est et Hercules alter praestandus.'

16 *aduersum stimulum calces* Cf. *Adag.* 1,3,46, *LB II*, 131 A-C; Otto No. 1693; appears also in *Act.* 26,14, cf. Kittel, *Theol. Wör-*

*terb.* 2. *Neuen Test.*, III, 665 sqq., and *Ep.* 126, l. 212.

22 *ne mentiar* A phrase often used by Erasmus. Cf. *Epp.* 12, l. 2; 17, l. 54; 18, l. 17; 108, l. 61.

27 *quod est caput* Cf. *Adag.* 2,1,61, *LB II*, 429 E; occurs also in *Ep.* 56, l. 41.

vt assuescant technas fabre consuere, vt veteratorie parentibus imponere, vt nihil pudere, mentiri, suum ponere vultum, alienum sumere, haec enim ex vestris comoediis discunt et domum memoriter referunt. Quam tu grauiter haec ferire parentum aures arbitrare? Utrum in lupanar, inquit, liberos nostros mittimus, an in ludum literarium? Nam tres illas literas, quas senex Plautinus se didicisse gloriatur, domi facile discimus. Praeterea si qui paulo sunt eruditiores, ii mihi pontificum decreta et theologorum sententias memoriter decantant, tum quidem tergiuersari soleo, sed plane vt victus, non vt insidiator. Tu vero, cum sis hac in palaestra facile omnium exercitissimus, fieri non potest, quin plurima teneas tum lecta, tum cogitata, quibus huiusmodi criminationes refelli queant; quare rem prorsus diuinam feceris, si totam hanc con-  
 5 trouersiam a capite vsque ad calcem explicueris, non quod causa vestra parum mihi probetur, verum patronum me paulo instructiorem reddideris. BATTVS. Quod cum Battus, singulis sua quoque causa vehementer flagitantibus, defugere  
 10 nulla ratione posset: Age, inquit, de praemio plus etiam pollicemini, quam postulo, mihi satis fuerit supplicii, si sola a te studiorum pestis vnco trahatur ac mox in publicam cloacam praecipitetur; deinde procerum aliquot pro capitibus linguas duntaxat depono. In quem vsum, inquam? Ad nullum alium, inquit, quam ad abstergendum podicem, aut defricandas matulas, aut certe |  
 LB 1703  
 15 immundas patellas. Nihil, inquam, accommodatius, sed extra iocum, hospites, quandoquidem in rem tam praeclaram fortuito incidimus, quin nos quoque hic Academiam quandam Platonis exemplo instituimus? An quia deest nobis platanus illa vel Platonica, vel Ciceroniana, quarum altera facundissimi philosophi, altera sapientissimi oratoris literis et sata est et creuit, potius quam humore  
 20 aliquo. Quin ego vobis pro vmbraticis veras ac pro vna arbuscula copiosum pomarium exhibebo, quod aedibus nostris ab laeua proximum videtis, proceris quercubus et riuo lympidissimo cinctum. Quid si hunc quoque locum nostra disputatiuncula sic irrigemus, vt nulla vnquam aetate arescat? Nec

1 vt veterorie: et veteratorie *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 Quam: Quin *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 ferire: ferre *MS*<sup>1</sup>; aures: animos *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 paulo sunt: sunt paulo *MS* | 8 vt *alt.*: inter lin. *adsr.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 BATTVS: *BAS*, Erasmus *MS*, Erasmus *A-K* | 14 sua quoque: quoque sua *MS*; vehementer: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15-21 Age ... quandoquidem: Age inquam quandoquidem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 tam: *om.* *C D H* | 25 vobis: nobis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 27-28 locum nostra: aliqua nostram *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 sic: ita *MS*<sup>1</sup>; vnquam: nunquam *C D E F H K*

1 *technas ... consuere* An expression modelled after Plautus's 'consuere dolos', cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 367 and 368; *Pseud.* 540.

2 *haec enim ...* Cf. Ep. 31, l. 51: 'Nefas aiunt a Christianis lectitari Terentianas fabulas. Quam ob rem tandem quaeso? Nihil, inquit, praeter lasciuam ac turpissimos adolescentum amores habent, quibus lectoris animum corrumpi necesse sit.'

6 Plaut. *Merc.* 303 sqq.

12 *a capite vsque ad calcem* Cf. *Adag.* 1,2,37, *LB* II, 84 A-D; occurs also in Ep. 126, l. 86.

20 *extra iocum* A phrase often used by Erasmus. Cf. *Antib.* 128, l. 19; 135, l. 21; Epp. 31, l. 89; 72, l. 4; 81, l. 78; 101, l. 15; and in many other places.

22 Plat. *Phaedr.* 229 a; 230 b, Cic. *De or.* I, 7,28: 'Platanus quae mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquila quam Platonis oratione creuisse.'

desunt quidem sub ingenti illa piro mediis circiter hortis commodissima sedilia, puluillos quoque si videbitur, adferri iubebo. Iam vero, personarum nihil me poenitet vel ad Iarcae scholam, non solum Academiam, consul, medicus publicus, secretarius vrbanus, theologus et idem orator, ego denique tam magnifici fundi colonus. Nam vt de Platone taceam (qui quoslibet etiam loquentes facit) quando vnquam Tullius perfrictae frontis homo, coetum magnificentiorem ausus est conuocare? Quod si Socratem philosophum grauissimum illa in Phaedro loci amoenitas potuit inuitare, vt humi iuxta fonticulum in gramine disputandi gratia procumberet, quid ni nos hi horti, (quos vel Epicurus ipse laudare queat) certe ad considendum alliciant, praesertim cum nihil hic eorum, quae Socrates illic miratur, desyderetur; quippe vbi pirus, vt videtis media, triplicem nobis voluptatem ministrabit. Nam vt est procera satis et patulis diffusa ramis, amoenissimam prorsus vmbram praebabit et frondibus opacis aestum facile propulsabit, praeterea vt est anni vernum tempus, non oculos modo flosculorum aspectu pascet, verumetiam nares gratissimo odore recreabit; tum ne fonticulo illo frigentis aquulae a Socrate superari videamur, en pro fonticulo riuus leni murmure circumlabens totos hortos irrigat. Hac aura quid possit esse spirantius, imo (quod medico teste dixerim) quid salubrius? Ibi Battus, qui eius apud Platonem descriptionis pulchre meminisset nostram orationem interpellans: Vt caeteris, inquit, Erasme, rebus maxime superemus, vna certe a Socrate illo Platonico vincimur. Nam et herbarum virentium graminumque flosculis versicoloribus distinctorum, gryllorum et cicadarum canorum murmur addas, licebit, est tamen quo sumus inferiores. ERASMVVS: Quid-

2 puluillos: puluinos *MS*<sup>1</sup>; personarum: *int. lin. MS* | 3 Iarcae ... solum: Hierarchiam vel (*postea del.*) nedum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 colonus: dominus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 vnquam: vnquam *MS* | 6-7 magnificentiorem: magnificentiorem etiam *MS* (*etiam del.*) | 9-10 quos ... queat: quos ... queat *inter parenthesin MS*; *sine parenthesios signis A-K* | 9 hi: hii *MS* | 10 alliciant: alliciunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 ne: nec *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 quid: *om. MS* | 20 Erasme: Herasme *MS* | 22 gryllorum: gratia *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 ERASMVVS: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

2 *puluillos* ... *iubebo* Erasmus here is imitating Cic. *De or. I*, 7, 29: 'puluinosque poposcisse.'

3 Erasmus took his information about Hiarcas and his school from Hier. *Epist.* 53,1,4, *CSEL* 54,444,6. Cf. Erasmus's note to this place in Hieronymus in his edition of Hieronymus (1516), IV, fol. 4. Philostr. V.A. 3,15 also speaks of Hiarcas; Hiarcas is mentioned also in Ep. 456, l. 234.

6 *Tullius perfrictae frontis homo* Cf. *Adag.* 1,8,47, *LB* II, 316 A-E; Otto No. 631. Cf. Ep. 250, l. 8: 'perfrica frontem.'

8 Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b.

12-13 *patulis diffusa ramis* An expression

taken from Cic. *De or. I*, 7,28: 'patulis est diffusa ramis' = ἀμφιλαφής in Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b.

13 *vmbram* Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b καὶ τὸ σύσκιον καλὸν and Cic. *De or. I*, 7,28: 'vmbram.'

15 *flosculorum aspectu* Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἄνθης.

*gratissimo odore* Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι τὸν τόπον.

16 Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b ἡ τε αὐτὴ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος.

22-23 *cicadarum* ... *addas* Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 c θερινὸν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπηγεῖ τῶν τετραγῶν χορῶν.

nam istuc, inquam? BATTVS: Puellarum Nympharumque imaginibus, inquit, quas Socratem illic video neutiquam praeteriisse. Quo ioco exhilaratus consul et medicus: Per canem, inquiunt et anserem Socraticum dignum quod a Batto admoneretur, quanquam caelaturis non magnopere solet delectari, viuas, opi-  
 5 nor, mallet, si detur optio. Verum istud nostrae disputatiunculae nihil obfuerit, eamus. Vbi collaudata loci specie consedissemus Battumque certatim, vt accingeretur, hortaremur, ille consulem fixius intuitus. BATTVS: Merito, inquit, nunc meo iugulor gladio, nam qui vos modo magnifice nugari iubebam, eo per vos ipse redigor, vt nihil me sit hodie futurum ineptius aut nugacius. Age,  
 10 parendum video tum consuli, tum medico, tum amicissimis, postremo tam multis, sed pomarium prius occludatur, ne quis nos videat. Neque enim vereor, ne vestrum quispiam me prodat, modo possit Erasmi stilus conquiescere, qui quicquid noctu somniat, etiam interdiu chartis suis illinere solet. Atqui, inquam, hic neque calamus est mihi neque charta. Fateor, inquit, at memoriam  
 15 noui tuam, quam scio tibi esse commentarii vice. Quod etiam si quid suffugerit, tu facile de tuo fulcies hiatum, sed tamen aggrediar vobis fretus. Mox in pedes erectus compositis ad dicendum et veste et vultu et gestu, aliquandiu defixis humi luminibus, cogitabundus haesit dicturienti pallor quidam ac trepidatio oborta, non stolidi nobis oratoris et confidentis, sed cordati et (vt inquit Fabius)  
 LB 1704 *periculum intelligentis* dedit ar|gumentum; mox inuentis ac digestis orationis par-  
 21 tibus (id enim egisse ex notatis articulis coniciebam) subtussiensi expuit, (id quod habebat familiare). Deinde surrecto hilarius vultu iamque viuacius singulos intuitus, summa cum omnium expectatione ita exorsus est.

1 istuc: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; BATTVS: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 2 quas: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; neutiquam praeteriisse: praeteriisse neutiquam *MS<sup>1</sup>*; ioco: *MS<sup>1</sup>*, loco *A-K MS<sup>2</sup>* | 3 inquiunt: inquit *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4-5 viuas ... optio: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 6 Battumque: Battum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 7 BATTVS: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 qui vos: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 ipse: ipsos *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 10 tum medico: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 10-11 postremo tam multis: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 occludatur: concludatur *MS<sup>1</sup>* (*post concludatur legitur volo sed del.*) | 12 Erasmi: Herasmi *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12-16 conquiescere ... Mox: conquiescere deinde *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 illinere: illinire *I* | 17 aliquandiu: aliquandiu *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 oborta: aborta *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 20 ac: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*

1 Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b Νυμφῶν τε τιῶν καὶ Ἀγελῶν ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι.

3 *per canem Socraticum* Swearing by a dog was a favorite oath of Socrates. νῆ οἱ μὰ τὸν κύνᾱ. For νῆ τὸν κύνᾱ cf. *Phaedr.* 228 b, *Gorg.* 466 c, *Phaedr.* 98 e, *Rep.* III, 399 e; μὰ τὸν κύνᾱ *Gorg.* 461 a; 482 b. *per anserem Socraticum* νῆ οἱ μὰ τὸν χῆνᾱ was very likely also one of Socrates's oaths. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 521 πρῶτοι οἱ

Σωκρατικοὶ ἐπετήδευσαν οὕτως ὁμνῶναι.

Cf. also Cratin. *fr.* 23, Zenob. 5,81.

4-5 viuas ... mallet A similar joke occurs in Ep. 103, l. 15: 'sunt hic Nymphae diuinis vultibus, blandae faciles et quas tu tuis camoenis facile anteponas.'

8 nunc meo iugulor gladio Cf. notetop. 47, l. 15.  
 9 nihil ... nugacius Occurs also in Ep. 222, l. 50.

20 Quint. *Inst.* XII, 5, 4: 'periculum intelligere'.

## ORATIONIS EXORDIVM. BATTVS

Nisi et apud iudices literatissimos dicturum me scirem et ipsa causae bonitate non mediocriter adiuuarer, vererer, ne in tanto stolidissimorum hominum odio non optimum hodie patronum literae fuerint habiturae. Nunc vero tantum abest, vt omnia quae ab istis antirhetoribus obiici vel soleant, vel queant, refel-  
 5 lere me posse diffidam, vt in causa tam vincibili ne principio quidem mihi vtendum putarim. Idque non modo apud vos, quos cum amicissimos, eruditissimos, huius etiam dictionis effragitatores, habeam, beneuolentes, dociles, atten-  
 10 tos non habere non possum, verumetiam apud Sauromatas et si quid est his etiam barbarius, modo homines dentur, certam mihi victoriam promiserim, homines, inquam, qui rationis ductum, non animi impetum sequuntur. Nam istos rabulas, qui obstinatis animis insaniam suam etiam confessam solent defendere, haud alio in numero quam Diogenes suam concionem pono. Ad quem, cum hominum milia aliquot confluisissent, negabat se ullum adhuc videre hominem. Pestifera est, inquit, mortalibus eruditio, optanda imperitia.

*Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.*

De fide igitur facienda iamdudum securus, hoc vnum mihi a vobis video postulandum, vt ne in re tam intractabili, tam spinosa vllum orationis splendorem expectetis, quem alioqui ne in felicissima quidem materia a Batto requirere debebatis. Ne delectari quidem postulabitis, nisi sicubi forte barbarorum ineptis-  
 20 simae rationes risum mouebunt. ERASMVS. Tum vero veniam praefatus et licebitne, inquam, aliquoties dicentem interpellare? BATTVS. Licebit, inquit, per me quoties videbitur nec enim ad clepsydras dicimus, vt causae dispendium sit, si quid temporis intercipiatur. ERASMVS. Ita mihi principio supersedissee videris, inquam, vt hoc ipso quo non vteris, maxime sis vsus principio, sed

5 antirhetoribus: anthirethoribus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 mihi: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 possum: *possim CD* | 9-10 est ... barbarius: *hiis est barbarius MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 promiserim: *promisero MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 non ... sequuntur: non cum impetu sequuntur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13-15 Ad quem ... hominem: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 14 confluisissent: *confluxisset MS*<sup>2</sup>; ullum: *om. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 15 imperitia: *imperitia. Horatius MS* | 18 vt: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 in: *om. CDH* | 21 mouebunt: *mouebant CDH*; ERASMVS: *Herasmus MS*; Tum vero: *Tum ego MS*; praefatus: *precatas MS* | 22 inquam: *inquit MS*<sup>1</sup>; aliquoties: *aliquotiens MS*; dicentem: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 quoties: *quotiens MS* | 23-24 nec ... intercipiatur: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 ERASMVS: *Herasmus MS*

8 *beneuolentes, dociles, attentos* Cf. *Rhet. Her.* I, 4,6: 'vt attentos, vt dociles, vt beneuolos auditores habere possimus', *Cic. Inv.* I, 15,20: 'si eum beneuolum, attentum, docilem confecerit', *De or.* II, 19,80: 'beneuolum nobis faciemus docilem et attentum.' Cf. also *De or.* II, 19,82; II, 79,323; *Quint. Inst.* IV, 1,5.

9 *Sauromatas* Sarmatians as a symbol of wildness occurs already in *Ov. Trist.* III, 10,5 and *Iuv.* 2,1.

13 Allusion to the well-known anecdote

about Diogenes the Cynic. Cf. *Diog. Laert.* VI, 32 φωνήσας ποτε' Ἴω ἄνθρωποι, συνελθόντων καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ εἰπών' Ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσα, οὐ καθάρματα. Cf. also *Diog. Laert.* VI, 41 Ἀύχρον μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄψαας περιήει λέγων' Ἀνθρωπον ζητῶ.

16 *Hor. Epist.* II, 1,31, cf. *Adag.* 1,9,73, *LB* II, 359 F-360 A.

23 *ad clepsydras dicimus* Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,73, *LB* II, 174 C.

perge obsecro, ne te primo statim cursu diutius remoremur. BATTVS. Istud vero tuum est, respondit Battus, haud meum, qui vafriem illam et strophas rhetoricas perdidicisti; mihi sat habeo rem, vt est, perquam paucissimis ostendere. Non igitur haec altius repetam, quibus fatis, quorum opera, quo tempore, quibus gradibus antiquae disciplinae e tanto fastigio in hunc tartarum decid-  
 5 rint, id quod vos paulo ante coeperatis; alias, haec fortasse commodius; neque vero refert, quo casu quispiam in puteum deciderit, sed quomodo qui cecidit, inde queat educi. Antiquis igitur literis contra nouos hostes patrocini-  
 10 um fere- mus, quibus quidem a triplici potissimum hostium genere negotium exhiberi video. Alii enim literariam Rem p. tanquam funditus deletam cupiunt, alii imperium non quidem prorsus extinguere, sed arctioribus finibus includere mol-  
 15 liuntur. Postremi ita Rem p. saluam esse volunt, vt afflictissimam velint, quippe in qua ipsi tyrannidem occupent, in quam patriis legibus abrogatis peregrinos et magistratus et mores inducunt. Et primi quidem illi mihi videntur, qui plane  
 20 rudes, haud scio inuidia ne, an stoliditate maiore, religionis nescio cuius praetextu, literaturam vniuersam poseos nomine detestantur. Alteros ego intelligo, qui indocte docti, caetera quidem studia hoc est sua, vtcunque recipiunt, hu-  
 25 manitatis autem literas, sine quibus caeca est omnis doctrina, angue peius oderunt. Postremos vero, quos alios esse dicam quam eos, qui quoduis literarum genus et mirantur et probant, cum primis etiam poesim et rhetoricen, at ea lege, vt ipsi pro summis et poetis et rhetoribus habeantur, cum nihil sint minus; nec dictu interim procliu-  
 LB 1705 fuerit, quos ex iis hostibus | literaria Res p. grauissimos perniciosissimosque patiat-  
 25 ur, aut quibus maximam cladum suarum partem acceptam referre debeat. Nam primi quidem illi (ne contemnendos pte-  
 mus) tametsi neque vlllo armorum genere, neque rei militaris scientia sunt instructi, quippe syluestris barbaraque multitudo passim ex agris et montibus conflata, nescio tamen an vllum sit hostium genus infestius. Rabiosae enim ferae in morem deuotis animis in pugnam ruunt, non ingrediuntur, furore pro fortitudine vtentes. Quatuor potissimum rebus valent: furore, quo Andabatas,

1 diutius: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 3 perquam: quam *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 6 haec: hic *MS* | 9 triplici: triplice *MS* | 10 Rem p.: rem p. *MS*, Rem pu. *G*, Rem pub. *FIK* | 12 Rem p.: *A-I*, rem p. *MS*, Rem pub. *K* | 15 rudes: rudis *E F* | 20 rhetoricen: rhetoricen *MS* | 22 iis: hiis *MS*, his *G I*; Res p: res p. *MS*, res pub. *CDK*, Res pu. *E*, Res. *H* | 23 perniciosissimosque: perniciosissimos *MS* | 28 ruunt: *ex irruunt corr. MS<sup>1</sup>*

9 a triplici ... genere Cf. Ep. 180, l. 20.

10 For the notion of *Respublica literaria* cf. E. Garin, *Der italienische Humanismus*, Bern, 1947, p. 103.

13 tyrannidem occupent Cf. Ep. 948, l. 66: 'tyrannidem sibi vendicant.'

18-19 angue peius oderunt An expression borrowed from Plaut. *Merc.* 760: 'quam dudum dixeris te odisse aequae atque anguis.' Cf. Otto No. 108. This ex-

pression also occurs in Ep. 241, l. 9: 'quem ego odi cane peius et angue.'

19-21 Postremos ... minus Cf. Ep. 180, l. 20: 'Ex tribus autem reprehensorum generibus primum haud satis etiam scio risui mihi magis fuerit an miserationi videlicet eorum qui sibi praeclare litterati videntur, quum nihil sint minus.'

29 Andabatas Cf. *Adag.* 2,4,33, *LB II*, 533 E-534 D.

clamore, quo Stentorem Homericum, multitudine, qua Xerxis etiam copias vincunt. Postremo clypeo quodam simulatae religionis, sub quo perpetuo latent, quem vnum ad omnia telorum genera obiiciunt. Ii nimirum sunt, qui cum ipsi sint omnis literaturae expertes, literatorum gloria peruruntur aliorumque pulcherrimis studiis oblatrare pulchrum in primis ac religiosum putant, at mirum quam veteratorie suam vel inertiam vel inuidiam vel superbiam speciosis titulis praetexunt simplicitatis ac religionis. Alteri sunt iis quidem paulo instructiores, qui et eminus et cominus nos petunt. Eminus telis, sed plane deridiculis; nam stuppas, fumum et stercora in nos iaciunt. Cominus pugionibus appetunt, sed plumbeis. Pacem offerunt, sed superbissimis plane conditionibus, vt sine humanitatis literis perdocti simus, sine quibus nullae constant literae, terminos nobis praescribunt. Omnem politiem interdicut et quicquid ipsi non didicerunt; hoc sunt molestissimi, quod prehendi nequeant. Consistunt nusquam, Parthis ipsis fugaciores, modo aiunt, modo negant, tergiuersantur, aliquo cauillo elabuntur et Protei in morem *omnia transformant sese in miracula rerum*. Porro postremos illos fortasse aliquis parum infestos hostes iudicauerit, quod sedulitate peccent non odio, at mihi quidem videntur longe inter omnes nocentissimi. Caeteri enim, quia infestis signis nos appetunt, arcentur a moenibus, hi dum intra moenia, intra praesidia nostra versantur, dum armis et insignibus amicos imitantur, aeternum exitium Rei p. mendaci pietatis specie moliantur et quo magis vindicandae patriae student, eo turpiori impediunt seruituti. Quare primi quidem hoc propemodum sunt amandi, quod ita literas oderunt, vt nullas

2 clypeo: clipeo *MS* | 3 Ii: Hii *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 at: *MS A-E G H I*, ac *FK* | 6 mirum: *ex* nimirum *corr.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 sunt: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; iis: hii *MS* | 9 fumum: fimum *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 11 perdocti: predocti *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 prehendi: *ex* deprehendi *corr.* *MS* | 14 aiunt: annuunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 Protei: Prothei *MS* | 16 fortasse: fortassis *MS*; iudicauerit: iudicari *MS* | 17 quidem: enim *MS*<sup>2</sup>; longe inter omnes: inter omnes longe *MS* | 18 appetunt: appetant *MS*<sup>1</sup>; hi: hii *MS* | 20 exitium: exterminium *MS*<sup>1</sup>; Rei p.: rei p. *MS*, Rei pub. *K*

1 *Stentorem Homericum* Cf. Hom. *Il.* V, 785, Iuv. 13, 112. Cf. *Adag.* 2, 3, 37, *LB* II, 496 B; Otto No. 1690. Cf. also Ep. 64, l. 11: 'vix ad Stentoris vocem videamur experrecturi.'

1-2 *multitudine ... vincunt* Hdt. VII. 60; Plin. *Epist.* III, 7, 13; Hier. *Epist.* 60, 18, *CSEL* 54, 573, 6, speaks of the size of Xerxes's army. Cf. Ep. 107, l. 6: 'imperatorum multitudo quantum Xerxis exercitum fuisse ferunt.'

5 *pulcherrimis studiis oblatrare* Cf. Ep. 1126, l. 334: 'qui oblatrant melioribus studiis.'

6-7 *speciosis titulis praetexunt* Cf. Ep. 961, l. 15: 'Ad id splendor praetexunt titulos haerescon profligationem, Ecclesiae defensionem.'

9-10 *pugionibus ... plumbeis* Cf. *Adag.* 1, 7, 25, *LB* II, 272 C and *Adag.* 2, 5, 10, *LB* II, 557 C.

12 *quicquid ... didicerunt* Cf. Ep. 1126, l. 334: 'qui quicquid ipsi non didicerunt, "poetriaam" appellant.'

14 *Parthis ipsis fugaciores* Cf. Ov. *Rem.* 155: 'Ecce fugax Parthus.' For famous manoeuvres of the Parthians cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 31; Ov. *Ars* I, 229; III, 786; Hor. *Carm.* I, 19, 11; II, 13, 18; Plut. *Crass.* 24 and many other places.

15 Verg. *Georg.* IV, 441.

19 *intra moenia ... versantur* Cf. Cic. *P. red. in sen.* 5, 11: 'intra moenia nefarius hostis praedoque versatus est.' Cf. also Cic. *Verr.* V, 76; *Catil.* I, 2, 5; *Mur.* 6.

attigerint. Posteriores hoc minus nocentes, quod ab optimis abstinuerint, nempe poeticis et oratoriis, sua tanquam sorte contenti. Postremi dum omnia scire volunt, permiscuerunt, contaminauerunt, perdidierunt omnia. Vere hoc dicunt, importuno officio nihil esse inofficiosius interdum. Ita hi dum literis laborantibus succurrere studuerunt, perniciose sedulitate funditus extinxerunt. Vires ante conueniebat expendere, consulere ingenium, quam rem tam arduam susciperent. Nunc Phaethontem imitari maluerunt, qui dum ignarus auriga currum paternum conatur moderari, magno suo malo subuertit. Et sunt hi quidem, vt stulticia Phaethonti pares, ita pari exitio digni aut etiam grauiore. Horum enim temeritate vetus illa et vera philosophia ad meras nugas, ad somnia redacta est. Per hos innumerabilia priscorum autorum monumenta desideramus, quod scriptorum, vt quisque est doctissimus, ita foedissimis mendis scatet, his acceptum ferimus, quod prisca illa theologia tantopere degenerauit, haud aliorum est opus; quod grammatae nil nisi meram barbariem et scribunt et praecipiant, his debemus. Et vt semel finiam, quod in vtroque genere literarum muti et infantissimi, pro doctissimis in precio sunt, horum opera effectum est, quorum dum alius in grammaticis, alius in rhetoricis, alius in dialecticis, alius in physica, alius in theologia scribit, dum hic commentationibus optimos autores non illustrat, sed obscurat, non adornat sed contaminat, dum ille quod non intelligit, emendare nititur, dum alius ex bene Graecis male latina facit, linguae vtriusque iuxta | ignarus, dum ita, inquam, certatim tumultuantur, inutili officio omnia confuderunt, deprauauerunt, euerterunt. Et quo diligentius suum quisque officium praestitit, eo plus damni dedit, vt si quis manibus merda oblitis puluisculum e purpura conetur extergere, quanto volet esse officiosior, eo erit molestior. Verum iis, (quod res infinitam prope disputationem postulare videtur) dilatis reliquas acies totidem conflictibus adoriemur; hic vero efficiam, vt vel Pyrrho me doctiorem esse iuretis. Nam rusticanam illam cohortem, tumultuario tantum milite dissipasse sat habebimus et clypeo illo fictae religionis nudatos in fugam adegisse, id quod haud multi fuerit negotii. Imbellis est enim multitudo e senibus contracta, qui vbi aetatem per luxum effluxisse intel-

1-2 nempe: nam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 2 tanquam sorte contenti: tanquam contenti felicitate *MS*<sup>1</sup>, tanquam contenti sorte *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 3 volunt: voluerunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 Phaethontem: Paethontem *MS*<sup>1</sup>, *corr. MS*<sup>2</sup>; maluerunt: maluerint *MS* | 8 paternum: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 innumerabilia: innumerabilium *MS* | 13 his: *K*, His *A B D H*, Hiis *MS*, Hic *C E F G I*; theologia: philosophia theologia *MS* (*philosophia del.*) | 14 nil nisi: non nisi *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 his: hiis *MS*; vtroque: vno quoque *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 infantissimi: *MS C D H K*, infaustissimi *A B E F G I* | 22 deprauauerunt *A-K*, deprauarunt *MS* | 25 iis: his *G I*, hiis *MS* | 25-26 quod ... videtur *cum signis parentheseos MS*, *sine signis A-K* | 29-30 est enim: enim est *MS*

4 *importuno ... interdum* Allusion to the proverbial saying 'Officium ne collocaris in inuitum.' Cf. *Adag.* 3,10,35, *LB* II, 940 B, where Hom. *Od.* XV, 72 sq. as source is cited.

7-8 *currum paternum* Cf. *Ov. Met.* II, 47:

'currus rogat ille paternos' and II, 327: 'currus auriga paterni.' For Phaethon cf. *Ov. Met.* II, 1-340.

13 *theologia ... degenerauit* A similar thought occurs in *Ep.* 108, l. 28 sqq.



ligunt, iuuenibus ad meliora proficiscentibus inuident inepti. Hos igitur primum quidem validissimis rationibus tanquam telis terga dare cogemus, deinde praelium, vt solent, redintegrantes, sacrarum literarum testimoniis, velut ensibus confodiemus. Sub haec exemplorum copia obrutos castris quoque deturbabimus, quibus confectis, eodem quasi Marte et impetu posteriores aggrediemur 5 et omnibus exutos armis, omni dimicandi genere superabimus. Sed iam primi illi sunt lacessendi, si prius foecialis paterque patratus iusta peregerint, quibus, vt arbitror, huiusmodi quaedam oratio congrueret, si res serio gereretur.

## ORATIO FOECIALIVM

Quo tandem iure, o vos Gothi, e vestris egressi limitibus, non modo Latino- 10 rum prouincias occupatis (disciplinas loquor liberales) verumetiam ipsam urbem rerum dominam Latinitatem audetis incessere? Quanam iniuria lacessiti? quid petitis? Quod si bellum placet, iusto Marte decernite, facite pugnandi copiam. Sin pugnae diffiditis, desinite molesti esse, excedite solo, regionem hanc purgate, vestris finibus continemini. Quod si hostes quam latrunculi dici 15 malitis, prodite e latebris, conserite manus, et publico certamine finis quaeratur odiis, aut vos victi quiescite aut nos vobis victoribus concedemus.

QVOD LITERAE COMPLVRIBVS TANTOPERE SINT INVISAE,  
NIHIL ALIVD ESSE IN CAUSA, NISI QVOD IGNORENT

Iam non auditi (proiecta hasta), bellum indixere foeciales, iam ad pugnam est 20 hostis euocandus. Hic ego interpellans, vide, inquam, ne nimium hoc sit cali-

1 proficiscentibus: proficientibus *K* | 3 redintegrantes: reintegrantes *FK* | 4 Sub haec: deinde *MS<sup>1</sup>*; obrutos: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 5-8 quibus ... gereretur: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12 Quanam: quam nam *MS<sup>1</sup>* (*sed postea in qua nam corr.*) | 13 decernite: discernite *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 14 Sin: Si *C D H*; pugnae: *K*, pugna *MS A-I* | 14-15 excedite ... purgate: excedite patriam purgate *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 ALIVD ESSE IN CAUSA: esse in causa *MS<sup>1</sup>*, esse aliud in causa *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 20 proiecta hasta: *in parenthesi MS*, *sine parentheseos signis A-K* | 21-6 (*p. sq.*) Hic ego ... interim: Equidem *MS<sup>1</sup>*

9 *oratio foecialium* Similarly in a letter to Cornelius Gerard (1489, Ep. 29, l. 21) Erasmus states that before beginning war on him he is sending him a letter which is to perform the task similar to the challenge declared by the foeciales to their enemies: 'Has igitur literas foecialium officio functuras istuc ire iussi quo tecum expostulent.' Cf. also Epp. 29, l. 38 and 70, l. 16: 'bellum tibi iam nunc denuncio. Nihil est quod foeciales aut patrem patratum expectes.'

10 *Gothi* also appear as symbols of uneducated barbarians in Epp. 58, l. 55; 182, l. 79; *De pron.*, *LB* I, 924 D, 925 D-E; cf. J. Huizinga, *Erasmus* (deutsch von W. Kaegi), Basel, 1951, p. 116.

16 *conserite manus* Cf. Ep. 24, l. 29: 'consertis, vt aiunt, manibus.'

20 *Iam ... indixere* Cf. Liv. IV, 30, 14: 'missi tamen foeciales; nec eorum ... verba sunt audita.'

*proiecta hasta* Cf. Liv. I, 32, 14.

dum, nondum omnes tibi peractae ceremoniae, porcus tibi saxo feriendus, priusquam ad arma prosilias, Probe mones, inquit, vtinam ex istis haris, in quibus passim tot crassi validique sues ociosi saginantur, cibo populi mihi liceret insignem aliquem deligere. Eum ego bipedem libentius mactarem quam  
 5 vllum porcum quadrupedem. Sed agite, factum putemus, quod ex animo factum volumus et hostem bonis auibus aggrediamur. Nam interim perinde agam ac si cum ipsis praesentibus mihi res esset. Vos modo huius nostrae dimicatiunculae spectatores sedete. Atque adeo, ne tubam deesse queratur Erasmus meus, superstitiosus, vt video, ceremoniarum obseruator, esto conuitium hoc tubae  
 10 loco. Dicite, quaeso, brutissimi homines, Midae progenies, statuae marmoreae, quid ita commeruere literae seculares (sic enim vos appellare soletis, quicquid non didicistis), ut vos eas tam obstinatis odiis insectemini, tanquam homines ad id unum sint nati, vt eruditionem oderint? An quia et non didicisse piget, nec discere licet, odisse libet? Quod si ipsi per ignauiam desperatis, aliis inuidere pulchrum arbitramini? Quin potius accingimini et gloriam hanc nobis, quam  
 15 inuidetis, praeripitis? Sed veremini, ne in uos antiqua illa scommata iaciamus, asini ad lyram, boues ad ceroma. Quid graculo cum fidibus? quid cum amaracino sui? At non mirum facitis, quod odistis, mirum facturi, si amaretis. Vere illud, vt caetera, prin|ceps ille Peripateticorum, Scientiis nisi inscium neminem  
 LB 1707 esse inimicum. Non gallus miratur iaspidem, non sues delectant rosae, non  
 20 pictura simiam, non iuuat lippum lux, non placet Midae cantus Apollinis. Cur

3 ociosi: otiosi *C D H* | 8-10 Atque ... loco: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 queratur: quaeratur *A B E F G I* | 13 et non: non *F G I K* | 15 pulchrum: pulchrum vero *MS* (vero *del.*); potius: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 16 illa: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17-18 amaracino: *K*, amaricino *MS A-I* | 18 Vere: Verum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 ille: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; Peripateticorum: Peripateticorum scripsit *MS*

1 *porcus ... feriendus* Cf. Liv. I, 24,8: 'porcum saxo silice percussit.'

10 *statuae marmoreae* Cf. *Adag.* 4,3,99, *LB* II, 1024 E: 'statuae frequenter habent speciem sapientum et eloquentium viro- rum, ipsae tamen nihil loquuntur.'

11-12 *quicquid non didicistis* Cf. Ep. 1126, l. 334: 'qui quicquid ipsi non didicerunt, "poetrium" appellant.'

17 *asini ad lyram* Cf. note to p. 57, l. 16. *boues ad ceroma* Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,62, *LB* II, 172 B-C, where Hier. *Epist.* 57,12,3, *CSEL* 54,525,14 is given as the only source: 'oleum perdit et impensas qui bouem mittit ad ceroma'; Otto No. 263; occurs also in Ep. 447, l. 63.

*Quid graculo cum fidibus?* Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,37, *LB* II, 165 C-D; Otto No. 766; occurs also in Ep. 61, l. 199.

17-18 *quid ... sui* Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,38, *LB* II, 165 D-166 C, where Lucr. VI, 973-975 is cited as the source. Cf. also Gell. praef.

19: 'Vetus adagium est: nihil cum fidibus graculo, nihil cum amaricino sui'; Otto No. 1720. Occurs also in Ep. 126, l. 238.

20 *Non gallus miratur iaspidem* Allusion to Phaedrus's well-known fable about the cock and the pearl, Phaedr. III, 12. In Gualter the Englishman's (Gualterus Anglicus, c. 1175) fable an iaspis figures instead of a pearl; this fable is edited by L.Hervieux, *Les fabuliers Latins*, t. II, Paris, 1894, p. 316. Cf. Epp. 26, l. 74 (1489): 'ea practereant non aliter quam, vt est in Apologis, iaspidem repertum gallus Aesopicus'; 126, l. 152: 'rhetoricen tanti omnino facimus quanti aut asinus aurum aut gallus iaspidem.'

*non sues delectant rosae* Allusion to the proverbial saying 'sus per rosas'. Cf. *Adag.* 3,7,23, *LB* II, 889 C.

21 *non placet ... Apollinis* Cf. Ov. *Met.* XI, 146-193.

inepti auriculas vestras asininas ultro proditis, vel Mida patre stultiores, qui celare studuit? Cur non magis terrae infoditis inscitiae vestrae dedecus? Cur non potius quorundam calliditatem imitamini, qui bonas artes laudant, vt scire videantur? Cur saltem non tacetis, vt philosophi putemini? Nunc ipsi vestromet  
 5 indicio, tanquam sorices comprehendimini. An vero eo dementiae prouecti estis, vt bellum etiam facinus putetis, res optimas, quas sapientissimi quique sibi tantis laboribus expetendas putarint, odisse, inuidere, oblatrare? Ista vero gloria, si nescitis, cum baiulis, cum cerdonibus, cum nautis et fossoribus vobis est communis; quippe oderunt et illi politiora studia, contemnunt, execrantur,  
 10 hoc vobis meliores, primum quod moderatius oderunt, deinde quod suarum artium amore, nostra studia contemnunt. Vos ita elegantiores artes odistis, vt nullas teneatis. Illi artem arti, studia studiis praeferunt, vos scientiae ignorantiam antefertis, sanae menti insaniam anteponitis, pecudem homini. O contemptores *seruum pecus*, quos vel ipsi derideant asini. At videte interim, quam iniquum sit odisse, nec scire neque quid oderitis, neque cur oderitis. Damnatis  
 15 rhetorice, quid autem sit ea, ne per nebulam quidem vidistis. Odistis poesim, quam neque quid sit, neque cuiusmodi sit intelligitis. Odistis antiquitatem, omnis antiquitatis imperiti. Breuiter, totum hoc, quod docti magnis vigiliis sequuntur, vos contemnitis et totum hoc, quantum est, ignoratis. Nam, si quando haec eadem ipsi didicistis, cur volentes discere reprehenditis? Si non  
 20 didicistis (quod etiam gloriamini, non modo confitemini) quid de incompetis tam stolide pronuntiatis? Sed audistis, opinor, mala esse haec studia. Esto sane, dummodo a vestri simillimis, inuidis, ignaris, inimicis; videlicet sus suem docuit, caecus caeco dux fuit. At proferte, si potestis, vel vnum, qui has literas, vbi probe perceptas habuit, accusauit; qui insumptae in eis operae se poenitere  
 25 dixit? Cur autem stolido de incompetis blateranti creditur, erudito de perceptis disserenti fides negatur? An putatis obscuram esse cuiquam vestram inuiden-

1-2 qui ... studuit: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 3 bonas artes: *MS, om. A-K* | 5 indicio: iudicio *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 6 optimas ... quique: optimas vsque sapientissimi sibi *MS<sup>1</sup>*, optimas vsque sapientissimi quique sibi *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 8 si nescitis: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; baiulis: baiulariis *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 politiora: secularia *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 10 hoc vobis: hoc in nobis *MS<sup>1</sup>*; oderunt: oderint *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 amore: amatores *MS<sup>1</sup>*; elegantiores: seculares *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12 studia studiis: studiis studia *MS* | 13-14 O ... asini: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 21 non modo: nedum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 audistis opinor: opinor audistis *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 27 putatis ... vestram: putatis obscuram rem cuiquam vestram *MS<sup>1</sup>*, putatis esse obscuram cuiquam vestram *MS<sup>2</sup>*

1 *auriculas ... proditis* Allusion to the proverbial saying 'asinus auriculas mouens'. Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,35, *LB* II, 164 D.

2 *celare studuit* Cf. *Ov. Met.* XI, 180.

4 *Cur ... putemini* Cf. *Iob* 13,5: 'vtinam taceretis vt putaremini esse sapientes.' Boeth. *Cons.* II, 7,20: 'Iam tandem, inquit, intellegis me esse philosophum? Tum ille nimium mordaciter: Intellexeram, inquit, si tacuisses.'

4-5 *ipsi ... comprehendimini* Allusion to the proverbial saying: 'suo ipsius indicio periit sores.' Cf. *Adag.* 1,3,65, *LB* II, 137 C, where Ter. *Eun.* 1024 is given as the source; cf. Otto No. 1676; occurs also in *Ep.* 180, l. 26.

14 Hor. *Epist* I, 19,19.

24 *caecus caeco dux fuit* Cf. *Adag.* 1,8,40, *LB* II, 312 E-F; Otto No. 276.

tiam? an nos fucum vestrum fallere creditis? an fugere nos, quid morbi vos vrat? Liceat tandem, quaeso, rebus sua dare nomina, desinite aliquando pro inuidentissimis et ignauis, religiosos ac pios vos velle videri.

INVIDVM ESSE, HAVD RELIGIOSVM ODISSE LITERAS, QVAS NESCIAS

5 Tum medicus: Vtar, inquit, iure concesso, interpellabo. Praeclarum te velitem declarasti, nec temere te Battum appellatum iam puto. Rogante illo, quid ita putaret: Non sunt, inquit, haec aenigmata tibi, qui fabulas perpulchre tenes. Tam probe barbarorum furta prodidisti, vt altera metamorphosi te ex indice  
10 illo lapide rursus in Battum reuixisse propemodum credam; deinde scite istud hominum genus ad pugnam euocasti. Nulla enim re perinde in rabiem agi solent, quam si stoliditatis, si imperitiae, si inuidentiae opinionem illis impingas, hoc est si maxime vera audiant. Recte sentis, inquit Battus, nec mirum adeo, si tacto hulcere scabiosi commoueantur. Tum vero videres homines superbissimos, oculis ardentibus, totiusque vultus immanitate animi testari  
15 furorem; etiamsi ne inter haec quidem a simulandae religionis artificio recedunt, hac tanquam personati suas tragoedias agunt. Nam, vt est res omnium optima religio, ita (nobili historico teste) ad quiduis vitii praetexendum commodissimum pallium, eo quod si quis in ipsa vitia conetur animaduertere, religionem qua sese obumbrarunt, violare plerisque videatur, saepe ita tuto latet vitium proximitate boni. Cumque ipsi longe grauioribus vitiis madeant,  
20 quam vlli mortalium, quos | isti semidei pro prophanis habent, tamen in alienam vitam petulantissimis linguis inuehuntur, nulli parcentes, nec aetati, nec sexui, nec genti, nec ordini, denique nec homini, nec nomini. Caeterum quoties illos deprehenderit aliquis aut ebrios aut scortantes aut aliud his etiam scelera-  
25 tius designantes, excusant, tegunt, mussari volunt, ob honorem, inquit, ordinis, quasi caeteri mortales omnes sint extraordinarii. Cum seditiosissime vociferantur in vitia clericorum, et imperitam multitudinem ad lapides prouocant, non putant esse periculum, ne succenseat Christus eius ordinis autor, nam is sacerdos fuit, Iacobita non fuit. Si quis ausit efferre quicquam de illorum my-  
30 steriis et Augiae stabulum mouere, periculum denunciant, ne Franciscus aut

5 Vtar inquit: inquit Vtar *MS* | 7 Non: *MS A B E F G I K*, Num *C D H* | 8 Tam: *K*, Ita *MS*, Iam *A-I*; indice: iudice *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 hulcere: vlcere *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 14 ardentibus: ardescensibus *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 15 etiamsi ne: nec *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 16 est: *om. MS* | 17 historico: *MS K*, historico *A-I*; praetexendum: praetextendum *MS* | 17-18 commodissimum: commodatissimum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 obumbrarunt: obumbrarunt *MS* | 20-17 (*p. sq.*) Cumque ... dedecora: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 24 scortantes: scorantes *F G I*

6 nec ... appellatum Cf. Ep. 133, l. 3: 'quare te quaeso vt Batticum illum animum adhibeas.'

15 simulandae religionis artificio Cf. note to p. 58, l. 3.

16 hac tanquam personati Cf. Ep. 193, l. 36: 'im-

probitas virtutis professione personata.'

17 Probably an allusion to Liv. XXXIX, 16,6 sqq.

29 Iacobita Cf. note to p. 57, l. 17.

30 Augiae stabulum mouere Cf. *Adag.* 2,4,21, *LB* II, 530 A; Otto No. 206.

Dominicus aut Helias, si diis placet, iratus perdat hominem. Ex hoc grege quidam nuper miris laudibus vexit sui ordinis sodalem, quod in concione publica nihil non vociferatus in sacerdotes concubenarios populo ac magistratibus conatus sit persuadere, vt sacerdotum concubinae in laeuo humero rubram crucem gestare compellerentur. Cumque hac narratione sibi mire placeret, rogabat quispiam, collaudata illius oratione, quo colore vellet esse crucem Iacobitarum, Carmelitarum ac caeterorum. An placeret, vt Minoritarum concubinae gestarent crucem cinericii coloris, Carmelitarum candidi, Iacobitarum nigri. Ibi abominatus homo religiosus omen, longa cruce se signauit. Tum alter: Nunquam efficies, inquit, quamlibet magna cruce, quin plurimi norint, quae dedecora a vestris sodalibus aliquando designentur. Neque enim fieri secus potest in tanta hominum ac nationum colluie. Verum haec, inquit, fortassis ob honorem ordinis efferri fas non est. Id cum alter magnopere comprobasset, quaerebat, an putaret et sacerdotum esse ordinem. Cum negare non posset, rogabat, cur existimaret horum commissa seditiosis clamoribus apud populum elatranda? Sed ne longius ab instituto diuagemur, eodem pallio tegunt crassissimam inscitiam suam, quo caetera vitae dedecora. Vbique falsam pietatem pro clypeo obtendunt, hanc mirificam quandam adsimulant, adeo quidem vafre ac veteratorie, vt non aliis modo, verumetiam sibi ipsis astutissimi homines imponant, non quod vllo religionis studio moueantur, quippe qui nusquam alibi quam hac vna in re religiosi videri cupiunt, sed quod, vt Fabius inquit, *sub magni nominis vmbra delitescant*. Nocentum est ista religio furum, homicidarum, qui simulatque facinus aliquod designauere, tum demum ad aras ac templa solent confugere, vt seruus ille apud Plautum sceleratissimus. At quo tandem consilio? an quod loci religione delectentur? Imo vero, vt crucem effugiant, vt impune sint flagitiosi. Haud aliter nostri censores, cum caeteris in rebus et Dionysii sint et Clodii, quoties de bonis studiis agitur, tum demum Numae videri volunt, tum denique se Christianos esse meminerunt, tum demum Euangelicas sententias canere incipiunt et res foedas speciosis vocabulis

17 quo: *K*, qua *A-I* | 17-18 Vbique falsam pietatem: Hanc igitur pietatem *MS* | 18 adsimulant: assimilant *MS*<sup>1</sup>, assimilant *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 19 ipsis: *om. MS* | 20 homines imponant: homines crimen imponant *MS* (*sed crimen del.*) | 21 vt: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 ac: et *MS* | 24-26 At quo ... flagitiosi: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 27 quoties ... studiis: qum secularibus studiis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 Christianos: tyrannos *MS*<sup>1</sup>; meminerunt: meminerint *MS*<sup>1</sup>

12-14 *Verum ... ordinem* Cf. Ep. 1167, l. 47.

22 Quint. *Inst.* XII, 10,15: 'vmbra magni nominis delitescunt.'

24 Plaut. *Most.* 1094: 'hanc aram occupabo'; allusion to the same place Ep. 130, l. 82.

27 *Dionysii* He has in mind Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse, 367-341 B.C., known for leading a wild life, and especially for his drinking. Cf. Arist. *Probl.* 28,949 a 25; Plut. *Dio* 7; Athen. X, 435 D; 437

B. Cf. Niese, *RE* IX Halbb., Stuttgart, 1903, p. 904-908.

*Clodii* He has in mind P. Clodius Pulcher († 52 B.C.), famous tribune (58 B.C.), sworn enemy of Cicero and his dissolute way of life. Cf. Fröhlich, *RE* 7 Halbb., Stuttgart, 1900, p. 82-88. As a symbol of licentiousness Clodius appears, beyond Cicero, also in Sen. *Epist.* 97,10: 'Omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret.'

palliantes, zelo se, haud inuidencia dicunt moueri, nec odisse studia nostra, sed contemnere; id homine Christiano dignum ac pulchrum in primis, Apostolorum simplicem rusticitatem nobis proponunt. Singulare inter coelites praemium illos manere dicunt qui disciplinas istas ethnicas ad ostentationem et  
 5 superbiam inuentas religionis amore possint pro nihilo ducere. Rudem pietatem superis esse gratissimam quasi vero aut superos rusticitas nostra quicquam delectet, (quod si est, cur non bruta in primis amplectimur?) aut ad vllam vitae administrationem vtilis sit ignorantia ac non potius insulsissimum sit ac  
 10 plane dementis rem pulcherrimam, quam nec habeas, nec habere speres, in aliis contemnere. Errant vehementer, si cuiusuis rei contemptum laudi sibi duci volunt. Quid enim, si Thersites Graecorum vltimus, Achillis partam armis gloriam vna cum ipsis armis, pro quibus Aiaci cum Vlysse certamen erat, dicat,  
 LB 1709 se homo ignauissimus contemnere, | nonne vniuersis cachinnum mouerit? Quis enim non rideat, si limax equi velocitatem contemnat? si noctua aquilae, si  
 15 talpa capreae rideat oculos? si psitaci colorem coruus despiciat? si asellus elephantis sensum nihili faciat? si stolidus ac fatuus, viri cordati prudentiam contemnat? nunquam laudem merebitur. Equidem operae precium puto barbaris, ne mihi perpetuo de suo contemptu gloriantur, contemnendi rationem ostendere.

20 QVAE RES CVM LAVDE CONTEMNANTVR ET QVAE SECVS

Sunt enim in rebus humanis quaedam, quae mortalium animos insitiua quadam sui cupiditate sollicitant, siue quod honesta ac speciosa videantur, siue quod dulcia, siue alioquin vtilia, cuius generis sunt opes, claritas, dignitas, voluptas; ista quidem, si habeas, aut certe in procliui sit vt potiaris, eatenus duntaxat,  
 25 quatenus a virtute auocent, contemnere res est forti proboque viro digna. Pari item cum laude tristia vt dulcia contemni solent. Ab his auelli posse, illa vero adire laudi est. Lacedaemoniorum institutum Plato minus probat, quod cum durissimos labores facile contemnerent, contra voluptates non perinde exercitati viderentur; at hi nostri Catones ad vtrumuis foemina quauis molliores, ad solas  
 30 literas contemnendas viros se praebent. Quodque magis rideas, contemnunt non modo res honestissimas, verumetiam alienas. Ciceronianam contemnunt

5 pro nihilo: nichili *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 aut: an *MS* | 9 dementis: puerile *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 faciat: ducat *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 insitiua: insita *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21-22 quadam sui: quadam sui quadam *MS* (*sed alt. quadam del.*) | 23 voluptas: voluptas, honor *MS* (*sed honor del.*) | 24 vt: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup>; duntaxat: dumtaxat *MS* | 25 auocent: auocant *MS*<sup>1</sup>; est: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 tristia: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 foemina: femina *MS F G* | 31 alienas: amenas *MS*<sup>1</sup>

14 *limax* ... *contemnat* Cf. *Adag. prol.*, *LB* II, 12 E: 'limace tardior.' Cf. *Plaut. Poen.* 532: 'vicistis cochleam tarditudine.'

14-15 *si talpa* ... *oculos* Expression taken from *Hier. Epist.* 70,6,2, *CSEL* 54,708, 14: 'oculos caprearum talpa contemnat.' 27 *Plat. Leg.* I, 633 b-634 c.

eloquentiam homines mutis piscibus mutiores, Chrysippi contemnunt acumen, cum sint ipsi quouis pistillo retusiores. Poesim contemnunt prophani et (vt inquit Plato) longe a Musis alieni. Contemnunt veterum theologorum politiem, quam assequi desperant et si sperent, tum magis insaniant. O contemptorum stolidum pecus, dic, quaeso, mihi, quaenam ista noua magnanimitas? Quod inauditum contemnendi genus? nummulum non potes contemnere et de eruditionis contemptu gloriaris? Scorti molli suauiolo superaris Hercules, ducit te captiuum puerilis voluptatula, rapit te quolibet assentatio, consternat conuiciolum et fortem te visum iri credis, si res maiores etiam, quam vt assequi queas, possis contemnere? Non libet superbire oratione compta, sed interim pallio compto te venditas mulierculis; vis orationem ieiunam ac squalidam, sed interim cuticula distenta nitet. Abhorres a mentione puellarum in legendis poetis, at interim non abhorres a comprimendis vxoribus alienis aut Vestalibus etiam virginibus. Non placet nitor in stilo, at non displicet in marsupio. Audi, magnifice contemptor, prius literas disce, postea contemne; siquidem fortis videri studes, prius habe quod contemnas. Nisi forte et in isto te apostolos imitari iactitas, quod in cupiditate relinquenda, non in modo rei virtutis laus consistat. Age nihil intersit inter opes et literas, apostoli rem mediocrem et spem maiorem contempsere idque nulla inuidentiā; neque ipsi nudi aliis locupletibus inuidebant. Vobis ne mediocris quidem est eruditio, quam possitis recte contemnere, summa desperatio, tum quod res sit in primis ardua et infiniti laboris, tum quod vobis sint ingenia quouis plumbo inertiora. Postremo, si recte contempsistis, cur aliis inuidetis? Si inuidetis, profecto cupitis; si cupitis, cur non in eandem nobiscum harenam descenditis et nobiscum potius felices esse curatis, quam nostra causa miseri? Certate, vincite, triumphate. Sed vident homines ignauissimi duris vndique laboribus ac vigiliis septas literas nostras, quas quidem si possent contemnere, non tam stolide de eruditionis contemptu sese

1 piscibus: animalibus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 desperant: desperent *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 stolidum: seruuum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10-14 Non libet ... marsupio: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 14 Non placet: Nec placet *H* | 16-17 te ... iactitas: te credis Apostolos *MS*<sup>1</sup>, te iactitas Apostolos imitari *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 17 in *alt.*: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; rei: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 nulla: sine *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 in eandem nobiscum: nobiscum in eandem nobiscum *MS* (*prius nobiscum del.*) | 26 ac vigiliis: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

1 *mutis piscibus mutiores* Cf. *Adag. prol., LB* II, 12 E: 'pisce magis mutus.'

3 *a Musis alieni* Cf. *Adag. 2,6,18, LB* II, 588 D-E: 'Inelegantes et indoctos Graeci vocant ἀμούσους hoc est a Musis alienos ...'; Plat. *Rep.* VIII: ὑπαμουσότερον dixit improbiorem et rusticius inuerecundum.' The expression 'a Musis alienus' occurs also in Ep. 283, l. 5; the Greek adjective ἀμούσος in Ep. 293, l. 17.

8 *voluptatula* This diminutive form does not occur in classical Latin. Occurs also in Ep. 83, l. 22.

12 *cuticula ... nitet* Cf. proverbial saying 'cuticulam curare' in *Adag. 2,4,75, LB* II, 546 E; Otto No. 104.

14 Cf. Varro frg. Non 142,1: 'maiorem curam habere nos marsupii quam vitae nostrae.'

22 *ingenia ... inertiora* Cf. *Adag. prol., LB* II, 12 D: 'plumbo stupidior.' Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I, 29,71: 'in physicis plumbei.' Occurs also in Ep. 909, l. 14: 'plumbeum ingenium'; Ep. 61, l. 198: 'plumbeis praecordiis.'

iactitarent. Vbi summam literaturam mihi comparauero, tum demum incipiam  
 cum laude contemnere, non quo minus vtar, sed ne quid insolescam; efficiam,  
 vt cum omneis antecedam eruditione, anteponam me nemini, ne stolidissimo  
 quidem. Mediocribus conatibus candide fauebo, victori gratulabor, non inuide-  
 bo. Quanto maior ero, tanto me geram summissius; quo plus sapiam, eo alie-  
 nam inscitiam modestius feram, ipse ferens omnes dabo operam, vt ne cui sit  
 ex me quod ferat. Cum studiosis eruditione, cum omnibus modestia, comitate,  
 verecundia certabo. Ita me geram, vt hoc melior intelligar, quo sum doctior.  
 Quanto magis alii me suspiciunt, tanto magis ipse me despiciam. Denique cum  
 omnia scire curauero, ipse me scire tanquam nesciam. Ita demum cum laude  
 contempserimus, si non alienam, sed nostram doctrinam contemnemus. Sic  
 non eruditio modo, verumetiam virtus ipsa contemnenda est et post omnia  
 contemptus etiam ipse contemnendus. Sic contempsit Augustinus ethnicas  
 disciplinas, sed tum posteaquam principatum in his esset assequutus. Sic li-  
 teras Ciceronianas et Platonicas Hieronymus, vt nihilo minus et egregie teneat,  
 et passim vtatur. Sic Basilius, sic Chrysostomus rhetorum ac philosophorum  
 ingenia neglexerunt, vt ex monumentis agnoscas eos haec non ignorasse. Isti  
 vero quam ob rem tandem se contemnere gloriantur? An more vulpis illius  
 quae in apologis est, quia frustra cupiunt? Illa enim asini testiculos tum demum  
 coepit abominari, posteaquam sperare desiit. O foedum, inquit, cibum nun-  
 quam esse potuissem. At istud, (si fas est rebus sua dare nomina) mera inuidia  
 est, haud contemptus. An quia (vt sunt molliculi) laboris asperitate deterrentur,  
 sine quo nec ad virtutem, nec ad eruditionem cuiquam est aditus? At istud  
 ignaui simulque maligni hominis esse, quis non videat? An tandem pro innata  
 rusticitate literarum mundiciem oderunt? Ne id quidem Christiano pioque (vt  
 isti dicunt) sed agresti ac plane bruto animo dignum puto. Eia sit pudor tan-  
 dem, cedant meliora conantibus. Sit satis istis, quod suam ignorantiam igno-  
 scunt sibi, ne etiam vltro nobis obstrepant, vltro quos venerari debebant ac  
 suspicere, despiciant; ac si ipsis nihil habetur prius ac dulcius somno et ocio,  
 sint aliis aequiores; nobis saltem tristes vigiliis et insanos labores relinquunt,  
 quandoquidem nos istorum deliciis nihil inuidemus; quo maioris inuidentiae  
 est alienis vri laboribus.

1 iactitarent: iactarent *MS*<sup>1</sup>; literaturam mihi: mihi literaturam *MS* | 2 insolescam: insolenter *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 omneis: (cf. Ep. 91, l. 9)  $\overline{\text{ois}}$  *MS* | 4 Mediocribus ... inuidebo: Mediocrum inuidebo *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 ne cui: nemini *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 demum cum: demum dum *AC* | 13 ipse: *om. om. E F K* | 14 sed: at *MS*<sup>1</sup>; in his esset: esset in hiis *MS* | 14-17 Sic ... ignorasse: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 sese in se *mutatum MS* | 20-21 O ... potuissem: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 si ... nomina: *cum parentbeseos signis MS, sine signis A-K* | 22 vt ... molliculi: *cum parentbeseos signis MS, sine signis A-K* | 24 simulque: simul atque *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 Eia: *Eya MS* | 27 istis ... ignoscunt: istis suam ignorantiam ignosci *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 ac: et *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 ac: at *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 30 aliis: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 31 nos: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 32 laboribus: laudibus *MS*<sup>1</sup>



ABSURDE REPREHENDI QVIPIAM NON OB ALIVD NISI QVOD AB  
ETHNICIS INVENTVM

Hoc aceto perfusi, mirum est dictu, quanto clamore in nos irruant, Christianos  
esse negant, sed ethnicos, sed idololatrias et ipsis ethnicis pestilentiores. An  
vero, inquit, is Christianus censendus, qui disciplinis prophanis et ab impiis  
hominibus ad superbiam excogitatis, tantum operae impertit, tantopere se  
oblectat? In his totus conquiescit, in his ocium, in his negocium, in his solatium  
omne reponit? Et quis non videat, quantum sit sacrilegium, hominem,  
qui iam christianae militiae nomen semel dederit, semel Christo imperatori sit  
et initiatus et inautoratus, ad hostes daemones transfugere et cum idolorum  
cultoribus habere commercium? an non habet, inquit, qui in dicendo Ciceronianum,  
in carmine Vergilianum aut Horatianum se nominari gaudet, in philosophia  
Aristotelicum, Academicum, Stoicum, Epicureum? Audistis Chrysispeum enthymema?  
Audistis syllogismum cornutum? Videtis, quam captiosis laqueis vos simplices  
irretire moliantur. Enimuero elleboro illo Carneadeo opus esse intelligo. Quid  
dicitis Antichrysispi? continuo ne malum et Christianis interdictum, quicquid  
ab ethnicis profectum erit? Ita ne nulla gentiliū inuenta vsurpare licebit,  
nisi protinus Christiani esse desinamus? Scilicet igitur per concionem vestros  
fabros admonendos censeo, ne posthac serris, securibus, ascis, terebellis,  
ne cuneis, ne regulis, ne perpendicularis, ne fornicibus, ne posthac amussibus  
suis audeant vti. Ne rogaueris, quid ita? et artem hanc et artis arma Daedalus  
homo ethnicus excogitavit. Quiescant fabri ferrarii, fabricam ferrariam  
inuenere Cyclopes, homines prodigiosi. Aerariam fabricam nemo exerceat,  
hanc Chalybes monstrasse tradunt. Figulinam|Choroebus, ferientur figuli.  
Sutrinam Boethus quidam, nemo Christianus consuat calceum. Fulloniam  
Niceas, nemo sordes vestium eluat. Textoriam Aegyptii, redeamus ad  
ferarum pelles. Tinctoriam Lydi, nemo lanam ab oue detonsam fuco adulteret.

I NON OB ALIUD NISI: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 2 ETHNICIS: *A-K MS<sup>2</sup>*, hereticis *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 dicendo: docendo  
*C D H* | 15 vos: *MS F K*, nos *A-E G-I* | 17 nulla: ulla *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 igitur ... fabros: igitur  
fabros per contionem *MS<sup>1</sup>*, igitur fabros vestros per contionem *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 20 ne fornicibus:  
*om. K* | 23 ferrariam: ferream *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 24-25 ferientur figuli: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 25 Boethus: *K*, Boethius  
*A-I*, Boetius *MS*; quidam ... calceum: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 26 nemo ... eluat: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; redeamus ...  
pelles: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 27 nemo ... adulteret: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*

3 *aceto perfusi* Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1,7,32; 'Italo perfusus aceto.' *Adag.* 2,3,52, *LB II*, 506 D, where the verse form Horace mentioned above is cited.  
9 *christianae militiae* Cf. 2, *Cor.* 10,4; 1, *Tim.* 1,18.  
14 *syllogismum cornutum* Cf. Hier. *Epist.* 69,2,3: 'cornuatum, vt dicitur, syllogismum.'  
15 *elleboro illo Carneadeo* Cf. note to p. 49,

l. 11.  
23-24 *Aerariam ... Chalybes* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,197.  
24 *Choroebus* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,198.  
25 *Boethus* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,196.  
26 *Niceas* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,196.  
*Textoriam Aegyptii* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,196.  
27 *Tinctoriam Lydi* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,196.

Metalli conflaturam Cadmus Phoenix inuenit, frigeant officinae conflatorum. Nautis, si fieri possit, religionem iniiciamus, ne consuetis vtantur armis. Aurigas admoneamus, ne Erichthonium imitentur. Pictores, caelatores, vitriarios breuiterque caeterum quantum est opificum, ne sese suosque posthac ethnicis  
 5 artibus contaminent, si queant alios quaestus excogitent, sin minus, esuriant potius quam Christiani esse desinant. Quid si et militibus, hominibus piis scrupulum iniiciamus, ne clypeis, loriceis, galeis, gladiis, ocreis, cristis, arcubus, sagittis, lanceis, hastis vtantur? haec omnia ab impiis reperta perhibent. Verum quis ferat puellis Mineruae studium simul et arma eripi, pensa, colos, fusos,  
 10 radios, telas, quorum nihil est a Christianis inuentum. Iam et agricolatoribus, vel cum vitae periculo ferias indicendas video; aratrum Osiridis inuentum est, nemo posthac ausit terram inuertere, inuersam serere, satam metere, horum Saturnum autorem ferunt. Nemo vitem coluerit, id enim a Libero excogitatum. Vinum merum nemo bibat, ne aqua quidem dilutum, monstrauit hoc Staphy-  
 15 lus. Aegroti medicos non aduocent, medicina Apollinis inuentum est. Et hos quidem non impios modo homines, verumetiam cacodaemones fuisse vulgus credit. Vobis igitur daemonum inuentis vti licet, nobis studiosorum hominum literis vti non licebit? Atqui nihil pudet, ne istos quidem qui et dialectici et theologi videri volunt, studiosis haec obicere, quae si in pagis apud fossores  
 20 messorum audeant disputare, moriar nisi rustici ipsi ligonibus et falcibus eos conficiant. Si gentilium inuentis vti vetamur, quid tandem, obsecro, in agris, in vrbibus, in templis, in aedibus, in officinis, domi belli, priuatim aut publice relinquetur? adeo Christiani nihil habemus ab ethnicis non traditum. Quod scribimus, quod vtcunque Latine loquimur ab ethnicis accepimus; ab illis  
 25 reperti characteres, ab iisdem orationis vsus inuentus. Ego ne, inquiunt, damnatorum hominum libros in manu, in sinu habebam, lectitabo, venerabor? Ardet apud inferos Vergilius et eius poemata cantat Christianus? quasi non et multi Christiani illic ardeant, quorum si qua bene scripta supersunt, nemo tamen idcirco respuenda putet. Sed quis istam iudicandi petulantiam ferat, vt tanquam  
 30 virga Mercuriali quos velint ad inferos demittant, quos velint ad superos euo-

1 inuenit ... conflatorum: inuenit metuant figuli, sutores, fullones, textores, tinctorum, conflatores *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 caeterum: ceteros *MS* | 6 piis: *K*, impiis *MS A-I* | 9 ferat: *MS A-I*, feret *K* | 10 agricolatoribus: agricultoribus *MS* | 13 enim ... excogitatum: *A-K*, enim est a Libero inuentum *MS*<sup>1</sup>, enim est a Libero excogitatum *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 14 ne: nec *MS (sed c del.)*; Staphylus: *K*, Staphilius *MS A-I* | 18 Atqui nihil: Non *MS*<sup>1</sup>; ne: *ex nec corr. MS*; istos: eos *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 belli: bello *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 putet: putat *MS*<sup>1</sup>

1 *Metalli ... Cadmus* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,197.

3 *Erichthonium* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 56,202.

11 *aratrum ... inuentum est* In pure Greek tradition the invention of the plough was ascribed to Demeter or Triptolemus. For Osiris as inventor of the plough, cf. Diod. S. I, 29; Serv. *Comm. Georg.* I, 147; Tib. I, 7,29: 'Primus aratra manu

sollerti fecit Osiris.'

13 *Saturnum* Cf. Macr. *Sat.* I, 10,19: 'tam frugum quam fructuum inuentor est.'

14 *Staphylus* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 76,199: 'vinum aquae misceri Staphylus Sileni filius.'

30 *virga Mercuriali* Cf. Hom. *Od.* XXIV, 1-14; Hor. *Carm.* I, 10,17-20; I, 24, 16-18.

cent? Non hic ingrediar rixosam illam disceptationem de ethnicis, quae ne mulieribus quidem sit digna; non est nostrum de ethnicorum damnatione disputare, eorum inquam, qui fidem nostram praecesserunt. Tum si coniecturas sequi velimus, facile conuicero aut illos viros ex ethnicis aut omnino nullos saluos esse; quam bene praeceperint, non quam recte vixerint, laboramus. Hypocritas magistratus, quorum vitam condemnat ipse qui nouit audiri tamen iubet. Origenis libros in multis haereseos damnatos ad eruditionis fructum Christiana legit ecclesia et eorum diuina scripta fugimus de quorum moribus sine summa temeritate iudicari non possit. Imo, vt melius dicam, de quibus in bonam partem cum laude, in malam non sine maximo vitio quisquam iudicet. Apage, inquit, ego me Ciceronianum aut Platonium appellari feram, qui semel Christianus dici constitui? Quid ni monstrum hominis? Si te quod Sardanapali perditam molliciem imitaris, recte Sardanapalicum dicimus aut quod assentator es, Gnathonicum, aut potius, vt es stolidè gloriosus, Thrasonicum appellamus, cur alium Ciceronis linguam imitantem, Ciceronianum pudeat denominari aut Vergilianum, si quid illius queam aemulari? Tu tibi barbaras istas appellationes asciscas teque vel Albertistam vel Thomistam vel Scotistam vel Occanistam vel | Durandistam vocari gaudeas, dummodo a Christianis denomineris. Ego me a quouis ethnico denominari patiar, dummodo doctissimo, dummodo facundissimo; nec me huius professionis poenitebit, modo me praestantiora doceat ethnicus quam Christianus. Sed, vt rem aliquando finiamus, nisi aduersarios nostros talpis caeciores sua redderet inuidencia, certe viderent, quod vel caeco apparet, viderent in rebus ab ethnicis inuentis aliquid inesse discrimen, alias esse inutiles, dubias, pestiferas, alias perutiles, salutare, imo necessarias. Mala illis relinquamus, bona vero quid ni nobis vsurpemus? hoc demum est homine

1 disceptationem: disputationem *MS*<sup>1</sup>; ne: *ex* nec *corr.* *MS* | 2 ethnicorum damnatione: damnatione ethnicorum *MS* | 6 audiri: audiendos *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 Origenis: *MS B C D H K*, Origenes *A E F G I*; libros in multis: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; damnatos: damnati *MS*<sup>1</sup>; ad eruditionis fructum: vt eruditionis fructum intellexit vel precepit *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 legit: leget *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 iudicari: iudicare *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 recte: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; aut: aut me *MS* (*me del.*) | 17-18 vel Occanistam vel Durandistam: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22-23 viderent ... apparet: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 salutare: alias salutare *MS* (*sed alias del.*) | 25 ni nobis: in nobis ni nobis: *MS* (*in nobis del.*)

12-13 *Sardanapali ... molliciem* Cf. *Adag.* prol. *LB* II, 13 C: 'Sardanapalo nequior.' Sardanapal's effeminate character and way of life was proverbial already in classical times. Cf. *Plut. Alex. Fort. Virt.* II, 3 D; *Martial.* XI, 11,6; *Iuv.* 10,362; *Lucian.* *J. Tr.* 48.

13 *Sardanapalicum* This adjective occurs in *Sidon*, *Apoll.* *Epp.* II, 13,7.

14 *Gnathonicum* Cf. note to p. 55, l. 11. The adjective 'Gnathonicus' occurs already in *Ter. Eun.* 264: 'vt parasiti item Gnathonici vocentur.'

*Thrasonicum* *Thraso*, a boastful soldier who appears in Terence's comedy *Eunu-chus*. Cf. *Adag.* prol., *LB* II, 13 B: 'Thrasone Terentiano gloriosior.' Cf. *Ep.* 31, l.74.

22 *talpis caeciores* Cf. *Adag.* 1,3,55, *LB* II, 133 F-134 A; *Otto* No. 1739. Occurs also in *Epp.* 31, l. 56; 64, l. 31.

22-25 Cf. *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 26,40, *Migne PL* 34,55.

22-23 *quod vel caeco apparet* Cf. *Adag.* 1,8,93, *LB* II, 331 B-E.

Christiano, homine prudenti, homine studioso dignum. At nos, si superis placet, praepostere agimus, ethnicorum vitia, libidinem, auariciam, ambitionem, superstitionem passim imitamur, imo vincimus, at eruditionem quam vel vnam imitari par erat, vnam aspernamur, stultius ne an superbius, nondum satis scio.  
 5 Nam si res mediocri vsui futuras, ab illis ad nos traduximus idque citra culpam, quid impedit, quo secius idem de illorum artibus faciamus? quibus, (si quid Hieronymo credimus) nihil est in rebus mortalium aut vtilius aut praestantius.

DIVINO CONSILIO DISCIPLINAS AB ETHNICIS EXPOLITAS,  
 VT NOS VTEREMVR, NON VT CONTEMNEREMVS

10 Quinimo admirabilem rerum ordinem et harmoniam quam vocant paulo penitius introsipienti, videri mihi prorsus solet, nec mihi adeo soli, visum est idem et plerisque grauissimis autoribus, non sine diuino consilio disciplinarum inueniendarum negotium ethnicis datum esse. Immortalis enim ille rerum moderator, vt est ipsa sapientia, ratione summa constituit vniuersa, pulcherrima  
 15 quadam vicissitudine distinguit, aptissimo ordine digerit, vt omnibus omnia miro quodam modo respondeant, nec quicquam in tam immensa rerum varietate ferri temere sinit. Hic aureo illi seculo, quo nasci decreuerat, voluit, vt omnes et anteaetate et sequuturae seruirent aetates, ad huius vnius felicitatem decusque cumulandum, quaecunque in rerum natura essent, referri placuit, quod ipsum  
 20 se perfecturum pollicebatur. *Cum exaltatus*, inquit, *fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum*. Vbi mihi aptissime trahendi vocabulo videtur vsus, vt intelligas omnia vel inimica, vel ethnica, vel alioquin aliena, etiam si non sequantur ad Christi cultum, inuita trahi debere. Et vbi est illa rerum harmonia, qua fit diuo Augustino, vt ne mala quidem ociose creata videantur? Quorsum ab ipsis  
 25 mundi rudimentis tot figurae, tot prodigia, tot mysteria spectabant? nempe ad seculum Christianum. Quid deinde tota lex Mosaica, tot ritus, tot ceremoniae, tot sacrorum genera, tot promissa, tot oracula? nonne Paulo teste *haec omnia figurae contingebant illis*? Iam vt imperiorum translationes praeteram,

1 prudenti: *MS B*, prudente *A C-K* | 2 ethnicorum: gentilium *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 3 superstitionem: superbiam *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4 nondum: non *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 6 illorum: gentilium *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 6-7 si ... credimus: *cum signis parenthesios MS*, sine signis *A-K* | 10 penitius: penitus *MS* | 14 summa: *in marg. adscr. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17 illi: illo *MS* | 20 exaltatus inquit: inquit exaltatus *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 24 Augustino: Augustino teste: *MS* (teste *del.*); ne: *ex nec corr. MS* | 25 tert. tot: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 26 ceremoniae: cerimoniae *MS* (*semper sic*) | 28 figurae: *A-K*, Nov. Test. ed. Er. *LB VI*, 710 C, in figura *MS* (in *postea del.*)

7 Hier. *Epist.* 53,5,6, *CSEL* 54,452,8: 'quorum scientia mortalibus vel vtilissima est.'  
 17 aureo illi seculo ... For this idea in Christian literature cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, p. 55-56.  
 20-21 *Iob.* 12,32; cf. *Adn. Nov. Test.*, *LB*

*VI*, 391 E; 392 A.  
 21 trahendi vocabulo Cf. E. Hoffmann, *Pädagogischer Humanismus*, Zürich, 1955, p. 51 and 333.  
 27-28 1. *Cor.* 10,11: 'Haec autem omnia in figura contingebant illis.'

quorsum pertinuit *tanta mole Rhomanam condere gentem*, tantis cladibus, tot tam  
 cruentis victoriis vrbi rerum dominae vniuersum subigere orbem? nonne diui-  
 no prorsus consilio? nimirum, vt iam nata Christiana religio facilius in singulas  
 terrarum partes dimanaret, si ab eodem capite, tanquam in membra diffunde-  
 retur. Age nunc, qua mente tandem orbem prope totum tam vesanis, tam pu- 5  
 dendis religionibus siuit irretiri? Nimirum, vt vna exorta vniuersas summa cum  
 gloria euerteret. Adeo nihil sine dimicatione fit egregium. Artes studiosa  
 Graecia repperit, cum qua deinde Latium certamine suscepto bellicis quidem  
 rebus superauit, at literarum dicendique laudibus propemodum aequauit. Aliis  
 rerum latentes causas rimari curae fuit, alii Promethei vinculis alligati coelestium 10  
 ignium vagos recursus obseruarunt. Fuerunt qui diuinitatis arcana tenta-  
 uerunt, hic disserendi, ille dicendi rationem inuenit, nonnulli mortalium mo-  
 res doctissime depinxerunt, quibusdam rerum gestarum memoriam ad posteros  
 transmitters studio fuit. | Iam vero in legibus, in philosophia, quantus sudor  
 antiquis fuit? Quorsum tandem haec omnia? num, vt nos exorti contempnere-  
 mus? an potius, vt optima religio pulcherrimis studiis tum honestaretur, tum  
 fulciretur? Omnia ethnicorum fortiter facta, scite dicta, ingeniose cogitata,  
 industrie tradita, suae Rei p. praeparauerat Christus. Ille ministrauerat inge-  
 nium, ille quaerendi ardorem adiecerat, nec alio autore quaesita inueniebant.  
 Hanc artium frugem illorum aetas tulit non tam sibi, quam nobis, siquidem, vt 20  
 non quaeuis regio suppeditat omnia, nec omnis fert omnia tellus, vt inquit  
 Maro, ita seculis suae quibusque dotes distributae mihi videntur. In summo  
 bono quaerendo plerique philosophorum et aetatem et ingenium triuerunt.  
 Sed id quod erat vere summum et praestantissimum suae Christus aetati ser-  
 uauit, non ita tamen, vt caeteras inutiles ac sine fruge actas voluerit, id quod 25  
 oculis quoque testibus videmus et corporeis in rebus diligenter cauisse naturam,  
 ne qua portio temporis inutilis effluat. En arbores (admoneor enim aspectu ipso  
 ab his exemplum petere) primo iam vere frondibus alendis succum suppedi-  
 tant. Nunc videtis additi frondibus flores quantum voluptatis nobis spectanti-  
 bus aedant. Accedente aestate hi ipsi flosculi paulatim in pomi carnem tur-  
 gescent; autumno mitibus malis stabunt arbores grauidae, quae simulatque po-  
 suerint, rursus id interualli quod ex autumno in hyemem superest, sub futuram 30

1 Rhomanam: *A-I*, Romanam *MS K*; tot: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 2 vrbi: *MS A-I*, Vrbi *K* | 4 dimanaret: emanaret *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 6 Nimirum: Nempē *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 propemodum: certe *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 memoriam: *MS D K*, memoria *ABC E-I* | 17 ethnicorum: gentilium *MS<sup>1</sup>*; cogitata: excogitata *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 18 Rei p.: *ABEF GIK*, rei p. *MS*, Reipublicae *CDH* | 20 quam nobis: quam nostrae rei p. profuturam *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 21-22 vt inquit Maro: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 dotes: dotes quodam *MS (sed quodam del.)*; distributae mihi: michi distributae *MS* | 24 vere: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 26 et corporeis: vel corporis *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 27 ipso: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 30 aedant: *ABEF GIK*, edant *MS CDH*; turgescant: turgescunt *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 31 arbores: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*

1 Verg. *Aen.* I, 33: 'Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.'  
 16-17 vt ... fulciretur Cf. *Ench. mil. Chr.* 13,

*LB V*, 66 B.  
 21 Verg. *Georg.* II, 109: 'nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt.'

aestatem nouis creandis surculis datur. Hyems ne ipsa quidem ociosa, alterna quiete rerum vires reficit; idem coelestium orbium discursus ille tam varie temperatus efficit. Summa in rebus discordia, sed qua nihil concordius. Eodem feruntur et singula et vniuersa, eodem spectant, ad vnum quiddam tendunt.

5 Optimus igitur ille moderator Christus, cum suo seculo summi boni cognitionem peculiariter destinasset, proximis ante seculis id tribuendum putauit, quod ad summum bonum proxime accederet, summam videlicet eruditionem. Quid enim secundum virtutem potest homini praestabilius contingere scientia? qua quidem in re deus Christianorum siue ignauiae, siue mauis ocio consultum

10 voluit, vt qui essemus aliunde occupandi, bonam laboris partem adimeret. Non paulo enim procliuius est rem iam ad vnguem expolitam perdiscere, quam inuenire. Quod nisi illi literarum segetem seuisent, nobis fortassis nihil esset quod meteremus. Quid enim ipsi reperissemus, qui illorum inuentis non modo nihil vnquam adiecimus, verum detriuimus permulta, perturbauimus omnia?

15 Quo turpius ingrati sumus, imo inuidi, qui res summo vsui futuras ne gratis quidem oblatas accipere velimus, cum istis magno constiterint; nec munus modo pulcherrimum recusamus, verumetiam autorem muneris pro gratia quam debebamus, summa contumelia afficimus.

HOMINES IGNORANTIA POTIVS QVAM ERVDITIONE

20

INSOLENTIORES FIERI

Hic ego, perdocte tu quidem, inquam, et vere Batte: at vix crediderim vllos esse tam omnis humanae rationis expertes, vt vniuersam literaturam a religione segregandam putent modo sit Christiana. BATTVS: Quasi vero, inquit Battus, vlla sit eruditio Christiana, quae non eadem sit ineruditissima; loquor autem

25 non de mysteriis nostrae religionis, sed de disciplinis repertis. Quid enim, si vera fateri velimus, post ethnicos illos noui a nobis repertum, quod non idem sit indoctum? Quid autem inueniamus bene, qui aliorum inuenta tam male tuemur? Ego igitur nullam esse eruditionem puto, nisi quae sit secularis (sic enim appellant antiquam) aut certe seculari literatura condita et instructa. Eam

30 (si peruersa et impia absit opinio) Christianam etiam patiar appellari, quanquam non paucos adeo stolide religiosos comperio, vt ne Christianam quidem istam, id est ecclesiasticam multi faciant. Quid enim, inquiunt, si non simus theolo|gi: si Christum bene scis, satis est, si caetera nescis. Non doctis sed innocentibus

LB 1714

1 Hyems ne: Ne hyems ne *MS* (*sed prius Ne del.*) | 3 discordia: concordia *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 suo: solo suo: *C D H* | 9 *prius* siue: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; siue ... ocio: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 vt: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 modo: solum *MS* | 17 recusamus: recusemus *in* recusamus *corr. MS*<sup>1</sup>; muneris: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 afficiamus: afficiamus *in* afficimus *corr. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 Hic: Herasmus. Hic *MS*; inquam: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 BATTVS: *om. MS* | 24 *alt.* sit: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24-25 loquor ... repertis: *om. MS* | 28 esse: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 31 ne: nec *in* ne *corr. MS*<sup>2</sup>

11 *ad vnguem* Cf. *Adag.* 1,5,91, *LB* II, 216  
F-217 B; Otto No. 1822,6.

33 Cf. *Mt.* 12,7: 'numquam condemnassetis innocentes.'

promissa est immortalitas. Num idcirco damnabor, si diui Pauli scripta parum sublimiter intelligam? Quid si Hieronymianam dictionem non capiam? quid si Augustini et Ambrosii scripta ne legerim quidem? quid si ne euangelium quidem intelligam? stolide, imo quid si ne teipsum intelligas? quid si camelus sis, non homo? Confide, etiam pecora coelum obtinebunt. Hominum, mehercle, 5 genus non modo stolidissimum, verumetiam impium. Atque vtinam isti Christum bene scirent, qui se gloriantur nihil scire literarum. At saepe fit, vt, qui in literis simplices haberi volunt, in rebus mundanis sint astutissimi nebulones, sed cum his mihi interim res non est. Eo hunc sermonem interieci, ne miraremini si huiusmodi nostram illam quam descripsimus eruditionem execrentur, qui euangelia quoque contemnunt. Verum, vt modo dicebam, cum his mihi 10 res non est in praesentia; de his loquor, qui ecclesiastice docti videri cupiunt, et tamen ab omni seculari disciplina tanquam Iudaeus ab immundis abstinent, illud interim Paulinum obliti *omnia munda esse mundis*. Horum ego eruditionem ita exiguam video, vt nullam esse iudicem et quauis ruditate peiorem. Hi vero 15 omnem nostram doctrinam vt malam, vt ethnicam, vt impiam abominantur, quod ipsi sciunt id non humano studio, sed tanquam coelitus accepisse videri volunt. Iam etiam vulgo dici audio, vt quisque literatissimus sit, ita nequissimum esse. Quae quidem contumelia non magis ad rhetoricos et poeticos, quam ad theologos, ad iureconsultos, ad dialecticos, ad caeteros item studiosos attinet, dignum quod ab omnibus confutetur. Si mala est eruditio, vtrum tandem per se mala est, an per aliud? Si per aliud, cur simpliciter eruditionem reprehendimus? Si per se, cur igitur iudicio grauissimorum autorum in numero bonorum honestorum ponitur? cur opibus anteponitur, quae per se malae non sunt? Adde, quod veritas nulla per se mala esse potest, disciplinae liberales cum 25 sint veritates, bonae sint necesse est. Quod si per se bona scientia, mala est ignorantia; si mala, igitur fugienda; quanquam si naturam audiamus, quis est, qui non malit esse scientissimus, quam ignorantissimus? Hic nobis dialectici incipiunt esse barbari; non reprehendimus, inquit, simpliciter eruditionem, sed quod astutos efficiat, elatos, intractabiles, insolentes, fastidiosos. Quid enim 30 aliud petitis, inquit, quam vulgus effugere, eminere inter caeteros, praedicari, celebrari, nos nostrique similes pro pecudibus ducere? Audistis, quid istos

3 *prius ne: nec in ne corr. MS; alt. ne: nec in ne corr. MS* | 5 mehercle: me Hercule *MS* | 6-8 Atque ... nebulones: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 est: erit *MS<sup>1</sup>*; miraremini: mirareris *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 qui: qui et *MS<sup>1</sup>* (*sed et del.*) | 13 tamen: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 14 omnia: et omnia *MS* | 15 video: esse puto *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17 sciunt: faciunt *MS<sup>1</sup>*; videri: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 18 nequissimum: iniquissimum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 20 item: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 per se mala: mala per se mala *MS* (*prius mala del.*) | 23 iudicio ... autorum: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 25 Adde ... nulla: sed ne veritas quidem vlla *MS<sup>1</sup>*; liberales: seculares *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 26 scientia: est scientia *MS<sup>1</sup>* (*sed est del.*) | 28 nobis: vobis *C D* | 30 elatos intractabiles: intractabiles elatos *MS*; fastidiosos: fastigiosos *MS<sup>1</sup>*

religiosulos mordeat, contemni nolunt, imperare et ducere, non parere neque duci volunt et ita demum publicae paci consultum putant, si nemo extiterit, qui possit aliorum inscitiam emendare. Intelligis, (vt arbitror) eruditionis calumniam non aliunde quam a superbia proficisci. Iniquissimum autem fuerit, si  
 5 lippus solem accuset, cuius luce offenditur. *Scientia*, inquit, *inflat*, *charitas aedificat*. Vtrum igitur insolentia, scientiae an nostrum est vitium? Non audebunt, vt opinor, eruditionis dicere, alioquin nemo vnquam fuisset eruditus, nisi idem insolens et quo quisque euaderet doctior, eo superior redderetur. At istud praeterquam quod absurdum est dictu, perquam contumeliosum etiam  
 10 videri potest. In quos? In Augustinum, in Hieronymum, in plerosque alios, quos, quia doctissimi fuerint, nefas sit ob id eos superbiae insimulare. At, inquires, de prophana eruditione ago. Et quidem nos accipimus, nempe qualem in his, quos modo dixi, religionis Christianae principibus et miramur et veneramur tuae dissimillimam, qui ecclesiasticam doctrinam profiteris. Quid quaeris?  
 15 quod si nostrophe non rerum vitio insolescimus? vtrum animus erit castigandus, an res sine causa accusandae? Nonne modestius faceres, tu modestiae praeceptor, si ingenue tuam inscitiam fatearis ac non optimis rebus calumniam struas, quo tuo vitio patrocineris? nunc ad omnia rudis, ad hanc calumniam |  
 LB 1715 disertus es. Attamen, inquis, insolentiae materiam ministrat eruditio secularis.  
 20 Quis negat? At istam quidem materiam vndecunque licebit sumere vel ab optimis sanctissimisque rebus. Idcirco ne protinus res incusandae? An tu potius, qui rebus optimis abutare pessimus? Animus per se insolens exerendi sui vndelibet occasionem arripit. Pecunia, quot vitiorum genera ministrat? nemo tamen hanc vt malam accusat, sed male vtentium animus reprehenditur. Quid  
 25 erit tandem tam bonum, quod non aliquando mali occasionem ministret? Non ieiunium, non eleemosyna, non castitas, non virtus ipsa. Superbiunt philosophi, sibi placent poetae. Eho tu, nulli superbiunt theologi? An in vlllo genere supercilium arrogantius? Quis tamen audeat sanctissimam theologiam in crimen vocare? Superbiunt hac permulti, sed suo, non theologiae vitio. Nulli ne  
 30 superbiunt illiterati? Quid istos insolentiores facit? Nempe ipsa imperitia. Quid igitur facerent, si literas didicissent?

1 religiosulos: religiosos *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 aliorum: alienam *MS*; Intelligis: Intelligitis *MS*; eruditionis: istam superbie *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 autem: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 vt: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 et: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; quisque: quis *MS*<sup>1</sup>; At: Ad *MS* | 9 etiam: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 superbiae insimulare: superbie nefas sit insimulare *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11-12 inquires: inquis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 prophana: seculari *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 ac: et *MS* | 21 sanctissimisque: *MS K*, scientissimisque *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup>; ne: *om. MS*; res: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 vndelibet: videlicet *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 malam: malum *C D H* | 25 ministret: ministrat *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 ne: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 31 didicissent: non didicissent *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*sed non del.*)

1 *religiosulos* The adjective 'religiosulus' is borrowed from Hier. *Adv. Rufin.* III, 7, Migne *PL* 23,484 B. Occurs also in *Epp.* 31, l. 56; 58, l. 24; 126, l. 148.

5-6 1. *Cor.* 8,1.

27 *sibi placent* Cf. *Adag.* 1,2,15, *LB* II, 74 E sqq.



IGNORANTIAM ESSE SVPERBIAE MATREM.  
ERVDITIONEM CONTRA MODESTIAM PARERE

Quamquam quid minus verum dici potest quam homines literatura astutos, elatos et fastidiosos fieri. Si astutiam prudentiam appellant, nihil pugno, cum et euangelico consilio serpentum astutiam imitari iubeamur. De fastidio vero, 5  
cui non absurdum videatur? Quis igitur saxeos illos et agrestes homines ad humaniorem vitam, ad mansuetius ingenium, ad mores modestiores adduxit? nonne literae? Hae fingunt animum nostrum, affectus mitigant, frangunt indomitos impetus molliunt et ingenium non sinunt esse ferox. An vero hoc illi fastidium appellant, quod ipsorum barbariem non miramur, quod imperitissimorum hominum nugis delectari non possumus? quod stercora pro gemmis non amplectimur? Vtrum hoc fastidiosi est hominis, an sani potius et ab optimis pessima discernentis? De modestia vero idem ego sensi, quod diuum Hieronymum ex Graeci cuiusdam sententia et recte sensisse et eleganter scripsisse, 10  
Video imperitiam adducere confidentiam, scientiae vero timorem esse comitem. 15  
Quod idem Quintilianum probe vidisse, intelligo. *Quo quisque*, inquit, *ingenio minus valet, eo magis attollere se ac dilatare conatur*. Videmus enim permultos, priusquam quid sciant aut nesciant, satis cognitum habeant, iam sibi consummate doctos videri. Hi postquam et sibi persuaserunt et dementia sua nonnullam apud vulgus eruditionis opinionem sunt aucupati, et sibi non parum tribuant 20  
et alios fastidiant necesse est. Docent audacter quae nesciunt, scribunt, orant, interpretantur, nihil non tentant, nihil non audent, suis applausoribus freti, eruditiorum tum iudicia, tum paucitatem contemnunt. Pestilens hominum genus et sua mente suaque stoliditate dignum. GVILHELMVS. Dabis veniam vel ex pacto, Batte, si disputationis tuae cursum paucis remorabor. Aut ego fallor, 25  
Batte, aut diuersa et inter se pugnancia loqueris. Ais enim istos sibi placere et fastidire meliores eo, quod sibi docti videantur, at istud ipsum est argumentum, eruditionem adducere superbiam. Quanam enim alia re sibi placent isti, quam scientia etiam tenui et prope nulla? BATTVS. Recte nulla. Inscitia sua superbiunt

3 Quamquam: Nunquam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 molliunt: mollitum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 appellant: esse appellant *MS* (esse *del.*) | 11 nugis: magis nugis *MS* (magis *del.*) | 13 discernentis: decernentis *MS*<sup>1</sup>; sensi: sentio *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 14 ex ... sententia: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 quisque: quis *Quint* | 17 attollere ... conatur: attollere et dilatare se conatur *MS*<sup>1</sup>, hoc se magis attollere et dilatare conatur *Quint.*; priusquam: *K*, quam *MS*<sup>1</sup>, qui priusquam *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup> | 19 Hi: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 eruditiorum: *MS*<sup>1</sup> eruditiorum *A-K MS*<sup>2</sup>; tum iudicia tum paucitatem: et iudicia et paucitatem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 mente suaque: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; GVILHELMVS: Guielmus *MS* | 24-25 vel ex pacto Batte: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 remorabor: remorabor Guielmus inquit *MS* | 26 inter se: se inter *C D H* | 29 etiam: et etiam *MS* (et *del.*); Recte: Certe *MS*<sup>1</sup>

5 *Mt.* 10,16: 'Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes.'

11 *stercora pro gemmis* Allusion to Phaedrus's fable about the cock and the pearl, cf. Phaedr. III, 12.

14 Hier. *Epist.* 73,10, *CSEL* 55,22,18: 'vt

illud verissimum comprobavit quod apud Graecos canitur: inperitia confidentiam, eruditio timorem creat.' Cf. Thuc. II,40,3: ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὕκνον φέρει.

16-17 *Quint. Inst.* II, 3,8.

isti, haud eruditione: adfert enim illa peritiae persuasio plane confidentiam  
 quandam, quae ipsa summa est imperitia. Recte enim Socrates dixit, nullam  
 incitiam esse maiorem, quam qua quis se credit scire, quod nescit. Quod si  
 vere docti essent, vt sibi videntur, iam alios mirari sibi minus inciperent placere.  
 5 Nil mirum est, si venti plurimum concipiant, qui sunt inanes. Solida virtus  
 se ipsa contenta est, suo se precio, non aliorum opinione metitur. Isti igitur si  
 doctiores essent, essent et modestiores. Quod nolim mihi credatis, nisi ipsi in  
 nobis idem experimur. Quid enim hoc aliud est, quod in initio studiorum nos-  
 LB 1716 trorum, vbi disciplinās vix a limine, (vt dici solet) salutauimus, statim efferi-  
 10 mur et iam tum in ipsis rudimentis magis nobis placemus, quam vbi iam multo  
 vsu multarum rerum certam scientiam comparauerimus, iuuenum more, qui  
 quo minus habent prudentiae, plus habent animi. Vnde id? Profecto quia non-  
 dum hoc ipsum scimus, quam multa nesciamus; quanquam haec inanitas non  
 temere nobis a natura insita videri potest, vt hac falsa gloriola excitati ad sum-  
 15 mos labores capessendos prouocemur. Alioqui quis tantas tamque diuturnas  
 vigilias adiret, si nihil magni sibi promitteret? Neque in hac re plane cum Sto-  
 icis sentio, qui vniuersos affectus non superuacaneos modo, sed et perniciosos  
 arbitrantur. Mihi ad virtutem tendentibus animis, tanquam paedagogi quidam  
 videntur adhibiti. Haec igitur fiducia gloriaque, si modo non sit immodica, in  
 20 tyronibus quidem non prorsus videtur inutilis, eo quod calcar et stimulum  
 quendam ingeniis nostris subiiciat; nam freno vix inuenias, qui indigeant. At  
 eandem gloriam iidem, vbi saniores sumus effecti, et ridemus ipsi et damnamus.  
 De me fateor: equidem cum puer essem, probe sciulus eram et mihi placebam,  
 cum haec studia vixdum summis, (vt aiunt) labiis degustassem. Nunc post tan-  
 25 tum annorum, accedo enim ad annum vndetrigesimum, in dies mihi magis ma-  
 gisque displiceo et Socraticum illud amplector: Hoc vnum scio, quod nihil  
 scio. Tum mihi videbar arcem tenere summam, nunc me ne vestibulum quidem

1 illa peritiae: eruditionis illa *MS*<sup>1</sup>, peritiae illa *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 2 imperitia: ineruditio *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 ipsa:  
 ipsam *MS* | 7 doctiores: doctores *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 idem: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 vix: vix dum *MS* (*dum del.*) |  
 10 et iam tum: *K*, et tum *MS*<sup>1</sup>, etiam tum *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup> | 10-11 multo ... scientiam: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
 11 comparauerimus: comparabimus *C D H* | 13 quam ... nesciamus: quod nescimus *MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
 14 nobis a natura: a natura nobis *MS* | 15 Alioqui: Alioquin *MS*<sup>1</sup>; quis: qui *MS*; tamque:  
 tam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 tendentibus animis: tendenti nostris *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 fiducia: fidentia *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21-22  
 At eandem gloriam: Quam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 probe: prope *MS*<sup>1</sup>

2 Plat. *Apol.* 29 b; Xen. *Mem.* III, 9,6.  
 9 a limine ... salutauimus Cf. *Adag.* 1,9,91,  
*LB* II, 362 F-363 A, where Sen. *Epist.*  
 49,6 is given as the source: 'Nec ego  
 nego prospicienda ista, sed prospicienda  
 tantum et a limine salutanda.' Otto No.  
 953.

16 *Stoicis* For the Stoic theory concerning  
 affects, cf. M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa, Ge-  
 schichte einer geistigen Bewegung*, Göttin-  
 gen, 1948, p. 142 sqq.; E. Hoffmann, *Die*

*Pädagogik der Stoa*, in *Pädagogischer Hu-  
 manismus*, Zürich, 1955, pp. 162-177. For  
 affects, cf. *Inst. mil. Cbr.* 4, *LB* V, 14  
 A-16 D.

24 *summīs ... degustassem* Cf. *Adag.* 1,9,92  
 and 93, *LB* II, 363 A-364 A; Otto No.  
 892. Occurs also in Ep. 149, l. 15-16.

25-26 *mibi ... displiceo* A phrase taken from  
 Cicero, cf. *Att.* II, 18,3; *Fam.* IV, 13,3.  
 Occurs also in Ep. 107, l. 14.

26 Cf. Cic. *Ac.* I, 4,16; II, 23,74.

adhuc praeteriisse puto ac iuxta Graecorum prouerbium ne in apiis quidem consistere. Tum me nihil nisi exactum, perpolitum, absolutum delectabat, nunc prope nihil non miror. Tum quosuis vltro prouocabam, nunc Milium senescentem imitor, minus audeo, trepido magis, ex quo facile coniiicio, vbi copiosior etiam, quam quae nunc est, eruditio accesserit, minus etiam mea mihi placitura. 5  
 Quod si mihi euenit homini ventosiore ingenio nato (est enim apud familiares simpliciter fatendum) quid aliis meliore mente praeditis accidere putatis? Tum Guilhelmus: Astipulor, inquit, ista in re tibi, Iacobe: istuc enim ipsum, quod tu doctissime disseruisti, in me ipso et agnosco et fateor nec in paucis animaduerti. 10  
 Maturescunt eruditione ingenia, reddunturque tum molliora, tum mitiora. BATTVS: Ita prorsus, ait Battus, cuius rei nusquam non copiosissima exempla offerunt sese, siue nostra, siue veterum secula respiciamus. Quid enim dici potest aut cogitari superbius, quam summa confidentia docere alios, quod ipse nescias? Quod isti nostri antacademici passim faciunt, qui cum nihil sciunt, nihil non praecipiant. Ita me deus amet, ad vomitum vsque nauseo, quoties 15  
 quorundam delicias et stultam gloriam ex operum inscriptionibus colligo. Qui cum nihil, nisi meram barbariem euomuerint, audite, quaeso, quam splendidis titulis suas nugas adornent, vt facile intelligas, quam delicate simii isti suos catulos adamant. Alius quod somniauit Gemmulam, alius Margaritam appellat, hic Floretum, ille Rosetum inscripsit, at in medio, o bone deus, vt nihil nisi 20  
 carduos et lolium inuenias. Est qui Speculum operi suo nomen dedit, est qui

1 praeteriisse: praeterisse *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 1-2 ac ... consistere: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 2 nihil nisi: *MS A B C D G H I*, nihil *E F K* | 7 simpliciter: libere *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 Guilhelmus: Guielmus *MS*; tibi: sibi tibi *MS* (sibi *del.*) | 14 antacademici: anthiacademici *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 quoties: quotiens *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 adornent: adornauerint *MS*<sup>1</sup>; delicate simii: delicatissime *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 appellat: appellauit *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 inscripsit: inscripserit *MS*<sup>1</sup>; o: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 nomen dedit: dederit nomen dedit *MS* (*dederit del.*)

1-2 *ne in apiis quidem consistere* Cf. *Adag.* 1, 10, 89, *LB* II, 393 F, where Aristoph. *Vesp.* 480 is given as the source.

13-14 *docere ... nescias* Cf. *Hier. Epist.* 53, 7, 2, *CSEL* 54, 454, 10: 'puerilia sunt ... docere quod ignores'; *Adv. Rufin.*, Migne *PL* 23, 451: 'temeritatis est docere quod nescias', cf. Otto No. 567. Occurs also in *Ep.* 23, l. 90: 'docere quod nesciebant.' Cf. also *Ep.* 56, l. 10.

19 *Margaritam* Perhaps Erasmus has in mind *Margarita poetica* by Albertus Eibus, printed c. 1479 at Strassbourg or rather *Margarita Biblia* by Guy de Vicence. Cf. H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale des quatres sens de l'Écriture sainte*, Paris, 1964, seconde partie, II, p. 372.

20 *Floretum* Floretus, a poem on Christian faith and morality, composed by Joannes Garlandus, c. 1180-c. 1252, author of grammatical works used in schools,

and frequently printed in the 15th century. Erasmus attacks him also in *Ep.* 26, l. 89, cf. Allen's note.

*Rosetum* Perhaps Erasmus has in mind *Rosetum exercitiorum* by John Mombaer of Brussels (Ioannes Mauburnus, 1460-1501), cf. A. Renaudet in *Courants religieux et Humanisme à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> et au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Colloques de Strasbourg, Paris, 1959, p. 13.

*o bone deus* An oath frequently used by Erasmus. Cf. *Epp.* 103, l. 4; 119, l. 9; 126, l. 63; 180, l. 26; 205, l. 24; 447, l. 496.

21 *Speculum* Possibly *Speculum iudiciale* by J. W. M. Durand, c. 1230-1 Nov. 1296, a French canonist and liturgical writer, bishop of Mende. *Speculum iudiciale* was printed at Strasbourg in 1473. Erasmus attacks this work in *Ep.* 396, l. 90.

omnium errorum sylum, Catholicon ausus est appellare. Ineptius etiam quidam Mammetrectum, velut haustum lactis gallinacei pollicens. Sunt qui Summas et Summarum Summas appellent, quasi lectori non sit alius scriptor requirendus, vbi tales sit nactus lacunas. An non eandem insolentiam deprehendas in  
 5 autorum titulis, quos ideo magnificos illis tribuunt, vt ipsi praeclarum aliquid ac supra hominem profiteri videantur? Basilium, Origenem, Chrysostomum et his consimiles viros aut non citant aut contemptim citant, veluti censores, verum cum crepant illos suos doctores sanctos, doctores irrefragabiles, doctores subtilissimos, doctores seraphicos, tum sibi videntur adferre nescio quid,  
 10 cui cedere debeat etiam maiestas euangelica. Quod si in antiquis et eruditis has inscriptionum delicias docti non tulerunt, quis in his | barbaris ferat, qui ad contaminandas literas geniti videri possint? Quis non, (vt est in prouerbio), suspendio trabem eligat, vbi videt huiusmodi voluminibus refertas passim bibliothecas, perstreperere ludos? Ex his contexi conciones ecclesiasticas, ex his colligi  
 15 dogmata, quibus gubernetur orbis, ex his nos censi Christianos aut secus? Adde, quod in tradendo nusquam haerent, nihil addubitant, omnia constant, omnia praecipuntur. Credas eos non docere, sed leges praescribere. En modestiam quam secum adfert supina ignorantia, quanto satius erat Academicorum verecundiam imitari, ad quos cum isti ne componendi quidem fuerant, nihil  
 20 tamen se scire professi, omnibus de rebus pudenter disputare, quam confidenter affirmare maluerunt. Nec me fugit esse qui hoc philosophorum genus parum probent; mihi vel omnibus antefendum videtur, cur videatur alias fortasse. Iam si prisca repetimus, quid tam abfuit ab insolentia, quam Socratis doctum pariter ac facundum ingenium, quem nunquam puduit vndeunque doceri ne

2 Mammetrectum: *MS A-I*, Mammetreptum *K* | 2-10 velut ... euangelica: *om. MS<sup>1</sup> | 10* euangelica: *A-I* Euangelica *K*, | 11 tulerunt: tulerint *MS<sup>1</sup> | 14-15* ex his ... secus: *om. MS<sup>1</sup> | 17* praecipuntur: *MS A-I*, praecipunt *K*; leges: legem *MS<sup>1</sup> | 18* erat: *om. MS<sup>1</sup> | 20* se: *om. K*; pudenter: *A-K MS<sup>1</sup>*, prudenter *MS<sup>2</sup> | 24* ne: *ex nec corr. MS*

1 *Catholicon* Cf. note to p. 58, l. 12.

2 *velut ... pollicens* An expression taken from Plin. *Nat. praef.* 24: 'copiae cornu velut lactis gallinacei sperare possis in volumine haustum.' Cf. *Adag.* 1,6,3, *LB* II, 222 E-223 B; Otto No. 747.

8 *doctores irrefragabiles* He has in mind Alexander of Hales, 1425. Alexandre d'Hales, a celebrated doctor of theology, born in Gloucestershire and trained in the monastery at Hales. His most celebrated work is *Summa vniuersae theologiae*. He was surnamed 'doctor irrefragabilis'.

8-9 *doctores subtilissimos* He has in mind the celebrated Mediaeval theologian

John Duns Scotus, c. 1265?-1308, known as the 'doctor subtilissimus'. Similarly in Ep. 858, l. 90.

9 *doctores seraphicos* He has in mind St. Bonaventure, 1221-1274, author of numerous theological works, including *Commentarii in quatuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*. He was known as the 'doctor seraphicus'. Erasmus similarly attacks him in Ep. 858, l. 91.

12-13 *suspendio ... eligat* Cf. *Adag.* 1,10,21, *LB* II, 373 C-E, where Plin. *Nat. praef.* 29, among others, is given as a source. Occurs also in Ep. 70, l. 13.

18-19 *Academicorum verecundiam* Cf. Cic. *Ac.* I, 4, 17.

iam senem quidem. Non sibi turpe duxit rhetoricen virilem vtique disciplinam a foemina Aspasia doceri. Idem iam grandis natu fidibus operam dedisse legitur, praeceptore, nisi fallor, Cono; praeterea vox illa iam nobilis: Hoc vnum scio, quod nescio, vtrum quaeso, sibi placentis, an modestissimi potius hominis videtur? Hac modestia promeruit, vt solus ab Apolline sapiens iudicaretur, quod cum alii sibi ea viderentur scire, quae nescirent, hic tanto esset caeteris verecundior, quanto sapientior. Id quod illius apud Platonem disputationes facile indicant, in quibus omnibus apparet studiosi quidem et acuti, sed inquirentis potius, quam praecipientis oratio. Et o vtinam nostri temporis philosophastri, qui nobis fastum obiiciunt, huius omnis philosophiae parentis verecundiam, quam Gorgiae promptam garrulitatem mallent imitari, qui cum ne suam quidem ipsorum vocem intelligant, magna fiducia quauis de re pronunciant, probant, damnant, praecipunt, praescribunt; sed aliorum exempla prosequamur. An fuit quicquam vno Pythagora vel acutius, vel doctius? Hic certe superiores philosophos quam eruditione vicit, tam modestia superauit. Qui cum ante id temporis sophi, id est sapientes, soliti essent appellari, ipse primus nominis arrogantiam recusauit et se philosophum id est sapientiae studiosum, quam sapientem dici maluit. Platonem nonnulli ob ingenii diuinam quandam sublimitatem fastus insimularunt; at in hoc ipso quanta modestia? Vbi omnem praeceptoris disciplinam ad plenum hausisset, perinde ac si nihil actum, quot maria, quot terras emensus legitur, dum vbique quaerit, quod discat. *Qui Athenis magister fuerat et potens* (Hieronymianis enim verbis libenter vtimur) *cuiusque doctrinas Academiae gymnasia personabant, fit denuo peregrinus atque discipulus, malens aliena vere-*

1 vtique: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 2 Aspasia: Alpasia MS<sup>1</sup> | 3 praeceptore ... Cono: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>; iam: tam MS<sup>1</sup> H | 6 ea: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>; quae: quod MS<sup>1</sup>; hic: hoc MS<sup>1</sup> | 7 indicant: iudicant MS<sup>1</sup> | 8 omnibus: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 14 Hic: hoc MS<sup>1</sup> | 17 philosophum: φιλοσοφουμ MS<sup>1</sup> | 20 actum: actum esset MS (esset *del.*) | 22 fuerat: erat Hier.; Academiae: Achademiae MS | 23 fit: K, fieret MS A-I Hier.; denuo: *add.* Erasmus

1-2 *Non ... doceri* Cf. Plat. *Menex.* 235 e.  
2-3 *fidibus ... Cono* Cf. Plat. *Menex.* 235 e; Cic. *Fam.* IX, 22,3: 'Socratem fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen. Is Connus vocitatus est.' Cf. also *Cato* 8,26.  
3 Cf. Cic. *Ac.* I, 4,16; II, 23,74.  
5 *solus ... iudicaretur* Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 20 E-21 A; Cic. *Cato* 21,78; *Ac.* I, 4,16; *Lael.* 2,7.  
9 *philosophastri* This word occurs in Aug. *Civ.* II, 27, *CSEL* 30,104,26, *c. Iul. op. imp.* VI, 18, Migne *PL* 45,1541.  
10 *philosophiae parentis* Cf. Cic. *Fin.* II, 1,1: 'Socrates qui parens philosophiae iure dici potest.' In this same place Cicero opposes Socrates to Gorgias.  
11 *Gorgiae ... garrulitatem* Cf. Ep. 126, l. 162: 'sophistica garrulitate.'

15-18 *Qui ... maluit* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* V, 3,7-9.  
17 *philosophum ... studiosum* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* V, 3,9: 'hos se appellare sapientiae studiosos id est enim philosophos.'  
18 Perhaps an allusion to Diogenes the Cynic's saying found in Diog. Laert. VI, 26 πατῶ τῆν Πλάτωνος κενοσπουδιαν.  
20 For Plato's journeys, cf. H. Leisegang, *RE* 40 Halbb., Stuttgart, 1950, 2349-2355. For Solon's journeys, cf. Aly, *RE* 2R, 5H., 950. Solon's journeys are mentioned by Erasmus in Epp. 103, l. 23 and 296, l. 89: 'At laudatur Solonis, Pythagorae, Platonisque peregrinatio.'  
21-1 (next page) Hier. *Epist.* 53,1,2, *CSEL* 54,443,9.

*cunde discere, quam sua impudenter ingerere.* Quid de Solone et Herodoto loquar, quos iam natu grandes omnes orbis angulos peruagatos videmus, laboriosa vtique peregrinatione tanquam impigros sapientiae mercatores. Theophrastus philosophorum facile praecipuus moriens ceruis et cornicibus inuidisse legitur, quibus natura vitam tam diuturnam tribuisset, homini tam exiguam. Et qui omnium opinione consummatam sapientiam tenere putabatur, is se tum querebatur extingui, cum iam quid esset sapere, videre coepisset. Et vnde in tantis ingeniis tanta modestia ab imperitia ne, vt isti dicunt, an a doctrina quadam singulari? Quis iam Vergilio palmam inter poetas inuidet? An non huius modestia factum est, vt dum in viuus ageret multis indoctioribus inferior haberetur? Idem a Philisto mediocri oratore conuiciis salibusque agitatus ab insulso Perone famosis etiam versibus impetitus a Cicerone summo oratore laudatus pari modestia et illius scommata et huius laudes tulit. Quid autem de ecclesiasticis commemorem? quorum longe princeps Hieronymus incredibili discendi auiditate, quem tandem praeceptorem recusauit? Num Iudaeum? | num haereticum? num Latinum? num Graecum? num Hebraeum? Adeo vir doctissimus discere, quam docere putauit pulchrius. Augustino quid eruditius? at quid eodem modestius? qui iam multorum annorum episcopus ac doctor, non solum se vel ab anniculo episcopo doceri paratum fatetur, verum nec ipsum errata sua fateri puidit et scriptorum suorum tanquam palinodiam canere. Quis hanc modestiam e nostri temporis criticis vnquam est imitatus? An sunt Augustino vel cautiore vel doctiores? An non potius quanto indoctiores tanto arrogantiores? qui quicquid scripserint, hoc ipso verum videri volunt, quod scripserint pro coelestibus

8 doctrina: doctrina potius *MS*<sup>1</sup> (potius *del. MS*<sup>1</sup>) | 9 Vergilio: Virgilio *MS* | 9–10 An ... factum est: At huius modestiam tantam fuisse legimus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 Philisto: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, Philisco *A–K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 11–12 ab ... impetitus: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 illius: huius *MS*<sup>2</sup>; huius: illius *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 16 num Latinum ... Hebraeum: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 iam ... doctor: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 episcopo: puero *MS*<sup>1</sup>; ipsum: ipsum quidem *MS* (quidem *del.*); sua fateri: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 An: Ac *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 ipso: ipsi *MS*<sup>1</sup>; quod scripserint: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

- 1 For Herodotus' journeys, cf. W. Schmid, O. Stählin, *Gesch. d. griechischen Literatur*, I. Teil von Schmid 2 B, München, 1934, pp. 557–577.  
 3–7 *Theophrastus* ... *coepisset* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* III, 28,69.  
 9 For Virgil's modesty, cf. *Vita Don.* 11, *Vitae Verg.*, ed. Diehl, Bonn, 1911, p. 10,16. Cf. *Vita Don.* 16: 'nam et in sermone tardissimum eum ac paene indocto similem Melissus tradidit.'  
 11 For Philistus, cf. *Don auctus* 77, *Vitae Verg.*, ed. Diehl, p. 36,20: 'Philistus ... Vergilium ... maledictis salibusque vexabat. Quare ille aut tacibundus discedebat aut suffusus pudore tacebat.'  
 12 *Perone* Cf. *Don. auctus* 61, *Vitae Verg.*, ed.

- Diehl, p. 34,7: 'in Bucolicis duas tantum eclogas sed insulsiissime Paro quidam deridet.' The name 'Paro' reads 'Pero' in Erasmus's writings.  
 a *Cicerone* ... *laudatus* Erasmus was mistaken in thinking that Cicero praised Virgil. His error may have arisen on the basis of Cicero's letter *Ad. Q. fr.* I, 2,2,7 in which Cicero praises propraetor Vergilius. Cf. also Cic. *Prov.* 4,7.  
 14–15 *Hieronymus* ... *recusauit* Cf. *Hier. C. Rufin.* I, 13, Migne *PL* 23,425 sq.  
 19 *ab anniculo episcopo* i.e. by Hieronymus. Cf. Augustine's letter to Hieronymus, *Aug. Epist.* 67,2, Migne *PL* 33,237; cf. also *Retract.* prol. 1, *CSEL* 36,7: 'mea errata reprehendo.'

oraculis sua somnia recipi volunt. De parum doctis haec loquor nam egregie doctum neminem adhuc repperi, quin in eodem singularem modestiam agnouerim. *Superbus igitur et arrogans, indoctus vocabitur, iuxta sapientis Hebraei sententiam, haud doctus et sapientior sibi stultus videtur septem viris loquentibus sententias.* Caue igitur tu quisquis es, qui mihi vultu religioso immodestiam obiicis, 5  
 ne ista ipsa tua modestia summa sit immodestia. Nam quaeso te per Musas, vter superior, is ne qui diues inuitat ad opum suarum communionem, an tu qui mendicitate tua superbus, ob hoc ipsum tibi videre regulus quod nihil habeas? Is ne qui doctrina vititur ad Christi gloriam, an tu, qui cum proximi contumelia 10  
 contemnis alienam doctrinam, ne apud idiotas, in quo theatro te venditas, parum semideus habearis? Postremo fac vtrunque placere sibi, vter arrogantior, qui sua effertur eruditione, an tu, qui tua inscitia tibi insolentissime places? Ille nulli obstrepit, si quis nolit meliora discere, tu coelum terrae misces, si quis ausit docere quod tu cum tuis sodalibus non didiceris. Huic animos facit sua 15  
 facundia, tibi cristas maiores addit infantia. Vter superior? Ille per omnes disciplinas obambulat, vt vere doctus esse possit, tu vix gustata grammatica eaque misera, vix gustatis tribus syllogismis, ad haec quaestionibus aliquot Thomisticis aut Scotisticis repente prosilis in theatrum, paratus cum quouis quauis de re dimicare. Et homo verecundus aliis exprobras arrogantiam? Verum ego dum de immodestia disputo, modestiae sim oblitus, altius enim in re 20  
 clarissima disputationem repetisse me video. Sed vt finiam, ego sic mihi persuasi, si quem arrogantem et sibi placentem videro, eum perdoctum esse non credam. Itaque quod isti superbiam adducere putant, id mihi, ne superbiamus, solum remedio videtur esse.

## ILLVD PAVLI SCIENTIA INFLAT, QVOMODO ACCIPIENDVM

25

Verum instant interim suo more et illud Paulinum constanter ingerunt. *Scientia inflat, charitas aedificat.* Non mentitur, inquit, Apostolus, *inflat scientia.* Nemo negat, sed inflat et inscitia. Quid dicitis, o theologi, et iidem inscii, ita ne nihilo plus vna sententia e Paulo decerpistis, non venit in mentem eundem alio in

3 iuxta ... sententiam: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4 stultus: *Erasmus*, piger *Prv.* 26,16 | 6-22 Nam ... arrogantem: *om MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 nolit meliora discere: meliora nolit discere *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 20 sim: sum *MS* | 26 constanter: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 26-28 scientia ... inscitia: scientia inflat inscitia *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 28 iidem: idem *MS<sup>1</sup>*; nihilo: nihil *FK*

3 *Prv.* 21,24: 'Superbus et arrogans vocatur indoctus.'

4-5 *Prv.* 26,16.

13 *coelum terrae misces* Cf. *Adag.* 1,3,81, *LB* II, 142 A-D; Otto No. 280,1.

15 *cristas ... addit* Cf. *Adag.* 1,8,69, *LB* II,

324 C-E; Otto No. 467.

25 1. *Cor.* 8,1; for the objection 'sapientia inflat' and how Erasmus disproves it, cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, p. 62 sqq. The very same interpretation of this place in Paul occurs in *Adn. Nov. Test.*, *LB* VI, 703 D.

loco dicere: *Et si imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia*. Non audistis gloriantem quod ad pedes Gamalielis legem didicerit? non libros in membrana scriptos sibi postulantem? Quid ita Paulo in mentem incidit, vt cum fuerit vel vnus inter apostolos omnium rerum scientissimus, tum saepius nos ad sui imitationem

5 prouocarit, hoc vno in loco voluerit a scientia deterrere? Quid autem est charitas spoliata scientia? nempe nauis sine clauo. Quis vnquam amauit, quod nesciret? denique quorsum vnquam fuit utilis ignorantia? Neque mentitus est Paulus, sed parum intellectus, cuius quidem mentem ita demum accipiemus, si et priora et consequentia cum mediis conferamus. Age, theologum interim

10 Battus aget. Mota erat diuo Paulo de idolothytis quaestio, a quorum esu Christiani nonnulli infirmitate quadam conscientiae sese continebant; alii peritiores qui intelligerent idolothytum nihil esse et mundis nihil esse | immundum sine

LB 1719 discrimine vescabantur. Et recte quidem illi sentiebant, sed interim superstiosior et infirmior quispiam eorum offendebatur firmitate. Hinc inter fratres

15 seditio. Respondit Paulus: Quantum ad nostram ipsorum conscientiam attinet, nihil referre, vtrum de idolis immolato, an non immolato vescamur, interesse tamen fraternae charitatis. Offendi enim fratrem infirmiore, qui nondum idolothytum queat contemnere aliena conscientia, cum videat fratrem *in idolio recumbentem*. Eoque satius censet Apostolus hac in re fraternae infirmitati obsequundare, quam fratre neglecto nostra vti scientia; gratiorem esse superis

20 morigeram charitatem, quam superbam et contumacem scientiam. Huiusmodi enim inflare scientiam, si fratre prudens offendas, at charitatem aedificare, si sine tuo detrimento fratris infirmitati concedas. Vt ne dicam interim, quod ea res fuerit illorum temporum peculiaris. Altius a maioribus insederat superstitio,

25 quam vt subito posset reuelli et ad confirmandam Euangelii doctrinam omni obsequio erat opus. Postremo materia offenciculi reperta erat, non a nobis ministrata. Hic Christianae charitatis erat ad tempus obsequi fratris infirmitati, sed hac spe vt post resipisceret. Quid haec ad nos? quid ad philosophiam? quid ad oratoriam aut poeticam? sed tamen si libet, ad liberaliorem eruditionem

30 torqueamus, quandoquidem didicere quiduis arcanae literae pati. Quantumlibet inflexeris, Paulus non vult scientiam esse nullam, sed incommutatam esse non vult, nempe sine charitate. Quod si alterutra sit carendum, tolerabilius esse

1 non tamen: *A-K MS, Erasmus Nov. Test. LB VI, 788 B, sed non Vulg.* | 2 in: *K, om. MS A-I* | 5 voluerit: voluit *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 15 Respondit: *K, Respondet MS A-I* | 16 an: aut *MS* | 17 idolothytum: ydolothytum *MS<sup>2</sup>*, ydoloticum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 18 conscientia: *K, Erasmus Nov. Test. LB VI, 704 B, scientia MS A-I*; idolio: *A B C D F G K, ydolio MS, idolo E H I* | 19 obsequundare: obscondare *MS* | 23-28 Vt ... resipisceret: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 25 Euangelii: *K, euangelii A-I*

1 2. *Cor.* 11,6.  
 1-2 *Act.* 22,3: 'secus pedes Gamalielis eruditus iuxta veritatem paternae legis.'  
 2 2. *Tim.* 4,13.  
 10 1. *Cor.* 8,1-13; 10,23-11,1.  
 12 *Tit.* 1,15: 'omnia munda mundis.'

15 1. *Cor.* 8,4-13.  
 18-19 1. *Cor.* 8,10.  
 31 *Paulus non vult ... Cf. Adn. Nov. Test., LB VI, 703 D: 'Proinde non vetat Paulus ne amplectamur scientiam, sed ne desit scientiae charitas.'*



scientia quam charitate priuari, cui interpretamento diuus astipulatur Augustinus. Per se, inquiens, inutilis est scientia, cum charitate vtilis. Quis enim tam demens, vt argentum reiiciat, quod aurum preciosius esse cognouerit? Num ideo saxa nullum habent vsum, quod gemmae sint praestantiores? Num idcirco non optima quaedam res est scientia, si melior sit charitas? Nam alio quodam in loco, vbi charitatis paeana Paulus decantat, scientiam inter praecipua charismata ponit, puta prophetiam, fidem, miraculorum gestionem, linguarum dotem atque id genus alia. Num facturus, si scientiam tanquam pestiferam fugiendam iudicasset? Atqui cur igitur inflare dixit scientiam, inquires. Cur ipse fuit scientissimus, num continuo inflatissimus? Periculum ostendere voluit, quo cautiore redderet, non vt deterreret. Tutior est charitas, necessaria quidem scientia, sed periculi non nihil habens, vt quae possit esse perniciosa, ita si charitati repugnet. Aequius erat indoctiorem scienti concedere et parere, at nunc vltro imperito concedit doctior. Quid tu cum tua charitate tibi places? quid scientiam calumniaris? Huius charitas laudatur, qui te scientia praecedat, non tua. Nam quantum quidem in te fuit, tua ignorantia iam charitatem extinxerat, qui credebas esse aliquid, quod nihil erat, nisi huius scientia tuae stultitiae vltro concessisset; toleraris, non praeferris. Nunc vter vestrum est inflatior, tu qui imperitus doctiori recusas obtemperare, an hic qui tam indulgenter indoctiori concedit doctior? An vero semper imperitis concedendum? Minime, sed in his duntaxat, in quibus neque nisi violata charitate obsisti potest et indulgentia ea nihil incommodi videtur allatura. Non igitur deterritos a scientia Paulus voluit, ad quam nos suo prouocauit exemplo, verum ne imprudentes in periculum incideremus, scopulos et cautes prudens nauigator ostendit. Cur nos simplicem et castam scripturam ad nostra vitia trahimus? cur nobis ignorantia placemus? cur literis et idoneos et deditos ab optimis studiis deterremus? cur non potius, si quem velis et remis, vt inquit Plautus, ad literas properantem viderimus, huiusmodi oratione praemonemus: *I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto.* Ad humanas disciplinas plenis velis raperis, sed caute nauiges facito. Scopulos habet istud mare, aurum et smaragdos habet istud nemus, sed per deum im-

4 ideo: igitur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 linguarum dotem: dona linguarum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 inquires: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 possit: posset *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16-17 qui credebas: qui id credas *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 est: esset *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 in his: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 duntaxat: dumtaxat *MS*; potest: *K*, non potest *MS A-I* | 22 incommodi videtur: videtur incommodi *MS* | 27 velis et remis: remis et velis *MS*; viderimus: videremus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 *in marg. MS* Horatius | 29 humanas: seculares *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 30 habet ... nemus: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

1 *Augustinus* Cf. *Adn. Nov. Test.*, LB VI, 703 D, where Erasmus also refers to Augustine, *C. Faust.* XV, 8, *CSEL* 25,433. Cf. also Ep. 2157, l. 283: 'Frustra intelligas nisi diligas quod percepisti ... charitas absque scientia nonnumquam perniciosa pro salu-tiferis amplectitur. Sed vtraque res alterius opem poscit.' Cf. also Aug. *In euang. Ioh.* XXVII, 5, *Migne PL* 35,1617; *In psalm.*

118 *serm.* 17,2, *Migne PL* 36,1548; *In psalm. 142 serm.* 1,5, *Migne PL* 36,1848.

6 *I. Cor.* 12,8.

27 *Plaut. Asin.* 157: 'remigio veloque quantum poteris festina et fuge.'

28 *Hor. Epist.* II, 2,37.

30 *per deum immortalem* An oath frequently used by Erasmus. Cf. *Antib.* 129, l. 19; *Epp.* 61, l. 103; 858, l. 98 and more often.

LB 1720 mortalem, caue tibi a veneni | radicibus. Disces egregias artes at ita demum  
vtilis, si parem probitatem adiunxeris, citra eam parum vtilis aut etiam pesti-  
lentes. Caue sic illis studeas, vt recti tibi cura recedat, stude non minus melior  
esse quam doctior, bona est scientia, charitas melior. Vtramque alteri si comi-  
5 tem adiunxeris, rem absolutam conficies. MEDICVS: Haec cum Battus dixisset,  
Medicus iamdudum subridens (est enim vir in primis festiuus multique ioci):  
Quis, inquit, Batte, credidisset vnquam te hominem tam poeticum tantum  
tenere theologiae. Ita me Musae tuae bene ament, vt mihi Pauli mentem appo-  
sitissime videris explicuisse nec te prorsus fugere video verba theologica;  
10 praeterea, quantum audiui, equidem te pulchre concionari posse crediderim,  
quod si resciscant nostri Iacobitae, vereor, ne certatim te rapiant et cucullum  
iniiciant. BATTVS: Et arridens Battus. Istud, inquit, Musarum hostibus eueniat,  
verum ne tu impune Battum laccessiueris. Quid te vno impudentius, qui in me  
homine poetico theologiae scientiam admireris, cum te medico nihil sit theolo-  
15 gicum magis; ego si theologus essem, nihil a poetae partibus praeuaricarer.  
Antiquitus enim theologi habebantur iidem, qui poetae et ingenue fateor elo-  
quentium theologorum scriptis me non minus quam Ciceronianis delectari.  
Recentiorum vero tento quidem persaepe ac mihi impero, sed vomitus oboritur  
legenti, adeo me tum barbaries orationis tum rerum perturbatio offendit. Tu  
20 vero partes egrederis tuas et theologis adeo iniuriam facis. Nam cum illis ani-  
morum vobis corporum cura sit tradita, tu totum hominem tibi vindicas. Sed  
pergam, si sinis theologari, vel apud te medicorum omnium doctissimum theo-  
logum, efficiam, vt me neges vllos praeter theologorum libros euoluisse. MEDICVS.  
Age, respondit Medicus, percupio, sed te iam in viam vnde depuli, restituum.  
25 Hoc erat tuae disputationis extremum, vt charitatem cum eruditione copulan-  
dam esse diceres. Ipse quidem in ea prope sum opinione, quam diuum Augusti-  
num in suis dialogis notasse video, vt credam vix a virtute diuelli posse scien-  
tiam, verum vt scis meae professionis esse inter omnia mortalium genera versa-  
ri, in quosdam religiosos nonnunquam incido, qui sibi hoc constanter habent  
30 persuasum non cohaerere cum pietate Christiana literaturam quam illi vocant  
secularem. BATTVS: Nec aberrant isti, inquit Battus, in ipsis enim male cohaeret,

1 at: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, et *A-K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 6 festiuus: facetus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 inquit: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 video: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
11 Iacobitae: cordigeri *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 Istud: ista *MS*<sup>1</sup>; eueniat: eueniant *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 iidem: *om.*  
*MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 oboritur: aboritur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 rerum: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 vindicas: vendicas *MS* | 23  
MEDICVS: *om. MS* | 24 in viam vnde depuli: vnde depuli in viam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 esse: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
28 omnia mortalium: omnigena hominum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 quosdam: nonnullos *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 30 quam illi  
vocant: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

3 tibi cura recedat Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 595:  
'tibi cura recessit.' Occurs also in Epp. 3,  
l. 1: 'Itane prorsus Erasmi tui tibi cura  
recessit?', 16, l. 20: 'vt literarum tibi  
cura recedat.'

8 Ita ... ament Cf. Ep. 61, l. 112: 'ita me  
Musae ament.'

11 Iacobitae Cf. note to p. 57, l. 17.

26 Cf. Aug. *C. Faust.* XV, 8, *CSEL* 25,433;  
*In euang. Ioh.* XXVII, 5, Migne *PL* 35,  
1617; *In psalm. 118 serm.* 17,2, Migne  
*PL* 36,1548; *In psalm. 142 serm.* 1,5,  
Migne *PL* 36,1848.

quibus vtraque deest, at cohaesit in Hieronymo, Cypriano, Augustino aliisque mille, quorum pietatem quis audeat cum istorum ignauia comparare? MEDICVS. Age, inquit Medicus, scio tibi quidem cucullatos istos omnes inuisos haberi; verum ego vt religionem fatali quodam amore (sum enim benigno Ioue natus et item Venere) tum admiror, tum veneror, ita non omnibus vitiis libero. 5  
 Video enim nonnullos ad Epicuream illam rationem proxime accedere, qui incredibili laborum fuga, ignauiam quandam et vmbrailem vitam amplectuntur. Tutos se credunt, si tanquam cochleae intra testam perpetuo delitescant commodis corporum vel minutis morosius etiam consulentes. Abunde se religiosos arbitrantur, si literarum politiorum nihil prorsus attigerint, suis bene consultum 10  
 putant, si ea quae in scholis didicerunt, obliuiscantur. Iam vero ciuibus suadere non desinunt, ne liberos suos ad externas scholas, quas vniuersitates vocant, ire sinant. Perisse propemodum illos, qui sese illuc tanquam ad manes demiserint, aut non redire aut redire deteriores. Simpliciter nescio quam illis praedicant, literas a virtute auocare animos nec bonam parare mentem, sed eripere magis. 15  
 Stultum, inquit, est disertam habere linguam, mores incompósitos, dialecticis captiunculis mortem neminem imposuisse, rhetoricen et poesin ne nominare quidem audent; insanire geometras aiunt, qui cum scite agros metiantur, animi 20  
 sui modum ignorent, astrologos delirare dicunt, quod ea, quae supra se sunt, curiosi scrutentur, physicos impietatis accusant, quod diuina rimantes opera ipsum rerum opificem negligunt. Ne sacris quidem theologiae professoribus parcunt, hos insimulant, quod cum magna autoritate virtutem doceant, ipsi non perinde viuant. Ita isti Cynici nostri vniuersum genus hominum contemnunt, censent omnes. Moriendum, inquit, est omnibus. Quid tum si sis Solomone doctior? quid conferunt nexus dialectici? quid oratoriae complexiones? moriendum est. 25  
 BATTVS. Per anserem, homines pistrino digni, subiecit Battus. Quis istud ignorat omnibus esse moriendum? nihil ne interim agendum? Malim ego doctior mori, quam natus sum. Isti perinde disputant ac si qui doctus sit eum continuo malum esse sit necesse. Num qui lingua erit incomposita, mores protinus compositos habebit? Num qui dialecticen contempsit, statim mortis la- 30

4 ego vt religionem: *A-D H MS<sup>2</sup>*, vt ego religionem *E F G J K*, ego religionem vt *MS<sup>1</sup>* (vt *del.*) | 5 tum admiror tum: et miror et *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 intra: inter *C D H*; testam: testudines *MS<sup>2</sup>* | 10 politiorum: secularium *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12 ne: si *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 qui: vtpote qui *MS* (vtpote *del.*) | 15 auocare: reuocare *MS*; parare: prestare *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17 imposuisse: id est decepisse in *margin.* *MS<sup>1</sup>*; poesin: poesim *MS<sup>1</sup>*; ne: nec *MS* | 19 sui modum: morem *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 21 Ne: *ex nec corr.* *MS* | 24 Solomone: Salomone *MS* | 25 conferunt: conferent *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 26 pistrino: pristino pistrino *MS* (pristino *del.*) | 27 interim: interea *MS<sup>1</sup>*

7 *vmbrailem vitam* Expression borrowed from Cic. *Tusc.* II, 11, 27.

8 *tanquam ... testam* Cf. *Adag.* 4, 4, 57, *LB* II, 1038 C. Occurs also in Ep. 5, l. 31: 'cochleae in morem te contrahas atque abscondas.'

12 Cf. Ep. 447, l. 97: 'scholis quas vniuersitates appellant.'

24 *Moriendum ... omnibus* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I, 5, 9: 'moriendum est enim omnibus.'

26 *Per anserem* Cf. note to p. 66, l. 3. Cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 530: 'hominem pistrino dignum.'

queos effugit? Num qui poetas non attigit, protinus erit Hippolytus? Num  
 protinus sibi notus est, cui ignota est geometria? Quid prodest non fuisse phi-  
 losophatum in astris, si interim philosophis in patinis? An pulchrius esse ducis  
 5 scrutari saporibus ganearum, quam arcanas rerum causas? Et ne singula perse-  
 quar, num qui erit indoctissimus, continuo religiosissimus habebitur? Eruditio  
 nos in coelum non leuat, an eo leuabit inscitia? an rusticitas? Non praestat  
 bonam mentem literarum peritia, num igitur imperitia praestabit? Non prae-  
 stant bonam mentem literae. Vt donemus istud, at nec malam praestant.  
 Nonne recepta est calceolaria, sutrina, textrina, fabrica, sartoria, fullonia?  
 10 Nonne etiam in honore est culinaria? Quid horum bonam mentem praestat  
 mortalibus? Laudamus doctum pictorem, laudamus fabrum scientem, textorem  
 callidum laudamus, laudamus etiam, si sit vir improbus. Nec artem ideo malam  
 dicimus, si forte sit malus, qui in ea versatur. Et literaturam damnamus, quae ut  
 15 bonam mentem non praestet, ad eam tamen non mediocriter conducit. Quod si  
 quem literis abutentem viderimus, non ut eruditionem relinquat, admonendus  
 est, sed ne in vsus peruersos torqueat. Quanto rectius admonet ille philosophus  
 absque Christo sapiens: Sic viue, tanquam cras moriturus, sic stude, quasi sem-  
 per victurus. Occupabit mors, sed malo occupet studentem quam cessantem.  
 Hoc tamen aduersariis concessero, ut pusillo aut vehementer tardo ingenio  
 20 natos liceat a difficilibus disciplinis dehortari, ne si asinus ad lyram ducatur, et  
 discens et docens simul operam luserit, eos autem, quorum ingenia magni ali-  
 quid polliceri videntur, a pulcherrimis conatibus retrahere, quid aliud est, quam  
 (quod Paulus fieri vetat) *spiritum extinguere*? Quod idem si in summis illis (quos  
 iam saepe nominavi), doctoribus factum esset, singulari profecto et praesidio et  
 25 solatio iam orbata esset ecclesia; quanquam interim patronus barbarorum doc-  
 tius ac modestius pro illis respondes, quam ipsi soleant loqui. Nam hoc ferme  
 genus hominum ne nouerunt quidem cuiusmodi sint disciplinae, in quas debac-  
 chantur. Poeticen existimant artem esse meretriciam, rhetoricen nihil aliud esse  
 putant quam assentatoriam, geographiam, astrologiam curiosas et improbatas  
 30 artes esse credunt qualis necyomantia. MEDICVS: Tum Medicus: Probabiliter tu  
 quidem, Batte, id est plane rhetorice; verum ut interim tibi pro istis imperitiae  
 admiratoribus respondeam, qui in summam inuidiam nos inducunt huiusmodi  
 seditiosis concionibus imperitam multitudinem concitantes, Quid igitur, in-

1 effugit: effugiet *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 1-4 Num qui ... causas: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 2 fuisse philosophatum: philosopha-  
 tum fuisse *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 7 literarum peritia: literatura *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 Vt donemus: Concedamus *MS*<sup>1</sup>; istud  
 ... praestant: istud nec malam quidem praestant *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 culinaria: coquinaria *MS*<sup>1</sup>; horum:  
 horum horum *MS* (*prius horum del.*) | 12 vir: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 damnamus: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 ne:  
 om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16-18 Quanto ... cessantem: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 disciplinis: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 docens: docens  
 vterque *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*vterque del.*) | 25-30 quanquam ... necyomantia: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 modestius:  
 molestius *C D* | 32 nos inducunt: om. *FKBAS* | 33 concionibus: conditionibus *MS*<sup>1</sup>; im-  
 peritam ... concitantes: om. *MS*<sup>1</sup>

20 asinus ad lyram Cf. note to p. 57, l. 16.  
 23 1. *Thess.* 5,19: 'Spiritum nolite extin-  
 guere.'

33 imperitam multitudinem Cf. Epp. 948, l. 66;  
 1107, l. 45.

quiunt, tandem futurum est? Num soli literati coelo potentur? Ita ne vos soli, qui ventosa doctrina turgetis, Gigantum exemplo coelum occupabitis, detrusis superis, exclusis inferis? Quid fiet imperitae multitudini? quid simplicibus fratribus, qui apostolorum vestigiis ingressi non didicerunt Aristotelicos laqueos, non spinas Chrysippeas, non salem Atticum, non Plautinam eloquentiam. Nonne haec est illa simplicitas, quam | deus vnice sibi delegisse videtur, qui asino vectus Hierosolymam ingredi voluit, cuius et illa exhortatio est: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde*. Non dixit discite compositam orationem, metiri coelum, nectere syllogismum, sed humilitatem discite. Multa nobis praeterea de agno et columba, quorum appellatione rudis animi tractabilem simplicitatem significatam volunt, verum ego iamdudum memorem moneo, qui haec cotidie audias ab istis deblaterari apud indoctam plebeculam. BATTVS. Papae, tu me mediam in theologiam vocas, Battus inquit, Medicus poetam; sed quod asinum isti se imitari dicunt, iam hoc primum mihi satis quadrare videtur, nisi quod iidem ignauia et tarditate asinum facile repraesentant, caeterum et leonis et tigridis et scorpium non exiguam partem isti asino admiscuisse videntur, tanquam Chimaera ex variis monstrorum figuris compositi. Quod si vacaret in praesentia istius asini, istius columbae, istius agni mysteria persequi, facile appareret isti hominum generi in hoc ordine nullum esse locum. Hoc ad refellendum satis arbitror, istas mysticas appellationes non ad scientiam, sed ad mores esse referendas, hoc est (vt magis theologice dicam) non ad intellectum, sed ad affectum. Quid enim potest esse eiusmodi mente magis (vt ita dicam) asininum, quae istorum hominum importunas nugae possit et dissimulare et perpeti? Quid aequae columbinum, quid agninum magis? Istis vero quid cum asino praeter stoliditatem commune est, qui neque duci a sanioribus patiuntur et omne laborum genus tanquam pestem fugitant? Quid simile habent ad columbam, qui tanta amaritudine fraternae inuidet virtuti? Quid illis cum agno, qui nihil habent, quod aliis possit esse vsui? Hieronymus, qui tantum laborum in adaugenda religione Christiana exhaustit, asinus fuit. Augustinus, qui perpetuam operam Christianis praestitit, asinus fuit, hos asinos imitemur. Cur homines ignaui et numero tan-

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LB 1722

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3 quid ... fratribus: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4 ingressi: *ingressa MS<sup>1</sup>*; didicerunt: *didicit MS<sup>1</sup>* | 5 Chrysippeas: *Crisippinas MS<sup>1</sup>*; Nonne: *Non MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 syllogismum: *sillogismos MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 volunt: *velint MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11-12 qui ... plebeculam: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 14 isti se: *A-I*, se isti *MS*, isti *om. K BAS* | 15 iidem: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 16 tanquam: et tanquam *MS* (et *del.*) | 19 arbitror: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 eiusmodi: *K MS<sup>2</sup>*; istiusmodi *MS<sup>1</sup>* *A-I* | 23 dissimulare: *simulare MS<sup>1</sup>* | 25 sanioribus: senioribus *C D H*; patiuntur: *sese patiuntur MS* (*sese del.*) | 29 Christiana: *nostra MS<sup>1</sup>* | 30 Cur: *Quid MS<sup>1</sup>*

5 non ... eloquentiam Cf. *Adag.* 1,2,57, *LB* II, 92 D-E, where Hier. *Epist.* 57,12,3, *CSEL* 54, 525,11 is cited as the source: 'Haec Plautina eloquentia, hic lepos Atticus.'

6-7 asino vectus Cf. *Mt.* 21,1-7, *Lc.* 19, 29-35; *Iob.* 12,14.

7-8 *Mt.* 11,29.

12 indoctam plebeculam Cf. *Ep.* 1007, l. 45: 'imperitam plebeculam.'

30-1 (next page) numero tantum nati Cf. *Adag.* 2,3,23, *LB* II, 491 C-D; *Otto* No. 1251; *Hor. Epist.* I, 2,27: 'nos numerus sumus.'

tum nati suae inertiae his commentationibus blandiuntur? Appellant se simplices fratres, cum possint cum quouis veteratore certare, si quid agatur, quod ad ventris et gloriae negocium pertineat. Non recuso meum nomen, quo minus inter mendacissimos scribatur, nisi quod dico fatebuntur omnes, quibus cum  
 5 istis simplicibus fuerit propior conflictatio. Verum vt dolorem quoque illorum placemus, qui sese ob imperitiam extrudi putant, recipimus, adiungimus, amplectimur, at ita, si aures mihi paulisper commodarint, dum paucis rem absoluo. Haud temere multis autoribus video placuisse nobilem illam Hesiodi sententiam tria hominum genera constituentis. Primum quidem eorum, qui quid rectum sit  
 10 ipsi per se intelligunt idemque sequuntur. Alterum eorum, qui per se quidem parum sapiunt, at sapientum monitis obsequuntur. Tertium ad nihil vtile appellat, videlicet horum, qui neque ipsi sapiunt neque credunt recta monenti. Primi boni sunt iidemque docti. Alteri boni quidem illi, verum indocti. Postremi neutra re neque doctrina neque probitate praediti. Primum hoc genus, vt multo  
 15 praestantissimum, ita praecipue expetendum. Secundum ferendum quidem, at ita solum, si doctioribus acquiescat; quod si intractabiles (vt fere solent) esse pergunt, iam tertii generis esse incipient. Doctrinam itaque edico necessariam, sed quo mittis indoctos? In malam crucem, (vt comici dicunt), si doceri recusent. Si dociles sint, admitto, verum penes aliquos eruditio perseueret necesse est. Quod si omnes erimus illiterati, quis castigabit errores imperitorum? Sunt in pictorum officinis, qui artis ignari tantum quod iussi sunt, faciunt, terunt, miscent, purgant. Est quidem nonnulla ex parte vtilis horum opera, at ita demum, si monstrator adsit, alioquin ociosa. Nec audiendos puto, qui dicunt non passim esse discendas literas, neque enim opus esse tanta turba eruditorum.  
 25 A paucis plurimos duci posse. Cur enim, quod in paucis pulchrum est, non multo erit in multis praestantius? Cur quisquam vetat ad id quod omnes praestantissimum fatentur eni|ti? Sapiens imperator tametsi gregariorum militum vtitur opera et ignauos strenuis misceri patitur ac ne lixas quidem et calones eiicit, multo tamen malit omnes Scaeuolas, omnes Sicinius, omnes Decios, si dentur. Intolerabile vero nephas, si gregarius miles egregii commilitonis forti-

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1-5 Appellant ... conflictatio: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 5 fuerit: fuit *K*; quoque: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 7 cummodarint: commodarent *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 qui quid: *C D H K MS<sup>2</sup>*, quicquid *A B E F G I* | 12 videlicet: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 iidemque: *MS C D H K*, idemque *A B E F G I* | 15 expetendum: extendendum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 16 doctioribus: *MS A-E G-I*, doctoribus *F K B.A.S.*; vt fere solent: *in parentheses MS*; *sine parentheses signis A-K* | 17 edico: *MS A-I* (cf. Ep. 7, l. 40; 9, l. 38), dico *K B.A.S.* | 18 indoctos: indoctos inquires *MS<sup>1</sup>* (inquires *del.*) | 19 recusent: contemnunt recusent *MS* (contemnunt *del.*) | 22 quidem: quoque *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 24 esse discendas: discendas esse *MS* | 26 praestantius: pulchrius praestantius *MS* (pulchrius *del.*); vetat: vetet *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 28 ac: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 29 Sicinius: Sicinos *MS<sup>1</sup>*, Siccios *B.A.S.* | 29-30 si dentur: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 30 fortiter: fortibus *MS<sup>1</sup>*

8 Hes. *Op.* 293 οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὅς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ / φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω / ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ καμείνος ὅς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται / ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων / ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

18 Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 902; *Cas.* 977; *Curc.* 611,693; *Men.* 915,1017; *Poen.* 271,495, 511,789,1309; *Pseud.* 335,839,846,1182, 1294; *Rud.* 1162.

29 *Scaeuolas* Erasmus has in mind principally C. Mucius Cordus Scaevola. Cf. above

ter factis inuidens, dicat: Quid? si omnes insignes erimus, quo mittimus gregarios? Si omnes literati, quo illiteratos eiicimus? quasi vero illiteratis vsquam sit opus. Si quibus aut non licet aut non contigit eruditio, quiescant potius ac desinant alios pulchrius aliquid conantes impedire; illum sinito praecurrere, tu ducem sequere, eodem tamen peruenturus. Vulgi quidem imperitia non laudatur, sed si tractabilis sit, non contemnitur. Quod autem fertur, id placet, collatum quidem deteriori, placitum tamen amplius, si ipsum in melius quippiam commutetur. Si rudes simus et doctis auscultemus, bene quidem est, at meliores erimus, si ipsi etiam docere indoctos potuerimus. Quare rem paucis sic habeant, qui et indoctus et indocilis est, si quidem ignauia sit in causa, aut in eo vitae genere versetur, quod eruditum hominem postulat, iam hoc ipso malus est, quod ignarus. Tu in publico ludo bonas literas profiteris et harum inscitiam praedicas? Tu libros audes scribere, in quibus nos a literis dehorteris? Tu populo praefectus es et quod doceas, non vis discere? Quod si priuatus sit et eruditio non neglecta quidem, verum non contigit, is sibi vni satisfaciat, sibi vni natus, sibi vni viuat, non fastidiendus a doctioribus modo suam agnoscat imperitiam. Qui vero probitati eruditionem adiunxit, is tanto erit praestantior, vtilior, ornatio, quanto id fecerit cumulatus. Nunc nulli magis exercent tyrannidem, quam isti apostolicae simplicitatis histriones. Abbates indocti non patiuntur, vt monachorum quisquam attingat bonas literas, quo magis illis quicquid collubatum fuerit, imperent; malunt enim in beluas quam in homines habere imperium. Ptochotyranni cupiunt populum esse stultissimum, quo facilius imponant et quiduis persuadeant quoque magis superstitione territent. Nam eruditio fere liberat hominem superstitione. **MEDICVS:** Tum Medicus: Vera sunt fere quae narras, sed quandoquidem simplicium istorum causam semel suscepi, non patiar me praeuaricatorem videri; nam tu, Batte, quae pro te faciunt, diligenter exponis, at quae laedunt, dissimulas. Ad partitionem tuam redeo. Quid si literatus sis et idem malus, quonam in genere te ponemus? **BATTVS:** Imo si neque doctus sim, inquit Battus, et malus, quo in genere numerabor? Sed istuc ibam. Age et quartum istud tribus Hesiodi generibus addamus, si placet; fieri enim potest, vt recta quis intelligat, nolit tamen intellecta sequi, vt optima sciat, pessima faciat. Sed mane, iam quid paraueris colligere, video, non est bona igitur erudi-

1 inuidens: *ex inuidens corr.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 2 vero: non *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 commutetur: *mutetur MS*; *simus: sumus MS*<sup>1</sup>; *quidem: om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 docere indoctos: *indoctos docere MS*; *Quare: Qua MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 bonas ... *inscitiam: secularem eruditionem MS*<sup>1</sup> | 14 es: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 vni: *vnus MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 viuat: *viuit MS*<sup>1</sup>; *doctioribus: doctoribus MS*<sup>1</sup>; *agnoscat: agnoscit MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18-24 Nunc ... *superstitione: om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 quicquid: *quid K* | 24-25 Vera ... *sed: om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 27 Ad ... *redeo: om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 *istuc: istic MS*<sup>1</sup> | 32 *paraueris colligere: dicere paraueris MS*<sup>1</sup>

all Liv. II, 12 sqq., Val. Max. III, 3,1 for references to him.  
*Sicinius* Erasmus has in mind L. Sicinius Dentatus, called the Roman Achilles by Gellius, II, 11,1. Cf. Münzer, *RE*,

Stuttgart, 1923, 2 R. 2 B., 2189.  
*Decios* For the three Deciuses, cf. Münzer, *RE*, Stuttgart, 1901, 8 Halbb., 2270-2286.

tio, quae malis contingat. Probe consequeretur, si malos facit, mala est; aliud est eruditio, aliud virtus; vt qui bonus est, non continuo doctus est, ita qui doctus, non continuo bonus. Sed latius explicandae rei gratia quatuor hominum genera statuamus. Loquor enim iam tibi, Medice, tanquam imperitorum patrono, tu causam tuorum clientum ita vt coepisti tuere. Statuamus, inquam, vtrique binos, hinc duos, alterum doctum et malum, alterum indoctum et item malum, vter alteri praeferendus videtur? MEDICVS: Ac Medicus: Nempe is prior multo erit nequior, inquit. Atqui istuc ipsum sat est signi non bonam esse literaturam, quae reddat nequiores. Tuo te iugulo gladio. BATTVS: Equidem, vter altero sit nequior, inquit Battus, vix ausim definire. Certe vterque accusandus mihi videtur: alter, quod optimis rebus abutatur, alter multo fortassis amplius, quod ne scire quidem curauerit. Priorem tangit prophetae criminatio: *Sapientes sunt, vt faciant malum, bene autem facere nesciunt*. Alterum aequae Daudica illa: *Noluit intelligere, vt bene ageret*. Nam ex illiterata malicia nihil | potest expectari commodi; literata malicia etsi sibi pernicioza est, aliis tamen aliquid commodi afferre potest. Imperitiae si mala mens accesserit, peccatur confidentius, pudetur minus. Imperitus quicquid magnopere cupit, id recte fieri putat. At eruditio tametsi prauas cupiditates omnino non prohibet, temperet tamen necesse est. Fieri enim non potest, vt qui honesti et inhonesti discrimen scite intelligit, non aliquando et turpitudinem exhorrescat et virtutis speciem admiretur. Praeterea qui doctus est vel simulat honestatem, quod est virtuti proximum, indoctus e vitiis suis etiam laudem sibi pollicetur. Ille morbum suum probe intelligit, quo sanabilior est, hic pene desperandus est, quod sibi sanus videatur. Illi ad virtutem arma sunt instructa, hic nihil ad virtutem habet adiumenti, verum hoc ad nostram disputationem nihil interest. Donemus minus esse perniciosam rusticam maliciam docta malicia, num igitur malae literae? Imo vel hoc vno argumento sunt optimae, vt telum, quo me iugulare parabas, in te retorqueam. Primum enim non adferunt maliciam literae, verum additae tanquam fax praelata reddunt conspectiorem. Vt exempli causa duos video adulteros, alterum coelibem, coniugatum alterum, cum non dispar sit admissum, non par tamen culpa erit, nempe in coniugato turpior. Cur ita, an quia malum est coniugium? Mini-

1 consequeretur: consequeret *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 2 *alt. est: om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; *tert. est: om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3-4 hominum genera: *MS A-E G-I*, genera hominum *F K B A S* | 4 enim: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 vtrique: *ex vtrisque corr. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 MEDICVS: *om. MS* | 8 Atqui: Atque *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 BATTVS: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 definire: diffinire *MS* | 14 malicia: nequicia *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 malicia: nequicia *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 e: *MS A-I*, ex *K* | 22 laudem sibi: sibi laudem *MS* | 23 *alt est: om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; sibi sanus: sanus sibi *C D H* | 25 Donemus: Demus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 maliciam: nequiciam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 27 vt telum: vt primum enim non adferunt telum *MS* (primum ... adferunt *del.*); me: *inter lin. adscr. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 enim: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; maliciam: nequiciam *MS*<sup>1</sup>

9 *Tuo ... gladio* Cf. note to p. 47, l. 15.

12-13 *Ier.* 4,22.

14 *Ps.* 35,4.

27 *telum ... retorqueam* Cf. Epp. 39, l. 57:

‘in te retorquebo iaculum tuoque te iugulabo gladio’, 39, l. 80: ‘iam quo me petebas in te retortum iaculum, iam tuo te ense iugulatum arbitror’.



me quidem, verum quo res sanctior est coniugium, eo grauior est noxia illud adulterio temerare. Qui rem sacram inuncarit, grauioris piaculi tenetur quam furti nempe sacrilegii; ergo ne prophanum sacro anteponendum? In sacerdote grauioris est culpae stuprum quam in laico; ergo ne malum sacerdotium? Quid ni? fecit nequior, imo nisi melius esset sacerdotium, non faceret hoc pacto  
5 nequior. Quo nanque res quaeque erit sanctior, eo abutens erit turpior. Sed iam alteros duos componamus. Pone duos vtrosque probos et alterum rudem alterum literatum, vter vtri anteponendus? Tergiuersantur, haesitant; modo, inquirunt, inueniatur doctus et idem probus. Fateor quidem huius generis sum-  
10 mam esse inopiam, nam indoctorum et improborum magna vbique est copia. Verum quid haesitant, vbi nihil haesitauit Hieronymus, qui libere et plenis (vt aiunt) buccis sanctae rusticitati sanctam eruditionem anteposuit. *Daniel*, inquit, *in fine sacratissimae visionis ait iustos fulgere quasi stellas et intelligentes id est doctos quasi firmamentum. Vides quantum inter se distant iusta rusticitas et docta iusticia? alii stellis, alii coelo comparantur.* Idem paulo ante: *Sancta rusticitas solum sibi*  
15 *prodest et quantum aedificat ex vitae merito ecclesiam, tantum nocet, si destruentibus non resistat.* Vere profecto Hieronymus haec vt omnia; nam quo quodque bonum latius patet, eo praestantius sit necesse est. Qui viuunt integre, magnam quidem ille rem agit, at sibi vni confert aut certe paucis, quibuscum victitat. Quod si huius integritati doctrina accesserit, quanto iam pulchrius ac latius  
20 quasi face adhibita virtus pollebit? Si uero eiusmodi erit, qui possit pulcherri-  
mas animi cogitationes mandare literis, hoc est si praeterquam quod doctus etiam disertus fuerit, huius demum hominis vtilitas latissime manet necesse est, nempe non ad conuictos modo, non tantum ad aequales, non tantum ad finitimos, verumetiam ad peregrinos, ad posteros, ad vltimos orbis incolas. Indocta  
25 probitas nisi scriptis posteritati commendetur, cum suo autore demoritur. Doctae eruditioni non terrae, non maria, non seculorum longa series obstat, quo minus ad vniuersos mortales peruolet. Nolo hic inuidiosam suscitare comparationem, plus ne contulerit nostrae religioni martyrum sanguis an eruditorum hominum stilus. Non eleuo martyrum gloriam, quam ne copiosissima quidem  
30 oratione quisquam assequi queat; at quantum ad nostrum attinet commodum,

2 inunecare i.e. furari in marg. MS<sup>1</sup> | 3 sacrilegii: MS A-E G-I, sacrilegio FK BAS; sacro: MS A-D G H I, om. E F K BAS | 6 nanque: namque MS | 7 et: at MS<sup>1</sup> | 7-8 rudem alterum: MS K, rudem et alterum A-I | 16 ecclesiam: ecclesiam Christi Hier. | 19 quidem ille: hic quidem MS<sup>1</sup>; at: aut MS<sup>1</sup> | 21 pollebit?: pollebat? MS<sup>1</sup> | 23 latissime: fuerit latissime MS (fuerit del.) | 24 alt. non tantum: om. MS<sup>1</sup> | 25 etiam: om. MS<sup>1</sup> | 31 quisquam: quis MS<sup>1</sup>

11-12 *plenis ... buccis* This saying does not occur in the classical writers. Occurs also in Ep. 89, l. 7.

12-15 Hier. *Epist.* 53,3,5-6, *CSEL* 54,448, 8-12. Cf. *Dn.* 12,3; Erasmus makes reference to the same place in Hieronymus, Ep. 22, l. 19: 'Qui si Hiero-

nymianas epistulas recte aspicerent, intelligerent vtique rusticitatem sanctimoniam non esse, nec disertitudinem impietatem.'

15-17 Hier. *Epist.* 53,3,4, *CSEL* 54,447, 14-16.

nonnullis etiam haereticis plus prope debemus, quam quibusdam martyribus.  
 Et martyrum quidem summa fuit copia, doctores perpauca. Martyres moriendo  
 LB 1725 Christia|norum numerum imminuerunt, docti persuadendo adauxerunt. In sum-  
 ma: frustra illi pro Christi doctrina sanguinem fortiter fudissent, ni hi ab haereticis  
 5 eam suis literis vindicassent. Quare non tam ingrata erit Christiana religio,  
 vt bonas literas quas in rebus afflictis tam salutare experta est, nunc in pace  
 rebusque florentibus in exilium extrudat, per quas et pacem et felicitatem sit asse-  
 quuta. Quo magis nonnullos demirari compellor, qui prudentes etiam erudi-  
 tionem se fugere fateantur. Nam quod ab ethnicorum inuentis abstinere se di-  
 10 cunt, id quidem plusquam insanum esse iam demonstraui. An vero est ali-  
 quid, quod aiunt, insolentiam sese velle effugere? At vide, ne ista sit non tam  
 infirmi animi trepidatio, quam inertiae fucus culpam fingere, vbi culpa non est.  
 Istos ego ita demum simpliciter errasse intelligam, si moniti ac correpti corri-  
 gantur; alioqui quoniam erit ista religio minimi mali metu in maximam incide-  
 15 re perniciem? Ita inepti dum muliebriter trepidantes curiositatis vitium student  
 defugere, in diuersum, sed multo perniciosius decidunt. *Frustra vitium vitaueris  
 illud, si te alio prauum detorseris*, ait Horatius. Male Scyllam effugeris, si in Charyb-  
 dim incidas, male procellam declinaueris, si ad littoris scopulos nauem frege-  
 ris. Hi sunt quorum puerilem, ne dicam peruersam trepidationem sanctissimus  
 20 ille et regum et prophetarum Dauid notauit: *Illic*, inquit, *trepidauerunt timore,  
 vbi non erat timor*. Nam qui superstitiose ventum obseruat, is nunquam se mari  
 credet et qui nubes anxie consyderat, is metet nunquam. Quid autem pernicio-  
 sius quam illic metum fingere, vbi honestissimi sint capiendi labores, hic vbi  
 summum et certum est periculum supinum stertere? Illi inepta sedulitate nostris  
 25 ex oculis curiositatis festucam volunt educere, ipsi in suis ignauiae trabem non  
 sentientes. Nos criminantur, quod plusquam sat est scientes semper plura dis-  
 cere cupiamus, ipsi nec illa scire curant, sine quibus nec homines sumus nec  
 viuimus. Iam fac nos modum oblitos, vtrum honestius est in rebus honestis

1 quam quibusdam martyribus: quam martyribus ipsis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 adauxerunt: auxerunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
 4 pro Christi doctrina: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; ni hi: nisi hii *MS*<sup>1</sup> (si *del.*) | 5 eam: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; vindicassent:  
*ex* vendicassent *corr. MS*<sup>1</sup>; ingrata: integra *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 bonas: seculares *MS*<sup>1</sup>; salutare: *MS* *K*,  
 salutaris *A-I* | 6-7 rebusque florentibus: et rebus florentibus *MS* | 7 assequuta: *MS* assecuta  
*A-K* | 11 aiunt insolentiam: insolentiam aiunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11-12 ne ... infirmi: ne tam ista sit  
 infirmi *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 fucus: vicium *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 ita: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; simpliciter: sic simpliciter *MS* (sic  
*del.*) | 14 alioqui: alioquin *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 student: *MS A-E G H I*, stupet *F*, stupent *K B A S* | 18  
 nauem: nauim *MS* | 22 credet: credat (*sic!*) *MS*; perniciosius: peruersius *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 sint:  
 sunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 sedulitate: stoliditate *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26-28 semper ... viuimus: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

1 *haereticis* He has in mind Origenes above  
 all, cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, I, p. 65.  
 16-17 Hor. *Sat.* II, 2, 54 sq.  
 17-18 *Male ... incidas* Cf. *Adag.* 1,5,4, *LB*  
 II, 183 A-184 C; Otto No. 382.  
 20-21 *Ps.* 52,6.  
 25 Cf. *Mt.* 7,2-5; *Lc.* 6,41-42.

27-28 *sine ... viuimus* Cf. Cic. *Rep.* I, 28:  
 'cui persuasum sit appellari ceteros homi-  
 nes esse solos eos qui essent politi  
 propriis humanitatis artibus?' Cf. Epp.  
 61, l. 95: 'sine his ne homines quidem  
 nos esse', 480, l. 199: 'ea studia sine qui-  
 bus nec homines sumus.'

vltra limites esse, an citra? Vtrum praestabilius excedere, an deficere? Verentur  
 necubi in libris ethnicis aliquid forte minus seuerum tetricis auribus insonet,  
 nec verentur terrificam illam domini vocem: *Serue nequam, quare non dedisti ad*  
*mensam pecuniam meam et ego utique veniens cum vsura exegissem illam.* Adeo nihil  
 aeque auersatur deus vt ignauiam. Filium perditum, qui vniuersam substantiam 5  
 in scorta lenonesque et popinas dissipauerat, in gratiam laetus recipit, seruuum,  
 qui talentum integrum etiam restituit tam immaniter obiurgat. Semina quae-  
 dam bonarum artium indidit nobis parens deus intellectum, ingenium, memo-  
 riam caeterasque animi dotes, quae talenta sunt ad vsuram credita; quae si  
 exercitatione ac studio quasi duplicauerimus, vt impigros seruos dominus 10  
 reuersus laudabit, peculium esse sinet; sin acceptum talentum in terram defor-  
 derimus, quo tandem animo domini redeuntis oculos, ora, vocem feremus, vbi  
 caeteris pro accepta sorte lucrum annumerantibus nos inutile talentum refere-  
 mus ignauis? Hic erit cur trepidare merito potuissent isti meticulosi homines  
 non illic, vbi commodi plurimum, periculi perparum. 15

## CONFVTAT AVTORITATES AVTORITATIBVS

Hic cum Battus collectis oculis aliquandiu intersiluisset, Deum immortalem,  
 inquit, quantum disputationis campum aperiri video, sed sit modus. Dextrum  
 igitur cornu (vt arbitror) vel profligauimus vel certe inclinauimus, vrgent tam-  
 en hostes et sinistram alam infensis animis admouent, sacrarum literarum 20  
 armis nos eminus cominusque territant. Primum igitur erit hostibus sua tela  
 eripere, deinde suomet ipsos, (vt inquit Comicus), gladio iugulare. Rationibus  
 cedere coacti ad ecclesiasticas literas confugiunt et nobis occinunt, quod ipsi  
 non intelligunt. Hic mihi Cato nescio quis, reducto mento, labiis por|rectis, LB 1726  
 oculis stupidis, supercilio adducto, dextera prolata, laeua cingulo iniecta: Faces- 25  
 sant, inquit, humanae cauillationes, audiamus quid diuina scriptura iubeat.  
 Paulum audiamus: *Non altum, inquit, sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes.* Idem  
*sapere iubet ad sobrietatem.* Iterum alibi: *Noli altum sapere, sed time.* Rursum

6 scorta lenonesque: scorta et lenones *MS*<sup>1</sup>; et popinas: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; seruuum: seruuum etiam  
*MS* (etiam *del.*) | 7 immaniter: minaciter *MS* | 9 quae talenta: *MS*, talenta *A-K* | 10 ac: et  
*MS* | 14 erit: *MS A-I*, erat *K*; isti: si isti *MS* (si *del.*) | 18 quantum: quantum hic *MS* (hic  
*del.*); sed sit modus *in marg. adscr. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 certe: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 animis: armis *MS*<sup>1</sup>; admouent:  
*MS B D K*, admonent *A C E F G H I* | 21 eminus cominusque: eminus et comminus  
*MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 porrectis: prorectis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 adducto: sublato *MS*<sup>1</sup>; prolata: praelata *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26  
 humanae: huic humanae *MS*<sup>1</sup> (huic *del.*) | 27 Paulum audiamus: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; altum: *Erasmus*,  
*alta Rom. 12,16, Adn. Nov. Test., LB VI, 633 C*; inquit sapientes: sapere inquit sapiens *MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
 27-28 Idem ... sobrietatem: Item alibi: Non aliud sapere sed sapere ad sobrietatem *MS*<sup>1</sup> |  
 28 Iterum alibi: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; Noli: et noli *MS*<sup>1</sup>

3-4 *Lc. 19,22 sq.* (freely).

5 Cf. *Lc. 15,11-32.*

22 *Ter. Ad. 958*: 'suo sibi gladio hunc iugulo'.

27 *Rom. 12,16; 12,3*: 'Oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem'.

28 *Rom. 11,20.*

alibi: *Qui se existimat aliquid scire, nondum scit, quemadmodum oporteat eum scire et qui sibi videtur sapiens, stultus fiat ut sit sapiens.* Ad eundem modum Esaias: *Perdam, inquit, sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo.* Item diuus Iacobus: *Non est enim ista sapientia desursum descendens, sed terrena, animalis,*  
 5 *diabolica. Quae autem desursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suadibilis, bonis consentiens, plena misericordia et fructibus bonis, non iudicans, sine simulatione.* Huiusmodi aliquot sententias homines ineptissimi in nos iaciunt, quas omnes recensere tum odiosum sit, tum ad nihil vtile, praesertim quod et eodem spectent et eadem ratione dissolui possint, vniuersa ista quidem  
 10 et iure et recte scripta. Verum nos alio torquemus deprauamusque, quae recte dicta sunt, siquidem ad nostram tegendam ignauiam deflectimus, cum tam euidentis sit, ut (quod inquit) sentiri possit manibus his sententiis non vituperari eruditionem, sed admoneri nos, ne mundi successibus sublatis animis parum meminerimus Christianae modestiae. Opes addunt cristas, hic metuendum, quod monet Paulus, imo ad eos haec pertinent, qui profecerunt in virtutibus. Neque tamen inficiabor haec ad eruditos quoque pertinere, verum non omnes, sed eos duntaxat, qui aut efferunt sese, quod paulo sint eruditiores, aut eis in studiis vel immodici vel intempestiui inueniantur, aut suae sententiae tenaciores audeant ab ecclesiasticis opinionibus desciscere, aut certe alioqui  
 15 bonis literis abutantur. Inuisa est superis impia, superba, impudica literatura. Scimus istud, adde et mortalibus odiosa, merito in hanc fulminat scriptura. Horreant et corrigantur, qui noxiam agnoscunt, gaudeant immunes. Quid haec ad imperitos, qui prope nihil didicere? scilicet hoc credo triumphant, quod egregie cauerint, ne quicquam horum in se dici possit. Neque enim reprehendi potest, quod male rem administret, cui nihil unquam rei fuit. Ridicule profecto perinde quasi istae sententiae peritos literarum magis quam imperitos feriant. Ita ne in solos eruditos cadit *altum sapere*, at non multo maxime in stolidissimum quemque? Quid tandem est *altum sapere* alte doctum esse, an potius sibi placere? Eis ista canantur non qui bene docti sunt, sed iis potius, qui cum

1 oporteat: *MS A-K Nov. Test., LB VI, 704 A, oportet BAS* | 3 Perdam inquit: inquit perdam inquit *MS (prius inquit del.)*; sapientium: *A-K, Nov. Test., LB VI, 664 B, sapientum MS* | 8 ad: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 ista quidem: quidem ista *MS* | 10 iure: vere *MS*; deprauamusque: deprauamus *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 tegendam: tergendam *MS<sup>2</sup>*, palliandam *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13-17 sed ... omnes: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17 duntaxat: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 noxiam: noxam *MS<sup>1</sup>*; agnoscunt: agnoscant *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 24 ne: nec *MS* | 25 administret: ministret *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 27 altum: *Erasmus, Rom. 11,20 alta Rom. 12,16, Adn. Nov. Test., LB VI, 633 C (idem v. 28 et p. 107, l. 2)*

1-2 1. *Cor.* 8,2: 'Si quis autem se existimat scire aliquid, nondum cognovit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire'.

2 1. *Cor.* 3,18: 'Si quis videtur inter vos sapiens esse in hoc saeculo, stultus fiat, ut sit sapiens'.

3 1. *Cor.* 1,19; cf. *Is* 29,14: 'peribit enim sapientia a sapientibus eius et intellectus

prudentium eius abscondetur'.

4 *Iac.* 3,15.

5-7 *Iac.* 3,17.

12 *sentiri possit manibus* Cf. Otto No. 1043; Th. L. L. VIII fasc. 3,365.

14 *Opes ... cristas* Cf. note to p. 93, l. 17.

27 *Rom.* 11,20; 12,16.

29 *sibi placere* Cf. note to p. 86, l. 27.

nihil didicerint, doctoribus imperare contendunt. Non studiosis, sed diuitibus inquit Paulus, *non altum sapere*. Eruditis ista non apte canuntur, stolidis ista cantentur, qui alienam eruditionem fastidiunt, suam rusticitatem mirantur. Et quae tandem est illa scientia animalis, diabolica? Vtique quae zelum amarum habet, quae contentiones et simultates parit, quae aduersus veritatem dimicat, hoc apostoli sentiebat animus, hoc ipsa sermonis series ostendit. Quid simplicem scripturam torquemus? quid inuitam et reluctantem trahimus? Non hic de literis liberalibus, sed de theologicis quaestiunculis agitur, quas nihil ad rem pertinentes nonnunquam inter se pertinacissimis contentionibus agitant, quo stulto popello sublimiter eruditi videantur, cum eruditio Christiana nesciat supercilium. Quid autem istis contentiosius, qui coelum terrae misceant citius quam vsquam cedant? protinus haereticum vociferantes, siquis ab illis dissentiat. Atque haec quidem e scripturis, quas appellant canonicas, depromere solent. Nunc pauca proferam, quae de caeteris scriptoribus arma soleant mutuari; at ne iuxta Graecorum prouerbium harenas metiamur plurimos repetendo, vnus Gratiani meminisse sat fuerit, qui praeter caeteros nos terrere poterat, si non autoritate, certe voluminis immanitate. Nuper igitur cum e schola Parisiorum in patriam reuersus essem, incidit mihi cum quodam concertatio homine capitaliter nostris studiis infenso, alioquin humano, comi nec ineleganti, bello, lepido, festiuo et quod his virtutibus conuenit, amatore strenuo, potore inuicto, commessatore assiduo, aleatore fortissimo multisque id genus virtutibus exornato. Accreuerat mihi cum hoc Sardanapalo iam inde a puero coniunctior familiaritas, cui quidem adhuc tribuo, vt nomini parcam congerronis vetusti. Consuevit mihi comicorum militum more sua iactare facinora, quot eadem in vrbe haberet amicas, quoties et quibus artibus ad alienas vxores penetrasset, quot riuales superasset, quoties vna nocte marem praestare potuisset, quae barathra bibendo quanta cum gloria vicisset. Haec erant hominis studia, in his operam, curam, voluptatem, ocium et negocium, in his felicitatem reponebat. Huiusmodi nugis cum iam biduum mihi aures calfecisset, incidit inter prandendum, vt nescio quid amoenius e poetarum fabulis profferrem. Ibi homo sui repente oblitus, nouam quandam religionem coepit assumere, execrari vero me, quod ethnicos illos et impudicos autores legerem, iam et serio hortari vt resipiscerem, vt illis relictis ecclesiasticos euoluerem. Miratus sum subitam hominis metamorphosim ex Epicureo mihi factum Zenonem. Rogabam quid ita cense-

1 doctoribus: doctoribus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 liberalibus: secularibus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9-13 quo ... dissentiat: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 haec: hoc *MS* | 18 quodam: quodam sacerdote *MS* (sacerdote *del.*) | 19 nec: non *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 potore: potatore *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 aleatore: scortatore aleatore *MS*; fortissimo: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; multisque: et multis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 adhuc: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 quoties: *ex* quotiens *corr. MS* | 26 quoties: *ex* quotiens *corr. MS* | 29 calfecisset: *ex* calefecisset *corr. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 32 ethnicos: et ethnicos *MS*<sup>1</sup> (et *del.*)

2 *Rom.* 11,20; 12,16.

11 *coelum* ... *misceant* Cf. note to p. 93, l. 13.

15 *harenas metiamur* Cf. *Adag.* 1,4,44, *LB* II,

168 F-169 A; Otto No. 786. Occurs also in *Ep.* 145, l. 82: 'harenas numerem'.

22 *Sardanapalo* Cf. note to p. 81, l. 12.

ret et nunquid ipse eosdem legisset; abominatus est perquam religiose. Nunquam, inquit, in vita nec attigi istos, nec attigero, sic mihi superi sint propicii. Istud, inquam, vel citra iusiurandum facile tibi creditur. Sed quid tu illos tantopere fugis? Nam si pudici sunt, non habent cur vitentur; sin impudici, quid ita  
 5 fugitas eos, qui eadem scribunt, quae tu facis? Cur non amplecteris potius tuarum virtutum praecones? ibi tuorum morum imaginem expressam agnosces. Eho Sardanapale, non te pudet tandem cum istis factis mihi frontem istam ostendere? An me vero tuam iubes religionem imitari, qui grauius flagitium putas ethnicum librum attingere, quam vxorem non tuam permolere? Potare,  
 10 amare, constuprere virgines tu ludum et pueriles nugas iudicas, legere poetam pro capitali flagitio ducis. Tibi licebit ethnica flagitia designare, mihi non licebit ethnicae literas perdiscere? Dissimulauit homo bilem, dicens huiusmodi cauillatiunculis lautum prandium non esse corrumpendum; post spacium pomeridianum duxit me tanquam officiosus in bibliothecam publicam; vbi cum  
 15 me videret homo Ciceronianis quibusdam dialogis, qui mihi forte in manus inciderant, attentius incumbere, tandem irritator Gratianum, quem vnum legerat, mihi obiicit: Iam, inquit, te confutabo planissime. Commonstrat distinctionem tricesimamoctauam, in qua de liberalibus disciplinis nescio quae quaestio tractatur, at ita tractatur, vt pariter omnia in dubium vocentur. Quod quam sit absurdum, quis non videat? Iubeo pronunciet, vix legebat, tantum aberat, vt recte intelligeret. *Episcopus gentilium libros non legat, haereticorum autem perlegat pro necessitate ac tempore.* Rogabam hominem, quid sibi vellet *pro necessitate ac tempore.* Ait si forte contra haereticum aut disputandum esset aut scribendum. Et quid, inquam, si idem contra ethnicum vsu veniat? Quid si nec theologorum  
 25 libros intelligere queas? Non iam vides oriri necessitatem? Non placebat ratio, iussi pergeret legere. Nonne videtur in vanitate sensus et obscuritate mentis ingredi, qui diebus ac noctibus in dialectica arte torquetur, qui physicus perscrutator oculos trans coelum leuat et caetera quae sequuntur. Item illud: *Sicera inebriantur, qui abutuntur scientia seculari et dialecticorum tendiculis.* Hic ego: Et non  
 30 vides, inquam, abutuntur dictum, non autem habent, ut intelligas sapientiae secularis plane usum quendam esse neque uetitum, neque ociosum. Post multa congesta ita suo more doctissime colligit Gratianus, ex quibus omnibus concluditur, *quod non est ab ecclesiasticis secularium literarum quaerenda peritia.* Iam per-

8 me vero: *MS F G K*, vero me *A-E H I* | 16 legerat: legebat *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 18 tricesimamoctauam: 38<sup>am</sup> *MS* | 19 at ita tractatur: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; omnia: omnes *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 21 haereticorum: ethnicorum autem haereticorum *MS* (ethnicorum autem *del.*) | 24 idem: itidem *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 28 illud: aliud *MS<sup>1</sup>*; Sicera: cicera *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 29 inebriantur: inebriabantur *MS<sup>1</sup>*; scientia: sapientia *MS* | 30 abutuntur: abutantur *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 32 colligit: collegit *MS<sup>1</sup>*

14-15 *cum me videret ... Cf. Grat. Dist. 37 c. 7: 'legimus de B. Hieronymo quod quum libros legeret Ciceronis, ab angelo est correptus eo quod Christianus paganorum figmenta intenderet'.*

21 *Grat. Dist. 37 c. 1.*

28-29 *Grat. Dist. 37 c. 4: 'Vino inebriantur ... sicera quando saeculari abutuntur sapientia et dialecticorum tendiculis'.*

33 *Grat. Dist. 37 c. 7.*

inde ac si debellatum esset, ita coepit ineptus se ad triumphum praeparare, vix exorauit ut paucis me auscultaret. Et non intelligis, | inquam, hanc ipsam collectionem contra te uehementer facere. Primum non mirandum fuisset, si homo secularium literarum ignarus eas condemnasset, praesertim in hac parte, ubi vestigandi gratia data opera aduersus illas pugnat. Nec tamen ausus est concludere interdictam esse ecclesiasticis ethnicam literaturam, verum non esse quaerendam; frustra enim ibi quaeras, ubi minime sit, sed extra iocum, quaerendam id est exigendam. Non hoc igitur in quaestionem vocatur, sit ne ecclesiasticis concessa eruditio secularis, sed an sit exigenda, non an habere, sed an carere liceat. Adiecit *ecclesiasticis*, ne quid dubites hanc a scholasticis prorsus exigendam. Vobis ignoscitur si careatis, nos si careamus, damnatur. Vides igitur, quod tua ista conclusiuncula pro nobis faciat, sed mane paulisper etiam nunc accusationem audiuius, defensionem audiamus, nondum satis pernosti Gratianicam eloquentiam, de unaquaque re non in utramuis, sed in utranque partem disputat, et quidem pari copia parique facundia, quod idem olim Gorgiam et Carneadem fecisse legimus. Nunc huius palinodiam audi. Iussi paginam euolui, consequuntur enim illa, sed econtra legitur, quod *Moses et Daniel omni scientia Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum eruditi fuerunt* et post pauca turbat acumen legentium et deficere cogit, qui eos a legendis secularibus libris omnibus modis existimat prohibendos, in quibus si qua inuenta sunt vtilia, quasi sua sumere licet, *alioqui Moses et Daniel sapientia Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum non paterentur erudiri* et alia quae sequuntur. Rursum paulo inferius ex Ambrosio: *Si quis artem nouerit grammaticam vel dialecticam, vt recte loquendi rationem habeat et inter falsa et vera diiudicet, non improbamus*. Mox ex eodem: *Qui de vino et mensa regis nolunt comedere, ne*

1 se ad: sibi *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 hoc: hic *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 careatis: *MS A-I*, caretis *K* | 12 faciat: facit *MS* | 15 et quidem: equidem *MS*<sup>1</sup>; parique: pari *MS*; olim: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 econtra: *A-K*, contra *MS*; Moses: Moyses *MS* | 18 fuerunt: fuerint *MS* | 19 existimat: estimat *MS* | 20 alioqui: alioquin *MS* | 22 Rursum: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 Mox: Item *MS*<sup>1</sup>; ex: *MS A-E G-I*, de *FK*; nolunt: *MS*<sup>1</sup> *K*, volunt *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup>

17-18 Grat. *Dist.* 37 c. 7. Cf. *Act.* 7,22: 'Eruditus est Moyses sapientia Aegyptiorum.' Cf. *Dn.* 1,4; 1,17.

20-21 Grat. *Dist.* 37 c. 8: 'Alioquin nec Moses et David sapientia vel libris Aegyptiorum Chaldaeorumque paterentur erudiri.'

22-24 Grat. *Dist.* 37 c. 10. The quotation is taken not from Ambrose but from Hieronymus *In Tit.* 1, Migne *PL* 26,593 by way of Grat. *Dist.* 37 c. 10: 'Item Hieronymus ad cap. I epistulae ad Titum: Si quis artem grammaticam nouerit vel dialecticam, vt rationem recte loquendi habeat et inter falsa et vera diiudicet, non improbamus.' Erasmus's error can be explained by the fact that Grat. *Dist.* 37 c. 8 quotes Ambrose before Hierony-

mus. Cf. Hier. *In Tit.* 1, Migne *PL* 26,593: 'Si quis grammaticam artem nouerit vel dialecticam vt rationem recte loquendi habeat et inter falsa et vera diiudicet...'

24-2 (next page) Grat. *Dist.* 37 c. 11: 'Item Hieronymus...: Qui de mensa regis et de vino potus eius nolunt comedere, ne polluantur, vtique si ipsorum sapientiam atque doctrinam Babyloniorum scirent esse peccatum, numquam acquiescerent discere quod non licebat.' Cf. Hier. *In Dan.* 1, Migne *PL* 25, 497: 'Qui de mensa regis non vult comedere ne polluantur vtique si sciret ipsam sapientiam atque doctrinam Babyloniorum esse peccatum, numquam acquiesceret discere quod non licebat.'

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polluantur, utique si scientiam Babyloniorum scirent esse peccatum, nunquam acquiescerent discere, quod non licebat. Et iterum aliquanto inferius ex synodo Eugenii pontificis: De quibusdam locis ad nos refertur neque magistros, neque curam inueniri pro studio literarum, idcirco ab uniuersis episcopis subiectis plebibus et aliis locis, in quibus necessi-  
 5 tas occurreret, omnino cura et diligentia habeatur, ut magistri et doctores constituentur, qui studia literarum liberaliumque artium dogmata doceant, quia in his diuina maxime manifestantur atque declarantur mandata. Haec vbi ostendissem, rogabam, nunquid poeniteret Gratianum obiecisse rhetorculo. Nunquam inquit, ista antehac animaduerti. Nec miror, inquam, si non capis venatu, quae minime venaris; quae  
 10 pro te faciunt, ea demum excerptis; quae pro tua causa facere videntur, legis nec perlegis nec intelligis ea, quae legis; quod non ita tibi eueniret, nisi tam in fugiendis literis ethnicorum esses religiosus. Audisti modo a sanctissimo concilio cautum esse, ut omnibus in locis comparentur, qui liberales disciplinas doceant et quidem assidue. Nulla autem ex liberalibus disciplinis Christiana est,  
 15 quia neque de Christo agunt, neque a Christianis inuentae, ad Christum autem omnes referuntur. Nec est, quod tergiuerseris, nullam artem exceptit, non rhetorricen, non poesim, omnes in genere edicti forma complectitur, nisi cauillaberis poesim liberalem non esse, ut quae in ludis triuialibus inter eas non numeretur. Ego vero contempta ista praescriptione non liberalem modo, verumetiam liberalissimam iudico, quippe quae liberis olim non inter caeteras, sed ante caeteras tradi consuevit. Obmutuit meus iureperitus, iubeo reliquos suos autores ostendat, recusat. Ipse a decretis ad decretales epistolas duco, titulum de magistris ostendo, vbi diligenter cauetur de parandis linguarum doctoribus, cum isti Christianum non putent, nisi sit elinguis. Hinc itur ad Antonini Summam, ad  
 20 Pisanam, ad Astesanam, ad Angelicam caeterosque non autores modo, sed congestores; omnes fere eandem cantilenam canunt et coccyx coccyi succinit.

4 episcopis: ipsis *MS*<sup>1</sup>; subiectis: subiectisque *Grat.* | 5 occurreret: occurret *MS*<sup>1</sup>, occurrerit *Grat.* | 6 liberaliumque: *MS*<sup>2</sup> *Grat.*, liberalium *MS*<sup>1</sup> *A-K*; doceant: assidue doceant *Grat.*; diuina maxime: maxime diuina *Grat.* | 7 atque declarantur: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 rhetorculo: rhetor *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 venaris quae: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 legis: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 comparentur: parentur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 quod: cur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 poesim: *MS A-E H I*, poesin *F G K* | 18 poesim: *MS A-E H I*, poesin *F G K* | 20 liberis: libris *MS*<sup>1</sup>; sed ante caeteras: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 recusat ... decretis: recusat ipse. De decretis *MS*<sup>1</sup>; epistolas: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; titulum: locum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23-24 vbi ... elinguis: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 Antonini: Anthoninam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 Astesanam: *K*, Astaxanam (*sic*) *MS*, Astaxanam *A-E H*, Astexanam *F G I*; modo: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 coccyx coccyi: cuculus cuculo *MS*<sup>1</sup>

3-7 *Grat. Dist.* 37 c. 12.

22 Cf. *Decret. D. Greg. Papae IX lib. V tit. 5. De magistris.* Cf. also *Ep.* 149, l. 44.

24 *Antonini* Antonius, archbishop of Florence, called Antoninus; author of *Summa confessionalis*, Rome, 1471, and *Summa theologica*.

25 *Summa Pisana* *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, known also as *Summa Pisana*, written

by the Dominican Bartolomeo Pisano (†1347). *Summa Astesana*, written by the Franciscan Astesanus (†1330). Printed in Venice, 1478. *Summa Angelica* or *Summa casuum*, written by the Franciscan Angelus Carletus (†1495?).

26 eandem ... canunt Cf. *Adag.* 2,5,76, *LB* II, 574 C-D, where *Ter. Phorm.* 495 is given as the source. Cf. *Otto* No. 338.



Est enim huic scriptorum generi moris nihil suum ponere, sed diuersorum dicta hinc atque hinc decerpta conge|rere, non modo diuersa, verumetiam aliquoties inter se pugnancia; sat habent coaceruasse caeterum iudicii onus lectori relinquentes. Cui vbi iam longa lectione cerebrum vertigine rotari et caligare acies coeperit, non multo certior surgit quam Demipho ille Terentianus, qui ex tribus aduocatis consultis, cum vnus suasisset alter negasset, tertius deliberandum censuisset, *fecistis* inquit, *probe: incertior sum nunc multo quam dudum*. Horum igitur odiosas disputationes, cum iam complures legissemus, huc euadebant omnes ethnicarum literarum vsum nemini vitio verti, imo laudi potius ducendum, verum abusum perniciosum esse eoque vetitum, id quod nemo puerorum nesciebat. Iam mitis erat, sed libebat hominem paulisper eludere, rogabam nuncubi in suo Gratiano legisset, licere viris ecclesiasticis amare, potare, scortari, mocchari. Negabat, at ista iam vulgo faciunt et dormiunt decreta, nobis qui oratores et historicos ethnicos legimus, obiiciuntur. Sed obsecro te, quandoquidem tibi morem gessi, mihi iam mutuam operam redde et meos theologos paulisper consulamus. Hieronymum aperio, locum forte obuium ostendo, vbi de muliere captiua disputat, quam eruditionem prophanam vir doctissimus et apte et festiue interpretatur. *Quid ergo*, inquiens, *mirum si et ego sapientiam secularem propter eloqui venustatem et membrorum pulchritudinem de ancilla atque captiua Israelitidem facere cupio et si quid in ea mortuum idololatriae, voluptatis, erroris, libidinum vel praecido vel rado et mixtus purissimo corde vernaculos ex ea genero domino sabaath? Labor meus in familiam Christi proficit, stuprum in alienam, numerum auget conseruorum*. Neque orationis metaphoram, ne vocabula quidem, intelligebat; ancillam ministram domesticam putabat, vernaculos, quo sane vocabulo Hieronymus elegantissime vsus est, quid sibi vellet, nihil potuit suspicari. Hic iam, inquam, vlscuntur contumeliam in se admissam literae seculares, erat autem locus in ea epistola in primis nobili, quam ad Magnum oratorem inscripsit, an scripserit, nescio, in qua vir sanctissimus, sicubi alias sententiam inuidiae placandae gratia vafre dissimulauit, hic certe non perplexe proloquitur. Repetamus, inquam, a capite (non enim perlonga est epistola). *Quod autem quaeris in calce epistolae tuae, cur in opusculis nostris secularium literarum interdum ponamus exempla et candorem ecclesiae ethnicorum sordibus polluamus, breuiter responsum habeto: nunquam hoc quaereres, nisi*

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2 hinc atque hinc: hinc inde *MS*<sup>1</sup>; aliquoties: *ex* aliquoties *corr.* *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 3 iudicii onus: *MS A-E G-I*, onus iudicii *FKBAS* | 5 coeperit: cepit *MS*; qui: vt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 nunc: *om.* *MS* | 11 eludere: illudere *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 et: aut *MS* | 17 quam eruditionem prophanam: quam sapientiam secularem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 et: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 Israelitidem: *Israhelitem MS*<sup>1</sup> | 20 quid: *Erasmus*, quidquid *Hier.*; mortuum: mortuum est *MS* (*est del.*) *Hier.*; idololatriae: *A-D GIK*, idolatriae *EFH*, ydolatrie *MS*<sup>1</sup>, ydololatrie *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 21 mixtus: nixos *MS*<sup>1</sup>; corde: *Erasmus*, corpori *Hier.* | 22 numerum auget: auget numerum *Hier.* | 23 ne: *ex nex corr.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 in se admissam: suam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 27 Magnum: *K*, magnum *MS A-I*; an ... nescio: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 alias: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 31 candorem: candorum *EF*

7 Ter. *Phorm.* 458 sq.  
18-22 Hier. *Epist.* 70,2,5, *CSEL* 54,702,  
9-14.

30-6 (next page) Hier. *Epist.* 70,2,1 sq.,  
*CSEL* 57,700, 13 sqq.

te totum Tullius possideret, si scripturas sanctas legeres, si interpretes earum omisso Vul-  
 catio euolueres. Quis enim nesciat et in Mose et in prophetarum voluminibus quaedam  
 assumpta de gentiliū libris et Solomonem philosophis Tyri et proposuisse nonnulla, et  
 aliqua respondisse. Vnde in exordio Prouerborum commonet, ut intelligamus sermones  
 5 prudentiae versutiasque verborum, parabolas et obscurum sermonem, dicta sapientium et  
 aenigmata, quae proprie dialecticorum et philosophorum sunt. Pauloque inferius Pau-  
 lum collaudans, Ac ne parum hoc esset, inquit, ductor Christiani exercitus et orator  
 inuictus, pro Christo causam agens, inscriptionem fortuitam arte torquet in argumentum  
 fidei. Didicerat enim a vero Dauid de manibus hostium extorquere gladium et Goliae  
 10 superbissimum caput proprio mucrone truncare. Legerat in Deuteronomio domini voce  
 praeceptum mulieris captivae radendum caput supercilia omnes pilos et unguis corporis  
 amputandos et sic eam habendam coniugio. Deinde post ea verba, quae paulo superius  
 recitauimus, Osee, inquit, accepit uxorem fornicariam Gomer filiam Debelaim id est  
 dulcedinum et nascitur ei de meretrice filius Israel qui vocatur semen dei. Esaias nouacula  
 15 acuta barbam et crura radit peccantium. Et Ezechiel in typo fornicantis Hierusalem  
 tondet caesariem suam et quicquid in ea absque sensu et vita est, auferatur. Horum, me  
 legente, cum ille nihil intelligeret, rogabat, quorsum ista omnia spectarent. Eo,  
 inquam, ut nullas ethnicas literas fugiamus, sed repurgatas ad Christianorum  
 LB 1730 eruditio|nem transferamus, quod si tu fecisses, non hic marmoreus astares.  
 20 Quod autem repurgatas dixi, non ad scientiam, sed ad opinionem referri volo.  
 Non enim ethnicorum philosophorum errores legere perniciosum est, sed eos  
 ecclesiasticis disputationibus immiscere, non confutandi, sed approbandi gratia,  
 id vero nequaquam licuerit. Deinde illustrium scriptorum catalogum texit tum  
 Graecorum, tum Latinorum, et Graecorum quidem hoc elogio claudit: *Qui*

2 Mose: Mosse *MS*, Moysi *Hier.* | 3 Solomonem: Salomonem *MS*<sup>1</sup>; proposuisse nonnulla:  
 nonnulla proposuisse *MS* | 5 sapientium: sapientum *MS* | 6 Pauloque: Paulo *C D H* |  
 7 ductor: doctor *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 inscriptionem: etiam inscriptionem *Hier.* | 9 de manibus ... extor-  
 quere: extorquere de manibus hostium *Hier.* | 12 coniugio: in coniugio *Hier.* | 13 Debelaim:  
*Hier.*, de Belaim *MS*<sup>1</sup>, de Balam *A-K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 14 ei: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 suam et: suam ut *MS*<sup>1</sup>;  
 ea: eo *MS*<sup>1</sup>; auferatur: *MS*<sup>1</sup> *Hier.*, aufertur *A-K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 17 ille nihil: nichil ille *MS*; quorsum:  
 et quorsum *MS* | 21 ethnicorum: gentiliū *MS*<sup>1</sup>

1 *Vulcatio* Volcatus, author of the *Com-  
 mentarii in Ciceronis orationes* mentioned  
 by *Hier. C. Rufin.* I, 16, *Migne PL*  
 23,428 C.

3-4 *Solomonem ... respondisse* Cf. *Ios. Flav.*  
*AJ VIII*, 143-149; *Ap.* I, 111-120. This  
 same place in Hieronymus was used by  
 Erasmus in *Ep.* 126, l. 178: 'An non  
 legisti Salomonem regem Tyri philoso-  
 phis ex hoc genere et proposuisse non-  
 nulla et ab illis proposita dissoluisse?'

3 *philosophis Tyri* Scilicet to the king of  
 Tyre, Hiram.

4-6 *Prv.* 1,1-6.

7-12 *Hier. Epist.* 70,2,4, *CSEL* 54,702,  
 1-9.

8 *inscriptionem fortuitam* Cf. *Act.* 17,23.

9 Cf. *1. Rg.* 17,51.

10 *Di.* 21,10-13.

11 For the idea of 'mulier captiua' in Chris-  
 tian literature, cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*, Bd. I,  
 p. 36; II, p. 56 n. 7.

13-16 *Hier. Epist.* 70,2,6, *CSEL* 54,702,16  
 sqq. Cf. *Or.* 1,2-4.

14 *Is.* 7,20.

15 *Eccl.* 5,1.

24-2 (next page) *Hier. Epist.* 70,4,4, *CSEL*  
 54,706,15 sqq.

omnes in tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos refarciunt libros, vt nescias quid in illis primum admirari debeas: eruditionem seculi, an scientiam scripturarum. Latinorum ita concludit: De caeteris vel viuentibus, vel mortuis taceo, quorum in scriptis et vires manifestae sunt et voluntas. Mox callidam imperitorum calumniam excludens, addit: Nec statim praua opinione fallaris, contra gentiles hoc esse licitum, in aliis disputationibus dissimulandum, quia omnes pene omnium libri exceptis iis, qui cum Epicuro literas non didicerunt, eruditionis doctrinaeque plenissimi sunt. Mordax quidem illud quo epistolam claudit, sed plane barbarorum stultitia dignissimum: Cui quaeso, inquit, vt suadeas ne vescentium dentibus edentulus inuideat et oculos caprearum talpa contemnat. Ostendi et eam praefationem quam Exodo praeposuit, in qua adeo non dissimulat, vt etiam nominatim praedicet artes liberales. Taceo, inquit, de grammaticis, rhetoribus, philosophis, geometricis, dialecticis, musicis, astrologis, medicis quorum scientia mortalibus... Quid hic expectas dicturum Hieronymum? Pestifera est? vel vtilissima est, inquit. Rogabam ecquid haec placerent; cum tantum ac talem habeamus autorem, exorire tu nobis et nescio quod glossema e tuis barbaris autoribus contra liberalem eruditionem obiicies. Astrologiam vestra decreta damnant, at Hieronymus approbat disciplinam et prope curiosam et ad pauca vtilem. Quid igitur de rhetorica, de poetica sensisse credis? Commonstrauit homini eiusdem de viris illustribus opus, vbi in permultis scriptoribus miratur eloquentiam, praedicat poetarum philosophorumque cognitionem, effert literaturam secularem. Quae si pestifera esset, non tam diligenter eam in autoribus ecclesiasticis vir piissimus commemoraret. In eiusdem opusculi praefatione tantum abest, ut improbet, vt etiam aduersus ethnicos et haereticos magnifice iactare sit ausus Christianorum in ethnicis literis praestantiam. Discant ergo, inquit, Celsus, Porphyrius, Iulianus, rabidi aduersum Christum canes, discant sectatores eorum, qui putant ecclesiam nullos philosophos et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores, quantique et quales viri eam fundauerint, instruxerint, adornauerint, et desinant fidem nostram rusticae tantum simplicitatis arguere suamque imperitiam potius recognoscant. Non pudet, inquam, te Christianum obiicere Christiano et quidem laico, quod Hieronymus non dubitauit apud hostes gloriari vir ecclesiasticus, iam

1 sententiis: *MS<sup>1</sup> Hier.*, scientiis *A-K MS<sup>2</sup>*; refarciunt: referserunt *Hier.* | 3 vel viuentibus vel mortuis: vel viuentibus *Hier.* | 4 scriptis: scriptis suis *Hier.*; Mox: Et *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 5 gentiles: *Erasmus*, gentes omnes *Hier.* | 6 iis: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*, his *Hier.* | 7 Epicuro: *K*, Epicureo *MS A-I* | 12 astrologis: astronomicis astrologis *MS* | 13 quorum ... mortalibus: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17 approbat: affert *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 21-22 in ... ecclesiasticis: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 23 ethnicos: et ethnicos *MS* | 25 aduersum: aduersus *Hier.* | 27 quantique: *A B E F G I K MS<sup>2</sup>*, quanti *MS<sup>1</sup> C D H Hier.* | 28 imperitiam potius: potius imperitiam *Hier.*; recognoscant: agnoscant *MS* | 30 hostes: posteros *MS<sup>1</sup>*

3-4 *Hier. Epist.* 70,5,3, *CSEL* 54,708,2 sq.

5-7 *Hier. Epist.* 70,6,1, *CSEL* 54,708,5-8.

8-10 *Hier. Epist.* 70,6,2, *CSEL* 54,708,13 sq.

9-10 *ne ... contemnat* These words of Hiero-

nymus are cited as a saying in *Adag.* 3,1,7, *LB* II, 718 B.

11-13 *Hier. Epist.* 53,6,1, *CSEL* 54,452,7-9.

24-29 *Hier. Vir. ill. praef.*, Migne *PL* 23,634 B.

sanctitatis opinione celebris, postremo monachus et eremi cultor, praesertim  
 ea tempestate cum Christiana adhuc religio cum ethnicis conflictaretur. Si mala  
 est eruditio secularis, nihil Hieronymo stultius, qui hoc apud aduersarios iactat,  
 quod illi pro summo crimine poterant retorquere; verum de compotore meo  
 5 iam nimium. Ad caetera properabimus, si prius alterum testem citauerimus,  
 nam nunc decreui contentus esse duobus, grauissimis tamen. Aurelius Augus-  
 tinus vir sanctimonia iuxta ac eruditione singularis, tum arctae adeo, ne dicam  
 meticulousae conscientiae, vt saepenumero mihi (bona venia tanti viri dixerim)  
 abs re trepidare videatur, id quod tum ex eius vita, tum ex confessionum re-  
 tractationumque libris coniiicere procliuē est. Is, inquam, talis vir vtique litera-  
 10 turam secularem, vt vocant, dissuasisset, si aut noxiam aut ociosam aut sus-  
 spectam habuisset. Hic in iis libris, quos de doctrina Christiana inscribit, pro-  
 ponit *duo genera doctrinarum: Quae in gentibus etiam, inquit, moribus exercentur*, id  
 LB 1731 est ethnicorum, vel vt isti dicunt, seclularium, *vnū earum, quas instituerunt*  
 15 *homines, alterum earum, quas animaduēterunt aut iam peractas, aut diuinitus institutas.*  
*Illud, inquit, quod est sequundum constitutiones partim superstitiosum est, partim su-  
 perstitiosum non est.* Sed ne omnem disputationem, quae verbosissima est, repe-  
 tam, verbis illius omissis, rei summam paucis amplectar. Sub hoc vltimo gene-  
 20 re, quod superstitiosum appellat, maleficia, incantationes, excantationes, sorti-  
 legia, aruspicia, auspicia, auguria, necyomantiam, pyromantiam, alphetoman-  
 tiam, hydromantiam, geomantiam, chiromantiam et id genus alia comprehen-  
 dit; haec quia phytonum sunt et maleficorum nec sine commercio scelestorum  
 spirituum exercentur, iure Christiano fugienda censuit. Illas quoque obserua-  
 tiones, quod plurimum habeant et anxietatis et vanitatis, huic generi annumerat:  
 25 qualia sunt visorum et insomniorum interpretatio, extorum inspectio, volatus  
 auium cantusque, monstrorum, tonitruum, fulgurum, syderum, sortium, ster-  
 nutamentorum, mustelarum, murium occurrentium aut stridentium aut aliquid  
 arrodentium, aurium tinnientium, oculorum salientium, foliorum crepitantium,  
 nominum et imaginum et his similium nugarum obseruatio. Sub altero genere,  
 30 id est ab hominibus quidem instituto, minime tamen superstitioso, haec fere  
 collocat: characteres, vocabula rerum, consuetudinem loquendi, leges, plebiscita

1 et ... cultor: heremicola *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 retorquere: torquere *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 nunc: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 abs re:  
 ab re *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9-10 retractationumque: *MS IK*, retractionumque *A-H* | 11 vt vocant: *om.*  
*MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 iis: hiis *MS*, his *GI* | 13 gentibus: *FK*, gentilibus *MS A-E G-I* | 14 ethnicorum:  
 ethnicarum *MS*<sup>1</sup>; earum: earum rerum *Aug.* | 16 sequundum: *ABEFGIK*, secundum  
*MS CDH*; constitutiones: institutiones hominum *MS* (hominum *del.*) *Aug.* | 16-17 *alt.*  
 superstitiosum: *om. Aug.* | 18 amplectar: complectar *MS* | 20 necyomantiam: nicromantiam  
*MS*<sup>1</sup>; pyromantiam: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 quia: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; maleficorum: maleficorum *CDH* | 24  
 quod plurimum: cum et plurimum *MS*<sup>1</sup>; annumerat: adnumerat *ex* adnumeravit *corr. MS*<sup>1</sup>  
 29 his similium: eiusmodi *MS*<sup>1</sup>

13 *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 19, 29, Migne *PL*  
 34, 50.

18 *Cf. Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 20-23, Migne

*PL* 34, 50-53.

29-5 (next page) *Cf. Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II,  
 25-38, Migne *PL* 34, 54-62.

et si qua id genus sunt alia; haec enim non modo non reprehendit, verumetiam Christiani hominis interesse putat, vt haec quam maxime scire curet. In primo genere id est annotatis omnes fere liberales disciplinas collocat logicen, rhetorice, physicen, arithmetice, geometriam, astronomiam, musicam, historias denique et antiquitatis cognitionem. At ne de singulis quidem pigebit diui Aurelii sententiam pronunciare, modo ne vos audire pigeat. De grammatica quidem dilucidius est, quam vt in eo debeat disputari, porro quod ad dialecticam attinet, libro de doctrina Christiana secundo, capite (si bene commemini) vigesimo de dialecticis rationibus, de veritate, de falsitate connexionum, de consequenti et inconsequenti, de repugnanti, de definiendo, de partiendo verbose et curiosiuscule suo more disputat, petitis etiam e diuo Paulo connexionum formis, sic enim appellat, vt nos si dialecticam ignoremus, docere voluisse videatur. Hanc disciplinam in ipso disputationis capite his verbis commendat, nam puto, me ea, vt nuper relecta, posse reddere: *Sed disciplina, inquit, disputationis ad omnia genera quaestionum, quae in literis sanctis sunt penetranda et dissoluenda plurimum valet, tantum cauenda est ibi libido rixandi.* Pauloque inferius: *Sunt etiam connexiones ratiocinationis, inquit, falsas habentes sententias, quae consequuntur errorem illius cum quo agitur, quae tamen ad hoc inferuntur a docto et bono homine, vt his erubescens ille, cuius errorem consequuntur, eundem relinquat errorem, quia si in eodem manere voluerit, necesse est, vt etiam illa quae damnat, tenere cogatur.* Haec de dialecticis. Pro poetis et rhetoribus, quae multa dixit, hic consulto praetereo, suis ea locis redditurus. Caeteras autem artes, minutiores quidem illas, attamen acutas vt Quintus Fabius oratori, ita Aurelius theologo putat non mediocriter conducere; et quidem de musica haec fere sunt, quae tenemus: *Et numerum, inquit, et musicam plerisque in locis in scripturis honorabiliter posita inuenimus. Non enim audiendi sunt errores gentilium superstitionum, qui nouem Musas Iouis et Memoriae filias esse dixerunt.* Deinde autore Varrone vnde ea sit fabula nata, aperit subiiciens: *Sed siue se ita*

5 et ... cognitionem: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 attinet: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; commemini: *memini MS<sup>1</sup>* | 10 de partiendo: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 11 connexionum: *connexionis MS<sup>1</sup>* | 14 disciplina: *MS C D H K*, disciplinam *A B E F G I*, disputationis disciplina *Aug.* | 16 tantum ... ibi: *tantum ibi cauenda est Aug.* | 17 connexiones: *verae connexiones Aug.* | 18 a docto et bono: *a bono et docto Aug.*; his: *in iis Aug.* | 20 vt: *om. Aug.* | 23 Quintus Fabius: *Q. Fabius MS* | 25 prius in: *om. Aug.*; in scripturis: *in sanctis scripturis Aug.*; posita: *positam in posita corr. MS* | 26 dixerunt: *finxerunt MS* | 27 ea: *inter lin. adscr. MS<sup>1</sup>*; nata: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; se ita: *ita se Aug.*

8-13 Cf. *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 31-35, Migne *PL* 34, 57-60.  
 11-12 *petiitis ... formis* Cf. *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 31,49, Migne *PL* 34,58.  
 14-16 *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 31,48, Migne *PL* 34,58.  
 16-20 *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 31,49, Migne *PL* 34,58.  
 21-22 *suis ... redditurus* Erasmus intended to discuss poetry and rhetoric in Bk. II of

*Antibarbari*, which was never completely finished. Cf. p. 36, l. 4: 'Secundus ... vituperabat eloquentiam ... Tertius refellebat secundi voluminis argumenta verum id nondum absolueram'.  
 23 *Quint. Inst.* I, 12.  
 24-26 *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 16,26-17,27, Migne *PL* 34,49.  
 27-3 (next page) *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 18,28, Migne *PL* 34,49.

habeat, quod Varro retulit, siue non ita, nos tamen propter superstitionem prophanorum  
 non debemus musicam fugere, si quid inde vtile ad intelligendas scripturas rapere potueri-  
 mus. De arithmetica hoc est disputationis initium: *Et numerorum etiam*, inquit,  
 imperitia multa facit non intelligi translate ac mystice posita in scripturis. Omnes  
 5 harum disputationum ambages quaeque de geometria et astronomia in eundem  
 LB 1732 fere modum | disputat, parui refert meminisse. Porro physicen in primis ad  
 sacrarum literarum cognitionem necessariam arbitratur, quod passim scateat  
 vocabulis tum animantium, tum herbarum, tum lapidum, quorum omnium ni  
 monstratrice physica vim naturamque teneas, temerarius videberis, si ea coneris  
 10 interpretari. Et huius quidem loci hoc est caput. *Rerum autem ignorantia facit  
 obscuras figuratas locutiones, cum ignoramus vel animantium vel lapidum vel herbarum  
 naturas aliarum rerum, quae plerumque in scripturis similitudinis alicuius gratia po-  
 nuntur.* Caetera idem et apte et erudite prosequitur. Porro de philosophis, quid  
 tandem, penes quos beatae vitae professio potissimum est, mirum ni istos legen-  
 15 dos negabit; qui cum se veri magistros vt omnium rerum peritos profiteri sint  
 ausi, omnium errorum autores extiterunt, e quorum disciplinis nulla fere non  
 haeresis nata est nobis, quorum contortis enthymematibus, quasi quibusdam  
 arietibus Christianae fidei moenia toties sunt pulsata, audite et quid de his dicat  
 vir aequissimus. *Philosophi autem*, inquit, *qui vocantur, si qua forte vera et fidei*  
 20 *nostrae accommodata dixerunt, et maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non  
 sunt, sed ab eis tanquam iniustis possessoribus ad usum nostrum vindicanda.* Et quod se-  
 quitur, non iniucundum de Aegyptia suppellectile, vtinam vobis verba ipsa  
 possem annumerare, sed tamen bona cum fide appendam. Legimus, inquit, in  
 Exodo, Hebraeos, cum duce Mose ab Aegyptia seruitute furtim fugam molirentur,  
 25 plurimam omnis generis suppellectilem, immensam vim signorum, vestium,  
 vasorum a suo quenque vicino commodato cepisse; itaque spoliatis Aegyptiis  
 demigrasse clanculum, quam fugam, quod furtum, quia deo autore patratum

2 scripturas: sanctas scripturas *Aug.*; potuerimus: poterimus *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 3 est: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; Et:  
 Ast *MS<sup>1</sup>*, *om. Aug.* | 5 quaeque: quae *MS* | 8 ni: *MS<sup>2</sup> A-E G-I*, nisi *K*, *om. MS<sup>1</sup> F* | 13 pro-  
 sequitur: *A-K*, prosequitur. Historiarum vero cognitionem adeo sacre scripture studioso  
 putat esse necessariam vt qui sine illis diuinas literas tractare velit summo cum periculo et  
 errare et falli sit necesse *MS* | 14 potissimum: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; ni: an *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 15 vt: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; peritos:  
*om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 17 nobis: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 18 toties: *ex totiens corr. MS<sup>2</sup>* | 20 accommodata: accommoda  
*MS<sup>1</sup>*; et: *om. Aug.* | 21 tanquam: etiam tamquam *Aug.*; ad: in *MS<sup>1</sup> Aug.* | 24 Mose: Moysse  
*MS* | 26 cepisse: *ex accepisse corr. MS*

3-4 *Aug. Doctr. Christ. II*, 16,25, Migne  
*PL* 34,48.  
 5 *astronomia* Cf. *Aug. Doctr. Christ. II*,  
 29,46, Migne *PL* 34,57.  
 10 *hoc est caput* Cf. note to p. 63, l. 27.  
 10-13 *Aug. Doctr. Christ. II*, 16,24, Migne  
*PL* 34,47.  
 19-21 *Aug. Doctr. Christ. II*, 40,60, Migne  
*PL* 34,63.

21-3 (next page) Cf. *Aug. Doctr. Christ. II*,  
 40,60, Migne *PL* 34,63.  
 22 Cf. Ep. 49, l. 94: 'Neque improbauerim  
 Aegyptiam adhiberi supellectilem'.  
 24 *Ex.* 12,35-36.  
 26 *spoliatis Aegyptiis* For the topos of 'Spo-  
 liatio Aegyptiorum', cf. Kohls, *op. cit.*,  
 Bd. I, pp. 35-37; Bd. II, p. 55.  
 27 *deo autore* Cf. *Ex.* 3,22; 11,2; 12,36.

nouimus, aliquid portendere creditur, scilicet iam tum diuina prouidentia quorundam trepidationi consulebat, qui fortasse Aegyptum spoliare, hoc est ethnicorum sapientiam vsurpare timuissent, nisi huius rei tantum imperatorem, tantum ducem, tantum exemplum habuissent. Migrat ex Aegypto, qui relictis superstitionibus prophanis ad Christianam religionem sese conuertit. Aegyptias opes tollit, qui literas ethnicorum ad nostrae fidei decus et vsum transfert. Si ridebunt barbari interpretem, iure id facerent, nisi diui Augustini non meum interpretamentum protulissent. Vt enim, inquit, olim Hebraei ea, quae sibi vsui fore iudicassent, rapuerunt, relictis iis, quae aut molesta aut inutilia aut prophana existimassent, ita nos oportet sua quidem ethnicis vitia relinquere, superstitiones, libidines, cupiditates, haec inquam, apud dominos relinquenda. At si quod sapientiae aurum, si quod eloquentiae argentum, si qua bonarum literarum supellex penes illos erit, eam omnem conuasare et in nostros vsus accommodare debemus, nihil furti calumniam veriti, quin potius pulcherrimi etiam facinoris et laudem et praemium sperare ausi. Hic rursus ne nodum in scirpo quaerentes cauillari inciperemus, quae sint ethnicis pro perniciosis relinquenda, quae pro vtilibus transferenda, Augustinus de sua partitione nihil excipit praeter ea, quae superstitiosa nominat. Caeterum a sua illa diuisione non recedens et hoc suo more auro atque argento eas disciplinas sibi videri signatas scripsit, quae essent ab ingeniis humanis animaduersae, sicut dialecticam, rhetoricam, physicam, historiam et id genus plura, quod haec homines *non ipsi quidem produxissent, sed tanquam aurum et argentum de quibusdam quasi metallis diuinae prouidentiae, quae vbique infusa est, eruisent*. Vestes autem Aegyptiorum interpretatur disciplinas a mortalibus quidem institutas, sed vestium in morem accommodatas humanae societati, puta leges loquendi, plebiscita, decreta pontificum, quae quidem omnia quoniam plurimum habent vsus, ab ethnicis quoquo pacto ra-

2 fortasse: fortassis *MS* | 4 Migrat: Migrant *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 religionem sese: sese religionem *MS*; conuertit: conuertunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 tollit: tollunt *MS*<sup>1</sup>; literas ethnicorum: gentilium literas *MS*<sup>1</sup>, ethnicorum literas *MS*<sup>2</sup>; vsum: numen *MS*<sup>1</sup>; transfert: transferunt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 diui: diuini *K* | 9 iis: his *G I* | 10 nos oportet: nobis *MS*<sup>1</sup>; relinquere: relinquenda *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 libidines cupiditates: libidines ambitionem cupiditatem *MS*<sup>1</sup>; inquam: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; relinquenda: sunt relinquenda *MS* (sunt *del.*) | 13 conuasare: corradere *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 rursus: rursus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 quae ... transferenda: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 illa: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; illa diuisione: diuisione illa *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*illa del.*) | 19 atque: et *MS*<sup>1</sup>; signatas: significatas *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 quasi: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 leges loquendi: leges loquendi leges viuendi *MS*

- 7 Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* II, 40,60, Migne *PL* 34,63.  
 15-16 *nodum ... quaerentes* Cf. *Adag.* 2,4,76, *LB* II, 546 F; Otto No. 1607.  
 17 Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* II, 25,40, Migne *PL* 34,55.  
 21-23 Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* II, 40,60, Migne *PL* 34,63: 'quod eorum tanquam aurum et argentum quod non ipsi instituerunt, sed de quibusdam quasi metallis

- diuinae prouidentiae quae vbique infusa est eruerunt.'  
 23 Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* II, 40,60, Migne *PL* 34,63: 'Vestem quoque illorum id est hominum quidem instituta sed tamen accommodata humanae societati qua in hac vita carere non possumus, accipere atque habere licuerit in vsum conuertenda Christianorum.'

pienda censet. Postremo festiuo exemplo rem et confirmat et locupletat. *Quod*,  
 LB 1733 inquit, *fecerunt multi boni nostri fideles. Nonne aspiciamus quanto argento et veste*  
 quanto *Lactantius? quanto Victorinus? Optatus? Hilarius? ut de viuis taceam, quanto*  
 5 *innumerabiles Graeci? Quod prior ipse fidelissimus dei famulus Moses fecerat, de quo*  
*scriptum est, quod eruditus fuerat in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum. Quibus omnibus viris*  
*superstitiosa gentium consuetudo et maxime illis temporibus, cum Christi recutiens iugum*  
*persequeretur Christianos, disciplinas quas vtilis habebat, nunquam commodaret, si eas in*  
 10 *usum colendi vnius dei, quo vanus idolorum cultus excinderetur, conuersum iri suspicaretur.*  
 Haec quidem e pluribus pauca, vt potui breuissime, perstrinxisse satis putauit.  
 Caeterum sexcentos citare testes possem, ni et vestris parcerem auribus et ho-  
 rum duorum ea esset autoritas, vt tam sacris tam eruditis viris nolle accedere  
 summa sit impietas. Sed ita ab ethnicis abstinent barbari, vt ne sacros quidem  
 15 attingant, aut si tangunt, contaminent. Imo, quod indignius est, iam Hierony-  
 mum non in theologorum numero, sed oratorum ponunt atque e suo sacro-  
 sancto senatu depulsum grammaticis annumerant, ipsi nescio quorum confusis-  
 simis collectaneis ac summulis insenescent, nihil eruditum existimantes, nisi  
 quod idem sit barbarum. Et cum tantos duces vtcunque sequamur, veniant et  
 apostolicum nobis illud cantitent: *non altum sapientes scientia inflat*. Si theologi  
 20 videri cupiunt, quin illud potius proferunt: *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes et*  
*simplices sicut columbae* non sicut asini, tardi, inertes, ignaui. Cur non illud: *Mali-*  
*cia paruuli estote, sensibus autem perfecti*. Cur non illud: *Sapientia vincit maliciam et*  
*sapientiam stulti despiciunt*. Cur non illud Dauidicum afferunt: *Bonitatem et dis-*  
 25 *ciplinam et scientiam doce me domine*. Cur non illud ecclesiastici sapientis: *Sapien-*  
*tiam omnium antiquorum exquiret sapiens et in prophetis vacabit*. *Narrationem viro-*  
*rum nominatorum conseruabit et in versutias parabolaram introibit*. *Occulta prouerbio-*

1-2 Quod-fecerunt: Nam quid aliud fecerunt *Aug.* | 2 argento: auro et argento *Aug.* | 4  
 viuis: vniis *E F* | 5 Moses: Moyses *MS* | 6 fuerat: fuerit *Aug.*; in: *om. Aug.* | 7 recutiens:  
 excutiens *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 persequeretur Christianos: Christianos persequeretur *Aug.* | 10 perstrin-  
 xisse: praestrinxisse *E F G I* | 12 duorum: duorum auctorum *MS* (auctorum *del.*) | 13 ab  
 ethnicis: *MS A-D G-I*, ethnicis *E F K*; sacros: hos *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 15-18 ponunt ... Et: ponunt  
 non ob aliud nisi quia non intelligunt Scotis commentis et Acurisians glosematismis insenes-  
 cent, in quibus preter barbariam nichil mirantur. Nos *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 20 cupiunt: volunt cupiunt  
*MS* (volunt *del.*) | 21 prius sicut: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22-23 Cur ... despiciunt: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 23 Dauidi-  
 cum: Dauidicum *MS*; afferunt: dissilant *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 24 illud: illud quidem *MS* (quidem *del.*) | 26  
 introibit: simul introibit *Eccl.*

1-9 *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* II, 40,61, Migne  
*PL* 34,63.

5 *dei famulus Moses* Cf. *Ios.* 1,3,15; 8,31,33;  
 11,12; 12,6; 13,8; 14,7; 18,7; 22,2-4,5;  
 2. *Par.* 1,3; 2. *Esr.* 1,7.

6 *Act.* 7,22: 'Eruditus est Moyses omni  
 sapientia Aegyptiorum.'

19 Two contaminated places: *Rom.* 12,16:  
 'non alta sapientes' and 1. *Cor.* 8,1:  
 'scientia inflat.'

20-21 *Mt.* 10,16.

21-22 1. *Cor.* 14,20.

22 *Sap.* 7,30: 'Sapientiam autem non vincit  
 malitia.'

23 *Prv.* 1,7: 'Sapientiam atque doctrinam  
 stulti despiciunt.'

23-24 *Ps.* 118,66; the word *domine* added by  
 Erasmus.

24-3 (next page) *Eccl.* 39,1-5.



rum exquiret et in absconditis parabolarum conuersabitur. In medio magnatum ministra-  
 bit et in conspectu praesidis apparebit. In terram alienigenarum pertransibit, bona et  
 mala in omnibus tentabit. In eo libro qui dubio autore Sapientiae inscribitur,  
 quanta laus eruditionis, vt quod grauissime a Platone scriptum est, sapientiam  
 incredibili esse specie, quae si oculis videri queat, admirabiles sui sit excitatura  
 amores, hic quisquis fuit scriptor non infacundus sapientiae quasi quandam  
 effigiem expressisse videatur, quo nos ad illius amorem accenderet. At negauerit  
 quispiam hic secularem laudari sapientiam, verum aliam quandam coelestem ac  
 diuinam, imo certe eam, quae sit nostri temporis philosophiae pars difficillima,  
 quae omnium rerum tum diuinarum, tum humanarum cognitionem copularit.  
 Mentior nisi id ipsa verba sonant: *Deus*, inquit, *dedit mihi horum quae sunt scientiam,*  
*vt sciam dispositionem orbis terrarum et virtutem elementorum, initium et consum-*  
*minationem et medietatem temporum et eorum mutationes, diuisiones, temporum, anni*  
*cursus, et stellarum dispositiones, naturas animalium et iras bestiarum, vim ventorum et*  
*cogitationes hominum, differentias virgultorum et virtutes radicum et quaecun- que abs-*  
*consa et improuisa didici.* His sane verbis describi mihi videtur non perturbata  
 quaedam et ieiuna eruditio, sed polita et copiosa et quae praeter omnium dis-  
 ciplinarum scientiam plurima sit antiquitate condita. Capite insequenti multo sig-  
 nificantius exprimit virtutem cum eruditione liberali coniunctam vocari sapien-  
 tiam. *Et iusticiam*, inquit, *qui plus diligit, labores huius magnas habent virtutes; sob-*  
*rietatem enim et sapientiam docet et iusticiam et virtutem, quibus vtilius nihil est in vita*  
*hominibus. Et si multitudinem scientiae desiderat quis, scit praeterita et de futuris*  
*aestimat, scit versutias sermonum et dissolutiones argumentorum, signa et monstra*  
*antequam fiant, et euentus temporum et seculorum.* Sed hac in re tam clara pro ipsa  
 quidem nimio plus satis, pro istorum pertinacia parum; quanquam quid frustra  
 rem infinitam persequar, cum ex vno quoque autore permulta loca depromi  
 possint? | Nec inficias iuero tamen eosdem ipsos nonnullis in locis perinde  
 LB 1734

1 et: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>; magnatum: magnatorum MS *Eccl.* | 2 pertransibit: pertransiet *Eccl.*; bona: bona enim *Eccl.* | 3 omnibus: hominibus *Eccl.* | 5 sui sit excitatura: sit excitura sui MS | 6 quasi: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 7 negauerit: denegauerit MS<sup>1</sup> | 8 secularem ... sapientiam: laudari sapientiam secularem MS; aliam: alium GI | 9 philosophiae: philosophia MS<sup>1</sup>; pars: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 11 verba sonant: sonant verba MS; Deus: Deus enim MS<sup>1</sup> (enim *del.*); scientiam: scientiam veram MS<sup>1</sup> (veram *del.*) | 13 et ... temporum: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 17 quaedam: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 20 Et ... diligit: Et si iustitiam quis diligit *Sap.* | 21 prius et: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>; sapientiam: *Erasmus*, prudentiam *Sap.* | 22 praeterita: preterea MS | 24 hac in re: nos ne in re MS<sup>1</sup> | 26 persequar: prosequar MS<sup>1</sup> | 27 possint: possent MS<sup>1</sup>; iuero: MS A-K, iero BAS; nonnullis: nullis MS<sup>1</sup>

4 *Sap.* 10-19. Plat. *Phaedr.* 250 d φρόνησις οὐχ ὁρᾶται-δεινούς γὰρ ἂν παρεῖχεν ἔρω-  
 τας, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἑαυτῆς ἐναργῆς εἶδωλον  
 παρεῖχετο εἰς ὄψιν ἰὸν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα  
 ἐραστὰ. It would seem that Erasmus is  
 quoting this passage by way of Cicero  
*Off.* I, 15: 'tamquam faciem honesti vides  
 quae si oculis cerneretur mirabiles amo-

res, vt ait Plato, excitaret.' Cf. also *Fin.*  
 II, 52: 'oculorum, inquit Plato, est in  
 nobis sensus acerrimus, quibus sapien-  
 tiam non cernimus. Quam illa ardentem  
 amorem excitaret sui, si videretur.'

11-16 *Sap.* 7,17-21 (freely).  
 20-24 *Sap.* 8,7-8.

disserere ac si a seculari doctrina nos conentur dehortari et ita rhetorica conten-  
 tione incadescent contra curiosam, superbam, ventosam, obstinatam eruditio-  
 nem, vt non in abutentium vitium, sed in rem ipsam inuehi videantur. At non  
 venit in mentem istis ea ipsa, quae contra doctrinam disputata videntur, non a  
 5 doctissimis modo viris, verumetiam doctissime disputata esse. Quonam igitur  
 ore a literis secularibus dehortentur, cum ipsi in ea dehortatione secularem li-  
 teraturam exhibeant, vt interim nobis ius fiat hoc verbo vtendi: sed vitiis nos-  
 tris libenter blandimur. Dic mihi tu, marmorea statua et *fruges consumere nate* ita  
 ne credis summis illis viris et in omni literarum genere consummatissimis cordi  
 10 fuisse, vt tuam illam supinam oscitationem atque ignauiam praedicarent? Dic-  
 tum est recte, nempe ad deterrendos curiosos ab nimio, ab inani studio, ab in-  
 tempestiuo; dictum est ad compescendam arrogantiam, dictum est fortassis ad  
 consolandam simplicitatem columbinam, non ad fouendam stoliditatem asini-  
 nam. Quid tu gestis? quid triumphas inepte? quid alio torques ac dicitur?  
 15 Audisti notari peritiam impiam? quid tu tibi plaudis, quasi pietas sit imperitia?  
 Si deus reprobat ac perdit prudentiam huius seculi, stulticiam seculi amabit  
 scilicet? Nihil profecto minus, imo peius oderit. Damnatur is, qui doctus igna-  
 rum fastidit, tu tibi places, quod doctos ignarus contemnas ac iudices. Ille re-  
 probus habetur, quod virtutis negligentior abutatur scientia, te iisdem vitiis  
 20 ornatum et fortasse pluribus vna absoluet incititia? Hic accusatur, quod omissis  
 Euangeliiis, plurimus sit in euoluendo Aristotele, tu culpa vacas, qui ne Euan-  
 gelia quidem intelligis, imo adeo nec legis? Ille sciens voluntatem domini plagis  
 vapulabit multis, tu neque faciens, neque scire curans num paucis vapulabis?  
 Ille sedulitate quadam modum officii egressus castigatur, tu tua non contentus  
 25 inertia et aliorum industriam impediens, laudaberis? Sed vt aliquando meae  
 loquacitatis modum faciam et stomachum efferuescentem cohibeam, nunquam  
 ista nobis obiicerent imperiti, si relicta oscitatione sua, sacris literis legendis  
 inuigilarent. Hic cum Battus breui interiecto silentio nos familiarius esset in-  
 tuitus, Bone deus, inquit, iam prope exciderat apud quos dicerem, ita nescio  
 30 quo furore correptus in praesentes hostes mihi visus sum debacchari. Equidem  
 tam disertarum aurium patientiam admiror, quae me puerili more tot verba  
 fundentem tam diu ferre queant. ERASMVS: At ego iamdudum, inquam, admiror  
 mecum, quanquam orationem currentem interpellare nolui, qui tot versus e tot  
 ecclesiasticis autoribus tam apte, tam ad verbum reddere valueris, quod quidem  
 35 a summo theologo tam scite fieri posse vix crediderim. Desino enim iam mirari,  
 quod Medicus dudum te hominem Musis penitus deuotum theologorum libros

3 videantur: inuideantur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 esse: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 vt ... vtendi: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11–12 ab intem-  
 pestiuo: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 peius: potius *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 tu tibi *A–K MS*<sup>2</sup>, ita tibi *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 ne: *ex nec*  
*corr.* *MS* | 22 imo adeo: *om.* *MS* | 25 et: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26–27 nunquam ... nobis: nusquam nobis  
 ista nobis *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 32 queant: queat *MS*; ERASMVS: Herasmus *MS* | 32–33 admiror mecum:  
 mecum admiror *MS* | 34 quidem: equidem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 36 Medicus ... te: Medicus se mirari  
 dudum aiebat te *MS*<sup>1</sup> (se mirari *et* aiebat *del.*)

8 *marmorea statua* Cf. note to p. 72, l. 10; Hor. *Epist.* I, 2, 26: ‘fruges consumere nati’

euoluisse tantum memoria complecti potuisse mirandum videtur. GVILHELMVS: Et nos, inquit Guilhelmus, nescio quo tua disputatio impetu abripuerat suo; itaque propra, quaeso, ac periculum facito, vtrum nos prius dicendo, an nocte audiendo superemus. BATTVS: Tum Battus mihi arridens: Non frustra, inquit, tuum calamum metui; iam enim mihi subolet, quid animo destines. Nugas 5 nostras vis prode et de verisimili laboras; vereris enim ne vbi hunc nostrum sermonem literis mandaris (sentio enim te id velle) existat aliquis, qui te dialogum Platonico aut Ciceroniano more finxisse putans neque decorum, neque probabile satis obseruasse calumnietur, qui me et adolescentiorem et poetam tantum ecclesiasticarum literarum memoriter reddentem feceris. Sed nihil est 10 quod mireris, si homo non prodigiosa quidem, sed tamen haud maligna praeditus memoria, quae legi tanto intentius, quanto irritatior, quae decerpsi quae toties contra barbaros deprompsi, pauca potuerim memoria complecti. Age iam ad certamen, ad quod me prouocauit Guilhelmus, accingamur. Quo[n]iam aduersarios inquit, primum rationibus deinde testibus reuicimus, vnicum illis profugium superest exempla quorundam probatoris vitae, quos aut citra eruditionem doctos habitos aut virtutis studio literas contempsisse obiiciunt, a quo illos praesidio si eiecerimus, reliquum est, vt aut in deditioem veniant aut certe fuga turpissima victos se profiteantur. Age, accingamur certaminis huius reliquias profligare. Videtis, inquit, fidem Christianam non a physicis, non a dialecticis, 20 non a poetis, non a rhetoricis autoribus ortam, sed a rusticis hominibus, indoctis, rudibus, denique piscatoribus, non e Platonica Academia, non e porticibus Stoicorum, non e scholis Peripateticorum apostolos vocatos nouimus, sed a nauis et rete, neque Christus ludos rhetorices aut dialectices aperuit, sed tantum viuendi praecepta tradidit. O sacrilegam impudentiam, audent rusticos dicere 25 apostolos, quo suam rusticitatem tueantur, digni vero, quos vt pie sibi deditos ament apostoli. Adeo nihil istorum refert, vnde inertiae suae patrocinium sint nacti vel cum sacri ordinis iniuria. Dic mihi os pestilens et ferro inurendum, rusticos ais fuisse apostolos? Aio, inquit, alioqui in quo tandem ludo didicerunt, qui repente sunt a piscatione ad apostolatam missi? Num a gubernaculo scalmi protinus ad gubernacula mundi eucti sunt? Quorsum igitur pertinuit non Platonem aut Chrysippum aut alium philosophum aliquem, sed ipsum philosophiae parentem tantum temporis sectari praeceptorem, audire disputantem?

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LB 1735

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1 tantum: et tantum *MS* (et *del.*) | 1-4 GVILHELMVS ... superemus post *queant* (p. 120, l. 32): *transposita leguntur MS* | 3 vtrum nos: an tu nos *MS* | 4 mihi: *om. MS* | 12 toties: *ex totiens corr. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 14 Guilhelmus: Guilmus *MS*; Quoniam: Battus. Quoniam *MS* | 15 inquit: *om. MS*; profugium: perfugium *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 *alt. a: om. MS*; indoctis: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 denique: demum *MS*<sup>1</sup>; *alt. e: om. MS A-I, add. K*; porticibus: portibus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 24 rhetorices: rhetoricos *MS*<sup>1</sup>; dialectices: dyalecticos *MS*<sup>1</sup>; tantum: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 vel: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 alioqui: *ex alioquin corr. MS* | 30 Num: *Nam C D H* | 31 protinus: *om. MS* | 32 alium: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

32-33 *philosophiae parens* For similar references to Christ, cf. *Paraclesis*, LB V, 139 B and D; P. Gasbarri, *Il significato storico della filosofia Christiana di Erasmo di Rot-*

*terdam*, *Rivista di filosofia Neoscolastica*, 36, 1944, f. 2, pp. 75-114; A. Renaudet, *Erasme, sa pensée religieuse*, Paris, 1926, pp. 1-42; G. Heidtmann, *Die Philosophie*

videre monstra gerentem, conuiuere assidue, assidue colloqui? *Eam philosophiae vim esse scripsit Seneca, vt non sibi studentes modo verumetiam conuersantes inuuet. Vt qui, inquit, in solem uenit, licet non in hoc venerit, colorabitur. Qui in vnguentaria taberna resederunt et paulo diutius sunt commorati, odorem loci secum ferunt.* At apostoli  
 5 cum ipso scientiae fonte tam diu commorati, tam familiariter, tam auide versati, inscii aequae ac rustici permansere, neque tam sedula tanti praeceptoris opera quicquam confectum est? Lusit operam, qui bouem duxit ad ceroma. Vt resurrexerat, quadraginta dies in terris moratus, subinde discipulis suis apparuit, monuit, docuit, parum erat hoc quoque. Ipse in coelum relatus paracletum di-  
 10 mittit, qui nihil illos iam nescire pateretur. Et audent post haec omnia homunciones rusticitatem obiicere apostolis, obiicere quod piscando quaestum fecerint? Cur non eadem opera hamiotas illos et conchitas ac fures maritimos appellant? Quandoquidem apostolis conuiciari libet, rusticus est Paulus? Vnus est, inquirunt, qui liberalem literaturam apostolatui intulerit, at hic vnus inter  
 15 caeteros praeminet, qua re nisi doctrina? nam pietate pares arbitror fuisse. Vnus hic *vas electionis* est appellatus, cur ita praeter caeteros? Nempe quod hic in primis, vt homo tum doctus, tum disertus visus est idoneus, qui contra literatas Athenarum scholas ferret arma, qui philosophorum supercilium ferret, qui Rhomanam eloquentiam sub Christi ditionem redigeret. Rusticus est Ioannes?  
 20 Et vnde illa vox sublimis: *In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum et deus erat verbum.* An rusticus est Petrus? Illius certe epistolae *etsi imperitae sermone, non tamen scientia.* Iacobus rusticus fuit? Falso igitur huic illa tribuitur epistola,

1 conuiuere: conuincere *C D H* | 2 Vt: *deest Sen.* | 3 inquit: vult inquit *MS* (vult *del.*); *alt.* in: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4 resederunt: resederint *MS<sup>1</sup>*; sunt commorati: commorati sunt *Sen.*; loci secum: secum loci *Sen.* | 7 adagium in *margin.* *MS* | 9 dimittit: demittit *MS* | 11 *alt.* obiicere: *om. C D H* | 12 ac: et *MS* | 13 apostolis: apostolos *MS<sup>1</sup>* | est: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 Rhomanam: Romanam *K*; Ioannes: Johannes *MS* | 21 *etsi*: *MS A-E G-I Adn. Nov. Test.* VI, 788 D, et *FK* | 22 non tamen: *MS A-K, Adn. Nov. Test.* VI, 788 B, sed non *Vulg.*; Falso: *MS K, Falsa A-I*

*Christi des Erasmus*, Evangelische Theologie, XII, 1952/1953, pp. 187-198; M. Mann Phillips, *La philosophia Christi reflectée dans les Adages d'Erasmus*, in *Courants religieux et Humanisme à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle. Colloques de Strasbourg*, Paris, 1959, pp. 53-73.

1-4 *Sen. Epist.* 108,4.

7 *bouem ... ceroma* Cf. note to p. 72, l. 17.

16 *Act.* 9,15: 'vas electionis.'

*cur ... caeteros?* Cf. *Hier. Epist.* 53,3,6, *CSEL* 54,448,16: 'Cur Paulus apostolus vas electionis?'

17 Cf. *Act.* 17,18-34.

18 *philosophorum supercilium* Cf. note to p. 44, l. 8.

19-21 *Rusticus ... verbum* Cf. *Hier. Epist.* 53,4,1, *CSEL* 54,449,11: 'Ioannes rusticus, piscator, indoctus? et vnde illa obsecro: In principio ... verbum?'

20-21 *Iob.* 1,1.

21 *An rusticus ...* Cf. *Hier. Epist.* 53,4,1, *CSEL* 54,449,9: 'Nisi forte rusticum Petrum, rusticum dicimus et Iohannem quorum vterque dicere poterat: etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia.'

21-22 2. *Cor.* 11,6.

22 *Falso ...* For the problem of whether the author of the letter was James the Apostle, bishop of Jerusalem, cf. G. Kittel, *Stellung des Iacobus zu Judentum und Heidentum*, *ZNW*, 30, 1931, pp. 145-157; 41, 1942, pp. 71-105; *Der Iacobusbrief und die apostolischen Väter*, *ZNW*, 43, 1950/1951, pp. 54-112; H.-J. Schoeps, *Iacobus ó δίκαιος καὶ ὀβλίαις*, *Bibl.*, 24, 1943, pp. 398-403; C. C. Torey, *James the Just and his name ὀβλίαις*, *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 63, 1944, pp. 93-98; H. Sahlin, *Noch einmal Iacobus ὀβλίαις*, *Bibl.* 28, 1947, p. 152 sq.

quae videtur non modo sapientis, verumetiam deserti. Sed fingamus rusticos  
 fuisse apostolos. Ita ne nihil in apostolorum moribus imitatione dignum isti  
 videre potuerunt, praeter vnam rusticitatem? Non enim me iam contineo, quin  
 id quod sentio, proferam; ita risus mihi ingens oboritur, quoties horum qui no-  
 bis apostolicam impolitiam obiiciunt, perditissima vita in mentem venit. Quis  
 enim ferat Aesopum sibi de frugalitate praecipientem? Sardanapalum de seueri-  
 tate disputantem? Quod si stomachus paulo mordacius erumpet, existimate me  
 non in homines, sed in rem maledicere, quanquam autore Plauto, quod *dignis*  
*male dicitur, bene dicitur*. Qui nobis apostolorum rusticitatem obgannire non desi-  
 nunt, si virtutes tenerent apo-  
 stolicas, ferri vt cun- que poterant, at nunc pudet  
 me quorundam corruptissimam vitam cogitatione contueri. Qui cum ecclesias-  
 ticus sacris sint initiati, ecclesiasticis stipibus alantur, adde senes, cani, rugosi,  
 quidam etiam cucullati, cum Sardanapalo ipso certamen sumpsisse videntur. Me  
 hominem adolescentem, prophanum ciuilibus addictum negociis et literas ipsas  
 prophanas profitentem in ius vocant, nephandi criminis reum agunt, quod anti-  
 quos philosophos, quod priscas historias, quod poetarum et oratorum scripta  
 libenter lectitem. Ipsi cum iussi sint in lege domini, in sanctis literis die noctu-  
 que versari, ab omni se prorsus studio cohibent, religioso quodam metu, opi-  
 nor, adducti ne si libros tractare coeperint, in ethnicum aliquem autorem impru-  
 dentes incidant. At ita demum apostolos se imitari credunt, si vsque adeo sint  
 literarum ignari, vt ne ipsas quidem preces, quas cotidie remurmurant, intelli-  
 gere possint. Dic mihi stultissime imitator, sic nobis apostolos refers? Ais  
 rusticos et imperitos fuisse apostolos? Esto sane, donemus istud tibi, habes  
 quod glorieris; vicisti rusticitate piscatores, non inuidemus tibi gloriam istam  
 cum agricolis communem, verum vbi simplicitas apostolica? vbi mores? Num  
 quando venatos legisti apostolos? num isto ornatu vsos accepisti? num pella-  
 carum gregem domi aluerunt apostoli? num tantum opum in vnum barathrum  
 demergebant apostoli? Tu si superis placet, apostolos imitandi studio sumpti-

5

LB 1736

11

15

20

25

3 iam: tam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 quoties: *ex quotiens corr. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 6 Aesopum: Esopum Epicurum *MS*  
 (Epicurum *del.*) | 11 contueri: intueri *MS* | 12-13 quidam ... cucullati: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 15 pro-  
 phanas: seculares *MS*<sup>1</sup>; reum agunt: reum agunt verum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 die: *MS*, diu *A-K* |  
 18 se prorsus studio: prorsus studio se *MS*; metu opinor: opinor metu *MS* | 20 se imitari:  
 imitari se *MS* | 21 ne: *ex nec corr. MS*<sup>2</sup>; cotidie: quotidie *MS I* | 22 stultissime: stolidissime  
*MS*<sup>1</sup>; imitator: imitator seruum pecus *MS* | 25 agricolis: farcinatoribus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 pellicarum:  
 pellicarum *MS*<sup>1</sup>

6 *Aesopum* Cf. *Adag. praef.*, LB II, 13 C:  
 'Aesopo luxuriosior'. Erasmus has in  
 mind M. Clodius Aesopus, the son of  
 Clodius Aesopus, a celebrated actor,  
 known for the dissolute life he led. Cf.  
*Hor. Sat.* II, 3, 239 sq., *Plin. Nat.* IX,  
 58, 122; X, 72, 141. Cf. Münzer, *RE* 7  
 Halbb., 67.

8-9 Plaut. *Curc.* 513: 'Indignis si male

dicitur, male dictum id esse duco: Verum  
 si dignis dicitur, bene dictumst meo qui-  
 dem animo.'

17 *Ps.* 1,2: 'Sed in lege Domini voluntas  
 eius et in lege eius meditabitur die ac  
 nocte.'; this passage is also cited by  
 Hieronymus *Epist.* 53,3,5, *CSEL* 54,  
 448,7.

bus ecclesiasticis aedes regales in coelum erigis. Nitet amplissima in domo  
 supellex Attalica, ministris militaribus omnia perstrepuunt, coenae Persico in-  
 struuntur apparatus, videas illic agi Sybaritica conuiuia, et quidem assidue, vin-  
 citur audacia perdendae rei Cleopatra, vincitur Aesopus cum filio haudquaquam  
 5 degenerare. Fastidiuntur illic acipenseris, non sapiunt murenae, nauseam mouent  
 attagines. Noctes diesque estur, bibitur, luditur, saltatur, subatur et cum vino  
 immodico balbutire coeperint, videntur (opinor), sibi incultum sermonem apos-  
 tolorum imitari. Cum his factis, quorum vel Neronem pudeat, audent nobis  
 apostolos imitandos proponere. Nuper cum in Flandria legationem vestro no-  
 10 mine obirem, incidi in huiusmodi portenti conuiuium, ibi inter pocula, vt fit,  
 cum hospitalitatem nobis suam iactaret, vt festiuiore fabulatione conuiuium  
 exhilararem, Tantali et Lycaonis et his similes nonnullas fabellas commemo-  
 raui, rogabat me, vbinam illa legerentur; aio in poetis, orauit protinus, ne illos  
 ethnicos ad suam mensam nominarem, ne foedis nominibus sanctum conuiuium  
 15 prophanaretur. Gessi morem conuiuatori meo. Aderat theologus quidam, ho-  
 mo adolescens, sed plane doctus, nec ita vt hodie theologorum est vulgus, quo-  
 rum plerique praeter sophismata nihil didicerunt, verum ita vt non minus rhe-  
 tor esset, quam theologus. Cum hoc mihi (assidebat enim proxime) de scripto-  
 rum ecclesiasticorum eloquentia sermo incidit, dicebamus Aurelium Augustinum  
 20 acute quidem, sed subobscuris ac perplexe et suo quodam more dicere, et huic  
 tamen esse suam gratiam ob schemata, quae frequenter affectaret. Hieronymi  
 vehementem esse dictionem, variam, vafra, acrem, locupletem. Lactantium  
 Firmianum Ciceroniana facilitate fluere nec a declamatoria illa palaestra, in qua

1-2 Nitet ... Attalica *in marg. adscr.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 2 supellex: supplex *EF* | 6 attagines: MS<sup>1</sup> *FGIK*,  
 attagenes *A-EH* | 10 conuiuium: conuiuia MS<sup>1</sup> | 11 iactaret: iactaret MS<sup>1</sup> | 12 his similes:  
*om.* MS<sup>1</sup> | 16-17 quorum ... sophismata: vt praeter sophismata MS<sup>1</sup> | 17 didicerunt: didicerint  
 MS<sup>1</sup> | 18 proxime: proximus MS<sup>1</sup> | 20 subobscuris: obscure MS<sup>1</sup>; ac perplexe: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup> |  
 20-21 et ... affectaret: *om.* MS<sup>1</sup>

2 *supellex Attalica* Attalus, king of Pergamum, was known already in antiquity as a symbol of excess; was supposedly the discoverer of 'aulaea Attalica'. Cf. Prop. II, 13,22; II, 32,12; Plin. *Nat.* VIII, 196.

2-3 *Persico ... apparatus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 38,1: 'Persicos odi puer apparatus'.

3 *Sybaritica conuiuia* Cf. *Adag.* 2,2,65, *LB* II, 469 D-470 D; Otto No. 1727.

4 *audacia ... Cleopatra* Allusion to Cleopatra, who dissolved a valuable pearl and drank it. Cf. Plin. *Nat.* IX, 58,119-121, *Macr. Sat.* II, 13.

4-5 *Aesopus ... degenerare* Concerning M. Clodius Aesopus's extravagance, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 58,122; X, 72,141; Hor. *Sat.* II, 3,239 sq.; Val. Max. IX, 1,2. His

father, a well-known actor, was also famed for his extravagance. Plin. *Nat.* X, 72,41: 'dignus prorsus filio'.

8 Nero early became a symbol of a carouser and a debauchee. Cf. i.a. Tert. *Pall.* 5: 'Taceo Neronis et Apicios'.

11-12 *vt ... exhilararem* Cf. Ep. 116, l. 34: 'vt ... festiuiore fabella prandium exhilararem' (letter to John Sixtin, Nov. 1499).

12 It would seem that Erasmus mentions the myth of Tantalus and Lycaon during a feast, because both myths are connected with feasts. Many poets have written about Tantalus's feast. Cf. e.g. Hom. *Od.* XI, 582; Pind. *Olymp.* I, 54. The best known tale about Lycaon is found in Ov. *Met.* I, 216-242.

fuerat multos annos versatus, abhorrere. Ambrosii stilum plus obscuritatis, minus habere acuminis, delectare tamen allusionum aculeis. Bernardi orationem facetam nec incultam, ecclesiasticam tamen, Hilarii vero parum copiosam, verum cultiorem, praeterea floridam. Bedae aequalem ac somniculosam, doctam tamen, vt eo sane seculo. Gregorii modulatum ac numerosam magis quam succulentam, quod identidem eadem repetere cogitur, vt expleat sermonis periodum. Recentiores theologos ne loqui quidem adeoque non illustrare veritatem orationis adminiculis, vt quae per se praeclara sunt, infantia sua dehonestent. Haec et alia quaedam cum nugaremur, risit nos homo seuerus ille et curiosus appellauit, qui res ociosas et | ad nihil vtilis curaremus. Intellecta hominis improbitate putavi malo nodo malum esse quaerendum cuneum, ac de industria quidem eum sermonem inieci, in quo illum sciebam vt plurimum valere de vinorum generibus, de arte coquinaria, de venaticis epulis. Ibi ille tanquam in re magna erectus, magno silentio, magna autoritate diu disputauit acute, copiose, polite. Platonem ipsum dixisses; sexcenta vinorum genera memoriter reddebat. Praeterea precia, qualitates, differentias, patrias, naturas seque ista non e physicorum literis, sed sapiente illo suo palato didicisse gloriabatur. Plinium (illum enim citabam) delirare dicebat, qui tanta in re alienis potius literis, quam suo palato fidem habuisset. Iam vero de epulis coquendis, condiendis, si disputantem audisses, quem tu non ibi coquum, quem non Catium, quem non Philoxenum, quem non Apitium, quem non Platynam contemneres; hae nimirum sunt artes tetricae et graui sacerdote dignae, has didicerunt ipsi, nobisque traderunt apostoli, non syllogismorum laqueos nectere, non Ciceronem non Ver-

1 fuerat: erat *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 2 delectare ... aculeis: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 Hilarii ... copiosam: Guerrici (*sc. Guerric abbas Igny* († 1555)) non perinde copiosam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4-6 doctam ... periodum: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7-8 adeoque ... dehonestent: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 11 esse quaerendum: querendum esse *MS* | 12 vt: vel *MS* | 18 citabam: citabat *MS* | 20-21 quem non Philoxenum ... Apicium: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 hae: haec ne *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 Vergilium: Virgilium *MS*

5 *Gregorii* Gregory of Nazianzus.  
 11 *malo ... cuneum* Cf. *Adag.* 1, 2, 5, *LB* II, 70 F-71 A, where Hier. *Epist.* 69, 5, *CSEL* 54, 686, 16 is cited as a source. Cf. Otto No. 480. Occurs also in Ep. 182, l. 74.  
 17 *Plin. Nat.* XIV, 2-136.  
 20-21 *quem ... contemneres* Cf. Ep. 88, l. 2: 'Quem ego posthac Herculem, quem Vlysem non contemnam?'  
*Catium* Catius, gourmand known from Hor. *Sat.* II, 4.  
*Philoxenum* Philoxenos of Kythera, dithyrambic poet, 435-380 B.C., also known as ὀψοφάγος. Cf. Maas, *RE* 39, Stuttgart, 1941, p. 193 sq. Mentioned as a gourmand also in Epp. 145, l. 125; 283, l. 95.  
 21 *Apitium* M. Gaius Apicius, well-known

gourmand from the times of Tiberius, author of a no longer extant cooking book. The well-known still extant cooking book *Caelius Apicius de re coquinaria* is not his work. Apicius early became the symbol of an extravagant person. Cf. those places collected in Otto No. 126.  
*Platynam* Bartholomeo Platina, well-known Italian humanist (1421-1481) is named here as the author of the short work *De obsoniis* printed in 1470. Cf. *Vairani Cremonensium Monumenta Romae extantia*, Romae, 1778, p. 9; G. Gaida in the edition *Liber de Vita Christi ac omnium pontificum*, in *Rerum It. Script.* III, 1, Citta di Castello, 1912-1232; Bissolati, *Le vite di due illustri Cremonesi*, Milano, 1856, p. 15 sq.

gillum euoluere, non aliorum ingenia dictionemue taxare. Haec non in poetarum fabulis, sed in sacris literis discuntur scilicet. Ferendum hoc quoque, si non inter epulas senes sola libidine fortes antiqua sua facinora iactarent inuicem et, quod facere per aetatem nequeunt, fecisse se turpiter gloriarentur. Hi sunt quorum aures poetarum fabulas religiose refugiunt, qui nos ad apostolicos mores prouocant; horum perditam rusticitatem et simplicitatem fraudulentam diuus Hieronymus quodam in loco scite notat. *Venerationi*, inquit, *semper mihi fuit, non verbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas. Qui in sermone se imitari dicit apostolos, prius imitetur virtutes in vita. Illorum in loquendo simplicitatem excusabit sanctimoniae magnitudo et syllogismos Aristotelis contortaque Chrysippi acumina resurgens mortuus confutabit. Caeterum ridiculum, si quis e nobis manens inter Croesi opes et Sardanapali delicias de sola rusticitate se iactet, quasi omnes latrones et diuersorum criminum rei deserti sint, et cruentos gladios philosophorum voluminibus et non arborum truncis occultant.* Haec per digressum tangere volui, quo intelligatur, qui apostolorum imperitiam nobis ingerunt, eos non id apostolos aemulandi studio facere, sed vt sunt superbi, suae rusticitatis patrociniū ab apostolis petere. Alioquin, si id recte fit quod multorum fit exemplo, quot et quantos habemus quos imitemur? A Mose repetamus; quid eo imperatore sanctius? et hic omnem disciplinam Aegyptiorum a puero doctus legitur; non huic fraudi fuit secularis, vt vocant, eruditio, quo minus e mortalium genere vnus in domini familiaritatem ascisci meruerit. Daniele quid castius? et hic Chaldaeis disciplinis non recusauit institui. Docto patre doctiorem Solomonem accepimus. Et Iob et omnes prope prophetas non illiteratos fuisse cum Hieronymi Augustinique testimonio constat, tum ipsa scriptorum monumenta declarant. At ne cauillentur, id cum lege Mosaica desiisse fas esse, Paulum apostolum eis proponam, Pauli discipulum Dionysium, quorum vterque quanta doctrina, quantaque fuerit eloquentia, ipsi

3 facinora: flagicia *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 gloriarentur: gloriantur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 aures: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; refugiunt: refugiunt aures *MS*<sup>1</sup> (aures *del.* *MS*<sup>2</sup>) | 6 perditam: peritam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 semper mihi: mihi semper *Hier.* | 8 se imitari: imitari se *Hier.* | 9 excusabit: excusabat *Hier.* | 11 confutabit: confutabat *Hier.*; inter: in *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 Alioquin: *MS A-G I*, Alioqui *HK* | 17 recte: certe *E F* | 18 Mose: Moyses *MS*; et: at *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18-19 disciplinam Aegyptiorum: Egyptiorum disciplinam *MS* | 19 vt vocant: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 hic: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 Solomonem: *MS A-E G-I*, Salomonem *FK* | 25 Pauli: Paulum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 quantaque: quanta *MS*<sup>1</sup>

7-14 *Hier. Epist.* 57,12,4, *CSEL* 54,525,19 sqq.

18 Cf. *Act.* 7,22: 'Eruditus est Moyses omni sapientia Aegyptiorum'.

21 *Chaldaeis ... institui* Cf. *Dn.* 1,4; 1,17.

22 *Hier. Epist.* 53,8,3, *CSEL* 54,455,8: 'Iob exemplar patientiae quae non mysteria suo sermone complectitur?' Cf. *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* IV, 7, 15, *Migne PL* 34,96.

25-26 *Pauli discipulum Dionysium* This is a reference to the works which have come down to be attributed to Dionysius the

Areopagite. Erasmus does not yet express any doubt that the theological treatises attributed to Dionysius are the works of Paul's disciple whose conversion is discussed in *Act.* 17,34. Only later in *Adn. Nov. Test.*, *LB VI*, 503 C-F, under the influence of Laurentius Valla (cf. *L. Vallae Opera ...*, Basileae ap. Henricum Petrum, 1540, p. 852 B) which Erasmus found in 1504 (cf. R. Marcel, *Les perspectives de l'Apologétique de Lorenzo Valla à Savoranole*, in *Courants religieux*



sibi sunt testes. Quadratus apostolorum auditor eruditionem in primis admirandam illis praeceptoribus non dedit. Qui cum esset Atheniensis antistes ecclesiae, Adriano imperatori librum porrexisset traditur tantae eruditionis, ut acerrimam in Christianos persecutionem suo ingenio sedauerit. Fecit idem huius aequalis Aristides philosophus grauissimus et idem summus orator. Iustinus etiam habitu philosophus in disciplinis liberalibus artifex praecipuus, ad Christi tutandam religionem, non modo eruditissimum vertit ingenium, uerum etiam animam impendit. Clemens praceptor Origenis, Alexandrinae ecclesiae presbyter, vir omnium longe doctissimus, idque iudice viro omnium longe doctissimo Hieronymo, ad sacrae religionis defensionem, quae tum negotium exhibentibus ethnicis in summo discrimine versabatur, non parum adiumenti contulit tum eloquentia, tum libris eruditionis plenis. Sed plane harenas metiar, si hic tendam omnem eruditorum catalogum reuoluere. Bis mille recensere possem, quorum insignis eruditio nisi fidei laboranti succurrisset, neque tam amplam, neque ita confirmatam, fortasse et nullam haberemus, et postea trepidant isti discere disciplinas humanas, quasi desint quorum exemplo id faciant. Deflectant paulisper obtutum ab exemplis domesticis, euoluant veterum Chronica, euoluant eos, qui de scriptoribus scripserunt illustribus; inuenient Origenem, Gregorium Nazanzenum, Didymum, Ioannem Chrysostomum et, ut ad Latinos veniam, Lactantium, Hilarium, Seuerum, ad summam, omnes prope ad

1 sibi: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 traditur: creditur *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 longe: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 disciplinas humanas: seculares disciplinas *MS*<sup>1</sup>, humanas disciplinas *MS*<sup>2</sup>; desint: desunt *A E F G I* | 17 Chronica: *C D H K*, Chronica *MS A B E F G I* | 19 Nazanzenum: Nazianzenum *MS*<sup>1</sup>; Didymum Ioannem Chrysostomum: Didymum Hylarium Basilium Iohannem Chrysostomum *MS*<sup>1</sup> (Hylarium *del.*), Didymum Basilium Iohannem Chrysostomum *MS*<sup>2</sup> | 20 Lactantium ... summam: Lactantium, Seuerum, Paulinum, ad summam *MS*<sup>1</sup>, Lactantium, Seuerum, Hilarium, ad summam *MS*<sup>2</sup>

et Humanisme à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle. Colloques de Strasbourg, Paris, 1959, p. 85) did he abandon the traditional view that the author of these treatises was Dionysius, converted by Paul and mentioned in *Act.* 17,34. Quoting these works in *Ench. mil. Chr.*, *LB V*, 29 F and in *Ratio verae theol. LB V*, 76 D-E, he calls the author 'Dionysius quidam'. Cf. J. Stiglmayr, s.v. Dionysius Areopagite in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, V, New York, p. 18.

- 1 For Quadratus, Aristides, Iustinus, cf. Hier. *Epist.* 70,4,1, *CSEL* 54,704,15-705,7; for Quadratus, Hier. *Vir. ill.* 19, Migne *PL* 23,690 C-671 A; for Aristides, cf. Hier. *Vir. ill.* 20, Migne *PL* 23,671 A B; for Iustinus, cf. Hier. *Vir. ill.*, Migne *PL* 23,674 C-675 A B.  
9 Hier. *Epist.* 70,4,3, *CSEL* 54,705,15

sqq.: 'Clemens Alexandrinae ecclesiae presbyter vir meo iudicio omnium eruditissimus.'

- 12 *ium eloquentia ... plenis* Cf. Hier. *Vir. ill.* 38, Migne *PL* 23,686 B: 'Feruntur eius insignia volumina plenaque eruditionis et eloquentiae.'  
*harenas metiar* Cf. note to p. 107, l. 15.  
18 sqq. Concerning Origenes, cf. Hier. *Vir. ill.* 54, Migne *PL* 23,698 B-703 A. Concerning Gregory of Nazianzus, cf. *Vir. ill.* 117, Migne *PL* 23,747 B-749 A. Concerning Didymus, cf. *Vir. ill.* 109, Migne *PL* 23,743 B. Concerning John Chrysostomus, cf. *Vir. ill.* 129, Migne *PL* 23,753 A. Concerning Lactantius, cf. *Vir. ill.* 80, Migne *PL* 23,725 A. Concerning Hilary, cf. *Vir. ill.* 100, Migne *PL* 23,738 B-739 A. Concerning Seuerus, cf. *Vir. ill.* 111, Migne *PL* 23,746 A.

vnum qui in defensanda fide ac tractandis mysteriis scripturarum operam nauarunt, scholasticis fuisse disciplinis instructissimos; quorum omnium ethnicam eruditionem, imo et Christianam effert ac miratur Hieronymus, ne nos contemnamus: at nos, qua sumus religione, nihil quantumuis politum eruditione  
 5 mouere potest, nisi sit idem pium. At Origenes haereseos notam non effugit. Habent quod causificentur. Age, ne huius quidem generis deerunt exempla. Hilarius in diuorum numerum relatus est, hunc nobis proponamus. Cyprianus etiam martyrio nec minus literatura seculari clarus, hunc sequamur. Ambrosio quid sanctius? hunc aemulemur. Hieronymo vel Augustino quid vel magis  
 10 pium vel literatius? horum similes esse curemus. Quantum in his omnibus compositionis, linguarum, philosophiae, historiarum, antiquitatis, Latinitatis, Graecanitatis, autorum quanta peritia et haec quidem ethnica adhuc. Conferamus, quaeso, cum his viris vel scholasticos vel theologos nostri temporis. Videbimus vtroque genere adeo inferiores, vt umbras dicas non homines; et in tanta  
 15 grauissimorum hominum multitudine soli apostoli nobis in mentem veniunt, quos ita demum imitari nos credimus, si indocti simus. A moribus vero apostolicis tam absumus, quam a nobis India. Quod si nos apostolorum rusticitatem imitandi tantopere studium habet, miror, cur non etiam piscari incipiamus. Sed extra iocum, Ambrosium imitari metus est? Hieronymum imitari religio est?  
 20 Isti, inquit, nondum Christiani et pueri adhuc, literis illis sunt imbui. At Hieronymus parentibus Christianis natus, a puero Christianus, se tamen inter grammaticos et rhetores educatum fatetur, imo gloriatur. Verum quid istud refert, cum iis quae ante baptismum didicerunt, non modo Christiani, verum et episcopi et senes sint vsi. Cur omnes libros suos ethnicis literis resperserunt?  
 25 cur vt recte factum defendunt? Si taciti fecissent, ignoscendum potius quam imitandum videri potuisset, nunc et recte et optimi cuiusque exemplo fecisse se testantur. Augustinus ipse iam non ethnicus, de singulis artibus liberalibus singula volumina scripsit. At scripsit, inquit, catechumenus non Christianus. Commode vero admones. Tum igitur ne cogitandum quidem de studiis ethnicis erat,  
 30 cum nouus tyro ad Christianam religionem exercebatur. Sed esto sane, peccaverit, erraverit, ignorauerit, cur iam sanior et senior hunc errorem non reprehendit? Cur autem consulto etiam a se factum fatetur, vt his tanquam vestigiis ad summae veritatis cognitionem gradatim ascenderet? Has enim disciplinas scintillas quasdam ait esse ab immortali illa luce promicantes, quarum indicio ad fontem  
 35 illum perueniatur. Et quanto religiosius ille quam nos, qui animis rudibus repente ad diuinitatis arcana non ingredimur, sed irrumpimus, non ascendimus, sed inuolamus, et tanquam gigantes extractis in coelum molibus, inuito Ioue,

1 ac: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> *A-I*, *add.* *K MS*<sup>2</sup> | 5 mouere: *MS B C D H K*, monere *A E F G I* | 6 Habent ... causificentur: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 cum iis quae: *qum quae MS*<sup>1</sup> (cum his quae *G I*) | 23-24 verum et: verum etiam et *MS* (etiam *del.*) | 24 sint: sunt *MS*<sup>1</sup>; Cur: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 vt: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 se: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 catechumenus: *A B E K*, cathecumenus *F G*, catecumenus *I*, catechuminus *C D H*, cathecuminus *MS* | 30 cum; quando *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 33 ascenderet: *MS*<sup>1</sup>, accederet *A-F H K MS*<sup>2</sup>, accederetur *G I*

arcem illius occupare conamur; eoque ille quia gradatim ascendit receptus est, nos repellimur, deicimur, praecipitatur. Beda monachus vir Anglus quidem aut certe Scotus, sed et vitae probatae et doctrinae non contemnendae, adeo | scholasticas disciplinas non contempsit, vt de schematis grammaticis et carmi-  
 nibus condendis scribere non piguerit. Post hos quidem nitor politesque  
 theologiae sensim in deterius degenerauit et non parum rubiginis coepit contra-  
 here. Non defuerunt aliquot secula docti, verum vt rariores, ita inferiores.  
 Laboriosorum nunquam non fuit copia. Thomas Aquinas scriptor nobilissimus  
 in Aristotelem ethnicum philosophum commentarios aedidit atque adeo in ipsis  
 theologicis quaestionibus, vbi de summo principio, de trinitate disputat, Cice-  
 rononis ac poetarum testimonia profert. Scotus tametsi a Musis prorsus alienus  
 fuisse videtur, scholasticus tamen est ac ne in mediis quidem mysteriis et arcanis  
 theologiae philosophorum suorum obliuisci potest. Et quid attinet vel recen-  
 tiores vel viuos commemorare, quorum licet sit inferior multo eruditio, is  
 tamen inter ipsos videtur praestantissimus, qui secularibus doctrinis instructis-  
 simus fuerit. Haec summa est, multis quidem summis viris non contigit eruditio  
 secularis, at cui contigit, nemo non est vsus, nemo veritus est Christianorum  
 templum ethnicis opibus exornare. Hic cunctante paulisper Batto, consul inter-  
 loquens: Per deum, inquit, immortalem, quid si et ego e consule philosophus  
 fiam? Et Battus: Vtere, inquit, permissio. Subiicit consul: Longis tu quidem am-  
 bagibus circumactus mihi videris, callido opinor consilio, vt apostolicae in-  
 terim simplicitatis obliuio nobis obreperet. Verum quod in hac re praecipuum  
 erat, praeteritum non oportuit. Demus sane complures pios viros literatura  
 prophana cum laude vsos, attamen haud temere, vt reor, apostolos rudes et  
 nullis instructos literis, nostrae religionis et autores et duces et principes nacti  
 sumus, quos tu me vetas imitari. Ego vero summae laudis et primae iudico  
 primos ac summos aemulari. Subridens Battus: Quantus, inquit, apostolorum  
 imitator haec mihi obiicit. Egon apostolos imitari te veto? Imo iubeo, at ita vt  
 moribus apostolos exprimas, eruditione Hieronymum; nunc apostolicam rudi-  
 tatem imitantur omnes, vitam nemo. Primae laudis ais esse summos aemulari,  
 nihil pugno, sed tu perperam facis, qui e primis et summis viris id quod est

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3 aut certe Scotus: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; probatae: *C D H*, probitate *MS A B E F G I K* | 6 et: vt *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 7 defuerunt: defuere tamen *MS*; secula: *seculis MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 Aquinas: Aquinus *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12 ne in: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; mysteriis et arcanis: *misteriis et archanis MS* | 13 potest: non potest *MS* | 17 nemo: nec omnino *MS<sup>1</sup>*; Christianorum: *Christianum MS<sup>1</sup>* | 18 ethnicis: *gentilibus MS<sup>1</sup>*; Hic: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; cunctante: *MS*, contante *A-K*; Batto: Batto tam *MS* (*tam del.*); interloquens: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 20 Et ... permissio: Vtere inquit Battus vtere permissio *MS<sup>1</sup>* (*Vtere inquit del.*) | 24 prophana: *gentili MS<sup>1</sup>* | 25 duces: *iudices MS<sup>1</sup>* | 28 Egon: Egon aut *MS* (*aut del.*) | 30 imitantur: *imitatur MS<sup>1</sup>*

4 He has in mind two short works by Beda, *De schematis et tropis sacrae scripturae*, ed. Rhet. Lat. min. 607-618, and *De metrica arte*, ed. Gramm. Lat. VII, 219-290.

17-18 *Christianorum ... exornare* Cf. *Ench. mil. Chr.* 13, LB V, 66 B: 'vt dominicum templum, quod nonnulli inscitia barbarieque dehonstarunt, exoticis opibus pro viribus exornaremus'.

extremum et infimum, tibi proponas. Diligens imitator qui sit, non solum quam accuratissimum sibi deliget exemplar, verum in eo ipso quod optimum putauerit, excerpit, quaedam praeteribit, quaedam reprehendet. Summa modo conabitur imitari. Primus est Petrus, primus Hieronymus, hic doctorum, ille apostolorum. In Petro summus erat ardor fidei, in Hieronymo summa doctrina; alterius animum, alterius studia imitare. At tu maui apostolorum quam doctorum ordinem tibi proponi; propono et quidem e primo ordine praecipuos, Petrum et Paulum. Paulus omnium literarum genere refertissimus erat. Petrus autoritate superior a Paulo reprehensus scientiori et credidit et paruit. Imitamur hos, sed plane praepostere. Indocti literatos vltro reprehendimus, quando parum est quod parere recusamus. At non temere curatum est, vt Christiana religio a rudibus autoribus initium caperet. Istud quidem recte, ne scilicet tanti facti gloria penes humanam esset industriam, sed omnis diuinae virtuti tribueretur. Ea res illi quidem tempori erat apta, verum quid ad nos? hic dies aliam vitam, alios mores postulat. Non percalluerunt seculares disciplinas apostoli, at nunquid reprehenderunt? Num quando literatos a suo contubernio exclusisse leguntur? Rudes erant literarum apostoli, quid istud ad te, qui ipsas profiteris literas. Neque enim de apostolis, sed de ludimagistris agimus; quanquam quis Christianae pietatis amator ferat ab istis nebulonibus toties insimulari viros coelestes et nostrae salutis autores? Age nunc, si placet, eorum rusticitatem cum nostra eruditione componamus. Nempe illos linguarum species omnes calluisse legimus, nos vnica vix balbutimus. Illi tantum valuerunt dicendo, vt tyrannos, vt populos immanes et barbaros permouerent, nos pecudibus ipsis fere mutiores. Illi testamenti utriusque mysteria memoriter tenuere. Nos vix prima literarum elementa percepimus et audemus postea homines ipsa ruditate rudiores imperitos fuisse apostolos dicere. **CONSVL:** Tum consul: At tu, inquit, Batte, in ista disputatione vehementi magis quam apta, bis mihi peccare videris, nam et de prophana literatura instituta erat disputatio, non diuina, quam apostolos accepisse constat, et eam ipsam non humano studio, sed coelesti munere sunt consequuti. **BATTVS:** Profecto tu istorum mentem pulchre tenes, istud enim ipsum ineptus aliquis theologus fuerat responsurus. Huc enim confugiunt, quoties eis Hieronymiana facundia, Augustini eruditio et veterum literae obiiciuntur. Istis enim, inquiunt, coelestis spiritus ministravit. Equidem admirari soleo in hominibus, qui sibi perquam acuti videntur, quippe dialectici, tam hebes ingenium, nisi forte perperam ista faciunt. Quid enim ista tandem oratione sibi volunt? An nullam nobis expetendam scientiam, nisi quae

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2 putauerit: putauit *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 3 excerpit: quaedam excerpit *C D H*; modo: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 Hieronymus: est Hieronimus *MS* (est *del.*) | 5 In: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 et quidem: et *MS*<sup>1</sup>; e: *om. MS* | 12 recte: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 13 industriam: sapientiam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 literatos: literas *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 19 toties: *ex* totiens *corr. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 21 omnes: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 prophana: gentili *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 29 ipsam: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup> | 32 quoties: *ex* quotiens *corr. MS*<sup>2</sup> | 35 dialectici: dialecticis *MS*<sup>1</sup>

coelitus infundatur? frustra igitur nocturnis diurnisque studiis maceramur. Quorsum autem attinent ludi literarii et quidem publici? quorsum tot sumptuosae bibliothecae? Quid meliores annos atque adeo totos insanis lucubrationibus consumimus? quid frustra pallemus, frustra libris insenescimus? Resipiscamus vel sero et *moniti meliora sequamur*. Missos faciamus inutiles labores, compendiariam viam astutum hoc genus hominum indicat. Nos cutem curemus ac *vini somnique benigni* (vt ait Flaccus) coelitus expectemus, donec oscitantibus nobis spiritus illabatur aethereus ac deinde perinde ac fonte Aonio poti repente theologi prosiliamus, nisi malumus expectare, dum Pauli more vel in paradisum vel in tertium vsque coelum rapiamur audituri, quae nephas sit hominem homini prode. Sed statuamus oportet, vtrum semel nobis omnia infundi iubeamus, an quoties vsus erit, toties praesto spiritum fieri malimus. Equidem posterius hoc longe commodius esse censeo; nam si semel infundat, noster erit labor meminisse. Quare vt memoriam ea sarcina leuemus, satius erit coelesti spiritui omnia permittere, ille modo praesto fiat, vocatus et inuocatus vt res postulabit, quantum satis non amplius suggerat. Scribendus erit liber, aduolet et nobis securis calamum regat. Habenda erit oratio, tum vero in columbae figura ad aurem assideat, linguam ipse temperet, nos modo hiscere meminerimus vt cum psalmographo rege canere liceat: *Os meum aperui et attraxi spiritum*. Erunt fortasse, quibus haec acerbius dicta videbuntur. Quid autem acerbum in homines tam arrogantes dici potest, qui contemptis aliorum egregiis laboribus, ipsi cum nihil sciant, coelitus tamen docti videri volunt? Ne ego quidem homo poeticus auderem istos deos lacessere, ni diuus ipse Augustinus in praefatione in libros de Christiana doctrina, istorum amentiam multis salibus prior elusisset. Quo inquit, error iste demum euasisset, si semel animos hominum occupasset? Nemo a scientiori se doceri passus fuisset. Nullus ad ecclesiasticam concionem properasset, nec quisquam euangelium pronuncianti praebuisset aurem. Haec enim ociosa fuerant futura, si coelitus eruditionem expectandam putassent. Addit ibidem, vulgo iactatam fuisse fabulam, de nescio quo, cui citra humanam operam literarum peritia contigerit, quam ille quidem non magnopere confutat,

1 studiis maceramur: maceramur studiis *MS* | 2 et quidem: equidem *MS* | 5 et moniti: vel moniti *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 vini: vni *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 7 spiritus: *MS A-I*, spiritibus *K BAS* | 8 illabatur: *MS*<sup>1</sup> *K*, elabatur *A-I MS*<sup>2</sup> | 9 malumus: malimus *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 12 quoties: quotiens *MS*<sup>1</sup>; toties: totiens *MS*<sup>1</sup>; spiritum fieri: fieri spiritum *MS* | 14 vt: *K*, vbi *MS*, *om. A-I* | 15 postulabit: postulat *MS* | 16 et: vt *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 18 psalmographo: psalmigrapho *MS* | 22 Ne: nec *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 23 ipse: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>; libros: *MS A-K*, libris *BAS* | 24 Christiana doctrina: doctrina Christiana *MS* | 25 inquit: siquidem *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 26 scientiori: scientiore *MS* | 27 enim: *om. MS*<sup>1</sup>

5 Verg. *Aen.* III, 188.  
6-7 Hor. *Sat.* II, 3,3: 'vini somnique benignus.'  
8 fonte Aonio poti Cf. Ov. *Pont.* IV, 2,47: 'bibitur Aonius fons.' Cf. also Ep. 152, l. 47: 'potus ... Aonius'.  
15 vocatus et inuocatus Cf. *Adag.* 2,3,32, *LB*

II, 494 B-C, where Hor. *Carm.* II, 18,40 and Ter. *Eun.* 1059 were given as sources.  
19 *Ps.* 118,131.  
23-5 (next page) Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* prol. 3-8, Migne *PL* 34, 16-18.  
28 Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* prol. 4, Migne *PL* 34,17.

parui tamen ducit, propterea quod etiam si maxime vera fuisset, non cuius idem sperandum esset. Nec putat illius vnus felicitatem nos ab industria debere auocare, nam quod commode possis ab homine doceri, id e coelesti afflatu praestolari hominis est aut stulti aut quod foedius arrogantis. CONSVL: Tum  
 5 consul: Libet scholastico more tecum obiectatiunculis argutari. Quid igitur sibi vult, quod ipse suos discipulos sollicitos esse vetat, quid coram regibus atque  
 LB 1741 praesidibus essent dicturi. *Dabitur enim, inquit, vobis in illa hora, quid loquamini neque enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis.* Quid, quod Petrus spiritu sancto instructos loqui dei homines, scripsit. Quid illud  
 10 Iacobi: *Qui indiget sapientia postulet a deo, qui dat omnibus abundanter et non improperat.* Haec, nisi fallor, longe aliud quam tua oratio sonare videntur. BATTVS: Recte tu quidem admones et in tempore, verum ista perfacile dissolui poterunt. Cedo, num tibi Christus istis verbis quae modo recitasti discipulos deterruisse videtur, ne apud principes dicturi, quid essent dicturi cogitarent, quod nemo  
 15 nisi phreneticus non fecit, cum Christus ipse, quatenus homo erat, non sine praemeditatione sit locutus. Non igitur apostolis, quod prudentis hominis proprium videtur, terrorem incutere sed metum adimere studuit, ne quid homines contempti et imperiti apud principes et doctos et facundos dicere trepidarent, apud quos summi et exercitatissimi oratores solent exallescere, se enim  
 20 non deserturum patronos suos, ipsi modo magno animo essent. Ergo non industriam et vigilantiam interdicere, sed animum addere voluit. Imo ausim dicere cum reliquos apostolos, tum vero Paulum meditata et fortassis scripta oratione nonnunquam dixisse, id quod ex eius defensionibus, quae sunt in Actibus apostolorum, haud obscure licet conicere, tum neque Petri, neque  
 25 Iacobi, neque Ioannis huiusmodi sunt epistolae, vt sine cura scriptae videri possint. Sed hic mihi illud obiicies, quod spiritu sancto instructi locuti sunt dei homines. Quonam igitur modo tu eos locutos fuisse arbitraris? Num vaticinantium Phoebadumue more, vt furore quodam correpti, ipsi quid dixerint non intelligerent? Sed haec paulo post commodius excutientur. Illud autem Iacobi  
 30 de postulanda a deo sapientia perquam insulse accipiunt. Postulanda est a deo sapientia, accedo, at quomodo postulanda? Nempe vt victus, vt vestitus, vt

2 putat: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 praestolari: postulare *MS*<sup>1</sup>; foedius: fedius est *MS* (est *del.*) | 5 Libet: libet me inquit *MS* (me inquit *del.*); obiectatiunculis argutari: obiectiunculis agitari *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 6 quod ... esse: quod Christus ipse sollicitos suos discipulos esse *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 9 loqui: loquutos *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 Qui indiget: Si quis autem vestrum indiget *Iac.*; abundanter: adfluenter *Iac.* | 14 *alt.* dicturi: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 locutus: loquutus *MS*; apostolis: apostolos ab eo *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 17 terrorem incutere: *MS*<sup>2</sup>, deterrere *MS*<sup>1</sup>, *om.* *A-K* | 18 apud: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 25 Ioannis: Iohannis *MS*; vt sine: vt non sine *MS*<sup>1</sup> (non *del.*) | 26 instructi: instincti *MS*<sup>1</sup>; locuti: loquuti *MS* | 27 igitur modo: *MS A-D G H I*, modo igitur *E F K*; locutos: loquutos *MS* | 28 Phoebadumue: phebedarum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 31 *alt.* vt: et *MS*<sup>1</sup>

7-8 *Mt.* 10,19.

9 2. *Petr.* 1,21: 'Spiritu sancto inspirati locuti sunt sancti Dei homines.'

10-11 *Iac.* 1,5.

24 *Act.* 22,1-21; 24,10-21; 26,1-23.

29 *Iac.* 1,5.

caetera humano vsui necessaria. Iubemur a deo panem cotidianum cotidie pe-  
 tere et datur quidem cotidie, at nunquid oscitantibus? Vestitum petimus, prae-  
 statur, sed laborantibus. Hac ratione sapientiam quoque postulamus at ita, vt de  
 humana industria nihil diminuamus. An vero, quae corporis sunt, non nisi  
 industria tua tibi obueniunt, quae animi sunt bona gratis accipies? Panis nisi  
 5 sudanti non praestatur, sapientia dormienti infunditur? Perditus et homicida  
 sui iudicatur, qui coelestem alimoniam expectans, fame mori maluit, quam pane  
 humano labore quaesito, mortem effugere et religiosus habebitur, qui turpiter  
 nescire praeoptet magis, quam ab homine salutarem doctrinam accipere? At  
 10 apostolis sine mortali opera sapientia infusa est. Demus istud, et Hebraeis in  
 eremo ab aethere cibum depluisse legimus. Sed quam impium est velle manna  
 illud e coelo praestolari, tantundem aut etiam magis impium fuerit, apostolorum  
 more sapientiam e nubibus ociosos expectare, nam vetamur euangelica voce de  
 crastino victu vestituue esse solliciti, nusquam sapientiam quaerere prohibe-  
 15 mur. Nec vitio tamen vertitur quod non modo in crastinum, verumetiam in  
 multos annos parcimus, quaerimus, serimus, aedificamus, non nostrae modo  
 vitae, verumetiam posterorum consulentes, et vitio dabitur, si quis idem in  
 quaerenda sapientia fruge longe meliore facit? Illic sanam interpretationem ad-  
 mittimus non quaerendi panis industriam nobis interdictam esse, sed inanem et  
 anxiam sollicitudinem, hic cur idem non facimus? Promissa erat sapientia coe-  
 20 lesti oraculo Solomoni, promissum erat patri regnum Israeliticum, neuter tam-  
 en ita oraculo confisus est, vt vel hic quicquam humani conatus praeterierit,  
 quo se dignum praestaret, vel ille sapientiam languidiore studio quaesiuerit;  
 intelligebant nimirum, quod grauissime a quodam scriptum est, deos omnia  
 nobis laboribus vendere. Dabunt igitur, sed laboranti, addent sapientiam, sed  
 25 annitenti, praestabunt continentiam, sed conanti, docebunt, sed studiosos, adiu-  
 ta|bunt, sed dimicantes. Neminem deserent, ita quidem, nisi ipse sibi defuerit; LB 1742  
 alioqui cur ipsi scripsere apostoli? cur euangelistae? cur Hieronymus? cur  
 Augustinus? cur caeteri nobis ingenii sui monumenta reliquerunt? praeclara si  
 studio comparanda est sapientia, ociosa si per somnum ociosis expectanda. Iam  
 30

3 sapientiam quoque: quoque sapientiam *MS*; vt: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4 industria ... nisi: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* |  
 8 religiosus: religiosius *EFG*; habebitur: habetur *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 magis: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 10 Hebraeis:  
 in Hebraeis *MS* (in *del.*) | 11 ab: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12 praestolari: praestari *MS* | 17 idem: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* |  
 19 non quaerendi panis industriam: non panis industriam querendi *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 confisus est:  
 confidit *MS<sup>1</sup>*; praeterierit: praeteriret *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 27 ipse: *MS A-D K*, ipsi *EFGHI* | 28  
 alioqui: *ABEFGIKBAS* alioquin *MS CDH* | 29 nobis: diuini *MS<sup>1</sup>*

1 *Mt.* 6,11; *Lc.* 11,3.

10 *Ex.* 16,4, 14-15; *Ps.* 77,24.

13 *Mt.* 6,25; 6,31; 6,34.

20-21 *Promissa ... Solomoni* Cf. 2. *Par.* 1,11  
sq.

21 *promissum ... Israeliticum* Cf. 2. *Rg.* 5,2;  
7,8; 1. *Par.* 17,7.

24 a *quodam* This idea comes from Epichar-

mus quoted by Xen. *Mem.* II, 1,20 τῶν  
 πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ γὰρ οἱ θεοί  
 Cf. Prisc. *Praeex. Gramm.* III, 432, 24:  
 'alius poeta dixit: laboribus vendunt dei  
 nobis omnia bona.' Cf. also Hes. *Op.*  
 289; Hor. *Sat.* I, 9,59. Occurs also in  
 Epp. 15, l. 19 and 39, l. 157.

dedimus apostolis infusam sapientiam, mitto enim quod ante resurrectionem et post resurrectionem assiduis praeceptionibus ab optimo doctore Christo sunt formati, mitto quod apud se assidue legerint et inter sese de scripturis contulerint, cur non aequam omnibus partem immisit? cur plus sapuit Paulus quam  
 5 Petrus? cur facundior est Iacobus Petro? cur diuinius scripsit Ioannes caeteris euangelistis? cur in caeteris sanctis doctoribus alius est alio eruditior, alius alio facundior? Eodem certe numine instructi scripserunt. Nimirum in causa est, quod spiritus ille adorandus non parem apud omnes eruditionem offendit. Auget enim ille quae nostra peperimus industria, promouet studia nostra, aspira-  
 10 rat nostris conatibus. Quod si fas est hoc loco poetarum fabulas admiscere, Prometheus est nobis imitandus, qui simulachro illi suo luteo vitam ex astris ausus est petere, sed tum demum, vbi quicquid humano artificio praestari potuit, adhibuisset. Nos rudem massam offerimus et spiritum omnia nobis dormientibus confecturum speramus nec meminimus Paulum ipsum, cui in tertium  
 15 vsque coelum rapi contigit, libros, qui in membranis essent, per literas petisse ac postea cum Petro caeterisque apostolis de fidei doctrina contulisse. Apostolos ipsos non semel inter se de religione noua communicasse, Petrum Pauli voce castigatum. Vbi tum cessabat spiritus sanctus? Cur legere Paulum, cur errare Petrum, cur haerere omnes sinebat? Videtis vt operam humanam spiritus huius  
 20 munus non excluserit, sed adiuerit. Aduit tamen nonnunquam prodigioso quodam more, sed tum demum cum aut miraculum res postularet aut studium humanum vinceretur, et ex studiosis multos eruditos euasisse adiutore hoc spiritu legimus. At ex asino theologum repente factum, quis vnquam aut audiuit aut legit? Nec quicquam his exemplis moueor, quae vulgo narrant, alii colum-  
 25 bam ad aurem dicentis scribentisue conspectam, alii per somnium librum traditum. Sint ista sane vel conciliandae autoritatis gratia a beneuolis conficta, sint vel vera, si quis pugnet, equidem haud pugno. Nihilo minus tantum vnum-  
 30 quenque eruditione valuisse videmus, quantum ingenio polluisset, quantum studio contendisset. Ingenium et indoles multis contigere gratis, sunt enim naturae dotes, virtus et eruditio nullis. CONSVL: Hic consul: E duobus, inquit, scrupulis altero me propemodum liberasti, si hoc vnum expedias, quod nemo barbarorum mihi non obiicit, diuum Bernardum praeter sanctitatis laudem virum ex recentioribus nec indoctum, nec infacundum nescio quonam in loco ipsum fateri se quercubus et fagis vsum pro magistris. BATTVS. Sapientes pro-

3 assidue: assiduo *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 4 immisit: immiserit *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 Ioannes: Iohannes *MS* | 7 instructi: instincti *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 10 nostris: *om. MS* | 13 omnia nobis: nobis omnia nobis *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*prius nobis del.*) | 15 essent: essent scripti *MS*<sup>1</sup> (*scripti del.*)

10 *poetarum fabulas* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 82 sqq., Phaedr. IV, 15.

14 Cf. 2. *Cor.* 12,2 and 2. *Tim.* 4,13.

17-18 *Petrum ... castigatum* Cf. *Gal.* 2,11-21.

32 Cf. *S. Bernardi Claraevallensis vita et res gestae*, Liber I, auctore Guilhelmo ... I

cap., 4,25, Migne *PL* 185, p. 240: 'maxime in siluis et in agris meditando et orando se confitetur accepisse; et in hoc nullos aliquando se magistros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos, ioco illo suo gratioso inter amicos dicere solet.'



fecto arbores, inquit Battus, quae talem discipulum nobis reddidere, indignae prorsus, quae in montibus senescerent ac sues alerent, dignae quae in cathedris theologorum potius praesiderent aut certe, vt de nauibus illis Aeneae fabulatur Maro, in Nymphas transformarentur. Deum immortalem, ut nil pudet homines ipsi quercubus hebetiores, quique iuxta poetarum fabulas ex arborum truncis nati videri possint. Quid, arbores homines docent? Inter haec cum Battus incandesceret, Guilhelmus meus aderat, Socratica quadam vafricie, festiua tamen magis quam mordaci praeditus. Age, inquit, ignosce Batte, fieri potest; qui scis enim an ex illa paradisiaci nemoris arbore fuerint propagatae, quae boni mali-que scientiam non habuisse modo, verum et ministrasse legitur. Aut si id non placet quando species non conuenit, quanquam nec apud nos species nominatur et crebra plantatione degenerare potuerunt, | ex illarum certe genere, quae carentem Orpheum admiratae consecutaeque fuisse narrantur, inter quas quercus in primis fuisse compertum est. Postremo scis homines olim vulgo in arbores transmutari solere. Quid si quercus illae et fagi summi olim fuerunt philosophi, quorum longa incommoda miserati dii arbores eos esse iusserunt; sed vtcunque res habet, vnum hoc vehementer optarim, vt essent Erasmo aliquot ex sapientissimis illis arboribus surculi, quos in nouis pomariis, quae molitur, inserat, *haberet domi*, vt Comicus ait, *unde disceret*. BATTVS: Ad quae vix arridens Battus, erat enim commotior: Iure, inquit, ridetis in re risu potius quam argumentatione confutanda. Sed extra iocum, miror Bernardum, si doceri cupiebat, ad arbores potius quam ad homines se contulisse ac non Socratem illum potius Platonicum imitatum. Huic enim cum Phaedrus locum in agris perquam amoenum ostendisset, iamque Socratem eius specie vehementer captum sentiret, mirari se dicebat, quod non antea vrbe relicta rus concessisset. Cui quidem ille, scite respondens: *Ignosce*, inquit, *mibi, optime Phaedre, nam discendi cupidus sum, agri vero et arbores nihil me docere possunt, sed homines qui in vrbe versantur*. Quid igitur Bernardus inter quercus versari maluit, nisi forte (quando ridere libet) Gallia doctiores habet arbores, quam olim habuit Graecia. Figurate dictum est, inquit, orabat sub arborum vmbraculis, imo et legebat et lecta animo voluebat et scribebat et scribenda suo cum animo tractabat: ergo non tam discendi quam docendi cupidus ad quercus confugiebat, secessum videlicet et silentium scribentibus

1 quae: *MS K*, qui *A-I*; indignae: et dignae *MS* | 2 prorsus: prorsus non *MS* (non *del.*); ac ... quae: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>*; *alt.* in: sed in *MS<sup>1</sup>* (sed *del.*) | 3 potius: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 4 nil: nichil *MS* | 6 Inter: Herasmus. Inter *MS*; incandesceret: inardesceret *MS* | 7 Guilhelmus: Guielmus *MS* | 8 Age: Guielmus. Age *MS* | 11 quando: quoniam *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 12 ex: *om. MS<sup>1</sup>* | 13 consecutaeque: consequuteque *MS* | 15 fuerunt: fuerint *MS* | 17 Erasmo: Herasmo *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 illum potius: potius illum *MS* | 26 sum: *om. MS* | 29 inquit: *MS K*, inquit *A-I*

4 Verg. *Aen.* IX, 107-122.

19 Ter. *Ad.* 413: 'phy. domi habuit, vnde disceret.'; also quoted by Hier. *Epist.* 60, 10, 2, *CSEL* 54, 559, 7 and *Adag.* 1, 10, 49, *LB* II, 382 A.

26-27 Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 c d: Συγγιγνωσκέ μοι, ὃ ἄριστε, φιλομαθῆς γάρ εἰμι, τὰ μὲν οὖν χωρία καὶ τὰ δένδρα οὐδέν μ' ἐθέλει διδάσκειν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἄνθρωποι.

necessarium captans. Qua quidem in re non ille superstitiosum agebat hominem, sed poetarum institutum imitabatur, qui carmen scripturi sylvas et fontes captare consueverunt. Hic si maxime pugnant sacros scriptores, orando eam eruditionem esse consecutos, iam ipsi nobis laqueum quo capiantur, ministrant. Cum enim diuus Bernardus literis non modo philosophicis, verumetiam poeticis instructus fuerit vtique prophanis, quis iam ausit nos reprehendere, quod id nostra industria conemur assequi, quod coelestis ille spiritus aliquot felicibus impertiuit. Si ethnicorum eruditio spiritus sancti munus est, igitur bona atque expetenda, malorum enim non est autor deus. Quod si in his ethnicas fuisse negabis, ego oculos esse tibi negauro, sin diuinam scientiam illis orantibus infusam esse, humanam vero sibi peperisse dixeris, ridebo commentum et te vicissim criminabor, qui contra tantorum exempla virorum, praeteritis humanis literis, ad diuinam scientiam tam stolide irrumpas. CONSVL: Hic cum Battus dicendi finem facturus videretur: Perge quaeso, consul inquit, me etiam altero leuare scrupulo, nam nodum ipsum modo tua sponte tetigisti, nulli apostolorum spiritus coelestis prophanas literas infudit, de quibus hic erat instituta disputatio, non dialecticam, non rhetoricam, non poesim, infusus haud dubie, sicubi haec vsui futura fuissent. BATTVS: Ad quae conuersus Battus: Nemini infudit, inquit, donemus istud, at cui vnquam ademit? Petro non inspirauit, cur Paulo non ademit? cur vti non vetuit? vetiturus vtique, si perniciosas videri voluisset: quanquam quid refert an infuderit ethnicas literas? id certe infudit, cuius gratia ethnicae literae sunt discendae. Si datum esset quauis lingua et integre loqui et loquentes intelligere, nihil esset causae, cur grammatici miseros adolescentes | excarnificarent, si is esset mortalium animus, qui nulla nube praepeditus facile statimque verum et videret et ostenderet, frustra et ratiocinatione et dialecticis argutiis exerceremur. Si nobis esset in manu, quos vellemus animorum motus et sumere nobis et aliis excitare, sine causa rhetorum praecepta disceremus. Verum quando haec multo secus habent, nec ille nobis spiritus est expectandus, disciplinis liberalibus opus est, vt vel longis ambagibus eo tandem perueniamus, quo spiritus apostolos compendio perduxit. Non desiderauit Petrus nostras literas, Paulum tamen adiuuerunt. Sed in re puerili plus satis est disputatum; nam qui istam diuinam scientiam nobis

3 pugnant: *K*, pugnent *MS B*, pugunt *A*, pungunt *C-I* | 4 consecutos: consequutos *MS* | 6 instructus: institutus *MS<sup>1</sup>*; prophanis: gentilibus *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 8 impertiuit: *MS*, impartiuit *A-K*; Si ethnicorum: Sed gentilis *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 9 ethnicas: ethnicas literas *MS<sup>1</sup>* (literas *del.*) | 18 sicubi: si quorsum *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 19 vnquam: vnquam *MS* | 20 cur Paulo: Paulo cur *MS* | 20 perniciosas: perniciosus *G I* | 21 quanquam quid: non *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 22 ethnicae: seculares *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 25 statimque: *MS A-I*, statim *K BAS* | 26 ratiocinatione: ratione *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 27 excitare: *MS K*, exercitare *A-I* | 28 quando haec: quum *MS<sup>1</sup>*; secus habent: secus se res habeant *MS<sup>1</sup>* (se res *del.*) | 29 prius est: sit *MS<sup>1</sup>* | 30 eo: eodem *MS<sup>1</sup>* (*dem del.*)

4 *ipsi ... capiantur* Allusion to the proverbial saying: 'suo ipsius laqueo captus est.' Cf. *Adag.* 1,1,53, *LB II*, 49 B, where

*Ps.* 9,16: 'in laqueo ipso, quem absconderunt, comprehensus est pes eorum' is cited as the source.

solent obiicere, adeo tum ab humana, tum a diuina absunt, vt Hippocraticis potius vinculis sint alligandi, quam rationibus coarguendi. Ita simplicitatem praedicant, vt docti tamen haberi velint; ita se nihil didicisse fatentur, vt nihil non sciant tamen. Sed hos cum sua dementia relinquamus, quod reliquum est de poetica et eloquentia disputetur. Hic cum Battus paulisper intersiluisse: 5  
 Vnam, inquit, aciem, vt arbitror, profligauimus, quam tamen non ita magni negotii fuit vincere, quippe neque satis armatam, neque ita capitaliter infestam; reliquum est, ut confutemus eos, qui negant eloquentiae dare operam Christianum oportere, verum huic bello non paulo difficiliori imperatorem praeficiendum censeo, cum integrum, tum meliorem. Vt enim in causis non optimis opti- 10  
 mus patronus, ita in bello durissimo peritissimus dux quaerendus. Qui eloquentiae studium damnent, et plurimi sunt et habent fortasse quae dicant, si non vera, at certe verisimilia. Et iam tantum verborum a me factum video, vt mirer aurium vestrarum duriciem, quae me tot horas blaterantem ferre potuerint. Quare successorem mihi peto, qui quae restant disertius possit disputare. 15  
 GVILHELMVS: Tum Guilhelmus pudenti risu: Te ne, inquit, Batte, iniussu senatus ante negocium confectum de tradita prouincia decedere, ac cum iam prope debellatum sit, successorem tibi nullo exemplo petere, penes quem omnis belli profligati sit gloria? Quod vero de meliore imperatore quaerendo dicis, ambitiosus tu quidem videri non vis, caeterum eum adhuc te ducem praestitisti, 20  
 cui prorogandum etiam sit imperium, tantum abest, vt successor ante tempus sit mittendus; quare volente senatu perge ac strenue, vt coepisti, tuo munere defungere. Tantum autem abest vt tua oratio cuiquam e nobis visa sit longior, vt mira quadam cum voluptate omnes habuerit attentissimos. Dum haec inter se cauillantur illi, consulis puerum ab illius villa recurrentem conspiciamus; is cum 25  
 domi instructa esse omnia, corrumpi prandium, vxorem iamdudum nos operiri renunciasset: Age, inquit consul, eamus omnes; ad prandium philosophicum, non consulare vos voco; quod reliquum est disputationis, id pomeridiano consessu in hortis meis conficiemus. ERASMVS. Hic ego: Ita ne mecum agitur, inquam? ni tam esses iurisconsultus, in ius te vocarem, iniuriae tecum agerem, 30

2 coarguendi: coarcuendi *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 5 disputetur: disputetur. Battus *MS* | 7 infestam: infensam *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 8 Christianum: Christianam *F G I* | 10 cum integrum: tum integrum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 16 Guilhelmus: Guilmus *MS* | 18 exemplo: exempto *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 21 etiam: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>; tantum abest vt: nedum *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 22 sit: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup> | 28 consulare: consultare *E F G H I* | 29 ERASMVS: Herasmus *MS*; Hic ego: *om.* *MS*<sup>1</sup>

1-2 *Hippocraticis* ... *alligandi* Expression borrowed from Hieronymus. Cf. Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* I, 3, Migne *PL* 23,222; *C. Vigil.* 4, Migne *PL* 23,357; *Epist.* 109,2, *CSEL* 55,354,6.

9-10 *huic* ... *censeo* Cf. Ep. 108, l. 83: 'Res ista non tyronem, sed exercitatissimum requirit imperatorem'.

14 *aurium* ... *duriciem* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV,

428: 'duras demittere in aures'; Lucan. X, 104: 'duras ... aures'; Hier. *Epist.* 66,1,2, *CSEL* 54,648,4: 'aures tam durae.'

22 *perge* ... *coepisti* Cf. Cic. *Catil.* I, 10: 'perge quo coepisti.' A similar expression occurs also in Epp. 66, l. 18; 76, l. 13; 274, l. 3.  
 30 *ni* ... *agerem* It would seem that Erasmus is imitating here Cic. *De or.* I, 10, 41: 'nisi hic in tuo regno essemus, non tulis-

qui tam charos hospites sic abducas, quia luxuriosior sit tibi culina, quasi domi nostrae, si frugaliter, tamen non lautissime sint accipiendi. CONSVL: Tum consul: Aequus, inquit, esse debes, ego hac pomeridiana disputatione villulam meam nobilitari cupio; hanc gloriae partem, si mihi non inuides, libenter nobis  
 5 concede. Tum vxor id iubet, cuius huiusmodi in rebus imperium nosti.

ANTIBARBARORVM LIBRI PRIMI AVTORE D. ERASMO ROT. FINIS.

5 nosti: nosti. Τελος. Finitum Anno Domini XV<sup>o</sup> et (et *del.*) XIX in translatione beati Benedicti, ad usum et librariam Domus Fratrum Collationis in Gouda. *MS*

sem multisque praeissem qui aut interdico tecum contenderent aut te ex iure

manum consertum vocarent, quod in alienas possessiones tam temere irruisses.’

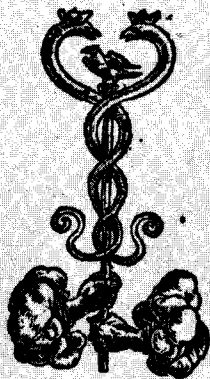
COMMENTARIVS ERASMI  
IN NVCEM OVIDII

edited by  
R. A. B. MYNORS  
Oxford

COMMENTARIVS ERASMI ROTERODAMI in NUCEM OVIDIJ, ad IOANNEM MORUM Thomæ Mori filium.

1. b  $\frac{a}{2}$

Eiusdem commentarius in duos hymnos Prudentij, ad Margaretam Roper Thomæ Mori filiam.



Basilæ apud Ioannem Frobenium, Anno  
M. D. XXIIII.  
Cum privilegio Cæsareo.

## INTRODUCTION

On 21 November 1523, Erasmus wrote from Basel to his friend Johann Faber that he was returning to the toys of his childhood: he had newly finished a commentary on the *Nux* of Ovid.<sup>1</sup> This 'Complaint of the Walnut Tree', which stands beside the highway and is bombarded with stones by strangers for the sake of its fruit, is one of the more readable of the short poems of unknown authorship handed down under Ovid's name through the Middle Ages. It lent itself not only to the rhetorical analysis popular in the schools of the day, but also to that discursive illustration of the subject-matter from the whole of Antiquity, enlivened by references to contemporary life, for which Erasmus had a special gift. His commentary was not what we understand by the term – a learned storehouse of interpretative material; and tradition has rightly separated this little work from the main body of his commentaries on ancient and patristic authors, and placed it among the originals.

It was intended to attract younger readers, and in writing it he probably had in mind one particular boy, fifteen years old, whom he knew well. When it was finished, he dedicated it to Sir Thomas More's only son, John More the younger.<sup>2</sup> John's married sister, Margaret Roper, was the recipient, at Christmas that same year, of a commentary on the Christmas and Epiphany hymns of Prudentius.<sup>3</sup> Erasmus passed both pieces to Johann Froben, and they were published together by him in the spring of 1524, in a small octavo of 56 leaves.

The book was found useful far outside the domestic circle to which it was first directed. Editions followed in 1524 from Antwerp<sup>4</sup>, Cologne and Paris,

<sup>1</sup> Allen V ep. 1397.

<sup>2</sup> Allen ep. 1402, printed below. John's face, with its 'brown complexion', and that of his enchanting wife Anne Cresacre, are familiar to us from Holbein's drawings made about three years later: K. T. Parker, *The Drawings of Hans Holbein ... at Windsor Castle* (1945) plates 6 and 7.

<sup>3</sup> Allen ep. 1404; *LB V* 1337–58.

<sup>4</sup> N–K 3663 date Michael Hillen's first printing *c.* 1526; I suggest 1524 not only because it is unlikely that Hillen would allow so long to elapse before printing a work by Erasmus, but also on the ground of its close resemblance to his edition of Erasmus' *Precatio Dominica* (N–K 853 and 4226), which is dated in that year.

and there were at least fifteen others in the next thirty years; the latest on record appeared at Frankfort in 1601. The Prudentius and the *De nuce* travel together until 1547; Robert Estienne's edition of that year, and its successor of 1555, contain the Ovid only, and the *Nux*-commentary also appears separately in editions of Ovid's *Opera*, as at Cologne in 1551 and Basel in 1568. Nor does any other work by Erasmus join them, except four early poems (Reedijk nos. 23-26), which follow the Prudentius in Gryphius's Lyons edition of 1528 and its reprints.

The Estienne editions describe themselves on the title-page as *Ex postrema auctoris recognitione*; but, so far as we know, Erasmus never revised his work on the *Nux*. Our text is therefore taken from the first edition, published by Froben, while Erasmus was himself at Basel, in 1524.





SIGLVM

*A*: ed. Basil., Io. Froben, 1524.

# COMMENTARIVS IN NVCEM OVIDII

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS OPTIMAE SPEI ADOLESCENTI IOANNI MORO S. D. LB 1189

Ne pro xeniolis vestris, ne pro tot tam amicis epistolis nihil omnino videar reponere, suauiissime Ioannes, mitto Nucem: ne sperne munusculum sane quam elegantem, nimirum Ouidianam. Quamquam alioqui munus nec omnino pusillum mittere videri possit, qui totam mittit arborem: nec vile, qui tam facundam. Ne vero mireris apud Ouidium loqui Nucem Latine, quum apud Lucianum tam diserte litigent vocales, apud Homerum loquatur Argos nauis, idque carmine. Tantisper igitur, dum haec legis, esto Pythagoricus, vt credas et arboribus animum esse; linguam addidit Naso, vel reddidit potius. Nam et olim in Dodona quercus aedebant oracula. Mihi, tametsi iampridem ab hoc genere studiorum alienissimo, libuit carmen tam festiuum et eruditum, addito commentariolo, commendare studiosis. Nec me fallebat fore qui protinus succlamarent plane iuxta Graecorum vetus prouerbium τὸν παλιμπαιδα γέροντα redisse ad nuces. Ego sane nec pueris inutile nec seni cuiquam indecorum arbitror huiusmodi nucibus ludere, talique laxamento ingenii lassitudinem, ex seriis studiis contractam, reficere.

Caeterum quid alii dicant, non magnopere laboro. Tibi, mi Ioannes, persuasum esse velim, praeclarum artificem vbique sui similem esse, seu colossum fingat seu semipedalem statuam, siue Iouem pingat siue Thersiten, siue aeri vulgarique saxo insculpat imaginem siue gemmis aut auro, nisi quod in materia vili minutaque maior est artis admiratio. Laudata est Nasonis Medea, sed videbis et in Nuce Nasonem esse. Illic materia suppeditabat eloquentiam, ac bona pars laudis erat decidenda Graecis, qui toties tractarant idem argumentum. Hic quicquid est laudis, ingenio poetae debetur. Equidem non sum is, qui soleam de eadem fidelia plures dealbare parietes, attamen et tu candidus videberis, et ego

8-9 Lucianus, *Iudicium uocalium*; Apoll. Rhod., *Argonautica* IV, 580 sqq. (the reference to Homer seems to be a slip of

memory).  
15 *Adagia* 436 (Bis pueri senes).  
27 *fidelia Adag.* 603.

minus ingratus, si nucem hanc, cuius fructum natura fecit in quatuor partes  
sectilem, si minus placet arborem findere, Margaritae, Elizabetae, Ceciliae, dul-  
cissimis sororibus tuis, et harum sodalitia felici Gygiae voles esse communem,  
quae me toties epistolis suis lacessunt, tam sanis argutisque sensibus, tam castae  
5 Latinitatis, vt his nostris aegre persuadeam ipsarum Marte confectas, quum id  
habeam compertissimum.

Proinde quorsum attinet hortari te, mi Ioannes, vel ad literarum studium vel  
ad virtutem, quum tali praeditus indole domi patrem habeas quum eruditionis  
omnibus numeris absolutum, tum omnis probitatis et integritatis perfectissi-  
10 mum exemplar, a quo degenerare turpissimum fuerit, praesertim quum ab illo  
nihil non affatim praestetur, quod conducere possit ad te omni ornamentorum  
genere perpoliendum. Latere non potes; praelucet tibi paternae famae splendor,  
quem aut summa cum laude referas oportet, aut summo cum dedecore fallas  
omnium de te expectationem. Quanquam et sororum aemulatio tibi cessanti  
15 poterat acre calcar addere, quarum comitatem, modestiam, pudicitiam, simplici-  
tatem, mutuum concordiam si quis contempletur, treis iuret esse Charites; si  
varias musicorum organorum species scite tractantes videat, si per omne genus  
autorum vtriusque linguae velut apiculas quasdam volitantes consideret, hic  
annotantes aliquid quod imitentur, hinc decerpentes insigne dictum quod in  
20 mores transferant, hinc lepidam aliquam historiolum ediscentes quam inter so-  
dales referant, dicas Camoenas in amoenissimis Aoniae campis suauiter luden-  
tes flosculos et amaracum concinnandis sertis colligere. Certe sic omnibus ani-  
morum dotibus ornatae sunt, vt formae gratia, quamuis eximiae, minimum  
adferat commendationis. Hae velut ex composito sic properant in hoc laudis  
25 stadio, quasi fratrem velint a tergo relinquere. Quo magis oportet te neruos  
omnes ad cursum intendere, vt quoniam illas natura priores in hoc stadium  
induxit, vtpote te grandiusculas, intentione studiorum anteueritas. Tum illis  
cum Cornelia Gracchorum matre certamen erit, quae sexum suum gemina laude  
decorauit, tum pudicitiae tum eloquentiae; tibi cum patre, quem aequasse satis  
30 opima laus fuerit, et tamen ille nihil malit quam vinci. Verum haec alias fortasse  
tempestiuus. Nunc ad Nucem.

### *De Titulo*

Titulum huic poemati praefixum repperi *Elegia*: habet enim complorationem  
praeteritarum iniuriarum et imminentium deprecationem. Quorum utrumque  
35 pertinet ad causae genus, quod Graeci vocant *δικαικιδόν*, nostri iudiciale siue  
forense. Proinde bona pars tractationis in affectibus sita est, praesertim miseri-  
cordiae, quae movetur partim ex aggeratione malorum quae quis patitur, par-  
tim ex circumstantiis personarum. Miserabilius enim est, vbi qui nihil commerit-

3 *Gygiae* Margaret Gigs, foster-sister of  
Thomas More's daughter Margaret, who  
made her home with the More family.

31 *Nunc ad Nucem* The 1642 London edition

of the *Epistolae* substitutes *Interim vale*  
for this last phrase, since the *Nux* did not  
follow.

tus est, imo qui bene meritus, indigna patitur; et vbi facit iniuriam, qui nulla lacesitus est iniuria, sed pro officio refert maleficium. Quod si statum quoque nosse desideres, sine dubio qualitatis est siue iurisdicialis. De facto conuenit; an iure fiat, quaeritur. Caeterum dubitari possit, vtra sit persona actoris, vtra rei. Nam Nux ita causam suam agit, quasi rea populo. Rursus eadem sic populum iniuriarum reum peragit, vt illum quidem non vocet ad poenam, sed tantum ab se depellat iniuriam. Iucunditatem addit argumento faceta vbique allusio ad affectus humanos, quod idem fit in apologis. Qui quo sunt atrociores, hoc in re leui ludicraque plus habent voluptatis, veluti in Βατραχομουμαχία quam inscribunt Homero.

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Primum distichon simul et propositionem complectitur et narrationem: |

*Nux ego iuncta viae, quum sim sine crimine vitae,  
a populo saxis praetereunte petor.*

Dicitur autem apud Rhetores propositio, qua paucis verbis summa causae proponitur. Nam narratio fusius rem explicat, additis etiam affectibus, et argumentorum veluti seminibus inspersis. Quorum illi fusius explicantur in peroratione, haec in probatione. Est autem solenne poetis auspicari carmen a propositione, cui saepe miscent inuocationem. Sic enim Homerus auspicatur Iliada: Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος. Sic Odysseam: Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, etc. Seruatum est idem ab Hesiodo, tametsi non pari felicitate, quippe qui non solum loquacior est in eo, quod oportet esse breuissimum, verumetiam obscurior in eo, quod in hoc ipsum adhibetur, vt futurae dictioni lucem adferat. Alterum opus sic auspicatur: Μοῦσαι, Πιερίθηεν. Nihil felicius Θεογονίαν: Μουσῶων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν. Superauit hic quem aemulabatur Virgilius, nimirum in Georgicis, nec Homero cessit hac sane in parte in sua Aeneide, qua simul et Iliados et Odysseas argumenta complexus est. Loquacius proponit et Stadius in Achilleiden: *Magnanimum Aeaciden* etc. Grandius Lucanus, ni excusaret argumenti sublimitas; quanquam in argumento pariter grandi Flacco displicet poeta Cyclicus, qui Troianum bellum sic exorsus sit:

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*Fortunam Priami cantabo, et nobile bellum.*

Itaque poetae numinis inuocationem potissimum adhibent modestiae causa. Caeterum propositio facit ad perspicuitatem, quae non hic tantum praecipua virtus est orationis. Etenim quum in proemiis tria potissimum agantur, vt comparetur beneuolentia, docilitas et attentio, nec attentus esse potest nec beneuolus, qui non docetur. Ad docendum autem cum primis facit orationis perspicuitas, quae potissimum est adhibenda in ipso limine dictionis, vt praeluceat ingressuro totius causae cognitionem. Siquidem obscuritas minus officit in

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14 Propositio poetica\* A | 32 Inuocatio\* A | 37 Perspicuitas orationis\* A

18-19 Hom. *Il.* I, 1; *Od.* I, 1.  
23-24 Hes. *Erg.* 1; *Theog.* 1.

27 Stat. *Ach.* I, 1.  
31 Hor. *Ars* 137.

oratione media, quod cognitis plerisque causae partibus, ex aliis alia licet conii-  
 cere. Eadem sit venia in propositione, quae iuxta quorundam rhetorum opinio-  
 nem protinus narrationi subiicitur. Quanquam nec hic ullam obscuritatis gra-  
 5 *tiam facit Quintilianus. Quid, inquit, turpius quam esse obscurum ipsum, quod in*  
*eum solum adhibetur vsum, ne sint caetera obscura?* At in ipso statim dictionis ingres-  
 su, multo minus idem licet. Potissimum autem requiritur perspicuitas in propo-  
 sitione, narratione et probatione, quod hae partes proprie faciunt ad docendum.  
 Nihil autem agit in caeteris, qui non docuit. Propositio docet causae summam,  
 10 narratio rem gestam exponit, probatio fidem facit argumentis. Iam vt prima  
 propositio totius causae summam complectitur, ita singulis partibus, aut etiam  
 argumentationibus, sua praefertur propositio, quae demonstrat quid suscipiatur  
 probandum. Itaque diuisio, quae limen est argumentationis, si causa plures  
 15 habet parteis, totidem constat propositionibus; sin est simplex, vnam pollice-  
 tur. Iam transitiones, quae et ipsae plurimum faciunt ad docilitatem, fere gemina  
 constant propositione, paucis et repetentes quod probatum est et pollicentes  
 quod restat probandum. Quanquam transitionibus et in narratione locus est;  
 verum haec rhetorum magis sunt quam poetarum, tametsi nec in poetis hoc  
 genus rarum est, praesertim vbi docent, quod genus est illud Ouidii:

*Hos ignava iocos tribuit natura puellis,  
 20 materia ludunt vberiore viri. |*

LB 1192 Rursus illud Maronis:

*Hactenus aruorum cultus et sydera caeli.  
 Nunc te, Bacche, canam.*

Caeterum vt redeam ad propositionem poetis peculiarem ac solennem in operis  
 25 frontispitio, quemadmodum alii titulum operi praefigunt, qui lectorem admo-  
 neat, quid expectare debeat, ita prophetae Hebraeorum fere titulum voluerunt  
 esse partem operis, atque hoc velut imitati poetae tituli vice collocant propo-  
 sitionem. Alioqui titulus qui separatus est ab operis corpore, nonnunquam omit-  
 titur a scribis, frequenter etiam a sciolis immutatur. Id quod accidit Hieronymo  
 30 nostro, cuius operi de claris scriptoribus verterant titulum Epitaphia. Verum id  
 nemo facit felicius quam Ouidius, adeo vt plerisque etiam epistolis et elegiis  
 suum praefigat titulum. Etenim pro eo quod titulus habuisset 'Liber de arte  
 amandi,' Ouidius ita proponit:

*Si quis in hoc artem populo non nouit amandi,  
 35 me legat, et lecto carmine doctus, amet.*

Quaeso, quis titulus potuisset dilucidius complecti materiam operis sequuturi?

3 Propositio subiecta narrationi\* A | 6 Vbi maxime adhibenda perspicuitas\* A | 10 Propo-  
 sitio caput argumentationis\* A | 12 Diuisio\* A | 14 Transitio\* A | 17 Transitiones in poetis\*  
 A | 33 Propositiones titularum vice\* A

4 Quint. *Inst.* IV, 5, 26.  
 18 Ov. *Ars* III, 381-2.  
 21 Verg. *Georg.* II, 1-2.

29 Hier. *Epist.* 112, 3.  
 34 Ov. *Ars* I, 1-2.

Epistolae titulus erat praefigendus, puta 'Paris Helenae s.d.'. Quanto id Naso noster melius facit propositiuncula!

*Hanc tibi Priamides mitto, Ledaeva, salutem,  
quae tribui sola te mihi dante potest.*

Rursus elegiae praefigendus erat titulus, puta 'Psitaci epitaphium'. Sic proponit Ovidius: 5

*Psitacus Eois nuper mihi missus ab Indis  
occidit. Exequias ferte frequenter, aues.*

Alteri titulus erat addendus 'In amicam quae capillos perdiderat medicamentis'. Sic Ovidius, quasi rem agens: 10

*Dicebam 'Desiste tuos medicare capillos':  
tingere quam possis, iam tibi nulla coma est.*

Rursus alii praeponendus erat 'Militiae et amoris comparatio.' Naso sic proponit:

*Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido;  
Attice, crede mihi, militat omnis amans.* 15

In nonnullis epistolis et elegiis obscurior est propositio, sed tamen nusquam non subest. Verum non hic tantum affectavit perspicuitatem Ovidius, verum in omnibus felicissimam illam facilitatem, quam in Cicerone mirantur omnes, vix quisquam in oratione soluta feliciter est aemulatus, Ovidius in carmine praestat. 20  
Ne tamen expectes in omni poemate propositionem. Drammaticum enim genus non recipit propositionem, hoc est, in quo personae tantum loquuntur. Exegeticum aut mixtum recipit, et ideo rara est propositio in satyris, quoniam in veteris comoediae locum successerunt. Nec in eclogis temere reperies, quamquam est in Vergilianis 25

*Pastorum Musam Damonis et Alpheisibaei.*

Similiter apud Theocritum:

*Αἰάζω τὸν Ἄδωνιν, ἐπαιάζουσιν Ἔρωτες,*

quod poematis genus mixtum sit. Nec enim idem licuisset in Tityro Maroni, aut in Thyrside Theocrito. Rursum apud Horatium in satyris: 30

*Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti  
responde, etc.*

Eclogis ex more Comicorum personae nomen tituli vice praeponitur. Plato, et hunc imitatus Lucianus, in dialogis gemino vtuntur, altero a personis sumpto, altero ab argumento: Γοργίας ἢ περὶ ῥητορικῆς. Τόξαρς ἢ περὶ φιλίας. 35  
Verum iam tempus est, opinor, vt Nucleam ipsam audiamus suam causam

21 Triplex poematis genus, δραμαματικὸν, ἐξηγηματικὸν, μίκτον\* A | 33 Tituli Platonici\* A

3 Ov. Her. 16, 1-2.  
7 Ov. Am. II, 6, 1-2.  
11 ibid. I, 14, 1-2.  
15 ibid. I, 9, 1-2.  
26 Verg. Ecl. 8, 1.

28 Bion, epitaphium Adonidis 1-2; ascribed to Theocritus in, e.g., the Juntine edition of 1516.  
29-30 Verg. Ecl. 1; Theocr. Idyll. 1.  
31 Hor. Serm. II, 5, 1-2.

agentem, si prius illud monuero artis esse, sic propositione summam rei proponere, vt cohaereat cum his quae sequuntur ac pars argumentationis esse videatur.

*Nux ego iuncta viae, quum sim sine crimine vitae,  
a populo saxis praetereunte petor. |*

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Nullus titulus vel in oratione libera potuisset dilucidius explicare summam argumenti. Praeterea habet haec quamlibet brevis propositio multas circumstantias admixtas, quae partim faciunt ad probationem, partim ad affectus. *Nux* habet personae significationem. Nam quum sint multa nucis genera, iuglandem loqui progressus indicat. *Iuncta viae* circumstantia est, vnde populus sumebat argumentum sibi licere quod faciebat. Rursus *quum sim sine crimine vitae* circumstantia est, reddens iniuriam atrociolem. Est alioquin ius agendi iniuriarum etiam illi qui lacessiuit iniuria, veluti si quis conuicio lacessitus constupret vxorem eius a quo lacessitus est. Tertia circumstantia *saxis petor*, qua poena nulla crudelior. Quarta *a populo*; atrox enim crimen esse oportet, quod non expectata iudicum sententia, neque carnificis opera, publicis manibus vindicatur. Προσονομασίαν in duobus vocibus *viae* et *vitae* non arbitror affectatam a poeta sed, quemadmodum multa solent, casu excidisse. *Sine crimine* aptius dixit, quam si dixisset ‘quum sim vitae inculpatae.’ Quum enim grauius sit crimen quam culpa, ἀνέγκλητος dicitur, qui nihil admisit ob quod in ius vocari possit; hoc enim Graecis sonet ἐγκαλεῖν, vnde ἐγκλημα. Nam quod nos errorem vocamus, Graeci vocant ἀμάρτημα, quod fere per imprudentiam committitur. Nec semper apud Latinos error in vitio est, nec apud Graecos ἀμάρτημα. Cui simillimum est σφάλμα, quem nos lapsum dicere possumus. Nam πλημμέλεια per incuriam et incogitantiam admittitur, dicta a πάλιν μέλειν, videlicet quod posteriore cura, quae prouerbio dicitur melior, sit sarcienda, veluti μετάνοια a μετανοεῖν. Porro nobis delictum dici videtur, vbi praeteritum est officium. Videtur et ἀμπλάκημα leuius, inde dictum quod inuoluat hominem. Ἀδίκημα generale nomen est, quemadmodum et ἀνομία, nisi quod ἀδικεῖν dicatur, qui iniurius est in alium. Αἰτία nobis aptissime reddit culpam, vox communis ad crimen, ob quod quis merito possit vocari in ius, et ad leuiorem iniuriam, cui sufficit expostulatio. Vnde αἰτιος dicitur qui fuit in culpa, ἀναίτιος qui non est in culpa, et αἰτιοῦν dicitur etiam is qui priuatim incusat. Crimen autem dictum videtur a Graeca voce κρίνω, siue Latina *cerno*, vnde et *discrimino*. Ne repetam hic, quod Laurentius Valla monet, non semper esse in scelere, qui est in crimine; quemadmodum non statim nocens est, quisquis reus est. Nam crimina nostra dici possunt, quae scelera nostra dici non possunt, quod obiecta sint, non admissa. Sic igitur argumentatur Iuglans: ‘Si quod facinus admisisset supplicio dignum, eram in ius vocanda, et de conuicta iuxta leges erat sumendum supplicium. Nunc quum sim innocens, atrocissimo supplicio saeuatur in me, neque

26 prouerbio *Adag.* 238.

35 L. Valla in *Ant. Raudensem* (Venice 1526) fol. 130, col. 4.



conuictam neque damnatam; idque a populo praetereunte, cui viam publicam non impedio, cum sim iuncta viae.' *Iunctam* vocat contiguam.

*Obruere ista solet manifestos poena nocentis,  
publica quum lentam non capit ira moram.*

Apud Hebraeos lapidabantur, qui conuicium protulissent in Deum. Apud Romanos leges non porrigebant populo ius lapidandi, sed in manifestis et atrocibus admissis conuiebatur ad iustum populi furorem. Seditiois enim est, non iudicii, quod ait ille:

*Iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.*

Ita duplici nomine peccat populus, et quod praeter leges saeuit atroci supplicio, et quod in innoxiam. 'Lapidari' dicitur liber aut sententia, quae populi conuicii impetitur, quemadmodum 'exsibilatur' aut 'exploditur'. Porro *nocentes* substantiue positum est pro 'sontes', vnde additur *manifestos*. Nam alias adiectiuum est pro 'noxio'. Ouidius:

*nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum.*

Et *obruitur* proprie, qui vi, qui subito, qui multitudine opprimitur. *Lentum* autem dicitur, quod flexile est; et *lentum*, quod tardum et cessans. Nec ineleganter *capit* dictum est pro 'fert'. Quemadmodum autem hoc distichon exaggeratio est propositionis, ita quod sequitur exaggeratio est huius: |

*Nil ego peccaui, nisi si peccare fatemur  
annua cultori poma referre suo.*

Crudele est saeuire in innocentem, sed multo crudelius in benemerentem. Sumitur autem argumentum ex fine, qui Graecis dicitur ὄρος, et tractatur per ἀτοπον, cui finitimum est ἀδύνατον. Assumitur enim id quod per se statim absurdum apparet, vt eo reiecto, probetur quod proponitur. In fine mutatur vocabulum; nonnunquam et vtraque finitio explicatur, si prodit principem, qui ad ea impellit, quae et ipsius dignitatem laedunt et rei publicae salutem offendunt; et si fidelis est principi, qui suadet ea quae dignitatem et existimationem boni principis conseruant apud optimos quosque, quaeque pertinent ad incolumitatem rei publicae, proditor appellari non possum, nisi proditor est qui fideli consilio prodest et principi et rei publicae. Si bona fide quotannis referre cultori fructus, fidei est et beneficentiae, non peccaui, nisi peccat qui iuuat. Id si dictu absurdum, mihi fit insignis iniuria, quae lapidor ob beneficium. Si color ob spem fructus, quur ob eandem causam lapidor? Argumentum a repugnantibus. Ludit autem poeta, nimirum in argumento ficto ludicroque. Nam alioqui quod Nux iniuriam vocat, prodest ad fertilitatem. Etenim si nuces perticis decutiantur, copiosius proueniunt in proximum annum, quam si decerperentur; quemadmodum et crocum et linum et foenum graecum et quaedam alia felicius proue-

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95 cf. *Iob.* 10, 33.  
Verg. *Aen.* I, 150.

15 *Ov. Met.* I, 141.

niunt ob illatam iniuriam, vt tradidit Plinius. Quin et hodie mos est apud rusticos quosdam nucem hanc obuinctam glumeis vinculis fustibus tundere; ita putant reddi foecundiosem. De oliua diuersa lex olim erat lata: *Oleam ne stringito neue verberato*, propterea quod etiamsi harundine leui ictu decutiantur oliuae, tamen arbor ob eam iniuriam alternat fructus. Porro iuglans numeratur a Plinio inter eas arbores, quae inferne sunt foecundiores, et ob hoc magis obnoxiae iniuriis; similiter et arbutus, fici ac mariscae. Plinius lib. 16 cap. 28. Hic festiuiter per occasionem tractat locum moralem, ostendens non esse mirum, si arboribus nunc damno est sua fertilitas, quum idem vsu veniat in foeminis.

10 *At prius arboribus, tunc quum meliora fuerunt tempora, certamen fertilitatis erat.*

Facete humanum affectum affingit arboribus. Pertinet autem et hoc ad ἕθοος vt qui mores publicos incusant, de suo querantur saeculo, et exempla probitatis repetant ex priscis. Qui certant, vtique de laude certant. Quis autem certat, nisi 15 proposito praemio? Praemium autem certantium praecipue laus est. Tolle honorem, et frigebit certamen; multo magis, si in locum honoris ac lucri succedat damnum et ignominia. Quemadmodum igitur maritis imputat vxorum sterilitatem, quod malint formosas quam foecundas, ita cultoribus imputat arborum sterilitatem, quod ad inanem voluptatem colant potius quam ad vsum.

20 *Tunc domini memores sertis ornare solebant agricolae fructu praeueniente deos.*

(10)

Olim quaeque arbor suo deo sacra erat, in cuius tutela credebatur esse: vitis Baccho, olea Mineruae, pinus Cybeli, aesculus Ioui, populus Herculi, laurus Apollini, myrtus Veneri, atque ita ferme de caeteris; neque est hic otium redde- 25 re rationem, quamobrem antiquitas alias arbores aliis diis consecrarit, etiamsi non dubito, quin aliquam rationem physicam in his sequuta sit. *Memores* autem absolute dixit, pro 'gratos'; alioqui dicimur et iniuriae memores. *Fructum praeuenientem* dixit praecocem, quod ante legitimum tempus proueniat, nisi forte legendum est *proueniente*. Certe primi fructus, quos hinc Latini 'primitias' appel- 30 lant, Graeci ἀπαρχὰς, diis consecrabantur, quo videlicet in proximum annum augerent etiam arborum foeturam. Hebraei faciebant idem in foetu masculo, quem primum aedidisset vxor, sperantes pro hac pietate prolem copiosiore futuram. Quanquam hoc distichon non simplicem habet amphibologiam. Potest enim hic accipi sensus: *agricolae*, id est, coloni *memores domini*, | a quo locatum habent 35 agrum, primitias foetuum offerunt diis, quasi coloni pietas prosit etiam domino. Potest et hic esse sensus, vt *domini agricolae* legatur coniunctim, et intelligamus

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1 Plin. *Nat.* XXI, 34 (*crocus*); XIX, 18 (*linum*); XVIII, 140 (*fenum graecum*).

3 *ibid.* XV, 11.

5 *ibid.* XVI, 116.

29 *proueniente* is now known to be the read-

ing of the authoritative manuscripts of the *Nux*.

31 *Hebraei Ex.* 13, 2.

33 *amphibologiam* N. Heinsius cured the ambiguity by writing *agricolas*.

olim eosdem fuisse dominos et agricolas, donec viri nobiles sibi decorum existimabant agros colere. Denique potest et tertius accipi sensus, vt intelligamus dominos fundi primitiis ex fructibus, qui prouenissent opera agricolae, solitos honorare deos. Facit et illud ad amplificandam lapidantium iniuriam, quod foecunditas deorum sit munus, vt in iniuria subsit impietas.

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*Saepe tuas igitur Liber miratus es vuas,  
mirata est oleas saepe Minerva suas.*

In his versibus potest accipi duplex sensus. Alter erit, deos miratos fructum praecocem; alter erit, miratos copiosum prouentum. Verum hic sensus mollior erit, si κατὰ συνεκδοχὴν per Liberum intelligas vitem, per Mineruam oliuam. Est autem iucunda catachresis τοῦ πᾶθους. Sic et Virgilius de arbore gerente ramos insitos:

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*Miraturque nouas frondes et non sua poma.*

Quod subito personam sequendam mutauit in tertiam, carminis ratio postulabat, quod verbum *es* sit breue. Quamquam in sequenda persona nonnihil iucunditatis habet apostrophe.

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*Pomaque laesissent matrem, nisi subdita ramo  
longa laboranti furca tulisset opem.*

Quod vitis alligatur, stirps inualida flexilesque palmites sunt in causa, et haud scio an unquam hoc eueniat in oleis. Verum in malis ac piris videmus hoc frequenter vsu venire, vt tota arbor degrauata pondere foetuum laborare videatur, nonnunquam etiam scindantur rami. Sic Ouidius:

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*Aspice curuatos pomorum pondere ramos,  
vt sua quod peperit vix ferat arbor onus.*

Furcis autem suppositis fulciuntur rami impares oneri. Quin iisdem admotis nonnunquam corriguntur stirpes aut rami alio vergentes quam oportet. Inde Flaccus:

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*Naturam expellas furca, tamen vsque recurrit.*

Eleganter dixit *laboranti*. Laborat qui operatur. Non laborat qui non curat. Laborat qui aegrotat. Laborat qui periclitatur ob rei difficultatem. Veritas saepe laborat, nunquam opprimitur. Iuuenalis:

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*Vna laboranti poterit succurrere lunae.*

Ad πᾶθος facit et illud, quod ait: *poma laesissent matrem*. Miserabile est, puerperam in partu periclitari; et quoniam communi sensu fauetur foecunditati multos foetus simul aedentium, maior est miseratio erga eas quae pereunt ob partum numerosum. Numerosissimus autem est foeminae parienti quinque. Quan-

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3 primitiis: primitias *A*, corr. *BAS*

13 Verg. *Georg.* II, 82.  
23 Ov. *Rem.* 175-6.

28 Hor. *Epist.* I, 10, 24.  
32 Iuv. 6, 443.

quam in annalibus atque etiam monumentis Hollandicis extat, vnam vno partu enixam trecentos sexaginta quinque viuos foetus, et omnes fuisse baptizatos. Extant annales, extat monumentum cum inscriptione nominis, extat pictura. Erat autem Comes Hollandiae; tantula ditio tunc erant contenti principes.  
 5 Ostenditur et collis monasterio, in quo sepulta est, vicinus, vbi palatium habebat. Et miramur per astutos quosdam absurda quaedam esse persuasa rudi mundo, quum talibus fabulis sit habita fides, apud simplicem gentem rudi saeculo. Quanquam in his leuior est perniciēs. Sunt alia persuasa similibus technis, quae Christum nobis propemodum extinxerunt.

10 *Quinetiam exemplo pariebat foemina nostro,  
 nullaque non illo tempore mater erat.*

Exempla a brutis animantibus et rebus inanimis ducta pondus habent. Asina per medios ignes accurrit ad foetum; proinde turpe est matrem negligere liberos. Coelestia corpora seruant cursum a Deo praescriptum; turpe est homini non  
 15 parere iussis diuinis. Arbores instinctu naturae prorogant suum quaeque genus; damnanda igitur ascita voluntariaque sterilitas. Semper enim exempla imparia vehementius mouent, veluti quod a foemina ad virum, a puero ad senem ducitur, aut contra. Nam imparitas sita est non in persona tantum, sed  
 LB 1196 etiam in re collata ad personam. Si turpe est adolescenti scortis indulgere,  
 20 quanto magis seni? Contra, si seni non est turpe discere quod nescit, quanto minus puero? Caeterum in nonnullis arboribus et sexum et coniugium et coitum adnotarunt scriptores, adeo vt quae foeminae sunt, nisi adsit mascula arbor, steriles maneant. Porro qui diligentius rerum naturas perscrutati sunt, affirmant nihil e terra gigni, quod sexu careat. Qua de re copiose Plinius lib. 13 cap. 4.  
 25 Quemadmodum autem nonnunquam corporis vitium, semper autem aetas adfert sterilitatem foeminis, ita et arboribus frugiferis. Nam quicquid vitiorum est in corporibus hominum, idem ferme comperitur in arboribus, vocabulis etiam huc a malis hominum translatis, quod genus sunt fames, sitis, senium, vermiculatio, sideratio, membrorum dolor, cruditas, obesitas, oculorum exustio,  
 30 abortus. Sunt his malis excogitata varia remedia; vide apud Plinium lib. 17 cap. 24 et 26. Nec tamen singulis annis perpetuo pariunt foeminae quae foe-

1 cf. Willem Heda's *Historia episcoporum Trajectensium*, of which the dedication is dated May-day 1521. Writing of the episcopate of Otto III, he says: 'Similiter prodigium tunc contigisse ferunt de Machtilde filia Comitissae occisi, uxore Comitissae Hennebergensis, pariente ad numerum dierum anni numerosam prolem apud Lusdinium ex imprecatione cuiusdam mulieris mendicantis, adhuc pictura extante celebratum'. The children were all buried soon after baptism; the mother survived till 1277. *Historia veterum epi-*

*scoporum Vltraiectinae sedis*, Franeker, 1612, p. 339; ed. A. Buchelius, Utrecht, 1643, p. 206. D. Th. Enklaar in *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden X* (1956), pp. 234-238 'De Loosduinense Kindertjes', gives further details, and explains how it was possible to have as many children at a birth as the days of the year, and yet these to be no more than two.

24 Plin. *Nat.* XIII, 31.

30 *ibid.* XVII, 216 sq. and 246 sq.

cundae sunt; idem vsu venit in frugiferis arboribus. Gratiam habet numeri ἐτέρωσις *foemina* pro 'foeminae'. Apud Hebraeos summi probri loco ducebatur sterilitas. Apud priscos etiam gloriosum erat numerosam aedidisse prolem, et εὐπαιδος meruisse nomen felicitati tribuebatur. Contra ἄπαιδα dici inglorium erat. Hinc argumenta poetarum de Danaidibus et Beli filiis, de Priamo et Hecuba, de Niobe caeterisque. Quin et apud historicos celebrantur copiosa prole felices. Tum ex matrimonio quaerebatur proles; nunc a plerisque vxor habetur libidini, et scrophae vocantur quae numerose pariunt. Apud veteres etiam medicamentis prouocabatur foecunditas. Nunc, proh scelus, notiora sunt pharmaca quibus accersitur abortus.

*At postquam platanis sterilem praebentibus vmbra  
vberior quavis arbore venit honor,  
nos quoque fructiferae (si nux modo ponor in illis)  
coepimus in patulas luxuriare comas.*

Platanus a latitudine nomen habet, quoniam velut ad vmbra praebendam late ac dense sese spargunt rami. Nonnullis additur ars, ac vi diducuntur ad commoditatem vmbrae praebendae, vt in ipsis etiam arboribus, velut in conclau, possis agere conuiuium. Visitur huiusmodi quercus Basileae, in qua fertur aliquando coenasse Maximilianus Caesar. Additus est fons, qui perhenni scatebra radices alat. Verum ea iam, vt aiunt, in dies fit contractior. Id in platanis, tiliis ac terebinthis minus rarum est. Caeterum platano, quanquam est infrugifera, tamen apud priscos tantum honoris est habitum, vt primum per mare Ionium in Diomedis insulam adueheretur, quo tumulum illius honoraret. Inde in Siciliam transgressa est, atque inter primas donata Italiae, hinc ad Morinos vsque transuecta. Nec defuerunt qui radices huius arboris vino infuso rigarent, quum tamen haud alius sit illius vsus, nisi quod aestate solem arcet densitate frondium, hyme admittit nudata foliis. Plura de platani honore reperies apud Plinium lib. 12 cap. 1. Itaque queritur Nux, quod moribus hominum corruptis luxu, maiori in precio fuerit sterilis platanus quam arbores fructiferae. Hac iniuria velut offensae frugiferae coeperunt esse minus foecundae, quoque magis place-  
rent, succum, quem ante solebant impartire fructibus alendis, in foliorum pompam spargere. Sunt enim et frugiferae, quae late porrigunt ramos, quarum de numero nux est; sed, quod ipsa silet, vmbra habet omnibus quae subiecta sunt noxiam, suoque quoque generi, quemadmodum tradit Plinius et Columella.

27 admittit: admittat *A*, corr. *BAS*

18 This celebrated oak, with its ten horizontal branches each as large as an ordinary tree, stood in the Petersplatz at Basel until 1632. Maximilian dined in its shade, in company with his father Frederick III, early in September 1473, which was an exceptionally hot summer.

Christian Wurstisen (Vrstisius), *Epitome historiae Basiliensis* (Basel 1577), pp. 160-161, reprinted in A. Hartmann, *Basilea Latina* (1931), p. 14.

22 *per mare* Plin. *Nat.* XII, 6 sq.

34 *ibid.* XVII, 89.

Nec omnes arbores frugiferi generis quotannis aedunt fructus, et si aedunt, dispar est prouentus. Quaedam non temere nisi alternis annis pariunt, inter quas olea et pleraeque glandiferi generis. Quanquam idem non raro accidit in malis ac piris. Huius rei causam Nux lepide reicit in studium alendae comae, quasi in  
 5 folia consumpto succo malignior sit fructuum copia. *Si nux modo ponor in illis*] eleganter dixit *ponor* pro 'numeros'. Terentius in Phormione: *Pone his sane decem minas*. Sumptum ab his, qui calculis positis ac subductis conficiunt rationem; quanquam Donatus a digitis subductis dici putat subductam rationem. *Si modo* pro 'si tamen'. *Modo* nonnunquam sonat 'paulo ante': *Modo hic erat*.  
 LB 1197 Inuenitur et pro 'nunc', tametsi | rarius; interim pro 'dummodo' siue 'tantum',  
 11 vt *Velis modo*. Vnde Terentius in Phormione dixit *modo non* pro 'tantum non'; quod Graecis *μονονουχί*, quod a nobis reddi posset 'propemodum' siue 'penissime'. Horatius *post modo* dixit pro 'posthac'. Porro *si modo ponor in illis* modestia vitat inuidiam, quum iuglans sit inter nuces praecipua. Siquidem ob excellentiam dictam putant olim diuglandem, quasi Graece dicas *Διδς βάλανον*, id est, Iouis glandem; deinde amota principe litera dictam iuglandem. Rursum, erant qui mallent dictam a iuuando. Eandem ob causam arbitrantur dictam basilicam, id est, regalem; ita ferme Macrobius libro Satur. tertio. Nec hic dissentit Plinius; verum, vt obiter aliquid negotii facessam grammaticis, non admodum arridet haec etymologia. Primum enim, qui conuenit nucem appellari  
 20 glandem, praesertim persicam? Praeterea, quis unquam dixit arborem 'glandem', ac non potius 'glandiferam'? Deinde, durum est ex Graeca Latinaque voce dictionem componere. Proinde mihi videtur vero propius iuglandem dictam, quod glandem iugulet, propterea quod natuum quoddam dissidium sit  
 25 inter iuglandem et quercum, vt quercus emoriatur si iuglandi sit vicina; autor Plinius lib. 24 cap. 1. Plinius indicat iuglandes primum a regibus illatas, quarum praecipuum genus dicatur persicum atque basilicum. Macrobius citat Moretum Sueuii cuiusdam, qui putarit eandem dici molluscam, quae primum sit dicta persica. Carmen Sueuii sic habet:  
 30 *Partim persica, quod nomen sic denique fertur,*  
*propterea quod quum quidam cum rege ποκτηντι,*  
*nomine Alexandro Magno, fera proelia bello*  
*in Persas tetulere, suo post inde reuentu*  
*hoc genus arboris in praelatis finibus Graiis*  
 35 *disseruere, nouos fructus mortalibus dantes.*  
*Mollusca haec nux est, ne quis forte inscius erret.*

31 potenti: LB, Ponti A BAS

6 Ter. *Phorm.* 667.

8 Don. in Ter. *Ad.* 855.

11 *Phorm.* 68.

15 Macr. *Sat.* III, 18, 2-4.

18 *ibid.* III, 18, 7.

26 Plin. *Nat.* XXIV, 1; XV, 87.

27 *Sat.* III, 18, 11-12.

29 *Fragmenta poetarum latinorum*, ed. Morel (Leipzig 1927) 53.

Atque hic Perottus, aut quisquis fuit eius voluminis consarcinator, homo non ineruditus, acriter magnoque supercilio taxat Macrobius, qui ob parum intellectos Sueuii versus existimarit persicum pomum molluscam dici. Imo carmen non sentit de persico pomo, sed de genere iuglandis quod persicum dicitur, et eandem nucem ob mollitudinem putaminis, quod sponte rumpitur, docet appellatam molluscam; nec aliud sentit Macrobius. Macrobius videtur eandem facere Tarentinam, quod lingua Sabina 'tarentum' dicatur molle; ad quod alludens Horatius dixerit *et molle Tarentum*. Certe magnitudine iuglans vincit omnia nucis genera, excepta nuce pinea, quam ipsam tamen longe vincit nucleo. Videtur igitur olim iuglans summo in precio fuisse, vel quod a regibus e longinquo sit allata, vel quod in nuptiis habuerit religionem, vel quod huic ipsa etiam natura peculiarem honorem videtur habuisse, vt quam gemino protcxerit operimento, primum puluinati calicis, mox ligneo putamine; quin et nucleum quadrifariam distinxit interiectu membranarum. Postremo iuglandis et basilicae cognomen inditum arguit arboris dignitatem. Itaque quod ait *si modo ponor in illis λιτότη* est, modestiae causa rem magnam verbis extenuans, praesertim quum de se loquatur.

*Nunc neque continuos nascuntur poma per annos,  
vuaque laesa domum laesaque bacca venit.*

Duplex commemorat incommodum, alterum quod rarius et ex interuallo pariant arbores, veluti meditantés sterilitatem; alterum quod hoc ipsum quod nascitur velut a diis iratis laeditur grandine, pruina, nebula, pluuiá, aestu. Sunt autem praeter haec incommoda, quae videntur a superis immitti, sua cuique arbori vitia morbique, quemadmodum hominibus. Sunt et his excogitata remedia. Plinius recenset aliquot arbores biferas ac triferas. Caeterum lib. 15 cap. 22 prodigii loco refert ex consulari viro audisse se, quod haberet et iuglandes biferas. Recensentur et quae foetus suos alternent, inter quas, vt diximus, est olea. Hoc igitur sentit Nux, ob corruptos hominum mores arbores simul et foeminas non modo gignere rarius ac malignius, verumetiam foetus aedere deteriores. Ita Satyricus:

*Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.*

Et hodie quot videmus partus edi morbis obnoxios aut monstrosos!

*Nunc vterus vitio est, quae vult formosa videri,  
raraque in hoc aeno est quae velit esse parens.*

In arboribus olim vitium maximum erat sterilitas, quae etiam in his quae fruc-

15 λιτότη. (ita et in textu)\* A, corr. LB

1 N. Perottus, *Cornucopiae* (Venice, Aldus, 1499) p. 293, l. 13 sq.  
6-8 Macr. *Sat.* III, 18, 13; Hor. *Serm.* II, 4, 34.

25 Plin. *Nat.* XVI, 114; XV, 91.

31 Iuv. 15, 70.

33 *vterus vitio est*: so many early editions of Ovid; the right reading is *vterum vitiat*.

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LB 1198

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tiferi generis sunt nonnunquam nascitur ex carie aut alio quopiam vitio. Id accomodat ad foeminas. Nunc, inquit, si qua mulier est quae velit placere marito, vitio sibi vertit quod est foecunda, nimirum intelligens se magis commendari viro forma quam foecunditate, quae olim praecipue commendabat vxorem  
 5 marito. Et ideo non dant vxores operam, vt maritos numerosa sobole locupletent, sed quoniam intelligunt crebro partu consenescere formae gratiam, pharmacis etiam procurant sterilitatem et, quod est sceleratius, ciunt abortus, ne taedio gestationis ac labore nixuque pariendi senium contrahant atque, vt Gellii verbis vtat, *aequor illud ventris irrugetur*, ac de grauitate oneris et labore partus  
 10 fatiscat. Iam vt in foeminis, ita et in arboribus foecunditas senium accelerat, nonnunquam et mortem, si sit immodica. Sic Plinius lib. 16 cap. 28: *Omnia autem celerius senescunt praefoecunda*. Quin et protinus moriuntur aliquando, coelo foecunditatem omnem eblandito, quod maxime vitibus euenit. Annotanda est elegantia huius vocis *vterus*: non enim simpliciter sonat ventrem, qui ciborum  
 15 est receptaculum, sed accipitur pro corpore foeminae grauido. Vnde et 'vterum ferre' dicuntur, quae foetum gestant in matrice; nulla tamen recte diceretur 'ferre ventrem', etiamsi vterus nonnunquam pro ventre ponitur.

*Certe ego si nunquam peperissem, tutior essem;  
 ista Clytemnestra digna querela fuit.*

20 Hoc, inquit, quod dico, si in aliis parum euidens est, saltem in me dilucidius est quam vt negari possit, quae non ob aliud lapidor quam quia foecunda sum, tuta futura si sterilis essem. Est quidem, inquit, haec querela mihi cum Clytemnestra communis, cui nocuit peperisse, propterea quod ab Oreste filio sit occisa. Verum illi minus iusta fuit haec querela, quod ipsa prius occidisset maritum, scelus  
 25 scelere prouocans; ego nihil commisi, nisi quod pario. Et tamen Clytemnestra videtur miserabilis, quod peperit; quanto ego dignior misericordia!

*Si sciat hoc vitis, nascentes supprimet vvas,  
 orbaque, si sciat hoc, Palladis arbor erit.*

Haec pars est suasorii generis, quod non raro incidit in iudiciali. Quemadmodum si quis contendat ignoscendum esse Catilinae, quod tametsi ipse dignus sit  
 30 supplicio, non tamen expediat gloriae Romani nominis ac rei publicae commodis. Si vos, inquit, non commouet rei indignitas, saltem incommodi vestri metu abstinete ab iniuria. Etenim si hoc resciscant et caeterae arbores, quarum foetus vobis gratissimi sunt, obnoxias esse talibus iniuriis quae pariunt, praeoptabunt  
 35 esse steriles. Est autem iucunda phantasia poetica, quasi rumor etiam inter arbores rem factam dissipet. *Supprimet*] est hoc viti peculiare, vt laesa incommodo coeli, nonnunquam et occultis de causis, supprimat vvas pubescentes. Saepius quum maxime floret, sterilescit. *Palladis arbor*] haec saepe nihil omnino producit, veluti sterilitatem meditans. *Vitis supprimit*, semper enim germinat ac ple-



runque floret; *orba* fit olea, quoniam nihil omnino gignit, ne germinans quidem, alternis fere annis. Venuste quod est foeminae transtulit ad arborem. Orba dicitur quae caret liberis; et arbor Palladis meditatur esse quod est ipsa dea, quae sterilis est et virgo, vt nec periphraſis ſit ocioſa.

*Hoc in noticiam veniat maloque pyroque :*

*deſtituent ſylvas vtraque poma ſuas.*

(30)

Inter arborum foetus praecipue ſunt eſculenta mala et pyra. *Sylvas*] etenim ſi ſterileſcent, nihil aliud erunt | quam ſyluae. Nec enim temere ſumit exempla ab his arboribus, quarum fructus ſunt in primis grati ac neceſſarii mortalibus; nam iuglandes fortassis plerique poſſint contemnere. *Sylvas* autem materias vocant, inter quas ſunt pyrus et malus, quum vitis et aliae quaedam ſint inuiles materiis.

5

LB I 199

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*Quaeque ſibi vario diſtinguit poma colore,*

*audiat haec cerasus : ſtipis inanis erit.*

Ceraſi foetus primum virent, mox albeſcunt, ruborem pellucidum addit maturitas. Sunt quae ab uno latere rubent, altero albent; ſunt quae maculis quibusdam interſperſis diſtinguuntur; quaedam etiam nigrent. Haſ cerasorum diſſerentias et hodie videmus, quanquam mutatis vocabulis. Caeterum Plinius lib. 15 cap. 25 tradit Aproniana maxime rubere, nigerrima eſſe Actia, Luſitanis eſſe colorem e nigro rubenti ac viridi mixtum. *Quaeque ſibi vario*] hoc opinor notat, quod cerasus inſeritur lauro, vnde ſaporem et colorem mutat. Quin et in aliis arte mutatur color; in ceraso arbor ipſa tingit foetum, quaſi ludens varietate. Et praecipua ceraſi gratia eſt in colore, veluti virgineo; mox enim marceſcit.

15

20

*Non equidem inuideo; numquid tamen illa feritur,*

*quae ſterilis ſola eſt conſpicienda coma?*

Mitigat quod dictum eſt, ſic tamen, vt hinc tueatur quod coeperat colligere. Non haec, inquit, dico, quod vel vobis illarum foecunditatem inuideam, vel illis incolunitatem; ſed tamen mihi damno eſſe foecunditatem vel hoc arguit, quod ſteriles non laeduntur. Quoniam autem foeminarum eſt peculiare vitium inuidencia, amolitur huius ſuſpicionem arbor ceu foemina loquens. *Sola coma*] hac praecipue ſuperbiunt foeminae. Et arborum coma dicitur.

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*Cernite ſynceros omnes ex ordine truncos,*

*qui modo nil quare percutiantur habent.*

Argumentum ducit ex vicinis arboribus quae, quoniam ſteriles erant, tutae ſtabant ab iniuria. *Ex ordine*] quoniam iuxta viam in ordinem certis interuallis digeruntur arbores. *Qui modo dixit* pro 'quicumque', ſicut 'ſi modo' pro 'dummodo'.

35

*At mihi saeva nocent mutilatis vulnera ramis,  
nudaque decerpto cortice ligna patent.*

Venuste quae sunt corporis animantis transtulit ad arbores *mutilare* et *vulnera*; vnde et arborum cicatrices dicuntur. Loetale vulnus est quod nudat ossa. Cortex arbori pro cute est, cui subest veluti caro; lignum ossium est vice.

*Non odium facit hoc, sed spes inducta rapinae;  
sustineant aliae poma, quarentur idem.*

(40)

Non hoc commerui, vt odio iusto mei facere videantur; verum ob hoc ipsum laedor, quia prosum. Id colligit argumento coniecturali, ducto ab euentis. Si  
10 aliis idem euenerit quod mihi, certum erit *rapinae spem* mihi nocere, non culpam.

*Sic reus ille fere est, de quo victoria lucro  
esse potest; inopis vindice facta carent.  
Sic timet insidias, qui se scit ferre viator  
quod timeat; tutum carpit inanis iter.*

15 Confirmat argumentum duobus exemplis. Erat olim sceleratissimum quaestus genus sycophantarum, sectorum et quadruplatorum, qui diuitibus intendebant calumniam, vt ex lite quaestus aliquid abraderent. Huic malo non erant obnoxii, quibus nihil erat, quemadmodum ait Phormio Terentianus. Ob praedam impetititur a sycophantis diues innocens, ob praedam a latronibus incessitur viator  
20 innoxius. Notum est illud Iuuenalis: *Paucula si portes* etc. *Quod timeat*] aut legendum est *cui timeat*, aut *quod* positum est pro 'quare', vt: *Non est quod metuas*.

*Sic ego sola petor, soli quia causa petendi est;  
frondibus intactis caetera turba viret. |*

LB 1200 *Causa petendi*] *petendi* dixit passiuè, causa quur petar. Potissimum in coniectura  
25 spectatur, cui bono fuerit. *Caetera turba*] contemptim dixit *turbam* infrugifera-  
rum arborum. Sic Horatius: *Nos numerus sumus*.

*Nam quod habent frutices aliquando proxima nobis  
fragmina, quod laeso vimine multa iacent,  
non istis sua facta nocent. Vicinia damno est;*

30 *excipiunt ictu saxa repulsa meo.* (50)

Diluit quod poterat obiici, frutices qui obsepiunt agrum sustinent et sterilium arborum fragmenta; 'verum harum dumtaxat,' inquit, 'quae mihi proxime stant. Non ob crimen aliquod id patiuntur, sed obest illis vicinia mei.' Prius distichon non absoluit sententiam, quod aliquoties reperire est apud Ouidium; verum  
35 ita, vt ibi desinat aliquod membrum sententiae, quemadmodum et superius:

18 Ter. *Phorm.* 333-4.

20 Iuv. 10, 19.

21 *cui timeat* The authoritative manuscriptsread *cur timeat*.26 Hor. *Epist.* I, 2, 27.

*at postquam platanus* etc., alioqui reprehendendum in carmine elegiaco. *Meo ictu*] hinc liquet non esse perpetuum, quod docet Laurentius de primitiuorum et possessorum pronominum vsu; alioqui dicendum erat *ictu mei*. Nisi lapidem repulsum a ramo nucis imaginemur ab ipsa mitti, sicut ante dixit *cultori suo*, quum ipsa colatur, non colat.

5

*Idque fide careat, si non quae longius absunt  
natiuum retinent inuiolata decus.*

Homo *caret fide*, cui non creditur; res *caret fide*, quae non creditur. Est autem elegans ingressus ad argumentum irrefutabile: *Mentiar, si non hoc ipsa res loquitur. Sim vanus, videar mentitus omnia, nisi* etc. Habent enim asseuerationem, quae saepe pondus habet probationis.

10

*Ergo, si sapiant et mentem verba sequantur,  
deuoeant vmbras proxima quaeque meas.*

Iucundum pathos est ex exaggeratione mali. Crudele erat, ob foecunditatem sic laedi; sed intolerabilius malum, si calamitati addatur odium, praesertim vicinarum, a quibus expedit amari, quod in propinqua parte amicitiae sit vicinia. *Deuouere* est execrari et imprecari diras atque exitium. Hoc maleficium genus regnat apud rusticos, vnde leges de excantatis arboribus ac frugibus. Quin et vrbes et exercitus olim conceptis verbis deuuebantur. Vide Macrobius libro Saturnalium tertio. *Si sapiant*] quasi syluestribus minus sit ingenii, si intelligant hoc mali sibi ex me accidere, concipient in me vehemens odium; quod si liceat eloqui, vt quaeque est mihi proxima, ita maxime *deuoueret vmbras meas*. Nam *deuoeant* posuit δυνητικῶς. Est autem tropus in verbo et apposito nomine *quaeque*. Rursus alludit ad vmbram nucis omnibus noxiam, quum ait *vmbras meas*.

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*Quam miserum est, odium damnis accedere nostris  
meque ream nimiae proximitatis agi!*

Hanc sententiam velut epiphonematis loco subiecit probationi. Nam catholica fuisset, si dixisset: Grauius malum est, quoties calamitati iungitur odium; leuius ferunt, quorum malis ingemiscunt caeteri.

30

*Sed puto magna mei est operoso cura colono.*

*Inuenias, dederit quid mihi praeter humum?*

*Sponte mea facilis contempto nascor in agro,  
parsque loci qua sto, publica paene via est.*

(60)

Confutat rursus quod obiici poterat: merito inuisa es, quod fatiges cultorem

35

10 sim: sin A

immodica tui cura. Namque hoc nomine Vergilius vituperat vitem, *cui numquam exhausti satis est. Redit agricolis labor actus in orbem. Sponte mea*] id est, tantum in fossa nuce. Sed melius prouenit, si prona siue transuersa seratur, et commissura infixa terrae, vt docent Plinius et Palladius. *Contempto nascor in agro*] vel quia sine cultura, vel quia, quod idem docent, gaudeat locis humidis, frigidis ac plerunque petricosis; vt ager aliis inutilis, nuci tamen ferendae sit vtilis.

*Me sata ne laedam, quoniam sata laedere dicor,  
imus in extremo margine fundus habet.*

L B 1201 In agro quamlibet vili mihi datur locus contemptissimus, | in extrema parte  
10 fundi atque *in extremo fundi margine*. Id propterea fit, *ne laedam* segetes, quando persuasum est meo stillicidio meaque vmbra laedi segetes. Proinde ne cui sim noxia, contenta sum hoc loco. *Laedere dicor*] callide nec inficiatur quod manifestum est, nec agnoscit quod erat obfuturum.

15 *Non mihi falx nimias Saturni deputat vmbra,  
duratam renouat non mihi fossor humum.*

Id potissimum opus est in vitibus, quoties supra modum luxuriant pampini et flagella. Quanquam et aliarum arborum morbis succurri putatione docet Plinius. *Duratam renouat*] conducit id multis arboribus, sed in vite necessaria repastinatio. Ablaqueantur et caeterae arbores, ne sterilescent. Nihil his opus nuci.

20 *Sole licet siccaque siti peritura laborem,  
irriguae dabitur non mihi sulcus aquae.*

Quibusdam arboribus primum satis oportet humorem adhibere, vt emergant et adolescant. Quomodo riuus inducatur in agrum, docet Virgilius in Georgicis. Porro quibus remediis subueniatur arbori, ne radix siccitate sterilescat, docet  
25 Plinius lib. 17 cap. 19; rursus eiusdem lib. cap. 26. Ouidius attingit tria praecipua remedia, putationem, ablaqueationem et irrigationem.

*At cum maturas fisso noua cortice rimas  
nux agit, ad parteis pertica saeua venit.*

30 *Pertica dat plenis immitia vulnera ramis,  
ne possim lapidum verbera sola queri.*

Cortex dehiscens in iuglandibus maturitatis indicium est. Est iuglandis genus, quae persica siue mollusca dicitur, quae quod molliore putamine sit, fissa nucleum ostendat, vbi maturuit. Eleganter autem dixit *agere rimas* pro ‘findi’, quemadmodum ‘agere radices’. *Ad parteis*] ad cultum nemo meminerat officii, neque  
35 quisquam succurrebat aestuanti aut onustae foliis. Ad laedendum adest *pertica*,

1 Verg. *Georg.* II, 398 and 401.

4 Plin. *Nat.* XVII, 64; Pallad. II, 15, 15.

17 Plin. *Nat.* XVII, 246.

23 Verg. *Georg.* I, 106–10.

25 Plin. *Nat.* XVII, 139–40 and 249.

quam venuste *saenam* vocat, quum hominis sit saeuitia non perticae. *Ad parteis]* a fabularum actione translatum est; vnde qui suo fungitur officio, suas parteis agere dicitur. *Ne possim lapidum]* quasi parum esset vulnerari saxis. Iam dixi nuces iuglandes pertica deiici, quod sic arbor reddatur fertilior.

*Poma cadunt mensis non interdicta secundis,*  
*et condit lectas parca colona nuces.*

5

*Poma]* vides aduersus annotationem Laurentii Vallae etiam nuces dici poma. *Mensis non interdicta]* apud Athenaeum mouetur quaestio, vtrum expediat iuglandes in coena apponere an post coenam. Nam in Asia similiter et in Graecia solita est apponi et in coena, propterea quod si sumantur post coenam, quoniam ob vim unguinosam fluitant in stomacho, ac bibendi libidinem secum adducunt, vitiant concoctionem. Quoniam habent hoc commune vitium nuces, quod grauedinem capitis inducant, vnde et nomen apud Graecos inditum *κάρουον* et fortassis Latinis *nux* a noxa. Minime noxia sunt amygdala. Quur autem submoueantur iuglandes a mensis sequundis, quum Plinius lib. 16 cap. 6 referat ipsius etiamnum aetate Hispanos glandes mensis adhibere sequundis? Et nos quum essemus Florentiae, vidimus in aedibus opulentissimi viri vice bellariorum apponi nuces castaneas. Sed tamen praecipua, vt dixi, gratia est amygdalis, proxima auellanis. Verecunde itaque dixit *non interdicta*; satis enim est admitti inter bellaria. *Parca colona]* possunt enim seruari in longum. Seruandi ratio est, si infodias arenae detracto cortice, aut inuoluas suae arboris foliis. Sed recentes ad esum minus noxiae, quoniam et siccae vetulaeque tenerescunt, si nucleos exemptos putamini conicias in aquam frigidam, sinasque noctem vnam macerari. Macerantur eundem ad modum amygdala vetustate sicca. *Colonam* dixit villicam, de qua Cato: *Vuas in vinaceis et vrceis in terra obrutas et nuces recentes Praenestinas in vrceo in terra obrutas habeat.* Vnde et *parcam* appellant, et hanc Cato non vult esse luxuriosam. Quoniam vero crebrior vsus nucum est in lusibus quam in cibus, parce loquuta de mensis secundis, transit | ad lusus. Erat autem peculiare pueris ludere nucibus, quae res dedit et prouerbio locum; *nuces relinquere.* Persius: *Et nucibus facimus quaecumque relictis,* et Martialis:

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LB 1202

30

*Lude, inquis, nucibus. Perdere nolo nuces.*

*Has puer aut certo lectas dilaminat ictu*  
*aut pronas digito bisue semelue petit.*

Nihil addubito, quin Ouidius ita scripserit hoc carmen:

*Has puer aut certo rectas dilaminat ictu.*

Siquidem dilaminare dixit pro 'in duas laminas diducere'. Id fit, quoties solutis

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7 L. Valla, *Elegantiae* IV, 28.

8 Athen. II, 53C.

13 N. Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, p. 292, l. 28.

15 Plin. *Nat.* XVI, 15.

25 Cato, *De agri cultura* 143, 3.

29 *Adagia* 435.

30-31 Pers. I, 10; Martial. XIV, 1, 12.

35 Several fifteenth-century Ovid-texts read *dilaminat*; whether they were known to Erasmus, is not clear.

commissuris finditur nux in duas parteis. Vnde paulo post *laminam* vocat putamen fissile. Illud interim erat artis, certo ictu tangere commissuram. Nam dilaniandi verbum, quod in Aldinis quoque codicibus legitur, etiam carminis ratio respuit. Porro quod ait *rectas*, opponitur illi quod mox sequitur *pronas*, hoc est, transuersas. Suspicio autem hunc esse lusum, quo findimus etiam mala praedura. Imponitur index sinistrae mali pedunculo, et in hunc pugnus dexter subito impingitur. In impetu ac celeritate sita est victoria. Etenim si leuiter impingas, et digitum offendis nec findis malum.

*Quatuor in nucibus non amplius alea tota est,*  
*cum sibi suppositis additur vna tribus.*

Facete vocat *aleam*, quasi periculum. Summum autem periculum, si vincaris, est in quatuor nucibus, vt ad summum incalescat certamen: si vnam tribus impositam secuieris, aufers quatuor. Mirum est Iulium Pollucem, quum multa tradat de lusibus, nullam facere mentionem nucum. Fortassis hoc genus lusus non erat dissimile ludo talorum, quos in Satyris libro secundo Horatius iungit nucibus: *te talos, Aule, nucesque*, significans talos etiam pueris fuisse familiares, quemadmodum nuces. Significat et Martialis ex nucibus ludum esse non dissimilem aleae. Sic enim ait in Apophoretis:

*Alea parua nuces et non dammosa videtur;*  
*saepe tamen pueris abstulit illa nates.*

Rursus in Xeniiis:

*Haec mihi charta nuces, haec est mihi charta fritillus;*  
*alea nec damnum nec facit ista lucrum.*

*Per tabulae cliuum labi iubet alter et optat,*  
*tangat vt e multis quaelibet vna suam.*

Altera ludendi species est, vt dispositis in seriem nucibus *per tabulam* decliuem voluatur nux; quae si *tangat* quam oportet, vincit qui misit.

*Est etiam, par sit numerus qui dicat an impar,*  
*vt diuinatas auferat augur opes.*

Meminit huius et Horatius:

*Ludere par impar, equitare in harundine longa.*

Nihil hoc pentametro venustius. *Auferat* tanquam victor; *opes* ad sensum puerorum, qui magno aestimant; *diuinatas* ob coniecturae periculum; *augurem* vocat coniectatorem.

3 The Aldine Ovid of 1502 reads *dilaniat*;  
 in the 1515 edition it is *diuerberat*.  
 13 Pollux, *Onomasticon* 9, 103 mentions  
 acorns as used in children's games.

15 Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 171.  
 18 sqq. Martial. XIV, 19; XIII, 1, 7-8.  
 30 Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 248.

*Fit quoque de creta, qualem coeleste figuram  
sydus et in Graecis litera quarta gerit.*

*Haec vbi distincta est gradibus, qui constitit intus,  
quot tetigit virga, tot capit inde nuces.*

Tertium lusus genus describit. E creta pingitur ampla figura triangula, qualem 5  
habet apud Graecos Δέλτα maiuscula forma scriptum. Eandem figuram apud  
Aegyptios cursu suo facit Nilus, vnde et loco nomen inditum; et huic similis os-  
tenditur in coelo super caput Arietis. Hanc notant tres stellae, duabus lineis aequa-  
libus, tertia breuiore, sed quae in angulo stellam clariorem habeat; Graeci δέλτω-  
τον appellant. In lineis itaque pictis, certis interuallis quos hic gradus vocat, 10  
disponuntur nuces. Puer qui stat in medio iactu virgae quot tetigerit, tot aufert.

*Vas quoque saepe cauum spacio distante locatur,  
in quod missa leui nux cadit vna manu.*

Meminit huius lusus et Persius: | *et angustae collo non fallier orcae.* Singuli pueri LB 1203  
deponunt nuces aliquot in orcam, id est, ollae genus. Deinde ex interuallo 15  
singuli per vices petunt os ollae. Qui solus aut frequentius immiserit, aufert  
omnes nuces.

*Felix secreto quae nata est arbor in agro  
et soli domino ferre tributa potest:  
non hominum strepitus audit, non illa rotarum,  
non a vicina puluerulenta via est.*

*Illa suo quaecunque tulit dare dona colono  
et plenos fructus dinumerare potest.* (90)

Commiserationis locum tractat ex comparatione. Fit enim atrocius malum ex  
comparatione felicitatis alienae. Vnde et comparatio inter amplificationis spe- 25  
cies numeratur a Rhetoribus. Declarat autem quantis incommodis afficiatur ex  
loco; quorum et illud est, quod non licet totum prouentum annumerare domino  
suo. *Ferre tributa*] fingit enim Nucem frugi dominoque fidelem, quo iudicatur  
atrocior iniuria. *Domino* debetur *tributum*, et graue est ei, qui bonae fidei est,  
non posse quod debet reddere. Pro *dona* legendum arbitror *poma*. Quod domino 30  
fundi debetur, *tributum* appellat. *Colono* tantum annumerat suos *fructus*. *Strepitus  
audit*] iucunda imaginatio, audire arbores. *Non a vicina*] hoc vnum est incommo-  
dum, nam luto et puluere nonnunquam sterilescent rami humiliores.

*At mihi maturos nunquam licet aedere foetus,  
ante diemque meae percutiuntur opes.*

Hic est, vt dixi, pathos ex comparatione. Duplicat autem incommodum, quod 35

8 hanc: hac A

14 Pers. 3, 50.

25 Quint. *Inst.* VIII, 4, 3.

nec maturos licet aedere nec plenos foetus, alludens ad abortus, quae praecipua infelicitas est inter foeminas, quoties foetus immaturus eiicitur. *Ante diem*] *que* coniunctio durius posita est tertio loco, quasi *antediem* sit vnica dictio, vt *propediem*.

- 5 *Lamina mollis adhuc tenero est in lacte quod intra est,  
nec mala sunt vlli nostra futura bono.*

Crudelior est iniuria, quae nec illi bono est qui facit, et grauius est damnum, quod nulli prodest. *Lamina mollis*] putamen durescit maturitate. Est quiddam in nuce, quod discriminet partes nuclei; id quoque maturitate lignescit. Vnde et ante dixit *dilaminat*. Vide Plinium lib. 15 cap. 22. *Tenero est in lacte*] succus est lacteus magis quam nucleus, qualis est in carduis reuulsis. *Vlli bono*] *bonum* pro commodo dixit substantiue. Inde apud Rhetores: *Cui bono fuerit?* vt *malo esse* pro 'esse incommodo'.

- Et tamen inuenio qui me iaculetur, et ictu  
15 praefestinato munus inane petat.*

*Praefestinato*] id est, praepropero, ante tempus. Quum *festino* sit verbum neutrum, tamen poeta *festinatum* dixit pro 'accelerato', et *praefestinatum* pro 'praepropero'. *Qui me iaculetur*] iaculamur lapidem aut aliud quod mittimus, et iaculamur id quod ferimus. Iuuenalis: *Quantas iaculetur Morychus ornos*. Plinius lib. 8 de elephantis: *Pedes eorum iaculantur alioqui mollissimos*.

- Si fiat rapti, fiat mensura relictu,  
maiolem domini parte, viator, habes.*

(100)

Vt vndique malum exaggerat! Nunc ex modo rapinae, non solum fraudatur dominus, sed plus aufert raptor.

- 25 *Saepe aliquis, foliis vbi nuda cacumina vidit,  
esse putat Boreae triste furentis opus.*

Rursus exaggeratio est ex comparatione. Quatuor sunt mala, quae calamitatem adferunt arboribus: vis ventorum, quae nonnunquam totas arbores rumpit ac lacerat, nonnunquam et radicitus euellit; aestus ingens; frigus immodicum; et grando. Et tamen tantum mali dat viator, vt his rebus imputent hospites. *Vbi nuda cacumina*] nam hae partes maxime sunt obnoxiae Boreae. *Furentis*] nullus enim ventus violentior; hic enim dicitur ciere terrae motus. Facete dixit *opus*: sic enim loquuntur 'Hoc fecit Boreas, hoc tuum est opus', quum *opus* proprie dicatur domus aut statua aut simile quippiam, quod testetur industriam artemue cuiuspiam.

2 que: quod A



*Aestibus hic, hic me spoliatam frigore credit;  
est quoque qui crimen grandinis esse putet.*

Vt variauit distributionem! Primum *saepe aliquis*; mox *hic, hic* pro 'alius et alius'; deinde *est qui* pro 'nonnulli'.

*At mihi nec grando duris inuisa colonis  
nec ventus fraudi solue geluue fuit.*

5

*Duris inuisa colonis*] *duros* vocat tolerantes malorum. Et hoc epitheton exaggerat iniuriam, quod post tot labores, tot incommoda tolerata, grando tollit fructum. *Fraudi*] *fraus* aliquando dolum significat. Apud Iureconsultos aliquoties pro damno accipitur. *Se fraude esto* dicunt Duodecim tabulae; *ne mihi fraudi sit*, id est, ne mihi noceat. Et fraudare non est tantum fallere, sed debito commodo priuare; fraudamus enim debito, frustramur expectato.

10

*Fructus obest, peperisse nocet, nocet esse feracem;  
quaeque fuit multis, haec mihi praeda malo est.  
Praeda malo, Polydore, fuit tibi; praeda nefandae  
coniugis Aonium misit in arma virum.*

15

(110)

*Hesperii regis pomaria tuta fuissent,  
vna sed immensas arbor habebat opes.*

Repetit locum quem ante tractare coeperat, eos maxime obnoxios esse iniuriis, quibus est quod sit expetendum praedoni. Quoniam autem incalescit oratio, adhibet schemata, quae faciant ad vehementiam: membra comparia, eiusdem verbi iterationem, et quod ἀσύνδετον appellant, eiusdem sententiae repetitionem. Vno carmine ter idem dixit *Fructus obest*; id repetit, *peperisse nocet*; repetit tertio, *nocet esse feracem*. Repetit quarto proximo versu: *quaeque fuit*. *Praedam* autem vocat non quod raptum est, sed quod rapi posset. Locum communem tractat ab exemplis fabulosis. Seruatur autem eadem compositio, quae facit ad vehementiam in membris et repetitionibus vocum et asyndeto. Primus enim versus tribus constat membris, nec intercedit coniunctio:

20

25

*Fructus obest, peperisse nocet, nocet esse feracem.*

*Praeda, praeda, praeda. Praeda malo est*] sic Latini dicunt *malo esse* quod nocet, quemadmodum dicunt *bono esse*, quod prodest. Facit et ἀποστροφὴ ad affectum. *Polydore*] nota est fabula de Polymnestore, qui *Polydorum obruncat et auro vi potitur*. *Nefandae coniugis*] nota etiam est fabula de Helena per Menelaum bello repetita. *Hesperii regis*] tertia fabula est de malis aureis Hesperidum, quae rapuit Hercules praeter alios consopito dracone, qui peruigil ea seruabat.

35

*At rubus et sentes tantummodo laedere natae  
spinaque vindicta caetera tuta sua est.*

Rursus ex comparatione rem exaggerat. Laeditur fructifera et innoxia, et tutae

10 *Se fraude* Gell. XX, 1, 49.

32 Verg. *Aen.* III, 55-56.

sunt et infrugiferae et noxiae. *Laedere natae* Graece dixit potius quam Latine, pro 'natae ad laedendum', πεφυκυῖαι βλάπτειν, quanquam Graeci πέφυκεν vsurpant simili modo pro 'solet'. Simili figura Latini dicunt *vulgus amat* pro 'solet', φιλεῖ, quod in Salustio notat Fabius. Haec sermonis forma familiaris est Horatio: *irasci celerem, eluere efficax. Spinaque vindicta caetera*] *caetera* dixit propter varias spinæ species, inter quas sunt et *rubus* et *sentes*. *Vindicta* quia vulnerant tentantem attingere. Atqui, nisi mores essent corrupti, conueniebat esse tutiores, quæ nemini nocent et prosunt quantum possunt.

*Me, quia non noceo, nec aduncis vindicor hamis,*  
 10 *missa petunt auida saxa proterna manu.*

*Aduncis hamis*] sunt enim quæ folia habent armata spinis, vt aquifolia et ilicum genus. Iuniperus spinas habet pro foliis. Pungunt et pinus folia, laricis ac cedri. Rubus cutem habet spinosam. Est et spinæ genus, quod Graeci vocant acanthion, foliis aculeatis per extremitatem. Sunt quæ ramos etiam ac stirpem  
 LB 1205  
 15 habent aculeis obarmatam, vt siler.

*Quid si non aptas solem vitantibus vmbas,*  
*finditur Icario cum cane terra, darem?*

*Quid nisi suffugium nimbos vitantibus essem,*  
*non expectata cum venit imber aqua?*

(120)

20 Hi versus non vno modo fuerant deprauati: pro *vitantibus* scriptum erat *mutantibus*, pro *suffugium suffragium* reclamante etiam carminis lege. Non solum, inquit, fructifera et innoxia, verumetiam aliis modis commoda sum viatori: videlicet sub vmbam meam confugit, quum non tolerat aestum solis, aut quum sub dio subito oborta pluuiæ occupauit. *Icario cane*] hic est Sirius siue Προκύων, quod  
 25 sit in capite stellæ quæ Canis dicitur. In eo signo quum sol est, aestus est vehementissimus. Produunt hunc fuisse comitem Icari, qui domini corpus extincti prodiderit. Ob hoc officium meruit locum inter sydera.

*Omnia cum faciam, cum praestem sedula cunctis*  
*officium, saxcis officiosa petor.*

30 *Sedula*, id est, pro viribus. Et festiua προσονομασία est in *officium* et *officiosa*.

*Haec mihi perpessae domini patienda querela est;*  
*causabor, quare sit lapidosus ager.*

Exaggerat miseriam, quod post tantas iniurias adeo nihil sit solatii, vt etiam

16 vitantibus: *BAS*, mutantibus *A*

4 *Fabius Quint. Inst. IX, 3, 17.*

5 *Hor. Epist. I, 20, 25; Carm. IV, 12, 20.*  
 20-21 *mutantibus* and *suffragium* are in the  
 Aldine Ovid of 1502; Erasmus' own

printers gave him *mutantibus* in the Ovid-text, though his comment shows that he read *vitantibus*, and expected that to be printed.

obiurgetur a domino, quod ex coniectis saxis *ager* sit factus *lapidosus*. Annota quod *patienda* dixit passivae, quemadmodum *causabor* pro 'incusabor' siue 'dicar esse in causa', imitatus Graecam vocem *αἰτιοῦμαι*; nisi forte scriptum erat *causantis*.

*Dumque repurgat humum, collectaque saxa remittit,* 5  
*semper habent in me tela parata viae.*

Hinc aliud accrescit malum: dominus destomachans in Nucem saxa reiecit in viam, atque ita fit vt viatori nunquam desint tela in Nucem. Miserum est autem remedium quod malum alit, non tollit.

*Ergo inuisa aliis vni mihi frigora prosunt:* 10  
*illo me tutam tempore praestat hiems.*

Alludit facete ad id quod diximus, nuces amare solum frigidum. Id torquet ad aliud argumentum. Tanta est, inquit, mea calamitas, vt quod aliis incommodo est, mihi sit remedio maioris incommodi; quemadmodum podagra salutaris est his qui metuunt paralytim aut apoplexin aut morbum comitalem. 15

*Nuda quidem tunc sum, nudam tamen expedit esse,*  
*nec spoliū de me quod petat hostis habet.* (130)

Horrent arbores gelu, et spoliatae frondibus deformes sunt. Tamen haec incommoda mauult quam peti saxis. Exaggeratio est ex collatione malorum.

*At simul induimus nostris sua vellera ramis,* 20  
*saxa nouos fructus grandine plura petunt.*

*Simul* non idem valet hic quod 'pariter', sed positum est pro 'postquam' siue 'simul ac'. Frondes appellat *vellera*, metaphora sumpta ab ouibus; vellus enim a vellendo dictum videtur. *Grandine plura* hyperbole est; Graeci dicunt *χαλαζήδον*.

*Forsitan hic aliquis dicat: 'Quod publica tangunt,* 25  
*carpere concessum est; hoc via iuris habet.'*

Status est qualitatis, quo defenditur ius facti. In ea quae publica sunt, ius est populo. Via publica est. Id refellit trifariam. Primum, non statim publicum est, quod est publicae viae contiguū. Neque protinus cuius ius est in rem in publico positam aut publicam. Segetes, oliueta, vineta sunt contigua publicae viae; 30

nemo tamen impetit impune. Porta ciuitatis publica est; transire licet, violare non licet. Merces exponuntur in foro publico; nec ideo licet rapere. Hic incidit status finis, quid sit publicum. Mox iurisdicialis siue qualitatis, quid liceat | in publicum, quid non. Vti licet, abuti non licet. Atque hisce de rebus varia dis- 35

putatio est apud Iureconsultos, de sacris, de religiosis, de sanctis, de publicis, de communibus, de his quae debent seruitutem, de occupando vacuo, ad quae festiuiter alludit poeta.

*Si licet hoc, oleas distringite, laedite messes,  
improbe vicinum carpe viator olus.*

Refellit a simili. Oleis parcutur, quod maxime laedantur, si quis impetat; in caeteras arbores non est aequae damnosa iniuria. Et ob id hoc exemplum potissimum adducit, quod omnium opinione reprobatum est.

*Intret et vrbanas eadem petulantia portas,  
sitque tuis muris, Romule, iuris idem.*

Noe dixit *tuis muris* pro 'in tuos muros'. Moenia sunt inuiolata. Nam Romulus ob violata moenia fratrem Remum occidit. Ad id allusit poeta. Nec gratia caret apostrophe.

*Quilibet argentum prima de fronte tabernae  
tollat, et ad gemmas quilibet alter eat.  
Auferat hic aurum, peregrinos ille lapillos,  
et quascunque potest tollere, tollat opes.*

(140)

Facit ad persuasionem exemplorum copia. *Tabernae* res ostendunt venales; eae erant in foro publico. *Argentum* ad foeneratores et collybistas pertinet atque aurifices, *gemmae* ad gemmarios. Ouidius distinguere videtur *gemmas* a *lapillis*; alioqui repetisset idem. Rixatur hic Laurentius Valla aduersus Iureconsultos lib. 6 cap. 484; nec satis explicat sese, mea sententia. Cui vacat, excutiat locum; mihi satis est indicasse.

*Sed neque tolluntur nec, dum reget omnia Caesar,  
incolumis tanto praeside raptor erit.*

Mire per occasionem adulatur Caesari. Est autem argumentum ab euentis; non licet, quia Caesar punit; hunc praesidem iuris vocat. Olim Caesares maximam orbis partem obtinebant; horum partes erant arcere vim ac publicam tueri iusticiam. Post coeperunt esse Caesares, sub quibus summa esset rapiendi licentia. Nam Octavius, cui hic assentatur, opinor, Ouidius, talis fuit vt possit inter bonos et aequos recenseri.

*At non ille deus pacem intra moenia finit;  
auxilium toto spargit in orbe suum.*

Occurrit obiectioni tacitae: in ciuitatibus Caesar prohibet rapinam, in viis publicis non item. Ac foeda adulatione *deum* vocat, sed hunc deum sensit sibi male propiciam. Verum id tolerabilius videbitur, si quis reputet et nunc esse, qui sic adulentur principibus. Noui quendam astrologum Italum in Anglia, qui sic exorsus est suam ad Regem praefationem, *se duos habere deos, vnum coelestem alterum terrestrem*. Emphaticos autem dixit *auxilium*. Nihil enim aliud esse deberet potestas monarcharum quam prodesse, iuxta illud: *Deus est iuuare mortalem*.

*Quid tamen hoc prodest, media si luce palamque  
verberor, et tutae non licet esse nuci?*

A digressionem redit ad institutam querelam. Est autem exaggeratio a tempore et loco et persona. Iniuria est verberari, praesertim luci ac palam, tum in via publica, contempto Caesare. Eleganter autem dictum: *non licet esse tutae*, pro eo quod erat 'non licet esse tutam'. Nam vtrunque frequens est; rarius est tertium, *non licet esse tuta*. 5

*Ergo nec nidos foliis haerere, nec vllam  
sedibus in nostris stare videtis auem.* (150)

*At lapis in ramo sedit quicumque bifurco,  
haeret, et vt capta victor in arce manet.* 10

Ne quid omitteret argumentorum, hinc quoque colligit improbitatem viatorum, quod ob densitatem saxorum nullae aues nidulentur in ramis ipsius; quod tamen probabilius est accidere ob nativam amaritudinem foliorum et corticis graeuemque nidorem. Est autem hoc poetis peculiare, ex his quae naturalibus causis fiunt, ducere occasionem fabulae; veluti si quis dicat Deum offensum vitiis hominum sumpsisse fulmen, quum ex causis naturalibus id accidat. Atque interim tractat probationem coniecturalem a signis adiunctis. Nidus non est, lapis haeret. Cuius generis est et illud quod sequitur: 15 LB 1207

*Caetera saepe tamen potuere admissa negari  
et crimen vox est inficiata suum;  
nostra notat fusco digitos iniuria succo,  
cortice contactas inficiente manus.* 20

Cortex iuglandis adhibetur etiam tingendis lanis et ruffandis capillis, autore Plinio, et ex contactu remittet colorem. Cruor autem haerens in veste aut gladio aut manu coniecturale est signum admissi homicidii. Huc alludens, subiicit: 25

*Ille cruor meus est; illo maculata cruore  
non profectura dextra lauatur aqua.*  
Cruor ablui potest. Color ex iuglande contrectata dictu mirum quam haereat. Vix enim sapone aut nitro diluitur. 30

*O ego, quum longae venerunt taedia vitae,  
optavi quoties arida facta mori!* (160)

Quod superest, in affectibus consumitur, quanquam magna pars carminis habet affectus. Refertur et viuacitas arborum, et aetates observantur; vide Plinium lib. 15 cap. ultimo. Huc alludens Ovidius ait *longae taedia vitae*. Tragicum et extremae calamitatis votum est, optare mortem. Exarescunt autem arbores nonnunquam senio, saepius et morbo aut vitio. 35

25 Plin. *Nat.* XV, 87.

34 *ibid.* XVI, 234-40.

*Optavi quoties aut caeco turbine verti  
aut valido missi fulminis igne peti!*

Tragicae sunt imprecationes:

*Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras.*

- 5 *Turbo*, qui nascitur ex variis ventis inter se concurrentibus, totas arbores aut evertit radicitus, aut rumpit medias, aut sublatas in altum tollit in alium locum. Ideo appellat *caecum*, quod insano tumultu ruat, quemadmodum et *caecum amorem* dicimus et *caecum furorem*. Neque raro videmus arbores fulmine tangi, nonnunquam et totas conflagrare sylvas.

- 10 *Atque vtinam subitae raperent mea poma procellae,  
vel posse fructus excutere ipsa meos!*

- Procella tam ventorum est quam fluctuum, a procellendo. Ventus enim vehementior frequenter excutit mala pyraque, sed iuglandes tenacius haerent affixae ligno, nec temere nisi pertica decutiuntur. Ac caeteris fere fructus permaturi  
15 sponte decidunt, velut excutiente arbore. Optat et sibi idem licere.

*Sic, vbi detracta est a te tibi causa pericli,  
quod superest tutum, Pontice castor, habes.*

- A multis autoribus proditum est, fibrum siue castorem animal ἀμφίβιον, quod  
20 et in aquis degat et in terris, in periculo venatus sibi testes amputare dentibus, quod intelligat se potissimum hac de causa peti, quia testes habeant vim medicandi, vnde et castoreum. Autor Plinius lib. 8 cap. 30. Sestus tamen apud Plinium lib. 32 cap. 3 negat id esse verum, quod hoc animal testes habeat pusillos ac lumbis substrictos, nec posse auelli nisi cum vita. Scripsit et haec Naso libro de naturis et ingeniis piscium, cui titulum fecit Ἀλιευτικά, quod opus vtinam  
25 nobis extaret loco Oppiani. Citatur a Plinio lib. 32 cap. 2. Arbores viuunt, iuxta Pythagoram, et animam habent, sed stupentem. Ideo motu carent, quemadmodum et illa quae vocantur adhaesa et spongiae. Deplorat igitur quod, quum videat ictum venturum, non liceat motu corporis declinare. |

LB 1208 *Quid mihi tunc animi est, cum sumit tela viator*

30 *atque oculis plagae destinat ante locum?*

*Nec vitare licet moto fera vulnera trunco,  
quem sub humo radix curuaque vincla tenent.*

(170)

- Nihil magis facit ad mouendos affectus quam quum res subiicitur oculis. *Viator*, qui facit iter; *viator*, qui vocat ad magistratum aut qui ab his aliquid nunciat.  
35 *Tela* vocat saxa et *plagas* vulnera, ne recedat a metaphora. *Destinat* designat; destinamus animo, destinamus oculis. Miserum est praeuidere vulnus, nec posse vitare.

4 Verg. *Aen.* IV, 25.  
21 Plin. *Nat.* VIII, 109.

22 *ibid.* XXXII, 26.  
25 *ibid.* XXXII, 11.

*Corpora praebeamus plagis, ut saepe sagittis,  
cum populus manicas deposuisse vetat.*

Ex comparatione rem facit atrociozem. Miserabile supplicii genus est, quum reus vinctus exponitur sagittis populi. Videt intendi sagittam in vitalia, velut in scopum, et tamen non licet flexu corporis vitare ictum. *Manicas]* vincula manuum sunt, quibus reus alligabatur palo. Vergilius:

*manicas atque arcta leuari  
vincla iubet Priamus.*

Hoc supplicii genus dabatur odio populi; mitius erat in solutum sagittas mittere. Vt autem reus alligatus manicis non potest vitare sagittas, ita Nux, alligata radicibus quas *vincula* appellat, cogitur expectare telum viatoris.

*Vtue grauem pauida est vbi tolli vacca securem  
aut stringi cultros in sua colla videt.*

Alligatur et bos mactandus, qui quum videat securim libratam in caput, non potest vitare; quum cultros parari in iugulum, non potest se subducere. Leuior est miseratio eius, qui data facultate fugiendi aut defendendi sui occiditur.

*Saepe meas frondes vento tremuisse putastis,  
sed metus in nobis causa tremoris erat.*

Vehemens metus gignit pallorem ac tremorem. Pallorem huic arbori non potuit tribuere; tribuit *tremorem*, vt quod nonnunquam fit ex ventis, affirmet fuisse timoris.

*Si merui videorque nocens, excidite ferro  
nostraque fumosis vrite membra focus;  
si merui videorque nocens, imponite flammae  
et liceat miserae dedecus esse semel.*

(180) 25

Quorum deplorata malicia est, capitis supplicio velut amputantur a corpore ciuium. In arboribus deploratis duplex est poena capitis: aut enim *exciduntur*, vt admoueantur focus; aut, si non est tanti, *exuruntur* iniecta flamma, vt vestigium exustae testetur fuisse noxiam. Crudelitas autem supplicii facit ad affectum. Facete vero ramos dixit *membra*. Et *fumosis focus* epitheton non solum facit ad euidenciam, verumetiam ad affectum. Tales fere sunt foci rusticorum. Et repetitio *si videor* conuenit affectui. *Imponite flammae]* forte legendum *imponite flammam*, vt intelligatur arborem succisam exuri. Id si non placet, intelligamus illam excisam illic exuri vbi nata est. Vide num sic possit intelligi: *vrite fumosis focus*, id est, suspendite in fumo. Solent enim illic durari materiae sectae. Maro in Georgicis:

35

*Et suspensa focus exploret robora fumus.*

*Dedecus]* ignominia est affici supplicio. Sed miserius est quotidie pati, quod est supplicio crudelius.

*Si nec cur vrar nec cur excidar habetis,  
parcite; sic coeptum perficiatis iter.*

Si nocens sum, nullum recuso supplicium; sin innocens, abstinete ab iniuria. *Sic coeptum*] addit religionem imprecationis. Viatori multa imminent pericula in  
5 itinere. Precatur autem ita felix iter, si abstineant ab iniuria innocentis. Sic vobis  
innoxiis nemo noceat, quemadmodum mihi parcetis; subindicans esse pericu-  
l B 1209 lum ne, si impetant innocentem, | exoriatur qui exemplum in ipsos retorqueat.

Vetus est prouerbium, More charissime, ἄλις δρυός. Vereor autem, ne quis  
nobis iamdudum occinat ἄλις καρύου. Proinde finem faciemus, si prius amoueri-  
10 mus vnum scrupulum. In multis idem est nomen arboris et fructus, quemadmo-  
dum nux, oliua, nisi forte oleam mauiis esse arborem, oliuam fructum. In aliis  
diuersa sunt vocabula, sicut quercus et glans, vitis et vua. In plerisque genus  
distinguit fructum ab arbore, vt *haec cerasus, hoc cerasum; haec malus, hoc malum*.  
Iam quod fit in nuce, idem an accidat in cognomentis, videndum est. Corylus  
15 arbor est, cuius fructus dicitur auellana. Et persica nux dicitur fructus; an et  
arbor dicatur persica nux, nondum satis constat. Certe non videtur conuenire,  
l B 1210 vt iuglans dicatur arbor. Etenim si iuxta nominis etymologiam iuglans | dicatur  
quasi Iouis glans, quum arbores glandiferae dicantur non glandes, videtur  
iuglandis vocabulum non competere nisi in fructum. Sed diuersum docet vete-  
20 rum autoritas. Plinius lib. 24 cap. 1 *quercus inquit et olea tam pertinaci odio dissi-*  
*dent, vt altera alterius scrobe depactae moriantur, quercus vero et iuxta nucem iuglandem*.  
Dubitari non potest, quin hic iuglandem dicat arborem. Idem lib. 16 cap. 41:  
*cariam vetustatemque non sentiunt cupressus cedrus hebenus lotos buxus taxus iuniperus*  
*oleaster et olea; ex reliquis tardissime larix robur suber castanea iuglans*. Eiusdem lib.  
25 cap. 19: *aquas odere cupressi iuglandes castaneae*. Rursum lib. 15 cap. 22, quem  
locum alibi citauimus.

P. OVIDII NASONIS ELEGIAE DE NVCE FINIS

8 *Adagia* 302 (Satis quercus).  
20 Plin. *Nat.* XXIV, 1.  
22 *ibid.* XVI, 212.

24 *ibid.* XVI, 76.  
26 *supra*, col. 1203, *sub fin.*



LIBANII ALIQVOT  
DECLAMATIVNCVLAE  
PER ERASMVM

edited by

R. A. B. MYNORS

Oxford

ALIQVOT DE  
CLAMATIVN  
CVLAE  
I R A E C A E

VAEDEMQUE LATINAE, PER  
DES. ERASMVM ROTERO  
DAMVM.

*Scazon trimeter ad libellum.*

*Auibus secundis vade Charteum munus,  
Exile quanquam te breuis dicat vates  
Liceat modo placere praesuli docto  
Precio lapillos viceris & Erithreos.*

## INTRODUCTION

For his first essays in translation from the Greek, Erasmus selected three short and popular pieces by Libanius, who had taught and practised the art of rhetoric in Syria during most of the fourth century of our era, and was more highly valued in Erasmus' day than he is now, as an exemplar of the Attic style. These were all imaginary speeches put into the mouth of figures famous in Greek literature: (1) Libanius's third *Declamation*, the 'Legatio Menelai', in which Menelaus vainly appeals to the Trojans, before the outbreak of the Trojan War, to return to him Helen his wife, whom Paris has abducted; (2) the first and second of the so-called 'Ethopoeiae', which form sectio xi of his *Progymnasmata* or 'Practice Pieces', Medea's supposed reflections as she decides to murder her children, and Andromache's when she is confronted with the dead body of her husband Hector. (Erasmus had doubts about the authenticity of these two slight pieces, which modern scholars do not seem to share.) The Greek manuscript from which his texts were taken has not been identified, but it was evidently a recent transcript of a very ordinary kind; in the *Declamation* it resembled a fifteenth-century copy in the Vatican, MS Vat. gr. 113, and in the rest Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 122, another late manuscript of no authority.<sup>1</sup>

In November 1503, Erasmus made in his own hand a fair copy of these versions, followed by their Greek originals, which he signed and dated at the end of the first piece. Thereto he prefixed a four-line epigram in scazon iambic trimeters, and a dedicatory epistle addressed to Nicolas Le Ruistre, bishop of Arras and chancellor of Louvain university,<sup>2</sup> whose arms (Azure, three vine-leaves or) were painted at the beginning by a very skilful professional illuminator, with three rats running up the dexter side of the shield. The gift, dated 17 November, was well received, and Erasmus could report on 27 November

<sup>1</sup> R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera* V (Leipzig 1909), 197; VIII (1915), 369.

<sup>2</sup> The scazons, which were first printed in the Paris *Epigrammata* of 1506/7, are Reedijk no. 75; the dedication is Allen I ep. 177. For Nicolas Ruter or Le Ruistre, see the *Biographie Nationale* XX (Brussels 1908-10) col. 465-82.

that it had produced an invitation to dinner and a gift of ten gold pieces.<sup>3</sup> Early next year he dedicated to the same patron his *Panegyricus ad Philippum*, and apparently received fifty livres.<sup>4</sup>

What the bishop did with his present, we do not know. Many years later the autograph manuscript reappears in the collection of Abraham Ortelius the geographer, on whose death in 1598 it was inherited by his nephew James Cole. We next find it in the hands of that Hugh Peters who was minister of the English church in Rotterdam, and after a life of great activity in the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut and in the English troubles, was put to death in 1660 for his part in the execution of King Charles I. By Peters it was given in 1657 to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where it still is.<sup>5</sup>

Erasmus no doubt kept a copy of his versions, but it was not until July 1519, when he was again in Louvain, that they appeared in print, with the Greek text facing them, and followed by three Greek epigrams (each with a Latin version) by Crates, Metrodorus and Posidippus. The printer was Dirk Martens of Louvain, and his text is very close to the autograph, with a few slips corrected and a few misprints added. Not so the second edition, a book containing among other things Erasmus' versions of Isocrates *de Institutione Principis* and of the *Tyrannicida* and *Abdicatus* of Lucian, which appeared in the spring of 1522 (March is on the title-page, but 1 May in the colophon). This was published by Johann Froben in Basel, where Erasmus then was, and he took the opportunity to make over thirty changes in the Latin, most of them representing his better judgement on the meaning of the Greek.<sup>6</sup> In 1525 a reprint appeared with Johann Salvator at Cologne, in which the Libanius follows Melanchthon's *Eloquentiae Encomium* and the *Progymnasmata* of another of the Greek sophists, Aphthonius, with Catanaeus's Latin version.

But already Erasmus' Greek and Latin have begun to part company. Of the Greek, there is very little more to be told. When in 1524 Francisco Vergara, professor of Greek at Alcalá,<sup>7</sup> needed texts for the use of his pupils, he published there with Miguel de Eguia a quarto of 40 leaves, containing among other things Libanius' *Declamatio Menelai* and epigrams by Crates and Metrodorus, and these no doubt were drawn from our Louvain edition of 1519. In the

<sup>3</sup> Letter to William Herman (ep. 178): Verti nuper declamatiunculas aliquot, vnam Libanii Sophistae, duas incerto auctore; eas dicaui donauique domino Nicolao Ruterio, episcopo Atrebatensi, huius Academiae Cancellario. Is magnopere nostro munusculo delectatus, quamquam perquam pusillo, ad conuiuium vocauit; obtulit officium suum, quacunque in re aut mihi aut meis posset gratificari. Abiens misit per Decanum Mechliniensem aureos decem.

<sup>4</sup> Allen I, 396.

<sup>5</sup> M. R. James, *The Western MSS ... of Trinity College, Cambridge* II (1901), p. 268-9, no. 827; Foerster V, 193-4; H. W. Garrod in *The Library*, fifth series, IV (1949), 9-10.

<sup>6</sup> The most remarkable error corrected is the confusion in col. 554 between the proper name *Glauce* and *glaux*, an owl. *Finitimos* in col. 553 for τοὺς ἐν τέλει remains uncorrected. In one place he adopts a different Greek reading (πάρων for πρίν in col. 553), and this was perhaps a variant in his Greek manuscript.

<sup>7</sup> Allen VII, 168.

Spanish College at Bologna is a volume containing texts of Aphthonius and the two shorter Libanian pieces, which there is reason for supposing to be transcripts from the Cologne edition of 1525.<sup>8</sup> In 1540 the three pieces were reprinted, without their Latin versions, in a rare pamphlet, at Paris by Johannes Lodoicus Tiletanus. Otherwise Erasmus' pioneer Greek texts seem to have attracted no further interest, until they were submerged by the rising tide of Greek scholarship in the early seventeenth century.

The Latin versions of Libanius duly appeared in the Basel *Opera omnia* of 1540 (vol. i, pp. 461–6). Before that, they had already found a new lease of life in the dubious company of other texts which claimed to be contemporary documents of the Trojan War. In 1529, A. Cratander at Basel, reprinting the fictional histories of Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius from the old edition of Franciscus Faragonius (first published at Messina in 1498), had devoted twenty pages at the end of the book to our three pieces, together with the dedication to Nicolas Le Ruistre. This corpus was reproduced, without the Erasmus dedication, in an elegant italic small-octavo by Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons in 1552. Of this, line-for-line reprints followed at Paris (Jérôme de Marnef) in 1560 and 1564, at Lyons (Antonius Gryphius) in 1569, and at Geneva (Antonius Candidus of Lyons) in 1598; and a less elegant octavo edited by George Henisch and published at Basel by Petrus Perna in 1573 bore the proud title *Belli Troiani scriptores praecipui*. Nor was this the end of their useful life; for when in 1606–27 Frédéric Morel produced the first modern edition of Libanius, at Paris in two folio volumes, he adopted for the Declamation and the first of the Ethopoeiae (but not for the second) the hundred-year-old version of Erasmus.<sup>9</sup>

The spelling of this reprint follows that of the autograph, except that in accordance with the principles of the edition, initial *u* has been replaced by *v*. The punctuation has been modernised: Erasmus uses the colon for pauses of any length indiscriminately, and / occasionally for a brief pause.

<sup>8</sup> Foerster VIII, 364.

<sup>9</sup> *Libanii Sophistae praeludia oratoria lxxii* etc., ed. F. Morellus I (Paris 1606), 189–98, 138–40.

## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- MS*: Cambridge, Trinity College R. 9. 26 (autograph), Nov. 1503.  
*A*: ed. pr., Louanii, Th. Martinus, Mense Iul. 1519 (*NK* 1367).  
*B*: ed. Basil., Io. Froben, Mense Mart. / cal. Maii 1522.

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI NICOLAO RVTERIO EPISCOPO  
ATREBATENSI INSIGNIS AC FLORENTISSIMAE LOVANIENSIS  
ACADÆMIAE CANCELLARIO ILLVSTRISSIMI ARCHIDVCIS  
AVSTRIAE PHILIPPI CONSILIARIO S.D.

LB 547

ERASMVS DESYDERIVS ROTERODAMVS

5

Cum nuper essem declamationes aliquot Graecas nactus, Praesul amplissime, eisque vertendis periculum de me ipso facere statuissem, quantum in vtriusque linguae facultate fecissem operae precium, circumspectanti mihi cui potissimum hoc progymnasmatis consecrarem, tu primus atque adeo solus occurristi. Cui enim potius, etiam si nihil aliud, conuenit studiorum nostrorum prouentus 10 appendere quam huius florentissimae scholae Cancellario, id est, omnium studiorum moderatori ac principi perpetuo? Huc igitur sponte eunti multum et fiducia et animi addidit quum passim per ora mortalium volitans tuarum virtutum fama, tum praecipue hospitis mei Ioannis Paludani, hominis doctissimi atque humanissimi, pene quotidiana praedicatio, qui mihi totius animi tui 15 simulachrum quoddam absolutum ita depinxit oratione, vt nullus Apelles corporis figuram penicillo expresserit euentius. Atque inter innumera tua decora illud in primis memorabile, quod quum perpaucis mortalium contigerit vni principi diu placuisse, tu singulari quadam sapientia raraque morum dexteritate quatuor iam Burgondionum Ducibus, alii post alium, sic perpetuo placuisti 20

2 LOVANIENSIS: Louaniensium *MS* | 3 CANCELLARIO: dignissimo atque ornatissimo Cancellario *MS* | 4 AVSTRIAE: Austriae et cet. *MS*; s.d.: salutem plurimam dicit *MS* | 5 DESYDERIVS: *om. B*; ROTERODAMVS: canonicus ordinis diui Augustini *MS*

13 cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 9: virum volitare per ora.

14 Jean Desmarais or Paludanus of Cassel, professor of rhetoric in Louvain university. Erasmus dedicated his Latin version of Lucian's *De mercede conductis* to him in 1506 (see below, p. 552), stayed with

him in 1517, and comments on his death in April 1526 (Ep. 197, Ep. 597, Ep. 1694; *Biog. nat* XVI, 1900, 517-518).  
20 The bishop had served Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire, Maximilian and Philippe le Beau.

placesque, vt nullus inter aulicos proceres tantundem gratia floreret, autoritate polleret, sapientia prospiceret, consilio prodesset; quum interim vsu tam longo nihil vnquam de tua synceritate aula detriuerit, tu semper aliquid de illius moribus emendaris. Nec minus insignis illa tua laus quam ea quam vni Nestori tribuit Homerus, quod incorrupta tua in agendo integritas, simplex in dicendo libertas, semper fuit principibus gratior, multitudini popularior quam aliorum obsequiosa assentatio. Quid ego iam referam toties obitas summa cum laude legationes, quae quidem faciunt vt apud exteros quoque longe lateque, solis instar, tui nominis splendor sit propagatus? Quid amplissimos honores, non  
 5  
 10  
 15  
 20  
 25  
 30

Verum haec quidem, quia sunt amplissima, deterrere poterant, nisi me illa rursus inuitarent, quod audio te, vt litteris ac pietate insigniter esse praeditum, ita omnes in quibus egregium aliquod probitatis aut doctrinae specimen eluceret, singulari semper amore complecti, effusissima beneficentia solere prosequi; neque prorsus alium multis iam saeculis exitisse, qui pari atque tu studio, libertate, dimicatione, inuidiae contemptu, tum ecclesiae tum studiorum dignitatem fortunasque tueretur. Adeo quicquid facultatis vel tua tibi fortuna largita est vel peperit industria, id totum ad ornandos iuuandos prouehendosque probos ac doctos viros conferre gaudes. Haec quidem et cum his alia plurima vbi cognouissem, pater humanissime, quum vltro mihi iamdudum ardebat animus, tum hospitis adhortatio quasi currenti calcar accessit, vt tuam amplitudinem mihi quoquo modo demererer. Auxit insuper fiduciam, quod recordarer olim, vt refert Plutarchus, tenuem quendam ac plebeum hominem donato pregrandi malo magnam ab Artaxerxe Rege gratiam inisse; tum Maronem Augusti benevolentiam vnico disticho redemisse; neque raro alias summos viros exiguis munusculis impendio fuisse delectatos; postremo, quod eleganter scripsit Plinius, numinibus ipsis salsa mola litare eos qui thura non habent.

Quibus rebus fretus ausus sum et ipse tuae praecellentiae hos quasi tres flosculos strenulae vice dono mittere de Graecorum rosariis decerptos; quando quidem hoc nomine vel Paestanas delicias vincunt Musarum hortuli, quod nullo mense non vernant. At primus quidem longe bellissimus ac fragrantissi-

4 Nestor in consiliis et liber et graciosus\* *MS A B*; ea quam: *B*, om. *MS A* | 6 fuit principibus: principibus fuit *MS* | 25 Ex Apophthegmatis Plutarchi\* *MS A B* | 26 In vita Maronis\* *MS A B* | 28 In prefatione historiae mundi\* (naturalis *A B*) *MS A B*

5 Perhaps a reminiscence of Hom. *Il.* VII 325, IX 94; ἀρίστη βουλὴ and εὐφρονέων.  
 23 *currenti* Plin. *Epist.* I, 8, 1; *Adag.* 147.  
 25 Plut. *Apophth.* 172B.  
 26 *Maronem* The story is a late interpolation in the life of Virgil ascribed to Donatus

(J. Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, Leipzig 1912, 31).  
 28 Plin. *Nat. praef.* 11.  
 32 The celebrated roses of Paestum flowered twice in the year, according to Verg. *Georg.* IV, 119; biferique rosaria Paesti.



mus in Latinum sermonem transplantatus est de cultissimis areolis Libanii sophistae, cui doctorum hominum calculis inter Atticistas praecipuus locus tribuitur. Eius ille seminarium, hoc est argumentum, ab omniparis Homeri campis desumpsit, idque ex Antenor's oratione, libro Iliados tertio; vbi refert Menelaum atque Vlyssen, quum ad res repetendas Troiam venissent, apud se fuisse diuersatos, et vtriusque speciem ac dictionem a se diligenter animaduersam describit confertque. Dialectos Attica est. Quanquam nihil omnino veneris Atticae deest, in Menelai persona decorum mire seruauit. Nam et Spartanam illam in dicendo simplicitatem libertatemque, quae prouerbio quoque locum fecit, scite adumbravit; tum velut ex Homeric archetypo regi summam animi magnitudinem appinxit, sed summa cum moderatione neque non animi iucunditate coniunctam. Nam Priamum etiam laudat, a populo vero omnem criminis inuidiam in vnum Paridem confert, ac ne in hunc quidem quicquam atrocius aut rabiosius dicit. Porro bellum ita dissuadet, vt ipse iam de victoria securus tantum ipsorum rebus consulere videatur. Denique breuiloquentiam nominatim etiam effinxit; quam quidem praeterquam quod homini Laconi quasi gentilicia est, peculiariter in Menelao cum subtilitate elegantia iucunditateque fuisse coniunctam Cicero, Fabius et Gellius testantur, sed omnes eundem authorem Homerum sequuti, cuius haec verba sunt in eo loco, quem modo rettulimus:

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μῆδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον,  
Ἦ τοι μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευε  
Παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος  
Οὐδ' ἀφαμαρτοεπής, εἰ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν.

Quae nos vtcunque vertimus ad hunc modum:

*Verum vbi consilia et sermones texere cunctis  
Cepere, strictim est Menelaus pauca loquutus,  
Pauca, sed argute nimium, neque multiloquus nec  
In verbis errans, quamuis natu minor esset.*

Porro altera declamatio e Tragoedia sumpta est, tertia ex Iliados vltimo, vbi in comploratione Hectoris fere similia lamentatur Andromache; vtraque autem

2 Libanii laus\* *MS A B* | 3 Homerus ingeniorum fons\* *MS A B* | 5 Troiam: ad Troiam *MS A* | 7 confertque: ac confert *MS*; Dialectos\* *MS A B* | 8 Decorum\* *MS A B* | 9 Liberior Spartano\* *MS A B* | 11 cum *B*: item cum *MS A* | 15 Suauiloquentia cum Breuitate\* *MS A B* | 16 Laconismus\* *MS A B* | 24 pene ad verbum\* *MS A B*

2 Libanius of Antioch in Syria (A.D. 314–circa 393); his works were edited by R. Foerster in twelve volumes, Leipzig, 1903–1927.

4 Hom. *Il.* III, 203 ff.

9 prouerbio *Adag.* 1949 (Laconismus).

18 Cic. *Brut.* 50; Quint. *Inst.* XII, 10, 64;

Gell. VI, 14, 7 and XII, 2, 7 (citing Cicero).

20–23 Hom. *Il.* III 212–215.

29 *Tragoedia* The *Medea* of Euripides, especially 1021 sqq.

30 *Andromache* Hom. *Il.* XXIV 725–745.

vt incerto authore, ita notae multo inferioris. Quanquam res tota leuicula est, sed in hac placuit primam huius laboris aleam experiri, ne videlicet iuxta Graecam paroemiam ἐν τῷ πίθῳ τὴν κεραμείαν, id est, In dolio figulariam, sed potius ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, id est, In Care periclitarer. Secutus sum veterem  
 5 illam M. Tullii regulam, vt in vertendo sententias modo mihi putarim appendendas, non annumeranda verba. Tametsi nouus interpres, religiosior esse malui quam audacior. Verum quantum nostro conatu simus assecuti, aliorum esto iudicium. Illud vnum testamur, nimirum experimento docti, nihil esse difficilius quam ex bene Graecis bene Latina reddere. Quod si cognouerimus haec  
 10 nostra praeludia et quasi primicias tibi non displicuisse, tum tuo iudicio tuaque authoritate freti magno animo ad maiora accingemur, iamque non flosculos, sed fruges de litterariis segetibus collectas mittere audebimus.

Vale, Pater ac Praesul amplissime, ac me meaque studia in tuam clientelam adscribere dignare.

15 Louanii, Anno a Christo nato M.D.III decimo quinto calendas decembres.

## DECLAMATIO LIBANII SOPHISTAE

LB 549

sub persona Menelai, pro concione Troianorum  
 Helenam et res repetentis, ni reddant, armis  
 iniuriam vlturum se denunciantis,  
 Latina facta, Erasmo Desiderio interprete.

5

Si quidem Paris, viri Troiani, vel vllam aequi bonique rationem habere voluisset, nihil in praesenti opus erat neque concione neque armis neque legatione; sed tum nos domi rebus omnibus integris versaremur, tum vestrae vobis fortunae in tuto consisterent. At posteaquam ille rectum posthabuit voluptati, apulimus, Troiani, non quo quempiam iniuria violemus, sed vti quae nostra ipsorum sunt recipiamus, vtique si licebit.

10

Itaque Graecorum quidem exercitum e moenibus nimirum conspicitis, ac multitudinem oppido quam ingentem, et apparatus haud mediocrem. Nos tamen adeo cauendum nobis prospiciendumque putauimus, ne quid praeter aequum committeremus, vt qum arma in promptu sint, verbis prius vti maluerimus, vt si, quod ius est, id postulatione consequimur, protinus hinc facessamus. Sin minus, tum vero quae proxima sunt experiamur. Neque enim nostri est instituti ilico ad manus venire, neque rursus fieri potest vt irrita legatione dimissi conquiescamus. Vobis iam in manu est, vtrum malitis Paridis voluptatem vestrae ipsorum anteponeere incolumitati, an cum Helena simul et bello liberari. Nam ad hunc vsque diem raptionem vni Paridi imputamus, neque vllam iniuriarum in nos partem ad communem Troianorum populum auctoritatem referimus. Quanquam mox concilii praesentis exitus aut hanc nostram confirmabit opinionem aut certe palam faciet, facinus quidem proprium illius esse, caeterum consilium commune omnium. In hoc enim apparebit vos Alexandri factis communicare, si in dicendis sententiis illi ad gratiam obsequundabitis. Sin vero praeter illius sententiam, quod aequum rectumque est, id statuere vobis, ita demum in eo crimen omne circumscribetur.

15

20

25

Ac mihi quidem ea semper fuit consuetudo, ne quibus omnino de rebus orationem in longum profferrem, idque adeo mihi recte videor facere. Nam pro causa minus aequa ne exordiar quidem dicere. Bonis autem causis et breuem

30

1-5 Declamatio ... interprete *litteris maioribus rubris MS*; Prima experientia in vertendis Graecis *praescribit B* | 5 Erasmo Desiderio: Desyderio Erasmo *A B* (Rot. *add. B*) | 7 in praesenti: *impresentiarum MS A* | 12 e: sub *MS A* | 29 Breuiloquentia Menelai\* *MS A B* | 31 Γνώμη\* *A B*

orationem sufficere arbitror. Reor autem, etiamsi alias verbosior esse consuessem, tamen in presenti negotio oportere ad quam paucissima sermonem contrahi. Hoc enim vel ex omnibus vnum est huiusmodi, vt nihil operosum, nihil magnum postulet, quum liceat aduersarium simplici nudaque rogatione conuincere.

5 Ac mihi iam per Iouem Hospitalem responde, Pari. An non tulisti, quae ad te non pertinebant? Igitur restitue. Tulisti per iniuriam? Igitur et poenam debes. Videlicet e duobus alterum necesse est, aut doceas te nihil abstulisse, aut si fateris istud, desinas etiam velle defendere. Quod autem me spoliaris iis, quae  
10 mihi erant charissima, ne dignaberis quidem inficiari. Audio enim te ex malefactis laudem quoque quaerere. Id quum ita habeat, aequi honestique ratio dictabat, vt ab nostris temperares. Ad quae tu quidem communi hospitem lege admissus, plusquam hostilia reposuisti. Neque enim existimetis eum palam in nos  
LB 550 structis | insidiis rem tantam potuisse. Neque vero aut illum vsque adeo strenuum esse, aut nos intantum oscitabundos ac supinos, vt ille cum denunciatio-  
15 ne talia facturum fuerit, nos autem si praescissemus ea fuerimus passuri. Sed quemadmodum res acta sit, audite. Paris enim eam non vt habet sed quatenus sibi iudicauit conducere, eatenus forsitan vobis rettulit, mendacium maleficio tegens. Nemo siquidem eorum qui peccarunt, culpam agnoscit. Quin potius  
20 modis omnibus verum peruertunt, pariter agentes vt tum ex scelere plus commodi ferant, tum ex inficiatione probi frugique habeantur.

Res igitur ex preparato confecta est ad hunc modum. Appulit in Laconicam Paris, cultu quidem ac specie non illiberali visendus, tum famulitium adducens vnde coniiceres eum haudquaquam de plebeiorum esse sorte. Vt vero Spartam  
25 ingressus est, praeter alia, praecipue mira in obuium quenque comitate vtebatur, non mediocre probitatem atque modestiam adsimulans. Desyderabat autem hospitium. Quae simul atque audissem, meas inter alios partes potissimum esse ducens hospiti omnia suppeditare, familiam aperui et ad ea quae mihi sunt charissima volens lubensque induxi, nempe vxorem et filiam, nihildum horum  
30 cogitans, Troiani, quae post mihi acciderunt. Ratus enim Iouem eius negotii praesidem et conciliatorem esse, persuaseram mihi pari erga deum religione futuros et qui hospitem excepisset, et qui excipientis humanitatem fuisset expertus, multoque adeo maiore hunc qui fuisset acceptus, nimirum quo plus commodi caepit is, qui beneficio adiutus est, prae hoc qui beneficium prestitit.  
35 Velut et in praesentia quanto putatis animo suspicimus et obseruamus Antenorem hunc virum excellentissimum, cui quam optime et cupimus et precamur,

6 Constitutio causae\* *A B* | 10 Attingit statum inficiale\* *MS A B* | 11-12 aequi ... temperares: quae tandem iuris ratio dictabat, vt quae nostra erant aufugiens asportares? *MS A* | 13 Tractat iurisdicialem\* *MS A B* | 16 facturum fuerit: faciat *MS A*; si praescissemus ... passuri: prescientes eiusmodi patiamur *MS A* | 18 mendacium maleficio *MS A B ceteri*: mendacio maleficio *LB* | 22 Narratio\* *MS A B* | 28 charissima: preciosissima *MS A* | 30 post mihi acciderunt: deinde sum passus *MS A* | 31 et conciliatorem: ac fortunatorem *MS A* | 35 in praesentia: impresentiarum *MS A* | 35 Antenori fauet Graccus\* *A B (om. MS)*

nihilque minus velimus quam eiusmodi quippiam in sua illi familia contingere. Itidem et tum hospitem iusta comitate benignitateque prosequer.

Prodeat Paris dicatque nunqua re opus habuit, quam non acceperit; nunquando diuturnam ipsius consuetudinem molestius ferre visi sumus; nunquid seu magnum seu paruum non preberi sensit; nuncubi parsimoniam nostram aut sordes animaduertit quam damnarit; nunquam in sese iniuriam deprehendit. Si quid omnino his de rebus incusat, eloquatur, doceat, et nos vix millesimam partem eorum quibus eramus digni passos esse fatebimur. Verum haudquamquam possit, eoque nec assurgit. Nos itaque quum incustodite atque inobseruanter ageremus, videlicet tanquam cum amico iam et familiari, nobisque nostra fiducia securitatem attulisset, id quod et reliquis erga quemlibet consuevit accidere, quod his in rebus fas iusque suadet, id omne, Troiani, diuersam in partem transtulit, proque humanitate maleficium, pro hospitalitate maleuolentiam, pro hospitio rapinam, pro honore contumeliam, pro fide crudelitatem reposuit, neque deos metuens neque eos quorum erat expertus benignitatem reueritus, ne vestra quidem causa pudescens aut Priami patris, quem audimus religionis ac numinum egisse curam ac plane sollicitum fuisse, vt ne quid delinquere videretur. |

Haec omnia atque his etiam plura pro minimo ducens, vxorem meam rapuit, insuper et pecuniae vim asportauit, vt de famulis interim multisque praeterea dicere supersedeam. Quorsum enim attinet haec persequi ad longum apud eos, qui ipsi liquido norunt? Nanque ex iis quae huc deportauit satis ostendit, quantum rerum a nobis abstulisset; ne nunc quidem aliunde quam nostris damnis diues est. Quod si quis velit palam indignitatem negotii pernoscere, nihil alio quopiam mortalium egerit; tantum ipsius Alexandri domum adeat, eumque ad hunc percontetur modum: Mulierculam istam, cedo, vnde tandem nactus possides? Num quemadmodum pater tuus matri tuae conuixit, itidem tu quoque Helenam domi habes coniugii iure ductam? Nimirum aut facti pudens mentietur, aut vera loquens maleficium confitebitur. Neque vero quenquam vestrum oportet offendi, si libera nostra videtur oratio. Primum, neque nos quae par est consequemur, neque vos quae oportet cognoscetis, nisi negocium, vt gestum est, ita narretur. Deinde hinc vel maxime licebit perpendere quantum habeant indignitatis quae facta sunt. Etenim si, vbi quispiam quae passus est ea palam exponit, commemoratione offenduntur ii qui fecerunt, quomodo consentaneum est eos affectos esse qui rebus ipsis lesi sunt? Ad haec autem ne fieri quidem potest, vt postulationem suam quis aequam esse demonstrat, nisi facinoris authorem nocentem ostendat. Videte igitur quam expedita quamque aequa proponimus. Nam duae profecto res sunt quae reum a causa liberant, aut si nihil omnino patrauit, aut si quae fecit iure sunt facta. Quod si neque raptionem

3 nunqua, nunquando etc.: num qua, num quando *et sim.* *A B* | 6 animaduertit quam damnarit: animaduertens despexit *MS A* | 12 fas: fasque *MS* | 14 pro hospitio: proque hospitio *B* | 20 famulis: pueris *MS A* | 30 Primum: Primum quod *MS A* | 32 Deinde: Deinde quod *MS A* | 34 qui: quae *MS* | 39 sunt: sint *MS A*

inficiari potis est, neque iustam docere sustinet, profecto quod superest per se liquet.

Quae tandem igitur honesta ratio? Coepi, inquit, ac teneo; molestus ne sis. Atqui non satis est coepisse neque tenere, Pari. Fit enim vt et tollat quis vnde non deceat et possideat non sua. Neque enim ideo protinus iure quis possidet, quia rem nactus est, sed ita demum si citra culpam. Eoque non simpliciter spectari conuenit, si quid capiatur, sed longe magis, quibus rationibus capiatur. Hinc enim et illud perpenditur. Vides impune non esse sacrilegis res deorum sustulisse; caeterum si possedis per se efficax esset ad defensionem, oporteret quicumque rem penes se esse fateantur, a negotio liberari. Nunc (vt opinor) solum isthuc, ac praeterea nihil, crimini vertendum est, si quis teneat in quae ius non habet. Itaque non satis est per se manum iniicisse, sed accedat necessum est, citra iniuriam. Neque enim si nunc Paris, exacto patre et arrepto imperio, vestris fortunis dominari contenderet, rem honestam aut tolerandam aggredi iudicaretur. Imo neque Priamus hic tacite ferret contumelia affectus, neque vos eius rei testes; quin protinus omnes dignum qui lapidibus obrueretur haberetis tanquam nefaria molientem. Proinde ne tu sic defende quia caeperis, sed iniuriae nihil esse admissum doce. Nam aequitas siue meo siue Priami nomine conyderetur, parem vim obtinet.

At hostes, inquit, sumus, nos qui hanc orbis partem incolimus et vos qui alteram. Res autem hostium ius est abigere, asportare, diripere sine vicio; verum num et ius est, Pari, apud hostes hospitem agere? et accipere xenia et humanitate iuuari? Tu scilicet, quae tum desyderabas, ea consequutus es. At oportebat, vir egregie, te iam tum initio vitasse domum hominis, quicum tibi inimicitiae intercedebant, ac nequaquam ab hostibus beneficia libenter accipere, neque contubernalem fieri iis quibuscum iam olim (vt tu quidem ais) simultate mutua dissidebas. An tum quidem vt pro tempore commodis amicis vtebaris, paulo vero post vt hostibus? Atqui medio quidem tempore nihil a nobis ortum est quod animum tuum offenderit, neque quicquam habes quod expostules. Ergo si ab initio nos pro hostibus habebas, quin istud dicebas? Quur aliud tu prae te ferebas quam habebas in animo? Sin postea mutato animo visum est nos ledere, dic per deum, quo nostro merito? Profecto nihil habes quod adferas; sed facinus omnium sceleratissimum quum animo concepisses, vt hospes quidem ingressus es, discessisti vero tanquam hostis.

Deinde fraudem occultans speciosa vocabula maleficiis imponis; verum haut vlli mortalium persuaseris. Qui sic? Non enim verba naturae consentanea sunt. Decet autem, vt quae dicuntur cum natura respondeant. Si cum longis nauibus cunque armis relucenti exercitu aduectus Lacedaemonem, si inimicitia palam

4 est: *om. MS* | 8 Ab exemplo\* *MS A B* | 12 satis: *sat MS* | 13 A simili\* *MS A B* | 20 Obiectio\* *MS A B* | 22 Confutatio\* *MS A B* | 25 libenter: *om. B* | 28 atqui: *nam MS A* | 30-31 Quur ... animo: *om. MS A* | 33 quum animo concepisses: *animo concipiens MS A* | 37 Verisimile\* *MS A B* | 38 relucenti: *relucente MS*

denunciata, si manum contra tollens, si telo emisso, si arrepta lancea fecit impetum, experiens vel fortuna vel virtute fauente vincere, coepit ciuitatem, corporum potitus est, eique in praedae partem Helena cessit, habeat, fruatur. Desipimus nos, qui belli praemia crimen faciamus. Porro autem si omnia pacata prae se ferens, classem, apparatus, orationem, vultum, conuictum, consuetudinem, finem intulit longe ab initiis diuersum, sciat multum a furto distare victoriam, a bellica virtute arte compositam fraudem. Illa enim virum prestantiorem declarat, haec autem inferiores esse arguit eos, qui dolis assequi conentur, quod virtute nequeant. Atque vt inferiorum fortunae ad eos qui sunt praestantiores transeant, neque ratione fortasse vacat et belli ius permittit. Verum qui inimiciam ne fateri quidem sint ausi, eos vltro meliorum fortunas inuadere, hoc profecto cum iniuria coniunctum est et supplicio dignum.

Quod igitur indignissima passi exercitum in agros vestros induximus, neque iniuriae authores sed vltores, et quod Paridi nihil superest praeter impudentiam, multis ex rebus perspicuum esse puto. Nos tamen lingua prius quam manibus vtimur, idque plurimis de causis. Primum enim non statim ad arma ruere, magis autem verbis experiri, possisne quod ius est obtinere, id est profecto homine dignius. Deinde non aequum arbitramur, quae vnus peccauit, horum nomine ab vniuersis poenam sumere, quod tamen bello constituto necesse est accidere. Non enim ibi vacat insontibus parcere, sed intereat necesse est quisquis ceciderit. Hoc vti ne contingeret, neue quispiam in eas res precipitaretur quibus grauari nollet, non recusamus legatione et suffragiis controuersiam dirimere. Ad haec autem non mediocre momentum in rebus bellicis adferre credimus diuinum fauorem. Hunc vero videmus adesse, non iis qui plus audent, sed qui causa sunt meliore. Eamque ob rem animo moderantes, a legatione fecimus initium, vt siquidem haec ad finiendam controuersiam suffecerit, nulla praeterea re sit opus; sin aliter, diuino auxilio propter causae aequitatem freti ita demum ad secunda conuertamur.

Vtraque igitur consyderate, atque conferentes cum disceptatione proelium, cum verbis arma, simul et ad praesentem foelicitatem respicientes et quae ex illis incommoda proficisci soleant perpendentes, id quod potius est eligite. Oportet enim, Troiani, in huiusmodi negotio neutiquam indiligenter consultare, qum illud non ignoretis, si semel peccatum sit, non fore vobis iterum de integro statuendi facultatem. Etenim ante susceptum bellum integrum est, in illud omnino non incidere, atque vtiliore consilio presens incommodum euitare; at simul atque ad manus ventum est, ipsa sese mala in immensum propagant, ac finem denique certantibus non moderatae conditiones sed victoria imponit. Videte | igitur ne, cum in praesentia licet decernere vtilia, bellum decernatis;

1-2 fecit impetum, experiens: si intentatis insidiis, contentus *MS A* | 2 fauente: presente *MS A* | 13 Partis iuridicialis quasi epilogo facto, transit ad suasoriam\* *MS A B* | 16 plurimis: pluribus *MS A* | 28 conuertamur: conuertimur *MS A* | 32 enim: autem *MS A*; consultare: consyderare *ante correctionem MS* | 33 vobis: nobis *A* | 35 euitare: amputare *MS A* | 38 cum in ... vtilia: priusquam rem satis expenderit *MS A*

mox autem belli incommodis admoniti rursus ad consultationem redire cupia-  
 tis, quum iam licere desierit. Maxime vero, etiamsi nulla instaret dimicatio nihil-  
 que periculi impenderet, tamen oportebat ipsum per se iustum rectumque se-  
 qui; nam qui hoc sunt animo, illis res solent ex sententia succedere. Nunc si  
 5 vere rem reputaueritis, ne si velitis quidem, liberum sit vobis secus facere. An  
 non videtis Achiuorum copias per littus campumque effusas tanto numero, vt  
 capiendae multitudini et regio ipsa videatur angusta? Hii quanquam pluribus  
 ex oppidis delecti sunt, vna tamen omnibus mens est, ad extremum vsque in-  
 iuria lacessitis adesse ad vltionem. Et tanta quidem sunt animi promptitudine  
 10 ad rem gerendam, vt nullo iure iurando sit opus; tanta rursus iuris iurandi  
 religione sunt astricti, quanta, vel si nolint, ad gnauiter agendum queant im-  
 pelli. Iam quis vsque adeo vecors sit, qui non malit citra incommodum ea  
 restituere, quae tamen cum infortunio sit depensurus? An, per Iouem, quod  
 anceps sit euentus belli? Non, per deos, non est vlllo modo incertus huius exitus  
 15 belli, quando ne illud quidem in dubio est, potiusne praemium aequitatis quam  
 iniquitatis, et an illam colentes honos, huius vero authores diuersa consequan-  
 tur. Etenim si de neutro istorum ambigitur, protinus indubitatum est et illud,  
 vtrorum melior sit causa, eos in certamine fore superiores. Porro de iis qui  
 vobis auxilio futuri sint (auguror enim sic cogitare nonnullos, quasi non paucos  
 20 auxiliares sitis habituri), illud dico, quod etiam si reliquus exercitus omnis in  
 ocio se contineret, vel vnus hic Vlysses auxilia vestra in ludibrium verterit  
 multitudinem ingenio sollertiaque reprimens.

Haec neque bellum detrectans neque negociorum cupiens dixerim. Plurima  
 vero dicere proclive quidem sed superuacaneum sit; nam si hii mentem non  
 25 adhibebitis, nihil retulerit plura dixisse. Testor autem Iouemque Hospitalem  
 cunctosque simul et deos et daemones, quicumque hanc incolunt regionem,  
 quod et iniuria priores lacessiti Ilium appulimus, et nunc quoque preoptamus  
 verbis negocium conficere, neque nisi ab aliis adacti bellum sumus initari.

30 Finis declamationis Libanii Sophistae e Graeco sermone in Latinum conuersae  
 Erasmo Desiderio canonico ordinis diui Aurelii Augustini, qui dicitur, inter-  
 prete Anno salutis millesimo quingentesimo tercio mense nouembre.

#### QVAE DIXERIT MEDEA SVOS MACTATVRA FILIOS. Declamatio

Fuit et mihi mea ars auxilio, vt accepta contumelia non tantum angerer sed et  
 poenas sumerem. Non amplius rex Iason, non amplius Corinthiorum potitur.  
 35 Omnes opes subuertit corona, omnia velum perdidit, omnia conflagrarunt in-  
 cendio. Et accedit ad calamitatis cumulum daementiae genus, quod illi de me

4 nam ... succedere: *om. MS A* | 11 gnauiter: *MS, grauiter AB* | 13 quae ... depensurus:  
 quibus ... spoliandus *MS A* | 19 vobis: *nobis A* | 21 vestra: *nostra A* | 23 plurima: *plura*  
*MS A* | 29-31 Finis ... nouembre: *litteris rubris MS, om. AB* | 35 velum perdidit: *perdidit*  
*amictus MS A*



nihil etiam subolet. Quid igitur? Sufficere haec putabimus, ac praeterea nihil requiremus? Minime gentium! Immo superest alia vindicandi ratio, superiore atrocior, nihil egens beneficii aut arte clancularia, verum animo presente virili-que et dextera quae facinus nullum refugiat. Sunt liberi mortalium omnium impiissimo, et vocatur pater. Hoc e filiis solatium vna cum ipsa appellatione illi  
5  
adimamus. Hautquaquam me sinit quae iusta sunt expendere meorum malorum tum multitudo tum magnitudo. Sed rationem ineunti mihi, pro quibus factis quem fructum receperim, omnia ad poenam minora videntur. Æeta mihi pater erat, isque Scytharum rex; tum virginitas et fama egregia, ac multi inter finitimos proci; denique spes praesentibus bonis potiores. Appulit scelestus iste,  
10  
neque deos metuens neque homines reuerens. Atque erat omnibus malis circumuallatus, et necesse habebat inuincibilia vincere, tauros ignem efflantes, armatam aciem e terra prosilientem, draconem peruigilem. Ac dignus quidem erat, qui in his omnibus vinceretur, vt isto cadente victoria penes patrem meum  
15  
esset potius quam Æetae regnum ludibrio haberet vnus nauigii dominus. At ego quicquid est proditorum scelere precurrens, quicquid amentium stulticia superans, familiares pro hostibus, hostes familiarium loco habui, et contra patriam ab alienigenis stabam. Porro artem opposui naturae ferarum: extinctus est ignis, tauri iugum duxerunt, cessit aratro solum longe durissimum, sopitus apparuit draco, id quod antea nunquam. Manu tenebam adhuc trementem Iasonem.  
20  
Ego porro super haec omnia nauem conscendi, multis magnisque persuasa pollicitationibus, sacramentis, meis ipsius beneficiis. Accepit et benevolentiae meae argumentum et Iolcus, vbi rex Pelias inimicus senex ab iis quas genuerat discerptus est iuuentutis spe vltro se fraudi tradens. Et huiusmodi quidem mea in Iasonem partim domi partim in Graecia beneficia extiterunt. Gratia  
25  
vero cuiusmodi? Corinthum vidit et Creontis imperium, ac de Glauce audiuit. Caeterum nulla habita ratione eorum quae feceram, vxorem duxit, quum ex me liberos haberet. Me viua vidit nuptias, atque illa omnia exciderunt animo, praeque imperii cupiditate mea merita neglecta sunt. Atqui ne ista quidem sufficiebant: insuper expulsa sum, contumelia affecta sum, minis onerata sum. Haec  
30  
quidem iustam indignandi causam prebuerunt. Artem vero effugii tantum gratia tenebam, et hactenus suffecit. Incedamus iam et per reliqua, quaque licet eamus. Feri Medaea filios, macta filios Iasonis, viri scelerati, impii patris, hospitis mali. Ne quid te rerum omnium reuocet, non natura, non gestatio, non partus recordatio, non nutritio, non vox, non forma. Plectatur Iason in filiis;  
35  
hii vero hostium nomine plagam recipiant. Non arripiant eos cognati Glaucae neque iram in illos euomant. Atrox quidem facinus, sed ad prius illud consequens. Contra naturam impie agemus? At istud olim ausae sumus. Fratris caedes ad liberorum cedem deducit. Eiusdem est et hoc animi, eiusdem dexterae. Ob-

8 Æeta: Oaetes *MS A* | 9 finitimos: principes *recte Morellus* | 15 Æetae: Oaetae *MS A* | 23 vbi rex Pelias inimicus: cuius inimicus rex Pelias *MS A* | 26 Glauce: noctua *MS A* | 31 effugii: confugii *MS A* | 36 Glaucae: noctuae *MS A*

secro, filii, sub ensem venite: hic in vos per me adigendus est. Enimuero si probus ille fuisset, nihil horum. Bonae formae, bona figura corporum, sed patris imaginem referunt. Id facit vt occidam lubentius. Hii quidem igitur mox iacebunt; ego vero e sublimi medioque aere scelestum aspiciam. Atque ille gemens  
 5 et nihil non faciens vociferabitur quidem, me vero nequaquam attinget. Eiusmodi draconum iugo freta vehar. Supra Athenarum vero vrbem ingrediens, inde cruciatum spectabo. FINIS.

QVAE DIXERIT ANDROMACHE INTERFECTO HECTORE. Declamatio

Euenit quod timebam, et verba mea despiciens Hector ad optima hortatam esse  
 10 cognouit. Admonueram vt sibi parceret; ille vero contra suam salutem vilem habuit. Ergo extinctus est non meis, proh dii, in manibus, verum ab Achille. Quod ille occubuit, hoc est interisse Priamum, Hecubam, fratres, hunc ipsum  
 LB 555 puellum, me, ciuitatem | omnem. Ille tuebatur Ilium. A quo igitur posthac seruabitur? Interierunt, occiderunt omnia. Facta sum mulierum infoelicissima.  
 15 Quanta me foelicitate, cuius gustum modo dederat, Fortuna spoliauit! Erant mihi in regiis pater ac mater, tum fratrum chorus, nitidaque ac lauta omnia. Accedebat ad haec aliud maximum omnium, coniunx Hector, bellator insignis. Spectabar, beata dicebar, et si quis adiens me Andromachen appellabat, cognominis vice adiciebat Imperatoris, victoris fortunatam. Oportebat igitur in  
 20 eadem fortuna pariter consenescere. At non passus est saeuus iste Achilles, quem quidem in meum exitium produxit Thetis. Patrem mihi ademit, trucidauit fratres, seruitutem matri iniecit. Deinde restituta est. Ac ne ea quidem superest. Et hec grauia quidem, verum tu tolerabiles reddebas erumnas, Hector, atque  
 LB 556 vnus prestabas omnia. | Et quibus eram orbata, ea rebar adesse per te. Sed occisus es, accepisti vulnus. Nos rapimur, perdimur. Instant tristia, impendet periculum, imminet incendium. Videre mihi videor Troianos cedi, vxores per vim indigne tractari, liberos trahi, videre ferrum, videre flammam. Aperta est hostibus Troia, te haud amplius pro portis propugnante. Ah puer, forte prehensum te quispiam hostium ad turrim adiget. Strenuus erat pater; a te poenas repetent  
 30 Graeci. Me forsitan occidet aliquis. Atque in hoc quidem fortunatae erimus. At non continget. Seruitus me manet et famulatus, plagae, et in extremum vsque aevi lachrymae. Haud etiam scio an visura sim terram, vnde nobis hostis iste aduenit. Mox etiam, quod acerbissimum est, concubitum cogar pati eius qui interemit Hectorem. FINIS.

15 cuius gustum modo dederat: *om. MS A*; Fortuna: Fortuna inuida *MS A* | 27 aperta est: aperitur *MS A* | 28 propugnante: conspiciendo *MS A* | 30 forsitan: forsans *MS*; aliquis: recte *MS (ita Morellus)*, alia vis *A B ceteri*

EVRIPIIDIS HECVBA  
ET IPHIGENIA  
LATINAE FACTAE  
ERASMO INTERPRETE

edited by

JAN HENDRIK WASZINK

Leyden

HECUBA, & Iphigenia in Aulide Euripidis  
tragedia in latinum translata Fraino  
Robertellio interprete.

EIVSDEM Ode de laudibus Britanniae, Regisq;  
Henrici septimi, ac regiorum liberorum eius.

EIVSDEM Ode de senectutis incommodis.



## INTRODUCTION

In order to state the time in which Erasmus wrote his translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* we have to start from a passage in the famous letter to John Botzheim, the 'Catalogus omnium Erasmi Lucubrationum', which opens the first volume of Allen's *Opus epistolarum* (to be quoted from now on as BO) p. 4, l. 29 sqq.: 'Sed annis aliquot ante quam adirem Italiam (*i.e.*, before 1506), exercendae Graecitatis causa quando non erat praeceptorum copia, verteram Hecubam Euripidis tum agens Louanii'. Erasmus' first stay at Louvain lasted from the late summer of 1502 till the end of 1504. Further he must necessarily have used for his translation the editio princeps of the original text of seventeen tragedies of Euripides by Johannes Laskaris' well-known pupil Marcus Musurus (1470–1517), which was published at Venice by Aldus Manutius in February 1503<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, the translation of the *Hecuba* must have been made between that month and the end of 1504.<sup>2</sup> In BO Erasmus continues as follows: 'Ad id

<sup>1</sup> The most important description of Musurus' life and activities occurs in Ém. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en Grec par des Grecs aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, I (Paris 1885), p. CVIII–CXXIV, and II (Paris 1885), p. 394–404: 'documents concernant Marc Musurus'. In the second place we must mention R. Menge, *De M. Musuri Cretensis vita, studiis, ingenio narratio*, in the edition of Hesychius by M. Schmidt (Jena 1868), p. 1–88. On Musurus' edition of Euripides, cf. Legrand, *op. cit.*, I, p. CXIII–CXIV; Brunet, *Manuel*, II, p. 1095, and now especially the thorough study by A. Pertusi, *La scoperta di Euripide nel primo Umanesimo*, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 3 (1960), p. 101–152 (quoted as Pertusi I). Cf. also by the same author: *Il ritorno alle fonti del teatro greco classico: Euripide nell' Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento*, *Byzantion* 33 (1963), p. 391–426 (quoted as Pertusi II), p. 401, n. 1. Musurus' text was based on the *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 287 and on a copy of its supplement, the *Codex Laurentianus Conventi soppressi* 172, which was partly the property of Corbinelli, partly of Musurus himself (Pertusi II, p. 401). Cf. the accurate description of these two manuscripts, which are the two parts of one codex (*P*), by Gilbert Murray in the 'Codicum Catalogus' of his edition of Euripides in OCT (I, p. XIV).

<sup>2</sup> It is, in my conviction, out of the question that the editio princeps of the translation of the *Hecuba* should have appeared at Leipsic as early as 1501, as is asserted in Schmid–Staeßlin, I, 3, p. 833 and 841. In the first passage, note 6, Schmid refers to L. Heep, *Die Colloquia familiaria des Erasmus und Lucian* (inaugural dissertation Halle 1927), p. 13, where we read: '... schon vorher (*viz.*, before 1503) hat er (*viz.*, Erasmus) sich am Euripides versucht', for which statement we are referred to Erasmus' letter to Nicholas Bensrott of 17 July 1501

audendum prouocarat F. Philelphus, qui primam fabulae scenam vertit in oratione quadam funebri<sup>3</sup>, parum vt tum mihi visum est feliciter. Porro, quum stimulos adderet tum hospes meus Ioannes Paludanus, eius Academiae rhetor, vir si quis alius exacto iudicio, perrexi quo coeperam.' After this Erasmus tells how in 1506 he offered the manuscript of this translation, after adding 'praefationem (*i.e.*, Ep. 188; cf. Allen's preliminary note *ad loc.*) et carmen iambicum plus quam extemporarium, quum forte vacaret membrana' (*i.e.*, carm. 80 Reedijk; cf. for the text of both pieces pp. 216–220 of the present edition), to William Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, at Lambeth Palace. The archbishop gave him a fairly modest remuneration.<sup>4</sup> After his departure from England, during the brief stay at Paris which preceded his journey to Italy, Erasmus gave this manuscript for printing to Badius, but after adding to it his translation of the *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, which he had made during his sojourn in England.<sup>5</sup> This edition, which we have designed by the siglum *A*, contains the following items: 1) The dedicatory letter to William Warham concerning the *Hecuba*, which we have already mentioned (pp. 216–219 in the present edition). 2) The poem dedicated to the same (pp. 219–220). 3) The *Argumentum* of the *Hecuba*, translated from the Greek (pp. 221–222). 4) The translation of the *Hecuba* (pp. 223–268). 5) The *Argumentum* of the *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (pp. 269–271), which is entirely Erasmus' own work, since there exists no Greek ὑπόθεσις of this play. 6) A letter to the Reader Ep. 198 (to be found in the critical apparatus on p. 271). 7) The translation of the *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (pp. 273–359). 8) An *Epigramma ad Lectorem* by Gervasius Omenius Drocensis (Gervase Amoenus of Dreux), who was Erasmus' 'servant-pupil', as Allen puts it (note on Ep. 209, l. 57), perhaps during his stay at Paris in 1506 (to be found in the critical apparatus, p. 359). 9) The great poem *Prosopopoeia Britanniae* (carm. 45 Reedijk), which has nothing to

(Ep. 158), I, p. 385, l. 5–6: 'Euripidem et Isocratem ad te mittimus.' But on this Allen observes: 'The Euripides can hardly be the translations published in 1506 (Epp. 188 and 198), which were made at Louvain and in England ... Also in 1506 Erasmus repudiated indignantly Grocin's jest that the *Hecuba* had been dedicated to any one before Warham.' We may add that we hear nothing about an earlier edition of the Greek text of the *Hecuba* before Musurus' edition of 1503: in fact Schmid–Stachlin, *op. cit.*, p. 840, mention only one edition before that by Musurus, *viz.*, the edition by Johannes Laskaris of four dramas (the *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Alceste*, and *Andromache*) which appeared at Florence in 1494 (for literature concerning this edition cf. Pertusi II, p. 400, n. 3). Something is told about Erasmus' translations of these two tragedies by P. S. Allen in his paper *Erasmus' Relations with his Printers. A Paper Read before the Bibliographical Society*, March 15, 1915 (Reprint London 1916, p. 13–15).

<sup>3</sup> *Vitz.*, in his third funeral oration (*Fr. Philelfi ad Jacobum Antonium Marcellum patricium Venerum equitem auratum de obitu Valerii filii consolatio*), delivered on Christmas day 1461, in which he gives a metrical translation of the speech by the spectre of Polydorus at the beginning of the *Hecuba*. Cf. Pertusi II, p. 402–403; see further *infra*, p. 205, the discussion of this translation, which was disregarded by Erasmus.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the amusing report in BO, p. 5, l. 4–23.

<sup>5</sup> BO, p. 5, l. 26 sq.: 'Iphigenia Aulidensi, quam fusius ac liberius verteram agens in Anglia.'

do with either the contents or the origin of these translations, and which for that reason has been excluded from the present edition.

As will become immediately clear to the reader of the critical apparatus, the text of *A* contains a very high number of printer's errors and other more or less serious mistakes. The discovery of the numerous shortcomings of the work done by Badius led Erasmus to the composition of a long letter to Aldus Manutius (Ep. 207; from Bologna, 28 October 1507), in which, after some laudatory remarks about Aldus' activity as a printer of Greek texts<sup>6</sup>, he adds 'Mitto ad te duas Tragoedias a me versas magna quidem audacia, coeterum satisne foeliciter ipse iudicabis'. Then, after mentioning the English friends who have praised his work, and observing 'neque damnant conatum meum Itali quibus adhuc ostendi', he goes on (l. 26 sqq.): 'Badius impressit sibi sat foeliciter, vt scribit; nam ex animi sententia diuendidit exemplaria iam omnia. Verum non satis consultum est famae meae, vsque adeo mendis scatent omnia, atque offert quidem ille operam suam vt superiorem editionem posteriore resarciat. Sed vereor ne iuxta Sophocleum adagium<sup>7</sup> malum malo sarciat. Existimarim lucubrationes meas immortalitate donatas, si tuis excusae formulis in lucem exierint, maxime minutioribus illis omnium nitidissimis.<sup>8</sup> Ita fiet vt volumen sit perpusillum, et exiguo sumptu res conficiatur.' After this there follow a number of remarks concerning the financial side of the enterprise which the reader may look up for himself.

We next have to mention Ep. 209, also to Aldus, written in November of the same year; as is observed by Allen in his preliminary note, this letter is probably a reply to Aldus' answer to Ep. 207. The best thing would be to quote here in full this fairly long letter (71 lines in Allen's edition). Since this is out of the question, we shall only quote or paraphrase the most important passages.

As to the text, Erasmus observes (l. 9 sqq.) 'Sunt aliquot loca in quibus etiam ipse subdubito, in paucis suspicor exemplar non caruisse mendo.' Next he quotes three passages in which he has changed the text of the edition which he used as the base of his translation. This part of the letter is particularly welcome to us, because these changes in the text are indicated by means of references to the editio princeps of Euripides by Marcus Musurus (cf. note 1), whom Erasmus had come to know personally during his stay at Venice<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Allen has overlooked that the words (l. 5-7) 'dubium non est quin in omnem vsque posteritatem Aldus Manutius volitaturus sit per omnium ora' contain an allusion to the second epigram of Ennius (*Varia* vs. 18 Vahlen): 'volito viuus per ora virum.'

<sup>7</sup> *Al.* 362: μη κακὸν κακῶ διδοὺς | ἄκος, πλέον τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἄτης τίθει.

<sup>8</sup> We know that, as an example for his famous 'italics', Aldus had chosen Musurus' handwriting (cf. A. Gudeman, *Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*<sup>2</sup>, Leipsic and Berlin 1909, p. 185, n. 1).

<sup>9</sup> We are informed about this meeting by Beatus Rhenanus in his letter to Hermann of Wied (Ep. III in Allen, I, p. 52-56), l. 93 sqq.: '... Venetias ... vbi Marco Musuro atque Scipione Carteromacho viris doctissimis familiariter vsus est; quos ambo non semel consuluit, si quis nodus incidisset, horum eruditionem ac candorem apud amicos commendare soli-

(cf. the comm. on *Hec.* 437 and 1359, and on *Ipb.* 1646). After this Erasmus adds: 'Item aliis aliquot locis quae menti nunc non occurrunt, ausus sum ab exemplari dissentire'.<sup>10</sup> Next he gives Aldus full freedom to correct any evident mistakes, and in cases of doubt either to leave the text as it stands or to change it according to his insight. After this there follows a passage concerning the metrical translation of the choruses (l. 24-38); for this subject, cf. note on p. 271, 13-15. Next Erasmus speaks about the possibility of adding indications about the metres used in the choruses. He rejects this possibility, because, if he did so, he should also add indications of the metres used in the other parts of the translations, which are not always iambic trimeters, and this in its turn would require an appendix which would make the book too voluminous: 'Mihi videbitur elegantius, si purum opus emittatur, et in presentia non adsunt mihi quos ad id desydero authores; proinde satius est non attingere rem quam parum scite id facere.' Indeed all indications of metre are absent from the text in the Aldina (*B*), as they were absent from *A*. However, they occur in the later editions *C*, *D*, *E* and *F*, from which they were included in *BAS*, and from there in *LB*. Yet *B* contains a chapter concerning the metres of the choruses under the title 'Ad Lectorem' (pp. 220-221); this chapter does no longer occur in the editions from *C* onwards.

After pointing out in Ep. 209, as he had already done in Ep. 207, that he wants the printing of the translations to be finished as soon as possible, Erasmus adds (l. 46 sq.): 'Epistolam ad te meam mitto pauculis immutatis, de tua inscriptione negotium omne tuo permitto arbitratui; mihi peregratum erit Aldi testimonium.' On this sentence Allen observes: 'Epistolam] Possibly a complimentary letter to Aldus, which Erasmus may have offered for inclusion in the book. But no such letter was printed: nor is there any *testimonium* in favour of the author such as publishers often added to their books.' However, as to the second part of this sentence, it seems to me quite certain that a 'testimonium Aldi' (to be connected with the words 'de tua inscriptione' in the preceding sentence) may be found in the letter which opens *B* (and which only occurs in this only Aldine edition of the translations of the tragedies): 'Aldus Studiosis Salutem.' Indeed the first words of this letter, *viz.*, 'Erasmus Rotterdamus, homo et Graece et Latine doctissimus', can certainly be qualified as a 'testimonium' by Aldus. As to the letter, I wonder whether we should connect the passage just quoted with l. 55 sq.: 'Si quid est in epistola ad te mea quod mutari cupias, fac tuo iure quod videbitur.' Allen gives no note there, but if I am not mistaken, Erasmus may be thinking here of Ep. 207 which he may have wanted to add to the new edition after some changes and additions or deletions.

tus.' However, in his letter to Charles V on Erasmus, Rhenanus mentions (Allen, I, p. 61, l. 170-172) Padua, not Venice, in this context. The important thing is, of course, that the possibility exists that Erasmus has consulted Musurus himself on the correct interpretation of the two tragedies.

<sup>10</sup> We quote only a few instances: *Hec.* 743-744; *Ipb.* 40-41; 730-733.



If this assumption is correct, he may allude to that same letter in the phrase quoted a few lines before, in which the words 'pauculis immutatis' should be noted. Finally, he orders the elimination of the epigram by Gervase Amoenus, which had been printed at the end of *A*, and observes that he has changed the 'praefatiuncula' of the *Iphigenia*, which means that he has substituted Ep. 208 for Ep. 198.

From the fact that Erasmus so explicitly rejected the edition by Badius (*A*) it is evident that we must not take *A* but the Aldina (*B*) as the basic text of the present edition: it is only in *B* that both Erasmus and Aldus Manutius have done their utmost to provide an edition as free from mistakes as possible, whereas *A*, as the critical apparatus will show, contains a quite considerable number of mistakes (of course I have left unmentioned in the apparatus all evident misprints; many of them do not even produce existing Latin words). On the other hand, the number of mistakes in *B* – which, according to the general rule of the present edition, are left standing in the text but are corrected in the apparatus, where 'recte' is put after the evidently correct reading – is so slight that they can be enumerated here (of course here as well we do not mention evident typographical errors). In *Hec.* 1352 *B* has *nautis* which is metrically impossible (*nautis* the other edd.). Likewise, I have left unchanged the metrically difficult *iis* in *Hec.* 152 and 1056 (*his* the other edd.). In *Hec.* 474 *B* reads *examinor* instead of *exanimor* (the correct reading only turns up in *E*). Further mistakes are *Caelerare* instead of *Caclare* in *A B* in vs. 616, and the faulty indications of the persons speaking in vss. 1255 and 1260. From *Iph. Aul.* the following faulty readings in *B* can be quoted: 574 *nostrum*: *nostra B*; 694 *mibi* om. *B*; 812 *E* om. *B*; 1040 *iam* om. *B*; 1279 *At*: *Ad B*; 1342 *locutus*: *locuta es B*; 1586 *elocuta*: *elocutas B*. In a few cases, only *B* has the correct reading, as, for instance, in *Hec.* 477, where *B* has *posthac*, and the other editions which we have consulted read *post* (metrically impossible); cf. also *Hec.* 553, 1197 and *Iph.* 363, 1389. Finally, we have to add that Aldus has fulfilled the wish expressed by Erasmus in Ep. 207 concerning the typography: *B* is printed in Aldus' famous italics. Aldus mentions this himself in his letter to the reader (cf. p. 215, 5 of the text: *characteribus nostris*).

At the end of *B* we find once more the poem *Prosopopoeia Britanniae maioris* (carm. 45 Reedijk), which also occurred at the end of *A*, now, however, with the title *de laudibus Britanniae, Regisque Henrici Septimi, ac regionum liberorum*, and further the poem *Ad Guilelmum Copum Basiliensem de senectutis incommodis* (carm. 83 Reedijk). Needless to say that both poems, which have nothing to do with either the translations or William Warham, have been excluded from the present edition.

As to the choice of the further editions to be collated for the establishment of the present one – cf. the complete list *infra*, p. 212 – the following observations can be made. The numbers 11 and 12 of the list, both published by Froben, have on their title-page the words 'Ex autoris recognitione', which

show that they have been corrected by Erasmus himself. I have not been able to secure copies of nrs. 3, 4 and 5, but as there is not the slightest evidence of any connection between Erasmus and the printers in question, these editions must be regarded as unauthorized reprints, so that from their collation the establishment of the text would in no way have gained. I have, of course, collated nr. 6, the first edition of these translations made by Froben (*C* in the apparatus); it contains a considerable number of improvements, which may be ascribed with certainty to Erasmus himself (cf. the appar. crit.). Of the numbers 7–10 I have collated the Basle edition by Thomas Wolff of 1522 (*D*). At the time Erasmus was living in Basle, and it is theoretically possible that for some reason unknown to us Erasmus entrusted Wolff instead of Froben with a new edition of the tragedies. As it appears, however, *D* is practically (not absolutely) identical with *C*. It is not more than a somewhat luxurious reprint of *C*, in all probability unauthorized, and as such a rather striking example of the piracies of which Erasmus complained early in 1523 on Froben's behalf in his letter to Pirckheimer (Ep. 1341, 28 January 1523, l. 2 sqq.). For the same reasons as those adduced in the case of 3, 4 and 5 I have disregarded 7, 8 and 9, which are due to printers who never had any connection with Erasmus. Finally, there still appeared during Erasmus' life an edition at 's Hertogenbosch (1534), of which Gerard van der Hatert was the publisher (nr. 13 of the list). From the description of this edition in Nijhoff-Kronenberg, *Nederlandse Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (The Hague 1923), I, p. 320, nr. 882, it is evident that only one copy of it, and an incomplete copy at that, is known, which is now in the University Library at Ghent. Since again nothing is known about any connection of Erasmus with van der Hatert, we are justified in not collating this edition.

Thus with regard to the numbers 3–12 our choice remains restricted to the numbers 6 (*C*), 10 (*D*), 11 (*E*), and 12 (*F*). These editions lack the letter of Aldus Manutius to the Reader, and further the chapter 'Ad Lectorem' concerning the metre; they somehow compensate this omission by the addition of indications of the metre in the text of the translations – we shall presently return to this point. Before the translation of the *Ipb.* they bring, of course, the second letter to William Warham which is found for the first time in *B*. The editions *E* and *F* make a change in the established order by putting this letter before the 'argumentum' of the *Ipb.*; probably Erasmus wanted this time to have the same order here as in the introduction to the *Hec.* In *E* the Greek text according to Musurus' edition has been added on the left page (Erasmus' corrections of the Greek text which we have mentioned above have not been admitted into this text), whereas in *F* the Greek text follows the translation. *F* has some remarkable readings of its own, and occasionally it returns to the text of *B*. This only shows more clearly that *F* has been revised by Erasmus himself.

We now return to the indications of the various metres within the text in

*CDEF*. As we have seen above (p. 198), Erasmus had in Ep. 209, which immediately preceded the printing of *B* by Aldus, declined the addition of any metrical indications because firstly these would require a fairly long appendix and, secondly, he did not have at his disposition the 'authores' whom he needed for additions of this kind. Thus he did not put into the text of *B* any indication of metres. However, this was done – almost certainly by himself – in *C* (at all events, he maintained these additions in *E* and *F*, which editions he has certainly revised himself). Since the present edition reproduces the text of *B*, from which these data are absent, we shall give them here, in order not to overburden the critical apparatus. The number occurring before every single lemma indicates the verse before which the relevant indication occurs.

*Hecuba*: 1. 'Carmen trimetrum Iambicum'. – 66. 'Carmen anapesticum dimetrum, intermixtis nonnunquam eiusdem generis monometris'. – 109. 'Idem genus carminis'. – 170. 'Idem carminis genus'. – 238. 'Carmen Iambicum trimetrum'. – 327. 'Idem carminis genus'. – 486. 'Carmen huius chori ex variis mixtum est metri generibus, ac ferme iisdem, quibus vtitur Euripides'. – 525. 'Carmen Iambicum trimetrum'. – 679. 'Carmen Choricum, ac varie mixtum'. – 704. 'Carmen Iambicum Trimetrum'. – 954. 'Carmen Choricum et varie mixtum'. – 1006. 'Carmen Iambicum Trimetrum'. – 1116. 'Carmen Choricum, varieque mixtum'. – 1143. 'Carmen Iambicum trimetrum'. – 1146. 'Carmen priore versu Iambico dimetro Catalecto, Altero Acatalecto'. – 1170. 'Carmen Iambicum trimetrum'.

*Iph. Aul.*: 1. 'Carmen Anapesticum Dimetrum'. – 197. 'Carmen varie mixtum'. – 405. 'Carmen Trochaicum Tetrametrum Catalecticum'. – 519. 'Carmen Iambicum Trimetrum'. – 696. 'Carmen Glyconium'. – 752 (*CDE*, wrongly; in *F* the indication is put correctly before vs. 751). 'Carmen Iambicum Dimetrum Catalecticum'. – 779. 'Carmen Anap(a)esticum Dimetrum'. – 1015. 'Carmen Sapphicum'. – 1073. 'Iambicum Trimetrum'. – 1148. 'Carmen Trochaicum'. – 1259. 'Iambicum Trimetrum'. – 1441. 'Carmen Dactylicum Hypercatalecticum'. – 1483 (wrongly, instead of 1482). 'Carmen Anapesticum Hypercatalecticum'. – 2115. 'Iambicum dimetrum Acephalum, nonnulla etiam Catalectica'. – 2168. 'Iambica dimetra Acatalectica mixta Catalecticis et Acephalis'.

After discussing the editions which have appeared during Erasmus' lifetime, we now want to add a few words about the text found in the Basel edition of the collected works (1540). A collation of the text of *BAS* seemed to be worth while on account of Allen's words in his introductory note on Ep. 188, where he speaks about some of the editions of the present translations: 'There are signs of revision in the collected edition of 1540....' The text of *BAS* is clearly based on that of *F*<sup>11</sup>, as is shown by a number of readings which only occur in these two editions, as, for instance, *Hec.* 1339 *vehere*: *vehet F BAS*;

<sup>11</sup> It may be considered to be out of the question that Rhenanus should have found these readings in one of the obscure editions which appeared after *F*, viz., nrs. 13-14 of the list.

1357 *furat: furiat*; *Iph.* 887 *ac om.*; 956 *raptam: nuptam*; 1409 *id om.*; 2020 *conserens: conferens*. There are, moreover, a few readings which only occur in *BAS* and *AB*: *Iph.* 509 *fore* (correctly): *forte C D E F*; 1877 *sua* (correctly): *suo C D E F*; cf. also 2055. With *B* alone *BAS* has in *Hec.* 868 wrongly *complexum* instead of *complexuum*, but this can easily be due to mutually independent typographical errors.

*BAS* contains indeed, as Allen may have observed, a fairly considerable number of readings which are not found in any of the six editions which have been collated for the present edition. When we leave out evident typographical errors, like, for instance, *Hec.* 545 *accersent* instead of *accersente*, or *Iph.* 946 the metrically impossible *ita* instead of *ista*, the list is as follows: *Hec.* 199 *Heu: Eheu BAS*; 260 *vicissim nos: nos vicissim*; 1089 *mala: malae*; 1141 *has: hanc* (because of the reading *latebram* which also occurs in *E F*); 1267 *periere: perire*.—*Iph.* 30 *contigit: contingit*; 404 *est rem: rem est*; 430 *Scin': Scin' ne*; 488 *prudenter: prudenter*; 558 *audiisses: audisses*; 639 *ad: in*; 674 *nempe: mente*; 1750 *hoc om.*; 1786 *amoque: amo*; 2209 *seclis: seclis*; 2286 *nequibat: nequiebat*; 2290 *decente: dicenda*. Though certainly a number of these readings of *BAS* are either mere typographical errors or due to accident, yet some of them (*Hec.* 199, 1141; *Iph.* 30, 639, 1389) look like the work of a real revisor; one may wonder whether this revisor was Erasmus himself – in which case we may think of marginal notes by his hand in a copy of *F* – or Beatus Rhenanus, whose activities in the field of textual criticism, and even more in that of the *ars coniectandi*, are known to all students of Tertullian and Prudentius, to mention only two of his major editions.

As we can also state in the case of the translation of three treatises of Galen, *LB* is here a direct reproduction of *BAS*.

With regard to the treatment by Erasmus of Latin metre in these two translations, we want first of all to observe that an exact discussion of this subject is best offered in the interpretation of the two dedicatory letters of the translation of the *Iph. Aul.*, which is given *infra*, pp. 271, 13–15. Here we want only, for the sake of the context, to repeat the conclusion attained there (a conclusion which is in its turn based on the commentaries on both translations), *viz.*, that in his Latin version of the choruses of the *Hecuba* Erasmus still frequently tried to come as near as possible to the metre of the Greek original, carefully shaping line for line; cf. in this context in the chapter *Ad Lectorem* the words (p. 220, 8–9) on the *canticum Hec.* 1116 sqq. *Heu quo ferar*: 'ex variis metrorum constat generibus, ac ferme iisdem quibus vsus est Euripides', cf. also Ep. 209, l. 25–26. On the other hand, in his metrical rendering of the lyrical parts of the *Iph. Aul.* he has generally switched over to a different technique, *viz.*, that of the choruses in Seneca's tragedies; as we shall see (p. 206), the latter technique is already present in Mussato's *Eccerimis*, which may be regarded as the first 'humanistic' Latin play. Thus, after a quite personal endeavour in

this field (*vix.*, in the *Hecuba*) Erasmus came to adhere to the well-established tradition of Italian prehumanism and humanism. We may add here that afterwards both Buchanan in his latinization of the *Alcestis* and the *Medea*, and Hugo Grotius in that of the *Phoenissae*, have generally adopted the latter technique in their metrical renderings of 'lyrical' parts. Grotius in the 'Prolegomena' of his translation of the *Phoenissae* observes: 'Numeros ad vertendum elegi remotos ab Acciana licentia, nec tamen vt Graecorum me, aut Senecae minutis obseruationibus arcte nimis addicerem.'

Coming now to an evaluation of the importance of these two translations in the history of European drama, we want first of all to remind our readers of the immense influence of Euripides in the last centuries of Antiquity. For this subject, we refer particularly to the excellent article on Euripides' importance in later times by H. Funke (*Jahrb. f. Ant. u. Chr.* 8/9 (1965/66), 233-279), especially p. 279, where the author observes that in the Byzantine empire Euripides for a long time maintained the position which he had possessed in the cultural atmosphere of the fifth century of our era. In this connection Dr. Funke points out that in the eleventh century a Michael Psellos could and did pose the question whether Euripides or Georgios Pisides wrote better verses (in this context cf. also A. Pertusi, 'Selezione teatrale a scelta erudita nella tradizione del testo di Euripide', *Dioniso* 19 (1956), 111-114 and 195-216; *ibid.*, 20 (1957), 18-37; A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 43), Urbana 1957). With regard to the Western part of Europe he makes the following general statement: 'Im westl. MA folgt nach längerer Unterbrechung die E.-Tradition den Bahnen, die durch die antike Auswahl seiner Tragödien abgesteckt sind; allen voraan steht das Schauerstück „Hekabe“, das aus ebendem Grunde noch bis ins 16. Jh. beliebt war'<sup>12</sup> (in this context he also quotes the mention made of Hecuba in *Carm. Bur.* 16: 'nam sub axe legimus / Hecubam reginam'). An even more general statement is pronounced by Schmid-Staehlin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, I. 3 (München 1940), 833: 'Im lateinischen Westen war Euripides ... während des Mittelalters vollkommen vergessen.' We can now amplify, and thereby modify, these statements by means of the important results of the investigations by A. Pertusi, 'La scoperta di Euripide nel primo Umanesimo', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 3 (1960), 101-152. Greek texts of Euripides appear for the first time in Western Europe in the Italo-Greek convents of the Basilians towards the thirteenth century; they usually contain the 'Byzantine trias' (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*). More important for our subject is the fact that the Codex Laur. XXXI 10 contains,

<sup>12</sup> In this connection it is appropriate to remind the readers of the famous line in the *Hamlet* (Act II, Scene 2, the monologue at the end), where Hamlet says about the actor: 'What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba, that he should weep for her?' According to the information which I received from experts on the subject, it is impossible to identify the play which is supposed to be performed at the court of Denmark.

between the lines of the Greek text of the *Hecuba* (indeed the most popular of the dramas!), a Latin translation comprehending vss. 1-466, and in the margin a considerable number of notes, written by the same hand in a Gothic minuscule of the second half of the fourteenth century. Afterwards, the same translator has copied the translation of vss. 1-396 in the Codex Laur. S. Marco 226; here he has occasionally added remarkable corrections in the Latin translation, and also abbreviated the notes. Working out a hypothesis first pronounced by Gius. Billanovich, Pertusi succeeds in proving that the translation (with its later corrections) and the notes in their two redactions must be the work of the famous Leonzio Pilato, the teacher of Greek of both Petrarch and Boccaccio, during the time when he held the first chair of Greek in the newly founded 'Uniuersitas studiorum' of Florence, that is, shortly before the end of the year 1362. In the note on vs. 41 in Laur. XXXI 10 Leonzio addresses 'Musarum cultor Johannes'; Pertusi, I, p. 143, makes it highly probable that this Johannes is identical with Giovanni Boccaccio, who at that time was preparing his laborious work *Genologie deorum gentilium*. Moreover, he gives important arguments for the hypothesis that the Laur. S. Marco 226 has been the property of Boccaccio, and afterwards of Niccolò Niccoli (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 148-149).

As a sample we quote the first seven verses of this interlinear translation (which, for that reason, is of course a word for word translation), as they are printed in Pertusi's edition of vss. 1-174 (Pertusi I, p. 126):

'Venio mortuorum profunditatem et obscuritatis ianuas  
linquens, vbi infernus sine habitatur deis,  
*ego* Polydorus, Hecuba filius natus Cisseis  
Priamique patris, qui me, postquam Frigiorum civitatem  
fatum tenuit lancia cadere Hellinica,  
pertimens extra misit Truicam tellurem  
Polymistoris ad domum Thraciani amici.'

It is evident that we have before us a 'working-translation' by a Greek scholar, whose knowledge of Latin idiom was fairly limited (cf. in this connection Pertusi I, p. 132). A second 'verbum de verbo' translation into Latin prose was made by Pietro da Montagnana (flor. 1432-1478). An autograph text of this version exists in the Venetian manuscript Marc. lat. XIV 54 (nr. 4328 of the invent.). As Professor Pertusi kindly informed me, one of his pupils, Dott. A. Lazzio, has written a thesis (unfortunately as yet unprinted) with the title *La versione latina dell' Ecuba di Euripide eseguita dal grammatico Pietro da Montagnana (cod. Marc. lat. XIV 54)*, which contains the complete text of the translation. Dr. Lazzio was kind enough to provide me with the text of the translation of the first seven verses. It is written as a continuous text; I arrange it in accordance with the lines of Euripides:

‘Veni mortuorum locum absconsum et tenebrarum partes  
 relinquens, vbi infernus seorsum habitatus est a diis,  
 polydorus hecubae filius factus cissei  
 priamique patris, qui me, quoniam phrygum ciuitatem  
 periculum tenuit bello cadere greco,  
 timens extra misit troianam terram  
 polymestoris ad domum tracii amici.’

Dr. Lazzio also drew my attention to the fact that in the translation of Eur. vs. 19 Montagnana translates the reading of *L P πατρώω φίλω* (*paternum amicum*), whereas Erasmus writes *patrium hospitem*, which is the translation of *πατρώω ξένω*.

In the third place we have to mention the translation by the great humanist Francesco Filelfo of the introductory speech by the ghost of Polydorus in the *Hecuba*, a translation which was undoubtedly known to Erasmus (cf. *supra*, p. 196 and note 3). First of all we quote the translation of the first seven verses (we quote from the copy in the University Library at Leiden of *Orationes Francisci Philelfi cum quibusdam aliis eiusdem operibus* (Mediolani, c. 1490, according to the catalogue, f. 95 sq.):

‘Adsum relictis promptuariis latebris  
 Portisque tenebrarum, colitur ubi deum  
 A regia procul Erebus, Cysseide  
 Polydorus Hecuba natus ac Priamo patre,  
 Qui urbem periculum cum teneret Argolici  
 Martis, ruinam veritus ad Thracis hospitam  
 Polymestoris me clanculum misit domum.’

For Filelfo’s activity concerning the procuring of Euripides manuscripts, cf. the exact data collected by Pertusi II, p. 401 (especially note 2)–402. We may regard it as certain, firstly, that Filelfo was not acquainted with the translation by Leonzio Pilato (the same holds good for the later translations by Erasmus, Giorgio Anselmi, Melanchton, etc.; cf. Pertusi I, p. 148), secondly that Erasmus not only knew but also imitated in several places Filelfo’s work. As Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 405, n. 1, observes, it is a striking fact that both authors translate Eur. vs. 9 *φίλιππον* by ‘ferocem’ and that they give equally faulty translations of vs. 16 *δρίσματτα* (‘moenibus’ Filelfo, ‘Pergama’ Erasmus). More details can be added; for instance, both have ‘Adsum’ (Eur. *Ἦκω*) as the first word of the translation, and both translate 8 *πλάχα* not quite correctly by ‘glebam’.

Merely for the sake of completeness, we add here an enumeration of Latin translations of the sixteenth century, which cannot possibly have been perused by Erasmus. The first place belongs to the Latin version of the *Hecuba* by Giorgio Anselmi (Nipote), which was published at Parma in 1506, that is,

in the very year in which the *Ascensiana* of Erasmus' translations appeared at Paris. For this reason it is out of the question that one of the two translators could read and make use of the work of the other. Anselmi has certainly known Filelfo's translation of the prologue of the *Hecuba*. For further details, cf. Pertusi II, p. 407-408.

Finally, we have to mention a few Latin translations of one or more of Euripides' dramas which have a more academic character or were meant directly for use in the schools. This holds good in the first place for Philip Melancthon, who held lectures at Wittenberg on the *Hecuba* in 1525 or 1526, and on the *Iph. Aulid.* in 1540. For his Latin prose translations, cf. *infra*, p. 207. A more academic character also have the translations of the *Hecuba* which appeared at Paris in 1540 (*Euripidis Hecuba, graece et latine*, Parisiis ap. Gu. Morel, 1540) and the translation added by M. M. Heusler to his commented edition of this piece which appeared at Leipsic in 1554 (cf. Pertusi II, p. 410).

Further we may observe that around the outset of the thirteenth century a beginning was being made in several places in Italy of a study and imitation of the tragedies of Seneca (in this context it is worthy of mention that in one of the best of them, *viz.*, the *Troades*, Hecuba plays a prominent part). The first Latin play after the example of ancient tragedy, *viz.*, the *Eccerinis* by Albertino Mussato, which was composed in 1314, has choruses at the end of all five acts which, in accordance with the practice of Seneca, are written respectively in glyconics, Sapphic verses intermixed with Adonians, minor Asclepiadeans, Sapphic strophes and anapaests (Erasmus has translated the second chorus of *Iph. Aul.* (vss. 696 sqq.) in glyconics, the third (vss. 1015 sqq.) in Sapphic lines with Adonians). Moreover, Mussato wrote a commentary which he called *Evidentia tragediarum Senecae* and a summary of the dramas (*Argumenta*).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For the importance of Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) both as an author and a scholar, cf. especially Roberto Weiss, *The Dawn of Humanism in Italy* (London 1947) and the masterly pages on him by Gius. Billanovich in his paper 'Dante and Petrarch', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 8 (1965), p. 1-44. For his study of Seneca's tragedies cf. A. Ch. Megas, Ο ΠΡΟΟΥΜΑΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΥΚΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΟΥΑΣ (LOVATO LOVATI - ALBERTINO MUSSATO) ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ L. A. SENECA (inaugural dissertation University of Thessalonike 1967). It is a very remarkable thing that this first Latin tragedy which was written since Antiquity (and which is entirely in the style of Seneca) has for its subject a contemporaneous series of events, *viz.*, the fate of the generally feared Ezzelino da Romano (1194-1259). (The *Achilleis*, the subject of which was taken from Dares the Phrygian, which is also included in the edition of Mussato's works which appeared at Venice in 1636, is not by him but by Antonio Loschi, 1365-1441.) Historical tragedies are also the *De captivitate ducis Iacobi* by Laudivio de' Nobili da Vezzano, and the *Fernandus servatus* by Carlo Verardi. For the further development of Latin drama in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in Italy, cf. the large bibliography given by Pertusi II, p. 391, n. 1. *Ibid.*, p. 392, Pertusi rightly observes that the influence of Senecan tragedy in Italy should not be exaggerated, since it was here that a direct influence of ancient Greek drama could exert itself at a particularly early period. - I would like to add here that in the Latin tragedies of the Middle Ages, the metre is considerably more correct than in the comedies of the same period. Cf. for this subject, which we can of course not discuss here, the somewhat exaggerated statements by W. Emrich in his edition of the *Querolus* (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1965); see



However, it was not only Hecuba as the 'miserrima mortalium' who soon became, or rather who always remained popular as a possible protagonist, but also the contrasting figure of the beautiful young girl under the menace of death which we find represented in Erasmus' translations, this time in both of them, *viz.*, Polyxena, the deuteragonist in the *Hecuba* – it seems worthwhile to observe that both Hecuba and Polyxena figure in the *Canterbury Tales* – and Iphigenia, the protagonist in the *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. It is this very preference for both the horrible and the sentimental which must, in connection with his own predilections, have determined the choice made by Erasmus among the dramas of Euripides. It is to the same reason that we may ascribe the composition of a drama with an entirely similar plot, *viz.*, the *Jephtes*, in Latin (Paris 1554) by George Buchanan (1506–1582), who also made Latin translations of two further Euripidean tragedies, *viz.*, the *Alcestis* and the *Medea* (Buchanan does not mention Erasmus in the Prefaces of his Latin plays) and, moreover, the creation of one of the pearls of Dutch literature, *viz.*, the tragedy *Jeptha* (Amsterdam 1659) by Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), the 'prince of Dutch poets'. Finally, we must mention here the edition, with a particularly beautiful Latin translation, of the *Phoenissae* by Hugo Grotius (Paris 1630).

Before starting a discussion of the influence of these translations on further Latin and on vernacular versions of tragedies of Euripides, we first want to mention here the scarce notices which we possess concerning performances of them. According to a letter from Hadrianus Barlandus to his brother Canalius (Ep. 492, 61 sqq. with Allen's note), the *Hecuba* was produced in the Collège du Porc at Louvain under the direction of Barlandus himself, who had also written a prologue for it in the form of a dialogue. The performance must have taken place either in September 1506 (which is the very month of the publication of *A* by Badius) or in 1514. The later date seems to be more probable (cf. also Reedijk, p. 109, n. 4). We also know that Melanchton organized a performance of the *Hecuba* by his students at Wittenberg<sup>14</sup>. In this connection it is also worthy of mention that Melanchton, in his courses on Euripides, which were edited by Xylander, seems to have made use of Erasmus' translations.<sup>15</sup> At all events, the beginning of the translation of the *Iph. Aul.* contains the

the review of this edition by Kl. Zelzer, *Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung* 88 (1967), p. 311, where it is rightly pointed out that at the end of the fifteenth century also in the northern countries the metre of Latin comedies is quite correct (cf. for instance the famous *Hemmo* by Reuchlin).

<sup>14</sup> Mentioned by A. J. De Jong in his edition of Vondel, *Jeptha of Offerbelofte* (Klass. Lett. Pantheon, 115; Zutphen 1941), p. 7. Concerning tragedies having Jephtha for their subject cf. W. O. Sypherd, *Jephtah and his Daughter* (Delaware U.S.A. 1948); see also the edition by P. Minderaa of the *Acolastus* by Gnapheus (Zwolle 1956), p. 12–13; the introduction about Neolatin drama contains a wealth of information and of acute observations.

<sup>15</sup> An edition of the collected translations (in Latin prose) was published by Xylander at Basle in 1558 with the title *Euripides, Tragoediae, Latine redditae. E praelection. Phil. Melanthonis*. For Melanchton's interest in Sophocles, cf. Schmid-Staehlin, *op. cit.*, I, 2, p. 505. Cf. also Pertusi II, p. 408–409.

same faulty translation of the adjective ὀξύ in vs. 5 by a substantive (*acumen*), which we also find in Erasmus (*acies*). A most interesting detail was communicated to me by Drs. R. Engelberts (Utrecht): in the *Asotus* by the well-known Neolatin poet Georgius Macropedius, which, like the *Acolastus* of his contemporary Guilelmus Gnapheus<sup>16</sup>, has for its subject the story of the prodigal son, the protagonist enters the scene in the fifth scene of the fourth Act with two 'meretrices', singing a song in praise of dissolute love, which is an exact parody of the beginning of Erasmus' translation (*Ipb. Aul.* 696-702) of the praise of chaste love in Euripides, *op. cit.*, 543-547.

As to the influence of Erasmus' Latin versions on translations of Euripides into vernacular languages, it seems worth while to note first of all that, according to Mr. Bolgar's list of translations of Greek authors into the vernacular before 1600 A.D.<sup>17</sup>, the number of such translations of the two tragedies in question is remarkably high. In total we find nineteen translations of plays of Euripides into English, French, German, Italian or Spanish for this period; amongst these are no less than six translations of the *Hecuba*, and four of the *Iphigenia* (in the same time there are in total four translations of Sophocles' *Antigone*, and four of the *Oedipus Rex*; cf. Bolgar, pp. 524-525). The only other Euripidean tragedies which were translated into the vernacular in the same period are the *Alcestis*, the *Medea*, the *Phoenissae*, and the *Troades*. It is worth while to observe that exactly the first three of these were translated into Latin by Buchanan and Grotius (cf. *supra*, p. 207), and that in the *Troades* Hecuba is again the protagonist.

The *Hecuba* was translated into Italian by so prominent a poet and Hellenist as Giovanni Giorgio Trissino (composed 1550, printed 1560), and further by L. Dolce (1543), G. Gelli (1563), and G. Balcianelli (1592), into French by Bochatel (the book was printed by Robert Estienne at Paris in 1544 without the translator's name, so that the translation was sometimes attributed to L. De Baif), and into Spanish by Pérez de Oliva in 1533. The *Iphigenia in Aulis* was translated into Italian by the indefatigable Dolce in 1551, into French by T. Sibilet (1549) and perhaps by J. Amyot ('1542(?)', not printed' Bolgar), the famous translator of Plutarch, and into German by H. Bebst (1584) - which is the only German translation of a play of Euripides in Bolgar's list. The only Euripidean play which in this period was translated into English is the *Phoenissae* (by F. Kinwelmersh and G. Gascoigne, 1566) - here again we find a piece belonging to the 'fixed group' of plays which interested the period in question.

It is only in two cases that we have the absolute certainty that for one of these translations from the Greek into the vernacular Erasmus' Latin translations were made use of. Sibilet in his Preface says explicitly that he owes a

<sup>16</sup> Cf. on these two poets P. Minderaa, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> R. H. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1954), p. 512-515.

debt of gratitude to Erasmus' work.<sup>18</sup> As to Gelli, whose translation I could not lay hands on (as was also the case with the versions by Dolce and Balcianelli), I received the following information from Professor Antonio Carlini of the Scuola Normale Superiore at Pisa: Gelli's Preface ('Giovambattisti Gelli a Filippo Del Migliore patritio fiorentino S.') contains two statements concerning a perusal of Erasmus' translation, e.g. '...hauendo io una tragedia di Euripide di greco in latino da Erasmo Roterodamo conuersa Hecuba intitulata nella nostra uulgar' lingua tradotta, ho uoluto sotto il tuo nome esca in luce'. Further information is given by Pertusi II on Dolce (p. 418), Gelli (p. 421 sq.), Balcianelli (p. 423 sq.) and furthermore on two poets omitted by Bolgar, *viz.* Matteo Bandello (p. 418) and Tasso's friend Alberto Parma, both of whom wrote a *Ecuba*.

On the other hand, a direct translation from Euripides without any intermediary of Erasmus' Latin seems to be certain in the case of Jacques Amyot, the famous Hellenist and translator of Plutarch, if he really composed the unprinted translation of the *Iph. Aul.* mentioned above. The same holds good for Trissino, since this important poet, the author of the first real Italian tragedy after the example of Greek drama, *viz.*, the *Sofonisba*, had in his youth thoroughly learned Greek at Milan from as important a Hellenist as Demetrios Chalkondyles, the editor of the editio princeps of Homer.<sup>20</sup>

As to the four remaining translators, I cannot say anything about a possible influence of Erasmus' translations on those by Bochatel, the very obscure Balcianelli (he is not even mentioned in the *Enciclopedia italiana*), Bebst and the well-known Spanish poet Pérez de Oliva, since I did not succeed in getting hold of copies of their translations. As to Dolce, an influence of Erasmus' translations seems to be probable, since it seems to be certain that he knew no Greek.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I owe this piece of information to A. J. De Jong, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> The copy now preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence does no longer possess its official title-page but, according to the catalogue, the title of the book must have been *Hecuba tragedia di Euripide poeta Greco tradotta in lingua volgare per Giovambattista Gelli*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the description of his life by Pietro Palumbo in *Orientamenti culturali. Letteratura italiana, I Minori, II*, Milano 1961, 873. We may add that Trissino is prominent among the Italian dramatists who in the course of the sixteenth century came to substitute the influence of Euripidean for that of Senecan tragedy. Cf. in this context Schmid-Staehlin, I, 3, p. 833, and especially the interesting monograph by Elisabeth Schapira, *Der Einfluss des Euripides auf die Tragödie des Cinquecento* (inaugural dissertation München), Würzburg 1935. Cf. also Ferdinando Neri, *Giovan Giorgio Trissino e i Fiorentini Grecheggianti*, in: *La Tragedia del Cinquecento* (Florence 1904; reprint Torino, 1961), p. 27-57.

<sup>21</sup> Professor Carlini informs me that the translation of the *Hecuba* by Dolce (Venice 1543, in the Vatican Library) does not contain any allusion to Erasmus in the dedicatory epistle to Christophoro Canal. The copy of Dolce's translation of the *Ifigenia* in the same Library ('In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Fernan e fratelli', 1551) is mutilated, since it does not contain a proper page for a preface. There, too, no allusion to Erasmus can be found anywhere. It seems, however, that Dolce did not know Greek (cf. *Encicl. ital. s. v.*, XIII 97, and F. Neri, *op. cit.*, 87-88). Dolce also wrote a *Thyestes*, 'tratto da Seneca'. Professor Carlini also informs me that no trace of Erasmus occurs in Balcianelli's translation (complete

From the seventeenth century on, we hardly hear about Erasmus' translations any more. If I am not mistaken, one of the reasons for this decreasing interest may be found in the fact that the knowledge of Greek was steadily increasing after the end of the sixteenth century – we may quote, as a particularly illustrious instance, Racine's study of the original text of Euripides – and perhaps also in the circumstance that whoever still wanted to read a play by Euripides in a Latin version, would easily prefer Grotius' indeed very superior Latin translation of the *Phoenissae*. It is worthy of notice that neither in the dedicatory epistle nor in the 'Prolegomena' of his Latin edition and translation of the *Phoenissae* Grotius even mentions Erasmus' name. In this connection it is also worthy of notice that Vondel (cf. *supra*, p. 207) does not show in his works any remarkable direct influence of Erasmus' two translations, whereas he knows well both Grotius' just mentioned translation – he quotes Grotius' Preface to this translation in his own Preface to his tragedy *Jeptha*, p. 49, l. 182 De Jong (cf. n. 14) and *ibid.*, p. 42, l. 49 – and his original tragedies *Sophompaneas* and *Adamus Exul*. According to De Jong, Vondel, *Jeptha* 1474 sqq. might be an imitation of *Ipb. Aul.* 1570 sqq. If this were true, an intermediary influence of Erasmus on Vondel might be assumed; however, I fail to find any similarity between these two groups of verses. One might think of Eur., *ibid.*, 1552 sqq. but there, too, the similarity is extremely slight. On the other hand, the hiding of the sword for the sacrifice in *Jeptha* 1532–1536, for which De Jong refers to Lucretius I 99, may in fact echo Eur. *Ipb. Aul.* 1565–1567, and therewith Erasmus' translation, 2253–2255.

After this discussion of a possible influence of Erasmus' translations of Euripidean tragedies in later times, it seems worth while to mention one last point which also pertains to the way in which Erasmus was judged during and shortly after his lifetime. We may start by mentioning that in the copy of *B*, which now is the property of the Municipal Library at Rotterdam, the pages containing the dedication of the translation of the *Hecuba* have been removed with the greatest care, and that throughout the volume the name 'Erasmus Roterodamus' has been replaced, by means of the deletion and alteration of a number of letters, by the name 'Franc. Robertellius'. This substitution betrays a particularly strong antipathy against Erasmus, since the well-known humanist Francesco Robertello of Udine (1516–1567), who is especially famous on account of his editions of Aeschylus and of Aristotle's *Poetics*, was a marked champion of the Contra-Reformation, and, moreover, attacked Erasmus rather frequently in his works.<sup>22</sup> Several other mutilated copies of this same

title: '*L'Hecuba di Euripide novamente tradotta da Giovanni Balcianelli Vicentino*, In Verona 1592, Nella Stamparia di Girolamo Discepolo'.

<sup>22</sup> Thus, for instance, in his *Variorum locorum Annotationes*, p. 25, Robertello opens a number of critical remarks on Erasmus by the following sentence: 'Erasmus, vir doctissimus, si illius opera legas, ita alicubi videbitur dormitasse ut mireris'. For Dutch readers it is of some

edition (in one of them also the dedicatory letter to William Warham has been removed) are described by A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise* (Paris 1875), 293–294.

At the end of this introduction, we want to underline the following points with regard to the present edition, and particularly with regard to the commentary.

As was observed above (p. 199), the text printed here is that of *B*, since Erasmus himself has explicitly rejected the text given by *A*. The variants mentioned in the critical apparatus are firstly the important divergencies occurring in *A* (cf. *supra*, p. 196), and secondly the readings which occur for the first time in *C* (then usually maintained in *D*, *E* and *F*), the rare single readings of *D*, and finally the evident improvements introduced by Erasmus in *E* (then mostly also occurring in *F*, though *F* has a certain number of readings of its own and, moreover, Erasmus occasionally returns in his last edition to *B*), and in *F*. When *B*, which is reproduced throughout here (cf. *supra*, p. 199) contains evident mistakes which are not just typographical errors – the latter are, of course, silently corrected –, a *recte* is added to the correct reading which occurs in one or more of the remaining editions (cf. e.g. the app. crit. on *Hec.* vss. 474, 616, 1255, 1260, 1352). In general we are justified in saying that the important changes which Erasmus brought about in the text of the translations after *B* occur for the first time in *C*, *E* or (more rarely) *F*.

In the commentary two main objects have been aimed at. In the first place Erasmus' translation is continuously compared with the original Greek in the form in which he knew it, that is, in the editio princeps of Euripides by Marcus Musurus. In the second place the variant readings of the other editions are examined on their value (especially the new readings in *C*, *E* and *F* are mostly to be regarded as important improvements). As to the first point, it is of course necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the Greek text of Musurus' Aldina. This text can be easily reconstructed on the base of Gilbert Murray's critical apparatus in the OCT, if the following rules are kept in mind: The Aldina generally gives the readings occurring in the manuscript which consists of two parts, the *Palatinus* 287 (*P* in Murray) and the *Laurentianus* *conv. soppr.* 172 (*L* in Murray). Wherever different readings are offered by the second hand in *P* (*P*<sup>2</sup>) and by other correctors of the manuscript (*p*), the Aldina usually gives the readings of *P*<sup>2</sup> and *p*; exceptions from these two rules are mentioned in the commentary. Musurus' own conjectures are almost completely mentioned in Murray's apparatus; here again, the few necessary additions will be mentioned in the commentary.

importance that Robertellius' explication of the *Poetics* of Aristotle is mentioned by Vondel in the 'Berecht' of the *Jeptha*, p. 48, l. 181, in De Jong's edition. Cf. in general for his works the new monograph by Professor Carlini, *L'Attività Filologica di Francesco Robertello* (Accad. di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Udine, Udine 1967).

I gratefully recall the support which I received from several sources during the preparation both of the present edition and of the edition of Erasmus' translations from Galen. Apart from the scholars whose names have been quoted in the introductions and the commentaries, among whom Dr. C. Reedijk, Professor G. Billanovich and Professor A. Carlini should receive special mention, I want particularly to acknowledge the great and continual help which I received from my former assistant Drs. M. A. Elferink, whose death at the age of twenty-five cut short a promising career, and from his successors Chr. J. Heesakkers and Th. E. H. Huygen.

*Survey of editions up to 1540*

N.B. Of the editions marked (A)–(F) more detailed descriptions will be found in the Introduction, pp. 195–202. Entries provided with an asterisk are based exclusively on data provided by *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*, 2me série, Gand, 1893, pp. 25–26.

Euripides, *Hecuba et Iphigenia Erasmo interprete*.

- 1 Paris, J. Badius, 13 Sept. 1506. 2°. (A)
- 2 Venice, Aldus Manutius, Dec. 1507. 8°. (B)
- 3 S. l. s. d. [Lyons, c. 1508]. 8°. Presumably a reprint of 2. Baudrier, VII, 22.
- 4 Vienna, H. Vietor and J. Singren, Oct. 1511. 4°.
- 5\* Erfurt, 1515. 4°.
- 6 Basel, J. Froben, Febr. 1518. 8°. (C)
- 7 Florence, heirs of Ph. Junta, Dec. 1518. 8°.
- 8 Cologne, C. Caesareus, 1519. 4°.
- 9\* London, 1519. 4°.
- 10 Basel, Th. Wolff, Febr. 1522. 4°. (D)
- 11 Basel, J. Froben, Febr. 1524. 8°. (E)
- 12 Basel, *in officina Frobeniana*, April 1530. 8°. (F)
- 13 's Hertogenbosch, G. van der Hatert, 1534. 4°. NK 882.
- 14 Paris, F. Gryphius, 1537. 8°.
- 15 Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1540. 8°.
- 16\* Paris, G. Morel, 1540. 4°.
- 17 S.l. [Leipzig, J. Thanner], s. d. 4°. Pennink nr. 854.
- 18 In: Erasmus, *Opera omnia*. Basel, H. Froben and N. Episcopus, 1540. 2°. I, p. 937 sqq. (BAS).



## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A*: ed. pr., Paris., J. Badius, 13 Sept. 1506. 2°.  
*B*: ed. Venet., Aldus Manutius, mense Dec. 1507. 8°.  
*C*: ed. Basil., J. Froben, mense Febr. 1518. 8°.  
*D*: ed. Basil., Th. Wolff, mense Febr. 1522. 4°.  
*E*: ed. Basil., J. Froben, mense Febr. 1524. 8°.  
*F*: ed. Basil., in officina Frobeniana, mense April. 1530. 8°.  
*BAS*: ed. Basil., H. Froben et Nic. Episcopi, 1540. 2°.



ALDVS STVDIOSIS S.

Erasmus Roterodamus, homo et Graece et Latine doctissimus, Hecubam et Iphigeniam in Aulide Euripidis tragoedias carminibus nuper quidem Latinas fecit, sed admodum quam fideliter et erudite. Quamobrem curavi eas excudendas characteribus nostris tum doctissimi viri rogatu et amici mei summi, tum quia vobis vtilissimum fore existimabam et intelligendis Graecis et interpretandis. Quo fit vt vobis plurimum gratuler. Deerant olim boni libri, deerant docti praeceptores; eorum enim qui callerent vtranque linguam mira paucitas. Nunc est, Deo gratia, et bonorum librorum copia et doctorum hominum tam in Italia quam extra, ita vt *de conducendo tractet iam rhetore Thule*. Non poenitet igitur me magnorum laborum, quos iam multos annos edendis bonis autoribus vestra et bonarum literarum caussa perfero, immo plenus gaudii, cur enim dissimulem? Sic mecum saepe: Eia, Alde, βάλλ' οὔτως; quodsi maius quiddam, vt spero, praestare potuero, felices quidem vos eritis, sed feliciores posterii. Ipse autem *sublimi feriam sydera vertice*. Valete.

1-15 *Epistola Aldi Manutii in sola B extat*

*I. The letter of Aldus (not in LB).*

This letter only occurs in *B*, the only edition of the translations of the two tragedies which, at the express request of Erasmus in Ep. 207, l. 20 sqq., has been published by Aldus (cf. Introduction, p. 197). There are, therefore, no variant readings.

4 *admodum quam* is entirely in the style of Erasmus himself; cf. the note on the next letter, p. 216, l. 4.

4-5 *curavi eas excudendas characteribus nostris*

This is the answer to Erasmus' request in Ep. 207, l. 31 sqq.: 'Existimarim lucubraciones meas (*viz.*, the translations of the two tragedies) immortalitate donatas, si tuis excussae formulis in lucem exierint, maxime minutioribus illis omnium nitidissimis'. Indeed the letters used in *B* are Aldus' famous 'italics'.

10 *de ... Thule* Juven. *Sat.* 15, 112: 'de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule'.

15 *sublimi ... vertice* Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 36.

LB 1129-30 GVILIELMO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVARIENSI PRIMATI BRITANNIAE  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S.

Cum in animo statuissem, Praesul amplissime, vertendis Graecis autoribus rem theologicam, Deum immortalem quam indigne sophisticis nugis deprauatam, 5 pro virili mea vel restituere vel adiuuare, ne statim iuxta Graecorum adagionem ἐν τῷ πλῶ τὴν κεράμειαν periclitari viderer et ad tantum munus illotis (vt aiunt) pedibus irrumpere, visum est mihi prius periculum facere, quam non lusissem operam in vtriusque linguae studium insumptam, idque in re difficilima quidem illa, sed tamen profana, quo pariter et negotii difficultas ad meditationem conduceret, et, si quid esset peccatum, citra sacrarum scripturarum iniuriam solius ingenii periculo peccaretur. Itaque duas Euripidis traegodias, Hecubam et Iphigeniam in Aulide, Latinas facere sum aggressus, si quis forte deus coeptis tam audacibus dexter aspiraret. Deinde cum viderem operis instituti specimen non displicere viris vtriusque linguae callentissimis 15 (quos profecto iam aliquot habet Britannia, liceat modo verum citra inuidiam fateri, quouis in genere doctrinae vel Italiae totius admiratione dignos), intra pauculos menseis Musis bene iuuantibus ad vmbilicum perduxi, quanto cum sudore, id ii demum experientur quicumque in eandem palaestram descenderint.

20 Etenim cum illud ipsum ex bonis Graecis bona Latina facere sit eiusmodi vt singularem aliquem requirat artificem, neque solum sermonis vtriusque copiosa parataque supellectile ditissimum, verum etiam oculatissimum vigilantissimumque, adeo vt seculis iam aliquot nullus extiterit qui in hoc munere omnibus eruditorum calculis probaretur, facilis nimirum est coniectura, quantum fuerit

1-2 Reuerendo in Christo patri Guilhelmo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi primati Angliae Erasmus Roterodamus Canonicus ordinis diui Augustini S. P. D. A Reuerendo in Christo patri Guilhelmo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius (totius: *om. C D*) Angliae primati (primati Angliae *C D*), et summo eius regni cancellario (et ... cancellario: *om C D*), Erasmus Roterodamus S. P. D. *C D E F* | 6 κεράμειαν : κεράμειαν *A* | 15 Britannia: Anglia *A C E F*, Anglia *D* | 20 bonis: bene *A C D E F*; bona: bene *A C D E F*

II. The letter to William Warham.

This is Ep. 188. For all general questions connected with this letter, cf. the Introduction.

4 *Deum immortalem quam indigne* This use of *quam* with an adverb is almost a mannerism in Erasmus' age. We found it already at the beginning of Aldus' letter to the *studiosi*.

5 *pro virilli mea* This omission of *parte* is quite unusual.

6 ἐν τῷ πλῶ τὴν κεράμειαν Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 514 e 6-7: τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ πλῶ τὴν κεράμειαν ἐπιχειρεῖν μανθάνειν. The meaning is: 'to start a thing at the wrong end.'

6-7 *illotis (vt aiunt) pedibus* Cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, s.v. *pes* 2) (p. 274-275).

13 *coeptis ... audacibus* Verg. *Georg.* I, 40.

15 *Britannia* occurs in *B* only; the other editions have *Anglia* (*D Angelia*).

20 Only *B* has *ex bonis graecis bona latina facere*; all the other editions read *ex bene graecis bene latina facere*. But Er. certainly imitates Ter. *Eum.* 8: 'Ex graecis bonis latinas fecit non bonas.' The latter expression also occurs in the preface to *De mercede conductis* in *Luciani Opuscula* (Ep. 197, l. 11 sqq).

negocii carmen carmini reddere, praesertim tam varium et inusitatum, idque ex autore non modo tam antiquo eoque tragico, verum etiam mirum in modum presso subtili excusso, in quo nihil ociosum, nihil quod vel adimere vel mutare citra flagitium queas; praeterea qui in tractandis locis rhetoricis tam creber sit, tam acutus, vt passim declamare videatur. Adde nunc choros nescio quam affectione adeo obscuros, vt Oedipo quopiam aut Delio sit opus magis quam interprete. Accedit ad haec codicum deprauatio, exemplarium inopia, nulli interpretes ad quos confugiamus. Quo minus admiror, si ne hoc quidem felicissimo seculo quisquam Itolorum ausus fuit hoc muneris aggredi, vt tragoediam aliquam aut comoediam verteret, cum plures Homero manus sint admoliti, inter quos etiam Politianus ipse sibi non satisfecit, quidam Hesiodum tentarit, neque id satis feliciter, alius Theocritum sit aggressus, sed multo etiam infelicus, denique cum Franciscus Philelphus (id quod post institutam interpretationem cognouimus) primam Hecubae scenam in oratione quadam funebri tradu-

1 carmini: carmine *A C D E F* | 6 affectione: affectatione *C D E F*

- 1 *carmen carmini reddere* Only *B* has *carmini*; all the other editions read *carmine*, but they all have the dative in p. 218, l. 10 *dum versum versui, dum verbum pene verbo reddere nitor*.
- 5 *declamare* Cf. the preface of the translation of *Iph. Aul.* (*infra*, p. 271, 15 sqq.): 'at rursus argumentorum densitate, quasi-que declamatoria quadam suadendi ac dissuadendi facultate parentem Euripidem magis refert'. It is this marked preference for the *declamatio* which explains, apart from Erasmus' appreciation of both Lucian's works and Seneca's tragedies, his aversion from the poetic idiom of the choruses of the tragedies, for which cf. the next note.
- 6 *affectione* This is the reading of *A B*, whereas the four later editions have *affectatione*. As it seems to me, *affectione* must be regarded as one of the numerous typographical errors in *A*, which in this case was thoughtlessly reproduced in *B*, for *affectatione* is clearly the correct word in this context; cf. the end of the preface to *Iph. Aul.* (Ep. 208, l. 25-28): 'Nusquam enim mihi magis ineptisse videtur antiquitas quam in huiusmodi choris, vbi, dum nimium affectat noue loqui, vitiauit eloquentiam, dumque verborum miracula venatur, in rerum iudicio cessauit.' *Delio viz.*, Apollo. It does not seem probable that Er. is thinking here of Socrates' statement that 'a Delian diver

- was needed in order not to be suffocated by Heraclitus' utterances' (Diog. Laert. II, 22).
- 8 As Allen observes *ad loc.*, this is not quite true, since there existed then a Latin adaptation of Aristophanes' *Plutus* by Franciscus Passius of Carpi.
- 10 *Homero* Cf. Allen's copious note, Ep. 188, n. l. 37. *manus sint admoliti* We find the same expression at the beginning of the dedication of the translation of *Iph. Aul.* to William Warham; cf. *infra*, p. 271.
- 11 *Hesiodum* 'There are Latin verse translations of the *Georgica* by Nicholas de Valle, Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, c. 1471; and of the *Theogonia* by Bonnius Mombritius, of Milan, Ferrara, Andr. Bellfortis, 1474': Allen, Ep. 188, n. l. 38, 39.
- 12 *Theocritus* 'Martin Phileticus translated Theocritus into Latin verse, Rome, Euch. Silber, s.a.' (Allen).
- 13 *Philelphus* Cf. BO, p. 4, l. 31 sqq.: 'Ad id audendum (*viz.*, to make a Latin translation of the *Hecuba* of Euripides) prouocarat F. Philelphus, qui primam eius fabulae scenam vertit in oratione quadam funebri, parum vt tum mihi visum est feliciter'. Allen observes Ep. 188, n. l. 40 that this is Filelfo's third *oratio*, delivered on 25 Dec. 1461, where Polydorus' speech is translated. Cf. the Introduction, p. 205.

xerit, sed ita vt nobis alioqui putidulis vir tantus animi non parum addiderit.

Ego porro neque tantis exemplis neque tam multis operis difficultatibus deterritus magis quam poetae huius suauiloquentia plus quam mellita, quam illi tribuunt etiam inimici, allectus, rem hactenus intentatam non sum veritus  
 5 aggredi, futurum sperans, vt etiam si parum praestitsem, tamen candidi lectores vel hunc meum conatum laude aliqua dignum ducerent, porro maligniores saltem veniam darent operis tam ardui nouo interpreti, maxime quod ad caeteras difficultates ipse prudens non mediocre pondus adiecerim mea in vertendo religione, dum conor, quoad licet, Graecanici poematis figuras quasique filum  
 10 representare, dum versum versui, dum verbum pene verbo reddere nitor, dum vbique sententiae vim ac pondus summa cum fide Latinis auribus appendere studeo; siue quod mihi non perinde probatur illa in vertendis autoribus libertas, quam Marcus Tullius vt aliis permittit, ita ipse (pene dixerim immodice) vsurpauit siue quod nouus interpres in hanc malui peccare partem, vt superstitiosior viderer alicubi potius quam licentior, id est vt litoralibus in harenis nonnunquam haerere viderer potius quam fracta naue mediis natate fluctibus, maluique committere, vt eruditi candorem et concinnitatem carminis in me forsitan desiderarent quam fidem. Denique nolui paraphrasten professus eam mihi latebram parare, qua multi suam palliant inscitiam, ac loliginis in morem,  
 20 ne deprehendantur, suis se tenebris inuoluunt. Iam vero quod Latinae tragoediae grandiloquentiam, *ampullas et sesquipedalia* (vt Flaccus ait) *verba* hic nusquam audient, mihi non debent imputare, si interpretis officio fungens eius quem verti pressam sanitatem elegantiamque referre malui quam alienum tumorem, qui me nec alias magnopere delectat.

25 Porro certissimam in spem vocor fore, vt hic labor meus, cum aduersus iniquorum calumnias sit egregie tutus, tum candidis et aequis gratissimus exeat, excellentissime pater, si tuo quoque calculo fuerit comprobatus, quem equidem in tanto ornatissimorum principum numero facile mihi delegi cui meas has vigilias consecrarem, vt quem vnum perspexerim praeter summum fortunae  
 30 splendorem literis eloquentia prudentia pietate modestia integritate, postremo singulari quadam erga bonarum literarum cultores benignitate sic praeditum ornatum cumulatam, vt istud Primatis vocabulum in neminem magis competat quam in te, qui non solum officii dignitate, verum multo magis omnium virtu-

1 addiderit: adderet *A C D E F* | 9 Graecanici: Graecanicis *A* | 15 alicubi: alicui *A C D E F* | 19 palliant: praetexunt *E F* | 22 audient: audiant *D* | 23 sanitatem: suauitatem *A*

10 *versui* Cf. the note on p. 217, l. 1. For the differences between the technique of the translation of the *Hecuba* and that of the *Iph. Aul.* cf. the note on p. 271, 13–15.  
 19 *palliant* An extremely rare word (Forcellini only mentions Ps.-Cassiod. *De amicitia* 14 and the *Glossae Isidori*, where

it serves to explain the equally rare verb *clanculare*). In *E Ex.* has substituted for it the more common verb *praetexere*.

21 *ampullas et sesquipedalia ... verba* Hor. *Ep. ad Pis.* 97.

33 *qui* Here *B* has *quam* which can only be a typographical error caused by the pre-

tum genere primas teneas, idem et regiae aulae praecipuum ornamentum et ecclesiasticae dignitatis vnicum fastigium. Quod si mihi contigerit, vt hoc meum studium probetur a viro tam probato, profecto nec hactenus exhausti laboris me poenitebit neque grauabor in posterum maiore conatu rem theologiam adiuuare.

Vale, et Erasmus in eorum numerum adscribito qui tuae paternitati toto pectore sunt addicti. Londini IX. Calendas Februarii. |

5

## AD EVNDEM. CARMEN IAMBICVM TRIMETRVM

LB 1131-32

Scite poetas doctus appellat Maro  
 Cycnos, Guielme, praesulum eximium decus.  
 Res mira dictu, vt cuncta consensu nouo  
 Vati atque holori congruant diuinitus.  
 Niueus vtrique candor: alter lacteis  
 Plumis, amico candet alter pectore. 5  
 Musis vterque gratus ac Phoebo sacer,  
 Et limpidis vterque gaudet amnibus,  
 Ripis adaeque vterque gaudet herbidis,  
 Pariter canorus vterque, tum potissimum, 10  
 Vicina seram mors senectam cum premit.  
 Sed qui tenent arcana naturae, negant  
 Audiri olorem, ni sonent Fauonii.  
 Nil ergo mirum, barbaro hoc si seculo  
 Canorus olim obmutuit vatum chorus, 15  
 Cum tot procaces vndique obstrepant Noti  
 Boreaeque tristes inuidorum et pinguium,  
 Nulli fauentum prouocent Fauonii.

7 addicti: addictissimi *A* | 8 Ad R. P. Guilielmum (Guilhelmum *A*) Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem (Cantuarensis *A*), Erasmi carmen Iambicum trimetrum *A C D E F* | 2 Cycnos: Cygnos *A C D E F*; Guielme: guilhelme *A* Guilielme *C D E F* | 4 holori: olori *C D E F* | 10 canorus: adaeque canorus *A* | 13 olorem: holorem *A*

ceding *quam*; *qui* is found in all the other relevant editions.

The whole letter has been removed with the utmost care from the copy of *B* which is preserved in the municipal library of Rotterdam; the motive for this removal is undoubtedly to be found in both anti-Erasmanian and anti-Anglican feelings (cf. also *infra*, p. 634, n. 9); for a similar case cf. the Introduction, p. 210.

III. *Ad eundem. Carmen iambicum trime-*

*trum*. This is carmen 80 in Reedijk's edition of the poems (pp. 277-278).

1-2 *poetas* ... *Cycnos* Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 29.

12-13 Cf. Aelian. *Hist. anim.* II, 32; cf. Er. *Ad.* 155, 'Cygnea cantio: Aelianus addit cygnos non canere, nisi flante zephyro vento, quem Latini fauonium dicunt.'

18 The *Fauonii fauentum* (sc. *poetis*) are, of course, opposed to the *procaces Noti* and *Boreae inuidorum et pinguium* (there may be a slight reminiscence of Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5,9-10: 'Notus inuido / flatu'). Er.

Quod si bonis clementer ingeniis tuae  
 Benignitatis blandus aspiret fauor, 20  
 Ita vt facit, tota statim Britannia  
 Vates videbis exoriri candidos,  
 Adeo canoros atque vocales, vti  
 In alta fundant astra cynnorum melos,  
 Quod ipsa et aetas posterorum exaudiat. 25

## FINIS

## AD LECTOREM

De carminum generibus vt paucis obiter admonitus sis, lector optime: prima Hecubae scena constat iambico trimetro, secunda anapaestico dimetro, nonnunquam intermistis eiusdem formae monometris; quanquam hoc metrum et  
 5 dactylum recipit, aliquoties et proceleusmaticum, nonnunquam et meris conficitur spondeis. Chorus, cui initium *Aura, pontica aura*, rursum qui incipit *Mihi aerumnam Atropos*, iterum alius, cui initium *Patria heu dolor*, praeterea Polymestoris oratio, quae sic incipit *Heu quo ferar*, ex variis metrorum constat generibus, ac ferme iisdem quibus vsus est Euripides; Polymestoris oratio, cui  
 10 principium est *Heu obe ferocis*, duobus duntaxat generibus alternat, dimetro iambico catalecto, et eodem acatalecto, caetera constant aut iambicis trimetris, aut anapaesticis, de quibus modo meminimus.

Iphigeniae prima scena constat iisdem anapaesticis usque ad chorum *Modo profecta*, qui mistus est ex alcaico composito ex iambica penthemimeri ac duo-  
 15 bus dactylis, iambico dimetro hypercatalectico, dactylico e dactylis duobus, ac totidem trochaeis, choriambico dimetro, et eodem hypercatalectico, dactylico trimetro, glyconio, dactylico dimetro, asclepiadeo, iambico monometro hyper-

19 ingeniis: ingenii et *A* | 21 facit: fauit *F* | 24 cynnorum: cygnaeum *A C D E*, cygneum *F* | 1 *Hoc caput in sola B extat* (post Argumentum Hecubae)

may, like Otto, F. Muller and A. Ernout, have derived *Faonius* from *fauere* (cf. Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. etymol. Wörterbuch*, third edition (Heidelberg 1938), I, 469). *Provocent* is used without an object (we should of course supply: *vates ad canendum*). A similar absolute use of *prouocare* by Er. occurs in Ep. 1 (the passage is quoted in the note on p. 217, l. 13, in the letter to William Warham): 'Ad id audendum prouocarat F. Philelphus.'  
 22-25 These lines are quoted by Er. in *Ad.* 155 (cf. Reedijk *ad loc.*).

IV. *Ad Lectorem* (not in *LB*)

The metres of the various lyrical parts

of the translations are discussed *ad loc.* For the differences in the treatment of the metres in the two translations, cf. the note on p. 271, 13-15. Cf. also the apparatus concerning the metrical indications in *C*, *D*, *E* and *F* on p. 201. We can here limit ourselves to indicating the passages quoted.

6 *Chorus, cui initium Aura, pontica aura Hec.* 486-524.

7 *Mihi aerumnam Atropos Hec.* 679-703.  
*Patria heu dolor Hec.* 954-1005.

8 *Heu quo ferar Hec.* 1116-1142.

10 *Heu obe ferocis Hec.* 1146-1169.

13-14 *Modo profecta Ipb. Aul.* 197-386.

catalecto, dactylico dimetro hypercatalectico, iambico dimetro catalecto, pherecratio, iambico dimetro acatalecto, iambico dimetro acephalo, iambico trimetro catalectico, anapaestico trimetro hypercatalecto, adonio dimetro, trochaico monometro hypercatalectico; deinde sequuntur iambica trimetra, paulo post a versu *Caeterum Menelae* incipiunt trochaica tetrametra hypercatalecta; chorus *Felices quibus* constat glyconio, deinde iambico dimetro catalectico; alter proximus anapaestico quo et prima scena; chorus *Ilicet sacrum Simoentis* carmine sapphico, intermisto adonio dimetro; chorus *Festus vt ille* constat dactylicis trimetris hypercatalecticis et anapaesticis. Vale.

ARGVMENTVM HECVBAE

LB 1131-32

Post euersam Troiam Graeci soluentes in Cherrhonesum, quae est e regione Thraciae, adpulerunt, ubi monimentum extabat Achillis in Troia sepulti. Illic cum rerum ordinandarum gratia dies aliquot egissent iamque iterare nauigationem appararent, Achillis vmbra super tumulum visa Graecos ne soluerent prohibuit postulans, ut ante sibi Polyxena Priami filia mactaretur, quam pater aliquando viuo despondisset cuiusque gratia a Paride ac Deiphobo iaculo confossus interisset, id temporis, cum Priamus puellam desponsam traditurus videretur. Itaque Graeci memores quam ille rem bellicam adiuuisset statuentesque viri virtutem decorare, suffragiis decreuerunt, vti Polyxena in eius tumulo mactaretur. Datum est autem negocium Vlyssi, vt virginem deduceret simulque vafricie facundiae suae, qua praeditus erat, Hecubae matri persuaderet, ne id factum ferret impotentius. Quo cum peruenisset Vlysses, repperit puellam ad necem paratam spontaneamque atque vltro matri suadentem sibi optabilius esse decore emori liberam quam foede viuere in seruitute. Deinde, dum occiditur filia, Hecuba famulam quampiam ad litus mittit, vt lauando Polyxenae cadaueri aquam adportaret. Ea dum haurire parat, Polydori corpus offendit in litore iacens. Nam Polymestor Thracum tyrannus simulatque Troiae cognouit

IO ARGVMENTVM HECVBAE: Argumentum Hecubae per eundem Erasmus A C D E F

5 *Caeterum Menelae Ipb. Aul.* 405-518.

6 *Felices quibus Ipb. Aul.* 696-804.

7 *Ilicet sacrum Simoentis Ipb. Aul.* 1015-1072.

8 *Festus vt ille Ipb. Aul.* 1441-1536.

V. *Argumentum Hecubae*

This is a generally accurate translation of the longer argument of the *Hecuba* which A. Kirchhoff calls *Thomae magistri festum*. Like Gilbert Murray in OCT, Kirchhoff omits it, whereas Nauck gives it in a shorter form without stating from what manuscript he has taken this re-

daction. The best accessible text is found in Paley's edition of Euripides, II, pp. 511-512.

We note the divergences between the original text of the argument and Erasmus' translation.

11 ἦς ἦρχε Πολυμήστωρ om. Er.

16-17 *iaculo confossus* τοξευθεῖς.

20 *Vlyssi τὸν Λαέρτου* om. Er.

πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς Ἑκάβην om. Er.

24 *liberam* and *in seruitute* add. Er.

26 *Ea ... parat* add. Er.

27 *Thracum tyrannus* add. Er.

excidium, trucidatum puerum in mare abiecerat, quo nimirum auro potiretur, quod vna cum filio Priamus ad illum miserat clanculum, cum iam periculum imminere videret, ne caperetur Ilium. Erat autem ingens auri vis satisque idonea qua Priami genus restitueretur. Hunc igitur Polydorum nacta famula vestibus  
 5 inuolutum defert ad Hecubam. Haec Polyxenam esse suspicata, donec corpus resectum inspiceret, vbi Polydorum esse cognouit, misere discruciatum secumque viam quaerit, qua possit Polymestorem vlscisci. Ac re prius cum Agamemnone communicata ancillam suam mittit ad Polymestorem, quae eum vna cum liberis suis ad se iubeat accedere; esse enim quiddam maximi momenti, de quo  
 10 velit cum illo colloqui. At ille ignarus Polydori cadauer in litore fuisse repertum vna cum liberis suis ad Hecubam accedit. Ea simulat sese ob eam causam accersiuisse hominem, ut illi thesauros quosdam antiquos in Ilio defossos indicaret. Deinde iusso secedere satellitio solum cum filiis in tentorium deducit tanquam illi traditura quicquid pecuniarum e Troia secum extulisset. Erat  
 15 autem illic abdita maxima mulierum turba, quibus adiuta Polymestorem introgressum exoculat ac liberos occidit. Agamemnon audita utriusque caussa contra Polymestorem pronuntiat, qui videretur non iuuandi Graecos studio sed auri cupiditate puerum interemisse.

## FINIS

20 Actio fabulae constituitur in Cherrhoneso, e regione Thraciae. Chorus constat ex mulieribus Troianis captiuis Hecubae auxiliaturis.

19 FINIS: FINIS ARGUMENTI *A*, ARGUMENTI FINIS *C D E F* | 20 e regione Thraciae: quae Phrygiam, in qua est Ilium, habet ad Orientem, Thraciam reliquam ad Septentrionem *E F*

10 καὶ ἄμα καὶ τισὶν ὑποκλαπέως *om.* Er.

13 *iusso secedere satellitio add.* Er.

16-18 *Agamemnon ... interemisse* Here Er.

only gives a free paraphrase of the Greek text.



PERSONAE FABVLAE

Polydori occisi umbra.  
 Hecuba regina Troianorum.  
 Chorus mulierum Troianarum.  
 Polyxena filia Hecubae.  
 Vlysses.

Talthybius praeco.  
 Famula Hecubae.  
 Agamemnon rex.  
 Polymestor Thracum tyrannus.

EVRIPIDIS TRAGICI POETAE  
 HECVBA: LATINA FACTA  
 ERASMO ROTERODA-  
 MO INTERPRETE

POLYDORI VMBRA

LB 1131

Adsum profectus e profundis manibus  
 Noctisque portis, caeca qua silentium  
 Ab arce porro coelitum sita est domus,  
 Polydorus, Hecuba natus e Cisseide  
 Priamoque patre. Quem simul cepit timor, 5  
 Ne Marte Graio Phrygia caderent moenia, |  
 Me furtim alendum Troico emisit solo  
 Ad hospitam Polymestoris Thracis domum,  
 Qui Cherronesi fertilem glebam colens  
 Armis ferocem Martiis gentem regit. 10  
 Multumque mecum clanculum misit pater  
 Aurum, vrbis vt si concidissent moenia,

LB 1132

6 Ne ... moenia: Ne Phrygia Graio Marte caderent moenia C D E F

1 *profundis manibus* Verg. *Georg.* I, 243  
 'Manesque profundi?'

4 *Cisseide* From Vergil: *Aen.* VII, 320 (cf.  
 Plessis-Lejay *ad loc.*); X, 705.

6 *Ne ... caderent* In C (D E F) we find  
*Ne Phrygia Graio Marte caderent*, probably  
 because in the reading offered by A B  
 two arses in succession are resolved.

8 *Hospitam* Eur. vs. 7 has ξένου, and, as to

the metre, *hospitiis* would have been quite  
 possible. But Er. probably wanted to  
 avoid a succession of three genitives (in  
 Eur. Πολυμήστορος stands apart).

10 *Armis ferocem Martiis* is an unexact trans-  
 lation of φίλιππον; however, the dative  
 δορί has also been taken into it – in vs. 20  
 we find *Marte florebat* for ηὑτύχει δορί.

Ne victu egerent liberi superstites.  
 Eramque natu Priamidum nouissimus, |  
 LB 1133 Atque hac foras potissimum me gratia 15  
 Submisit, vt cui nec ferundae lanceae,  
 Et ad arma nondum tenera sufficeret manus.  
 Sed vsque, donec recta stabant Pergama, et  
 Nondum iacebant Ilii turres soli,  
 Hectorque frater Marte florebat meus, 20  
 Bene apud tyrannum Thraca, patrium hospitem,  
 Crescens alebar plantulae in modum miser.  
 At vbi interiuit Troia, simul et Hectoris  
 Vita, ac penates concidere patrii,  
 Deumque ad aras ipse procubuit sacras 25  
 Mactante Achillis prole sanguinaria,  
 Mox me paternus amicus auri gratia  
 Miserum trucidat ac trucidatum salo  
 Exponit, aurum vt ipse possideat sibi.  
 Nunc super harena littoris iaceo, hactenus 30  
 Aestu per aequor huc et huc vectus vago,  
 Inhumatus, indefletus; at iam promico  
 Charam ob parentem, corpore relicto meo.  
 Mihi supernis deuaganti sedibus  
 Superaque in aura, sol agitur hic tertius; 35  
 Itidemque misera tertium mater diem  
 Extorris amplis Ilii pomoeriis  
 In hac adest tellure Cherronesia.

18 Sed: Ita C D E F | 32 Inhumatus, indefletus: infletus, insepultus C D E F

18 *Sed* (A B) is somewhat surprising as a translation of οὖν. Hence in C (D E F) Er. changed it into *Ita*.

26 *sanguinaria* With the meaning 'blood-thirsty' this adjective is quite unusual in the classical idiom, at least of higher literature (an instance is found in Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* 2, 7, 3). It should be noted that Er. has in his poetry a very considerable number of late Latin words (a fact generally overlooked), especially words peculiar to Christian authors and late Latin poetisms. In this connection his thorough knowledge of the poetry of Prudentius, which he imitates fairly often, is of course of primary importance.

30 *hactenus* A both unexact and unclear rendering of Euripides' ἔλλοτ' (vs. 28).

32 *Inhumatus, indefletus* Eur. vs. 30 ἀκλαυστος ἄταφος The different translation *In-fletus, insepultus* in C (continued in D E F) has the advantage that it preserves the wordorder of the original and that, moreover, here *in-* is long by position in both cases.

34-35 *supernis ... aura αλωρούμενος* Eur. vs. 32. Here we have the first clear instance of that method of 'expanded translation' which becomes predominant in the translation of the *Ipb. Aul.* (2346 Latin verses for 1629 Greek verses; in *Hec.* 1378 Latin vss. for 1295 Greek vss.). Similarly, in vs. 37 *Extorris amplis Ilii pomoeriis* for ἐκ Τροίας. A striking contrast is offered by the very exact translation of Eur. vss. 40-44 in vss. 44-48.

Cunctique Danai littore hoc in Thracio  
 Classem tenentes ociosi desident; 40  
 Nanque e sepulchro visus Aeacides suo  
 Argiuum Achilles tenuit omnem exercitum  
 Remum ad penates dirigentem ponticum.  
 Meam is sororem postulat Polyxenam  
 Tumulo cupitum honorem et inferias suo 45  
 Dari, ac feret: neque enim hoc sinent frustrarier  
 Honore amici; deinde decretum iubet  
 Fatale, caedi hac luce germanam meam.  
 Geminaeque prolis gemina mater funera  
 Cernet, meumque et lachrumandae virginis; 50  
 Nam quo sepulchri munus assequar mihi,  
 Ancillae in undis memet offeram ad pedes,  
 Venia impetrata diis ab inferis, vti  
 Tumulo potiar in matris incidens manus,  
 Itaque (quod ad me) quicquid optavi, assequar. 55  
 At anu a parente paululum abscedam: haec quidem  
 Iam regis e tentorio profert pedem  
 Agamemnonis, pauefacta de spectro mei.  
 O mater, huc, proh! viua peruenisti vti,  
 Prognata cum sis regiis e stemmatis, 60  
 Indigna ferres seruitutis pondera,  
 Tam afflicta nunc et misera, quam florens eras  
 Quondam, ac beata. Te aliquis euertit deus  
 Felicitatis pristinae inuertens vices  
 Bonaque anteacta paribus exaequans malis. 65

HE. Ducite anum hancce foras, o famulae,

63 euertit: extinxit C D E F | 65 om. A

39–40 *Cunctique ... desident* Paley in his note on vs. 37 rightly observes: 'The case is thus exactly parallel to the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis.' In this context it is worth while to note that Erasmus' translation of Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 88 in vs. 109 is quite similar to the present verses: *Hac ociosi desidemus Aulide.*

63 For *euertit* (A B) Er. gives in C (D E F) *extinxit*. This change is hardly an improvement, since Eur. vs. 58 has the present tense φθείρει. His words ἀντισημώσας ... εὐπραξίας ('giving a balance (of evil) against your former prosperity'

Paley) is adequately translated in 64, but in B (C D E F) Er. adds a second line (vs. 65), in which *Bona ... anteacta* is an idle repetition of *Felicitatis pristinae*.

66 For the metre of this scene, cf. the paragraph *Ad Lectorem* (p. 220–221). In general it can be said that in his anapaestic verses Er. sticks to the technique of Seneca, which is well described by W. R. Hardie, *Res Metrica* (Oxford-London 1934), 66–67, and Fr. Crusius, *Römische Metrik, neu bearbeitet von H. Rubenhauer* (München 1961), 85–86.

	Ducite sustentantes vobis	
	Nunc conseruam, Iliades, verum	
	Dudum dominam; prendite, ferte,	
	Portate mei corporis artus,	70
	Tollite, anilem corripite manum.	
	Ipsa ego torto nixa bacillo	
	Annis tardum celerabo pedem et	
	Alternos promouero passus.	
	O fulgur Iouis, o nox picea,	75
	Vt quid ita sub nocte silenti	
	Terriculis visisque exagitor?	
	O sacra tellus,	
	Gignens atris somnia pennis,	
	Sit precor irrita noctis imago	80
	Quam de prole mea,	
	Quae seruatur Thraces oris,	
	Dulcique Polyxena sobole	
	Alto vidi mersa sopore;	
	Nam terrificum vidi visum,	85
	Didici, sensi.	
	O terrestria numina, gnatum	
	Seruate meum, qui iam solus	
	Generis superest ancora nostri,	
LB 1134	Thraces habitans arua niualis	90
	Patrio commendatus amico.	
	Aderit iamiam quodcunque malum	
	Luctumque nouum luctibus addet;	
	Haud sic vnquam mens mea certo	
	Timuit, tremuit, tacta pauore.	95
	Vbinam diuina Helenum mente,	

73 tardum: tardis *D* | 76 Vt: Et *A* | 77 exagitor: agitor *C D E F* | 81–82 de prole mea / Quae: de gnato, / Qui *C D E F* | 82 Thraces: Thracibus *C D E F* | 83 Dulcique ... sobole: Teque Polyxena filia dulcis *C D E F* | 94 om. *A* | 95 tacta: tracta *A*

77 *exagitor agitor*, which occurs in *C* (*D E F*), destroys the anapaestic dimeter and gives a catalectic dactylic dimeter in *syl-labam*, which in Latin poetry is only found in Plautus (cf. Crusius-Rubenhauer, *op. cit.*, p. 61). On the other hand, in vs. 81 *Quam de gnato* (*C D E F*) is metrically much better than *Quam de prole mea* (*A B*).

82 *Thraces* *A B*, *Thracibus* *C D E F* (Eur. vs. 74 κατὰ Θρηάκην). On second thought,

Er. has evidently preferred the Latin to the Greek form.

94 This verse is left out in *A*, like other verses which should have stood at the bottom of a page (e.g., vs. 284); that the omission is purely mechanical is evident from the fact that *tacta* in vs. 95 presupposes *mens* in vs. 94.

96 *diuina Helenum mente* Eur. vs. 87 has θείων Ἑλένου ψυχάν, but Er. avoids the literal translation *diuinam Heleni mentem* which

Vbi Cassandram, Iliades, videam  
 Vt mihi caeca insomnia pandant?  
 Vidi siquidem ceruam variam  
 (Visu miserum) 100  
 Nostro e gremio vi direptam,  
 Quam laniat lupus vngue cruento.  
 Terrebar et hinc: summum in tumulum  
 Vmbra ferocis venit Achillis,  
 Aliquam e miseris sibi Troadibus 105  
 Praemia poscens.  
 Procul a nostra, procul haec, quaeso,  
 Dii, depellite somnia gnata.

CH. Ad te celeri praecurri, Hecuba,  
 Pede, tentoria herilia linquens 110  
 In quae serua ego tradita sorte,  
 Vbi Troianae moenibus urbis  
 Graiis abigor bellica praeda.  
 Haud equidem ullum porto leuamen  
 Aerumnae praesentis, at ingens 115  
 Insuper et graue defero pondus,  
 Tibi priuatim, o mulier, saeui ac  
 Diri veniens nuntia luctus.

98 pandant: pandat *ACDEF* | 101 vi: vidi *CDEF* | 102 vngue: ore *CDEF* | 112  
 moenibus: e moenibus *ACDEF* | 114-118 Haud ... luctus: Tibi lenimina nulla malorum /  
 Triste sed insuper adfero pondus / Saeui (o mulier) nuncia luctus *A*

metrically would have been equally possible; evidently he felt this as a too strong Grecism. For the same reason, he must have substituted *Cassandram* for the genitive which he found in the Aldina of Euripides (from now on to be quoted as 'Ald' followed by the number of the verse); the correct reading is indeed the accusative, but this is for a different reason, *viz.*, that at this very moment Cassandra is still alive, whereas Helenus is dead; cf. the schol. quoted by Paley *ad loc.*

101 *vi* (*AB*) is the translation of Eur. vs. 91 ἀνάγκη in Ald. The reading *vidi* (*CDEF*) is not an improvement either with regard to the sense or to the metre.

102 *vngue* (*AB*) is certainly better as to the sense than the smoother reading *ore* in *C* (*DEF*): Eur. vs. 90 χαλῆ.

112 *moenibus* This only occurs in *B*, whereas all the other editions have *e moenibus*. Since the latter reading is evidently superior, the solution is probably that by a typographical error *e* was left out in *B*.

114-118 Here Er. brings a new translation of three verses of Eur. (106-108) in four Latin verses, whereas in *A* he had rendered them in three verses. It must be granted that vs. 114 in *B* gives a better anapaestic dimeter than its counterpart in *A*. Vs. 115 in *A* and 116 in *B* are equal in metrical structure; 116 in *A* and 117-118 in *B* both have a good anapaestic form. In the longer translation there is the advantage that μέγα (Eur. vs. 106) has found a translation (*ingens* 115); on the other hand, ἀγγελίας in Eur. vs. 105 has not found an adequate rendering in either version.

Nanque ferunt decernere Graios  
 Celebri coetu, tua vti gnata 120  
 Manibus occidatur Achillis;  
 Qui sublimem scandens tumulum  
 Scis fuluis cum apparuit armis,  
 Naueis detinuit pontigradas  
 Nixaque torto vela rudente, 125  
 Haec vociferans: 'Quo iam, Danaï,  
 Fugistis, nostros  
 Cineres deserturi inhonoros?'  
 At lis multo est orta tumultu,  
 Ac variat sententia duplex 130  
 Bellaces Graiugenum turmas,  
 Dum pars dandam tumulo inferias,  
 Pars mactari censet iniquum.  
 Atque inde tuae studuit parti  
 Rex Agamemnon, id fatidicae 135  
 Thalamis elargitus honoris;  
 Atque vicissim dixere duo  
 Thesidae (hos genuistis, Athenae):  
 Vna erat haec sententia vtrique,  
 Vti Pelidae decorent tenero 140  
 Busta cruore,  
 Nec placet vti Cassandrae thalamos  
 Armis habeant pluris Achilli.  
 At studiis ferme hactenus aequis  
 Decertatum est, donec varius 145  
 Et suauiloquens suasor, Achium  
 Populo non ingratus Vlysses  
 Omnem dictis flexit coetum,

135 fatidicae: faticanae *A* | 140 tenero: teucro *A* | 144 At: Et *ACDEF*

124 *pontigradas* This adjective, which also occurs in vs. 487 (in both cases as a rendering of *ποντοπόρος*), is not mentioned in Forcellini and Lewis and Short. It is almost certainly a new formation by Er. himself, like the adverb *diriter* (558), *euocamen* (581), *montigena* (ὄρεστερος; 1117), and *viricida* (ἀνδροφονος; 1120).

126 *Haec vociferans* One would have expected here one anapaestic dimeter, as in Eur. vs. 113: τὰδε θωύσσω.

132 *dandam ... inferias* Reading in Eur. vss.

118–119 τοῖς μὲν δίδοναι / τύμβῳ σφάγιον, τοῖς δ'οὐχὶ δοκοῦν, one is tempted for a moment to read *dandas*; but of course we should like Euripides supply *Polyxenam* after *dandam*.

135 *fatidicae* In *B* Er. has substituted this quite common adjective for *faticanae* (*A*), which is extremely rare (only Ovid, *Met.* IX, 418; *ibid.*, XV, 436, we should read *faticinas*, cf. Thes.l.L.s.v.).

144 *At* (*B*) is to be preferred to the *Et* of the other editions: δέ Eur. 130.

	Ne pro captae caede puellae	
	Neglectum pateretur Achillem,	150
	Vnum e Danais longe primum,	
	Neu quis apud Persephonen, ex iis	
	Qui bello cecidere, referret,	
	Quam male gratus miles Achiuus	
	Danais Danaum causa caesis	155
	Ex Iliacis cesserit aruis.	
	Sed iam nunc hic aderit Vlysses,	
	Isto vti vellat ab vbere gnatam	
	Eque manu vi tollat anili.	
	Proin templa adeas, adeas aras,	160
	Accide Atridae genibus supplex,	
	Prece sollicita quicquid Olympus,	
	Quicquid claudit terra deorum;	
	Siquidem aut places numina votis,	
	Ne miseranda orbere puella,	165
	Aut spectent tua lumina oportet	
	Ad tumulum procumbere sparsam	
	Sanguine natam deque aurifera	
	Ceruice atrum undare cruorem.	
HE.	Heu me miseram, quid vociferer?	170
	Quonam vlulatu, quonam fletu	
	Plorem miserae misera senectae	
	Haud portandum	
	Seruitii, haud tolerabile pondus?	
	Heu me me, quis opem mihi vindex	175
	Tulerit? Quaenam urbs? Quaenam soboles?	
	Periit senior; gnati extincti.	
	Huccine an illuc flectam gressum?	
	Quo me vertam?	
	Vbi quis deus aut daemon praesens	180

LB 1135

152 iis: his *ACDEF* | 154 Achiuus: Achiuis *A* | 159 vi: vt *A* | 176 Quaenam ... soboles?:  
 Qua nam natio? Quae nam urbs? *CDEF*

152 *ex iis B, ex his* all the other editions; for the metre the latter reading is to be preferred.

157 *Vlysses* must give an anapaest, so we should read *Vlyses*; Eur. vs. 141 has the anapaest Ὀδυσσεύς; this form is, of course, quite frequent as a 'metrical double' in Homer, just as Ἀχιλλεύς (in vs. 208 the last anapaest is *Achillis*; here again Er. has not dared to write *Achillis*).

162 *Prece sollicita* The words occur in the inverse order in Hor. *Carm.* I, 35, 5.

175 *Heu me me* We should remember that Ald has ὦ μοι μοι here (ὦμοι μοι Paley, ὦμοι Murray).

176 *Quaenam urbs? Quaenam soboles? A B Quae nam natio? Quae nam urbs? C (DEF)*. The later version gives a more literal rendering of Euripides' words (vss. 159-160): ποία γέννα, ποία δὲ πόλις;

- Ferat auxilium?  
 Proh, Iliades, saeua ferentes,  
 Eheu, saeua ferentes fata,  
 Extinxistis me, extinxistis;  
 Nec mihi posthac 185  
 Grata est supero in lumine vita.  
 Defer anum hanc, o pes infelix,  
 Hanc me, infelix, ducito ad aulam.  
 Eheu, gnata, heu supra cunctas  
 Miserae matris filia, prodi, 190  
 Prodi tectis, percipe matris,  
 Filia, vocem,  
 Vti cognoscas, qualis qualis  
 Fama tua de vita fertur.  
 PO. Ehem, mater, mater, 195  
 Quid clamas? Quid subitum apportans  
 Sic me veluti volucrem tectis  
 Cogis trepidam prouolitare?  
 HE. Heu me, gnata.  
 PO. Cur sermonum exordia mecum 200  
 Diro sumis ab omine, mater?  
 HE. Ah, gnata, tuae metuo vitae.  
 PO. Eloquitor, neque caelato diu.  
 Formido, formido, mater;  
 Quaeso, quid ingemis? 205  
 HE. Gnata, ah miserae gnata parentis.  
 PO. Cur istud ais?  
 HE. Hoc gnatus contendit Achillis  
 Communi decreto Argium,  
 Vti Pelidae, gnata, sepulchro 210  
 Mactata cadas.

186 lumine: limine *C D* | 190 Miserae: misera *A* | 200 Cur: Quae *A* | 204 Formido, formido, mater: Paueo, misere paueo mater *A C D E F*

190 *misera* (*A*) must be a typographical error (Eur. vs. 172: δυστανοτάτας).

198 *prouolitare* does not occur in Forcellini and Lewis and Short; cf. the note on vs. 124.

200 *Cur Quae A*. Evidently Er. first regarded τί as an accusative of the internal object of δυσφημεῖς. Vss. 200–201 are an expanded translation of the hardly understandable form of Eur. vs. 181 in Ald: τί με δυσφημεῖς φροίμιά μοι κακά.

204 Here the reading of *B* comes much nearer to the text of Eur. (vs. 184 δειμαίνω δειμαίνω, μάτερ) than that of the other mss.

208–209 That the subject is *gnatus* ... *Achillis* is only understandable from the form which the verse has in Ald (which cannot be reconstructed from Murray's apparatus): σφάξα δ' Ἀργείων κοινᾶ / συντείνει πρὸς τύμβον γνάμα / Πηλεΐδα γέννα.



- PO. Eheu, genetrix, vt mala nobis  
Immensa refers;  
Aperi, sodes, aperi, mater.
- HE. Rumorem adfero, filia, dirum: 215  
De caede tui  
Scitum populus sanxit Achiuus.
- PO. O te afflictam, proh ter miseram,  
O male faustae genetrix sortis,  
Quam tibi tristem rursus luctum 220  
Infandumque et acerbum mouit  
Daemon aliquis.  
Non iam gnata haec, non tibi posthac  
Infelice senecta infelix  
Conseruiero; nanque perinde ac 225  
Hinnuleum seu montibus hirtis  
Alitam vitulam, miseram misera  
Mox de manibus velli aspicias  
Ac sub humum ceruice recisa  
Obscuro demittier Orco. 230  
Illic inter lumine cassos  
Degam infelix.  
Sed te miseram luctu omnigeno  
Defleo, mater; nam mea fata  
Sortemque grauem non lamentor, 235  
Cum mihi casus sit et optandus  
Cedere vita.
- CH. Sed ecce Vlysses huc citus mouet gradum,  
Hecube, tibi aliquem nuntium ferens nouum.
- VL. Te scire, mulier, credo placita plebis et | 240  
Sententiam quae vicit, exponam tamen.

LB 1136

226 Hinnuleum: Hinnuleum catulum *A* | 234 mea: me, *CDEF* | 240–241 Te ... tamen: Te scire mulier credo placita exercitus, / Et quae inter omneis vicerit sententia, / Haud te latere puto, sed exponam tamen *CDEF*

- 226 The form which the verse has in *A*, with *Hinnuleum catulum* instead of *Hinnuleum*, gives a metrically impossible form with five metrical unities instead of the usual four. Er. wrongly adds *seu*: Eur. is speaking of one animal only.
- 230 *demittier Orco* From Verg. *Aen.* II, 398: 'demittimus Orco.'
- 231 *lumine cassos* From Verg. *Aen.* II, 85: 'cassum lumine'.
- 234 *mea fata me, fata* the editions from *C* on. Er. seems to have thought this enumeration (*me, fata sortemque*) a better rendering of the somewhat different enumeration in Eur. vs. 213: τὸν ἐμὸν δὲ βίον λῶβαν λύμαν τ'.
- 236 *et* A good instance of an addition for the sake of metre (there is no καί in Eur. vss. 214–215).
- 240–241 The correction in the editions from

- Visum est Pelasgis, tua vti gnata Polyxena  
 Cadat ad sepulchri Achillis excelsum aggerem.  
 At virginis nos esse solenneis duces  
 Statuere; Pyrrhus Aeacidae proles huic 245  
 Praefectus autor ac sacrificus hostiae.  
 Scin' ergo quid ages? Neue vi retraxeris  
 Mecumue manibus ne velis contendere.  
 Scitum est profecto quiddam, et in mediis malis  
 Ea quenque secum sapere quae sapere est opus. 250  
 HE. Vae vae, adest discrimen (vt video) graue  
 Gemituque plenum et non inane lachrumis.  
 Neque enim ipsa dudum vitam acerbam et asperam  
 Illic reliqui, quo mori decuit loco,  
 Neque me interemit Iuppiter, sed in hoc alit, 255  
 Tristissimis vti tristiora conspicer.  
 Proh, misera. Sed iam si licet captis neque  
 Molesta nec quae mordeant animum loqui  
 Heris, rogeris oportet et paucis mihi  
 Atque vt vicissim nos rogantes audias. 260  
 VL. Licet, roga; neque enim hoc tibi inuideo morae.

242 gnata: nata *C D E F* | 247 Scin': Saeui *A* | 248 ne: *om. C D E F*; *Post hunc versum duos versus add. E F*: Agnosce vires Danaidum qui haec imperant, / Simulque quantis obruare nunc malis.

- C* on first of all gives *exercitus* instead of *plebis* for στρατοῦ which is, of course, an improvement. However, now *et* must be put in the second line, and this in its turn creates the necessity to add a third verse. Hence a greater diffuseness, in which εἰδέναι is translated twice (*scire* and *haud te latere*; further addition of *inter omnes*).
- 243 *excelsum aggerem* Cf. *Verg. Aen. XII*, 564: 'celso ... aggere'.
- 247 *ages* Ald 225 has δρᾶσεις (all modern editions follow *M P* in reading δρᾶσον). The reading *Saeui* instead of *Scin* in *A* can only be explained as a typographical error.
- 248 This is the translation of Eur. vs. 226, 249–250 the expanded translation of Eur. 228. In *A B* Eur. vs. 227 has not been translated; hence the addition in *E F*, which is once more an expanded translation. The deletion of *ne* in vs. 248 in *C (D E F)* makes the metre there impossible.
- 253 *acerbam et asperam* The combination of

these two adjectives, which also occurs in the translation of *Iph. Aul.* 1356, is Vergilian: *Aen. IX*, 794: 'Asper, acerba tuens'.

- 259–260 *rogeris ... audias* This is the translation of two particularly difficult verses ('nondum expediti' Gilbert Murray *ad* 236 sq.). The text, on which there are no important variants, runs as follows: σοὶ μὲν εἰρησθαι χρεῶν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας τάδε. For its first half Er. gives the same interpretation as the scholia and Paley, who paraphrases: 'it is to you (ἐλευθέρω) that our words must be spoken' (Gottfried Hermann in Paley's rendering: 'Tis fit that an end should be made of your speech.'). As to the second part, Er. adopts the interpretation which was afterwards defended by Hermann ('and that you should attend to my questions'), whereas Paley, in accordance with the scholia, explains: 'and it is for us who ask (δούλους) to hear your reply.'

HE. Scin Ilium explorator vt subiueris  
 Pannosus atque squalidus? Genas tuas  
 Stillae obsidebant mortis oculis excitae.

VL. Memini. Haud enim haec res summa strinxit pectoris. 265

HE. Ten' agnitum vni prodidit Helene mihi?

VL. Meminimus, in discrimen adducti graue.

HE. Supplexque factus genua tangebās mea?

VL. Sic, manus vt istis instupesceret peplis.

HE. Dedin' ergo vitam et Ilio emisi solo? 270

VL. Ita, vt hoc profecto solis aspiciam iubar.

HE. Quid tum locutus, cum mihi in manu fores?

VL. Quo me necis subducerem periculo  
 Omneis vafer tum comminiscebar dolos,  
 Cunctasque pariter persuadendi vias. 275

HE. Lege igitur istac gratiam refers malam,  
 Cum tuleris a me quae tulisse non negas,  
 At nil iuues nos, sed magis pro viribus  
 Incommodas, benefacta compensans malis.  
 Vestrum genus mortalium ingratissimum, 280  
 Quicumque plebis concionibus leues  
 Captatis auras, cognitum heu mihi plus satis,  
 Qui damnum amicis ferre non facitis pili,  
 Modo disseratis grata multitudini.  
 At iure quonam aut quid secuti virginem 285  
 In hanc, cedo, decreta sanxerunt necis?  
 Ipsumne decus hoc suasit homines caedere  
 Tumulis, vbi bos victima addecet magis?  
 An porro Achilles mortis autores suae

283 Qui: qua C D E F | 284 om. A

267 *Meminimus ... adducti* We should bear in mind here that in Ald 244 there is a comma after *μεινήμεθ'*. The correct translation would, of course, be an accusative and infinitive after *Meminimus*; for instance, *nos ductos* instead of *adducti*.

269 *vt ... instupesceret peplis* ὥστ' ἐνθανεῖν γε σοῖς πέπλοισι. Er. has excellently rendered the original, cf. Paley's note: 'ἐνθανεῖν πέπλοισι, a singular phrase, to express that the hand was clasped so closely that it became fixed like that of a statue.'

273-275 Here we have a translation in three latin verses of one line (250) of Euripi-

des. Evidently Er. has regarded this all too expanded translation as a success, for in his two most thorough corrections of the version (respectively in C and E) he has left it unchanged.

283 *qui A B, quam C (D E F)*. The first translation is a faithful rendering of Eur. vs. 256 οἶ, but it is somewhat surprising after 282 *cognitum ... satis*, which is to be connected with *genus* (280), whereas Eur. goes on with the 2. plur. (μηδὲ γινώσκουσθὲ μοι).

284 The verse is omitted in A for the sole reason that it is at the bottom of the page; cf. the note on vs. 94.

	Punire quaerens iure in hanc refert necem?	290
	Atqui haec in illum sceleris admisit nihil;	
	Helenam sepulchris hostiam par est peti:	
	Illa hunc peremit, illa traxit ad Ilium.	
	Quod si qua vultu legitur ex captis neci	
	Formaque praestans caeteris, non nostrum id est,	295
	Quippe ore multo Tyndaris decentior,	
	Eademque quam nos non minus dedit mali.	
	Atque haec pro aequo dixerim quidem ac bono;	
	At nunc, mihi quae te reposcenti inuicem	
	Reponere aequum est, accipe aequis auribus:	300
	Meam (quod ipse non negas) humilis manum ac	
	Supplex anilem hanc contigisti tum genam;	
	Nunc haec vicissim prona contingo tui	
	Beneficiumque tunc datum reflagito	
	Itemque supplex obsecro, ne filiam	305
	Mihi puellam manibus abripias meis	
	Neue perimatis, quippe funerum satis.	
	Oblecto in hac me sortis oblita grauis,	
	Solamen haec est vna pro multis mihi,	
	Vrbs atque nutrix, scipio, rector gradus.	310
	Iniqua victis imperare non decet	
	Quis sors dedit rerum potiri ac vincere,	
	Neque quis secundae res, oportet fidere	
	Itidem futuras semper ex sententia.	
LB 1137	Etenim ipsa quondam quae fui, non sum amplius,	315
	Opes sed omneis vnicus rapuit dies.	
	Age, grata barba, paululum me respice,	
	Miseresce et adiens rursus Achium exercitum	
	Doceto quam sit saeuum atroxque foeminas	
	Mactare quas non interemistis prius	320
	Raptas ab aris (sed pepercistis) sacris.	
	Lex aequa porro vos apud de sanguine	
	Seruisque liberisque capitibus stata est.	

301 non: *om.* *C D* | 310 Vrbs: *vrbs A*; rector: *rectrix C D E F* | 312 potiri: *potiti A* |  
 317 grata: *amica C D E F*

292 *par est* Er. translates the *χρή* of Ald 265 (all modern editions have Elmsley's conjecture *χρήν*, which is now found to occur also in two manuscripts).

301 The omission of *non* in *C D* seems to be a mere mistake (it is corrected in *E F*).

310 *Vrbs* in *A* seems to be a mere mistake. *Rectrix* in *C (D E F)* is a real improvement (Eur. 281 *ἡγεμών*).

317 *grata A B amica C (D E F)* which is better (Eur. vs. 286: *ἀλλ', ὃ φίλον γέ-  
 νειον*).

- Si vel male haec autoritas dicat tua,  
Flectet, quod a leuibus profecta oratio 325  
Et a probatis non idem valet eadem.
- CH. Tam rigida nusquam est vlla mens mortalium,  
Audita quam non ista comploratio  
Ingensque luctus cogat aedere lachrumas.
- VL. Audi, Hecuba, neue mente percita virum 330  
Qui recta dicat maleuolum fingas tibi:  
Ego quidem vitam tuerier tuam,  
Per quam ipse viuo, cupio, nec dicam dolo;  
At quae palam suasi, ea haud negauerim,  
Nempe urbe capta exercitus primario 335  
Gnatam immolendam (quando postulat) tuam.  
Hinc nanque plures defluunt respublicae,  
Dum strenuum qui praebet ac fortem virum  
Non plus honoris quam vir ignauus capit.  
Nos contra Achillem dignum honore ducimus, 340  
Vt qui pro Achiuis ceciderit promptissime.  
Quam turpe, si, quem viuum amicum sensimus,  
Huic desinamus esse amici mortuo!  
Age quid futurum, si qua rursus appareat  
Acies coacta et hostium certamina? 345  
Vtrum manus iam conseremus an magis  
Vitae ac saluti consulemus? Quippe qui  
Fraudari honore cernimus quisquis cadit.  
Ac mihi profecto luce donec hac fruuar,  
Quantumlibet pusilla sufficiant tamen. 350  
Porro sepulchrum conspici exoptem meum  
Insigne, quando durat in longum hic honos.  
At 'misera patior', inquis; audi contra ad haec:  
Sunt et Pelasgis neutiquam miserae minus  
Anusque et annis te priores foeminae 355  
Sponsaeque sponsis orphanas praestantibus

326 et a probatis: existimatis *A* | 334 ea haud: non *A* | 353 audi: audis *A C D E F*

326 *et a probatis existimatis A*, which is possible as an equivalent of *probatis* (Eur. vs. 295 τῶν δοκούστων) but without *et a* there is no sentence.

334 *ea haud non A*. The correction in *B* was of course made because it gives a short thesis of the fourth foot.

342-343 The editions have *Quam* at the beginning and a question-stop at the end,

for which we have substituted a point of exclamation. Ald has Οὐκοῦν at the beginning; the common reading is οὐκοῦν (Eur. vs. 311).

353 *audi contra ad haec* Eur. vs. 321 τὰδ' ἀντάκουέ μου. I fail to understand why in *C (D E F)* Er. changes *audi* into *audis*; maybe it is only a typographical error caused by the preceding *inquis*.

- Hic ossa quorum puluis Idaeus tegit.  
 Fer ista; nos si perperam decernimus  
 Decorare fortem praemio merito virum,  
 Inscitiae ipsi obnoxii tenebimur. 360  
 At barbari neque hos amicos ducitis  
 Qui sunt amici, neque decore qui oppetunt  
 Suspicitis; hinc et nostra floret Graecia,  
 Vos contra habetis instituto congrua.
- CH. Heu, seruitus vt semper est miserrima: 365  
 Subacta vi fert praeter aequum plurima.
- HE. Ah, gnata, in auras irrita haec oratio  
 Frustra mihi iactata de tui nece.  
 Tu si amplius quid quam valet mater vales,  
 Annitere, omneis ad modum Iusciniae 370  
 Experta voces, vita ne pereat tibi;  
 Miseranda Vlyssis accide huius ad genu  
 Et commoue; argumentum habes: ipsi quoque  
 Sunt liberi, quo fata miseretur tua.
- PO. Video te, Vlysses, dexteram sub pallio 375  
 Manum occultentem et ora vertentem retro,  
 Tetigisse malam ne mihi sit fas tuam;  
 Animo bono sis iubeo, meque nuntia  
 Scito, quod ad me pertinebit, te fore  
 In tuto et effugisse, si quis supplices 380  
 Curat fauens aequusque respicit, Iouem.  
 Nam te sequar vel quia trahat necessitas  
 Vel quod mori expetam ipsa; sin velim minus,  
 Vitae auida mulier videar ac timida omnibus.

375 Polyz. *perperam ante vs. 376 in A*; Vlysses: Vlysse *A C D E F* | 381 Curat: Cura *A*

- 363 *hinc ... Graecia* Eur. vs. 330: ὡς ἂν ἡ μὲν  
 'Ἑλλάς εὐτυχῆ. Er. has well caught the  
 sense of the passage, as is evident from  
 Paley's note: 'Hermann says this means  
*dummodo, si modo*. It would be more cor-  
 rect to say, that it expresses the *result*  
 rather than the *intention*, 'so as that'  
 rather than 'in order that'.
- 365 *semper* This word makes it probable  
 that instead of the πεφουκέναι which oc-  
 curs in the Ald 332 Er. either conjectured  
 or found somewhere (in the codex  
 Marcianus 468?) the variant πέφουκ' ἀελ.  
 For details, see Paley's note.
- 375 *Vlysses B: Vlysse A C (D E F)*. There  
 is no metrical reason for the change.

378-381 A translation in four Latin verses  
 of one line of Eur. (vs. 345: θάρσει·  
 πέφουγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἰκέσιον Δία) which  
 indeed is difficult to understand for a  
 Roman – and for a man with a primarily  
 'Latin' education. *aequus* as an attribute  
 of Juppiter is quite frequent in Augustan  
 poetry (Verg. *Aen.* VI, 129; Hor.  
*Carm.* I, 28, 28 and *Ep.* II, 1, 68, etc.).  
*respicere* in connection with Juppiter:  
*Aen.* V, 689 (cf. also note on vs. 529-  
 530). In *C (D E F)* the words *si quis ...*  
*respicit* are put between brackets, which  
 makes it less clear that they belong to  
*Juppiter*.

Quae nanque vitae causa iam superest mihi? 385  
 Vt cui pater rex omnium fuerit Phrygum  
 (Etenim rudis mi lucis hoc initium),  
 Dein spes ad amplas educabar regibus  
 Nuptura, multis aemulantibus procis,  
 Quis me ad penateis duceret victor suos. | 390  
 Regina ego, proh misera, foeminis eram  
 Troadibus, inter virgines insignis ac  
 Diis aequa, solum hoc si quis excipiat, mori.  
 At serua nunc sum, protinus vocabulum  
 Minime assuetum facit, vt expetam mori; 395  
 Dein forsitan continget immitis mihi  
 Herus, aere me quicumque commercabitur,  
 Et Hectoris quondam sororem et plurium,  
 Adigensque vi me pinsere in tectis solum  
 Verrisse coget staminique insistere, 400  
 Vitam exigentem duram et illaetabilem;  
 Thalamosque nostros seruus emptus undeuis  
 Foedabit ante destinatos regibus?  
 Absit; relinquam lucem ego istam libera  
 Orco inferisque hoc corpus exponens meum. 405  
 Iam ducito me, Vlysses, ac ductam immola.  
 Neque enim penes nos vel spei fiduciam  
 Vel opinionis video, cur mi debeam  
 Posthac benigna fata pollicerier.  
 At tu, genitrix, nequid obsistas mihi 410  
 Verboue factoue: incita magis, mori  
 Quo libeat ante, quam quid indignum accidat.  
 Nam qui malis haud assuerit, fert quidem,  
 Dolet tamen, cum colla supponit iugo.  
 At mortuus quam viuus hic felicior 415  
 Foret; haud decore viuere est ingens labor.

LB 1138

CH. Inest in homine mira et euidens nota

386 Vt: *om.* A | 394 vocabulum: vocabulum hoc C D E F

386 The reading in A (without *Vt*, and with *fuit*) has the advantage that it is closer to the original (Eur. vs. 349: ἡ πατήρ μὲν ἦν ἄναξ, etc.). However, it presupposes a bisyllabic form *cui* with a long *i* which is not usual in either archaic or classic Latin (cf. F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*<sup>2-3</sup>, pp. 445-446).

394 *vocabulum* Eur. 357 τοῦνομα. C (D E F) have *vocabulum hoc*, which is indeed better Latin idiom.

404 *relinquam ... libera* Ald as also the manuscripts (vss. 367-368), here reads ἀφήμ' ὀμμάτων ἐλεύθερον φέγγος τόδ'. In his simplifying translation Er. seems to anticipate Blomfield's conjecture ἐλευθέρων.

- Probis satum esse; generis illustrat decus  
 Quisquis celebribus dignus est natalibus.
- HE. Dixisti honeste, gnata, verum isti dolor 420  
 Adest honesto. Caeterum si Pelei  
 Et facere gratum filio, simul et probrum  
 Effugere vultis, hanc, Vlysses, omittite,  
 Me ductam Achillis immoletis ad pyram.  
 Ne parcite, inquam; nam Parin produxi ego, 425  
 Qui Thetide natum petiit arcu ac perdidit.
- VL. Non te vmbra Achillis poscit Argiuos, anus,  
 Vt immolare, sed hanc poposcit virginem.
- HE. Vos attamen cum filia me occidite,  
 Duplumque tellus sparsa sanguinis bibet 430  
 Eiusque manes ista qui poscit sibi.
- VL. Sat filiae mors: caede caedem non decet  
 Cumulare, et o, si ne haec quidem pendenda sit.
- HE. Gnatae at necesse vtcunque commori meae.
- VL. Qui? Quando dominos esse non noui mihi. 435
- HE. Vt hederam quercu, sic ego huic inhaesero.
- VL. Haud feceris, si obtemperabis iis quibus  
 Et mentis et prudentiae plus quam tibi est.
- HE. Non hanc ego volens omittam virginem.
- VL. At ego hinc relicta non abibo virgine. 440
- PO. Mihi, mater, audi tuque, Laertae genus,  
 Parentibus concede merito concitis;  
 Tu, misera, cum victore ne pugnaueris.  
 Sterni solo vis ac trahi corpus tuum  
 Anile per vim pulsa? Vin iuuenis manu 445  
 Foedis modis reuulsa dedecorariet?  
 Istaec vt accidant tibi absit; haud enim decet.

420 Dixisti: Dixisti *E* | 437 Haud ... quibus: Haud liceat. Imo obtemperabis hiis quibus *A*; iis: his *C D E F* | 441 Laertae: Laertis *A*

418–419 *generis ... natalibus* Ald has (vss. 380–381): *κάπι μείζον ἔρχεται τῆς εὐγενείας τοῦνομα (ὄνομα later edd.) τοῖς ἀξίοις*, on which Paley observes: ‘By *ἐπὶ μείζον ἔρχεται* he means, that the truly noble man advances from the mere *name* to the reality, from the *ὄνομα* or *λόγος* to the *ἔργα εὐγενείας*.’ If I am not mistaken, Er. has connected *μείζον* directly with *ὄνομα (illustrat)*.

431 It is remarkable that *manes* is treated here as a form in the singular (metrically

*poscunt* would be equally possible).

437 The *Vno* which occurs in *A* for Eur. 399 *ἦν* is completely unintelligible. As to the text of this verse, Er. observes in Ep. 209, l. 11–12: *Quemadmodum in Hecuba B. 4 facie dextra, οὐ μὴν γε πείθη, lego οὐκ ἦν γε*. The reference is indeed to the Aldina of Euripides of 1503 (cf. Allen *ad loc.*).

447 *Istaec ... absit* These words can only be understood from the punctuation in Ald 408: *σπασθεῖσ', ἃ πείση μὴ σὺ γ'*.



- Quin age manum da iam mihi dulcissimam,  
 Dilecta genitrix, ac genam applicem genae.  
 Posthac enim haud vnquam, sed extremum iubar 450  
 Orbemque Phoebi hodie quidem conspexero.  
 Finem ergo nostri, fac age, alloquii cape  
 Ac dicta mecum conserito nouissima.  
 O mater, o parens, abeo iam ad inferos.
- HE. Heu, gnata, nos in lumine hoc seruibimus. 455  
 PO. Frustrata sponso ac debitis mihi nuptiis.  
 HE. Miseranda, gnata, es, mulier infelix ego.  
 PO. Illic iacebo in Tartaro tete procul.  
 HE. Hei misera, quid agam? Vitam ego hanc quoad traham?  
 PO. Ancilla moriar patre nata libero. 460  
 HE. At ego orba quinquies decem iam liberis.  
 PO. Quid Hectori ex te nuntio, aut seni viro?  
 HE. Dic foeminarum me omnium miserrimam.  
 PO. O pectus et, quis alita blande sum, vbera!  
 HE. Proh, ante tempus fati acerbi filia! 465  
 PO. Vale, o parens; Cassandra, iam mihi vale.  
 HE. Alii valebunt, istud haud matri est datum. |  
 PO. Quique in fera es, Polydore frater, Thracia. LB 1139  
 HE. Ita si quidem ille viuit, atqui non puto:  
 Adeo vndequaue prorsus infelix ago. 470  
 PO. Viuit premetque mortuae tibi lumina.  
 HE. Ego et ante mortem prae malis sum mortua.  
 PO. Me duc, Vlysses, flammeo obuoluens caput.  
 Etenim prius quam macter examinor meae  
 Luctu parentis, et hanc neco ploratibus. 475  
 O lux, licet nam nomen affari tuum,  
 Neque vlla posthac copia dabitur tui

449 ac: et *A* | 455 in lumine hoc: in hoc lumine *EF* | 464 quis: queis *D* | 470 vndequaue: vndiquaque *ACDEF*; ago: ego *ACDEF* | 474 examinor: exanimor *EF*, *recte* | 477 posthac: post *ACDEF*

- 449 *applicem*, like *manum*, depends on *da*, just as in Eur. vss. 409–410 both *προσβαλεῖν* and *χέρα* depend on *δός*.  
 452 *cape* Ald (413) has *δέχου* which has much less *MSS* authority than *δέξει* or *δέχη*; cf. Paley *ad loc.*  
 455 *in lumine hoc in hoc lumine* (*EF*) spoils the metre (long thesis of the fourth foot).  
 465 *fati acerbi acerbus* is indeed, with *im-maturus*, the correct translation of *ἄωρος*, cf. my edition of Tertullian, *De anima*

- (Amsterdam 1947), p. 565.  
 473 *flammeo* Eur. 432 has *πέπλοις*. Et.'s translation brings in the idea of the bridal-veil which can, of course, easily be taken from the context but which is not explicitly mentioned here by the Greek poet.  
 474 The substitution of *exanimor* (*EF*, *ἐκτέτηκα καρδίαν* Eur. 433) for *examinor* is self-evident.  
 477 *posthac B*, *post AC* (*DEF*) which for the metre is impossible.

- Nobis fruendi, nisi quod interest morae  
 Ad ensem eunti hinc atque Achillis ad pyram.  
 HE. Soluuntur artus, hei, mihi ac mens deficit. 480  
 O gnata, matrem prende, porge dexteram;  
 Da, ne relinquo orbam; amicae, concidi.  
 Vtinam Lacaenam sic sororem Castoris  
 Helenam viderem, quae decentibus oculis  
 Florens peremit indecenter Ilium. 485
- C.H. Aura, pontica aura,  
 Quaeque pontigradas per vndam  
 Rateis celeres agis marinam,  
 Quo loci miseram vehes me?  
 Addicta cui sub aedeis 490  
 Ancilla deferar?  
 Ad littora Dorica anne  
 Ad Pthiada, quo loco aiunt pa-

479 *alt. ad: om. A C D E F* | 492 *ad: at C*

- 478-479 *nisi ... pyram* Er. has well brought out the meaning of this somewhat complicated sentence (Eur. 436-437), on which Paley rightly observes: '... μεταξὺ ξίφους is shortly put for μεταξὺ τοῦ τόπου καὶ ξίφους.'
- 486-524 As Erasmus observes himself in his admonition *Ad Lectorem*, the translation of the three stasima of the *Hecuba*, as also that of the first monody of Polymestor, *ex variis metrorum constat generibus, ac ferme iisdem quibus vsus est Euripides* (this is quite different from the technique of the translation of the lyrical parts of the *Iph. Aul.* with the exception of the first stasimon; cf. the note on p. 271, 13-15). It goes without saying that, in order really to understand Erasmus' fairly laborious technique of translation in the present tragedy, we should start from the text of the original as it is presented in the Aldine edition. For instance, vs. 489 *Quo loci miseram vehes me?* is, also metrically, a perfectly accurate rendering of vs. 447 in the Aldina: ποῖ με τὸν μελέαν πορεύσεις; (in Paley's edition we find the same line, whereas Gilbert Murray breaks the line off after πορεύ-). We cannot offer here a complete analysis of the metrical structure of the entire stasimon but

must limit ourselves to a few general remarks. There is no complete correspondence between the translations of the first strophe and the first antistrophe; for instance, the first line of the strophe *Aura, pontica aura* (with hiatus) is metrically identical with its Greek example (αὔρα, ποντιάς αὔρα) but the beginning of the first line of the antistrophe (497) gives a glyconic: *Illam appellar in insulam*. In this context it should be remarked, firstly, that in the Aldina the metrical correspondence of strophe and antistrophe is not brought out consistently (the last line of str. II is φλογμῶ Κρονίδας, that of antistr. II ἀλλάξασ' αἶδα θαλάμους), secondly, that there is no clear division into *Latin* strophes and antistrophes; for this reason I have not made a further subdivision of the chorus (which was not made by Erasmus himself in the editions published under his own supervision). Attention should be drawn to the remarkably successful rendering of the first four lines of the second strophe and antistrophe (Er. vss. 507-510 and 516-519) which give an exact reproduction of the original metres. Also Er. vss. 522-524 have exactly the same metre as Eur. vss. 481-483 in Ald.

trem eximii laticis	
Currere Apidanum, sataque rigare, an	495
Salso misera remo	
Illam appellar in insulam, pro-	
ductura domi dies acerbos,	
Primitiua vbi palma frondet	
Laurusque sacros in altum,	500
Latona, tibi edit	
Gratissima ramos,	
Partus monumenta dii,	
Ac cum Deliacis puel-	
lis Artemidisque deae	505
Spicula arcusque canam aureamque vittam?	
An Palladis vrbe, quam	
Currus nitidi vehunt,	
Peplis in croceis equos	
Sub iuga splendida mittam?	510
Pingens varia crocoque	
Sindone florulenta?	
An Titanum ad sobolem	
Quam Saturnius igniuomo rex	
Strauit iaculo?	515
Vae progenitoribus,	
Vae patribus ac solo,	
Quod fumo mihi concidit	
Marteque captum et exustum	
Ab Argiuis. At ipsa in	520
Tellure vocabor externa	
Serua, Asiam fugiens	
Europae famulantem,	
Mutans morte faces thalami.	

497 appellar in: appellarin? *CDE* | 498 *Totam vocem* Productura *huic versui attribuunt CDEF* |  
 516 progenitoribus: liberis meis *EF* | 518 mihi: *om. CDEF*

501 The introduction of a vocative in Latin adaptations of Greek texts is quite usual in Antiquity (here *Latona, tibi edit* – Eur. vss. 459–460 ἀνέσχε ... Λατοῦ). Thus also in vs. 660 (Eur. vs. 611).

514 *igniuomo* only occurs in very late Latin (cf. the note on vs. 26).

516 *progenitoribus ABCD, liberis meis EF*. The Greek text has ὦ μοι τεκέων ἐμῶν (475), so that *E* gives an important cor-

rection (moreover, in 517 we have *patribus*).

516–524 The remarkably faithful translation of the second antistrophe in Eur. is worthy of mention.

518 *mibi om. C (DEF)*. Therewith a literal translation of Eur. 477 & κατὰ κατερέπεται is given but the glyconic metre has been destroyed.

- T.A. Vbi Phrygum regina quae dudum fuit, 525  
Hecubam, puellae Troades, conuenero?
- CH. Eccam haud procul te, tergo humi strato cubat,  
Talthybie praeco, circumoperta linteis.
- T.A. O Iuppiter, quid dicam? vtrum mortalia  
Respicere te? anne opinione fallier 530  
Falso putantes esse diuorum genus,  
Casu sed omneis res agi mortalium?  
Non haec modo regina ditium Phrygum?  
Priami vxor ista nonne locupletissimi?  
Nunc vrbs quidem eius funditus bello iacet, 535  
At ipsa, anusque et orba liberis, humi  
Cubat inquinata puluere infaustum caput.  
Eheu, senex sum, sed tamen mori prius  
Quam foedus vllus accidat casus velim.  
Te surge, misera, tolle subductum latus, 540  
Quodque omne canis albicat pilis caput.
- HE. Ehem, quis hic qui corpus haud sinit meum  
Iacere? Quid me, quisquis, afflictam moues? |
- LB 1140 T.A. Talthybius adsum Achiui, mulier, agminis  
Minister, accersente te hinc Agamemnone. 545
- HE. O vir mihi carissime, an quod me quoque  
Visum est Pelasgis ad sepulchrum occidier,  
Ob id venis? Vt grata nuntias mihi!  
Properemus, acceleremus, age duc me, senex.
- T.A. Gnatae vt cadaver sepelias, te, mulier, hinc 550  
Ducturus adsum; me quidem legant ad id

536–537 orba ... cubat: serua et orba liberis, iacet *E F* | 540 Te surge: Exurge *C D E F* |  
548 nuntias: perferres *E F*

529–530 *O Iuppiter ... Respicere te?* The translation is close to Verg. *Aen.* V, 687 sqq.: ‘Juppiter omnipotens, ... si quid pietas antiqua labores / respicit humanos’; cf. the note on vss. 378–381.  
536 *ipsa* Er. translates ἀὐτή (Eur. vs. 495), which occurs in the cod. Vatic. 909 and which was conjectured by Elmsley. The other manuscripts have ἀύτη, which is defended by Paley.  
536–537 *orba ... cubat* The different redaction in *E (F)* brings in a translation of δουλή but leaves out that of γραῦς.  
540 *Te surge* Er. writes *Te surge*, because, on account of a number of faulty readings in early editions of Latin authors, he is

convinced that *surgere* can be used as a complete equivalent of *subrigere*, that is, as a transitive verb. The most important passage in this context is the last verse of Plautus’ *Epidicus* (733) which in editions of his time was read as follows: ‘lumbos surgite atque extolite’ (instead of *surgite* Dousa conjectured *porgite*, which afterwards turned out to be the reading of the Ambrosian palimpsest). Thus also for Auienus *Perieg.* 185 ‘surgit caput Appennino’ Lewis and Short still quote *Appenninus*.  
548 *nuntias perferres E (F)*, which is a definite improvement, since in Eur. 506 there is a *potentialis* (ἀν λέγοις).

- Geminique Atridae exercitusque Achaicus.  
 HE. Miserae hei mihi, quid ais? Ergo non adisti, vti  
 Moriamur et nos, verum acerba nuntians?  
 Gnata, interisti matris auulsa e sinu. 555  
 Ego orba posthac liberis, miserae hei mihi.  
 Sed illam vt occidistis? An reuerentius?  
 An sic vt hostis diriter leto est data?  
 Dic haec, senex, haud laeta dicturus licet.  
 TA. Duplices mihi vis me parare lachrumas, 560  
 Miseratione filiae, mulier, tuae.  
 Et hic enim tam saeua commemorans genam hanc  
 Fletu rigaro; maduit et lachrumis mihi  
 Modo ad sepulchrum, caesa dum ferro occidit.  
 Turba aderat vniuersa Achiui exercitus 565  
 Frequens sepulchro filiae ad caedem tuae.  
 Polyxenam autem Pyrrhus attollens manu  
 Summo sepulchro statuit, atqui pone ego.  
 Lectique iuuenes ex Achiuis inclyti,  
 Saltum iuuencae vt manibus exciperent tuae, 570  
 Sequuntur, ac plenam tenens pateram undique  
 Auro nitentem gnatus Aeacide manu  
 Fudit parenti mortuo libamina;  
 Mihi innuit, praeconio silentium  
 Indicerem omni Achium multitudini, 575  
 Egoque inter omneis medius adstans haec loquor:  
 ‘Silete Achiui, pax sit omni coetui,  
 Pax, et quies.’ Statui quietum exercitum.  
 Hic inquit: ‘O mi nate Peleo pater,  
 Libationes propicius cape has meas, 580  
 Placida abditorum manium euocamina.

553 mihi: *om.* *A C D E F*; adisti: *adiisti A* | 567 attollens: *apprehensa E F* | 570 manibus exciperent: *prohibeant manibus E F*

553 *mibi B*, which has the consequence that the second foot becomes a proceleusmatic. In the other editions *mibi* is left out; in this case the verse only runs if we assume a hiatus after *miserae*.  
 556 *Ego ... liberis* Here Er. leaves the important words *τοῦπλ σ'* (Eur. 514) untranslated.  
 558 *diriter* This adverb does not occur in the Thes. l. L. (cf. the note on vs. 124).  
 567 *attollens manu (A B C D)* is not a correct translation of *λαβὼν ... χερὸς* (Eur.

523); hence the correction in *E (F) apprehensa*.  
 570 *vt manibus exciperent A B C D*. Eur. 526 *καθ'ἕξοντες χερῶν*, which is indeed better translated by *vt prohibeant manibus (E F)*.  
 576 *adstans* Ald 531 has *παραστάς*; most modern editions follow *M* and *B* in reading *καταστάς*.  
 581 *euocamina* once more a *ἄ. λ.* (cf. note on vs. 124).

Atque huc ades, quo purpurantem combibas  
 Purae puellae sanguinem, quem tibi damus  
 Egoque plebsque, iamque nobis sis fauens  
 Soluens rudentem et nauium retinacula; 585  
 Concede nobis, sospites ab Ilio  
 Omneis reuersos patriam reuisere.  
 Haec ille, at omnis populus apprecatus est.  
 Loculis sub haec mox aureis pictum notis  
 Educit ensem, iuuenibus Graio agmine 590  
 Lectis, puellam vt prenderent manu, innuit.  
 Vbi sensit illa, hos ore prodidit sonos:  
 ‘O qui excidistis oppidum, Argiui, meum,  
 Cupide obeo; ne quis corpus attingat meum,  
 Intrepida siquidem colla porrigam ac volens. 595  
 Quo ingenua moriar, liberam me per deos  
 Sinite immolantes; quippe apud maneis quoque,  
 Regina cum sim, dicier seruam pudet.’  
 Turba adfremebat, rex et ipse iuuenibus  
 Mox imperat, quo virginem remitterent. 600  
 Hi simul vt audiere vocem regiam  
 Summamque, omittunt, nam hunc penes ius primum erat.  
 Vbi illa sensit iussa principum, illico  
 Summo prehensos pectore scidit manu  
 Ad vmbilicum, ventris ac medium peplos, 605  
 Sinumque monstrat et velut statucae ad modum  
 Mammis decenteis, dehinc humi figens genu  
 Verba ore fudit omnium miserrima:  
 ‘En iuuenis, hoc si pectus ense mauoles  
 Promptum ferire, ferito, sin ceruicem, adest 610  
 Exprompta ceruix.’ Tum misertus virginis  
 Pyrrhus, volensque et non volens, atque haesitans  
 Animae meatus ense librato secat.  
 Fluxere venae, at illa iam moriens tamen  
 Sollicita mire est, condecenter vt cadat 615  
 Caeletque, quae caelerare decet oculos virum.  
 Letalis ast vbi vitam ademerat mucro,  
 Labor ex Achiuis idem habebat neminem.  
 Alii iacentem frondibus consternere,

584 Egoque plebsque: Ego atque populus *EF* | 593 excidistis: excidistis *ACDEF* |  
 598 dicier: dici *A* | 616 caelerare: caelare *CDEF*, *recte*

584 *Egoque plebsque* The reading of *EF*, *Ego atque populus*, avoids the necessity to read *ego* with a long *o*.

Alii supremum sedulo apparant rogam, | 620  
 Taedas ferentes pineas. Qui nil tulit,  
 Male audiebat a ferente hunc in modum:  
 'Ignaue, cessas nec puellae amiculum  
 Nec aliud vllum munus adferens manu?  
 Nihil es daturus virgini promptissimae 625  
 Animoque summo?' De perempta filia  
 Haec tum ferebant, liberorum at te quidem  
 Matrem optimorum, verum eandem ex omnium  
 Grege foeminarum conspicio miserrimam.  
 CH. Acerba quaedam Priamidas clades premit 630  
 Urbemque nostram; fata sunt istaec deum.  
 HE. In quod malorum, gnata, cum adsint plurima,  
 Intuear, haereo. Si quod attingam, illico  
 Aliud vetat, rursum alia me molestia  
 Alio vocat malisque succedunt mala. 635  
 Et nunc acerba fata ne plorem tua,  
 Nequeam profecto temperare pectori.  
 Hoc rursus ipsum, nempe ne gemam admodum  
 Nimisque acerbe, sustulisti, strenua  
 Mihi nuntiata. Non nouum ergo, si mala 640  
 Fauente coelo terra fert segetem bonam,  
 Bona destituta, quibus opus fuerat, malum  
 Fructum edit, at mortalium quisquis malus  
 Nil possit aliud esse quam semper malus,  
 Frugi usque frugi, sors nec ingenium viri 645  
 Aduersa vitiat, sed probus semper manet?  
 Vtrum id parentum an educantium magis?  
 Recte educari scilicet nonnullam habet  
 Doctrinam honesti, quod quidem quisquis probe  
 Tenet, idem honesti ad regulam nouit scelus. 650  
 Sed inaniter iam mens mihi haec effutiit.  
 Tu porro Achiuis vade et ista nuntia,  
 Ne filiae quis applicet manum meae,  
 Vetentque populum. Nam frequenti in agmine

625 Nihil: nil *C D E F* | 627 tum: dum *D*; at: ad *D* | 646 *Interrogationis signum post manet ex Eur. vs. 598 posui*

627 *ferebant* Ald 580 has λέγον.

631 *fata sunt istaec deum* θεῶν ἀναγκαῖον τόδε.  
 Paley connects ἀναγκαῖον with πῆμα in  
 the preceding line, whereas Murray,  
 following Van Herwerden, reads ἀνάγ-  
 καισιν. Et. has, as it seems, regarded

ἀναγκαῖον as equivalent to ἀνάγκη.

646 After *manet* an interrogation-mark is  
 necessary, for (592) οὐκ οὐκ ... ἀεὶ  
 would be the inverse of *Non nouum ergo,*  
*si* (640) ... *manet* (646) without an inter-  
 rogation mark.

Indomita turba est, ac tumultus nauticus 655  
 Vincit furens incendium: quisquis mali  
 Nihil hic patrarit, ille demum erit malus.  
 At tu, vetus ministra, sumito situlam  
 Atque huc reporta pontico impletam salo,  
 Vti supremis te lauachris, filia, 660  
 Innupta nupta, virgo non virgo, lauem  
 Et vt tibi exhibeam quibus digna es, sed id  
 Qui? Aut vnde? Nequaquam potero, veruntamen  
 Sic vt licebit. Nanque quid aliud agam?  
 Mundumque captis colligens a foeminis, 665  
 Quae mecum in iisdem desident tentoriis,  
 Si qua ex penatibus aliquod suis habet  
 Furtum insciis, quos nacta nuper est, heris.  
 Tecta o decora, proh, beatæ olim domus,  
 O liberis opibusque florentissime 670  
 Priame vetusque ego illa liberum parens,  
 Vt pristina exuti superbia ad nihil  
 Recidimus. Et post ista adhuc tumescimus,  
 Locupletibus nostrum hic quidem penatibus,  
 Praefulsit hic quod dignitate ciuibus. 675  
 Curarum inania mentis haec sunt somnia,  
 Linguaeque fastus. Ille felicissimus,  
 Cui nihil contigerit in vita mali.

CII. Mihi aerumnam Atropos,  
 Mihi cladem dei parabant, 680

655 ac tumultus nauticus: ac tumultus militum, / Si quando nullo cohibeatur principe *C D E F* | 659 impletam: impleta *A* | 667 Si ... habet: Si quae quod e penatibus propriis habet *A* | 673 Et: *om. A* | 677 fastus: faustus *D* | 678 Cui: Est, cui *C D E F*

655 *tumultus nauticus* *C*, followed by *DEF*, substitutes *militum* for *nauticus* and gives an important addition which must be regarded as an expanded translation of ἀναρχία in Eur. 607: *Si quando nullo cohibeatur principe*.

659 (*situlam*) *pontico impletam salo* Er. has correctly understood the words ποντίας ἀλόες (Eur. vs. 610) as a partitive genitive dependent on βράσσαο' (cf. Paley *ad loc.*).

660 *filia* For the vocative, brought in for the sake of metre, cf. the note on vs. 501.

662 *Et vt ... digna es* Ald 613 reads προθῶμαι

θ' ὡς ἀξιῶν. The idea of the προθέσις is not expressed in the translation.

673 The omission of *et* in *A* once more gives a metrically impossible verse.

678 *Cui Est, cui C (DEF)*. Indeed without *Est (AB)* we must read *cui* as a iambic form, which is quite unusual; cf. the note on vs. 386.

679 Quite remarkable is the mentioning of Atropos, of whom there is no trace in the original.

679-703 In the translation of the second stasimon Er. once more does his best to reproduce the metre of the original (of course in the form which it had in



Syluam vt primum abiegnam in Ida Alexander incidit Liquida vada rate transiturus audax Helenae ad thalamos, iubar quam Pulcherrimam auricomi in Orbe videt Phoebi.	685	
Nam mala, en nos, malisque vallant Tristiora fata. Priua amentia ciuitati Malum publicum Iliacae Peperit, et ab aliis profecta clades. Iudicataque lis in Ida est, Qua treis coelicolum puellas Pastor iudicauit ad Bellaque stragemque et   Meae exitium domus.	690 695	LB 1142
Gemitque forte quaequam ad Vndosum Eurotam Lacaena lachrumosa puella in aedibus. Capiti quoque mater albo Orbata gnatis iniicit Manum, et unguem in ora cruentum Infigit auida dilaniatque malas.	700	
FA. Vbi Hecuba multo, foeminae, miserrima, Quae superat omne virum ac simul nostrum genus Malis? Nec vllus palmam ei praeceperit.	705	
CH. Vt, misera, nunquam dormiunt vocis tuae		

## 697 Gemitque: Genuitque A

Ald, where there was no clear distinction between strophe and antistrophe and, accordingly, no evident metrical correspondence). Thus 679 *Mibi aerumnam Atropos* has the same metrical form as Eur. 629 ἐμοὶ χρῆν συμφορὰν. In vs. 680 the second syllable of *mibi* is, as frequently in Er.'s poetry, taken as long. Then again there is a complete correspondence between 681 *Syluam ut primum abiegnam in Ida* and Eur. 631 Ἰδαίαν ὄτε πρῶτον ὕλαν. In 684 *Helenae ad thalamos, iubar quam* corresponds to Eur. 635 in the Aldina: Ἑλένας ἐπὶ λέκτρα, τὰν, κτλ. Vss. 636-639 are reduced there to two lines: ἔλιος αὐγάζει.

πόννοι γὰρ, καὶ πόνων / ἀνάγκαι κρείσσονες κυκλοῦνται. It is clear that Er. regards ἔλιος αὐγάζει as one line (686 *Orbe videt Phoebi*), as do the modern editions, and that 687 *Nam ... vallant* is the rendering of πόννοι ... κυκλοῦνται; there is, then, only a difference in the first syllable. Also in the latter part of the stasimon the correspondences are striking, especially in the epode; there is only a greater divergence at the end of the antistrophe (Eur. 645-646 = Er. 693-694); 692 *Iudicataque lis in Ida est* still corresponds with Eur. 644 ἐκρίθη δ' ἔρις, ἂν ἐν Ἰδαίᾳ.

- Male ominosae tristia praeconia!  
 FA. Hecubae dolorem hunc adfero. Porro in malis  
 Haud est facile bene ominata dicere. 710  
 CH. Ac forte tectis prodiens videlicet  
 Verba inter ipsa commode apparet tua.  
 FA. O misera prorsus, et magis quam proloquor,  
 Hera, occidisti, viua non es amplius,  
 Orba vrbe gnatis ac marito, perdita. 715  
 HE. Ais nouum nil, ac scientibus opprobras.  
 Sed quid cadauer hoc Polyxenae venis  
 Portans, sepulchrum cuius Argiium manu  
 Modo nuntiatum est omnium properarier?  
 FA. Nihil ista nouit, sed Polyxenam mihi 720  
 Deflet, nouarum cladium attingit nihil.  
 HE. Heu misera, vatis nunquid huc adfers mihi  
 Sacro citum furore Cassandrae caput?  
 FA. Viuam elocuta es, mortuum hunc nihil gemis.  
 Atqui resectum iam cadauer inspice:  
 Noua res et insperata se offeret tibi. 725  
 HE. Extinctus, cheu, cernitur gnatus mihi  
 Polydorus, a me Thraci creditus viro.  
 Infausta petii, nulla sum posthac. Ohe,  
 O pignus, ohe, cantionem maenadum 730  
 Ingredior haec noua ab hoste resciscens mala.  
 FA. Infausta gnati fata cognoscis tui?  
 HE. Inopina, mira, noua, noua aspicio; malis  
 Prognata ab aliis alia contingunt mala,  
 Nec vllus absque lachrumis unquam dies 735  
 Suspiriisque me relinquet tristibus.  
 CH. O infausta, dira, dira perpetimur mala.  
 HE. Heu gnate, gnate matris infaustissimae,  
 Quo genere mortis occidisti? Quo iaces

722 adfers: anfers *A* | 730 ohe: *B*, heu ohe *A C D E F* | 733 *alt.* noua: *om.* *A*

730–731 Here Er. translates lyrical verses (Eur. 684–687) by iambic trimeters; thus also in vss. 733 (from *malis*) – 736 (Eur. 690–692), 738–740 (Eur. 694–697), 746–749 (Eur. 702–706), 751–752 (Eur. 710–711), 755 (from *nec*) – 759 (Eur. 715–720). In general Hecuba in Euripides speaks in dochmiacs, whereas the messenger speaks in iambic verses (cf. Paley ad vs. 685).

730 *ohe B*, *heu ohe A C D E F*, which is to be preferred.

*maenadum* Ald 686 has νόμον βακχείων.  
 731 *haec ... mala* Eur. 686–687 (Ald): ἐξ ἀλάστορος ἀρτιμαθῆς κακῶν. The words *ab hoste* depend on *mala*; *noua resciscens mala* is an appropriate translation of ἀρτιμαθῆς κακῶν, whereas *hostis* can not be regarded as an equivalent of ἀλάστορ.

- Fato? Peremit te quis e mortalibus? 740  
 FA. Me latet, at hunc in littore offendi maris.  
 HE. Eiectum ab undis an trucidatum manu?  
 FA. In littus harenosum  
 Marinus illum fluctus aestu eiecerat.  
 HE. Hei mihi, vae, vae! 745  
 Didici mihi nocturna visa insomnia.  
 Non me fefellit furua imago, quae mihi est  
 Conspecta de te, gnate, quod non amplius  
 Superstes aura vescerere coelica.  
 CH. Scis qui peremit somnii prudens, cedo? 750  
 HE. Bellator hospes ille Threicius meus,  
 Vbi senior illum collocauerat pater.  
 CH. Heu, quid ais? Auro quo potiretur tuum,  
 Ita vt videtur, interemit filium.  
 HE. Infanda, abominanda, plus quam mira, nec 755  
 Pia nec ferenda. Vbi hospitum ius ac fides?  
 Ohe, vir execrate, vt ense ferreo  
 Puerile corpus conscidisti, nec ferum  
 Commouit aetas pectus, vbi discerperes.  
 CH. Vt, misera, te mortalium infaustissimam 760  
 Statuit, deorum quisquis infensus tibi est.  
 Ipsum sed ecce conspikor Agamemnonem  
 Regem. Loqui iam desinamus, obsecro.  
 AG. Gnatam sepultum quin venis, Hecube, tuam?  
 Nam sic, vti Talthybius attulerat mihi, 765  
 Ne quisquam Achium filiam attingat tuam,  
 Sinimus quidem illam nos, manu nec tangimus.  
 At ipsa cessas, proinde miror ego; sed huc  
 Vt te illo mittam, venio. Quippe illinc bene  
 Peracta res est, si quid est in his bene. 770  
 Hem, quem virum hic intueor in tentoriis |  
 Phryga interemptum? Nanque corpus ambiens  
 Non esse Danaum nuntiat amictus mihi.

LB 1143

752 collocauerat: collocarat clam C D E F | 756 ferenda: ferendo C D

743-744 In Ald 700 the words ἐν ψαμάθῳ  
 λευρῶ are already spoken by the servant.  
 752 *collocauerat collocarat clam C (D E F)*,  
 which is indeed better, since Eur. (711)  
 has ἔθετό νιν κρύψας.  
 764-767 Er. has rather strongly changed the

structure of the phrase by starting a  
 new sentence after the first line and  
 making it go on after line 766.  
*nec tangimus* Ald has the present tense  
 (cf. Paley on vs. 729).

- HE. Infausta (memet enim loquor, cum te loquor)  
Hecube, quid ago? Numnam huius accido ad genu 775  
Agamemnonis, an hoc tacita perfero malum?
- AG. In ora tergum quid mihi obuertens tuum  
Lachrumas, quid acciderit, taces? Istic quis est?
- HE. At forte reputans hostem et ancillam esse me,  
Genibus repellet, et auxero molestiam. 780
- AG. Divinus haud sum nec, nisi audiero, queam  
Viam tuorum nosse cogitatum.
- HE. At huius animum cur vt hosticum magis  
Interpretamur, cum sit hostis haud tamen?
- AG. Huiusce si nil scire me voles rei, 785  
Mecum facis, neque enim cupio cognoscere.
- HE. Hoc absque ferre liberis opem meis  
Minime potis sum. Sed quid haec verso? Necesse  
Audere, seu impetro, siue et impetro nihil.  
Agamemnon, en per genua supplico tibi 790  
Tuamque malam et auspicatam dexteram.
- AG. Rei quid optans? Nunquid hoc, vt libera  
Aeuum exigas? Id facile continget tibi.
- HE. Minime, sed vltia maleficos ac perfidos  
Seruire reliqui quicquid est aeui velim. 795
- AG. Nostram ergo, mulier, ad quid imploras opem?
- HE. Nil tale prorsus, quale tu, rex, autumas.  
Vides cadauer hocce, quod ego lachrumo?
- AG. Video. Futurum quid sit, haud etiam scio.
- HE. Peperi hunc ego olim ac ventre gestavi meo. 800
- AG. Est hic tuorum, misera, quisquam liberum?
- HE. At non eorum qui iacent sub Ilio.
- AG. Num praeter illos edidisti quempiam?
- HE. Inutiliter, vt re liquet: nam hunc, quem vides.

796 ad quid imploras: adimploras *A* | 804 hunc: *om.* *A*

780 *genibus* is a separative ablative (Eur. 742 γονάτων ἀπώσαιτ').

786 *Mecum facis* This is the correct translation of Eur. 748 ἐς ταύτων ἤκεις, 'scil. ἐμοί' (Paley).

801 *quisquam* Er. translates τις instead of τίς in Eur. 763.

804 This is the translation of Eur. 766: ἀνόνητά γ', ὡς ξοικε, τόνδ' ὄν εισορᾶς. Both from this verse and from the fact that the next line contains a new question by Agamemnon it is clear that this

verse must have a full stop at the end; we can not, as in some cases, assume that it is continued in the next line spoken by Hecuba (806). The addition of *nam* to the generally literal translation provides us with a difficulty. I have maintained the distinction after *liquet* which is found in all the editions, only substituting a semicolon for a full stop. In *A hunc* has been omitted; we would much rather miss *nam*.

- AG. Vrbs cum periret, hic vbi tum forte erat? 805  
 HE. Emiserat, quo sospes esset, hunc pater.  
 AG. Quo semouens a caeteris vnum omnibus?  
 HE. Tellurem in hanc, in qua repertus mortuus.  
 AG. Ad hunc, tenet qui scepra Polymestor loci?  
 HE. Seruator auri missus huc tristissimi. 810  
 AG. Quis interemit? Quooue fato extinctus est?  
 HE. Quis alius? Hospes hunc peremit Thracius.  
 AG. Miser heu, potiri cupidus auri scilicet.  
 HE. Sic habet, vbi iam fata cognouit Phrygum.  
 AG. Hunc nacta alicubi es mortuum, aut quis attulit? 815  
 HE. Haec, in marino forte nacta littore.  
 AG. Vtrumne quaerens hunc? An aliud quiddam agens?  
 HE. Ierat lauachra ferret vt Polyxena.  
 AG. Eiecit, vt videtur, hospes hunc necans.  
 HE. Ponto vehendum, membra sic sic dissecans. 820  
 AG. Miseranda mulier, obruta immensis malis!  
 HE. Perii, nec vllum restat, Agamemnon, malum.  
 AG. Heu, quae perinde infausta mulier extitit?  
 HE. Nulla est, nisi ipsum dicis infortunium.  
 Quapropter autem genibus aduoluo tuis, 825  
 Audito, et aequa si tibi videar pati,  
 Mittam querelas, sin minus, te vindicem  
 Praebe mihi hospitis omnium impiissimi,  
 Qui nec supera nec infera verens numina  
 Manu peregit facinus immanissimum, 830  
 Mensa receptus saepe communi mihi,  
 Primumque amicos inter obtinens locum,  
 Demum assecutus quicquid aequum erat, dolis  
 Praecogitatis filium occidit meum.  
 At nec sepulchro, quando decreuit necem, 835  
 Dignatus est, sed aequori abiecit fero.  
 Nos imbecilles forsan et captae sumus,

807 Quo: Quo? A | 811 Quooue: quo D

815 On account of the corresponding verse of Euripides (777) ἤδρες δὲ ποῦ νῦν; ἢ τίς ἤνεγκεν νεκρόν; one may wonder whether the comma should be put before *mortuum*.

837 *imbecilles* Er. uses the third declension form of this adjective which is frequent in late Latin since Scribonius Largus and Ps.-Quintilian p. 421,20 (Thes. I.

L. VII, 416, 46 sqq.), particularly in the letters of St. Cyprian, of whose works Er. had made a very famous edition (to which he even added a 'Pseudo-Cyprianeum' written by himself, *viz.*, the treatise *De duobus martyriis*). There is no metrical reason here for using *imbecillis* instead of *-us* (nor is there such a reason in *Iph. Aul.* 816).

At dii valentes lexque diuis imperans:  
 Etenim vel ipsos lege censemus deos,  
 Aequa atque iniqua hac finientes viuimus. 840  
 Ea si quidem ad te pertinens pereat, neque  
 Poenas luant ii, qui trucidant hospites,  
 Vel audeant qui sacra diuis tollere,  
 Iam pensi erit mortalibus prorsum nihil.  
 Hoc itaque foedum si putas, me respice, 845  
 Miserere nostri, pictor et veluti procul  
 Stans me intuere, quanta perpetiar mala,  
 Regina dudum, ancilla nunc quidem tua, |  
 Modo cincta gnatis, orba nunc, anus simul  
 Deserta et exul, infima in mortalibus. 850  
 Hei misera, quonam clam mihi abducis pedem?  
 Sum actura, quantum apparet, infelix nihil.  
 Quid disciplinis (dignum vt est) in caeteris  
 Sudamus atque singulas inquirimus,  
 Ac non magis suadela, quae mortalibus 855  
 Regina sola est, examussim exquiritur  
 Datoque pretio discitur, quo quae velit,  
 Ea quisque persuadere possit et assequi?  
 Quis itaque posthac laeta promittat sibi?  
 Gnati tot illi non mihi adsunt amplius, 860  
 Abducor ipsa capta et indigna patiens  
 Urbisque fumum subuolantem conspicio.  
 Ast illud, etsi forsitan importunus  
 Hunc admonere Veneris, eloquar tamen.  
 Mea gnata Phoebas ad latus cubat tuum, 865  
 Quam multitudo Phrygia Cassandram vocat.  
 Vbi, quaeso, nocteis, rex, suaueis iam refers?  
 Dulcissimorum aut in thoro complexuum  
 Quam gnata gratiam feret, et ex illa ego?

841 te: tete *A* | 862 fumum: fumum en *C D E F*

841 *Ea*, sc. *lex*; *ad te pertinens* is equivalent to *quod quidem ad te pertinet*, cf. Eur. 802: *ὅς ἐς σ' ἀνελλθὼν εἰ διαφραρήσεται*.

844 *pensi erit ... nihil* a not quite adequate translation of Eur. 805 *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ... ἴσον*.

846–847 *procul stans* Eur. 807 *ἀποσταθεῖς*, 'standing at a little distance, as a painter does' Paley. One would prefer *procul consistens* as a translation.

860 *tot* Ald has *τοσοῦτοι* (821) with the mss.

*A* and *P* instead of γὰρ ὄντες.

861 It should be borne in mind that in Ald there is no distinction after *αἰχμάλωτος*. Also Ald (like Paley's edition) reads *αὐτῇ*, which refers to Hecuba. Murray reads *αὐτῆ* with the mss. *M* and *A* and adds Verrall's explanation: 'sc. *Cassandra, quae intus est*'.

862 Instead of *fumum* Er. writes in *C (D E F) fumum en*, certainly on account of *καπνὸν ... τόνδε* in Eur. vs. 823.

Siquidem tenebrae et noctis oscula scilicet	870
Summam inter homines benevolentiam ferunt.	
Nunc igitur audi: hunc mortuum coram vides;	
Hunc si iuuabis, cum sit affinis tibi,	
Facies probe. Vnius parum est oratio	
Membri, nec vna lingua nobis est satis.	875
Vtinam quidem fiant mihi vocalia	
Brachia manusque comaeque et extremi pedes,	
Seu Daedali arte siue quopiam deo,	
Vt cuncta pariter genua contingant tua	
Plorentque et omnis generis emittant sonos.	880
O rex et o lux summa Achiuum, flectere	
Dextramque opiferam porge supplici, rei	
Nil aliud vt sit, attamen: viri est probi,	
Vt faueat aequo, iusta, quod potest, iuuans,	
Contra maleficos semper afficiat malis.	885
C.H. Mirum est, vt omnes res cadant mortalibus.	
Moderantur ipsa et fata leges ac regunt,	
Dum qui fuere nuper inimicissimi,	
Statuunt amicos, rursus et qui beneuoli	
Fuerant, eos odiis acerbant mutuis.	890
A.G. Ego teque gnatumque, Hecuba, fortunas tuas	
Suscipio miserans, supplicem simul manum,	
Voloque et deorum et aequitatis gratia	
Poenas tibi istas hospitem impium dare,	
Si quo videbis posse confieri modo,	895

874-875 Facies ... satis: Facies probe. Vnum verbum adhuc restat mihi *A* | 881 et: *om. D* | 883 est: *om. A* | 886-887 Mirum ... regunt: Mirum est profecto, vt incidant mortalibus, / Praefixa certis cuncta fati legibus *C D E F* | 890 acerbant: arcebant *D* | 893 *alt.* et: *om. C D E F*

874-875 In *A* the words of Euripides (835) ἐνός μοι μῦθος ἐνδεής ἔτι are translated: *Vnum verbum adhuc restat mihi*. The new translation in *B*, which is maintained in the later editions, gives a better transition to vss. 876 sqq.

881 The omission of *et* in *CD* gives an impossible metre and must be regarded as a mere typographical error, which was corrected again in *E*.

882-883 *rei ... attamen* must be connected with the preceding sentence (in spite of the punctuation in all the editions), for in Eur. 842-843 the sentence runs as follows: πιθοῦ, παράσχεες χεῖρα τῇ πρεσβυτιδί / τιμωρόν, εἰ καὶ μηδέν ἔστιν,

ἀλλ' ὅμως.

886-887 The new translation given in *C* and maintained in *DEF* is certainly more elegant than that in *AB* but it is definitely more distant from the original Greek; we may say that in *C* there begins the freer and more elegant manner of translation which is typical of Erasmus' adaptation of the *Iph. Aul.*

893 Here the change made in *C(DEF)*, *viz.*, the deletion of *et*, is by no means an improvement, since firstly it causes a hiatus and secondly it deviates from the Greek (852-853: θεῶν θ' οὐνεκ' ... καὶ τοῦ δικαίου).

- Simul vt tibi que commodetur nec tamen  
 Me multitudo fauore Cassandrae sciat  
 Necem hanc tyranno Thracio molirier.  
 Scruplo illud animum turbat iniecto meum,  
 Quod illum amicam copiae ducunt virum, 900  
 At rursus istum, qui peremptus est, suum  
 Hostem autumant. Is siquidem est carus tibi,  
 Priuatum id est, nec pertinet ad exercitum.  
 Ad ista noris, quod volentem me quidem  
 Habes, vt adsim rebus adiutor tuis, 905  
 Opemque ferre promptum et accinctum tibi,  
 Contra pigrum, si offendo multitudinem.
- HE. Heu,  
 Vt nemo quisquam liber est mortalium: aut  
 Fortuna seruam reddit aut pecunia 910  
 Aut scripta lex aut multitudo ciuium  
 Vetat suo pte viuere ex arbitrio.  
 Sed quia paues nimiumque multitudini  
 Tribuis, ego isto te leuauero metu:  
 Sis conscius modo, si quid intendam mali 915  
 Huic, qui peremit, caeterum adiutes nihil.  
 Tantum hoc ferente, quae feret, si qui interim  
 Existet aut tumultus aut succursio,  
 Compesce tu, studere dissimulans mihi.  
 Porro alia, fide, cuncta conficiam probe. 920
- AG. Qui, quaeso? Quid ages? Num manu, cum sis anus,  
 Ferro prehensum barbarum interimes virum?  
 An magis venenis, siue quali tandem ope?  
 Tibi vnde amicos? Quae tibi assistet manus?
- HE. Haec ipsa claudunt tecta Troadum gregem. | 925  
 LB 1145 AG. Praedam Pelasgum forte captiuas ais?  
 HE. Per has quidem sum vltura carnificem meum.  
 AG. Et qui virile robur aderit foeminis?  
 HE. Res valida multitudo nec superabilis,  
 Armata quando est clanculariis dolis. 930  
 AG. Res valida, sed muliebri non probo genus.  
 HE. Quid? Nonne iuuenes nuper Aegypto satos

899 Scruplo: scrupulo *A E F* | 900 Quod: Quam *C D* | 903 Priuatum: Priuatim *C D E F* |  
 904 Ad ... quidem: Ad ista spectata, nam volentem me quidem *E F*

900 *Quod* The *Quam* in *C D* must once more  
 (cf. vs. 881) be a typographical error.  
 904 *Ad ista noris, quod* The new translation

in *E (F)*, viz., *Ad ista spectata, nam* is a  
 definite improvement (Eur. 861 πρὸς  
 ταῦτα φρόντιζ' ὤς).



- Omneis semel foeminea confecit manus,  
 Maresque Lemno sustulere foeminae?  
 Sed qua gerendum sit via negocium, 935  
 Istam mihi relinque sollicitudinem.  
 Quin foeminam hanc per copias duci iube  
 Tuto. Hospitem sed tu profecta ad Thracium  
 Dic: 'Aduocat regina te dudum Ilii  
 Hecube, tuapte gratia haud minus ac sua, 940  
 Gnatosque refert scire et hos, quae mox tibi  
 Narrabit illa.' Sed recentem victimam,  
 Agamemnon, inter haec veta sepelirier,  
 Germanus vna vt cum sorore vno rogo,  
 Geminus dolor parenti, humo condi queant. 945
- AG. Ita fiet, at si nauigare copiis  
 Licuisset, hoc tibi haud queam largirier,  
 Sed quia ferenteis nunc negat ventos deus,  
 Manendum, et opperendum erit nobis, quoad  
 Detur secundus cursus atque commodus. 950  
 Bene vertat autem, quippe pariter omnium  
 Et publicitus et singulorum proprie  
 Refert, malis male euenire, bonis bene.
- CH. Patria, heu dolor, Ilium, haud  
 Vrbs inexpugnata vocabere posthac, 955  
 Tam densa circum Danaum tegere nube,

938 Tuto ... Thracium: Tuto, hospiti sed tu per astum Thracio *E F*

935-936 *Sed ... sollicitudinem* Ald reads (vs. 888): ἀλλ' ὡς γενέσθαι τόνδ' ἐμοὶ μέθες λόγον.

954-1003 The Latin rendering of the third stasimon of this tragedy, which is both the most beautiful and the most elaborate of the three, is in complete accordance with the method used by Er. in the translation of the former two. Here again Ald does not bring out the metrical correspondence between the strophes and antistrophes: Er. does his best again to render as faithfully as possible the metrical structure of the single Greek verses. For reasons of space, we can not give here a thorough metrical analysis but must limit ourselves to a few observations. There is a remarkable metrical similarity between the five first lines of the first strophe (in

Euripides: Erasmus has no division into strophes, antistrophes and an epode, since he follows Ald) and the corresponding verses of Er.; in fact, there is only a difference at the end of Er. 956 (-um tegere nube) and Eur. 907 in Ald (ἀμφί σε καλύπτει); further, Er. 958 has a trochaeus more than Eur. 910 ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρσαι. Further on, we find a complete metrical correspondence between Er. 964 and Eur. 915 ἐπ' ὄσσοις κίθναται, as also between Er. 967 and Eur. 919 πόσις ἐν θαλάμοις ἔκειτο, and Er. 968 and Eur. 920 ξυστόν δ' ἐπὶ πασσάλῳ. In the second strophe, the Aldina of Euripides has ten verses (923-932), whereas Er. has twelve. The first clear metrical similarity is between Eur. 925 χρυσέων ἐνόπτρων and Er. 975 *Aurei rotundum*. Further, Eur. 929-932 are

Domita, heu domita hosti es Spoliataque turrium corona. Fumi vapore flagranti Pingeris miserabili nigrore.	960
Non te rursus obambulabo. Noctis medio interiui, Cum iam a coena somnus suavis In oculos spargitur.	
Solennibus ac sacris choreis Cantibusque peractis, Iacet in thalamo maritus Suffixaque lancea Paxillo haeret in alto.	965
Et necdum agmina nautica Tro- iae conscendere moenia sentit. Ast inter haec mihi reuinctis Mitrīs vaga lege et orbe Certo coma componitur Aurei rotundum	970
Spectanti speculi aequor, atque Lecto proxima stabam Subituraque mox eram cubile: En oppidum occupat tumultus, Phrygumque talis vrbe clamor	975
Sonat: 'Quando, Achiui, quando agedum Populati validam Phrygum arcem Vestras domos repetetis?'	980
At dulcis thalamos ego simplici Relinquo veste sic, vti	985

962 interiui: interibam *CDEF* | 970-971 Et ... sentit: Nec iam nautica cernit vsquam in campis agmina dira Troiae *EF*

very equal to Er. 979-982. In the second antistrophe in Eur. which again has ten verses against 12 in Er. (984-995), complete or almost complete similarities are fairly rare; the same holds good for the epode at the end; a striking metrical similarity exists for instance between Eur. 948 ἀλλ' ἀλάστορος τις διζύς - Er. 1001-1002: *Immo daemōnis | Male amici*. The translation of the stasimon is in general remarkably faithful; in this context it is worthy of notice that in the later editions Er. has changed the text

of his Latin version in three places only. 962 *interiui* The new translation *interibam* in *CDEF* is due to the ἀλλύμακον in Eur. vs. 914.

970 Here the reading offered by *EF* does not bring an important improvement: as to the metre, it is almost like that of the Greek verses, just as the translation found in *A* (*BCD*); further, it leaves ἐμβεβαῶτα untranslated, which in the earlier translation is rendered by *conscendere*; only *cernit* is definitely better than *sentit*.

- Solent puellae Dorides;  
 Nec profuit mihi, quod supplex  
 Procumberem Artemidi infelix.  
 Agor autem, oculis virum interemptum  
 Intuens, pelagi per vndas 990  
 Urbemque respectans, vbi  
 Iam pedem reducem carina  
 Moueret vndiugum per aequor,  
 Meque solo abduceret Iliaco;  
 Dolore concidi, ger- 995  
 manam Dioscurorum Helenam execrans  
 Idaeumque pastorem,  
 Pestiferum Paridem, quod e parente  
 Tellure me exigeret  
 Atque pellerent domo nuptiae, non nuptiae, 1000  
 Immo daemonis  
 Male amici  
 Atrox calamitas quaepiam. At  
 Illam neque maria tumida reuehant neque |  
 Ad patrias peruenerit aedeis. 1005 LB 1146
- PO. O Priame, pectori vir omnium meo  
 Carissime vnus, atque item carissima  
 Hecuba, illachrumo te contuens urbem ac tuam  
 Istamque, quae modo est perempta, filiam.  
 Heu, 1010  
 Vt stabile nil est, nec licet confidere,  
 Confidere, inquam, non licet successibus,  
 Vt, qui secundis floret, haud in posterum hic  
 Rebus repente fiat aduersis miser.  
 Verum excitato susquedeque numina 1015  
 Miscent tumultu cuncta; proinde inscitia  
 Veneramur illa. Flere at haec quorsum attinet,  
 Cum nil medelae ad pristina adferant mala?  
 Absentiam at tu si quid incusas meam,  
 Ignosce, nam forte intimis aberam procul 1020

987-988 Nec ... infelix: Non integre accumbens / Feci sacrum Artemidi infelix A

1011-1014 The remarkably lengthy rendering of the original (four Latin against two Greek verses) is necessitated by the fact that in Eur. vs. 956 εὐδοξία is used by itself, whereas in vs.

957 an accusative with infinitive is depending upon it.  
 1018 *adferant* One would expect *adferat* (sc. *flere*). Perhaps we should supply *lachrumae*.

- Thraces in oris, hunc vbi appuleras locum.  
 Verum vt reuerti, famula protinus domo  
 Pedem efferenti commodum occurrit tua,  
 Verbis tuis mihi nuntians, quae simul ego  
 Vt audii, e vestigio huc me contuli. 1025
- HE. Ore intueri te quidem aduerso pudet,  
 Polymestor, istiusmodi sitam in malis.  
 Nam cui beata visa sim, huic me pudor habet  
 In hoc statu, in quo nunc ago, reperirier,  
 Neque te queam rectis tueri populis. 1030  
 Sed ne putaris istud esse odio tui,  
 Polymestor; atqui est quippiam in causa rei,  
 Vel lex recepta moribus mortalium,  
 Aduersa ne qua foemina spectet viros.
- PO. Neque miror equidem, me sed ad quid est opus? 1035  
 Cuiusque gratia moueo domo pedem?
- HE. Arcana res est, quam tibi ac gnatis tuis  
 Cupio referre. Proin satellites mihi  
 Procul his iubeto absistere a tentoriis.
- PO. Abite, tuta haec solitudo. Tu quidem es 1040  
 Beneuola nobis, beneuolus mihi hic item  
 Exercitus. Sed indicare iam tuum est,  
 In quo beatum deceat afflictis opem  
 Adferre amicis; promptus admodum sum ego.
- HE. Dic hoc prius, quem creditum domi tenes 1045  
 Patris e manu meaque, Polydorus meus  
 Viuitne? Deinceps reliqua percontabimur.
- PO. Viuit profecto, hac parte res bene habent tuae.
- HE. Vir optime, vt probe loqueris ac digna te.
- PO. Post haec quid ex me concupiscis discere? 1050
- HE. Etiam parentis nunquid est memor mei?
- PO. Quin clanculum ad te studuit huc accurrere.
- HE. Sed saluum id aurum est, Illo quod attulit?
- PO. Seruatur istud in aedibus saluum meis.
- HE. Seruare perge, nec appetas res hospitem. 1055
- PO. Absit, mulier! Iis quae mihi adsunt perfruar.
- HE. Scin' ergo quae tibi proloqui ac gnatis velim?
- PO. Ignoro: verbis indicabis hoc tuis.

1028 sim: sum *A* | 1041 hic: hic quidem *EF* | 1042 indicare: iudicare *A* | 1056 Iis: his  
*ACDEF*

1025 *e vestigio* is an addition by Er.

- HE. Ametur, vt tu nunc amatus es mihi.
- PO. Age, quid volebas scire mecum liberos? 1060
- HE. Gazae Priamidon abditae veteres humo.
- PO. Istuc referri filio cupis tuo?
- HE. Prorsum, et quidem per te, vir es etenim pius.
- PO. Quid igitur hos adesse oportet liberos?
- HE. Moriare si tu, scire et hos satius erat. 1065
- PO. Probe elocuta es, et hoc modo consultius.
- HE. Scin' Iliae delubra vbi sint Palladis?
- PO. Thesaurus illic scilicet? Signi at quid est?
- HE. Tellure summa prominens ater lapis.
- PO. At nunquid hinc, quod ad haec loqui velis mihi? 1070
- HE. Serues velim has, quas extuli, pecunias.
- PO. Vbi nempe? An intra amictum? An abditas habes?
- HE. Spoliorum aceruo his delitent tentoriis.
- PO. Vbi? Nam hic Pelasgum nautica tabernacula.
- HE. Sunt propria captis foeminis tentoria. 1075
- PO. Tutan' satis sunt intus, atque absunt viri?
- HE. Intus Pelasgum nemo, nos solae sumus.  
Sed intro propera; quippe Graii ab Ilio  
Cursum ad penateis flectere cupiunt suos,  
Vti cuncta vbi peregeris, quae te quidem 1080  
Peragere par est, tum tuis cum liberis |  
Eo queas reuertier videlicet, LB 1147  
Vbi meum ipse collocasti filium.
- SEMI- Nondum dedisti, at forsitan poenas dabis;  
CHORVS Portu vt procul quis turbidis vasti maris 1085  
Errans procellis, mox suavi orbabere  
Anima atque vitam desereres. Siquidem dolus  
Nec aequitati nec deis sat congruit.  
Pestifera, pestifera mala.

1084 SEMICHORVS *in marg.*: Chorus A

- 1059 *Ametur* Ald 1000 has εστω φιληθείς (εστ', ε is a conjecture by Gottfried Hermann).
- 1066 Ald 1007 has καλῶς ἐλεξας τῆδε καὶ σοφώτερον. Er. anticipates the distinction by Boissonnade, adopted by Murray, *viz.*, a semicolon after ἐλεξας.
- 1085–1092 In Ald there is a lyrical part here in vss. 1026–1033 with the exception of vs. 1031. Vs. 1025 is still a iambic trimeter there: ἀλίμενόν τις ὡς ἐς ἄντρον ἐμπεσῶν (πεσῶν the Byzantine manu-

scripts, followed here by the modern editors). Er. translates the entire passage in iambic trimeters with the exception of vs. 1089, which is a metrical translation of Eur. 1030. λέχριος (Eur. 1026), which in Ald has a comma behind it and so is connected there with ἐμπεσῶν, is left untranslated. Further *dolus* (1087) is certainly an erroneous translation of τὸ ... ὑπέγγυον (Eur. 1027), on which the datives Δία and θεοῖς depend (cf. Paley *ad loc.*).

- Heu mentietur istius tibi spes viae,  
 Letifera quae te adduxerit sub tartara.  
 Eho miser, sterneris imbelli manu. 1090
- PO. Oculum orbor eheu luce et aspectu miser.  
 SE. Viri eiulatum Thracis audistis, precor?  
 PO. Heu rursus eheu, liberos necant meos. 1095  
 SE. Intus peracta genera supplicii noua.  
 PO. Nunquam tamen quantunlibet pernicious  
 Me pedibus effugeritis, immo protinus  
 Quatiens et ipsa tecta funditus eruam.  
 SE. Vibratur ecce dextera telum graui, 1100  
 Vultisne vt irruamus intro? Locus enim  
 Hecubaeque et istis ferre suppetias monet.  
 HE. Refringe (nequid parseris) vellens fores:  
 Oculos enim haud resarcies vnquam neque  
 Viuos videbis, quos necauit, liberos. 1105  
 SE. Num Thracii victrix potiris hospitis?  
 Patrastin' haec, cuiusmodi narras, hera?  
 HE. Mox hunc videbis prodeuntem ex aedibus  
 Caecum atque caecis lubricantem passibus,  
 Pariter duorum liberum cadauera, 1110  
 Quos ipsa cum fortissimis Iliadibus  
 Ferro peremi. Iamque persoluit mihi  
 Poenas, sed (vt vides) foras mouet pedem.  
 Verum hinc procul concessero ac vitauero  
 Ira aestuantem Thraca et indomitum virum. 1115
- PO. Heu, quo ferar? Quo intendam? Quo torquebo  
 Quadrupedem gradum, montigenae ferae

1114 hinc: huic *A*

- 1101 *Locus* must mean 'the occasion', 'the situation' (Eur. 1042 ἀκμή).  
 1109 *lubricantem* This rare verb is used twice by Prudentius, whom Er. admired so much. However, in the present passage he evidently imitates *Vulg. Thren.* 4, 18, where we also find the intransitive use of this verb: 'Lubricauerunt vestigia nostra in itinere platearum nostrarum.'  
 1116-1142 In Ald this monody has 28 verses, in Erasmus' translation it has 27. There is again a serious attempt at a metrical translation, which is much clearer if we compare it with the divi-

sion of the verses in Ald. For instance, Er. 1116 has exactly the same metre as Eur. 1056-1057 in OCT, which are one verse in Ald (and in Paley's edition). The following verses in the translation have the same metre as their Greek counterparts: 1117; 1119 (in Ald Eur. 1060 does not have τὰς); 1121-1122; 1125 (in Ald Eur. 1066b πτώσσοισι μυχῶν is one verse); 1126-1128; 1134 (Eur. 1076); 1139 (Eur. 1081a, one verse in Ald: ναῦς ... πείσμασιν). In the last lines there is no longer a marked correspondence.

1117 *montigenae* This adj. (Eur. 1058 ὄρεσ-

- Pressa manu vestigia tentans. Quonam,  
 Huc anne illuc deflectam cursum,  
 Vt viricidis, quae me perdunt, 1120  
 Troadibus iniiciam manum?  
 Scelestae, scelestae Phrygum nurus,  
 Proh, execratae,  
 Quo me pautantes  
 Se abdunt latebris? 1125  
 O vtinam meis sanguineis oculis  
 Medeare, medeare, mihi lumina  
 Caeca adimens, Phoebe.  
 Atat sile, occultum gradum sentio ha-  
 rum mulierum. 1130  
 Quo cieo pedem, carne atque ossibus  
 Me expleturus? Quo mihi sumam  
 Poenam iniuriae meae? Io miser  
 Quo, quo rapior? Sola tartareis  
 Bacchis relinquo secanda pignora et 1135  
 Caedem canibus cruentam,  
 Impias dapes montanamque praedam.  
 Quo tendo? Quo me verto,  
 Vt sali nauis in fluctibus  
 Turgida vela distendens 1140  
 Funestum in has me recipiens latebras  
 Custos meorum liberum?  
 CH. Eheu miser, quam grauia perpeteris mala.  
 Sed cum patraris foeda, poenas asperas  
 Sumpsit deorum quisquis infensus tibi. 1145  
 PO. Eheu, ohe ferocis

1132 Me ... sumam: Me expleturus bestiis e noxiis / Epulo parato, quo mihi sumam *E F* |  
 1141 Funestum ... latebras: Funestam in has me recipiens latebram *E F*

τέρου) is not mentioned in the Thes.  
 l. L. According to Lewis and Short,  
 it occurs in Gloss. Philox. (for ὀρεσιγέ-  
 νης) and in Anthol. Lat. I, 53, 1 Burm.  
 1120 *viricidis* For Eur. 1061 ἀνδροφόνους. Not  
 mentioned in Forcellini.  
 1146-1169 A second monody by Polymestor  
 (18 vss. in Ald, no less than 23 in the  
 translation). Whereas before the trans-  
 lation of the stasima we find *carmen*  
*choricum et varie mixtum* in the editions  
 from *C* onwards, we find here: *carmen*  
*priore versu iambico dimetro catalecto*,

*altero acatalecto*. Thus we find here the  
 transition to the technique of the  
 translation of lyrical parts which is  
 predominant in the version of the *Iph.*  
*Aul.* In the use of short iambic verses  
 Er. is following a tradition of late  
 Antiquity (for instance, Prosper Aquin-  
 tanus). However, in the present pas-  
 sage he was certainly also influenced  
 by Eur. vs. 1094a, which in Ald (and  
 in Paley's edition) has this form:  
 γυναῖκες ὄλεσάν με, / γυναῖκες αἰχμαλώ-  
 τιδες (Er. 1157-1158).

- Gens martialis Thraciae  
 Hasta valens equisque,  
 Ohe, Pelasgum copiae,  
 Eho duces Atridae, 1150  
 Voco, voco, rursum voco.  
 Venite, adeste cursu,  
 Omnes rogati per deos.  
 Audit aliquis vocantem?  
 An nemo nobis feret opem? | 1155  
 Quae vos morae retardant?  
 Me perdidere foeminae,  
 Me perdidere captae.  
 Acerba, acerba pertuli.  
 Heu dira nostra clades, 1160  
 Quo vertor, aut quorsum feror?  
 Vtrumne subuolabo  
 Sublimem ad aetheris domum,  
 Vbi minax Orion,  
 Vbi Sirius oculis suis 1165  
 Radios iacit micanteis,  
 Flammis micanteis igneis?  
 An tartari nigrantis  
 Tristem petam portum miser?
- CH. Vbi quis malorum pondere atque sarcina, 1170  
 Quam vt ferre possit, acerbiore premitur, huic  
 Sit venia vitam calamitosam linqere.
- AG. Me exciuit huc audita vox, neque enim (scio)  
 Rupis profundae filia per exercitum  
 Reboavit Echo concitans strepitum; at nisi 1175  
 Euersa constet Marte Graio Pergama,  
 Metum hic dedisset strepitus haudquaquam leuem.
- PO. Agamemnon, animo rex meo carissime,  
 Nam vocem vt audi, illico agnoui tuam,  
 En ipse nobis hoc, quod accidit, vides. 1180
- AG. Polymestor, ehem, te quis euertit miser?  
 Quis ademit oculos sanguine infectis genis  
 Atque hos peremit liberos? Is quisquis est,

1173 scio: silens *E F*

1173 *silens* (*E F*) instead of *scio* is a definite improvement (Eur. 1109 ἤσυχος).

1180 Not one of the editions has an inter-

rogation-mark after *vides*, though it is in Euripides (1115, also in the Greek text in *E*).



- In teque gnatosque odia saeua gesserat.
- PO. Adiuta captiuus Hecuba me foeminis 1185  
Extinxit, haud extinxit, immo et amplius.
- AG. Quid ais? Patrastin' facinus hoc quod hic ait?  
Tun' ausa es, Hecube, tam stupendam audaciam?
- PO. Hem, quid ais? Illa nunc vbi hic adest prope?  
Age indica, dic vbi sit, vt raptam manu 1190  
Laniam ac cruentem corpus omne sanguine.
- AG. Hem, tu quid ais? PO. Hoc per deos te deprecor  
Isti furentem me sine iniiciam manum.
- AG. Tibi tempera istam mente barbariem exuens.  
Dic, vt vbi teque et hanc vicissim audiuero, 1195  
Quapropter haec patiare, recte iudicem.
- PO. Dicam ergo. Quidam Priamidum minimus fuit  
Polydorus Hecuba natus; hunc Priamus mihi  
Domi educandum misit abs Troia pater,  
Exscidia iam tum praetimens vrbis suae. 1200  
Eum peremi; cur eum peremerim,  
Audito, quam sapiente prouidentia  
Metui, relictus ne tibi hostis hic puer  
Troiam aggregans hoc rursus incolet solum,  
Porro vbi Pelasgi Priamidum resciscerent 1205  
Superesse quendam, rursus huc appellerent,  
Tum deinde Thraces hosce populantes agros  
Incurrerent, nocente vicino Ilio,  
Quo nunc et ipso, rex, laboramus malo.  
Ast Hecuba simul ac filii necem sui 1210  
Cognouerat, me hac arte duxit; abditos  
In Ilio monstrare thesauros mihi  
Promittit auri Priamidum. Cum liberis  
In tecta solum inducit, vt ne quis alius  
Mortalium valeret haec cognoscere. 1215  
Spondaque media sedeo curuato genu:  
Statim frequentes hinc et hinc cingunt manus,  
Ac velut amicum me Iliae circumsident

1187 *Patrastin'*: *parastin'* *EF* | 1192 *ais*: *agis* *EF* | 1197 *ergo*: *ego* *ACDEF* | 1202  
*Audito, quam*: *audi* (*falso in vs. 1201 positum*) | *Vt bene ac* *EF*

1187 *parastin'* *EF*, because a short syllable  
is wanted in the thesis of the second  
foot (the first syllable of *patrare* is  
usually reckoned as long in Latin  
poetry, e.g. *Persius* 1, 18). The same  
change occurs in *F* (not *E* this time)

in vs. 1333.

1192 *ais agis* *EF*, which is better (*Eur.* 1127:  
*τί πάσχεις*);

1197 *ergo ego*, which is found in all the other  
editions, gives a metrically impossible  
verse.

	Iuxta puellae textaque Edonicae manus Tractant tenentes, lucidam videlicet	1220
	Ad auram amictus hosce spectantes probant; Aliaeque camaca dum intuentur Thraciam Iam me renudant duplici stolismate. At quae pepererant, hae stupentes pignora Librant in vlnis ac vicissim per manus	1225
	Tradunt, vt a parente summoueant procul. Dehinc post susurros inter ipsas mutuos Tacitasque post mussationes, aerea Quibus, o dei, modis repente e vestibus Laciniosis proferentes spicula	1230
LB 1149	Fodiunt puellos. Rursus hae more hostico   Manusprehendunt atque continent meas Pedesque. Gnatis ferre concupiens opem Si fors an ora gestiebam attollere, Coma tenebant, siue motabam manus,	1235
	Densa vndique imminente mulierum agmine Atque opprimente proficio miser nihil. Porro supremum iam malum plus quam malum Mire patrarunt, quippe correptis manu Acubus mihi orbes luminum miserrimos	1240
	Fodiunt, cruentant, deinde mox circum domum Fugitant. At ipse nempe prosilio foras, Vt fera cruentas persequens cursu canes, Omnemque lustru parietem venantis in Morem modumque concutioque et dissipo.	1245
	Atque haec quidem sum passus, Agamemnon, tibi Dum facere gratum studeo, sustollens tuum Hostem. Sed vt ne verba longius traham, De foeminis si dixit antehac quis male, Hodieue dicit siue post dicturus est,	1250
	Cuncta haec ego compendio dicam semel: Neque terra simile nec fretum gignit genus. Atque illud ipsa discit experientia Semper, cui cum illis negocium incidit.	
HE.	Tanta caueto vtare confidentia	1255

1236 *Densa*: Denso *E F* | *Ante* 1255 HE. *A B*: Chor. *C D E F*, *recte*

1236 *Densa Denso E F* is a definite improvement; *densa* can only be explained as a *constructio ad sententiam*.

1239 *Mire* Er. seems to regard δελ' (Eur.

1169) as an adverb, and πῆμα πῆματος πλέον as the object of ἐξεργάσαντο.

1255 The faulty indication *He.* in *A B* must be due to a mistake either of Er. him-

Neue ex tuis ipsius aestimans malis  
 Muliebre sic vel omne vituperes genus.  
 Pleraeque nostrum aliae quidem laudabiles,  
 Aliae malarum de grege ac numero sumus.  
 Agamemnon, haud decet hominem lingua magis 1260  
 Villo valere tempore ac factis valet.  
 Sed seu proba egit, oportet et probe loqui,  
 Seu praua, rursum dicta et esse putida,  
 Nec iniqua quae sunt, posse disserere bene.  
 Cati quidem sunt, ista qui callent probe, 1265  
 At non quierunt esse ad extremum cati,  
 Verum malis periere cuncti cladibus,  
 Nec vllus horum exitia suffugit sua.  
 Et hoc quidem ad te sit mihi prooemii;  
 Ad hunc reuertar ac locis respondero. 1270  
 Quid ais? Achiuos vt labore duplici  
 Leuare posses gratiaque Agamemnonis,  
 Mucrone gnatum tun' peremisti meum?  
 Atqui, sceleste: Primum Achiuum cuipiam  
 Haudquaquam amicum barbarum fuerit genus 1275  
 Neque possit esse. Deinde quanam gratia  
 Prodesse properas? Num quod affinis cui aut  
 Cognatus esses, aut quid argumenti habens?  
 Anne reuecti carperent segetem tuae  
 Telluris? Horum cui, putas, facies fidem? 1280  
 Aurum (fateri vera si modo voles)  
 Et tua cupiditas filium extinxit meum.  
 Etenim doce illud: donec incolumis fuit  
 Troia vrbsque adhuc munita turribus stetit  
 Vixitque Priamus Marte florens Hectoris, 1285  
 Quin tum, mereri de hocce si libuit bene,  
 Cum gnatum haberes nutriendum in aedibus,  
 Aut enecasti aut viuum in Argiium manus

1256 aestimans: existimans *EF* | 1260 Hec. *ante vers. pon. C D E F, recte* | 1269 prooemii:  
 prooemiis *E* | 1279 reuecti: relecti *EF* | 1280 facies: facias *EF*

self or of the printer; in Ald there is  
 Xo. in the margin (and 'Εκκα. after  
 five lines).

1256 The reading *existimans* (*EF*) instead  
 of *aestimans* is probably caused by the  
 fact that Er. wanted to read *ipsius*  
 with a short *i*, which in Latin poetry  
 of the classical period is quite fre-

quent (Catull. 64, 43; Verg. *Aen.* I, 114  
*etc.*). Cf. Sommer, *op. cit.*, 445.

1269 *proemiis E* on account of προμιοις in  
 Eur. 1195 (Paley: 'What I have to say  
 to you by way of prelude, stands thus').  
*prooemii*, which occurs in the other  
 editions, depends upon *hoc*, and is  
 thus equivalent to *hoc pr.*

	Ductum dedisti? At nos vt occidimus, simul	
	Et ab hoste captam fumus vrbem prodidit,	1290
	Iugulasti amicum et ad lares profugum tuos.	
	Ausculata ad haec nunc, vnde sceleratus magis	
	Videare. Si benevolus Argiuis eras,	
	Aurum, quod huius esse noras, haud tuum,	
	Adferre decuit ac dare iis, quibus erat opus	1295
	Annosque multos patria degunt procul.	
	At tu manu ne nunc quidem euelli tua	
	Patere, at potiris possidens in aedibus.	
	Quod si educare filium vt te dignum erat,	
	Sic educasses atque seruasses meum,	1300
	Laudem profecto comparasses inclytam,	
	Siquidem in malis qui sint potissimum boni	
	Patent amici, laeta amicos passim habent.	
	Iam si fuisset opus tibi pecunia,	
	Incolumis et modo ille vixisset, tibi	1305
	Thesaurus ingens filius fuerat meus.	
LB 1150	At nunc nec istum amicum habes tibi virum	
	Aurique lucrum periit ac gnati tui	
	Tuque ipse ad istum scilicet agitis modum.	
	Porro illud, Agamemnon, tibi iam dicam ego:	1310
	Hunc si iuuabis, vir videbere improbus;	
	Nam nec pio nec fido in hos, in quos decet,	
	Non aequo amico, non bono, facies bene.	
	Quin te malis gaudere dicemus, quia	
	Sis talis ipse? – heris sed haud conuitior.	1315
CH.	Res mira, vt homini materiam semper probam	
	Orationis facta suppeditant proba.	
AG.	Aliena nobis iudicare graue est mala,	
	Tamen necesse est; nam pudor sit, in manus,	
	Reiicere causam, cum semel receperis.	1320
	Mihi, vt sciens sis, neque meapte gratia	
	Sed neque Pelasgum, hominem videris hospitem	
	Necasse, verum vt aurum haberes in domo.	
	Nunc in malis quae conferunt tibi loqueris.	

1294 Aurum ... tuum: Aurum quod esse fateris haud tuum *EF*

1294 The reading of *EF* (cf. the app. crit.) is metrically impossible.

1295–1296 *quibus ... degunt* Er. adopts the well known habit of Greek syntax to omit the relative pronoun in a

second relative clause.

1319–1320. Here the structure of the sentence is complicated: *Reiicere causam* depends on *pudor sit*, and *in manus* is to be connected with *receperis*.

- Iugulare forsā hospitem vobis leue est,  
 Nobis Achiuis istud oppido est graue. 1325  
 Quinam probrum ergo fugio, si pronuntiem  
 Te iam innocentem? Non profecto vlla queam.  
 Quin potius, vbi quae non licent haud veritus es  
 Patrare, tolera quae vicissim non libent. 1330
- PO. Proh, vt videtur victus a muliercula  
 Capta! Dabo supplicia deterioribus.
- AG. Meritoque, quando tute patrasti mala.
- PO. Heu, liberos oculosque fleo miser meos.
- HE. Doles? Dolere filium haud credis mihi? 1335
- PO. Malefica, gaudes, me quod afficias malis?
- HE. Quid enim? Vltā te non gaudeam iure optimo?
- PO. At non item fortassis vbi te vis freti –
- HE. Nunquid vehere Pelasgici ad plagas soli?
- PO. Immo supremis lapsam ab antennis teget. 1340
- HE. At vnde saltus tanta temeritas mihi?
- PO. Malum ipsa celeri nauis ascendes pede.
- HE. Alatan' humeris? Vel quibus tandem modis?
- PO. Fies canis, oculos igne lucenteis gerens.
- HE. Qui nota formae versio tibi est meae? 1345
- PO. Threicius augur Bacchus ista prodidit.
- HE. At ex tuis nil ille praecinuit malis?
- PO. Sic neutquam me fraude cepisses tua.
- HE. Defunctan' illic, anne viua finiar?
- PO. Defuncta; tumulo nomen indetur tuum. 1350
- HE. Sumpsum a figura? Aut quod aliud dicis meum?
- PO. Canis sepulchrum, nautis signum vagis.
- HE. Nihil laboro, posteaquam te vltā sum.
- PO. Quin filiam necesse Cassandram mori.
- HE. Equidem haec abominor, in caput reprecans tuum. 1355
- PO. Coniunx at illam interimet huius aspera.
- HE. Ne sic mihi vnquam gnata Tyndari furat.

1329 licent: decent *A* | 1333 patrasti: parasti *F* | 1339 vehere: vehet *F* | 1341 At ... mihi?: Saltus ad hos quis adiget inuitam? cedo *EF* | 1352 nautis: nauitis *ACDEFF*, recte | 1357 Ne sic mihi: Nec sic mihi *ACD*, Nec mihi sic *E*, Ne mihi sic *F*; furat: fuerat *CDE*, furiat *F*

1333 For *parasti* in *F* cf. the note on 1187.

1339 *vehere vehat F*, which for the metre is to be preferred, whereas it is less good as a translation (Eur. 1260 ναυστολήση)

1341 Here the reading of *EF*, which introduces *quis*, is indeed better than that of the earlier editions (Eur. 1262: Πρὸς

τοῦ ...); further, βιαίων finds a translation here in *inuitam*.

1352 The reading *nautis* in *B* is metrically impossible and can only be regarded as a typographical error.

1357 Eur. (1278) writes: μήπω μινελη Τυνδαρις τοσονδε παϊς. Er. must have

- PO. Quin ipsum et hunc bipenne librata in caput.  
 AG. Itan' furis tu, qui malum accersas tibi?  
 PO. Neca, at lauacra mortifera te Argis manent. 1360  
 AG. Non hunc, ministri, vi trahetis hinc procul?  
 PO. Audire graue? AG. Non ora continebitis?  
 PO. Opprimite, dictum est. AG. Quam potest ocysissime  
 Non huncce solas deferetis in insulas,  
 Adeo procaci quando lingua abutitur? 1365  
 At, Hecuba, tu, proh misera, funera gemina  
 Abi atque sepeli. Vos oportet herilia  
 Adire quanque, Troades, tentoria.  
 Etenim hos secundos video ventos patriam  
 Versus. Bene autem nauigemus atque item 1370  
 Liceat domi res prosperas offendere  
 Tandem expeditos hisce iam laboribus.  
 CH. Ite ad portus agite et Graium  
 Ad tentoria tendite saeua,  
 Experturae posthac sortis 1375  
 Aerumnas seruilis acerbas.  
 Nam sic vrget nescia flecti et  
 Cogit dira necessitas. |

1359 *Hecubae attr.* *ACDE*; accersas: accersis *EF* | 1360 *neca, at:* *Feriet A* | *Post 1378:*  
 EVRIPIDEAE HECVBAE FINIS *A* EVRIPIDIDIS, HECVBAE, DES. ERASMO ROTERODAMO  
 INTERPRETE, FINIS. *CDEF*

understood *mibi* as an ethic dative (there is no trace of a variant *μή μοι* instead of *μήπω*).  
*fuera* (*CDE*) is certainly a mistake (probably a typographical error in *C* which was not corrected in *D* and *E*).

1359 In *ACDE* this line is given to Hecuba, as also in Ald. Er. has altered this, as he observes himself in Ep. 209, l. 12-13: 'In fine (sc. *Hecubae*), οὗτος δὲ μάλινη puto rectius Agamemnoni tribui quam Hecubae.'

Postquam Graecorum duces omnes vna cum classe reliquoque belli apparatu in Aulidem conuenissent, vt inde pariter ad Troiam euertendam nauigarent, tanta consecuta est coeli tranquillitas, vt nequaquam esset nauigandi facultas. Quare, cum exercitus iam moleste ferret se frustra tempus inibi terere, consultis extis Chalchas augur respondit Dianae Aulidensi immolandam esse Iphigeniam

5

Argumentum, *deinde* Epistolam ad lectorem *exb.* *A*, Argumentum, *deinde* Epistolam ad Gu(i)lielmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem *exb.* *B C D*, Epistolam ad Guilielmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, *deinde* Argumentum *exb.* *E F*

1 *Argumentum Tit.*: per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum *add.* *C D E F* | 4 nequaquam: nullis flantibus ventis, non *A C D E F* | 6 Chalchas: *A B* Calchas *C* (*sed* Chalchas p. 270, 5.19, *vs.* 111, 133; Chalchas *vs.* 665) *D* (Chalchas *vs.* 133) *E F*

The *Argumentum* precedes the Letter to the Reader in *A* and the (second) Letter to William Warham in *B C D*; only in *E* and *F* is it put behind this dedicatory letter. We maintain, of course, the order in *B*.

There exists no Greek ὑπόθεσις of the *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, so that we cannot but regard the present *argumentum* as entirely Erasmus' own work. In fact, its Latin style is remarkably freer and more natural than that of the *argumentum* of the *Hecuba* (pp. 221-222), which was translated from the Greek; further, it is worthy of mention – and fully understandable – that here there are much more *variae lectiones* in the later editions, as is shown in the critical apparatus. There are several readings which are found in *B* alone (l. 4 *nequaquam*; p. 270, 2 *conuocatis copiis*; p. 270, 4 *summo*) which means that in *C* Erasmus once more adopts the reading of *A* and does not change it any more. Fur-

ther, it is remarkable that in p. 270, 7 Erasmus substitutes in *B* *filiae futuram caedem* for *filiae trucidationem* in *A*, thus adding *futuram* for the sake of better syntax, and discarding the somewhat too coarse substantive *trucidatio*. Finally, p. 271, 1, the addition of *ignarus* in *B* is a definite improvement in the description of the plot. *The Letter to William Warham* (Ep. 208 Allen, from Bologna, November 1507). This letter is substituted in *B* (and maintained in the further editions) for the short *Epistola ad Lectorem* in *A* (Ep. 198 Allen, from Paris, c. July 1506), which we have given a place in the critical apparatus (p. 271), and which we shall now first provide with a brief comment.

First of all it is to be underlined that the translation of the *Iph. Aul.* is both more free and more circumstantial than that of the *Hecuba*. This is observed by Erasmus himself in the letter to John Botzheim (Allen, Vol. I, p. 5, 26-27: ... 'Iphi-

Agamemnonis filiam, atque ita Graecos feliciter ad Ilium nauigaturos. Itaque conuocatis copiis Agamemnon persuasus a Menelao patitur fieri decretum, vt accersatur puella. Caeterum quo lubentius eam Clytemnestra mater mitteret, priuatim fingunt titulum, quasi Achilli Graecorum principum summo foret  
 5 nuptura. Hoc commentum soli nouerant Agamemnon Menelaus Chalcas atque Vlysses. Atqui missis iam ad vxorem literis Agamemnon, cum superioris consilii poeniteret et filiae futuram caedem ferre non posset, noctu clanculum alias ad vxorem literas scribit denuntians, ne virginem mittat in Aulidem; in aliud enim tempus proferendas nuptias. Eas antelucano seni cuidam seruo Argos  
 10 proferendas committit exposito simul earum argumento. Verum hunc cum epistola Menelaus, dum et ipse ante lucem puellae aduentum obseruat, incipit, et acriter cum fratre de consilii inconstantia expostulat. Interea e comitatu Clytemnestrae praecurrens quidam Agamemnoni Menelao praesente nuntiat adesse in Aulide Iphigeniam vna cum matre et Oreste infante neque eam rem  
 15 clam esse exercitu. Ibi simul atque Menelaus sensit illi iam non esse integrum filiam remittere, fecte fratri coepit suadere, ne virginem sua causa pateretur occidi. Dum haec inter illos versantur, interim aduecta est Clytemnestra cum filia multisque modis exagitantur patris affectus, dum consilium de iugulanda filia studet caelare. Qua de re dum consulturus Chalcantem abiisset, interea accessit  
 20 Achilles expostulaturus cum Agamemnone. Salutatur a Clytemnestra tanquam

2 conuocatis copiis: conuocato exercitu *A C D E F* | 4 summo: optimo *A C D E F* | 7 filiae futuram caedem: filiae trucidationem *A*, futuram caedem filiae *C D E F* | 16 fratri coepit: coepit fratri *C D E F* | 17 est *deest* in *E F*

genia Aulidensi, quam fusius ac liberius verteram agens in Anglia'). In the present passage he expresses the thought in a negative form; *nonnihil de pristina illa religione (viz., the accuracy strived at in the translation of the Hecuba) remisimus*. We find back the same term *religio* in the dedicatory epistle preceding the translation of the *Hecuba*, p. 218, 7-9: ... 'maxime quod ad caeteras difficultates ipse prudens non mediocre pondus adiecerim mea in verendo religione'; further, it is repeated in the letter substituted for the present one, p. 272, l. 4. - The words *pauloque maiorem habuimus rationem candoris et perspicuitatis* find their explication in the somewhat fuller formulation of the letter to Warham, p. 271, 14-15: 'Nam (ni fallor) et plusculum habet candoris (sc. Iph. Aul. quam Hec.) et fusior est dictio'. Therefore, in the present passage *perspicuitatis* must refer to the *fusior dictio* of the original. The substantive *candor* refers to the purity of the Latin idiom and style of the translation: it can be impaired by a

too faithful translation from the Greek, as is also observed in the dedicatory epistle of the translation of the *Hecuba*, p. 218, 17-18: 'maluique committere, vt eruditi candorem et concinnitatem carminis in me forsitan desiderarent quam fidem'. As to the last sentence, which briefly refers to the metrical technique in the translation of the choruses, we better give all the relevant comments in the explication of the more detailed treatment of this subject in the letter to William Warham, p. 272, 6 sqq. We only want to observe already here that in l. 5 *generum* indicates the *genera metrorum*.

Therewith we come now to the second letter to William Warham. As Allen observes in his preliminary remark to it, it is 'plainly an amplification' of the Letter to the Reader in *A*, and it was sent with the second letter to Aldus Manutius (Ep. 209), as soon as Aldus had accepted the proposal made in Ep. 207. For all further details concerning this correspondence, cf. the Introduction.



futurus gener. Achilles ignarus demiratur. Ibi seruus senex ille, cui litterae secundae fuerant commissae, rem profert proditque consilium regis. Indignatus Achilles quod ad caedem virginis suo nomine essent abusi, in concilio defendit eam, ne perimatur, sed vincitur suffragiis. Itaque cum res ad summum tumultum spectare videretur reliquo exercitu postulante puellam, contra Achille cum vniuersis depugnare parato, ipsa vltro mutata sententia suadet matri satius esse speciosam oppetere mortem quam ob suam vnus vitam aut tot principes in certaminis periculum vocari aut rem tantam omitti. Ducta igitur ad aram deae ipsa quidem sublata est in Tauricam regionem, at eius loco cerua supposita est. Sacro peracto nauigant Graeci.

GVLIELMO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVARIENSI ERASMVVS S.P.D.

Posteaquam huic tragoediae manus admoliri coepissem, amplissime Praesul, protinus alium quendam orationis gustum diuersamque carminis indolem sentire mihi sum visus. Nam (ni fallor) et plusculum habet candoris et fusior est dictio. Quo quidem nomine Sophoclea videri queat; at rursus argumentorum

ignarus *deest in A* | 7-8 aut ... aut *deest in A* | 8 rem tantam: tot res *A* | 10 argumenti finis *C D E F* | 11 *Epistola A hic aliam epistolam exhib.* (Ep. 198):

ERASMVVS LECTORI S.P.D.

Quoniam intelligebamus aliis alia placere, quo cunctis (quoad fieri posset) faceremus satis, simulque ipsi nihil non experiremur, in hac tragoedia vertenda nonnihil de pristina illa religione remisimus, pauloque maiorem habuimus rationem candoris et perspicuitatis. Praeterea in choris immodicam metrorum variationem temperauimus, non nostris consulentes commodis, sed partim quod videremus tantam generum confusionem ab oratione soluta non multum abesse, partim quod intelligeremus et Senecam tragicum ab eius rei imitatione abstinuisse. Vale, lector optime. *De huius epistolae explanatione vide app. alterum.*

11 GVLIELMO (GVLIELMO *C D E F*) ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVARIENSI ERASMVVS (ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS *C D E*; DES. ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS *F*) S.P.D. *B C D E F*

13-15 *protinus ... queat.* As was observed already in our commentary on the Letter to the Reader in *A*, the differences between the remarkably faithful translation of the *Hecuba* and the freer translation of the *Iph. Aul.* are primarily – though not entirely – due to Erasmus' conviction that the *plusculum candoris* and the *fusior dictio* of the latter tragedy should be rendered adequately.

The second factor is Erasmus' high estimation of Euripides' 'declamatoria suadendi ac dissuadendi facultas' – it is this very faculty, which is so important to the Latin ideal of *eloquentia* and *concinntas*, which to Erasmus meant as much as it meant to Petrarch. The result of this estimation of the *Iph. Aul.* for the technique of the Latin translation is mentioned in p. 272, 5: *Proinde Iphigeniam paulo tum fu-*

*sium tum copiosius traduximus* (cf. also above the quotation from the letter to John Botzheim). Finally it should be noticed that, though in p. 272, 3-4 Er. literally repeats a sentence from the Letter to the Reader in the words *Nobis ... remittere*, he still emphasizes the faithfulness of his translation in ll. 5-6: *at ita rursus, vt ab interpretis fide neuiquam recederemus.*

Therewith we reach the second part of the letter, which contains a lengthy discussion of the problem of the Latin translation of the choruses, which we have found already *in nuce* in the Letter to the Reader, ll. 4-7. Further, we should connect this passage with the third alinea of the second letter to Aldus Manutius (Ep. 209, ll. 24-36) which contains some necessary additional information, especially ll. 25-26: 'Primum enim non sum

densitate quasique declamatoria quadam suadendi ac dissuadendi facultate parentem Euripidem magis refert. Quanquam vtri sit inscribenda neque meum est pronuntiare neque magni referre puto. Nobis tamen visum est de pristina illa nostra religione non nihil remittere, ne non hac etiam in parte congrueremus  
 5 argumento. Proinde Iphigeniam paulo tum fusius tum copiosius traduximus, at ita rursus, vt ab interpretis fide neutiquam recederemus. Hoc vno in vtraque sumus ausi dissentire, quod in choris immodicam illam carminum varietatem ac licentiam aliquantulum temperauimus, sperantes futurum vt hac in re docti nobis veniam darent nimirum in tantis versantibus angustiis; quandoquidem  
 10 neque Flaccus lyricorum neque Seneca tragicorum poetarum tantam in metris aut pedum libertatem aut generum diuersitatem sit aemulatus, cum vterque sequeretur Graecos duntaxat, non etiam interpretaretur. Quod si mihi per grauiora studia liceret alias aliquot vertere tragoedias, non modo me non poeniteret huius audaciae, quin etiam non vererer chororum et stilum et argu-  
 15 menta commutare, malleque vel locorum quempiam tractare communem vel in amoenam aliquam παρέμβασις exspatiari quam in *canoris* (vt vocat Horatius) *nugis* operam sumere. Nusquam enim mihi magis ineptisse videtur antiquitas quam in huiusmodi choris, vbi, dum nimium affectat noue loqui, vitiauit eloquentiam, dumque verborum miracula venatur, in rerum iudicio cessauit.  
 20 Vale, meum decus.

in choris iisdem vsus carminum generibus quibus Euripides, praeterquam in vno atque altero'. The result of our investigations is that in the Latinization of the *Hecuba* Er. has frequently tried to render as similarly as possible the metres of the original but that in the translation of the *Iph. Aul.* he has stopped this practice: in general it can be said that, apart from his *tour de force* in the translation of the *parodus*, which he has described in the *Ad Lectorem* (p. 220, 13-221, 4), Er. sticks in the choruses of the *Iph. Aul.* to the technique of Seneca in his tragedies (cf. the comments to the various choruses); we find Seneca's name both here and in Ep. 209, l. 29. It is, however, surprising that Er. says in ll. 6-7: *Hoc vno in vtraque* (sc. *tragoedia*) *ausi sumus dissentire, quod*

*in choris immodicam illam carminum varietatem, etc.*, thus skipping over the undeniable fact that his treatment of the lyrical metres in the two tragedies is quite different.

10-11 Repeated in Ep. 209, 28-30: 'quum autem viderem neque Flaccum lyricorum neque Senecam tragicorum carminum aut confusionem tantam aut libertatem imitatum fuisse.'

11 *generum, viz., carminum*, as is evident both from the context and from the parallel passage in Ep. 209, ll. 25 sqq.; cf. also *ibid.*, ll. 35-36: 'sed subinde genus metri commutant.'

16-17 Hor. *Ars Poet.* 322 'nugaeque canorae.'

20 *meum decus* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 1, 2.

PERSONAE FABVLAE

Agamemnon imperator.	Clytemnestra uxor Agamemnonis.
Senex seruus eius.	Iphigenia filia Clytemnestrae et Agamemnonis.
Chorus ex mulieribus Chalcidensibus.	Achilles dictus sponsus.
Menelaus frater Agamemnonis.	Nuntius.

EVRIPIIDIS IPHIGENIA IN  
AVLIDE, E GRAECO IN  
LATINVM TRADV-  
CTA ERASMO RO-  
TERODAMO IN-  
TERPRETE

LB 1155

PRAELOQVITVR AGAMEMNON

Horsum, senior, prodi tectis.  
SE. Prodeo. Sed quid molire noui,  
Rex Agamemnon? AG. Mox cognoris.  
SE. Ocyus appropero; mea nanque est  
Multum impigra vigilque senecta,  
Sic vt et ipsis constet et adsit  
Vigor atque acies sua luminibus.

5

*Personae fabulae imperator deest in A C D E F | Post Achilles dictus sponsus: Senex minister. A C D E F, recte | Tit. e Graeco: e Graeco sermone A C D E F | Praeloquitur Agamemnon: Aga. E F*

1 It seems worth while to refer that we still possess the much freer translation of Eur. vs. 1-2a by Ennius, *Scen. fr.* 213-214 Vahlen: 'Procede. Gradum proferre pedum / Nitere. Cessas, o fide' ... (punctuation as given by F. Skutsch, *Kleine Schriften*, 300). A somewhat different form is found in H. D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge 1967) fr. XCVIII: 'procede: gradum proferre pedum, nitere, cessas, o fide?' (cf. the commentary, *ibid.*, 332).

4-7 *mea ... luminibus* Here Ald reads: *μάλα τὸ (τοι Barnes and all later editions) γῆρας τοῦ μὲν ἄπνουν / καὶ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄξυ πάρεστιν*. The meaning of the sentence is

well paraphrased by Paley: 'Old men do not sleep as soundly as young men; hence he says "age sits light and wakeful on my eyes"'. Er. makes three important changes in his translation. In the first place, he brings in *Nanque*; as Professor Sicking suggests to me, he may have wanted to substitute something for the metrically impossible τὸ and may have put in γάρ. More important is the fact that Er. assumes ἄπνουν not to mean 'sleepless' but 'fully awake, active'; one is reminded here of Vergil's (*Aen.* VI, 304) 'cruda ... viridisque senectus'. Further, *sic vt* may be regarded as a translation of καί, understood as having that conclusive sense

- AG. Ergo quod hoc, age, traicit astrum?  
 SE. Sirius ardens, qui Pleiadibus  
 Septengeminis vicinus, adhuc  
 Medio rapidus fertur coelo. 10
- AG. Hinc nulla strepit vox, non auium,  
 Sed nec pelagi: taciti venti  
 Tranquillum sternunt Euripum.
- SE. At tu quid ita tecta relinquis, 15  
 Rex Agamemnon?  
 Aulida adhuc habet hac alta quies  
 Nec muris cessere excubiae.  
 Introeamus. AG. Tu mihi sorte  
 Felice, senex, esse videris. 20  
 Nam felicem censeo sane  
 Ego mortalem, quisquis tutum  
 Ignotus et inglorius aeuum  
 Transmisit; qui vero aetatem  
 Egerunt in honoribus, horum 25  
 Sortem haud duco perinde beatam.

10 Septengeminis: septemgeminis *ACEF*, septem geminis *D* | 13 pelagi: Pelasgi *A* |  
 17 hac: hanc *CEF*

which is so frequent in Aristotle ('and so'). The most important change (and also the most serious error) is that he has regarded δξύ as an adjective with the meaning of a substantive (*vigor atque acies sua*) which is the subject of πάρεστιν. Thinking in Latin, as in making this translation he undoubtedly did, Er. must have overlooked the importance of the fact that δξύ is not preceded by an article. The direct influence of Er.'s translation on the prose translation made by Melanchthon (cf. p. 207), is convincingly proved by the quite similar version in the latter: 'Mea senectus est pervigil, / Et acumen adest in oculis'.

8 The translation of ἄρ' in Eur. 6 by *Ergo* is the immediate consequence of the translation of the preceding verses. 'Then, <if your eye-sight is as good as that,> tell me this about the stars'.

8-11 Here again we still possess Ennius' much less faithful translation (fr. 215-218 Vahlen), which we now best quote from Jocelyn (cf. note on vs. 1), fr. XCVI: 'quid noctis videtur? in altisono / caeli clipeo temo superat / <plaustris

stellas sublimum agens / etiam atque etiam noctis iter'. Cf. Jocelyn's commentary, pp. 328-330, for these very difficult verses. Er. uses *traicit* with an intransitive sense, as is also the case with πορθμεύει in Eur. vs. 6.

12 Eur. has οὐκουν φθόγγος γ'οὔτ' ὀρνίθων which is translated by Ennius (vss. 219-221 Vahlen, cf. his note *ad loc.*; not in Jocelyn's edition): 'faucet faucibus rursus, / Missis cantu plausuque premunt / Alas.'

14 *tranquillum sternunt Euripum* Eur. 11 τόνδε κατ' Εὐριπον ἔχουσιν. Er. has evidently understood this as equivalent to κατέχουσιν Εὐριπον. Paley speaks of 'the ambiguity of construction between κατέχουσιν Εὐριπον, and ἔχουσιν (ἐκλυτὰς) κατὰ Εὐριπον'.

17 *hac* This is the reading in *ABD*, which is the translation of Eur. 14 τῆδε. In *CEF* we find *hanc*, which is an anticipation of Blomfield's conjecture τῆδε. 23-24 *inglorius aeuum* / *Transmisit* Undoubtedly after the example of Verg. *Aen.* X, 52 sq.: 'inglorius ... exigit hic aeuum'.

- SE. Atqui in istis decus est vitae.  
 AG. Sed decus istud lubrica res est;  
 Etenim votis dulce quidem ipsus  
 Est honos, ast vbi contigit idem, 30  
 Tum discruciat: modo relligio  
 Diuum non sat rite peracta  
 Labefactam subuertit vitam,  
 Modo rursum hominum mentes variae  
 Ac difficiles prorsus acerbant. 35  
 SE. Haud ista viro in principe laudo;  
 Non te seuit ad omnia laeta,  
 Agamemnon, Atreus:  
 Gaudere atque dolere necesse est,  
 Mortalis enim es; sin tu nolis, 40  
 Tamen eueniet: sic diis placitum.  
 At tu apposito lumine taedae  
 Scribis epistolium  
 Hoc, quod manibus nunc quoque gestas,  
 Rursum deles quicquid scriptum est 45  
 Atque obsignas, deinde resignas  
 Piceamque solo illidis liquidas  
 Fundens lachrumas,  
 Et sic anceps tecum varias,  
 Vti nil desit, 50  
 Quo minus insanire puteris.  
 Quid habes? Quid habes?  
 Quae noua res, quae res noua, quaeso,  
 Te, rex, agitat?  
 Quicquid, age, est, imperti nobis: 55  
 Fido atque proba dixeris homini,

31 relligio: religio *A C D E F*

29-30 *Etenim ... honos* Ald 23 sq.: καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον γλυκὸν μὲν. *votis* must mean: 'for wishes, as long as one is still wishing for the honour (and has not yet attained it)'. Er. correctly regards τιμή, which is to be supplied from φιλότιμον, as the subject of λυπεῖ.

31 *relligio* (*B*) is of course written for the sake of the metre.

35 *acerbant* A very rare verb, typical of Roman epic poetry (probably coined by Vergil, *Aen.* XI, 407).

40-41 *sin ... placitum* Ald reads here: θνητός

γὰρ ἔφυς, καὶν μὴ σὺ θέλης. τὰ θεῶν οὕτως βουλόμεν' ἔσται. Er. must have put a comma after θέλης, and further he seems to read: τὰδε, θεῶν οὕτω βουλομένων, ἔσται οἱ τῶν θεῶν οὕτω βουλομένων, ἔσται (sq.). τῶν ... βουλομένων is indeed the form which this verse has in all the manuscripts in the quotation of this verse in [Plut.] *Consol. ad Apollon.* 5, 103 c.

47 *Piceam* Eur. 39 has πέυκην *i.e.*, 'the piece of this pinewood on which you have been writing' (Paley). But *picea* (sc., *tabula*) is as such quite unusual in Latin idiom.

Nam tibi quondam dotis partem  
 Cum vxore tua me Tyndareus  
 Misit dignum sponsae comitem.

AG.	Letae obtigerunt Thestiadi tres filiae, Phoebe Clytemnestreque, quam mihi duxi ego, Heleneque; at huius nuptias multi proci Petiere, iuuenes Graeciae opulentissimi. Verum hinc minae truces coortae et mutua Caedes virum imminere visa non leuis, Quisquis fuisset non potitus virgine, Ita vt haesitaret mente Tyndareus pater, Vtrumne daret an non daret, nimirum agens Sibi res vt ista cederet prosperrime.	60
	Atque interim illud venit in mentem viro, Vti coirent iureiurando proci Atque inter ipsos iungerent dextras, ad haec Adolenda diuum ponerent aris sacra Ac semetipsi astringerent diris ad id Caput obligantes imprecationibus, Vt, quisquis esset ea potitus coniuge, Huic adessent vindicaturi simul, Si quisquam eam per vim raperet ex aedibus, Depellerentque possidentem a coniuge Belloque adorti ciuitatem excinderent Armis perinde Pelasgicam atque barbaram. Vbi foedere autem sunt adacti – ac denique Astutus ex animi sui sententia Persuasit illis arte et ingenio senex –, Gnatae facit ius, vti procis ex omnibus Deligeret vnum quenlibet sibi virum,	65 70 75 80 85
LB 1156		

61 Clytemnestreque: Clytemnaestraque *CD*, Clytemnestraque *EF* | 68 Vtrumne: Vtrum *A* | 69 vt deest in *A*

57–58 *tibi ... cum vxore tua* Eur. (46) only has σῆ... ἀλόχῳ. Er. evidently wanted to remain closer to Roman law.

64–66 ‘The meaning is, ‘each declared that, if he did not win the maid, he would kill the successful rival.’ *Mutuum caedem parabant, qui nuptiam non tulissent*’ (Paley).

68 The reading of *A*, *Vtrum daret*, which contains a metrical mistake, is corrected in *B*.

71–75 *Vti ... imprecationibus* This is a remarkably circumstantial translation of Eur. 58–60.

72–73 *ad ... sacra* is the Latin equivalent of 59–60 δι’ ἐμπύρων σπονδάς.

84 *Persuasit* Eur. 67 ὑπέλλθεν. The Latin translation does not bring out the fact that Tyndareus had deceived the competitors.

Quocunque grata ferret aura Cypridis.  
 Menelaon illa deligit, et o, si foret  
 Nunquam potitus! Dein profectus Ilio  
 Lacedaemona ille, qui arbiter quidem trium 90  
 Fuerat dearum, vulgo vt homines dictitant,  
 Insignis ac nitens amictu florido  
 Auroque fulgens, barbarum videlicet  
 Luxum atque cultum gentis ostentans suae,  
 Amans amantem fugit abreptam vehens 95  
 Helenen et Idae abduxit ad bubilia.  
 Menelaus itaque solus e Graiis, graui  
 Ira furens, vetusta soceri foedera  
 Testatus esse ius et aequum praedicat,  
 Vti ferant iniuria laesis opem. 100  
 Hic ergo Danaum turba Marte percita  
 Capessit arma arctosque in Aulidis sinus  
 Conuenit huc, et ratibus et scutis simul  
 Instructa equisque curribusque plurimis.  
 Hinc me ducem legere Menelai vice, 105  
 Quia frater essem; sed vtinam loco mei  
 Alii hoc honoris contigisset cuipiam!  
 At nunc coactis vnde quaque copiis  
 Hac ociosi desidemus Aulide,  
 Quod nauigandi copiam venti negent, 110  
 Chalcasque vates mussitans tacitus diu  
 Respondit Iphigeniam, ego cui pater,  
 Diuae immolandam huiusce praesidi loci;  
 Ita nauigandi copiam Graiis fore  
 Simulque Troiae diruenda moenia, 115

90 quidem: pridem *ACDEF* | 96 ad: ab *CD* | 108 vnde quaque: vndiquaque *ACDEF*

87 *Quocunque* Er. seems to have substituted ὄποι for ὄτου in Eur. 69.

90 *quidem* It is to be noted that this word only occurs in *B*: both *A* and *C(DEF)* have *pridem*. Eur. 71-72 has only ὁ τὰς θεὰς / κρήνας ὄδ'.

96 Er leaves untranslated Eur. 76-77 ἐκδημον λαβῶν / Μενέλαον.

109 *Cf. infra* vs. 1081: 'Hoc ociosi desidemus littore'.

111 *mussitans tacitus diu* Ald (89), following *P*, has ἀπορία κερημένως, which cannot be the correct reading, for it is not Calchas who does not know what to do,

but the Greeks; therefore, Heath's conjecture κερημένους has been generally adopted. Er., who follows the Aldina, adds *diu*. The entire expression seems to be influenced by the description of Calchas' feigned irresolution concerning the fate of Sinon in *Aen.* II, 126: 'Bis quinos silet ille dies, tectusque recusat', etc.

115 *Troiae diruenda moenia* Here the gerundive has the sense of a passive participle of the future, as is often the case in late Latin (Eur. 92 καὶ πλοῦν τ' ἔσεσθαι καὶ κατασκαφὰς Φρυγῶν).

- Hanc si immolassent, sin minus, tum non fore.  
 At ego, haec vt audio, iubeo voce publica  
 Dimittat omnem Talthybius exercitum,  
 Vt qui illud animo facinus haud vnquam meo  
 Laturus essem, gnatam vti perimerem meam. 120  
 Totas ibi arteis frater intentans mihi ac  
 Expertus omneis persuadendi vias  
 Tandem impulit me, atrox vt auderem nefas;  
 Egoque litteris ad uxorem datis,  
 Quo filiam huc transmittat, impero, velut 125  
 Nupturam Achilli, et dignitatem exaggerans  
 Viri negansque hunc velle iunctis copiis  
 Cum classe Achium solvere in Phrygas simul,  
 Nisi sponsa nostra detur in Phthiam domo.  
 Commentus hanc persuasionem ad coniugem 130  
 Meam puellae obtexo falsas nuptias;  
 At haec vt habeant, soli Achium nouimus  
 Menelaus ego Chalcas Vlysses. Caeterum  
 Quae tum parum bene statueram, nunc has bene  
 Recanto corrigoque per tabellulas, 135  
 Quas me sub vmbra videras noctis, senex,  
 Reuincientem et colligantem denuo.  
 Sed eia, ad Argos hanc epistolam ferens  
 Concede: quicquid intus occultant rei  
 Cera silentibus exaratum litteris, | 140  
 LB 1157 Sermone id omne prorsus exponam tibi.  
 Es enim fidelis coniugi ac domui meae.  
 Has iterum tibi mitto tabellas,  
 Ladae germen.  
 SE. Fare, enarra, quo voce tuis 145  
 Scriptis consentanea dicam.  
 AG. Ne gnatam horsum trans mitte tuam  
 Ad sinuosam Euboniae rupem,  
 Aulin tacitam,

124 Egoque literis: Ego itaque literis *C D E F* | 129 domo: e domo *C D E F* | 143-144 *unum versum fac. E F*

143-173 On Eur. 117, which corresponds with vs. 143 of the Latin translation, Paley remarks: 'It will be observed that Agamemnon speaks in irregular, or spondeo-anapaestics, as far as vs. 143, the rest of his speech, like that of the servant, being in the regular dimeter'.

Er. has only regular dimeters here (*cf. e.g. Er. 166-167 with Eur. 136-137*).  
 148 *Euboniae rupem* An inexact translation of Eur. 120 πτέρυγ' Εὐβοίας, which means 'the wing-shaped bay (or harbour)', *cf. Paley ad loc.*

149 *tacitam* Eur. 121 ἀκλόσταν, which means



- Siquidem taedas virginis aliud  
Nunc in tempus producemus. 150
- SE. At sponsa frustratus Achilles,  
Nonne minaces animos tollet  
In te atque tuam simul uxorem?  
Hinc etiam instat graue discrimen: 155  
Cedo, quid censes?
- AG. Nomen, non rem praebet Achilles  
Neque cognouit de coniugio  
Quodque dolo nos agimus, nescit,  
Neque quod finxi gnatam thalamo 160  
Ipsi iuncturum esse iugali.
- SE. Dira parabas, rex Agamemnon,  
Itane prolem nomine ficto  
Sponsae fueras Danais produ-  
cturus, vt esset victima diuae? 165
- AG. Hei misero mihi, mente errabam.  
Eheu, tristem trahor in luctum.  
Sed iam celeri procure pede  
Neque te quicquam tardet euntem  
Saerior aetas. SE. Rex, accelero. 170
- AG. Neue ad fonteis arbore multa  
Nunc desideas lentus opacos  
Neu te blandus subigat somnus.
- SE. Quin verba bona, o rex, eloquitor.

152 Achilles: Achillis *A* | 164–165 *unum versum fac. E F* | 172 opacos: opacas *A*

'secure from the swell of the Euripus' (Paley).

- 153 *tollet* Ald has *ἐπαίρει*; Er. here anticipates Reiske's conjecture *ἐπαρεί* which has been adopted by Paley and Munro.
- 160 *finxi* Ald 130 *ἐπέφησα*, 'I promised'. Er. evidently translates *ἐπεφήμισα* which is, indeed, the correct reading, first 'officially' conjectured by Markland. (We shall find in the course of this comm. that it is especially conjectures by Markland which are anticipated by Er. One wonders whether Markland has made use of Er.'s translation.) As Paley observes *ad loc.*, this verb means 'to make a verbal declaration, with the notion of not executing it in effect'.
- 162 *parabas* Ald 133 *γε τολμᾶς*. Markland, followed by Murray, reads *γ' ἐτόλμας*.
- 163–165 Ald 134–135 reads: *οὕτω τῆς θεᾶς*

*σὴν παῖδ' ἄλοχον / φατίσας ἦγες σφάγιον Δανάοις*. Here *οὕτω* (*LP*) is an incorrect reading; the correct one is *δς τῷ*, where *τῷ τῆς θεᾶς* is, of course, equivalent to *τῷ Ἀχιλεῖ*. Er. has not found the solution, as is shown by *Itane* (*οὕτω*). The words *nomine ficto sponsae* are his rendering of *ἄλοχον φατίσας*, and the clause *vt esset victima diuae* shows that he has connected the genitive *τῆς θεᾶς* with *σφάγιον*.

172–174 It is evident that Er. wants to stick to the form of the anapaestic dimeter with an occasional monometer, and that he does not strive to maintain the length of the lines in Ald.

*ad* Ald has: *μὴ νῦν μῆτ' ἀλσώδους Ἰζου / κρήνας*. The younger editions have the accusative *ἀλσώδεις ... κρήνας*, which is indeed quite usual with *ἴζεσθαι*, cf. Paley *ad vs.* 142.

- AG. Vndique sectam scrutare viam 175  
 Circumactis obseruans oculis,  
 Ne qua fallat te mea coniunx  
 Curru praeteruecta volucris  
 Gnatam rhedis huc deportans  
 Danaum ad classem. 180
- SE. Fiet. AG. Iam te proripe septis.  
 Nam si vecta occurrerit illa,  
 Auersa domum frena reflectes  
 Ad Cyclopiam moenia tendens.
- SE. At qui fiet, vt haec referenti 185  
 Dicta fidem mihi sint habiturae  
 Tum tua filia tum tua coniunx?
- AG. Symbolon hoc, quod in hisce tabellis  
 Portas, serua.  
 Fuge, iam lux albescit et aurora 190  
 Ignea surgit  
 Ac Phoebae flamma quadrigae.  
 Hanc operam mihi sume iuuando.  
 Nemo ex omni parte beatus,  
 Nunquam siquidem natus quisquam est 195  
 Cui nil fuerit, quod cruciaret.

185 At qui: atqui *A* | *Ante versum* 197 Chorus mulierum Chalcidensium *A*; *in marg. exb.*  
*C D E F*

177–178 *Ne ... volucris* Ald 145–147 has μή τι σε λάθη / τροχαλοῖσιν ὄχοις παραμειψαμένη / ... ἀπήνη. Evidently Er. supposed Clytaemnestra to be the subject of λάθη and παραμειψαμένη, and hence added *mea coniunx*; further, he must have substituted ἀπήνη (*curru*) for ἀπήνη. Markland, followed by the later editors, replaced τί by τίς, which can be connected with ἀπήνη.

182–184 Ald 150–151 reads: ἦν γὰρ νιν πομπὰς ἀντήσας / πάλιν ἐξορμάσεις τοὺς χαλινοὺς, / ἐπὶ Κυκλώπων ἱεὺς θυμέλας. Er. seems to have conjectured the correct reading ἀντήσης (ἀντήσης *L P*; Ald has the impossible participle ἀντήσας from *P*<sup>2</sup>) and then, in the description of the possible meeting, to have changed the subject of the sentence (*si ... occurrerit illa*). *tendens* Er. seems to have understood ἱεὺς, *sc.* σεαυτὸν (*cf.* Paley *ad loc.*).

188 sqq. In Ald 156 sqq. the words τῆδε κομίζεις and λάμπουσ' ἠώς occur as short lines after the longer ones.

194 Imitation of Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 27 sq.: 'Nihil est ab omni / parte beatum'.

197 Here begins the parode, *i.e.* the song sung by the chorus when it enters the orchestra. Er. has taken exceptional trouble in translating this chorus: in the chapter *Ad Lectorem* which only occurs in *B* (pp. 220–221 in the present edition), he gives an enumeration of the nineteen most important metres which he has used here. The reader is asked to keep at hand this enumeration with regard to the observations which are to be made here. In the first place it is to be pointed out that here Er. makes no attempt whatever to render, however modestly, the metre of the original: the first verses of the parode in Eur. are glyconean, whereas Er. begins with verses which

CH. Modo profecta Chalcide patria,  
 Quae semper arcto tunditur aequore,  
 Vbi marino interflua gurgiti  
 Arethusa puro vitrea flumine  
 Rigat arua, veni littus ad Aulidis  
 Euripicos emensa fluctus,  
 Agmina Graiugenum vt viderem  
 Classemque Pelasgum

200

form part of the Alcaic strophe or are only a slight variation of those lines. This leads us to the second, and most important, point, *viz.*, that the metres of the parode do not form a unity in any way; they are a fairly random collection, in which the use made of the components of the Alcaic strophe is particularly surprising, since such a use of this strophe is entirely absent from the choruses of Seneca, who, on the other hand, frequently uses Sapphic metres. Vss. 197, 198, 202 and 203 would together furnish an Alcaic strophe (of course in the form established by Horace). Finally, it is to be noted that the enumeration of the various metrical forms in the chapter *Ad lectorem* is made according to the order of their first occurrence in the present chorus.

Thus the first examples of the Alcaic hendecasyllabus are vss. 197-199, whereas vss. 200 and 201 offer the same verse with two short syllables instead of the usual one long or short syllable at the beginning. After the Alcaic verses we find: *iambicus dimeter hypercatalecticus*: 202. - *dactylicus e dactylis duobus ac totidem trochaicis*: 203. - *choriambus dimeter*: 205 (no other instance). - *id.*, *hypercatalecticus*: 206 (no other instance). - *dactylicus trimeter*: 209. - *glyconius*: 213. - *dactylicus dimeter*: 214. - *asclepiadeus*: 217. - *iambicus monometer hypercatalectus*: 225. - *dactylicus dimeter hypercatalecticus*: 231. - *iambicus dimeter catalectus*: 238. - *pberecratius*: 244. - *iambicus dimeter acatalectus*: 259. - *iambicus dimeter acephalus*: 250. - *iambicus trimeter catalectus*: 260 (no other instance). - *anapaesticus trimeter hypercatalectus*: 271 (no other instance). - *adonius dimeter* (an unusual definition of a normal adonius): 284. - *trochaicus monometer hypercatalectus*: 293. The most frequent metres in this chorus are the Alcaic hendecasyllabus, the glyconean

and pherecratean, the Asclepiadeus, the short iambic lines, in the first place the *iambicus dimeter acephalus*, and, particularly at the end (from vs. 284 on), the Adonius, which is also frequent in Seneca's choruses in Sapphic metre (adopted by Er. in the present tragedy in vss. 1015-1072). A similar fairly haphazard collection of various metres occurs in Sen. *Oed.* 403-502. Er's translation is remarkably *fusior*, to use his own term, than the original: 190 Latin verses are the translation of 138 Greek verses!

197-202 *Modo ... fluctus* In the first place it is evident that Er. takes as his starting-point the recent departure from Chalcis, which in Eur. is only mentioned in vs. 168. Further, Ald 167-168 reads κέλσασσα στενόπορθμον χαλκίδα, which, though ἐκέλσα can be construed with the *accus. loci*, does not convey any meaning in this connection. It is clear that Er. combines στενόπορθμον (*quae semper arcto tunditur aequore*) Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἐμὰν προλιπούσα in his vss. 197-198. The participle κέλσασσ' is by him connected with διὰ in Eur. 166, and is thus translated by the typically Vergilian term *emensa* (*Aen.* V, 628 and XI, 244). Finally, the words *marino interflua gurgiti* are clearly the translation of Eur. 169 ἀγγιγίων, whereas *puro ... arua* seems to be a mere addition. Arethusa is wrongly represented as a source which *rigat arua*, whereas in Eur. it is 'near the coast if not on it' (Paley), whence Chalcis may be called 'the feeder of far-famed Arethusa's waters by the sea-shore' (*id.*) - I did not find any other instance of the adjunct *Euripicus*, so it may have been created by Er.

203-221 *Agmina ... certaret* This is a particularly elaborate translation of Eur. vss. 171-184. *Quandoquidem* is the translation of the ὥς of the manuscripts and

	Semideum, quandoquidem	205
	Ad Phrygiae Pergama Troiae	
	Iam mille Graium nauibus additi	
	Nostri mariti clarum Agamemnonem et	
	Flauicomum Menelaum	
	Comitantur, vna vt Tyndaridem petant,	210
	Quam pastor Eurotae ad virenteis	
	Plurima arundine ripas	
	Idaeus rapuit Paris,	
	Praemia quae Venus	
	Donaret illi tunc, vbi leuium	215
	Ad fontium viuas scatebras	
	Cum Iunone Iouis coniuge maximi	
LB 1158	Et cum belligera Pallade principis	
	De laude formae Cypria mollium	
	Mater blanda cupidinum	220
	Certaret. Atqui per Triuiaie nemus	
	Lucumque crebris perpetuo sacris	
	Halantem venio; mi tenera interim,	
	Dum sic conspicior viris,	
	Repens obortus	225
	Suffundit ora purpureus pudor	
	Multiugos clypeos auenti	

207 Graium nauibus additi: narrant ducere nauibus *EF* | 210 comitantur: Fratrem huius *EF* | 225 Repens: repente *EF*

the older editions in vs. 173 (all later editions adopt Scaliger's conjecture οὐς). Quite surprising indeed is the predicate ἐνέπουσ' ... στέλλειν, which can hardly be correct, and which Er. greatly simplifies by translating *comitantur*. However, a much better translation than in *ABCD* is given in vs. 207 in *EF*, viz., *Iam mille narrant ducere nauibus. additi* is, of course, the translation of the dative in ἐλάταις χιλιόναυσιν. We cannot possibly refer to all the details of the more circumstantial translation given by Er., as, for instance, vs. 206 *Phrygiae Pergama Troiae*, where Eur. (173) has only Τροίαν, or 215–216 *leuium* | *Ad fontium viuas scatebras* for Eur. (182) ἐπὶ κρηναίαισι δρόσοις. We only observe that 220 *Mater blanda cupidinum* is an imitation of Hor. *Carm.* IV, 1, 5: 'Mater saeua cupidinum'.

209 *Flauicomum Menelaum* and 212 *Plurima*

*arundine ripas* were certainly regarded by Er. as dactylic trimeters, since in his chapter *Ad lectorem* this term is placed after the words concerning elements of the Alcaic strophe (= vss. 197–201 and 208) and before the glyconic verse which is mentioned there immediately after this metre and which occurs in vs. 213 *Idaeus rapuit Paris*.

221 The fact that the beginning of the rendering of the first antistrophe (Eur. 185–186 πολύθυτον δὲ δι' ἔλσος Ἀρ/τέμ-δος) occurs here in the midst of a line makes it particularly clear that Er. disregards the correspondence between strophe and antistrophe.

224 *Dum sic conspicior viris* shows that Er. reads a nominative instead of the impossible δρώμενον of Ald (and *LP*) in Eur. 186, for which Canter conjectured δρόμενα. The choice of *Triuiaie* may be due to *Aen.* VI, 13 and VII, 778.

Cernere et armigerorum  
 Ferrea castra Pelasgum,  
 Bellaces item equos cernere et acrium 230  
 Agmina densa virum.  
 Ac conspexi equidem duos  
 Tentoriis in iisdem  
 Aiaces, patris hunc germen Oilei,  
 Hunc Telamone satum, 235  
 Iuge decus Salaminii,  
 Nec non Protesilaum  
 His pariter assidentem,  
 Collusitanteis tessararum  
 Iactibus omniugis. 240  
 Conspexi Palamedem,  
 Quem Neptunia proles  
 Produxit, neque non viribus ac manu  
 Insignem Diomedem  
 Oblectantem animos iactibus aenei 245  
 Disci, nec procul hoc Merionem, inclytam  
 Gradiui sobolem patris,  
 Miraculum mortalibus,  
 Et Laertiaden profectum  
 Montuosa ab insula, 250  
 Nec non Nirea quo nemo Pelasgica  
 Inter pulchrior agmina.  
 Tum cursu et volucris pedum

236 Iuge: Iunge *E* | 249 Laertiaden: Laertiadem *C E F* Laerciadem *D*

230–231 *Bellaces ... virum* Ald (191) reads ἔππων ὄχλον τ'. It is evident that Er. reads ἔππους τ' ὄχλον τ', thus partly anticipating the conjecture by Heath, ἔππων τ' ὄχλον.

237–240 *Nec ... omniugis* Ald 194–197 has Πρωτεσιλάον τ', ἐπὶ θάκοις / πεσσῶν ἡδομένουσ μορ/φαῖσι πολυπλόκοις. The words ἐπὶ θάκοις have been rendered by *his pariter assidentem*. The full stop after *omniugis* is correct, for, as Paley observes on ἡδομένουσ: 'As Palamedes was commonly regarded as the inventor of the game of drafts ... this plural participle must refer to the proper name following as well as to that preceding'. From the Latin translation we receive the impression that Protelaus is playing,

not with Palamedes, but with one of the Ajaxes. It is for this same reason that for Palamedes' invention (the draught-board) Er. could substitute another game, *viz.*, that of dice (*tessararum iactibus*). It should be noted that, like Eur., Er. does his best to avoid common terms in the description of this 'everyday' occupation (cf. the famous note of Eduard Norden on *Aen.* VI, 5, p. 115, n. 1, of his edition): of the four words which he uses, only *iactibus* is a common word: *collusitare* does not occur in the *Thes. l. L.*, *omniugus* not in Forcellini, and *tessara* looks like a 'hyper-correct' form of *tessera*.

243–244 *viribus ... insignem* is a mere addition by Er.

Ventis cum rapidis fuga Decertare potentem	255
Achillem, dea quem progenuit Thetis, Chiron finxit et educauit, Vidi littoreis in harenis Armis onustum currere;	
Certabat autem cum citis quadrigis	260
Cursu volans pedestri Et anteuertens deproperat statae Laudem tollere palmae. Eumelus acris inter Ista Pheretiades	265
Quadrigae moderator Exclamat; huic profecto Vidi equas pulcherrimas Frenisque pictas aureis Stimulo incitante cursum	270
Vastum celerare per aequor Partim arcuato suppositas iugo Albis terga notis diuariantibus, Partim hinc et hinc aequalibus additas Extra iugum catenis	275
Obliquos glomerare flexus Rufis conspicuas pilis, Porro cruribus imis, Qua talum premit vngula, Diuerso varias colore.	280

258 littoreis: littoris *A* | 273 diuariantibus: deuariantibus *A*

255 *Decertare potentem* The verse recalls in its form Hor. *Carm.* I, 5, 15 'suspendisse potenti.'

262-263 *Et ... palmae* A very circumstantial version of Eur. 215 ἐλίσσων περι νίκας. ἐλίσσω is explained by Paley as 'running in a ring, or rather in the curved διαυλος, and so turning to and fro'. Er. seems to have regarded the words περι νίκας as more directly depending on this participle, which may have led him to the translation *anteuertens*.

272-280 *Partim arcuato suppositas iugo* is the rendering of Eur. τοὺς μὲν, μέσους ζυγίους, after which no comma should be read as is the case in Ald, and also in Paley, for in a four-in-hand the

two middle horses are always *suppositi iugo*. 274-275 *Partim ... catenis* is the somewhat circumstantial translation of Eur. 223 τοὺς δ' (τούσδ' Ald, which is silently corrected by Er.) ἔξω σειροφόρους. *catenis* is too heavy a translation of σειρά. - 276 *obliquos glomerare flexus* is the translation of Eur. 224 ἀντηρεις καμπᾶσι δρόμων, on which Paley observes: 'he means that the two outer horses first met and as it were faced the καμπτήρ at the end of the stadium'. Eur. 225 μονόχαιλα ('solid-hoofed') is not translated by Er.; on the other hand, ὑπὸ σφυρά receives the circumstantial translation *cruribus imis, qua talum premit vngula*.

Iuxta has in armis Aeacides gradu  
Fertur citato, saepe volubili  
Canto propincus feruidoque  
Proximus axi.

Post haec ad numerosae 285

Classis peruenio trabeis,  
Spectaculum ingens nec recitabile,  
Quo mihi blanda voluptas

Foemineos oculos  
Gratissima tuendi 290

Illecebra satiaret.

Cornuque dextrum Myrmidonum manus,

Quae Phthii ducis |

Militat auspiciis, LB 1159

Quinquaginta agitans carinas 295

Pernices rapidasque tenebat;

Porro in eminentium

Puppium fastigiis

Sculptiles auro deae

Aequoris, Nereides, 300

282 citato: cito *A* | 283 Canto: Cantho *C D E F* | 285 ad *deest in A* | 293 Phthii: Phithii *C D*

283–284 *Canto propincus feruidoque* | *proximus axi* Ald 229–230 reads *παρ' ἄντυγα*, / *καὶ σύριγγας ἀρματέλους*. Whereas the translation of the latter part is almost literal, for *σύριγγξ* means 'the hole in the nave of a wheel', the version of the former part seems to be less accurate, for *canthus*, Gr. *κάνθος*, means the iron ring around a carriage wheel (Quintil. *Instit. orat.* I, 5, 8), whereas, at least according to Paley, *παρ' ἄντυγα* must mean 'alongside of the front of the chariot' (*ἄντυξ* is 'the rail round the front of the chariot').

290–291 *gratissima ... illecebra* must be an ablative, since, like the accusative *μετ' ἄδονάν* in Ald 234, it has the function of an apposition to the sentence as a whole (for such an 'appositional ablative' in Latin cf. H. Koch, *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F. 78 (1929), 430 and my edition of Tertullian, *De anima*, Amsterdam 1947, 274–275).

292–296 Ald 235 ss. reads: *καὶ κέρας μὲν ἦν* / *δεξιὸν πλάτας ἔχων* / *Φθιώτας ὁ Μυρμιδῶν Ἄρης*. / *πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ θουρίαις*,

/ *Χρυσέαις δ' εἰκόσιν*, etc. It is evident that Er. puts the end of the sentence (correctly) at *θουρίαις*. Further, whereas the correct interpretation is to regard the words *κέρας ... δεξιόν* as an adverbial accusative ('Having his ships on the right wing', Paley), Er. regards it as an accusative of the object (*Cornuque dextrum Myrmidonum manus ... tenebat*). The dative *πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ θουρίαις* is rendered by *agians carinas* / *Pernices rapidasque* (note the double translation of the Greek adjective). It is not clear what Er. has done with *πλάτας*; in my opinion, he has regarded it as a genitive of the singular, = Lat. *classis*, and left it out. The translation of the whole is at all events influenced by the fact that Ald has a full stop after *Ἄρης* in 237, and a comma after *ναυσὶ θουρίαις* in 238.

297–302 *in eminentium* / *Puppium fastigiis* is the translation of *κατ' ἄκραν* (as read in Ald) ... *πρύμνας*. *Sculptiles auro* renders *χρυσέαις δ' εἰκόσιν*. Er. makes two additions *de suo*, viz., *aequoris* after *deae*, and *nempe* before *Achilleiae ... cohortis*.

Stabant, nempe Achileiae  
 Signa cohortis.  
 Atque his ordine proxima  
 Paribus recincta remis  
 Classis stabat Achium, 305  
 Quos Mecistiades agebat  
 Capaneoque satus  
 Bellator Sthelenus. Dehinc  
 Proles inclyta Thesei  
 Quinquies denas agens 310  
 Dite ex Atthide naueis  
 Per seriem positas  
 In statione tenet;  
 Harum in puppibus eminebat  
 Pallas diua volucris 315  
 Nixa quadrigis,  
 Signum bene ominatum  
 Visuque faustum nauitis.  
 Boeotiorum bellicum  
 Rursus apparatus 320  
 Quinquies decem rateis

301 Achileiae: Achilleiae *C D E F* | 305 Achium: Argium *E F* | 308 Sthelenus *A B C D E F* Sthenelus *scribendum est* | 310 Quinquies: Sexies *E F* | 321 Quinquies: Sexies *E*

306 *Mecistiades* This is Euryalus, the son of Mecisteus. He is called Μημιστηιάδης in Homer, *Il.* VI, 28. Mecisteus in his turn is the son of Talaos (*Il.* II, 566; XXIII, 678). In the Catalogue of Ships Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, is mentioned shortly before Euryalus (II, 564). Er. leaves Talaos (Eur. 245) unmentioned. It is remarkable that all the editions give *Sthelenus* instead of *Sthenelus*, the more so, since in Er.'s translation of Galen's *Exhortatio* (p. 634 sqq.) we find a faulty form of the very same name in the first edition, *viz.*, the genitive *Sthenei* (p. 644, 4; cf. my note *ad loc.*).

308-313 *Dehinc ... tenet* The *Proles inclyta Thesei* must be either Acamas or Demophon (Paley *ad Eur.* 246). The faulty translation *Quinquies denas* (ἐξήκοντα Eur. 248) is not corrected before *E.* *Per seriem positas* is an understandable, but not correct translation of ἐξῆς, for the meaning of ἐξῆς ἐναυλόχει is, as Paley says, 'had his ship moored next in order

to that of Sthenelus'.

314-318 The words *Harum in puppibus* are supplied by Er. from vss. 297-298, where they render the text of Eur. *Nixa* is the equivalent of θετόν (Eur. 251), (cf. Paley *ad loc.*: 'The poet, whoever he was, probably meant θετόν ἐν ἄρμασιν, 'placed on a chariot', (or rather in a chariot)'. *Signum ... nauitis* is the translation of the last line of this passage, εὐσημόν τε φάσμα ναυβάταις. Er. has rightly understood that τε has an explicative sense here, which he could render quite well by treating these words as an apposition to the whole sentence. εὐσημόν has been translated twice (*bene ominatum* | *Visuque faustum*). 'The use of φάσμα for σῆμα is hardly correct' (Paley) but Er. has translated it correctly. Finally, the more solemn form *nauitis* is a correct rendering of the equally more solemn ναυβάταις instead of ναύταις.



Vidi fluctisecas citasque  
 Adprobe decoratas  
 Signis, quippe minacibus  
 Cadmus in rostris erat 325  
 Fuluum tenens draconem.  
 At cohorti nauticae  
 Terrigena praeerat  
 Imperator Leitus,  
 Phocys cui patria tellus. 330  
 Pone illos totidem nauibus e Locris  
 Aduectis sequitur gnatus Oilei  
 Throniaca vrbe profectus.  
 Caeterum Cyclopiis  
 Satus Atreo Mycenis 335  
 Centum rateis agebat  
 Denso refertas milite;  
 Huic aderat pariter  
 Ductor Adrastus,  
 Nempe amicus amico, 340  
 Vti, quae domo relicta  
 Barbaras Phrygum  
 Fuerat secuta nuptias,  
 Vindicaret Tyndarin.  
 Ad haec Pylo profecti 345  
 Nestoris Gerenii  
 Vidi rateis; in puppibus arduis  
 Insignii stabat vice taurico  
 Alpheus ore fictus,  
 Qui Pylios celer 350  
 Dissecat agros.

330 Phocys: Phocis *EF* | 334 Cyclopiis: e Cyclopiis *ACDEF* | 343 *post* nuptias *add.*  
 Marte pollens Graecia *EF* | 348 Insignii: Insigni *A*

323 *Adprobe decoratas* Ald 255 has εὐστολισ-  
 μένας (the usual reading ἐστολισμένας  
 is a conjecture by Scaliger).

330 This line is connected by Er. with the  
 preceding sentence; Ald has a full stop  
 after 261 χθονός, whereas in the later  
 editions it belongs to what follows. Er.  
 has overlooked the δ' in 261.

331 *Pone illos* is the translation of τοῖσδ',  
 whereas it depends on ἴσας and indi-  
 cates that the inhabitants of Phocis and  
 Locris had an equal number of ships

(viz., forty: Hom. *Il.* II, 524 and 534).  
 345-351 *Ad haec ... agros* Er. introduces the  
 notion of the ships (*rateis* 347); in Eur.  
 we read (273 sqq.): ἐκ Πύλου δὲ Νέστο-  
 ρος / Γερηνίου κατειδόμαν / πρύμνας σῆμα  
 ταυρόπουν ὄραῖν (with this infinitive de-  
 pending on ταυρόπουν). 350-351 *Qui ...*  
*agros* is a good translation of Eur. 276  
 πάροιον, 'because the Alpheus flowed  
 not far from Pylos' (Paley). Of the sub-  
 stantive *insignium* the *Theor. l. L.* gives  
 only one instance, viz., Hilar. *In Psalm.*

	Bissenis aderant nauibus insuper Aenianorum cohors; His praefectus Iuneus. Hos item sequuntur	355
	Euryto duce Optimates Elidis, Quos vniuersa plebes Dicit Epeos. Agmenque agebant albireme	360
	Phylliaci manipli; His ductor praeerat Meges, Quem miserant Echinae Insulae appellentibus Periculosae nauitis.	365
	Ast Ajax Salaminiae Vrbis alumnus Cornu iunxit vtrunque Dextrum atque leuum comminus admouens	
LB 1160	Bissenas rateis	370
	Praecipites agileisque et Vltimus agmina clausit, Sic vt inaudii; Nam classicam cateruam His ipsa vidi oculis.	375
	Aduersus hancce barbaras Quicunque dux phalanges Committet, is saluus domum	

360 albireme: albiremae *A* | 361 Phylliaci: Phylliaci *ACDEF* | 363 Echinae: Echidnae *ACDEF* | 369 comminus: cominus *ACDEF*

131, 27, a passage, which Er certainly knew (cf. the use of a rare word occurring in St. Ambrose alone in vs. 426, and of a word from St. Augustine in vs. 533).

357 Here we have one of the rare cases, in which the metre of the translation is the same as that of the original (vs. 280 "Ἡλιδος δυνάστωρες).

360-365 This refers to the group mentioned in Hom. *Il.* II, 625-630. The Taphians (Eur. 284), not mentioned by Homer, and left out by Er. in his translation, were the inhabitants of the Ἐχίνας (*Echinae*, which occurs in *B* alone, is the correct reading, cf. *Il.* II, 625; in Eur.

286 Ἐχίνας instead of Ἐχίδνας is a conjecture by Brodeau). The adj. *albiremis* (Eur. λευκήρετμον) does not occur in *Thes. l. L.*

366-372 *Ast ... clausit* Here Er. is translating a particularly difficult passage, which is almost certainly corrupt in the tradition. At all events the words *Vltimus agmina clausit* must render Eur. 292 ἐσχάταισι συμπλέκων. Further, it should be kept in mind that in Ald the punctuation is as follows: ... ναυσὶν ὡς ἔϊον καὶ ναυβάτων / εἰδόμαν λέων.

378-388 This is a good specimen of the more circumstantial method of translation which we find throughout the

- Nunquam est rediturus, opinor.  
 Illic itaque naualium 380  
 Audii vidique  
 Agminum cohortes.  
 Eadem domi recordor  
 Meos apud penateis  
 Audisse de Pelasgum 385  
 Conuocatis copiis.
- SE. Menelae, iam audes grauique ac immania,  
 Audere quae te neutiquam licet aut decet.
- ME. Abi; nimis profecto heris fidelis es.
- SE. Mihi exprobrasti probrum honestum scilicet. 390
- ME. Iam vapulabis eiulans ac flens mihi,  
 Quae te nefas patrare si patraueris.
- SE. Te soluere tablas non decet, quas ego fero.
- ME. Neque ferre Achiuis te decet cunctis malum.
- SE. Contendis haec frustra, has sed amittas mihi. 395
- ME. Haudquaquam omittam. SE. Sed nec ego remisero.
- ME. Sceptro tuum tibi mox cruentabo caput.
- SE. At pulchrum heri vel mortem obire gratia.
- ME. Omitte; multa seruus homo verba hic facis.
- SE. Agamemnon here, vim patimur: hic epistolam 400  
 Tuam manu violentus extorsit mea,  
 Aequi nec vlla huic ratio constat nec boni.
- AG. Hem, quid tumulti in foribus aut conuitii?
- SE. Meum potius atque huius est rem dicere.
- AG. Caeterum, Menelae, cum istoc causa quae tibi incidit 405  
 Litis et contentionis? Curque vi trahis meum?

383-385 Eadem... Pelasgum: Atque haec memor reporto / Hinc ad meos penates / Percepta de pelasgum *A* | 390 probrum: probrium *A* | 396 Haudquaquam: haud quanquam *C D*

*Ipb. Aul.*: Er. translates one line of Eur. in two Latin verses; the adjective δελν' and the verbal form χρεών are both rendered by two Latin words. Similarly, in vss. 391-392, which are the translation of Eur. 306, the verbal form κλαίεις ἔν is rendered by a whole Latin verse (391). Cf. also vss. 405-406, 412-413, etc. In vss. 422-424 Er. even needs three verses for the translation of one verse of Eur. (331).

383 *Eadem* Ald 301, following *P*<sup>2</sup>, reads τὰδε (the usual reading is τὰ δέ, 'and other, further things').

393 *tablas* The syncopated form *in tableis* occurs in the *Lex agraria* of 111 B. C. (n. 11 Bruns) § 46. Cf. *pablo* in vs. 545.

395 *Contendis haec frustra* Ald 309 reads ἄλλως ἀμιλλᾷ ταῦτ'. *has, viz., tablas* (393).

403-404 Er. still goes on with iambic trimeters, though Eur. already has trochaic tetrameters here. Vs. 403 begins with *Hem*, just as in Ald *Ex* is put before vs. 317.

404 Ald and the other old editions give this line to the servant, whereas, as Gottfried Hermann saw, it should be given to Menelaus.

- ME. Aspice in nos recta, vt hoc capiam loquendi exordium.  
 AG. Num verebor lumina in te tollere Atreo satus?  
 ME. Hasce num tabulas vides scripti ministras pessimi?  
 AG. Video, quam primum sed istas manibus amittas tuis. 410  
 ME. Non prius, quam quicquid intus aperiam cuncto agmini.  
 AG. Itane scis quae neutiquam te fas erat cognoscere?  
 Idque refractis, opinor, epistolae signaculis?  
 ME. Aperiens videlicet, quo te malorum denique  
 Pudeat ac pigescat horum quae patrasti clanculum. 415  
 AG. Verum eas vbi nactus? O dii, mentis impudentiam!  
 ME. Nempe dum cautus tuam seruo maneoque filiam,  
 Nunquid Argis adueniret ad Pelasgum copias.  
 AG. Caeterum qui conuenit, tu res vt obserues meas?  
 Obsecro, an non est viri istud impudentis et improbi? 420  
 ME. Sic enim tulit voluntas: seruus haud ego sum tibi.  
 AG. Ista non indigna et intoleranda, quaeso, per deos?  
 Itane per te non licebit nec sinar negocia  
 Propriae domus meopte temperare arbitrio?  
 ME. Varia sentis, nunc quidem illud, alia dudum, aliud statim. 425  
 AG. Dicta phaleras; est malum autem docta lingua pestilens.  
 ME. Varia mens iniqua res est atque amicis abdita.  
 Iamque te verbis reuincam; tu per iracundiam  
 Vera ne negato: non ego te admodum laudauero.  
 Scin', creati vbi studebas dux Achium ad Ilium, 430  
 Fronte sic specieque nolens, sed animo sane volens,  
 Quam tum eras submissus omnem prensitando dexteram  
 Ac fores habens patenteis cuilibet popularium  
 Et salutans ordine omneis, quisquis esset obuius,  
 Siquis etiam noluisset, hunc honorem quaeritans 435  
 Emerere comitate morum a multitudine ciuium?  
 Ast vt imperio es potitus, non es iisdem moribus  
 Nec vicissim, vt ante, amicus iis manes, qui se tibi

417 maneoque: operiorque *A* | 420 istud: isthuc *A C D E F* | 422 et ... deos?: grauia, nec ferenda scilicet? *A* | 423-424 per ... arbitrio?: non sinar morari propriis in aedibus? *A*

412 *scis* Ald 325, following *p* or *P*<sup>2</sup>, has ἤσθ'.  
 Er. has put in the correct οἶσθ'.

414-415 *quo ... pigescat* This is indeed a simpler construction than the words ὥστε σ' ἀλγύναι γ' in Eur. 326 (Paley: 'Yes, I do know, so as to have brought grief to you by having opened it, what mischief you secretly did.')

416 *eas viz.*, the letter; Eur. (327) has νῦν, which refers to the servant.

426 *Dicta phaleras* Ald 333 ἐκκεκόμεψευσαι. *Phalereare* is a very rare verb; it occurs twice in the works of St. Ambrose (of which Er. had made an edition), *viz.*, *Cant. Cantic.* I, 43 and *De offic. ministr.* I, 12, 44.

Praestitere dudum amicos, sed aditu superbus ac  
 Fastuosus abditusque delites in aedibus. 440  
 At suos mutare mores haud decet probum virum,  
 Posteaquam splendidis donatus est honoribus.  
 Maxime sed tunc amicis esse firmum conuenit, |  
 Quando maxime iuuare iam potest felicior. LB 1161  
 Haec tibi primum opprobraui, primum vbi experior malum. 445  
 Deinde in Aulin vt appulisti omnisque Graium exercitus,  
 Nullus es, sed abnegante prosperum cursum mari  
 Illico fortuna, quam dii miserant, te perditum  
 Mente prostrauit; Pelasgi at inter haec dimittier  
 Flagitant classem negantes esse consilii sibi, 450  
 Vt diutius laborem frustra in Aulide trahant.  
 Fama porro quam fuisset foeda et infelix tibi,  
 Quanta item perplexitas animique consternatio,  
 Mille cum praefectus esses imperator nauibus,  
 Ni Phrygum campos represses bellicoso milite? 455  
 Meque consulis, quid ageres quamue reperires viam,  
 Ne tibi regno abdicato famae et occideret decus.  
 Hinc vbi inter sacra vates filiam edixit tuam  
 Immolandam Artemidi Chalcas atque ita Danais fore  
 Cursum ad Ilium secundum, mente gauisus lubens 460  
 Te immolaturum puellam pollicebaris deae,  
 Ac volens, non vi coactus (hoc caueto dixeris)  
 Coniugi iubes, vt horsum filiam mittat tuam,  
 Nomine hoc, quo tamquam Achilli sponsa nuberet viro.  
 Nunc repente versus alias mittis immemor schedas 465  
 Filiae nec iam futurus dirus occisor tuae.  
 Age, sed hic est ipsus aether testis atque conscius,  
 Ista qui te pollicentem vidit atque exaudiit.

449 prostrauit: constrauit *A C D E F* | 459 atque: vtque *A*

440 *abditusque ... aedibus* Eur. 345 ἔσω τε κλήθρων σπάνιος, which has a different meaning, viz., 'seldom at home, i. e. when wanted' (Paley).  
 445 *experior* Ald 349 has εὐρω (the later editions adopt Reiske's conjecture εὐρον).  
 452 *Fama* Ald 354 has ὄνομα. This verse and the next are a very circumstantial translation of the first part of Ald 354: ὡς ἔνομβρον εἶχες ὄνομα σύγχυσίν τε.  
 454-455 Ald 354-355 continues after τε (cf. the preceding note) μὴ νεῶν / χιλίων

ἄρχων Πριάμου τε πεδίον ἐμπλήσας δορός. Er. has correctly observed that the participles ἄρχων and ἐμπλήσας are not on one level; indeed his verses have exactly the meaning expressed in Paley's paraphrase: 'If you should not have been able to occupy the land of Priam with your army, when you were lord of a thousand ships'.  
 465 *immemor* Ald 363 λέλησαι (the correct reading is λέληψαι).

- Accidit nimirum idem istuc plurimis mortalibus,  
 In capessendis negociis qui quidem enixe, quoad 470  
 Assequantur, elaborant, deinde foede deserunt,  
 Idque partim incogitanti ciuium vecordia,  
 Partim item merito atque iure, quando non idonei  
 Nempe reperiuntur ipsi rem tueri publicam.  
 Ego potissimum inauspicatae Graeciae vicem gemo, 475  
 Quae patrare insigne quiddam et gloriosum in barbaros  
 Perditos conata dudum, iam tua caussa ac tuae  
 Gnatae eis risum mouebit scilicet foedissimum.  
 Neminem loci crearim praesidem aut belli ducem  
 Seu rei seu dignitatis officiae gratia: 480  
 Mente duntaxat sagaci oportet esse praeditum hunc,  
 Bellicam qui rem administret ciuitatis nomine,  
 Quippe princeps ille, quisquis praeeminet prudentia.  
 CH. Res dira verbis inuicem altercarier  
 Dictisque fratres dimicare mutuis, 485  
 Siquando lis inciderit aut contentio.  
 A.G. Bene tibi, Menelae, contra iam volo maledicere,  
 Idque paucis, ne cui parum pudenter ac nimis  
 Inuerecunde putemur agere, sed modestius  
 Tibi loquemur, quippe fratri; nam vir improbus quidem 490  
 Is mihi videtur esse, qui vereri non solet.  
 Cedo mihi, quid acerba spiras sic cruento lumine?  
 Quis nocet tibi? Quidue factum est? Anne raptae coniugis  
 Recipere praeclara sane concupis cubilia?

475 *inauspicatae* This adjective has the meaning *infaustus*, *infelix*, which occurs for the first time in the tragedies of Seneca (*Oed.* 723 and 1022; *Thes. l. l.* VII: 842, 27-42); there can be no doubt that Er. borrowed it from there. It also occurs *infra*, vss. 887 and 1011. The word is also quoted with this sense by Er. in his *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laur. Vallae* s.v. *Auspicari*: 'Inauspicata bella, id est, infortunata'.

476 *in barbaros* Since in Ald 371 there is no comma after *κεδνόν*, Er. regards *βαρβαίρους* as the object of *δρᾶν*.

480 *Seu ... gratia* The entire verse is an expanded translation of the words *ἀν χρέους*, of which *rei* seems to be the literal translation. The reading of Ald 373 is undoubtedly corrupt; Paley's conjecture *μή τι χρημάτων ἕκαστι* seems to be nearest to the original; Gilbert

Murray adopts Pantazidis' conjecture *ἀνδρείας*, but in this haughty and insulting speech of Menelaus it is more probable that Agamemnon is described as a rich than as a brave man.

487-489 *Bene* Eur. 378 εἶ (instead of which Paley (with *p in marg.*) reads αἶ) is explained by *idque paucis* (Eur. εἶ, βραχέα; the correct explanation is given by Paley who, however, rejects it himself: 'In favour of εἶ it can only be alleged, that this very moderation constituted a kind of good method of saying evil things'). The clause *ne cui ... agere* can only be regarded as a desperate endeavour to translate the impossible reading of the Aldina *μή λίαν ἀν ᾧ βλέφαρα πρὸς τάναιδης ἀγαγών*. Er. translates *τινι* instead of ᾧ; the correct reading, which occurs in Stobaeus, is *ἄνω*.

Non tibi hoc praestare nostrum est, nam tuorum tu tibi	495	
Ipsus autor es malorum: deinde commissi, obsecro,		
Ipsae quod nunquam patrarim, innoxius poenas luam?		
Anne honor te noster urit? At venustam coniugem		
Misso honesto aequo bonoque vis tenere amplexibus,		
Nam viri mali improbique sunt voluptates malae.	500	
Ego quod antehac ista non perpenderim consultius,		
Sanus haud sum, an verius tu? Quippe qui connubio		
Cum sies malo leuatus, denuo repetas miser,		
Posteaquam diis secundis res bene obtigerit tibi.		
Sed proci olim Tyndarea deierarunt foedera	505	
Improbi nequam et superbis imminentes nuptiis		
– Ast ego ipsam Spem videlicet arbitror magis deam		
Illud effecisse quam te vimue consilii tui –,		
Quos agens bellum auspicare; nam reor fore, vt scias		
Mente vecordi inita prae vique adacta foedera.	510	
Caeterum meos ego non liberos mactauero.		
Ac tuo quidem arbitrato commodoque scilicet		
Coniugis vindicta fiet praeter aequum pessimae,		
Me dies noctesque moestis lachrumis confecerint		
Impia interim patrantem et aequitati dissona	515	
In meos, quos ipse seui sustulique, liberos?		
Haec breui tibi dicta sunt plana et expedita; sin		
Sapere recte tu recuses, mea bene statuam tamen.		
CH. Diuersa dictis ista superioribus		
Relata sunt, at illud admonent probe,	520	LB 1162
Vim propriis esse abstinendam a liberis.		

495 hoc praestare: praestare hoc *C D E F* | 498 Anne honor te noster urit?: Nostra num te ambitio mordet? *C D E F* | 501 non: num *C D E* | 505 olim: olim tibi *C D E F* | 507 Ast ... deam: Ista spes est, ast ego ipsos arbitror magis deos *A* | 509 auspicare: conspiciare *A*; fore: forte *C D E F* | 511 non *deest in A* | 512 Ac: At *E F* | 514 confecerint: confecerit *E F*

496 *commissi* Eur. 384 *κακῶν*. Since Ald has δῶσω instead of δῶ σῶν, Er. has left out a reference to Menelaus.

501 *Ego ... consultius* Er. only translates a part of Eur. 388, *νῆξ.*, the words γνοῦς πρόσθεν οὐκ εἶδ', leaving out the mention made of the later return to reason (εἰ ... μετετέθηγ' εὐβουλία). Instead of *non C (D E)* reads *num*, for which *non* is again substituted in *F*.

507–508 Er. gives only one sentence, since Ald. 393 gives the reading of *P*<sup>2</sup> ἐξέπραξεν instead of the correct reading

*καξέπραξεν*.

509–510 In order to understand the Latin translation, it is necessary to quote here in full the reading of Ald 394–395 (it does not contain 394a), which greatly diverges from the text offered by Paley and Murray: οὐς λαβῶν στρατεύε γ' οἶμαι δ' εἴση μωρία φρενῶν / τοὺς κακῶς παγέντας ἄρκους καὶ συνηγαγασμένους.

512 *Ac* It should be observed that Ald 396 has *καί* instead of *κοῦ*, a conjecture by Lenting adopted by all modern editors.

- ME. Proh, habeo amicum neminem infelix! AG. Habes,  
Qui sunt amici ni velis euertere.
- ME. Vbi te arguis mihi patre communi satum?
- AG. At sapere tecum cupio, non furere simul. 525
- ME. Dolere amicos tamen oportet mutuuum.
- AG. Tum accerse, cum iuuare vis, non laedere.
- ME. Censes in his non adiuuandam Graeciam?
- AG. At ista tecum quopiam insanit deo.
- ME. Sceptris tumescis fratre deserto tuo. 530  
Ego porro ad alias verto me arteis quaspiam  
Aliosque amicos.
- NVN. Dux Achiui exercitus,  
Agamemnon, adsum filiae aduector tuae,  
Pridem Iphigeniam quam vocasti in aedibus.  
Comes ipsa venit virginis mater, tua 535  
Coniunx Clytemnestre, tuum vna filium  
Ducens Orestem, quo voluptatem tibi  
Conspectus horum pariat, vt qui iandiu  
Procul a tuis agas foris penatibus.  
Sed quod viam longam peregerint, apud 540  
Lymphas nitentis fontis Euryti manent;  
Simul a viae labore respirant graui  
Ipsae iugales, quas quidem demisimus  
In pascuae virentis herbidum sinum,  
Vti reficiant fessa pablo corpora. 545  
Ob haec ego tui praemonendi gratia  
Huc praecurri, quippe Graium exercitus  
Rescuiit: alis fama peruolans citis  
Iam dissipauit filiae aduentum tuae  
Totusque cursu coetus ad spectaculum 550  
Effunditur, quo filiam aspiciat tuam,  
Vt inter omneis nempe mortaleis solent  
Et inclyti esse semper et spectabiles  
Quibus bonis fortuna flatibus fauet,

536 Clytemnestre: Clytemnestra C D E F | 540 peregerint: confecerint A

533 *aduector* (ἄγων Eur. 415) is a very rare word; *Thes. l. L. s.v.* gives only one reference, *viz.*, August. *Ep.* 194, 2; once more (cf. the note on vs. 475) we see that a rare word used by Er. occurs in a Christian author with whose work he was particularly familiar.

534 *Pridem* Ald 416 reads ὀνόμασας πότε'

with *P*<sup>2</sup> instead of ὀνόμαξας (*L P*).

545 *pablo* Cf. *tablas* vs. 393. I know of no other instance of this syncope of *pa-*  
*bulum*.

547 *quippe* Though Ald 425 has δέ, Er. has anticipated the correct reading, which is γάρ.



- Aiuntque: 'Nunquae nuptiae? Vel quid rei  
 Paratur? An desiderio gnatae suae  
 Tactus Agamemnon aduocavit virginem?'  
 Aliosque rursus haec audiisses dicere:  
 'Artemidi nunc initiant puellulam  
 Regnum obtinenti littoralis Aulidis.  
 Verum quis illam ducet uxorem, cedo.'  
 Sed interim haec omittimus; quod insuper  
 Restat, coronam primus e calatho cape,  
 Vincito sertis tempora, et tu, rex item  
 Menelae, praebe te lubentem nuptiis,  
 Et in aedibus numerosa resonet tibia  
 Solumque laeto perstrepat plausu pedum,  
 Nam faustus iste virgini illuxit dies.  
 A G. Probe, sed intro te recipito; caetera  
 Fato viam monstrante succedent bene.  
 Eheu, miser quid dicam (vt abs te exordiar)?  
 Necessitatis, heu, quod incidimus iugum!  
 Fortuna, proh, praeuertit imponens mihi  
 Suaque nostra vicit astum astutia.  
 At generis ipsa obscuritas vt quiddam habet  
 Et commodum profecto et exoptabile!  
 Nam liberum illis lachrimas profundere  
 Querique misera, stirpe at illustri satis  
 Sunt haec negata. Sed arbitrum vitae leuem  
 Populum obtinemus atque multitudini

555 Vel: sed *EF* | 558 Aliosque ... dicere: Atque his quidem de rebus haec habes here. *A* |  
 574 nostra: nostrum *ACDEF*, *recte*

563 *coronam ... cape* Eur. 435 has ἐξάρχου  
 κανῶ, 'bring up the sacrificial meal-  
 basket as a preliminary rite' (Paley). The  
 translation is influenced by the follow-  
 ing words στεφανοῦσθε κράτα.

570 *Fato viam monstrante* These words look  
 like a contraction of Verg., *Aen.* I, 382:  
 'Matre dea monstrante viam data fata  
 secutus.'

573 *Fortuna* Eur. 444 δαίμων.

576 *commodum ... et exoptabile* Eur. 446 has  
 only χρήσιμον.

577-579 Ald 447-449 has: καὶ γὰρ δακρυῦσαι  
 ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς ἔχει / "Ἀνολβὰ τ' εἰπεῖν.  
 τῷ γὰρ γενναίῳ φύσιν / "Ἀπαντα ταῦτα. In  
 this form of the text the difficulty is  
 that it is not clear what is meant by

ἄπαντα. Monk supposed it to mean 'the  
 following things' and to refer to προσ-  
 τάτην ἔχομεν, etc. Usually, however,  
 editors adopt the conjecture by Gott-  
 fried Hermann, who put ἄπαντα at the  
 beginning of the second line, and ἀνολβα  
 at the beginning of the third (cf. Paley  
*ad loc.*). Er. gives a translation required  
 by common sense, *viz.*, 'to those high-  
 born this has been denied', reading per-  
 haps ἀπόρητα instead of ἄπαντα. We can  
 here compare the translation by Ennius  
 (or rather his brief adaptation) in *Scen.*  
 228-229 Vahlen: 'Plebes in hoc regi  
 antistat loco: licet / Lacrumare plebi,  
 regi honeste non licet'.

579-580 *leuem* / *populum* Ald 450 has δῆμον

- Seruimus: etenim me vetat quidem pudor  
 Genas rigare lachrumis, rursum pudet  
 Miserum carere lachrumis in maximas  
 Cladeis redactum. At haec sinamus. Quid meae  
 Respondeam de rebus hisce coniugi? 585  
 Qua fronte contra hanc obtuebor? Aut quibus  
 Modis recipiam? Quippe quae me perdidit  
 Ad ista, quae nunc me premunt miserum, mala  
 Iniussa veniens. Attamen probabili  
 Causa huc profecta est, filiae comes suae, 590  
 Quo nuptias celebret et, quibus nihil  
 Antiquius iucundiusque, ea collocet,  
 Qua nos quidem in re deprehendet impios.  
 Rursum misellae virginis (quid virginis, |  
 LB 1163 Quae mox, opinor, sponsa nubet inferis?) 595  
 Vt est misertum! Supplicabit haec mihi  
 Ad hunc, reor, modum: 'O pater, me occidere  
 Paras? At istiusmodi connubia  
 Veniant tibi et si quis est carus tibi.'  
 Praesens Orestes haec mihi opplorabit haud 600  
 Scita, at scienter, quippe adhuc infantulus.  
 Ah, vt peremit me potitus nuptiis  
 Helenes Lacaenae Troico Priamo satus,  
 Horum malorum qui mihi est autor, Paris.
- CH. Me quoque misertum est, quatenus decet hospitam 605  
 Malis tyrannorum ingemiscere foeminam.
- ME. Germane, dextram da mihi vt tangam tuam.
- AG. Do; te penes victoria, ast ego miser.
- ME. Per Pelopa iuro, qui mei pater patris  
 Tuique dictus, perque genitorem Atreum, 610

592 ea: eam *E F* | 595 *sign. interr. deest in A* | 605 quatenus decet hospitam: hospitam siquidem decet *A* | 608 victoria: victoria est *C D E F*

(with *LP*); modern editions usually have ὄγκον which is found in the quotation of this verse in Plut., *Vita Nicias* 5. 588–589 *Ad ista ... veniens* Er. rightly connects Eur. 456 ἐπὶ κακοῖς with 457 ἐλθοῦσ'.  
*quae nunc me premunt* is the translation of ἃ μοι πάρα, which must be the correct reading (Murray reads πάρος with a number of the manuscripts; cf. Paley *ad loc.*).

592 *collocet* Eur. 459 καὶ τὰ φίλτατα δώσουσ'. In *E (F)* Er. substitutes *eam* for *ea* so that *collocet* then has the meaning 'to give in marriage', which is frequent throughout this play.

596 *Supplicabit* Ald 462 has ἔκτευσαι. Er. anticipates Markland's conjecture ἔκτευσεν.

600–601 *haud* | *Scita, at scienter* Eur. 466 οὐ συνετὰ συνετῶς.

Quod loquar aperte mentis ex sententia  
 Nihilque fucans, immo quicquid sentiam.  
 Mihi te videnti oculos rigantem lachrumis  
 Fraterna pectus perculit miseratio.  
 Vicissim et ipsus ora tinxi lachrumis 615  
 Veteremque prorsus exui sententiam,  
 Haud iam quidem infestus tibi aduersarius,  
 Sed facio tecum, stans tuis a partibus,  
 Hortorque te, ne filiam perimas tuam  
 Neu praeferas meum tuo negocium. 620  
 Neque enim sit aequum tristibus suspiriis  
 Te macerari, me suaviter agere,  
 Tuos mori, supera meos aura frui.  
 Quid enim mihi volo? Nunquid eminentia  
 Rursum queam nanciscier connubia, 625  
 Connubiorum si trahar cupidine?  
 Fratremne perdens, me quod haudquaquam decet,  
 Helenam praeoptem, id est boni loco malum?  
 Incogitans ac iuuenis antehac fui,  
 Sed propius atque fixius considerans 630  
 Rem video, quale erat perimere liberos.  
 Ad haec puellae me subit miseratio,  
 Dum reputo nimirum esse cognatam mihi,  
 Quae misera nostri gratia connubii  
 Erat immolanda: at quid negotii aut rei 635  
 Cum Tyndarea virgini est Helena tuae?  
 Dimissus abeat Aulide hinc exercitus;  
 Tu, frater, oculos parce tingere lachrumis  
 Simulque nos ad lachrumas impellere.  
 Iam te tua de filia si quid mouent 640  
 Responsa, me nil mouerint: tibi meas  
 Transcribo parteis. Sed quod in contraria  
 Mutatus abeo, nunc acerbam deserens  
 Orationem, iure facio, si patre

611 Quod loquar: Proloquar *C D E F* | 612 sentiam: sententia *E F* | 643 Abeo: Ab eo *C D E*

611 *Quod loquar* In *C (D E F)* Er. changes this into *Proloquar* which makes it necessary to put a semicolon after *Atreus*.

612 *Nihilque fucans* Eur. 476 has καὶ μὴ 'πίτηδες μηδέν, where ἐπίτηδες means 'with a special purpose, *consulto*' (Paley); so the translation is far from faithful.

623 *supera ... aura* again a Vergilian phrase (in the plural), cf. *Aen.* V, 427 and VI, 128.

629-630 In order to understand the structure of this sentence, we must realize that in Eur. 489 Ald reads ἦν πρὶν τὰ πράγματα δ' etc.

- Prognatum eodem caritate prosequens 645  
 Transgressus in diuersam eo sententiam,  
 Quando illud est non improbi munus viri,  
 Vbique factu quod sit optimum sequi.
- CH. Generosa dixi ac digna Tantalō, Iouis  
 Genere, et parenteis neutiquam indecoras tuos. 650
- AG. Collaudo te, Menelae, quod praeter meam  
 Opinionem sic, vti te dignum erat,  
 Orationem verteris recte tuam.
- ME. Nonnullus olim ex cupiditate fratribus  
 Oritur tumultus et e domorum opulentia; 655  
 Germanitatem at istiusmodi quidem  
 Fratrum inter ipsos execror amarissimam.
- AG. Nihilo minus nos illigat necessitas  
 Gnatam cruenta caede vt immolem meam.
- ME. Qui? Te quis adiget, gnatam vt interimas tuam? 660
- AG. Graium vniuersim conglobatae copiae.
- ME. Non, si remittas rursus ad Argos virginem.
- AG. Fefellero hic, illic sed haud fefellero.
- ME. Quid hoc? Timere non decet turbam nimis.
- AG. Chalcas Achiuis proferet vaticinia. 665
- ME. Non, si ante pereat; idque fiet commode.
- AG. Genus omne vatum gloriae est auidum malum.
- ME. At nil habet, nec inutile vt nec vtile.
- AG. Non metuis illud, quod mihi in mentem venit?

650 indecoras: indecorans (-ās) *E F* | 659 meam.: meam? *C D E F*

647 *munus* is a somewhat surprising translation of *τρόποι* (Ald 502); one would rather expect *officium*.

650 *indecoras* an extremely rare word (Accius fr. 459 Ribb.; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 4, 36).

654-657 *ex cupiditate* is the undoubtedly correct translation of the somewhat ambiguous words *δι' ἔρωτα* (Ald 508). Paley may well be right, when he follows Dindorf (and a great number of later editors) in rejecting vss. 508-510 as an interpolation, pointing out among other things that neither *ταραχή* (Er. *tumultus*) nor *πλεονεξία* (not quite correctly rendered by *opulentia*) belong to the idiom of Greek tragedy. The *olim* underlines the gnomic character of the verses, which is also marked out by the gnomic aorist *ἀπέπτωσα* (Er. *execror*).

*Germanitatem ... fratrum inter ipsos* is a very heavy translation of *συγγένειαν*, just as *amarissimam* is an exaggeration of *πικρῶν* (510).

663 The second *fefellero* serves as a free translation of the *λήσομαι* occurring in Ald 516 (from *P<sup>2</sup>*). Of course *hic* refers to the sending back to Argos, *illic* to the concealment of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

668 An elegant translation of Eur. 521 *κοῦδέν γ' ἄχρηστον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον παρὸν*, which cannot be correct. Murray puts the entire verse between *crucis*, whereas Paley follows Canter in reading *γε χρηστὸν*.

669 *quod mihi* Ald 522 has *δμ'*, for which Er. reads *ϑμ'*, which is correct as to the sense (not as to the metre).

- ME. Qui suspicer quod cogitas, ni dixeris? 670  
 AG. Cuncta haec scelestum Sisyphi nouit genus. |  
 ME. Nihil est, Vlysses quod tibi aut mihi noceat. LB 1164  
 AG. Vafer is quidem vsque in concionibus fuit.  
 ME. Ambitio nempe hunc pestilens tenet malum.  
 AG. Hunc proinde iam nunc inter Argiuos puta 675  
 Astare medios atque ibi eloqui palam  
 Quaecunque Chalcas dixit afflatus deo,  
 Et vt Artemidi me victimam receperim  
 Gnatam daturum, deinde promissum deae  
 Mendax negarim; ita concitatis copiis 680  
 Vbi meque teque iam peremerint, dare  
 Tum virginem suadebit Argiuos neci.  
 Quod si cita Argos me recepero fuga,  
 Aderunt et ipsis me simul cum moenibus  
 Cyclopiis euerterint nec non solum 685  
 Vastauerint. Ad hunc modum infortunia  
 Se nostra habent: heu miser et infelix, vt his  
 Nunc per deos perplexus inuoluor malis.  
 Vnum hoc mihi, Menelae, serua copias  
 Adiens Achium, ne quid istius rei 690  
 Resciscat uxor ante, quam gnatam meam  
 Mactatam ad Orcum et inferos demisero  
 Quo lachrumis quantum potest paucissimis  
 Miser siem. At vos, hospitae foeminae,  
 Silentio negocium caelabitis. 695
- CH. Felices, quibus obtigit  
 Sors nec summa nec infima

673 Vafer ... fuit: Is varius vsque, ac multitudini obsequens. *EF* | 683 cita: scita *CDE* |  
 693 paucissimis: paucissimus *A* | 694 foeminae: mihi foeminae *ACDEF*, *recte*

670 *suspicer* Ald 523 has ὑπολάβοιμεν. Er. seems to have anticipated Markland's conjecture ὑπολάβοιμ' &v.

684-686 *me ... Vastauerint* Er. has correctly understood that in vs. 535 after ξυναρπάσσοι we should supply ἡμᾶς (cf. Paley *ad loc.*).

696-778 In the translation of the first stasimon Er. has rendered the strophe and antistrophe by means of glyconics (696-750) - also the strophe and antistrophe in Eur. are 'glyconeian polyschematistic' (Paley) - whereas the epode (751-

778) is translated in catalectic iambic dimeters. Glyconics in longer 'lyrical' passages are quite frequent in Seneca's tragedies; cf. *Herc. f.* 875-894; *Herc. Oet.* 1032-1130; *Med.* 75-92; *Oed.* 881-914; *Thy.* 336-403. Prudentius, whose works Er. knew so well, wrote the ode *Perist.* 7 in this metre. The second metre occurs in Sen. *Med.* 849-878 and Prud. *Cathem.* 6.

696-721 The translation of this stasimon is even more circumstantial than that of the parode; for instance, the 15

Sed sane modica, et quibus Castos annuit aurea Nancisci thalamos Venus	700
Tranquillaque perenniter Consuetudine perfrui, Quorum pectora mutuis Flagrant incita flammulis,	705
Postquam iam geminis trahens Spicla torquet ab arcubus, Tincta spicula Gratiis, Coma splendidus aurea Cupido deus aliger,	710
Quorum haec dulce et amabile Aeuum prospera conferunt, Vitae haec perniciem ferunt Ac turbam. Hunc equidem meis, Formosissima, deprecor Auersorque thoris, Venus.	715
Sit modesta mihi, precor, Formae gratia, sint mihi Amores liciti ac pii, Contingant mediocria Blandae munera Cypridis;	720
Porro ingentia deprecor. Humanis variantia Sunt discrimina mentibus, Sunt discrimina moribus, At qui rectus et integer,	725
Is semper similis sui.	

698 et: ei *A* | 720 Blandae: blande *E* | 725 At qui: Atqui *C D E F*

lines of the strophe are translated in 26 Latin verses. Thus at the beginning (543) the words *μετρίας θεοῦ* are rendered by *Sors nec summa nec infima* | *Sed sane modica*. Vss. 703–704 can only be regarded as an addition by Er. Ἔρωσ (δ *om.* Ald) χρυσοκόμας (548) is rendered by *Coma splendidus aurea* | *Cupido deus aliger*; the last two words are an addition which is a reminiscence from Vergil *Aen.* I, 663 ‘aligerum ... Amorem’.

722–724 In the treatment of this passage Er. has anticipated several conjectures of later scholars. 724 *Sunt discrimine moribus* (*sc.*, *humanis*) is clearly a translation of

διάφοροι δὲ τρόποι (*sc.*, βροτῶν); however, Ald here reads Διάτροποι δὲ τρόποις; διάφοροι is a conjecture by Hoepfner, τρόποι one by Barnes. In Eur. vss. 559b–560, which are translated by Er. in vss. 725–726, Ald has: ὁ δ’ ὀρθός. / Ἐσθλὸν σαφὲς αἰεὶ, whereas the correct reading, which results from conjectures by Barnes, Musgrave and Hermann, is: τὸ δ’ ὀρθῶς ἐσθλὸν σαφὲς αἰεὶ (‘but what is truly good is always self-evident’). Er. has changed the text exactly the other way: ὁ (*qui*) δ’ ὀρθός ἐσθλός (*rectus et integer*) σαφής (*similis sui*) αἰεὶ.

Quin probis rationibus  
 Educi teneros adhuc  
 Momentum obtinet haud leue ad  
 Virtutem, siquidem inserit 730  
 Primum illud venerabilis  
 Pectori sapientia,  
 Foedum vti fugiat nefas.  
 Dein fert hanc quoque gratiam,  
 Mente vt cernere callida 735  
 Quid facto sit opus, queat,  
 Quae res conciliat suis  
 Ignarum senii decus  
 Gloriamque, perenniter  
 Quae nomen parit inclytum. 740  
 Res est maxima quaepiam  
 Virtutis studium sequi,  
 Quae praestanda domi probis  
 Priuatim mulieribus  
 Sancta coniugii fide, 745  
 At palam decorans viros  
 Inter densa frequentium |  
 Foro millia ciuium  
 Rei commoda publicae  
 Vsque in maius adauxerit. 750

LB 1165

745 *deest in A* | 747 *densa: defensa C D E F*

730-733 *siquidem ... nefas* Ald 564 reads Τό, τε γάρ αιδεῖσθαι σοφία. Er. has anticipated Scaliger's conjecture σοφία, which he considers to be the subject of ἔχει (564). Thus the infinitive αιδεῖσθαι is rendered by the clause *Foedum vti fugiat nefas*.

734-740 *Dein ... inclytum* The first three verses are the translation of τάν τ' ἐξάλλασσουσαν ἔχει / χάριν ὑπὸ γνώμας ἔσορᾶν / τὸ δέον. Here the subject of ἔχει is ἔσορᾶν, 'the seeing and understanding in the depths of one's mind, ὑπὸ γνώμας, propriety of action in all cases' (Paley). However, Er., as we said in the preceding note, regards σοφία as the subject of ἔχει, of which αιδεῖσθαι is the first object, and τάν ... ἐξάλλασσουσαν the second (Er. must have supposed ἐξάλλασσουσαν χάριν to mean 'alternative', and, with that, 'second'). In conse-

quence of this he regards the infinitive ἔσορᾶν as depending upon χάριν (*gratiam, ... vt cernere ... queat*). In order to understand the translation of vss. 737-740, we must know that Ald 566-567 reads: ... τὸ δέον ἐνθα δόξαν φέρει, κλέος ἀγήρατον βιοτάν; Er. has rightly put a full stop after βιοτάν. He considers τὸ δέον (here repeated from *Quid facto sit opus* by *Quae res*) to be the subject of φέρει (*conciliat*). Further, he regards δόξαν and κλέος as an asyndeton (*decus gloriamque*), an interpretation which is made more easy by the comma occurring in Ald after φέρει. As far as I can see, βιοτάν has been left untranslated; as a compensation, Er. translates the adjective ἀγήρατον twice (*Ignarum senii* and *perenniter ... inclytum*).

741-750 *Res ... adauxerit* Er. vss. 741-745 are nothing but an expanded trans-

Illinc, Pari, es profectus,  
 Vbi alitus inter Idae  
 Armenta laeta pastor,  
 Vbi barbaras cicutis  
 Phrygiis canens solebas 755  
 Sonare cantilenas  
 Olympicoque ritu  
 Calamos liquente caera  
 Adglutinare plureis.  
 Boumque grex obesus 760  
 Pascens virente passim  
 Obambulabat aruo,  
 Tua cum chorus dearum  
 Arbitria flagitabat.  
 Ea causa te profectum 765  
 In Graeciam vocauit;  
 Haec hospitem recepit  
 Tectis superba eburnis,  
 Oculis vbi petulcis  
 Contra intuens decoram 770  
 Helenen amoris oestro  
 Vehemente perculisti,  
 Perculsus interim ipse  
 Pari vicissim amore.  
 Hoc fonte nata lis est, 775  
 Quae copias Pelasgum  
 Cum classe tanta ad vrbem  
 Impellit Iliensem.

lation of Eur. vss. 568–570a. Much more difficult to understand are vss. 746–750 which are the translation of Ald 570b–572: ἐν ἀνδράσι δ' αὖ / κόσμος ἔνδον ὁ μυριοπληθής / μείζω πόλιν αὔξει. *decorans* (viz., *virtus*) evidently is the translation of κόσμος. I fail to understand how Eur. came to translate ἔνδον by *palam*. Quite surprising too is *Inter densa frequentium* / *Foro millia ciuium* as a Latin translation of ὁ μυριοπληθής; Er. seems to interpret it as 'functioning within a crowd of ten thousand'. *defensa* instead of *densa* in *C (D E F)* in vs. 747 seems to be no more than a printer's error. 754–759 Here again we must repeat the text of Ald 576–578 in order to make the translation understandable: βάρβαρα

συρίζων Φρυγίων / αὐλῶν, Ὀλύμπου καλ-  
 άμοις / μιμήματα πλέκων. The first four words are rendered (*quocumque modo*) by *Vbi ... cantilenas*. The wording of 758–759 reminds us of Vergil, *Ecl.* 2,32–33: 'Pan primus calamos cera coniungere plures / Instituit'.

769 *sqg. oculis ... petulcis* must depend on *decoram*; Eur. 584 ἐν ἀντωποῖς βλεφάροισιν certainly refers to Helen.

775–778 Ald 587–589 reads: ὅθεν ἕρις ἕριν Ἑλλάδα σὺν δορι, / ναυσί τ' ἄγει / ἐς Τροίας πέργαμα. Probably Er. has understood Ἑλλάδα as an adjective which should be connected with ἕριν, as is also done in a marginal note in *L*, where these words are explained as τὴν ἑριστικὴν Ἑλλάδα.



## CH. Io. Io.

Magni magnis florent opibus: 780  
 Rege creatam genitore meam  
 Cernite Iphigeniam reginam  
 Atque Clytemnestren Tyndarei  
 Sanguine cretam.  
 Vt magnis e stirpibus ortae 785  
 Vtque ad summum sunt euctae  
 Decus ac fortunae splendorem.  
 Porro diuum numina partim  
 Opibus possunt plus humanis,  
 Partim quos sors vrget iniqua, 790  
 Hos felicibus ornant rebus.  
 Consistamus, grex Chalcidicae  
 Indigena ac vernaculus vrbis,  
 Quo reginam procul a turba  
 Excipiamus comiter illi 795  
 Porrectis manibus placidaque  
 Mente ac hilari vultu, vti certo  
 In plana soli pede descendat,  
 Ne quid pautet generosa ducis  
 Gnata Agamemnonis huc mihi primum 800  
 Nunc adueniens, ne quid turbae  
 Attonitive pauoris temere

779 Io, io *deest in A* | 783 Clytemnestren: Clytemnestram *C D E F* | 793 vernaculus: vernaculis *A*

779 The arrangement of the text in this line (CH. *Io, Io.*) comes directly from Ald which follows *L*<sup>2</sup> in the addition of *Xo*. This addition is of course due to the wish to indicate that here the chorus of women from Chalcis, which was mentioned before vs. 696, can no longer be speaking, because it could never call Iphigenia *ἀνασσα* ἐμήν (vs. 592; Er. 781–782 *meam ... reginam*). It is for this reason that Gilbert Murray at this place inserts ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ; a different solution is preferred by Bothe, Hermann and Paley, who delete ἐμήν. Ald does not add a new *Xo*. before the verse where the Chalcidian women are mentioned again, as is done by Murray (Eur. 598; Er. 792). The *Atque* in 783 offers one more proof that Er. uses Musurus' edition, since in Ald

594 τε is a conjecture by this scholar.  
 788–791 These verses are the translation of Ald 597–598 θεοί γ'οὶ κρείσσοις οἱ τ' ἄλβοφόροι / τοῖς οὐκ εὐδαίμοσι τῶν θνατῶν, which should almost certainly be rendered by the alternative translation given by Paley; 'the better sort of people, and they who gain wealth, are regarded as gods by the unlucky' (his first possibility runs as follows: 'Surely the great gods are they who are the bringers of wealth to such as are not rich'). Er. incorrectly interprets both οἱ κρείσσοις and οἱ ἄλβοφόροι as predicate nouns ('the gods are the stronger beings and also the bringers of luck to the miserable among mortals').  
 801 *ne* Er. has substituted μή for μηδέ before θέρυβον in vs. 604, thus anticipating a conjecture by Gottfried Hermann.

Argiuorum ex vrbe profectis  
Moueamus hospitaē hospitis.

- CLY. Auguria nos quidem ista consulimus boni 805  
Certe, quod ad te pertinet, felicia  
Tuaeque capimus fausta vocis omina.  
Nonnulla porro spes habet animum meum,  
Quod auspicatas pronuba huc ad nuptias  
Aduenerim. At vos, quas ego horsum filiae 810  
Comites ab Argis duco dotaleis meae,  
Curribus feliciter descendite et  
Rite ac decenter in atrium procedite.  
Dein tu quadrigas, gnata, cautim iam mihi  
Linquas equestreis membra sensim ac molliter 815  
Et tenera simul et imbecillia promouens.  
Vos hanc in vlnas excipite, iuuenulae,  
Procul ac citis discedite a vectabulis.  
Mihi fulcientem porrigat aliquis manum,  
Currus volucres quo relinquam commode. 820  
At vos equinis stetis aduersae iugis,  
Terrifica nanque est res oculus equi ferox. |  
Atque hunc puellum, Agamemnonis prolem, manu

LB 1166

805 quidem ista: ista quidem *E F* | 807 omina: omnia *D* | 812 Curribus: *E* curribus *A C D*  
*E F*, recte | 815 sensim: sensum *A* | 816 imbecillia: imbecilla *C D E F* | 818 ac citis:  
accitis *E F*

805–806 *Auguria ... quod ad te pertinet, felicia*. Er. wrongly connects χρηστὸν with θρηϊθα (607) and translates τὸ σὸν by *quod ad te pertinet*. Of course we should connect τὸ σὸν χρηστὸν, ‘your goodness of disposition’ (Paley).

809 *auspicatas* Cf. the note on *inauspīcatus ad vs. 475*. *Auspīcatus* is here equivalent to *felix* (ἔσθλοῦσιν Eur. 609).

810–813 *At vos ... procedite* The fact that Er. wrongly considers φερνάς to indicate female slaves forming part of the dowry instead of objects belonging to it obliges him to translate the transitive πορεύεθ’ (611) as a deponent verb by *descendite* – the same mistake returns in vs. 818 –, and πέμπετ’ by *procedite* and, moreover, to overlook that εὐλαβοῦμενοι is a masculine form. It should, however, be noted that Barnes, followed by Dindorf, reads εὐλαβοῦμεναι and, moreover, that Paley observes: ‘The dowry may

have consisted of beautiful maidens’, referring to φέρνην in Eur. 47, which denotes the old slave (Er. 57 *dotis partem*).

817–818 The vocative *iuuenulae* together with *hanc* shows that Er. has anticipated Pierson’s generally accepted conjecture in vs. 615 νεάνιδές, νιν instead of νεανίδαισιν. Once more (as in vs. 812) the active πορεύειν is wrongly rendered by the intransitive verb *discedere*.

821–822 *aduersae* with dative is the translation of Eur. 619 ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν with genitive. The translation is understandable from the use of *aduersus* = ‘at the foreshore’. In the next verse Er. regards φοβερόν as the nominal predicate, whereas Paley translates: ‘for the eye of a colt is not to be soothed by words when timid’. Since in Greek tragedy φοβερός mostly has a causative meaning, I wonder whether Er. is right.

- Corripite Orestem, nempe adhuc infantulum.  
 Mi gnate, dormis vehiculi iactamine 825  
 Sopitus. Expergiscere ad sororias  
 Auibus secundis atque laetis nuptias,  
 Siquidem ipse cum sis nobili natus loco,  
 Mox sortieris optimi ac summi viri  
 Affinitatem, principem Nereide 830  
 Parente natum, par deis ipsis genus.  
 Ex ordine huc, age, ad pedes propere meos  
 Iuxta parentem, gnata, tete colloca  
 Ac proxime, Iphigenia, consistens mihi  
 Huic hospitarum foeminarum me choro 835  
 Ostende, quam sim te beata filia;  
 Caro salutem mox face vt dicas patri.
- IPH. Ita, mater, occurrens in amplexus (tua  
 Quod pace dicam, ne mihi succenseas)  
 Pectus paterno pectori adprimam meum. 840
- CLY. Agamemnon o rex, ego cui vel maximam  
 Mortalium vni debeo reuerentiam,  
 Adsum tuis, en, obsecuta iussibus.
- IPH. Sed et ipsa cupio longa iam post tempora  
 Admota, genitor, pectus amplecti tuum; 845  
 Etenim tuis sitio frui conspectibus,  
 Id pace si modo mihi liceat tua.
- AG. Age, gnata, frudere, quando iam pridem omnibus  
 E liberis, quos uxor edidit mihi,  
 Te vna parentis nullus est amantior. 850
- IPH. Te, mi pater, laetaque lubensque conspikor

828 sis nobili: nobili sis *EF* | 835 hospitarum: sospitarum *CDE* | 850 nullus: nulla *CDEF* | 851 mi: mihi *EF*

825 *iactamine* This word does not occur in the Thes. l. l. It is evidently a neologism coined by Er. after the example of *gestamen* (Verg. *Aen.* III, 286 and VII, 246); cf. also the note on 1561 *exundamina*.

828 *nobili sis* (*EF*) instead of *sis nobili* cannot possibly be regarded as an improvement, as also 850 *nulla* in *CDE* instead of *nullus*. And in 835 *sospitarum* in *CDE* instead of *hospitarum* must be a printer's error (which has been corrected in *F*).

840 *adprimam* and 845 *amplecti* Er. anticipates two conjectures by Porson, who in the former verse reads *προσβαλῶ* in-

stead of *περιβαλῶ*, in the latter *περιβαλεῖν* instead of *προσβαλεῖν*. On the difficulties concerning the order of the verses cf. Murray's critical apparatus (who deletes Eur. 635-636) and the note by Paley who follows Porson in putting vss. 633-634 at the end of Clytaemnestra's long speech.

848-850 Eur. vss. 638-639, of which the present verses are the translation, are given to Agamemnon in the manuscripts and in Ald, whereas, as Porson was first to see, they are much better given to Clytaemnestra.

851-919 There is no clearer example of the

- Post longa secli spatia non visum mihi.
- AG. Itidem pater te, gnata, quodque ais modo,  
Ex aequo vtrisque competit nobis simul.
- IPH. Salue; quod autem huc iusseris me accersier 855  
Amo te et abs te est optime factum, pater.
- AG. Atqui hoc quod es modo elocuta, filia,  
Equidem haud reperio, qui vel aiam vel negem.
- IPH. Hei, mihi, quid hoc est, quod, lubens cum videris,  
Placido haud tamen nos intuere lumine? 860
- AG. Regnum gerentem ac bellici agminis ducem  
Permulta curis distinent negocia.
- IPH. At nunc mihi te des et in me vnam tuum  
Animum a molestis auoces negociis.
- AG. At nunc quidem in te, haud aliubi, mea filia, 865  
Sum totus, omni dedicatus pectore.
- IPH. Ergo supercilium remitte nubilum  
Maeque frontem exporge gratia, pater.
- AG. Iam laetor, ecce, laetor vsque, filia,  
Donec tuis datur frui conspectibus. 870
- IPH. Quid igitur istuc, quid sibi vult, obsecro,  
Quod tristibus genae madescunt lachrumis?
- AG. Etenim hic dies praesens absentiam mihi  
Tibique pariet, gnata, quam longissimam.
- IPH. Istuc quidem quod dicis, haud intellego, haud 875  
Intellego, o parens mihi carissime.
- AG. At tu quidem quanto loquere cordatius,  
Tanto grauius exulceras animum mihi.
- IPH. Insulsa potius atque stulta dixero,  
Si tibi futura hoc sim voluptati modo. 880
- AG. Papae, silere non fero ipse nec queo,  
Collaudo vero te proboque, filia.
- IPH. Mane, o parens, tuis domi cum liberis.

854 competit: conuenit *ACDEF* | 863 te *deest* in *CDEF* | 865 haud aliubi, mea filia: aut aliubi mi filia *A* | 881 fero: vero *E*

*fusior dictio* of Er. in the translation of the *Iph. Aul.* than this almost continuous rendering of one Greek line in the *σπιχομυθία* (Eur. vss. 640–676) by two Latin verses – in fact there are only five exceptions to the rule (vss. 883, 898, 899, 910, 919). Of course this more prolix form of translation has caused a considerable number of repetitions and parallel expressions.

868 *frontem exporge* is the rendering of Eur. 648 ὄμμα τ' ἔκτεινον. On this expression Paley observes: 'unbend your brow. In sense, the word refers to ὄφρυς rather than to ὄμμα'.

873 *praesens absentiam* The combination of these two words must create an equivalent to the original text (651) ἡ 'πιούσ' ἀπουσία.

- AG. Equidem volo, atqui quod volo quia non licet,  
Istuc profecto pectus excruciat meum. 885
- IPH. Infausta pereant tela et arma Martia  
Et inauspicata ac dira Menelai mala.
- AG. Alios sed huius ante perdiderint mala,  
Quibus ipse dudum perditus teneor miser.
- IPH. Vt abfuisti temporis multum, pater,  
In intima diu moratus Aulide. 890
- AG. Quin nunc item me quiddam adhuc vetat rei  
Ratibus per aequor copias traducere.
- IPH. Gentem, obsecro, istam, quam Phrygum vocant, pater,  
Vbinam locorum sedem habere praedicant? 895
- AG. Illic, vbi vtinam proditum Priamo Parin  
Nullo obtigisset sedem habere tempore.
- IPH. Procul relictā me aueheris hinc, parens?
- AG. Quin ipsa eodem, gnata, quo pater venis.
- IPH. Oh! |  
Vtinam mihi tibi que commodum siet,  
Cursus vt et me duceres comitem tui. 900 LB 1167
- AG. Istuc quid optas? Nauigabis tu quoque.  
Vt iam parentis, gnata, memineras tui.
- IPH. Vtrumne dulci nauigauero comes  
Matri anne ego istam sola conficio viam? 905
- AG. Sola profecto, sola, semota procul  
Dulcique matre pariter et caro patre.
- IPH. Alias in aedeis me videlicet, pater,  
Domumque peregrinam locare destinās?

887 ac *deest in F* | 892 item: *idem A*

884 *quod volo quia non licet* Eur. 657 has τὸ θέλειν δ' οὐκ ἔχων. Er.'s translation anticipates Murray's conjecture (in the apparatus) δ θέλω δ' οὐκ ἔχων.

886-887 A particularly good instance of the prolix style necessitated by the rendering of one Greek verse by two Latin verses. Eur. 658 has only: ἔλουντο λόγχοι καὶ τὰ Μενέλεω κακά. For *inauspicata* = *infelicia* cf. note on 475; for this reason the omission of *ac* in *F* seems to be a mistake.

888-889 *huius ... perdiderint mala* Er. regards τὰ Μενέλεω κακά in the preceding line as the subject of ἔλεϊ. *ante* (Ald. 659 πρόσθεν), *viz.*, *quam perierint*.

898 Also Ald 664 has an interrogation-

mark (after ἐμέ).

899 Ald 665 reads here εἰς ταῦτόν, ὃ θύγατερ, σὺ θ' ἦκεις σὺ πατρί, in which σὺ θ' seems to be an addition by Musurus (the various readings are not clear from Murray's apparatus). The verse can hardly be correct in this form; Paley mentions a great number of older conjectures, to which should be added England's conjecture which is adopted by Wecklein: ὃ παῖ, συμφορᾶς ἦκεις πατρί. In my opinion the words εἰς ταῦτόν in the version translated by Er. (*eodem*) can only refer to the realm of death, as in 902 *Nauigabis tu quoque* must refer to the Styx.

- AG. Mitte haec; nefas enim ista scire virgines. 910  
 IPH. Propera mihi redire sospes ab Ilio  
 Rebus probe illic ordinatis, mi pater.  
 AG. Verum hoc mihi prius necessitas loco est  
 Nonnullam ad aras immolare victimam.  
 IPH. Istoc proin spectare de negotio, 915  
 Quid fas piumque, cum sacris decet, pater.  
 AG. Spectabis ipsa; nam futurum est, vti sacris  
 Adstes et adsis tu lauacris proxima.  
 IPH. Ducemus aras num choros circum, pater?  
 AG. Feliciorem te atque memet autumo, 920  
 Nihil quod horum intellegas. Sed intro, age,  
 In tecta gressum conferas ac virginum  
 Comitumque temet offeras conspectibus.  
 At triste porrige osculum ac dextram mihi,  
 Longum a paternis abfutura vultibus. 925  
 O pectus, o genae, o pares auro comae,  
 Quantum, heu, dolorum Troia nobis attulit  
 Pondus Heleneque. Sed loqui iam desino,  
 Nam me quidem aestus corripit rapidus genis  
 Repens obortus, simul vt ora basio 930  
 Tua contigi. Sed hinc abi in penetralia.  
 At illud abs te postulo, Ledaе genus,  
 Vti ne quid haec res pectus offendat tuum,  
 Si mi nimius exulcerat mentem dolor  
 Mox gnatam Achilli collocaturo meam. 935  
 Nam splendidae quidem et expetendae nuptiae,  
 Tamen parenteis nonnihil mordet pios,  
 Vbi in familiam liberos dulcis pater  
 Tradit alienam, quos labore plurimo  
 Curisque summis educauerit diu. 940

917 ipsa: ista C D E F | 924 dextram: dexteram E F | 936 splendidae: splendide D

910 *Mitte* Here Ald 671 has εα γε τ' (P<sup>2</sup>; the usual reading ἐατέ' is a conjecture by Stadtmueller).

920 The use of *atque* instead of *quam* (Eur. 677 ζῆλῶ σὲ μᾶλλον ἢ 'μέ) after a comparative without a negation is relatively rare; the oldest instances are found in Horace (*Epod.* 15,5 and *Sat.* I, 5,5; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführl. Gramm. der lat. Sprache* II, 2<sup>2</sup>, 20). The greater conciseness of the translation, now that the στυχομυθία has come to an end, is

quite striking.

922-924 In Ald 678 there is a full stop after κόραϊς; thus in vs. 679 πικρόν is to be connected with φιλημα (Ex. *triste* ... *osculum*).

925 *Longum* with the meaning 'a long while' (Eur. 680 δαρόν) is a poetism, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* X, 740 and Hor. *Ep.* II, 3, 459.

936 *nuptiae*, though fitting into the context, is too general a translation for Eur. 688 ἀποστολαί.

- CLY. Equidem haud ita sum stulta mentisque indiga,  
 Quin hisce rebus sponte me potius mea  
 Insuper et istam parituram existima,  
 Ita vt nihil monitore te fuerit opus,  
 Cum rite mihi sit elocanda filia. 945  
 Sed mos et ipsum tempus ista postulat,  
 Ac res vtraeque nos secus facere vetant.  
 Huius itaque, cui destinasti filiam,  
 Nomen quidem ipsa teneo, caeterum genus  
 Quod et vnde ducat, id cupio iam discere. 950
- AG. Asopos Aeginam creauit filiam.  
 CLY. Mortalium haec, aut cui deorum nupserat?  
 AG. Ioui; at Aeacon ille generat, Oenones patrem.  
 CLY. Sed Aeaci quae suscipit proles domum?

942-943 Quin ... existima: Quin ista et vltro me suasuram puta *E F*

942-945 *Quin ... filia* Here Er. gives a faulty translation. Clytaemnestra says to Agamemnon: 'You need not apologize for the fact that you are weeping - rather hold yourself convinced that I, too, shall experience this, *viz.*, the wish to weep (*πείσεσθαι δέ με / καύτην δόκει τὰδ*'), so that I shall not blame you (<now>), when I shall give my daughter in marriage'. Now Er. regards *πείσεσθαι* as the future infinitive, not of *πάσχω*, but of *πείθομαι* (*parituram*). Moreover, he supposes *καύτην* to refer to Iphigenia (*Insuper et istam*), whereas according to Euripides himself, they certainly refer to Clytaemnestra: 'I, too', *viz.*, 'just like you'. Finally, in the words *ὥστε μή σε νουθετεῖν* Er. regards *σε* as the subject, and not the object, of *νουθετεῖν*. Thus in the translation Clytaemnestra's answer is quite haughty, whereas in the text of Eur. it only shows understanding for Agamemnon's grief (which is very different from what Clytaemnestra thinks). In *E (F)*, where for vss. 942-943 Er. substitutes one single line, he has corrected one mistake, by no longer supposing *καύτην* to refer to Iphigenia; on the other hand, his translation of the verb is even more faulty than it was, since now he regards *πείσεσθαι* as the future infinitive of *πέθειν* (*suasuram*).

946-947 Ald 694 reads *ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος αὐτὰ τῷ χρόνῳ συνισχάνει* (thus *P<sup>2</sup>*, *συνανίσχει L P*). The correct reading is contained

in Porson's conjecture *συνισχάνει*, which has been adopted by most modern editors. Paley paraphrases this as follows: 'custom will combine with time in alleviating it', *viz.*, the grief or the tears, as Wecklein explains. Since, however, Er. considers *τὰδε* to mean 'the situation' (*hisce rebus* 942), he must give a similar meaning to *αὐτὰ*, *viz.*, 'a behaviour adopted to the situation' (*ista*). In vs. 947 the same thought is expressed in a different form (*res vtraeque* refers, of course, to *mos et ipsum tempus*).

951 sqq. The now following *στυχομυθία* in the text of Eur. (697-738) has been rendered by Er. in single Latin verses, so that this time the translation is much more concise (and, for that reason, more exact) than in vss. 851-919 (cf. the note on vs. 851).

952 *cui ...?* It should be observed that Ald 698 has the indefinite pronomen *τις* without a point of interrogation. Er. has corrected this.

953 *Oenones patrem* This is an erroneous translation of Eur. 699 *Οἰνώνης πρόμον*. *Οἰνώνη* is an old name of the isle of Aegina (Hdt. VIII, 96; Plin. *Nat.* IV, 12,57). Er. regards it evidently as the name of a nymph - the Oenone deserted by Paris (and well-known from the poem by Tennyson) also was a nymph. *πρόμος* can never mean 'father'. We should never forget that there existed no ancient scholia on the *Iph. Aul.*

- AG. Peleus; at ille Nerei gnatam tulit. 955  
 CLY. Deon' volente, an raptam et inuitis deis?  
 AG. Despondet autor Iuppiter, locat pater.  
 CLY. Vbi ducit illam? An in marinis fluctibus?  
 AG. Vbi celsa Chiron tecta Pelei colit.  
 CLY. Centauricon vbi mansitare aiunt genus? 960  
 AG. Ibi diis peracta Pelei connubia.  
 CLY. Sed vtrum Achillem nutriit Thetis an pater?  
 AG. Chiron, vti ne rudibus annis improbos  
 Mores malorum disceret mortalium.  
 CLY. Hem.  
 Sapiens quidem educator, at sapientior 965  
 Fuit ille, quisquis educandum tradidit.  
 AG. Atque is futurus filiae vir est tuae.  
 CLY. Haud malus; at vrbem Graeciae, cedo, quam colit?  
 AG. Iuxta Apidani fluenta Phthiae in finibus.  
 CLY. Illuc tuam meamque ducet filiam? 970  
 AG. Curae marito haec sunt futura virginis.  
 CLY. Bene sit vtrique; at quo, precor, ducet die?  
 AG. Simulatque lunae dexter orbis venerit.  
 CLY. Sed quas oportet ante gnatae nuptias  
 Ferire, diuae iam immolasti victimas? 975  
 AG. Mactabo; nam nunc agitur hoc negocii. |  
 LB 1168 CLY. Ac deinde celebraturus es connubia?  
 AG. Vbi soluero diis, quas necesse est, victimas.  
 CLY. At nos vbi epulum foeminis parabimus?  
 AG. Hic iuxta Achiuae classis aeratas rateis. 980  
 CLY. Probe et ita necesse est; attamen communica.  
 AG. Scin ergo quid ages, uxor? Ac pare mihi.  
 CLY. Rei quid hoc? Parere nam soleo tibi.  
 AG. Nam nos quidem illic, sponsus vbi sese tenet,  
 CLY. Cur absque matre? Vicesne obibitis meas? 985

956 raptam: nuptam *F* | 959 celsa: sancta *E F* | 968 at: ad *A* | 978 soluero: eo luero *A* |  
 985 obibitis: obibit is *C D E*

955 *tulit* for (*uxorem*) *duxit* is unusual.

959 *celsa* Eur. 705 σεμνά. In *E (F)* Er. substitutes *sancta*. *Pelei* instead of *Pelii*, since Ald has Πηλείου.

960 *Centauricon* The adjunct. *-icus* occurs in Statius *Achill.* I, 266.

966 *quisquis* is surprising, since Peleus is meant, who has been mentioned in 955. The cause must be the unclear form χ' ὅ (sic) in Ald 710 (I cannot find who

first wrote χὼ δίδους).

978 *quas necesse est* Ald 721 follows *L<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2</sup>* in reading ἄπερ μ' ἐχρῆν. Er. rightly uses the present tense, thus anticipating Porson's conjecture ἀμὲ χρῆ.

985 In Ald 728 the verse has this form: μητρόσ τι χωρίς δρόσεθ' ἄν με δροῶν χρεών. Er. reads τί, — I have not succeeded in finding out to whom this undoubtable improvement of the text is officially as-



- AG. Gnatam elocabimus inter Argiuos tuam.  
 CLY. Nos interim manere quo iubes loco?  
 AG. Argos profecta virginum curam gere.  
 CLY. Gnatamne linquens? Ergo quis tollet facem?  
 AG. Ipse exhibebo debitam sponso facem. 990  
 CLY. Haud moris hoc nec ista tu censes probe.  
 AG. Te in militum versarier turba haud decet.  
 CLY. Matrem decet meos locare liberos.  
 AG. Decet et puellas, nostra quas habet domus,  
 Haud sinere solas. CLY. Hae quidem tutissimis 995  
 Custodiuntur adprobe conclauibus.  
 AG. Pareto. CLY. Non, per numen Argiuae deae!  
 Quin tu foris quae sunt agas negocia,  
 Curas ego tractauero domesticas,  
 Et quid puellis competat nubentibus, 1000  
 Id est mearum pensitare partium.  
 AG. Hei mihi! Laboris sumpsit ego hoc inaniter  
 Ac spe male frustratus excidi mea,  
 Dum conor ablegare quopiam miser  
 Vxorem ab oculis; astu at ecce callido 1005  
 Vtor et in hos qui sunt mihi carissimi  
 Intento technas nil inexpertum doli  
 Linquens, et vndecunque vincor. Attamen  
 Iam vate cum Chalcante sciscitatum eo  
 Oraculum placitum quidem deo, at mihi 1010  
 Inauspicatum, calamitatem Graeciae.  
 Porro viri illud esse prudentis puto,

991 moris: noris A

- cribed – but he also puts a point of interrogation after χωρίς which obliges him to translate τι by cur.  
 986 *elocabimus* As the Thes. l. L. s.v. shows, the meaning ‘to give in marriage’ (*collocare*) is quite unusual for this verb (Eur. 729 ἐκδώσομεν).  
 991 *nec ... probe* Ald 734 reads with L P: ... οὗτος · καὶ σὺ δὲ φαῦλ’ ἡγή τάδε. Paley maintains this reading, having only σὺ δὲ γε (with an asterisk before γε) and ἡγεῖ, and observes: ‘The sense appears to be, “but you, it seems, think these matters (custom and etiquette) unimportant”’. Er. translates φαῦλ’ as if it were an adverb.  
 993 Ald 736 has γ’ (μ’ is a conjecture by Markland); hence the surprising *meos* without *me* in the sentence.  
 1000 Eur. 741 (deleted by Monk, Paley and Murray) may be regarded as a paraphrase of the words τὰν δόμοις, *ibid.* 740. By his addition of *Et* in vs. 1000, Er. has destroyed the character of a paraphrase, which in its turn leads to the addition of vs. 1001.  
 1007–1008 *nil ... Linquens* is a rather superfluous addition, mainly based on a reminiscence of *Aen.* IV, 415: ‘ne quid inexpertum ... relinquat’.  
 1009 *sciscitatum* Ald 748 reads ἐξιστορήσων, with L<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2</sup>.  
 1011 *Inauspicatum = infelix*, cf. note on vs. 475.

Frugi vt probamque coniugem in penatibus  
Nutricet, aut ne prorsus vllam nutriat.

- CH. Ilicet sacrum Simoentis amnem, 1015  
Vitreo qui gurgite vorticosus  
Impetu fertur Phrygios per agros,  
Iam petet collecta cohors Achium  
Nauibus cum veliferis et armis  
Ilium infelix aditura Troiae, 1020  
Conditum flauī lyra et arte Phoebi  
Oppidum, Cassandram vbi fama narrat  
Aureos crineis agitare vatem  
Laureae semper viridantis alma  
Diffluentem fronde comam ambiente, 1025  
Numinis cum iam omniscio incitata  
Non sui compos agitur oestro.  
Caeterum densa Phrygii corona  
Pergama cingent,  
Tunc vbi Mauors ferus atque ahenis 1030  
Horridus scutis properante pinu  
Feruidi emensus vada caeca ponti  
Remige appellet Simoentis oras,  
Castoris raptam vt repetat sororem  
Atque Pollucis, geminorum in astris 1035  
Siderum, vique a Priamo receptam  
Fortibus telis clypeisque Graium  
Rursus in terram referat Pelasgam.

1028 corona: coronas *E*

1015-1072 In the original text (751-800) this second stasimon is a glyconean ode. The translation consists of Sapphic verses with a few Adonians. This metrical form of a chorus is remarkably frequent in the tragedies of Seneca, for instance, *Tro.* 814-860 and 1009-1055 (the total number of 'Sapphic' choruses in Seneca trag. amounts to nine; in some cases there are no Adonian verses at all, as in *Herc. f.* 830-874 and *Phaedr.* 274-324). Further remarkable examples are Prud. *Perist.* 6 and Grotius' translation of the chorus in Eur. *Phoen.* 638-689 (without Adonians). Again Er. does not aim at any correspondence between his translation of

the strophe and the antistrophe: the former contains 13 vss., the second 11, of which the second is an Adonius. The translation is particularly voluble, as is at once shown by the translation of the words (Eur. 751-752) Συμόεντα καὶ / δίνας ἀργυροειδεῖς in Er. 1015-1017 *sacrum ... agros.*

1020-1022 *Ilium ... oppidum* Er. makes the genitive *Troiae* depend on *Ilium*, whereas in the original text (755-756) Τροίας should be connected with Φοιβήϊον δάπεδον.

1031-1038 *properante pinu* is the translation of Ald 765 εὐπόροισι πλάταις (This εὐπόροισι seems to be a conjecture by Musurus, since *L P* have εὐπώροισι,

Moenium at cum penniferas coronas  
 Cinxerit teligera phalange, 1040  
 Cinxerit turreis validas et vrbem ob-  
 sederit bello Phrygiam cruento  
 Funditus victor populans et inde  
 Ense crudeli capita amputarit  
 Ciuium ceruice resecta dirus, 1045  
 Tum nurus Troiae tenerasque sponsas,  
 Quin et annosam Priami beati  
 Regis vxorem lachrumis acerbis  
 Affatim implebit miseroque planctu.  
 Interim proles Helene Tonantis 1050  
 Flebilis ibit |  
 Deserens dulcis thalamos mariti. LB 1169  
 Ne, precor, ne vel mihi vel meorum  
 Liberis vnquam veniat nepotum  
 Ista spes qualis, reor, obtinebit 1055  
 Diuites Lydas miserisque Troum  
 Coniuges fuis simul assidenteis  
 Ac suis pensis; querulae inter ipsas  
 Talia dicent:

1040 teligera: iam teligera *C D E F*, recte | 1041 vrbem ob- / : vrbem / 1042 Ob- *C D E F*

and *L*<sup>2</sup> εὐπρώροις; Murray's apparatus is not clear here). εἰρῆσις (766) is rendered by the collective singular *remige* (Er. knows this use of *remex* from Verg. *Aen.* IV, 588 and V, 116). The addition of *Siderum* in vs. 1036 reminds us of the famous lines of Horace *Carm.* I, 3,2 'fratres Helenae, lucida sidera'.

The subject of *repetat* (1034) and *referat* (1038) is *Mauors* (1030); in Eur. 770 sqq. Ἄρης is the subject of the whole sentence till vs. 780 (= 1047–1048 in Er.). Er. has broken up the sentence by introducing a new subject in *victor* (1043).

1039–1049 *Moenium ... planctu* The first four lines (1039–1042) are a particularly circumstantial translation of Eur. 773–775, as is immediately evident from the anaphora of *cinxerit*, whereas Eur. has only κινώσας. The more literal translation is given in vss. 1041–1042, where *validas* is the translation of λαίνους and *cruento* of the adjct. φοινίω

which occurs in Ald. Vss. 1039–1040 are a paraphrase of the same verses; they contain the extremely rare adjectives *pennifer* (only Sidon. Apollin. *Carm.* 2,309) and *teliger* (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 543). The *iam*, which occurs for the first time in *C*, is indispensable for the metre. For *Funditus ... populans* cf. the next note. Vss. 1046–1049 are the extremely circumstantial translation of Eur. 779–780.

1043 sqq. *Funditus ... populans* (1043) is the translation of Eur. 778 πέρσας κατάκρας πόλιν, which has been put before the translation of Ald 776–777 λαμμητόμους κεφαλὰς σπάσας in Er. 1044–1045. Next Er. translates again two short lines of Eur. (779–780) by no less than four Sapphic verses (1046–1049). 1053–1054 *meorum / Liberis ... nepotum* is an unexact translation of Eur. 784 ἐμοῖσι τέκνων τέκνοις, probably caused by the fact that *Liberis ... liberorum* could not be brought into the Sapphic metre.

'Quis, putas, me mox miseram capillis 1060  
 Pertrahens certa mihi lege comptis,  
 Patriae euersae simulatque captam  
 Senserit flentem ferus hostis arcem,  
 Polluet victaeque decus pudoris  
 Dulce decerpit violans tuaque 1065  
 Gratia nimirum, Helene, cygno por-  
 rectili ceruice superbienti  
 Nata, seu vera est ea fama quondam  
 Alitis Ledam venerem tulisse  
 Ipso in hanc verso Ioue, siue vatum 1070  
 Fabulis fictis potius Camoenae  
 Dissiparunt haec hominum per ora.'

ACH. Vbi hic Achiui ductor est exercitus?  
 Quisnam e ministris ibit illi nuntius  
 Adesse Achillem Peleo satum patre 1075  
 Pro foribus, ipsum conuenire qui velit?  
 Etenim diu iam sorte nequaquam pari  
 Frustra opperimur feruida Euripi vada,  
 Alique nostrum, liberi connubiis,  
 Relicta inani ac solitaria domo 1080  
 Hoc ociosi desidemus littore,

1061 mihi: tibi *CDEF* | 1064-1065 Polluet ... tuaque: Vltor extinguet feriens, tuaque id *A* | 1066-1067 *unam lineam faciunt CDEF* | 1068 Nata, seu vera est: Edite. Si vera *A* | 1074 *deest in A* | 1078 Frustra ... vada: Frustra aestuosi operimur Euripi vada *A*; opperimur: operimur *ACDEF*

1060-1065 *Quis ... violans* Again a very prolix translation of three verses of Eur. (790-792), which in Ald have this form: Τίς ἄρα μὲ εὐπλοκάμους κόμας / ἔρυμα δακρυόεντ' ἀκούσας / πατρίδος οὐλομένας ἀπολωτιεῖ (ἄκουσας, which is not mentioned in Murray's apparatus, seems to be a conjecture by Musurus). The translation *me ... capillis* | *Pertrahens* makes it plausible that Er. here anticipated Musgrave's conjecture εὐπλοκάμου. Remarkable is the substitution of *tibi* for *mihi* in *CDEF*. ἀπολωτιεῖ is not connected by Er. with the genitive πατρίδος οὐλομένας (*cf.* for this construction Paley's and Wecklein's notes); he interprets this genitive as depending on ἔρυμα (*Patriae euersae ... arcem*) and supposes the verb ἀπολω-

τίξω to have its proper sense here, *viz.*, 'to cull or select the choicest flower' (Paley). This is expressed with great verbosity in 1064-1065 *Polluet ... violans*. It should be noted that these verses occur for the first time in *B*, and that *A* has only one verse, in which only murder, not rape, is mentioned. *decus ... Dulce* is, of course, a reminiscence of Hor. *Carm.* I, 1,2 (*meum decus* is found at the end of the dedicatory letter, p. 272, 20).

1065-1072 *tuaque ... ora* The adjct. *porrectilis* does not occur in Lewis and Short. *fictis* (1071) must serve as a translation of both *παρὰ καιρόν* and *ἄλλως* in Eur. 800.

1081 This verse is almost identical with vs. 109.

- Alii iugati vxoribus, sed liberis  
 Nondum creatis: vsque adeo impotens amor  
 Ardorque nouus haud absque diuum numine  
 Habet huius expeditionis Graeciam. 1085  
 Itaque, quod ad me pertinet negotii,  
 Id memetipsum expostulare conuenit,  
 Porro alius itidem, si cui videbitur,  
 Pro se loquetur ipse. Nanque Pharsalo  
 Patria relicta, ad hoc parente Peleo, 1090  
 Tenuia pigri flamina Euripi moror  
 Myrmidonas hic vel ociosos detinens,  
 Qui me quidem vrgent semper hisce vocibus:  
 ‘Quid hic, Achilles, commoramur? Aut quoad  
 Priameia adhuc ad Pergama traectio 1095  
 Sine fine lentis prorogabitur moris?  
 Face, si quid es factururus, aut retro domum,  
 Vnde huc profectae, copias reducito  
 Haud longa Atridarum manens cunctamina.’  
 CLY. O gnate Thetidis, intus audito tuo 1100  
 Sermone celeri prodii foras gradu.  
 ACH. Sancte o pudor, quatenam ista tandem foemina  
 Quam conspicio forma decente praeditam?  
 CLY. Non est nouum nos ante non visas tibi haud  
 Agnoscier, verum modestia tua 1105  
 Delector ac pudore reuerenti mei.

1088 si cui: si quidem *C D E F* | 1099 manens: operiens *A*

1083–1084 *impotens amor* | *Ardorque nouus* is the translation of Eur. 808 δεινός ... ἔρως.

1091 *Tenuia ... moror* Ald 813 μένω 'πὶ λεπταῖς ταῖσδ' ἔ' Εὐρίπου πνοαῖς. The passage is fairly obscure. Since in *P* a vacuum of three lines is indicated, Kirchoff may be right in supposing that there is here a lacune in the text itself. Paley, too, regards this as probable, whereas Wecklein considers Eur. 812–818 to be an interpolation. One of his arguments in favour of this supposition is that λεπταῖς ... πνοαῖς must indicate a calm, a statement which contradicts Eur. vs. 1323 and *Iph. Taur.* 15, where adverse winds are mentioned. From the addition of *pigri* to *Euripi* it is evident that by *Tenuia fla-*

*mina* Er. means the calm, or at least the weakness of favourable winds, but not adverse winds. The meaning of *moror* is obscure: as a transitive verb it never means ‘to wait on account of’; one would rather have expected *Tenuia flamina me morantur*.

1094 *quoad* Ald 815 has here ποῖον χρόνον. Er. anticipates Monk’s conjecture πόσον.

1099 *cunctamina* Ald 818, following *P*<sup>2</sup>, has μελήματα for which Er. has rightly substituted μελλήματα. *cunctamen* is a very rare word which Er., as a great reader of Christian Latin poetry, probably knows from Paulin. Nol. *Carm.* 24, 416.

1104 *visas* Ald 824 has κατεῖδες (from *p*); cf. further Murray’s apparatus.

- ACH. Quae tandem es? Aut quid Achium in agmen foemina  
Virosque adisti armis amictos Martiis?
- CLY. Ego gnata Ladae sum, Clytemnestre mihi  
Nomen, Agamemnon dux maritus est meus. 1110
- ACH. Dixti probe et compendio quod oportuit,  
Mihi at indecorum est colloqui cum foeminis.
- CLY. Heus, quo fugis? Quin dexteræ dextram applica,  
Laetum futuri initium connubii.
- ACH. Quid ais? Egon' tibi dexteram? Atqui Agamemnonem 1115  
Vereamur, horum si quid attigero manu  
Quae neutiquam mihi iusue fasue tangere.
- CLY. Fas maxime, quando meam tu filiam  
Duces, marinae germen o Nereidis.
- ACH. Quas nuptias, cedo, praedicas? Equidem mihi 1120  
Nihil est quod his respondeam, nisi forsitan  
Tu rem quod istam perperam intellexeris,  
Nobis proinde fabulam adportas nouam.
- CLY. Cunctis id insitum est, vti reuerentia  
Capiantur ac pudore, si quando nouis 1125  
Visis amicis audiant de nuptiis.
- ACH. Ego profecto, mulier, haud vnquam tuae |  
Connubia procus expetiui filiae,  
Nec vllus vnquam mihi super connubiis  
Allatus est ex gente Atridum nuntius. 1130
- CLY. Quid esse tandem possit hoc negocii?  
Orationem tu vicissim nunc meam  
Mirare; dicta nempe miror ego tua.
- ACH. Coniicito: coniectare quid sibi haec velint

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1109 Clytemnestre: Clytemnestra *A C D E F* | 1112 indecorum: iudeorum *A* | 1113 Heus: Hem *E F*; dexteræ: dextræ *A C D* | 1115 dexteram: dextram *C D E F* | 1117 iusue fasue: fasue iusue *A C D E F* | 1124 insitum: incitum *A* | 1134 quid: quod *C D*

1107 *in* is necessary for the avoidance of a hiatus; however, the construction *Achium in agmen ... Virosque adisti* is far from elegant. The Greek text (825-826) has two propositions after ἦλθεσ, *viz.*, ἐς σύλλογον and πρὸς ἀνδρας.

1117 *iusue fasue* All the other editions have *fasue iusue* which means that Er. has definitely eliminated the reading of *B* in *C*. The postposition of *fasue* has, however, the advantage that *fas* is thus more easily repeated in the next

verse.

1122 *Tu ... intellexeris* Eur. 838 τὴ παρανοοῦσα. Er.'s translation is, in my opinion, to be preferred to Wecklein's interpretation 'im Irrsinn', which firstly is too vehement for the polite dialogue of Clytaemnestra and Achilles, and secondly neglects the accus. τὴ.

1126 *audiant* Er. rightly understands μεμνημένοις in Eur. 840 as equivalent to *memorare*, not to *meminisse* (cf. Paley and Wecklein *ad loc.*).

- Commune nobis, quippe vtrique forsitan  
Vera loquimur nec fraude mentimur mala. 1135
- CLY. An non nouum mihi contumeliae genus  
Fit, quae quidem (vt videtur) nuptias  
Concilio falsas; me profecto horum pudet.
- ACH. Fors meque teque quispiam lusit dolo; 1140  
Verum ista mittas nec feras acerbius.
- CLY. Valetō, rectis non enim posthac queo  
Te oculis tueri, quando sum mendax tibi  
Reperta meque indigna nimirum tuli.
- ACH. Totidem tibi verbis ego respondeo; 1145  
Sed vt maritum, quem peto, quaeram tuum,  
In ista iam nunc tecta conferam pedem.
- SE. Hospes, Aeaci nepos, maneto, nanque appello te,  
Eedit dea parente, teque, Ladae filiam.
- ACH. Hem, quis hic, qui nos aperto iam vocauit ostio? 1150  
Ore quam tumultuoso, vultu at attonito vocat.
- SE. Seruus, hinc haud insolesco; sors enim haud sinit mea.
- ACH. Caeterum illud adde, cuius; neutiquam certe meus.  
Separatae enim meae res a bonis Agamemnonis.
- SE. Seruus istarum, ante quas me stare caernis, aedium; 1155  
Nanque in hanc domum huius olim Tyndareus dedit pater.

1135–1136 Commune... mala: Commune nobis. non enim ambo forsitan / Mentimur, et si dicimus contraria *EF* | 1139 Concilio: consilio *A* | 1147 tecta: recta *EF* | 1151 at: vt *CDEF* | 1156 Tyndareus: Tyndarius *ACD*

- 1135–1136 Eur. 846 has: ἀμφω γὰρ οὐ ψευδοῦμεθα τοῖς λόγοις ἴσως. Paley paraphrases: ‘for both of us perhaps are speaking not falsely in our assertions’. This thought is indeed better brought out in the new translation of these verses given in *E(F)*.
- 1147 *recta* (*EF*) instead of *tecta* must be a mistake, since Eur. 854 has δωμάτων, and *ista* without any further addition can hardly serve as an indication of Agamemnon’s tent.
- 1148 SE. By this indication Er. anticipates Markland’s correction (ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ) of θεράπων in Eur. vss. 855–895.
- 1150–1230 As in vss. 851–919 (cf. the note on that passage), Er. once more, with few exceptions, translates one single Greek verse by means of two Latin verses.
- 1152 *hinc haud insolesco* Eur. 858 οὐχ ἀβρόνομαι τῶδ’, ‘I do not pride myself on that matter’ (Paley; Wecklein’s explication ‘leider ist es so’ is to be rejected). *mea* is explained by the fact that Ald (like *LP*) has μ’ οὐκ εἴ (μ’ is omitted in one of the Paris manuscripts; it was definitely eliminated by Elmsley).
- 1155 *Seruus ... aedium* The correct reading is that in *L* (860): τῆσδε τῆς πάροισεν οἴκων (‘I am the slave of this lady – Clytaemnestra – who is standing before this dwelling’). Ald follows, of course, *P*: τῶνδε τῶν π.ο., in which πάροισεν does not make sense (one would expect: ‘which is behind me’). Er. evidently maintains the impossible words τῶνδε τῶν (*istarum ... aedium*) and then gives the translation which is required by common sense.

- ACH. En resistimus; ergo fare, si quid eloqui velis,  
Cur gradum bene institutum iusseris me sistere.
- SE. Num fores ad hasce soli vos duo consistitis?
- CLY. Immo, solis quo loquare, regiis ab aedibus 1160  
Prodeas foras, et ad nos ipse huc confer gradum.
- SE. O potens fortuna rerum meaque prouidentia,  
Obsecro, seruate saluos quos ego esse peruelim.
- ACH. Differetur (sicuti videtur) haec narratio  
Praeque se profecto quiddam magnum et arduum gerit. 1165
- CLY. De fide silentii tu ne quid haesites, senex,  
Neue conteris loqui, mihi si quid eloqui velis.
- SE. Scis profecto, quisquis essem quantulusque, in te tamen  
Beneuolum fuisse semper ac tuos in liberos.
- CLY. Scio videlicet meorum iandiu penatium 1170  
Esse te veterem ministrum ac familiae columen meae.
- SE. Scis, opinor, et illud, olim vt dotis in partem tuae  
Me receperit Agamemnon dux Achiui exercitus.
- CLY. Argos es mecum profectus additus sponsae comes,  
Ac meus semper fuisti et partibus studens meis. 1175
- SE. Sic habet res; caeterum tibi sum quidem volens bene,  
Hera, tuo vero marito non perinde sum fauens.
- CLY. Ergo nunc aperito tandem quae parabas dicere.
- SE. Nempe filiam tuam, qui seuit ac genuit pater  
Ipse mactare cruentus manibus apparat suis. 1180
- CLY. Qui potest? Orationem abominor, senex, tuam;  
Non enim mihi videris sapere sanum scilicet.
- SE. Apparat cruentus, inquam, desecare ferreo  
Ense ceruicem puellae candidam miserrimae.
- CLY. Hei mihi miserae! An maritus, obsecro, insanit meus? 1185
- SE. Sanus is quidem, nisi in te coniugem nec non suam

1159 Num: Nam *A* | 1160 loquare: locare *A* | 1167 conteris: cuncteris *C D E F* | 1170 penatium: penatum *A* | 1177 perinde: proinde *F* | 1185 CLY. *deest in C*

1159 *fores ad hasce* Er. has substituted the correct reading ταῖσδ' (*L*) for the impossible παῖ δ' which is found in Ald 862 (from 'P<sup>2</sup> vel *p*', Murray).

1162 *meaque prouidentia* Ald 864 has πρόνοιᾷ θ' ἢ ἡμῆ instead of ἡμῆ.

1164–1165 Ald 865 has: ὁ λόγος ἐς μέλλοντ' ἂν ὦση χρόνον· ἔχει δ' ὄγκον τινά. It is not clear which Greek verb Er. has conjectured here instead of ἂν ὦση.

1166–1167 *De fide silentii* is the rendering of δεξιᾶς ἑκατὶ (Eur. 866) with perhaps a

reminiscence of Hor. *Carm.* III, 2, 25–26: 'Est et fideli tuta silentio / merces'. Er. comes near to Paley's paraphrase: 'As far as the pledge (promised security) of my right hand is concerned'.

*ne quid haesites ... Neue conteris* shows that Er. adopts the correct reading μέλλ', which occurs in *L*<sup>2</sup>, whereas Ald gives μέλ', which occurs in *L P*. It is not clear why in his last revision (*F*) Er. substituted *proinde* for *perinde*.

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- Filiam; profecto parte hac ille nil sanum sapit.
- CLY. Gratia qua, cedo? Quis illum genius instigat malus?
- SE. Numinum responsa cogunt, sic enim Chalcas ait  
 Augur, vt Danaum phalanges classe sulcent aequora. 1190
- CLY. Quo profectura est Pelasgum classis? Infelix ego,  
 Illa at infelix magis, quam dirus occidet pater.
- SE. Dardani ad sedes sacraeque celsa Troiae Pergama,  
 Victor vt Menelaus Helenam Marte recipiat suam.
- CLY. Scilicet sic destinarent fata iniqua numinum, 1195  
 Vt rediret Helena nobis gnatae in exitium meae.
- SE. Rem tenes, hera, prorsus omnem; nanque Dianae pater  
 Mox tuam sacras ad aras immolabit filiam.
- CLY. Quid sibi vult ergo quod praetexuere nuptias?  
 Quae quidem me res meis huc euocauit aedibus. 1200
- SE. Quo volens lubensque gnatam adduceres horsum tuam,  
 Quippe eam datura Achilli nuptum, Achium principi.
- CLY. Proh dolor, miseranda gnata, quo perires huc domo |  
 Atque in exitium es profecta tuque egoque parens tua. LB 1171
- SE. Miseraque et lachrumanda fertis vtraeque, cum sitis duae; 1205  
 Caeterum dira atque acerba ductor Agamemnon tulit.
- CLY. Heu dolor, miseranda perii, nec mihi iam lumina  
 Perferunt diutius neque temperant a lachrumis.
- SE. Siquidem graue esse possit aut molestum, fundere  
 Lachrumas quae sit suis orbanda liberis parens. 1210
- CLY. Tu sed ista, senior, vnde scire temet praedicas?  
 Nunquid audisti tibi renuntiante quopiam?

1198 immolabit: immolabat *A* | 1206 tulit: parat *C D E F*

1195-1196 Er. interprets Eur. 882 as a concluding sentence; in Ald, as also in later editions (Paley, Wecklein, Murray), it has the form of a question.

1199-1200 Ald 884 reads *ὁ δὲ γάμος τίν' εἶχε τὴν πρόφασιν, ἢ μ' ἐκόμισεν ἐκ δόμων;* Instead of *ἢ* Monk read *ὅς*, Bothe *ἢ* which was adopted by Hermann and Dindorf, and Musgrave, followed by Wecklein and Murray, *ῶ*. However, *ἢ* is certainly correct, cf. Paley's note: 'The πρόφασις itself is said κομίζειν, as being the motive'. Er. gives a generally correct interpretation, since the words *Quae ... res* refer to *quod praetexuere nuptias*.

1202 *datura ... nuptum* anticipates Barnes' conjecture *νυμφεύσουσα* in vs. 885 instead of the present participle occur-

ring in Ald.

1206 *tulit* is the translation of *ἔτλη* (887). In *C* Er. writes *parat* instead, which is certainly not correct, since *ἔτλη* here means 'ausus est' (cf. Wecklein *ad loc.*).

1207-1208 Ald 888 reads as follows: *οἴχομαι τάλαινα, δακρύοντ' ὄμματ' οὐκέτι στέγει.* Er. seems to assume a proleptic meaning of the participle: 'my eyes do not hold any more (*perferunt*; for this meaning of *στέγει*, cf. Paley's note) and so they are full of tears'. We need not go here into a discussion of the considerable number of conjectures concerning this verse.

1209-1210 Er. faithfully translates the rather senseless form of this verse in Ald (889): *εἴπερ ἀλγεινὸν τὸ τέκνων στερομένην δακρυρροεῖν.*

- SE. Missus iueram tabellas adferens tibi alteras  
Praeter illam, quam prius receperas, epistolam.
- CLY. Vtrum id interdiceres, an denuo nobis idem 1215  
Nuntiares, immolandam vti filiam deducerem?
- SE. Immo vti denuntiarem, virginem ne adduceres,  
Nam tuus fors tum maritus coeperat resipiscere.
- CLY. Deinde qui factum est, vt ad me quas ferendas ceperas,  
Non eas pertuleris idem manibus imponens meis? 1220
- SE. Vetuit id Menelaus, has qui manibus eripuit meis,  
Vnus horum qui malorum caussa et autor exitit.
- CLY. Nate Peleo parente, germen o Nereidis,  
Marte praepotens Achilles, haecce audis, obsecro?
- ACH. Audio, mulier, videlicet esse te miserrimam; 1225  
Caeterum laesum haud leui me contumelia puto.
- CLY. Filiam dare cruento destinant leto meam  
Ad dolum tuarum abusi nuptiarum nomine.
- ACH. Quin et ipse tuo marito indignor ac succenseo,  
Nec negotium mihi hoc vulgaribus dolet modis. 1230
- CLY. Me quidem haudquaquam pudebit genibus aduolui tuis,  
Quippe mortalem parente prodi in lucem dea.  
Cur enim nunc iactitem me ac dignitatis sim memor?  
Cuius ergo, quaeso, matrem deceat eniti magis  
Atque pro gnatae salute? Proinde age, o dea sate, 1235  
Opitulare tum meis, precor, malis tum virgini,  
Quae fuit tua dicta coniunx – hoc inaniter quidem,  
Fateor, attamen hanc ego sertis reuinctam frondeis  
Arbitrata tibi futuram coniugem adduxi domo,  
Caeterum ad caedem necemque virginem nunc adueho. 1240  
Huius at facti probrum in te recidet atque infamia,  
Ferre opem qui sis grauatus; licet enim non duxeris,

1213 iueram: abieram *C D E F* | 1229 Quin: Quum *A* | 1234 ergo: ego *A*

1213–1214 *iueram* is replaced in *C* by *abieram*, which is indeed a more exact translation of the *ᾠχόμην* in Eur. 891.

*praeter ... epistolam* Eur. has *πρὸς τὰ πρὶν γεγραμμένα*, where *πρὸς* means 'in reference to'; Er. gives a translation of *πρὸς* with a dative, as is the case in Eur. 115.

1226 *Caeterum ... puto* is the exact rendering of Eur. 897 *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐ φαύλως φέρω*. Paley may be right in supposing that the correct reading is *τὸ δὲ γ' ἐμὸν φαύλως φέρω*, 'but my own case I bear

lightly', since in the first place this would be more polite towards Clytaemnestra, and in the second place it would avoid a repetition, because in vs. 899 we find *κοῦχ ἀπλῶς οὕτω φέρω*. That Er., too, felt some difficulty here is shown by his rather queer translation of the latter line in vs. 1230.

1238 *attamen hanc, etc.* In order to understand the translation we should bear in mind that the full stop after *ἀλλ'* *ἔμωσ* in Eur. 904 was first put in by Hermann.

- Dulcis es miserae tamen dictus maritus virginis.  
 Perque mentum perque dextram perque genitricem deam,  
 Quando me solum profecto nomen extinxit tuum, 1245  
 Hoc oportet te tuerier, alia non superest mihi  
 Ara quo refugere possim genua praeterquam ad tua,  
 Quippe cui non adsit vllus hic amicus, vnde mi  
 Adferendae opis aut salutis vlla spes arrideat.  
 Id genus, cuiusmodi audis, facta sunt Agamemnonis 1250  
 Plenaque crudelitatis perditaeque audaciae.  
 Adde ad haec, quod (vti vides) ad nauticas et efferas  
 Mulier adueni phalanges, turbam et effrenem virum  
 Ad patrandam scelera prompta praeditos audacia  
 Nec, nisi si quando ita ipsis collubuerit, vtileis. 1255  
 Proinde, tu si non grauabere dexteram mi obtendere  
 Vique nos tua tueri, scilicet saluae sumus,  
 Sin secus, tum spes salutis nulla nobis reliqua fit.
- CH. Res efficax peperisse, vimque maximam  
 Amoris adfert omnibus communiter, 1260  
 Vti pro suis summe adlaborent liberis.
- ACH. Ingens mihi animus tollitur magis ac magis.  
 Condidicit autem tum malis aegrescere,  
 Tum prosperis gaudere modice casibus.
- CH. Huiusmodi quidem ratio mortalibus 1265  
 Recte instituta est, vt bene ac feliciter  
 Rectrice vitam transigant sapientia.
- ACH. Est interim autem dulce non sapere admodum,  
 Rursum interim homini sapere conducit magis.  
 At ego educatus pridem in integerrimi 1270  
 Domo viri Chironis ac iustissimi

1255 Nec: Haec *A C D E* | 1256 dexteram: dextram *E F* | 1269 sapere: non sapere *E F*

1255 *Nec* This correct translation which occurs for the first time in *B*, is again discarded in *C* in favour of the *Haec* occurring in *A*; as frequently, it is only in *F* that Er. returns to the correct translation.

1261 *adlaborent* In classical poetry the verb occurs only twice in Horace (*Epod.* 8,20 and *Carm.* I, 38,5), where the meaning is 'to toil at a thing, to add to with labor or pains'. Here, however, it is fully equivalent to *laborare* (*Vti ... summe adlaborent: ὥσθ' ὑπερχάμνεν*).

1265-1267 In *L* and *P* Eur. 922-923 are at-

tributed to the chorus; this error was corrected by Burges. *Huiusmodi* is to be connected with *mortalibus*, not with *ratio* (cf. Paley's paraphrase: 'for such men have the prudence to pass their life rightly').

1269 I fail to understand why in *E* Er. added *non* to *sapere* and maintained this reading in *F*; since there is no trace of a reading οὐ χροῖσμον anywhere, and, moreover, this addition of *non* spoils the metre, we must assume here a printing error caused by the *non sapere* in vs. 1268.

	Simplicibus vti consueui moribus.	
	Proin Atridis, si probi fuerint duces,	
	Parebimus, sin improbi, haud parebimus.	
	Sed tum loco hoc, tum Troiae ad vrbis moenia,	1275
	Ego liberum vsque mentis ingenium meae	
	Prae me ferens Martem, quod ad me pertinet,	
	Forti manu ac virtute condecorauero.	
	Ad te quidem, quae misera fers et atrocias	
LB 1172	Et ab iis, amici qui tibi sunt intimi,	1280
	Quantum quidem praestare possit viribus	
	Iuuenis et aeuo adhuc virens impubere,	
	Hoc quicquid est doloris in me transferens	
	Meo his procellis eximam periculo	
	Tutoque statuam, nec patri vnquam filia	1285
	Tua perimetur, dicta quae fuerit mea.	
	Nec enim viro permiserim segnis tuo,	
	Vti me dolis misceat et inuoluat suis,	
	Nam nomen etsi spicula non vibret meum	
	Ferrumue, tamen id filiam occidet tuam;	1290
	At sceleris autor vir quidem fuerit tuus,	
	Verum nec ipse vacauero piaculo,	
	Si virgo per me perierit nec non meas	
	Per nuptias noua nec ferenda sustinens,	
	Violata miris simul et indignis modis.	1295
	Equidem Pelasgum vir fuero deterrimus,	
	Nullius, inquam, sim rei pretiue ego,	
	Menelaus autem habeatur in numero virum,	
	Neque Peleo progenitus autumer patre	
	Sed pessimo ignauissimoque daemone,	1300

1277–1278 Martem...ac: praestansque marti quatenus / Ad me attinet A | 1279 Ad: At ACDEF, recte | 1281–1282 Quantum...impubere: Atque ea patrantur cuncta nimirum viri / Florentis aeuo occasione ac nomine A | 1282 virens impubere: sane tenero virens EF

1279 sqq. The *Ad* occurring in *B* can only be a printing error. The accusative *te* is the object of *eximam* in 1282. The structure of the sentence in Eur. 932–934 is complicated; Paley regards these verses as spurious (cf. also Wecklein's note). The words *σὲ ... τοσοῦτον οἶκτον περιβαλῶν καταστελῶ* must mean 'investing you with so much compassion I will tranquillize you', with *σὲ* functioning as the object of both verbal forms. Er. supplies *ἐμαυτὸν* after περι-

*βαλῶν*, thus translating the three words *τοσοῦτον οἶκτον περιβαλῶν* by *Hoc ... transferens*, and connects *σὲ* with *καταστελῶ* alone which he must have interpreted as 'I shall arrange, set right your situation'.

1294 *noua* Eur. 942 *δεινά*.

1296 *fuero* Eur. 944 *ἦν ἄρ'*, 'in dem Sinne von "das wusste ich bisher nicht"' (Wecklein).

1300 *pessimo ignauissimoque daemone* Eur. 946 *ἀλλάστωρος*.

Si coniugi vnquam nomen ad caedem tuo  
 Inseruiat meum. Liquenti gurgite  
 Volubilem tibi deiero per Nerea  
 Thetidis parentem, quae mihi fuit parens,  
 Haud filiam rex tanget Agamemnon tuam, 1305  
 Nec vel manu summa nec vti vel vestibus  
 Digitum puellae liceat admolirier;  
 Aut hercle Sipylus, culta sedes barbaris,  
 Vrbs ea futura est, vnde duxerint genus  
 Clari gerendoque incltyti bello duces, 1310  
 At Phthia rursus, vnde stirpem duxi ego,  
 Obscura nullum nominis feret decus.  
 Et acerba Chalcas auferet libamina  
 Augur. Quis autem est augur? Is videlicet  
 Qui vera pauca, falsa dicit plurima, 1315  
 Si fors ita ceciderit, atqui si minus  
 Ita ceciderit, tum profecto disperit.  
 Aut proinde nostros virginum millia decem  
 Petant thoros, dixi, et rata est sententia.  
 Quin ipse etiam ductor Agamemnon graui 1320

1303 Volubilem tibi: Vndarum alumnum *EF* | 1307 liceat: licet *CDEF* | 1314 quis: quid *A* | 1317 profecto disperit: vel arte elabatur *EF* | 1318 Aut: An *EF* | 1319-1320 Petant... graui: Petant thoros, si commodum est parentibus / Qui collocant, his vti verbis loquar. / Ipsa attamen reductor (re ductor *F*) Agamemnon graui *EF*

1302-1303 *Liquenti gurgite* / *Volubilem* Eur. 948 τὸν δι' ὑγρῶν κυμάτων τεθραμμένον, 'd.i. im Bereich der Wogen' (Wecklein). *Volubilis* is fairly frequently used by Er.; in this connection it should be observed that it occurs at the very beginning of the *Praefatio* of Prudentius, Er.'s favourite poet (vs. 3: *sole volubili*).

1308-1312 *Sipylus ... feret decus* The addition of *ea* shows that Er. misunderstood these verses (Eur. 952-954), of which Paley gives the following paraphrase: 'Sipylus, that barbaric (*i.e.*, Lydian) settlement, whence Tantalus, the ancestor of Agamemnon and Menelaus came, will henceforth be a state' (ἡ Σίπυλος ἔσται πόλις). In 1311-1312 the form of the verse in Ald (954) is as follows: Φθία δὲ τοῦμόν, οὐδαμοῦ κεκλήσεται.

1313 *auferet* Eur. 955 ἀνάξεται, for which Musgrave, followed by Paley and

Wecklein, substituted ἀνάξεται. Murray rightly refers to L. Spengel, *Opferbränche*, p. 48, from which it is evident that ἀνάξεται is correct. Er. translates it literally, though *auferre* is not a sacral term in Latin.

1314-1317 Er. translates according to the punctuation in Ald 956, with a point of interrogation after τίς δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνήρ, not after διοίχεται (Murray and others). The translation is quite correct, cf. Paley's paraphrase: 'He is one who says a few truths and many lies, as he may chance to utter them; but, when he fails, is done for', with the added explanation: 'i.e. loses all credit'. (διοίχεται, Er. *profecto disperit*, for which in *E* (*F*) he substitutes *vel arte elabatur*.)

1318-1320 Ald 959-960 has the impossible form ἡ τῶν γαμούντων ἑκατι μυρίαί κέραι / θηρῶσι λεκτρὸν τοῦμόν \* εἴρηται τόδε (for a discussion of the numerous

Nos afficit profecto contumelia;  
 Nam ius et aequum fuerat, vt nomen meum  
 Rogaret a me postulans ad virginem  
 Irretiendam; nam Clytemnestra mihi  
 Nuptum dedisset filiam potissimum, 1325  
 Atque hanc Pelasgum bellicosus copiis  
 Forsan dedissem, si quidem transmissio  
 Pendebat ex hac diruendum ad Ilium.  
 Neque enim grauarer publicis exercitus  
 Consulere sane commodis, quicum mea 1330  
 Coniunxerim arma; caeterum me nunc duces  
 Nihili aestimant reique momento leuis  
 Vel adiuuare vel nocere. Forsitan  
 Ferrum hoc mucroque nouerit quem, stringere  
 Dudum in Phrygas mihi destinatum barbaros, 1335  
 Macularo caede et sanguine inquinauero,

1324 Clytemnestra: Clytemnestrae *A* | *post* 1335 Etiam prius quam ad Ilium peruenero  
*E F*

conjectures, cf. Paley *ad loc.*; Murray puts *μυρία* ... *τούμόν* in parentheses). At all events Er. translates *ἦ* in *A* (*BCD*) by *Aut*, in *E (F)* by *An*; he has somehow contracted his translation of *τῶν γαμούντων* (or *γάμων*, if he anticipated Scaliger's conjecture) *ἕκαστι* into *proinde*: 'in this context (*viz.*, of the prospect of a marriage)'. The connection of thought seems to be the following: 'Also Calchas will stop his cruel activities – after all a seer is hardly of any importance. Or we may (*i.e.*, instead of consulting Calchas) follow this practice that, in this connection (*proinde*) ten thousand maidens may (*θηρώσω* interpreted as a subjunctive?) strive after a marriage with me. Then the decision has been made, and it is final (*εἰρηται τόδε*; Er. *disi*, *et rata est sententia*). In *E (F)* Er. gives a new translation of *εἰρηται τόδε*, *viz.*, *his vti verbis loquar* ('to say it in these words' instead of 'this has been said').

1321 After *contumelia* I have put a semicolon, as is put after Eur. 961 Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ by Paley.

1326–1327 *Atque hanc ... dedissem* Ald 965 has *ἔδωκέ τ' ἄν*. Er. anticipates the correction found in the 'Hervagiana secunda' (cf. Murray's app.) by reading

*ἔδωκα*. As the object he supplies *αὐτήν*, as was done afterwards by Dindorf, but it is certainly preferable to follow Paley in supplying *ἄνομα τούμόν*. On account of his interpretation, Er. is obliged to give a faulty translation of *ἐν τῷδ'* in Eur. 966 – which, as a neutral form, clearly refers to the name – by *ex hac*.

1334–1336 Here Er. seems to have completely misunderstood the meaning of the sentence. Ald 970–971 runs as follows: *τάχ' εἴσεται σίδηρος, δν πρὶν ἐς Φρύγας / ἔλθειν, φόνου κηλίσιν αἵματι χρανῶ* (if somebody takes your daughter away from you). This is certainly not the correct reading: Murray denotes the words *φόνου ... αἵματι* as corrupt; Paley observes: 'The interpolator probably meant *αἵματι* to stand in opposition to *φόνου κηλίσιν*'. However this may be, it is evident that in any case *πρὶν*, which functions as a conjunction ('before'), is wrongly translated by Er. as an adverb (*Dudum*); therewith *destinatum* becomes, of course, an incorrect translation of *ἔλθειν* (Er. translates *ἔλθειν πεπρωμένον*). The mistake is corrected by the addition of an extra verse in *E (F)*, which begins with *Etiam priusquam*.

- Gnatam modo mihi si quis eripiat tuam.  
 Sed ociosa, iubeo, sis, siquidem tibi  
 Ego deus extiti obtigique maximus;  
 Nondum quidem hunc tibi praestiti, fateor, deum, 1340  
 In posterum sum praestiturus attamen.
- CH. Et te locuta es digna, Pelei genus,  
 Et aequoris potente, veneranda dea.
- CLY. Quibus, obsecro, te praedicauro modis,  
 Vt ne nimis quid dixerim nec item minus, 1345  
 Vti nec fauorem et gratiam amittam loquens?  
 Viri enim probi laudes vbi audiunt suas,  
 Quodam solent odisse laudantem modo,  
 Si fors quis ipsos laudet immoderatus.  
 Tum me profecto dispudet de propriis 1350  
 Peculiaribusque calamitatibus  
 Lachrumabilem sermone miserando queri,  
 Cum tu meis sis prorsus alienus malis.  
 Haud indecorum est attamen, si vir probus |  
 Fortisque, quanquam sit alienus, adiuuet 1355 LB 1173  
 Hos quos acerba sors et aspera premit.  
 Age itaque, nostri te misereat, si quidem  
 Miseranda patimur: Primum ego generum mihi  
 Rata te futurum spes inaneis ceperam;  
 Dein haud scio sat, an meae mors filiae 1360  
 Tibi triste forsitan omen aliquod adferat  
 In posterum, si quando duces coniugem,  
 Quod ominis vitare te consultus.  
 Verum probe elocutus adhuc initia  
 Idem probe perfeceris negotium; 1365  
 Mea nanque gnata, si voles, seruabitur.  
 Num genua vis hanc supplicem amplecti tua?  
 Sunt haec quidem parum decora virgini,  
 Si tu tamen ita censeas, videlicet  
 Mox huc pudoris liberalem venerit 1370

1342 locuta es: locutus *ACDEF*, *recte* | 1346 *post* loquens *interrog. sign. add. EF* | 1369-1371 videlicet ... purpura: quid sit decens / Oblita: veniet: ac pudoris immemor *A*

1365 *Idem ... negotium* One would indeed, after the first half of Eur. 990, ἀλλ' εἶ μὲν ἀρχᾶς εἶπας, expect an exhortation now to finish the matter in the right way, in other words, an exhortation to the right action. This is also brought

out in 'Kirchhoff's ingenious but unnecessary conjecture' (Paley) εἶ δὲ καὶ τέλει, which is here anticipated by Er. However, the text gives τέλη (*uirg.*, εἶπας), which is accepted by all editors.

- Suffusa vultum virginali purpura.  
 An potius illa absente id abs te quod peto,  
 Achilles, exoraro et impetrauero?
- ACH. Maneat domi; pudicam enim decet pudor.
- CLY. Verum tamen pudere oportet eatenus, 1375  
 Qua res ferat praesensque postulet status.
- ACH. Neque tu sub oculos filiam produxeris  
 Meos tuam, mulier, neque per inscitiam  
 Famae probrum accersamus ac vitae notam,  
 Siquidem coacti turba densa exercitus, 1380  
 Domesticarum ac propriarum negligens  
 Rerum, malignis gaudet obtrectatibus  
 Amans maledicas dissipare fabulas.  
 At nullo ego hercule posuerim in discrimine ac  
 Tantundem apud me prorsus hic effeceris, 1385  
 Seu supplices humilesque veneritis mihi  
 Seu neutiquam mihi supplicaris; nam meo  
 Fixum stat animo viribus contendere  
 Nisunque summo, vos vt eximam malis.  
 Adeo sit vnum hoc me tibi satis semel 1390  
 Dixisse, neque enim vanus aut mendax ego,  
 Mihi crede, fuerim. Si quid autem mentiar  
 Dederoque verba seu dolis elusero,  
 Emoriar; immo haud moriar, hanc si virginem  
 Seruaro. CLY. Dii faueant, precor, ferenti opem 1395  
 Vsque iis, acerbis qui laborant casibus.
- ACH. Audito nunc, vti res mihi haec habeat bene.
- CLY. Cur hoc aisti? Te quidem audiam volens.

1375 pudere: pudore *A* | 1389 Nisunque: Nixunque *A C D E F*

1372-1373 This is the translation of Ald 995 ἢ μὴ (conjecture by Musurus; for further details cf. Paley *ad loc.*) παρούσης ταῦτὰ τεύξομαι σέθεν. Er. has only added a point of interrogation at the end, thereby anticipating a conjecture by Hermann.

1375 In the translation of Eur. 997 Er. coincides with the translation by Bremi, which is subscribed to by Hermann and Monk: 'sed tamen non ultra quam res patitur verecundum esse oportet'. According to Er., Clytaemnestra means to say that Iphigenia should not from mere chastity stay at home, if coming to Achilles would actually in-

crease her chance of surviving.

1387 *Seu ... supplicaris* Ald 1003 reads εἴ τ' ἀνικέτευτος ἦς.

1390-1392 *Adeo ... fuerim* A very lengthy and syntactically incorrect translation of Eur. 1005: ὡς ἐν γ' ἀκούσασ' ἴσθι, μὴ ψευδῶς μ' ἔρεῖν, where of course ἴσθι should be connected with ἔρεῖν. The starting-point of the incorrect translation is to be found in the addition of *semel*.

1398 *Cur hoc aisti?* This is a faulty translation of Eur. 1010 τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας; ('What is this which you said?'). In the second part of the verse the causal sense of ὡς is not expressed.



- ACH. Rursum patri persuadeamus virginis,  
Consilia quo iam saniora sumpserit. 1400
- CLY. Ignauus est ac timidus ille quispiam,  
Nimiaque pauit at copias formidine.
- ACH. Ratione at expugnata ratio vincitur.
- CLY. Spes ista sane frigida ac leuis; tamen  
Eloquere tandem, facere me quid oporteat. 1405
- ACH. Primum quidem illi supplicabis, liberos  
Ne perimat, idque si recuset, tum tibi  
Fuerit necesse nos adire denuo.  
Nam si, quod optas, sponte id annuit sua,  
Tum me quidem illum conuenire nihil opus, 1410  
Quando ipsa per se res salutem conferet.  
Ad hoc videbor erga amicum rectius  
Egisse neque me copiae culpauerint,  
Ratione si rem potius ac prudentia  
Quam vi manuque viribusque gessero. 1415  
Tum porro amicis rebus ex sententia  
Ipsis volentibus, vt puta, ac lubentibus  
Probe peractis vel operam citra meam  
Tibique fors haec transigentur commode.
- CLY. Vt es probe locutus! Itaque sic, vti 1420  
Censes, agendum est. Caeterum ista si parum  
Successerint mihi mentis ex sententia,  
Vbinam licebit postea te visere?  
Quonam loci venire me miseram iubes?  
Vbi liceat istam repperisse dexteram, 1425  
Quae sola nostris praestat auxilium malis?

1409 id *deest in F* | 1411 conferet: confert *F* | 1425 repperisse: reperisse *C D E F*

1405 *B* has a comma after *Eloquere*, but it must clearly stand after *tandem*.

1409 *quod optas* is the translation of Eur. 1017 τὸ χερῆζον, as in Eur. 1270 τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον means 'his desire' (Er. 1807 *huius ... sententia*).

1411 *ipsa per se res* Ald 1018 has τοῦτο. Er. anticipates Kirchoff's generally accepted conjecture αὐτό.

1416-1419 Ald 1022-1023 reads καλῶς δὲ κρανθέντων πρὸς ἡδονὴν φίλοις, / σοὶ τ' ἂν γένοιτο κὰν ἐμοῦ χωρὶς τὰδε, which Paley, who regards the lines as spurious, paraphrases as follows: 'And if matters turn out well, this will prove satis-

factory both to your friends and to yourself, even without my interference'. The main change occurring in Er.'s rather circumstantial translation of these two lines consists in the fact that he draws the translation of πρὸς ἡδονὴν φίλοις to the beginning. The correct translation would have to begin as follows: 'Tum porro rebus probe peractis haec, vt puta, amicis ex sententia', etc.

1424 It should be noticed here that Ald 1026 has the following punctuation: ὀψόμεσθα; ποῦ χερῆ μ' ἀθλίαν, etc.

- ACH. Ipsi has tibi excubias agemus teque, vbi  
 Res cunq̄ue postulabit, obseruabimus,  
 Ne turbulenta per Pelasgum copias  
 Te cursitantem conspicetur quispiam 1430  
 Pauido ore et attonitam; neque hoc tu dedecus |  
 LB 1174 Labemque eam domui paternaē asperseris.  
 Indignus etenim Tyndareus pater tuus  
 Est, qui male audiat, vtpote Graecanica  
 In gente magnus atque cum primis potens. 1435
- CLY. Ita res habet: tu dux eris negotii,  
 Me tibi vicissim gerere morem conuenit.  
 Quod si dei sunt, quando tu vir es pius,  
 Digna assequeris; caeterum si numina  
 Sunt nulla diuum, quid necesse est nitier? 1440
- CH. Festus vt ille hymenaeus erat,  
 Loto vbi cum Lybica pariter  
 Cumque suauiloquente cheli  
 Non sine multiforis calamis  
 Grata choris streperet cithara,  
 Turba vbi candida Pegasidum  
 Mollibus irreligata comis 1445

1427-1428 The future tenses show that Er. has anticipated one more conjecture by Markland, *viz.*, φυλάξομεν instead of Ald 1028 φυλάσσομεν.

1438 *quando tu vir es pius* is a correct translation of Ald 1034 δίκαιος ὢν ἄνθρωπος γέ, which, exceptionally, is the reading found in *I* (σύ γε *om. L P*).

1441-1536 This is the translation of the third stasimon (Eur. 1036-1097: 96 Latin lines for 62 Greek verses). The translation of the strophe (1441-1481) is in dactylic catalectic dimeters (not in Seneca; in Prudentius: *Cathem.* 3 and *Peristeph.* 3), that of the antistrophe (1482-1506) and the epode (1507-1536) in anapaestic catalectic dimeters (again not in Seneca; Prudentius: *Cathem.* 10).

1441-1445 *Festus ... cithara* Ald 1036 sqq. (= *L P*) gives an impossible sentence (for the various attempts at emendation *cf.* Paley's note). It is clear that Er., anticipating a conjecture by Por-tus, wrote ἔστασεν and interpreted: 'How was that wedding-party which made arise the sound of lyre and flutes'.

Eur. 1037 μετά τε φιλοχόρου κιθάρας has received a very circumstantial translation in 1443 *Cumque suauiloquente cheli* and 1445 *Grata choris streperet cithara*. As to 1444 *Non sine multiforis calamis*, it seems that Er. anticipates Markland's *καλαμοεσοῦν*; *streperet* must be the rendering of ἔστασεν (*cf. supra*) ἰαχάν.

1446-1461 *vbi* is the translation of Eur. 1040 ἔτ'. It should be noticed that Ald 1045-1046 run as follows: μελωδοί, Θέτιν ἰαχῆ/μασι, τὸν τ' Ἀλακίδαν / Κένταύρων ἐν ὄρεσι κλύουσαι. In the very free translation of these verses, which cannot be fully discussed here, the following details may be marked out: μελωδοί is rendered very circumstantially by Er. 1453-1454 *liquidis ... modulis*; the rendering of Κένταυροι by *Nubigenas* (1459; repeated in 1476) comes from Vergil, *Aen.* VIII, 293; as to κλύουσαι, Er. seems to have anticipated Monk's conjecture κλέουσαι (1457 *Voce cietet* and 1460 *canens*); *aeaciden* is put twice because of the particularly lengthy rendering of Κένταύρων ἐν ὄρεσι in 1458-1459.

Vertice Peliaco	
Coniugiale bonis epulum	
Diis celebrantibus ad numerum	1450
Membra moueret et aureolis	
Pelleret arua iugi soleis,	
Dum liquidis et amabilibus	
Dulcicanae modulis	
Pelei ad inclyta connubia	1455
Iret et vndiuagam Thetidem	
Voce cieret et Aeaciden	
Per iuga florida, rumor vbi est	
Nubigenas habitare viros,	
Aeaciden per opaca canens	1460
Peliaci nemoris.	
At Phrygius puer interea,	
Deliciae Iouis aetherii,	
Pocula miscet et aureolis	
Nectareos latices	1465
Temperat ac tribuit cyathis.	
Deinde per aequora candiduli	
Leueque per spatium sabuli	
Aequoreo sata turba sene,	
Nexa sororibus e decies	1470
Quinque, agitatque rotatque choros	
Orbibus innumeris	
Molliculo pede replicitis,	
Connubium leuibus	
Concelebrans choreis.	1475
Venit et vndique nubigenum	
Numine percita turba virum	
Tela ferens abiegnā manu,	
Frondea vertice certa gerens,	
Cum superis simul vt Bromii	1480
Munera sumeret atque epulas.	

1463 aetherii: aetherei *A C D E F*

1467–1475 Here the translation is particularly circumstantial: vss. 1467–1468 are the rendering of Eur. 1054 παρά δὲ λευκοφαῖ ψάμαθον, while vss. 1469–1475 are the translation of ἐλισσόμεναι / κύκλια πεντήκοντα κόραι / Νηρῆος γάμους ἐχόρευσαν: in fact the rendering of the last verb takes almost five lines,

*viz.*, 1471–1475 *agitatque ... choreis*. 1476–1481 This is the translation of the beginning of the antistrophe (Eur. 1058–1061). The ἀνά at the beginning (ἀνά δ' ἐλάτταισι στεφανώδει τε γλόφα) is here equivalent to σύν (*cf. Paley ad loc.*). This is well brought out by *ferens* and *gerens*.

Ibi Thessala turba puellae  
 Sublata in sydera voce 'O  
 Nereia filia' clamans,  
 'Lux inclyta coeligenarum', 1485  
 Certissimus augur Apollo et  
 Cui mystica sacra sororum  
 Bene cognita Castaliarum,  
 Chiron pius, armipotentis  
 Nomen reserauit Achillis, 1490  
 Fore vaticinatus, vt ille  
 Cum Myrmidonum clypeatis  
 Priameia regna cateruis  
 Deuotaque Pergama adortus  
 Flammas populantibus vrat 1495  
 Vulcania fulminis instar  
 Quatiens trepidabilis arma,  
 Thetidis pia dona parentis,  
 Siquidem hoc decus illa Pelasgis  
 Feliciter edidit aluo. 1500  
 Nereidos ergo sororum  
 Primae ac ditione potentis  
 Spatiosa hilares agitabant  
 Connubia splendida diui,  
 Peleique mariti hymenaeum 1505  
 Id temporis ore ciebant. |

1483 Sublata in sydera voce: Sustollit in aethera vocem A | 1488 Castaliarum: Casthalia-  
 rum A

1482-1500 In order to make this long sentence understandable, it is best first to write down the text of Ald 1062 sqq. (the punctuation given in this edition does not become clear from Murray's apparatus): μέγα δ' ἀνέκλαγον ὦ Νηρηϊκόρα, / παῖδες αἱ θεσσαλαί ὦ μέγα φῶς. This is translated in 1482-1485, where of course the subject παῖδες αἱ θεσσαλαί is rendered by *Thessala turba puellae*. The girls exclaim *O Nereia filia* and *Lux inclyta coeligenarum* (μέγα φῶς). After φῶς the text of Ald has a full stop, after which utterances of both Apollo (not specified) and Chiron are mentioned. Since all the editions of the translation have a comma after *coeligenarum*, it seems to me that Er. wanted to mention a series of three utterances

(by the maidens, Apollo and Chiron); this interpretation is also supported by the choice of the participle *clamans* in vs. 1484, whereas the original text has an indicative. The words *armipotentis* ... *Achillis* are of course the rendering of ἐξωνόμασεν (Eur. 1066), which is followed by a simple relative clause (ὅς ἤξει etc.); Er. expressly introduces the prophecy by means of the words *fore vaticinatus, vt*.

1501-1506 This sentence begins at Ald 1076 τότε (Er. 1506 *Id temporis*). The translation of νηρηϊδος ... πρώτας (Eur. 1078) by *Nereidos* ... *sorum* / *Primae ac ditione potentis* is probably the correct one (Paley, adopting Heath's conjecture Νηρηϊδων, prefers 'the chief of the Nereids' as a translation).

Porro tibi tempora flauis  
 Crispisque decora capillis  
 Mauortia turba Pelasgum  
 Cinget viridante corona;  
 1510 Deinde haud secus atque iuencam  
 Teneramque rudemque, profectam  
 Modo rupibus e specuosis  
 Spectantis in aequora montis,  
 1515 Diro iugulauerit ense  
 Ac lactea colla cruore hu-  
 mano – miserabile! – tinget  
 Feriens, nec arundine agresti  
 Muscoue virentibus antris  
 Pastorum alitam, sed amicae  
 1520 Curaque domoque parentis  
 Excultam, vti nupta Pelasgas  
 Peteres feliciter aedeis.  
 Vbi nunc probitasue pudorue  
 Faciesque ipsius honesti  
 1525 Valeat, simul atque nefastum  
 Scelus impietasque tyrannida  
 Atram obtinet vndique, porro  
 Neglecta iacet premiturque  
 1530 Post terga reiecta scelestis  
 Mortalibus inclyta virtus,  
 Cumque vndique legibus aequis

1510 Cinget: Cingent *EF* | 1525 *deest in A* | 1527 tyrannida: tyrannin *A* | 1528 Atram:  
 Tetram *A* | 1530 reiecta: retrusa *CDEF*

1507–1523 This is the particularly lengthy translation (17 vss.) of the nine first verses of the epode. We must again quote the entire text of Ald 1081b–1083: γ' ἀλιῶν / ὥστε πετραίων ἀπ' ἀντρῶν ἐλθοῦσαν, / ὄρέων μόσχον ἀκήρατον. It is evident that 1513–1514 *rupibus e specuosis* / *Spectantis in aequora montis* are the translation of γ' ἀλιῶν ... πετραίων ἀπ' ἀντρῶν ... ὄρέων (Er. overlooks the comma after ἐλθοῦσαν). In 1515 the subject of *iugulauerit* is *Manortia turba*. The pungency of βρότειον ... λαϊμόν is lost by the translation in which *humanus* is connected with *cruor*, not with *colla*. Quite surprising is the 'rendering' of ῥοιβδῆσει (1086) by Er. 1519 *Muscoue virentibus antris*.

1524–1536 This is of course a rhetorical question, though no point of interrogation is put either in Ald or in Er. It is remarkable that Er. does not connect the words τὸ τᾶς αἰδοῦς with πρόσωπον but translates them as an independent unity (*probitasue pudorue*), whereas *Facies ... ipsius honesti* is the translation of τὸ τᾶς ἀρετᾶς πρόσωπον. Vss. 1534–1536 are the translation of Ald 1096–1097 καὶ κοινὸς ἀγῶν βροτοῖς / Μὴ τις θεῶν φθόνος ἔλθῃ. This is to all probability not the original reading, since the metre requires one more syllable in the first line; usually Hermann's addition of μὴ before κοινός is adopted. Er. leaves the text as it stands and translates ἀγῶν by *periculum*.

- Mores dominantur iniqui.  
 Hominum generi ergo periculum  
 Communiter imminet omni,  
 Ne qua ingruat ira deorum. 1535
- CLY. Equidem e meis huc prodii penetibus  
 Foras, maritum sicubi aspiciam meum,  
 Qui iandiuque et lentus hinc abest, domo  
 Penitus relicta. Gnata at interim mea 1540  
 In lachrumis versatur infelix leueis  
 Fundens in auras omne lamenti genus,  
 Simulac necem rescivit illa, quam pater  
 Statuit paratque. Sed ecce cerno comminus  
 Sese citatis admouentem gressibus, 1545  
 De quo modo loquebar, huc Agamemnonem,  
 Rubore cui mox ora tinxerit pudor,  
 Quando ipsus adeo ferus et immanis pater  
 In proprios nefaria patrat liberos.
- AG. Ledaea proles, commodum egressam foras 1550  
 Offendo te, quo virgine absente procul  
 Tibi dicta quaedam proferam, quae neutiquam  
 Fuerit decorum audire nupturas viro.
- CLY. Quid est negotii, in quo tibi ista temporis  
 Oblata commodauit opportunitas? 1555
- AG. Accerse gnatam, quo patri veniat comes;  
 Adsunt enim parata rite piamina,  
 Adsunt profundendis item lustralibus  
 Pura manu ignibus ac iuuencae, quas deae

1544-1546 ecce ... Agamemnonem: ex propinquo inaudii / Strepitum; gradum ferentis huc Agamemnonis *A* | 1547-1549 Rubore ... liberos: Qui re quidem ipsa deprehensus ilico / Coarguetur ferus, et immanis pater, / In proprios nefaria patrans liberos *E F* | 1554 negotii in quo: negotii id, quo *C D E F*

1540 *at* Er. anticipates Markland's conjecture δ' in Eur. 1100 (θ' in Ald).

1547-1549 *Rubore ... liberos* The new translation in *E (F)* is considerably closer to the original text (*coargueretur ... patrans* - Eur. 1105 πρόσσων ... εὐρεθήσεται).

1554-1555 Eur. 1109 τί δ' ἔστω, οὗ σοι καιρός ἀντιλάζονται; 'Well, what is it, on which, in your opinion, the present occasion has hold?' (Paley). We should note the translation of καιρός by *ista temporis oblata ... opportunitas* and of

οὗ σοι ἀντιλάζονται by *in quo ... tibi commodauit* (of course with an intransitive meaning). I cannot regard the new translation in *C (D E F)*, *viz.*, *negotii id, quo*, as a real improvement.

1557-1559 *Adsunt enim ... ignibus Piamina* is a mere general translation of Ald 1111 χέρνιβες; it is worthy of notion that this very rare word is used by Prudentius in a poem commented upon by Er. (*Cathem.* 9, 33). The next verse in Eur. (1112) has given great difficulties to the interpreters: Paley, following an

- Dianae oportet caedere ante nuptias,  
 Atri cruoris feruida exundamina. 1560
- CLY. Verbo tenus quidem locutus es probe,  
 Tua facta porro nominare si velim,  
 Equidem haud reperiam, quomodo eloquar probe.  
 Verum age, foras procede, gnata, nam pater 1565  
 Quicquid parat nosti ordine, ac fratrem sinu  
 Gestans Orestem pariter adporta tuum.  
 En, illa adest hucusque morigerans tibi.  
 At ipsa quae restant et huius nomine  
 Simul et meopte mox tibi respondero. 1570
- AG. Quid, gnata, lachrimas? Fronte cur hilari parum  
 Terram intueris ora defigens solo,  
 Vultumque moestum pallio obtento tegis?
- IPH. Heu,  
 Quodnam mearum calamitatum exordium  
 Possim capere? Cunctis enim mortalibus 1575  
 Datum est, vti tum prima tum nouissima  
 Tum media quouis disserant negotio.
- AG. Rei quid hoc est? Quidue sibi vult, quod mihi  
 Omnes eodem sitis affectae modo,  
 Et mente consternata et ore turbido? 1580
- CLY. Quae sciscitabor, aperte et ingenue mihi,  
 Coniunx, roganti quaeso vti respondeas. |
- AG. Nihil necessum est, hoc vt a me postules, 1585  
 Quin ipse vltro cupio iam rogarier.
- CLY. Gnatam necare paras tuamque et item meam? 1585

LB 1176

unnamed earlier editor, puts a comma behind βάλλειν, so that, with the generally accepted conjectures, we get this enumeration: προχύται τε βάλλειν, πῦρ καθάρσιον χειρῶν, “barley-meal to throw”, viz. on the altar, and purifying fire in the attendant’s hands’. A different interpretation is given by Wecklein, who assumes a proleptic use of καθάρσιον and translates ‘um sie (viz., the προχύται) zur Reinigung ins Feuer zu werfen’. In Musurus’ text Er. read πῦρ καθάρειον ἐκ χειρῶν (the reading of P<sup>2</sup>), which is ununderstandable. As Professor Sicking suggests to me, Er. may have misunderstood προχύται as an indication of persons (*Sacrificantes*) who then are thought somehow to ‘throw purifying fire from their hands’;

the dative of the gerundive construction reminds us of cases as *rei publicae constituendae qui sunt*, with the important difference that Er. leaves out a nominative. It is worthy of notice that in another passage Er. clearly gives a wrong translation of προχύται, viz., 2110-2111 *puris ardeat Sacer ignis in prochyitis* (Eur. 1470-1471 αἰθέσθω δὲ πῦρ / προχύταις καθαρσίοισι). *Pura* is an addition by Er. (καθάρειον = *lustralibus*).

1561 *exundamina* This word, which does not occur in Thes. I. L., seems to be a creation of Er.; Eur. 1114 has φυσήματα.

1583 *a me* Ald 1130 has κέλευσμι’ οὐ δεῖ γ’. Er. anticipates the μ’ conjectured by Markland.

- AG. Hem,  
Misera elocutas es, quaeque neutiquam decet  
Te suspicari, suspicaris improba.
- CLY. Verum illud interim mihi respondeas.
- AG. At tu profecto, siquidem rogaueris  
Quae te decet rogare, quae decet audies. 1590
- CLY. Equidem haud alia percontor; atqui tu mihi  
Itidem caue sis, alia ne respondeas.
- AG. O fors potens, o fata, proh genius meus!
- CLY. Et meus et huius insuper, quando trium  
Idem est et vnus genius infelicitum. 1595
- AG. Qua tandem es in re laesa? CLY. At istuc scilicet  
Tu me rogas? Verum astus hic astu vacat  
Atque ista calliditas profecto incallida est.
- AG. Perii; palam sunt facta quae caelaueram.
- CLY. Scio cuncta, didici cuncta sane et audii, 1600  
Quae tu sceleste in me patrare destinās.  
Quanquam sat ipso confitere silentio  
Suspiriisque, plura ne tu dicere  
Conere frustra. AG. En obticesco, quando me  
Mendacii conuictum et impudentiam 1605  
Ipsi necessum est calamitati adiungere.
- CLY. Audito nunc iam, quippe aperte proloquar,  
Neque flexuosa aenigmatum diutius  
Vtemur ambage neque dictis nubilis.  
Primum (tibi istuc primo vt obiiciam loco) 1610  
Me non volentem vique raptam coniugem  
Duxti necato Tantalō, cui nupseram  
Prius, ac puello sortis ex vsu tuae  
Itidem perempto, quem quidem per vim meo

1586 elocutas: elocuta *ACDEF*, recte | 1590 *alt.* decet: te decet *EF* | 1598 ista: ita *E* |  
1602 confitere: confiteri *EF*

1588 It does not become clear from Murray's apparatus that the words  $\xi\chi'$   $\eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , which stand in *LP* before vs. 1133, are lacking in Ald.

1590 *quae decet audies* Ald 1134 has  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha$   $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , instead of which Markland conjectured  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\tau'$   $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$   $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . Er. has seen that the present indicative would be insufficient here. The addition of *te* before the second *decet* in *E* (*F*) must be a typographical error, since it gives an impossible metre.

1597–1598 *Verum ... incallida est.* This is the translation of Eur. 1139  $\delta$  νοῦς ὄδ' αὐτὸς νοῦν  $\xi\chi\omega\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  οὐ τυγχάνει (Paley: 'This idea (*viz.* that you have not wronged me) is itself devoid of sense'). Er considers νοῦς to be equivalent to 'artifice, trick' (*astus, calliditas*).

1605 *Mendacii conuictum* A too strong translation of Eur. 1145  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ .

1613–1614 *ac ... perempto* Ald 1151 reads  $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\sigma\tilde{\omega}$   $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ . Paley observes 'No satisfactory sense



Immitis ad necem reuulseras sinu.	1615
At Ioue creatus vterque germanus meus Equis et armis inclyti saeuum tibi Bellum mouebant, caeterum senior parens Tyndareus hoc te exemit e discrimine Iam supplicem ac versum ad preces; ita denique	1620
Meis per hunc potitus es connubiis. Dein vbi reconciliata sum tibi et addita, In te simul, cura simul domestica Vt foeminam inculpatam ego vsque gesserim, Istuc et ipse conscius testabere,	1625
Pariterque casta domumque commodis tuam Augens, ita vt siue introires, gaudio Fruerere tecum, siue prodires foras, Sortis beatae dicerent omnes virum. Atqui hic profecto captus est rarissimus,	1630
Vt id genus quis sortiatur coniugem; Contra improbamque et frugis vxorem malae Nihil est negocii vbilibet nanciscier. Porro puellis editis nixu tribus Hunc insuper peperit tibi puellulum,	1635
Quo tu quidem me pignorum e numero necans Vnam pater miserabili orbabis modo. At quispiam si te roget 'Qua gratia Istam necabis?', cedo, quid huic respondeas? An me tuo loqui necessum est nomine?	1640
Helenen vti Menelaus asserat suam. At nos honestum est ac decorum scilicet Nece liberorum foeminae pretium malae Dependere? Iis, quae possidemus optima Longeque nobis omnium carissima,	1645

1617 Equis: Quis *A*; saeuum: suum *A* | 1618 mouebant: mouebat *A* | 1628 Fruerere: Fruere *A* | 1629 Sortis: Sortes *A* | 1637 Vnam: Vna *A*

can be made of the vulgate reading' and puts a crux before σῶ, whereas Hermann retains προσούρισας and explains it as 'having added him to your share in the spoils'. Scaliger reads προσούδισας πέδῳ, 'dashed against the ground'; Murray adopts this verb but retains πάλῳ, observing in the apparatus: 'sed sensus est eum in spoliis sortitus.' Er. regards βρέφος τε τοῦμόν as the object of κατακτανῶν and inter-

prets προσούρισας in the same way as Hermann.

1622 *Dein* Eur. 1157 οὗ 'in which estate, under which circumstances' (Paley).

1642 *bonestum* ... *scilicet* Ald 1168 has the impossible reading καλὸν γένος, after which follows the infinitive ἀποτίσαι, which must depend upon καλόν. The choice of *scilicet* shows that Er. must have made a conjecture like γέ τοι, which is due to Fix.

- Redimemus haec, inuisa quae sunt maxime?  
 Age, siquidem hinc profectus in bellum iueris  
 Ibi que fueris abfuturus longius  
 Domi relictā me, quid animi tum mihi  
 Fore autumas, sedem omnem vbi conspexero 1650  
 Vacantem et hanc desiderantem filiam,  
 Tum vacua cuncta virginum conclauia,  
 Egoque sola sedero perennibus  
 Confecta lachrumis hancque lugens virginem,  
 Ad huncce fors sine fine lamentans modum: 1655  
 ‘Heu, gnata, qui te seuit, extinxit pater  
 Ipsus necans, haud aliud, haud alia manu,  
 Eiusmodi linquens familiae premium |  
 LB 1177 Atque in suos exempla talia statuens.’  
 Nam deinde caussa quaelibet suffecerit, 1660  
 Occasione tantum opus fuerit leui,  
 Vt et ipsa quique mihi supersunt liberi  
 Te rursus accipiamus istunc ad modum,  
 Quo te accipi par est et aequum scilicet.  
 Sed per deos caueto, neu me adegeris, 1665  
 Vti talis in te fuero, qualem neutiquam  
 Decet esse, neu rursis id commiseris,  
 Vt ipse talem temet exhibeas mihi,  
 Qualem probum esse neutiquam decet virum.  
 Verum esto sane, sacrificabis filiam: 1670  
 Sed interim illic vota quae facturus es?

1657 aliud: alius *ACDEF*, *recte*

1646 *inuisa ... maxime* This is one of the very few cases in which Er. mentions a conjecture of his own. Ald 1170 reads *ταχθεισα τοῖσι φιλτάτοις ὀνούμεθα*. In Ep. 209 Er. says (I, p. 441, l. 13–14): ‘In Aulide Z.6. facie sinistra, *ταχθεισα τοῖσι φιλτάτοις*, lego *τάχθιστα*’; the same conjecture was made afterwards by Brodaeus (*cf.* Paley *ad loc.*).

1658–1659 *Eiusmodi ... statuens* Ald 1179 gives *τοιόνδε μισθὸν καταλιπὼν πρὸς τοὺς δόμους*, which does not provide a satisfactory sense. A lacuna after this verse was assumed by Matthiae and Wecklein, one before it by Paley. In this context it is not surprising that Er. adds a verse of his own

(1569), in which the hardly understandable *premium* (*μισθόν*) is somehow explained by the words *exempla ... statuens*.

1664 Eur. 1182 *δεξόμεθα δέξιν*, which is of course quite sarcastic (*‘vix., by killing you’*).

1671 *Sed interim* The text of Ald 1185 is: *θύσεις δὲ τὴν παιδ’, ἔνθα τίνας εὐχὰς ἐρεῖς*; Instead of *ἐνθα* Elmsley conjectured *εἶτα*, which is regarded as necessary by Paley, whereas Wecklein retains *ἐνθα*. It is not clear whether Er. is here translating *ἐνθα*, regarding it as having the function of a demonstrative pronoun, or whether he anticipated Elmsley’s conjecture.

Quid tibi petes? Nunquid boni, cum filiam  
 Mactes pater? Reditumne? Nimirum malum  
 Miserumque, quippe domo profectus turpiter.  
 Sed me tibi boni precari quippiam 1675  
 Par fuerit ac votis lacessere numina?  
 At non et ipsos iudicamus deos  
 Stultos item esse, vt annuant eiusmodi  
 Vt parricidis nos voluerimus bene et  
 Qui propria facinus patrarint dextera? 1680  
 An vero ad Argos iam reuersus liberos  
 Tuos placabis? Supplex haudquaquam tibi  
 Istuc licebit. Quis vel aspectu, obsecro,  
 Post e tuis dignabitur te liberis,  
 Cum tu sciens necaris horum quempiam? 1685  
 Num denique haec sunt pensitata ac mutuis  
 Rationibus tractata? An hoc tantum sat est,  
 Sceptris ferundis praeminere ac bellicum  
 Ducem vocari, cum tuum fuerit magis  
 In Danaidum frequente multitudine 1690  
 Haec, aequa quae sunt atque iusta, dicere:  
 ‘Vultis, Pelasgi, nauigare ad Ilium?  
 Igitur vicissim sorte ducta quaerite,  
 Cuius necari gnatam oporteat.’ Hoc enim  
 Ex aequo ad omneis pertinebat, caeterum 1695

1679 Vt: Si *EF*; parricidis: parricidis *EF* | 1681 ad: vt *A* | 1682 Tuos placabis? Supplex  
 haudquaquam: Tuos placabis supplex? Haudquaquam *scribendum est*; Tuos reperias? Caete-  
 rum haudquaquam *A* Supplex tuos placabis? Haudquaquam *CDEF* | 1686 pensitata:  
 disputata *A* dispensata *CDEF* | 1688 praeminere: praeceminere *CDEF*

1672–1673 *Quid ... pater?* It should be noted  
 that in Ald 1186 the comma stands be-  
 fore τὰγαθόν. Er. must have made the  
 following punctuation: τί σοι κατεύξει;  
 τὰγαθόν σφάζων τέκνον; In the later  
 editions the sentence runs as follows:  
 τί σοι κατεύξει τὰγαθόν ...; ‘what is the  
 good which you will wish for your-  
 self?’

1677–1680 *At ... dextera* Paley gives the  
 following paraphrase of these verses:  
 ‘surely we should think the gods in-  
 capable of distinguishing good from  
 bad, if in a friendly spirit we should  
 ask favours for murderers’. In Er. the  
 sentence must be a rhetorical question;  
 hence we must add a point of interro-  
 gation after *dextera*. In *E (F)* Er. has  
 substituted *Si* for *Vt*, which is a defi-

nite improvement.

1682 *placabis* Ald 1191 προσπέσης. Once  
 more Er. seems to have anticipated a  
 conjecture by Markland, *viz.*, προσπε-  
 σεῖ.

1685 *sciens* Eur. 1193 προθέμενος. Wecklein  
 and Murray adopt Weil’s conjecture  
 προσέμενος, whereas Paley observes: ‘If  
 προθέμενος is right, it may perhaps  
 mean “preferring”, “προελόμενος”.’ In  
 my opinion, Er. interprets it as ‘after  
 deciding to do so’, ‘purposely’; for  
 this quite usual meaning of προτίθεσθαι  
*cf.* for instance Plato *Rep.* 1,352 D.

1686–1687 *Num ... tractata?* Ald 1194 has  
 τὰῦτ’ ἤλθον ἤδη διὰ λόγων ...; It seems  
 probable that at the beginning of vs.  
 1194 Er., like Hermann afterwards,  
 read ἤλθεσ.

- Haud par erat te solum et vnum ex omnibus  
 Tuam Pelasgis immolandam filiam  
 Praebere, siue fratris illud erat magis  
 Menelai, vt Hermionen neci daret suae  
 Causa parentis, quippe ad illum proprie 1700  
 Res attinebat. Nunc ego autem, quae tuis  
 Sancte fidem seruauerim connubiis,  
 Gnate innocens orbabor; at contra soror,  
 Quae casta pacti iura deseruit thori,  
 Felixaget reducemque Spartae ad moenia 1705  
 Ducet puellam. Si quid horum perperam  
 Dixi, refelle, sin probe ac recte mihi haec  
 Sunt dicta, ne tuam profecto filiam  
 Meamque pariter impius dederis neci;  
 Ita rectius consultiusque feceris. 1710
- CH. Pareto, nam profecto liberos decet,  
 Agamemnon, incolumeis tueri quenlibet,  
 Nec vllus haec mortalium refellerit.
- IPH. Orphea, genitor, si mihi facundia  
 Foret, vt liceret saxa cantu flectere 1715  
 Comitesque post me voce petras ducere  
 Possemque delinire dictis pectora  
 Meamque trahere quos velim in sententiam,  
 Nimirum ego istis experirer vtier;  
 Nunc, quae mihi vna ars ac facultas suppetit, 1720  
 Praestabo lachrimas, quando solum id possumus,  
 Tuisque genibus corpus aduoluo meum  
 Supplex, quod haec tibi ventre progenuit suo,  
 Ne me puellam aeuique maturam parum  
 Extinxeris, nam dulce cunctis coelicam 1725  
 Ascipere lucem, caeterum quae Tartaro

1699 Hermionen: Hermionem *C D E F* | 1714 Orphea: Orphaea *A* | 1722 aduoluo: aduolo *C D*

1703 *orbabor* Ald 1203 has ὑστερήσομαι which, as Paley observes, 'is a suspicious form, as belonging to the latest dialect'. Er. seems, like Reiske and Porson, to have read ἐστερήσομαι, which, however, is not a classical form either (*cf.* Paley *ad loc.*)

1705 *reducemque* Ald 1204 gives the reading of *P*, *viz.*, ὑπόστροφον, which indeed means 'returning'. However, Hermione is not supposed to have come to

Troy with her mother; Heath was probably right in reading ὑπότροπος, so that the meaning is: 'Helen ... will, on her return, educate her daughter Hermione'. Thus Er.'s translation of κομίζουσ' by *ducet* must also be erroneous (*cf.* Paley *ad loc.*).

1709 *dederis neci* \*Verg. *Georg.* IV, 90.

1721 *possumus* Ald 1215 δυναίμεθ'. Er. seems to translate δυναίμεθ' ἔν, which was afterwards conjectured by Markland.

Tellus tegit, ne me videre adegeris.  
 Ego prima te patrem vocavi tuque item  
 Primam inter omneis me vocasti filiam;  
 Ego prima quondam genibus insidens tuis 1730  
 Atque ea meo blande premens corpusculo  
 Gratas voluptates frequenter inuicem et  
 Dedi et recepi, ac paria mentis gaudia,  
 Tuaque haec, vti recordor, erat oratio:  
 ‘An est futurum, gnata, vt olim te viri | 1735  
 In aedibus nuptam beati ac diuitis LB 1178  
 Et sospitem videamus et sic, vti tuo  
 Dignum est parente, commodis ac liberis  
 In melius vsque pullulantem?’ Ad haec ego  
 Hanc tum vicissim orationem rettuli, 1740  
 Haerens tuo pendensque de mento, quod hac  
 Mea prehensum rursus attingo manu:  
 ‘Quid? Anne ego te videro senem, pater?  
 An ego vicissim laeta te excipiam meos  
 Intra penateis ac tibi inuicem, parens, 1745  
 Laboriosa nutriendi munera  
 Aliquando referam mutuuum te nutriens?’  
 Sermonum ego horum sum memor, verum tibi in  
 Oblivionem abiire meque occidere  
 Paras. At hoc ne feceris per Pelopa, per 1750  
 Cineres parentis obsecratus Atrei,  
 Matrem per hanc, quae me labore plurimo  
 Parturiit olim ac denuo nunc parturit  
 Paribusque rursus tenditur doloribus.  
 Rei quid est cum Paridis atque Helenae mihi 1755  
 Connubiis? Aut vnde in exitium is meum  
 Venit, parens? Oculos, age, horsum in me tuos  
 Deflecte, et intuitum simulque basium  
 Largire, vt istuc pignus ac monimen tui  
 Mihi ferre saltem fas siet, si fors meis 1760

1732 Gratas: Grates *CDE* | 1734 vti: vt *CDEF* | 1740 rettuli: retuli *CDEF* | 1743 Anne: An *CDEF* | 1758 simulque basium: simulque et basum *A*, simulque et basium *CDEF*

1733 *ac paria mentis gaudia* is an addition by Er. The words *mentis gaudia* are a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* VI, 278–279.  
 1738–1739 *commodis ... pullulantem* is an addition by Er.  
 1743 *Quid? ... pater?* In order to understand this verse, we must know that in Ald

1228 the point of interrogation is put after *πρέσβον*.  
 1752 *hanc* Ald 1234 reads *τῆς γε*, which is the reading of *P*. By conjecture Er. puts in the reading of *L*, *viz.*, *τῆσδε*.  
 1756 *is* of course refers to Paris.

- Flecti recuses obstinatus vocibus.  
 Germane, tu quidem pusillus et impotens  
 Tuis amicis es patronus, attamen  
 Apud parentem supplicem lachrumis age,  
 Tua ne soror detur neci; nonnullus est 1765  
 Sensus malorum infantulis quoque inditus.  
 En, supplicat tibi hic silentio, pater.  
 Age, flectere ac miserescere respectu mei  
 Moueatque tete orbanda luce filia.  
 En, flagitant per mentum id abs te supplices 1770  
 Duo tibi cari atque amore proximi,  
 Puer alter, at subolescit annis altera.  
 Orationem in pauca conferam meam ac  
 Summam rei verbo profabor vnico:  
 Aspectus huius lucis est mortalibus 1775  
 Dulcissimus, verum profunda manium  
 Haud vllus est qui concupiscat cernere,  
 Neque mente sana est quisquis exoptat mori.  
 Male viuere autem satius ac mori bene.
- CH. Infausta per te perque nuptias tuas, 1780  
 Helene, heu dolor, miseranda prorsus incidit  
 Clades Atridis atque Atridum liberis.
- AG. Equidem scius sum, quatenus miserescere  
 Conuenit, et idem, quatenus non conuenit,  
 Noui, meosque caritate liberos 1785  
 Prosequor amoque; alias profecto insaniam.  
 Verum patrare haec, vxor, arduum mihi,  
 Et non patrare durum et arduum est item,  
 Sed ad hoc agendum me trahit necessitas.  
 Quantus videtis adsit hic exercitus, 1790  
 Quae nauticorum armata turba militum,  
 Quot bellicosi Graeciae magni duces,  
 Quibus negata ad Pergama traiectio,  
 Ni te immolauero (augur vti Chalcas ait),

1777 est *deest* in *C D E* | 1779 Sententia refellenda\* *A* in *margin*.

- 1764 In order to understand the translation, we must know that Ald 1242 runs as follows: "Ὁμῶς δὲ σὺν δάκρυσιν ἰκέτης γένου πατρὸς, which is, of course, metrically impossible.
- 1777 *vllus* Ald 1251 reads τὰ νέρθε δ' οὐδεὶς (the correct reading, *viz.*, οὐδέν, occurs in Stobaeus; cf. Paley *ad loc.*).
- 1785 *meosque* Ald 1256 φιλῶν; Er. anticipates Markland's conjecture φιλῶ τ'.
- 1787 *arduum mihi* Ald 1257 δεινῶς δ' ἔχει με; Monk reads μοι, which is the form translated by Er.
- 1792 *duces* Ald 1260 has a point of interrogation at the end of this enumeration.

	Noui nec aliter Ilii videlicet	1795	
	Populata dabitur Marte tecta excindere.		
	Porro tenet diuinus ardor quispiam		
	Omneis Achium copias, vt quam potest		
	Ocyssime soluant rudentes littore et		
	Ad barbarorum classe nauigent solum	1800	
	Vetentque, ne posthac quis ausit coniuges		
	Raptu procaci abducere Graecanicas.		
	Argis at hi meas necabunt filias,		
	Tum vos item et me, si quidem fraudauero		
	Oracla diuae postulantis virginem.	1805	
	Neque, gnata, frater subigit inuitum meus		
	Ad haec, nec huius me trahit sententia,		
	Sed ipsa potius adigit horsum Graecia,		
	Per quam necesse est, seu velim seu non velim,		
	Tete immolare. Parte at istac vincimur	1810	
	Necessitate, nec licet resistere.		
	Immo illa, quantum in teque meque, filia,		
	Statuenda libera, neque ferendum illud viris		LB 1179
	Graecis, vti per vim rapaces improbam		
	Legitima temerent barbari connubia.	1815	
CLY.	Hei mihi, gnata, proh dolor, hospitae,		
	Heu, me miseram tui		
	Caedes exanimat; pater		
	Orco tradens te fugit impius.		
IPH.	Hei mihi, mater, mater, siquidem	1820	
	Haec lugubris cantio nobis		
	(Sic fortunae visum) vtrisque		
	Competit, haud Phoebae posthac		
	Munere lucis neque vitali hac		

1806–1807 gnata ... haec: mi necessitate Frater eripit/Gnatam A | 1818 exanimat: examinat A

1803 *necabunt* Ald 1267 κτείνουσι. Er. anticipates Scaliger's conjecture κτενοῦσι.

1805 *postulantis* is a surprising and certainly erroneous translation. Ald 1268 has θέσφατον (θέσφατ' Scaliger) εἰ λύσω θεῶς. On εἰ λύσω Paley observes: 'for εἰ μὴ σώσω, φυλάξω'.

1820–1825 The reading in Ald 1279 (which does not become quite clear from Murray's apparatus *ad loc.*) is: οἱ ἐγὼ μῆτερ μῆτερ· ταυτὸ γὰρ / μέλος εἰς ἄμφω πέπτωκε τύχης. Er. evidently translates τοῦτο (1821 *Haec ... cantio*). I do not

understand how Er. interpreted the genitive τύχης which he translates by *Sic fortunae visum* (he may translate a dative τύχη). The words 1823–1825 *haud ... aura?* (in Ald 1282 there is no point of interrogation) have the function of a main sentence, whereas in Eur. 1279–1282 there is only an enumeration. The expression *aura vesci* is Vergilian (*Aen.* I, 546 and III, 339), as also the connection of *aura* with *vitalis* (*Aen.* I, 387–388).

Vescimur aura?	1825
Proh, proh, tectae niuibus rupes	
Atque Idaei Phrygiae montes,	
In quos olim Priamus tenerum	
Pater infantem exposuit matre	
Procul amotum, vti morte periret	1830
Paridem, quem quondam vrbis Phrygiae	
Idaeum plebes Idaeum	
Dixit, dixit,	
Vtinam nunquam hoc euenisset,	
Inter Paridem montana boum	1835
Enutritum armenta bubulcum	
Pellucentes colere ad lymphas,	
Vbi nymphis gratissima sedes,	
Liquidi fontes, prata vbi vernant	
Passim et picti floribus agri,	1840
Murice tinctae vbi lucente rosae	
Purpureique micant hyacinthi	
Carpendi vngue trium diuarum;	
Quoque accessit pridem Pallas	
Gaudensque iocosa fraude Venus	1845
Neque non Iuno neque non volucer	
Iouis interpres, Maiiae proles,	
Alite Cypris amore superba,	
Hasta Pallas, Iuno marito	
Ioue, qui sceptris diuum potitur,	1850
Inuisum ad certamen formae	
Atque arbitrium triste profectae,	
Quod mihi acerbam peperit mortem,	
Quanquam ea rursus Danaïs pariet	
Aeternam famamque decusque,	1855
Dilecta o mihi turba, puellae.	
CH. Delegit aris praeferiri victimam	

1834 hoc *deest* in *E F*

1826–1856 This is one of the best parts of the translation of the two Euripidean tragedies. Er. comes generally quite near to the original, and at the same time he writes a strikingly natural and elegant Latin. There are, of course, a few remarks to be made; for instance, it is unfortunate that in vs. 1827 *Phrygiae* has been put between *Idaei* and

*montes*, whereas Eur. 1284–1285 has *νιφόβολου Φρυγῶν νάπος Ἴδαε τ' ὄρεα*.

1857–1858 This is the translation of Ald 1311: *Χο. πρόθυμά σ' ἔλαβεν Ἄρτεμις πρὸς Ἴλιον*. The verb *praeferire* does not occur in Forcellini; together with *auspicari* it must bring out the meaning of *πρόθυμα*.



Diana te bello auspicando ad Ilium.

IPH.	Hei, mater mea, proh genitrix, Qui me progenuit pater, Idem me male destitutam Perdit. Proh, ego tristibus Fatis nata, videns acerbam Infaustamque Helenen, necor, Diri conficior parentis Dira caede. Vtinam mihi Portum classis in Aulidensem Nunquam puppibus aerea il- lidens rostra solo appulisset. Ventis, o, vtinam secundis Recta cursus ad Ilium Vexisset celeres carinas Transuersis neque flatibus In terramque ferentibus Euripi exagitasset vndas Iuppiter, auras aliis alias Placans, quo sua carbasa laeti Placitis videant distenta Notis, His immittere tristia suetus, Hos vi cohibens, aliis donans Soluere cursumque tenere suum, Alios cogens proferre moras. An non satis profecto Calamitosum erat genus, Calamitosum erat parum	1860  1865  1870    1875    1880    1885
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1859 Hei: Heu *EF* | 1877 sua: suo *CDEF*

1866–1882 *Vtinam* ... *moras* Here Er. diverges very much from the text of Ald 1319–1329, which in fact is partly corrupt. 1866–1869 *Vtinam* ... *appulisset* can be understood as a fairly faithful translation of Ald 1319 *μή sqq*; the only important change is the substitution of *classis* as the subject of the sentence for  $\epsilon\delta'$  *Αὐλίδς* (Eur. 1320). Further, Er. makes an independent sentence out of the words (Ald 1321–1322) *εἰς Τροίαν ... ἐλάταν πομπαίαν*, which are an apposition to the preceding words *ναῶν ... πρύμνας* (cf. Wecklein *ad loc.*). The verses 1873–1878 are the translation of the highly

complicated verses Ald 1323–1326 *μήτ' ἀνταίαν Εὐρίπω πνεῦσαι* (sc. *ώφελεν*) *πομπάν*, / *Ζεὺς μείλισσων αὐραν ἄλλοις / ἔλλαν θνατῶν λαίφρσι χαίρειν*. It is clear that, when we maintain this form of the verses (but cf. Paley *ad loc.*), as Er. seems to have done, we must, with Wecklein, supply from the participle *μείλισσων* (Er. 1877 *Placans*) something like *ἀλλάσσων*, on which the infinitives in Ald 1328–1329 depend; Er. has solved the problem by adding the participle *suetus* (1879). *λαίφρσι χαίρειν*, which depends directly on *μείλισσων*, is translated by means of a *quo*-clause (1877–1878).

- Per se genus mortalium?  
 At quorsum erat necesse,  
 Sibi pestilens vt ipsi  
 Accerserent fatum viri? |
- LB 1180 CH. Eheu, Pelasgis mala viris ingentia, 1890  
 Luctus item ingenteis parit sata Tyndaro.  
 Certe misertum est me tui, cui talia  
 Mala obtigerunt, prorsus indignae cui  
 Tantum malorum sors iniqua impingeret.
- IPH. Mater, heu, virum cateruam adesse video comminus. 1895  
 CLY. Nempe et ipsum conspicias parente progenitum dea,  
 Gnata, cuius huc ab Argis es profecta nomine.
- IPH. Mihi fores aperite, famulae, corpus vt caelem meum.  
 CLY. Caeterum quo, gnata, refugis? IPH. Nempe me prohibet pudor  
 Obtueri quisquis hic, quem Graii Achillem nominant. 1900  
 CLY. At quid hunc reuerere tandem? IPH. Quod parum videlicet  
 Ista nobis auspicato cesserint connubia.  
 CLY. Noli in his, quae nunc geruntur, gnata, te negociis  
 Agere delicatam, at hic maneto nobis; res enim haec  
 Non pudorem postulat nec exigit reuerentiam, 1905  
 Si modo obtinere quouis quod agitur liceat modo.
- CH. Mulier, heu, male fausta, Ledaе gnata. CLY. Vera praedicas.  
 CH. Inter Argiuos tumultus grauis et ingens perstreptit.  
 CLY. Quis tumultus? Indica mihi. CH. Filia super tua.

1893 indignae: indigne C D E | 1901 *interr. sign. deest in A B* | 1901–1902 Quod...connubia: Calamitas facit mea./Nuptiarum vti pudore tenear ac reuerentia A | 1902 cesserint: cesserunt C D E F

1887–1889 Here again the Greek text presents us with considerable difficulties (cf. Murray's apparatus and Paley's note). Ald 1331–1332 reads: χρεών δέ τι / δύσποτμον ἀνδράσιν ἀνευρεῖν. It is evident that Er. has sought a solution in substituting the interrogative for the indefinite pronoun.

1890 This is still a 'lyrical' verse in Ald 1332; Er. writes an iambic trimeter. It should be noted that in Ald (as in *L P*) the chorus begins to speak here.

1899 *quo ... refugis?* One would expect *quid ... fugis?* (Eur. 1341 τί ... φεύγεις;). *Refugere* is frequently used instead of *fugere* by Vergil.

1899–1900 *Nempe ...* 1900 *nominant* A circumstantial translation of Ald 1341:

τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, τὸν, ἰδεῖν αἰσχύνομαι. The words *quisquis hic* seem somehow to render the second τόν.

1903 *quae nunc geruntur* Ald 1343 adopts the reading of *p*, τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα, instead of πεπτωκότα.

1906 *Si ... modo* Eur. 1344 ἦν δυνάμεθα (Murray adopts Wecklein's conjecture δνώμεθα).

1907–1911 In vss. 1345–1349 Ald has χο all the time instead of ἀχ. It should be noted that Er. follows Ald four out of five times but that in vs. 1911 (before *Ipse ego*) he reads ACH. instead of CH.: evidently the words which follow show that one single person must be speaking here.

- CLY. Omen haud laetum elocuta. CH. Quod hanc necari oporteat. 1910  
 CLY. Nemo contradicit istis? ACH. Ipse ego videlicet  
 In periculum veneram. CLY. Quod, hospes, in periculum?  
 ACH. Nempe ne lapidarer. CLY. An ob id, quod meae tu filiae  
 Tenderes seruare vitam? ACH. At istud ipsum scilicet.  
 CLY. Sed quis audeat tuum corpus manu contingere? 1915  
 ACH. Vniuersa turba Graium. CLY. Caeterum nunquid tibi  
 Fida Myrmidonum manus suo aderat auxilio duci?  
 ACH. Immo primi hi praebuere semet aduersarios  
 Atque primi restitere. CLY. Occidimus, eheu, filia.  
 ACH. Meque dicebant amore vincier connubii, 1920  
 Proin parum consulere Graium copiarum commodis,  
 Quippe priuatis adactum ac seruientem affectibus.  
 CLY. Verum ad haec quid rettulisti? ACH. Nempe quae coniunx mihi  
 Fuerit antehac futura, non decere occidier.  
 CLY. Idque recte es elocutus. ACH. Quamque iam fama mihi 1925  
 Genitor ipse dedicasset. CLY. Quin et Argis insuper  
 Euocatam litteris huc aduenire iusserit.  
 ACH. Caeterum clamore victus abeo multitudinis.  
 CLY. Nam malum istuc impotens. ACH. Tibi opitulabimur tamen.  
 CLY. Cumque multis dimicabis unus? ACH. Hosne conspicias 1930  
 Adferenteis arma? CLY. Dii, precor, tibi adsint prosperi.  
 ACH. Ii quidem sunt adfuturi. CLY. Proinde gnata iam haud cadet?  
 ACH. Non profecto me volente. CLY. Sed adfuturus quispiam,  
 Qui manum iniiciat puellae? ACH. Iam aderit innumerabilis  
 Militum caterua, porro dux Vlysses agminis. 1935  
 CLY. Sisyphi numnam propago? ACH. At ipsus ille scilicet.  
 CLY. Num suapte autoritate istaec agit an ad munus hoc  
 Militum iussu vocatus? ACH. Ipse sumpsit sibi volens.

1911 Ipse ego: Ego ipse *C D E F* | 1912 periculum: periculum *C D E F* | 1914 At: Ob *C D E F* | 1920-1922 Meque... affectibus: Quippe qui de nuptiarum me refellunt lemme *A* | 1922 adactum ac: adactum *C D E F* | 1923 rettulisti: retulisti *E F*

1910 *elocuta* One would expect *elocuta es*, cf. *e.g.* vs. 1925.

1920-1922 *Meque ... affectibus* Here Er. gives a particularly circumstantial translation of Ald 1354: οἱ με τῶν γάμων ἀπεκάλουον ἡσσον'. It should be noted that in *A* the verse is indeed rendered by one Latin verse.

1923 *rettulisti retulisti* in *E (F)* seems to be no more than a typographical error.

1929 *Nam malum istuc impotens* Eur. 1357 τὸ πολὺ γὰρ δεινὸν κακόν, 'for the (a)

crowd is a terrible evil'. Er. seems to mean 'for the evil (*viz.*, a crowd) is incapable of self-control' (*impotens = impotens sui*).

1931 *Dii ... prosperi* Eur. 1359 ὄναιο τῶν φρενῶν 'bless you for your kind feelings' (Paley). The answer is ἀλλ' ὀνησόμεσθα ('well, I shall be blessed, *viz.* in successfully defending the maid', Paley) which is well rendered by *Ii (sc. dei) quidem sunt adfuturi*.

1937 *suapte autoritate* Ald 1363 has ἰδίᾳ.

- CLY. Munus assumpsit scelestum, caede cupiens pollui.
- ACH. Verum ego hunc prohibebo. CLY. Numnam ducet inuitam manu 1940  
Vique raptam? ACH. Scilicet flauentibus tractam comis.
- LB 1181 CLY. Mihi quid inter haec agendum? | ACH. Tu renitens filiam  
Viribus retinebis. CLY. Hanc quidem quod ad rem pertinet,  
Gnata non mactabitur. ACH. Res huc videlicet loci  
Veniet. IPH. At dictis meis iam, mater, aurem commoda, 1945  
Quippe iam dudum absque caussa nec merentem te tuum  
Video succensam in maritum, at illa quae fieri haud queant  
Neutiquam procliue nobis sustinere ac vincere.  
Igitur huic prompto ac parato nos iuuare gratia  
Est habenda, et approbanda pectoris propensio. 1950  
Caeterum tuum illud est videre, ne quid copias  
Tu quoque irrites et hac ratione nihilo plus tamen  
Explicemus, hic sibi ingens interim accersat malum.  
Quin magis quod cogitanti venit in mentem modo,  
Mater, accipe: nam mori mihi certa stat sententia; 1955  
Verum idipsum fortiterque cumque laude peruelim  
Facere, porro animo relegans maleuolentiam meo.  
Nunc, age, hoc mecum, parens, communiter considera,  
Nostra quam sit recta ratio, quam tibi iam proferam.  
Graeciae primum illa tellus, quae quidem est amplissima, 1960  
Respicit me tota, et ex me mille cursus nauium  
Pendet, ex me gentis vna excidia pendent Iliae,  
Est situm in me, si quid olim fors nocere barbari  
Apparabunt vim ferentes foeminis nostratibus,  
Ne sinantur nobiles ditesque raptu abducere 1965  
Coniuges e Graecia, simulatque poenas penderit  
Troia Graiis debitas Helenes abactae nomine,  
Quam quidem Priameius ille rapuit abductam Paris.

1939 assumpsit: adsumpsit *C D E F* | 1953 hic... accersat: immo tute: sic tibi accersas *A* |  
1961 me: in me *C D E F* | 1963 Est: Et *C D E F* | 1967 abactae: abacto *C D E F*

1940-1941 *Numnam ... raptam?* Eur. 1365  
ἄξει δ' οὐχ ἐκοῦσαν ἀρπάσας; (of course  
οὐχ ἐκοῦσαν = *inuitam*).

1945 *aurem commoda* Er. overlooks that Eur.  
1368 has εἰσακούσατε, because Iphige-  
nia, though beginning with the voca-  
tive μήτηρ, is addressing both Cly-  
taemnestra and Achilles.

1953 *hic* Ald 1373 has ὅς δὲ (not mentioned  
in Murray's apparatus). We would  
expect *at* (δὲ) before *hic*; of course  
this pronoun refers to Achilles.

1957 *maleuolentiam* Ald 1376 follows *P*  
in reading τὸ δυσμενές. The usual (and  
also correct) reading is that of *L*, *vix*.,  
τὸ δυσγενές.

1960-1968 *Graeciae ... Paris* An extremely  
circumstantial translation of Eur.  
1378-1382. 1961 *mille cursus nauium*  
corresponds with Eur. 1379 πορθμὸς ...  
ναῶν. The number of Greek ships  
which took part in the expedition  
against Troy is generally mentioned as  
1000 since Aesch. *Agam.* 45 (Hom.

- Haec profecto cuncta redimam morte, si cadam, mea,  
 Tum decusque et celebre nomen hinc mihi parabitur, 1970  
 Quippe quae meopte capite liberarim Graeciam.  
 Nec videlicet meae me conuenit dispendio  
 Admodum vitae moueri, quando me communiter  
 Omnibus peperisti Achiuis, non tibi vni proprie.  
 Deinde tot virorum in armis constituta millia, 1975  
 Totque millia classe tanta horsum profecta nomine  
 Patriae laesae haud ferenda praeter aequum iniuria  
 Prompta sunt patrare sese dignum in hosteis quippiam,  
 Denique et pro vindicanda mortem obire Graecia;  
 Vnius mea vita porro obsistet istis omnibus, 1980  
 Quo minus fiant? In hac re, quaeso, vtrum sit aequius?  
 Nunquid est aduersus ista quod queamus dicere?  
 Verum, age, hinc ad illa iam veniamus: huncce neutiquam  
 Conuenit cunctis Achiuis vnus mulierculae  
 Gratia contendere armis luceque priuarier. 1985  
 Praestat vnicus vir estque lucis huius munere  
 Dignior quam multa sane foeminarum millia.  
 Denique hoc Artemidi si fors visum ita, vt meum caput  
 Postulet sibi vindicare, quaeso te: numnam deae  
 Ipsa mortalis manum fefellerero aut suffugero? 1990  
 Id quidem sperare stultum: dedo corpus hoc meum  
 Graeciae; proin immolate, Marte Troiam excindite.  
 Haec enim monumenta viuent tempus in longum mei,  
 Hique gnati nuptiaeque meique nominis decus.  
 Denique aequum est nos Achiuos imperare barbaris, 1995  
 Mater, haud contra Pelasgis imperare barbaros.  
 Quippe nata est seruituti barbarorum natio,  
 Caeterum Graium genus natura statuit liberum.
- CH. At te quidem quod attinet, iuuenula,  
 Istoc beata es tam virili pectore, at 2000

1975 millia: milia *ACDEF* | 1976 millia: milia *ACDEF* | 1987 millia: milia *ACDE*  
*EF* | 1988 meum: mecum *F* | 1999 At: Ad *CDEF*, *recte*

*Il. II.*: 1186; *Thuc. I.*, 10: 1200). For further details see my edition of Tertull., *De anima* (Amsterdam 1947), p. 410 (on 34, 5). *excidia*, the reading of *B*, is not a normal Latin word, and must be regarded as a typographical error. For *excidium* in this context cf. Verg. *Aen. V.*, 626 'Troiae excidium'. The verb *excindere* is found in the same context *ibid. II.*, 177 'excindi

Pergama'.  
 1974 *tibi vni* Ald 1386 σοι μόνῃ, for which Er. must have substituted the correct reading σοι μόνῃ.  
 1976–1977 *nomine ... iniuria* A particularly lengthy translation of Eur. 1388 πατριδος ἡδικημένης.  
 1983 *huncce Virz.*, Achilles.  
 2000 *Istoc ... pectore* Eur. 1402 τὸ μὲν σὸν ... γενναίως ἔχει.

- Ex parte sortis ac deae felix parum.
- A CH. Agamemnonis generosa proles, coelitum  
 Aliquis profecto me beatum fecerit,  
 Si te mihi liceat potiri coniuge.  
 Ac te simul felicem opinor Graeciam, 2005  
 Et te tua felicem opinor Graecia;  
 Tua nam proba est et gente digna oratio,  
 Vt quae recusans cum deis luctarier,  
 Id quod tuis scis esse maius viribus,  
 Perpenderis, facto quid vsus, et simul, 2010  
 Praesens quid ista postulet necessitas.  
 At me tui magis ac magis connubii  
 Rapit cupido, mentis indolem tuae  
 Dum specto, nam generosa es atque strenua.  
 At tute tecum, quid velis, considera, 2015  
 Siquidem ipse de te bene mereri peruelim |  
 LB 1182 Domumque ducere coniugem, ac pectus meum  
 Male angat (ipsa testis est mihi Thetis),  
 Nisi te neci subduxero ac seruauero  
 Danais resistens vi manumque conserens. 2020  
 Haec confer; ingens mors et atrox est malum.
- I PH. Loquor haec profecto mentis ex sententia  
 Nec vllius permota respectu viri.  
 Bella ciet autor atque caedes Tyndaris  
 Viris cruentas corporis specie sui. 2025  
 Verum, hospes, obsecro, neu mea tu gratia  
 Caesus cadas neu truces quempiam;  
 Quin me sinas seruare Graeciam, precor,  
 Modo id situm in me et quolibet liceat modo.
- A CH. O mira rari pectoris praesentia, 2030  
 Nequeam profecto aduersus ista dicere  
 Diutius, quando haec tuo sententia

2014 strenua: strenua *A C D E* | 2015 At: Ac *C E* | 2020 conserens: conferens *F* | 2021 confer: confert *C D*

2005 *te* Ald 1406, like *L P*, has τοῦ (ζηλῶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλάδ'). *Er.* puts in the correct reading σοῦ.

2010 *Perpenderis* The perfect subjunctive is somewhat surprising after *nam*; we would expect either *nam perpenderit* (*Eur.* 1408–1409 γὰρ ... ἐξελογίσω) or *vt quae perpenderit*.

2021 *Haec confer* Ald 1415 has ἀθροισον (*P*);

the correct reading is ἀθροισον (*L*). *Er.* may have regarded ἀθροισον as equivalent to *collige* ('bring together in your thought the various possibilities'). The reading *confert* in *C (D)* must be a typographical error.

2024 *ciet* Ald 1417–1418 ἀρχει ... τιθεῖσα. All later editors rightly accept Hardouin's conjecture ἀρκεῖ.

- Animo sedet, siquidem mihi videtur et  
 Generosa et eccellente digna stemmate.  
 Quid enim verebor vera quae sunt proloqui? 2035  
 At fors futurum est, mentem vt istam poenitens  
 Mutes. Proinde vti scias, quae dixerim  
 Praestare promptum me, arma ad aras comminus  
 Parata statuam, quo, siet si forte opus,  
 Non te sinam, immo vi vetem necarier. 2040  
 Nostrisque fors vtere tum sermonibus,  
 Simulac tuis conspexeris ceruicibus  
 Ferrum imminere. Proinde nequaquam sinam  
 Tua perire, virgo, te socordia.  
 Quin hisce potius templa et aras numinis 2045  
 Armis adibo tuamque ibi praesentiam  
 Opperiar aduentum, puella, manens tuum.  
 IPH. Quid obtices, o mater, ac silentio  
 Manantibus genae rigantur lachrumis?  
 CLY. Hei misera, causa sat mihi est idonea, 2050  
 Cur debeam dolere et excruciarier.  
 IPH. Animum adde nobis potius et frangi veta,  
 Ne pectoris minuto mi constantiam  
 Atque his mihi in rebus, parens, morem gere.  
 CLY. Dic, quando nullo, filia, in negotio 2055  
 Nos te precantem iusta defraudabimus.  
 IPH. Ne tu capillis igitur euulsis comam  
 Laniaris aut pullos amictus sumpseris.  
 CLY. Istuc quid ais, o gnata, cum pereas mihi?  
 IPH. Minime profecto, salua sum; per me tibi 2060  
 Famae perennis veniet inclytum decus.

2038–2039 *me ... statuam: veniam, et arma haec cominus / Deponam ad aram EF* | 2047  
 Opperiar: Operibor *A* operiar *CDE* *F* | 2054 *CLY. ante hunc vs. C* | 2055 *nullo: nulla CD*  
*EF* | 2056 *IPH. ante hunc vs. C* | 2058 *CLY. ante hunc vs. C*

2033–2034 *siquidem ... stemmate* A circumstantial translation of Eur. 1422–1423  
 γενναῖα γὰρ / φρονεῖς.  
 2038–2039 The translation offered by *E(F)*  
 (cf. the critical apparatus) gives indeed  
 a more literal rendering of Eur. 1426  
 ἔλθῶν τὰδ' ὄπλα θήσομαι βωμοῦ πέλας.  
 2048–2049 Once more we find that most of  
 the single verses of a στιχομυθία in  
 Eur. (1433–1458) are rendered in Latin  
 by two or even three lines (2052–2054).  
 Only once two lines are spoken by

one person in the Greek text (1437–  
 1438; here *Er.* also has two verses:  
 2057–2058).

2052–2053 In Ald 1435 the punctuation is  
 as follows: παῦσαι με, μὴ κάκιζε. Evi-  
 dently 2052 *Animum ... veta* must  
 serve as a translation of παῦσόν με  
 θρηνεῖν, given in a positive form. 2053  
*Ne ... constantiam* is of course the trans-  
 lation of μὴ κάκιζε (*sc. με*: 'do not  
 make me a coward'; cf. Paley *ad loc.*).

- CLY. Cuiusmodi hoc est quod mones? An, obsecro,  
Non conuenit lugere mortem me tuam?
- IPH. Minime, sepulchrum quando nec statuent mihi.
- CLY. Quid? An sepulchri non sat est occumbere? 2065
- IPH. Etenim ipsa diuae maximo natae Ioue  
Mihī futura templa monimentis loco.
- CLY. Age, gnata, in istis nunc voluntati tuae  
Morem geram, quando ipsa dixisti probe.
- IPH. Vtpote beata ac bene merens de Graecia. 2070
- CLY. Sed quid tuis renuntio sororibus?
- IPH. Ne quando pullis membra velent vestibus.
- CLY. Virginitibus autem, quod lubenter audiant,  
Quid me tuo iubes referre nomine?
- IPH. Feliciter iubeas valere. Et hunc mihi 2075  
Alas Orestem, vt exolescat in virum.
- CLY. Complectere hoc visura postremum die.
- IPH. Germane, cordi vnus meo carissime,  
Vtcunque tu pro viribus certe tuis  
Tuae sorori es opitulatus sedulo. 2080
- CLY. Est aliud, Argis quod velis curarier,  
In quo queam tibi facere gratum, filia?
- IPH. Meum parentem, coniugem, genitrix, tuum  
Ob ista, quaeso, facta ne quid oderis.
- CLY. Isti tua multum laborum gratia 2085  
Exhauriendum atrociamque certamina  
Subeunda. IPH. Verum inuitus hic me perdidit  
Consulere quaerens dignitati Graeciae.
- CLY. Atqui volens si faciat istuc aut dolo,  
Et indecore faciat et parum Atreo 2090  
Dignum parente. IPH. Me quis hinc deduxerit |  
Mihī prius quam tracta lanietur coma?
- CLY. Ego te sequar. IPH. Faxis caue, neque conuenit.

LB 1183

2079 Vtcunque ... tuis: Nae tu profecto pro tuis viriculis A

- 2065 *An sepulchri non sat est occumbere?*  
Literally: 'Or is dying not enough of  
a grave?', *i.e.*, 'Does death in itself not  
sufficiently function as a grave?' Er.  
gives a literal translation of Ald 1443  
τί δαί; τὸ θνήσκειν οὐ τάφος νομίζεται;  
(*'is not dying considered a tomb?'* Paley).
- 2074 *Quid* Ald reads ἔπος τί ...; instead of  
ἔπος τι (1449).

- 2085–2087 *Isti ... subeunda* This is a threat  
referring to the murdering of Agamemnon; cf. the notes by Paley and  
Wecklein on Eur. 1455.
- 2089–2091 *Atqui ... parente* In Eur. 1457  
there is only a positive statement:  
δὴλω δ', ἀγεννώως Ἀτρείως τ' οὐκ ἀξίως.  
Er. substitutes a *si*-clause (*Atqui ...*  
*dolo*) for the words δὴλω δ'.



- CLY. Tuis adhaerens vestibus. IPH. Mihi, o parens,  
Obtempera: mane; decorum enim id magis  
Mihique tibi que. Caeterum me quispiam  
Ex his ministris patris in pratum deae  
Artemidis hinc deducat, vbi mactabimur. 2095
- CLY. Discedis, eheu, gnata. IPH. Scilicet, neque  
Reditura rursus abeo. CLY. Matre videlicet  
Numnam relicta? IPH. Nemppe sic, vti vides,  
Indigne et immerenter. CLY. Ah, mane, obsecro.  
Ne, gnata, ne me deseras. IPH. Haud te sinam  
Stillantibus vexare lachrumis genas.  
At vos, puellae, Artemidi filiae Iouis  
Paeana canite, de nece atque obitu mei  
Bene ominantes; tum Pelasgis omnibus  
Precationes fausta que sonent omina,  
Ac primus aliquis auspicetur tollere  
E corbe frondeis, deinde puris ardeat  
Sacer ignis in prochythis, pater porro meus  
Rite fragranteis teneat aras dextera. 2100  
Etenim salutem pariter et victoriam  
Paritura cunctae venio genti Graeciae. 2105
- IPH. Ducitote me, Ilii  
Diruendis moenibus  
Phrygibusque perdomandis  
Destinatam victimam. 2115

2096 mihi que: mihi *C D E F* | 2108 omina: omnia *E*

- 2099 *Discedis ... gnata*. In Ald 1464 there is no point of interrogation after οἴχη.
- 2102 *immerenter* is a particularly rare adverb (Stephan. 1, p. 37 c and perhaps Val. Max. VI, 2, *ext.*, 1).
- 2107–2108 *tum ... omina* Eur. 1469 ἔτω δὲ Δαναΐδαις εὐφημία, on which Paley observes: ‘It is doubtful whether this means, as Monk explains it, “Let the joyful strain go forth to the Greeks” or rather, “Let the order for silence go forth”.’ Er. chooses the former, less plausible translation. The addition of *omina* to *Precationes* is of course partly due to *ominantes* in vs. 1207. Eur. 1467 sqq. has: ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐπευφημήσατ’, ὦ νεάνιδες, / παιᾶνα τῆμῃ συμφορᾷ Διδὸς κόρην / Ἄρτεμιν, where ἐπευφημήσατ’ ... παιᾶνα is equivalent to παιανίζετε; 2115–2118 *Ilii ... victimam* is the circum-
- the idea of *ominari* is introduced into the context by Er.
- 2115 Vss. 2115–2167 are the translation of the threnos which is sung by Iphigenia as she leaves her mother, and which at the end is interrupted by the chorus (Eur. 1475–1509; vss. 1487–1490 are almost certainly part of Iphigenia’s song; *L* and *P*, and with them Ald and Er. 2132–2137, attribute them to the chorus). For this passage the chapter *Ad lectorem* indicates as the metre *Iambicum dimetrum Acephalum, non nulla etiam Catalectica*. This is, however, only a general indication, as is evident from the numerous exceptions to the rule, which need not be mentioned here.

	Serta texta porgite	
	Comisque vincendis	2120
	Ferte frondeis ac piis	
	Irrigationibus	
	Fontibusque sacris	
	Deuocate in aedem,	
	Deuocate in aram	2125
	Heram Artemin potentem,	
	Artemin beatam,	
	Vti meopte sanguine	
	Capitisque caede nostri	
	(Quando hoc ita est necesse)	2130
	Fata placem numinum.	
CH.	O veneranda,	
	Veneranda parens,	
	Quomodo tibi debitas	
	Impertiemus lachrumas?	2135
	Nam nefas neque conuenit	
	Miscere sacra fletu.	
IPH.	O sodalium	
	Turba dulcis virginum,	
	Artemin communibus	2140
	Celebrate cantilenis,	
	Quae croco rubentia	
	Carpenta ducit vrbi	
	Aduersa Chalcidensi,	
	Vbi bellicae feruent trabes	2145
	Nominis caussa mei,	

2126 *et* 2127 Artemin: Artemim *C D E F* | 2135 Impertiemus: impartiemus *A* | 2136 nefas: nephas *A C* | 2140 Artemin: Artemim *C D E F* | 2145 Vbi bellicae feruent trabes: Feruent hastae vbi bellicae *A*

stantial translation of Eur. 1475–1476 τῶν Ἰλίου / καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν.

2121–2123 *piis* ... *sacris* Ald 1479 has χειρῶν βων τε παγαῖσιν (a comma follows), which Er. connects immediately with the verb ἐλίσσει. However, *deuocate* is by no means a correct rendering of this verb, for ἐλίσσειτ' ... Ἄρτεμιν means 'dance round the statue of Artemis' (cf. Paley *ad loc.*). *Heram* in vs. 2126 is the translation of Eur. 1482 τὴν ἄνασσαν.

2131 *Fata placem numinum* Eur. 1486 θέσφατ' ἐξαλειψω. On this difficult verse Paley

observes: 'The idea is that of blotting out or defacing by blood the written letter of an oracle, or seer's declaration, that stood against the Argives'.

2134 *Quomodo* Ald 1488 ὡς, for which Er. may have substituted πῶς. Wecklein and Murray follow England in reading οὐ.

2142–2144 *Quae* ... *Chalcidensi* Eur. 1494 has only Χαλκίδος ἀντίπορον.

2145 *feruent* Eur. 1495 μέμονε 'are in eager expectation' (Paley; Wecklein interprets this form as the perfect tense of μένω and translates 'verweilt').

	Nempe hic reductis portuum Aulidis secessibus. Io, parens tellus O Pelasgica, Mycenaeque nostri altrices.		2150
CH.	Vrbem vocasti Persei Cyclopio labore Manibusque fabricatam.		
IPH.	Profecto lumen ingens Edidistis Graeciae; Haud quidem abnuo mori.		2155
CH.	Tua nanque tete gloria Nullo relinquet tempore.		
IPH.	Io Io, Phoebea fax, diurnae Vectrix amica lucis, O dulce lumen aetheris, Alterum mox, alterum Exigemus aeuum, Orbem alterum incolemus. O blanda lux, iam mihi vale.	2160	LB 1184
CH.	Heus, Heus, Spectate euntem virginem, Troiana per quam Pergama Deuicta subruentur. En, comante vertice Serta gestat frondea Iniecta militum manu. Mox viraginis deae		2165 2170 2175

2151 *Mycenaeque nostri altrices* Ald 1499 reads Μυκηναί (a conjecture by Musurus, as it seems, for the manuscripts have Μυκηναίαι) τ' ἐμαί θεράπαινοι (*L<sup>2</sup> P*; θεράπαινοι *L*, which must be the correct reading adopted by all later editors, so that the meaning of the original text is 'Mycenae, my home'; cf. Paley *ad loc.*). Er. has translated as well as possible θεράπαινοι functioning as an apposition to Μυκηναί.

2162 *Vectrix* A very rare substantive which Er. may know from Paulin. Nol. *Ep.* 49,8.

2168-2209 This is the translation of Eur. 1509-1531, which is almost certainly

spurious (cf. Wecklein *ad loc.* and Paley's note on vs. 1475; in his note on vs. 1509 he declares that he regards everything after that verse as not authentic: 'With the departure of Iphigenia the play, as we have it from Euripides, concludes.')

2174 *Iniecta militum manu* An addition by Er., who puts a full stop here, thus breaking up the Greek sentence (Eur. 1510-1517 σφαγεῖσαν).

2175-2183 *Mox ... solum* An expanded translation of the certainly corrupt passage Ald 1513-1517: χερνίβων τε παγαίς, / βωμόν γε δαίμονος θεᾶς, / ῥανίσιν αἱμα- / τοῦ ῥύτοις / θανοῦσαν, εὐφυῆ τε σώματος /

Arae dicatum cespitem Sacra scatente lympha Manantibusque riuis, Purpurante aspergine Cruoris irrigabit,	2180
Candido de corpore Ceruice cum resecta Procumbet ac feriet solum. Patria te manent sacra, Te manent Pelasgum	2185
Vniuersae copiae, Classe quae desiderant Phrygios adire muros. Quod quidem vt feliciter Fausteque cedat illis,	2190
Agite, prognatam Ioue Inuocemus Artemin. Semper colenda diua, Humana cui placent sacra, Da militi Pelasgo	2195
Appellere Phrygium in solum Perfidaeque Troiae Sedes adire sacras; Da victorem Agamemnonem Victrice cum caterua	2200
Pulcherrimum triumphum In Graeciam referre, Laeta vincientem Inclytæ tibi tempora Victoriae corona,	2205
Laude parta nominis Quod vsque viuat et quod	

δέρην σφαγεῖσαν. As is shown by *irrigabit* (2180), Er. must have substituted βανοῦσαν, which was afterwards conjectured by Markland, for θανοῦσαν (Monk conjectures χρανοῦσαν). We should note the translation of βωμόν by *Arae dicatum cespitem* and further the substitution of *viraginis* for δαίμωνος. The last three verses are a remarkable attempt to make sense out of an entirely corrupt text.

2184 *Patria te manent sacra* On account of the

prolix translation of the preceding verses Er. here simplifies his Latin rendering of Ald 1517-1518 εὐδροσοι παγαί/πατρῶαι μένουσί σε, χέρνιβές τε.

2189-2192 *Quod ... Artemin* Here it must be pointed out that in Ald 1523 there is a full stop after πότμῳ. From the preceding verse in Ald the words θεῶν ἄνασσαν have been left untranslated.

2198 *sacras* is an addition by Er.; Eur. 1527 has only καὶ δολόεντα Τροίας ἔδη.

2199-2209 *Da ... seculis* An expanded trans-

Nullis senescat vnquam  
Intercidatue seculis.

- NVN. Prodito tectis, patre Tyndareo sata, 2210  
Quo dicta cognoscas, Clytemnestra, mea.
- CLY. Audita meme vox tua exciuit foras  
Trepidamque misere, diro et attonitam metu.  
Num tu mihi aliam calamitatem quampiam  
Adfers ad hanc, quae nunc adest? NVN. De filia 2215  
Tua stupenda nuntiabo iam tibi et  
Portentuosa. CLY. Proinde ne contere, sed  
Expone rem quantum potes celerrime.
- NVN. Quin, o mihi regina dilectissima,  
Rem prorsus omnem luculenter audies. 2220  
Ex ordine autem cuncta narrabo, nisi  
Si quid memoriae lapsus errantem mihi  
Inter loquendum linguam item turbauerit.  
Vt igitur in lucum deae peruenimus  
Artemidis atque in florulenta prata, vbi 2225  
Aderant Achium conglobatae copiae  
Tuam cateruis prosequentes filiam,  
Glomerata coiit illico Argium phalanx.  
Simulatque porro ductor Agamemnon videt  
Mox immolandam in lucum euntem virginem, 2230  
Gemitum profundo ducit altum pectore  
Retroque flexo vultu amaras lachrimas  
Profudit oculis, ora velis obtegens.  
At illa patri proxime assistens suo |  
Haec elocuta est: 'O parens, adsum tibi, 2235 LB 1185  
Et hocce corpus pro salute patriae  
Proque vniuersa Graecia trado volens,  
Vt immolandum hinc ad dicatas numinis  
Ducatis aras, quando diuum oracula

2212 tua *deest* in C D E F | 2217 contere: cunctere C D E F | 2233 oculis: oclis F | 2235  
haec: hoc A C D E F

lation of Ald 1528–1531 Ἀγαμέμνονά  
τε λόγχαις / Ἑλλάδι κλεινότατον στέ-  
φανον / δὸς ἀμφὶ κέρα τεόν / κλέος ἀεί-  
μνηστον ἀμφιθεῖναι. Here τεόν, which is  
left unchanged by Er. (2204 *tibi*), can-  
not be correct; Seidler's conjecture έόν  
has to be adopted. Of this Paley gives  
the following paraphrase: 'Grant that

Agamemnon may put on his head im-  
perishable glory, an illustrious crown  
to Hellas for the spear'. Er. seems to  
have thought that τεόν should refer to  
Iphigenia.

2222 *memoriae lapsus* Eur. 1541–1542 σφα-  
λεῖσα ... γνώμη.

Ita canunt. Prorsum, quod ad me pertinet, 2240  
 Et rem geratis bellicam feliciter  
 Laetaeque vobis praemium victoriae  
 Cedat. Proinde illud precor, ne clanculum  
 Mihi Pelasgum quispiam admoueat manum:  
 Nihil reluctans colla porrigam ac volens.' 2245  
 Atque haec quidem est effata; caeterum stupor  
 Omneis capit robur tuenteis virginis  
 Et virginalis animi celsitudinem.  
 Talthybius autem, cuius hae partes erant,  
 Media Pelasgorum inter astans agmina, 2250  
 Bene vt ominentur, copiis denuntiat,  
 Linguisque faueant. Deinde fatidicus celer  
 Chalcas in auro intermicantem sportulam  
 Nudans et e loculis acutum proferens  
 Imponit ensem, ac virginis flauum caput 2255  
 Sertis reuincit frondeis. Tum Peleo  
 Editus Achilles sportulam gestans sacram  
 Sacrasque pelueis celere cursu numinis  
 Obibat aras, simul et haec precatus est:  
 'Artemi, ferarum magna domitrix ac Iouis 2260  
 Veneranda proles, quae nitentem luminis  
 Blandi facem alto noctium silentio  
 Vectare solita es, placida sume victimam hanc,  
 Quam tibi damus, simul Pelasgum exercitus,  
 Simul et Agamemnon, imperator agminum, 2265  
 Intaminatum sanguinem, qui virginis  
 Pulcherrimae manabit e ceruicibus;  
 Ac dextra classi prosperum cursum annue,  
 Liceatque nobis Marte capere Pergama.'  
 Stant inter haec fratres Atridae omnisque item 2270  
 Exercitus, solo tenentes lumina.  
 Atque ibi sacerdos ense correpto manu  
 Rite est precatus, deinde dispicit locum,  
 Qua commode iugulum feriret virginis.

2262 Blandi facem: Blandifacem *C D E* | 2267 Pulcherrimae: Pulcherrima *D*

2243 *clanculum* An addition by Er.

2253 *intermicantem* Again a verb which is used by later Roman poets from Val. Flacc. (IV, 662) onwards.

2254 *e loculis* Ald 1567 has *κολεῶν ἔσωθεν*, which, if the reading is sound, must

mean 'aus dem Innern der Scheide heraus' (Wecklein).

2258–2259 *celere cursu numinis* | *obibat aras*  
 Ald 1568–1569 *ἐν κύκλῳ βωμῶν θεῶς ...*  
*ἔθρεξε*.

Mentem mihi haud exiguus occupat dolor	2275
Stabamque moestus ora defigens solo	
Oculosque pronos. Caeterum subito noua	
Visuque mira res ibi accidit: sonum	
Plagae per auras nemo non sensit palam,	
Porro puella nescio quonam loci	2280
Euanuit subducta. Tum vocem stupens	
Tollit sacerdos; turba Graii exercitus	
Acclamat vniuersa, dum quoddam videt	
Mirabile ostentum a deorum quopiam	
Conspectibus spem praeter obiectum suis,	2285
Quod credier nequibat, ac ne tum quidem,	
Oculis vbi coram pateret testibus,	
Siquidem iacebat cerua palpitans humi,	
Visenda vasti mole mira corporis,	
Specie decente insignis ac spectabilis,	2290
Cuius cruore imbuta numinis affatim	LB 1186
Vndabat ara. Proinde Chalcas interim	
Quantum putas gauisus haec effatus est:	
'Huius Pelasgum principes exercitus	
Communis, hanc coram videtis hostiam,	2295
Altaribus quam diua supposuit suis,	
Ceruam volucrem? En hancce virginis vice	
Amplectitur libentius, ne quid suas	
Commaculet aras nobilis virgunculae	
Caede cruenta, et hocce consulit volens	2300
Boni accipitque, ac prosperos per aequora	
Vndosa cursus annuit nobis, vti	
Priameia liceat classe adire Pergama,	
Quapropter omnes classe vecti milites	
Animum bonum fiduciamque sumite	2305

2283 Acclamat: Adclamat *E F* | 2291 numinis: nominis *C D*

2279 *sensit* Eur. 1582 has ἤσθετ' ἄν; Er. has rightly left ἄν untranslated (Weil has changed the entire word-order in order to get rid of ἄν).

2280 *nescio* Ald 1583 reads: τὴν παρθένον δ' οὐκ οἶδεν οὐ γῆς εἰσέδου.

2283-2287 *dum ... testibus* Here we have a particularly lengthy translation of two verses of Eur. (1585-1586): ἀελπτὸν εἰσιδόντες ἐκ θεῶν τινος / φάσμε', οὐ γέ μῃδ' ὀρωμένου πίστις παρῆν.

2292 *Vndabat* Ald 1589 ἐρῶάινετ'.

2293 *Quantum putas gauisus* Eur. 1590 πῶς δοκεῖς χαίρων.

2297-2298 *En ... libentius* An understandable translation of the certainly corrupt translation of the certainly corrupt verse 1594: ταύτην μάλιστα τῆς κόρης ἀσπάζεται, on which cf. Paley's and Wecklein's notes. *quid* is to be interpreted as an accusative, *dea* being the subject of 2299 *Commaculet*.

- Ac petite naueis; hoc enim nobis die  
 Curuis relictis portuum secessibus  
 Aulidis aranda Aegaea ratibus aequora.<sup>7</sup>  
 Vt penitus autem victima est Vulcaniis  
 Exusta flammis, tum precatus prospera est 2310  
 Sacrificus, vt reditus secundus ab Ilio  
 Victricibus domum daretur copiis.  
 At me tibi transmisit Agamemnon, vti  
 Haec nuntiarem ac certiozem redderem,  
 Ipsi deum quid accidisset numine, 2315  
 Et vt pararit sibi per omnem Graeciam  
 Famae decus, quod nulla prorsus secula  
 Oblitterabunt. Ast ego videlicet,  
 Quod ipse praesens his et oculis viderim,  
 Id narro: proles ad deum consortia 2320  
 Tua subuolauit. Proinde quod reliquum est, age,  
 Istam remittas mentis aegritudinem ac  
 Tuo marito desinas irascier.  
 Inopina diuum fata, quosque diligunt  
 Seruant; hic vnus filiam, mulier, tuam 2325  
 Et mortuam conspexit et viuam dies.
- CH. Vt ista volupe est tibi ferentem nuntium  
 Audire; porro coelitem in consortio  
 Transigere vitam pignus affirmat tuum.
- CLY. Quis te deorum, gnata, rapuit? 2330  
 Qui te compellabo rite?  
 Quid dicam aut quid suspicer? Anne hoc  
 Mihi frustra blandirier his verbis,  
 Tristi vt luctu tui desistam?
- CH. Atqui huc Agamemnon venit ductor, 2335  
 Vnde haec ipsa possis audire.
- AG. Vxor, beati filiae caussa sumus  
 Forsan futuri; quippe certum est coelitem  
 Illam in deum manere contubernio.  
 At tibi puello hoc pariter abducto domus 2340  
 Repetenda, siquidem, vt nauigare copiae

2331 Qui: Quin *A*

2332-2334 *Quid ... desistam?* In vs. 1616 Ald, following *l*, reads πῶς δὲ φῶ (πῶς δ' οὐ φῶ *L P*); παραμυθεῖσθαι ... παυσαιμην. In order to get an understandable

sentence, Er. has put a point of interrogation after παυσαιμην. As it seems, we must supply *deos* as the subject of *blandirier*.



Properent, vides. Valeto: colloquar diu  
Troia reuersus, et interim tibi sit bene.

CH. Felix, Atrida, terram adi Phrygiam,  
Felix redito,

2345

Mihi pulcherrima abs Troia spolia huc reportans.

FINIS

FINIS: Finis Iphigeniae in Aulide *A*, Euripidis Iphigeniae in Aulide, (Desiderio *D*) Des.  
Erasmio interprete, finis *C D*, EVRIPIDIS IPHIGENIAE FINIS *E F*; *In A sequitur*

Geruasii Omenii Drocensis  
Ad lectorem Epigramma

Lector adest tragici mellita Euripidis: antehac  
Non nisi Cecropiis Musa locuta viris:  
Quae tibi romanum loquitur modo docta leporem:  
Dulciaque e latius pocula fundit aquis.  
Illa nouis adeo blanditur picta nitelis:  
Acticus vt latius cedat honore lepos.  
En tibi prothermes haec aurea tradit Erasmus  
Pignora: quae nullo sunt peritura die.  
Quanta igitur quaeso celebri debetur Erasmo  
Gratia: qui tantas conciliauit opes?  
Eia age iam lector felicibus excipe fatis  
Munera: quippe ferent commoda summa: Vale.  
Finis.

2342-2343 *colloquar diu* / *Troia reuersus* This  
is an erroneous translation of Eur.  
1625-1626 *Χρόνια γε τάμα σοι προσ-*  
*φθέγματα* / *Τροίηθεν ἔσται*, which means

of course: 'it will take a long time  
before I speak to you again after my  
return from Troy'.



# LVCIANI DIALOGI

edited by

CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

Lancaster

10  
21

# Luciani Erasmo interprete

Dialogi & alia emuncta. Quorum quaedam recentius / quaedam  
annos abhinc octo sunt verfa: sed nuper recognita: vt indice ad  
finem apponendo declarabimus.

Quaedam etiam a Thoma Moro latina facta: &  
Quaedam ab eodem concinnata.



## Venduntur in edibus Ascensianis.

# INTRODUCTION

## *Part i*

After the fall of Rome, the works of Lucian disappeared from the Western empire; but in the Eastern empire, they continued to be read and appreciated, as the proliferation of Byzantine imitations demonstrates. Accordingly, Italian manuscript hunters found in Byzantium at the beginning of the fifteenth century a plentiful supply of material to take home. By 1425, manuscripts of the Greek text of sixty-five works ascribed to Lucian were circulating in Italy, by 1459 the number had risen to eighty-three, and by 1475 the 'complete works' were available. In consequence, as surviving manuscripts prove, a wide range of dialogues was, by the mid fifteenth century, also available in translation; but despite this amplitude of material, as early as the Rome edition of 1470<sup>1</sup>, a select *canon* of versions seems to have established itself. The body of this *canon* is represented by the Venice edition of 1494.<sup>2</sup> It contained:<sup>3</sup>

Rinuccio Aretino	Charon	HAIN 10269
	Philosophorum Vitae	HAIN 10269
	Scaphidium = Dial. Mort. X	R. 398
Lilius Castellanus	Verae Historiae	HAIN 10259
Poggio	Lucius sive Asinus	HAIN 10264
Giovanni Aurispa	Scipio = Dial. Mort. XII	HAIN 10275
Cristoforo Persona	Tyrannus	HAIN 10269
Ponticus Virunius	Terpsion = Dial. Mort. VI	HAIN 10261
	Hercules = Dial. Mort. XVI	HAIN 10261
'Bertoldus' <sup>4</sup>	Timon	HAIN 10269
(unidentified)	Diogenes = Dial. Mort. XIII	HAIN 10261

<sup>1</sup> Described by R. Sabbadini - *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, N.S. 31 [1916] pp. 260-2. There are corrections additional to those made by Sabbadini. The *Palinurus* is by Veggio not Rinucci and the *Vitarum Auctio* by Rinucci, not Persona.

<sup>2</sup> Described No. 223 in 'Catalogo degli Incunabili della Biblioteca Ugo da Como di Lonato' by Baroncelli.

<sup>3</sup> The third column contains the catalogue number of the earliest printing of that particular dialogue known to me.

<sup>4</sup> The attribution to 'Bertoldus' occurs in Rome 1470. In the Venice edition there is no attribution.

It also contained a free rendering of the first Bucolic of Moschus ascribed to Lucian under the title of 'In amorem', and two works for which no greek text ever existed, namely one of L. B. Alberti's *Intercoenales*, the *Virtus Dea*, purporting to be a translation from Lucian by the hand of Carlo Marsuppini, and Maffeo Veggio's *De foelicitate et miseria* masquerading under the title *Palinurus*. This body of versions, augmented by Guarino's *De Calumnia* and *Laus muscae*, reappeared in Milan 1497 (HAIN 10262) and was reprinted in five editions (Venice 1500<sup>5</sup>, Bologna 1502<sup>6</sup>, Milan 1504<sup>7</sup>, Venice 1517<sup>8</sup>, Lyon 1519<sup>9</sup>) the last of which included the translation of *De Mercede conductis* by Pierio Valeriano. The same dialogues also appeared individually, and continued spasmodically so to appear, as late as 1536 (Rinucci's *Vitarum auctio*. NK 1406). These versions completely cornered the market at home and abroad – they comprise four fifths of the printed works prior to 1506: but this remarkable fact is not readily discernible, because in many editions the attribution of works to translators is fairly random, and only a comparison of texts can establish the authenticity of the claims of the contents tables.

It is difficult to assess the standard of the fifteenth century Italian versions. We have the translators' own word for it that they found the task difficult. An enthusiast in Bologna in 1505 comments sadly on the 'grecurum elocutionum genera contorta senticosa et aliena maxime a nostre latinatis elegantia' and finds that the transposition, transformation and omission of words 'non minorem interdum nobis ambiguitatem pariunt quam olim Sphingis enigmata pepere hominibus'.<sup>10</sup> There is a consequent tendency to free rendering. Aurispa's *Dial. Mort.* XII, for example, is a free adaptation which gives supremacy to the 'Italian' Scipio, a fact which may be referred to the famous wrangle between Poggio and Guarino. What is more important is the reaction of northern scholars to the work of their predecessors. Erasmus himself sometimes speaks highly of Italian scholarship in general, but of a previous translation of the *Timon* he says contemptuously: 'versus quidem ille iam pridem ab alio nescioquo, sed ita versus vt interpres hoc modo demonstrare voluisse videatur sese neque Graece scire neque Latine; neque temere adeo quis suspicetur eum interpretem subornatum esse ab iis qui Luciano male volunt' (Preface to *Timon*). Petrus Mosellanus in a discussion of northern translators reduces the basis of criticism to the simple formula that what is prior to 1500 is by definition inferior. 'Conati sunt et alii nonnulli, sed vt non eodem seculo, nec pari foelicitate'.<sup>11</sup> Most eloquent of all is the complete silence of the first editor of the Latin collected works of Lucian (Frankfurt 1538) Jakob Micyllus, who, though using several

<sup>5</sup> HAIN 10263.

<sup>6</sup> Bodleian. Bywater P. 5.13.

<sup>7</sup> Described in 'Giovanni Angelo Scinzeler'. L. Balsamo, Florence 1959 p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Bodleian. Vet. F. 1 e, 112.

<sup>9</sup> Bibl. Lyonn. VIII, 434

<sup>10</sup> Constantino Clariti *Philopseudes sive apiston*, f. A. ii<sup>v</sup> Bononic Anno M.D.V.

<sup>11</sup> *Dialogi duo Charon et Tyrannus*, Hagenau (Anselm) 1518.

Italian canon versions, omitted to mention their provenance, except in the case of Ponticus Virunius.

The work which displaced the Italian canon both north and south of the Alps was the collection of translations by Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, the first printing of which was completed circa 17 November 1506 by J. Badius in Paris. This collection, principally in the form of the augmented second Badius edition (Paris 1514) had an unparalleled success. The translator himself, with customary modesty, notes (Ep. I, p. 8, l. 10): 'Rapiebantur hae nugae primum magno studiosorum applausu.' Even before Erasmus' death, some three dozen printings, of either the whole collection or selections from it, can be accounted for in places as divergent as London and Krakow; and though a variety of scholars attempted other dialogues, none put his hand to a new version of any of those translated by Erasmus.<sup>12</sup> When Jakob Micyllus compiled his Latin *Opera omnia* referred to above, he used all the Erasmus translations, as did Erasmus' former secretary Gilbert Cousin for the first bilingual *Opera omnia* (Basle, Henricus Petri 1563) and they were still accepted as the standard Latin translations by J. A. Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Graeca* as late as 1796.

Erasmus' purpose in translating Lucian seems to have been threefold. In the first instance, he regarded translation as a useful exercise for the improving of his greek. 'Itaque coactus ipse mihi praeceptor esse, verti multos Luciani libellos, vel in hunc usum, vt attentius Graeca legerem' (Ep. I, p. 7, l. 24). In order to acquire a better command of the language he adhered fairly closely to the original, expanding or condensing only for explicitness or propriety. Elsewhere he declares: 'Tametsi nouus interpres religiosior esse malui quam audacior' (Ep. 177, ll. 97-98) and this is borne out in his text. In the second instance, he thought Lucian a suitable author for the beginner in Greek studies, particularly in schools. This belief is based on two aspects: firstly, linguistic and stylistic. In *De Ratione Studii* (LB I, 521 D) he says: 'Nam vera emendate loquendi facultas optime paratur, cum ex castigate loquentium colloquio conuictuque, tum ex eloquentium auctorum assidua lectione e quibus ii primum sunt imbibendi, quorum oratio praeterquam quod est castigatissima, argumenti quoque illecebra aliqua discentibus blandiatur. Quo quidem in genere primas tribuerim Luciano alteras Demostheni, tertias Herodoto ...' After a study of these authors, the student will be able to apply himself to a study of ideas 'parata sermonis facultate si non luxuriosa, certe casta' (LB I, 521 B). Accordingly, when giving the classification and arrangement of his works that he wished his literary executors to adopt, Erasmus directed that the translations from Lucian should be in volume one, which was to contain those works 'quae spectant ad institutionem litterarum'.

<sup>12</sup> Unless the version of the *Convivium* by Io. M. Catanaeus (published s. l. n. d. Bodleian Byw. P. 6.4 (27)) is post-1506. In any case, as Catanaeus was active ca. 1507, in which year he published a version of the *De Historia conscribenda* in Bologna, he was probably unaware of the Erasmus collection.

The second aspect on which Erasmus based his preference for Lucian was a desire that children should be given works of which not only was the style and language suitable, but the content attractive. In learning the art of letter writing for example, the teacher 'delectum habebit et curam ut ea potissimum proponat quae aetati illi amoenitate velut illecebrae blandiantur. In his enim pueri ut libentius, ita et utilius exercebuntur. Id fiet, si vel noua sunt, vel faceta, vel alioqui puerorum ingeniis affinia. Ea vel e Poetarum fabulis vel ab Historicis erunt petenda... In hoc genere plerique Graeci non infeliciter luserunt sed nemo feliciter Luciano.' Furthermore, the content should be not merely attractive, but also instructive and practical. To this end, a principle of selection must be laid down: 'Ex his tamen deligenda censeo quae non omnino sint ociosa, sed habeant aliquid ad vitam communem conducibile. Ociosa sunt illa Luciani de Jovi cerebro praegnantem et implorantem securim Vulcani, de Neptuno per Mercurium non admissum cum recens Jupiter peperisset e cerebro Palladem. Nam huius generis quae sunt, ut sunt, amoena et ingenii foelicitatem arguunt, ita non multum faciunt ad vitam communem ... (*De Conscribendis Epistulis*, LB I, 353 B).

The concept of choosing material with a practical application to life brings us to the third purpose of Erasmus' collection, that of moral instruction. His own prefaces leave us no doubt that his principle of selecting the dialogues was that of 'utilitas'. The *Toxaris* is 'frugifer', the *Alexander* 'frugiferae nugae', the *Timon* 'Luciani dialogus quo vix alius lectu vel utilior vel iucundior'. The preface to the *Gallus* is an extended rhetorical flourish, on the Horatian maxim quoted there '... *Omne tulit punctum (ut scripsit Flaccus) qui miscuit vile dulci*. Quod quidem aut nemo, mea sententia, aut noster hic Lucianus est assecutus ...' So certain is Erasmus of Lucian's qualities as a moralist, that in assessing the *De Astrologia*, he presumes that it must have a moral content: 'Nam a Luciano nihil fere triviale solet proficisci' (Ep. 267, p. 520, l. 20). In what, however, does this moral instructiveness lie? Precisely in that the vices satirized by Lucian were those rife in Erasmus' day, and he saw in the dialogues an immediate contemporary application. The *Toxaris* is a lesson in what Christian love should be and clearly is not: 'Nunc Christianis vsque adeo in desuetudinem abiit, ut, non dicam vestigia, sed ne nomen quidem ipsum extet, quum nihil aliud sit Christianissimum quam vera perfectaue amicitia ...' (p. 423, ll. 21-23). The *Alexander* is a comment on hypocrisy and the exploitation of superstition by the Church: 'Luciani Pseudomantem misi, scelestissimum quidem illum, sed quo nemo sit utilior ad deprehendendas coarguendasque quorundam istorum imposturas qui nunc quoque vel magicis miraculis, vel ficta religione, vel adsimulatis condonationibus aliisque id genus praestigiis, vulgo fucum facere solent.' The *De mercede conductis* is a picture of contemporary court life: 'In eo non sine voluptate tamquam in speculo videbis aulicae vitae incommoda quae tu mihi saepenumero commemorare solebas...' And, particularly, in the *Gallus* and *Convivium* the contentious and pretentious philosophers are the scholastics and theologians: 'Quamquam hic Luciani dialogus, Eutychi doctissime, plu-



rimum habeat artis ob decorum mire seruatum in personis tam multis tamque diversis, tamen aliquot reperi qui dicerent esse premendum, quod liberius ac velut ἐξ ἀμάρτησφι philosophorum omne genus laceret. At mihi videtur iustius esse stomachandum in huius seculi mores, quo videmus Philosophorum scholas multo puerilius etiam inter se dissedere, nec minus atrociter digladiari, tum inter sectarum professores nihilominus cruentam esse pugnam quam in eo conuiuio fuisse Lucianus vel finxit vel retulit.' Erasmus himself, although he assigned the Lucian translations to the first volume of his works, noted in relation to the fourth volume, given over to works 'quae faciunt ad morum institutionem' that: 'Ad hoc genus pertinent et Luciani pleraque, quamquam ea in primum tomum assignauimus.'

The reception of the collection by contemporary scholars was of course enthusiastic, though the hyperbolic fulsomeness of humanist elogia is not a very reliable indicator. Petrus Mosellanus, assessing translators of Lucian, said: '... summum tenet locum Erasmus Roterodamus vt qui iam plurima eius authoris monumenta latinitate foelicissime donarit. Nonnullis manus admolitus est neque id infoeliciter Thomas Morus, inter Brittanos nec ingenii parui nec eloquentiae vulgaris.'<sup>13</sup> Adrian Baarland speaks of the dialogues in terms more reminiscent of the blurb on a modern paper-back: 'dignos eos censeo quos omnes litterarum sacra colentes non modo legant sed ediscant etiam et omnium peregrinationum comites habeant.' (Ep. 492, l. 46–48). Froben even goes so far as to suggest that Erasmus' translation is better than the original: 'Lucianus ... quem Erasmi nostri beneficio Latine maiori propemodum gratia redditum legunt quam ille graece scripsit.'<sup>14</sup> More typical are the verses by various Netherlands schoolmasters prefixed to certain school editions (e.g. Michael Hillenius, 1517, Antwerp), which speak of the chasteness of the content and impeccability of language manifested in the collection.<sup>15</sup> But a more eloquent testimonial to the popularity of the work is the number of reprints. The original Paris 1506 edition was copied by Aldus, Venice 1516, the second Paris edition of 1514 by Junta, Florence 1519. Froben published the collection in 1517 and 1521 and his successors in 1534, Sebastian Gryphius issued an edition, augmented with some translations by Melanchthon in 1528, 1534, 1535 and 1541. Single editions of various dialogues were also produced, including one of the *De Luctu* translation printed by Badius (Paris 1521) with a weird allegorical commentary by one Johannes Brucherius, and an edition of the *De Astrologia* translation, printed in Krakow 1531 by Mathias Szarffenberg, with a lengthy commentary by Joseph Struthius.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Charon et Tyrannus, Anshelm, Hagenau 1518 f. a. iii.

<sup>14</sup> Dedication to Thomas More in 1519 edition of Ulrich von Hutten's *Aula, Phalarismus, and Febris*.

<sup>15</sup> See particularly 'Levinus Livius Scholae Middelburgensis rector ad studiosam iuventutem'. 'Adriani Lucae Gymnasii Castrensis Antwerp rectoris ad puerum politioris literaturae cupidum Endecasyllabon' in the Hillenius editions, and 'Gerardi Leidenensis olim Hermanni Torrentini discipuli nunc Ha. Barlandi auditoris Hexasticon' in Martens 1512 Louvain.

<sup>16</sup> Bibliografia Polska Erstreicher vol. 24, col. 491.

Aside from these are a whole flood of selected school editions, starting with a pirate edition printed by Thierry Martens, Louvain 1512 (*NK* 3434). The edition was evidently produced at the instigation of Adrian Baarland for the use of his own pupils. This is clear both from the epilogue *Barlandus discipulis suis S.D.* (f. C. iv) and from the foreword *Hadrianus Barlandus magistro Theodorico Amstelodamo ornatissimo viro et apud Louanios Porciani gymnasii iuuentutis moderatori longe prudentissimo S.D.P.* (f. A. iv). It appears that the 1506 collection was not available in Louvain bookshops: 'Cum ... easque Luciani meras facetias, meros lepores, meras veneres hic apud librarios nusquam esse venales intellexissem, Theodoricum Alosdensem Hantuerpianorum olim nunc Louaniensium insignem calchographum orauit vt ad communem fructum libellos complures formis excuderet.' (Foreword.) Of the educational value of the work Baarland is certain: 'Valete et hos inspicite lectitate ad verbum ediscere dialogos qui vobis ad eleganter dicendum scribendumque vsui futuri sunt.' (Epilogue.)

Baarland was also responsible for a second edition by Martens in 1515 (*NK* 3435), as the preface (f. Al<sup>v</sup>) shows: '... itaque vt vestra nonnihili adiuuarem studia, monui his diebus Theodoricum Martinum Alustensem bonum ac diligentem Louaniensium Calchographum ut breuiores Luciani dialogos bene atque eleganter traductos ad communem vtilitatem formulis iterum excuderet.'

These editions contained simply the minor dialogues, grouped by Erasmus under the title *Dialogi Varii*. Another edition of the same dialogues for school use was produced by Pafraet at Deventer 1521 (*NK* 1399). In the meantime, Nicolas de Bois le Duc (Nicolaus Buscoducensis), master of the Latin school at Antwerp, produced a set of annotations to the *Dialogi Varii* which were printed together with Erasmus' text in Hillenius, Antwerp 1517 (*NK* 3436). This edition became the fundamental school text in the Netherlands. Hillenius reprinted it in 1518 (*NK* 3437), 1521 (*NK* 1400), 1524 (*NK* 1401), 1525 (*NK* 3438), 1526 (*NK* 3439), 1528 (*NK* 3441), 1530 (*NK* 3443) and 1533 (*NK* 3445). Io. Grapheus (Antwerp) printed it in 1527 (*NK* 3440), Martin de Keyser (Antwerp) in 1530 (*NK* 3444), Wynken de Worde copied the Dutch editions in his London printing of 1528<sup>17</sup>, and Robert Etienne produced editions in Paris in 1526, 1529, and 1530. The house of Stephanus also issued an augmented edition, containing *Hercules*, *Eunuchus*, *De Sacrificiis*, *Conuiuium*, *Timon* and *Alexander*, and this edition was reprinted in 1536 and 1548. A variety of printers' forewords and addresses to the reader show clearly the educational intent of these editions. Peter Gilles writes in a foreword to the 'tyrunculi' of the Latin school at Antwerp urging the pupils to profit from the opportunity offered by the new golden age of classical studies: 'Agite igitur iuvenes optimi et hosce Luciani dialogos ab Erasmo viro eloquentissimo versos, quos vester Gymnasiarcha Nicolaus Buscoducensis, propter eximiam eruditionem et vitae integritatem nobis amicissimus, scholiis sane quam doctis elucidauit, accipitote:

<sup>17</sup> He has retained (f. A. 1<sup>v</sup>) Peter Gilles' foreword to the scholars of the Latin school at Antwerp.

et pro Hortena, atque id genus sordidis et vix cocis dignis fabulamentis, ediscitote.' Io. Grapheus, in the foreword to his 1527 edition shows us that the text was used not only in Antwerp, for he addresses himself to 'Toanni Lacteo ludi litterarum apud Insulenses moderatori' and says that he dedicates the edition to him 'qui cum Luciani studiosissimus sis, tuis tyrunculis Lucianica libenter etiam docere soles.' Grapheus' dedication is particularly interesting because it discusses the advantages of the text and refers to the production of the edition in a format particularly suitable for schools. 'Proinde cum iam totus mundus passim graecisset, non video (multorum etiam iudicio) quid ad eam linguam discendam magis conducat Luciano, bona ex parte Erasmo Roterodamo interprete purissima latinitate donato, idque (praeterquam quod et sententiarum grauitate prosit et stiliamoenitate mire delectet) duplici commodo, siquidem dum latine legitur, pure latina ex eo discuntur dum vero graecis confertur, facilius ad graecam eruditionem peruenitur. Oportunissime itaque nactus, a Nicolao Buscoducensi, homine in litteraria palaestra exercitatissimo, brevia illa sed sane quam erudita in aliquot minores Luciani dialogos scholia, per ipsum iam de nouo exactissime recognita, in publicam scholasticae pubis gratiam excudere non dubitauit, idque (quod antea haud factum constat) decenti singulorum versuum interstitio, quo scilicet pueri praeceptorum praelectiones facilius annotare queant.' This idea of the inter-linear space for notes given by the teacher was taken up by Hillenius in his 1528 edition.

So Erasmus' translation was adopted as a text book for Latin studies; and not only as such, but also as an invaluable aid for the beginner in Greek studies. Valentine Curio in a foreword to a selection of Greek dialogues (Basle 1522) remarks: 'Porro quod eos delegimus quorum bona pars versa est, ideo factum est... vt conferri commode possint ab iis qui praeceptoris destituuntur praesidio praesertim ii qui ab Erasmo versi sunt. Nam hic vt in omnibus scriptis diuina quaedam virgula vsus videtur, ita interpretem praestat et elegantissimum et fidelissimum. Proinde quisquis Graeca cum Latinis conferet primum rectius intelliget, deinde vtriusque linguae proprietates non grauatim deprehendet.' And in the same year, Froben did, in fact, issue a bilingual selection, using the Erasmus versions of *Tyrannicida* and *Abdicatus*. We must note, however, that one aspect of Erasmus' work was a little difficult for the beginner. The Paris 1535 edition of the *Toxaris* by Gourmont bears (f. A. iiii) a cautiously worded but revealing note to the reader about difficulties of vocabulary. 'Quamquam et hic, vt in caeteris, candide lector, se vere Erasmus, hoc est facilem florulentumque, praestitit Erasmus, quasdam tamen nonnumquam inseruit vocolas aptas quidem illas elegantesque, sed quae iuuentuti non admodum multae lectionis negotium facessant. Ex iis igitur, ne te quidpiam remoraretur, studiose puer, quae explicanda fuerunt adpositis ad marginem adnotatiunculis iisdemque paucis (quando pluribus non erat opus) explicuimus. Stellulam aliquando inuenies cui subiicitur vocola, e Graeco expressa, Erasmicae interim explicatiua. Hoc autem fecimus non quod Erasmi versionis quicquam detractatum vellemus

(absit enim) sed quod curatum volumus ne iucundissimo fructu atque adeo lectione tam elegantis dialogi vel pueri caparentur.<sup>18</sup>

The actual history of the text is relatively simple.<sup>18</sup> Erasmus' translations were probably started during his stay in England, 1505–1506. To judge from the epistle to Whitford, the earliest in date of the prefaces, the competition with More to translate the *Tyrannicida* and write a reply to it was probably the starting point of the collection. It may then have occurred to Erasmus that a sheaf of small translations would serve as suitable gifts to influential men.<sup>19</sup> A high proportion of the English dedicatees were certainly men of considerable temporal and ecclesiastical power.<sup>20</sup> There are two small pieces of evidence in favour of the idea. Firstly Allen has pointed out (Allen, introd. Ep. 199) that the manner in which the *Alexander* is printed in the 1506 edition indicates that it was brought to Paris without a dedication, printed thus, and the dedication (to René d'Illiers) inserted afterwards. Secondly the preface to *Gallus* was supposedly dedicated to Urswick from Hammes sometime in the summer of 1506, but the text refers to the composition of the preface during the winter, 'nam Musarum horti vel mediis vernant brumis'. Possibly then, both translations and in some cases prefaces were prepared beforehand, and the name of the dedicatee, in the latter instance, inserted as required.

The first set of dialogues for printing were given to Badius by Erasmus on 1 November 1506. They are listed on the title pages as *Toxaris*, *Alexander*, *Gallus*, *Timon*, *Tyrannicida*, the *Declamatio* and *De mercede conductis*, along with More's *Tyrannicida*, *Declamatio*, *Cynicus*, *Menippus* and *Philopseudes*. With the dialogues were dedications by Erasmus to Foxe (*Toxaris*), René d'Illiers (*Alexander*), Urswick (*Gallus*), Ruthall (*Timon*), Whitford (*Declamatio*)<sup>21</sup>, Paludanus (*De mercede conductis*) and a preface to Ruthall by More. This material was printed by 13 November 1506, at which point an additional collection was given to Badius and appended to the volume. It comprised, under the title *Dialogi Amatorii*, *Dialogi Mortuorum* 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, *Dialogi Deorum* 12, 19, 21, 24, and *Dialogi Marini* 1, with a dedication to Jerome Busleiden; also *Hercules*, *Eunuchus*, *De Sacrificiis* and *Conuiuium*.

The course of the production of the second edition ran somewhat less

<sup>18</sup> See C. R. Thompson *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and Sir Thomas More*, Yale 1940, and P. S. Allen's notes (in *Epistulae Erasmi* vols. I and II) to those epistles serving as prefaces: Foxe, Ep. 107; René d'Illiers, Ep. 199; Urswick, Ep. 193; Ruthall, Ep. 192; Whitford, Ep. 191; Paludanus, Ep. 197; Busleiden, Ep. 205; Warham, Ep. 261; Eutyechius, Ep. 550. Also J. B. Boerio, Ep. 267 (not printed until 1517); and Warham, Ep. 293 (discarded).

<sup>19</sup> In Allen I, 1, p. 8. Erasmus puts it slightly differently: *Huiusmodi ceu strenulis diversis temporibus salutabimus amicos, qui mos est apud Anglos.*

<sup>20</sup> Biographical information on the dedicatees will be found in Allen. Consult also A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500* in the case of Foxe, Urswick, Ruthall, and Warham. For Whitford, see A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*. For Busleiden, see F. Nève, *La Renaissance des Lettres en Belgique: Mémoire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à Louvain.*

<sup>21</sup> This preface is misplaced in the 1506 edition and stands before the *Tyrannicida*.

smoothly – Erasmus had prepared an additional set of dialogues, *Saturnalia*, *Cronosolon*, *Epistulae Saturnales*, *De Luctu*, *Abdicatus*, *Icaromenippus* and the *De Astrologia*, and had heavily revised the majority of his first collection. These were duly despatched to Badius, Erasmus no longer being in Paris, and on the 19th May 1512, Badius wrote acknowledging their receipt (Ep. 263, l. 1–2): ‘Pertulit ad nos fideliter Mauricius tuus compluria et bella et emuncta spectatae lucubrationis tuae opuscula.’ (A list of these is given by Badius in a letter to Hummelberg, 7 July 1512, and it includes ‘aliquot dialogi Luciani nuper tralati et priores recogniti cum Moria et quibusdam aliis, quae proximo quoque tempore auspicator imprimere.’) However, in the autumn of the same year Erasmus wrote from London to Peter Gilles (Ep. 264, l. 22–24): ‘Dialogos Luciani quos ad eum misi, nondum prodire video. Video quosdam ex illis excusos Lovanii; qua de re cupio certior fieri.’ (In fact, the suspicion was unfounded in so far as the Louvain edition referred to is the Marten’s school book copied from the 1506 text.) By the winter of 1513, the book had still not appeared, and Erasmus apparently suspected the good faith of his agent Berckmann who had already been guilty of handing over to Froben a volume of the *Adagia* destined for Badius. Accordingly Erasmus wrote to Andrew Ammonius (Ep. 283, l. 159–162. 21 December 1513): ‘Complures item libellos ex Plutarcho ac Luciano versos commiseram Badio tradendos vt superioribus quos habet adiungeret; et hos illi [i.e. to Froben], vti suspicor, tradidit, vtque plures mittam rogat. En Sicambricam fidem.’ It would seem from this that the material was despatched in two lots, one through ‘Mauricius tuus’, one through Berckmann, the latter almost failing to arrive. A confirmatory piece of evidence is the curious little address to the reader printed by Badius on the last page of this volume, in which he explains that the *De Astrologia* had indeed come via Basle. The volume finally left the presses on 1 June 1514. The original prefaces had all been suppressed and a general preface to Warham substituted.<sup>22</sup> Presumably because they had arrived in Paris first, the new translations were placed at the head of the text, with the exception of the *De Astrologia*. This, though listed in the table of contents among the recent translations which appear at the beginning, in fact occupies the last four leaves of the book, ff. 137–140, f. 136 being blank. Badius had clearly despaired of the arrival of the dialogue, because f. 135<sup>v</sup> had been completed with a colophon dated 30 May.<sup>23</sup>

No more new translations of Lucian works were made by Erasmus after this date; but he had not lost interest in the collection. His personal copy of Badius 1514 has been found in Basle, and contains autograph corrections in the margin. As we know from the correspondence (Allen, Ep. 584, l. 15–17 and Ep. 597) that he put together the material for the Basle 1517 edition personally, we can presume that he sent Froben this annotated copy for him to use. The 1517

<sup>22</sup> Badius’ note to the reader indicates that he himself did this on outside advice, unspecified. Clearly Erasmus was not pleased and the prefaces were restored in Froben’s 1517 edition.

<sup>23</sup> See Allen 1, p. 519.

edition begins with the *Querela Pacis* and the *Declamatio de Morte*, and was intended to contain, besides the Lucian, More's *Utopia* and the epigrams of More and Erasmus. In fact, Froben brought the book to a close after More's *Lucubrations*, and the *Utopia* and *Epigrammata* were published in another volume the following year. The new material of interest is two new prefaces, one (to Boerio) written for *De Astrologia*, probably in 1512, but not published then, and one (to Eutychius) written specifically for the 1517 edition, for *Conuiuuium*.

Froben printed a further edition of the collection in August 1521, and his successors yet another in 1534. There is evidence to suggest that author corrections were embodied in both of these, but presumably all such emendations had been noted well prior to 1523, because in the letter to Botzheim of that year, Erasmus writes 'sed vbi Graecae linguae peritia coepit esse vulgo communis, id quod miro successu factum est apud nos, coepere negligi'.

Aside from the main collections of Lucian versions, we know that Erasmus attempted two other works, the *Tragoedopodagra* and the *Longaeni*. In the case of the former, nothing of the translation, which was clearly fragmentary, appears to have survived. In the letter to Botzheim (Ep. I, p. 6, l. 36) Erasmus says: 'Vertere coeperam Podagram Luciani priorem opus mire festium sed destiti, potissimum deterritus epithetis quibus abundant chori; in quibus non erat spes in Latinis assequi compositionis felicitatem, quam videmus in Graecis dictionibus. Quod si dictiones singulas pluribus explicuissem peribat gratia totius carminis.' He goes on to quote as an example *Tragoedop.* 198–203. In the case of the second, however, the *Longaeni*, we do have the text in its entirety although certainly not in a purely Erasmian form.<sup>24</sup> Erasmus himself indicated the existence of such a version in the letter to Botzheim (Ep. I, p. 8, l. 8): 'Verteramus et Longaeuos dictantes tantum sed notarius suffuratus libellum pro suo aedidit Lutetiae.' The notarius referred to was Geruasius Amoenus of Dreux, who was servant-pupil to Erasmus in Paris in 1506. In this context it is worthy of mention that the first edition of Erasmus' Latin translations of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide* (Paris, J. Badius, id. Sept. 1506) contains at the end a poem by this Geruasius Amoenus of Dreux, which Erasmus asked Aldus Manutius to eliminate from his edition (Venice, Dec. 1507), which he regarded as the first authentic edition of the translations (Ep. 209, ll. 56–61). It was known from a letter of Badius to Hummelberg (dated October 1513) that Badius printed in that year 'Lucubrationuculas non poenitendas Geruasii Chuaeni [sic] discipuli Erasmi nostri'. But no copy of the book was known to exist until 1933, when a single copy was secured by the Bodleian library, through the offices of P. S. Allen. The work is correctly described as '*Geruasii Ameni Drucensis Lucubrationuculae quaedam non inuenustae*' and contains the *Longaeni*, on

<sup>24</sup> For the information that follows, I am greatly indebted to the article of C. R. Thompson in *Classical Philology* XXV (October) 1940 pp. 397–415, though I disagree entirely with his conclusions. This article contains the first modern re-edition of the text and a discussion of its history.

ff. cvii<sup>v</sup>-dii<sup>v</sup>. Most important is the dedicatory letter, following the translation but undoubtedly referring to it, to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, the patron and friend of Erasmus. *Domino Monloio* [sic] *Geruasius S. D.*

‘Etsi nonnulla vident dissuadere ut hanc orationem meis lucubrationibus inseram, vnice litteratorum Mecoenas, non putavi tamen committendum vt tanto fructu studiosi adolescentes frustrarentur. Nam quod laborum meorum non sit (quod ego ingenue fateor vt tute nosti) non adeo me mouit quo minus impressioni darem. Siquidem in hac parte visum est praestantius (quod Plynius ait) vel fastidio calumniam subire, nimiaque diligentia insimulari quam communis studiosorum utilitatis non rationem habere. Hoc itaque doctum & vtile opus quod olim in tuo museo inter chartulas offendi, siue a domino Erasmo (neque enim mihi satis constat) siue ab alio quopiam, profectum publicandum curavi, hac lege vt eo interae studiosi fruuntur, & illius auctor tanquam suum vbi lubebit asserere queat. Bene vale.’

Here we have a conflict of evidence. Erasmus states that the translation was originally dictated to Amoenus, that the latter surreptitiously removed it, and later published it as his own. Amoenus, on the other hand, firmly disclaims the authorship, says that he found the manuscript among Mountjoy’s papers, and tentatively attributes it to Erasmus. Quite clearly, if we accept Amoenus’ account – and there is no good reason not to do so – the manuscript in question could not have been dictated to him, since he would scarcely have failed to recognize his own handwriting. In addition, we would have to suppose that the version was made while Amoenus was in Erasmus’ service, that is in 1506, whereas the quality of the work suggests that it is an early attempt considerably prior to 1506. A possible explanation is that it was not dictated to Amoenus at all. On the contrary it would have been completed not later than 1503, perhaps while Erasmus was spending the winter of that year with Mountjoy at Hammes, and used as a gift to this influential friend, in the manner of the later dedications. Long afterwards, on hearing of its publication, Erasmus, whose memory was not entirely accurate, nor always charitable, supposed that Amoenus had been the *notarius* at the time of the dictation and assumed that he had pilfered the manuscript and put it out as his own. Clearly Erasmus had not actually seen a copy of the book or he would have been aware of Amoenus’ disclaimers of authorship. The fact that the translation was an early essay would also explain Erasmus’ complete lack of interest in recovering the work and publishing it under his own name. Even allowing for the distortions caused during the process of dictation, the version, though it has an Erasmian flavour is a trifle rough and certainly not comparable in standard to his other works, either as a rendering of the Greek or as a piece of Latin prose.

*Part ii The text*

## I.

*A.* Luciani viri quam disertissimi compluria opuscula longe festiuissima ab Erasmo Roterodamo et Thoma Moro interpretibus optimis in latinorum linguam traducta. Hac sequentur serie. Ex Erasmi interpretatione. Toxaris sive de amicitia Luciani dialogus. Alexander qui et Pseudomantis eiusdem. Gallus sive Somnium eiusdem quoque Luciani. Timon seu Misanthropus. Tyrannicida seu pro tyrannicida eiusdem declamatio. Cum declamatione Erasmica eidem respondente. De iis qui mercede conducti degunt dialogus eiusdem. Et quaedam eiusdem alia. Ex Mori traductione. Tyrannicida Luciani Moro interprete. Declamatio Mori de eodem. Cynicus Luciani a Moro versus. Menippus seu Necromantia Luciani eodem interprete. Philopseudes seu incredulus Luciani ab eodem Moro in latinam linguam traductus. (Paris.) Ex aedibus Ascensianis. (J. Badius) (1506, id. Nov.) (sixes) fol.

*B.* Luciani Erasmo interprete Dialogi et alia emuncta. Quorum quaedam recentius quaedam annos abhinc octo sunt versa: sed nuper recognita: vt indice ad finem apponendo declarabimus. Quaedam etiam a Thoma Moro Latina facta: et quaedam ab eodem concinnata. (Paris.) Vaenundantur in aedibus Ascensianis. (1514 kal. Jun.) (eights) 4°.

(The additional works are: Saturnalia, Cronosolon, Epistolae saturnales, De luctu, Abdicatus, Icaromenippus; Crates et Diogenes, Nireus et Thersites, Diogenes et Mausolus, Simylus et Polystrates, Venus et Cupido, Mars et Mercurius, Mercurius et Maia, Venus et Cupido (rursus), Doris et Galatea, Diogenes et Alexander, Menippus et Chiron, Menippus et Cerberus; Hercules Gallicus, Eunuchus, De sacrificiis, Conuiuium, De astrologia.)

*C.* Querela Pacis undique gentium eiectae profligataeque. Autore Erasmo Roterodamo. Cum quibusdam aliis, quorum catalogum proxima reperies pagella. Apud Inclytam Germaniae Basileam. (Basil. Io. Froben 1517. mens. Dec.) 4°.  
(Contains the complete Lucian translations, in the same order as *B.*)

*D.* Luciani Samosatensis Saturnalia. Cronosolon, id est, Saturnalium legumlator. Epistolae Saturnales. De luctu. Abdicatus. Icaromenippus seu Hypernephelus. Toxaris siue Amicitia. Alexander seu Pseudomantis. Gallus seu somnium. Timon seu Misanthropus. Pro tyrannicida declamatio. ERASMI declamatio, Lucianicae respondens. De iis qui mercede conducti degunt. Dialogi XVIII. Hercules Gallicus. Eunuchus seu Pamphilus. De sacrificiis. Conuiuium seu Lapithae. De Astrologia. Des. Erasmo interprete. Aliquot item ex eodem commentarii, Thoma Moro interprete, quos in calce huius libri numeratos reperies. Quibus si graece scripta, quae propediem, diis propiciis adiicientur, conferat studiosus lector facile cognoscet, arbitror, cuiusmodi res



sit peregrinam linguam, vt in aliam quamuis, ita in Latinam bene ac fideliter vertere. Basileae, apud Io. Frob. An. 1521 (mens. Aug.) fol.

*E.* Luciani dialogi aliquot, Basil. (Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopus) 1534, 8°. [With slight alterations reprint of *C*].

*F.* Gervasii Ameni drucensis. Lucubrationum quaedam non invenustae. Hymni panegyrici ad sacrosanctam semperque venerandam Trinitatem tum collectim tum divisim. Odae [sic] in genere demonstrativo; nec non cataplasma elegiacum cum carmine quodam Sapphico ad Virginem Deiparam. Elegiae quum de mutuis inter Christianos bellis tum aliis argumentis. Oratio suasoria ad capescendas litteras graecas. Vita Luciani Samosatensis rhetoris e graeco in Latinum traducta. Historia longaevorum eiusdem Luciani etiam Latio donata. Institutio liberorum optima, nec prius impressa. Vaenundantur in officina Ascensiana [1513-1514] 4°: sigs a-cviii, dvi.

## 2.

*A*, *B* and *C* are clearly the best authorities for the early stages of the text. We know that Erasmus was in Paris in 1506 and in close contact with Badius during the printing of *A*, which represents the initial stage. From Erasmus' correspondence we know that *B* represents the second heavily revised and augmented stage. And the autograph manuscript notes in the margin of Erasmus' personal copy of *B*, together with the evidence of the correspondence that Erasmus prepared the material for *C* personally, show that *C* represents the third stage. At first sight, however, it seems less than likely that readings in a text as late as *D* (1521) let alone *E* (1534) would be author-originated. The general evidence is negligible, and the manner in which the dialogues have been worked over gives us no definite assistance. After the *B* revision, the last seven works in the collection, namely *De Mercede Conductis*, *Dialogi amatorii*, *Hercules*, *Eunuchus*, *De Sacrificiis*, *Convivium* and *De Astrologia* were relatively untouched and *Tyrannicida* completely ignored. Moreover, works like *Gallus*, *Alexander*, and *Toxaris*, that show significant alteration in *D* and *E*, received very little attention in *C*. *Timon* is the only example of a dialogue reworked in every edition. From this, one can definitely discount the possibility of systematic editorial revision. But one cannot discount the possibility of haphazard editorial intrusion. Only from the nature of the emendations themselves can we judge the value of the texts as witnesses.

On this score, there can be few hesitations as to the worth of *D*. It contains certain extended emendations of precisely the type that we associate with *B*. The most notable are: *porcellus circumagitor* p. 387, l. 8; *qui...omnia* p. 388, l. 13-16; *quam levissimo com meatu onustus* p. 414, l. 1-2; *atque ad illum descivit* p. 431, l. 5; *id est... cornice* p. 455, l. 8; *navis...Argo* p. 473, l. 4-5; *id est hircina* p. 476, l. 37; *se cum esset* p. 480, l. 22. There is also a large class of shorter corrections, usually

a single word, which substantially alter the sense of the text: *solvunto* p. 387, l. 25; *porrum cepasve* p. 389, l. 27; *nudius tertius* p. 409, l. 36; *Oto* p. 418, l. 36; *solum* p. 430, l. 38; *catasta* p. 436, l. 5; *responderet* p. 437, l. 34; *notbus* p. 443, l. 31; *increbuisset* p. 461, l. 26; *Latoniae* p. 466, l. 29; *sedecim* p. 478, l. 2; *prostituturus* p. 493, l. 34; *coenam* p. 501, l. 20; *nimis* p. 536, l. 36; *aiebat* p. 537, l. 24; *corporis* p. 588, l. 29; *accinitur* p. 617, l. 15.

The first class of emendations are outside the scope of the boldest editor and are unmistakably author-originated; we can, in the light of this, reasonably accept the latter class as of the same provenance. There are, in addition, two slight, though hardly conclusive, suggestions that the editor avoided tampering with the text even where he knew it to be wrong, or had doubts. In *D* there is a printed marginal note glozing the phrase *ubi praeberit dives* (Cronosolon p. 388, l. 13): 'Forte legendum προπιόντος ut vertit Erasmus. Alioqui si legas προπιόντες, sensus erit priusquam bibat dives.' The editor feels that Erasmus has departed from the standard text, but is not inclined to alter the rendering.

More definite is the note on p. 540 of *C*: *Ioannes Frobenius Lectori* '... Sed ne te lateat illum in Icaromenippo p. 148 vers. 7 pro ἐνεπορεύετο dum festinat ἐνεπορεύετο legisse, illo loco καὶ ὁ φοίνιξ δε, ἐνεπορεύετο et scortabatur reddidisse, quod negociabatur vertendum erat'. However, from the position of the note at the end of the book it seems likely that this mistranslation was brought to Froben's attention after the text of *C* had been printed. And it is possible to attribute his failure to incorporate the correction into the text of *D* to a simple lapse of memory in the four years intervening between the editions.

*D* then contains several readings which must, by their nature, be author-originated, and others which can accordingly be attributed to the author also. Furthermore there is no evidence of editorial tampering with the text but rather just a shadow of evidence to the contrary.

The case for *E* is somewhat slighter, principally because the number of corrections involved is relatively few. It must, however, be admitted that there are five clear examples of editorial miscorrection. In four of the passages concerned an accidental error in the text of *D* has left a grammatical anomaly which the editor of *E* has sought to remedy.<sup>25</sup>

*Abdicatus* p. 402, l. 41, the omission of *lex* in *D* has left *permittit* subjectless: hence the alteration to *permittitur*.

*Timon* p. 492, l. 27, the misreading of *atque* as *utque* in *D* has been corrected as *ut* in *E*.

*Declamatio* p. 542, l. 23, the omission of *loco* in *D* has left *hoc* pendant: hence the correction to the adverbial form *hic*.

*Eunuchus* p. 597, l. 22, *ac* has been misprinted as *ut* in *D* and corrected to *et* in *E*. In the fifth passage, *Alexander* p. 453, l. 18, the editor has wrought havoc in the

<sup>25</sup> There exists also the slight possibility that they are author *miscorrections*.

text by miscomprehension and has been obliged to rectify the point in the corrigenda.

*E. tandem vicit Alexander: A B C D and E errata cessit:*

Against this we can set two important pieces of evidence. The first is that a high proportion of the emendations are in the *Declamatio*, and it would seem gratuitous impertinence for the editor to alter a sound text in an original work, particularly while the author was still alive. Secondly, there are two major alterations of the type found in *B* and *D*: *eversa nauis perierunt* p. 579, l. 11–12, and *Indus vitro oblinis* p. 398, l. 8, (which is actually the reading in *E* errata). There are in addition other significant and necessary alterations of the type also found in *D*; *consolatus* p. 437, l. 23; *meo convictu* p. 463, l. 28; *Magno* p. 466, l. 20; *putabit* p. 477, l. 1; *cervicalia* p. 477, l. 18; *equitatus* p. 483 l. 38; *bonitatem* p. 492, l. 4; *cogit* p. 497, l. 31; *animus queat* p. 516, l. 20; *meminissemusque* p. 517, l. 4; *tergiversetur* p. 519, l. 28; *spectatur* p. 547, l. 44; *Sardium* p. 559, l. 12; *scuticam* p. 609, l. 31; *scuticam* p. 609, l. 34–35. If we attributed the major emendations of *E* to a very bold editor, it would be difficult to explain why no such emendations were made after 1534, for example in the 1540 Froben edition of *Erasmi Opera Omnia*. An editor with so little respect for the text of a living author would presumably have had even less respect for that of a dead one. Indubitably the weight of the evidence inclines in favour of the authenticity of the *E* readings.

It is impossible to say for certain how these corrections passed into the hands of the printers. It may be that, as happened with *C*, Erasmus was asked to prepare the material personally, but we have no direct evidence of this. It must be admitted that he was not in Basle in either 1521 or 1534; but he was sufficiently near to be able to advise, if necessary. In the light of the present evidence further hypothesis would not seem constructive.

Apart from the references given in the footnotes to this introduction, the following articles should also be mentioned:

- R. Förster, *Lucian in der Renaissance*; *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte* 14, 1886, p. 356 sqq.  
 P. Schultze, *Lucian in der Literatur und Kunst der Renaissance*, Dessau, 1905.  
 K. Mras, *Die Überlieferung Lucians*; in: *Sitzungsberichte der königl. Akad. d. Wissensch.* in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 167, 7. Abhdlg., Wien 1911.  
 N. Caccia, *Note sulla fortuna di Luciano nel Rinascimento, le risonanze e i dialoghi satirici di Erasmo del Rotterdam e di Ulrico Hutten*, Milano, s. d. [1914].  
 E. P. Goldschmidt, *The First Edition of Lucian of Samosata*; *Journal of the Warburg and Courtould Institute*, 14, 1951, p. 7–20.  
 R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge, 1954, p. 299, 435, 441.

*Appendix*: A survey of quotations in the Lucian text:

- p. 397, l. 40: Hom. *Il.* 16, 502 (and 855).
- p. 398, l. 22: Hom. *Il.* 24, 602.
- p. 398, l. 24: Hom. *Il.* 19, 225.
- p. 413, l. 21: Hom. *Od.* 9, 302.
- p. 414, l. 26: Hom. *Od.* 11, 309.
- p. 415, l. 1: Hom. *Od.* 16, 187.
- p. 417, l. 22: Hom. *Il.* 1, 222.
- p. 418, l. 13: Hom. *Od.* 10, 98.
- p. 418, l. 28: Hom. *Od.* 1, 170 (etc.).
- p. 419, l. 36: Hom. *Il.* 16, 250.
- p. 420, l. 28-29: Hom. *Il.* 2, 1-2.
- p. 421, l. 3: Hom. *Il.* 18, 104.
- p. 421, l. 20: Hom. *Il.* 2, 202.
- p. 422, l. 8: Hom. *Il.* 1, 528.
- p. 452, l. 6: Hom. *Od.* 4, 230.
- p. 452, l. 29-30: Thuc. 2, 1.
- p. 475, l. 30-35: Pind. *Olymp.* 1, 1-2.
- p. 479, l. 13: Eur. *Frg.* 324 (Nauck, *Trag. Graec.*)
- p. 479, l. 15: Nauck, *op. cit.*, adesp. 294.
- p. 484, l. 31-32: Hom. *Il.* 10, 3-4.
- p. 498, l. 32: Hom. *Il.* 15, 202.
- p. 500, l. 20: Eur. *Frg.* 324, 1.
- p. 555, l. 37: Thgn. 177.
- p. 558, l. 19: Hom. *Il.* 9, 325.
- p. 560, l. 23-25: Hom. *Il.* 3, 156.
- p. 562, l. 8: Hom. *Il.* 22, 495.
- p. 576, l. 35: Hom. *Il.* 3, 157.
- p. 578, l. 33: Hom. *Il.* 23, 724.
- p. 580, l. 14-15: Hom. *Il.* 2, 672-673.
- p. 592, l. 12-14: Hom. *Il.* 3, 108 et Eur. *Phoen.* 530.
- p. 592, l. 23-24: CAF *adesp.* 398 Kock.
- p. 592, l. 36: Hom. *Il.* 8, 103.
- p. 593, l. 1-2: Hom. *Il.* 8, 103-104.
- p. 593, l. 7: Anacr. (*Frg.* 23 Bergk).
- p. 593, l. 17: Hom. *Od.* 18, 74.
- p. 602, l. 13: Hom. *Il.* 21, 487.
- p. 607, l. 8: Hom. *Il.* 2, 408.
- p. 607, l. 10-11: Hom. *Il.* 7, 109 et 1, 24.
- p. 609, l. 1: Hom. *Il.* 4, 447.
- p. 609, l. 3: Hom. *Il.* 4, 450.
- p. 611, l. 9-10: Hom. *Il.* 9, 537.
- p. 611, l. 12-14: Eur. *Meleagr.* (*Frg.* 518 ed. Dindorf).
- p. 611, l. 16-18: Soph. *Meleagr.* (*Frg.* 357 ed. Dindorf).
- p. 616, l. 7: Hom. *Il.* 11, 233 et 5, 187.
- p. 616, l. 20: Hom. *Il.* 15, 11.
- p. 617, l. 16-20: Eur. *Alc.* (in fine).
- p. 621, l. 18: Hom. *Il.* 5, 429.
- p. 621, l. 20: Hom. *Il.* 5, 430.
- p. 621, l. 31: Hom. *Od.* 11, 94.
- p. 627, l. 3: Eur. *Phrixes*, *Frg.* 816 Nauck.



## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A*: Luciani compluria opuscula, ed. Paris., J. Badius Ascensius, 13 Nov. 1506.
- B*: Luciani dialogi, ed. Paris., J. Badius Ascensius, 1 Jun. 1514.
- C*: Lucianus 'ex posteriori recognitione', in Querela Pacis, ed. Basil., Joh. Froben, mense Dec. 1517.
- D*: Lucianus, ed. Basil., Joh. Froben, mense Aug. 1521.
- E*: Luciani dialogi aliquot, ed. Basil., Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopus, 1534.
- MS*: Erasmus' own copy of *B* with autograph corrections, used as copy for *C* (now in the Basel library).

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI  
D. GVLIELMO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVARIENSI TOTIVS  
ANGLIAE PRIMATI S. D.

LB 183

Mitto ad te Dialogos aliquot Luciani partim nuper a me traductos, partim re-  
cognitos. Nugas, inquis, mittis; nugas sane, sed litteratas, nimirum vt rideas, 5  
si tamen vnquam ridere potes, homo tot curis districtus, tot negociorum flucti-  
bus obrutus. Sed cui potius mittam quicquid fuerit illud seu ludicrum seu  
serium, quod meae Camoenae produxerint, quam tibi vnico meo Mecoenati,  
qui solus et addis animum Erasmo, et alis ingenium, et otium suppeditas, et  
ornas studia? Bene vale.

10

Londini tertio calendas Maias. Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo Duodecimo.

## SATVRNALIA

Personae: Sacerdos et Saturnus

SACERDOS. Dic mihi, Saturne, quando tu quidem hoc tempore regnare videris, tibi que et sacrificatum et litatum est a nobis, quid potissimum abs te pro immolatis hostiis postulare debeam, quod postulatum feram?

SATVRNVS. Istud quidem te ipsum perpendere oportuit, quid tibi foret optandum, nisi qui princeps sit, eundem et vatem esse vis, ut norit quid maxime collubitum sit animo tuo petere. Caeterum ego, quantum facultas feret, non abnuam votis tuis.

SACERDOS. Quin istud iam olim mihi perpensum est; desidero enim vulgaris ista, ac passim obuia, videlicet opes, multam auri vim, utque viris impetrem, utque multa possideam mancipia, vestes splendidas ac delicatas, tum argentum et ebur, breuiter si quid est praeterea rerum pretiosarum. Haec igitur mihi da, optime Saturne, ut et ipse non nihil emolumenti ex tuo sentiam imperio, neue solus per omnem vitam earum rerum sim expers.

SATVRNVS. Illud vide. Iam postulas quod non est meae potestatis, neque enim mearum partium est ista distribuere. Quare ne grauiter feras, si quae petis, non assequeris. Quin magis ista a Ioue postulato, quum ad eum imperii vices redierint, id quod breui futurum est. Nam ipse praescriptis conditionibus rerum administrationem ab illo suscipio. Est autem vniuersum imperium meum septem duntaxat dierum, quorum si ius excesserit, illico priuatus reddor, ac velut vnusquilibet de plebeia multitudine. Nec tamen in his ipsis septem diebus serium quippiam aut publicum tractare mihi permissum est verum potare, inebriari, vociferari, ludere, certare tesseris, creare reges, famulos in conuiuium adhibere, canere nudum, lasciuo corporis motu saltitare, nonnunquam et in gelidam aquam dare praecipitem, facie fuligine oblita, haec uti faciam permissum est. Caeterum magna illa, puta diuitias et aurum, Iuppiter ipse dilargitur, quibus illi visum fuerit.

SACERDOS. Imo ne ille quidem, Saturne, admodum facile ac lubens id facit, adeo ut me iam vox defecerit, magno clamore haec ab illo flagitantem. At is



nihil prorsus audit, verum aegidem obuibrans ac fulmen intentans, toruumque obtuens, pauefacit instantes. Quod si quando etiam annuerit alicui, diuitemque reddiderit, mirum quam id nullo delectu facit, vt aliquoties praeteritis probis ac sapientibus viris, sceleratis ac stultis hominibus opes offundat, verberonibus atque effoeminatis, cuiusmodi sunt isti plerique. Quanquam equidem cupio 5 cognoscere, quaenam sint ista tuae potestati permissa.

SATVRNVS. Haudquaquam parua neque omnino contemnenda, siquis vniuersi imperii vim expendat, nisi forte tibi paruum esse videtur, vt in tesserarum ludo vincas, cumque caeteris alea in vnionem voluatur, tibi senionem semper in summo latere ostendat. Nam hinc sibi plerique victum parant, vel ad saturitatem vsque, quibus propitia ac secunda aspirarit tessera. Rursum alii nudi enatarunt, nauc elisa, fracta ad tam minutum scopulum, puta aleam. Adde his, potando quam maxime hilarescere, ac modulatus alio videri canere in conuiuio. Praeterea reliquis ministris in aquam praecipitatis (nam ea poena est parum dextre ministranti) te et victorem pronunciarum atque ei, quem viceris, praemia praeripere. Vides nimirum quam ingens sit bonum. Quemadmodum et illud, quum talo victor solus omnibus rex praeficeris, vt non solum ipse non | feras vlla ridicula imperata, verumetiam ipse possis aliis imperare, huic vt turpe LB 186 quiddam de seipso vociferetur, illi vt saltet nudus, vtque sublata in humeros tibicina, ter domum obambulet. An non haec quoque munificentiae meae non exiguae sunt argumenta? Quod si causaberis regnum hoc nec verum esse nec stabile, inscite feceris, quum videas meipsum, qui ista dilargior, exigui temporis imperium tenere. Ex his igitur quae meae facultatis est praestare, nempe de taxillis, de regnando, de canendo, deque reliquis, quae modo recensui, audacter quae voles petito, nihil veritus, ne te aegide aut fulmine territem. 20 25

SACERDOS. Atqui istis nihil mihi est opus, Titanum optime. Tu tamen illud mihi respondeas velim, quod maxime cupiebam cognoscere. Quod si mihi dixeris, satis magnam gratiam pro sacro persolueris, quin et in reliquum tempus quae debueris, condono.

SATVRNVS. Roga modo, equidem respondebo, si forte quod rogaris sciero. 30

SACERDOS. Illud in primis. Num vera sunt ista, quae de te audimus? Quemadmodum deuoraris liberos tibi ex Rhea natos, vtque clam illa, subducto Ioue, saxum infantis loco suppositum tibi deuorandum tradiderit. Deinde puer adultus te regno expulerit, bello superatum, mox arreptum in Tartarum praecipitarit, vinculis iniectis tum tibi, tum omnibus copiis auxiliariis, quae tecum in acie steterant. 35

SATVRNVS. Quid dixisti? Nisi festum celebraremus, essetque licitum inebriari, atque in dominos impune conuitia iacere, intelligeres profecto mihi permissum esse irasci, qui quidem istiusmodi roges, nihil reueritus adeo canum ac senem deum. 40

SACERDOS. At ego haec, Saturne, non ex meipso dico, quin et Hesiodus

et Homerus, nolo enim dicere, reliqui prope mortales omnes eadem de te credunt.

SATVRNVS. An tu putas vel pastorem illum, vel hunc ampullosum, vere quippiam de me scisse? Rem ad hunc considera modum. Estne quisquam homo,  
 5 non dicam deus, adeo durus, vt possit ipse volens suos deuorare liberos? nisi siquis esset Thyestes, qui ab impio circumuentus fratre comederet. Sed finge esse qui possit, qui fiat, vt ignoret sese saxum edere vice pueri? nisi forte dentibus sit huiusmodi, vt dolere non queant. Imo neque bello confliximus, neque Iuppiter per vim imperium occupauit, sed ego illi volens et vltro rerum admini-  
 10 strationem tradidi cessique. Porro neque vinctum esse me, neque in Tartaro esse, vel ipse vides opinor, nisi prorsus oculis captus es, quemadmodum Homerus.

SACERDOS. Sed quid tibi accidit, Saturne, vt imperium deponeres?

SATVRNVS. Ego tibi dicam. In summa, senex iam et podagrosus quum  
 15 essem ob aetatem (vnde etiam factum est, vt plerique mihi compedes esse finxerint), impar eram viribus ad tam multa huius aetatis facinora punienda; nam erat assidue mihi sursum ac deorsum cursitandum obarmato fulmine, quo sacrilegos, periuros, ac raptores exurerem. Eratque negotium plenum laboris, quodque iuuenem desideraret. Itaque mihi consulens, Ioui locum dedi. Quanquam  
 20 et alioqui recte facturus mihi videbar, si partitus filiis (nam erant) imperium, ipse pleramque vitam conuiuuiis per ocium traducerem, nihil necesse habens, neque vota facientibus operam dare, nec ab iis qui contraria petunt, molestia affici, neque tonare, neque fulminare, neque grandinem aliquoties immittere. Sed senilem hanc ac iucundissimam dego vitam, meracius bibens nectar, atque  
 25 interim cum Iapeto reliquisque aequalibus diis confabulans. At regnat quidem ille mille districtus negociis, nisi quod hos pauculos, quos dixi, dies mihi visum |  
 LB 187 est excipere in quibus recipio principatum, vt mortalibus in memoriam reducam cuiusmodi fuerit me regnante vita, quum citra sementem citraque arationem cuncta illis prouenirent. Haud tum quidem aristae, sed panis paratus, carnes  
 30 apparatus, ac vinum fluminum instar fluebat, tum fontes mellis lactisque, propterea quod mortales omnes probi essent et aurei. Haec, inquam, mihi causa fuit, quur exigui temporis imperium geram, atque ob id vndique plausus, cantiones, lusus, aequalitas omnibus seruis, aequae ac liberis, neque enim me regnante quisquam erat seruus.

SACERDOS. At ego Saturne, coniecturam istam ad seruos, et eos qui boias terunt, referebam, quasi ob eam causam tibi fabula tribueret erga hos humanitatem, quod memor teipsum aliquando seruitutem seruuisse, ac gestasse compedes, eos magnificeres, qui simili essent fortuna.

SATVRNVS. Num tu desines istiusmodi nugari nugas?

6 finge *D*, frugi *BC* | 7 nisi *D*, ni *BC* | 35-36 qui boias terunt: παιδοτριβας pedagogos adscripsit *MS* in marg., postea hoc deleto Suspicio scribendum παιδοτριβας pro παιδóτριβας eamque lectionem nos secuti sumus, atque ita \**C*

SACERDOS. Bene mones, itaque desino. Quin illud etiam mihi responde, talis ludere, in vsu fuit tui quoque saeculi mortalibus?

SATVRNVS. Erat sane. At non depositis talentis, ac decem nummum milibus, quemadmodum vos facitis, verum vt plurimo nucibus, ne videlicet discruciaretur qui victus esset, neue semper ploraret sese vnum omnium non habere quodederet. 5

SACERDOS. Et recte quidem illi. Nam quo tandem praemio certassent ipsi talis, quum ipsi toti essent aurei? Itaque te loquente, tale quiddam mihi venit in mentem, siquis vnum aliquem ex aureis illis viris, in hanc nostram aetatem adductum vulgo ostenderet, quid illi tandem eueniret? Nempe miserum (sat scio) discerperent, haud aliter incursantes, quam in Pentheum Maenades, aut in Orpheum foeminae Thraciae, aut in Actaeonem canes, interque sese decertarent, quantam quisque maximam posset portionem auferre, vt qui ne in festo celebrando a lucri studio temperent, quin ipso etiam festo ad lucri abutuntur incrementum. Itaque alii quidem tibi primitias immolant, amicos in conuiuio depraedantes. Alii vero tibi conuitantur, quum nihil ad rem pertineat, tum ipsas comminuunt tesseras, perinde quasi illis sit imputandum, quod illi suapte sponte faciunt. Sed dic mihi et illud, quid tandem causae fuit, vt deus vsque adeo imbecillis ac senex, tempus inamoenissimum delegeris, quum iam nix omnia occupat, plurimus saeuit Boreas, quumque nihil non gelu concretum est, arent arbores nudae decussis frondibus, squalent horrentque vacua floribus prata, quum incurui contractique mortales, perinde quasi extremo confecti senio, ad focum ferme desident, interea tu festum diem agis? Neque enim accommodum seni tempus, neque satis idoneum genio indulgentibus. 10 15 20

SATVRNVS. Sed heus tu, permulta quidem a me sciscitaris, quum potare iam oporteat. Itaque non exiguam temporis portionem tuis rogationibus mihi de festo perdidisti, dum ista mecum philosopharis non admodum ad rem pertinentia. Quare nunc istis tandem omissis, conuiuium agitemus, plaudamus, ac liberam agamus vitam. Deinde prisco more depositis nucibus, ludamus tesseris, ac reges suffragiis creemus, ipsisque vltro pareamus. Siquidem ad eum modum effecerimus, vt verum videatur prouerbiu quod dicunt, senes repuerascere. 25 30

SACERDOS. Imo cui ista quae dicis non probantur, Saturne, precor vt ei nec tum bibere liceat, quum sitit. Itaque bibamus, quandoquidem in primo colloquio satis a te responsum est. Proinde videor mihi recte facturus, si nostram hanc confabulationem, et quae ipse interrogarim, et quae tu propitius responderis, litteris prodita, tradam amicis legenda, siqui sunt digni, qui tua dicta accipiant. 35

Cronosolon, id est, Saturnalium legum lator

Haec ait Cronosolon sacrificus et idem vates Saturni earumque legum conditor quae quidem ad festum pertinent. Quid pauperes facere oporteat, id alio misso

7 quiddam *D*, quidem *BC* | 9 ostenderet *D*, offenderet *BC* | 16 comminuunt *MS C*, communiter *B* | 22 desident *D*, desedent *BC* | 32 Itaque bibamus *MS C*, *om. B*

libro illis ipsis praescripsi, neque dubito quin eas leges seruent, alioqui obnoxii futuri poenis, quae grauissimae decretae sunt in eos qui minus paruerint. Vos autem, diuites, videte ne haec mandata praetergrediamini neque negligatis. Nam si quis secus fecerit, is sciat se non me neglecturum legis latorem sed ipsum  
 5 potius Saturnum, qui me condendis festi sui legibus delegit, haud ille quidem in somnis visus sed nuper cum vigilante palam congressus. Erat autem neque  
 LB 188 com|pedibus vinctus neque situ obsitus, qualem eum pictores fingunt, exemplar a deliris poetis mutuati, verum falcem quidem tenebat peracutam. Caetera vero et hilaris erat et validus regioque apparatu, atque hac quidem specie mihi visus  
 10 est. Caeterum quae loquutus est plane diuina sunt, et in his haec digna quae vobis prius exponam. Nam vbi me vidit animo moestum inambulantem, mox intellexit, quippe deus, quaenam esset molestiae causa: videlicet grauitur me ferre paupertatem, vt qui non pro temporis ratione vnicam vestem haberem, quum iam esset gelu multusque flaret Boreas, glacies ac nix, aduersus quae ego mini-  
 15 me communitus eram; Multo magis autem quod quum festum instaret iam proxime, reliquos viderem apparantes quae ad victimas quaeque ad conuiuia requirebantur, mihi vero ipsi res non admodum ad festum instructas esse. Iam a tergo accedens, aureque prehensa ac vellicata (nam hac specie sese mihi consuevit ostendere): Quid istud sibi vult (inquit), Cronosolon? Videre mihi sollicitus. An non aequum, inquam, here? quum impios ac scelestos homines opibus superfluere et solos deliciis frui videam; ipse vero, mecumque complures alii docti, cum inopia summaque rerum penuria vitam degimus? Ne tu quidem, here, curas his rebus finem imponere et ad aequalitatem reuocare. Tum ille:  
 25 Caetera quidem, inquit, haud facile fuerit innouare, quae vobis a Clothone reliquisque Parcis accidunt. Porro paupertatis malum vobis corrigam, quatenus ad festum attinet. Sit autem haec corrigendi ratio. Abi, Cronosolon, ac mihi leges aliquot conscribito, ostendens quid obseruandum sit in festo, vti ne diuites inter sese festum celebrent sed vobis sua bona impartiant. At non noui, inquam, leges conscribere. Quin ego, inquit, docebo te. Moxque ingressus ordine me  
 30 docuit. Deinde quum cuncta perdidicissem, Et illud, inquit, illis dicito; nisi seruauerint haec, tum ego profecto sine causa falcem hanc acutam circumfero. Alioqui ridiculus sim, si quum patrem Coelum execuerim, non item castraro diuites istos, quicumque leges meas violauerint, vt iam euirati Cybeli matri sese adiungant cum tibiis ac cymbalis. Haec ille minabatur. Quare recte facietis, si  
 35 leges non praetergrediamini. *Lex Prima.* Ne quis quid intra festi tempus agito neque publicum neque priuatum, nisi quae ad lusum, ad voluptatem animique oblectationem pertinebunt. Opsoniorum et bellariorum artifices soli in opere sunt. Aequalitas omnibus esto, seruis liberis, pauperibus diuitibus. Irasci indignari minariue ne cui liceat. Rationem exigere ab iis qui res curant Saturnalicias, ne id quidem fas esto. Ne quis argentum vestemue expendito neue in-

1 praescripsi *E*, perscripsi *B C D* | 8 peracutam *B C D*, praecutam *E* | 38–39 indignari minariue *MS C*, indignariue minari *B*

scribito solemnitatis tempore, ne quis exerceatur, neue litteris operam dato aut recitato, nisi si quae sint vrbana lepidaque, quae dicacitatem respiciant ac iocum.

*Lex Secunda.* Multo ante festum diuites singulorum amicorum nomina in tabella scribunt. Porro pecuniam paratam habent ad decimam partem annuorum fructuum; praeterea quicquid illis superest vestium, et quicquid est 5  
cultus pinguioris quam vt ipsis conueniat; ad haec argenteorum vim non modicam. Atque haec quidem in promptu sunt. Caeterum ante solemnitatem porcellus circumagitor, atque ex aedibus eiiciunt sordes, auaritiam et quaestum, et si quae id genus alia sunt plerisque diuitum domestica. Deinde vbi 10  
domum perpurgarint, tum rem diuinam faciunt Ioui diuitiarum largitori ac Mercurio munifico atque Apollini magna donanti. Deinde circa vesperam tabulam illam amicorum nomina tenentem relegunt. Distributis autem pro cuiusque dignitate muneribus, ante solis occasum amicis mittunt. Porro qui deferant ne plures tribus quatuorue sunt, atque hi certissima ex famulis fide iamque 15  
natu grandes. Ascribatur autem in litteris et quid mittatur et quantum, vt ne vtrique suspectos habere possint eos qui perferunt. Atque ipsi ministri vnico quisque calice epoto domum recurrunt, neque praeterea quicquam ab eis postulante. Doctis omnia dupla mittuntur, nam hos aequum est geminam accipere portionem. De muneribus quam modestissime simul et quam paucissima 20  
verba fiunt, neque graue quicquam in litteris quisquam ascribito, nec odiose laudato quae mittuntur. Diuiti diues ne quid mittito, neque locuples Saturnalibus aequali sorte quempiam conuiuio accipito. Ne quid eorum quae in hoc deprompta fuerint, vt mittantur, seruanto, neue cui muneris poenitentia subito. 25  
Quod si quis anno | superiore peregre fuit, eaque causa munerum expers fuit, et illa accipito. Quinetiam pro tenuibus amicis aes alienum diuites soluunt, atque etiam conductarum aedium precium, si qui forte et hoc debent neque sunt soluendo. In summa vero, multo ante illud illis esto curae, vt cognoscant qua re maxime sit opus. Rursum qui accipiunt ne de missis donis vt exiguis queruntur, et quicquid mittetur, qualecunque fuerit, id magni ducunt. Vini cadus aut 30  
lepus aut pinguis auis inter munera Saturnalia ne habentur, neue Saturnalia dona in risum vertunt. Remittito vicissim diuiti pauper: si doctus est, libellum aliquem veterem, aut si quid ipse conscripsit, quod fausti sit ominis et conuiuuiis accommodum, qualecunque potuerit. Atque id diues laeto admodum hilarique vultu accipito, acceptum protinus perlegito. Quod si recusarit reieceritue, sciat sese iis quae de falce minatus sum obnoxium esse, etiam si miserit 35  
quicquid alioqui mittendum erat. Porro reliqui coronas alii, alii turis frustula mittunt. Quod si pauper aut vestem aut argentum aut aurum supra facultatem diuiti miserit, id quidem quod missum fuerit publicum esto, conflatumque in Saturni thesaurum infertor. Ipse vero pauper postridie plagas a diuite ma-

8 porcellis (*corr. E*) circumagitor *D*, et in marg. Olim publice lustrabantur domus porcello circumacto; scobinam circumagunt *BC* | 25 pro tenuibus ... soluunt *D*, tenuibus ... condonant *BC* | 29 magni *E*, magnum *BCD*

nibus ferulae suppositis accipito non pauciores quinquaginta supra ducentas.

*Leges Conuiuiales.* Lauandum est, vbi linea sex erit pedum. Ante lauandum nucibus ac talis lusitandum. Vbicunque casus cuique locum dederit, ibi accumbito. Dignitas aut genus aut diuitiae parum momenti habent, vt prius alicui  
 5 ministretur. Eodem de vino omnes bibunto, neque prosit diuiti, si causetur vel stomachi vel capitis dolorem, vt ideo bibat de meliore. Carnium omnibus aequa portio. Ministri ne cui quid fauore danto, neque contantor neque praetermittunt, donec ipsis visum fuerit, quae tollenda erunt. Neque huic quidem magna, illi vero perexigua apponunt, neue huic coxa suis, illi maxilla apponitur sed in  
 10 omnibus aequalitas esto. Pocillator acutis oculis vnumquemque obseruato, minus tamen herum; acutius etiam exaudit. Calices omnis generis sunt. Ad potandum inuitare si quis voluerit, ius esto. Omnes omnibus praebibunto, si libeat, vbi praebiberit diues. Neque quisquam bibere compellitor, qui non valeat ad com-  
 15 potationem. Ne liceat ipsis neque saltatorem neque citharoedum inducere, nisi qui nuper discere coeperit. Quod si cui libeat dicteris vti, liceat, sed hactenus adhibeatur modus, vt ne sint molesta. Super omnia pro nucibus ludunt talis. Si quis deposita pecunia talis luserit, in posterum vsque diem ieiunato. Et maneto quisque et abito quum voluerit. Porro quum diues famulos suos conuiuio accipiet, tum amici quoque vna cum ipso ministrant. Leges hasce singuli diuites, aerae columnae inscriptas, in aulae meditullio habent, ac legunt. Atque  
 20 id quidem sciendum est, quoad ea columna manebit, neque fames neque pestilentia neque incendium neque quicquam alioqui molestum in illorum domum subibit. Quod si quando (id quod dii prohibeant) tollatur, abominanda sunt, quae illis tum euentura.

25

## Epistolae Saturnales

Ego Saturno salutem

Equidem et antea tibi scripsi, significans quonam in statu essem, et quemadmodum ob inopiam mihi periculum esset ne solus omnium experts relinquerer  
 30 solemnitatis quam indixisti. Addidi et illud (nam memini) iniquissimum esse, si nostrum alii opibus ac deliciis superfluerent, nihil ex suis facultatibus impertientes pauperioribus, alii rursus fame contabescerent, atque id quidem instantibus Saturnalibus. Verum quoniam tum ad meas literas nihil respondisti, operaeprecium existimaui te denuo iisdem de rebus commonefacere. Tuum erat, optime  
 35 Saturne, sublata hac rerum inaequalitate bonisque in medio depositis, postea celebrandum festum edicere. Nam vti nunc res habent, formica camelus, quem admodum aiunt prouerbio. Quin magis tragoediae histrionem animo concipe, qui altero pede praecaltis cothurnis sublimis insistat, cuiusmodi sunt tragica

13-16 qui non ... omnia *D*, si non possit. In conuiuium ne quis vel saltatorem, vel citharoedum inducito. Eum qui nuper discere coeperit, inducendi ius esto, si quis voluerit. Dicteriorum is modus esto, vt ne quis vsquam laedatur *BC* | 14 nisi *E*, *om. D* | 16 vt *E*, aut *D*

calceamenta, altero vero sit incalceatus. Is si ad hunc modum instructus ingrediatur, vides necessario futurum vt nunc excelsus sit, nunc humilis prout hunc aut illum pedem vicissim promouerit. Nec minor est in vita nostra inaequalitas, dum illi cothurnis fulti, adornante fortuna, tragoedias in nos agunt. Contra magna pars pedibus atque humi ingredimur, quum et ipsi, scias velim, nihilo deterius illis fabu|lam agere possimus atque ingredi, siquis nos quoque ad eundem istum modum adornarit. Atqui ex poetis audio nihil harum rerum inter homines fuisse olim quum tu solus adhuc imperium teneres. Verum tellus illis citra serendi arandique laborem bona progignebat coenam vniciue paratam vel ad satietatem vsque. Porro flumina partim vinum, partim lac, erant autem et quae mel manabant. Quodque est omnium maximum, aiunt illos ipsos homines aureos fuisse. Caeterum paupertatem omnino procul ab illis abfuisse. Nos contra non satis idonei sumus, qui vel plumbum videri possimus aut si quid etiam plumbo vilius, vt quorum plerisque victus labore quaeritur, ac passim paupertas, egestas ac desperatio, et illud Hei mihi! et Vnde inueniam? et O fortunam! atque id genus alia permulta. Apud nos nempe pauperes abundant, quanquam his de rebus leuius discruciaremur, nisi diuites conspiceremus tanta fruentes foelicitate. Qui quidem quum tantum auri, tantum argenti conditum habeant, tantum vestium possideant, tot mancipia, tot currus, familias, agros, atque harum rerum omnium magnam vim teneant, tamen adeo nobis nihil vnquam de his impertiunt, vt plebeios homines ne aspectu quidem dignentur. Haec inquam sunt, Saturne, quae nos enecant maxime, planeque rem intolerandam arbitramur, hunc in pupura accumbentem tantis opum deliciis affluere, ructantem interim, et applaudentibus amicis, perpetuo festum diem agere, me vero meique similes somniorum coniecturas interpretari, sicunde forte quatuor oboli contingant, quo videlicet pane polentaue expleti dormire queamus, nasturtium aut porrum cepasue alliumue opsonii vice arrodentes. Aut haec igitur, Saturne, ad aequabilitatem vitae mutes corrigasque necesse est, aut quod est postremum, illis ipsis interdicas diuitibus ne soli bonis fruantur, verum e modiis auri tam multis vel heminam in omnes nos dispergant. Porro ex vestibus, si quas iam a tineis exesas citra suum incommodum dare possint, malintque haec prorsus vetustate situque peritura nobis dare qui induamur, quam sinere vt in cubilibus ac scriniis multa carie computrescant. Praeterea vt coenent singuli nunc quaternis, nunc quinis pauperibus ad conuiuium adhibitis. Haud isto quidem pacto quo his temporibus conuiuia peraguntur, verum popularius, vt aequa sit omnium portio, neque vt hic opsoniis ingurgitet sese, famulo interim adstante atque opperiente donec herus vorando praefocetur; caeterum vbi ad nos venerit, quum vix etiam apparauerimus admouere manum, protinus ad alios transferatur patina tantum ostensa vel si quid de placenta reliquum est. Neque illatum aprum ita partiatur vt domino totum dimidium apponat, vna cum capite, reliquis autem ossa tecta apponat. Vtque praemoneantur pincernae, ne conten-

tur donec vnusquisque nostrum septies poscat bibere, sed semel iussi protinus infundant, et ingentem calicem impletum tradant aequae atque ipsi domino, vtque vnum et idem vinum conuiuus sit omnibus. Alioquin vbinam ista lex scripta fuit, aut receptus mos, vt hic vino odorato generosoque temulentus sit, 5 mihi contra musto dirumpatur alius? Haec si correxeris nouarisque, Saturne, tum demum effeceris vt vita vere vita sit, festum vere festum: sin minus, illi quidem epulentur, nos autem interim sedentes precabimur vt simulatque loti venerint, puer subuersam amphoram rumpat, vtque coquus ius adurat, ac per obliuionem muriam piscium in lentem infundat, vtque canis in domum irruens 10 opsoniorum, artificibus alibi intentis, exta deuoret vniuersa, praeterea placenta dimidium, vtque sus ac ceruus neque non succulae inter assandum idem faciant quod Homerus de Solis bobus commemorat, imo vti non serpent solum, verumetiam vna cum ipsis veribus in montem abripiant sese fugiantque, vtque ipsae etiam aues pingues iam adeptis plumis et ad coquendum apparatus, 15 volatu aufugiant, ne soli illis fruantur: quodque futurum est illis grauissimum, vt formicae tales quales feruntur Indicae, aurum e thesauris effossum noctu in publicum efferant, vtque vestis curatorum indiligentia ita ab optimis muribus perforetur vt cribrum videri possit, nihilque differat a casse venatorio, vtque formosi illorum comatique puelli (quos Hyacinthos aut Achilles aut Narcissos 20 appellare solent) dum ipsis poculum porrigunt, subito defluente coma calui fiant et acutam aedant barbam, cuiusmodi in comoediis induci solent Sphenopogones, quibus a | cuneata barba nomen inuentum est, vtque vertex illis asperis ac pungentibus pilis sit hirta, reliqui capitis parte nuda. Haec atque his etiam plura illis imprecabimur, nisi desinant vsqueadeo suis priuatim studere commodis, velintque in commune diuites esse, nobis quoque quantum aequum est 25 impartientes.

Saturnus mihi charissimo salutem  
 Quid tu, obsecro, nugas istas ad me, ac de rebus huiusmodi scribis, iubesque vt de integro bonorum faciam partitionem? quod quidem alterius munus fuerit, 30 penes quem nunc est imperium. Etenim demiror te, si solus omnium ignoras, quemadmodum iam pridem regnare destiterim, ac priuatus esse coeperim, liberis partitus imperium, quanquam Iuppiter praecipue rerum istiusmodi curam agit. Porro mea potestas non nisi ad taxillos vsque, saltationes, cantiones et ebrietatem valet, idque septem non amplius diebus. Itaque grauioribus in causis 35 de quibus scribis, videlicet de tollenda rerum inaequalitate, vtque ex aequo omnes aut opibus abundant aut egeant, Iuppiter vobis operam dabit. Quod si quid in iis quae ad festum pertinent vel fraude detractum est alicui vel additum, id erit mearum partium iudicare. Iamque scribo diuitibus de coenis deque auri hemina, neque non de vestibus, vt vobis quoque ad celebrandum festum non- 40 nihil mittant. Quandoquidem aequa sunt ista, decetque illos facere quemadmo-

1 iussi *D*, iussus *BC* | 3 conuiuus *D*, conuiuus *BC* | 37 iis *MS C*, is *B*



dum praedicatis, nisi forte habent isti quod probabiliter ad haec respondeant. In summa tamen illud scitote, pauperes, vos longe falli neque recte iudicare de diuitibus. Siquidem illos foelices arbitramini, solosque suauem vitam viuere, propterea quod illis liceat opipare coenare, vino suauis inebriari, formosis frui mulieribus, vestibus vti delicatis, verum istam foelicitatem cuiusmodi sit ignoratis: siquidem hae res non mediocribus curis eos distorquent, sed singulis inuigilare coguntur, ne quid rerum domesticarum dispensator fraudet aut clanculum suffuretur, ne vinum acescat, ne frumentum vermibus corrumpatur, ne latro tollat pocula, ne populus credat calumniatoribus si illum dixerint affectare regnum. Atqui haec quidem quota pars est eorum quae istos discruciant? Quod si nossetis metus et curas quibus obnoxii sunt, plane fugiendas vobis esse diuitias existimaretis. Alioqui creditis vel meipsum vsque adeo insanum vt, si praecleara res esset opulentia aut regnum, depositurus haec aliisque ea cessurus fuerim, patererque vt nunc priuatus alieno parerem imperio? Quin potius quum non essem ignarus huiusmodi malorum quae plurima diuitibus ac regibus adsint necesse est, imperium deposui, idque sapienter. Nam quod tu nunc apud me deos obtestans deplorabas, illos apris ac placentis expleri, vos contra nasturtium porrumue aut cepe per festi tempus opsonii loco arrodere, cuiusmodi sit considera. Etenim in praesens quidem vtrumque dulce est illis minimeque molestum. At postea res inuertitur.

Quandoquidem vobis deinde non accidit vt postridie surgatis, capitis dolore grauati ob temulentiam, quemadmodum illi, neque ob immodicam ingurgitationem graue olentem et acrem spiritum ructatis. At illi hoc quoque fructus ferunt, vt quoniam magnam noctis partem vario coitu pro libidinis arbitrio transigunt, facile sibi vel tabem vel tussim vel morbum intercutem ex intemperato voluptatum vsu colligant. Alioqui quotumquenque potes ostendere, qui non plane palleat ac faciem cadauerosam prae se ferat? Quotumquenque autem qui, quum ad senectutem peruenerit, suis ipsius pedibus ingrediatur, ac non potius a quatuor baiulis gestetur? foris quidem totus aureus, intus putris ac pannosus, cuiusmodi sunt tragica indumenta ex pannis admodum vilibus consarcinata. Vos autem quum molestum est quod de piscibus gustare non liceat, quod inedia laboratis, non illud item cogitatis, eosdem et podagrae et tussis expertes esse, aut si quid aliud aliam ob causam illis incommodi contingit. Quanquam nec illis ipsis aequae dulce est quotidie supraque satietatem istis vesci. Quin potius videas eos nonnunquam ita holus ac lupinum appetere vt tu non aequae leporem appetas aut aprum. Vt de reliquis interim sileam, quae illos discruciant, puta si filius sit luxuriosus, si vxor vel amans vel amata a famulo coacta magis quam ex animo cum illo dormiat. In summa multa alia sunt quae vos ignorantes tantum aurum illorum ac purpuram videtis. Tum siquando videritis eos albo prouehi curru, inhiatis et adoratis. Quod si illos contemneretis negligeretisque, neque ad argenteum currum oculos haberetis intentos,

neque inter colloquendum smaragdum annulo inclusum respectaretis, neque vestes obiter contrectantes mollitiam admiraremini, sed sineretis eos ipsos sibi diuites esse, haud dubie futurum sit ut ipsi vos ultro adirent, ad coenam rogerent, nimirum ut vobis ostendere possint lectos, mensas ac pocula. Quarum  
 5 rerum nulla sit utilitas si sine teste possideantur. Certe reperietis pleraque haec illos vestra causa parare, non quo utantur ipsi, sed uti vos admiremini. Haec ad consolandos vos scribo utranque vitam cognitam habens. Conuenitque ita festum agere, ut cogitetis omnibus breui decedendum e vita, et illis depositis opibus, et vobis relicta paupertate. Quanquam et illis scribam, sicuti sum pollicitus, certumque scio eos non neglecturos litteras meas.  
 10

Saturnus diuitibus salutem

Pauperes nuper ad me datis literis incusarunt vos, qui nihil ipsis ex facultatibus quas possidetis impertimini, atque omnino postularunt ut omnia bona facerem omnibus communia, ut ad singulos illorum sua pars rediret. Aequum  
 15 enim esse ut rerum aequalitas constituatur, neque decere ut huic supersit, ille nullo modo sit particeps, voluptatum. Ego vero respondi, hisce de rebus rectius Iouem consideraturum. Caeterum de praesenti negotio deque iniuriis quibus sese per festos dies affici putant, videbam mei officii esse sententiam ferre, sumque pollicitus me vobis scripturum. Sunt autem quae postulant haec, ut mihi  
 20 quidem videtur, aequa. Nam quo pacto, inquirunt, tanto frigore horrentes, tantaeque obnoxii esuritioni, postea diem etiam festum celebrare possimus? Quare si vellem et illos festi participes esse, postularunt ut cogerem vos ut et de vestibus illis impertiamini, si quae supersunt pinguiores quam quae vobis conueniant, utque de auro nonnullas guttulas in illos distilletis. Quod si ista feceritis,  
 25 inquirunt, non erit amplius disceptatio inter vos de bonis apud Iouem. Sin minus, minitantur sese ad nouam rerum partitionem prouocaturus, ut primum Iuppiter pro tribunali sedere coeperit. Atque haec quidem facere vobis nequaquam graue fuerit, impertiri nonnihil de tantis opibus quas possidetis et recte possidetis. Quin de coenis quoque, ut vobiscum coenarent, et hoc litteris addendum putarunt, quemadmodum vos in praesentia foribus occlusis soli deliciis  
 30 frueremini. Quod si quando vobis visum fuerit et illorum quempiam post longum tempus conuiuio adhibere, plus esse molestiae in coena quam voluptatis, multaque illic in pauperum contumeliam fieri, velut illud, quum non eodem de vino bibant, dii boni, quam illiberale, plane dignum, in quo et illi  
 35 debeant accusari qui non surgant potius abeantque, toto conuiuio vobis solis relicto. Quanquam negant sese etiam ad satietatem ex illo qualicumque vino bibere, propterea quod vestri pincernae aures habeant cera obturatas quemadmodum olim Ulyssis socii. Porro reliqua vsqueadeo sunt turpia ut pigeat commemorare quae de carniuum partitione criminantur, deque ministris qui quum  
 40 vobis assistant, donec plusquam ad plenum expleamini, ipsos praetercurrunt, aliaque huius generis permulta sordida minimeque digna viris ingenuis. Proinde aequalitas res est omnium iucundissima maximeque conuiuio congruens. Atque

hac de causa, vobis aequus ille partitor in conuiuuis praeficitur, vt aequam omnes habeant portionem. Videte igitur ne posthac vos iterum accusare possint. Quin potius honorabunt vos et amabunt, si pauca ista a vobis acceperint, quorum impendium a vobis nec sentietur quidem, penes illos muneris in tempore dati memoria semper mansura est. Praeterea nec rempublicam administrare possitis ni pauperes vna vobiscum in ea versentur, milleque modis foelicitatem vestram adiuent. Neque enim habituri estis qui diuitias vestras suspiciant, si soli atque apud vosipsos in tenebris eas possideatis. Videat igitur vulgus mireturque vestrum argentum, mensas et quemadmodum praebibentes ad potandum inuitetis. Dein illi inter bibendum poculum vndique contemplantur, ac pondus expendant manu librantes, tum argumenti absolutam caelaturam, tum auri vim, vicissim artem condecorantis. Nam in istum modum, non solum illi vos probos viros et humanos praedicabunt, verumetiam inuidiam illorum effugietis. Quis enim inuideat impertienti danti que quod aequum est? Quis non potius optet vt quam diutissime viuens bonis suis fruatur? Verum vt nunc res vobis habent, et foelicitas vestra teste caret, et diuitiae inuidiosae et insuauis vita. Neque enim perinde iuuat, opinor, si quis solus expleatur, quemadmodum aiunt leones facere, et ex luporum genere quos solitarios vocant, quam si cum lepidis hominibus ac per omnia gratificari paratis conuiuatis, qui primum non sinent conuiuium surdum aut mutum esse, verum consuetudine sua fabulas conuiuuis aptas dicteriaque minime molesta variasque voluptates adferent, quibus rebus tempus iucundissime transigitur. Idque gratum est Baccho, gratum Veneri, gratum etiam Gratiis. Deinde postero die, dum comitatem vestram referunt, benevolentiam vobis conciliant. Haec etiam magno fuerant emenda. Nam illud a vobis sciscitabor, si pauperes abeant taciti, sic enim fingamus, nonne vos ea res vreret, quum non haberetis quibus ostentaretis purpureas vestes, comitum multitudinem, annulorum magnitudinem? Neque iam libet referre necessario futurum vt pauperum insidiae atque odia in vos oriantur, si soli deliciis frui velitis. Nam quae minantur vobis imprecatorios sese prorsus abominanda sunt. Ac dii prohibeant ne vnquam ad eiusmodi imprecationes venire cogantur. Quandoquidem si id fiat, neque intestina posthac gustabitis neque placentam, nisi siquid canis reliquum fecerit. Praeterea lenticula saperdae liquamen vobis habebit. Porro sus aut ceruus interim dum assantur, e veru in montes aufugere parant. Tum aues quoque pingues absque alis fugam molientes ad pauperes auolant. Denique quod est omnium grauissimum, pocillatores formosissimi repente vobis calui fient idque etiam fracta amphora. Super his rebus consulite, quae et festo sint digna et vobis quam maxime tuta, atque illis paupertatis onus subleuate, exiguo vectigali illos amicos habituri neutiquam malos.

Diuites Saturno salutem

Num putas, Saturne, de rebus istis ad te solum scripsisse pauperes? Quin potius Iouis ipsius aures iam obsurduerunt illorum querelis, dum haec eadem vociferantur, ac nouam rerum partitionem flagitant, ac simul et fatum incusant  
 5 quod non aequaliter distribuerit, et nos quod nihil ipsis velimus impertiri. Verum nouit ille, quippe quum sit Iuppiter, penes quos sit culpa, eoque illos plerumque obaudit. Nihilominus tamen purgabimus nos tibi, quandoquidem hoc certe tempore princeps noster es. Nos enim omnia ista quae scribis ob  
 10 oculos habentes, quam sit honestum de magna rerum copia opitulari iis qui indigent, quantoque sit iucundius simul cum pauperibus versari et conuiuium agitare, ad eum modum assidue facimus, adeoque in ratione vitae nos aequamus, vt nihil possit incusare is quem ad conuictum admittimus. Verum illi primum aiunt sibi paucis opus esse. Deinde vbi semel illis fores aperuerimus, nunquam desinunt alia super alia postulare. Quod nisi protinus omnia simulque  
 15 cum dicto acceperint, mox paratum odium, in promptu conuicia, etiam si quid de nobis sit mentiendum. Porro qui audiunt, fidem illis habent, rati videlicet illos probe scire quae dicunt, propterea quod nobiscum consuetudinem habuerint. Ita fit vt in alterutrum incidamus, vt aut si nihil demus illos prorsus habeamus hostes, aut profusis omnibus ipsi protinus egeamus, iamque in pauperum gregem veniamus. At caetera quidem vtcunque ferenda sunt, verum inter  
 20 coenas ipsas non satis habent, ingurgitari cibus atque aluum explere, sed iidem vbi plus satis adbiberint, tum aut puellae formosae cyathum porrigentis manum vellunt, aut concubinam vxoremue sollicitant. Postremo conuomito conuiuio, postero die nobis obtreçant, narrantes quemadmodum sitierint esurierintque.  
 25 Quod si haec aduersus illos mentiri videmur, vester ille parasitus Ixion in memoriam redeat, qui ad communis mensae honorem admissus, ac vobis dignitate aequiparatus, iam ebrius vir ille egregius Iunonem adortus est. Haec atque huiusmodi sunt, propter quae in posterum statuimus, quo res nostrae sint in tuto, ne posthac illis in domum aditum praebemus. Quod si te authore pacto  
 30 recipiant sese moderate petituos, quemadmodum nunc aiunt, neque quicquam flagitiose in comotationibus admissuros, age, conuiuant nobiscum, simulque coenant bonis auibus. Ac de tunicis, sicuti iubes, mittemus, et de auro, quantum facultas patietur, ac sumptus augebimus: in summa, nihil omittemus officii  
 LB 194 nostri, modo vicissim desinant ipsi arte nobis cum viuere, sintque pro parasitis  
 35 et adulatoribus amici. Ita nihil erit quod in nobis desideres, si ipsi quoque suo fungi volent officio.

#### De Luctu

Operaepretium sane fuerit obseruare ea quae in luctu vulgo tum dicantur, tum fiant, item quae dicantur ab iis qui eos consolantur scilicet, quamque non  
 40 ferenda putent lugentes ea quae sibi acciderunt et sibi ipsis et iis quos flent;

40 quae sibi *C*, quae *B*

quum haudquaquam pernouerint malane sint ista, ac dolenda, an contra iucun-  
 diora melioraque iis quibus accidunt, sed ex more et consuetudine dolorem  
 accersunt. Itaque quum mortuus fuerit aliquis, faciunt ad hunc modum. Quin  
 prius volo tibi narrare quas habeant de morte ipsa opiniones. Sic enim palam  
 fiet qua gratia superuacanea ista moliantur. Vulgi quidem hominum multitudo  
 quos sapientes isti vocant idiotas, Homero, Hesiodo, reliquisque fabularum  
 auctoribus super his fidem habentes et illorum poesim pro lege ducentes, locum  
 quendam subter terram profundum esse putant, quem Tartarum vocant. Eum  
 existimant magnum et spatiosum esse, caliginosum atque opacum, qui tamen  
 istis haud scio quo pacto illustrari videtur, quo singula quae illic sunt introspi-  
 ciant. Tum regnare in hoc specu Iouis fratrem cui nomen Plutoni, vt mihi rettulit  
 quidam harum rerum mire peritus, ob id eo vocabulo honestatum, quod  
 mortuorum copia diues esset. Porro Plutonem hunc inferorum rempublicam  
 et manium vitam constituisse in hanc formam. Nam sorte obtigisse huic vt vita  
 defunctis imperaret. Quos vbi demissos receperit, arreptos vinculis ineffugibi-  
 libus coercet, nulli prorsus permittens vt ad superos redeat praeterquam admo-  
 dum paucis ex vniuerso aeuo, idque grauissimis de causis. Interluitur autem  
 regio illius fluuiis et magnis et horrendis vel solo nomine. Siquidem Cocyti,  
 Phlegethontes atque huiusmodi vocabulis appellantur. Quodque est grauissi-  
 mum, praeiacet Acherontica palus quae prima excipit obuios, quam non possis  
 neque transmittere neque transire sine vectore. Nam et profundior est quam vt  
 pedibus transiri possit et spatiosior quam vt tranari queat. In summa, huiusmodi  
 est vt nec auium manes possint eam transuolare. In ipso vero descensu porta-  
 que quae quidem est adamantina, Aeacus est, regis patruelis, cui mandata est  
 custodia; iuxtaque hunc canis triceps, saeuus admodum. Is aduenientes satis  
 amice pacateque intuetur. Caeterum si quis conetur aufugere, latrat, territosque  
 in specum redigit. Iam qui transmissa palude ingressi sunt, eos excipit pratum  
 ingens asphodelo consitum, ac fluuius memoriae hostis, eoque Lethe nomen  
 est inditum. Nam haec videlicet priscis illis mortalibus narrarunt qui illinc redie-  
 rant. Nempe Alcestis et Protesilaus, Thessalus vterque, neque non Theseus  
 Aegeo prognatus et Homericus Vlysses, testes admodum graues dignique qui-  
 bus habeatur fides, qui mihi non videntur e fonte illo bibisse; alioqui non me-  
 minissent horum. Itaque Pluto et Proserpina, vt aiebant illi, rempublicam ad-  
 ministrant, rerumque omnium dominatum obtinent. Sed inseruiunt his et in  
 administrando principatu adiuant ingens turba, Furiae, Poenae, Terrores ac  
 Mercurius, quanquam is sane non adest perpetuo. Praefecti autem et satrapae  
 et iudices sedent duo, Minos et Rhadamanthus, vterque Cretensis, vterque Io-  
 uis filius. Atque hi quidem bonos ac iustos viros qui cum virtute vitam peregis-  
 sent, vbi iam multi collecti fuerint, velut in coloniam quandam emittunt in  
 campum Elysium, vitam optimam inibi victuros. Quod si malos aliquos cepe-  
 rint, hos Furiis traditos in impiorum locum eiiciunt pro ratione malefactorum

puniendos. Quo quidem in loco, quid tandem mali non patiuntur, torti, exusti, a  
 vulturibus arrosi, rota circumacti, saxa sursum voluentes! Nam Tantalus ipse ad  
 paludem stat in periculum adductus ne siti moriatur infoelix. Rursum alii medio-  
 5 cris vitae, sunt autem hi complures, vagantur in prato sine corporibus iam vm-  
 brae facti et ad tactum ceu fumus euanescentes. Aluntur autem videlicet nostris  
 libationibus inferiisque quae sepulchris inferuntur. Adeo vt si cui nullus sit in  
 terra reliquus amicus aut cognatus, hic mortuus, ieiunus ac famelicus inter illos  
 versatur. Haec vsqueadeo valide vulgi animos peruaserunt vt, simulatque fami-  
 liaris quispiam mortuus fuerit, primum obolum illi in os imponant, traiectionis  
 10 mercedem, quam vectori daturus sit, nec illud | prius expendunt cuiusmodi no-  
 LB 195 missima legitimum sit ambuletque apud inferos et apud illos valeat, Atticus an  
 11 Macedonicus an Aeginensis obolus. At ne id quidem cogitant, multo satius esse  
 non posse naulum reddere. Sic enim fiat vt non recipiente portitore postliminio  
 redeant in vitam. Post haec lotos eos, perinde quasi Tartarea palus non satis sit  
 15 idonea lauandis his qui illic degunt, et vnguentis optimis vncto corpore iamque  
 victa graueolentia, tum coronatos pulcherrimis floribus proponunt splendide  
 vestitos, ne videlicet algeant per viam, neue nudi conspiciantur a Cerbero. Acce-  
 dunt ad haec mulierum eiulatus, omnium certe lachrimae, pectorum planctus,  
 comae dilaniatio, genarum cruentatio. Aliis autem et vestis discerpitur et puluis  
 20 capiti inspergitur, adeo vt viuentes miserabiliores sint mortuo. Nam illi humi vo-  
 lutantur saepenumero, capita solo allidunt. Hic vero decorus ac formosus ac dili-  
 gentissime coronatus, sublimis propositus est et excelsus, velut ad pompam  
 adornatus. Deinde mater atque adeo pater quoque ex mediis cognatis progres-  
 25 sus ac mortuo circumfusus (nam finge iuuenem aliquem ac formosum proposi-  
 tum esse, quo magis in hunc competat actio fabulae) absurdas ac stultas voces  
 emittit. Ad quas mortuus ipse responsurus sit, si contingat vocem recipere. Ait  
 enim pater, flebili quadam voce, verbum vnumquodque producens in longum:  
 Fili iucundissime, peristi mihi, mortuus es, ante diem praereptus es, me super  
 haec misero solo relicto. Non duxisti vxorem, non parasti liberos, non militasti,  
 30 non coluisti agros, non ad senectam peruenisti, non comessaberis posthac, non  
 amabis, fili, neque cum aequalibus in computatione inebriaberis. Porro haec  
 atque id genus alia dicet, quasi putet filium adhuc rebus his egere post obitum  
 ac desiderare quidem, verum potiri non posse. Sed quid haec loquor? Quot  
 35 enim sunt qui equos ac concubinas, rursum alii qui pincernas etiam in funere  
 mactarunt, qui vestem reliquumque mundum pariter in rogam iniectum exus-  
 serunt, aut vna cum cadauere sepelierunt, perinde quasi illic sit vsurus et apud  
 inferos fruiturus? At senex iste luctum agens haec omnia atque his etiam plura  
 quae dicit, neque filii causa iactare videtur, vt quem sciat non auditurum etiam  
 si Stentorem clamore vincat, neque rursum sua ipsius gratia. Satis enim erat illi  
 40 cogitare et cognoscere, vel sine voce. Nihil enim opus est ut quis apud sese  
 clamet. Superest igitur vt ad hunc modum deliret ob eos qui adsunt, quum

nesciat neque quid acciderit ipsi filio neque quo concesserit: imo, quum ne  
 suam quidem ipsius vitam cuiusmodi sit perpenderit. Neque enim alioqui ceu  
 rem acerbam grauiter ferret illum ex hac demigrasse. Filius igitur huic ita respon-  
 derit, exorato Aeaco atque Orco, quo liceat tantisper e specu proferre caput,  
 dum patrem insanientem compescat. Homo infelix, quid clamas? Quid mihi  
 molestus es? Desine vellicare comam ac vultus etiam cutem lacerare. Quir mihi  
 convitium facis ac miserum appellas et infortunatum, qui iam sim te multo tum  
 melior, tum foelicio? Aut quid acerbi mihi putas accidisse? An quia non sim  
 factus senex talis qualis es tu, capite caluo, facie rugosa, incuruus genibus, seg-  
 nis, in summa totus aetate putris, multis expletis Triacadibus et Olympiadibus,  
 denique ad istum modum delirans apud testes tam multos? O demens, quid tibi  
 videtur in vita boni quo post hac non simus potituri? Nimirum computationes  
 dicis ac coenas, vestemque et concubitus, eoque metuis ne rerum harum inopia  
 peream. Non cogitas autem longe bellius esse non sitire quam bibere, non esuri-  
 re quam edere, non algere quam vestibus abundare. Age igitur, quandoquidem  
 ignarus videris, docebo te lugere verius. Iamque denuo incepto luctu, clama:  
 Fili miser, non amplius sities, non amplius esuries, non amplius algebis. Peristi  
 mihi infoelix quod morbos effugeris, | qui febrem iam non timeas, non hostem,  
 non tyrannum. Non amor discruciat te, non auocabit coitus, neque huius rei  
 causa bis aut ter quotidie perdes impensam. Heu calamitatem! Neque contem-  
 neris factus senex, neque molestus eris iuuenibus, si quando conspiciaris. Haec  
 si dixeris, pater, an non putas te multo veriora magisque ridicula dicturum quam  
 ista quae modo? At vide ne illud te male habeat, dum noctem quae apud nos est  
 magnamque cogitas caliginem. Proinde metuis ne tibi praefocer conclusus in  
 monumento. Verum in his illud oportebat perpendere: oculis putrefactis atque  
 adeo exustis (si quidem paulo post exurere me decreuistis) nihil opus erit nec ad  
 tenebras nec ad lumen inspiciendum. Atque ista fortassis vtcunque ferenda.  
 Verum eiulatus iste vester quid mihi confert? Aut quid ista pectorum ad tibiae  
 modos percussio? Aut quid mulierum immodica lamentatio? Quid autem sa-  
 xum quod sepulchro imponitur coronis ornatum? Aut quid valet quod merum  
 infunditis? Num putatis illud ad nos destillaturum et ad Orcum vsque permea-  
 turum? Nam de parentalibus ipsi quoque, ni fallor, videtis, quod ex apparatu  
 potissimum ad nos redire debuerat, id fumo correptum sursum in coelum abire,  
 neque quicquam iuuare nos qui inferne agimus. Porro quod superest, puluis  
 est inutilis, nisi creditis nos cinere vesci. Non est vsqueadeo sterile neque in-  
 frugiferum Plutonis regnum, neque nos destituit asphodelus, vt a vobis cibos  
 huc deportemus. Itaque iuro per Tisiphonem, iampridem mihi libebat vehe-  
 menter exclamare super his quae et faciebatis et dicebatis, sed vetabat linteam  
 ac lanae quibus mihi fauces obligastis.

*Atque ita profato, mors vltima lumina clausit.*

12 computationes *D*, πότους computationes *MS*, atque ita \**C*, vsuras (scilicet τόκουσ) *B* |  
 18 quod *E*, qui *B C D* | 25 oportebat *E*, oportet *B C D*

Sed dicito, per Iouem, si conuersus ad eos mortuus ille loquatur haec, cubito innitens, an non videbitur rectissime dicturus? Attamen vecordes isti vociferantur et accersito quopiam lamentorum artifice, qui multas antiquas calamitates in vnum congerat, certaminis adiutore et amentiae chorago abutuntur, vbicunque  
 5 coeperit ille, ipsi ad melos eiulatu respondentes. Verum quantum ad lamentationes attinet, omnibus eadem est ineptiendi consuetudo. At deinceps sepulturae rationem in varios diuidunt modos. Nam Graecus exurit, Persa defodit, Indus vitro oblitit, Scythia deuorat, muria condit Aegyptius. Atque hic quidem (rem a me visam narro) desiccatum cadauer conuiuam et compotorem  
 10 adhibet. Fit autem frequenter vt Aegyptium aliquem indigentem pecuniae leuet egestate pignus frater aut pater in tempore factus. Nam libationes, pyramides, columnae, tituli, ad breue tempus duratura, an non superuacanea et ludicris simillima? Sunt vero qui ludos quoque constituent ad sepulchrum ac funebres orationes habeant, perinde quasi patrocinentur ac testimonium perhibeant de-  
 15 functo apud inferos iudices. Post haec omnia superest exequialis coena. Iamque adsunt necessarii, vt defuncti parentes consolentur, suadentque vti cibum capiant, quanquam illi, per Iouem, non illibentes ad id compelluntur, quippe perpetuum iam triduum enecti fame. Et quousque, quaeso, flebimus? Sine quiescant Plutonis manes. Quod si tibi deliberatum est omnino flere, vel ob hoc ipsum  
 20 cibus est capiendus, quo tanto luctui par esse possis. Tum denique, tum ex omnibus contextuntur duo versus Homeric:

*Nam coepit meminisse cibi Niobe auricapilla.*

Tum illud:

*Vita defunctos flere haud sinit aluus Achiuos.*

25 At capiunt quidem illi, sed initio pudibundi, verentesque ne post charissimorum obitum videantur adhuc affectibus humanis commoueri. Haec atque his longe magis ridicula reperiet quisquis obseruarit ea quae fiunt in luctu, propterea quod vulgo existiment mortem summum esse malum.

4 amentiae *MS C, om. B* | 8 vitro *E Errata*, adipe suillo *B C D E*; hic *MS C*, his *B* | 14 habeant *MS C, om. B*



## ABDICATVS

Quidam abdicatus artem medicinae didicit. Patrem insania laborantem, reliquis medicis desperantibus, dato pharmaco quum sanasset, denuo receptus est in familiam. Post haec nouercam insania correptam sanare iussus abdicatur. LB 197

Haudquaquam noua sunt haec, Iudices, neque miranda, quae in praesentia facit 5  
pater, neque nunc primum ad hunc irascitur modum; verum haec lex illi facilis  
est, et assuetus ad hanc causam accedit. Verum illud mihi nouo calamitatis  
genere accidit, quod quum nullum proprium sit crimen quod mihi possit imponi,  
tamen in periculum vocor, ne poenas dem artis nomine, nisi huic iubenti per  
omnia parere possit. Qua quidem re quid fieri possit absurdius? vti curem ex 10  
praescripto, non iam quatenus ars valeat, sed patris arbitratu. Quare optarim  
equidem vt medicorum ars eiusmodi quoque remedium aliquod haberet, quod  
non modo laborantes insania verumetiam praeter aequum irascentes liberare  
possit, nimirum quo liceat et patris iracundiae mederi. Nunc autem ipsa quidem  
insania leuatus est, caeterum iracundia magis etiam exasperatur. Quodque est 15  
omnium grauissimum, erga caeteros omneis sanus est; in me vnum insanit, a  
quo morbo fuit liberatus. Videtis igitur cuiusmodi mercedem curationis feram,  
quum rursus ab illo abdicor, iterum alienor a familia, ceu ob id ipsum ad breue  
tempus receptus, vt maiore infamia saepius eiecerer domo. At ego quidem in  
his quae praestare queam, ne expecto quidem patris iussum, vt qui pridem non 20  
accersitus ad opitulandum accesserim. Verum vbi res est eiusmodi, vt nulla  
omnino spes sit, tum nec aggredi velim. Porro in hac muliere multo etiam  
minus ausim, neque id temere. Siquidem reputo quae in me facturus sit pater,  
si res non successerit, quum iam abdicet nondum aggressum curationem. Quare 25  
doleo, Iudices, nouercae vicem grauitur laborantis – erat enim proba; deinde  
patris nomine, quem huius morbus excruciat; maxime tamen mea ipsius causa,  
qui videar immorigerus patri, quum non possim quae iubeor praestare, partim  
ob morbi magnitudinem, partim ob artis imbecillitatem. At sane non arbitror  
aequum esse vt abdicer, si quod efficere non queam, id ne recipiam quidem.

Itaque quibus de causis prius abdicarit me, facile fuerit ex hoc negocio conii- 30  
cere. Quanquam ad illas, opinor, satis respondi ipsa post acta vita. Ad haec  
autem quae nunc obiicit, pro virili sum responsurus, si prius de statu meo pauca

vobis exposuero. Ego intractabilis ille et immorigerus, patrem dedecorans et indigna genere meo patrans, id quidem temporis multa id genus vociferanti ac sine fine occlamanti paucis contradicendum esse duxi. Verum domo cedens, existimaui mihi grauissimi iudicii instar fore verumque calculum ita actam deinde vitam, vt appareret me a paternis illis criminibus quam longissime abesse, sed potius honestissimis studiis dedisse operam cumque optimis viris habuisse consuetudinem. Iam vero et eiusmodi quiddam prospiciebam, ac suspicabar fore vt aliquando pater, qui non admodum animo constaret, mihi sine causa succenseret, falsaque in filium crimina strueret. Neque deerant qui ista morbi initium interpretarentur, minasque ac tela paulo post irruituri mali: nempe odium absque causa, mores asperos, conuitia parata, censuram seueram, clamorem, iracundiam, in summa omnia plena bilis; vnde vsu venturum credebam, vt mihi aliquando arte medicinae foret opus.

Proinde foras profectus, ac probatissimorum, quos in peregrinis regionibus nancisci potui, medicorum vsus doctrina, plurimo labore vehementique animi studio artem perdidici. | Porro domum reuersus, offendo patrem manifesta iam insania laborantem, et ab huius loci medicis desperantibus destitutum, qui non altius introspiciunt nec admodum exacte morbos diiudicant. At ego sane, sicuti par erat facere frugi filium, neque superioris abdicationis iniuriam recordabar, neque vt accerseret operiebar. Neque enim erat quicquam, quod illi proprie imputare possem, verum peccata illa omnia fuerant aliena, nempe, quemadmodum modo dicebam, ipsius morbi. Ergo quum inuocatus accessissem, non sum equidem protinus medicatus, neque enim hic nobis mos est, neque id praecipit ars; verum illud omnium primum iubemur obseruare, sanabilisne sit morbus an insanabilis atque artis terminos praetergressus. Ac tum si eiusmodi fuerit malum, vt commode possimus aggredi, aggredimur, totoque adnitimur studio, vt aegrotum seruemus. Quod si viderimus iam inualuisse superasseque, nec manum admolimur omnino, idque vetustam quandam legem eorum, qui primi medicinae prodiderunt artem, sequuti. Qui negant tentandos esse morbos, qui iam inualuerunt. Itaque quum patrem adhuc intra spem esse perspicerem, neque malum supra artis vires esse, diu obseruatis ac pensatis singulis, ita demum aggrediebar, ac pharmacum fidenti animo porrexi. Multi sane eorum qui tum aderant suspectam habebant administrationem pharmaci, calumniantes curationem meam, iamque parabant in ius vocare me. Aderat autem et nouerca pauida atque diffidens, non id quidem odio mei, sed quod metueret, vtpote probe sciens illum grauiter laborare. Nam sola nouerat omnia, quippe familiaris et assidue conuiuens aegrotanti. Attamen ego, nihil his rebus deterritus, – sciebam enim futurum vt mihi signa non mentirentur neque falleret ars, – adhibui curam, obseruato tempore idoneo. Quanquam erant amici nonnulli, qui mihi consilium darent, ne fiderum, ne forte si res male successisset, maiorem aliquam calumniam mihi accerserem, quasi patrem veneno vltus essem, memor iniuriarum quibus me affecerat. In summa, ille protinus conualuit, pristinae redditus sanitati, cognouitque omnia. Familiares admirabantur; denique lauda-

bat et nouerca, ac palam omnibus vtriusque nomine gaudebat, tum mihi laudem assequuto, tum illi ad sanam mentem reuerso.

Atque hic quidem – nam illud de eo testari possum – neque contatus neque quopiam his de rebus in consilium adhibito, simulatque rem omnem e familiaribus cognouit, irritam fecit abdicationem, ac denuo me filium fecit, seruatorem ac beneficum appellans, confitens sese certum experimentum mei cepisse, deque illis ante factis semet excusans. Id factum compluribus attulit voluptatem, nimirum quotquot aderant probi. Caeterum vrebatur eos, quibus abdicatio filii iucundior fuerat reuocatione. Proinde videbam tum non eodem modo ea re gaudentes omnes, sed erat cuius et colorem illico verti sensi et oculos turbari et vultum iracundum, quemadmodum ex inuidia odioque solet accidere. Nos igitur, ut est consentaneum, in complexibus et animi gaudiis versabamur, utpote utroque alteri reddito.

Caeterum nouerca paulo post aegrotare protinus coepit morbo, Iudices, graui et impotenti. Nam statim obseruabam, ut nascebatur malum. Neque enim simplex erat aut leuis insaniae species; quin potius vetus quidam morbus, qui iam pridem delituerat in animi domicilio, erupit, victorque in apertum prodiit. Sunt autem nobis quum alia multa signa insanabili laborantis insaniam, tum illud commune in hac obseruauimus muliere. In caeteros placatior est ac mitis, atque illis praesentibus conquiescit morbus. Quod si quem conspexerit medicum, imo si vel audierit tantum de medico, in hunc supra modum incenditur. Quod et ipsum argumento est, illam graui et insanabili teneri malo. Haec quum perspicere, equidem acerbe ferebam, miserebarque mulieris, ut debui, praeter meritum tanto laborantis infortunio. Pater vero ob imperitiam – neque enim nouit vel originem mali, quo tenetur, vel causam vel morbi magnitudinem, – iussit uti medicarer, ac simile pharmacum exhiberem, arbitratus idem esse insaniae genus, eundem morbum, eandem aegrotationem, quae similem curandi rationem admitteret. Verum ubi id quod erat verissimum dico, fieri nullo pacto posse ut mulier seruetur, fateorque me morbo imparem esse, indignatur ac succenset, aitque me studio detrectare ac mulierem destituere, mihi crimini vertens artis imbecillitatem. Atque huic quidem accidit, quod solet iis qui dolent; succensent enim omnes iis qui libere verum loquuntur.

Tamen ego sane pro viribus illi respondebo, tum meo ipsius nomine, tum artis. Ac primum quidem a lege sumam initium, per quam hic me parat abdicare, ut intelligat sibi non esse posthac eandem abdicandi facultatem, quae prius fuit. Neque enim legislator omnibus, o pater, istam potestatem permittit, neque uti quoslibet filios neque quoties libuerit abdicent, neque quibuslibet de causis; verum quemadmodum patribus concessit certis de causis irasci, ita prospexit et liberis, ne id immerentibus accidat. Eaque gratia iussit, ne libera esset ac citra iudicium vindicta, sed ad iudices vocat, aestimatores constituit, qui neque per iracundiam neque per calumniam quod iustum sit iudicent. Nouerat enim fre-

quenter accidere multis, vt ob causas iniquas ad iram commouerentur, hic quidem alicui falsae calumniae credens, ille famulo fidem habens aut vxori cuiquam inimicae. Quare noluit rem iniudicatam agi, neque indefensa causa liberos statim capi vincique, verum et aquam infundit et ratio redditur et nihil inexcussum relinquitur. Quandoquidem solum hoc autoritatis datur patri vt ad iudices vocet; verum iudicandi autoritas an merito accuset, id penes vos qui iudicio praesidetis; ac nondum spectate crimen quod mihi imponit, cuiusque gratia nunc indignatur, verum illud prius expendite, num posthac illi ius sit abdicandi, qui semel abdicauerit iamque sit vsus facultate, quam lex concedit, atque hanc paternam potestatem expleuerit, deinde rursus in familiam receperit ac superiorem abdicationem irritam fecerit. Nam ego certe iniquissimum istud esse dico, vt liberorum quoque sint infinitae poenae, vt multae condemnationes ac metus perpetuus, vtque lex nunc irato inseruiat, mox deinde faciat irritum quod actum est, rursus vt eodem modo valeat; in summa, vt ius sursum ac deorsum torqueatur, vtcunque patribus pro tempore visum fuerit. Verum initio quidem aequum erat vti concederet, cumque indignante pariter indignaretur, ac puniendi ius faceret ei qui genuisset. Porro vbi semel potestatem absumpserit ac lege sit abusus, iracundiam expleuerit, post haec rursus in familiam receperit et in hanc opinionem discesserit, vt frugi putet, in his perseueret necessum est, neque postea resiliendum aut retractanda sententia, neque rescindendum iudicium. Neque enim scire poterat, opinor, is qui natus fuerat, frugine an contra esset euasurus. Atque hanc ob causam permissum est, vt genere indignos abdicent, quos quum educabant, cuiusmodi essent futuri nesciebant. Caeterum vbi non coactus sed suapte sponte atque autoritate ex sese comprobatum recipit, qua deinde ratione possit mutare factum, aut quis legis vsus superest? Etenim ipse legislator hunc ad modum tecum egerit: Hic si improbus erat dignusque quem abdicares, quid accidit vti reuocares? Quur denuo in familiam reduxisti? Quur legem irritam fecisti? Nam liber eras, tibi que in manu erat ista non facere. Neque enim tibi concedendum est, vt legibus tuo arbitrato abutaris vtque iudicia, vtcunque mutatus sit animus tuus, eo trahantur; neque vti nunc irritentur leges, nunc rursus valeant, iudices interim testes sedeant vel, vt rectius dicam, ministri tuae voluntatis, modo punientes modo absoluentes, quandocunque tibi visum fuerit. Semel genuisti, semel educasti; pro his semel item abdicare potes, atque ita potes, si istud merito facere videaris; verum vt hoc fiat sine fine, vt perpetuo, vt frequenter, vt facile, id vero supra patris ius est.

LB 200 36 Quare per Iouem, Iudices, ne permittatis huic vt, qui sua sponte receperit, superioris iudicii sententiam irritarit, iram damnarit, rursus ad eandem prouocet poenam et ad patriam recurrat potestatem, cuius tempus iam excessit euauitque priuilegium, nec huic vni quicquam valens, quippe antehac consumpta.

40 Etenim illud considerate, quemadmodum in reliquis iudiciis, vbi iudices sortibus ferunt sententiam, siquis perperam pronunciatum existimat, permittit lex

27 quid *MS C*, quia *B* | 41 permittit *B C D*, permittitur *E*; lex *B C*, *om. D E*

alios adire iudices. Porro si qui ipsi suapte sponte iudices constituerint, delectis-  
 que arbitris causam commiserint, posthac non idem licet. Etenim si quis, quo-  
 rum sententiis initio stare non cogebatur, hos sponte delegerit, iam aequum  
 est boni consulere quae statuerint. Itidem sane tu quoque, quem antea liberum  
 erat non recipere, nisi dignus maioribus videretur, hunc, si probum arbitratus  
 esse denuo recepisti, iam deinde non erit abdicandi ius. Siquidem indignum  
 esse in quem ista denuo fiant, ipse testatus es, iam de integro frugi filium esse  
 confessus. Itaque non conuenit poenitere receptionis, sed firma reconciliatio  
 sit oportet, nimirum post toties pronunciatam sententiam ac rem bis iudicatam,  
 primum quum abdicares, alterum quum ipse mutasti consilium meque in fami-  
 liam reuocasti, rescissis decretis superioribus, confirmans illa quae postea sunt  
 placita. Proinde perseuera in his quae proxime statuisti, tuumque ipsius iudi-  
 cium serua. Pater sis oportet, quandoquidem id abs te decretum, id probasti, id  
 ratum fecisti. Ego quidem si natura non essem filius, sed adoptatum abdicare  
 velles, ne tum quidem existimarim tibi licere. Quod enim initio liberum erat  
 non facere, id semel factum iniquum est rescindere. Porro eum qui primum  
 natura sit filius, postea iudicio sententiaque accersitus, quaeso num par est rur-  
 sum expellere, et eadem familiaritate priuare saepius? Age, quid si forte seruus  
 essem, ac tu quidem primum improbum esse ratus in vincula coniecisses, deinde  
 vbi cognitum est me nihil peccasse manumisisses, num tibi liceret, vtcunque  
 contigerit irasci, rursus in eandem reuocare seruitutem? Minime liceret. Istius-  
 modi igitur acta leges firma volunt esse ac perpetuo valere. Ergo quum pluribus  
 etiam argumentis docere possim, non esse ius huic abdicare denuo, quem semel  
 abdicatum sponte sua receperit, tamen finem faciam.

Nunc spectate cuiusmodi filium parat abdicare. Atque illud nondum dicam,  
 me tum imperitum abdicatum fuisse, nunc abdicari medicum (nihil enim mihi  
 in hac causa suffragetur ars), tum iuuenem, nunc aetate prouectum, vt aetas  
 etiam ipsa fidem faciat me nihil peccasse. Nam leue fortassis hoc quoque: verum  
 tum quidem, etiam si nullo commisso peccato, vt ego quidem dixerim, sed nec  
 benemeritus, alienabar a familia; nunc porro quum nuper salutem dederim ac  
 beneficis extiterim, exigor. Qua re quid fieri potest ingratus? vt mea seruatus  
 opera tantoque elapsus a discrimine, protinus sanationem illam huiusmodi factis  
 penset, nulla meritorum habita ratione, sed vsqueadeo facile mandarit obliuioni  
 atque in solitudinem abigat eum, qui iure sit obsequutus, quum praeter ius  
 eiiceretur, neque solum non meminerit iniuriae verum etiam et salutem attulerit  
 et sanae menti restituerit? Neque enim exiguo, Iudices, neque vulgari in hunc  
 collato beneficio, tamen huiusmodi malis nunc videor dignus. Porro quanquam  
 hic ignorat, quo in statu tunc fuerit, vos tamen omnes nostis, quid facientem  
 hunc, simul et patientem, et quibus affectum modis ego curandum susceperim,  
 ac medicis reliquis desperantibus, fugientibus familiaribus nec propius accedere  
 audentibus, talem reddidi, vt etiam accusare possit, vt de legibus disserere.

Quin magis, si exemplum quaeris, pater, quum propemodum talis esses, qualis nunc est vxor, ad pristinam sanitatem reuocaui. Quare non est aequum, vt pro his officiis huiusmodi mihi gratia reponatur, vtque in me vnum tantummodo sanus sis. Etenim te non mediocribus a me beneficiis affectum esse vel ex his  
 5 ipsis liquet, quibus me criminaris. Nam quem ob hoc odio persequeris, quod vxorem extremo laborantem periculo grauissimeque affectam non sanem, qui fit, vt eundem non multo potius charissimum habeas, quum simili morbo libera-  
 rim? non gratias agas, tam acerbis ereptus malis? At tu, quod quidem est ingratissimum, simulatque ad te redisti, protinus in ius trahis, salute donatus punis, |  
 LB 201 et ad vetus recurris odium, eandem recitas legem. Egregiam igitur mercedem  
 11 persoluis arti, dignamque pro remediis refers gratiam, qui quidem aduersus medicum tantum sanus es.

Vos autem, Iudices, huic concedetis, vt de benemerito poenas sumat, vt salutis autorem expellat, vt eum qui sanitati restituerit oderit, vt per quem reuixit  
 15 vlciscatur? Haud profecto concedetis, siquidem quod aequum est facietis. Etenim si maximum aliquod flagitium in praesentia commissem, tamen superioris beneficii nomine non mediocriter mihi debebat; cuius respectu memoriaque conueniebat hunc praesentem iniuriam negligere et ob illa priora facile ignoscere, maxime si tam ingens sit beneficium, vt omnia superet, quae postea possint accidere. Quod equidem mihi in hunc competere puto, quem seruau, qui mihi totius vitae debitor est, cui praestiti vt sit, vt sapiat, vt intelligat; praesertim quum caeteri omnes iam desperarent seque morbo impares esse faterentur. Nam et illud, opinor, ad meriti mei cumulum accedit, quod quum id temporis  
 20 filius non essem, quum nihil esset causae quae me cogeret curationem suscipere, verum quum liber essem atque alienus, a naturali causa solutus, tamen haud dissimulaui, sed vltroneus, inuocatus, iniussus adii, succurri, adnissus sum, sanaui, restitui, meum ipsius patrem seruau, de abdicatione me purgavi, iram beneuolentia sedaui, legem pietate sustuli, magnoque beneficio redditum in familiam emi, atque in tempore adeo periculoso fidem erga patrem demonstraui,  
 30 meque ipsum artis auxilio insinuaui, ac tristibus in rebus legitimus filius apparui. Quam multa enim me fuisse passum arbitramini, quantum et exhausisse laborum? dum adsideo, dum obseruio, dum opportunitates capto, nunc cedens patris vehementiae, nunc artem admouens ad breue tempus concedente morbo. Est autem hoc omnium quae sunt in arte medicorum periculosissimum, huius-  
 35 modi medicari, ac propius accedere ad hos qui ad eum sunt affecti modum. Fit enim non raro, vt exaestuante malo rabiem in proximos exerceant. Me tamen nihil horum piguit neque grauatus sum, verum aderam modis omnibus cum morbo luctans, postremo superau, pharmaco. Ne vero quisquam hoc audito protinus apud se cogitet: Quis aut quantus labor miscere pharmacum? Etenim  
 40 multa prius sunt facienda, praestruenda via dando pharmaco, praeparandum corpus quo facilius recipiat medicationem, deque omni corporis habitu sollicitus sit medicus oportet, inaniens, extenuans, cibis idoneis alens, mouens ad omne quod conducit, somnos accersendi rationes excogitans, solitudines arte re-

periens. Quibus in rebus aegroti caeteri facile pareant; at qui laborant insania, ob animi libertatem intractabiles sunt ac gubernatu difficiles ipsique medico periculosi, neque qui facile cura expugnentur. Proinde saepenumero quum effecerimus, vt iam speremus proxime adesse morbi finem, leue aliquod erratum incidens, renouato malo, cuncta illa superiora facile subuertit, curationem impedit, artem fallit. 5

Eum igitur qui haec omnia sustinuerit, qui cum morbo tam graui sit luctatus, qui malum malorum omnium expugnato difficillimum vicerit, huic vt iterum abdicet permittetis, vtque leges in benemeritum interpretetur suo arbitrato concedetis, atque eum cum ipsa natura bellum gerere sinetis? Ego naturae parens, Iudices, patrem mihi ipsi seruo custodioque, etiam si hic quidem iniuria me afficiat. Quod si filium benemeritum leges, vt ait, sequutus perdit et a familia alienat, hic nimirum liberorum osor erit, ego pius in patrem. Ego naturam amplector, iste naturam contemnit, fasque et ius violat. O patrem iniuste prosequentem odio, o filium iniustius amantem! Nam mihi ipsi vitio verito, patre 15 compellente, quod odio habitus eum praeter causam amo et magis amo quam oporteat. Atqui natura comparatum est, vt patres liberos ament magis quam liberi parentes. Verum hic studio tum leges contemnit, quae filios nihil commeritos familiae seruant, tum naturam, quae parentes ad vehemens natorum desiderium incitat. Non solum enim quum plures habeat in me benevolentiae 20 causas, maiorem, vti debebat, benevolentiam non adiungit atque addit, aut, quod est minus, me saltem imitatur meumque aemulatur amorem. Sed o calamitatem, quin insuper odit amantem, charitate prosequentem expellit, benemerentem laedit, complectentem abdicat, legesque liberis fauentes, ceu liberis in- LB 202 fensas, in me torquere conatur. O bellum, quod contra naturam legibus moues, 25 pater! Non sunt ista, non sunt, inquam, quemadmodum tu vis; leges bene conditas male interpretaris, pater. Non pugnat natura cum lege, in his quae ad benevolentiam pertinent; hic inter sese consentiunt, et altera vtrique auxilio est ad delendas iniurias. Contumelia afficis benemeritum: offendis naturam. Quir legibus quoque simul cum natura facis iniuriam? Quae quum honestae, iustae, 30 liberorum amantes esse cupiant, non pateris esse, quippe quas aduersus vnum filium, tanquam aduersus multos, saepius tentes, nec sinis in suppliciis quietem inuenire, quae velint in benevolentia liberorum erga parentes conquiescere, quanquam alioqui ne positas quidem aduersus eos qui nihil peccarint. At sane leges ingratitude actionem concedunt in eos, qui benemeritis non retulerint 35 gratiam. At qui non solum non refert gratiam, verumetiam punire conatur ob ea ipsa, quibus adiutus est beneficio, considerate num quicquam facere possit iniquius. Itaque non posse hunc iam abdicare denuo, qui paternam potestatem semel expleuerit ac lege sit vsus, praeterea non esse aequum eum qui tanta praestiterit beneficia expellere familiaque exigere, satis opinor demonstratum. 40

Nunc autem ad ipsam abdicationis causam veniamus, et crimen cuiusmodi

sit expendamus. At rursum ad mentem eius qui legem condidit recurramus  
 necesse est. Etenim ut istud tibi donemus ad breue tempus licere, quotienscun-  
 que velis abdicare, utque praeterea potestatem istam tibi largiamur, etiam aduer-  
 sus benemeritum, haud tamen simpliciter, opinor, neque quibuslibet de causis  
 5 abdicabis. Neque hoc dicit legis conditor, quicquid utcumque criminatus fuerit  
 pater abdicato, ut satis sit tantum voluisse queri. Nam si id esset, quid opus  
 erat iudicio? Verum vos istud expendere iubet, Iudices, num grauibus ac iustis  
 de causis irascatur pater necne. Hoc igitur in praesentia considerate. Exordiar  
 autem ab iis, quae protinus huius insaniam sunt consecuta. Iam primum om-  
 10 nium quod fecit sanae menti redditus, illud erat: rescidit abdicationem. Ego  
 seruator, beneficus, breuiter omnia eram. In his, nisi fallor, nihil adhuc esse  
 poterat, quod cum crimine videretur esse coniunctum. Deinde quid est om-  
 nium quod accusat? Quod obsequium, quam curam filio dignam praetermisi?  
 Quando foris cubui? Quas intempestiuas potationes, quas comessiones obii-  
 15 cis? Qui luxus? Quis leno pulsatus est? Quis accusauit? Nemo profecto. Atqui  
 haec sunt, ob quae praecipue lex permittit abdicare. Caeterum coepit aegrotare  
 nouerca. Quid istud mihi vertis crimini, morbique poenam a me reposcis? Non  
 reposco, inquit. Sed quid quod eam curare iussus recusas? ob hoc dignus fueris  
 qui abdiceris, quippe immorigerus patri. Ast ego quidem cuiusmodi sint ista  
 20 quae iubet, in quibus quia non possim obsequi, videor immorigerus, paulisper  
 differam. Sed illud prius in totum dico. Neque lex huic concedit, ut quiduis  
 imperet, neque mihi necesse est in omnibus omnino parere. Quaedam enim  
 mandata sunt huiusmodi ut, si non parueris, non sis obnoxius poenae; quae-  
 dam id genus ut, nisi obtemperaris, ira supplicioque sis dignus, veluti si aegro-  
 25 tes ipse et ego non curem; si quid rerum domesticarum curandum sit et ego  
 negligam; si quid rem rusticam curandam mandes atque ego recusem. Haec  
 omnia atque id genus alia probabiles adferunt causas paternae querelae. Porro  
 caetera nostri sunt arbitrii, nempe quae ad artes et artium vsum pertinent,  
 maxime si nulla in re fiat iniuria patri. Iam si cui pictori praecipiat pater: Haec  
 30 pinge, fili, illa nequaquam; rursus musico: Hanc pulsa harmoniam, illam ne  
 pulsa; tum fabro aenario: Ista cude, illa ne cude; num quisquam hunc patietur  
 abdicare filium, propterea quod non ex ipsius arbitrio artem exerceat? Nemo,  
 opinor. Atqui medendi ars, quanto est honoratior vitaeque conducibilior, tanto  
 conuenit esse liberiores qui hac utuntur. Ac iustum est, ut ars aliquo gaudeat  
 35 priuilegio in exercendi facultate, ut neque cogatur vsquam neque ferat imperium  
 res sacra, deorum doctrina, virorum eruditorum cura, neque in seruitutem tra-  
 hatur legis, neque timori poenisque tribunalium neque calculis ac patris minis et  
 indocti hominis irae sit obnoxia. Proinde si tibi palam ac simpliciter ad hunc  
 LB 203 modum | respondiissem: Nolo curare quum possim, sed artem soli mihi didici  
 40 ac patri, caeteris omnibus imperitus esse volo, quis est tyrannus vsqueadeo  
 ferox, ut cogat etiam nolentem uti arte? Siquidem istiusmodi officia blanditiis



precibusque, ni fallor, non legibus, ira, iudiciis conuenit elicere; persuadere medico oportet, non iubere, vt velit, non vt metuat, neque ad sanandum adigendus est, sed vltro ac lubens accedat oportet, immunis a compulsione patris. Immunis est ars ipsa, quandoquidem ciuitates quoque publicitus honores, praerminentias, immunitates, priuilegia medicis tribuunt.

Haec igitur in genere poteram artis nomine respondere, etiam si tu me illam docuisses, si multum studii, multum pecuniarum insumpsisses vt discerem, et vnam hanc curationem, etiam si eiusmodi esset vt praestare possem, recusassem. Nunc illud cogita, quam rem modis omnibus ingratham et iniquam facias, qui non sinas me a meipso mihi partis libere vtī. Hanc ego artem tum quum non essem filius tuus perdidici, neque tuis subiectus legibus. Atque hanc tamen tibi didici: huius fructum primus sensisti, quum nihil adiumenti contuleris ad eius cognitionem. Quem praeceptorem mercede conduxisti? Quem pharmacorum apparatus comparasti? Nullum omnino, verum inops ac rerum necessariorum indigens a praeceptoribus mei misertis sum edoctus. Nam abs te patre huiusmodi mihi dabatur ad discendum viaticum, molestia, solitudo, egestas, familiarium odium, cognatorum auersatio. Pro istis itaque factis postulas vtī arte mea, visque earum rerum esse dominus, quas mihi paraui tum quum mihi non esses dominus. Boni consule, siquid antehac vltro, nullo prouocatus officio, bene de te sum meritis, quum nullo nomine vllam abs te gratiam possem reposcere. Caeterum non conuenit sane, vt meum beneficium mihi in reliquum tempus pariat necessitatem; vt quod volens beneficio iuui, vertatur in occasionem, vt postea nolenti praecipias, iamque in consuetudinem trahatur, vt qui semel sanauerit aliquem, semper deinde curet omnes quoscumque voluerit is, qui sanatus est. Etenim ad istum modum fieret, vt quos curarem, eos dominos nobis creauerimus, nosque metipsos illis tradiderimus mercedis loco seruitutem accepturi et ad omnia quae iusserint obtemperaturi. Qua re quid esse potest iniquius? Quoniam te grauiter adeo laborantem restitui, ob id existimas tibi ius esse arte vtendi mea?

Atque haec quidem dicere poteram, si mihi hic imperasset ea quae meae sint facultatis, atque ego non omnino modis omnibus vel inuitus obtemperassem. At nunc tandem perpendite, cuiusmodi sint huius imperata. Quandoquidem, inquit, me laborantem insania sanasti; insanit autem et vxor eodemque tenetur morbo (sic enim opinatur) et a caeteris medicis ad eundem modum destituta est, tuque potes omnia, id quod re demonstrasti: sanato hanc quoque ac morbo leuato. Id si quis simpliciter ad hunc audiat modum, vehementer aequum videatur, praesertim illiterato artisque medicinae imperito. Sin autem me auscultetis artis nomine respondentem, intelligetis nimirum nec omnia esse nostrae facultatis, neque consimiles morborum naturas, nec eandem medendi rationem, nec eadem remedia in omnibus efficacia. Ac tum palam fiet, quantum intersit, nolīs quippiam an non possis. Vos interim patienter auscultate me hisce de re-

bus philosophantem, existimantes nec inelegantem fore nec extra causam, nec  
 alienam a re, nec intempestiuam de his disputationem. Iam primum naturae  
 corporum ac temperaturae haudquaquam eadem sunt, tametsi maxime in con-  
 fesso est iisdem ex elementis constare. Verum alia de his, alia de illis magis aut  
 5 minus participant; idque loquor adhuc de corporibus virorum, quae neque  
 similia sunt omnibus neque eadem temperatura neque eadem constitutione.  
 Vnde necessario consequitur, vt morbi quoque tum magnitudine tum specie  
 differentes his accidant, vtque alia sanatu sint facilia atque ad curationem sponte  
 propensa, alia rursus prorsus desperata, vt quae et facillime corripiantur et  
 10 grauissime a morbis prehendantur. Proinde siquis existimet quamlibet febrim  
 aut quamuis tabem aut peripneumoniam aut insaniam quolibet in corpore  
 vnam atque eandem esse genere, is non videatur ponendus inter sobrios neque  
 LB 204 doctos neque inter eos qui in rebus huiusmodi exquirendis elaborarunt. | Quin  
 idem malum in hoc corpore facile sanabitur, in hoc minime. Quemadmodum  
 15 videlicet triticum, si idem in diuersos eiicias agros, aliter proueniet in plano  
 solo, profundo, irriguo, aprico, ventis salubribus exposito, exulto, nimirum  
 vbere laeto copiosoque fructu; rursus aliter in montuosa petricosaque terra,  
 aliter in opaca, aliter in subiecta montibus; in summa, pro cuiusque loci diuersa  
 natura varie proueniet; itidem et morbi, pro ratione corporum in quae incide-  
 20 rint, aut maiores et vberiores aut minores eueniunt. Verum his omissis pater,  
 nec omnino discussa re, vult quamuis insaniam in quouis corpore consimilem  
 esse, similemque desiderare curationem. Super haec tam multa, muliebria cor-  
 pora plurimum differre a virorum corporibus vel ad morbi corruptionem vel  
 ad sanandi spem aut desperationem facile fuerit cognoscere. Siquidem virorum  
 25 corpora bene compacta sunt, neruosa, laboribus agitationibus vita sub dio acta  
 exercitata; contra foeminarum flaccida, male compacta, in vmbra alita, candida  
 ob sanguinis inopiam calorisque penuriam et humoris superuacanei abundan-  
 tiam. Quare facilius corripuntur quam virorum, vtpote morbis exposita nec  
 ferentia curationem, praecipue vero ad insaniam procliuiora. Nam quum mul-  
 30 tum habeant iracundiae ac leuitatis facileque commoueantur, porro corporis  
 exiguae sint vires, facile in hoc malum prolabantur. Proinde non conuenit in  
 vtrisque eandem a medicis sanandi rationem requirere, quum intelligatis haec  
 ab illis longissimo distare interuallo, iam ab ipso protinus ortu discreta, tum  
 tota vitae ratione, tum actionibus omnibus, tum studiis atque exercitiis vniuer-  
 35 sis. Quare quum dicis, Insania laborat, adde hoc quoque, Laborat mulier; neque  
 confundas hic omnia sub vnam et eandem insaniae referens appellationem,  
 verum discretis iis, quemadmodum et natura discreuit, quid in quoque prae-  
 stari possit considera. Nam nos, quemadmodum initio dixisse memini, illud in  
 primis spectamus, aegroti corporis naturam ac temperaturam, et cuius qualitatis  
 40 magis sit particeps, calidius an frigidius, vigenens an aetate deficiens, magnum an  
 pusillum, crassum an macilentum, reliquaque id genus omnia. Quae si quis

penitus expenderit, is demum erit idoneus cui fides habeatur vel desperanti vel recipienti. Quandoquidem et insaniae innumerabilia sunt genera et causae complures, nec vocabula quidem eadem. Neque enim idem desipere ac delirare, rabire et insanire; verum haec omnia nomina significant magis aut minus obnoxium esse morbo. Porro causae aliae sunt viris, aliae foeminis. Rursum inter ipsos viros aliae iuuenibus, aliae senibus: puta iuuenibus immodica ferme repletio, senibus autem importuna calumnia, ira impotens, quae saepenumero incidit aduersus domesticos. Haec initio perturbant animum; deinde paulatim vergit in insaniam. Porro mulierum corpora et multae res infestant et facile in morbum adducunt; praecipue vero si quem oderint vehementius, aut si inuideant inimico secundis rerum successibus vtenti, aut si quid molestum sit, aut si cui succenseant. Haec paulatim subgliscentia multoque alita tempore tandem in insaniam euadunt. Eiusmodi rerum aliquid vxori quoque vsu venit, pater, et haud scio an nuper aliquid illi aegritudinem aliquam attulerit. Nihil enim illa oderat, quanquam morbo sane tenetur, neque his malis vllius medici cura poterit eripi. Quod si quis alius se facturum receperit, aut si quis eam liberarit, tum me oderis licet velut iniurium. Tametsi ne illud quidem verebor dicere, pater. Etiam si non prorsus esset, vt est, desperandum, sed adhuc aliqua salutis spes leuis ostenderetur, nec sic quidem facile manum admouerem, neque statim auderem ministrare potionem, videlicet veritus fortunam ac multorum hominum obtretationem. Vides, vt omnes arbitrantur priuignos inuisos esse nouercis omnibus, etiam si probae fuerint, easque hanc ceu communem quandam mulierum insaniam insanire. Quare facile suspicatus fuisset aliquis, si malum hoc secus euenisset neque profuissent remedia, perfidam ac dolosam fuisse curationem. Atque vxoris quidem res, pater, ad hunc sese habent modum, idque loquor, quod prorsus exploratum habeo: nunquam melius est habitura, etiam si milies biberit pharmacum, eoque non operaeprecium conari; nisi me in hoc solum vrages vt frustrer, idque vis vt foedam mihi famam accersam. Patere, vt mihi eiusdem artis professores inuideant. Quod si me rursum abdicaris, ego quidem, etiam si ab omnibus deferar, tamen tibi nihil imprecabor graue. Sed quid si (quod auertat deus) redeat morbus (solent istiusmodi ferme mala irritata recurrere), quid erit mihi faciendum? Curabo, vt nosti, tum quoque, neque vnquam defuturus sum officio, quod liberis natura praescripsit, neque generis, quoad in me fuerit, obliuiscar. Deinde si resipueris, num credere debeo futurum, vt me denuo recipias? Illud vide: iam ista quum facis, accersis morbum, pestemque refricas; heri ac nudius tertius e tantis elapsus malis contendis, vociferaris; quodque grauissimum est, irasceris, ad odium propensus es, leges reuocas. Hei mihi, pater, istiusmodi fuerant superioris insaniae tuae prooemia.

## ICAROMENIPPVS SIVE HYPERNEPHELVS

LB 205 MENIPPVS. Ter mille igitur erant stadia a terra vsque ad lunam, vbi prima  
 nobis fuit mansio. Porro hinc sursum ad solem parasangae ferme quingentae.  
 Rursum ab hoc vsque ad ipsum denique coelum arcemque Iouis in aedito sitam  
 5 tantum fere spacii fuerit, quantum aquila probe succincta atque expedita queat  
 vno die peragere. AMICVS. Dic mihi per Gratias, Menippe, quae sunt ista quae  
 de astris loqueris, ac tacitus tecum supputas? Etenim iamdudum te assectans  
 audio soles et lunas, praeterea autem et magnifica ista, mansiones ac parasan-  
 gas, peregrina quaedam commemorantem. MENIP. Ne mireris, amice, si subli-  
 10 mia aereaque tibi videor loqui; nam summam apud me reputo nuper actae pere-  
 grinationis. AMIC. Nimirum Phoenicum exemplo viam stellis notaras. MENIP.  
 Haudquaquam, per Iouem; quin magis ipsis in stellis sum peregrinatus.

AMIC. Papae, longum profecto somnium mihi narras, siquidem totas edor-  
 misti parasangas insciens. MENIP. Quid ais? Somnium tibi referre videor, qui  
 15 modo ab ipso Ioue ipse reuersus adsum? AMIC. Quid audio? Itane Menippus  
 nobis a Ioue delapsus adest e coelo? MENIP. Ita sane. Ego tibi ab ipso illo  
 summo Ioue hodie venio, rebus interim dictu miris et auditis et conspectis.  
 Quod si non credis, equidem hoc ipso nomine supra modum gaudeo, quum  
 supra fidem esse video meam foelicitatem. AMIC. Et quo pacto, diuine atque  
 20 Olympie Menippe, mortalis quum sim ac terrestris, queam non credere viro,  
 qui nubes superarit quique, vt Homericis dicam verbis, iam sit coelitem e nu-  
 mero vnus? Verum illud mihi dicito, si molestum non est, quibus modis in al-  
 tum subuectus es, aut vnde nactus scalas tanta magnitudine? Nam quantum ad  
 faciem ac formam attinet, non es admodum similis illi Phrygio, vt coniectare  
 25 possimus te quoque ab aquila raptum fuisse, quo pocillatoris alicubi munere  
 fungereris. MENIP. Non me clam est te iamdudum irridere. Neque vero id  
 omnino mirum, si narrationis nouitas tibi fabulae videtur adsimilis. Caeterum  
 ad conscensum nihil mihi erat opus neque scalis neque vti pueri illius in mo-  
 rem ab aquila raperer, propterea quod alae mihi essent propriae. AMIC. Iam

2 MENIPPVS *om.* B C D E BAS | 5 succincte atque expedita B C, *corr.* D | 23 quantum  
 C, -tam B

vero istud quod narras vel ipsum Daedali factum superat. Siquidem praeter alia nobis inscientibus miluius quispiam aut graculus ex homine factus es. MENIP. Recte, amice, neque procul a scopo coniecisti. Etenim illud Daedali de alis inuentum ipse quoque sum machinatus. AMIC. At interim, omnium audacissime, non veritus es, ne tu quoque alicubi in mare delapsus Menippeum aliquod pelagus tibi cognomine redderes, quemadmodum ille Icarium? MENIP. Nequaquam. Siquidem Icarus quum alas haberet cera adglutinatas, eaque quamprimum ad solem esset liquefacta, defluxis alis non mirum si decidit. At nobis citra ullam ceram erant pennae. AMIC. Istud qui fieri potuit? Iam enim haud scio quo pacto paulatim me adducis, vt vera videantur quae narras. MENIP. Ad hunc ferme modum. Aquilam egregie magnam, tum autem et vulturem validum arripui. His quum alas vna cum ipsis brachiis praeseuissem – Quin potius, si vacat, totius commenti rationem ordine tibi percensebo. AMIC. Mihi quidem vel maxime vacat. Adeo sublimis a sermone tuo pendeo, iamque ad narrationis finem inhio. Ne vero me negligas, per Iouem amicitiae praesidem, auribus in aere suspensum ob tuam narrationem.

MENIP. Ausculta igitur. Neque enim ciuille fuerit, si spectem amicum ore hiantem relictum eumque, quemadmodum tu ais, ab auribus suspensum. Ego igitur quum expendens ea quae sunt in vita mortalium protinus omnes res humanas repperissem ridiculas, humiles, instabiles, nempe opes imperia magistratus, contemptis his atque horum studio adiectoque animo ad ea quae vere sunt bona, conatus sum ab his tenebris emicare et ad vniuersi naturam suspicere. Atque hic mihi multam attulit haesitationem primum hic ipse qui a sapientibus appellatur mundus. Neque enim inuenire poteram neque quo pacto factus fuisset neque quo opifrice, neque quod esset illius vel initium vel finis. Deinde quum particulatim contemplerer, multo etiam magis ambigere sum coactus, quippe qui viderem stellas temere per coelum disiectas. Tum solem ipsum, quid tandem esset, scire gestiebam. Super omnia vero quae lunae accidebant mihi videbantur absurda ac plane mira, putabamque causam aliquam arcanam et inexplicabilem esse, quur illa subinde speciem formamque variaret. Quinetiam fulgur emicans, tonitru erumpens, tum pluuia, nix, grando e sublimi demissa. Videbantur haec quoque omnia coniectu difficilia, quaeque nullis notis deprehendi possent. Itaque quum ad eum modum essem affectus, optimum factu ratus sum, vt horum vnumquodque a philosophis istis perdiscerem, siquidem existimabam illos veritatem omnem docere posse. Quare quum ex illis praestantissimos delegissem, quantum mihi coniectare licebat, e vultus austeritate eque coloris pallore ac barbae profunditate, – mirum enim vt mihi ex ipso protinus aspectu sublililoquos quosdam et coelestium rerum peritos viros prae se ferebant – his vbi memet docendum tradidissem magna pecunia, quam partim euestigio praesentem numeravi, partim tum me persoluturum sum pollicitus, vbi ad philosophiae summam peruentum esset, non grauabar erectus ad

nugas doceri et vniuersi dispositionem discere. At illi tantum aberant vt me pristina liberarent inscitia, vt in maiores etiam dubitationes coniecerint, principia nescio quae ac fines, tum insecabilia, inania, syluas, ideas atque id genus alia mihi quotidie offundentes. Verum illud interim mihi videbatur omnium esse  
 5 grauissimum, quod quum nihil inter illos conueniret, verum pugnantia diuersaque inter se omnia loquerentur, tamen postulabant, vt sibi fidem haberem, ac ad suam quisque rationem me conabatur adducere. AMIC. Rem absurdam nar-  
 ras, si viri, quum essent sapientes, inter sese de rebus factiose dissidebant, neque de iisdem eadem probabant. MENIP. Atqui rideres, amice, si audieris illorum  
 10 arrogantiam et in disserendo prodigiosam confidentiam. Qui quidem, quum humi ingrederentur nihiloque praestantiores essent nobis, qui super terram ambulamus, ne cernentes quidem acutius quam quiuis alius astans, nonnulli caecutientes etiam senio atque inertia, tamen et coeli terminos perspicere sese  
 15 profitebantur, solem quoque ipsum dimetientes et ea quae supra lunam sunt aggredientes. Ac perinde quasi ex ipsis delapsi stellis, ita et magnitudinem illarum et figuram explicabant. Ac saepenumero quum forte ne illud quidem certo scirent, quot stadiis a Megara abessent Athenae, tamen spacium quod interest inter solem et lunam quot esset cubitorum audebant pronunciare, tum aeris altitudinem, maris profunditatem, terrae ambitum dimetientes. Ad haec cir-  
 20 culos depingebant, ac triangulorum figuras super quadrangulos inducentes, neque non sphaeras quasdam picturatas, coelum scilicet ipsum metientes. Iam vero illud an non insulsum et insignis arrogantiae? quod quum de rebus vsqueadeo incertis loquantur, nihil tamen ita proponunt, quasi coniecturis ducantur, verum supra modum contendunt, neque vllum vincendi locum aliis relinquunt,  
 25 tantum non iureiurando confirmantes solem massam esse candefactam, incoli lunam, stellas aquam potare, idque sole veluti situla quadam per funem demissa vaporem e mari attrahente atque illis omnibus ordine potum distribuente. Nam quanta sit in dictis pugnantia, id haud difficile fuerit cognoscere. Iam mihi specta, per Iouem, num illorum decreta inter se consentiant, ac non magis  
 30 longissimis dissita interuallis, quandoquidem primum de ipso mundo varia est sententia, quum aliis et ingenitus et nunquam interiturus esse videatur; rursus alii et opificem illius et fabricandi modum eloqui sint ausi. Quos equidem cum primis admirabar, propterea quod quum deum quendam rerum omnium opificem praeposuis-  
 LB 207 36 possis vel tempus vel locum imaginari. AMIC. Prorsus audaces quosdam, Menippe, homines ac prodigiorum autores mihi narras.

MENIP. Quid autem, si iam audias, vir optime, quae disserant et de ideis et de incorporeis, tum quae de finito et infinito nugantur? Nam et his de rebus acriter  
 40 inter se digladiantur, dum alii fine circumscribunt vniuersum, alii contra finem illud nescire existimant. Quin insuper quidam ex istis complures esse mundos

demonstrabant, damnantes eos qui de hoc velut vno quopiam illorum disputa-  
 rent. Rursum alius nescio quis vir, haudquaquam amicus paci, bellum rerum  
 omnium parentem esse censebat. Nam de diis quid iam attinet loqui? quum his  
 deus esset numerus, illi rursus per canes et anseres ac platanos deierarent. Dein-  
 de alii, reliquis omnibus diis expulsis, vni Soli rerum omnium imperium tribue- 5  
 bant, ita vt mecum etiam animo discruciarer, quum tantam audirem deorum  
 inopiam. E diuerso alii liberaliores multos deos faciebant, ac dissectis illis hunc  
 aliquem primum deum appellabant, his secundas aut tertias diuinitatis partes  
 tribuebant. Ad haec alii incorporeum quiddam et informe putabant esse numen,  
 alii corpus esse imaginabantur. Deinde non omnes erant in hac opinione, vt 10  
 putarent diis esse curae res mortalium; verum erant nonnulli, qui eos omni cura  
 liberantes, haud aliter atque nos consueuimus aetate defectos a ministeriis dimit-  
 tere, nihilo aliusmodi eos inducunt quam cuiusmodi in comoediis induci solent  
 satellitia. Iam alii superantes haec omnia ne esse quidem vllos omnino deos  
 credebant, sed mundum nullo domino nulloque duce temere ferri sinebant. 15  
 Atqui quum haec audiebam, verebar non habere fidem viris altifremis ac probe  
 barbatis. Neque tamen inueniebam, ad cuius dicta me verterem, vt aliquam  
 illorum sententiam nanciscerer irreprehensam ac nequaquam ab alio subuersam.  
 Itaque plane tandem Homericum illud mihi vsu veniebat; nam saepenumero  
 animus incitabat, vt huic alicui illorum crederem, 20

*Sed me mens diuersa vetabat.*

In quibus omnibus quum perplexus haesitarem, desperabam futurum, vt super  
 his verum aliquid in terris audirem, caeterum vnica tantum via vniuersa dubita-  
 tione liberari posse, si ipse alis aliqua ratione additis in coelum ascenderem.  
 Eius rei conficiendae spem mihi praeiuit primum ipsa cupiditas, deinde fabula- 25  
 rum scriptor Aesopus, qui aquilis ac scarabaeis, interdum et camelis coelum  
 adiri potuisse demonstrat; verum vt mihi ipsi alae prouenirent aliquando, id  
 nulla ratione fieri posse videbatur. Caeterum si vulturis aut aquilae alas induis-  
 sem – nam has solas sufficere ad humani corporis modum, – futurum forsitan  
 vt mihi succederet experientia. Itaque correptis auibus, alteri dextram alam, 30  
 porro vulturi sinistram amputaui, idque admodum scite. Deinde quum obli-  
 gassem humerisque loris validis accommodassem, tum summis pennis ansas  
 quasdam manibus inserendis addidissem, mei ipsius periculum faciebam; pri-  
 mum subsiliens ac manibus interim subseruiens, et anserum exemplo paulum  
 adhuc a terra volatu me sustollens, inter volandum summis interim pedibus 35  
 ingrediens. Postea quum res ex animi sententia succederet, iam audacius etiam  
 experimentum aggrediebar, conscensaque arce demisi meipsum per praeceps,  
 atque inde in ipsum ferebar theatrum. Mox vbi nullo periculo deuolassem,  
 sublimia iam et ardua cogitare coepi, ac tollens me a Parnetho siue Hymetto ad  
 Geraneam vsque volabam; rursum inde ad Acrocorinthum subuolau, deinde 40  
 supra Pholoen et Erymanthum ad Taygetum vsque. Ergo quum tandem audax  
 facinus satis essem meditatus, iamque perfectus et altiuolus euassissem, non am-

plius de pullis imitandis cogitabam, verum conscenso Olympo, quam leuissimo com meatu onustus, inde recta in coelum tendere coepi, initio quidem oborta oculorum vertigine ob profunditatem; et postea ferebam et hoc quoque facile. Verum vbi iam ipsi lunae vicinus essem plurimumque nubium essem emensus, sentiebam me defatigatum, maxime in ala sinistra, nempe vulturina. Huc igitur diuerti, ac super eam insidens requiescebam, in terram interim e sublimi respiciens, neque secus quam Homericus ille Iuppiter nunc bellacium Thracum regionem despiciens, nunc Mysorum, mox (si libuisset) Graeciam, Persidem, Indiamque, ex quibus omnibus varia quadam voluptate | perfundebar.

10 AMIC. Ergo ista quoque narrabis, Menippe, ne vlla prorsus peregrinationis parte fraudemur; quin potius, si quid obiter in itinere conspexisti, fac vt hoc quoque sciamus. Nam ego sane haud mediocria dicturum te expecto, de terrae forma, deque omnibus quae in terra sunt, cuiusmodi tibi visa sunt ex alto contemplanti. MENIP. At tu quidem recte coniectas, amice. Quamobrem, quatenus licet, conscensa luna inter narrandum peregrinanti comes esto, simulque mecum contemplare totam terrae speciem habitumque. Atque initio quidem admodum pusillam quandam terram mihi videre videbar, multo, inquam, luna minorem, ita vt ego repente intentis oculis diu dubitarem, vbinam essent tanti illi montes ac tantum mare. Quod ni Rhodiorum Colossus conspexissem, tum Phariam turrim, haud dubie prorsus vbinam esset terra me prorsus latuisset; verum ista quod sint sublimia praeque caeteris eminentia, praeterea oceanus paulatim ad solem resplendescens, indicabant terram esse id quod videbam. Mox vbi fixius intenderem oculos, iam mihi omnis mortalium vita coepit esse conspicua, non solum singulae nationes atque vrbes, sed plane videbam nauigantes, bellantes, agricolantes, litigantes, mulieres, feras, et, vt summatim dicam,

*Quicquid tellus educat alma.*

AMIC. Ista quae nunc dicis haudquaquam sunt verisimilia, ac secum pugnantia. Etenim quum paulo ante, Menippe, terram requireres propter ingens in medio interuallum in arctum contractam, adeo vt nisi Colossus tibi fecisset indicium, forsitan aliud quiddam videre te credidisses, qui repente factus Lynceus cuncta quae sunt in terra dignoscis, homines, feras, ac propemodum etiam culicum nidos? MENIP. Recte tu quidem admones; nam quod maxime dictum oportuit, id nescio quomodo praeterii. Siquidem quum ipsam quidem terram conspectam agnoscerem, caeterum reliqua non possem perspicere propter altitudinem, nimirum iam non pertingente oculorum acie, grauiter ea res me discruciat, ac vehementer perplexum habebat. Ego quum ad hunc modum essem sollicitus, ac propemodum etiam lachrymarer, adest a tergo sapiens ille Empedocles, ea specie vt carbonarium quempiam esse diceres, cinere oppletus atque exustus. Hunc ego quum vidissem (dicendum est enim), nonnihil perturbabar, ratus daemone aliquem lunarem videre me. At ille: Bono, inquit, es animo, Menippe:



*Nullum ego sum numen; quid me immortalibus aequas?*

Sum Empedocles ille physicus. Etenim vbi me praecipitem in crateras iniecissem, fumus ab Aetna raptum huc subuexit. Itaque nunc lunam incolo aeriua-  
 gus plerunque, ac rore victito. Adsum autem haesitantiam istam tibi ademp-  
 turus; nam illud (ni fallor) male te habet torquetque, quod non liceat tibi pers- 5  
 picue terram cernere. Bene abs te factum est, inquam, optime Empedocles; vbi  
 primum deuolaro rursus in Graeciam, tui memor sacrificabo tibi in fumario,  
 atque in Nouiluniis ter ad lunam inhians vota faciam. Imo per Endymionem,  
 inquit ille, haud huc accessi praemii gratia, sed affectio quaedam mouit animum  
 meum, quum te viderem affectum molestia. Verum scis quid facies, quo per- 10  
 spicax fias? Non, per Iouem, inquam, nisi tu mihi forsitan caliginem amoueas  
 ab oculis: nam in praesentia videor non mediocriter lippire. Atqui me, inquit  
 ille, nihil erit opus. Etenim vt acute videas, id ipse tecum e terra allatum habes  
 penes te. Quid igitur est istud? inquam; neque enim noui. An ignoras, inquit,  
 te dextram aquilae alam indutum esse? Scio, inquam, maxime; sed quid alae 15  
 cum oculo? Quoniam, inquit, aquila inter animantia caetera acutissimi visus  
 est, vnde sola solem aduersum obtuetur, atque ita demum est rex et ingenua  
 aquila, si non conuiuentibus oculis aduersus radios aspiciat. Ita quidem aiunt,  
 inquam. Quare iam me poenitet, qui non meis exemptis oculis aquilinos inse- 20  
 ruerim, quum huc ascenderem. Nam nunc sane dimidiatus aduenio, neque omni  
 ex parte satis regaliter adornatus, quin magis adsimilis videor nothis istis et  
 abdicatis. Attamen in te est, inquit, vt protinus alterum oculum regalem habeas.  
 Etenim si assurges, velisque cohibita vulturis ala alteram solam mouere, iuxta  
 proportionem alae dextro oculo cernes acute; quo minus altero caecutias, nulla 25  
 ratione succurri potest, propterea quod ad partem pertineat deteriorem. Mihi,  
 inquam, satis est, si vel dextra ex parte aquilino more cernam. Nihilo enim  
 fuerit deterius, quum mihi non raro vidisse videar fabros altero oculo melius  
 etiam ad regulam exaequantem ligna. Haec locutus simul ea faciebam, quae prae-  
 ceperat Empedocles; ille interim paulatim subducens sese sensim in fimum  
 euanuit. At simulatque mouissem alam, ingens lumen mihi circumfulsit, adeo 30  
 vt cuncta fierent in conspicuo quae hactenus latuerant. Deflexis igitur in terram  
 oculis, clare videbam et vrbes et homines et quae fiebant, neque solum ea quae  
 sub dio, verumetiam quae domi faciebant, rati sese a nemine videri. Ptole-  
 maeum vidi cum sorore rem habentem; Lysimacho struentem insidias filium;  
 Antiochum, Seleuci filium, nouercae Stratonicae clanculum innuentem; Thes- 35  
 salum Alexandrum ab vxore tolli e medio; Antigonom filii vxorem adulterio  
 stuprantem; Attalo venenum porrigentem filium. Rursum ex altera parte Ar-  
 sacen interficientem mulierculam, et Arbacen eunuchum gladium educentem in  
 Arsacen. Porro Spartinus Medus e conuiuio foras protrahebatur a satellitibus,  
 calice aureo in frontem impacto. Atque his ferme consimilia tum in Lybia, tum 40  
 apud Scythas ac Thraces in regiis geri licebat cernere: nempe adulterantes,

35 Stratonicae *MS C, om. B* | 39 Arsacen *B C*, Arsacem *D*

- occidentes, insidiantes, rapientes, peierantes, trepidantes, non nullos ab intimis amicis prodi. Ac regum quidem negocia huiusmodi mihi spectaculum exhibebant. Caeterum quae factitabant plebei, longe magis erant ridicula. Siquidem et inter hos videbam Hermodorum Epicureum ob mille nummum  
 5 peierantem; Agathoclem Stoicum de mercede discipulum in ius vocantem; Cliniam rhetorem ex Aesculapii fano phialam auream suffurantem; Hero-philum Cynicum in fornice dormientem. Quid enim alios commemorem qui parietes perfoderent, qui lites agitabant, qui foenerabant, qui reposcerent? Nam varium quoddam et vndique mixtum erat spectaculum.
- 10 AMIC. Atqui recte facies, Menippe, si ista quoque retuleris. Consentaneum est enim te ex his non vulgarem cepisse voluptatem. MENIP. Ne fieri quidem potest, amice, vt cuncta ordine recenseam, quum spectare modo ista fuerit difficillimum; verum rerum fastigia eiusmodi ferme videbantur, qualia refert  
 15 Homerus in clypeo, vbi erant conuiuia nuptiaeque; altera ex parte iudicia et conciones; rursum alia ex parte sacrificabat quispiam; in proximo vero conspici-ebatur aliquis luctum agens. Porro quum ad Geticam respicerem, videbam belligerantes Getas; rursum vbi ad Scythas deflecterem, cernere erat errantes in  
 20 plaustis; mox vbi paululum in diuersam partem deflexissem oculum, spectabam agricolantes Aegyptios; Phoenix scortabatur, Cilix latrocinabatur, Lacon loris caedebatur, Atheniensis causas agebat. Haec omnia quum eodem tempore gererentur, cogita nunc cuiusmodi visa fuerit rerum confusio. Non aliter, quam si quis producat multos saltatores, vel potius multas choreas; deinde praecipiat, vt omisso concentu propriam quisque cantionem canat. Deinde si certatim  
 25 canat vnusquisque, et peculiarem suum cantum absoluere studeat vocisque magnitudine vicinum superare contendat, cogita tecum, per Iouem, cuiusmodi futurus sit eiusmodi cantus. AMIC. Modis omnibus, Menippe, ridiculus ac confusaneus. MENIP. Atqui, amice, hoc genus sunt omnes qui in terris choreas agunt, omnisque mortalium vita ex huiusmodi constat discrepantia, quippe qui  
 30 non modo sonent absona, verum et ornatu sint dissimili diuersaque moueant, neque quicquam idem cogitent, donec choragus omnes e scaena exigat, negans diutius choreas ducere oportere. Id vbi factum est, iam omnes sunt inter se similes, taciti, nec amplius confusam illam et incompositam canentes cantionem. Verum in vario ipso ac multiformi theatro videlicet ridicula erant quae gere-  
 35 bantur omnia. Praecipue vero mihi risum mouebant ii, qui de agrorum finibus contendebant, quique sibi placerent hoc nomine, quod Sicyonium agrum cole-  
 40 rent aut quod Marathonis eam partem haberent quae est iuxta Oenoën, aut quod in Acarnania iugerum mille possiderent, quum vniuersa Graecia, quemadmodum id temporis mihi e sublimi despicienti videbatur, quatuor digitorum spacium habere videretur. Attica (nisi fallor) proportione minima pars erat. Itaque  
 40 perspexi quid esset reliquum, quod diuitibus istis animos tolleret. Etenim is qui inter hos quamplurimum agri possidebat, vix vnam ex Epicureis atomis colere

mihi videbatur. Caeterum vbi ad Peloponnesum flexissem oculos, deinde terram Cynosurae | subiectam aspexissem, veniebat in mentem pro quantula regione, quae nihilo esset latior lente Aegyptia, tam ingens Argiuorum ac Lacedaemoniorum multitudo cecidisset vno die. Porro si quem conspexissem auro superbientem, quod annulos haberet octo, phialas quatuor, magnopere ridebam et hunc. Nam Pangaeum vniuersum vna cum ipsis metallis vix erat magnitudine milii. LB 210

AMIC. O te felicem, Menippe, qui tam nouum spectaris spectaculum. Sed age dic mihi, per Iouem, ciuitates atque homines ipsi quanti videbantur ex alto contemplanti? MENIP. Equidem arbitror te saepenumero formicarum concionem vidisse: aliquas in orbem obambulantes, nonnullas exeuntes, rursum has in ciuitatem redeuntes. Atque haec quidem fimum exportat, haec alicunde raptam fabae tunicam aut dimidiatum frumenti granum currens apportat. Consentaneum est autem pro ratione vitae formicarum esse apud illas et aedium fabros et concionatores et magistratus et musicos et philosophos. Sed vrbes sane cum ipsis viris formicarum nidis maxime videbantur adsimiles. Quod si tibi videtur humilium exemplum viros cum formicarum republica conferre, vetustas Thesalorum fabulas specta. Reperies enim Myrmidonas, gentem bellicosissimam, e formicis viros natos esse. 10

Iam posteaquam satis spectassem omnia satisque risissem, excussi meipsum, subuolauit 20

*Ad reliquos diuos Iouis altitonantis in aedes.*

Nondum stadium ascenderam, quum Luna, foeminea sonans voce, Menippe, inquit, ita tibi contingant quae optas, inserui mihi in re quapiam apud Iouem. Dic, inquam, neque enim erit molestum, nisi si quid oneris sit portandum. Nuncium, inquit, quendam haud grauem ac petitionem meo nomine Ioui perferes. Enecor, Menippe, et multa et intoleranda ab istis philosophis audiens. Quibus praeterea nihil est negotii, nisi vt curiosi res meas exquirant, quae sim, quanta sim, et quam ob causam dissecer dimidiataque fiam, quurque vtrinque gibbosa videar. Tum hi me dicunt inhabitari, illi speculi ritu supra mare suspensam esse; alii rursus, quod quisque secum excogitarint, hoc mihi tribuunt. Postremo ipsum quoque lumen aiunt mihi et furtiuum esse et adulterinum, quodque superne a sole proficiscatur; neque finem faciunt, etiam cum hoc qui mihi frater est committere me et factionem inter nos serere conantes, neque satis erat illis quae de ipso dixerunt sole, saxum esse illum et massam candentem. Et tamen quam multarum rerum illis sum conscia, quas noctu patrant, turpissimas et execrandas, quum interdum tetrici sint et aspectu virili habituque graues, et imperitorum oculos in se coniectos habentes. Atque ego, quum ista videam, sileo tamen. Neque enim decorum arbitror retegere atque in lucem efferre nocturnas illas diatribas, et quam quisque in operto viuat vitam. Quinetiam si quem 35 40

conspicerem adulterantem aut furantem aut aliud facinus quammaxime nocturnum audentem, continuo contracta nube tegebam, ne vulgo ostenderem viros senes ea gerentes, quae neque barbae prolixae neque virtutis professioni essent decora. At istis pro nihilo est oratione me discernere, modisque omnibus contumelia afficere, adeo vt – testis est mihi Nox ipsa – saepius in animo habuerim, quam possem hinc longissime demigrare quopiam, vbi liceret curiosam istorum linguam effugere. Haec igitur memineris, vt Ioui renuncies, simulque illud addas, ne fieri quidem posse vt hoc in loco durem, nisi physicos illos comminuat, dialecticis os occludat, Stoam demoliatur, Academiam exurat, quae in Peripato habentur diatribis finem imponat. Siquidem ad hunc denique modum fiet, vt mihi paretur quies, desinantque me quotidie commetiri.

Fient, inquam, quae mandas, simulque recta ad ipsum coelum tendebam,

*Nulli vbi comparent hominumue bouumue labores.*

Etenim paulo post ipsa etiam luna mihi perpusilla videbatur e sublimi; tandem et terram obtexerat. Porro relicto ad dextram sole, per ipsas volans stellas, tertio die ad coelum perueni. Ac primum quidem mihi visum est, protinus ita vt eram introire, ratus facile fieri posse vt fallerem, quippe dimidia mei parte aquila. Porro aquilam sciebam iam olim esse Ioui familiarem. Post apud me perpendebam illos quamprimum deprehensuros esse me, qui alteram alam vulturinam indutus essem. Quapropter optimum factu ratus non temere venire in periculum, adiens pulsaui fores. At Mercurius audito pulsu ac nomen percontatus meum, | festinato abiit, Ioui renunciaturus. Nec multo post intro sum accersitus, magnopere pauitans ac tremens, offendoque deos omnes pariter considerentes, nec hos absque sollicitudine. Nonnihil enim animos illorum turbabat nouus et inopinatus aduentus meus, et quantum antea nunquam expectabant futurum, vt mortales omnes mox aduenirent ad eundem modum alati. Porro Iupiter, admodum terribili vultu toruoque et Titanico me obtuens, inquit:

*Quisnam es et vnde venis? Vbinam vrbs tibi, quique parentes?*

Hoc vbi audissem, propemodum metu sum exanimatus. Attamen constiti stupidus praeque vocis magnitudine attonitus. Aliquanto post ad me reuersus, omnia dilucide exposui, ab ipso exorsus capite: quemadmodum concupissem sublimia illa cognoscere, quemadmodum accessissem ad philosophos, quemadmodum pugnantia loquentes audissem, quemadmodum desperassem distractus illorum dictis; deinde meum inuentum, tum alas reliquaque omnia, vsque ad ipsum coelum. Post omnia addidi, quae Luna mandararat. Itaque ridens Iupiter exporrectis aliquantum superciliis: Quid dicas, inquit, de Oto et Ephialto, quum ausus sit et Menippus in coelum ascendere? At in praesentia quidem te ad hospitii consuetudinem inuitamus. Cras, inquit, super his, quorum gratia huc aduenisti, dato responso dimittemus. Simulque cum dicto surgens ibat ad eam

coeli partem, vnde maxime omnia poterant exaudiri. Iam enim tempus erat, vt votis audiendis consideret. Atque interim inter eundem percontabatur me super his negociis, quae essent in terra, ac primum quidem illa: Quanti nunc venit triticum in Graecia? et Num superior hyems grauitur vos tetigit? et Num holera egent imbre copiosiore? Sub haec rogabat, num quis adhuc superesset 5  
 e Phidiae genere, et quam ob causam Athenienses tot annos Iouialia intermisissent, et num in animo haberent Olympium suum absoluere, et num essent comprehensi qui templum Dodonaeum sacrilegio spoliassent. Ad ea quum respondissem, Dic mihi (inquit), Menippe, de me vero quam habent homines opinionem? Quam (inquam), o here, nisi maxime piam? nimirum omnium deorum 10  
 regem esse te. Ludis tu quidem, inquit. Caeterum ego contentionem illorum probe noui, etiam si nihil fateare. Siquidem fuit olim tempus, quum illis et vates esse videret et medicus. In summa, vnus eram omnia. Tum Iouis plenae erant et viae omnes, simul et mortalium conciones. Pisa ac Dodona splendidae erant ac conspiciendae omnibus. Porro prae fumo sacrorum nec attollere oculos mihi 15  
 licebat. Verum posteaquam Apollo apud Delphos constituit oraculum, Aesculapius medicinae officinam Pergami; simulatque Bendidium natum est in Thracia, Anubis templum in Aegypto, Dianae apud Ephesios, ad ista quidem concurrunt omnes, solemnes conuentus celebrant, hecatombas offerunt; mihi vero tanquam aetate defecto abunde magnum honorem habuisse se putant, si 20  
 solido quinquennio sacrificarint in Olympia. Proinde videas aras meas frigidiores quam sint vel Platonis leges vel Chrysippi syllogismi.

Huiusmodi quaepiam confabulati, in eum peruenimus locum, vbi consessurus erat ad exaudienda vota. Erant autem ordine sitae fenestras, cuiusmodi sunt ora puteorum, habentes opercula; iuxta vnamquaque sella posita erat 25  
 aurea. Itaque Iuppiter quum ad primam assedisset, detracto operculo, praebuit sese petentibus. Optabant autem ex omni vndique terra diuersa variaque. Nam ipse quoque admotis pariter auribus simul audiebam vota. Erant autem huiusmodi: O Iuppiter, contingat mihi regnum. O Iuppiter, contingat cepas et allia mihi 30  
 prouenire. O Iuppiter, vtinam pater mihi breui moriatur. Rursum alius aliquis dicit: Vtinam existam haeres vxoris. Vtinam nemo resciscat me struxisse insidias fratri. Contingat mihi vincere litem, coronari Olympia. Porro ex his qui nauigabant, hic optabat vti spiraret Boreas, ille vt Notus; agricola optabat pluuiam, contra fullo solem. At Iuppiter audiens, et singula vota diligenter 35  
 expendens, non omnibus pollicebatur.

*Verum hoc concessit Saturnius, abnuuit illud.*

Nam iusta vota per os fenestras sursum admittebat, admissa ad dextram statuens. Rursum iniqua remittebat irrita, flatu deorsum redigens, ne possint ad coelum accedere. Super vno quodam voto videbam illum etiam ambigentem. Etenim quum essent duo, qui diuersa peterent, aequales victimas pollicitantes, 40  
 non inueniebat vtri potius annueret. | Itaque iam Academicon illud illi accidebat, vt nihil statuere posset; verum exemplo Pyrrhonis suspensus haerebat 1.B 212

etiam ac considerabat. Porro quum iam satis vota proponentibus dedisset operam, ad proximam digressus sellam et ad secundam fenestram, prono capite foedera ferientibus ac iurantibus dabat operam. Vbi his quoque responsum esset, ac Hermodorum Epicureum fulmine comminuisset, ad proximam deinde  
 5 sellam sese transtulit, de diuinationibus ominibus et auguriis auditurus. Hinc ad sacrificiorum fenestram transiit, per quam fumus ascendens denunciabat Ioui nomen vnus cuiusque, qui rem diuinam faceret. Rursum, omissis his, ventis et horis mandabat, quae facere deberent: Hodie apud Scythas pluito, apud Libyes fulgurato, apud Graecos ningito. At tu, Borea, spira in Lydia; tu, Note,  
 10 quiesce; Zephyrus Adriani vndas concitet. Tum in Cappadociam grandinis mille modii dispergantur.

Tandem omnibus ferme ordinatis, discedebamus in eum locum, vbi compo- tant dii. Iam enim coenae tempus erat, meque Mercurius arreptum iussit accum- bere iuxta Panem et Corybantes et Attim ac Sabazium, inquilinos istos et anci-  
 15 pites deos. Interea panem exhibebat Ceres, Bacchus vinum, Hercules carnes, mirta Venus, Neptunus maenides; simul interim et ambrosiam et nectar furtim degustabam. Nam optimus ille Ganymedes, vt est hominum amans, si quando conspexisset Iouem auertere oculos, nectaris cyathum vnum, nonnunquam etiam duos mihi infundebat. Dii vero, quemadmodum alicubi dixit Homerus  
 20 et ipse opinor, vt ego illic conspicatus, neque frumentum edunt neque potant nigrantia vina, verum ambrosiam apponunt et nectare inebriantur; praecipue vero gaudent vesci sacrificiorum fumo, vna cum ipso nidore subuolante, ad haec sanguine victimarum, quem sacrificantes aris infundunt. Caeterum inter coenandum et Apollo cithara canebat et Silenus cordacem saltabat et Musae  
 25 surgentes in medium tum Hesiodi Theogonias nobis canebant, tum primam ex Pindaricis hymnis odam. Deinde omnium saturi requieuiimus, quo quisque sederamus loco, satis uidi potu.

*At reliqui noctem diuique hominesque per omnem  
 Dormibant; me nequaquam sopor altus habebat.*

30 Verum mecum animo versabam, quum alia permulta, tum illa praecipue: qui fieret vt Apollini tanto iam tempore non proueniret barba, aut quo pacto nasceretur nix in coelo, quum sol semper adesset, vnaque conuiuium agitaret.

Ac tum quidem pusillum obdormii; mane vero surgens Iuppiter iussit indici concionem; mox, quum adessent omnes, *sic farier infit*: Vti vos conuocarem, in  
 35 causa fuit hospes hic, qui heri aduenit; verum quum alioqui iam olim mihi fuerit animus communicare vobiscum de philosophis, maximeque vero a Luna hisque de quibus illa queritur commotus, statui haudquaquam diutius prorogare consultationem. Est enim hominum genus, quod non ita pridem in vita

5 omnibus *BE*, omnibus *CD* | 6 quam *E*, quod *BCD* | 14 Sabarium *BC*, *corr. D* | 16 mirta *D*, myrtum *BC* | 25 primam *MS C*, primum *B* | 33 indici *MS C*, induci *B*

fluitare coepit, iners, contentiosum, gloriae avidum, iracundum, gulae studiosum, stultum, fastuosum, contumeliosum, et vt verbis Homericis dicam

*Telluris inutile pondus.*

Isti igitur in sectas diuisi, ac variis rationum labyrinthis excogitatis, alii sese Stoicos appellant, Academicos alii, alii Epicureos, alii Peripateticos; aliis item vocabulis, his multo magis ridiculis. Deinde vbi venerandum illud virtutis nomen induerint, tum adductis in altum superciliis promissaque barba, fucato habitu obambulant, detestandos mores secum circumferentes, simillimi nimirum istis tragoediarum histrionibus, quibus si personas stolamque illam auro sparsam detraxeris, quod superest, id ridiculum est: nempe homunculus septem denariis ad agonem conductus. Atqui huiusmodi quum sint, mortales quidem vniuersos asperrantur, de diis vero absurda praedicant, contractisque coetibus adulescentulorum, quos nihil negotii sit fallere, nobilem illam virtutem ostentant, et verborum ambiguitates docent, atque apud discipulos temperantiam semper ac modestiam laudant, opes ac voluptatem execrantur; caeterum vbi soli et apud sese esse coeperint, quid attinet dicere, quantopere sese ingurgitent, quam immodici sint ad Venerem, quemadmodum autem etiam assium sordes oblingant? Iam illud est omnium grauissimum, quod quum ipsi nihil agant neque publicum neque priuatum, sed inutiles ac superuacanei desideant,|

*Nusquam in consiliis, nusquam numerentur in armis,*

tamen reliquos accusant, ac virulentis quibusdam dictis congerentes, neque non maledicta quaedam meditati, obiurgant proximisque conuitantur. Adeo vt is inter hos primas tenere videatur, qui clamosissimus sit et impudentissimus et ad maledicendum audacissimus. At sane si quis istum sine fine ista facientem, vociferantem et caeteros incusantem percontetur ad hunc modum: Tu vero quid tandem facis? Aut quid per deos dicemus te ad vitam conferre? nimirum respondebit, si modo recta veraque fateri volet, hoc modo: Navigare quidem, aut agros colere, aut militare, aut artem aliquam aggredi, superuacaneum mihi videtur. Caeterum clamo, squaleo, frigida lauo, incalceatus per hyemem obambulo, ac veluti Momus ille, quae ab aliis geruntur, calumnior. Ac si quis diuitum sumptuosius oponarit, aut amicam habeat, id exquiro atque indignor. Quod si amicorum quispiam aut sodalium morbo decumbat, curaue et obsequio egeat, id ignoro. Hoc genus sunt nobis, o dii, hae pecudes. Iam vero qui ex his vocantur Epicurei, vehementer sunt etiam contumeliosi, neque mediocriter nos mordent, affirmantes neque diis esse curae res mortalium, neque omnino considerari a nobis quid apud illos agatur. Quas ob res tempus est, vt de his consultemus, | propterea quod si semel valeant haec persuadere iis, qui sunt in vita, non mediocriter esurietis. Quis enim post vobis rem diuinam faciat, quum nihil inde expectet emolumentum? Nam de quibus Luna hos accusat, omnes audistis heri narrantem hospitem. Super his consultate, quae pariter et hominibus sint quam vtilissima, et nobis quam minime periculosa. Haec locuto Ioue, frequens

adfremebat concio; mox clamatum est ab omnibus: Effulmina, exure, comminue, in barathrum, in Tartarum, vt gigantes. At Iuppiter rursus indicto silentio: Fient ista, inquit, quemadmodum vultis. Omnes comminuentur cum ipsa sua dialectica. Quaquam in praesentia sane fas non est punire quenquam. Est  
 5 enim hieromenia, sicuti nostis, quatuor hos menses, iamque inducias promulgauit. Itaque proximo anno, ineunte vere, mali male perdentur formidando fulmine.

*Sic ait, atque superciliis pater annuit atris.*

Porro de Menippo haec mihi videntur, inquit, vt ademptis illi alis, nequando  
 10 denuo redeat, a Mercurio deferatur hodie in terram.

Haec loquutus dimisit coetum. Me vero Cyllenius dextra aure suspensum heri circiter vesperam deposuit in Ceramico. Audisti omnia, omnia inquam, amice, quae e coelo mecum adfero. Quare abeo iam eadem haec renunciaturus philosophis in Poecila inambulantibus.



REVERENDO PATRI AC DOMINO D. RICARDO EPISCOPO VVINTONIENSI LB 213  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS SALVTEM PLVRIMAM DICIT

E priscorum vsque saeculis mos hic in haec nostra tempora deductus est, amplissime pater, vt Calendis Ianuariis, principe ineuntis anni die, munuscula quae-  
piam missitentur; quae nescio quid laetioris ominis afferre creduntur, tum iis 5  
ad quos abeunt, tum illis ad quos redeunt. Itaque quum ego dispicerem ecquid  
tandem muneris a nobis iret ad tantum Patronum, ad tam potentem amicum,  
neque quicquam in mea reperirem supellectile praeter meras chartulas, profecto  
chartaceam strenam mittere sum coactus. Quanquam quid aliud potius mitti  
conueniebat ab homine studioso ad praesulem omnibus quidem fortunae mu- 10  
neribus magnificentissime cumulatam, sed qui virtutem virtutisque comites  
honestas litteras infinitis calculis anteponat, quique tanquam contemptim  
poeneque dixerim inuitus fortunae dona admittat, contra animi bonis quum  
sit opulentissimus, tamen semper magis ac magis cupiat ditescere?

Porro nostrum hoc munusculum, si nulla alia licet, saltem Terentiani Par- 15  
menonis exemplo hoc nomine commendabimus, quod non ex Aethiopia, verum  
e Samosata vsque Commagenorum vrbe sit profectum. Est autem dialogus  
Luciani, cui titulus Toxaris siue de amicitia, quem nos paucis hisce diebus latinum  
fecimus. Qui quidem (vti spero) non omnino futurus est ingratus tuae excellen-  
tia, vel ob id quod amicitiam praedicat, rem adeo sanctam vt barbarissimis 20  
etiam nationibus olim fuerit veneranda. Nunc Christianis vsque adeo in desue-  
tudinem abiit, vt non dicam vestigia, sed ne nomen quidem ipsum extet; quum  
nihil aliud sit Christianismus quam vera perfectaue amicitia, quam commori  
Christo, quam viuere in Christo, quam vnum corpus, vna anima esse cum  
Christo, hominum inter ipsos talis quaedam communio qualis est membrorum 25  
inter se corporis. Neque minus tamen iucundus quam frugifer futurus est, si  
quis modo decorum obseruet, quod in personis situm est. Nam Mnesippi

13 contra C, om. A (epistulam om. B) | 17 Commagenorum C, Graeciae A | 18 hisce C,  
his A

Graeci sermo quam totus Graecanicum quiddam sapit! comis, facetus, festiuus. Contra, Toxaridis Scythae oratio quam tota Scythicum quiddam spirat! simplex, incondita, aspera, sedula, seria, fortis. Quin etiam dictionis discrimen quasique diuersum filum a Luciano de industria affectatum pro nostra virili referre curauimus.

Hanc igitur qualemcunque clientuli tui strenulam, amplissime praesul, felibus auspiciis accipe, et Erasmus, sicuti iam pridem facis, amare, ornare, iuuare perge.

Vale. Londini Calendis Ianuariis. MDVI

## TOXARIS SIVE AMICITIA

Interloquutores: Mnesippus Graecus, Toxaris Scytha

LB 213

MNESIPPVS. Quid ais, Toxaris? Sacrificatis Oresti ac Pyladi vos Scythae, deosque esse illos creditis?

TOXARIS. Sacrificamus, Mnesippe; sacrificamus, inquam, haud tamen deos 5  
esse arbitrati, sed viros bonos.

MNE. An vero mos apud vos etiam bonis viris, posteaquam vita defuncti sint, perinde vt diis sacra facere?

TOX. Non istuc modo verum eosdem | festis diebus ac celebribus conuenti- LB 214  
bus honoramus. IO

MNE. Quid captantes aut sperantes ab illis? Neque enim quo beniuolentiam illorum concilietis, ob id rem diuinam illis facitis, quum iam sint mortui.

TOX. Nihil officiat fortassis, si et eos qui mortui sunt propitios haberemus, quanquam non ob id tantum haec facimus; quin magis existimamus nos rem vehementer conducibilem et his qui in vita sunt esse facturos, si praestantium 15  
virorum memoriam celebremus honoremque habeamus iis, qui vita defuncti sunt. Siquidem hac ratione futurum arbitramur, vt multi | apud nos illorum LB 215  
similes euadere cupiant.

MNE. Ista quidem recte iudicatis. At Pyladem atque Orestem quo nomine potissimum suspexistis, vt diis eos aequaueritis, idque adeo quum hospites 20  
vobis essent vel (quod grauius) hostes? Quippe posteaquam naufragio eiecti ab iis, qui tum Scythiam incolebant, essent comprehensi abductique, vt Dianae immolarentur, adorti carcerarios neque non oppressis excubiis et regem trucidarunt et assumpta sacerdote, quin ipsa quoque Diana sublata, nauigio sese proripuerunt, irrisa publica Scytharum lege. Quod si ob istiusmodi facta hono- 25  
rem habetis viris, facile assequuti fueritis, vt multos illorum similes reddatis. Iamque ipsi ab hoc die vsque ad prisca illa respicite, num vobis expedierit multos in Scythiam Orestes ac Pylades appellere. Nam mihi quidem isto pacto mox futurum videtur, vt religionis ac deorum expertes reddamini, diis qui reliqui sunt ad eundem modum e regione vestra in exilium ablegatis. Postea, 30

opinor, deorum omnium vice viros qui illos eiectum venerant diuinitate donabitis, et qui sacrilegi in vos fuerunt, iis tanquam diis sacrificabitis. Quod si nequaquam horum gratia Orestem ac Pyladem colitis, sed aliud quippiam, Toxaris, in vos beneficii contulerunt, qua gratia, quum olim  
 5 non esse deos iudicaueritis, nunc e regione, sacra illis facientes, deos esse decreuistis? et qui tum parum aberant vt victimae fierent, iis nunc victimas offertis? Enimuero ridicula videantur ista et cum his quae quondam statueratis pugnantia.

TOX. Et ista quidem, Mnesippe, praeclara sunt virorum illorum facinora, quae commemorasti: videlicet duo quum essent, tam ingentem ausum audere, vt tam procul a sua patria profecti mare transmitterent Graecis ad id vsque temporis intactum (nisi solis iis qui Argo in Colchidem traiecerunt exercitum) nihil expauefacti neque fabulas, quae de illo feruntur, neque appellationem veriti, quod inhospitum vocaretur, videlicet (opinor) quod ferae vndique gentes  
 15 accolerent; deinde quum iam capti essent, vsqueadeo strenue sese gesserint neque sat habuerint si tantum incolumes euaderent, nisi et a rege acceptam contumeliam vlti et Diana sublata abnaugassent. Quid? An non admiranda haec, et quae diuino quodam honore digna iudicent, quicquid est hominum qui virtutem suspiciunt? Quanquam non ista spectantes in Oreste ac Pylade pro heroibus illos habemus.  
 20

MNE. Atqui iam dices, quidnam praeter ista suspiciendum patrarint atque diuinum. Nam quantum ad nauigationem et peregrinationem attinet, non paucos profecto diuiniore istis ostendero negotiatores, atque inter hos praecipuos Phoenices, qui non in Pontum neque ad Maeotiden vsque aut Bosphorum tantum enauigant, verum quaquauersus Graecum ac Barbarum mare permetiuntur.  
 25 Hi siquidem omnem oram et omne littus (vt ita dixerim) perscrutati in annos singulos, extremo demum autumnno in suam patriam reuertuntur. Quos scilicet ad eandem rationem pro diis habeto, idque etiamsi complures illorum caupones ac salsamentarios esse reperies.

TOX. Audi nunc, o vir admirande, considera quae quanto nos, qui barbari vocamur, rectius vobis de bonis viris sentiamus. Siquidem in Argo atque Mycenis ne sepulchrum quidem vllum insigne videre est Orestis ac Pyladis; apud nos vero et templum ostenditur ambobus illis communiter sacrum (ita vt par erat amicis) et hostiae offeruntur reliquusque omnis honos. Porro quod hospites  
 35 erant non Scythae, id vero nihil obstat quominus boni viri iudicentur; neque enim perpendimus cuiates sint viri honesti ac probi, neque inuidemus si, quum amici non fuerint, res egregias gesserunt. Quin magis admirantes ea quae patrarunt, ab ipsis factis domesticos ac nostrates illos ducimus. Quod autem potissimum stupentes in illis viris efferimus, illud est, quod nobis visi sunt amici inter sese longe optimi extitisse atque aliis exemplo fuisse, quasque legem statuisse quemadmodum oportet amicos omnem inter se communicare fortunam,  
 40

simulque promeruisse vt a Scythis, qui in amicitiae laude primas tenerent, cole-  
 rentur. Itaque quaecunque alter cum altero vel alter pro altero tulit, ea maiores  
 nostri descripta in columna aerea reposuerunt in templo Orestis, ac leges sta-  
 tuerunt vt ea columna prima esset institutio disciplinaeque liberis suis, si memi-  
 nissent quae in illa essent adscripta. Itaque paene patris quisque sui nomen citius  
 5 obliuisceretur, quam res gestas Orestis ac Pyladis ignoraret. Quin et in porticu  
 templi eadem, | quaecunque in columna notantur, priscorum picturis adum-  
 brata visuntur. Nempe Orestes vna cum amico nauigans, deinde fracta inter  
 abruptas cautes ipsorum naue comprehensus et ad victimam adornatus, iamque  
 Iphigenia initiat eos. Ex aduerso vero in altero pariete idem iam vinculis exutus  
 10 depictus est, ac Thoantem occidens multosque ex Scythis alios: postremo sol-  
 uentes abducta Iphigenia ac dea. Porro Scythae frustra scapham adoriuntur  
 iam nantem, haerentes gubernaculis ac conscendere conantes. Deinde re frustra  
 tentata, alii quidem ex eis saucii, alii vero eius rei metu compulsi, natatu semet  
 in solum recipiunt, vbi vel maxime liceat perspicere, quantam alter in alterum  
 15 benevolentiam praestiterit in conflictu cum Scythis. Fecit enim pictor vtrumque  
 de hostibus in semet ruentibus securum, propellentem autem eos qui in alterum  
 feruntur ac prae illo iaculis occurrere conantem, pro nihiloque ducentem si  
 intereat ipse, modo seruet amicum, vel suo ipsius corpore praeueniens exci-  
 piensque ictus in illum intentos. Iam vero tantam illorum benevolentiam atque  
 20 in rebus tristibus communionem, fidem, humanitatem, veritatem, denique constan-  
 tiam alterius in alterum amoris, haec haudquaquam humana putauimus  
 esse verum animi cuiusdam praestantioris quam pro more vulgarium istorum  
 mortalium, qui donec secundis ventis nauigatur, amicis indignantur, nisi ex  
 aequo participes fiant rerum laetarum; quod si vel paululum eis venti reflare  
 25 coeperint, aufugiunt, solos in periculis deserentes. Enimuero, vt et illud noueris,  
 nihil amicitia melius arbitrantur Scythae, neque est in quo Scytha magis glorie-  
 tur, quam in adiutandis amicis communicandisque rebus acerbis, quemadmo-  
 dum neque probrum apud nos maius vllum quam amicitiae desertorem videri.  
 Has ob res Orestem ac Pyladem veneramus, quod praestantes extiterint in  
 30 Scytharum virtutibus atque in amicitia praecellentes, id quod nos omnium  
 maxime admiramus. Appellationem quoque ex his illorum factis imposuimus,  
 vt Coraci vocentur; quod quidem nostra in lingua perinde sonat ac si quis dicat:  
 dii amicitiae praesides.

MNE. Hui, Toxaris, profecto non arcu modo valuerunt Scythae bellicisque in  
 35 rebus caeteris antecelluerunt, verum videntur et ad orandum persuadendumque  
 omnium aptissimi; vnde mihi, quum dudum secus videretur, nunc eidem merito  
 fecisse videmini, qui sic Orestem ac Pyladem in deorum numerum rettuleritis.  
 Verum illud me fugerat, vir optime, quod pictor quoque bonus esses. Admo-

1 simulque promeruisse vt *B*, curarique *A* | 1-2 in amicitiae ... colerentur *B*, quidem  
 essent praestantissimi *A* | 9 adruptas *A*, corr. *B* | 17 hostibus *B*, hominibus *A* | 22 putauimus  
*B*, putemus *A* | 27-28 gloriatur *B*, honestetur *A* | 39-1 (*p. sq.*) Admodum enim *B*, ad modum  
 cuius *A*

dum enim euidenter ostendisti nobis, quae sunt in Orestis templo, picturas pugnamque virorum, alterique pro altero suscepta vulnera. Tametsi non putaram amicitiam vsqueadeo cultam fuisse quondam apud Scythas, magis autem, quod barbari essent atque agrestes, simultate quidem ira rabieque perpetuo  
5 committi; amicitiam vero ne in familiarissimos quidem exercere solitos; idque coniciens quum ex aliis quae de illis audimus, tum ex hoc, quod progenitores suos vita defunctos deuorant.

TOX. An nos Graecis quum aliis in rebus, tum in his quae ad parentum attinent cultum sanctiores magisque pii simus, in praesentiarum haudquaquam  
10 contenderim. Quod autem nostrates amici longe fideliores sint amicis Graecis quodque amicitiae ratio maior apud nos quam apud vos, haud difficile fuerit docere. Ac per deos Graecorum ne tibi molestum sit audire, si quae perspexi dixero, multum iam temporis apud vos versatus. Vos enim mihi videmini praeclarius caeteris de amicitia verba posse facere, vim vero factaque illius adeo non  
15 solum pro sermonum dignitate non exercere, vt sat vobis sit praedicare eam et quantum sit bonum ostendere; at vbi vsu venit, deficientes a sermonibus nescio quomodo e medio negotio aufugitis. Caeterum quum tragoedi in scaenam progressi istiusmodi amicitias vobis repraesentant, plerique laudatis atque applauditis ac pro se mutuo periclitantibus illis illachrymatis, ipsi vero nihil dignum  
20 laude pro amicis praestare audetis. Quin si quando forte accidat vt egeat amicus, ibi protinus non secus atque insomnia procul auolantes euanescent vobis multae illae tragoediae, vosque similes relinquunt inanibus istis ac mutis personis, quae diducto rictu atque immane hiantes ne minimum quidem loquuntur. At nos ediuerso quo sumus in dicendo de amicitia posteriores, hoc in praestanda  
LB 217 ea praecedimus. Quare si videtur, ita in praesentiarum agamus: | priscos illos  
26 amicos valere sinamus, si quos vel nos vel vos ex his qui olim fuere recensere valemus, quando ista quidem parte vos nimirum superaueritis compluribus ac grauibz adductis testibus, nempe poetis, qui Achillis et Patrocli amicitiam, tum Thesei Perithoiique neque non aliorum necessitudinem pulcherrimis versibus  
30 carminibusque contexuerunt. Quin paucos quosdam in medium adferamus ex his qui nostra ipsorum memoria fuerint, atque eorum res gestas exponamus, ego quidem Scythicas, tu vero Graecanicas. Et in his vter superarit melioraque produxerit amicorum exempla, is et victor esto ac suam ipsius victoriam promulgato, tanquam qui pulcherrimum honestissimumque certamen decertarit;  
35 adeo vt ego quidem non paulo malim mihi in singulari victo certamine dextram amputari (nam ea est apud Scythas victo poena) quam in amicitia quopiam inferior iudicari, praesertim Graeco, ipse Scytha quum sim.

MNE. Quanquam est haud mediocris negotii cum viro ita vt tu es bellatore singulari certamine congredi, tum admodum instructo missilibus ac penetralibus  
40 narrationibus, haud tamen vsqueadeo ignauiter, tam cito vniuersam deserens Graeciam, tibi cesserō. Etenim vehementer absurdum fuerit, quum duo illi

tantum vicerint Scytharum, quantum fuisse declarant tum fabulae tum vetustae vestrae picturae, quas paulo ante scite admodum repraesentabas, Graecos omneis, tot nationes tot ciuitates, nullo defendente vinci abs te. Nam isthuc si fiat, non dextram quemadmodum apud vos solet, sed linguam execari conueniat. Sed vtrum spectare nos oportet, numerumne eorum quae amice quis gesserit, an magis quo plures alteruter amicos referre poterit, hoc victoria dignior videbitur?

TOX. Nequaquam; immo non multitudine vis horum spectetur, verum si quae tu narrabis facta iis quae narrabo videantur praestantiora magisque penetrantia, tum nimirum etiam si numero paria sint, oportuniora magisque letalia mihi facient vulnera, ac paene memet ad ictus accommodabo.

MNE. Probe loqueris. Statuamus igitur, quot erunt satis.

TOX. Mihi quidem satis fore videtur, si vterque quinque narret exempla.

MNE. Itidem mihi videtur. Ac prior dicito, verum adiuratus nimirum non nisi vera dicturum; alioqui fingere eiusmodi non admodum fuerit difficile, palam autem refelli non queant. Porro si iuraris, nefas sit non habere fidem.

TOX. Iurabimus, si quid etiam iureiurando opus esse censes.

MNE. At quis tibi e diis nostratibus? Num satisfaciat Iuppiter Philius?

TOX. Et maxime. Ego quoque tibi nostratem iurabo meapte in lingua.

MNE. Testis igitur esto Iuppiter Philius, quaecunq; dicturus sum apud te, ea nimirum vel quae viderim ipse vel quae ab aliis, quoad fieri potuit, diligentissime perceperim, narraturum, nihil ex me ipso commiscentem alleuantemque. Ac primo quidem loco Agathoclis Dinaeque amicitiam referam, quae apud Ionas est celebratissima. Nam Agathocles hic, qui Samius fuit, non ita pridem vixit, vir in amicitia quidem praecipuus, ita vt re declarauit; caeterum reliquis in rebus vulgo Samiorum nihilo praestantior neque genere neque caeteris item opibus. Huic cum Dinia Ephesio Lysionis filio amicitia a puero intercesserat. Porro Dinius supra modum ditatus est, et quemadmodum solent ii qui nuper opes nacti sunt, complures et alios secum habebat, satis quidem idoneos illos et ad comptandum et ad voluptariam consuetudinem, ab amicitia vero longe alienissimos. Atque inter hos interim habebatur et Agathocles, conuiuiebatque et comptabat illis, non admodum approbans eam viuendi rationem. Dinius autem nihilo hunc potiozem habebat quam caeteros adultores. Tandem etiam offendere coepit crebrius obiurgans, molestusque videbatur, quippe qui admoneret eum maiorum praeciperetque vt seruaret, quae multo labore parta pater illi reliquisset, adeo vt ob haec ne ad commessationes quidem illum deinceps adhiberet, sed solus cum illis commessaretur, celare cupiens Agathoclem. Demum ab assentatoribus illis misero persuasum est, quod adamaretur a Chariclaea Demonactis vxore, viri illustris atque inter Ephesios in honoribus ciuilibus primarii. Iam et litterulae a muliere ad illum ventitabant et sarta semimarcida

5 numerumue *A*, corr. *B* | 22-23 commiscentem alienantemque *A*, corr. *B* | 31 et: *om.* *C D* | 40 ventitabant *B*, missitatae *A*

et mala quaedam admorsa, denique quicquid ad haec lenae machinantur in  
 adolescentes, quo paulatim illis amorem artibus quibusdam inserant, primum-  
 LB 218 que hac incendant opinione, quod sese credant amari. | Nam plurimum illicit et  
 5 inciderint. Erat autem Chariclaea vrbana quidem et elegans muliercula, at supra  
 modum meretricia semperque illius, quicumque forte adiisset, etiam si quis ad-  
 modum leuiter concupiuisset; quin si vel aspexisses duntaxat, protinus adnue-  
 bat, nec vlllo pacto metuendum erat, ne quando recusaret Chariclaea. Admirabi-  
 10 lis autem alioqui artifex quauisque meretrice doctior allicere amatorem et,  
 ambiguus quum adhuc esset, totum subigere; at quum iam teneretur, incitare  
 ac magis magisque accendere, nunc ira nunc blandimentis ac mox fastidio, dein-  
 de iniecta suspicione quasi ad alium sese deflexura esset; postremo omni ex  
 parte egregie docta erat mulier et absoluta artibusque omnigenis in amantes  
 instructa. Hanc igitur tum Dinae adulatores accersuerant in adolescentulum,  
 15 multaue adsimulabant, quo eum in amorem Chariclaeae impellerent. Illa porro  
 quae complureis iam adolescentes iugularat et innumerabiles amores fuerat  
 mentita domosque opulentas euerterat, varium quoddam atque inexpugnabile  
 malum, vbi nacta manibus est simplicem et huiusmodi artium imperitum adoles-  
 centulum, haudquaquam amittebat ex vnguibus, sed vndique oppugnans temp-  
 20 tansque, vbi iam omnium esset compos, tum ipsa dum captat capta periit, tum  
 infoelici Dinae innumerabilium malorum extitit causa. Nam primum quidem  
 statim litterulas illa ad illum dat, ac subinde missitat ancillulam, quae renun-  
 ciaret vt fleret, vt vigilaret; postremo vt misera prae amore suffocatura esset  
 25 sese, donec iam beatus ille persuasus sibi formosus esse videretur atque Ephe-  
 siorum vxoribus praeter caeteros adamabilis. Ac tandem in congressum adduc-  
 tus est multis precibus exoratus. Et ex eo quidem tempore facilis iam erat con-  
 iectura fore vt caperetur a muliere formosa, ad voluptatem congredi docta  
 et in loco flere et inter loquendum miserabiliter suspirare et iam abeuntem  
 30 amplecti et adeunti obuiam occurrere et formam colere sic vt maxime placitura  
 esset, interdum vel voce vel cithara canere, quibus omnibus in Diniam vsa est.  
 At vbi sensit excruciarum iamque amore illaqueatum ac subiugum esse factum,  
 aliud ad haec excogitat, quo miserum subuertat; grauidam se ex eo simulat  
 (nam hoc quoque efficax ad magis ac magis inflammandum stultum amantem)  
 35 neque postea commeabat ad illum, affirmans a viro obseruari sese, qui iam  
 amorem persensisset. Hic vero rem iam non vltra ferre potis erat neque durare  
 quibat, quum illam non aspiceret, sed lachrymabatur adulatoresque ad sese  
 accersebat ac Chariclaeae nomen inclamabat imaginemque illius amplexus (can-  
 dido enim lapide fecerat) eiulabat. Demum in solum abiiciens sese iactabatur,  
 planeque res extremae dementiae speciem obtinebat. Siquidem munera reddita

9 allicere *B*, irretire *A* | 13 omnigenis *B*, omni ingenio *A* | 22 illa *E*, illas *A B C D*  
 | 30 canere *B*, *om.* *A* | 36-37 sese accersebat *B*, eam mittebat *A* | 38 solum *D*, limine  
*A B C*



sunt mulieri non pro malorum aut corollarum precio sed solidae domus, agri, famulae, vestes florulentae, auri quantum optaret. Quid multa? Breui Lysionis domus antea inter Iones nobilissima exhausta est atque exinanita. Deinde vbi iam exuccus esset, eo relicto alium quempiam adolescentulum Cretensem bene nummatum venata est, atque ad illum desciiuit. Iam videlicet illum adamabat; 5 atque is quidem credebat. Itaque Dinias neglectus non a Chariclaea modo verum etiam ab assentatoribus (nam isti quoque ad Cretensem amatorem iam desciiuerant), abit ad Agathoclem, iampridem non inscium quam illi res misere haberent, ac pudescens quidem initio tamen exposuit omnia, amorem, egestatem, arrogantiam mulieris, riuaem Cretensem: in summa, non victurum sese, nisi 10 cum Chariclaea consuetudinem haberet. Ille vero intempestiuum esse ratus id temporis exprobrare Diniae, quapropter ex amicis vnum sese non admisisset sed tum quidem assentatores suos sibi anteposuisset, diuendita quam vnam habebat in Samo domo paterna precium illi attulit talenta tria. Quae simul atque recepisset Dinias, haud clam erat Chariclaeae: rursus subito formosus factus, 15 rursus ancilla et litterulae et expostulatio, quod iam diu sese non adiiisset. Concurrerunt item adulescentes applaudentes, vt viderunt Diniae adhuc esse quod daret. Quum autem pollicitus esset sese venturum ad illam, venissetque primo fere somno, essetque intus Demonax Chariclaeae maritus, siue quod alioqui praesenserat siue de composito proditioneque vxoris, (nam vtrumque fertur) 20 exiliens velut ex insidiis et atrium iubet occludere | et Diniam comprehendi, ignem ac flagra minitans neque non gladium tanquam in moechum educens. Ille porro reputans quibus in malis esset, vecte quopiam de proximo, vt iacebat, arrepto, tum ipsum occidit Demonactem in tempus adigens, tum Chariclaeam, atque hanc quidem non ictu vno verum etiam et vecte saepius et postea Demonactis gladio feriens. At famuli interea muti stabant, rei nouitate attoniti. Deinde comprehendere conati, quum in hos quoque ferro insiliret, ipsi quidem aufugerunt. Dinias autem clam sese subduxit tanto patrato facinore, et ad auro- 25 ram vsque apud Agathoclem diuersabatur; pariterque et quae facta essent reputabant et quid in posterum esset euenturum considerabant. Vt autem diluxit, 30 milites aderant (iam enim res erat diulgata) comprehensumque Diniam, nec hunc iam inficiantem homicidium, abducunt ad praefectum, qui per id tempus Asiam moderabatur. Hic eum ad Persarum regem remittit; nec ita multo post relegatus est Dinias in Giaron insulam ex Cycladibus vnam, damnatus a rege vt in ea quoad viueret exularet. Agathocles autem quum reliquis in rebus nunquam 35 abfuerat, tum pariter soluit in Italiam, et amicorum solus vna est in iudicium comitatus, neque vsquam defuit officio. Porro vbi iam in exilium profectus est Dinias, ne tum quidem desertus est ab amico; quin potius ipse suapte sponte damnatus versabatur in Giaro, simulque cum illo exulem agebat. At quum iam

5 atque ad illum desciiuit *D*, illique substituit *A B C* | 9 ac pudescens quidem initio *B*, at initio quidem veritus *A* | 12 admisisset *B*, adiiisset *A* | 20 praesenserat *E*, persenserat *A B C D* | 36 abfuerat *B*, defuerat *A*; in *B*, *om.* *A* | 37 neque ... officio *B*, nihilque com-meritus iuit in vincula *A*

rerum necessariorum omnium inopia laborarent, locans seipsum purpurariis vna cum aliis vrinabat, quodque hinc partum est referens Diniam alebat. Quin et aegrotanti diutissime inseruiuit, et vbi vita defunctus est, noluit vnquam in patriam reuerti, verum inibi perseuerauit in insula, pudori sibi fore ratus si vel  
 5 mortuum amicum deseruisset. Hoc tibi Graeci factum amici rettulerim, quod quidem non ita pridem accidit; haud enim scio an anni quinque praeterierint, quod Agathocles in Giaro mortem obiit.

TOX. At vtinam iniuratus ista, Mnesippe, dixisses, videlicet quo mihi fas esset eis non habere fidem. Adeo Scythicum quendam amicum Agathoclem  
 10 istum descripsisti, quin vereor ne quem et alium isti similem narres.

MNE. Audi iam et alium, Toxari, Euthydicum Chalcidensem. Rettulit autem mihi de hoc Simylus nauclerus Megarensis, adiurans profecto se teste rem factam esse. Aiebat enim nauigasse sese ex Italia Athenas circiter Pleiadum occasum, collecticios quosdam homines vehementem; in his fuisse Euthydicum vnaque  
 15 cum hoc Damonem Chalcidensem eiusdem amicum. At natu quidem eos aequalis fuisse, verum Euthydicum valentem robustumque, Damonem contra sup- pallidum atque valetudinarium, quasi qui nuper (vt apparebat) ex diuturno morbo reualuisset. Itaque ad Siciliam vsque feliciter aiebat Simylus nauigasse ipsos. Caeterum vbi transmissio freto in ipso iam Ionio mari nauigarent, tem-  
 20 pestatem maximam eis incubuisse. Quid autem attinet multa referre, immanes quasdam procellas ac sinuosas, tum grandines et si quae alia tempestatis mala? Vt vero iam haud procul abessent a Zacyntho, nuda nauigantes antemna, praetera et funes quosdam trahentes quo nimirum vim impetumque fluctus exciperent, circiter noctis medium Damonem, qui in tanta iactatione nausearet,  
 25 vomuisse in mare propendentem. Deinde, vt coniiicio, naue vehementius in eam partem in quam ille propendebat inclinata simulque propellente fluctu, excidisse eum prono capite in pelagus, neque nudum tamen, videlicet vt misero vel natare commode liceret; mox itaque succlamasse quum praefocaretur, vixque sese ab vndis sustolleret. Porro Euthydicum simul atque audisset (nam forte fortuna  
 30 nudus in strato tum erat) abiecisse semet in mare, arreptoque Damone, qui iam deficiebat (diutius enim ista videri poterant, luna scilicet relucente) vna iuxta illum nasse ac subleuasse. Ac voluisse quidem illis opitulari sese miseratos viro- rum calamitatem, verum nequisse, quod vento praeualido raperentur; illud ta-  
 35 men fecisse, subera complura ad illos proiecisse, tum ex contis aliquot, vt ab his suspensi natarent, si quem forte ex eis nanciscerentur, postremo scansoria quoque tabulata, quae quidem erant neutiquam exigua. Cogita iam per deos, quod aliud grauius benevolentiae documentum quisquam aedere queat in hominem amicum qui noctu decidisset in mare vsque adeo saeuens quam com-  
 LB 220 municata morte? Iamque adeo mihi ante oculos pone imminentes procellas,

7 mortem *B*, vitam *A* | 20 incubuisset *A*, corr. *B* | 21 sinuosas *B*, simiosas *A* | 24 nausearet *B*, nauigasset *A* | 27 eum *B*, cum *A* | 31-32 iuxta ... subleuasse *B*, cum illo fluitasse pariterque summo vertice extitisse *A* | 35 scansoria *B*, causoria *A* | 37 in *B*, ne *A*

fragorem aquae sese adglomerantis, spumam vndique efferuescentem, noctem ac desperationem: ad haec illum iam praefocari incipientem vixque vndis extantem manusque porrigentem amico; hunc autem incontanter insilientem simulque nantem, prorsusque sollicitum ne se prior Damon interiret. Sic enim profecto cognosces, quod haud ingenerosum hunc quoque amicum, videlicet 5 Euthydicum, rettulerim.

TOX. Vtrum perierunt viri, Mnesippe, an salus quaequam ex insperato illis contigit? Adeo ego illis non mediocriter timui.

MNE. Bono animo es, Toxaris, seruati sunt; quin hodieque Athenis agunt, ambo philosophiae dantes operam. Nam Simylus ea demum narrare poterat, 10 quae noctu videre licuit, hunc delapsum illum desilientem simulque nantes, quatenus per noctem dabatur aspicere. Porro quae post haec acciderint, Euthydicus ipse narrat. Primum quidem subera quaedam forte nactos suspendisse de his sese, atque ita haerentes fluitasse, sane quam incommode. Deinde vbi tabulata conspexissent, iam sub auroram annasse, consensisque illis commode deinde 15 nantes appulisse Zacynthum. Post hos autem, qui neutiquam mali sunt, vt ego quidem autumo, accipe iam tertium nihilo istis inferiorem. Eudamidas Corinthius Aretaeo Corinthio et Charixeno Sicyonio amicis vtebatur, et iis quidem opulentis, quum ipse pauperrimus esset. Hic vita decedens testamentum reliquit, aliis quidem fortasse deridiculum, tibi vero haud scio an tale sit apparituum, viro probo et apud quem amicitia in precio sit quique vel cum praecipuis 20 in ea certare queas. Sic enim in eo scriptum erat: Lego Aretaeo quidem matrem meam alendam atque in senecta fouendam, Charixeno vero filiam meam elocandam cum dote, quanta ab illo maxima dari poterit. Erat autem illi mater anus ac filiola iam matura nuptiis. Si quid autem interim acciderit alterutri, huius quoque partem, inquit, alter habeto. Huiusmodi lecto testamento, ii qui tenuitatem quidem Eudamidae nouerant at amicitiam quae illi cum his viris intercesserat ignorabant, rem pro ludo iocoque ducebant. Nemo certe aderat qui non cum risu discederet, quod eiusmodi haereditatem Aretaeus et Charixenus 25 essent accepturi, felices videlicet, atque ita aiebant: Si quidem persoluent Eudamidae, superstites ipsi haereditatem tradent mortuo. At haeredes quibus ista erant legata, vt audierunt, venerunt ilico, agnoscentes rataque facientes ea quae erant testamento mandata. Itaque Charixenus quinque duntaxat dies superstes diem obiit. Aretaeus autem optimus successor factus, tum illius tum suo ipsius suscepto onere, et matrem alit Eudamidae et filiam non ita pridem elocauit, ex quinque talentis quae possidebat duobus in propriae filiae dotem, duobus 30 in amici filiam erogatis, ac nuptias ambarum eodem die fieri voluit. Quid tibi, Toxaris, Aretaeus iste videtur, numnam leue amicitiae argumentum exhibuisse, adita huiusmodi haereditate neque deserto amici sui testamento? An 35

1 aquae sese adglomerantis *B*, vndarum circumfremmentium *A* | 12-13 Euthydicus ipse narrat *B*, ii qui cum Euthy dico versantur narrant *A* | 14 sane quam *B*, perquam *A*; Deinde *B*, *om.* *A* | 26 inquit *B*, vt aiunt *A* | 30 felices videlicet *B*, *om.* *A* | 31 ipsi: etiam ipsi *D*

hunc quoque in perfectis idoneisque calculis ponimus, vt sit vnus e quinque?  
 TOX. Et iste quidem egregius, quanquam equidem Eudamidam multo magis  
 ob fiduciam admiratus sum, qua fuit erga amicos; declarauit enim quod et ipse  
 eadem fuisset factururus erga illos, tametsi non essent ea scripta in testamento,  
 5 verum ante alios venisset non scriptus talium haeres.

MNE. Probe dicis. Sed quartum iam tibi narrabo, Zenothemim Charmolei  
 Massilia oriundum. Commonstrabatur autem mihi in Italia, patriae nomine legatum  
 agenti, vir decorus, procerus ac diues, vt apparebat. Assidebat illi vxor  
 in rheda iter facienti, quum alioqui deformis tum dimidia nempe dextra corpo-  
 10 ris parte manca alteroque capta oculo, teterrimum quoddam et refugiendum  
 terriculum. Deinde quum demirarer, si decorus ille quum esset ac venustus,  
 sustineret eiusmodi mulierem sibi adiunctam, is qui mihi eum commonstrabat  
 causam exponit, quare in id matrimonium incidisset; nouerat enim comperte  
 15 omnia, nam ipse quoque Massiliensis erat. Menecrati, inquit, huius foedae patri,  
 amicus erat Zenothemis, viro diuiti ac honorato, ipse iisdem rebus par.  
 Deinde aliquanto post facultatibus exutus est ex condemnatione Menecrates,  
 quo tempore pariter infamis et ad capessendos magistratus inidoneus est iudicatus  
 a sexcentum viris, tanquam qui sententiam iniquam pronunciasset. Ad  
 hunc autem modum, inquit, nos Massilienses mulctamus, siquis corrupte iudicet.  
 20 Grauitur itaque ferebat Menecrates, primum quod esset condemnatus,  
 deinde quod e diuite pauper, postremo quod ex nobili repente factus esset infamis  
 ac reiectitius. At praeter caetera eum ipsa discruciaabat filia iam nubilis,  
 vtpote annos nata decem et octo, quam ne cum omni quidem patris substantia,  
 quam ante condemnationem possederat, dignatus fuisset quisquam ingenuus  
 25 ac pauper facile accipere, quae tam infelici fuerit forma; quin et concidere dicebatur,  
 idque circa lunam crescentem. Haec vbi apud Zenothemim deploraret:  
 Bono, inquit, animo es, Menecrates. Neque enim ipse egebis necessariis, et filia  
 tua dignum aliquem suo genere sponsum inuenerit. Atque haec eloquutus, statim  
 30 apprehensa illius dextra deduxit domum, ibique opes, quae illi multae  
 erant, partitus est cum illo, ac caena apparari iussa conuiuio accepit amicos, et  
 in his Menecratem, veluti iam e necessariis cuiquam persuasisset, vt puellam in  
 matrimonium acciperet. Posteaquam autem conuiuium peregerant, libassentque  
 diis, tum vero plenum illi calicem porrigens: Accipe, inquit, Menecrates, a  
 35 genere symbolum affinitatis poculum, nam hodie ducturus sum ego filiam  
 tuam Cydimacham; dotem autem iam olim accepi, talenta quinque et viginti.  
 Illo vero respondente: Absit ne feceris, o Zenothemis, neue ipse vsque adeo insaniam,  
 vt te neglectum, qui et iuuenis es et formosus, conspiciam cum deformi  
 puella ac debilitata coniugatum. Haec, inquam, illo loquente hic sponsam  
 40 adiunctam tollens abduxit in thalamum; ac paulo post prodiit, ea deuirginata,  
 atque ex eo tempore cum illa viuít supra modum diligens et, quemadmodum

6 Charmolei *E*, Charmoleum *ABCD* | 7 autem *B*, *om. A* | 13 matrimonium *E*, -iarum  
*ABCD* | 25 forma *B*, fortuna *A* | 30 apparari: parari *CD* | 37 neglectum *B*, *om. A*

vides, circumferens eam. Et non solum non pudet matrimonii, verumetiam perinde atque glorians de eo sic ostentat, propterea quod negligit corporis formam ac foeditatem, ad haec opes et famam, tantum amici rationem habet Menecratis, neque arbitratur eum sexcentum virum sententia deteriore esse factum, quantum ad necessitudinem. Quanquam pro his iam illi gratiam rettulit 5  
Fortuna ad hunc modum; puellus enim ei formosissimus ex illa deformissima susceptus est. Neque diu est, quod tollens hunc pater intulit in curiam frondibus oleaginis coronatum ac pullis amictum, quo plus miserationis auo conciliaret; at infans arridebat iudicibus, manibus complodebat. Itaque curia commota 10  
super illo remisit mulctam Menecrati, atque ille iam rei famaеque restitutus est, eiusmodi patrono vsus apud iudices. Haec affirmabat Massiliensis Zenothemim amici gratia fecisse, haud mediocria, sicuti vides, neque qualia passim Scythae factitant, qui concubinas formosissimas summa cura deligere dicuntur. Restat nobis quintus; neque vero mihi videor alium quempiam debere dicere Demetrio Suniensi praeterito. Nauigarat in Aegyptum Demetrius vna cum Antiphilo 15  
Alopecensi, quicum illi iam inde a teneris annis fuerat amicitia atque ephoebus ephoebo conuixerat pariterque fuerat eruditus, ipse quidem Cynicam disciplinam sequutus sub Rhodio illo sophista, Antiphilus vero medendi scientiam exercuerat. At hoc temporis forte profectus fuerat in Aegyptum ad spectaculum Pyramidum Memnonisque; nam audiuerat illas, quum essent sublimes, vmbra 20  
non iacere, Memnonem autem vocem aedere ex oriente sole. Harum igitur rerum cupiditate adductus Demetrius, videlicet vt Pyramidas intueretur ac Memnonem audiret, sextum iam mensem aduerso Nilo nauigabat, relicto Antiphilo, quod is itinere atque aestu defessus esset. Huic autem interea calamitas incidit, quae singularem quenpiam amicum postularet. Nam puer eius, vt nomine ita et patria Syrus, inita societate cum sacrilegis aliquot, vna cum illis in Anubis templum irrupit; sublatoque deo, ad hoc phialis aureis duabus, tum caduceo aureo et hoc, neque non cynocephalis argenteis atque id genus aliis, omnia apud Syrum deposuerant. Deinde forte comprehensi (capti enim fuerant diuidentes nescio quid) rem omnem protinus confessi sunt dstricti in rota, 30  
deportatique venerunt in aedes Antiphili; ibi res furto sublatas depromebant, sub lectica quadam in abdito conditas. Syrus itaque ilico vinctus vnaque herus huius Antiphilus, atque is quidem interea dum praeceptorem audit auulsus. Nec opitulabatur quispiam; quin magis hi qui fuerant hactenus amici auersabantur hominem, tanquam qui templum Anubis sacrilegio compilasset, seseque 35  
impiari credebant, si cum illo bibissent aut edissent. Porro duo qui reliqui erant | pueri, quicquid erat in domo conuasantes, fuga discesserunt. In vinculis igitur LB 222  
erat miser Antiphilus multum iam temporis, habitus interim omnium quantum in carcere erat sontium scelestissimus. Porro praefectus carceris Aegyptius, homo superstitiosus, ratus sese gratum facere deo atque illius vlscisci vices, grauius 40

2 glorians de B, cohonestatus A | 5 gratiam MS C, gratia A B | 9 manibus B, manibusque A | 22 adductus B, aduentus A | 34 Nec B, haec A

Antiphilo imminebat. Quod si quando defenderet, affirmans se nihil eiusmodi  
 patrasse, impudens habebatur, atque hoc nomine multo etiam magis erat in-  
 uisus. Subaegrotabat itaque iam maleque habebat; nec mirum, quippe qui humi  
 cubaret idque etiam noctu, neque crura sineretur protendere ligno inclusa, nam  
 5 per diem catasta stringebatur, altera manu vincta ferro, at noctu cogebatur  
 totus in vinculis esse. Ad haec insuper domicilii pedor ac praefocatio, multis  
 ibidem vinctis locumque angustum prementibus, adeo vt vix respirarent; tum  
 ferri stridor ac somnus exiguus – haec omnia molesta erant atque intoleranda,  
 nimirum homini eiusmodi rerum insueto minimeque ad tam durum vitae genus  
 10 exercitato. Quum vero iam deficeret ac ne cibum quidem capere posset, reuer-  
 sus est tandem et Demetrius, nihildum sciens eorum quae acciderant. Vt autem  
 cognouerat quo in loco res esset statimque curriculo ad carcerem venisset, tum  
 quidem admissus non est, propterea quod vespera iam esset et carceris custos  
 iamdudum oclusis foribus dormiebat, ministris excubias agere iussis. At mane  
 15 quum esset ingressus, multis videlicet precibus admissus, accedens multo tem-  
 pore quaerebat Antiphilum, quippe malorum multitudine sic immutatum vt  
 agnosci non quiret. Circumiens igitur e vinctis vnumquenque contemplabatur,  
 eorum more qui familiarium cadauera iam marcida facta requirunt in stragibus.  
 Quod ni nomen fuisset eloquutus Antiphilum Denomenis filium, ne longo qui-  
 20 dem tempore potuisset agnosci quisnam esset, vsqueadeo prae malis erat trans-  
 figuratus. Vt vero ad vocem agnitam respondisset atque adeunte illo comam di-  
 duxisset, eam a vultu abigens sordidam atque impexam, ostendit sese quis  
 esset. Hic ambo collapsi sunt, oculis oborta caligine in tam inopinato spectacu-  
 lo. Verum aliquanto post, posteaquam et ipse sibi redditus et Antiphilum reci-  
 25 piens Demetrius de singulis esset illum diligenter percontatus, bono animo esse  
 iubet. Tum dissecto pallio dimidiato quidem induitur ipse: reliquum autem illi  
 donat, detractis illi putribus atque detritis quibus erat opertus panniculis. Atque  
 ex eo die modis omnibus illi aderat, curam eius agens inseruiensque. Locans  
 enim sese iis qui versabantur in portu mercatoribus a mane ad medium vsque  
 30 diem oneribus gestandis non parum lucri faciebat. Deinde ab opere reuersus  
 mercedis partem carcerario in manum dabat, quo illi mansuetum hunc ac paca-  
 tum redderet. De reliquo autem in amici curam affatim suppeditabat. Atque  
 interdum quidem aderat Antiphilo, quo illum consolaretur; vbi vero nox occu-  
 passet, pro carceris foribus facto ex herbis thorulo substratisque frondibus ac-  
 35 quiescebat. Et in hunc quidem modum aliquandiu debebant, vt Demetrius nullo  
 vetante ingrederetur atque ob id mitius ferret calamitatem Antiphilus, donec  
 extincto in carcere latrone quopiam, idque vt putabatur veneno, et custodiae  
 exactissime obseruatae neque deinde quisquam admissus in domicilium vin-  
 culis liber. Quas ob res dubius atque anxius, quum alia via non pateret qua  
 40 liceret amico adesse, adito praefecti collega seipsum defert, tanquam in irrup-

5 catasta *D*, cyphone *ABC* | 23 oculis oborta caligine *B*, aciculantes *A* | 38–39 vinculis liber *B*, in quo vincti seruabantur *A*

tione templi Anubis communem operam addidisset. Id simul atque confessus  
 est, abductus est ilico in carcerem ac ductus ad Antiphilum. Nam hoc magnis  
 precibus vix obtinuerat a carcerario, vt proxime Antiphilo atque eadem in trabe  
 vinciretur. Hic igitur vel maxime declarauit quanto in illum fuerit amore, quum  
 sua ipsius incommoda negligeret, quum et ipse interim aegrotaret, illud autem  
 curae haberet, quo pacto fieri posset, vt ille et quamplurimum dormiret et mi-  
 nimum angeretur. Atque ita commode tolerabant communicatis inter ipsos  
 malis, donec aliquanto post tale quiddam accidit, quod finem ferme eorum im-  
 poneret calamitati. Siquidem e vinculis quispiam, haud scio vnde nactus limam,  
 adiunctis coniuratis captiuorum plerisque catenam insecuit, qua seriatim erant  
 astricti cyphonibus in hanc insertis, soluitque omnes. Qui quidem, facile truci-  
 datis quippe paucis custodibus, conglobati prosiliere. Atque hi quidem ilico  
 quo quisque poterat dissipati, postea plerique sunt comprehensi. Porro | De-  
 metrius et Antiphilus inibi remanserunt, Syro quoque retento qui iam aufugere  
 parabat. Vt autem diluxisset, Aegypti praeses cognito quod acciderat, emisit  
 quidem qui illos insequerentur; accersitis autem iis qui erant cum Demetrio,  
 soluit a vinculis, collaudatos quod soli non aufugissent. At illis haudquaquam  
 sat erat, vt hoc titulo dimitterentur. Clamabat autem Demetrius sibi que non  
 mediocribus in rebus iniuriam fieri praetendebat, si pro maleficis habiti videren-  
 tur vel commiseratione vel ob id laudis quod non aufugissent dimitti; in sum-  
 ma compulere iudicem, vt causam exactius excuteret. At hic, vbi repperit nihil  
 eos commeritos, collaudatos illos, Demetrium autem seorsum quoque admira-  
 tus, liberos esse iussit, consolatus super poena quam tulerant, praeter ius in  
 vincula coniecti. Quinetiam ambos munere prosequutus est, idque de suo:  
 Antiphilum drachmarum decem millibus, bis tanto Demetrium. Ac Antiphilus  
 etiam nunc quidem in Aegypto est; Demetrius autem sua quoque viginti millia  
 relinquens amico concessit in Indiam, profectus ad Brachmanas, tantum hoc  
 loquutus Antiphilo, merito sibi iam ignoscendum videri quod tum ab eo dis-  
 cederet. Neque enim sibi opus fore pecunia, quoad is perseueraret esse qui  
 erat, videlicet qui possit paucis esse contentus, neque illum amplius egere amico,  
 quippe cui res iam foeliciter haberent. Huiusmodi sunt, Toxaris, amici Graeci.  
 Quod ni initio notasses nos, tanquam qui verbis nos iactaremus, idem profecto  
 relaturus eram tibi complures orationes, atque eas egregias, quas Demetrius  
 habuerit in iudicio, quum interim pro seipso nihil responderet, pro Antiphilo  
 vero lachrymas funderet atque etiam supplex esset, totamque causam in sese  
 reciperet, donec Syrus flagris caesus ambos eos liberos fecit. Hos igitur paucos  
 e plurimis, quos mihi primum memoria suggessit, tibi narrauerim praeclaros ac  
 firmos amicos. Quod reliquum est, iam decedens a narratione, tibi dicendi par-  
 tes trado. Tu porro vti Scythas his non inferiores referas sed longe praestantio-

2 ac ductus ad *B*, vinctusque iuxta *A* | 5 quum et ipse interim aegrotaret *B*, (namque hoc  
 inuenerat ipse) *A* | 12 hi *C*, ii *A B* | 23 consolatus *E*, consolans *A B C D* | 34 responderet  
*D*, defenderet *A B C*

res, tibi ipsi curae fuerit, si quid de dextra sollicitus es, ne ea tibi praecidatur. Verum oportet strenuum praestare virum. Etenim res quaedam vehementer ridicula tibi contigerit, si quum Orestem ac Pyladem admodum sophisticè laudaris, pro Scythia dicens orator ignauus appareas.

- 5     TOX. Recte tu quidem, Mnesippe, qui quidem ad dicendum etiam adhortaris, perinde quasi nihil sollicitus sis, ne tibi lingua execetur victo in narrationibus. Sed iam exordiar, nihil quidem, quemadmodum tu, verbis phalerans atque adornans (neque enim is Scytharum mos), praesertim quum res ipsae longe magis loquantur quam verba. Nihil autem eiusmodi expectaueris a nobis, cuius-
- 10     modi tu commemorando laudibus extulisti, puta si quis sine dote duxerit deformem mulierem, aut si quis amici filiae nubenti pecuniolam donauerit duo talenta, ac, per Iouem, si quis sponte eat in vincula, quum certo sciat se paulo post esse soluendum. Admodum enim leuia ista, neque quicquam inest in his vel magni negotii vel virile quod sit. Caeterum ego tibi referam multas caedes bel-
- 15     laque et mortes amicorum causa susceptas, vt intelligas vestra ista lusum esse, si cum Scythicis conferantur. Neque tamen isthuc sine causa facitis, sed merito parua ista miramini, propterea quod non sunt vobis admodum graues occasiones declarandae amicitiae, quippe in alta pace viuentibus, quemadmodum nec in tranquillitate queas scire, bonus sit gubernator necne. Tempestate enim tibi
- 20     opus fuerit ad hoc, vt dignoscas. At apud nos bella perpetua, et aut inuadimus alios aut cedimus inuadentibus, aut vbi forte concurrimus, pro pascuis praedaque pugnamus. Hic potissimum opus est bonis amicis, eoque quam firmissime constituimus amicitias, sola haec arma inuicta atque inexpugnabilia esse iudicantes. Prius autem volo tibi commemorare, quo ritu faciamus amicos, non ex
- 25     poculis quemadmodum vos, neque si quis aequalis sit aut vicinus. Verum vbi strenuum quempiam virum conspexerimus, quique praeclare facinora patrare possit, in hunc omnes studio incumbimus, et quod vos in ambiendis coniugiis, id nos in amicis facere non grauamur, diu quasi procos agentes nihilque non facientes, ne videlicet frustremur amicitia neue reiecti esse videamur. At vbi
- 30     iam in amicitias caeteris repulsis delectus est quispiam, protinus foedus initur ac iusiurandum quod sit maximum: nimirum et victuros eos pariter et mortem
- LB 224     appetitum, si | sit opus, alterum pro altero. Atque ita facimus. Etenim simul atque incisis digitis sanguinem in calicem destillauerimus summisque intinctis gladiis ambo pariter admouentes biberimus, non est quicquam quod deinde
- 35     nos queat dirimere. Admittuntur autem ad huiusmodi foedera ad summum tres; nam qui multis sit amicus, is eo loco habetur apud nos quo communes istae atque adulterae vxores, arbitramurque iam non perinde firmam illius amicitiam fore, posteaquam est in plures partes dissecta. Exordiar autem ab his quae nuper Dandamis fecit. Dandamis enim hic in conflictu cum Sauromatis, quum esset
- 40     captius abductus eius amicus Amizocas – quin potius ante tibi iurabo nostrum iusiurandum, quandoquidem isthuc initio sum pollicitus. Non enim, per Ven-



tum et Acinacem, quicquam mentiturus sum apud te de Scythicis amicis.

MNE. Equidem tuum iusiurandum haud magnopere desiderabam; proinde recte facis, qui nullum deorum iures.

TOX. Quid tu narras? An non tibi videntur esse dii Ventus et Acinaces? Adeone te fugit, quod nihil sit maius mortalibus vita ac morte? Per haec vtique iuramus, quoties per Ventum et Acinacem iuramus, videlicet per Ventum tanquam qui vitae sit causa, per Acinacem vero vt qui mortis sit auctor. 5

MNE. Atqui si ista idonea causa est, profecto multos alios quoque deos estis habituri tales, qualis est Acinaces, puta iaculum, lanceam, venenum, funem atque his consimilia, quandoquidem varius est iste deus interitus, atque innumerabiles aperit vias quibus ad illum sit aditus. 10

TOX. Vide quam contentiose nunc quamque litigiose isthuc facis, dum medio sermone interpellas me excutisque ac disturbas orationem meam. At ipse loquente te silentium agebam.

MNE. Age, non sum isthuc posthac facturus, Toxaris. Et optimo iure obiurgas; quare perge confidenter quod restat dicere; perinde quasi nec adsim dum loqueris, adeo tibi silebo. 15

TOX. Quartus igitur agebatur dies Dandamidi et Amizocae, ex quo amicitiam inierant ac mutuuum sanguinem pariter biberant. Venerant interea in regionem nostram Sauromatae cum equitum decem milibus; peditum autem ter tantum aduenisse ferebatur. Ii nimirum quum in nos irruissent imparatos neque expectantes illorum insultum, omnes quidem cedere cogunt, complureis autem repugnantes occidunt, nonnullos et viuos abducunt, nisi si quis effugerat tranans in vltiorem fluminis ripam, vbi nobis dimidium copiarum et pars curruum erat. Sic enim id temporis castra fueramus metati, haud scio quo consilio Archiplanorum, id est ducum nostrorum, ad vtramque Tanaidis ripam. Protinus itaque et praedas abigebant et captiua abducebant et tentoria diripiebant et curribus potiebantur atque iis plerisque cum viris captis, et sub oculis nostris concubinas vxoresque nostras constuprabant. Nos porro rem indigne tulimus. At Amizoca quum duceretur (erat enim captus) nominatim inclamauit amicum misere vinctus, simulque calicis et sanguinis commonefecit. Quod simul atque exaudierat Dandamis nihil etiam contatus spectantibus omnibus tranauit ad hostes. Ibi Sauromatae densatis telis irruerunt in illum iam confixuri, nisi succlamasset *Zirim*. Hoc verbi si quis sonuerit, postea non interimunt, sed recipiunt tanquam dedentem sese precio redimendum. Moxque ad illorum ducem adductus reposcebat amicum. Ille redemptionis precium postulabat; neque enim prius dimissurum sese, nisi maximum pro illo recepisset. Tum Dandamis: Quae possidebam, inquit, ea omnia a vobis direpta sunt. Quod si quid est quod nudus praestare queam, id sum paratus polliceri vobis, et imperato quicquid 30 35

4 Acinacis *A B C D E* | 7 vitae *B*, viuendi *A* | 9 Acinacis *A B C* | 12 litigiose isthuc *B*, subdole *A* | 18–19 ex quo amicitiam inierant ac *B*, *om.* *A* | 20 ter *MS C*, bis *A B* | 27–29 abigebant ... abducebant ... diripiebant ... potiebantur ... constuprabant *B*, abigere ... abducere ... diripere ... potiri ... constuprare *A*

voles. Et si ita vis, meipsum huius in locum recipe, et abutere ad quodcunque tibi lubitum erit. Ad haec Sauromata: Nihil, inquit, opus retinere te, praesertim quum temet dedideris. Quin tu parte eorum quae possides tradita amicum abducito. Rogat illico Dandamis quidnam vellet accipere. Ille oculos postulat, atque hic protinus exhibuit eruendos. Deinde, vbi essent execti, iamque precium persolutum esset Sauromatis, recepto Amizoca reuersus est innitens illi, vnaque tranantes incolumes ad nos redierunt. Id factum animum reddebat Scythis omnibus, neque iam victos esse rebantur sese, quum viderent quod apud nos esset bonorum maximum, id nondum esse abductum ab hostibus, verum superesse egregiam mentem et in amicos fidem. At | idem Sauromatis formidinem non mediocrem incutiebat, reputantibus cum cuiusmodi viris, si se praeparassent, essent pugnaturi, tametsi tum quidem ex improviso superassent. Proinde sub noctem relictis maxima ex parte pecoribus incensisque curribus fuga sese subduxerunt. Porro Amizoca non tulit diutius vt videret ipse amico caeco Dandamide, sed ipsus semet exoculauit. Atque ita sedent ambo, omnique honore a populo Scytharum publicitus aluntur. Quid tale, Mnesippe, vos referre possetis, etiam si quis tibi donet vt possis vel decem alios ad istos quinque adiungere, etiam citra iusiurandum, si ita vis, vt et multa liceat affingere? At ego tibi rem nudam exposui. Tu vero si quem talem narrasses, non sum nescius quantas adornandae rei gratia phaleras narrationi fueris admixturus: quemadmodum supplicarit Dandamis et quomodo sit excaecatus et quae dixerit et quo pacto redierit et quemadmodum exceperint eum Scythae adgratulantes beneque ominantes atque id genus alia, cuiusmodi vos ad demulcendas aures soletis artificio quodam addere. Audi igitur et alium huic parem Belittam, huius Amizocae consobrinum. Is vt detractum ex equo a leone Basthen amicum conspexisset (nam forte simul erant in venatu), iamque leo circumplexus illum iugulo admotus esset atque vnguibus laniaret, desiliens et ipse inuolauit in tergum beluae reflexitque in sese prouocans auertensque atque inter dentes digitos inferens, conatus quoad licuit Basthen e rictu leonis eximere, donec leo omisso illo iam semimortuo ad Belittam sese conuertit atque ipsum quoque circumplexus occidit. At ille moriens (nam tanto anteuertit) acinacem in leonis pectus defixit. Itaque pariter exanimati sunt omnes; nos autem sepeliuimus eos duobus aggestis tumulis inter se vicinis, altero amicorum altero e regione leonis. Iam tertio loco tibi referam, Mnesippe, Macentae Lonchatae et Arsacomae amicitiam. Hic enim Arsacomus deperibat Mazaeam Leucanoris filiam, qui regnabat in Bosphoro tum, quum legatione fungeretur super tributo, quod Bosporini semper nobis pendere soliti id temporis tertium iam mensem vltra diem legitimum distulerant. In conuiuio igitur quum Mazaeam vidisset proceram atque decoram virginem, amore captus est grauitaque discruciabatur. Iam itaque quae de tributis agebantur erant transacta, responderatque illi rex conuiuioque accipiebat, mox

1 ita *E*, ista *A B C D* | 15 honore *C*, cum honore *A B* | 25 Basthen *D*, Basthem *A B C* | 29 Basthen *D*, Bastham *A B*, Basthem *C* | 32 examinati *A*, *corr. B* | 34 loco *B*, *om. A*

illum dimissurus. Est autem mos in Bosporo, vti proci in conuiuio petant puellas, narrantes quinam sint quibusque rebus freti decreuerint eas in matrimonium accipere. Atque id temporis forte fortuna multi aderant in conuiuio proci, reges ac regum filii; in his erat et Tigrapates Lazorum princeps et Adyrmachus Machlynae dux aliique cum his permulti. Oportet autem vnumquemque 5  
procum, posteaquam exposuit quis sit et qua fiducia ad ambiendas nuptias accesserit, conuiuari cum reliquis tacitumque accumbere; deinde peracto conuiuio postulata phiala vinum in mensam effundere, atque ita sponsam ambire, multum interea collaudantem sese quo genere, quibus opibus, qua sit potentia. Ad hunc igitur modum quum multi iam libassent postulassentque, regna et opes 10  
commemorantes, tandem Arsacoma postulata phiala non libauit (neque enim mos apud nos vinum effundere, quin magis contumelia ista esse iudicatur in deum) sed haustum bibens: Da mihi, rex, inquit, filiam tuam Mazaeam vxorem, qui multo sum potior istis, quantum ad opes ac possessiones attinet. Leucanore vero admirante (sciebat enim rex pauperem Arsacomam ac de plebe Scytharum 15  
esse) percontanteque: Quantum pecorum aut quantum habes plaustrorum, Arsacoma? Nam iis rebus vos diuites estis, – Imo nec plaustra, inquit, possideo nec armenta, verum sunt mihi duo amici honesti probique, quales alii Scytharum nemini. At tum quidem ista dicens risus est contemptuique habitus visusque temulentus. Mane vero reliquis praelatus est Adyrmachus, iamque sponsam 20  
abducturus erat in Maeotidem ad Machlyenses. Porro Arsacomas domum reuersus amicis indicat, quemadmodum reiectus esset a rege risuique habitus in conuiuio, quum pauper esse putaretur. Atqui dixeram, inquit, illi quantas haberem opes, nempe vos, o Lonchata atque Macenta, vestramque benevolentiam longe praestare multoque firmiorem esse Bosphoranorum opibus. Verum haec 25  
dicentem me subsannauit contempsitque, et Adyrmacho scilicet Machlyensi tradidit asportandam sponsam, | quod aureas phialas se diceret habere decem, LB 226  
praeterea currus quaternis sedilibus octoginta, ad haec ouium bouumque multam copiam. Sic videlicet antetulit fortibus viris pecorum multitudinem, operosa pocula et currus graues. Proinde, o amici, dupliciter excrucior; nam et 30  
Mazaeam amo, et iniuria mihi inter tantum hominum illata non mediocriter mordet animum meum. Arbitror autem et vos ex aequo iniuria affectos esse. Etenim ad vnumquemque e nobis tertia contumeliae pars pertinebat, si modo ita viuimus quemadmodum coepimus quum coniungeremur, nimirum vt vnus homo simus, iisdem dolentes iisdemque gaudentes. Imo, inquit Lonchates, 35  
vnus quilibet e nobis totus iniuria afficiebatur tum quum in te ista fierent. Quomodo igitur, inquit Macentes, his in rebus agemus? Per partes, inquit Lonchates, negotium suscipiamus. Atque ego quidem recipio Arsacomae me caput apportaturum Leucanoris. Tu vero sponsam ereptam huic adducas oportet. Ita fiat, inquit. At tu, Arsacoma, inter haec (nam his peractis verisimile est exercitu 40

15 sciebat enim *B*, neque enim credebat *A* | 23 Atqui *B*, equidem illis *A* | 23–24 illi ... nempe *B*, opes meas esse *A* | 27 asportandam *MS C*, asportundam *A B*

ac bello fore opus) hic mane, quo contrahas et appares arma, equos atque aliarum rerum vim quantam potes maximam. Facillime autem plurimos adiunxeris, partim quod ipse strenuus, partim quod nobis non pauci sunt familiares, maxime vero si desederis in tergore bouis. Haec ubi placuissent, hic quidem quantum potuit recta profectus est in Bosporum, puta Lonchates; alter, id est Macentes, ad Machlyenses, eques vterque. At Arsacomas domi manens et cum aequalibus contulit et ex familiaribus vim hominum armavit; demum et in tergore bouis desedit. Consuetudo autem de sedendo in tergore bubulo huiusmodi est apud nos. Ubi quis ab alio laesus est cupitque vlcisci, neque par esse pugnae videtur, tum boue immolato carnes frustulatim concisas igni torret. Dehinc ipse porrecto humi corio sedet in eo in tergum reductis manibus, more eorum qui a cubitis vincti sunt. Et hoc quidem apud nos maximum est supplicandi genus. Appositis autem bouis carnibus, adeuntibus domesticis, praeterea si quis alius velit, quisque partem sibi sumit, ac dextro pede tergum bouis calcans pro facultate pollicetur, hic quidem equites praebiturum se quinque suoapte cibo suoque stipendio, ille decem, alius plures, alius armatos pedites quot possit, atque qui pauperrimus seipsum duntaxat. Colligitur itaque in tergo bouis ingens nonnunquam multitudo. Et huiusmodi quidem exercitus et certissima fide cohaeret et hostibus expugnatu difficillimus est, non aliter quam si iureiurando esset adactus. Nam in tergum ascendisse instar iurisiurandi est. Arsacomas igitur his in rebus procurandis satagebat, coieruntque illi equites quidem circiter quinquies mille, tum armati ac pedites promiscue vicies mille. At Lonchates, ubi ignotus peruenit in Bosporum, regem adit tractantem quiddam de regni negotiis, aitque venire quidem sese publico Scytharum nomine, sed priuatim res maximas apportare. Ille ubi dicere iussisset: De publicis, inquit, negotiis haec in praesentiarum denuntiant Scythae: ne vestri pastores in planitiem vsque transgrediantur sed intra Trachonem pascant. Caeterum latrones, de quibus expostulatis quod regionem vestram incursent, negant eos publico consilio emitti, sed priuatim sui quemque lucri causa praedari. Quod si quis illorum deprehendatur, tui arbitrii esse vt in eos animaduertas. Haec quidem illi denuntiant. At ego tibi indico grauem in vos insultum futurum ab Arsacoma Mariantae filio, qui nuper legatum egit apud te, idque (opinor) «quod», quum filiam tuam postularit, non assequutus sit abs te; ob id indignatur sedetque in tergore taurino septimum iam diem, contractusque illi est exercitus haud exiguus. Audiui, (inquit Leucanor), et ipse cogi vim copiarum in tergum bouis. Quod autem aduersum nos cogerentur, quodque Arsacomas huius rei dux esset, id vero me fugerat. Atqui in te, inquit Lonchates, hic apparatus constituitur. Mihi autem inimicus est Arsacomas, grauiterque fert quod sibi praeferat a natu maioribus, et quod in omnibus illo videar esse praestantior. Quod si

8 bubulo *E*, bubalo *A B C D* | 9 esse *B*, se *A* | 23 tractantem *D*, tractanti *A B C* | 28 quod *D*, *om.* *A B C* | 30 tui ... animaduertas *B*, te dominum esse vt punias *A* | 32 quod *BAS*, *om.* *A B C D E* | 36-37 dux esset *B*, esset impulsor *A* | 37 Atqui *E*, atque *A B C D*

mihi sponderis alteram filiam tuam Barcetim, alioqui nec indigno vestra affi-  
 nitate, breui tibi reuersus caput eius apportauero. Spondeo, rex inquit, videlicet  
 supra modum formidine correptus, propterea quod non ignoraret, quam ob  
 causam iratus esset Arsacomas, nimirum ob nuptias, tum et alias quoque me-  
 tuerit semper Scythas. At Lonchates: Iurato, inquit, te praestiturum pacta ne-  
 que inficiaturum. Id quum fieret, iamque resupinatus in caelum iurare vellet,  
 Absit, inquit, vt hic, ne quis spectantium coniciat qua gratia iuremus. Quin  
 potius hoc templum Martis ingressi, occlusis foribus iusiurandum aedamus, vbi  
 nullus exaudiat. Nam si quid horum inaudierit Arsacomas, vereor ne me ante  
 bellum immolet, manu iam nunc non parua cinctus. Introeamus, inquit rex. Vos  
 autem absistite quam longissime, neque quisquam ad templum adeat, quem ego  
 non accersiuro. Posteaquam igitur ipsi quidem introgressi sunt, satellites au-  
 tem procul abstiterunt, vibrato gladio simulque altera manu obturato ore ne  
 vociferaretur, ictum in pectus adegit. Deinde caput desectum sub chlamyde te-  
 nens prodibat, quasi confabulans interim cum illo, breuique sese dicens adfutu-  
 rum, tanquam ad negotii quippiam emitteretur ab illo. Atque ita reuersus eo vbi  
 equum vinctum reliquerat, conscenso illo redequitauit in Scythiam. Porro nemo  
 est eum insequutus, quippe diu ignorantibus Bosporinis quod acciderat, tum,  
 vbi rescissent, factiose de regno decertantibus. Haec itaque gessit Lonchates  
 praestititque promissum allato Leucanoris capite. Porro Macentes in via factus  
 certior super his, quae in Bosporo acciderant, peruenit ad Machylenses, primus-  
 que illis nuntium attulit de rege trucidato. At populus, inquit, te, Adyrmache,  
 gener cum sis, ad regnum vocat. Proinde fac vt ipse prior occupans imperium  
 arripias in rebus perturbatis obortus, puella vero te sequatur a tergo in curribus.  
 Facile enim istoc pacto tibi conciliaueris multitudinem Bosporanorum, vb  
 Leucanoris filiam conspexerint. Ego porro non solum Alanus sum verum etiam  
 sponsae tuae cognatus maternus, siquidem nostra e gente Masteram Leucanor  
 ascuiu vxorem. Et nunc tibi adsum, missus a Masterae fratribus, qui sunt in Ala-  
 nia, denunciatis vt quam potes ocissime te recipias in Bosporum, neque per  
 negligentiam committas vt imperium ad Eubiotum deueniat, qui tametsi frater  
 nothus est Leucanoris, tamen Scytharum partibus semper fauit, cum Alanis  
 similtates gerit. Haec quidem dicebat Macentes. Erat autem eodem cultu ea-  
 demque lingua cum Alanis; commune enim horum vtrumque Alanis cum Scy-  
 this, nisi quod non magnopere comati sunt Alani quemadmodum Scythae. At  
 Macentes in hoc quoque illis erat assimilis, videlicet detonsa coma, quatenus  
 conueniebat Alanum minus esse comatum quam Scytham. Itaque his rebus  
 factum est vt illi fides haberetur, putareturque Masterae ac Mazaeae cognatus  
 esse. Et nunc, inquit, o Adyrmache, ad vtrumuis paratus sum, vel proficisci  
 tecum in Bosporum si velis, vel manere si sit opus ac sponsam adducere. Isthuc

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3-4 quam ... nuptias *B*, iratum sibi Arsacomam *A* | 4 et *om. E* | 6 iurare *B*, intrare *A* | 26  
 conspexerint *B*, cognouerint *A*; Alanus *MS C*, abauus *AB* | 29-30 per negligentiam  
 committas vt *B*, circumspectes donec *A* | 31 nothus *D*, notus *ABC*

equidem, inquit Adyrmachus, longe malim, quandoquidem cognatus es, te  
 puellam adducere. Nam si nobiscum vna proficiscaris in Bosporum, vnum  
 duntaxat equitem numero addideris. Quod si mihi vxorem aduexeris, multo-  
 rum instar fueris. Atque ita factum est, et hic quidem iter ingressus est, Macen-  
 5 tae tradens ducendam Mazaeam, quae virgo etiamdum erat. At ille per diem  
 quidem illam curru vehebat; verum vbi nox incubisset, impositam equo (nam  
 id curarat, vt alius quidem eques sese consequeretur) tum insiliens et ipse, ne-  
 quaquam deinceps ad Maeotim iter faciebat, sed deflectens ad mediterraneam,  
 relictis ad dextram Mitraeorum montibus, quum virginem interim aliquoties  
 10 interquiescere iussam refocillasset intra triduum a Machylensibus in Scythiam  
 vsque permensus est viam; statimque equus eius vbi destitisset a cursu paulis-  
 per astans exanimatus est. Porro Macentes Arsacomae Mazaeam in manum  
 dans: Accipe, inquit, a me quoque id quod sum pollicitus. At illo ad insperatum  
 spectaculum stupefacto gratiasque agente: Desine, inquit Macentes, ac noli me  
 15 alium a teipso putare; nam mihi profecto gratias agere ob haec quae feci, perin-  
 de est ac si sinistra mea gratias agat dextrae, quod vulneratae sibi subministravit  
 atque officiose curam egit aegrotantis. Ridicula nimirum et nos fecerimus, si  
 iamdudum commissi et quatenus licet in vnum conflati, magnum adhuc esse  
 credamus, si qua pars nostri officiose quid egerit pro toto corpore. Etenim pro  
 20 seipso fecit, quum pars sit totius beneficio adiuti. Atque ad hunc quidem mo-  
 dum Arsacomae gratias agenti Macentes respondit. Caeterum Adyrmachus vbi  
 LB 228 sensit insidias, non perrexit ire in Bosporum; iam enim | Eubiotus rerum po-  
 tiebatur accersitus a Sauromatis, apud quos fuerat diuersatus; verum in patriam  
 reuersus, contractis ingentibus copiis, per montuosa irrupit in Scythiam, paulo-  
 25 que post irruit et Eubiotus quum Graecos vndecumque poterat secum ducens,  
 tum Alanos et Sauromatas accersitos vtrinque vicies millenos. Coniunctis  
 autem copiis, Eubiotus atque Adyrmachus nonaginta milia confecerunt, atque  
 ex his tertia pars equites sagittarii. Nos autem (nam et ipse ad hanc expeditio-  
 nem contuleram, addens iis qui in tergum taurinum conuenerant equites ad  
 30 plenum instructos centum) contractis haud multo minus triginta milibus vna  
 cum equitibus operiebamur insultum ductore Arsacoma. Vt autem admouentes  
 illos conspeximus, contra duximus agmen praemissis in hostem equitibus. At-  
 que vbi iam diu acriter esset pugnatum, tandem cessere nostri interrupta pha-  
 lange; postremo in duo dissectum est vniuersum agmen Scythicum. Pars sub-  
 35 duxit sese non omnino palam victa, verum ita fugiebat vt locum dare videretur,  
 adeo vt Alani ad multum tempus insequi non auderent. Partem alteram, quae  
 eadem erat imbecillior, cingentes Alani ac Machlyenses vndequaque caedebant,  
 consertim iaculis emissis atque sagittis, sic vt vehementer laboraretur a nostris  
 qui tenebantur obsessi. Et iam plerique arma proiecerant; quorum in numero

12 examinatus *A*, *corr.* *B* | 24 contractis *B*, cum *A*; per montuosa *B*, *om.* *A* | 25 quum  
*A B*, cum *MS C D* | 29 in *MS C*, *om.* *A B* | 29-30 ad plenum *B*, meopte sumptu *A* | 34  
 dissectum *B*, desertum *A* | 38 iaculis emissis *B*, emissis iaculis *A*

forte erat Lonchates et Macentes, iamque ambo vulnus acceperant, dum ante alios sese periculis obiiciunt, hic quidem adusto femore puta Lonchates, porro Macentes securi sauciato capite, tum conto in humerum impacto. Quod simul atque sensit Arsacomas, quum in altero agmine esset nobiscum, turpe ratus si desertis amicis non adesset, subditis equo calcaribus cum clamore in hostes tendere coepit sublato gladio, adeo vt Machlyenses vim animi non sustinuerint sed viam illi fecerint vt transiret. At ille receptis amicis, tum aduocatis et aliis, impetum fecit in Adyrmachum, impactoque in ceruicem gladio ad zonam vsque dissecuit. Quo fuso, dissipata est omnis acies Machlyensium, paulo post et Alanorum, denique cum his Graeci quoque. Atque ita redintegrato proelio nos superiores extitimus, diuque sumus insequuti trucidantes, donec nox finem imposuit. Postero die ab hostibus venerunt legati, qui supplices pacem atque amicitiam orarent. Bosporani duplicatum tributum pensuros sese pollicebantur; Machlyenses obsides daturos se confirmabant; Alani ita eam inuasionem compensaturos sese spondebant, vt Sindianos nostro nomine vellent aggredi, quibuscum multo iam tempore nobis fuerat similtas. His de rebus auditis suffragiis, in primis autem Arsacomae et Lonchatae, pax inita, duobus illis cuncta pro arbitrato suo moderantibus. Huiusmodi, Mnesippe, audent Scythae amicorum causa facere.

MNE. Tragica prorsus, o Toxari, fabulisque similia. Et propitius sit Acinaces et Ventus, per quos iurasti: si quis ista non credat, non admodum reprehendendus esse videatur.

TOX. At vide, vir egregie, ne incredulitas ista ab inuidia vestra proficiscatur. Quanquam non me deterrebis non habendo fidem, quominus et alia his consimilia referam, quae nouerim a Scythis esse gesta.

MNE. Tantum ne longum facias, vir optime, neque vsque adeo admissis vagisque vtare sermonibus, vt nunc sursum ac deorsum Scythiam Machlyanamque percurrans, deinde in Bosporum discedens, postremo rediens prorsus abutare silentio meo.

TOX. Parendum tibi et hanc praescribenti legem, dicendumque paucis, ne fatigeris vna nobiscum audiendo circumcursitans. Quin magis ausculta, quae in meipsum amicus Sisinnes nomine praestiterit. Quum enim Athenas relicta patria proficiscerer, idque cupiditate Graecanicarum litterarum, appuleram Amastrim Ponticam. Ea est vrbs haud procul a Carambe dissita in promontorio obuia iis qui a Scythia nauigant. Comitabatur autem Sisinnes mihi a puero amicus. Nos igitur vbi res quasdam importatas in portu spectassemus in eumque e naui subduxissemus, emimus nihil suspicantes mali. Interea fures quidam effracta sera sustulerunt vniuersa, adeo vt non reliquerint quod vel in eum diem sufficere posset. Ergo quum domum essemus reuersi, cognito quod

1-2 ante ... obiiciunt *B*, vterque pro altero periclitaretur *A* | 21 reprehendendus *A*, reprehendens *per errorem B*, corr. *MS C* | 34 Carambe *MS C*, Caranibe *A B* | 37 emimus *MS C*, eminus *A B*

acciderat, non visum est in ius vocare vel vicinos, qui plures erant, vel hospitem, veriti ne plerisque sycophantae videremur, si dixissemus nobis ab aliquo  
 LB 229 sublatos esse daricos quadringentos, tum vestium permultum, ad haec ta|petia  
 quaedam, denique quicquid habueramus. Consultabamus igitur hisce de rebus  
 5 quid esset faciendum omnium rerum egenis, idque in vrbe peregrina. Ac mihi  
 quidem ita visum est tum temporis, statim demerso in ilia acinace vitam fugere,  
 priusquam ignauum quippiam aut indignum esset ferendum vel fame vel siti  
 enecto. Contra Sisinnes consolabatur, obsecrans ne quid tale facerem. Aiebat  
 enim excogitasse sese, vnde nobis victus suppeteret. Et eo quidem die baiulan-  
 10 dis e portu lignis allata mercede victum suppeditauit; mane autem obambulans  
 in foro pompam quandam aspexit iuuenum (quemadmodum aiebat) elegantium  
 ac strenuorum. Hi nimirum viritim lecti, vti mercede proposita singulare certamen  
 inirent, in tertium diem erant decertaturi. Ergo quum omnes huius negotii  
 condiciones audisset, accedens ad me: Caue posthac, inquit, Toxari, ne teipsum  
 15 pauperem dixeris; siquidem tertio abhinc die diuitem te reddidero. Haec ait,  
 atque interea aegre parato victu, quum iam spectaculum esset institutum, specta-  
 bamus et ipsi; etenim assumptum me duxit in theatrum, tanquam ad iucundum  
 aliquod nouumque spectaculum Graecorum. Ergo vbi consedissemus, specta-  
 bamus. Ac primo quidem ferae partim iaculis confixae atque a canibus agitatae,  
 20 partim in homines quosdam vinctos emissae, nocentes quospiam, ita vt conii-  
 ciebamus. Vt autem prodierunt qui erant ad singulare certamen conducti, ac  
 producto iuvene quodam praegrandi, dixisset praeco: Si quisquam velit cum  
 hoc singulari certamine congreri, prodeat in medium, praemium pugnae accep-  
 turus drachmarum decem milia, ibi protinus assurrexit Sisinnes desiliens, pollice-  
 25 turque se dimicaturum, simulque poscit arma. Tum acceptam mercedem decem  
 milia mihi deferens in manum dat. Si vicerem, inquit, Toxari, vna proficiscemur,  
 suppetetque comitatus; sin cecidero, sepulto me redi rursus in Scythiam. Ego  
 quidem his auditis singultiebam. At ille sumptis armis reliquum quidem corpus  
 muniuit; at galeam nequaquam imposuit, sed nudo consistens capite pugnabat.  
 30 Et initio quidem ipse vulnus accepit, retorto gladio, succiso poplite, ita vt mul-  
 tum sanguinis deflueret. Ego interim iam metu praemortuus eram. At ille con-  
 fidentius inuadentem aduersarium obseruans ferit in pectore, transfigitque ita  
 vt protinus ad pedes illius procumberet. Ille fessus et ipse vulnere mortuo in-  
 cumbebat, parumque aberat quin ipse quoque efflaret animam. At ego accur-  
 35 rens erexi animumque reddidi. Porro vbi dimissus est iam victor declaratus,  
 sublatum illum domum deportaui, multumque temporis curatus a medicis su-  
 peruixit quidem, hodieque agit apud Scythas, ducta in matrimonium sorore mea;  
 claudus tamen adhuc est ex vulnere. Haec res, Mnesippe, non apud Machlyen-  
 ses neque in Alania gesta est, vt testibus careat et ficta credi queat, verum com-  
 40 plures extant Amastriani, qui de pugna Sisinnae memorant. Finem iam faciam,

1 in ius vocare *B*, incusare *A* | 5 egeni *A*, corr. *B* | 6 tum temporis *B*, om. *A* | 10 allata *B*, nobis allata *A* | 12 singulare *B*, om. *A* | 18 spectabamur *A*, corr. *B* | 19 quidem *B*, quidem loco *A*



si tibi quinto loco factum Abauchae rettulero. Appulit aliquando Abauchas hic in Boristenensium ciuitatem secum adducens et vxorem, quam vnice diligebat, liberos duos, alterum quidem masculum lactentem, | altera vero erat puella septem annos nata. Erat autem peregrinationis comes et huius amicus Gyndanes, atque is quidem e vulnere laborans, quod in via acceperat a latronibus, qui eos fuerant adorti; cum quibus dum pugnaret, ictus est in femore, ita vt ne stare quidem posset prae cruciatu. Itaque noctu dormientibus illis, nam forte in coenaculo quodam diuersabantur, ingens ortum est incendium, omniaque circumclusit, iamque flamma vndique domum circumdedit. Ibi experrectus Abauchas, relictis liberis plorantibus, repulsa vxore quae inhaerebat iussaue vt ipsa sese seruaret, amico in humeris sublato descendit, perrumpensque euasit, ita vt nequaquam incendio laederetur. Vxor infantem baiulans consequuta est, monens puellulam vt sese consequeretur. Ea vero semiusta, abiecto ex ulnis infante vix exiliit e flamma. Deinde puella vna cum illa veniens pene et ipsa extincta est. Post haec quum probro obiectaret quispiam Abauchae, quod desertis liberis atque vxore Gyndanem extulisset, Imo liberos, inquit, denuo parare haudquamquam difficile; tum incertum, an hi boni sint futuri. Porro amicum diu fuerit priusquam inueniam talem, qualis est Gyndanes, cuius amor mihi multis argumentis est exploratus. Dixi, Mnesippe, e pluribus his quinque propositis. Iam tempus est pronuciari, vtri nostrum aut linguam aut dexteram oporteat amputari. Quis igitur futurus est iudex?

MNE. Nemo, neque enim constitueramus narrationis arbitrum. Sed scin quid agemus? Quandoquidem in praesentiarum nullo proposito scopo sumus iaculati, de integro delecto arbitro alia amicorum paria apud illum referamus; deinde vter succubuerit, ei tum quidem amputetur vel mihi lingua vel tibi dextra. Aut, si hoc crudele, quando tu amicitiam admirari visus es, ego nihilo secius puto nullam esse mortalibus possessionem hac praestantiolem neque pulchriorem, quin ipsi quoque in vnum copulati illud approbamus, vt ex hoc die in totam vsque vitam simus amici, vtrique victores, vtrique maximis potiti praemiis, videlicet pro vnica lingua vnaque dextra binas vterque habituri, atque insuper oculos quoque quaternos pedesque quaternos, in summa duplicia omnia. Eiusmodi namque quiddam est, quum duo tresque copulantur amici, qualem Ge-ryonem scriptores depingunt, senis manibus ternisque capitibus hominem. Si quidem (vt mea fert opinio) tres illi fuerunt qui communiter omnia gererent, vt dignum est his qui amicitia coniuncti sunt.

TOX. Probe dicis, atque ita faciamus.

MNE. Verum neque sanguine opus est, Toxaris, neque Acinace, qui nobis amicitiam confirmet. Haec enim confabulatio, et quod eadem amamus, id multo certius est calice illo quem bibitis, propterea quod huiusmodi non obligationem sed animum postulare mihi videntur.

12 laederetur *B*, dederetur *A* | 23 Quandoquidem *B*, quin *A* | 24 delecto *A*, corr. *B* | 33 senis *B*, saeuus *A*

ΤΟΧ. Placent ista, iamque amici atque hospites simus; tu mihi hic in Graecia, ego tibi, si quando in Scythiam perueneris.

ΜΝΕ. Nimirum ut sis sciens, nequaquam me pigeat vel longius etiam proficisci, si tales amicos nancisci liceat, qualem esse te, Toxari, ex tua oratione coniicio.

ORNATISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI D. RENATO EPISCOPO CARNVTENSI LB 229  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CANONICVS ORDINIS DIVI AVRELII  
AVGVSTINI S.P.D.

Quum multis modis compertum haberem, ornatissime pater, quam candidè de  
meo ingeniolo meisque nugis sentias, vir alioqui naris emunctissimae, profectu- 5  
rus in Italiam, vt esset interim quod te tui Erasmi commonefaceret, Luciani  
Pseudomantem misi, scelestissimum quidem illum, sed quo nemo sit vtilior ad  
depraehendendas coarguendasque quorundam istorum imposturas, qui nunc  
quoque vel magicis miraculis, vel ficta religione, vel adsimulatis condonationi-  
bus aliisque id genus praestigiis, vulgo fucum facere solent. Eum igitur leges 10  
(vti spero) non modo cum fructu aliquo, verum etiam summa cum voluptate,  
propterea quod excellentia tua, quanquam praeter generis claritatem, fortunae  
splendorem, muneris auctoritatem, seriis illis ac tetricis in studiis est absoluta,  
tamen propter summam ingenii festiuitatem miramque morum iucunditatem  
non solet admodum ab his etiam elegantioribus Musis abhorrere ac frugiferas 15  
has nugas arduis illis negociis libenter intermiscere. Porro quicquid est vel nigri  
salis quem Momo tribuunt, vel candidi quem Mercurio asscribunt, id omne in  
vno Luciano copiosissime reperias licebit.

Carnutensis oppidi tam splendidum profecto tamque celebre phanum fulmine  
conflagrasse, dici non potest quam feram acerbe. Vale. 20

5 sentias *A*, tum sentias, tum praedices *C* | 5-6 profecturus ... esset *A*, iamque ad Italicum  
iter accincto, per itineris comites non liceret celsitudinem tuam interuisere, vt esset tamen  
*C* | 7 sceleratissimum *C*; nemo *A*, non alius *C* | 8-9 nunc quoque *A*, hisce quoque temporibus  
*C* | 12 excellentia tua quanquam *A*, intelligam te licet *C* | 13-15 in studiis ... solet *A*,  
studiis absolutum non solere tamen *C* | 15-16 ac frugiferas ... illis *A*, et huiusmodi lusus,  
nec inamoenos nec infrugiferos, arduis *C* | 20 Vale *A*, Bene vale in reditum ex Italia nos-  
trum. Lutecia, Anno M.D.V. *C*

## ALEXANDER SEV PSEVDOMANTIS

LB 231 Tu quidem, charissime Celse, leuem forte quandam ac facilem prouinciam tibi  
 mandare videris, quum iniungis vt Alexandri Abonotichitae impostoris vitam,  
 commenta, neque non audaciam praestigiasque libro complexus volumen ad te  
 5 transmittam. Verum si quis ea conetur omnia ad plenum enarrare, id profecto  
 non minoris sit negotii quam Alexandri eius, cui Philippus fuit pater, res gestas  
 litteris prodere: tantus hic scelere, quantus ille virtute. Attamen si candide ig-  
 noscenterque legere voles, et quod narrationi deerit, id ex te imputare atque  
 addere, conatum hunc te authore capessam, et Augei bubile si non omne, at  
 10 certe pro mea virili repurgare nitar, paucis aliquot elatis cophinis; nimirum vt  
 ex his coniecturam facias, quantus quamque immensus fuerit fimus vniuersus,  
 quem ter mille boues multis annis reddere potuerint. Sed amborum interim no-  
 mine calumniam vereor, tuo pariter ac meo: tuo, qui iubeas memoriae littera-  
 rumque monumentis tradi virum longe sceleratissimum; meo, qui sumam ope-  
 15 ram in huiusmodi narratione rebusque gestis hominis, quem nequaquam oport-  
 tebat ab eruditis legi, sed in frequentissimo quopiam et amplissimo theatro  
 spectari a simiis aut vulpibus discerptum. Quanquam si quis hoc crimen nobis  
 impegerit, poterimus et ipsi nos exemplo quodam simili tueri. Etenim Arrianus  
 ille discipulus Epicteti, vir inter Romanos cum primis laudatus ac per omnem  
 20 vitam in litterarum studio versatus, quum simile quiddam fecerit, pro nobis  
 quoque responsurus est. Nam is quidem Tillibori latronis vitam describere non  
 est grauatus. Nos vero multo crudeliorem latronem memoriae prodemus, quip-  
 pe qui non in syluis ac montibus sed ipsis in vrbibus sit latrocinatus; nequequi,  
 Minyam tantum aut Idam sit pergrassatus neque paucas quasdam Asiae part es  
 25 videlicet desertiores, depopulatus, sed qui vniuersam (vt ita dixerim) Romano-  
 rum ditionem suo complerit latrocinio.

Ac primum tibi depingam hominem, effigiem eius quoad potero proxime  
 verbis adumbrans, tametsi non sum admodum pingendi peritus. Corpore igitur,

3 mandare *B*, *om.* *A* | 7 celere *A*, *corr.* *B* | 9 Augei *A B C*, Augae *D*, Augiae *E* | 10 repurgare  
*B*, repugnare *A* | 14 virum *B*, verum *A* | 21–22 describere non est grauatus *B*, descripsit *A*

vt interim et hoc tibi repraesentem, procerus erat et aspectu decorus, planeque specie diuina quadam ac maiestatis plena, colore candido, barba non admodum hirsuta, coma partim natiua tectus, partim appositicia, sed hac adeo scienter efficta, vt vulgus fere non sentisceret imitatam asciticamque esse. Oculi vehementer acres ac versatiles, tum diuinum quiddam relucentes; vox dulcissima 5 pariterque clarissima. In summa, quoad has res nulla ex parte poterat improbari. Ac figura quidem hominis erat huiusmodi; caeterum mens atque animus – O malorum depulsor Hercules, et auersor tristium Iuppiter seruatoresque Dioscuri, in hostes potius contingat incidere, quam cum eiusmodi quopiam habere commercium. Siquidem ingenio, sollertia, acumine longe praestabat caeteris 10 mortalibus. Tum curiositas, docilitas, memoria, et ad disciplinas ingenii felicitas, horum vnumquodque supra quam dici possit illi suppetebat, quibus tamen pessimam in partem est vsus; et quum haberet arma tam egregia sibi suppeditata, ilico nimirum omnium qui essent sceleribus nobilitati facile summus euasit, vel superior Cercopibus, Eurybato, Phrynonda, Aristodemo, Sostrato. Nam 15 ipse quum aliquando Rutiliano scriberet genero modestissimeque de se loqueretur, Pythagorae semet adsimilabat. Atqui veniam mihi dabit Pythagoras, vir ille quidem sapiens ac mente diuina; caeterum si huius aetate vixisset, puer (sat scio) prae hoc visus fuisset. Sed heus tu per Gratias, caue putes haec in Pythagorae contumeliam me dicere, quasi velim eos similitudine rerum gestarum 20 committere. Verum si quis deterrima quaeque et probrosissima, quae de Pythagora per calumniam feruntur (quibus equidem haudquaquam fidem perinde vt veris habuerim), si quis tamen conferat in vnum, ea nimirum omnia vix etiam minimam particulam adaequent Alexandrinae versutiae. Prorsum enim imaginare mihi et cogitatione finge quam maxime variam ingenii temperaturam 25 indolemque ex mendacio, dolis, periuriis, maleficiisque confusam, promptam, audacem, versatilem et ad efficiendum quae cogitasset nullum refugientem laborem, appositam ad persuadendum, cuique facile fides habenda videretur; tum quae mire simularet optima, quaeque ea quae a mente essent diuersissima prae se ferret. Primum igitur nemo cum illo congressus est, qui non hac cum opinione 30 discesserit, vt eum mortalium omnium optimum aequissimumque, praeterea simplicissimum minimeque fallacem iudicaret. Accedebat ad haec omnia grandium rerum conatus, quum nihil pusillum cogitaret, sed ad maxima semper appelleret animum.

Ita quum esset adolescentulus adhuc formosus admodum, aetate videlicet 35 tenera ac velut herbescente, id quod licebat partim e stipula conicere, partim audire ex his qui ita praedicabant, passim sese prostituebat, ac mercede sui copiam faciebat iis quibus lubitum fuisset. Inter multos autem incidit in hunc amans quidam praestigiator, ex eorum numero qui magiam et diuinas incantationes profitentur, tum illectamenta ad conciliandam in amoribus gratiam, malorum immissiones in hostes, rationem eruendi reperiendique thesauros, haere-

ditatum successiones. Hic vbi conspiceret bene ingeniatum puerum atque ad subministrandum arti negocioque suo propensissimum, vtpote qui non minus illius adamaret maleficium quam ipse huius formam, erudiit eum, semperque deinceps pro adiutore ministroque est vsus. At is publicitus quidem et apud vul-  
 5 gus medicum scilicet agebat; didicerat autem apud Thoonis Aegyptii coniugem

*Pharmaca mixta, salubria multa, at noxia multa.*

Quorum omnium successor hic atque haeres factus est. Porro doctor ille et idem amator natione Tyanaeus erat, videlicet ex eorum numero, qui cum egregio Apollonio Tyanaeo illo erant versati totamque illius tragoediam pernouerant. Vides quanam e schola tibi hominem refero?  
 10

Verum vbi iam barba plenus esset Alexander, Tyanaeo illo vita defuncto, in egestatem redactus, deflorescente simul et forma, vnde victum parare licuisset, nihil postea paruum agitabat animo. Sed inito commercio cum Byzantino quopiam annalium scriptore viro, qui in certamina descendunt, omnium ingenii longe sceleratissimi (Cocconas, opinor, erat cognomen), circumibant imposturis ludificantes ac pingues homines (sic enim illi peculiari magorum lingua vulgus appellat) detondentes. In his Macetim mulierem opulentam nacti sunt, natu quidem grauiorem illam quam vt amoribus esset idonea, sed quae studeret etiamdum amabilis haberi. Ab hac victus copia suppeditabatur, atque hanc ex  
 20 Bithynia in Macedoniam vsque sunt consequuti. Nam illi patria erat Pelle, qui locus olim floruit sub Macedonicis regibus; nunc a paucis, iisque obscuris et humilibus incolitur. Ibi quum conspicerent immani magnitudine dracones placidos admodum ac mansuetos, adeo vt a mulieribus alerentur et cum pueris vna cubarent, et calcantes ferrent neque commouerentur, si quis stringeret premeretque; denique perinde atque infantes lac e papilla sugerent (nam sunt id genus apud illos permulti, vnde verisimile est olim illam de Olympiade fabulam increbuisse, quum Alexandrum conciperet, huiusmodi dracone quopiam. opinor, cum ea concumbente), mercati sunt ex his serpentibus vnum, qui esset pulcherrimus, obolis sane paucis. Atque (vt Thucydidis vtar verbis) *hinc iam bellum*  
 25 *oritur*: nimirum | quum duo facinorosissimi et immani audacia praediti, neque  
 LB 233 non ad maleficia promptissimi, societatem iniissent, facile perpenderunt haec  
 31 duo potissimum in hominum vita tyrannidem obtinere, spem ac metum, quorum vtroque si quis ad commoditatem vteretur, fore vt is ilico ditesceret. Si quidem vtrique iuxta vel ei qui metu laboraret vel huic qui spe teneretur videbant praescientiam quam maxime necessariam esse summeque desiderari, atque  
 35 hac via Delphos olim fuisse ditatos factosque celebres; praeterea Delum, Clarum et Branchydas, nimirum hominibus per hos, quos modo dixi, tyrannos, nempe spem ac metum, ad sacra confluentibus ac futura praediscere cupientibus

4 adiutore ministroque *B*, ministro *A* | 6 Carmen Homericum \**A* \**MS* \**C*, in *textu B* | 8 egregio *B*, *om. A* | 9 illo *B*, diligenter *A* | 15 cognomen *B*, nomen *A* | 23 mulieribus *B*, mulierculis *A*; alerentur *MS C*, adirentur *B*, aderentur *A* | 37 Branchydas *E*, Branchydes *A B C D* | 38 nempe spem ac metum *B*, *om. A*

atque huius rei gratia hecatombas immolantibus aureosque dedicantibus lateres. Haec vbi inter sese versassent vltroque ac citro agitassent, visum est vaticinium oraculumque constituere; etenim si res ea processisset, sperabant se protinus diuites atque foelices fore. Quod quidem negocium magnificentius etiam illis successit quam expectauerant initio, et vel spe melius euenit.

Hinc iam spectare coeperunt, primum quidem de loco, deinde quonam exordio quauere ratione negocium oporteret auspicari. Cocconas igitur Chalcedonem opportunam esse censuit, vtpote regionem a negociatoribus frequentatam, tum Thraciae Bithyniaeque confinem, neque longe dissitam ab Asia Galatiaque, cunctis item imminentibus populis. At e diuerso patriam suam praetulit Alexander; nam aiebat, id quod erat res, ad huiusmodi negociorum auspicationem aggressionemque hominibus opus esse crassis et stolidis, et qui viderentur admisuri; cuiusmodi Paphlages affirmabat esse hos, qui supra Aboni murum incolunt; nempe superstitiosos plerosque ac stolidos, qui si quis tantum apparuisset tibicinem aut tympanistam aut qui cymbala pulsaret secum adducens, cribro (quod aiunt) vaticinans, ilico vehementer omnes in illum inhient, et perinde vt coelitum quempiam intueantur. Hac de re quum controuersiae nonnihil inter illos fuisset, tandem vicit Alexander. Itaque profecti Chalcedonem (nam id oppidum visum est hac parte habere nonnihil ipsis conducibile), in Apollinis templo, quod est apud Chalcedonios vetustissimum, aereas defodiunt tabellulas, quae dicerent breui admodum Aesculapium vna cum patre Apolline in Pontum aduenturum atque Aboni murum inhabitaturum. Eae tabellae quum essent de industria repertae, facile effecerunt vt hic rumor in omnem vsque Bithyniam ac Pontum dimanaret, multo autem ante alios in Aboni murum; nam hi protinus statuerant etiam templum erigere, iamque fundamentis locum effoderant. Hic igitur in Chalcedone relictus, Cocconas ancipitia quaedam atque ambigua obliquaque conscripsit responsa. Deinde paulo post diem obit, a vipera (sicut opinor) ictus; in huius demortui locum accersitur Alexander, ac succedit iam comatus caesarieque promissa, tunicam indutus purpuream albo intermixtam, supra eam veste amictus candida, falcem tenens exemplo Persei, a quo se maternum genus ducere praedicabat. At perditissimi ille Paphlages quum ambos illius nossent parentes obscuros atque humiles, tamen oraculo crediderunt ita canenti:

Persides genere gratus Phoebo iste videtur  
Dius Alexander Podaliri sanguine cretus.

Hic nimirum Podalirius libidinosus erat ac natura mulierosus, adeo vt a Tricca ad Paphlagoniam vsque in Alexandri matrem sit incitatus illectusque. Repertum est aliud oraculum, quasi Sibyllae praediuinantis:

Ad maris Euxini littus iuxtaque Sinopam  
Tirsidae erit quidam Ausonia de gente sacerdos;  
Qui prima ex monade tribus ac decadis reserabit

Quinque alias monades, vicenaque ter repetita  
 Quadrorbem numerum, referentem nomina diui,  
 Qui veniet laturus opem mortalibus aegris.

Alexander itaque multo post in patriam irruens cum eiusmodi tragoedia conspicuus erat ac splendidus; quum interim furore afflatum sese nonnunquam  
 5 adsimulabat, ore spuma completo, id quod ille facile efficiebat, radicae (ea est herba lauandis lanis idonea) radice commanducata. Caeterum illis diuinum quiddam ac formidandum spuma videbatur. At multo antea sibi finxerant paraue-  
 rantque e linteis confectum draconis caput, quod speciem quandam humanam  
 LB 234 prae se ferret, colorum fucis mire adsimulatum, quodque pilis equinis os et  
 11 aperiret et clauderet. Tum lingua (sicut est draconum) bisulca atra prominebat, quae et ipsa pilis agebatur. Porro Pellaeus ille draco iam pridem erat in promptu, domique alebatur, quum res postularet, tum ab illis proferendus, vnaque in partem tragoediam acturus, vel princeps potius huius futurus fabulae.

15 Iam vero, vt erat maturum aggredi, tale quiddam machinatur, noctu veniens ad templi fundamenta nuper effossa. Constiterat autem in eis aqua, siue quod ea indidem alicunde destillauerat, siue quod ex aethere deciderat. Illic ouum antea excauatum deponit, quod quidem intus occultabat foetum recens aeditum serpentis. Id quum alte demersisset in abditas luti cauernas, rursum illinc dis-  
 20 ccessit. At mane quum in forum prosiliisset nudus, nisi quod subligari circum pudenda tectus erat, eoque inaurato; tum falcem illam gestans simulque solutam ventilans iactansque comam, eorum more qui a Cybele deorum matre afflati conueniunt ac numine rapiuntur; conscensa sublimi quapiam ara concionabatur, ciuitatem eam beatam esse praedicans, quae mox deum propalam esset ostensura mortalibus. Porro qui aderant (nam concurrerat vniuersa prope ciuitas)  
 25 vna cum mulieribus senibus pueris admirabantur, ac vota facientes adorabant. At ille voces quasdam sonans incognitas nihilque significantes, cuiusmodi sint Hebraeorum aut Phoenicum, attonitos eos reddebat, vt qui nihil intelligerent eorum quae dicebat, nisi solum hoc, quod Apollinem Aesculapiumque passim  
 30 admiscebat. Sub haec ad institutum templum curriculo fugiebat, accedensque ad fossam ac fontem illum quem iam ante conditum oraculum praestruxerant, ingressus aquam magna voce canebat laudes Apollinis et Aesculapii, inuitabatque deum, vti dexter ac foelix in ciuitatem adueniret. Deinde phialam postulat; eam porrectam a quopiam facile immergens, vna cum aqua lutoque haurit et  
 35 ouum illud, in quo nimirum ille deum concluderat, candida cera cerussaque commissuram operculi ferruminans. Id quum manu cepisset, affirmabat iam Aesculapium tenere sese. Interim illi stupidis defixisque intuebantur oculis, expectantes quidnam esset futurum postea, iamdudum admirantes ouum in aqua repertum. Porro posteaquam fregisset idem caua vola compressum, ac

4 multo ... irruens *B*, sepius inuectus in patriam *A* | 12 ipsa *B*, *om.* *A* | 27 sonans *B*, *om.* *A* | 32 inuitabatque *B*, mutabatque *A* | 34 lutoque *B*, *om.* *A*



serpentis illius foetum exclusum excepisset, simulatque mouentem hunc sese  
 conspicerent ii qui aderant, ac digitis circumuoluentem, protinus vocem tolle-  
 bant, deumque consalutabant ac ciuitatem eam fortunatam esse dictitabant, sin-  
 gulique affatim votis implebantur, thesauros, opes, prosperam valetudinem  
 aliaque id genus ab illo flagitantes bona. Hic ille rursus cursim sese domum  
 5 abripuit, vna secum asportans modo aeditum in lucem Aesculapium, bis natum  
 scilicet, quum semel duntaxat nascantur homines, atque eum non ex Coronide  
 per Iouem, id est cornicula (nam id matris nomen fertur) neque ex cornice ve-  
 rum ex ansere progenitum. Populus autem vniuersus consequbatur, omnes  
 afflati deo atque ob spes animo conceptas furore correpti. Interdiu igitur se  
 10 domi continebat, sperans fore, id quod et euenit, vt fama permoti Paphlago-  
 num pars maxima concurreret. Ergo posteaquam vrbs ita esset hominibus re-  
 ferta, vt iam redundaret, sed quibus omnibus iam antea tum cerebrum, tum cor  
 esset exemptum, nec vlla parte similes viderentur viris pane victitantibus (vt  
 loquuntur poetae), verum qui praeter solam figuram nihil a pecudibus distarent,  
 15 in aediculis quibusdam in lecto residens, eo videlicet ornatu qui vatem mire  
 deceret, imponit in sinum Pellaeum illum Aesculapium, qui quidem erat, vt  
 dictum est, maximus pulcherrimusque. Hunc totum vbi collo circumdedisset,  
 caudam foras prominere sinens – erat autem ingens adeo, vt quum per pectus  
 illius effunderetur, pars tamen humi traheretur, – solum autem caput sub alis  
 20 abditum teneret, illo nimirum omnia ferente, linteaceum illud draconis caput  
 altera in amictus parte contextum ostendebat, quod prorsum illius esse draconis  
 videretur, qui a pectore prominebat scilicet. Iam vero mihi cogita aediculas non  
 admodum illustres nec ad satietatem vsque luminis capaces, tum turbam homi-  
 num conuenarum, quique aliis ex locis alii concurrissent, tumultuantes ac,  
 25 prius etiam quam ista viderent, mente attoniti stupefactique, denique spebus  
 illis sublatis; quibus ingressis, non mirum si res visa est portentosa, videlicet ex  
 modo pusillo serpente intra pauculos dies | tam immanem extitisse draconem  
 humana specie, atque eum insuper mansuetum tractabilemque. Protinus autem  
 30 ad exitum properabant, et priusquam exactius essent contemplati, protrudeban-  
 tur ab iis, qui noui semper ingrediebantur. Porro e regione ianuae, per quam  
 intrabatur, patefactum erat et aliud ostium, per quod exiretur. Cuiusmodi quid-  
 dam et Macedonas in Babylone fecisse ferunt in Alexandri morbo, quum ille  
 grauiter iam aegrotaret, illi obsessa regia desiderarent eum intueri ac supremum  
 35 alloqui. Atque hoc spectaculi scelestus hic non semel, verum crebrius exhibuisse  
 dicitur, maxime si qui diuites aduenissent recentiores ac nouicii.

Hoc loco, mi charissime Celse, si vera fateri volumus, aequum est veniam  
 dare Paphlagonibus ac Ponticis illis, hominibus nimirum crassis et ineruditis,  
 si delusi sunt, quum draconem manu contingerent; nam hoc quoque largie-  
 40 batur Alexander iis qui voluissent; quumque conspicerent in dubia malig-

8 id est ... cornice *D*, neque coruo *A B C* | 22 esse *B*, sese *A* | 23 prominebatur *A*,  
*corr. B*

naque luce imitatum illud illius caput, os scilicet nunc aperiens, nunc claudens, tanto artificio, vt res plane Democritum aliquem requireret aut certe Epicurum Metrodorumue aut alium huiusmodi quempiam, qui prorsus adamantinam aduersus haec atque id genus alia mentem obtineret; qui nullo pacto crederet,  
 5 quique vel quid esset rei coniecturis colligeret, vel si viam etiam modumque peruestigare non quiret, illud tamen antea sibi persuasum haberet, fugere quidem sese modum rationemque praestigiaturae, caeterum quicquid esset negotii, prorsus simulatum fucatumque esse, ac ne fieri quidem vlla ratione potuisse. Paucis ergo diebus confluit tum Bithynia, tum Galatia Thraciaque, eorum qui  
 10 renuntiabant vnoquoque, vt fit, affirmante sese primum nascentem vidisse deum, deinde paulo post eundem contrectasse iam grandem admodum factum, vultu etiam homini adsimilem. Accedebant ad haec picturae, imagines, signa deum referentia, partim ex aere, partim argento efficta. Postremo nomen etiam inditum; nam Glycon appellatus est, idque iussu diuino carmine prodito. Ad  
 15 hunc enim modum eloquutus est Alexander:

Sum ille Glycon, hominum lux, ex Ioue tertia proles.

Ast vbi iam maturum esset vt, cuius rei gratia hactenus omnia fuerant excogitata, responsa quoque redderet iis qui requisuissent diuinaeque, accepta videlicet ansa ab Antilocho, qui apud Cilices vatem egerat; nam is quoque post patris  
 20 Amphiarei interitum, posteaque quam ille inter Thebanos extare desiisset, patria pulsus atque in Ciliciam profectus, haud incommode rem gessit, quum Cilicibus euentura praediceret, binos obolos pro singulis accipiens responsis; ab hoc, inquam, arrepta ansa praedicit Alexander omnibus qui aduenerant, fore vt deus ipse responsa daret, eiusque rei diem quendam certum praeloquutus est.  
 25 Iussit autem vt quisque quod videretur quodque maxime discere vellet, id in libello conscriberet, eumque funiculis obuinctum cera argillaue aut simili re quapiam obsignaret. Se vero receptis libellis, quum subisset adyta (iam enim oraculum erat extractum, et apparatus cortinae), ordine per praeconem ac theologum euocaturum eos qui tradidissent; dehinc vbi de singulis esset edoctus a  
 30 deo, libellos redditurum, ita vt traditi fuerant obsignatos, subscripto illis responso pro cuiusque argumento, deo nimirum respondente, quacunque de re quis esset sciscitatus. Erat autem hic dolus homini cuiusmodi tu es, aut etiam (si modo dictu non est inuidiosum) cuiusmodi sum ego manifestarius neque difficilis animaduersu, verum idiotis, quibusque nares essent mucro obsitae  
 35 minimeque emunctae, prodigiosum planeque incredibile quiddam esse videbatur. Etenim quum varias esset commentus artes, quibus signa tollerentur, quae quisque sciscitabatur, ea legebat, atque ita quae viderentur ad interrogata respondebat. Deinde rursum obuincta obsignataque reddebat, non sine summa admiratione eorum qui recipiebant. Plurimus enim hic inter illos erat sermo,

4 crederet *B*, recederet *A* | 6 peruestigare *ABCD*, praeuestigare *E* | 27 quum subisset adyta *B*, subitisque adytis *A* | 36 esset commentus *B*, teneret *A*

qui tandem scire potuisset iste, quae ego illi tradidi sane quam diligenter obsignata signis imitatu neutiquam facilibus, nisi reuera deus esset quispiam, cui cuncta sint perspicua. Sed iam quibus artibus id effecerit, forsitan a me requires. Accipe, quo videlicet imposturas eiusmodi deprehendere queas et coargue- 5  
re. Prima ratio sic habebat, Celse charissime. Eam cerae partem quae post signum haerebat acu candefacta liquefactam diducebat; tum, vbi legisset, rursum | calefactam acu ceram eam quae a tergo funiculi fuerat, signo eodem manente, LB 236  
facile coagmentabat. Porro secundus modus constat per id, quod collyrium vocant. Id conficitur ex pice Beryttia, bitumine ac lapide perspicuo trito, tum cera et masticha. Confectum igitur ex his omnibus collyrium igni calfactum, 10  
inuncto prius suillo pingui, signo applicabat ac symboli figuram excipiebat. Id simulatque siccum esset factum (siccabatur autem protinus), commode resignabat libellos; quibus perlectis, impositae cerae denuo perinde atque e lapide signum idem imprimebat ad archetypi similitudinem mire effectum. Post haec iam tertiam accipe rationem. Calce in gluten iniecta, quo vulgo codicillos adglutinant, atque ex his confecta ceu cera, mollem adhuc eam admouebat signo, statimque detrahebat. Nam ilico siccescit, adeo vt cornu vel ferro potius reddatur solidius. Hac ad imprimendum signum vti consueuerat. Sunt praeter has et aliae complures viae, quas omnes referre nihil necesse est, ne parum videar modestus, maxime quum tu in his quos de magorum artibus conscripsisti commentariis tum pulcherrimis tum vtilissimis, quique modestos reddere queant si quis in eis euoluendis versetur, abunde multa retuleris longeque his nostris copiosiora.

Reddebat igitur oracula diuinabatque, non mediocri ad eam rem vtens ingenio arteque negocium reddens probabilius, dum aliis obliqua quaedam et ambigua 25  
respondet ad ea quae proponebantur, aliis penitus obscura, quandoquidem et hoc oraculis ille conuenire iudicabat. Alios item deterrebat, alios adhortabatur, prout sibi magis conducere coniectasset. Nonnullis remedia morborum vitaeque rationes praescribebat, quum sciret (vt initio diximus) complura atque efficacia pharmaca. Maiorem autem in modum Cytmidēs ab illo probabantur, id est 30  
nomen confictum emplastri vrsino adipe confecti. Porro spes rerumque successus et incrementa neque non haereditatum obuentus semper in aliud tempus reiciebat, illud interim addens: Cuncta haec tum obtingent, quum ipse volam, quumque vates meus Alexander me rogabit, proque vobis vota faciet. Denique merces erat vnicuique responso praestituta, nempe drachma cum obolis duobus. 35  
Ne vero pusillum aut exiguum fuisse putes, amice, hunc quaestum, quum in annos singulos ad septuaginta aut octoginta milia redierit, vsqueadeo avidis et insatiabilibus hominibus, vt singuli supra decem aut quindecim rogationes traderent. Caeterum ea quae capiebat, non ipse solus solitus est insumere, nec rursus ad congerendas opes in thesaurum reponere, verum complureis et alios 40

5 Celse charissime *B*, *om.* *A* | 13 perlectis *A B C*, pralectis *D* | 28–29 remedia ... rationes *B*, dietas remediaque *A* | 31 adipe *B*, ex adype *A*

habebat secum adiutores ac ministros, tum qui scitarentur, qui versibus oracula conderent, qui responsa seruarent, qui subscriberent, qui obsignarent, qui interpretarentur, quorum vniciuique pro dignitate meritoque lucrum impartiebat. Ad haec nonnullos foras et in longinquas regiones emandarat, qui famam eius  
 5 oraculi inter gentes dissiparent, affirmantes ipsum etiam praedicere reuocareque fugitiuos, fures ac praedones indicare, thesauros effodiendos ostendere, morbo laborantibus mederi, quosdam etiam vita defunctos in vitam reuocare. Concurreretur igitur vndiquaque, magnoque tumultu concitati adproperabant, sacrificabatur, dicabantur munera eaque duplicata, prophetae discipuloque dei.  
 10 Iam enim et tale quoddam oraculum exierat:

Muneribus decorare meum vatem atque ministrum  
 Praecipio: nec opum mihi cura, at maxima vatis.

Verum vbi iam plerique, quibus mentis plusculum inerat, non secus atque ex  
 15 alta ebrietate resipiscentes conspirassent in illum, praesertim ex his qui studebant Epicuro, iamque paulatim in oppidis deprehenderetur vniuersa praestigiatura fictusque fabulae apparatus, horrendum quiddam in eos aedidit, dicens impiis et Christianis impleri Pontum, qui non vererentur in sese turpissime maledicere: eos iussit lapidibus pellerent, si modo vellent propicium habere deum. Porro super Epicuro huiusmodi quoddam oraculum prodidit. Sciscitanti cuiquam, quid ageret apud inferos Epicurus, 'plumbeis' inquit 'compedibus vinctus in coeno desidet'. Et adhuc miraris, si magnopere creuit eius celebritas oraculi, quum videas interrogationes adeuntium quam sint prudentes quamque eruditae? Modis autem omnibus bellum erat illi cum Epicuro saeuum  
 20 et irreconciliabile, idque iure optimo. Nam cum quo tandem iustius | bellum gerat homo praestigiator et monstrosus ac portentis amicus, veris inimicissimus, quam cum Epicuro, viro videlicet qui rerum naturam perspectam haberet, quique vnus quid in his esset verum videret? Nam Platoni, Chrysippo aut Pythagorae erat amicus, atque alta cum illis pax intercedebat. At intractabilis ille Epicurus (sic enim appellat eum) erat illi plurimum inuisus, atque id merito:  
 30 quippe qui haec omnia ridicula ac ludicra duceret. Quam ob causam inter vrbes Ponticas Amastrim in primis habebat exosam, eo quod acceperat eos, qui cum Lepido erant, alios item horum consimiles quamplurimos ea in ciuitate versari. Neque unquam Amastrino cuiquam oraculum reddidit; quin vbi conaretur etiam fratri proconsulis respondere, deridicule profecto discessit, quum nec  
 35 ipse quemadmodum idoneum oraculum fingeret inueniret, nec haberet qui sibi in tempore posset componere. Nam quum ille de stomachi dolore conquirenti vellet praescribere, vti suillum pedem cum malua praeparatum ederet, hunc in modum ait:

Maluca porcorum sacra cuminato Sipydno.

27-28 Platoni Chrysippo aut Pythagorae *B*, qui Platonem Chrysippum aut Pythagoram sequerentur iis *A* | 29 appellat *B*, appellabat *A* | 36 conquirenti *C*, conquirenti *A B*

Crebrius autem (vti iam diximus) draconem ostendebat iis qui vellent, haud totum tamen, sed caudam potissimum ac reliquum corpus oculis exponens; caput vero, ne videri posset, abditum in sinu seruabat.

Verum quo magis etiam redderet attonitam multitudinem, pollicitus est sese exhibiturum ipsum deum loquentem, citraque interpretem aedentem oracula. 5  
Deinde non magno negotio, gruum arteriis contextis ac per lineum illud draconis caput, quod erat arte adsimulatum, insertis, alio quopiam per has foris insonante, responsitabat ad ea quae proponebantur, voce nimirum per lintheum illum Aesculapium ad aures promanante. Huiusmodi responsa ἀντόφωνα dicebantur, id est, ipsius voce reddita, neque quibuslibet neque passim dabantur, 10  
verum splendidis modo atque opulenti et qui grandia largirentur. Itaque quod Seueriano redditum est super expeditione in Armeniam suscipienda ex Autophonis erat. Adhortans enim illum ad incursum eius regionis, sic ait:

Parthis Armeniisque citato Marte subactis  
Romam urbem repetes et claras Tybridis vndas, 15  
Vertice certa gerens radiis distincta serenis.

Deinde posteaquam vecors ille Gallus persuasus incursionem fecisset, euenissetque vt vna cum exercitu caederetur ab Othryade, hoc oraculum e monumentis sustulit, atque aliud in eius locum substituit huiusmodi:

Agmen in Armenios ne duc; neque enim expedit isthuc, 20  
Ne tibi foemineis vir amictus vestibus arcu  
Exitium immittat, vitaeque ac lumine priuet.

Siquidem et hoc interim callidissime fuerat commentus, vt posterioribus substituticiisque responsis ea quae perperam maleque euenissent sarciret ac mederetur. Saepius enim aegrotis priusquam morerentur praedixerat fore vt reualescerent; quibus morientibus alterum oraculum ilico paratum erat, quod superiori diuersa caneret:

Posthac desine opem morbo petere exitiali;  
Mors etenim manifesta, nec euitare licebit.

Porro quum non ignoraret, qui in Claro ac Didymis Malloque responsa ferebant, ipsos quoque huiusmodi quadam arte diuinandi celebres haberi, eos sibi reddebat amicos, plerosque consultorum ad illos remittens, his verbis: 30

Nunc Claron ito, mei vocem patris auditorus;

et rursus:

Branchydica accedas adyta, atque oracula quaeras; 35

et iterum:

Mallon abi, Amphilochi quaerens oracula vatis.

Et hactenus quidem de iis, quae intra patriae fines vsque ad Ioniam, Ciliciam, Paphlagoniam Galatiamque designauit.

Vt vero et in Italiam oraculi fama permanuit, inque ipsam Romanorum  
 5 vrbem, iam nemo omnium erat, qui non alius alium anteuertere studeret, dum  
 hi quidem eo proficiscuntur ipsi, illi vero mittunt, potissimum hi qui potentia  
 atque autoritate plurimum in republica pollebant. Quibus princeps quasque  
 signifer extitit Rutilianus, vir alias quidem honestus ac probus, tum compluri-  
 10 ribus in praeliis Romanorum spectatae virtutis, sed qui in his quae ad deos per-  
 tinent parum sane saperet, vt cui prodigiosa quaedam de illis essent persuasa,  
 adeo vt sicubi lapidem vel inunctum vel coronatum conspexisset, continuo  
 LB 238 procideret at|que adoraret, ac diutius aduolutus vota faceret, bonaque ac laeta  
 ab illo postularet. Hic igitur simulatque de oraculo inaudisset, parum aberat  
 quin omisso quem tenebat exercitu, in Aboni murum auolarit; alios autem post  
 15 alios eo legabat. Porro qui mittebantur, seruuli nimirum idiotae quidam facile  
 decepti, domum redibant, referentes partim quae viderant, partim tanquam  
 vidissent audissentque, permulta insuper accumulantes illis, quo domino fie-  
 rent commendatiores. Inflammarunt itaque senem infoelicem, et in vehemen-  
 tem insaniam impulerunt. At ille passim ad omnes amicos accedens, quos habe-  
 20 bat quum plurimos tum potentissimos, enarrabat partim ea quae ab iis quos  
 miserat accepisset, partim quae ex sese effinxerat. Et ad eum modum iste com-  
 pleuit vrbem concitauitque, quam plurimis item aulicis expauefactis atque atto-  
 nitis. Qui protinus et ipsi cupiditate flagrare coeperunt, vt aliquid suis de rebus  
 audirent. Porro Alexander aduenientes comiter excipiebat, ac xeniis aliisque  
 25 magnificis donatos muneribus ad eum remittebat, hoc agens vti non solum  
 renunciarent oracula verumetiam dei laudes canerent ac portentosa quaedam de  
 oraculo deque ipso mentirentur. Excogitarat autem terscelestus ille quiddam  
 neutiquam inscitum, et ingeniosius quam vt in vulgarem competat latronem.  
 Etenim resignatis libellis ac perlectis, si quid offendisset in iis, quae propone-  
 30 bantur, ita scriptum vt cum periculo ac discrimine eius qui scripsisset, si pro-  
 ferretur, coniunctum videretur, apud se detinebat neque remittebat, quo videli-  
 cet obnoxios ac propemodum seruos ob metum sibi redderet eos, qui miserant,  
 quum in mentem illis veniret, cuiusmodi de rebus consuluissent. Intelligebat  
 autem esse consentaneum vt, qui opibus ac potentia praeccellerent, eiusmodi  
 35 rogationes essent proposituri. Ab his munera quamplurima ferebat, quippe qui  
 non ignorarent sese intra casses eius teneri. Libet autem aliquot ex his responsis  
 commemorare, quae Rutiliano reddidit. Huic sciscitanti de filio ex vxore priore  
 suscepto, qui iam per aetatem maturus esset vt disciplinis erudiretur, quem  
 instituendo in litteris illi praeceptorem deberet adhibere, ita respondit:

40 Pythagoram, egregieque canentem praelia vatem.

Deinde paucis post diebus, extincto puero, ipse quidem haerebat, nec habebat quod incusantibus responderet, oraculo videlicet ita re praesenti confutato. At Rutilianus optimus vltro occupans defendebat oraculum, affirmans hoc ipsum portendisse deum, qui iussisset neminem quidem e viuis adolescentulo deligi praeceptorem, sed Pythagoram potius atque Homerum iam olim defunctos, quibuscum credibile esset eum iam versari. Quid igitur Alexandro vitio vertere conuenit, si istiusmodi homunculos dignos habuit, quibus fucum faceret? Rursum eidem percontanti, cuius tandem animam esset sortitus, ait:

Principio fueras Pelides, deinde Menander,  
Deinde is qui nunc es, post fax Phoebaea futurus  
Octoginta aeuum ac centum produxeris annos.

At hic septuagenarius interiit, in insaniam versus, haud expectato dei promisso, quanquam hoc quoque oraculum ex Autophonis erat. Eidem item de vxore ducenda percontanti, aliquando incontanter ac palam respondit:

Ducito Alexandro natam Lunaque puellam.

Siquidem iam olim rumorem dissiparat, filiam quam habebat e Luna sibi susceptam fuisse. Lunam enim ipsius amore captam fuisse, quum dormientem aliquando conspexisset; nam id illi familiare est, formosos somno sopitos adamare. Porro Rutilianus vir prudentissimus, nihil contatus, protinus accersit virginem, nuptias conficit sponsus iam sexagenarius concumbitque, socrum suam Lunam solidis hecatombis placans, iamque sibi vnus e coelitem numero videbatur. At hic vbi semel in Italia rem esset aggressus, maiora indies ad haec excogitabat, et in omnes Romanae ditionis partes, qui perferrent oracula, dimittebat, praedicens ciuitatibus cauendam esse pestilentiam, incendia, terrae-motus; se certa remedia traditurum, ne quid horum accideret, pollicebatur. Iamque quum pestilentia increbuisset, vnum quoddam tale oraculum, Auto-phonon et hoc, quoquo versum gentium prodiderat, vnico carmine comprehensum:

Intonsus nubem pestis depellit Apollo.

Atque hunc versiculum videre erat passim pro foribus | descriptum, tanquam aduersus pestilentiam remedio futurum. Verum ea res plurimis diuersam in partem euenit, propterea quod fortuna quadam sic accidit, vt eae domus, quibus hic versus esset inscriptus, potissimum desolarentur. Neque vero me putes illud dicere carmen in causa fuisse vt interierint, verum casu quodam ad hunc modum accidit. Et haud scio an plerique freti carmine negligentius ac securius vixerint, nihil aduersum pestem praeter oraculum adhibentes, perinde quasi syllabas pro sese pugnantes haberent, et intonsum Apollinem telis pestem pro-

16 dissiparat *B*, dissipat *A* | 19 cunctatus *B* | 24 ciuitatibus *B*, *om.* *A* | 26 increbuisset *D*, incubuisset *A B C* | 36 vixerint *B*, dietam obseruarint *A*

pellentem. Exploratores item ex sua coniuratione quamplurimos Romae constituerat, qui sibi qua quisque mente esset indicarent, ac priusquam oraculum adiissent, illi significarent quidnam essent percontaturi, quidque potissimum cupere viderentur, vt etiam priusquam aduenissent ii qui mittebantur, ille iam  
5 ad respondendum instructus ac paratus esset.

Atque haec quidem et id genus alia machinamenta aduersus Italicas vrbes praestruxerat. Nam praeter haec et initiationes quasdam instituerat, taedarum per manus tradendarum gestationes et sacrorum ceremonias, quae quidem tribus ex ordine diebus continenter peragerentur. Ac primo quidem die Atheniensium ritu denunciatio fiebat huiusmodi: Si quis impius, aut Christianus, aut  
10 Epicureus mysteriorum explorator accessit, discedat. Caeterum qui deo credunt et parent, sacris foeliciter initientur. Sub haec protinus exigebantur, illo praeunte dicenteque: Foras pellantur Christiani. Tum multitudo acclamabat vniuersa: Foras pellantur Epicurei. Dehinc Latonae puerperium agebatur et  
15 Apollinis natiuitas; tum Coronidis nuptiae; demum nascebatur Aesculapius. Altero die Glycon in lucem emergens, deque exortus. Porro tertio die Podalirii cum Alexandri matre coniugium agebatur. Dadis autem is appellabatur, idque ex re, propterea quod faces quaedam incenderentur. Postremo loco Lunae atque Alexandri amores, ac nascens Rutiliani coniunx. At vero facem gestabat mysteriaque agebat Endymion Alexander, quum hic dormiens scilicet in medio  
20 iaceret, descenderet autem in eum e tecti fastigio, tanquam e coelo, Lunae vicem agens, Rutilia quaedam formosissima cuiusdam e Caesareae domus praefectis vxor, quae nimirum vt amabat Alexandrum, ita vicissim ab illo amabatur. Ac sub oculis perditissimi illius mariti tum complexus agebantur, tum oscula,  
25 idque in propatulo. Quod nisi complures fuissent taedae, forsann nonnihill et eorum quae fieri solent infra sinum patratum fuisset. Paulo post rursus introibat ornatu sacerdotali, multo cum silentio. Deinde ipse primus clara voce sonabat: Io Glycon. Assonabant autem bene canori scilicet homines, nempe praecones aliquot Paphlagones, carbatinis calceati, plurimum allii nidorem ructantes: Io Alexander. Porro subinde inter gestandas taedas atque inter mysticas  
30 saltationes femur illius de industria renudatum aureum apparebat, pelle, sicuti coniiicio, inaurata circumdata, atque hac ad taedarum fulgorem relucente. Itaque quum duobus quibusdam ex eorum numero, qui desipienter sapientes sunt, super hac re verteretur altercatio, vtrum Pythagorae animum possideret, videlicet ob femur aureum, an alium Pythagorico illi consimilem, atque eam controuersiam ad ipsum Alexandrum retulissent, rex Glycon oraculo litem dissoluit:

Pythagorae mens emoriturque oriturque vicissim,  
Vatis at est animus diuina e mente profectus.  
40 Hunc pater auxilio misit iustisque piisque.



Et rursum:

Tecta Iouis repetet, Iouiali fulmine tactus.

Porro quum cunctis aliis denunciaret, vt a puerili concubitu temperarent, ceu re nefaria, vir ille egregius tale quiddam ipse machinatus est. Ponticis ac Paphlagonicis vrbibus imperabat, vt tertio quoque anno mitterent, qui deo dicarentur eiusque laudes apud se canerent. Verum mitti oportere spectatos ac selectos, nempe nobilissimos et aetate florentissimos formaque eximios. Quibus inclusis perinde vt emptitiis ad libidinem abutebatur, modis omnibus in eos debacchari solitus. Praeterea legem quoque condiderat, ne quis maior annis octodecim sese admoto ore complecteretur, neue cum basio salutaret, sed reliquis manum duntaxat osculandam porrigens, solis aetate formaque floridis osculum dabat, atque his quidem inde cognomen inditum, vt intra osculum constituti dicerentur. Atque in hunc modum | vecordibus ac stupidis mortalibus illudens, perpetuo deinceps suas nequitas exercebat, passim constuprans vxores, passim liberis abutens. Quin magnum quiddam cunctisque optandum videbatur, si cuius vxorem vel aspexisset modo. Porro si quam etiam osculo dignatus fuisset, nemo non ita putabat, quicquid esset bonarum foelicitatum, id omne semel in eam domum influxurum esse. Erant insuper, atque eae non paucae, quae sese etiam peperisse ex illo iactarent, quod ita esse mariti suo testimonio confirmabant.

Lubet etiam dialogum tibi referre Glyconis et sacerdotis, viri cuiusdam Tyaneni, cuius sapientiam ex his quae sciscitatus est coniiicias licebit. Hunc equidem legi pridem aureis descriptum litteris, Tii, in ipsis sacerdotis aedibus. Dic, inquit, mihi, rex Glycon, quisnam es? Sum ille, inquit, minor Aesculapius. Num alius ab illo priore? quid ais? Haud fas est vt isthuc audias. Sed quot annos apud nos permansurus, atque oracula redditurus? Ad millesimum tertium. Deinde quo demigraturus? Ad Bactra, atque in eas regiones; siquidem oportet et barbaros meo conuictu meaque praesentia frui. At reliquae sortes, puta quae in Dyndimis, Claro, Delphisque redduntur, vtrum ab autore proficiscuntur Apolline, an vana sunt quae illic aeduntur oracula? Ne isthuc quidem scire quaesieris; ne fas enim. Caeterum ego quis tandem post hanc vitam futurus sum? Camelus, deinde equus, post haec vir sapiens, ac vates non inferior Alexandro. Atque haec Glyconis cum sacerdote confabulatio. Postremo et oraculum carmine comprehensum aedidit, quum non ignoraret illum amicum esse Lepido:

Ne pare Lepido, namque huic fatum instat acerbum.

Mirum etenim in modum metuebat Epicurum, sicuti superius dictum est, nimirum vt artificem ac sapientem, suis artibus atque imposturis hostem atque infensum. Itaque ex Epicureis quempiam, ausum se multis praesentibus coar-

28 meo conuictu *E*, meos victu *A B C D* | 28–29 in Dyndimis Claro *B*, Dyndineis Clari *A* | 37 atque imposturis *B*, *om.* *A*

guere, propemodum in vitae discrimen adduxerat. Siquidem adiens ille clara voce dicebat: Tu nimirum, Alexander, Paphlagoni cuidam persuasisti, vt seruos suos apud Galatiae praefectum capitis accerseret, hoc nomine, quasi filium ipsius, qui tum Alexandriae erudiebatur, occidissent. Atqui viuit adolescens, 5 incolumisque reuersus est, famulis iam supplicio affectis, qui tua opera bestiis traditi perierunt. Porro huiusmodi quiddam acciderat. Quum adolescentulus amne aduerso in Aegyptum nauigasset, ad inundationem vsque subducto nauigio, persuasus est, vti pariter in Indiam nauigaret. Itaque dum diutius abesset, infoelices illi eius ministri rati videlicet vel in Nilo nauigantem interisse 10 puerum vel a latronibus (nam id temporis permulti grassabantur) esse peremptum, reuersi sunt domum, renunciantes quemadmodum e medio sublatus esset. Deinde proditum oraculum, damnati serui; sub haec adest adolescentulus, peregrinationem suam enarrans. Atque haec quidem ille. At Alexander indignatione percitus, quod coargueretur, neque ferens opprobratam sibi veritatem, 15 iussit vt qui adessent lapidibus illum impeterent; alioqui et ipsos impios futuros, atque Epicureos appellandos. Dumque illi iam lapidare coepissent, Demonstratus quidam, qui diuersabatur in Ponto, primus hominem sui corporis obtegens obiectu morti subduxit; alioqui lapidibus obruendum, idque iure optimo. Quid enim oportebat vnum inter tam multos insanientes sanum esse, atque a Paphlagonum stultitia malum sibi accersere? Et illi quidem haec euenerunt. Caeterum aduocatis iuxta oraculorum ordinem iis qui proposuerant (nam id fiebat pridie quam responsa redderet), praecone rogante, an vaticinari vellet, si cuiquam illorum ex adyto respondisset in malam rem, huiusmodi hominem neque tecto quisquam excipiebat neque igni aquaue impertiebat, verum erat illi solum aliud 25 alio vertendum, tanquam impio deorumque contemptori atque Epicureo; quod quidem probrum omnium erat grauissimum. Quapropter vnum etiam Alexander quiddam designauit deridiculum. Nactus peculiare Epicuri sententias, librum (vti scis) longe pulcherrimum, summatim Epicureae disciplinae decreta complectentem, medium in forum deportauit ac lignis ficulnis exussit, tanquam 30 autorem ipsum exureret scilicet, ac cinerem abiecit in mare, oraculo insuper eam in rem aedito:

Edico decreta senis comburere caeci.

Haud perpendit scelestus ille, quantum adferret is liber commoditatum iis, qui 35 in eo legendo versarentur, quam tamque illis quietem, tranquillitatem libertatemque pareret; propterea quod a pauoribus, spectris ac prodigiis liberaret, tum spes inanes atque immodicas adimeret cupiditates, mentem sanam ac veritatem insereret, planeque lustraret animum, non taeda quidem aut squilla aut aliis id genus nugamentis, imo recta ratione, vero, ac libertate.

Accipe iam facinus quoddam hominis sceleratissimi, vnum inter omnia multo 40 impudentissimum. Quum iam non mediocre in Regiam aditum sibi patefe-

6 quum *MS*, cum *B C D*, quin *A* | 14 veritatem *A B C D*, vanitatem *E* | 25 alio *B*, pro alio *A*

cisset inque aulam Caesaream, praesertim Rutiliano rem adiuuante atque approbante, quum bellum quod in Germania gerebatur maxime flagraret, diuo Marco cum Marcomannis et Quadis conserente, oraculum diuulgauit, quo iubebat vti duos leones viuos in Danubium immitterent, variis cum odoribus ac sacris quibusdam magnificis; sed praestat ipsum oraculum referre:

5

Gurgitibus fluuii turgentis ab imbribus Istri  
 Immisise duos Cybeles edico ministros,  
 Monte feras alitas; tum quantum alit Indicus aer  
 Florum atque herbarum bene olentum, moxque futura est  
 Et victoria, pax et amabilis, et decus ingens.

10

Ea quum essent facta, quemadmodum ille praescripserat, leones quidem, simulatque in hostium regionem enatassent, barbari canes quospiam aut lupos esse rati fustibus arcebant. At nostrorum protinus maxima strages est consequuta, viginti ferme milibus simul extinctis. His consimilia sunt ea, quae in Aquileia contigerunt, quum parum abfuerat vt vrbs ea caperetur. At is ad id quod euenerat Delphicam illam responsionem Croesoque redditum oraculum frigide sane detorsit, dicens deum quidem praedixisse victoriam; haud tamen explicuisse, vtrum Romanorum esset futura an hostium.

15

Tandem quum plurimi iam eam in vrbem confluerent, premereturque Abonotichitarum ciuitas multitudine eorum, qui ad oraculum ventitabant, neque sufficeret suppeditandis iis quae ad victum erant necessaria, comminiscitur oraculorum genus quoddam, id quod nocturnum appellabatur. Siquidem libellis indormire solet, vt aiebat ipse; deinde tanquam in somnio diuinitus edoctus respondebat, nihil certi tamen sed ambigue plerumque ac confusim, maxime si quos libellos conspexisset accuratius atque obseruantius obsignatos. Ad hunc enim modum citra vllum resignandi periculum, quicquid temere in mentem venisset subscribebat, ratus et hoc ipsum oraculis conuenire. Erant autem ad id nonnulli constituti interpretes, qui mercedem non exiguam colligebant ab iis, qui eiusmodi capiebant oracula, vt enarrarent ea explicarentque; atque hoc illorum munus conducticium erat. Nam interpretum quisque talentum Atticum pendebat Alexandro. Nonnunquam, quum neque consuleret quisquam neque missus esset aliquis, imo quum ne esset quidem huiusmodi quippiam, tamen oraculum aedebat, vti stultos mortales redderet attonitos. Quod genus illud erat:

20

25

30

Hunc age quaere tuam qui tectus in aedibus, ac te  
 Clam prorsum vxorem vultuque oculisque decoram  
 Stuprat adulterio, seruorum ex agmine primus.  
 Ipse cui solus suasisti haec omnia demens.  
 Eius enim florem libasti; hoc dedecus ille

35

2 diuo Marco *B*, Marco deo *A* | 3 conferente *A*, *corr.* *B* | 14 consimilia sunt *B*, successerunt *A* | 16 Delphicam illam responsionem *B*, Delphicum illud responsum *A*

Nunc tibi compensans cum coniuge dormit herili.  
 Quin iidem tibi iampridem letale venenum  
 (Vt neque quae faciant possis audire, nec vnquam  
 Cernere luminibus) tecte furtimque pararunt.  
 5 Inueniesque tuo sub lecto pharmaca, iuxta  
 Parietem, sub ceruicali condita; porro  
 Istis conscia criminibus tua serua Calypso est.

Quis Democritus principio non commoueretur, vbi nominatim et autores et  
 loca palam audisset designari? Verum ilico despuisset, simulatque cognouisset,  
 10 quo haec artificio gererentur.

Insuper et barbaris non raro respondit, si quis patria lingua sciscitaretur,  
 puta Syriace aut Gallice, quoties difficile erat inuenire conterraneos eorum, qui  
 rogationem proposuissent. Proinde receptis libellis multum intercedere solet  
 interualli, priusquam oraculum redderet, quo videlicet interim per ocium pos-  
 15 set et soluere tuto libellos et nancisci, qui cuncta possent interpretari. Quod  
 genus erat et illud Scythae cuiusdam redditum oraculum:

Morphi ebargulis in vmbra chuenchicranc, relinquet lucem.

LB 242 Alias rursum, quum nec adesset item quispiam, neque tale quicquam omnino  
 contigisset, citra carmen eloquutus est: Redito vnde venisti. Siquidem is qui te  
 20 misit hodie, periit, interemptus a Diocle vicino, accedentibus latronibus Mag-  
 no, Celere ac Bubalo, qui nunc etiam comprehensi tenentur in vinculis.

Caeterum pauca nunc accipe ex his quae mihi ipsi respondit. Sciscitato an  
 caluus esset Alexander, quum libellos palam atque accurate obsignassem, res-  
 ponsum nocturnum subscribitur: Sabar Dalachi Malach Attis alter erat. Rur-  
 25 sum quum diuersis libellis eandem rogationem proposuissem, puta cuiatis esset  
 vates Homerus, idque alio atque alio nomine, alteri subscripsit, videlicet decep-  
 tus a puero, qui rogatus qua gratia venisset, vt remedium, inquit, peterem aduer-  
 sus laterum dolorem:

Cytmide te iubeo ac Latonae rore perungi.

30 Alteri vero, vbi sciscitanti ei dictum esset, vtrum mihi satius esset in Italiam  
 nauigio an pedestri itinere proficisci, respondit, nihil quidem quod ad Home-  
 rum attineret:

Carpe viam pedibus; rate ne sulcaueris vndas.

Multa id genus aduersus illum sum machinatus, quorum de numero fuit et  
 35 illud: vnica rogatione proposita, libello pro more inscripto talis cuiusdam  
 rogationes octo (nomen aliquod ementitus), missis drachmis item octo; prae-

12 Syrice *A*, *corr.* *B*; quoties ... eorum *B*, verum haud facile reperiebat hospites communi  
 gente cum iis *A* | 20 Magno *E*, Mango *A B C D* | 27 venisset *A B*, venit *C* | 29 Latonae  
*D*, lunari *A B C* | 35 inscripto *D*, inscripti *A B C*

terea quod fieri solitum esset adiungens. At ille persuasus, partim missa mercede, partim inscriptione libelli, ad vnicam rogationem (ea erat huiusmodi, quando deprehendendus esset impostor Alexander) octo misit oracula; sed quae neque coelum (quod aiunt) neque terram attingerent, verum absurda et intellectu difficilia omnia. Quod ille vbi in posterum persensisset, praeterea quod Rutilianum a matrimonio conatus essem auertere, suasissemque ne prorsus in diuinatione spes reponeret suas, oderat me videlicet, ita vti par erat, sibi acerrimum hostem iudicabat. Quodam itaque tempore percontanti de me Rutiliano ita respondit:

Noctiuagis gaudet scortis spurcoque cubili.

In summa, iure optimo me inuisissimum habebat. Proinde quum me in oppidum aduenisse sensisset, meque Lucianum esse illum cognouisset, – adduxeram autem milites duos, alterum lancea, alterum conto armatum, quos quidem a Cappadociae praeside mihi tum amico acceperam, quo me ad mare vsque deducerent, – accersit ilico, sane quam comiter multaque cum humanitate. Ego quum aduenissem, complures apud illum reperio; porro bona quadam fortuna et milites vna mecum adduxeram. Tum ille manum mihi porrigit osculandam, quemadmodum vulgo facere consueuerat; ego admotus, perinde atque osculum daturus acri morsu corripio, ita vt parum abfuerit, quominus illi manum mancam reddiderim. Itaque qui praesentes erant, praefocare me accedere conati sunt tanquam hominem sacrilegum, quippe qui iam inde ab initio grauiter tulerant, quod Alexandrum illum, non autem prophetam compellassem. At ille oppido quam generose obnitens compescuit illos, pollicitusque est se facile me placidum redditurum declaraturumque quantum posset Glycon, qui nimirum et hos qui maxime saeuirent ferocirentque, sibi redderet amicos. Moxque ablegatis omnibus mecum expostulauit, negans se clam esse quae suasissem Rutiliano; ecquid me laesisset, vt ista in sese facerem, quum possem illius opera apud illum magnas ad res promoueri? Equidem hanc hominis humanitatem commoditatemque libenter accipio, perpendens nimirum, quo forem in periculo constitutus; pauloque post prodibam, iam illi factus amicus. Ea res profecto iis qui videbant vehementer erat stupenda, quod tam facile fuissem commutatus. Post haec quum iam nauigare stauissem, missis xeniis ac muneribus permultis (eram autem forte solus cum Xenophonte, patre cum reliquis meis in Amastrim praemisso) pollicetur et nauim praebiturum sese, et remiges qui nos aueherent. Etenim arbitrabar haec animo simplici atque officiose fieri; verum vbi iam in medio essemus mari, videremque gubernatorem lachrymantem et nescio quid reliquis nautis contradicentem, non optimae de euentu spes me ceperunt. Erat autem illis ab Alexandro mandatum, vt tollentes nos in mare praecipites darent. Quod si contigisset, facile quod mecum gerebat bellum illi debellatum fuisset; sed is, qui lachrymabatur, effecit ne quid in nos grauius patrarent. Ac mihi qui-

dem ita loquutus est: Annos natus, vti vides, sexaginta, quum antehac pie  
 LB 242 atque inculpate vixerim, haudquaquam velim | in hac tam grandi aetate, praesertim  
 quum vxorem et liberos habeam, homicidio manus impiare, indicans videlicet  
 cuius rei gratia nos suscepisset, quaeque sibi mandasset Alexander. Expositis  
 5 autem nobis in Aegialos, quorum etiam egregius meminit Homerus, retro legit  
 cursum. Ibi forte nactus praeternaugantes legatos quosdam Bosporanos  
 Eupatoris regis nomine in Bithyniam proficiscentes, deportandi vectigalis gratia,  
 quod in singulos pendebatur annos, quum exposuissem illis, quod me periculum  
 circumuallaret, atque illi se mihi commodos facilesque praeberent, re-  
 10 ceptus in nauigium, incolumis in Amastrim perueni. Tantillum abfuerat vt  
 perierim.

Ex hoc nimirum tempore et ipse aduersus illum arma capiebam, omnemque  
 (quod aiunt) mouebam funem, quo hominem vlciscerer, quem iam tum ante  
 mihi structas insidias oderam, proque summo ducebam hoste, propter morum  
 15 impietatem. Iamque ad accusationem intenderam animum, non paucis mecum  
 facientibus, maximeque qui erant ex Timocratis Heracleotae schola philosophi.  
 Verum qui tum Bithyniae Pontoque praesidebat, nos cohibuit pene supplicans  
 et obsecrans vti desisteremus. Etenim ob necessitudinem quae sibi cum Ruti-  
 liano intercederet, nequaquam posse supplicio afficere, nec si manifesto in cri-  
 20 mine deprehendisset. Atque ita quidem ab iracundia destiti, meque repressi, non  
 in tempore rem aggressurus, quum iudicem haberem ad eum modum affectum.

Sed quid? An non et hoc inter alia facinus audax Alexandri, a principe Romano  
 postulare vt Aboni murus, commutato vocabulo, Ionopolis appellaretur?  
 vtque nomisma nouum signaret, altera quidem parte Glyconis obtinens imagi-  
 25 nem, altera vero Alexandri, qui insignia aui Aesculapii ac falcem illam Persei,  
 vnde maternum ducebat genus, teneret.

Porro quum esset de sese vaticinatus, oraculo prodito, fati decretum esse,  
 vt annos viueret centum et quinquaginta, dehinc fulmine ictum interitu maxi-  
 me miserando periturum, nondum septuaginta natus annos interiit, videlicet  
 LB 243 (vti conueniebat Podalirii filio) pede ad inguen vsque putrefacto, | et vermibus  
 31 scatens. Quo tempore simul et illud deprehensum est, quod caluus esset, quum  
 medicis caput humectandum praeberet ad mitigandum cruciatum, id quod haud-  
 quaquam facere potuissent, nisi detracto galericulo.

Hunc habuit exitum Alexandri tragoedia, atque haec fuit totius fabulae cata-  
 35 strophe, vt res videri possit prouidentia quadam esse gesta, quum casu nimirum  
 ad hunc modum euenerit. Restabat illud, vt et epitaphium vita acta dig-  
 num ei constitueretur, neque non certamina quaedam agerentur ab iis, qui in  
 vaticinium coniurauerant, videlicet impostoribus insignibus ac praecipuis ad  
 Rutilianum arbitrum sese conferentibus, vt is pronunciaret, quem ex ipsis oportet  
 40 in oraculi successionem capessendam eligi, atque sacerdotali prophetica-  
 que corona redimiri. Erat autem in hoc numero simul et Paetus, qui artis pro-

fessione medicus, tum ciuis quum esset, ista faciebat, neque medico neque homine cano decora. At Rutilianus certaminis arbiter incoronatos eos remittebat, ipsi sibi diuinandi autoritatem seruans, posteaquam inde iam demigrauerat.

Haec, amice, ex plurimis pauca, quo degustamentum hominis praeberem, scribenda putauit; quum uti tibi gratificarer, homini familiari atque amico, quemque ego vnum omnium maxime suspicio, idque pluribus nominibus, vel propter sapientiam singularem vel ob amorem veri vel ob morum mansuetudinem ac moderationem vel ob vitae tranquillitatem, postremo comitatem atque humanitatem erga hos quibuscum viuis; tum vero (quod quidem tibi fuerit etiam iucundius) ut Epicurum vlciscerer, virum vere sacrum ingenioque diuino, quique solus quae vere sunt honesta et nouerit et tradiderit, quique solus extiterit, qui liberos reddere solitus sit eos, qui secum haberent consuetudinem. Denique arbitror fore, ut iis qui in hanc lectionem inciderint, liber hic nonnihil utilitatis afferre videatur, dum quaedam redarguit, quaedam in opinionibus horum, qui et recte sentiunt, confirmat ac stabilit.

LB 243 ORNATISSIMO VIRO D. CHRISTOPHORO VRSEWICO ERASMVS S.P.D.

Equidem hac mente semper fui, ornatissime idemque humanissime Christophore, vt a nullo prorsum vitio perinde abhorruerim atque ab ingratitude, nec vnquam istos hominis vocabulo dignos iudicarem, qui alieni in se meriti tempore vllo possent obliuisci. Rursus eos existimaui beatos quibus tantum facultatis fortunae commoditas suppeditauit, vt bene de se meritis possint parem remetiri gratiam; beatissimos autem quibus licuisset acceptum beneficium aliquo cum foenore rependere. Proinde quum antehac saepenumero mecum repeterem, quantum in me nihil promeritum tua benignitas contulisset (nam collatum arbitror quicquid ita delatum est, vt haud scio vtrum per fortunam an per meipsum, certe per te non steterit quo minus acceperim), circumspectaremque quonam argumento possem aliquam saltem erga te memoris gratique animi significationem dare, neque in tanta fortunae meae tenuitate quicquam occurreret quod vlla ex parte, non dicam tuis meritis responderet, sed quod vel animo satisfaceret meo, illud denique mihi venit in mentem, vt saltem istos quosdam non inurbanos homines imitarer, qui flosculo quopiam insigni aut alio simili symbolo misso voluntatis propensionem promptique animi studium testificari solent; praesertim ipsi tenues erga eos quibus neque res neque animus sit aliorum egens munerum.

20 Ergo Graecanica ingredienti *μουσεῖα* (nam Musarum horti vel mediis vernant brumis), statim inter multos varia adblandientes gratia hic Luciani flosculus praeter caeteros arrisit. Eum non vngue sed calamo decerptum ad te mitto, non solum nouitate gratum, colore varium, specie venustum, nec odore modo fragrantem, verum etiam succo praesentaneo salubrem et efficacem. *Omne tulit*  
25 *punctum*, (vt scripsit Flaccus) *qui miscuit utile dulci*. Quod quidem aut nemo, mea sententia, aut noster hic Lucianus est assequutus, qui priscae comoediae dicacitatem, sed citra petulantiam, referens, Deum immortalem, qua vafricie, quo lepore perstringit omnia, quo naso cuncta suspendit, quam omnia miro sale

1 Erasmus Roterodamus C | 5 existimaui C | 6 suppeditasset C; de se C, om. A; possent C | 17 symbolio C | 18 alienorum C



perfricat. Nihil vel obiter attingens quod non aliquo feriat scommate, praecipue philosophis infestus, atque inter hos Pythagoricis potissimum ac Platonicis ob praestigias, Stoicis item propter intolerandum supercilium, hos punctim ac caesim, hos omni telorum genere petit, idque iure optimo. Quid enim odiosius, quid minus ferendum, quam improbitas virtutis professione personata? Hinc illi blasphemi, hoc est maledici, vocabulum addidere, sed hi nimirum quorum vlcera tetigerat. Pari libertate deos quoque passim et ridet et lacerat, vnde cognomen inditum ἀθέου, speciosum profecto vel hoc nomine quod ab impiis ac superstitiosis attributum. Floruit (vti putant) Traiani ferme temporibus, indignus (ita me Deus amet) qui inter sophistas annumeretur. Tantum obtinet in dicendo gratiae, tantum in inueniendo felicitatis, tantum in iocando leporis, in mordendo aceti, sic titillat allusionibus, sic seria nugis, nugas seriis miscet; sic ridens vera dicit, vera | dicendo ridet; sic hominum mores, affectus, studia quasi penicillo depingit, neque legenda sed plane spectanda oculis exponit, vt nulla comoedia, nulla satyra cum huius dialogis conferri debeat, seu voluptatem spectes, seu spectes vtilitatem.

Caeterum si nominatim quaeras huius argumentum dialogi, facit id quod semper facit. Pythagoram velut impostorem ac praestigiatores taxat; Stoicorum fastum et sapientem barbam ridet; diuitum ac regum vita quantis sit erumnis obnoxia docet; contra, quam expedita res paupertas hilaris suaque contenta sorte. Quem vti legas attentius, te maiorem in modum rogo, si quando tibi per tua licebit negocia frontem exporrigere. Audies enim Gallum cum haero sutore confabulantem magis ridicule quam vllus possit γελωτοποιῶς, sed rursus sapientius quam theologorum ac philosophorum vulgus nonnunquam in scholis magno supercilio magnis de nugis disputat.

Vale, optime atque humanissime Christophore, et Erasmus inter tuos ascribito clientulos, amore, studio, officio cessurum nemini.

Ex arce Hammensi, An. M.D.VI.

## SOMNIVM SIVE GALLVS

Interloquutores: Gallus, Micyllus

MICYLLVS. At te, scelestissime galle, cum ista tanta inuidentia voceque tam acuta ipse perdat Iuppiter, qui quidem opibus affluentem me ac dulcissimo in  
5 somnio versantem et admirabili foelicitate fruentem, penetrabile quiddam et clamosum resonans expergefeceris, adeo vt ne noctu quidem effugere liceat paupertatem vel te ipso longe nocentiozem. Atqui si coniectandum est, tum e silentio quod etiamdum ingens est, tum e rigore frigoreque, quod nondum me quemadmodum assolet antelucano morsicat titillatque (nam hic mihi certissimus  
10 gnomon aduentantis diei), ne medium quidem adhuc noctis est. Sed iste peruigil, perinde quasi vellus illud aureum seruet, ab ipsa protinus vespera vociferari coepit. Verum haudquaquam impune: siquidem mox poenas de te sumam fusteque comminuam, si diluxerit modo. Nam nunc negocium mihi faceseres, subsiliens in tenebris.

15 GALLVS. Here Micylle, equidem arbitrabar me tibi gratum esse facturum, si quoad possem alta nocte lumen anteuertissem, quo posses antelucano surgens quam plurimum operis conficere. Etenim si priusquam sol exoriatur, vel vnicam feceris crepidam, isthuc laboris lucro tibi accesserit ad parandum victum. Quod si tibi magis libet dormire, equidem tuo arbitrato quietem egero, longeque  
20 que magis mutus fuero piscibus. Caeterum tute videto, ne per somnium diues esurias experrectus.

MIC. O prodigiorum auersor Iuppiter, o malorum depulsor Hercules! Quid hoc mali est? Vocem humanam sonuit gallus.

GAL. Hoccine tandem tibi prodigium videtur, si eadem qua vos lingua loquor?

25 MIC. Quid? An non hoc portentum? Sed auertite, dii, malum a nobis!

GAL. At tu mihi videris admodum illiteratus esse, Micylle, nec euoluisse Homeri poemata in quibus equus Achillis, cui nomen Xantus, posteaquam hinnitus longum valere iussisset, medio in praelio constitit, disserens totosque versus ordine recitans, non quemadmodum nunc ego prosa oratione loquens: quin

9 qu. as. antelucano *B*, antelucanice qu. as. *A* | 13 facesseres *ABCD*, faceres *E* | 26 Micylle *B*, *om.* *A* | 28 iussisset *B*, vidisset *A*

etiam vaticinabatur ille deque futuris aedebat oracula, neque quicquam prodigiosum facere videbatur, neque is qui tum audiebat, malorum auersorem, ita vti tu facis, implorabat, quasi rem abominandam et auertendam audisse sese iudicaret. At quid tandem facturus eras, si tibi nauis, cui nomen apud Homerum est Argo, carina fuisset eloquuta, ita vt olim in Dodonaea silua phagus per se loquens oraculum aedidit? Aut si tergora direpta serpere vidisses, si carnes bouum mugire semiassas coctasque veribus transfixas? Ego vero quum Mercurii sim assessor loquacissimi deorumque omnium facundissimi, praeterea contubernalis vobis et conuictor, haud mirum videri debet, si sermonem humanum edidici. Quod si mihi recipias taciturnum te, haudquaquam grauabor veriore tibi causam aperire, vnde factum sit vt eadem qua vos lingua loquar, et vnde mihi suppetat huius orationis facultas.

MIC. Modo ne isthuc ipsum sit somnium, Galle, quod ita mecum loqueris. Sed dicito per Mercurium, o praeclare, quid etiam aliud rei tibi sit in causa, vt istam linguam sones? Nam vt taceam neque cuiquam proferam, quid attinet te sollicitum esse? Quis enim fidem mihi sit habiturus, si cui narrem me gallum haec loquentem audisse?

GAL. Ausculta igitur, nam orationem ex me audies omnium (sat scio) maxime nouam atque incredibilem. Siquidem hic qui nunc tibi gallus appareo, non ita pridem homo fui.

MIC. Profecto et olim istiusmodi quiddam de vobis inaudieram: adolescentulum quempiam fuisse Gallum, Marti adamatum, atque hunc deo compotasse collusitasseque et in voluptatibus gessisse morem. Itaque quum Venerem adiret Mars cum ea cubiturus, hunc quoque Gallum vna secum adduxisse. Quoniam autem Solem potissimum metueret ne, si e sublimi conspexisset, Vulcano se proderet, foris ad ostium adolescentulum semper relinquere solitum, cuius indicio certior fieret quando Sol emergeret. Deinde Gallum aliquando somno correptum excubias deseruisse inscientem, Solemque nullo praesentiente imminuisse Veneri ac Marti secure dormienti, propterea quod confideret Gallum indicaturum fuisse, si quis interuenisset. Itaque Vulcanum a Sole edoctum eos deprehendisse implicitos atque irretitos iis vinculis quae iam olim in illos fuerat fabricatus. Porro Martem simulatque dimissus est, indignatum aduersus Gallum fuisse atque eum in auem transmutasse, iisdem armis, vt in capite pro galea cristam obtineret. Hanc ob causam quo vos Marti purgetis quum iam nihil opus, simulatque Solem exorientem sensistis, multo ante vociferari atque illius exortum praenunciare.

GAL. Feruntur quidem et illa, Micylle; at quod ego sum narraturus multo aliud quiddam fuit, atque adeo nuper admodum in gallum transformatus sum.

MIC. Quonam modo? Nam isthuc maximopere cupio cognoscere.

4-5 nauis ... Argo *D*, Argi nauis *A B C* | 7 coctasque *B*, solidasque *A* | 19 qui ... appareo *B*, quem nunc gallum esse vides *A* | 26 ostium *B*, hostium *A* | 31 deprehendisse *B*, deprehendere *A*

GAL. Audistin de Pythagora quodam Mnesarchida Samio?

MIC. Num sophistam illum dicis et gloriosum, qui instituit ne quis vel carnes gustaret, vel fabas ederet, suauissimum mihi edulium, salubre et parabile a mensa submouens? Praeterea autem qui mortalibus suasit ne intra quinquen-

5 nium loquerentur?  
GAL. Scis nimirum et illud, quemadmodum prius quam Pythagoras esset, Euphorbus fuerit?

MIC. Praestigiatorem et prodigiorum artificem hominem aiunt fuisse, o Galle.

GAL. Ille ipse ego tibi sum Pythagoras. Quare parce, quaeso, mihi conuiciari,  
10 praesertim quum ignores quibus sim moribus.

MIC. At hoc rursus multo etiam quam illud portentiosius, gallus philosophus. Attamen expone, Mnesarchi gnate, qui factum sit vt ex homine auis, ex Samio Tanagraeus repente nobis prodieris. Neque enim ista verisimilia neque omnino facilia creditu. Quandoquidem duas quasdem res iam mihi videor in te  
15 animaduertisse, nimium alienas a Pythagora.

GAL. Quas? MIC: Alterum quidem quod garrulus es et obstreperus, quum ille silere in solidos quinque annos (si memini) praeceperit. Alterum vero plane cum illius legibus pugnat. Etenim quum non haberem quod tibi obiicerem, fabas heri (sicuti nosti) ad te attuli. At tu nihil contatus protinus eas sublegebas.  
20 Vnde fit vt necesse sit aut eumentum esse te Pythagoram esse quum aliud quiddam sis, aut si Pythagoras es, legem praetergressum esse te iusque violasse, quum fabas ederis, perinde ac si caput patris comederis.

GAL. Non cognosti, Micylle, quae sit harum rerum causa, neque quae ad vnumquodque vitae genus conducant. Ego tum quidem non esitabam fabas, propterea quod philosophus essem. Nunc contra comesurus sim, quippe auicio congruas neque nobis repudiandum pabulum. Verum si molestum non est, audi quemadmodum e Pythagora coeperim esse id quod sum in praesentia, quamque in multis vitae generibus antehac vixerim, et quid ex vnaquaque transformatione sim consequutus.

LB 247 MIC. | Narra, quaeso, nam mihi quidem auditu iucundissimum fuerit. Adeo vt  
31 si quis mihi deferat opinionem vtrum te ista narrantem audire malim, an rursus foelicissimum illud somnium quod paulo ante vidi videre, haud sciam vtrum electurus sim, vsqueadeo cognata germanaque videntur esse ista tua cum suauissimis illis visis, et ex aequo vos aestimo, te pariter ac praeclarum illud insom-  
35 nium.

GAL. Etiamnum tu somnium illud quod dudum tibi visum est, in animum reuocas, et inania quaedam obseruans simulacra atque (vti loquuntur poetae) euanidam quandam foelicitatem memoria consecraris?

MIC. Imo illud scias, Galle, ne vilo quidem tempore vnquam visi illius mihi  
40 venturam obliuionem. Tantum mellis somnium aufugiens in oculis mihi reli-

2 gloriosum *D*, praestigiatorem *A B C* | 19 cunctatus *B* | 25 auicio *MS C*, a vitio *A B* | 34 et *B*, *om.* *A*

quit, vt prae illo vix queam palpebras attollere rursus in somnum coeuntes. Itaque qualem voluptatem mouent pennae in auribus versatae, talem titillationem mihi praebent ea quae vidi.

GAL. Nouum quendam, Hercule, mihi narras amorem insomnii, siquidem alatum quum sit (sicut aiunt) metasque volandi praescriptas habeat somnium, iamque septa transilit, in oculis etiam vigilantis obuersans adeoque mellitum et euidens apparet. Quare peruelim audire, cuiusmodinam sit istud quod te supra modum delectat.

MIC. Gestio narrare. Nam dulce est hoc ipsum meminisse et commemorare de illo quippiam. Verum heus, Pythagora, quando tu narrabis de tuis transformationibus?

GAL. Vbi tu, Micylle, desieris somniare melque illud ab oculis absterseris. Interim prior dicito vti intelligam vtrumne per portas eburneas an per corneas tibi somnium aduolarit.

MIC. Neque per has neque per illas, O Pythagora.

GAL. Atqui duas has tantum commemorat Homerus.

MIC. Valere sinas nugatorem illum poetam, qui nihil de somniis intellexit. Paupertua fortassis somnia per istas commeant portas qualia videbat ille, neque id admodum perspicue quippe captus oculis. Mihi vero per aureas quasdam portas dulcissimum hoc aduenit somnium, et ipsum aureum et aureis vndique circumamictum et auri plurimum secum adducens.

GAL. Desine, optime Mida, de auro fabulari. Nam dubio procul ex illius voto istud tibi accidit insomnium et solidas auri venas mihi duxisse videris.

MIC. Multam auri vim vidi, Pythagora, multam, quam putas pulchri, quo fulgore coruscantis? Quid tandem Pindarus in illius laudem dicit? Nam in memoriam redige siquidem meministi, quum aquam praestantissimam dicens, postea aurum admiratur, idque iure, statim in initio carminis vnus omnium bellissimi.

GAL. Num illud quaeris?

*Aqua est illa quidem optima:  
Caeterum aurum, vti candens  
ignis ita emitens, no-  
ctibus eminet eximie vnum  
caeteras supra opes quae  
gloriam ac decus addunt.*

MIC. Per Iouem, isthuc ipsum: perinde enim ac si insomnium meum videat Pindarus, ita praedicat aurum; sed vt tandem cognoscas quale fuerit, ausculta, iam, sapientissime Galle. Meministi vt heri nullum domi cibum acceperis, si-

2-3 qualem ... praebent *B*, perinde quasi alae in auribus citentur: talem quendam strepitum mihi commouent *A* | 5 somnium *D*, somnum *A B C* | 6 oculis *B*, auribus *A* | 17 nugatorem *B*, delirum *A* | 18 Paupertua *A B C*, paupertina *D* | 38 acceperis *A*, acceperim *B C D E*

quidem Eucrates diues ille forte mihi in foro factus obuiam, lotum me in tempore ad coenam venire iusserat.

GAL. Isthuc equidem plane memini. Nam totum esuriebam diem, donec mihi profunda tandem vespera domum reuersus, subuuidus vinoque madens, quinque illas fabas proferres, non admodum opiparam coenam Gallo qui quondam fuerit athleta, quique Olympia non segniter olim decertarit.

MIC. Ast vbi reuersus a coena fabas tibi obiecissem, obdormii protinus. Tum mihi, iuxta Homerum, ambrosia sub nocte diuinum quoddam haud dubie somnium assistens...

GAL. Sed prius quae tibi apud Eucratem acciderint, Micylle, narra, et cuiusmodi fuerit coena quaeque super coenam acta sunt omnia. Nihil enim prohibet te denuo coenare, si veluti somnium quoddam eius coenae reducas, et quae tum ederis rursus commemoratione quasi rumines.

MIC. Credebam molestum futurum me, si haec quoque rettulissem: verum posteaquam tu desideras, en id quoque narrabo. Quum nunquam antehac in vita coenassem apud vllum diuitem, O Pythagora, heri bona quapiam fortuna in Eucratem incidi; atque ego quidem, simulatque dominum illum salutassem, ita vti consueueram, subducebam me, ne pudori illi essem si lacera in veste fuissem assectatus. At ille: Micylle, inquit, hodie | natalicia filiae celebros, plurimosque ad conuiuium amicos inuitauit, verum quoniam aiunt quendam ex his incommoda esse valetudine, neque posse pariter ad conuiuium nostrum accedere, tu eius loco venito lotus, nisi ipse forte qui vocatus est, semet adfuturum renunciarit; nam nunc quidem ambigit. Hoc vbi audissem, adorato diuite discedebam, omnes obsecrans deos vt algidam febrem aliquam aut laterum dolorem aut podagram morbi auctarium immitterent valetudinario illi, cuius ego sellae occupator coenaeque vicarius et haeres eram vocatus. Interim hoc spacii quod vsque ad balnei tempus intercessit, longissimum saeculum esse iudicabam, dum subinde respicio quotquot pedum esset littera, et quando illos iam lauasse consentaneum esset. Hic vbi tempus tandem aduenisset, ocius me corripio, atque abeo, nitide admodum cultus: sic obuerso palliolo vt qua esset parte purissimum, ea videretur. Offendo autem ad fores et alios complures, in quibus etiam illum (gestabatur autem a viris quattuor) cuius eram subconuiuia vocatus, qui male habere dictus erat atque id etiam prae se ferebat, quod afflicta esset valetudine. Nam ex alto gemebat, tussiebatque ac screabat velut ex abdito, quodque aegre redderetur, totus pallidus ac tumens, annos natus circiter sexaginta. Ferebatur autem philosophus quispiam esse ex his qui apud adulescentulos nugas deblaterant. At barba mire erat tragica, id est hircina, supra quam credi posset tonsoris egens. Porro increpante Archibio medico quamobrem, quum ita esset affectus, aduenisset: Non oportet, inquit, promissa deserere, praesertim homi-

11 quaeque ... omnia *MS C, om. AB* | 28 quotquot pedum esset *B*, quot pedes in gnomo index haberet *A* | 32 quattuor *B*, quattuor sarcinae in morem *A* | 37 id est hircina *D, om. ABC*

nem philosophum, etiam si mille vrgeant et instent morbi. Putabit enim Eucrates sese a nobis haberi ludibrio.

Haudquaquam, inquam ego, imo collaudabit te, si domi potius apud te velis emori, quam in conuiuio animam vna cum phlegmate excreans. Atque ille quidem prae arrogantia dissimulabat sese dicerium audisse. Haud multo post accessit et Eucrates iam lotus, conspectoque Thesmopolide (nam id erat philosopho nomen): Praceptor, inquit, probe quidem factum abs te, qui ipse ad nos veneris, tametsi nihilo deterius tibi fuerat futurum: siquidem etiam absenti omnia ordine missa fuissent. Haec simulatque dixerat, introgreditur, manus illi porrigens pariter et famulis innitenti. Ego igitur iam abire parabam, verum ille conuersus vbi diu secum haesitasset, posteaquam me tristem admodum videret: Ades, inquit, tu quoque, Micylle, ac nobiscum coena. Nam filium in mulierum conclauis vna cum matre conuiuium agere iubebo, quo tibi sit locus. Ingrediebar itaque, quum parum abfuerit vt lupus frustra hians discederem, verum ingrediebar, pudefactus quod Eucratis filiolum e conuiuio viderer expulisse. Ast vbi iam tempus esset vt discumberemus, primum tollentes Thesmopolim composuerunt, haud sine negotio, per Iouem, quinque (si diis placet) proceri iuuenes, ceruicalia illi supponentes vndiquaque, quo nimirum in eodem habitu permanere ac longum etiam tempus durare posset. Deinde vbi nemo iam tolerare posset vt iuxta illum accumberet, me adductum reclinant vt eadem in mensa essemus. Deinceps coenabamus, o Pythagora, opiparam quandam et variam coenam, multoque in auro, multo item argento. Pocula erant aurea, ministri formosi, tum cantores et concitandi risus artifices. In summa, iucundissima quaequam erat vita, nisi quod vnum quiddam me vehementer male habebat: Thesmopolis obstrepens atque obturbans, virtutem nescio quam mihi commemorans docensque quod duae negationes vnicam efficerent affirmationem, quodque si dies sit, nox non sit. Nonnunquam et cornua mihi dictitabat esse atque id genus multa philosophabatur erga me, quibus eiusmodi nihil opus: planeque voluptatem interpellatione minuebat, quum non sineret exaudiri eos qui cithara voceque caneant. Habes, Galle, de coena.

GAL. Non admodum suavi, Micylle, maxime posteaquam cum illo deliro sene sortitus eras accubitus.

MIC. Audi nunc et insomnium. Visus enim mihi Eucrates ipse quum orbus esset liberis, nescio quo modo e vita decedere. Dehinc vbi me accersisset ac testamentum condidisset, quo me in solidum haeredem omnium scripserat, paulo tempore superstes emori. Porro ipse videbar adire facultates, et tum aurum argentumque ingentibus quibusdam scaphis exhaurire, perpetuo subscaturiens et affatim affluens, tum autem vestes, mensas, pocula, ministros, omnia mea, vt par | erat, esse. Postea candido vehiculo vectabar resupinus, cunctisque qui intuebantur conspiciendus et admirandus. Accurrebant permulti ac circum

1 Putabit *E*, putauit *A B C D* | 14 frustra *B*, *om.* *A* | 18 ceruicalia *E*, ceruices *A B C D* | 27 dictitabat *B*, dictabat *A* | 36 paulo *D*, paululo *A B C*

- equitabant, complures sequebantur. Ego interim illius indutus vestitum et annulos gerens circiter sedecim digitis insertos, epulum quoddam splendidum iubebam adornari quo amicos acciperem. Iamque illi, ita ut in somnio fieri consentaneum est, aderant, iam epulae erant comportatae, iam potus ex animi sententia ministratus. In his quum versarer et aureis phialis praebiberem omnibus qui aderant amicis, quum iam inferrentur bellaria, intempestiuo tuo clamore perturbasti nobis conuiuium mensasque subuertisti, ac diuitias illas ita dissipasti, ut in auras euanescerent. Num tibi videor iniuria stomachatus in te? Nam vel tris noctes perpetuas libenter adhuc somnium illud quod mihi accidit videre cupiam.
- 10 GAL. Adeone es auri cupidus et opum audius, Micylle, idque ex omnibus vnum admiraris ac foelicitatem vnicam esse iudicas, si plurimum possideas auri?
- MIC. Equidem haud solus ita cogito, Pythagora, quum ipse quoque tum quum Euphorbus esses, auro atque argento comis intexto prodibas pugnaturus cum Achiuis, idque in bello, vbi ferrum quam aurum gestare satius fuerat. At
- 15 tu etiam tum voluisti calamistris auro internexis in periculum descendere. Atque ob eam (opinor) causam, Homerus comas tuas Gratiis similes dixit, quod auro argentoque reuincirentur. Etenim longe nimirum meliores atque amabiliiores videbantur, quod essent auro religatae vnaque cum eo relucere. Neque isthuc nouum est, auricome, si tu Pantho patre prognatus aurum in precio
- 20 habuisti; quin et ipse deorum omnium hominumque pater ille, Saturno Rheaque progenitus, quum Argolicam illam puellam adamaret, vbi nihil inueniret amabilius in quod sese transformaret neque quo Acrisii custodias posset corrumpere, audisti videlicet ut aurum sit factus, atque ita per tegulas illapsus positus est ea quam deperibat. Iam vero quid tibi commemorem quam multos
- 25 vsus praebeat aurum? et ut eos quibus adfuerit formosos et sapientes et potentes reddat, decus et gloriam illis concilians, utque nonnunquam ex obscuris et infamibus claros ac celebres repente efficiat? Nam nosti vicinum mihi et eiusdem artificii Simonem qui paucis ante diebus apud me coenauit, quum legumen coquerem Saturnalibus duasque extorum caesuras immittens?
- 30 GAL. Noui Simonem illum breuem, qui fictilem ollulam quae nobis erat vnica suffuratus peracta coena abiit sub ala gestans. Nam ipse vidi, Micylle.
- MIC. Atqui quum eam sustulerit, tam multos ille deos postea iurabat. Sed quur non prodebas ac vociferabare tum, o Galle, quum nos furto spoliari conspiceres?
- 35 GAL. Coccyzabam, quod mihi solum licebat id temporis: verum quid Simon ille? Nam videbare de illo dicturus nescio quid.
- MIC. Ei consobrinus erat vir supra modum diues, nomine Drimylus. Is quoad viuebat ne obolum quidem donauerat Simoni: nam qui daret, quum ne ipse quidem pecunias attingeret? At simulatque mortuus est nuper, vniuersis illis opi-

2 sedecim *D*, septuaginta *A B C* | 3 iubebam *B*, videbam *A* | 7-8 mensas ... euanescerent *B*, *om. A* | 25 formosos *B*, bonosque *A* | 29 coquerem *B*, coqueret *A*; immittens *B*, immitteret *A* | 30 Noui Simonem *MS C*, noui simum *A*, nouissimum *B* | 31 abiit *B*, abstulit *A*



bus iuxta leges Simon ille, qui coria putria, qui patellam circumlingebat, gaudens potitur, purpura ostroque circumtectus, famulosque et currus et aurea pocula et mensas eburnis innixas pedibus possidet, ab omnibus adoratur, iamque nos ne aspicit quidem. Etenim nuper quum illum procedentem conspexissem, Salue, inquam, Simon. At ille indigne ferens, Edicite, inquit, mendico isti, 5  
ne vocabulum meum diminuat: neque enim Simon, sed Simonides appellor. Porro (quod est omnium maximum) mulieres etiam illius amore capiuntur. Atque is quidem eludit eas ac fastidit, et alias quidem admittit comemque sese praebet, aliae porro quae negliguntur necem conscituras sibi minitantur. Vides 10  
quantas commoditates pariat aurum, quandoquidem eos qui sunt deformissimi transfiguratur et amabiles reddit, non secus atque cestus ille poeticus. Audis insuper et a poetis dictum:

*O aurum auspicata res et ostentum optimum.*

Et rursum:

*Aurum est quod opibus imperat mortalium.* 15

Sed quid interim risisti, Galle?

GAL. Quoniam tu quoque per inscitiam, Micylle, simili modo falleris opinione de diuitibus, quemadmodum vulgus: verum (crede mihi) longe etiam aerumnosiores vitam viuunt quam vos. Haec autem loquor qui ipse et pauper 25  
et diues aliquando fuerim, atque omne genus sim expertus. Porro paulo post ipse quoque haec omnia cognosces.

MIC. Per Iouem, tempestiuum iam est, vt et tu referas quemadmodum sis transfiguratus et quod in vnoquoque vitae genere perspexeris.

GAL. Ausculta, hoc tantum praemonitus, me neminem foeliciorem vita quam tu sis vnquam vidisse. 25

MIC. Quam ego sim, O Galle? Hanc foelicitatem tibi ipsi imprecor. Nam videre me tibi ridendum proponere. Verum age, narra, exordiens ab Euphorbo, quo pacto fueris in Pythagoram transformatus; deinceps ordine ad gallum vsque. Consentaneum enim est te varias res tum vidisse, tum tulisse, nimirum 30  
tam diuersis vitae formis.

GAL. Quemadmodum initio ab Apolline profecta anima in terram deuolarit et corpus humanum subierit, vt illic poenam quandam dependeret, id longum dictu futurum sit. Praeterea neque mihi referre fas est, neque tibi eiusmodi audire. Verum vbi Euphorbus factus essem...

MIC. Sed ego priusquam essem is qui nunc sum, o praeclare, quisnam eram? 35  
Hoc mihi prius dicito. Numquid et ego versus fuerim itidem vt tu?

GAL. Maxime. MIC: Quis igitur eram, si quo modo potes dicere? Peruelim enim isthuc cognoscere.

1 coria putria B, pannos putres A | 5 mendico B, pauperi A | 8 admittit B, adit A | 9 conscituras sibi B, illis A | 11 cecus A, corr. B | 37 potes B, potest A

GAL. Tu formica fueras Indica, ex earum genere quae aurum effodiunt.

MIC. Et postea neglexi infoelix vel paucula frusta in vitam importare, quum illo essem alitus? Sed age, quid post haec futurus sim dicito: quandoquidem consentaneum est scire te. Etenim si quid bonae sit rei, iam nunc suspendero me  
5 ab ista pertica in qua nunc stas.

GAL. Isthuc profecto nulla ratione possis cognoscere. Caeterum quum Euphorbus essem (nam ad illa redeo) in Troia pugnabam, atque a Menelao necatus, aliquanto post tempore in Pythagoram perueni. Porro eousque absque tecto perdurabam, donec Mnesarchus aliquando mihi domum aedificaret.

10 MIC. Obsecro te, num absque cibo potuque?

GAL. Maxime. Nihil enim istis rebus opus, nisi corpori duntaxat.

MIC. Illud igitur prius dicito: ea quae ad Troiam gesta sunt, num ita se habent qualia fuisse dixit Homerus?

GAL. Quinam ille scire potuisset, Micylle, qui quidem dum ista gerebantur,  
15 ipse camelus erat in Bactris? Caeterum ego tibi tantum effabor diuinitus, nihil id temporis eximium fuisse, neque Aiace[m] vsque adeo magnum, neque Helenam adeo formosam quemadmodum arbitrantur; siquidem vidi candida quandam et procera ceruice, vt hinc cygno prognatam esse adsimularent, caeterum vehementer anum aequalem propemodum Hecubae. Hanc Theseus primum raptam  
20 in Aphidnis possedit. Is vixit Herculis ferme aetate. Porro Hercules prius Troiam ceperat, patrum nostrorum memoria qui per id temporis maxime florebat. Nam haec mihi Panthus narrauit, se quum esset admodum adolescens, vidisse Hercule[m].

MIC. Quid autem Achilles? Num talis erat nempe quauis in re praestantissimus? An et isthaec fabulamenta sunt?  
25

GAL. Cum illo quidem congressus non sum, neque queam adeo comperte de rebus Graecorum dicere. Etenim qui scire potui, quum hostis essem? Certe Patroclum illius amicum haud ita magno negotio peremi lancea dissectum.

30 MIC. Deinde te Menelaus multo minore negotio: verum istis de rebus satis. Nunc res Pythagoricas refer.

GAL. Illud in summa, Micylle: sophista quispiam eram (oportet enim videlicet fateri verum) alioqui non imperitus neque inexercitatus in honestissimis disciplinis. Profectus sum autem in Aegyptum quo cum prophetis congregarer  
35 de sapientia communicaturus. Hic adyta subii atque ibi Ori et Isidis libros perdidici. Post rursus in Italiam renaugabam ac Graecos iuxta ea quae in Aegypto didiceram, ita institui vt me perinde ac deum suspicerent.

MIC. Equidem inaudieram isthaec, praeterea quemadmodum creditus fueris defunctus in vitam rediisse vtque aureum femur illis subinde ostenderis. Verum

5 nunc B, tu nunc A | 18 esse B, sese A | 22 se cum esset D, om. A B C; vidisse D, affirmans se vidisse A B C | 31 res Pythagoricas B, Pythagorica fata A | 35 subii B, subiui A

illud mihi dicito, quid tibi venit in mentem vt legem statueres, vti neque carni-  
bus neque fabis vescerentur homines?

GAL. Ne perconteris ista, Micylle.

MIC. Quam ob rem, O Galle?

GAL. Nam pudet hisce de rebus verum fateri. 5

MIC. Atqui non conuenit, vti id facere graueris apud hominem contuberna-  
lem et amicum; nam herum posthac absit vt dixerim.

GAL. Nihil sani neque praeclari quicquam erat, verum animaduertebam si  
consueta modo atque eadem quae vulgo traduntur a multis praecepissem, non  
fore vt | mortales in admirationem adducerem, sed quo peregriniora magisque  
aliena propossuissem, futurum vt hoc magis nouus magisque viderer admiran-  
dus. Proinde institueram in animo nouae quiddam rei designare, eiusmodi pro-  
posito decreto, cuius causa esset inexplicabilis, quo videlicet aliis aliud coniec-  
tantibus, omnes redderentur attoniti, quemadmodum in obscuris oraculis solet  
vsu venire. 15

LB 25 I

11

MIC. Illud vide vt rides me tu quoque, non minus atque Crotoniatas ac Meta-  
pontosicos et Tarentinos, cumque his alios qui muti sequuntur tuaque adorant  
vestigia quae tu calcata reliquisti. Verum vbi Pythagoram exueras, quem post  
eum induisti?

GAL. Aspasiam Melitensem illam meretricem. 20

MIC. Papae, quid ego audio? Siquidem inter alia mulier quoque fuit Pytha-  
goras? Itane fuit aliquando tempus quo tu, Galle generosissime, oua pariebas,  
cumque Pericle rem habebas, iam Aspasia videlicet, atque ex illo grauida facta  
es? Praeterea lanam tondebas tramamque deducebas? Postremo meretricum in  
morem gestiebas vultumque componebas? 25

25

GAL. Ista quidem omnia feci, tametsi non ego solus, verum et ante me tum  
Tiresias, tum Elati proles Caeneus. Proinde quicquid in me conuitii dixeris,  
tantundem et in illos dixeris.

MIC. Age igitur, vtra tibi vita erat suauior, quum vir esses, an quum Pericles  
tecum haberet consuetudinem? 30

30

GAL. Vides cuiusmodi isthuc est quod percontaris? Nempe cui ne Tiresiae  
quidem expedierit respondere.

MIC. Atqui si minus fateare tu, tamen isthuc Euripides satis explicuit, quum  
ait se malle ter sub clipeo consistere quam parere semel.

GAL. Imo praemoneo te paulo post puerperam fore, siquidem et tu mulier es  
olim futurus, idque saepius longo nimirum saeculorum orbe atque recursu. 35

35

MIC. Non tu pendebis, O Galle, qui quidem omneis mortales Milesios aut  
Samios esse ducas? Nam aiunt te etiam tum quum Pythagoras esses venusta  
forma decorum saepius Aspasiam fuisse tyranno. Verum age, secundum Aspa-  
siam, in quem virum aut mulierem denuo renatus es? 40

40

9 eadem ... multis *D*, atque id etiam vulgo *A B C* | 11 videret *A*, *corr. B* | 20 Melitensem  
*A B C*, Meletensem *D*, Miletensem *E* | 31 Vides *B*, vide *A*

GAL. In Cratem Cynicum. MIC. O Castor et O Pollux, quam dissimile, ex scorto philosophus?

GAL. Deinde rex, deinde pauper, paulo post satrapes, dehinc equus, graculus, rana, aliaque innumerabilia: perlongum enim fuerit singula recensere. Postremo  
5 Gallus, atque id saepius, nam hoc vitae genere sum delectatus. Interea et aliis diuersis mortalibus seruiui: regibus, pauperibus, diuitibus. Postremo nunc tecum uiuo, rideoque quotidie, quum video te paupertatis taedio complorantem eiulantemque ac diuitum admirantem fortunas, propterea quod ignores quantum illis adsit malorum. Alioqui si curas noris quibus illi dstringuntur, teipsum profecto riseris, qui antea credideris eum qui sit opulentus statim foelicissimum esse omnium.

MIC. Ergo, Pythagora, aut quid maxime gaudeas appellari, ne confundam orationem, si te nunc hoc, nunc illo nomine compellem...

GAL. Nihil intererit siue Euphorbum siue Pythagoram siue vocaris Aspasiam  
15 siue Cratem, quandoquidem ista omnia sum vnus, nisi quod rectius feceris si (id quod in praesentiarum esse videor) Gallum me voces, ne auem hanc parui ducere contemnereque videre, praesertim quum tam multas contineat animas.

MIC. Ergo, Galle quandoquidem omnia paene viuendi genera iam expertus es atque omnia cognita habes, age dilucide mihi narrato quae sint peculiaria diuitum ad vitae rationem, quae pauperum propria, quo videlicet cognoscam, verene  
20 istuc affirmes me diuitibus esse foeliciozem.

GAL. En hunc ad modum interim perpende, Micylle. Te quidem non magnopere tangit cura belli, si quando rumor sit aduentare hostes: neque sollicitus es ne in agros incursantes populentur, neue hortum proculcent proterantque aut  
25 vineas vastent: sed simulatque tubam audieris, si tamen audieris, de te ipso vno circumspectas, quo deflexus seruari queas ac discrimen effugere. Contra illi tum de sese solliciti sunt, tum animo discruciantur quum de moenibus quidquid opum possidebant in agris, id omne tolli deportarique conspiciunt. Ac siue inferendum est aliquid in aerarium, soli accersuntur, siue in praelium exeundum,  
30 periclitantur aut peditum turmis aut equitum alis praefecti. Tu interim vimineum gerens clipeum, expeditus ac leuis ad saluti consulendum, paratus victorale conuiuium agere, siquando victor exercitus sacra fecerit. Rursum pacis tempore, tu quidem quum de plebe sis, ingressus in contionem, tyrannidem in diuites obtines: illi vero trepidant pauitantque ac largitionibus choragiisque te placant; siquidem quo tibi balnea, ludi, spectacula reliquaque id genus abunde suppeditent, ea omnia curant illi. At tu censor et acerbus expensor perinde quasi dominus ne alloquio quidem interdum dignaris illos; quod si tibi collubitum sit, ingentibus saxis in illos degrandinas, vel facultates eorum publicas facis. Ipse neque calumniatorem metuis neque latronem, ne tollat aurum uel aedium  
40 consenso fastigio uel pariete perfosso, neque necesse habes rationibus occupari

1 et O Pollux *B*, *om.* *A* | 6-7 tecum uiuo *B*, tibi *A* | 10 sit *B*, fit *A* | 14 intererit *B*, aberaueris *A* | 20 propria *B*, proprie *A*

neque exactionibus, neque tibi cum sceleratis dispensatoribus conflictandum est, neque tantas in sollicitudines distraheris. Verum simulatque crepidam vnam perfeceris mercedemque rettuleris septem obolos, sero surgis crepusculo, et si libuerit lauaris; tum empto saperda quopiam aut moenide pisciculo aut paucis ceparum capitulis, temet ipse oblectas canens plerumque optimaque cum pau- 5  
 pertate philosophans, adeo vt eas ob res salubri sis valentique corpore obdu-  
 ruerisque aduersus gelu: siquidem labores qui te exacuunt muniuntque certato-  
 rem haudquaquam contemnendum reddunt aduersum eas res quae compluribus  
 inexpugnabiles esse videntur. Atque hinc nullus ex morbis illis grauioribus im- 10  
 petit te. Quod si quando leuis ceperit febricula, paulo negotio eam medicatus  
 protinus exilis inedia temet inde excutiens. Illa porro fugit ilico quippe metuens  
 te, quem videat etiam frigore ali saturumque fieri ac medicorum certis illis  
 recursibus longum plorare renunciantem. At illi ex aduerso propter intemperan- 15  
 tiam vitae, quid tandem mali non habent infoelices? – podagras, phtises, pul-  
 monum exulcerationes, aquas intercutes. Nam haec omnia a sumptuosis illis  
 conuiuuiis nascuntur. Proinde quicumque ex his Icari in morem (vt fere faciunt)  
 sese attollunt, propiusque se soli admouent, haud cogitantes quod alas habeant  
 cera adglutinatas, ingentem nonnunquam strepitum mouent. Caeterum qui  
 Daedali exemplo non admodum sublimia neque excelsa appetunt, verum humi-  
 lia terraeque vicina, adeo vt cera nonnunquam salis aspergine madesceret, ii 20  
 tuto plerumque ac citra discrimen transuolarunt.

MIC. Moderatos istos et cordatos narras.

GAL. Verum aliorum, Micylle, naufragia foedissima conspicias, nempe vbi  
 Croesus reuulsis alis risum exhiberet Persis, conscenso rogo, aut Dionysius  
 quum abdicatus tyrannide Corinthiorum in vrbe ludi litterarii magistrum age- 25  
 ret, post gestum tantum imperium, puellos compellens vt syllabas connecterent.

MIC. Dic mihi, Galle, tu quum rex esses (nam ais te regem quoque fuisse),  
 cuiusmodi tandem id vitae genus experiebaris? Mirum tu tum foelix eras, quan-  
 doquidem id quod est bonorum omnium caput possidebas.

GAL. Ne mihi in memoriam regeras, O Micylle, vsqueadeo supra modum in- 30  
 foelix tum eram. Nam quoad res externas, quemadmodum dixisti, plane fortu-  
 natus esse videbar: at intus innumerabilibus curis distringebar.

MIC. Quibus tandem curis? Nam rem prorsus absurdam neque credibilem  
 narras.

GAL. Equid emimperabam regioni neutiquam exiguae, Micylle, omniugarum 35  
 rerum feraci, tum incolarum frequentia neque non vrbium pulchritudine cum  
 primis admirandae, praeterea fluminibus nauigabilibus irriguae ac mari por-  
 tuoso commodae. Ad haec exercitus ingens, equitatus spectatissimus atque ex-

3 sero *B*, sero rursus *A* | 10 ceperit *B*, coeperit *A* | 11 exilis *B*, exilio *A* | 16 ex *MS C*,  
 et *AB* | 17 alas *MS C*, illas *AB* | 18 strepitum *B*, ruinae strepitum *A* | 24 alis *MS C*,  
 aliis *AB* | 35 omniugarum *B*, omnigenarum *A* | 36 feraci *D*, feracis *ABC* | 37 irri-  
 guae *A*, om. *B* | 38 exercitus ingens *B*, om. *A*; equitatus spectatissimus *E*, equa spectatissima  
*ABCD*

cellens, satellitium haud exiguum, triremes, pecuniarum vis maior quam vt  
 posset numerari, vasorum argenteorum plurima copia, reliquaue omnis illa  
 principatus tragoedia strepitusque et apparatus supra quam credi queat extruc-  
 tus atque accumulatus. Itaque quum prodirem, plerique adorabant deum quen-  
 5 piam intueri sese rati, aliique trudentes alios concurrebant quo me conspicerent;  
 nonnulli conscensis tectis magni aestimabant, si plene contemplari licuisset  
 quadrigam, stragulam, diadema, tum anteambulones, et eos qui a tergo comita-  
 bantur. Ego inter haec mihi conscius quantae me res discruciant versarent-  
 que, illos quidem propter inscitiam venia dignos iudicabam: at mei ipsius  
 10 miserescibat, qui praegrandibus illis Colossis viderer persimilis quales vel Phi-  
 dias vel Myron vel Praxiteles fabricatus est. Etenim illorum quisque quoad ea  
 quae foris apparent Neptunus ipse est aut Iuppiter, mirifice decorus auro ebore-  
 que compactus et aut fulmen aut fulgur aut tridentem fuscina dextra sustinet.  
 LB 253 Caeterum si immisso capite quae sunt intus inspicias, videbis vectes quosdam,  
 15 paxillos et clauos introrsum prominentes, neque non vimina cuneosque et pi-  
 cem sublitam et aliam item id genus deformitatem intrinsecus inhabitantem.  
 Omitto recensere muscarum mustelarumque vim quae nonnunquam in eis  
 mansitant. Huiusmodi quaedam res nimirum regnum quoque videtur.

MIC. Nondum explicuisti lutum et clauos et vectes quinam fuerint in imperio,  
 20 neque foeditatem illam plurimam quaenam sit; nam istum ad modum vectari,  
 tam multis imperare mortalibus, ac numinis instar adorari, hactenus quidem  
 cum Colossi exemplo quadrat. Siquidem hoc quoque diuinum quiddam et ad-  
 mirandum; nunc autem quae sint intra Colossum exponito.

GAL. Quid primo loco tibi referam, Micylle, vtrum metus, curas mordaces,  
 25 suspiciones, odium, quo regem persequuntur ii qui cum illo viuunt, insidias  
 atque eas ob res somnum rarum et hunc ipsum pertenuem ac plena tumultus  
 insomnia, cogitationes perplexas, spes semper improbas, an ocii penuriam, et  
 occupationes, iudicia, expeditiones, edicta, foedera, consultationes? Quibus re-  
 bus fit vt ne per somnium quidem aliqua re suauis frui liceat, verum vt omnibus  
 30 de rebus solus dispiciat necesse est, milleque negotia sustineat.

*Quippe nec Atriden Agamemnona dulcis habebat  
 Somnus, multigenas versantem pectore curas,*

idque quum reliqui omnes Achiui sterterent. Adde quod Lydum illum discruciat  
 filius mutus, Persam vero Clearchus ad Cyrum desciscens, atque alium quem-  
 35 piam Dion cum Syracusanis nonnullis ad aurem communicans. Rursum alium  
 quendam vrit Parmenion collaudatus; item Perdiccam Ptolemaeus, Ptole-  
 maeum Seleucus. Quin illa quoque molestiam adferunt, amasius per vim non

3-4 extractus atque accumulatus B, -ta atque -ta A | 7 diadema tum anteambulones et eos B, diadema, tum eos A | 9 mei ipsius C, me meipsum AB | 10 quales ABE, qualis CD | 11 quisque B, quilibet A | 18 regnum B, rex A | 23 exponito B, exposito A | 29 per somnium quidem aliqua re D, somnio quidem aliquo ABC | 31 Carmina Homerica \*A \*MS \*C, in textu B, om. D

sponte conuiuens, concubina alio gaudens; tum si qui defectionem parare dicantur, aut duo quattuorue satellites inter sese consusurrantes. Porro (quod est omnium grauissimum) amicissimi quique vel maxime sunt formidandi, semperque metuendum ne quid magni mali ab illis exoriat. Nam alius a filio veneno necatus est, alius item ab amasio. Alium simile quoddam fortassis mortis genus eripuit. 5

MIC. Apage sis: atrociam miraque sunt ista quae narras, O Galle. Mihi igitur multo sit tutius operae cerdonicae pronum incumbere, quam ex aurea bibere phiala comiter delatum haustum, caeterum cicuta aconitoque temperatum. Nam mihi quidem hoc vnum est periculi, vt si paulum aberret smilion, deflectatque a recta incisione, summum secantis digitum exiguo sanguine tingit. At isti, quemadmodum narras, letifera agunt conuiuia atque id innumerabilibus in malis constituti. Deinde vbi conciderint, persimiles esse videntur tragoediarum histrionibus. Nam multi, sicut videre licet, quoad Cecropes sunt scilicet aut Sisyphei aut Telephi, diademata gestant argenteisque capulis gladios comamque ventilantem, et auro intertextam chlamydem: quod si quis (qualia nimirum per multa solent accidere) impulsos illos media in scaena praecipites det, risum profecto moueant spectatoribus, videlicet persona vna cum ipso diademate contrita, vero autem actoris capite luxato cruribusque maximaque ex parte renudatis, vt iam interioris amictus quam miseri sint panni fiat perspicuum, ac cothurnorum quos pedibus induxerunt appareat deformitas haudquaquam ad pedis modum respondentium. Vide vt me iam similitudines conferre docueris, optime Galle. Caeterum tyrannis talis quaedam res tibi visa est esse; verum vbi equus esses aut canis aut piscis aut rana, quomodo eam vitae rationem ferebas? 10 15 20

GAL. Istum quem nunc suscitasti sermonem et longior sit neque huius temporis. Illud autem vnum in genere dixerim: nullam ex omnibus vitam mihi non visam tranquilliores vitam humana, naturalibus duntaxat cupiditatibus et vsibus circumscripsum. Siquidem publicanum equum aut sycophantam ranam aut sophistam graculum aut popinatore culicem aut cinaedum gallum atque id genus alia quae vos studio comminiscimini, haudquaquam inter illos videbis. 25 30

MIC. Quae dicis, o Galle, fortassis vera sunt: verum non me pudebit apud te fateri quod mihi accidit. Haud vnquam quiui dediscere cupiditatem illam a puero mihi insitam, videlicet vt diues euadam. Quin nunc quoque somnium illud ob oculos versatur aurum ostentans; potissimum autem scelestus ille Simon excruciat, qui quidem tantas inter opes delicietur. 35

GAL. At ego te isto leuabo | morbo, Micylle, tametsi nox etiamdum est. Surge modo ac sequere me. Siquidem ad ipsum te Simonem adducam, atque in aliorum diuitum aedes, quo nimirum videas, quomodo res habeant apud illos. LB 254

MIC. Isthuc quo pacto clausis foribus? Num me parietes transfodere compelles? 40

GAL. Nequaquam; verum Mercurius, cui sum sacer, hoc optanti mihi largitus

est, vt si quis longissimam caudae plumam, quae ob mollitiem inflectitur...

MIC: Atqui duas habes eiusmodi.

GAL. At dextram ex his auulsam cuiunque ego gestandam dederò, is quoad voluero fores omnes poterit aperire cunctaque videre ipse inuisibilis.

5 MIC. Equidem ignorabam, O Galle, te praestigiarum quoque peritum esse. Porro si mihi isthuc semel praestiteris, videbis ilico Simonis vniuersas opes deportatas, nam eas huc rediens transferam. At ille rursum circumrodet ebibetque putria coria quibus consuevit soleas compingere.

10 GAL. Atqui nefas sit isthuc facere. Siquidem Mercurius illud mihi mandauit, vt siquis pennam tenens istiusmodi quippiam patrarit, vociferans furem proderem.

MIC. Rem neutiquam verisimilem narras, nempe Mercurium, quum ipse sit fur, non sinere alios vt idem faciant. Sed tamen abeamus. Nam aurum auferam, si modo possim.

15 GAL. Pennam prius reuellito. Quid hoc rei? Ambas reuulsisti.

MIC. Tutius hoc quidem, O Galle; tum tibi minus foedum sit futurum, ne altera caudae parte mutilatus claudices.

GAL. Age sane, sed vtrum Simonem prius adimus an alium quempiam diuitum?

20 MIC. Haud alio, imo ad Simonem, qui videlicet pro dissyllabo tetrasyllabus esse affectet, posteaquam diues euasit. Sed iam ad fores accessimus. Quid igitur deinceps facio?

GAL. Pennam serae admoue.

MIC. Ecce autem, dii boni, ostium perinde atque clauis resiliit.

25 GAL. Perge porro praecedens. Vides illum vigilantem ac supputantem?

MIC. Video, per Iouem et quidem ad obscuram siculosamque lucernulam. Praeterea pallet haud scio vnde, Galle, totusque exaruit atque extenuatus est, mirum ni curis. Neque enim auditum est illum alioqui male habere.

30 GAL. Ausculta quid dicat, siquidem intelliges quibus de causis ad eum modum sit affectus.

SIMON. Nimirum septuaginta illa talenta tuto admodum sub lectica defossa sunt, neque quisquam alius omnino vidit. At vero sedecim illa Sosylus equiso vidit me sub praesepi occultantem. Itaque de curando stabulo non est admodum sollicitus, quanquam nec alias admodum laboris appetens; verisimile est  
35 autem illum multo etiam his plura sustulisse. Nam vnde alioqui Tibius heri tam ingens salsamentum illi obsonio proposuisset? Tum autem aiunt illum monile emisse vxori drachmis quinque. Hei misero mihi! Hi omnia mea dissipabunt bona. Quid quod ne pocula quidem sat in tuto mihi recondita sunt, quum sint multa. Vereor enim ne quis ea suffosso pariete tollat. Complures mihi inuident  
40 atque insidias parant, praeter caeteros autem Micyllus iste vicinus.

15 reuellito *B*, reuellito *Micylle A* | 18 diuitum *B*, *om. A* | 20 tetrasyllabas *A*, *corr. B* | 22 deinceps *B*, hac in re *A* | 37 Hei *A B C*, heu *D*; Hi ... dissipabunt *B*, hic ... dissipabit *A*



MIC. Ita, per Iouem. Nam tibi sum similis ac patellas sub ala gesto.

GAL. Tace, Micylle, ne protinus ipso in furto nos prodas.

SIMON. Optimum igitur fuerit, vt ipse insomnis seruem. Omnem obibo domum in orbem obambulans. Quis iste? Video te, per Iouem. O parietum perfossor, posteaquam es columna, bene res se habet. Pernumerabo denuo 5  
refossum argentum, ne quid forte dudum me fugerit. En rursus obstrepuit mihi nescio quis. Nimirum obsideor atque insidiis appetor ab omnibus. Vbi mihi gladius? Si quenquam deprehendero, rursus aurum defodiamus.

GAL. Sic tibi habent, O Micylle, res Simonis. Sed abeamus ad alium quem- 10  
piam, donec noctis adhuc aliquantulum superest.

MIC. O miser, cuiusmodi viuit vitam? Hostibus eueniat ad hunc modum diuitem esse. Itaque pugno illi in maxillam illiso volo discedere.

SIMON. Quis me pulsauit? Latrocinio despolior miser.

MIC. Plora ac vigila aurique similis corpore reddaris, quandoquidem illi affixus deditusque es. Nos autem, si videtur, Gniphonem foeneratorem visamus. 15  
Nam nec is procul hinc habitat; ipsae nobis suapte sponte fores patuerunt.

GAL. Vides hunc quoque curis inuigilantem et vsurarum rationes iterantem digitis contortis? Cui propemodum relictis his omnibus sit in silpham aut culicem aut muscam abeundum.

MIC. Equidem video miserum ac vecordem hominem ne nunc quidem multo 20  
meliorem viuere vitam quam silphae aut culicis. Adeo totus et hic a curis et rationibus est extenuatus. Nunc ad alium eamus. |

GAL. Ad tuum, si videtur, Eucratem. En tibi fores per se patuere. Quin introimus? 25

MIC. Paulo ante haec omnia mea erant.

GAL. At etiam nunc tu diuitias somnias? Vides igitur Eucratem ipsum quidem a famulo virum natu grandem... MIC: Video profecto quiddam haudquaquam virile. Porro altera ex parte ipsam item vxorem a coquo constuprari.

GAL. Quid ergo? Num optaris et horum haeres existere, Micylle, cunctaque possidere quae sunt Eucratis? 30

MIC. Haudquaquam, Galle. Imo fame citius interierim quam id genus quippiam patrarem. Valeat aurum et conuiuia. Duo oboli mihi potiores diuitiae sunt, quam si a domesticis mihi domus perfodiatur.

GAL. Sed iam nunc, quandoquidem dies ferme diluxit, domum ad nos redeamus. Reliqua rursus alias videbis, Micylle. 35

5 res se *D*, res *A B C* | 7 obsideor *B*, obseruor *A* | 32 patrarem *D*, patrare *A B C* | 33 mihi domus perfodiatur *B*, perfoderer *A*

LB 255 ORNATISSIMO IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI RVTHALLO  
SECRETARIO REGIO ERASMVS S. P. D.

Vide quantum audaciae mihi suppeditet singularis quaedam ingenii tui morum-  
que facilitas, humanissime Ruthalle, qui quum nequam ignorem te inter  
5 aulicos primores vel autoritate vel gratia vel splendore vel eruditione praeci-  
puum esse, tamen non verear meas nugas rudes adhuc vixque e prima scheda  
reputatas ad tuam excellentiam mittere. Sed quid facerem? Iam vrgebat nauita,  
ventos et aestum nulli seruire clamitans. Itaque ne nihil mei apud hominem tam  
10 nostri studiosum relinquerem, id quod tum forte erat in manibus, Misanthro-  
pum misi, nimirum ad virum vnum omnium philanthropotaton. Is est Luciani  
dialogus quo vix alius lectu vel vtilior vel iucundior, versus quidem ille iampri-  
dem ab alio nescio quo, sed ita versus vt interpres hoc modo demonstrare  
voluisse videatur, sese neque Graece scire neque latine; neque temere adeo quis  
15 suspicetur, eum interpretem subornatum esse ab iis qui Luciano male volunt.  
Tu nostram hanc audaciam boni consules, et Erasmus in eorum numero pones,  
qui tui sunt amantissimi.

Vale. Londini An. M.D.VI.

TIMON SIVE MISANTHROPVS

TIM. O Iuppiter Philie, hospitalis, sodalicie, domestice, fulgurator, iusiurandice, LB 255  
nubicoge, grandistrepe, et si quid aliud tibi cognomen attoniti poetae tribuunt,  
maxime quum haerent in versu, nam tum illis tu multinominis factus, carminis  
ruinam fulcis, metrique exples hiatum – vbi tibi nunc magnicrepum fulgur, 5  
grauifremum tonitru, vbi ardens, candens ac terrificum fulmen? Nam haec om-  
nia iam palam apparet nugas esse fumumque poeticum, nec omnino quicquam  
praeter nominum strepitum. Sed decantata illa tua arma eminus ferientia ex-  
promptaque nescio quomodo penitus extincta sunt, frigentque adeo vt ne mini-  
mam quidem scintillulam iracundiae aduersus nocentes reliquam obtineant. 10  
Itaque citius quiuis ex his qui peieraturi sunt, extinctum ellychnium metuerit,  
quam flammam fulminis cuncta necantis: vsqueadeo titionem quempiam in sese  
vibrare te putant, vt incendium aut fumum ab illo proficiscens nihil quicquam  
formident, verum hoc solum vulneris inferri posse iudicent vt fuligine com-  
pleantur. Quibus rebus factum est vt iam Salmoneus tibi sit ausus etiam obto- 15  
nare neque id admodum ab re, quippe aduersus Iouem vsqueadeo ira frigidum  
vir ad facinora feruidus audaciaque tumidus. Quidni enim faciat, vbi tu perinde  
ac sub mandragora stertis, qui neque peierantes exaudias, neque eorum qui  
flagitia committunt, respectum agas? Caecutis autem lippitudine et hallucinaris  
ad ea quae fiunt, auresque iam tibi obsurduerunt, instar horum qui aetate defecti 20  
sunt; quandoquidem quum iuuenis adhuc esses, acrique animo vehemensque  
ad iracundiam permulta in homines maleficos ac violentos faciebas, neque tum  
vnquam tibi cum illis erant induciae, sed perpetuo fulmen erat in negotio, per-  
petuo obuibrabatur aegis, obstridebat tonitru, fulgur continenter iaculorum in  
morem densissime ex aedito loco deuolantium torquebatur. Terrae quassationes 25  
nes, cribri instar frequentes, ad haec nix cumulatim, neque non grando saxorum  
in morem, atque, vt tecum grandius loquar, imbresque rapidi et violenti ac

3 attoniti *B*, intonantes *A* | 6 grauifremum *B*, graniferum *A* | 11 his *B*, iis *A* | 16 ira *A B*,  
ita *C* | 17-18 perinde ac *MS C*, om. *A B* | 24 Post aegis interpungit *MS C*, ante illud *A B*

LB 256 flumen quotidie exundans. Hinc tantum repente Deucalionis aetate naufragium ortum est, vt omnibus sub aqua demersis vix vnica scaphula seruaretur, quae in montem Lycorem appulit humani generis quasi scintillas quasdam seruans, vnde sceleratius etiam genus in posterum propagaretur. Nimirum igitur dignum secordia praemium ab illis reportas, quum iam nec sacra faciat tibi  
 5 quisquam, nec coronas offerat, nisi siquis obiter in Olympicis: ac ita ne is quidem rem admodum frugiferam facere videatur, sed priscum quendam ritum magis referre. Ac paene Saturnum, o deorum generosissime, te reddunt magistratu abdicantes. Omitto loqui quoties iam templum tuum sacrilegio compilarint, quum tibi etiam ipsi in Olympiacis manus admoliti sunt, atque interea tu  
 10 altifremus ille pigritabaris vel excitare canes vel vicinos aduocare, vt auxilio accurrentes illos comprehenderent quum etiamdum ad fugam adornarentur. Sed egregius ille gigantumque extincor et Titanum victor sedebas, quum tibi caesaries ab illis circumtonderetur, decemcubitale fulmen dextra tenens. Horum igitur, o praeclare, quis tandem erit finis, quae tu adeo secure despicias?  
 15 Aut quando de tantis maleficiis poenas sumes? Quot Phaethontes aut Deucaliones satis idonei sint ad expiandum tam inexhaustam morum iniquitatem? Etenim, vt de communibus sileam, de iis quae mihi acciderunt dicam. Quum tam multos Athenienses in sublime euexerim, ex pauperrimis diuites reddiderim, cunctisque quotquot opus haberent, suppeditarim, imo semel vniuersas  
 20 opes in amicos iuuandos effuderim, simulatque his rebus ad inopiam deueni, iam ne agnoscor quidem ab illis, nec aspicere dignantur me qui dudum reuerabantur, adorabant, meoque de nutu pendebant. Quod si quando per viam ingrediens forte fortuna in eorum quempiam incidero, perinde vt euersam hominis iam olim defuncti statuam ac temporis longitudine collapsam praetereunt,  
 25 quasi ne norint quidem. Porro alii procul conspecto me alio sese detorquent, existimantes sese inauspicatum abominandumque visuros spectaculum, quem non ita pridem seruatorem et adiutorem suum esse praedicabant. Itaque prementibus malis ad extrema redactus consilia, renone arrepto, terram exerceo  
 30 quaternis conductus obolis, atque hic cum solitudine cumque ligone philosophor. Hoc interim lucri mihi videor facturus, quod posthac non intuebor ple-rosque praeter meritum sequundis fortunae successibus vtentes. Nam illud vel maxime vrit. Iam igitur tandem aliquando Saturni Rheaeque proles, excusso  
 LB 257 profundo isto grauique somno (nam Epimenidem quoque dormiendo vicisti),  
 35 denuo iactato fulmine aut ex Oeta redaccenso ingenti reddita flamma iram aliquam strenui illius ac iuuenilis Iouis ostende, nisi vera sint quae a Cretensibus de te tuaque sepultura feruntur.

IVP. Quis hic est, Mercuri, quem audio sic vociferantem ex Attica ad radicem montis Hymetti, horridus totus ac squalidus pelleque hircina amictus? Fodit

6 ne E, vt ne ABCD | 11 altifremus ille B, allifreme A | 16 quando MS C, quomodo AB; Phaethontes MS C, Phaetontes AB | 29 renone B, sago A | 35 denuo iactato B, vibrato A; redaccenso B, relucens A | 38 radicem B, crepidinem A

autem, vt arbitror, nam pronus incumbit homo loquax et confidens. Mirum ni philosophus est, neque enim alioqui adeo impia nefariaque in nos fuerat dicturus.

MER. Quid ais, pater? An non nosti Timonem Echekratidis filium Colyttensem? Hic nimirum est qui nos saepenumero in sacris legitimis conuiuio accepit, ille repente diues factus, ille qui totas hecatombas, apud quem splendida Iouialia festa consueuimus agitare. 5

IVP. Hem, quaenam ista rerum commutatio? Hiccine honestus ille diues, quem tam frequentes cingebant amici? Quid igitur accidit vt hoc sit habitu, squalidus, erumnosus, fossor conducticius, vti conicio, quum tam grauem ligonem gerat? 10

MER. Ad hunc modum illum quodammodo probitas euertit atque humanitas et in omnes quicumque egerent misericordia. At re vera vecordia potius facilitasque nullusque in suscipiendis amicis delectus, quippe qui neququam intellexerit sese coruis lupisque largiri. Quin magis quum a vulturibus tam multis misero iecur eroderetur, ob id amicos eos necessariosque iudicabat, quasi benevolentia erga sese afficerentur, quum illos epulae magis caperent. Ergo posteaquam ossa penitus nudassent circumrosissentque, deinde si qua medulla suberat, hanc quoque admodum diligenter exuissent, aufugerunt exuccum et radicatus desectum destituentes, adeo vt postea ne agnoscant quidem aut aspiciant, tantum abest vt sint qui suppeditent impartiantque. Has ob res fossor et sago, vt vides, opertus pelliceo vrbem prae pudore fugiens, mercede terram exercet, aduersus ingratos atra bile stomachatur, qui quidem sua benignitate ditati admodum fastuose nunc praetereant ac ne nomen quidem an Timon vocetur nouerint. 20 25

IVP. Atque profecto vir neququam fastidiendus neque negligendus, et iure optimo indignatur qui iis tantis in malis agat. Quare sceleratos istos adultores ipsi quoque fuerimus imitati si eum virum neglexerimus, qui tantum taurorum et caprarum pinguissimas quasque nobis in aris adoleuerit, quarum nidor etiamdum mihi in naribus residet. Tametsi propter negocia maximamque turbam peierantium, tum vi non iure agentium neque non aliena rapiantium, praeterea ob formidinem quam mihi pariunt sacrilegi, qui quidem tum multi sunt, tum obseruatu difficiles, adeo vt ne minimum quidem nos conuiuere sinant, iampridem profecto ad Atticam regionem oculos detorsissem, maxime posteaquam philosophia et de verbis digladiationes apud istos increbuerunt, ita vt pugnantibus inter se istis vociferantibusque ne exaudire quidem mortalium vota liceat. Vnde mihi necessum est aut auribus obturatis sedere aut dirumpi ab eis conficique qui virtutem quandam et incorporea quaedam merasque nugas ingenti vociferatione connectunt. Haec in causa fuerunt vt hunc quoque neglexerim, 30 35

1 mirum ni B; numnam A | 4 Colyttensem MS C, Colytensem A B | 6 ille ... ille B, is ... is A | 19 aufugerunt A B C, corr. D | 20 desectum A B C D, defectum E | 22 vt vides MS C, om. A B | 29 caprarum MS C, ouium A B | 33 conuiuere A, corr. B

quum haud mediocriter de nobis sit meitus. Quod reliquum est, Mercuri, tu Plutum adducens quantum potes ad istum abeas. Porro Plutus vna secum ducat et Thesaurum, et vtrique apud Timonem perseuerent. Neque vsqueadeo facile demigrent, etiam si quam maxime rursum illos per bonitatem ex aedibus exe-  
 5 rit. Caeterum de palponibus illis atque ingratitude qua in hunc sunt vsi, in posterum consultabo. Poenas daturi sunt simulatque fulmen instaurauero. Nam fracti sunt in eo retusa cuspide duo e radiis maximi, quum nuper auidius in sophistam Anaxagoram iacularer, qui suis familiaribus suadebat nullo pacto esse vllos nos qui dii vocaremur. At illum quidem errore non feriebam, prop-  
 10 terea quod Pericles obtenta manu eum protexerit. Caeterum fulmen in Castoris ac Pollucis templum detortum tum illud exussit, tum ipsum parum abfuit quin ad saxum comminueretur. Quanquam interim vel id supplicii satis magnum in istos fuerit, si Timonem conspexerint egregie locupletem factum.

LB 258 MER. Quantum | habet momenti altum vociferari et obstreperum audacem-  
 15 que esse? Idque non iis modo qui causas agunt, verum etiam qui vota faciunt conducibile. En mox e pauperrimo diues euaserit Timon, qui se in precando clamosum et improbum praestiterit, Iouemque reddiderit attentum. Quod si silentio fodisset incuruus, etiam nunc foderet neglectus.

PLVT. At ego, Iuppiter, haudquaquam ad istum rediturus sum.

20 IVP. Quid ita non rediturus, optime Plute, praesertim a me iussus?

PLVT. Quoniam, per Iouem, iniuria me affecit eiiciens et in multa fragmenta dissecans, idque quum illi paternus essem amicus ac me, paene dixerim, fuscinis ex aedibus extrusit, nec aliter quam ii qui e manibus ignem abiiciunt. Num rursus ad istum ibo, parasitis, adulatoribus et scortis donandus? Ad eos me mitte,  
 25 o Iuppiter, qui munus intellecturi sint, qui amplexuri, quibus equidem in precio sim et maiorem in modum exoptatus. At hi stupidi cum Inopia commercium habeant, quam nobis anteponunt, atque ab ea accepto sago pelliceo ligoneque sat habeant, quum quatuor luquantur obolos decem talenta contemptim dono dare soliti.

30 IVP. Nihil istiusmodi posthac in te facturus est Timon, quippe quem ligo abunde satis corripuerit, nisi prorsus nullum dolorem sentiunt illius ilia, te videlicet potius quam Inopiam esse praeoptandam. At tu mihi querulus admodum videris esse, qui nunc Timonem incuses quod tibi patefactis foris libere permiserit vagari neque includens neque zelotypus in te. Porro alias diuersa de  
 35 causa in diuites stomachabare, quum diceres te ab illis repagulis clauibus ac signorum obiectaculis impressis ita fuisse conclusum, vt ne prospicere quidem in lucem tibi liceret. Id igitur apud me deplorabas, affirmans praefocari te nimis tenebris, eoque pallidus nobis occurrebas et curis confectus, digitis etiam-

4 bonitatem *E*, benignitatem *ABC D* | 10-12 caeterum ... comminueretur *B*, in lacunar retortum illud excussit, neque multum abfuit quin ipse quoque in saxum impactum fuerit elisus *A* | 19 ad istum *B*, *om. A* | 24-25 mitte o *D*, mittito *AB*, mitto *C* | 27 atque *ABC*, utque *D*, ut *E* | 28 quatuor *MS C*, duos *AB* | 30 ligo *D*, Ligon *AB*, ligo *C* | 32 querulus *B*, calumniosus *A* | 32 admodum *B*, admodum semperque tuae penitens sortis *A*

num ex assiduo colligendi coaceruandique vsu contractis contortisque. Quod si quando daretur opportunitas, aufugiturum quoque ab illis te minitabare. In summa, rem supra modum acerbam iudicabas in aereo ferreoue thalamo, Danaes exemplo, virginem asseruari atque a scelestissimis educari paedagogis, foenore et computo. Proinde absurde facere aiebas hos quod te praeter modum 5  
adamarent neque (quum liceret) frui auderent neque quum ipsis esset in manu amore suo secure vterentur, sed vigiles obseruarent ad signum ac seram oculis nunquam conuiuentibus neque vsquam dimotis, semper intuentes, abunde magnum fructum arbitrantes non quod ipsis fruendi facultas adesset, sed quod nemini fruendi copiam facerent, non aliter quam in praesepe canis nec ipsa 10  
vescens hordeis nec equum famelicum id facere sinens. Quinetiam ridebas istos qui parcerent asseruarentque et (quod esset absurdissimum) ipsi quidem sibi subtraherent vererenturque contingere, non intelligerent autem fore vt aut sceleratissimus famulus aut dispensator aut liberorum paedagogus furtim subiret, ludibrio habiturus infoelicem et inamabilem herum, quem postea sinat ad 15  
fuliginosam et oris angusti lucernulam ac siticulosum scirpulum vsuris inuigilare. Quid itaque? An non iniquum, quum haec quondam incusaueris, nunc in Timone diuersa his criminari?

PLVT. Atqui si rem vere perpenderit, vtrumque me iure facere iudicabis. Nam et Timonis ista nimia lenitas, negligentia potius, haud benevolentia studiumque, quod ad me pertinet, merito videatur. At e diuerso, qui me ostiis ac tenebris inclusum seruabant, id agentes quo scilicet crassior saginatioque ac vehementer corpulentia onustus euaderem, quum interim neque ipsi contingerent neque in lucem producerent, ne uel aspicerer a quopiam, hos dementes et contumeliosos in me iudicabam, quippe qui me nihil commeritum tot in vinculis cogere situ carieque putrescere, haud intelligentes quo mox demigrent, me alii cuiquam cui fortuna fauerit relicturi. Nec hos igitur probo, sed ne illos quidem qui nimium facile mihi manus admouent, sed qui (quod est optimum) mediocritate vtantur, vti nec prorsus abstineant neque penitus profundant. Etenim illud, per Iouem, considera, Iuppiter. Si quis, vbi puellulam et formosam lege duxisset vxorem, postea neque obseruet nec vlla omnino zelotypia prosequatur, videlicet sinens illam noctu atque interdium quocunque libitum sit ire, et quicumque voluissent cum his habere rem, uel producat potius vltro vt adulteretur, fores aperiens prostiturusque et quoslibet ad illam inuitans, num hic amare videbitur? Profecto hoc tu nequaquam dices, | Iuppiter, qui saepenumero amorem senseris. Rursum si ingenuam lege domum deducat vti liberos legitimos progeneret, caeterum nec ipse contingat florentem aetate decoramque 20  
25  
30  
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36

4-5 atque ... computo *B*, idque ab obseruantissimis molestissimisque pedagogis ali, ad vsuram et rationem *A* | 8 conuiuentibus *B*, conuenientibus *A* | 20 lenitas negligentia *B*, leuitas negligentiaque *A* | 21 quod ad me pertinet *B*, in me *A*; videatur *B*, videbatur *A* | 26 cogere *B*, me cogere *A*; quo *D*, quod *A B C* | 33 ire ... habere rem *B*, congregi cum his quicumque cuperent *A*; vltro *B*, *om. A* | 34 prostiturusque *D*, ostentansque *A B C*

virginem, nec alium sinat aspicere, sed inclusam, orbam sterilemque in perpetua virginitate contineat, idque prae amore se facere praedicet, et hunc quidem praeferat pallore, corpore exhausto, oculis refugis, num fieri potis est vt huiusmodi non desipere videatur, quippe qui quum liberis oportuerit operam dare  
 5 fruique coniugio, puellam adeo formosam atque amabilem sinat emarcescere per omnem vitam, tanquam Cereri sacerdotem alens? Huiusmodi et ipse indigne fero, quum a nonnullis ignominiose caedor calcibus, laniorque atque exhaurior, a nonnullis contra perinde vt stigmaticus fugitiuus compedibus vincior.

10 IVP. Quid est autem quod aduersus illos indigneris, quandoquidem vtrique poenas egregias luunt, alteri quidem dum Tantali in morem neque bibere sinuntur neque edere, sed ore sicco duntaxat inhiant auro, alteri vero dum his ceu Phyneo cibos Harpyiae ipsis e faucibus eripiunt. Sed abi iam, Timone multo posthac vsurus cordatiore.

15 PLVT. An ille aliquando desinet me ceu foraminoso cophino, priusquam omnino influxerim, data opera exhaurire, quasi conetur occupare, quo minus influam, veritus ne si copiosius infundar, ipsum vndis obruam? Quo fit vt in Danaidum dolium aquam mihi videar illaturus frustra infusus, vase non continente liquorem, imo prius propemodum effuso quod influit quam influxerit,  
 20 adeo latus dolii hiatus ad effusionem ac liber exitus.

IVP. Proinde ni hiatum istum obturauerit perpetuamque perstillationem sistere studuerit, te propediem effuso, facile rursus sagum et lignonem in dolii fece reperiet. Sed interim abite atque illum diuitem reddite. At tu, Mercuri, fac memineris vt rediens Cyclopas ex Aetna tecum adducas, quo fulmen cuspidem  
 25 restituta resarciant. Nam eo nobis acuminato opus fuerit.

MER. Eamus, Plute. Quid hoc? Num claudicas? Equidem ignorabam, o praecclare, te non caecum modo verumetiam claudum esse.

30 PLVT. Atqui non hoc mihi perpetuum, Mercuri. Verum si quando proficiscor a Ioue missus ad quempiam, tum nescio quo pacto tardus sum et vtroque claudus pede, ita vt aegre ad metam pertingere queam, sene nonnunquam interim facto qui me operiebatur. Porro quum discedendum est, alatum videbis multo auibus celeriozem. Vnde fit vt vix iam amoto repagulo ego iam praeconis voce victor pronunciet, saltu stadium transmensus ne videntibus quidem aliquoties spectatoribus.

35 MER. At ista quidem haud vera narras. Imo ego tibi permultos commemorare

6 Cereri *B*, caerei *A* | 11 Tantali *B*, tantilli *A* | 12-13 ceu Phyneo *B*, exemplo Phinei *A* | 15-18 An ... illaturus (allaturus *E*) *B*, Ille igitur iureiurando cohercebitur ne me velut e perforato cophino, vel priusquam influxerint, properet effutire, quasi conetur occupare ne possim influere, ne si copiosius infundar, vndis illum inuoluam. Alioquin in Danaidum dolum aquam illaturus videor *A* | 19-20 liquorem ... exitus *B*, verum poene priusquam infusum sit, effuso eo quod infundatur, tanto latior hiatus dolii per quem effundit, neque sisti potest effluxus *A* | 25 fuerit *B*, fiunt *A* | 27 te ... esse *B*, quod non cecus modo, verum etiam claudus esses *A*



queam, quibus heri ne obolus quidem erat quo restim emerent, qui hodie repente diuites facti splendide viuant, albis quadrigis vehantur, quibus ante ne asellus quidem suppeditarit. Ii tamen purpurati aurumque manibus gestantes obambulant, qui ne ipsi quidem, opinor, credere possunt quin per somnium diuites sint.

PLVT. Istaec alia res est, Mercuri. Neque enim tum meis ipsius ingredior pedibus, nec a Ioue sed a Dite ad istos transmittor, qui et ipse nimirum opum largitor est, ac magna donans, id quod ipso etiam nomine declarat. Itaque quoties est mihi ab alio ad alium demigrandum, in tabellas iniiciunt me, ac diligenter obsignant sarcinae in morem sublatum transportant. Interea defunctus ille alicubi in aedium tenebricosa parte iacet, vetere linteo in genua iniecto tectus, de quo feles digladiantur. Porro qui me sperauerant obtinere, in foro operiuntur hiantes non aliter quam hyrundinem aduolantem stridentes pulli. Deinde vbi signum detractum est, et lineus ille funiculus incisus apertaeque tabellae, iamque nouus dominus pronunciatus est siue cognatus quispiam siue adulator siue seruulus obscenus qui puerili obsequio fauorem emeruerit, etiam tum mento subraso, pro variis et opiparis voluptatibus quas illi iam exoletus suppeditauerat, ingens scilicet praemium ferens generosus quisquis ille tandem fuerit, nonnunquam me ipsis cum tabellis arreptum fugiens adportat commutato nomine, vt qui modo Pyrrhias aut Dromo aut Tibius, iam Megacles aut Megabizus aut Protarchus appelletur. Caeterum illos nequicquam hiantes seque mutuum intuentes relinquit ac verum luctum agentes, quod eiusmodi thynnus ex intimo sagenae sinu sit elapsus, qui non parum magnam escam deuorarit. At hic repente totus in me irruens homo vitae mundioris atque elegantioris rudis, pingui illotaque cute, qui compedes etiamdum horrescit, et si quis praeteriens loro increpet, arrectis stet auribus quique pistrinum perinde vti templum adoret, non est deinceps tolerandus iis quibuscum viuit, verum et ingenuos afficit contumelia et conseruos flagris caedit, experiens num sibi quoque similia liceant, donec aut scortulo cuipiam irretitus aut equorum alendorum studio captus aut adulatoribus sese permittens deierantibus Nireo formosiolem esse, Cecrope Codroue generosiolem, callidiorlem Vlyse, vnum autem vel sedecim pariter Croesis opulentiolem, momento temporis semel profundat infoelix quae minutatim multis ex periuriis, rapinis, flagitiis, fuerant collecta.

MER. Ista ferme sic habent vti narras. Verum vbi tuis ipsius ingrederis pedibus, qui tandem, caecus quum sis, viam inuenire soles? Aut qui dignoscis ad quosnam Iuppiter te miserit, dignos illi visos qui diuitiis abundant?

PLVT. Enimvero credis me reperire istos ad quos mittor?

MER. Per Iouem, haudquaquam. Neque enim alioqui Aristide praeterito ad

6 Istaec MS, isthac ABCD, isthaec E | 11 in aedium tenebricosa parte iacet B, in aedibus iacet in tenebris A | 12 sperauerant B, sperauerunt A | 16 obscenus B, draucus A | 20 Pyrrhias E, Pyrrhius ABCD | 21-22 seque mutuum intuentes B, om. A | 22 ac verum B, verumque A | 23 qui C, quin AB | 28 experiens ... liceant B, licet ipse quoque eadem quandoque expertus in sese A

Hipponicum et Calliam accessisses, tum ad alios permultos Athenienses, homines ne obolo quidem aestimandos. Caeterum quid facis quandoquidem es emissus?

5 PLVT. Sursum ac deorsum circumcursans oberro, donec imprudens in quempiam incurrero. Hic autem, quisquis ille sit qui forte primus me nactus sit, abducit ac possidet, te, Mercuri, pro lucro praeter spem obiecto venerans atque adorans.

MER. Num ergo fallitur Iuppiter, qui quidem credat ex ipsius animi sententia ditari abs te hos quos ille dignos existimarit qui ditescerent?

10 PLVT. Et iure quidem optimo fallitur, o bone, quippe qui quum me caecum esse non ignoret, emittat vestigatum rem vsqueadeo repertu difficilem et iam olim e vita sublatam, quam ne Lynceus quidem facile inueniret, quae nimirum adeo obscura sit ac minuta. Itaque quum rari sint boni, improbi porro in ciuitatibus omnia obtineant, oberrans facile in huiusmodi mortales incurro ac retibus  
15 illorum illigor.

MER. At qui fit vt, quoties eos deseris, celeriter aufugias, quum viae sis ignarus?

PLVT. Tum demum acutum cerno pedibusque valeo, vbi ad fugam tempus inuitat.

20 MER. Iam illud quoque mihi responde, qui fit vt quum sis oculis captus (dicendum enim est), praeterea pallidus, postremo claudus, tam multos habeas amantes, adeo vt omnes in te defigant oculos, et si potiantur, foelices videantur; sin frustrentur, non sustineant viuere? Ex his equidem non paucos noui, qui sic perditte te amarint, vt sese aereo e scopulo piscosi in aequoris alta praecipites  
25 abiecerint, rati fastidiri sese abs te, propterea quod illos nullo pacto respexisses. Quanquam, sat scio, tu quoque fateberis, si quomodo tibi ipsi notus es, furere istos qui eiusmodi amore sunt dementati.

PLVT. At enim credis me qualis sum talem istis videri, nempe claudum aut caecum aut si quid aliud adest mihi viciii?

30 MER. Quid ni, O Plute? Nisi forte et ipsi omnes caeci sunt.

PLVT. Haud caeci quidem, o optime, verum inscitia errorque quae nunc occupant omnia, illis offundunt tenebras. Ad haec ipse quoque ne per omnia deformis sim, persona vehementer amabili tectus inaurata gemmisque picturata ac versicoloribus amictus eis occurro. At illi rati sese natiui vultus venustatem  
35 aspicere, amore capiuntur, dispereuntque nisi potiantur. Quod si quis me toto corpore renudatum illis ostenderit, dubio procul futurum sit vt se ipsi damnent, qui tantopere caecutierint adamantes res neutiquam amandas ac foedas.

1 permultos *om. E* | 1-2 accessisses (*accessissem E*) ... aestimandos *B*, accederes, ad haec complures ex Atheniensibus alios, qui ne obolo quidem digni sint *A* | 24-25 sese (*se E*) ... abiecerint *B*, sese in profundum immensumque pelagus praecipites dederint ac scopulis abruptis illiserint *A*; Alludit ad carmen Theognidis \**B*\**C*\**D* | 25 nullo pacto *B*, initio non *A* | 33 inaurata ... picturata *E*, -to ... -to *A B C D* | 34 ac versicoloribus amictus *B*, *om. A*

MER. Quid ergo, posteaquam eo peruentum est vt iam diuites euaserint iamque personam sibi circumposuerint, rursum falluntur? Adeo vt si quis illis detrahere conetur, paene caput potius quam personam abiiciant? Neque enim verisimile est etiam tum illos ignorare auro bracteata esse formam, quum intus cuncta inspexerint.

5

PLVT. Ad id non parum multae res, O Mercuri, mihi sunt adiumento.

MER. Quaenam?

PLVT. Simulatque qui me primum nactus est, apertis foris exceperit, clanculum vna mecum introit elatio, vecordia, iactantia, mollicies, violentia, dolus atque alia item innumerabilia a quibus omnibus posteaquam est animus occupatus, iam admiratur quae neutiquam sunt admiranda, et appetit ea quae sunt fugienda, meque cunctorum illorum quae introierant malorum patrem stupet, illorum satellitio vallatum, quiduis potius passurus quam vti me compellatur reiicere.

10

MER. Vt leuis ac lubricus es, Plute, retentu difficilis ac fugax neque vllam praebens ansam certam | quo pressus tenere, sed nescio quomodo, anguillarum ac serpentum in morem, inter digitos elaberis. At e diuerso Paupertas viscosa, pressu facilis totoque corpore mille vncos gerit hamos, vt qui tetigerint ilico haereant nec facile queant auelli. Verum interea dum nugamur, rem haud paruam omisimus. PLVT. Quam?

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16

MER. Nempe quia Thesaurum non adduxerimus, quo vel in primis erat opus.

20

PLVT. Isthac quidem ex parte bono sis animo. Nam non nisi in terra relicto illo ad vos ascendere soleo iussoque intus manere foribus occlusis neque cuiquam aperire, nisi me vociferantem audierit.

MER. Iam igitur Atticam adeamus. Tu me consequitor chlamydi adhaerens, donec extremam viam attigerimus.

25

PLVT. Recte facis, Mercuri, quum me per viam ducis. Etenim si me desereres, forsitan oberrans in Hyperbolum aut Cleonem inciderem. Sed quis hic stridor ceu ferri saxo impacti?

MER. Timon hic est, qui proxime montanum et petricosum fodit solum. Paepae, adest et Paupertas et Labor ille, tum Robur, Sapientia, Fortitudo atque id genus aliorum turba, quorum omnium agmen Fames cogit, longe praestantius quam tui sint satellites.

30

PLVT. Quin igitur quam ocissime discedimus, Mercuri? Neque enim vllum operae pretium fecerimus cum homine eiusmodi vallato exercitu.

MER. Secus visum est Ioui, quare ne metu deterreamur.

35

PAVPERTAS. Quo hunc nunc, Argicida, manu abducis?

MER. Ad hunc Timonem ad quem a Ioue sumus ire iussi.

PAV. Itane rursus Plutus ad Timonem? Posteaquam ego hunc antea deliciis

2 personam C, personam ipsam AB | 12-13 illorum sat. vallatum B, quum illorum sat. vall. videt A | 15 ansam B, ausam A | 17-18 tetigerint B, attigerint A | 18 nec D, neque ABC | 24 adeamus B, superamus A | 26 desereres E, deseres ABCD | 31 cogit E, iungit ABCD | 33 Mercuri B, om. A | 36 Argicida B, Mercuri A | 38 antea B, om. A

male corruptum suscepi, commendansque Sapientiae et Labori strenuum multi-  
que precii virum reddidi? Adeone despicienda iniuriaeque idonea vobis Pauper-  
tas iudicor, vt hunc quae mihi vnica erat possessio eripiatis, iam exactissima cura  
ad virtutem excultum; vt Plutus hic vbi denuo susceperit, per contumeliam et  
5 arrogantiam illi manu iniecta talem reddiderit, qualis erat dudum, mollem et ign-  
nauum ac vecordem, rursus mihi restituat vbi iam nihili factus erit et reiiculus?

MER. Sic, O Paupertas, Ioui placitum est.

PAV. Equidem abeo. At vos, Labor et Sapientia reliquique, consequimini  
me. Porro hic breui cognoscet qualis in se fuerim quam nunc relinquet, nempe  
10 adiutrix bona et rerum optimarum doctrix, quicum donec habuit commercium,  
sano corpore valentique animo perseueravit, virilem exigens vitam, et ad sese  
respiciens, superuacua autem et vulgaria ista aliena, ita vt sunt, existimans.

MER. Discedunt illi: nos ad eum adeamus.

TIM. Quinam estis, o scelesti? Aut qua gratia huc aduenistis homini operario  
15 mercenarioque negotium exhibituri? Verum haudquaquam laeti abibitis, scelesti  
vt estis omnes, nam ego vos ilico glebis et saxis petitos comminuum.

MER. Nequaquam, O Timon; ne ferito, neque enim feries mortales; verum  
ego sum Mercurius, hic Plutus. Misit nos Iuppiter, votis tuis exauditis. Quare,  
quod bene vertat, opes accipe desistens a laboribus.

20 TIM. Atqui vos iam ploraueritis, etiam si dii sitis, vt dicitis. Siquidem odi  
pariter omnes, tum deos, tum homines. Sed hunc caecum, quisquis hic fuerit,  
mihi certum est ligone impacto comminuere.

PLVT. Abeamus per Iouem, Mercuri, quandoquidem hic homo mihi videtur  
non mediocriter insanire, ne malo quopiam accepto discedam.

25 MER. Ne quid ferociter, Timon; quin exue potius penitus istam ferocita-  
tem asperitatemque ac manibus obuuis excipe bonam fortunam. Rursus diues  
esto, rursus Atheniensium princeps, et ingratos illos despicio quum solus  
florebis.

30 TIM. Nihil mihi vobis est opus, ne obturbate. Sat opum mihi ligo. Praeterea  
fortunatissimus sum, si nemo propius ad me accesserit.

MER. Adeone quaeso inhumaniter?

*Haec ego saeua Ioui refero atque immania dicta?*

Atqui par erat forsitan homines tibi haberi inuisos, vt qui tam multa indigna in  
te commisissent: deos odio te prosequi nequaquam erat consentaneum, quum  
35 illi tantopere tui curam agant.

TIM. At tibi, Mercuri, Iouique quod me respicitis, plurimam equidem habeo  
gratiam. Caeterum hunc Plutum nequaquam recepero.

MER. Quid ita?

1 male corruptum *B*, turpiter gerentem sese *A* | 2-3 Paupertas *MS C*, *om. AB* | 6 ac vecor-  
dem *B*, *om. A* | 7 Ioui *B*, iam *A* | 17 feries *B*, ferieris *A* | 21 hunc caecum *B*, huic caeco  
*A*; hic *E*, is *ABCD* | 22 ligone impacto comminuere *B*, lignonem impingere *A* | 32  
Haec ... dicta? *B*, Hunc sine sermonem Ioui renuncio saeuum et ferocem *A*

TIM. Quoniam pridem innumerabilium malorum hic mihi fuit auctor, quum me assentatoribus proderet, insidiatores in me inuitaret, conflaret odium, illecebris corrumperet, inuidiae obnoxium redderet, denique quum repente me adeo perfide ac proditorie destituerit. Contra Paupertas | optima, me laboribus viro  
 5 dignissimis exercens mecumque vere et libere conuiuens, et quibus opus erat  
 suppeditauit laboranti, et vulgaria ista docuit contemnere, effecitque vt mihi  
 vitae spes omnis ex me ipso penderet, demonstrans quaenam essent opes verae  
 meae, nempe quas neque adulator assentans neque sycophanta minitans neque  
 plebes irritata neque concionator suffragiorum auctor neque tyrannus intentis  
 insidiis queat eripere. Itaque iam validus effectus ob laborem, dum hunc agel-  
 10 lum gnauiter exerceo neque quicquam eorum quae sunt in ciuitate malorum as-  
 picio, abunde magnum et sufficientem victum mihi ligo suppeditat. Quare tu,  
 Mercuri, quam venisti viam remetiens recurre, vna tecum Plutum adducens ad  
 Iouem. Illud mihi sat fuerit, si effecerit vt omnes mortales per omnem aetatem  
 eiulent.

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5

10

15

MER. Nequaquam, o bone, neque enim omnes ad eiulandum sunt accommo-  
 di. Quin tu iracunda pueriliaque ista missa face, ac Plutum excipe. Non sunt  
 reicienda munera quae a Ioue proficiscuntur.

PLVT. Vin, Timon, vt contra te partes defendam meas, an grauiter feres si  
 quid dixerero?

20

TIM. Dicito, ne multis tamen, neque cum prooemiis, quemadmodum per-  
 ditissimi isti solent oratores. Nam huius Mercurii gratia te feram paucis di-  
 centem.

PLVT. Atqui multis mihi potius erat dicendum, tot nominibus abs te accusato.  
 Attamen vide num qua in re te quemadmodum ais laeserim, qui quidem dulcis-  
 25 simarum quarumque rerum tibi extiterim auctor opifexque authoritatis, praesi-  
 dentiae, coronarum, aliarum item voluptatum. Mea opera conspicuus eras, ce-  
 lebris et obseruandus. Caeterum si quid molesti ab adulatoribus accidit, non  
 mihi potes imputare; quin ipse magis abs te sum affectus contumelia, propterea  
 quod me tam ignominiose viris illis execratis suppeditaris, qui te mirabantur ac  
 30 praestigiis dementabant mihi que modis omnibus insidias struebant. Porro quod  
 extremo loco dixisti, te a me proditum desertumque fuisse, istud criminis in te  
 possum retorquere, quum ipse sum modis omnibus a te reiectus praecepsque  
 exactus ex aedibus. Vnde pro molli chlamyde sagum istud charissima tibi Pau-  
 pertas circumposuit. Itaque testis est mihi hic Mercurius, quantopere Iouem  
 35 orauerim ne ad te venirem, qui tam hostiliter esses in me debacchatus.

MER. At nunc vides, Plute, in cuiusmodi hominem sit commutatus. Proinde

1 hic MS C, om. AB | 2-3 proderet ... corrumperet C, proderet B (insid. ... corrumperet  
 add. MS) proderat, immittens qui insidiis appetent, similitatem excitarent, mollicie per-  
 deret A | 6 laboranti B, laborauit A | 7 penderent A, corr. B | 11 grauiter A, corr. B | 13  
 qua A, corr. B | 19 Vin B, Vni A | 21 Dicito ne B, dicite nec A | 22 te B, tu A | 30 suppe-  
 ditans ABCD, corr. E | 31-32 Porro ... istud B, Illud postremo loco dicebas, quod te  
 prodiderim, ast isthuc contra A | 37 cuiusmodi B, cuius A

audacter cum illo consuetudinem age. Tu vero fode ita vt facis. Tu interim Thesaurum sub ligonem adducito. Audiet enim si tu accersiueris.

5 TIM. Parendum est, Mercuri, rursusque ditescendum. Quid enim facias quum dii compellant? Tamen vide in quas turbas me miserum coniiicies, qui quidem quum ad hunc vsque diem foelicissime vixerim, tantum auri repente sum accep-

turus, nihil commeritus mali, tantumque curarum suscepturus.  
MER. Sustine, Timon, mea gratia, tametsi graue est isthuc atque intolerandum, quo videlicet palpones illi prae inuidia rumpantur. Ego porro superata Aetna in coelum reuolauero.

10 PLVT. Abiit ille quidem, sicut apparet. Nam ex alarum remigio facio coniec- turam. Tu vero hic operire, siquidem digressus Thesaurum ad te transmittam, sed feri fortius. Tibi loquor, auri Thesaure, Timoni huic audiens esto, offerque temet eruendum. Fodi, Timon, altius impingens. Caeterum ego a vobis digre- dior.

15 TIM. Age iam, o ligo, nunc mihi tuas vires explica, neque defatigare, dum ex abdito Thesaurum in apertum euocaris. Hem, prodigiorum author Iuppiter, amici Corybantes ac lucrifer Mercuri, vndenam auri tantum? Num somnium hoc est? Metuo ne carbones reperturus sim experrectus. Atqui aurum profecto est insigne, fuluum, graue et aspectu multo iucundissimum.

20 *Pulcherrima Aurum faustitas mortalibus,*

quippe quod ignis in morem ardens noctesque et dies renides. Ades, o mihi charissimum desideratissimumque. Nunc demum credo vel Iouem ipsum olim aurum esse factum. Etenim quae tandem virgo non exporrecto sinu vsque adeo formosum amatorem excipiat per tegulas illapsam? O Mida Croeseque ac mu- nera Delphico in templo dicata, vt nihil eratis si cum Timone cumque Timonis opibus conferamini, cui ne Persarum quidem rex par est! O ligo, sagum charissimum! vos huic Pani suspendi commodum est. At ego quam maxime semotum mercatus agrum turraculaque seruandi auri gratia constructa, vni mihi affatim LB 263 vixero. Sepulchrum item inibi mihi defuncto parare est sententia. Haec | igitur 30 decreta sunt placitaque in reliquum vitae, seiunctio, ignorantia, fastidium erga mortales omneis. Porro amicus, hospes, sodalis aut ara misericordiae, merae nugae! Tum commiserari lachrymantem, suppeditare egentibus, iniquitas ac morum subuersio. At vita solitaria qualis est lupis, vnusque sibi amicus Timon, caeteri omnes hostes et insidiarum machinatores. Cum horum quopiam congre- 35 di piaculum, adeo vt si quem aspexero duntaxat, inauspicatus sit ille dies. In summa, non alio nobis habeantur loco quam signa saxea aereae, neque fecialem ab illis missum recipiamus, neque foedera feriamus; solitudo terminus esto. Caeterum tribules, cognati, populares, postremo patria ipsa, frigida quaedam et

1 ita vt facis B, quantum potes A | 8 inuidia B, inedia A | 33 vnusque A B, vnusquisque C, vnus D E | 36 habentur E | 37 solitudo terminus esto D, mons hic solitudinem meam aduersus illos tueatur A B C

sterilia nomina, stultorumque mortalium gloriae. Solus Timon diues esto, despiciat omnes, solus ipse secum oblectetur, liber ab assentationibus et onerosis laudibus, diis sacra faciat, epuletur solus sibi ipsi vicinus, sibi particeps, excutiens sese ab aliis. Ac semel decretum esto, vt vnus se ipsum comiter accipiat, si moriendum sit aut necesse habeat sibi ipsi coronam admouere, nullumque nomen sit dulcius quam Misanthropi, id est hominum osoris; morum autem notae difficultas, asperitas, feritas, iracundia, inhumanitas: quod si quem conspexero incendio conflagrantem obtestantemque quo restinguam, pice oleoque restinguere. Rursum si quem flumen vndis abstulerit, isque manus porrigens imploret vt retineatur, hunc quoque demerso capite propellere ne possit emicare. Hunc ad modum par pari relaturus est. Hanc legem Timon tulit Echecratides Colytensis et contionis subscripsit suffragiis idem ille Timon. Age haec decreta sunt, haec fortiter tueamur. Caeterum magno emerim vt id omnibus innotescat, quod opibus abundo. Nam illa res illos praefocauerit. Sed quid illud? Hem, quae trepidatio! Vndique concurrunt puluerulenti atque anhelii, haud scio vnde aurum odorati. Vtrum igitur hoc consensu colle saxi eos abigo e sublimi deiaculans, an hac tantum in re legem violabimus, vt semel cum illis congregiamur, vt magis angantur fastiditi repulsique? Ita satius esse duco. Itaque restemus quo illos iam excipiamus. Age prospiciam: primus eorum iste quis est? Nempe Gnatonides adulator, qui mihi nuper coenam petenti funem porrexit, quum apud me saepenumero solida dolia vomuerit. Sed bene est quod ad me venit, nam primus omnium vapulabit.

GNATO. An non dixi Timonem virum bonum non neglecturos esse deos? Salue, Timon formosissime, iucundissime, conuiuator bellissime.

TIM. Scilicet et tu, Gnatonides, vulturum omnium edacissime atque hominum perditissime.

GNATO. Semper tibi grata dicacitas. Sed vbi comptamus? Nam nouam tibi adfero cantilenam ex his quos nuper didici dithyrambis.

TIM. Atqui elegos canes admodum miserabiles ab hoc doctus ligone.

GNATO. Quid isthuc? Feris, O Timon? Attestor, O Hercules, hei, hei! In ius te voco apud Ariopagitas, qui vulnus dederis.

TIM. Atqui si cunctere paulisper, mox caedis me reum ages.

GNATO. Nequaquam, quin tu plane vulneri medere paululo auri inuncto. Mirum enim in modum praesentaneum id est remedium.

TIM. Etiam manes?

GNATO. Abeo. At tibi male sit, qui quidem ex viro commodo tam saeuus factus sis.

TIM. Quis hic est qui accedit, recaluaster ille? Philiades, assentatorum om-

2 oblectet *A*, corr. *B* | 3-4 excutiens *B*, corr. *MS C* | 4-5 Ac semel ... habeat *B*, at tantum semet vnus accipere certum esto quod si moriendum est *A* | 5 admouere *B*, accipere *A* | 10 propellere *C*, propellem *A B* | 12 et contionis ... Timon *B*, idem in comitiis suffragia tulit *A* | 20 coenam *D*, symbolum *A B C* | 23 GNATO. An non dixi *B*, Gnatonides dixi in *A* | 33 mederi *A*, corr. *B* | 34 enim *B*, emitis *A* | 37 sis *B*, sis auri gratia *A*

nium execratissimus. Hic quum a me solidum acceperit fundum, tum filiae in dotem talenta duo, laudationis praemium, quum me canentem reliquis silentibus omnibus solus maiorem in modum extulisset, deierans me vel oloribus magis canorum, vbi me pridem aegrotum conspexisset, nam adieram oraturus  
5 vt mei curam ageret, plagas etiam egregius ille vir impexit.

PHIL. O impudentiam, nunc demum Timonem agnoscitis, nunc Gnatonides amicus et coniuua: enimvero habet ille digna se, quandoquidem immemor est atque ingratus. At nos qui iam olim conuictores sumus aequales ac populares, tamen modeste agimus, ne insilire videamur. Salue, here, fac vt istos adultores  
10 sacrilegos obserues, qui nusquam adsunt nisi in mensa, praeterea a coruis nihil differunt. Neque posthac huius aetatis mortalium vlli fidendum est; omnes ingrati et scelesti. At ego quum tibi talentum adducerem quo posses ad ea quae velles vti, in via accepi te summas quasdam opes esse nactum. Proinde accessi his de rebus admoniturus te, quanquam tibi forsitan me monitore nihil erat  
LB 264 opus, viro nimirum adeo prudenti vt vel Nestori ipsi, si necesse est, | consilium  
16 dare queas.

TIM. Ita fiet, Philiades, sed age, accede quo te ligone comiter accipiam.

PHIL. Viri, caput mihi comminutum est ab hoc ingrato, propterea quod eum ea quae in rem illius erant admonui.

TIM. Ecce tertius huc orator Demeas se recepit, tabulas dextra gestans, aitque se mihi cognatum esse. Hic vna die de meo sedecim talenta ciuitati dependit. Nam damnatus erat ac vinctus, at quum soluendo non esset, ego misertus illum redemi. Porro quum illi sorte obuennisset vt Erechteidi tribui distribueret aera-  
20 rium, atque ego adiens id quod ad me redibat poscerem, negabat se ciuem nosse  
25 me.

DEM. Salue, Timon, praecipuum generis tui praesidium, fulcimentum Atheniensium, defensaculum Graeciae. Profecto iamdudum te populus frequens et vtraque curia operitur. Sed prius decretum audi quod de te conscripsi: Quandoquidem Timon Echekratidae filius Colytensis, vir non modo probus et integer, verum etiam sapiens, quantum alius in Graecia nemo, nunquam per omnem vitam destitit optime de re publica mereri: tum autem in Olympicis vicit pugil et lucta cursuque die eodem, ad haec sollemni quadriga equestrique certamine...  
30

TIM. At ego ne spectator quidem unquam in Olympicis sedi.

DEM. Quid tum? Spectabis posthac, sed ista communia addi satius est. '...Tum anno superiore aduersus Acharnenses pro re publica fortissime se gessit, et Peloponensium duas acies concidit...'  
35

TIM. Qua ratione? Quippe qui nec vnquam arma gesserim, neque vnquam militiae dederim nomen.

4 magis *E*, magis esse *A B C D* | 10 sacrilegos *MS C*, *om.* *A B* | 13 via *C*, via interim *A B* | 20 recepit *B*, recipit *A* | 24 poscerem *B*, reposcerem *A* | 30 nunquam *B*, quum nunquam *A* | 37 Peneloponensium *B*, *corr.* *MS C*; concidit *E*, fudit *A*, conscidit *B C D*



DEM. Modeste tu quidem de teipso loqueris. Nos tamen ingrati futuri sumus nisi meminerimus. ‘...Praeterea scribendis plebiscitis et in consultationibus et in administrandis bellis non mediocrem vtilitatem attulit reipublicae: his de causis omnibus visum est curiae, plebi, magistratibus tributim, plebeiis singulatim, communiter vniuersis, aureum statuere Timonem iuxta Palladem in arce fulmen dextra tenentem, radiis tempora ambientibus, vtque septem aureis coronis coronetur: haeque coronae hodie in Dionysiis per tragoedos novos promulgentur. Siquidem hodie illi Dionysia sunt agenda. Dixit hoc suffragium Demeas orator, propterea quod cognatus illius propinquus ac discipulus eius sit. Nam et orator optimus Timon, praeterea quicquid voluerit.’ Hoc igitur tibi suffragium, sed vtinam et filium meum ad te pariter adduxissem quem tuo nomine Timonem appellaui.

TIM. Qui potes, Demea, quum ne vxorem quidem duxeris vnquam, quantum nobis scire licuit?

DEM. At ducam nouo ineunte anno, si deus permiserit, liberisque operam dabo. Tum quod erit natum (erit autem masculus), Timonem nuncupabo.

TIM. An vxorem tu sis ducturus, equidem haud scio, tanta a me plaga accepta.

DEM. Hei mihi! Quid hoc est rei? Tyrannidem Timon occeltas? pulsasque eos qui sunt ingenui, ipse nec ingenuus plane nec ciuis? verum propediem poenas daturus, quum aliis nominibus tum quod arcem incenderis.

TIM. Atqui non conflagrauit arx, sceleste. Proinde palam est te calumniatorem agere.

DEM. Verum effosso aerario diues effectus es.

TIM. Atqui non est effossum isthuc, vnde ne haec quidem probabiliter abs te dicuntur.

DEM. Verum effodietur posthac, sed tu interim omnia quae in eo condita possides.

TIM. Alteram itaque plagam accipe.

DEM. Hei scapulis meis!

TIM. Ne vociferare, alioqui et tertiam tibi illidam. Etenim res plane ridicula mihi acciderit, si quum inermis duas Lacedaemoniorum acies fuderim, vnum scelestum hominem non protrihero. Tum frustra vicerim in Olympiis et pugil et palaestrites. Sed quid hoc? An non philosophus Thrasycles hic est? Profecto ipsus est, promissa barba subductisque superciliis et magnum quiddam secum murmurans accedit, Titanicum obtuens, caesariem per scapulas fluentem ventilans, alter quidam Boreas aut Triton quales eos Zeuxis depinxit. Hic habitu frugalis, incessu moderatus, amictu modestus, mane mirum quam multa de virtute disserit, damnans eos qui voluptate capiuntur, frugalitatem laudans. At vbi lotus ad coenam venit puerque ingentem illi calicem porrexit, meraciore

4-5 singulatim *CDE* | 6 vtque *C*, vtique *AB* | 12 appellaui *B*, appellam *A* | 13 potes *D*, potest *ABC* | 25 est *ABC*, om. *DE*; ne *B*, me *A*.

autem maxime gaudet, perinde vt Lethes aquam ebibens, a diluculariis illis disputationibus diuersissima quae sint exhibet, dum milui instar praeripit obsonia, et proximum cubito opposito arcens, mento interim condimentis oppleto; dum canum ritu ingurgitat, prono incumbens corpore, perinde atque in patinis virtutem inuenturum sese speret; dumque vsque ad|eo diligenter catinos extergit indice digito, vt ne paululum quidem reliquiarum sinat adhaerere, nunquam non querulus, tanquam deteriore partem acceperit vel si totam placentam aut suem solus omnium accipiat, qui quidem edacitatis et insatiabilitatis est fructus, temulentus, vinoque bacchatus, non ad tantum modo saltationemque, verum ad conuicium vsque et iracundiam. Ad haec multus inter pocula sermo (tum enim vel maxime) de temperantia sobrietateque atque ista quidem loquitur, quum iam a mero male affectus ridicule balbutit. Accedit his deinde vomitus. Postremo sublatum eum de conuiuio efferunt aliqui ambabus manibus tibicinae inhaerentem, quanquam alioqui ne sobrius quidem vlli primariorum cesserit vel mendacio vel confidentia vel avaritia. Quin et inter assentatores primas tenet, peierat promptissime, anteit impostura, comitatur impudentia. In summa prorsus admirandum quoddam spectaculum est, omni ex parte exactum varietateque absolutum. Proinde non eiulabit clarius videlicet quum sit modestus. Quid hoc? Papae, tandem nobis Thrasycles?

THRAS. Non hoc animo ad te venio, Timon, quo plerique isti, qui nimirum opes admirati tuas argenti, auri, opiparorum conuiuiorum adducti spe concurrunt, multaue assentatione deliniunt te, hominem videlicet simplicem facileque impartientem id quod adest. Siquidem haud ignoras offam mihi in coenam sat esse, tum obsonium suauius caepe aut nasturtium aut, siquando lubeat lautius epulari, pusillum salis. Porro potum fons Athenis nouem saliens venis suppeditat. Tum pallium hoc quauis purpura potius. Nam aurum nihilo magis apud me in precio est quam calculi qui sunt in littoribus. Sed tua ipsius gratia huc me contuli, vt ne te subuerterit pessima ista atque insidiosissima res, opulentia, quippe quae multis saepenumero immedicabilium malorum extiterit causa. Etenim si me audies potissimum, opes vniuersas in mare praecipitabis, vtpote quibus nihil sit opus bono viro quique philosophiae possit opes perspicere. Ne tamen in altum, o bone, sed ferme ad pubem vsque ingressus, paulo vltra solum fluctibus opertum me quidem vno spectante. Quod si hoc non vis, tute igitur eas potiore via ex aedibus eiicito, ac ne obolum quidem tibi facias reliquum, videlicet largiens iis quicumque opus habent, huic quinque drachmas, illi minam, alii talentum. Porro si qui erit philosophus, hunc aequum est duplam aut triplam ferre portionem, quanquam hoc quidem mihi non mea ipsius gratia postulo sed quo amicis, si qui egebunt, donem. Sat est si modo peram hanc largitione tua expleueris, ne duos quidem modios Aeginiticis capientem.

1 gaudet *B*, *om. A*; dilucularis *A*, *corr. B* | 9 vinoque bacchatus *B*, atque ebrius *A* | 11 ista quidem loquitur *B*, id quidem (vt aiunt) *A* | 19 papae *B*, *om. A* | 22 deliniunt *MS C*, desinunt *A B* | 23 ignoras *B*, ignores *A* | 26 potius *B*, potior *A* | 28 vt *B*, vti *A*

Nam paucis contentum modestumque conuenit esse eum qui philosophatur, neque quicquam vltra peram cogitare.

TIM. Equidem ista quae dicis probo, Thrasycles. Ergo si videtur, priusquam peram expleam, age tibi caput opplebo tuberibus, posteaquam ligone sum mensus.

5

THRAS. O libertas, o leges, pulsamur ab impurissimo libera in ciuitate?

TIM. Quid stomacharis, o bone Thrasycles? Num te defraudauit? Atqui adiciam vltra mensuram choenices quattuor. Sed quid hoc negotii? Complures simul adueniunt. Blepsias ille et Laches et Gniphon, breuiter agmen eorum qui vapulabunt. Itaque quin ego in rupem hanc conscendo ac ligonem quidem iamdudum fatigatum paulisper interquiescere sino? At ipse plurimis congestis saxis, procul eos lapidum grandine peto.

10

BLEPSIAS. Ne iace, Timon; abimus enim.

TIM. At vos quidem nec citra sanguinem nec absque vulneribus.

## TYRANNICIDA

LB 267 Argumentum declamationis

5 Quidam in arcem ascendit vti tyrannum occideret, atque ipsum quidem non repperit, verum filium eius interemit, gladiumque in vulnere reliquit. Adueniens tyrannus vbi filium extinctum conspexit, eodem ense necem sibi consciscit. Is qui ascenderat tyrannique filium peremerat, praemium tanquam tyrannicida petit.

### Declamatio

10 Quum duos eodem die tyrannos occiderim, Iudices, alterum quidem aetate iam affecta, alterum aevo florentem et ad scelerum successionem capessendam paratum, vnicum tamen pro ambobus praemium petitum venio, qui quidem vnus omnium quotquot vnquam tyrannicidae fuerunt vnico vulnere duos maleficos fuerim amolitus necique dederim, filium videlicet ense, patrem indulgenti charitate qua filium adamabat. Itaque tyrannus pro his quae commisit abunde magnas poenas nobis dependit, quippe qui et viuis aspexerit filium prius morte  
15 sublatum, et quod est omnium maxime nouum, compulsus sit denique ipse sui tyrannicida fieri. At filius illius mea quidem manu peremptus est; caeterum occisus alteram ad caedem operam mihi suam commodauit, dum qui viuo patri scelerum socius fuerat, eiusdem post mortem (quatenus licuit) extitit parricida. Ego itaque sum is qui tyrannidem sustuli pariterque mecum gladius quo cuncta  
20 confecta sunt meus, tametsi caedis ordinem commutarim ac morem modumque nouarim conficiendi sceleratos, nempe hunc qui valentior erat ac sese defendere poterat ipse perimens, porro senem soli gladio reseruans. His igitur de causis et amplius quiddam a vobis me consequuturum arbitrabar, praemiaque laturum quae numero aequarent eos qui essent interempti, vtpote qui non praesentibus  
25 modo malis vos leuarim, verum etiam futurorum formidine, quique stabilem pepererim libertatem, nullo relicto qui scelerum capessat successionem. Verum interim tantis rebus strenue peractis in discrimen adducor, ne praemio fraudatus a vobis discedam, ac ne solus non feram mercedem quam leges a me seruatae praestituunt. At qui contradicit, is mihi videtur non reipublicae studio

9-10 paratum *B*, magis idoneum *A* | 21 ac sese defendere *B*, quique vlscisci *A* | 28 mercedem *B*, recompensam *A*

(quemadmodum ait) hoc facere, sed quod extinctos esse illos grauius ferat atque eum qui illis mortis auctor extitit vlscisci conetur. Vos igitur, Iudices, mihi paulisper attendite, dum tyrannidis mala tametsi ipsi optime nostis commemoro. Siquidem hoc pacto futurum est vt et beneficii mei magnitudinem intelligatis et ipsi plus capiat voluptatis, reputantes nimirum quibus sitis leuati malis. 5  
 Neque enim quemadmodum aliis quibusdam saepenumero accidit, itidem et nos simplicem tyrannidem atque vnicam seruitutem sustinebamus nec vnus domini violentiam tolerabamus, verum soli omnium quos similis habuit calamitas duos pro vno tyrannos habebamus et in geminas contumelias distrahebamur infoelices. Porro senex multo erat moderatior quippe ad iras lentior, ad supplicia segnior, et ad cupiditates tardior, vtpote cui iam aetas vehementiam impetus cohiberet voluptatumque cupiditates refrenaret. Quin ad suscipienda maleficia filii instinctu nolens impelli ferebatur, ipse alioqui non admodum tyrannicus nisi quod illi morem gerebat. Siquidem indulgens in filium supra quam credi queat erat, id quod re declarauit, ita vt filius illi esset omnia. Illi parebat, 15  
 per vim faciebat quicquid ille iusserat, supplicio afficiebat quoscunque praeceperat, ac prorsus in omnibus illi obsequundabat. In summa, filius in patrem tyrannum quendam agebat, pater filii cupiditatum satelles erat. Tametsi huic propter aetatem honorem cedebat adolescens soloque imperii nomine temperabat, tamen res et caput tyrannidis erat ipse. Et quanquam tutamentum praesidiumque principatui ab illo mutuaretur, scelerum tamen emolumentis solus fruebatur. Ille erat qui satellites continebat, qui custodias obtinebat, qui tyrannidem affectantes e medio tollebat, qui insidias formidabat, ille qui castrabat ephebos, qui coniugia violabat, illi virgines producebantur. Tum si quae caedes, si qua exilia, si quae pecuniarum expilationes, delationes, contumeliae, ea 25  
 omnia | iuuenis temeritate gerebantur. Porro senex ille obsequabatur, comitemque scelerum sese praebebat, ac comprobabat duntaxat filii sui flagitia. Itaque quum ea res nobis erat intoleranda, propterea quod quum animi cupiditatibus ex imperio potestas accedit, nullum flagitiis modum imponunt, tum illud in primis discruciat quod prospiceremus diurnam vel aeternam potius seruitutem eam futuram et per successionem alii post alium domino tradendam rempublicam populumque homini scelesto haereditatis instar obuenturum. Nam id aliis spem non exiguam facit, quod apud sese reputant, quod inter se dicunt: At mox cohercebitur. At mox demorietur. Paulo post liberi sumus futuri. Verum de his nihil eiusmodi sperabatur; quin potius iam intuebamur paratum 35  
 tyrannidis haeredem. Vnde factum est, vt ne aggredi quidem quisquam fortium ciuium et qui eadem quae ego animo statuisset, auderet. Sed desperabatur ab vniuersis libertas atque inexpugnabilis tyrannis videbatur, quippe quum esset cum tam multis configendum ac dimicandum. At me nihil ista deterruerunt neque perpensa negotii difficultate refugi, neque ad suscipiendum discrimen 40

7 tyrannidem *MS C, om. A B*; sustinebamus *B*, expectabamus *A* | 10 et infoelices *A, corr. B* | 13 nolens *B, om. A* | 17 obsequundabat *B*, obsequium dabat *A*

5   trepidauī, verum solus, solus inquam, aduersus adeo validam variamque tyrannidem, vel non solus potius sed gladio comite conscendi, quippe qui mihi sit auxiliatus mecumque ex parte tyrannum interemerit, quum mors mihi interim ob oculos obuersabatur, at e diuerso perpendenti quod publicam libertatem  
 10   mea caede redempturus essem. Ergo vbi in primam irruissem custodiam neque mediocri negotio satellites submouissem, occidens interim in quem incurrissem et quicquid obsisteret amoliens, ad ipsum negotii caput ferebar, ad vnicum tyrannidis robur, ad nostrarum calamitatum fontem, atque irrupto arcis propugnaculo quum viderem illum fortiter tuentem sese multisque vulneribus resistentem tamen occidi. Et iam tum erat sublata tyrannis, iam tum mihi confectum facinus. Ex eo tempore liberi omnes, nisi quod reliquus adhuc erat senex solus inermis, nudatus custodiis, iamque amisso magno illo suo satellite desertus, neque deinde dignus forti dextra. Ibi nimirum mecum ipse, Iudices, haec animo reputabam. Cuncta mihi pulchre habent, cuncta confecta sunt, cuncta eo quo  
 15   destinaram perducta. At eum qui reliquus est quo tandem modo poenas dare conuenit? Me quidem meaque dextra nequaquam est dignus, praesertim si post splendidum facinus iuuenile atque magnificum interimatur priorem illam caedem dedecoraturus. Carnifex aliquis quaerendus est illo dignus, verum post calamitatem ne vel hanc ipsam lucrifaciat; videat, discrucietur, appositum habeat ensem: huic reliqua mando. Haec vbi mecum stauissem, ipse quidem illinc discedo. At ille peregit id quod ego praediuinaueram: tyrannum occidit summamque meae imposuit fabulae. Adsum igitur popularem administrationem vobis adportans cunctisque bono iam vt animo sint edicens ac libertatem annuncians. Iam meis fruimini factis. Vacua, sicut videtis, sceleratis hominibus  
 20   arx, imperat nemo; quin et magistratus creare liberum est et causas agere et ex legibus contradicere. Atque haec omnia vobis mea contigerunt opera meaque fortitudine, videlicet ex vna illa caede, post quam pater iam viuere non quibat. Aequum itaque censeo vt his pro meritis debitum mihi a vobis praemium doneatur, non quod lucri auidus aut sordidus quispiam sim, nec is qui mercedis gratia de patria benemereri statuerim, verum quod praemio cupiam officia mea comprobari neque repudiari aut inglorios fieri conatus meos, si velut irriti praemioque indigi iudicentur. At hic contradicit negatque aequum facere me, qui decorari munere praemiumque ferre cupiam. Neque enim tyrannicidam esse me neque quicquam a me pro legis sententia confectum esse, verum facinori meo deesse  
 30   quiddam ad hoc vt praemium postulem. Percontor igitur illum, quid | praeterea  
 LB 269   requiris a me? Nonne volui? Nonne ascendi? Nonne occidi? Nonne libertatem  
 36   peperi? Num quis imperat? Num quis iubet? Num quis minitatur dominus? Num quis nocentium manus effugit meas? Haudquaquam dixeris. Sed omnia plena pacis, omnes restitutae leges, libertas manifesta, democratia stabilis, inuiolata

1 trepidauī B, trepidam A | 10 tamen B, iam A; Et iam B, et tamen A | 16 dextra B, dextera A | 36 Nonne volui? Nonne ascendi? Nonne occidi? B, om. A

connubia, pueri tuti, virgines absque periculo, publicamque foelicitatem sollem-  
 nibus feriis celebrat ciuitas. Quis igitur horum omnium author? Quis est qui illa  
 sustulit, haec peperit? Etenim si quisquam prae me dignus honore sit, cedam  
 praemium, desistam a petendo munere. Quod si solus omnia peregi, audens, pe-  
 riclitans, ascendens, interimens, excrucians, alterum vltus in altero, quid mea  
 calumniaris officia? Quur facis vt populus parum erga me gratus existat? At  
 enim non occidisti tyrannum. Porro lex tyrannicidae praemium decernit. Verum  
 dic mihi, nunquid interest vtrum ipse interimas, an mortis causam ministres? 5  
 Mea profecto sententia nihil. Verum hoc solum spectauit legis conditor: liber-  
 tatem democratiam sceleratorum sublationem; huic honorem decreuit, hoc  
 praemio dignum iudicauit, quod quidem inficiari non potes, quin mea contigerit  
 opera. Etenim si occidi eum, quo occiso ille non poterat viuere, nimirum ipse  
 caedem peregi. Ego occidi, sed illius manu. Itaque ne discepta de caedis modo  
 neque illud expende quemadmodum interierit, verum an iam perierit et an quod  
 periit id a me sit profectum. Quandoquidem et illud excussurus mihi videris at-  
 que his aduersus bene de republica meritos calumniis vsurus, si quis non gladio  
 verum lapide lignoue aut alio quouis pacto peremerit. Quid porro si fame tyran-  
 num obsedissem ad mortis necessitatem compellens, num ibi quoque requisitu-  
 rus eras a me caedem mea ipsius manu peractam, aut desiderari adhuc quiddam  
 diceres ad id vt legi factum a me satis videatur, atque id quum scelestum acerbius 20  
 etiam atque atrocioe mortis genere trucidassem? Vnum hoc duntaxat specta,  
 hoc require, hoc excute. Quis nocentium reliquus aut quae metus expectatio aut  
 quod calamitatum vestigium? Quod si purgata omnia, si pacata, profecto syco-  
 phanticum est modum rei gestae calumniantem praemio frustrari velle, quod iis  
 quae virtute confecta sunt debeatur. Equidem et illud memini dissertum in legi-  
 bus, nisi forte propter diutinam seruitutem oblitus sum eorum quae ab illis di-  
 cuntur: causam mortis esse duplicem, puta si quis ipse occidat aut si non ipse  
 quidem occidit neque manu facinus peregit, verum compulsi praebuitque mortis  
 occasionem. Ex aequo et hunc quoque lex censet supplicio affici oportere, idque  
 iure optimo. Neque enim statuit minus valere oportere audaciam quam facinus. 30  
 Ac postea superuacaneum est caedis rationem viamque spectare. Deinde hunc qui  
 sic occiderit tanquam homicidam poenas oportere dare censebis ac nequaquam  
 absoluendum esse. At me qui per omnia consimili modo rempublicam iuui,  
 non censes ea capere oportere quae iis debentur qui beneficio iuuerunt. Neque  
 enim illud dicere possis me quidem imprudentem fecisse, sed exitum quandam  
 commodum fortuito fuisse consequutum praeter animi sententiam. Nam quid  
 praeterea iam formidassem eo qui validior erat interempto? Quur autem gla-  
 dium in vulnere reliquisset, nisi plane quod erat euenturum id ipsum prediui-  
 nassem? Nisi forsitan illud dices, hunc qui extinctus est tyrannum non esse,  
 neque hanc appellationem in illum competere, neque vos multum praemii hoc 40

nomine, si ille fuisset occisus, decreturos fuisse. Atqui istud dicere non queas.  
 An tyranno interempto ei qui caedis causam ministravit praemium negabis? O  
 curiositatem, de illo laboras quo pacto interierit, quum interim libertate fruaris?  
 Aut ab eo qui democratiam restituit nescio quid superuacaneum praeterea re-  
 5 quiris? Atqui lex (vti fateris) caput rei gestae spectat; quae vero ad id conducunt,  
 ea omnia missa facit, neque iam vltra curiosius excutit. Quid enim? An, si  
 tyrannum exegerit quispiam, non is iam tyrannicidae praemium cepisset? Cepis-  
 set opinor, idque iure optimo. Siquidem et hic pro seruitute libertatem peperis-  
 set. At id quod a me patratum est non exilium habet, non imposterum instau-  
 10 randae tyrannidis metum, verum absolutam sublacionem totiusque generis in-  
 ternitionem omneque malum radicitus excisum. Et mihi per deos iam ab initio  
 LB 270 ad finem vsque (si videtur) rem totam perpendite, num quid eorum quae ad  
 leges pertinent sit praetermissum et num quid in me desideretur, ex his quae  
 tyrannicidae oportebat adesse. Principio mentem prius oportet suppetere fortem  
 15 et amantem reipublicae quaeque pro communibus commodis periculum adire  
 non recuset, quaeque priuato suo interitu multitudinis incolumitatem ausit redi-  
 mere. Num hac parte quicquam mihi defuit? Num frangebar animo? Num  
 quum praescirem per quae pericula mihi perrumpendum esset, per ignauiam  
 refugi? Profecto non potes dicere. In hac interim parte tantum commorare, at-  
 20 que aestima an non vel voluisse tantum ista ac statuisse praeclarum facinus fu-  
 turum fuisse videatur. Ac putato me solius animi voluntatisque argumento  
 praemium postulare tanquam qui beneficio iuuerit; tum si voluntati meae facul-  
 tas defuisset, verum alius post me tyrannum occidisset, dic mihi num absurdum  
 aut ingratum fuerat dare praemium? Maxime. Si dicerem: Cives, volui, statui,  
 25 aggressus sum, voluntatis experimentum dedi, solus dignus sum qui praemium  
 feram, quid tum responsurus fueras? Nunc porro non hoc dico, sed insuper:  
 Ascendi, periclitatus sum atque innumerabilia, priusquam iuuenem occiderem,  
 patraui. Neque enim vsqueadeo facilem factuque procliuem esse rem existimetis  
 30 custodias perrumpere, satellites opprimere, vnumque hominem tam multos  
 amoliri. Quin isthuc paene maximum est omnium quae sunt in tyrannicidio  
 totiusque negotii caput. Nam ipse iam tyrannus non magna res est neque ex-  
 pugnatu neque confectu difficilis, verum ea quae tuentur continentque tyranni-  
 dem; quae quidem si quis superarit, is nimirum cuncta quae destinauit peregerit,  
 et perpusillum est id quod superest. Sed ad tyrannos peruenire nunquam mihi  
 35 contigisset, ne prius qui illum cingunt custodes oppressissem, omnesque satel-  
 lites ante debellassem. Nihil adhuc addo, verum in his rursus immoror. Custodiam  
 oppressi, satellites superauit, tyrannum incustoditum, inermem, nudum  
 reddidi. Vtrum his rebus confectis non tibi videor honore dignus? An adhuc  
 caedem ipsam a me requires? Quin etiam si caedem quaeris, ne ea quidem desi-  
 40 derabitur. Non sum incruentus, verum caedem peregi magnam ac strenuam,  
 nempe iuuenis aetate ac viribus florentis atque omnibus formidandi, per quem



ille ab insidiis erat tutus, cui vni fidebat, qui complurium satellitum instar erat. An non igitur, quaeso te, praemio dignus videor, sed tantis rebus gestis honore fraudabor? Quid enim si satellitem vnum, atque adeo quid si tyranni ministrum quempiam interemissem? Quid si seruum aliquem charum? An non hoc quoque magnum visum fuisset conscendisse, mediaque in arce, mediis in armis, aliquem e tyranni familiaribus iugulare? Nunc et hunc ipsum qui occisus est, cuiusmodi sit considera. Filius erat tyranni, vel tyrannus potius crudelior, dominus intolerabilior, ad contumelias violentior, ad supplicia dirior, quodque est maximum, haeres ac successor omnium, quique in longum nostras calamitates posset prorogare. Vin hoc solum mihi confectum esse, ipsum vero tyrannum viuere adhuc fuga ereptum? Iam horum nomine praemium postulo. Quid dicitis? Non dabitis? An non et illum verebimini? An non dominus, an non grauis, an non intolerandus erat? Porro nunc negotii caput denique ipsum perpendite. Etenim quod hic a me requirit, hoc quam fieri potuit pulcherrime confeci, tyrannumque aliena caede occidi, non simpliciter nec vulnere vno, id quod fuerat optatissimum illi, videlicet tantorum facinorum sibi conscio, sed posteaquam illum prius multo dolore excarnificassem, tum quo nihil habebat charius miserabiliter prostratum coram oculis ostendens, puta filium in ipso aevi flore tametsi scelestum quidem illum, attamen et aetate vigentem et patri similem sanguine taboque oppletum, haec nimirum sunt parentum vulnera, hi gladii verorum tyrannicidarum, haec mors digna crudelibus tyrannis, haec vltio tantis sceleribus congruit. Caeterum protinus interire, protinus excidere sibi, neque huiusmodi vllum spectare spectaculum, profecto nihil habet tyrannico supplicio dignum. Neque enim ignorabam, vir egregie, non ignorabam inquam, neque quenquam alium latuit, quanta ille charitate filium sit prosequutus, adeo vt illo extincto ne paululum quidem temporis sibi in vita morandum esse fuerit ducturus. Atqui haud scio an omnes patres hunc ad modum affecti sint erga liberos, verum hic etiam vltra reliquos habebat quiddam idque merito, quippe qui conspiceret illum vnicum esse qui curaret seruaretque tyrannidem, quique solus pro patre pericula susciperet et tutamen imperio adderet. Itaque si non ob charitatem, certe ob rerum desperationem sciebam illum protinus exiturum e vita; perpensurum enim iam nihil esse quur velit viuere, adempto tutamine quod illi filius ministrauerat. Nimirum effeci vt haec omnia illum agminatim circumsisterent, forma, dolor, desperatio, formido, quique in posterum imminebant metus: his aduersus illum auxiliis sum vsus atque ad extremum illud consilium adegi. Interiit itaque vobis orbus, excruciatu, plorans, lachrymans. Luxit luctum, non illum quidem diuturnum, verum qui satis magnus esset patri. Postremo, quod est omnium acerbissimum, ipse sibi necem consciuit, quod quidem mortis genus prae caeteris miserrimum multoque atrocius quam si per alium inferatur. Vbi mihi gladius? Num quis alius eum agnoscit? Num cuius alterius hoc gestamen erat? Quis eum in arcem induxit? Ante tyrannum quis eo est vsus?

Quis eum ad illum misit? O ensis particeps successorque meorum egregie factorum, post tanta pericula, post tantas caedes contemnimur et indigni praemio iudicamur. Nam si huius tantum nomine praemium a vobis postularem, si sic dicerem: Iudices, tyranno quum mori vellet, quum id temporis inermem se
   
 5 deprehendisset, meus hic illi gladius inseruiuit et ad consequendam libertatem auxilio fuit vniuersis, hunc quoque laude praemioque dignum iudicassetis. Porro domino tam popularis rei non gratiam rettulissetis? Nonne inter eos qui de republica benemeriti sunt scripsissetis? Nonne gladium inter sacra monumenta consecrassetis? Non illum sequendum deos veneraremini? Nunc mihi consi-
   
 10 derate quae verisimile est fecisse tyrannum, quae dixisse, priusquam sibi mortem conscisceret. Quum iuuenis a me trucidaretur ac multis etiam vulneribus confoderetur, idque in his corporis partibus quae conspicuae magis magisque sint oculis obuiaae, videlicet vt quam maxime discruciare eum qui genuerat, quoque primo statim conspectu perturbaret, miserabiliter in clamabat, parentem
   
 LB 272 implorans non adiutorem nec opitulatorem, quippe qui senex iam esset atque
   
 16 inualidus, verum domesticarum cladum spectatorem. Nam ego interim disceseram, author qui fueram totius tragoediae, relinquens actori cadauer, scenam, gladium, reliqua quae ad actum fabulae pertinebant. At ille astans vbi filium conspexit quem habebat vnicum semiuiuum, sanguinolentum, caede conspersum,
   
 20 tum vulnera perpetua plurima ac letalia, hunc ad modum exclamauit: O nate, extincti sumus, interempti sumus, tanquam tyranni iugulati sumus. Vbi mactator? Cui me seruat? Cui me relinquit, qui quidem iam dudum propter occisum te, fili, sum extinctus, nisi forte me tanquam senem contemnit, ac lento supplicio me conficit producitque mihi mortem redditque mihi caedem longiorem. At-
   
 25 que haec loquutus ensem quaerebat. Nam ipse inermis erat, propterea quod per omnia filio fideret; verum ne is quidem deerat vt qui iam dudum fuerit a me paratus atque ad facinus futurum relictus. Euulso igitur e caede gladio atque e vulnere exempto ait: Dudum me occidisti. Nunc finem malis impone, gladi-
   
 30 ades patri lugenti solamen senilemque manum et infoelicem adiuua, iugula tyrannum occide, luctu libera. Vtinam prior in te incidissem, vtinam in caede priorem occupassem locum. Occidissem quidem sed tanquam tyrannus duntaxat, sed qui crederem mihi superesse vltorem; nunc autem tanquam orbis occumbo, nunc tanquam cui desit etiam mactator. Atque haec vbi diceret, gladium adegit, tremens neque sat potens. Cupiebat quidem, verum non suppedi-
   
 35 tabant vires ad facinus exigendum. Quot hic supplicia? Quot vulnera? Quot mortes? Quot tyrannicidia? Quot praemia? Postremo spectatis omnes iuuenem dudum prostratum nec exiguum profecto neque mediocrium virium opus, ac senem huic circumfusum atque amborum sanguinem commixtum, libertatis illam et victorialem victimam meique gladii facinora. At gladius ipse in medio
   
 40 amborum, declarans quam non indignum se domino praestitit testansque quod

4 tyranno *A B*, tyrannum *C D E* | 7 domino *B*, dominum *A* | 28 gladi- *B*, gladio *A* | 33 etiam *om. A*

mihī fidam nauasset operam. Id si a me ipso fuisset patratum, minus fuerat futurum. Nunc autem illustrius est ipsa nouitate. Atque ego quidem sum is qui tyrannidem sustuli. Caeterum actio in multos est distributa, quemadmodum in fabulis fieri consueuit. Ac primas quidem partes egi ipse, secundas autem filius, porro tertias tyrannus ipse: nam gladius omnibus inseruiuit.

LB 265 ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS RICARDO VVITFORDO BRITANNO DOCTO  
IVCVNDQVE AMICO S.P.D.

Quum annis iam aliquot totus Graecanicis in litteris fuerim, Ricarde charissime,  
nuper quo cum litteris latinis redirem in gratiam, latine declamare coepi, idque  
5 impulsore Toma Moro cuius (vti scis) tanta est facundia, vt nihil non possit  
persuadere vel hosti; tanta autem hominem charitate complector, vt etiam si  
saltare me restimque ductare iubeat, sim non grauatim obtemperaturus. Trac-  
tat ille idem argumentum, et ita tractat vt nullus sit omnino locus, quem non  
excuiat eruatque. Neque enim arbitror (nisi me vehemens in illum fallit amor)  
10 vnquam naturam finxisse ingenium hoc vno praesentius, promptius, oculatius,  
argutius, breuiterque dotibus omnigenis absolutius. Accedit lingua ingenio  
par, tum morum mira festiuitas, salis plurimum, sed candidi duntaxat, vt nihil  
in eo desyderes quod ad absolutum pertineat patronum. Quare non hoc animo  
laborem hunc suscepi, vt tantum artificem vel aequarem vel vincerem, sed vt  
15 cum amico omnium dulcissimo, quicum libenter soleo seria ludicraque miscere,  
in hac ingeniorum palestra quasi colluctarer. Idque feci eo libentius quod mag-  
nopere cupiam hoc exercitii genus, quo nullum aliud aeque frugiferum, in ludis  
nostris aliquando instaurari. Neque enim aliud esse in causa puto, quod hac  
nostra tempestate, quum tam multi sint qui scriptores eloquentissimos euol-  
20 uant, tam pauci tamen existant qui non infantissimi videantur, si quando res  
oratore poposcerit. Quod si tum Ciceronis Fabiique auctoritatem, tum vete-  
rum exemplum sequuti in huiusmodi μελέταις diligenter a pueris exerceremur,  
non esset (opinor) tanta dicendi inopia, tam miseranda infantia, tam pudenda  
balbuties, etiam in his qui litteras oratorias publice profitentur.  
25 Nostram declamationem ita leges, vt eam me pauculis diebus lusisse cogites,  
non scripsisse. Hortor autem vt et Moricam conferas, itaque iudices nunquid in  
stilo sit discriminis inter hos, quos tu ingenio, moribus, affectibus, studiis vsque

2 IVCVNDQVE *A*, et cum primis iucundo *C* (*epistolam om. B*) | 11 Accedit *C*, accedat *A* | 22  
ἐν τοιαύταις μελέταις *C*, in huiusmodi μελεταῖς *A*

adeo similes esse dicere solebas, vt negares vllos gemellos magis inter se similes reperiri posse. Vtrunque certe ex aequo amas, vtrique vicissim ex aequo charus. Vale, meum delictum, Ricarde festiuissime.

Ruri. Ad Calendas Maias. M.D.VI.

DECLAMATIO DESYDERII ERASMI NON ILLA QUIDEM  
VERSA SED QVAE SVPERIORI DECLAMATIONI E  
LVCIANO VERSAE RESPONDEAT

LB 271 Si mihi causa haec, iudices, apud concionem popularem, quae studiis potius  
5 quam exacto rerum iudicio duci consuevit, esset agenda, ac non magis apud  
iudices ex honestissimis ordinibus delectos, nimirum grauissimos sapientissi-  
mosque, nonnihil profecto vererer ne omnium animis noua hac et insperata  
laetitia gestientibus atque (vt ita dixerim) exultantibus, nec satis attentos nec  
10 dociles essem auditores habiturus; porro fauentes beneuolosque multo minus,  
quippe qui frontem modo quasique personam huius negotii intuentibus, non  
faciem ipsam propius contemplantibus, videri fortasse possim, in communi  
totius ciuitatis gaudio, tum autem in causa tam populari, velut importunius  
obstreperere atque obturbare. Enimuero quum omnis affectus inutilis est ad recte  
15 iudicandum, tum ingens, intemperans atque exundans laetitia non solum iudi-  
cium omne funditus tollere solet, verumetiam nostri sensus non raro nobis eri-  
pere, praesertim si, quemadmodum haec nostra, post graues diuturnasque cala-  
mitates ac veluti tempestatem saeuissimam repente praeterque spem quasi por-  
tus quidam fuerit obiecta. Quid autem tam acerbum liberae multitudini quam  
seruitus? Quid tam dulce, quid tam exoptatum quam libertas? Itaque non rebus  
20 modo ipsis, sed vel inanibus harum rerum vocabulis plebis animus queat ad  
LB 272 quidlibet impelli, maxime primis his aliquot diebus, dum gaudiorum adhuc  
velut aestus quidam impotens omnia sursum ac deorsum miscet, dum laetitiae  
temulentia, dum gratulandi dulcis quaedam ebrietas pectus occupans animum  
ad cogitandum instituere non sinit. Verum vestra, iudices, singularis sapientia  
25 perspicacitasque non hoc tantum scrupulo me leuat, verum et hanc mihi fidu-  
ciam suppeditat, vt sperem futurum vt hoc contradicendi munus, quod equidem  
nec inuidia, nec fauore in tyrannidem (sicut iste calumniabatur) sed solita  
mea et (vt opinor) nota reipublicae charitate suscepi, vobis non modo non inui-  
diosum sed fauorabile plausibileque videatur. Etenim postquam viderem ma-  
30 nifesta quadam deorum beneuolentia post diuturnam ac miserrimam illam ser-  
uitutem toties reipublicae votis expetitam libertatem aliquando contigisse, nihil

15 sensus *C*, sensum *AB* | 20 animus queat *E*, animam queant *ABC D*

prius curandum nobis esse iudicauimus quam ut gratos nos exhiberemus in eos a quibus nobis tam egregia foelicitas esset profecta, quo videlicet munus suum huic urbi proprium perpetuumque facere vellent et constabilire tuerique, quod largiri non essent grauari; meminissimusque iisdem in manu esse ut eriperent ingratum quod optantibus dedissent. Sunt autem vel primae gratitudinis partes intelligere videlicet cui beneficium acceptum ferre debeas. Et hac vna ratione mortales diuinae beneficentiae gratiam referre possumus, si beneficium acceptum agnoscamus, si celebremus, si ad illos authores referamus. Neque mihi committendum putavi ut dum nimium candidi in ciuem esse volumus, in deos ingrati impiique reperiamur. Neque enim isthoc nomine nunc perinde laboratur, ne hoc praemii pereat aerario et huius lucris accrescat (quanquam id quoque longa iam tyrannide exhaustius est, quam ut inde temere dari praemia conueniat immerentibus). Illud agitur, ne dii immortales, qui huius male consulta nobis verterunt bene, hoc tantum munus a nobis tanquam ingratis reposcant, si quod ipsis solis debetur honoris, laudis, gratiae, id illis fraudatis in hominem contulerimus. At quem hominem, obsecro? Nempe qui quum priuatus contra leges iuuenem occiderit atque hac temeritate sua restitutae libertatis periculosam occasionem modo praebuerit, idque adeo imprudens (vti mox docebimus) non veretur pulcherrimum tyrannicidae titulum diis eripere, sibi arrogare, reipublicae diem dicere ac leges ipsas in ius vocare, ciuitatem ingratitude ream agere, nisi sibi totam hanc foelicitatem ferat acceptam. Nullum quidem, iudices, facinus speciosius tyrannicidio, nullum diis dignius: verum hoc impudentior, qui sibi laudem tam eximiam vsurpat immeritus. Nullum praemium honestius illustriusque quam quod tyrannicidae debetur: sed hoc impensius accuratiusque spectandum, ne temere decernatur indigno. Permulta siquidem, permulta ad id requiruntur ut hoc tam egregio titulo, ut hoc tam diuino praemio dignus quis esse videatur, quorum nihil in hunc competere paulo post euincemus. Proinde quum non tolerandae improbitatis mihi videatur, qui legibus tum homicidii, tum temeritatis poenas debeat, eum a legibus praemium omnium maximum petere: petere dixi, imo flagitare et ita flagitare ut etiam si vnum ex huius arbitrio dependerint, tamen multa insuper isti creditori sunt debiturae. Quae cuncta quum postulare iure potuisset, maluit tamen homo verecundus vnicuique persoluto reliqua sibi deberi, ut haberet nimirum quod obnoxiae reipublicae quoties libido sit possit impropere. Tum illud vtrum risu potius an odio dignum existimem, quod in tribunalibus, quod apud ornatissimum seuerissimorum iudicum consessum, Thrasonem quendam nobis e comoedia retulit? Sensistis, iudices, ut e corona plerique risum tenere nequierint, dum personatus iste Hercules tragoe-diam illam suam nobis recitabat, de sese terque quaterque tyrannicida, de sapiente illo gladio commilitone suo qui per se prudens senem interemit, digno videlicet qui inter sidera collocetur, domino in deorum numero relato. Diis bonis, quibus phaleris, quibus fucis, quibus ampullis facinus illud nobis suum ornauit,

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LB 273

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iactauit, exaggerauit! Quam militari iactantia, quam Stentorea voce, quam fastuoso vultu, quam arrogantibus superciliis, quam stupidis oculis suum ipse vobis encomium detonabat! Quaeso, iudices, vt etiam nunc hominis vultum diligenter attendatis: nonne vobis minitari videtur, nonne dicere: Ni mihi prae-  
 5 mium decreueritis, haud feretis impune incolumi diuino illo meo ac fortissimo gladio, qui vel sine me meas vices vbi lubebit acturus est? Quis tandem istam ferat iactantiam vel in eo qui vere tyrannum occidisset? Haec quoque me causa, iudices, (neque enim inficiandum est) commouit vt huius obsisterem petitioni, vel magis vt immoderatam arrogantiam, vt odiosam huius imputationem re-  
 10 tunderem. Videbam iam inde ab initio, quum certatim vniuersa ciuitas diis libertatis authoribus grataretur, vt hic sese ira tumens in medium ingesserit, quam indigne tulerit victimas diis seruatoribus immolatas. Sibi hunc honorem eripi, sese vnicum esse restitutae libertatis authorem proclamabat, leges, aras, focos, omnia publica priuataque suae dextrae, suo magnifico gladio deberi. Agi-  
 15 te, quid futurum denique, iudices, auguramini, si ad huius intolerabilem iactantiam vestra autoritas, vestra comprobatio, si praemium quasi pignus accesserit? Quid nisi vt tyranno submoto alter quidam huic ciuitati paretur, qui ventosae linguae gloriaeque quasi tyrannidem quandam exerceat, qui quotidie nobis odiosam istam suam tragoediam ingerat, quotidie dextram istam Herculanam et gladium prodigiosum minitetur? Vtrum est hoc, iudices, tyrannide liberari, an mutare tyrannum? Videtis ipsi quam minaci fronte me iam obtueatur. Quid mihi succenses? Quid minitaris oculis? Quid terres supercilio? An mihi  
 LB 274 non licebit libertate in contradicendo (tuo scilicet munere) vti, quum | tu sic abutare, qui liberum tibi putaris (id quod etiam in proscaenio leges fieri vetant)  
 25 crimen tam atrox, tam capitale in ciuem impingere, tantum quia lubuit, idque apud iudices iuratos in tam frequenti ciuium corona, quod nequeas vel leuissimo confirmare argumento, siquidem quam reliqua gloriose tam illud impudenter dicebas, mihi nullam fuisse causam quare tibi contradicendi partes susciperem, nisi quo tyranni necem quae me discruciaret scilicet vlciscerer? Quo  
 30 quidem tuo exemplo si vicissim in te liberet vti, mox intelligeres quam atrocia quanto probabilius in te possint retorqueri. Nam tuum istud tam inuidiosum (quemadmodum tu quidem existimabas) conuicium me longe minus etiam terribat quam (quod vulgo dicunt) ex pelui redditum fulgur. Etenim praeterquam quod neque affinitas neque cognatio neque necessitudo neque emolumentum  
 35 neque prorsus alia res vlla mihi cum tyranno intercessit, quur mea referret illum viuere, sine quibus rebus nullam in quenquam criminis haerere suspicionem tu quoque scires, nisi nunquam tribunalia vidisses ac nisi hodie deuium te lucelli spes fecisset iureconsultum, equidem arbitror meam fidem, integritatem, pietatem totamque meam vitam sic huic reipublicae spectatam esse, vt isto crimine  
 40 tibi potius improbitatis odium quam mihi suspicionem vllam conciliaris. Vides quam multis adductus sim causis vt tibi obsisterem. Denique (si scire vis) bona



ciuium pars id a me enixissime flagitauit, vt sui patrociniū aduersum te cap-  
 pesserem, negantes sibi videri tyrannide liberos sese, nisi te a tyrannicidae  
 praemio deiicerem. Non quod pudeat homini debere hanc foelicitatem, tametsi id  
 quoque durum ei debere qui sic imputet, sed debere arroganti sane quam mo-  
 lestum est, at debere cui non debeas, isthuc vero non grauissimum modo verum 5  
 etiam stultissimum. Equidem ne lenoni quidem vel verbo refrager si modo is  
 promereatur, sed obnoxium esse tam importuno imputatori tum qui nihil  
 iuuerit, id vero bis miserum est, bis stultum est. Nullus enim insolentius expro-  
 brat beneficium, quam qui quod non dedit, id vult dedisse videri. Sed finge  
 mihi nullam esse causam quur tibi me opponerem nisi quia sic animo lubitum 10  
 sit meo, profecto nihil habes quod mihi iure succenseas. Etenim quum apud  
 iudices tam sanctos agatur, si vere praemium meruisti, non tibi honorem eripio,  
 verum etiam vehementer illustro, quando non paulo magnificentius est tyran-  
 nicidae praemium euicisse quam tulisse. Sin minus, aequus veniam dabis si boni  
 ciuis fungor officio, si nullo meo emolumento rempublicam debiti praemii 15  
 ream defendo, si stultitiae crimen, si imprudentiae infamiam a ciuitate depello,  
 si non sino vt nostro omnium periculo haec vrbs in deos existat ingrata, postre-  
 mo si deorum immortalium causam ago, quibus honorem debitum tu conaris  
 interuertere, vt vel hinc sat liqueat quanta religione reliquam causam egeris, qui  
 statim ingrediens tam impudenter sis calumniatus: Contradicit, igitur contra 20  
 rempublicam fauet tyranno. Quanquam ego illud quoque liberae ciuitatis esse  
 iudico, hoc loco vel tyrannorum causas citra fraudem agere licere. Neque tamen  
 a vobis postulo, iudices, vt vel mihi prosit in causa hoc meum erga rempubli-  
 cam studium, vel huic obsit tam insolens arrogantia: imo non deprecor inuiden-  
 tia suspicionem, non refugio vel atrocissimam illam quam iste mihi conabatur 25  
 impingere inuidiam, vt tyranno fauisse videar, nisi certioribus quam vt a quo-  
 quam refelli possint argumentis euinco, nisi demum et aduersario persuadeo,  
 modo ne tergiuersetur, vt quam maxime ciuilliter quis agat, nullum ei deberi  
 praemium; sin exactius seueriusque, poenam etiam ab ipso deberi. Quae qui-  
 dem dum quam potest breuissime facio, quaeso, iudices, vt me attentis animis 30  
 atque auribus audiatis. Meministis, iudices, vt iste inter dicendum subinde nobis  
 conatus sit ob oculos ponere, id vnum spectare iusserit, quantis malis sublata  
 tyrannide simus leuati. Hoc passim inculcabat, hac re bonam orationis partem  
 occupabat, nihil nos aliud perpendere voluit, nisi quod grauem seruitutem  
 tolerassemus, nunc optata libertate frueremur. Nimirum id tantum vos spectare 35  
 voluit quod ad hoc iudicium nihil attinebat. Neque enim hoc in quaestionem  
 venit quam misera sit tyrannis, quam optanda libertas. Sed de illo cognoscitis,  
 iudices, quum libertas huic vrbi sit restituta, quan|ta hinc laudis portio huius 40  
 virtuti debeatur, et an id quod euentu cum huius facto coniunctum est, idem  
 cum eius merito coniunctum videri oporteat. Relegam autem eadem vestigia  
 quibus ipse in causam ingressus est, quod equidem refellendi genus simplicis-

simum esse puto, sequarque partes illas quibus iste rem secuit, id nimirum  
 agens vt quemadmodum ingeniosi conuiuatores iisdem carnibus alio atque  
 alio modo coquendis condiendisque efficiunt, vti multa opsoniorum genera  
 videantur, itidem iste nobis ex vnico homicidio multa facit tyrannicidia. Repe-  
 5 tam igitur ordine gradus illos, quibus iste facinus suum sibi visus est mirifice  
 attollere, et in quibus identidem restitabat. Quod si me deturbante vel in vno  
 quolibet consistere poterit, tum ipse sese victorem pronuntiet licebit. Quot  
 tyrannicidia, inquit, quot praemia? Primum quod volui, deinde quod conatus  
 sum. Tum autem quod filium occidi plus quam tyrannum, postremo quod pater  
 10 ob mortem huius sibi necem consciuit. Principio quod voluit, iudices, quis non  
 leuius esse videat quam vt sit refellendum? Nisi quod iste tanta voce intonabat,  
 toties inculcabat, quod tyrannum voluisset occidere, atque id (vt nihil iam acce-  
 deret) tamen praemio dignum asseuerabat. Quid autem tam ridiculum quam  
 nudaе voluntatis praemium a lege flagitare? quae adeo nihil ad se pertinere putat  
 15 quid velint aut in animo statuunt homines, vt neque poenam irrogent si quid  
 velis modo perperam, neque praemium ostendant si quid officiose velis, verum  
 id vnumquenque voluisse interpretantur, quod nulla vi coactus effecerit. Ergone,  
 inquires, non magna facti pars est voluisse, quod quidem arduis in rebus vel  
 solum sufficere solet? Recte sane. Sed apud deos modo, quippe quibus solis  
 20 perspicuum est quid nolis aut velis; ab his praemium expectandum si quid  
 praeclarum animo conceperis. Lex hominum vices agit, et quid in obscuris illis  
 sinuosi cordis specubus mortales agitent, adeo sua referre nihil putat, vt non  
 dicam abdita aut suspiciosa, sed ne ea quidem admittat quae populari sunt  
 opinione famaue iactata; postremo vt non nisi comperta recipiat, non audiat  
 25 nisi quae sunt certissimis argumentis deprehensa, probata, euicta. Cedo, quod  
 est facinus tam nefarium, cuius simplex voluntas in crimen vnquam est vocata?  
 Ista iudicia Aeaci Rhadamantique tribunalibus seruantur. Hic mihi non quid  
 volueris, sed quid feceris adfero. Quod si nulla lex vlli flagitio supplicium  
 minatur quod in animo statueris tantum, quae tandem est impudentia pro meri-  
 30 to quod praestare volueris duntaxat, perinde quasi praestiteris a lege praemium  
 postulare? Quae quidem quum ad id vnum sit comparata, vt maleficia vel de-  
 terreat vel coerceat, multoque magis ad eius partes pertineat nocentibus erogare  
 poenam quam benemerentibus largiri praemia (id quod mox copiosius demon-  
 strabimus), posteaquam in criminibus non accipit insimulationem merae volun-  
 35 tatis, quaeso te, in petendis praemiis ostentationem voluntatis admittet? Quis  
 autem est ciuium vel quantumlibet ignauus, qui non velit tyrannum occidere  
 si tuto liceat? Quis non vel leno saltem emolumentum causa velit? Denique quis  
 non facile simulare possit voluisse se, videlicet quo praemium gratis auferat?  
 Vis itaque dicam quantum hoc totum habeat momenti voluisse occidere? Nempe  
 40 perinde est quasi te somnariis occidisse. Par pari pensari conuenit. Qui

praestitit beneficium, ei lex beneficium rependit: at qui bene voluit tantum, ei  
 quid debetur, nisi vt vicissim bene velit respublica? I nunc, et hoc in gradu nos  
 iube consistere. Rem tam eximiam, inquis, animo versauī, statui, decreui: an  
 praemium negabitis? Non fraudeberis praemio si isthoc nomine postules, verum  
 illud interim praemii ferēs: velut homo nimium perfrictae frontis, irrisus, 5  
 explosus, exhibilatus discedes, quem non puduerit id a lege postulare quod  
 ne leno quidem ausit a quoquam petere, vt rem pro voluntate auferat. Nemo  
 tam vecors qui concedat vt voluntatem nescio quam, hoc est minus quam ver-  
 ba, precio redimat. At non volui tantum, inquis, verum et periclitatus sum,  
 ascendi, submoui satellites. Primum isthuc tu quidem consulte facis, quod de 10  
 gradu illo desilisti in quo nimis profecto incommode stabas, quanquam ne in  
 hoc quidem multo commodius constiteris. Nam etiam si paulo minus absurdum  
 videatur, haud ita multo minus impudens tamen est, lquum lex palam praemium LB 276  
 decernat ei qui factum praestiterit, te quod conatus modo sis praemium pose-  
 cere. Ergo ne hoc quidem iuris erit apud te legibus, quod per illas est ciui  
 priuato cum ciue priuato? Age, quid si quis ciuium tecum iniisset contractum  
 ita vt ille pecuniam stipulatus, tu conditionem pactus esses, mirum ni suo  
 vterque periculo, atque is nondum praestita conditione, nummos his verbis  
 abs te petat: Cedo mercedem, conatus sum, tentauī, adnisi sum. An non pro-  
 tinus impudenti homini respondebis: Cedo conditionem? Nam de tuo conatu 20  
 quid mea refert, quandoquidem effectum abs te pactus sum, non conatum?  
 Puta totidem verbis tibi nunc respondere legem: Agnosco contractum, non  
 muto pacta, debeo praemium, sed si tu conditionem praestitisti, si tyrannum  
 occidisti: verbis aut obligantur aut absoluuntur homines. Si conato pollicita  
 sum praemium, non grauabor dare; sin ei qui facinus peregisset, quod tandem 25  
 ius est te ferre quod es stipulatus, me non ferre quod sum pacta? In priuatis ac  
 minutis contractibus nemo tam improbus inuenitur, vt lucrum conditione pro-  
 missum postulet non praestita conditione, nemo tam stultus vt det si quis pos-  
 tulet: et tu a republica maximum omnium praemium postulas quod conatus  
 modo sis? Nihil mihi nisi nugas adfers, donec illud vnum audiam, quod te 30  
 praestare oportebat. Volui, inquis, ascendi, perrupi custodias, submoui satelli-  
 tes; quantulum iam est illud quod superest? Quid adhuc desideras? Nempe  
 nihil in te desidero praeter illud cui soli debebatur praemium. An nondum in-  
 tellexisti in istiusmodi contractibus duplex esse periculum, quorum alterum ad  
 hunc tantum, alterum ad illum proprie pertineat, videlicet persoluendae mer- 35  
 cedis et praestandae conditionis. Ego meo periculo praemii dependendi onus  
 recipio, neque tua referre putas neque refert quam angusta mihi res, vnde cor-  
 radendum quod debeam precium. Tu itidem conditionem tuo suscipis periculo,  
 neque mea quicquam interest quo sudore, quo periculo sit ea tibi praestanda.  
 Totam istam curam, totum hoc negocium tibi relinquo. Quod si ego iam prae- 40  
 stita abs te conditione commemorem tibi in agris meis male prouenisse segetes,  
 merces naufragio periisse, nihil auelli a malis debitoribus, non sine graui dis-  
 pendio conflare posse pecuniam quam tibi debeam, dic obsecro, nonne nugas

agere me dices, negans horum quicquam ad te pertinere; hoc vno modo posse  
 satisfieri tibi, si pecunia numeretur? Neque quisquam est iudex tam ini-  
 quus quin te tuo vti iure fateatur. Et mihi pulchre satisfactum existimas si tu  
 mihi tragoediam adferas, quantum adieris periculi, quantum sudorum, quantum  
 5 vigiliarum exhauseris, dum studes praestare conditionem? Res est, mihi crede,  
 calumniosior scrupulosiorque, quam vt legibus tam occupatis conueniat alie-  
 nam expendere voluntatem, alienos pensiculari conatus, quorum suos quisque  
 nimio solet aestimare, non suos difficile est adamussim perpendere. At facti  
 facilis est aestimatio. Proinde ea in legis cognitionem cadit; hinc reliqua omnia  
 10 consuevit metiri. Tametsi non piget interdum aequi bonique rationem habere.  
 Verum in his litibus quae de vetere illa formula pendent, inter bonos bene agier  
 oportet; at in contractibus quae neque vi neque dolo coierunt, quid est quod a  
 praescripto recedatur, nisi quis velit omnino a pactis discedere? Quid vis? Cir-  
 cumspice, et si potes vsquam inuenire exemplum, non nego praemium. Saepe-  
 15 numero in pugilum Olympicis, saepe in certamine spectator (opinor) sedisti.  
 Cedo: num quando vidisti quenquam tam impudentem qui palmam sibi hoc  
 nomine vendicaret, quod strenue certasset? Non arbitror: atque id in re paene  
 ludicra, certe ad voluptatem comparata. Et tu in tam serio omniumque splen-  
 didissimo negotio id tibi postulas, quod in scaenicis illis pudeat vel impuden-  
 20 tissimum tentare? Age quoties et illud vidisti euenire, vt qui sese fortissime  
 doctissimeque gessisset in cursu, is a praemio longissime abesset, et ignauissi-  
 mo faueret euentus? Habeat ille sane quod causetur, excidisse habenas, constern-  
 natum equum, fractam rotam, iactet se vel arte vel viribus tanto praecellentio-  
 rem quanto Thersite praestitit Achilles: nisi metam prior attigerit, profecto  
 25 postulandi praemii ius nullum habebit, fortunam suam incusare licebit. Caete-  
 rum agonothetae non indignabitur, propterea quod hoc animo in certamen  
 descenderit, vt eius vteretur | conditione, id est ita demum praemium ferret, si  
 virtuti fortuna fauente vicisset. Alioqui si conatui, non tantum effectui prae-  
 mium deberetur, tot palmis esset opus quot in Olympicum certamen venissent.  
 30 Quanquam in huiusmodi ludis qui solemnitatis voluptatisque gratia proponun-  
 tur, fit interdum vt victis quoque praemia statuuntur non honoris sed solatii  
 gratia: verum seriis in rebus atque adeo periculosis, quaenam, obsecro, lex  
 vnquam mercedem statuit, nisi si quis facinus peregisset, et ita peregisset vt  
 35 omnis numeros implevit? A quo tu quantum absis mox audies, nam nunc de  
 conatu tantum agimus. Lex igitur ciuicam promittit coronam ei qui ciuem in  
 bello seruarit. Quis vnquam ad hunc honorem vel aspirauit quod se telis obie-  
 cerit, quod non sine multis vulneribus discesserit? Profecto nisi ciue seruato  
 nemo ciuicam petit. Quis vnquam his verbis muralem petiit: Acriter contendit,  
 iudices, vt moenia superarem, omnia feci, sed depulsus sum? Quantumlibet  
 40 enisus sit, nisi conscenso muro nemo tam inuerecundus vt muralem coronam

9 hinc *E*, hunc *ABCD*; omnia *C*, illa *AB* | 13 recedatur *D*, recreatur *ABC* | 19-20 impudentissimum *B*, impudentis sinum *A*

sibi deberi dicat. Obsidonalem nemo flagitat nisi depulsa obsidione. Postremo nullus honos petitur, nisi ab eo qui id effecerit ad quod honor inuitat. Qui nauim in tempestate desertam ad littus perduxerit, huic ex lege vendicatio est earum rerum quae naui uehebantur. Quorsum attinet hic tuam iactare peritiam, sudores, pericula, conatus? Nihil non feceris quo nauem in tutum reduceres, 5  
sed victus tempestate deseruisti. Audebis quicquam ex his quae sunt in naui tibi vendicare? Aut si ausis, futurum speras vt quisquam te vel pilum sinat attingere? Non opinor. Si quis vnquam ouationem, supplicationem, triumphum obtinuit, quod ad victoriam omnibus neruis esset enisus, quod gnauiter se gesserit in bello, nisi superior discesserit, nisi praescriptum a lege numerum hostium fuderit, aude et tu tibi praemium promittere quod tyrannicidium sis aggressus. Quod si nemini hominum memoria contigit, desine tibi noua spe blandiri, desine inaudito exemplo postulare quod sperare sit improbissimum, dare postulanti stultissimum. Noli nobis commemorare quanto capitis periculo murum arcis conscenderis, qua virtute satellitium tyrannicum perruperis, alios 15  
depuleris, alios occideris, quorum maximam partem tibi liberum est fingere: ad obtinendum tyrannicidae praemium duobus duntaxat verbis est opus: Tyrannum occidi. Quantumuis conatum exaggeres, alleues, attollas, non nisi tyrannicidae debetur praemium. Alioqui quid dices si eodem illo die quo tu arcem conscendisti, permulti pariter aggressi sua quisque virtute freti, quorum 20  
nemo tamen tyrannum interemisset? Vtrum omnes tyrannicidae praemio potentur ex aequo, nempe quia conati? Age, quid si multis strenue rem aggressis vni cuiquam qui sit omnium ignauissimus (vt non semper virtuti respondet fortuna) eum contingat interficere, an non praeteritis reliquis hic vnus honorem auferet? Quamobrem tandem? Non quia plus adierit periculi, sed 25  
quoniam id confecit cui lex honorem decreuit. Hic tu fortasse rursus incipies deplorare frustra sumptam operam; negabis aequum esse virtutis egregios conatus merito fraudari praemio, nisi fortunae suffragio adiuentur. Sed quae tandem potest esse iniqua conditio, quam nemo compellitur accipere nisi cui cordi sit? Quantumlibet iniqua conditio proponitur, eam nimirum facit aequis- 30  
simam quisquis suapte sponte recipit. In aleae ludo (si fas est hoc exemplum conferre), quid iniquius quam vel summum artificem ab imperitissimo superari, si modo iactus commode cadat? Atque id adeo nemo tanquam iniquum causatur, propterea quod cui lusus huius lex non probatur, ei liberum erat non suscipere. Itaque lex quid praestari velit, id palam atque in medio proponit; quid 35  
abs te praestari possit, id tibi relinquit expendendum. Illa nihil mauult quam vt res quam optime cadat; quod si posteaquam nihil iam intentatum reliqueris, quominus effeceris per fortunam stetit, intelligis opinor nihil habere te quod legi succenseas. Fortunam (si ita lubet) in ius voca: cum lege nihil tibi rei. Quae vt nihil promittit, ita nihil debet nisi praestanti. Neque vero existimemus, 40  
iudices, istud a maioribus qui hanc legem tulerunt sine summa ratione fuisse factum, vt conato praemium non esse statuendum putarint. Videlicet illud cauerunt, non tantum ne accipites istas et inexplicabiles | huiusmodi de conatu LB 278

lites inuitarent, verumetiam quod intelligerent tyrannicidii conatum non posse nisi summo ciuitatis periculo suscipi; vnde futurum prospiciebant vt, si conatui praemium statuissent, temeritate conantium respublica subuerteretur potiusquam restitueretur. Etenim tyrannis quid aliud est quam graue capitaleque  
 5 ciuitatis hulus? Huic si quis medeatur, ei merces digna proposita est, quam ita demum ferat, si remedium praesentaneum attulerit. Verum huic malo neminem oportet admoliri manum, nisi certum artificem qui sua diligentia peritiaeque fretus non sinat hoc licere fortunae, vt dum ipse salutem dare conatur, illa vitam penitus eripiat. Quid? Vtrum tu igitur in eiusmodi discrimine conatum praemio  
 10 iudicas inuitandum esse, an potius poena deterrendum, nisi quod conatus est quispiam, idem praestiterit? Nec illud te subleuat quod mihi videbare ratiocinando colligere: quum lex in maleficiis poenam irroget simplici sceleris molitioni, par esse vt multo magis in benefactis conatus habeat rationem; nam oportere legem multo propensioem videri ad compensandam virtutem quam ad  
 15 retaliandam culpam. Atque vide quam hic tota erras via. Principio non animaduerteris hoc tyrannicidii facinus toto genere a reliquis discedere, propterea quod aliorum molitio cum priuato molientis periculo modo coniuncta est, huius cum publico reipublicae discrimine copulata, vt temere moliri tyrannicidium nil aliud sit quam temeritate priuata rem omnium proderet. Deinde lex nec in quouis  
 20 crimine nec qualemcunque conatum in quaestionem venire sinit, verum in paucis duntaxat quae vel propter insignem atrocitatem hoc odii merentur vel eiusmodi sunt vt prius exitium adferant quam conatus dent significationem: quod genus parricidium, veneficium, proditio. Postremo non vides nihil esse simile totaque natura rationeque discrepare, poenae legitimam irrogationem et honoris largitionem. Nam alterum quidem proprie legum munus, alterum quasi  
 25 quaedam de iure concessio legisque candor (vt ita dixerim) quidam est. Hoc ita habere sic demum intelliges, si reputes quam multa sint quae lex iubeat addita poena ni pareas, quam multa item vetet nisi obtemperaris supplicium minitans; contra, vix vnum atque alterum esse ad quae praemio sollicitet.  
 30 Quaedam enim eiusmodi sunt vt durum ac seruile videatur ad ea metu mali adigi, quo de genere sunt vxorem ducere, operam dare liberis; hic lex nimirum vrbanus ac verecundius tecum agit, patris non magistratus sumit habitum, precio ad id inuitat quod alioqui gratuito te praestare decebat. Rursus alia, tametsi id genus sunt vt a quouis non improbo ciue praestari velle oporteat,  
 35 tamen et fortiora videntur quam vt a multis praestari queant et periculosiora quam vt multi velint suscipere. Nam inhumanum videtur cuiquam vitae suae contemptum imperare. Ad haec igitur praemio animat, quasique calcar addit virtuti. Proinde non oportet hanc legum indulgentiam longius trahere quam ad quae semet ipsa astringit. Nec mirandum est si attentior, si vigilantior, si exactior est in proprio naturalique munere suo quam in eo in quo pro temporis  
 40 ratione in alienas partes descendit. Huic astipulatur illud: quod nouis etiam

criminibus exemplum aut nouum noua lege solet institui, aut a simili lege mu-  
 tuo sumi. Neque tamen idem fieri consuevit, si quis quid noui facinoris cum  
 laude patrauit, vt praemium a consimili constitutione decernatur; nisi lex extet  
 quae nominatim honorem statuatur eius facto, quod roget vix habebit, quod pos-  
 tulet haudquaquam. Quur enim legi necesse sit passim ciuium suorum officium  
 mercede redimere? Quandoquidem ne sit impunita improbitas, id publicitus  
 omnium refert, at probus esse nemo gratis potest. Quid autem est quod non vel  
 gratus patriae debeat ciuis? cui si vel animam impenderis, quid mirandum si  
 quod acceperas id restituis? Vt supplicio dignus sis nisi parenti pietatis officium  
 persoluas, non praemium ilico tibi debeatur, si persoluas. Itidem si quid in leges  
 committas, non potes effugere supplicium: at non statim illae tibi praemium  
 debitorae sint, si quid cum officio feceris. Nam si ciues omnes sese in officio  
 continerent, ne opus quidem esset vllis legibus, quippe quae non ad bonos  
 mores comparatae, sed malis e moribus natae sunt, id quod vere vulgo dictitant,  
 ac pharmaci vice fungantur. Finge itaque nullas esse leges quemadmodum de  
 aureo Saturni | saeculo fabulantur poetae, suo quemque sponte fungi officio,  
 an tu hic clamabis perire benefacta quod nulla lex praemium decernat? Vti lex  
 non minatur nisi improbis, ita non pollicetur optimis ciuibus. Quorsum enim  
 opus promisso quum virtus absoluta abunde seipsa contenta sit? Proinde petere  
 quod illa non sit pollicita, profecto plusquam impudentissimum est: improbe  
 flagitare quod ea candide ciuilliterque promiserit, ciuis est probitatis non satis  
 spectatae. Tu quid merueris paulo post excutietur; interim finge sane praeci-  
 pua quandam vtilitatem attulisse, cui tamen ex lege praemium non debeatur.  
 Vtrum protinus clamitabis infrugiferum fuisse officium, ciuitatem in ius voca-  
 bis, plebem ingrata vociferabere, minitabere iudicibus nisi tibi mercedem ex  
 animi tui sententia decernant? An potius ipsam virtutem abunde magnum sui  
 praemium iudicabis; oblectabis te conscientia recti; hunc esse maximum fruc-  
 tum officii duces, quod de aliis citra tuum emolumentum benemerendo ad deo-  
 rum benignitatem videaris accedere? Nimirum haec tibi futura sunt satis, si mo-  
 do ciuis sis optimus. Quod si non contentus istis aliud adhuc nescioquod prae-  
 mium desideres, certe maximo proximum est gloria. Hoc tu iam prope modum  
 tulisti. Quanto metiris precio volitare per ora mortalium, celebrari, laudari,  
 digitis notari mille, oculos omnium in te coniectos circumferre? Ista, inquam,  
 vel maxima praemii pars, nam pecunia sane quam exiguum momentum ad-  
 fert. Tu conatus duntaxat es; permagna portio, vel caput potius ipsum, tuo  
 deest facinori. At quum interim his rebus frueris, dum non occiso tyranno, ta-  
 men velut tyrannicida celebraris, quaeso te quantula pars abest a tuo praemio  
 quod laturus eras, etiam si tyrannum occidisses? Postremo isthuc ipsum prae-  
 mium paene dixerim inuidendum mihi videtur, quod iam tibi licuit toties rei-  
 publicae tyrannicidium imputare, quod in celebri iudicio tibi contigit honestis-  
 simum praemium flagitare, et in tam frequenti theatro spectante republica mag-  
 nificam istam tuam tragoediam peragere. Mihi videtur, iudices, beneficii tulisse  
 gratiam, quisquis exprobrare beneficium potuit. Tu fortunae, tu deorum munus

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imputas ciuitati, et sunt fortassis qui tibi libertatem acceptam ferant. An haec  
 tanta praemia contemnis? Quae vel vero tyrannicidae sufficere debuerant, nisi  
 lex maluisset praemio conatum ab effectu distinguere. Quanquam nullum me  
 hercle praemium magis congruit ei qui tyrannum conatus sit occidere, nec  
 5 occiderit, quam vt illi contingat tyrannicidae praemium sperare nec ferre tamen.  
 Hiccine erat ille gradus in quo nos tecum commorari iubebas? Quanquam hoc  
 nomine tuus conatus minus promeretur praemium, quod aliorum proposito  
 fortuna modo defuit, tibi voluntas, vt ais. Effecisti quod voluisti; id quod erat  
 necesse, nec fecisti nec voluisti. Sed iamdudum alium gradum (vt video) cir-  
 10 cumspectas, in quem te recipias. Nam in hoc quam citra omnem praemii spem  
 consistas intelligis. Age, sequemur te per omnia, et aliunde alio fugitantem per-  
 sequemur nec vsquam sinemus consistere. Atqui non tantum aggressus sum,  
 inquis, verum etiam occidi, nempe filium: atque id facinus in duo secas tyranni-  
 cidia, et quod filium sustuleris plusquam tyrannum, tum tyrannidis successo-  
 15 rem, et quod parenti, necato filio, mortis causam ministraris. De illo mox;  
 nunc hoc cuiusmodi sit inspiciamus. Parentem ais abs te iugulato filio eadem  
 occisum opera. Negas enim referre qua via peremeris, modo sustuleris, imo  
 splendidius isthuc videri vis, quod tuo quidem ense verum ipsius dextera sit  
 interemptus. Haec tam honesta, iudices, oratio possit parum attentum fallere,  
 20 praesertim hoc rem fucis illis suis et phaleris venditante, dum nobis ob oculos  
 ponit validum illum florentemque iuuenem sic patri adamatum crebris vulneri-  
 bus confossum, parentem senem miserum illi circumfusum eodem exanimatum  
 ense, sanguinem vtriusque inter se confusum. Ista quidem dictu splendida, sed  
 quid ad tuam causam attinent? Nemo tam caecus qui non videat, nemo tam  
 25 effrons qui neget spectaculum illud multo omnium iucundissimum exitisse  
 ciuitati, quum senem tyrannum iuueni videret incumbentem, exanimem exani-  
 mi, et in altero gauderet sese leuatum malis praeteritis, in altero futurorum  
 metu. Haec quum per se maxima, quum reipublicae sint gratissima, quid attinet  
 LB 280 verbis exaggerare? | Illud vnum in hoc iudicio vertitur, vtrum tibi acceptum  
 30 ferri oporteat quod pater sine controuersia tyrannus occisus est, an fortunae  
 superumque dexteritati: quod enim tuo gladio peremptus est, id vero quam est  
 futile nihilique! Quid si tuo gladio ab eo qui eum vtendum abs te rogasset,  
 tyrannus esset necatus, num tu protinus tyrannicidae praemium petitum veni-  
 35 res? Lex occisori pollicetur honorem: tu eum iugulasti de quo certe controuer-  
 sum esse poterat, tyranni nomine censendus esset necne; eum de quo nihil  
 erat dubitationis reliquisti. Si prudens, prudens excidisti a praemio: sin metu,  
 multo minus etiam causae est postulandi muneris. Verum illud tute vehementer  
 vrgebas, vt prudens volensque reliquisse viderere. Sed quod tandem erat istud  
 tuum consilium, quum tibi sic in manu esset non toto metu liberare rempubli-  
 40 cam, sed vltorem tui facinoris et verum certumque tyrannum relinquere? In-  
 telligebas (vt ais) omne negocium confectum, extincto iuvene, propterea quod



modis omnibus futurum praescires vt senex ilico sibimet eodem gladio necem  
 conscisceret. Videte, iudices, in manifestissimo mendacio qua rima conatur elabi:  
 nisi diuinandi scientiam commentus fuisset, non poterat hinc explicare sese.  
 Siquidem haec vel augur vel haruspex vel vates diceret, fortasse nonnullos  
 inuenires qui ista praedicanti fidem essent habituri. Nunc quid impudentius, 5  
 quid vanius, quid veri dissimilius quam asseuerare id certum praescisse te quod  
 tale sit vt quiuus alius exitus potius fuerit expectandus? An coniecturis es  
 assequutus id euenturum quod euenit? At quid aliud effici coniecturis poterat,  
 nisi vt vel sperares vel suspicari? Porro in re tam ancipiti, quae dementia erat  
 spem incertam sequi, discrimen certum negligere? Sed audiamus, obsecro, 10  
 certas illas coniecturas, quibus hic noster vates praesensit inopinatum omnibus  
 exitum. Iam aetate fessus erat, inquis, iam viribus defectus, nec obtineri iam  
 autumabat posse tyrannidem adempto filio. Tum indulgentius amabat quam  
 vt filio vellet esse superstes. Nonne sentis haec adeo non esse naturae  
 rerum consentanea, vt iam omnibus videantur esse confutata vel priusquam 15  
 refellantur? Vtrum seni mentem vllam fuisse putas, an non putas? Si non putas,  
 fieri potuit vt illi tutum videretur quod neutiquam erat tutum, atque ita protin-  
 nus toto falleris augurio. Sin putas sapuisse, quur erat quod vsqueadeo diffi-  
 derat? Quasi vero tyrannus viribus duntaxat vnus hominis ac non multo magis  
 ingenio, versutia, calliditate, largitione crudelitateque contineatur; quae omnia 20  
 si magis in senem quam in adolescentem competunt, quur tu in diuersum tor-  
 ques augurium? An non illa aetas vsu rerum callentior est? An non altius dissi-  
 mulat? An non cauet diligentius? An non prospicit oculatius, irascitur implaca-  
 bilius, tenacius iniuriae meminit meliusque in longinquum consulit? His solis  
 rebus imperium tyrannicum administratur. In militiae duce quantum est illud 25  
 momentum quod corporis vires adferunt? At in tyrannide profecto multo mi-  
 nus. Quur magis illum terreret ademptus filius quam extinctus satelles quis-  
 piam audacior? quum arx superesset approbe munita, superessent opes, arma,  
 satellitum ingens agmen, tot in ciuitate factiosi potentesque, qui non solum  
 tyranni partes adiuuabant verum etiam tyrannos agebant? Quos equidem spero 30  
 nunc nobis non esse metuendos (nolim enim infausta ominari), at ita tamen ne  
 nimium secure negligantur. Vsqueadeone senem cruda viridique (quod omnes  
 norunt) senecta callidum, animosum, ambitiosum, non stultum vna filii mors  
 consternauit, vt rebus desperatis protinus e vita sibi migrandum duxerit? Prae-  
 sertim quum ille patris dominatum nihilo reddiderit tutiorem, sed multo in- 35  
 uidiosorem, idque ob libidinem atque aetatis insolentiam temeritatemque,  
 adeo vt expedierit propemodum illi ad stabiliendam tyrannidem filium e medio  
 tolli. Etenim quo propius ad iusti regni speciem accesserit tyrannis, hoc minus  
 est inuidiae obnoxia magisque tuta. Iuuenis ille solum hoc augebat quod maxi-  
 me tyrannos solet euertere. Vera illa tyrannidis munimenta in callidi senis pec- 40  
 tore erant collocata: sed tenerius adamabat filium quam vt defuncto posset

superesse. De matercula quapiam priuata loqueris, an de viro sene callido, crudeli, denique tyranno? Quid ego, iudices, in eo sermone argumentis coar-  
 5 in liberos fuisse animo, vt non dicam commori voluerit, sed conuiuere commo-  
 de quiuerit? Credite mihi, priuatorum isti sunt affectus. Tyrannus neque quid  
 natura, neque quid pietas, neque omnino quid sit officium nouit. Exuit haec  
 omnia simulatque tyrannum induit. Omnia commodis, omnia metu, omnia  
 10 necessitate metitur. Solos hos amat (si quos tamen ille amat, qui vel deos ipsos  
 odit) quos aut metuit et tollere nondum expedit, aut quorum opera ministerio-  
 que ad fulciendum imperium indiget. Quod si vllos ille posset amare, similes  
 certe sui diligeret, impios, violentos, rapaces, scelestos, quando nihil ad conci-  
 liandam charitatem efficacius morum similitudine. Atqui ne improbi quidem  
 15 illi chari sunt nisi quatenus adiuuant. Adeo vt praeposterum vel peruersum  
 potius quendam Stoicum tyrannus exprimat. Neque enim quisquam tam Stoicus  
 fuit vt aequae vacarit omnibus affectibus atque tyrannus. Hoc modo illos discer-  
 nit quod philosophus honesto metitur sua consilia, hic commodo. An ille  
 vllum pietatis igniculum in quenquam mortalium sentire potuit, qui in patriam  
 vitae parentem altricemque, qui in caelites omnium bonorum authores tam sit  
 20 impius, vt illam crudelissima opprimat seruitute, horum phana despoliet, iura  
 contemnat? Verum vt largiamur tibi nonnihil sinamusque te priuatos affectus in  
 tyrannicum pectus, hoc est ignem in flumen transferre, an tandem persuadebis  
 illud, vsqueadeo indulgenter illum adamasse filium, vsqueadeo in eum omnes  
 25 vitae suae spes voluptates opesque semel contulisse, vt illo sublato ne minimam  
 quidem vitae causam sibi reliquam esse putaret? Repete, non dicam ex hac ciui-  
 tate, verum ex vniuerso mortalium genere, non ex hoc saeculo sed ab orbe  
 condito et ab ipso (si vis) Promethei simulacro: quotus quisque fuit pater, quota  
 quaeque matercula, quae ob liberorum necem sibi fatum accersiuerit? Naturalis  
 30 hic dolor, et quem nemo fere non modeste ferat. Priuatis parentibus vel indul-  
 gentissimis, muliercularum intemperatissimis affectibus mediocris luctus suffi-  
 cit: tyranni in filium charitati non nisi solam mortem satisfacturam esse tu Lyn-  
 ceus praeuidebas? Age, hoc quoque tibi donamus: vicerit homo tyrannus priua-  
 torum in liberos pietatem, vicerit indulgentia materculas omnes: qui tibi com-  
 pertum esse potuit, vtro se dolor paternus inclinaret, in rabiem an in despera-  
 35 tionem? Quo diligebat impotentius, hoc erat probabilius vt senex natura ferus  
 ciuibus infensus vel maxime vellet esse superstes, vel ob id denique quo veterem  
 illam iram nunc filii nece acerrime exasperatam irritatamque reipublicae suppli-  
 ciis saturaret. Quod si alias vitae pertaesum fuisset, haec nimirum vna causa  
 poterat illum in vita retinere. Quid autem senili animo vindictae cupidius? An  
 40 nescis quam impotentes aetas illa concipiat impetus, quo rapiatur aestu, quo  
 flagrare soleat incendio, si quando atroci insignique contumelia lacessatur?  
 Quae vero potuit esse atrocior quam filii caedes sic amati vt tu quidem ais?  
 Haec nimirum quicquid in illo fuerit vnquam crudelitatis, quicquid saeuitiae,

quicquid immanitatis, si qua sanguinis sitis, si qua suppliciorum fames, denique  
 si quid tyrannicum, id omne semel de integro poterat excitare quasque renouare.  
 Mitiora etiam animalia datae orbitatis iniuria in rabiem solet agere: et tu in  
 tyranno (quo nullum animal immitius) nihil tale metuendum esse certissimus  
 augur existimasti quod in tigris videmus euenire? Quod si tibi vni comper- 5  
 tum erat tyranno sic in deliciis esse filium, quid igitur aliud tua fiebat opera,  
 nisi vt saeuissima illa tigris raptu catulo in rabiem versa in miseram hanc ciui-  
 tatem dilaniandam discerpendamque insiliret? Id si non euenit, magna diis  
 gratia, tibi magnum debetur malum, qui quantum ad te pertinet tam diram  
 beluam in nostra capita fortunasque immiseris. Elige nunc vtrum malis: an 10  
 verum fateri nihil fuisse tyranno cum nostris affectibus commune, an confin-  
 gere sic adamasse vt matercularum quoque vicerit delicias. Certe neutro modo  
 tua constabit diuinatio. Quae nisi constiterit, non est quod ad eius rei laudem  
 aspices quae fortunae commoditate te imprudente euenierit. Postremo donemus  
 et hoc tibi vt praesciueris, et certum praesciueris, deo videlicet quopiam te 15  
 certiolem faciente (nam alioqui fieri nequaquam potuit): perinde est ac si non  
 praescieris, quum praescientiae tuae fidem legi facere non possis. Profer qui- 16  
 bus praedixeris id euenturum quod euenit: doce quis deorum quando isthuc tibi  
 praenunciarit. Nihil habes quod dicas. Verum posteaquam rem foeliciter eue-  
 nisse videres, tum demum post factum vates esse coepisti, quemadmodum vulgo 20  
 tum fieri, tum dici consuevit post euentum stultos etiam sapere, et quo for-  
 tulae beneficium verbis in te transmoueres, tragoediam istam nobis comminisci  
 coepisti, causas repperisti quibus praescisse videare. Sed dii boni, quam non  
 bonum poetam te praestitisti qui tam inconsistentia, tam cum natura pugnantia  
 finxeris: saeuissimum tyrannum ob pietatem erga filium vltro vitam fugisse; 25  
 ob vnus capituli necem tutum sibi non putasse in vita commorari, quum omnia  
 superessent quibus tyrannis et paratur et obtinetur; sublato eo in quo omne  
 tyrannidis praesidium collocarat, repente rebus suis diffisum ad inferos abiisse.  
 Age, mitto nunc argumenta; haec omnia vera, non ficta, credemus esse, tametsi ne  
 fucum quidem vllum habent veri. Si mihi ex omni hominum memoria vel vnum 30  
 tyrannum potes nominare qui liberos suos sic adamarit vt non spadones ac  
 pellacas longe praetulerit, qui sic illis indulserit vt non suspectos haberet ob-  
 seruaretque, qui sic illis sit fisis vt non in barbaris quibusdam latronibus ac  
 seruis stigmaticis plus quam in illis fiduciae posuerit, ego tibi permultos referre  
 possim qui filios sic oderint vt viuos esse pati non possent, adeo metuerent vt 35  
 ne cibum quidem vna capere vellent, adeo diffiderent vt tum demum se tutos  
 esse putarent, si quis illos e medio submouisset. Nullus inutilior tyranni satelles  
 quam filius. Ex extrema barbarie conductitios mauult ille sicarios, fugitiuos,  
 homicidas, sacrilegos; his vitam suam mauult committere qui sua patria frui  
 non possint et alienam euertere gaudeant, qui barbaricis ferinisque viribus ante- 40  
 cellant, et gigantes illos impios referant qui propter animi cupiditatem non diffi-

cile ad quiduis periculi suscipiendum perducuntur et propter ingenii feritatem a nullo facinore abhorrent. Hi sunt idonei tyrannorum ministri, hi fiducia munitum praesidiumque tyrannidis multo tutissimum. Hos si quid ademerit, causam videatur dedisse quur rebus tyrannus diffidat. Nam filius qua tandem  
 5 ratione dominatum sustinebat? Aetate? At vtilior aetas grandior. Robore? Vnus erat. Prudentia? Magis sapit senecta. Custodiis quas obtinebat? At si aduersum patrem obtinebat, mors illius seni etiam optanda; si patris nomine, quid nisi vnus satelles ademptus erat? Nam custodiae quo deficerent nisi ad eum cui alebantur? Tutior igitur erat futurus tyrannus amoto filio. Res enim tyranno  
 10 suspecta filius violentus et insolens, propterea quod reliqui illi barbari solo lucro contenti sunt; filius illud praemium spectat, tyrannidis successionem. Nec vllus pietati locus vbi mentem possidet dira regnandi libido. Ibi contemptis naturae legibus et filium horret pater et patris interitum optat filius. Sed dicturis iam dudum nescio quid: Mane, praesensi, nihil inexpugnatum omittam,  
 15 vrges. Nisi praeter modum adamauit filium, nisi diffisus est, quur sibi mortem consciuit? Isthuc vero merito demirandum, quippe quod praeter omnium ac tuam etiam spem euenit. Verum ego nihil ad me pertinere puto vt tibi rationem reddam quid illi dii in mentem immiserint, vt sibi vim adferret; hoc tantum euincere sat est, te nullis coniecturis hunc exitum certo praescire potuisse, quantumlibet amarit filium. Tametsi causa non admodum obscura. Iam deorum, si qui fuerunt huic infensi reipublicae, iras diuturna nostra calamitas satiauerat. Iam propitios nostra vota, nostra sacra commouerant; aderat illud fatale tempus, quum impius ille senex diis atque hominibus dignas admissorum poenas daturus erat. Iam aderant vltrices Erinnes, aderant Furiae facibus et hydris  
 20 omnibus armatae; hae illi mentem ademerunt, hae vanam formidinem incusserunt, hae attonitum ad spontaneam sui caedem impulerunt. Nihil minus arbitratur quam fugisse qui filium peremerat, quam vna caede contentum fore, qua quidem vna in re iure potes gloriari quod tyrannum vehementer fefelleris: virum esse putabat qui hoc facinus peregisset. Credebat esse talem quales audierat esse solere tyrannos, qui magno suae vitae contemptu tyranni caput impeterent, qui non adorirentur facinus nisi ratione probe perspecta qua possent perficere. Hanc suspicionem Pan ille aut si quis alius est deus, nouis terriculis exagitabat. Arbitratur instare sibi carnificem, sensit adesse necessitatem illum  
 25 fatalem, quam nemini nocentium vitare licuit. Itaque quod huius vrbis pietati, quod deorum bonitati debetur, quur tu id phaleratis dictis in te transferre conaris? Vbi discrimen erat subeundum, ibi fugitabas. Nunc vbi res praeter spem pulchre cecidit, tutumque putas, fortunae laudem in te deriuas. Sed finge diuersum exitum fuisse consequutum. Pone tyrannum ira percitum passim ciues ad exquisita supplicia rapere, proscribere, iugulare, in exilium agere, possessionibus exuere. Quid hic dices? Non sines, opinor, eorum malorum causam in te tanquam in authorem referri, et fortunae argumento culpam deprecaberis. Ne-

30 tyrannos *A B C D*, tyrannus *E* (*an* tyrannicidas?)

gabis tibi imputandum esse, si quid fortuito praeter propositum euenit. At nunc nonne iniurium est, quod boni fortunae commoditate praeter spem euenit, id totum in te velut auctorem velle traducere? Etenim te nihil expectasse minus quam id quod euenit, vel ipsa res clamitat. Si hoc animo conscendisses arcem vt filium non patrem occidisses, credi poterat te talem quandam spem animo concepis- 5  
 se. Nunc casu nescio an metu potius in iuuenem incidisti, et tum denique diuina ista mens et futurorum praesaga, sed quae non nisi post euentum sua prodat oracula, te corripuit, quum esset fugiendum. Ibi demum, iudices in re tam tumultuosa, secum velut ociosus consultare coepit, vtrum senem sua dextra dignum existimaret. Ibi demum praeuidere coepit, fore vt pater ipse sibi manus adferret. Et quo commentum tam impudens, iudices, efficiat paulo probabilius quae nec vidit nec videre potuit, ea perinde descripsit nimirum (vt ipse iactat) poeta, quasi spectator astiterit: quid in mentem venerit tyranno, quid dixerit, quid fecerit, quomodo ferrum strinxerit. Eiusdem profecto impudentiae fingere praescisse se quod esset euentu consequuturum et quod non videris id ita narrare quasi videris. Quanto melius tuo commento, id est fabulae sua fides constitisset, si ita finxisses, te quum perempto iuvene stricto gladio ad senem ire destinasses, repente a tergo adfuisse Palladem illam Homericam, et iam euntem capillis reuocasse te, vetuisse ne tam luculentum facinus senili caede obscurares, sese citra tuam operam curaturam, vt ille suapte manu sed tuo gladio peremptus gloriae tuae nihil tenebrarum offunderet, sed multum etiam adderet lucis, dehinc abditum te per rimam contemplatum, vel (quod est te dignius) repente deam sepsisse te nebula vt tyrannicae necis tutus et ociosus spectator assisteres, nec prius illinc discessisse quam negotium omne confectum vidisses. Haec si confinxisses, paulo minus malum poetam te praestitisses. Sed ocium, opinor, non suppetebat ad omnes fabulae parteis commode tractandas, videlicet lucri cupiditate te protinus ad praemium postulandum rapiente. Nunc vel ipsa te prodit inconstantia figmentique coarguit. In arcem ascendisti quo tyrannum occideres, neque tum praeuidebas quod sole ipso clarius videri vis. In medio negotio subito nescio quis deus oculos tibi restituit, vt videres futurum id quod accidit. Porro si veris fidem facere voluisses, narrare debueras quemadmodum nocturnus explorator furtim arcem conscenderis, in aedes clanculum irrepseris, forte fortuna obuio nemine, non dicam vt tollereres aliquid sed vt experireris si quod tuto facinus posses designare; haec molienti commodum fauisse fortunam. Itaque quum adolescentem solum atque incustoditum offendisses (vt est ea nimirum aetas securior periculique minus cogitans; praeterea diuturna tyrannis iam magnam metus partem exuerat), tum haud scio (vt mores illius erant) multo vino sepultum atque immodica libidine defessum, fortiter iugulasse scilicet et somnum illi cum morte, id est germanum (vt ait Homerus) cum germano coniunxisse. Deinde vbi iam cardines procul stridere coepissent, exaudito videlicet morientis gemitu, ibi te metu exanimatum ita fugisse vt non 40

vacarit gladium e vulnere tollere, quem nec parricidae nec sicarii solent relin-  
 quere ne depraehendantur. Interea domi latitasse te, iamdudum de fuga cogi-  
 tantem et longinquas aliquas semotasque mundi latebras animo circumspectan-  
 tem, in quibus abditus posses irritati patris saeuitiam fallere. Iamque te ad  
 5 spontaneum exilium accincto repente in vulgus exiisse famam, liberam esse  
 ciuitatem, tyrannum vna cum filio iugulatum, reliquos metu fugisse, authorem  
 ignorari facinoris. Ibi repente ad nouam tuae fabulae catastrophem immutasse  
 te animum, et qui prius de salute fueras sollicitus, protinus ad praemii spem  
 LB 284 arrectum fuisse lucri|que auiditate, priusquam tibi satis esset excogitata ratio  
 10 qua totam huius inopinati euentus laudem in te traduceres, prosilisse in medium,  
 id quod vidimus; clamitasse tuum illum esse ense, tuum facinus, non vnum  
 praemium tuae virtuti fore satis. Haec nemo non credidisset: sunt enim rerum  
 naturae consentanea, vsu comprobata, omnium opinione recepta. At tu dum  
 sedulo quidem, sed tamen parum ex arte, tuam nobis praesentiam niteris per-  
 15 suadere, quam multa comminiseris, non dicam tota facie a vero distantia,  
 verum etiam cum sensu communi, cum more, cum natura penitus pugnantia!  
 Primum tyrannum tam materne filium adamasse, vt sine eo viuere noluerit; sic  
 ob vnus mortem metu fuisse consternatum, vt in vita manere non sit ausus;  
 sic illi toto pectore fisum, vt ipse nullas circum se custodias haberet; adeo fracti  
 20 animi fuisse, vt tam chari pignoris truculenta caede non potuerit ad vltionem  
 inflammari; tam inualidum vt tua dextra fuerit indignus, tam inermem vt, ni  
 tu illi gladium reliquisses tuum, defuturum fuisset quo se iugularet. Non vides  
 quam non competat tam insignis in tyrannum pietas, tam secreta in eam aetatem  
 fiducia, tantus metus in hominem, excepto filio reliquis omnibus praesidiis  
 25 munitum, tanta consternatio in hominem tot periculis exercitissimum, tanta  
 imbecillitas in iratum? Quid igitur erat quur tu senem illum tantopere contemp-  
 seris, vt indignum habueris qui tua ista magnifica dextera iugularetur? Tune  
 indignum iudicabas quem occideres, quum eum respublica non putarit indig-  
 num quem formidaret, quem maximo suo cum dolore ferret? Non talem illum,  
 30 iudices, non talem sensimus vt cuiquam contemnendus videri debuerit. Neque  
 tu eum vnquam contempsisti, nisi forte contemnere est misere formidare. Scie-  
 bas arcem armis refertam, sciebas superesse satellites quorum vel vnus (si seni  
 vires deerant) sufficebat iugulando tibi. Non ignorabas (id quod nemo nos-  
 trum nescit) quantum virium illi partim exercitatio, partim ingenii feritas etiam  
 35 in illa senecta reliquerat. Tum non te fugiebat frigidum illud senium sic inter-  
 dum acri dolore inflammari, vt iuuenibus etiam validissimis saepenumero fuerit  
 intolerandum, si quando solitum illud robur quod aetatis gelu velut obtorpue-  
 rat, magno aliquo animi motu recanduit. Quis autem tam inualidus est vt non  
 illi pudor, ira, dolor ingens vires suppeditet? Hoc erat videlicet quur tu filium  
 40 quam patrem malueris occidere, quod illum inopinantem, inermem, dormien-  
 tem fortuna obiecit; cum hoc pugnandum erat armato, vallato, irato denique.  
 Hoc erat quur gladium relinqueres, ratus ne tantisper quidem morari tutum  
 dum reciperes, metuens videlicet ne tantillum sarcinae te redderet in fuga tar-

diorem. Reliquisti inuitus quo tyranno prodi posses, sed prodi maluisti quam  
 depræhendi. Neque ego nunc formidinem tuam accuso: imo miror magis quod  
 pedibus consistere, quod fugere potueris, quum audires moueri tyrannicam  
 familiam, stridere arma, intelligeres tibi non cum puero sed cum vigilantibus  
 5 viris accinctis, armatis, sobriis, irritatis, denique cum rabioso patre dimican-  
 dum esse: non quod illum vsqueadeo filii mors commoueret, sed quod arbitra-  
 retur, et haud scio an vere, se petitum fuisse, dextram tuam errasse tantum in  
 filio. I nunc et spera non dicam hos iudices, viros omnium perspicientissimos,  
 sed vel e media plebe quenquam esse tam mucosis naribus cui non subleat, imo  
 10 qui non plane odoretur persentiatque totam hanc fabulam abs te confictam. Et  
 quod poetae solent, quum haerent in explicando tragoediae argumento, hanc  
 veluti deam diuinationem arte quadam induxisti, quo praesensionem tuam iudi-  
 cibus probares, sine qua videbas praemium obtineri non posse. Sed occasionem,  
 inquit, ministraui paternae mortis, qui gladium quo se feriret reliquerim. Atque  
 15 id solum non modo satis esse putat ad petendum praemium, verum etiam meri-  
 tum esse vt ipse ensis inter arma deorum consecretur, dominus pro deo prae-  
 senti colatur. O hominem suauem si has spes vere concepit, impudentem si  
 quum non speret postulat. Itane tyranno gladius erat defuturus nisi tuum illum  
 reliquisses? Tu in arcem arma, hoc est in siluam ligna, portanda putasti? Nisi  
 20 forte tuum illud ferrum magicis precaminibus erat imbutum vt vltro ad mortis  
 adeg|rit necessitatem? An vero nihil referre putas quam praebeas occasionem,  
 quomodo, quo animo? Primum gladium reliquisti quo nihil minus deest tyran-  
 no; nunquam ferrum abest, non in cubili, non in triclinio, non in sacris. Reli-  
 quisti metu trepidus. Tua quidem in re illud interim demiror, qua fronte eum  
 25 gladium tuum ausis appellare, quem habueris pro derelicto. Metu, inquam,  
 exanimatus reliquisti quem postea receptum optabas, reliquisti rem ancipitem.  
 Quid si tyrannus illum eundem ense in ciuium iugulos distrinxisset? Quid si  
 eodem lectos aliquot ex huius urbis iuuentute adolescentes filio suo inferias  
 mactasset? Si tyrannum occidisti quia tuo occisus est gladio, et horum omnium  
 30 indigna caedes ad te pertinebit, quippe cuius ense peracta est. Id si non euenit,  
 nihil ad te pertinet: nam anceps occasio quam in partem cadat, id diis in manu  
 est. Si bene verterit, nihil gratiae debetur ei qui dedit imprudens. Sin male,  
 temeritas imputatur. Neque enim culpa vacat qui periculosam ministrat occa-  
 sionem, quae si foeliciter, mirentur omnes; sin infoeliciter, merito accidisse  
 dicant. At quanto probabilius erat futurum vt tyrannus tuo ense alios in vsus  
 35 abuteretur! Scio me, iudices, haec pluribus refellere verbis quam necesse videat-  
 ur, quippe tam friuola; verum id mihi propositum est nullum illius argumen-  
 tum non excussum, non exagitatam, non reuictum praetermittere. Quare quae-  
 so ne pigeat, ita vt antehac fecistis, patienter atque attente cognoscere, dum  
 nunc ab gradu firmissimo deiicio. Hic sibi vehementer fidebat, hunc acriter  
 40 vrgebat locum. Negabat vitari posse quin praemium deberetur quod patri necis

causam ministrasset, si non relicto gladio (nam hoc, opinor, argumentum iam  
 habet pro derelicto), certe necato filio. Nam ita in legibus dissertum aiebat nihil  
 interesse vtrum manu sua quis occidat, an mortis causam praebeat. Addebat  
 aequum esse vt quum in maleficiis causam datam imputarent leges ad supplicium,  
 5 multo magis idem obseruarent in benefactis ad praemium. Haec aiebat memi-  
 nisse sese in legibus esse disputata, illud addens Thrasonicum, nisi sibi diuturna  
 seruitus legum memoriam oblitterasset. Non tu legum oblitus propter diutinam  
 desuetudinem, sed nunquam quid sibi velint leges inquisisse videris. Bis enim  
 hic erras qui neque causae datae rationem neque dantis animum discernas, id  
 10 quod legibus traditum est, nec animaduertis longe diuersam esse rationem male-  
 ficij et beneficii imputandi. Quid ais, noue iuris interpres, itane satis esse iudi-  
 cas vel ad poenam vel ad praemium qualemcunque quomodocunque causam  
 dedisse? Nihil igitur refert Hector an Aiace[m] occiderit manu an gladium illum  
 dederit quo se postea confodit? Atqui hanc laudem nunquam ille sibi vindicas-  
 15 set, tametsi probabile videri poterat in eum vsum hosti ab hoste datum fuisse  
 ferrum. Quin ergo fabros aenarios omnes vel ad poenam vocamus vel ad prae-  
 mium, quoties armis in eorum officina perfectis aut iugulantur ciues aut seruan-  
 tur? Postremo quur hoc quod tu petis praemium, non ensis istius tui opifex  
 petit potius? Tyrannus gladium erat habiturus te non porrigente, tu porrigere  
 20 non poteras nisi huius industria tibi ministrasset. Age, si telo inter venandum  
 temere misso forte tyrannum vicinum interfecisses, clamares tibi tyrannicidae  
 deberi praemium? An potius nihil tibi deberetur laudis quod imprudens et  
 inscius iaculum torsisses? Imo in ius potius vocandus esses, qui missi teli teme-  
 ritate ciuem (quod in te fuit) occideris: nam quod in tyrannum incidit, id nihil  
 25 ad te. Quid si caupo vinum lene ac suaue quale Polyphemo dedit Vlysses tyran-  
 no vendidisses, atque ille eius dulcedine captus auidius sese ingurgitasset eaque  
 re concepta febris decessisset, auderesne, caupo, vini titulo tyrannicidae prae-  
 mium flagitare? At quis non te cum tua flagitatione vt temulentum vinoque  
 madidum exploderet? Caeterum quanto frigidiore titulo nunc idem postulas!  
 30 Vtcunque coniecturis praecipi poterat vt aetas vinosa tam illicibili vino auidius  
 intemperantiusque frueretur, crapulam consequeretur morbus, praesertim in  
 sene morbum mors. Vulgo haec eueniunt. Tu eam tyranno mortis causam dedis-  
 ti, cuius nullum extat in hominum memoria exemplum. Quis enim antehac ob  
 filij necem sibi manus intulit? Accedam propius. Finge te tyranni coquum esse,  
 36 probe callere palatum domini, medicos interdicare cibum quo tamen ille oppi-  
 do quam lubens vescatur, interminari morbum capitalem ni temperet; id te non  
 fugere: eum cibum tu arte tua cupediisque et condimentis magis ac magis ille-  
 cebrosum reddis? Consequitur edentem morbus quem praedixerant medici,  
 emoritur tyrannus, liberatur ciuitas. Hiccine coquus e culina in forum prosili-  
 40 liens et adhuc iure madens, fuligine niger, tyrannicidae praemium postulabis?  
 Mortarium, tonsillum et ollas ostentabis, arma scilicet quibus tyrannidem ex-



pugnaris? Non eris, opinor, tam impudens in ea causa, qua tamen ista tua multo est absurdior. Nam illi voluntas occidendi non defuit, probabilem praebuit causam. Tu nec in hoc iugulasti filium quo pater vltro vitam relinqueret, et causam dedisti ad quiduis potius quam ad istud idoneam. Accipe exemplum tuo similius quam ouum sit ouo (quod aiunt) simile. Quid si tyranni amicam quam ille misere ac perditae deperisset occidisses, eaque cognita re tyrannus sibi vitam abrumperet, auderes ad praemium aspirare, auderes dicere te certum praescisse fore vt tyrannus sponte fugeret e vita? Certe quanquam plures amicas extinctas sequuti sunt quam filios, nemo tamen tibi crederet, nemo tibi praemium decerneret, tuum factum periculosum et anceps dicerent omnes, fortunae gratias haberent cuius commoditate res ea feliciter cessisset. Tibi abunde magnum praemium existimarent, si commissi venia donatus discederes. Primum igitur diuersam imputandi maleficii et ascribendi beneficii rationem conueniet distinguere; deinde causae qualitatem; postremo animum, atque ita demum liquebit quid tibi lex debeat. Nam quod aiebas legem prolixiorem esse oportere ad reddendum praemium quam ad infligendam poenam, id in priuilegiis, quae in exemplum non vocantur, fortasse locum habet, in iure communi longe secus est. Siquidem (vti superius demonstrauius) nulli nocenti lex non minatur poenam, paucis benefactis praemium ostendit. Tum in maleficiis etiam conatum simplicem supplicio prosequitur, in benefactis semper exitum requirit. Nec mirum nec iniquum, si lex est diligentior in eo negotio ad quod vnum est nata atque instituta, quam in eo in quo temporis ratione tanquam alienas sibi sumit partes. Ergo in vtroque communiter spectat vt causa sit idonea, deinde vt animus adsit, non tantum casus. Hoc rursus interest, quod in benefactis nec causa idonea nec animus idoneus satisfacit legi, nisi his accesserit euentus item idoneus. In malefactis si quid nocendi animo tentes, non expenditur nec euentus nec causa, sed ex animo factum tuum lex metitur. Sic enim iudicat, tibi nihil ad scelus defuisse praeter fortunam; qua te subleuari, quod tandem ius sit? In euentu simul et causam datam et animum expendit. Si animum viciosum comperit, nihil moratur causam quam sit idonea, putat animum et euentum ad poenam commerendam sufficere. Sin animo simplici data est causa mali idonea et non consequitur euentus, lex quasi conuiuet ad id et non putat ad suam cognitionem magnopere pertinere. Sin euentus est consequutus, etiam si de animi vicio doceri non potest, tamen temeritatis et negligentiae nomine poenam irrogat, partim propter suspectam dantis voluntatem, partim vt haec latebra peccantibus eripiatur: Imprudens feci discantque homines vel suo periculo cauere quod alieno faciant periculo. Ergo qui prudens et sciens certam atque euidentem noxae causam dederit, eum perinde lex censet quasi facinus manu peregerit, veluti si quis hostem opibus copiisque iuuerit, perinde est ac si ipse arma contra ferat. Siquidem id suppeditauit sine quo bellum geri non poterat. Aut si quis inimicum suum per dolum nauigio solutili imponendum curet, vt nauifra-

gio intereat; aut in conclaue pensili testudine inducat, vt ruina opprimatur; aut iuxta lectulum aegroti loco pharmaci venenum ponat, futurum sperans vt eo hausto pereat: tametsi non bibit aegrotus, tamen veneficii postulari potest qui posuit propter viciosam animi voluntatem. Nam vehementer erat probabile id euenturum quod ille moliebatur. Huic si detrahas nocendi voluntatem, nihil illi cum lege rei futurum est. Si detracta nocendi voluntate adponas euentum, non effugiet temeritatis crimen, nisi illum inculcata ignorantia absoluerit. Porro si in loco non ad id destinato, puta in via publica aut in fundo alieno, arcu temet exerceas, lex tecum non agit, nisi si quem occideris aut vulneraris aut si cui damnum dederis. Caeterum | quod facis, tuo facis periculo. Quod si quid horum LB 287 consequutum est, cum lege tibi res est. Neque tibi tua patrocinauit imprudentia, quippe quae culpa temeritatis non vacet. Siquidem in te fuerat praecauere quod probabiliter poterat praetimeri. Vides quanto discrimine dissita sint, inter quae tu nihil interesse dicebas. Primum non statim imputatur ad praemium 15 quod ad poenam, idque non a malignitate legum latoris, sed partim ex ipsa rei natura proficiscitur, partim a legum officio. Deinde discernitur animus, causa data diiudicatur, spectatur euentus. Age nunc, si libet, tuam causam; qua tuum facinus aestimari vis expendamus. Finge te certam, ineuitabilem mortis causam tyranno dedisse, sed imprudentem: nulla tibi sit praemii petitio. Quis enim 20 insciens benemereri dicitur? Fortibus viris praemia dantur, non fortunatis tantum. Nam euicimus iamdudum, opinor, ne posthac affirmes te in hoc iugulasse filium vt pater sibi necem conscisceret, quod euenturum ne vates quidem quisquam praescire poterat, tu nec suspicari. Imo posteaquam rem plenam discriminis fortunae arbitrio commisisti, quia bene successit, hoc nomine lex te non 25 postulat; at idem si male euenisset, temeritatis poenas eras debiturus. Neque enim tibi succurreret inculcata ignorantia. Quid enim aequae formidandum erat quam ne tyrannus, simulatque occiso filio se peti insidiis persensisset, omnia tyrannidis mala in nos conduplicaret? Iam vt de animo res tibi constet, causam dedisti non solum non idoneam, verum etiam pericolosissimam reipublicae. 30 Vin hoc tibi argumento euentissimo demonstrari? Finge te quempiam e ciuibus vicio occidisse, tum extincti patrem id facere quod modo fecit tyrannus: vtrum tu duplici caedis crimine teneberis, an simplici? Simplici, opinor. At vxor et mariti mortem imputabit, qui necato filio seni causam mortis dederis, atque his ferme tuis argumentis vtetur. Indulgentissime filium adamabat, in il- 35 lum omnem familiae curam reclinauerat, illo se oblectabat, atque haec de priuato sene cum fide dicit quae tu de tyranno nimis dure (ne dicam ridicule) dicebas. Addet ea te scisse, praeuidisse futurum vt ille vitam fugeret orbatus filio, in quo uno omnia vitae oblectamenta collocarat; non tibi defuisse iugulandi senis voluntatem, sed hoc tantum egisse vt miserabilius sua dextra perimeretur, vt 40 odium tuum plenius miseri patris malis exaturares; ideo iuuenem necasse, in hunc vsum gladium in vulnere reliquisse. Vides quanto sunt haec probabiliora

in hoc quam in tuo negotio: et tamen negabis paternam necem ad te pertinere, atque animi suspicionem causae qualitate purgabis. Negabis causam idoneam fuisse quur ille sibi manus adferret; te nec praescire nec timere potuisse id quod sit consequutum, quod rarum extet exemplum patris ob filii necem sponte fugientis e vita; alioqui futurum fuisse vt et mater sibi fatum accerseret, quippe quam impotentius amare sit consentaneum ac minus aduersum dolorem animi viribus valere. Haec non dubitares tibi profutura ad alterum crimen depellendum, et prodessent dubio procul. Atqui quod in maleficiis valet, ne quid imputetur, id multo magis in hac causa valet, ne quid acceptum feratur. Ibi te liberaret a voluntatis suspicione quod causas parum idoneas dederis: hic ex causis multo minus idoneis propter personam tyranni videri vis non modo quod euenit fuisse suspicatus, verum etiam certum praescisse. Ibi temeritatis postulari non poteras, propterea quod tametsi vicio abs te data est causa, tamen idonea non sit ad id quod euenit. Imo ipsi tota res imputabitur et legibus poenas dabit sepultura prohibitus, quod ciuitati citra causam idoneam ciuem vnum ademerit. Tibi non nisi vnus filii mors imputabitur, etiam si mater quoque et filiae et sorores et tota tribus huius necem fuerit imitata. Hic poterat nisi foeliciter euenisset, quippe vbi summum reipublicae periculum et verteretur et praetimeri probabiliter posset. Venio nunc ad quartum illud praesidium, iudices, quod iste tutissimum ac paene inexpugnabile iudicabat. Vnde ego illum ita deturbabo vt non solum sit non habiturus quo tyrannidii et huius laudis arcem obtineat, verum vix etiam latebram inuenturus, vbi temeritatis ac maleficii poenam effugiat, quo nimirum intelligat quam non inimice, non curiose (vt aiebat) secum agam, vt quum possim in crimen ac poenam vocare, sat habeam ab honore non promerito secludere. At sibi deberi praemium vel hoc uno nomine, quod iuuenem occiderit iam plusquam tyrannum, tum tyrannidis paratum haeredem, etiam si hunc euentum dii non dedissent vt senex ipse vitam abrumperet. O deploratam impudentiam! Tu tibi praemium peteres si tyrannum suae Furiae non essent vltae? Dii quiduis potius dederint quam isthuc quod tu fingis. Sed tamen fingamus interim oratione, quandoquidem id tuto licet, tametsi ad solam mentionem inhorrescit animus. Tune, inquam, occiso filio, relicto sene viuo, tyrannidiae praemium peteres? An potius nec ipse superesses qui possis petere, nec esset respublica quae dare posset? Nam tu aut exquisitis suppliciis exanimareris, aut in extremis Orcadis exul delitesceres, nos pro tyranno iam immanissimum carnificem pateremur, et tuum caput, vbicunque terrarum latitares, diris imprecationibus deuoueremus, qui nos tua incogitantia vel praecipiti magis lucri cupiditate in tantam malorum tempestatem coniecisses. Sed re filius erat tyrannus, inquis; patri praeter inane nomen nihil erat reliquum. Quid ego audio? Duos igitur haec ciuitas tyrannos alebat? Nam de patre nemo vnquam dubitauit quin tyranni vocabulum mereretur. Quando

24 aiebat *D*, agebat *A B C* | 25 Ait *E*, aut *A B C D* | 34 exquisitis *C*, exquisitus *A B*; Orcadis *E*, Archadis *A*, Arcadis *B C D*, nisi legendum Orcadibus

autem antehac vnquam fando auditum est duos vna in ciuitate sedisse tyrannos,  
 id quod magis etiam natura repudiat quam eodem in corpore gemina capita?  
 In iisdem aluearibus duo se reges pariter non ferunt. In armentis taurus tauro  
 5 cedere cogitur. In iisdem lustris non conuenit duobus inter se leonibus, et ty-  
 rannus (quo nullum animal efferacius) parem in eadem vrbe patitur? Non vides  
 necessario fieri vt e duobus aut alter alterum oppugnet, aut alter alteri cedat?  
 Vtrum tu fuisse mauis in patre an in filio? Si iuuenis aduersus senem obtinebat  
 tyrannidem, quid a republica praemium postulas? Tyranni partes adiuiuisti, non  
 reipublicae. Sin patri cessit, quid tandem illum vocare potes nisi tyranni vel  
 10 praefectum aut satellitem? Quandoquidem seniori tyrannicam appellationem  
 ne tu quidem audes detrahere. Verum vt quoquo modo tyrannidem omnem in  
 adolescentem oratione deriuares, quam multa tu quidem non ex re sed pro  
 causae tuae commoditate comminiscebaris! Caeterum quam in his confingendis  
 decori quod in personis situm est nullam habuisti rationem! Sic enim (vt memi-  
 15 ni) inducebas in fabulam senem iam aetate mitem et qui omnem tyrannidis  
 acerbiteriam ob senectam exuisset, non secus atque mala quae natura acerba  
 tempore mitescunt et in alium abeunt succum: porro iuuenem ferocem illo  
 incolumi gerentem tyrannidem iamque patri viuo succedentem. Priuatus pater-  
 familias non fert filium se viuo successorem, et tu vis isthuc credi in tyranno?  
 20 Ille non sinit vllum e liberis rem domesticam ex animi sui libidine moderari, et  
 tyrannus, sese veluti abdicans imperio, negocium omne in adolescentem reiecerat?  
 Non dubito quin et ipse videris quam dura sint ista et quam a communi  
 sensu abhorrentia. Verum quid faceres nisi tales personas induxisses? Exitum  
 inuenire tragoedia tua non poterat. Quaeso te, an vnquam auditum est tyran-  
 25 num aetate mitescere? Quando tu desines ea quae sunt priuatorum, quae bono-  
 rum principum, tyrannis tribuere? Vt eodem igni caera mollescit, limus durescit,  
 ita aetate plerique redduntur mitiores ac temperantiores, tyrannus magis ac  
 magis exasperatur. Vt tempus nonnullis pomis amaritudinem adimit, at vinis  
 nonnullis acoem conciliat: itidem tyrannis non adimit saeuitiam aetas sed exag-  
 30 gerat. Vis ipsissimam tyrannici ingenii tibi demonstrem imaginem? Spinam  
 cogita quae quo magis senescit, eo pungit acrius. Echinus cogita, qui quo plus  
 habent aetatis, hoc testa sunt asperiore. Vulgaribus ingeniis fortasse nonnulla  
 vicia senecta vel detrahit vel certe mitigat, etiam si plura irritat, nonnulla parit.  
 At tyrannorum mentibus ad scelus, ad crudelitatem natis scelere et immanitate  
 35 imbutis atque educatis, praeter viciorum omnium incrementum adferre senecta  
 quid potest? Nisi forte libidinem adimit? Quanquam ista tyrannidis quantula  
 tandem est portio? Sed esto: fuerit sane propter aetatem ad voluptates segnior,  
 verum erat fastidiosior; vnde fit vt imbecillior sit ad coitum, ad raptum audior.  
 Fortasse pauciores huic execabantur ephabi, sed insigniores. Pauciores produ-  
 40 cebantur virgines, sed exquisitiores. Quur non autem et plures? videlicet quo  
 senile fastidium optione et varietate vinceret. Hoc ita esse quot ego tibi testes

citare possem! qui quo nobiliores sunt, quo fortuna praestantiores habent liberos, hoc magis eis a flagitiosissimi senis cupiditate metuebant. An tu putas vna cum viribus senescere libidinem? Multo secus habet. Imo quantum aetas improborum hominum facultati detrahit, tantum adiicit cupiditati. Quanquam tyrannicum animum his in rebus non tam voluptatis vsus capit quam nostra delectat contumelia. Vt frigeat in sene tyranno Venus, certe feruet vigetque malitia, saeuitia, nocendi libido. Postremo totum illud viciorum agmen quae propria tyrannorum sunt, cupiditas, rapacitas, improbitas, impudentia, impietas, iracundia, violentia, impotentia, suspicio, fraus, perfidia, crudelitas, implacabilitas, immanitas, periurium, (quid autem oportet omnia commemorare nobis omnibus heu nimium nota?) – horum, inquam, nullum non aetate fit acerbius, propterea quod iuuenta nonnunquam naturae bonitate vincitur, praeterea quaedam mala nondum didicit; at senecta si quid pudoris, si quid humanitatis, si quid melioris ingenii a natura insitum est, id omne multo ac diuturno flagitiorum vsu penitus exiit et prorsum in immanissimam quandam feram abiit. Id ita euenisse, iudices, in execratissimo illo sene quid ego coner argumentis docere, quum sua cuique memoria abunde satis exemplum suppeditet? Quod si iuuenis sese gerebat insolentius, videlicet patris abutens imperio, num tu hunc continuo tyranni nomine donabis? Ergo ex eadem tyrannide sexcentos tyrannos facile reddideris. Nam quis est omnino in tyranni familia vel extremum mancipium, qui non ipse paene tyranno sit ferocior, violentior, sceleratior? Filius, inquit, emolumentis imperii potiebatur, patri praeter nomen nihil cessit. Quasi vero non sit isthuc omni tyrannidi commune. Longe minima fructuum pars qui solent ex tyrannide capi ad ipsum redeunt tyrannum. Quemadmodum in latrocinio fieri consuevit, praedae communiter in omnes distribuuntur, vel in eos potius quorum opera capiuntur. Alioqui non cohaerebit cohors illa scelerata, nisi dux ille quisquis fuerit plus etiam permittat suis quam sibiipsi, solum nomen sibi proprie vendicat. Et in nullos est tyrannus indulgentior quam in scelerum ministros, quippe quorum opera sentiat suum imperium contineri. Proinde sub vnus umbra satelles omnis, omnis minister, familiaris, leno tyrannidem quandam in ciues exercet. Ridicule fecero si hoc quoque coner argumentatione probare, iudices: vidimus, sensimus, experti sumus, nisi forte tam diutinae calamitatis memoriam tam pauculi dies oblitterauerunt. Neque enim esset res vsqueadeo misera tyrannis, si vnus modo foret toleranda violentia. Quot ferendi latrones, quot sacrilegi, quot ex extrema barbarie aduenae feris quam hominibus similiores! Neque desunt qui se simulent apud tyrannum sceleribus suis gratiam promeritos esse, quo nimirum hoc nomine metuuntur a ciuibus. Horum igitur vnum quemlibet tyrannum appellabis? Et pro quolibet occiso tyrannidae praemium petes? Non in tantum omnem exues pudorem, opinor. Sed pater aetate fessus omnem dominatum in filium transtulerat, quicquid tyrannicum in vrbe gerebatur, id iuuenis violentia committebatur. Sed isthuc quantum absit ab imagine veri, quis tam caecus vt non videat, quis tam obliuiosus vt non possit experimento refellere? Ego tibi complures nominare satellites possum

LB 289

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filio insolentiores. Ad haec verisimillimum est nullius insolentiam minus ap-  
 probasse senem quam filii, vel quod odit omnem tyrannidis affectatorem omnis  
 tyrannus, vel quod intelligit ex illius facinoribus longe plus inuidiae odiique sibi  
 5 conflari (callidissimi autem tyranni est eatenus legitimum imitari regnum qua-  
 tenus obtineri tyrannis possit), vel quod pater etiam pessimus tamen liberorum  
 nonnihil offenditur viciis, et ad crudelitatis ministeria alienis quam suis vti  
 mauult. Quod si clam patre rapinas, raptus atque id genus facinora designabat  
 filius, profecto non tyrannum agebat, sed insolentem satellitem. Sin approbante  
 10 patre quasique per illum exercente tyrannidem, vtri tandem par erat imputari  
 commissa, huic per quem gerebantur an ei cuius autoritate arbitrioque fiebant?  
 Non arbitror obscurum, quin huic, cui in manu erat nutu ne fierent vetare.  
 Quid autem non agunt per alios tyranni? Nam ipsi quidem neque pueros emas-  
 culant, neque virgines abripiunt, neque proscribunt, neque bona diripiunt,  
 neque phana dispoliant, neque haereditatibus manum iniiciunt, neque compil-  
 15 lant aerarium, neque tormentis excruciant, neque quenquam | iugulant, neque  
 LB 290 armis vicos expugnant, neque incendunt villas. Totum hunc tyrannicum ludum  
 16 per ministros exercent. In vnum tamen tyrannici nominis inuidia competit, in  
 vnum occidendum lex praemium instituit, in vnum stringendi ferri ius facit,  
 20 illos suae cognitioni reseruat. Quorum vt quisque sua opera tyranno profuit,  
 ita aliud atque aliud vocabulum imponi potest, certe tyranni vocabulum nemini  
 congruit nisi vni illi sub cuius veluti clypeo tota illa perniciosissimorum homi-  
 num colluies latitat. Arbitror vobis, iudices, saepenumero auditum esse id  
 quod eleganter a doctissimis viris est scriptum: tyrannis non longas modo ve-  
 rum etiam plurimas esse manus, plurimos oculos eosque acerrimos, plurimas  
 25 aures easque longissimas. Omnino prodigiosum quoddam est animal tyrannus,  
 multoque Titanibus illis Briareo et Encelado portentosius, centenis capitibus,  
 centenis linguis, centenis manibus pedibusque. Quot enim habet scelerum  
 ministros, totidem habere membra videtur; atque vt ex membris corpus, ita  
 tyrannis ex huiusmodi constat ministris. Verum vt illud quod corpus appellatur  
 30 nihil est aliud quam quiddam omnibus ex membris aggregatum, ita in tyrannide  
 vnum quippiam est quod neque pes sit neque manus nec vllum aliud membrum,  
 contineat autem vniuersa, at ita contineat vt ab iis possit separari; idque tyran-  
 nus vocatur. Proinde exaggera quantumlibet iuuenis insolentiam violentiam-  
 que, praefectum arcis voces licebit, oculum nomines licebit aut si maui dex-  
 35 tram, aut si ne id quidem satis, praecipuum tyranni caput dicas licebit: tyran-  
 num certe vocare nequaquam potes. Vnum enim illud portentum tyranni nomine  
 lex censet, cuius autoritate tituloque cuncta haec membra velut animantur.  
 Idque vnum forti ciui permittit occidere: non vult te in oculum aliquem inuola-  
 re, non sinit vt caput aliquod amputes, ne tale quiddam eueniat quod de Ler-  
 40 naea Hydra fabulantur poetae, vt pro vno capite resecto, duo pestilentiora sub-  
 nascantur, pro vno excusso oculo plures acriores succedant, pro vna rescissa

dextera multae robustiores subpullulent. Vnius vitae te dominum arbitrumque  
 constituit, qui sibi sit ausus tyranni vindicare nomen, quo sublato futurum sit  
 vt membra reliqua quasi destituta spiritu emoriantur, aut certe sanentur. At  
 quid ego tecum tam accuratis argumentationibus ago? Possum ilico tuis te  
 verbis reuincere ac veluti tuo te laqueo capere. Iuuenem paulo ante magnum  
 patris satellitem nominabas. Non inficiabere. Rursum alio loco dicebas omnem  
 tyrannidem occupasse filium, solius appellationis honorem cessisse. Qui con-  
 uenit eundem et satellitem et tyrannum appellari? Tum si cessit, non igitur  
 vsurpauit tyranni nomen. Contractus autem verbis aut rati sunt aut rescindun-  
 tur. Lex hac tecum formula contraxit: si quis tyrannum occiderit, praemium  
 ferat. Quid tu mihi iuuenis flagitia commemoras? Id te lex voluit occidere, quod-  
 cunque illud esset animal quod tyrannus diceretur. Magnum (vt ipse fateris)  
 satellitem occidisti, non tyrannum: quid tibi cum lege rei est? At rem, inquis,  
 legis sequutus sum, non syllabas: eum interfici qui caput erat tyrannidis, para-  
 tus haeres paterni dominatus; libertatem peperit, seruitutem sustuli; hoc lex  
 sensit, huius rei auctori praemium praestituit. Satellitem, inquam, occidisti:  
 nihil moror quantum, quam grauem, quam ferocem, quam scelestum. Satelli-  
 tem tamen occidisti tyrannidis, non caput, aut si caput, vnum e pluribus. Sed  
 haec omnia tibi ex animi sententia largiamur: fuerit sane res tota tyrannidis  
 filius, pater nihil nisi vocabulum quoddam inane tyranni, quemadmodum in  
 fabulis habetur Echo nympham nil aliud quam meram quandam fuisse vocem  
 sine corpore. Qui tibi licuit in re tanta a verbis legis discedere, praesertim ita  
 dilucidis vt perspicuum magis nihil esse possit, et commentitiam interpretatio-  
 nem domi tuae natam in iudicium adferre? Ego, iudices, nullum in rempublicam  
 exemplum perniciosius induci posse iudico, quam si consuescant homines ca-  
 lumniosi a praescripto legum recedere, et interpretamento quod ad praetexen-  
 dum facinus quisque suum maxime idoneum comminisci queat, id iudicibus  
 obiiicere. Quis autem vnquam meminit de legis sententia quaeri solere, nisi  
 quum in scripto quiddam apparet ambigue obscureue dictum, aut quum ex  
 verbis et euentu absurditas quaequam extitit eaque manifesta? In priore non  
 cuiusuis commentum sed iuris prudentium responsa, sed iudicum sententia  
 recipi solet. In hoc posteriore necessitas ipsa compellit aliquantisper a legis  
 vocibus deflectere et aequitatem iuris potius quam verba spectare. Duplex ita-  
 que periculum videtis, iudices, alterum ne superstitiosa cauillatione litterarum  
 legis ab eo quod lex spectauit abducamur, alterum ne passim a praescripto  
 discedendo leges omnes et iudiciorum religionem subuertamus. Quorum illud  
 quidem multo leuius est, propterea quod vix vnquam accidat vt legislator ob-  
 scure quid voluerit explicuerit aut absurdum quiddam exoriat; hoc multo  
 periculosissimum perniciosissimumque. Etenim quae tandem lex futura est,  
 quam versutus calumniator quo poenam effugiat non facile possit aliquo com-  
 mento subuertere? Neque quisquam elabetur e iudicio vestro nocens, nisi qui  
 sit vsqueadeo nullius ingenii vt ne friuolam quidem aliquam commentatiun-  
 culam queat inuenire. Atque vt cuique commodum erit, aut animi libido feret,

ita pro sene iuuenem, pro tyranno satellitem, pro homicidio tyrannicidium, et  
 passim aliud pro alio interpretabitur. Vestra interim, iudices, religio, vestrum  
 iusiurandum, qua tandem ratione seruabitur, quibus nihil futurum est certi quod  
 in cognoscendo sequamini, verum ambiguas diuersasque litigatorum coniectu-  
 5 ras spectare necessum erit? Ergo quum in omni causa maximopere cauendum  
 est, ne sine grauissima ratione a legis praescripto discedatur, tum in hac non  
 periculosum modo verum etiam absurdissimum, quum legis verbis nihil possit  
 esse dilucidius, sententia nihil aequius, interpretamento quod praeter legis men-  
 tem inducitur nihil pestilentius. An credimus legis huius authorem vsqueadeo  
 10 infantem et verborum inopem fuisse, vt dicere non potuerit: Qui quouis modo  
 tyrannidem sustulerit, huic praemium esto, si modo isthuc sensisset? Neque  
 vero fugit illum totam tyrannidem per satellites et praefectos exerceri solere  
 permultosque in his esse vel tyrannis ipsis sceleratiores atque, vt ita dixerim,  
 tyrannicos magis et omnino supplicio digniores, nisi et omnium omnia minis-  
 15 trorum scelera tyranno imputarentur. In vnum tamen illum qui hoc nomine  
 censetur tibi ferro grassandi facultas data est. In reliquos non tibi permittitur  
 idem, non quod illos vita dignos iudicet lex, sed quod vnus caede totam tyran-  
 nidem tolli velit, non multorum caede reddi duriorem. Tuum erat legi simplici-  
 ter parere neque eius verba quasi plumbeam quandam regulam ad tuum facinus  
 20 accommodare, verum ad illius praescriptum factorum tuorum rationem insti-  
 tuere. Praesertim in hoc exemplo quo non aliud potest admitti pestilentius, vt  
 ex legis arbitraria interpretatione quem velis interficiendi tibi pro tua libidine  
 licentiam sumas. Non illud hoc spectandum loco, iudices, quam inuisus rei-  
 publicae sit qui occisus est, quam maiore etiam supplicio dignus, verum id  
 25 etiam atque etiam perpendere oportet, exemplum praeter leges iugulandi homi-  
 nes semel in ciuitatem receptum, semel vestris sententiis approbatum, denique  
 praemio compensatum, quo tandem licentiae sit processurum. Quod iste sibi  
 in tyranni filium licere voluit, hoc alius sibi volet in ditissimum quemque  
 ciuium licere. Quisquis pauper a locuplete contumelia afficietur, protinus tyran-  
 30 num eum appellabit et veneno aut ferro adoriatur. Postremo si cui magistratus  
 non placebit, si cui iudex erit inuisus, non dubitabit e medio tollere. Porro ad  
 facinoris defensionem sophistam quempiam aut sycophantam consulat (si ipse  
 ingenio stupidiore fuerit) et nouam legis interpretationem vobis adducet: dicet  
 35 nil aliud sensisse legislatorem quam vt huiusmodi ciuium genus non nomine  
 sed re tyrannidem agentium ferro, igni, veneno tollatur e medio. Atque ita  
 breui futurum est, vt quod in vno factum semel et probauimus et gauisi sumus  
 id in multis saepius et doleamus et improbemus. Credite mihi, non mediocre  
 discrimen neque conuiuentem accipiendum, vt titulo reperto priuatus hominem  
 indemnatum interficiat. Id ita esse facile liquebit, si quidem animaduertimus,  
 40 nihil omnino esse quod lex parcius circumspectiusque permiserit. Etenim (si

23 hoc spectandum loco *A B*, hoc spectandum *C D*, hic spectandum *E* | 38 conuiuentem  
*A*, conuenienter *B C D E* | 40 omnino *nos*, omninum *A*, omnium *B C D E*



memini) tribus duntaxat temporibus lex indulset, vt quis citra iudicium hominem occidat. Primum adulterum sed in vxore depraehensum, id quod intemperanti et insuperabili mariti dolori donatum est; at ita si corpus vtrunque pariter interimat, si argumentis idoneis depraehensum fuisse doceat. Deinde in vi depellenda; at ita si de|monstres te mortem effugere nequuisse nisi mortem intulisses. Id lex ita interpretatur, quasi sese tueri potius sit isthuc quam alium occidere. Vterque tamen facti sui rationem reddere compellitur, statim sese prodere nec expectare donec in ius trahatur, atque (vt ita dicam) vltro semet reum facere cogitur. Quod si omnia constabunt argumenta, ita demum a lege dimittitur, vt venia non laude dignus esse videatur. Postremo in tyrannicidio, vbi propter periculi suscepti magnitudinem lex praemium quoque proponit; at ita si eum quem tibi lex isto velut insigni tyrannici nominis denotauit, fortiter occideris, non si scelestum alio scelere sustuleris, neque patietur te ius occidendi permissum latius quam ad vnicum tyranni caput trahere, nisi si quis obsistat, vt per illius necem tibi necesse sit ad illum penetrare. Iamque hoc factum tuum secunda illa ratione defenditur. Huic tertio generi fortasse proxima videatur, hostem in bello ferendi facultas; quam tuae tamen libidini lex non permisit. Nisi palam hostis sit declaratus, nisi in imperatoris verba iuraris, nisi ille aciem eduxerit, nisi signa canere iusserit, tibi fraudi futurum est hostem interfecisse. Tu dicturus es: Hostem occidi, nam plusquam hostilia faciebat; nomen hostis tantum aberat, re hostem agebat. Lex respondebit suarum partium fuisse, hostem declarare ac tuo fortasse scelere fruetur; verum ne serpat exemplum, poenas de te sumet. Quid autem aliud abs te factum est? Vnum tibi lex nominatim designauerat, tu illius vocabulum tuapte autoritate in alium transfers, quod nisi in vnum non potest competere, neque traduci debet ab eo cui lex attribuerit, ne tibi fas sit aliquando quem voles magistratum, quem voles iudicem, quem voles ciuem tyrannum appellare. Neque vero sine grauissimis causis lex tot vinculis astrinxit hanc in vitam alterius licentiam. Perpendit nihil maius eripi cuiquam posse quam vitam, vidit in extinctum facile varias causas confingi etiam impune posse, quandoquidem ille non sit refutaturus qui iacet. Vidit quam multis titulis suum quisque dolorem posset praetexere, si post occisum hominem vlla causa recipiatur, praeter eas quae legibus sint expressae. Quid quod grauatim sibi quoque lex permisisse videtur vt homini vitam eripiat; quam comperta, quam multa requirit argumenta, quam multa concedit reo, quam maligne agit cum actore, quem non nisi suo periculo vult accusare, quantum spacii largitur ei qui deferretur, quam liberam iudicium reiectionem. Quantum igitur a mente legis abesse putas, vt cui libet permittat vel pro suo priuato dolore vel domestica iuris interpretatione, hoc est subuersione, in cuiusquam vitam grassari? Neque ad rem pertinet quantum criminum aceruum exaggeres, quantumuis etiam verorum, addo notorum. Dicas: Parricidam, sacrilegum, incestum, proditorem, speculatorem, veneficum interfeci. Tyrannum lex iubet occidi; at hic vnus multis tyran-

LB 292

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nis erat sceleratior pestilentiorque ciuitati. Ad ista tam multa crimina lex tibi  
 verbo respondebit: Nihil moror quam fuerit scelerosus qui periit; in vnum  
 tyrannum tibi ius feceram occidendi, in reliquos in ius trahendi. Si detulisses,  
 auditus, reuictus, damnatus a me palam poenas dedisset omnique reipublicae  
 5 salubri exemplo fuisses. Nunc tu priuata libidine interficiens pro saluberrimo  
 exemplo perniciosissimum in ciuitatem induxisti et legum instaurationem a  
 legis violatione auspicaris, hoc est, malis malo mederi studes. An me clam esse  
 putas quam multi sint in hac turba vita indigni, morte dignissimi? At eos meae  
 cognitioni non tuis manibus seruo; sunt fora, sunt tribunalia, sunt iudices,  
 10 sunt carceres, secures, carnifices. Quur tu mihi praeire conaris? Quur nullo  
 mandante magistratum occupas, et dum tyrannicida videri vis, tyrannum imi-  
 tataris? Nam quo alio nomine tantopere mihi est inuisus ille, nisi quod mihi pa-  
 rere recusat et praeire conatur? Ei demum ferrum tractare licebit, cuius mani-  
 bus ego permisero. Si iuuenem occidisses quod non alia patuisset ad tyrannum  
 15 via, darem veniam necessitati: nunc occidisti non obsistentem, non auxilium  
 ferentem patri, sed patris opem implorantem. Huius vnus caede contentus  
 discessisti, tyrannum nec impetisti in quem vnum tibi ius feceram. Meum erat  
 expendere vtrum ex vsu reipublicae fuerit an iuuenis occideretur: malueram  
 LB 293 illum exquisitoribus excruciatum suppliciis exemplum omnibus aedere. | Ne-  
 20 que haec dico, iudices, quasi parum gaudeam pariter cum patre sublatum filium:  
 vtinam eadem opera simul omnes sint oppressi quibuscunque tyrannus placet.  
 Sed quis prohibet simul et gaudere quod deorum bonitas nobis hanc rem bene  
 verterit, et tamen non committere vt huius temeritas, si iudicio comprobetur, in  
 legem atque in exemplum trahatur? Nec de iuuenis iniuria vindicanda nunc  
 25 agitur, sed de legis violatae maiestate. Non enim par est vt cuiquam personae  
 praeter ius extincti odium in scelere suffragetur. Neque tam spectandum in  
 quem commissum sit facinus quam quo exemplo commissum. Alioqui quur  
 non eadem opera fas sit in tyranni nepotes, pallacas, pueros, vxores, libertos,  
 lenones grassari? Bonam tyrannidis partem vxor saepenumero suggerit. Ad  
 30 summam immanitatem nonnunquam libertus aliquis aut vernula instigat: quur  
 non et hos iugulas, si tibi ius est aestimatione priuata meritorum ciuem iugula-  
 re? Quid quod est aliquid tyranno nocentius, in quod tamen haudquaquam tibi  
 ius sit occidendi? Finge esse qui totam hanc vrbem, templa, domos, curiam  
 conatus sit incendere, imo qui iam compluribus locis ignem subiecerit, sed  
 35 incendium subito exorto imbri restinctum, authorem non obscurum, verum  
 abditum latitare. Eum forte fortuna repertum manu tua trucidas. Num lex  
 tuum factum approbabit? Non opinor. Atqui tyranno ille quanto erat nocen-  
 tior? Tanto nimirum, quanto est atrocius ciuitatem semel funditus euertere  
 quam expilare, ciues vniuersos vno igni finire, quam in pauca quaedam saeuire  
 40 capita. Et tamen in vnum tyrannum stringendi ferri potestas priuatim permitti-  
 tur. Illum deferendi modo ius habes. Hic in re tam aperta legis mentem calum-

niari et nouo interpretamento tuum facinus palliare, quid tandem aliud est quam legum auctoritatem euertere atque id per cuniculos quosdam agere quod tyrannus palam ac vi facere consuevit? In recipienda lege fas est populo causam aequitatemque legis excutere. Caeterum receptae et longo iam vsu comprobatae simpliciter oportet obtemperare. Neque enim existimandum est maiores 5 illos nostros viros sine controuersia sapientissimos ita sine grauissimis rationibus instituisse vt priuatim interficiendi tyranni facultas vnico capite finiretur. Primum ad iugulandi licentiam fenestram aperiendam ciuibus non putauerunt, deinde perspiciebant tyrannidem fatale quoddam esse reipublicae malum, quod minore noxa toleraretur quam male exagitaretur, neque posse semel tolli nisi 10 tyranni ipsius caede. Quo submoto videlicet qui legibus imperabat, non parebat, iam nihil opus esse priuata audacia, nimirum illis in reipublicae administrationem vindicatis. Quod si tyrannus in ius vocari potuisset, ne hunc quidem tuae dextrae arbitrio permisissent. Videbant et illud: tyrannidem nonnullam habere monarchiae legitimae speciem. Hoc tantum interesse quod in monarchia popu- 15 lus regi paret, rex legibus: in tyrannide omnia vnus libidini subiecta sunt. Rex publicam spectat vtilitatem, tyrannus priuatim suam, vnde publicitus expedit vt tyranno veluti principi legitimo ciuitas pareat, donec idoneus aliquis vindex extiterit qui legum auctoritatem in pristinum statum restituat atque id vnus (si fieri potest) capitis iactura. Nam hac moderatione in fatalibus illis pestibus 20 quae totum reipublicae quasi corpus corripunt, legum prudentia consuevit vti, vt exemplo magis quam admissi talione morbo medeatur, ne dum ciuitatem sanare studet, magnam ciuitatis partem interimat. Hinc est quod in seditionibus publicis non nisi in ipsos auctores consuevit animaduerti, reliquis quos tempestas illa commouerat dari venia aut vix etiam dari venia qui in publico reipu- 25 blicae tumultu quietem egissent. Quae potest autem pestis esse fatalior quam tyrannus? Quae sese latius in ciuitatis membra diffundit? Quota quaeque vrbs pars ab hoc vicio sincera potest esse? Omitto iam quicquid est ambitiosorum, aere alieno obstrictorum, scelere contaminatorum, barbarorum (nam haec tota sentina hominum tyrannide gaudet, vt in qua nullis maiora quam sceleratis sint 30 praemia); bonos etiam ciues hoc malum inuoluit, dum vel timent fortunis suis, vel rectum iudicant seruire tempori. In hoc itaque rerum statu leges, non extinctae sed oppressae modo, caũtim et circumspicienter agunt; intelligunt hoc hucus citra summam ciuitatis perniciem exasperari non posse, vnus capitis dispendio commode sanari posse. Quare | docto cuiquam medico praemium ostendunt, digito demonstrant quod membrum secari velint, quibus abstineri. 36 Caput indicarunt illae: tu dextram secuisti. Illae tyrannum, tu tyranni satellitem occidisti. Quo praemio dignus? Nempe eo quo qui morbo inscite exagitato totum hominem in extremum vitae discrimen adducat, quo qui hominem legibus vetantibus occidat. Neque ego nunc te caedis reum ego: aget alius fortassis 40 cuiuscuque lubitum erit: verum illud modo consilium fuit, ostendere tibi quam

insignitae sit impudentiae in ea causa tam eximiam tibi vindicare laudem, tam  
 egregia poscere praemia, in qua nequeas obtinere, si modo tecum exactius ac  
 seuerius agatur, vt graueis poenas effugias. I nunc et curiosum me voca, qui  
 tam candide tamque ciuilitate tecum agam vt, quum te possim in graue discrimen  
 5 vocare, sat habeam legis et reipublicae causam defendere, ne circumuenta  
 praemium dare cogatur ei qui nihil boni sit promeritus. Id quod non iudicibus  
 modo (quibus isthuc iamdudum liquere puto) verum tibi etiam ipsi cupio per-  
 suadere et facturum me confido, si modo tantisper animus possis attendere.  
 Vin igitur vt quemadmodum tu faciebas, itidem et nos summatim totam causam  
 10 ob oculos reuocemus, dispiciamusque quam multa tuo in facto desiderentur ad  
 id, vt legi satisfeceris, et quantum tu sis hallucinatus quum multa diceres etiam  
 superesse? Tria quaedam requirit lex, et ita requirit vt si quodlibet horum desit,  
 aut poenam te aut certe nihil gratiae debere se credat. Quorum ego non vnum  
 15 aliquid sed vnumquodque deesse docebo. Quod si facio, vtrum aequo animo  
 cedes praemio, an impudenter petere persistes? Ergo rem accipe. Nisi tria haec  
 tibi constiterint, non est quod tyrannicidae praemium petas: animus, via et  
 effectus. Animus duo quaedam complectitur, vel quid speraris vel quid propo-  
 sueris. Nam si tyrannum per imprudentiam occidisses, si praeter propositum,  
 non magis profecto praemium tibi debeatur quam si quis tyranno amicissimus  
 20 idem fecisset; nam idem potuit accidere. Tu porro quid propositi in arcem  
 attuleris, ipse videris; ita demum legi persuasum erit, te voluisse occidere tyran-  
 num, si occideris. Non occidisti, atque id etiam quum tibi in manu fuerit (vt  
 ais), si libuisset, interficere. Lex negat sua referre vtrum tyrannicidii propo-  
 situm in arcem non attuleris an allatum repente mutaris. Iam quid speraris excu-  
 25 tiamus. Quanquam isthuc leges non ita valde curiose pensculantur, sed tamen  
 in tam absoluto facinore partes omnes constare oportet. Quid enim si tyrannum  
 interfecisses quo tyrannidem ipse occupares, vtrum praemium sperares, an sup-  
 plicium metueres? Quid si quo priuatum animi tui dolorem vlcisceris tyran-  
 num occidisses, atque id esset palam? Num praemium auderes poscere? Quid  
 30 si latrones tyrannum forte fortuna obuium obruncassent, num ad hunc hono-  
 rem aspirarent? Quid si quis tyranno priuatim infensus magna te pecunia con-  
 duxisset quo ei tyranno venenum dares, dedissesque, num quaeso tyrannicidae  
 praemium postulares? Ego hic tecum non ago coniecturis; nihil dico in vitam  
 tuam, quae quidem obscurior est quam vt tu alioqui tam gloriosus quicquam de  
 35 ea ausus fueris dicere; illud vnum affirmare non dubitem, qui tyrannum quum  
 tuto licuerit non occidit, plane noluit occidere. Qui eum occiderit, cuius mors  
 extremum exitum reipublicae videretur allatura, potiusquam vllam commodita-  
 tem, is aut priuatim dolorem vlcisci voluit, non libertatem publicam vindicare,  
 aut emolumentum suum sequutus est reipublicae periculo; non suo periculo  
 40 reipublicae studuit prodesse. Postremo, non potest nisi gloriae ieiunio adduc-  
 tus videri qui tam insolenter se iactat, non potest non videri lucrum sequutus

qui tam improbe praemium flagitat. An non vides igitur quantopere hac parte  
 a tota legis mente dissentias? Quem illa tuae vitae periculo sua causa voluit  
 occidere, eum tu non solum volens praeteristi, verum etiam periculose in rem-  
 publicam irritasti; quem sua causa noluit occidi, eum tu maximo nostro periculo  
 tui compendii aut animi fortasse gratia iugulasti. Sed finge te animum tyranni-  
 cida dignum ad facinus attulisse, lucri perinde vt vitae contemptorem, magni  
 tamen refert qua ratione tyrannidem tollere aggrediaris. Iam enim omnia tibi ex  
 animi tui libidine largior, quae tamen nemo | alius tibi concessurus est, te in  
 filio iugulasse patrem, in non tyranno tyrannum. Largior isthuc, Delium ali-  
 quem tibi praedixisse, vt certum praescire potueris quod ipse etiam vix diuinare  
 Delius potuerit. Licuisse tibi patrem occidere si libuisset: verum hoc poenae  
 genus tibi magis placuisse. Sustuleris sane tyrannidem idque noua quadam et  
 inusitata ratione. Vides quam multa tibi dono. Tamen obsistam tibi nec sinam  
 ferre praemium, propterea quod ea via sustuleris quae legi non probatur, quae  
 non expediat moribus ciuitatis, quae non sit forti viro digna. Age, quid si tyran-  
 ni filium infantem in cunis iugulasses, et rursus adfuisset Delius ille, per quem  
 certum praescire posses fore vt necato puero pater sibi mortem accerseret,  
 atque id euenisset, vtrum te tanquam tyrannidam suspiceret respublica an  
 potius tanquam immanem et ferum hominem execraretur, qui in eam saeuieris  
 aetatem cui etiam ab hoste armato parcitur, quae leonibus etiam miseranda  
 videatur? Quid ergo? Vtetur tuo maleficio respublica, caeterum exemplum  
 haudquaquam probabit. Quid si tyranni vxorem, quam ille misere deamaret,  
 per vim constuprasses, atque ille eius impatiens contumeliae fugerit e vita?  
 Vtrum tyrannidii laudem flagitabis, an raptus et adulterii supplicium potius  
 formidabis? Res obscura non est. Conferam tuo facto propiora. Quid si tyranni  
 medicus quum esses, veneno aegrotanti dato illum sustulisses, vtrum vt vene-  
 ficum oderit te respublica, an vt virum fortem admirabitur? Tyrannum subla-  
 tum gaudebit: facti rationem modumque detestabitur. Quid si quum te tyran-  
 nus familiariter vteretur, tu in conuiuio praetextu necessitudinis venenum  
 porrigeres, denique si per magicas imagines ac maleficas quasdam deuotiones  
 tyranno vitam ademisses, vtrum a lege praemium an poenam expectares? Atqui  
 tyrannidem vtcunque sustulisti. Euentu gaudet lex, verum exemplum tam per-  
 niciosum in rempublicam non recipit, vt consuescant ciues scelus vlcisci scelere,  
 patrem in filio iugulare. Vides quantum momenti sit in modo viaque, vt factum  
 tuum approbetur? Quod lex permittit vt fiat, non statim permittit vt id via  
 qualibet efficias. Adulterum ferro occidere licet, veneno aut incantamentis non  
 licet. Quur ita? Quia pestilens exemplum omnino tractare venena, nec id vlla  
 causa quantumuis honesta sinit in ciuitatem irrepere. Quid quod ne hostem qui-  
 dem veneno aut malis artibus interficere fas est? nam nusquam non improbat  
 maleficia lex, et veneno tincta tela etiam in bellis interdicta sunt. Quod si modus  
 facti spectatur in his in quibus nullum petitur praemium, quanto magis id fiet

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LB 295

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in his in quibus summum petitur. Lex triumphum statuit ei qui certum hostium  
 numerum fuderit. Fuderit aliquis non acie sed aquis et pabulo veneno tinctis.  
 Vtrum ciues hunc aequis oculis spectare poterunt triumphantem, an potius  
 sicuti veneficum oderint, auersabuntur, execrabuntur? Quid quod priuatis etiam  
 5 in rebus via modusque perpenditur? quo magis idem oportebit tum in publico,  
 tum in splendidissimo facinore, vt a quo conueniat omnem sceleris suspicionem  
 abesse. Age, illud tecum reputa, si medico mercedem pactus esses quo te morbo  
 leuaret, atque ille non pharmacis sed maleficiis et incantamentis morbum exe-  
 misset, vtrum praemium dabis an magis hominem in ius trahes, iniuriae malis  
 10 artibus datae reum ages? Clamabit ille, Morbo te leuauit: qua via, quid isthuc  
 tua refert? Hoc tantum spectabas, vt morbo liber esses; ei rei merces est pro-  
 missa. Ingratum te vocabit, qui nisi sua opera ne esses quidem qui praemium  
 negare posses. Tu protinus respondebis, opinor, medico te praemium esse  
 pollicitum, non mago, neque deberi quicquam nisi rem malam ei qui beneficium  
 15 male dederit. Quanquam ne dedisse quidem videtur qui malum malo tollit. Id  
 enim mutare est incommodum, non amouere. Dices enim animo nocitum dum  
 corpori subuenitur, atque istam litem vinctes etiam iniquo iudice. Atqui eadem  
 aut melior etiam et vincibilior est tecum causa legi quam quae tibi futura fuerat  
 cum medico. Nam ibi de priuata mercedula disceptaretur, hic de publico hono-  
 20 re. Ibi falsus est vnus, hic legi fraus facta, per quam cautum oportuit ne quis-  
 quam ciuium circumueniatur. Ibi salus data, certa quidem et efficaci sed sus-  
 pecta et improbata via, hic nefario scelere (quor enim non sic appellatur homi-  
 cidium quod in ciuem contra | legem admissum sit?) non libertas restituta sed  
 LB 296 in extremum discrimen adducta respública. Quandoquidem tuum factum perin-  
 25 de habet ac si medicus quispiam ad curam mercede conductus venenum pro  
 remedio ministret, quod tamen aegrotanti (ita vt non raro consuevit accidere)  
 per occasionem morbum adimat. Qui reualuit, suis fatis acceptum feret quod  
 viuat, tibi mortem tametsi vitarit tamen imputabit. Neque sua referre putabit,  
 vtrum imperitia an perperam ac studiose pro pharmaco venenum porrexeris,  
 30 propterea quod tui fuerat officii, aut non suscipere negocium aut fidem simul  
 et artem et industriam ac diligentiam et quicquid a probato artifice solet requiri,  
 ad curam adferre. Sed age, sinimus adhuc possidere te quod dudum sumus  
 largiti, vt plane ista via tyrannum occideris citra vllum reipublicae discrimen.  
 Lex non approbabit facinus tuum, nisi non tantum a crimine verum etiam ab  
 35 omni criminis specie procul abfuerit, ne videlicet ea quae in hoc potissimum  
 adhibita est in ciuitatem, vt maleficium omne secludat, incolumitatem suam,  
 quam conueniebat aut deo cuiquam aut certe diis simillimo homini acceptam  
 referri, sceleri debere dicatur. Non approbabit, inquam, nisi tyrannum ipsum  
 quem nominatim indicauit ipsa, quaque permittit via sustuleris, ne per rimam  
 40 istam periculosum exemplum in rempublicam irreat. Postremo nisi ferro, non  
 clanculariis ac maleficis artibus, nisi virtute, nisi manu, nisi vitae tuae manifesto  
 contemptu tyrannum trucidaris. Neque enim huc tantum spectat lex ut tyrannus  
 in praesens submoueatur, verum illud multo magis respicit, vt omnes mortales

intelligent in ea ciuitate viros esse fortes, qui non vereantur vitae suae dispendio patriae commodis consulere, ac praeclari exemplo facinoris omnes etiam in posterum ab affectatione tyrannidis deterreantur, quum videant in ea ciuitate nullum esse tyrannis satis tutum praesidium, quandoquidem illud nemo nescit, qui vitae suae sit contemptor eum esse alienae vitae dominum. Nam quod omnino satellitium, quae excubiae, qui parietes, quae arx, quae arma aduersus huiusmodi animum tyranni caput defendant, qui patriae libertatem sua vita bene credat emi? Postremo autem vt maxime tibi constet animus, vt constet via, id quod est totius negotii caput non effecisti. Tantum enim abes vt tyrannum occideris, vt quantum in te fuit tyrannidem maiorem in modum auxeris interfecto tyranni filio. Quid autem refert malitia an stultitia rempublicam in discrimen adduxeris? Nam illo quod vulgo dicunt nihil verius: intempestiuam beneuolentiam nihil a simultate differre. Tantum abest vt occideris tyrannum, vt ne suspicari quidem potueris id euenturum, vt ipse semet occideret. Sed iuuenem occidisti patre insolentiorum. Quid tum postea? Si patri et huius scelera lex imputat, magnum proinde tyranni satellitem, non tyrannum, occidisti. Sed paratum tyrannidis haeredem occidisti, in tyrannidem succedit, qui prior, qui potior est in occupando. Verum esto sane, certum haeredem sustuleris; igitur qui tyrannus erat futurus interemisti. Atqui quod futurum est, id nondum est. Porro lex eum qui iam tyrannus sit tolli iubet, non quem aliquando futurum diuines. An qui statuam ex pacto debeat et rudem truncum praestiterit, fidem persoluisse videatur? Non arbitrator. Vbi nunc igitur sunt illa tam multa quae tibi ad praemium postulandum supererant? Vides quam ne vnum quidem omnium tibi constet, quorum nihil oportebat deesse. Volui, inquis; id demum voluisse te lex credit quod effeceris. Postea e re nata propositum est commutatum. Hoc igitur praemii tibi debetur, quod ei qui in Olympiis medio e cursu relicta meta ad carceres reflectit habenas. At periclitatus es. Proinde id laudis auferes, quod is qui sudauit in Olympiis nec vicit. Sed occidisti denique, verum eum quem neque lex permittebat arbitrio tuo neque ex vsu publico fuerat occidi. At bene vertit ciuitati quod fecisti. Numini igitur gratia debetur tali qualem Palladem Atticis fuisse ferunt, de qua prouerbium extat quod Atheniensium male consulta in bonum exitum vertere consueuit. Non tu leges seruasti, sed sustulisti, non libertatem restituisti sed numen aliquod huic vrbi propiciam, quod euentum tuae temeritati debitum sua commoditate a nobis auertit, quod tuam stultitiam nobis vertit in occasionem restituendae libertatis. Non ego ingratum erga te populum constituo, imo tu populum ingratum in deos reddere laboras, quem quum semel in periculum vocaris, ne pro simplici tyrannide duplicatam pateretur, nunc rursus in discrimen trahere conaris ne ab iratis superis in pristinam seruitutem aut grauius aliquod infortunium retrudatur. Quid tu te fucis et phaleratis dictis in alienum meritum insinuas? Quid tibi in eo negotio laudem vniuersam vendicas, ex quo praeter poenam temeritatis nihil ad te redire

merito possit? Si reipublicae, si iudicibus probare potes animum tuum tyrannici-  
 da dignum, qui nullum periculum vitae reipublicae causa recusarit, si facinus  
 non scelere, non pernicioso exemplo, sed legitima via peregristi, si fortuna tuis  
 egregiis conatibus bene expeditum dedit euentum, aude tyrannicidam te voca-  
 5 re; aude pulcherrimum ac paene diuinum munus a reipublica poscere; aude  
 nobis seruatas leges restitutam ciuitatem, aude templa, aras, focos, fortunas  
 omnes, tutos pueros, inuiolatas virgines, impolluta matrimonia, denique hoc  
 ipsum quod hic lege et apud iudices agimus, exprobrare; aude mihi minari  
 10 quod obstiterim; aude ciuitatem ingratitude nisi laudem promerita-  
 tam persoluerit; aude iudices vel iniquos vel corruptos clamitare, nisi suis sen-  
 tentiis praemium tibi decreuerint. Contra si suspectum quid volueris, si peri-  
 culosum; si contra leges, si cum scelere coniunctum quod feceris, sit pudor, ac  
 desine tandem improbe praemium flagitare quod nulla ratione promerueris,  
 poenam si sapis incipe deprecari. Isthuc fortassis ab aequitate iudicum, a ciuitate  
 15 deorum munere laeta queas impetrare. Neque enim putes vnum me te a praemio  
 deterrere. Imaginare isthac in causa pariter et leges et rempublicam et deos tibi  
 aduersari. Puta leges his tecum verbis agere: Si nos vere restitutas videri vis,  
 sine nostram auctoritatem primum in hac tua causa valere. Longe plus laudis  
 ex hoc iudicio referes, si nobis cesseris, si parueris, si tuam cupiditatem nostro  
 20 submiseris arbitrio, si primum exemplum in te ciuibus aedideris reuixisse nos,  
 si monstraris ciuitati iam non ex sceleratorum libidine sed ex nostro praescripto  
 cuique viuendum esse. Atque altera ex parte rempublicam hac tecum oratione  
 uti puta: Si ciuem bonum mihi praestare studes, noli hanc stultitiae notam mihi  
 25 inurere, ut in | posterum re cognita dicar ebrietate quadam gaudiorum ei prae-  
 mium decreuisse cui poena magis deberetur. Noli mihi deos quos vix denique  
 tam diutinis votis, tot sacris, tot precibus, tot meis malis placui, commoui,  
 propicios reddidi, denuo per ingratitude iratos atque infensos reddere. Sine  
 ut mihi per te liceat, saltem illorum beneficio frui. Quod si te neque leges neque  
 30 reipublica commouet, certe deorum orationem vereri debes, quos ita tecum  
 agere putato: Quid tute in nostrae laudis possessionem ingeris? Quid honori  
 nostro inuides? Quur non sinis nos in hanc ciuitatem perpetuo benignos esse?  
 Quur tu ipse tam ingratus existis? Ciuitas haec semel mihi restitutam libertatem  
 debet, tu bis debes commoditati nostrae, et quod rempublicam seruauimus  
 35 cuius tu pars es et quod commoditate nostra tuam periculosam stultitiam, vel  
 scelus potius, in maximam foelicitatem verterimus. Etenim nisi nos dextri pro-  
 picique adfuissemus, quid aliud tu quam perieras, et per te reipublica? Quod  
 si plane contendis ut praemium aliquod feras, abunde magnum praemium a  
 nobis persolutum est, quod per nos res a te male instituta bene verterit. A legi-  
 bus merito maior relata gratia, si nostrae prosperitatis respectu, temeritatis  
 40 simul et sceleris veniam condonarint. A ciuitate satis amplam laudem feres, si  
 ea patiat ut in restitutae libertatis historia tuum quoque nomen admisceatur.



Hac laudis parte contentus desine nobis debitum velle praeripere, ciuitati munus nostrum eripere, legibus authoritatem adimere. Sed finem facio nimirum extillata iam aqua. Quod superest nunc vestrae partes sunt, iudices, statuere, vtrum secundum leges, secundum deos, secundum rempublicam sententiam dicere, an secundum hunc gloriosum ostentatorem pronunciare velitis; vtrum 5 hanc vrbis foelicitatem huius temeritati, huius sceleri acceptam ferre malitis, saepius exprobrandam et breui fortassis a superis iratis (id quod abominor) auferendam, an in deos, quibus sine controuersia tota debetur, referre eorundem pietate seruandam, agendam, beneque fortunandam; vtrum magis ex vsu sit vt primo hoc iudicio statim leges circumuentae dicantur, an vt appareat 10 legum restitutarum seueritatem et iudicum sapientiam aduersus vnus iniquam postulationem valuisse.

LB 297 ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS M. IOHANNI PALVDANO RHETORI  
LOVANIENSIVM S. P. D.

Vt intelligas, humanissime Paludane, Erasmum illum tuum, tametsi per omnes  
terras mariaque volitantem, tamen tui memoriam perpetuo secum circumferre,  
5 mitto quasi symboli vice Luciani dialogum cui titulus *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῶ  
συνόντων*, quem in Italiam profecturus in ipso paene procinctu latinum feci. In  
eo non sine voluptate tanquam in speculo videbis aulicae vitae incommoda,  
quae tu mihi saepenumero commemorare solebas, nimirum expertus et veluti  
naufragio eiectus ac vix isti liberae litterariaeque vitae redditus. Idque feci eo  
10 studiosius, vt meo exemplo te prouocarem, vti iam diu Graecanicis in litteris  
versatus incipias et ipse aliquando audere aliquid. Quur enim non dicam aude-  
re? quum nullum sit mea sententia facinus audacius, quam si coneris ex bene  
Graecis bene latina facere. Vale, meque tui amantissimum mutuum ama.

LIBELLVS DE IIS QVI MERCEDE CONDVCTI IN DIVITVM  
FAMILIIS VIVVNT

Ecquid tibi primum, amice, aut quid postremum (quemadmodum vulgo dici LB 297  
consuevit) recenseam ex his quae tum facere tum pati coguntur, qui mercedis  
gratia sese in alienas domos conuictumque tradunt alienum, quique in locuple- 5  
tum istorum amicitiam accensentur, si modo eiusmodi illorum seruitutem con-  
uenit amicitiam appellare? Noui | enim permulta atque adeo pleraque omnia LB 298  
quae illis ibi soleant accidere: non, per Iouem, quod ipse ea experimento cognori-  
m (neque enim mihi vnquam experiundi incidit necessitas, ac ne quando inci-  
dat, dii prohibeant), sed quod complures qui in hoc vitae genus inciderant apud 10  
me soliti sint commemorare, partim qui in ipsis etiamdum malis constituti  
quae et quanta ferrent deplorabant, partim qui tanquam e carcere quodam pro-  
fugi non absque voluptate recordabantur commemorabantque ea quae fuerant  
perpessi; | imo iuuabat reuocare ob oculos quas erumnas effugissent. Atque hi LB 299  
quidem digniores mihi visi sunt quibus fides haberetur, vt qui eius sacri ritus 15  
(vt ita dixerim) omnis omniaque mysteria perdidicissent cunctaque ab initio ad  
finem vsque perspexissent. Hos igitur haudquaquam indiligenter nec oscitanter  
audire soleo, veluti naufragium quoddam ac praeter spem obiectam salutem  
enarrantes. Cuiusmodi sunt isti qui in templis deraso capite, complures simul  
obambulantes, immanes vndas, procellas, sublatos in coelum fluctus, iactus, 20  
malos fractos, gubernacula reuulsa narrant; in primis autem geminos Castorem  
et Pollucem apparentes (nam hi peculiariter ad hanc tragoediam pertinent), aut  
alium deum quempiam repente (quemadmodum in fabulis fieri consuevit) exor-  
tum summisque antennis consistentem, aut iuxta clauum adsistentem, qui na-  
uim ad littus aliquod molle dirigeret, ad quod appellens futurum esset vt et ipsa 25  
paulatim ac lente solueretur, et ipsi tuto in solum descenderent, idque ope fauo-  
reque diuino. Atque isti igitur permulta id genus ad praesentem commoditatem

7 Noui B, non A | 8 per Iouem B, om. A | 16-17 perdidicissent ... perspexissent B, perdidissent A | 19-20 complures simul obambulantes B, in frequenti mortalium coetu A | 24 insidentem B | 24-25 nauim inualidam A | 25 molle dirigeret B, direxerit A | 25-26 ad quod ... et ipsi B, in quod illisa ipsa quidem sensim ac commode dissolueretur, illi vero A | 26 descenderent B, -int A

exaggerantes commemorant, quo videlicet a pluribus stipem accipiant, si non calamitosi modo verum etiam diis chari esse videantur. Porro ii dum eas quas in tectis tulerunt tempestates referrent, atque immanes illas vndas, quin etiam decumanos fluctus, si fas est dicere, et quemadmodum primum a littore soluerint mari tranquillo, quantumque molestiarum perpetua nauigatione sint per-

5 pessi, dum sitiunt, dum nauseant, dum salo perfunduntur, denique quemadmodum infoelici nauigio in caudem quampiam sub vndis latentem aut in scopulum aliquem praeruptum et asperum illiso fractoque miseri aegre enatarint, nudi cunctarumque rerum inopes; haec, inquam, quum referrent, mihi quidem

10 visi sunt permulta prae pudore subticere volentesque ac scientes obliuisci. At ego etiam illa, praeterea autem et alia nonnulla ex illorum narrationibus coniectans, deprehendi quicquid erumnarum cum eiusmodi conuictibus coniunctum est. Quae quidem omnia haud grauabor, optime Timocles, tibi percensere. Iampridem enim mihi videor animaduertisse te de capessenda hac vitae ratione

15 cogitare. Nam olim quum his de rebus sermo incidisset, mox ex his qui praesentes erant quispiam mercenarium hoc vitae genus laudare coepit, fortunatissimos eos affirmans quibus contigisset horum vti familiaritate, qui apud Romanos essent optimates, tum conuiuuiis adesse opiparis, idque immunes, praeterea splendidis in aedibus diuersari, tum peregrinari omnigena cum

20 commoditate voluptateque alba interim in rheda (si forte libeat) resupinatos; insuper, ob hanc amicitiam obque commoditates quibus afficiuntur, etiam mercedem capere. Id vero non mediocre videri, istis enim haud dubie citra sementem ac citra culturam (quod aiunt) cuncta prouenire. Haec igitur atque id genus alia quum audires, animaduerti quemadmodum ad ea inhaeris,

25 quamque auide ad escam os apertum porrexeris. Proinde ne quid mihi certe in posterum possis imputare, neque expostulare queas quod quum te conspiceremus tantum vna cum esca deglutientem hamum, non reuocauerimus, neque priusquam in guttur demergeretur reuulserimus, neque praemonuerimus: verum posteaquam cessassemus, donec eo iam adacto atque infixo trahi iam ac

30 vi duci conspiceremus, tum quum nihil opis afferri possit, frustra adesse nos atque illachrimari: haec, inquam, ne quando possis dicere, quae si dicantur, merito profecto dicantur neque a nobis refelli possent, quo minus peccasse videremur vt qui prius ista non indicassemus, audi nunc ordine omnia. Ac rete quidem ipsum, cuiusmodi sit quamque nullum habeat exitum, non intus mediis

35 in sinibus inuolutus sed foris tuto atque per ocium ante contemplator, vnci aeris aculeum, reflexam hami aciem ac tridentis cuspidem manu tentans malaque admotas experiens. Quod nisi vehementer acuta, nisi sic illigantia vt effugiendi nulla sit facultas, nisi dira vulnera factura videantur, acriter trahentia et inexplicabiliter retinentia, nos quidem inter formidolosos atque ob id etiam pauperes famelicos-

40 que ascribito; ipse vero sumpta fiducia venatum istum si videtur aggreditor,

4 si ... dicere *om.* *A* | 17 vti *D*, *om.* *A B C* | 22 mercedem capere *B*, praemium ferre *A* | 23 citra alterum *om.* *B* | 25 escam os apertum *B*, ostentatam imminentemque escam os *A* | 27 reuocauerimus *B C D*, reuocaremus *E*, corripuerimus *A*

lari in morem totam escam hiatu deglutiens. Atque in vniuersum quidem forsitan tua causa omnis hic sermo dicitur: quanquam non solum de vobis philosophis aut his quicumque vitae institutum sibi delegerunt cum vir|tutis studio coniunctius, verumetiam de grammaticis, rhetoricis, musicis, breuiter de omnibus LB 300  
 qui in doctrinae professione versari questumque facere proposuerunt. Caeterum, 5  
 quum omnia sint inter istos communia, eademque prorsus accidant omnibus, palam est philosophorum conditionem non esse a reliquis eximiam: imo hoc illis turpius ista contingere, quum sint cum aliis communia, si ii qui conducunt, non aliis praemiis eos quam reliquos dignos iudicent nihiloque magis quam caeteros in honore habeant. Sed quicquid erit quod narrationis series aperiet, 10  
 eius culpam potissimum in ipsos conferre par est, qui eiusmodi faciunt, deinde in eos qui talia sustinent. Ego vero culpari non debeo, nisi forte veritas et libertas in commemorando repraehensionem mereatur. Ac reliquum quidem hominum vulgus, puta palaestricos quospiam aut adultores imperitos, sordidoque animo ac suoapte ingenio humiles et abiectos homines, ne operaeprecium quidem 15  
 fuerit ab eiusmodi conuictu dehortari, quippe nequaquam obtemperaturos, neque rursum aequum sit illis vicio vertere quod non relinquunt suos conductores, etiam plurimis ab illis contumeliis affecti. Sunt enim ad eam vitae rationem accommodati factique neque ea videlicet indigni; praeterea ne habeant quidem aliud quippiam ad quod sese conuertant et in quo sese exerceant, adeo vt siquis eam 20  
 vitam illis adimat, ignaui ilico consiliique inopes, desidiosi atque inutiles reddantur. Quamobrem nec ipsi rem indignam aliquam patiantur, nec illi contumeliose facere videantur, si (quod aiunt) in matellam imminxerint. Etenim ad eas ipsas contumelias iam inde initio praeparati conferunt sese in familiam, atque haec sola illis ars suppetit ferre et perpeti quicquid acciderit. Caeterum eruditorum nomine, de quibus institueram loqui, merito indignandum enitendumque 25  
 vt, quam maxime fieri potest, eos inde reuocatos in libertatem vindicemus. Videor autem recte facturus, si quibus de causis se quidam ad hoc vitae genus conferunt, eas causas excussero, parumque idoneas atque efficaces esse demonstrauero. Siquidem eo pacto omnis illis praeripietur excusatio, summusque ille 30  
 titulus quo suam spontaneam seruitutem solent obtexere. Iam igitur plerique paupertatem et rerum necessariorum inopiam proponunt, atque eam vmbrae satis idoneam existimant, qua suum factum praetexant, quod vltro ad eam vitam accesserint. Ac sibi sufficere credunt, quum aiunt se quiddam ignoscendum facere, qui id quod est in vita molestissimum, nempe paupertatem, studeant effugere. Postea in promptu Theognis, atque illud plurimum in ore: 35

*Nam quemcunque virum paupertas enecat*

et si quae alia terricula abiectissimi quique poetae de paupertate prodiderunt. Equidem si viderem ex huiusmodi conuictu paupertatis effugium aliquod vere

3-4 coniunctius B, conuinctius A | 10 Sed quicquid ... aperiet B, itaque cum re reperietur id quod hac narratione recensebitur A | 37 enecat B, illigat A | 38 prodiderunt B, sunt commenti A

contingere, non admodum anxie cum eis de vehementer amplectenda libertate disceptarem. At posteaquam eiusmodi quaedam accipiunt, cuiusmodi sunt aegrotantium alimenta (quemadmodum egregius ille dixit orator), qui queant effugere, quo minus in hoc ipsum parum recte sibi consuluisse videantur, nimirum semper illis manente eodem vitae illius argumento? Semper enim manet paupertas, semper accipiendi necessitas, nihil quod seponatur, nihil superest quod reseruetur; verum quicquid datum fuerit, vt detur, vt vniuersum etiam capiatur, prorsus omne insumitur, ita tamen vt ne id quidem in vsus sufficiat. Rectius autem futurum fuerat, si nequaquam causas eiusmodi comminiscerentur, quae paupertatem seruant aluntque atque eatenus duntaxat opitulantur, verum quae illam tandem aliquando tollant; ac forsitan tibi hoc volebas, Theogni, quum diceres eam in altum mare ac praeruptis de scopulis praecipitem dari oportere. Quod si quis semper pauper, semper egens, quum semper mercede conductus mereat, hoc ipso sese arbitretur aufugisse paupertatem, non video qui fieri possit quo minus hic ipse sese fallere videatur. Rursum alii negant sese paupertatem formidaturos, si modo reliquorum hominum in morem possint suo labore suaque industria victum suppeditare. At nunc sibi fractas esse corporis vires seu senio seu morbis, eoque ad eam vitam mercenariam facilem videlicet atque commodam confugere. Age igitur, inspiciamus num vera praedicent et num ea quae dantur ex facili illis suppetant, neque adeo maiore labore constant quam vulgo suus victus. | Nam id quidem etiam votis expetendum vti citra laborem, citra sudorem, nullo negotio paratum argentum accipias. Verum quam haec absint a vero, istud profecto, vt dignum est, ne dici quidem satis potest, tantum laborum, tantum sudorum in eiusmodi conuictibus exhauriendum, vt hic ne valetudo quidem ad id par sit, quippe quum pluribus etiam egeant rebus, tum praecipue bona valetudine, quippe quum quotidie sexcenta non desint negocia quae corpus conficiant adque extremam vsque defectionem delassent. Verum haec suo loco dicemus, quum etiam reliquas illorum incommoditates commemorabimus. In praesentia sat erat leuiter ostendere, qui se aiunt hac de causa in seruitutem addicere sese, ne istos quidem vera dicere. Superest iam vt eam causam referamus, quae quidem, vt est verissima, ita ab illis minime profertur. Nempe ipsos voluptatis gratia et amplis illis spebus incitatos vltro inuadere familias diuitum, auri argentique vim et copiam admiratos; praeterea quod foelices sibi videantur ob conuiuia reliquasque eius vitae delicias, sperantes futurum vti mox nemine vetante affatim aurum bibant. Haec nimirum sunt quae illos adducunt atque ex liberis seruos constituunt, non rerum necessariarum vsus quem praetexebant, sed rerum non necessariarum cupiditas atque ingentium illarum et ampliarum opum admiratio. Enimuero quemadmodum miseros istos atque infoelices amantes callidi quidam et veteratores amasii receptant et fastidienter ducunt lactantque, videlicet quo iugiter amantes ambient

7 vniuersum *B*, -sim *A* | 20 adeo *B*, om. *A* | 25 hic ne ... sit quippe *B*, ex eo tempore *A* | 25-26 pluribus ... quum om. *B* | 30 vera *D*, vero *A B C* | 35 aurum bibant *B*, auro sese proluant *A*

ipsos atque inseruiant, caeterum ex amoris fructu ne summo quidem osculo  
 impartiant. Intelligunt enim copia facta dissoluendum amorem. Id igitur ne  
 fiat praecautent, diligenterque sui copiam subtrahunt; alioqui spe semper reti-  
 nent amantem, metuentes ne desperatio minuat cupiditatis ardorem amantem-  
 que ab se alienet. Proinde semper arrident pollicenturque; semper facturi sunt 5  
 semperque gratificaturi semperque ingentium sumptuum rationem habituri,  
 donec imprudentes ambo senuerint atque vtrique iam praeterierit aetas, huic ad  
 amandum illi ad dandum; atque ita omni vita nihil illis peractum est vltra spem  
 meram. Atqui voluptatis cupiditate nihil non ferre, id quidem forsitan non  
 vsqueadeo vicio vertendum; quin magis venia danda si quis voluptate capiatur 10  
 et hanc vndequaue consecetur, quo possit ea potiri, quanquam turpé forsan  
 ac seruile si quis ea gratia semet in ius tradat alienum, propterea quod voluptas  
 quae ex libertate percipitur multo suauior est quam ea quam ille libertatis iactura  
 sectatur. Attamen hoc quoque aliquo pacto ignoscendum illis sit, si modo con-  
 sequantur. Verum enimvero ob solam voluptatis spem multas perferre moles-  
 tias equidem et deridiculum arbitror et stultum, maxime quum videant labores 15  
 certos esse manifestos et ineuitabiles; porro illud quod speratur, quod quidem  
 nihil aliud tandem est quam voluptas, ne tam longo quidem tempore contigisse.  
 Praeterea autem nec verisimile videri vt contingat aliquando, si quis modo rem  
 recta reputet via. At Vlyssis socii dulci quadam gustata loto reliqua negligebant 20  
 ac praesenti voluptate deliniti honesta contemnebant, vt non prorsus cum ra-  
 tione pugnarit in illis honestatis obliuio, nimirum animo voluptatis illius sensu  
 occupato. Verum si quis famelicus alii cuiquam loto sese ingurgitanti neque  
 quicquam inde impartienti assistat, idque solam ob spem, quod credat fore vt  
 et ipsi aliquando degustandam lotum porrigat, assistat inquam ad hunc modum 25  
 recti atque honesti oblitus, dii boni, quam hoc ridiculum planeque verberibus  
 quibusdam Homericis dignum. Ergo quae istos ad diuitum conuictum addu-  
 cunt et quibus impulsu sese illis dedunt ad quodcunque lubitum fuerit vtendos,  
 haec sunt aut his ferme simillima. Nisi si quis et illos commemorandos esse  
 iudicat, quos haec vna res ad id commouet, quod gloriosum arbitrantur cum 30  
 illustribus atque opulentis viris habere consuetudinem. Sunt enim qui hoc quo-  
 que praeclarum ac magnificum supraque plebem esse existiment. Nam ego  
 quidem, quod ad me proprie attinet, recusarim vel cum Persarum rege conuiue-  
 re duntaxat conuictorque videri, si nullus ex eo conuictu fructus ad me redeat.  
 Quum itaque causa eius vitae suscipiendae sic illis habeat, age iam consideremus 35  
 apud nosmetipsos, primum cuiusmodi sint illis perferenda priusquam admittan-  
 tur, priusquam obtineant. Deinde cuiusmodi in ipsa iam vita constituti patian-  
 tur. Postremo quae tandem catastrophe, quis fabulae exitus illis contingat. |  
 Neque enim illud dicere possunt, haec tametsi molesta sint, tamen assuesci  
 facile, neque ad id multo opus esse labore; sat esse si velis modo; postea reliqua 40

LB 302

40

6 ingentium sumptuum rationem *B*, magnificis de rebus curae *A* | 7 ambo *B*, ambo repente *A* | 38 quae tandem *B*, siqua denique *A*; quis *B*, si quis *A*

omnia factu fore facilia. Imo necesse est vt primum diu sursum ac deorsum cur-  
sites, mane excitatus assidue pro foribus obuerseris, vt perdures quum protru-  
deris, quum excluderis, quum improbus interdum atque importunus videris,  
quum ianitori male Syrissanti ac nomenclatori Libyco subiiceris, quumque no-  
5 minis tui memoriam mercede redimere cogeris. Quin etiam vestitus tibi est  
apparandus supra tuae rei facultatem pro dignitate eius cuius conuictum ambis;  
deligendus color quo ille potissimum gaudeat, vti ne discrepes neue oculos  
illius offendas; postremo vti gnauiter assectere necesse est, vel antecedas potius  
a famulis protrusus, ac veluti pompam quandam expleas. At ille interim com-  
10 pluris iam dies ne aspicit quidem te. Quod si quando res tibi foelicissime ver-  
terit, si te respexerit, si accersiuerit dixeritque quicquid illud fuerit quod illi forte  
in buccam venerit, tum denique, tum plurimus sudor, tum multa oculorum ca-  
ligo, tum intempestiua trepidatio, tum sannae eorum qui adsunt haesitantiam  
tuam ac perplexitatem ridentium. Qua quidem non raro accidit, vt quum opor-  
15 tuerit respondere quis fuerit rex Achiuorum, mille naues illis fuisse respon-  
deas; atque id si qui sunt modesti pudorem vocant, immodesti timiditatem  
nominant, improbi inscitiam. Ita fit vt tu primam hanc diuitis comitatem tibi  
periculosissimam expertus ita discedas, vt tantam animi tui imbecillitatem ipse  
condemnes. Porro vbi *multas iam noctes insomnes duxeris*, vbi plurimos dies cruen-  
20 tos egeris, haud quidem Helenae gratia, per Iouem, neque ob Priameia Perga-  
ma, verum spe quinque obolorum, contigerit autem et deus quispiam tragicus  
qui tibi sit auxilio, iam illud restat vt exploreris excutiarisque num litteras noris.  
Atque ea quidem disceptatio non iniucunda est ipsi diuiti, quippe qui laudatur  
interim, ac foelix esse praedicatur. Caeterum tibi videtur de vita ipsa deque omni  
25 fortuna tum certamen esse paratum, propterea quod tibi venit in mentem, idque  
merito, futurum vt alius nemo sit admissurus, si prius ab hoc reiectus ac repu-  
diatus videare. Interim in varias curas distraharis oportet, partim dum inuides iis  
qui pariter ex aequo tecum examinantur. Finge enim et alios esse qui eiusdem  
fortunae tibi sint competitores, te vero tibi videri cuncta parum absolute res-  
30 pondisse, metuentem interim simul et sperantem ac misere de illius vultu pen-  
dentem, qui si quid parum probet eorum quae dixeris, peristi; sin arridens  
auscultat, hilarescis et spe bona fultus consistis. Porro consentaneum est esse  
non paucos, quorum alii tibi aduersentur atque alios in tuum locum velint in-  
ducere. Horum vnusquisque clanculum velut ex insidiis in te iaculatur. Iam  
35 vero illud considera, quale sit virum promissa barba, cana coma, examinari  
nunquid bonae rei didicerit, et aliis quidem didicisse videri, aliis secus. Superior  
interim vita et omnis anteacta aetas tua curiosius disquiritur. Quod si quis aut

4 ac nom. Lib. subiiceris *B*, quumque tibi nomen inditur Cletori Libyco *A* | 5 Quin *B*,  
quum *A* | 12-13 multa oculorum caligo *B*, singultus crebri *A* | 13 sannae *MS C*, sane *A B* |  
23-24 Atque ... Caeterum *B*, nam tuus conuictus non iniucundus est diuiti, probat enim, ac  
felicem se reddit. At *A* | 25 tum *B*, *om.* *A* | 28 examinantur *B*, aestimantur *A* | 33 quorum  
alii *A*, qui *B* | 33-34 atque ... inducere *B*, maleque cupiant, alii tibi sint oppositi vti refellant  
*A* | 37 anteacta *B*, contracta *A*



cuius inuidia, aut vicinus leui quapiam de causa prouocatus, te deferat et adul-  
 terum dicat vel paederasten, is protinus iuxta vetus illud prouerbium ex Iouis  
 tabulis testis. Porro si pariter omnes bene de te praedicent, suspecti leues ac  
 largitione redempti videbuntur. Nam admodum omnia tibi constent oportet,  
 nihil prorsus sit quod tibi queat obsistere; alioqui nunquam obtinueris. Age 5  
 sane, hoc quoque contigit, ac bona quapiam fortuna cuncta tibi foeliciter ces-  
 serunt, et probauit ipse doctrinam tuam, et amicorum praecipui, quibusque  
 ille huiusmodi in rebus plurimam habet fidem, non dehortantur. Ad haec vult  
 etiam vxor, non refragatur domus praefectus neque item dispensator, nemo  
 tuam insimulauit vitam, dextra omnia et omni ex parte bene promittunt sacra. 10  
 Vicisti igitur, o fortunate, et coronatus es Olympia. Quin Babylonem magis  
 cepisti aut Sardium arcem occupasti. Habebis copiae cornu et gallinaceum lac  
 emulgebis; iam sane par est, vt aliquando praemia capias, maxima videlicet et  
 quae laboribus tantis respondeant, ne corona tua frondea duntaxat sit; simul  
 vt merces haudquaquam contemnenda praestituatur, eaque commode ad vsum 15  
 citraque negocium persoluatur, vtque reliquus item honos tibi praeter minis-  
 trorum vulgus suppeditetur. Caeterum a laboribus illis, a luto, a cursitationi-  
 bus, a vigiliis, in otium te recipias, vti, id quod vulgo solent optare mortales,  
 porrectis pedibus dormias nihilque iam facias praeter ea sola quorum gratia 20  
 primum receptus es et in quae conductus. Ita enim consentaneum fuerat, Ti-  
 mocles, neque ingens malum erat futurum, si quis subdita ceruice ferat iugum  
 leue nimirum et portatu facile, quodque omnium maximum, auro illitum.  
 Atqui longe secus res habet: imo nihil horum reperietur. Siquidem in mediis  
 ipsis id genus conuictibus sexcentae res accidunt viro ingenuo neutiquam to-  
 lerandae. Quae quum audieris, ipse tecum ordine reputato, num quisquam ea 25  
 perpeti queat, cui quidem cum eruditione vel minimum commercii fuerit. Exor-  
 diar autem, si videtur, a primo conuiuio, vnde consentaneum est te consuetu-  
 dinem illam auspicaturum. Primum igitur adest tibi quispiam qui te iubeat ad  
 conuiuium accedere, famulus non incomis, qui tibi prius placandus, datis in  
 manum, ne videaris inciuilis, vt minimum quinque drachmis. At ille accissans, 30  
 seque quum maxime cupiat, cupere dissimulans: Apage, inquit. Egone quic-  
 quam abs te? Addit et illa: Absit, dii prohibeant. Tandem flectitur atque ob-  
 temperat ac discedit, te late diducto rictu subsannans. Tu porro nitida sumpta  
 veste mundissimeque cultus lotus accedis, sollicitus interim ne prior aliis adue-  
 nias. Nam id inurbanum, quemadmodum postremum venire graue. Proinde 35  
 media inter vtrumque obseruata opportunitate ingrederis, teque sane quam  
 honorifice excipiunt. Tum arrepta manu te quispiam iubet accumbere paulo  
 supra diuitem inter duos ferme veteres amicos. At tu perinde atque in Iouis

2 paederasten *B*, puerarium *A* | 3-4 ac largitione *B*, pactaque salarii parte ad hoc ipsum *A* |  
 7 et *B*, *om.* *A*; doctrinam tuam et amicorum *B*, tuam orationem, non dehortantur amici qui  
 sunt *A* | 12 Sardium *E*, Sardorum *A B C D* | 13 iam sane *B*, *om.* *A* | 24-25 tolerandae *D*,  
 toleranda *A B C* | 28 auspicaturum *D*, conspicaturum *A B C* | 30 accissans *D*, accizzans  
*A B C* | 33 late *B*, *om.* *A* | 38 supra *B*, infra *A*

aedes veneris, nihil non admiraris, et ad omnia quae geruntur suspensus inhias, propterea quod noua tibi atque inuisa sint cuncta. Interim familia te spectat omnesque qui praesentes sunt quid agas obseruant. Neque vero ea res curae non est ipsi diuiti, quippe qui famulis aliquot praemonitis negocium dederit, vt oculis obseruent quemadmodum te geras in pueros aut in vxorem, num subinde ex obliquo respectes. Ac reliqui quidem conuiuiae, simulatque te vident propter imperitiam ad ea quae fiunt attonitum ac stupefactum, derident clanculum, coniectantes te nunquam antea apud alium quempiam coenasse nouumque tibi esse vt mantile apponatur. Proinde, sicuti verisimile est, prae haesitantia sudes oportet ac neque quum sitias audeas potum poscere, ne vinosus videare, neque variis appositis opsoniis et in ordinem quendam extractis scire posses, cui prius aut posterius manum admoueas. Quare ad eum qui proximus accumbit respectes necesse est, atque eundem imitatus conuiuii rationem et ordinem discas. Alioqui anceps sedes et varians animoque penitus perturbato, et ad omnia quae illic geruntur obstupescens. Atque interim quidem diuitis admiraris foelicitatem propter auri vim et eboris tantasque delicias. Interim tuam ipse deploras in foelicitatem, qui quum nullius sis rei, tamen viuere te credas. Nonnunquam et illud in mentem venit, fore vt admirandam et expetendam quandam viuas vitam, quippe qui sis omnibus deliciis illis fruiturus cunctorumque ex aequo futurus particeps. Arbitraris enim te semper Bacchanalia festa celebraturum. Quin et adolescentuli formosi praeministrantes ac silentio arridentes suauius in posterum hoc vitae genus pollicentur, vt Homericum illud nunquam desinas in ore habere:

*Haud vitio verti debet si Troia pubes  
Armatique simul Danaï sub Marte laborum  
Pondera tanta ferant,*

ob tantam videlicet foelicitatem. Accedunt ad haec invitatiunculae ad bibendum. Ac postulato perquam ingenti scypho quispiam praebibit tibi, praeceptorem aut aliud quiddam denique te appellans. At tu recepto scypho quid vicissim oporteat respondere propter eiusmodi morum imperitiam ignoras, iamque rusticanus et inelegans esse videris. Caeterum ea propinatio multorum veterum amicorum inuidiam in te concitauit, e quibus nonnullos iamdudum tuus accubitus clanculum vrebat, quod modo quum adueneris, iis anteponare qui multorum annorum seruitutem exhausserint. Protinus itaque talia quaedam de te inter illos dicta feruntur. Illud scilicet malis nostris deerat, vt etiam iis qui nuper in familiam commigrarunt posthabeamur. Et solis Graeculis patet urbs Romana. Et quid habent, quamobrem nobis debeant anteponi? Num mirificam quandam vtilitatem adferre videntur, quum verbula quaedam misera dicunt? Rursum alius haec: An non vidisti quantum biberit, quemadmodum cibos appositos auide corripiciens deuorarit? Homo inelegans ac fame enectus, qui ne per somnum quidem vnquam fuerit albo pane saturatus, multo minus aue Numidi-

ca aut Phasiano, e quibus nobis vix ossa reliqua fecit. Porro tertius: Fatui, inquit, priusquam quinque abeant dies, videbitis hunc nihilo pluris fieri quam nos. Nam nunc quidem non secus atque calcei noui solent, in precio est, et habetur charus: verum vbi crebro iam fuerit calcatus lutoque deformatus tum misere sub lecticam abiicietur, cimicibus quemadmodum nos oppletus. Atque 5 inter illos talia permulta de te iactantur. Ex quibus aliquot iam tum etiam ad calumniandum insimulandumque te incitantur. Omne igitur illud conuiuium tui plenum ac plerique de te sermones. Tu vero propter insolentiam atque insuetudinem plusquam sat est hauris vini tenuis et acris, eoque iamdudum aluo tibi cita discruciaris; verum neque decorum tibi ante alios e conuiuio discedere, neque rursus manere tutum. At producta interim in longum potatione dum sermo alius ex alio nascitur, dum spectacula alia post alia proferuntur in conuiuium (nam vniuersum fortunae suae strepitum tibi cupit ostentare), non mediocriter discruciaris, cui non liceat neque videre quae geruntur neque auscultare, si quis voce cytharae canat egregie dilectus adolescentulus. At laudas 15 tamen inuitus; caeterum animo illud optas, vt aut terraemotus repens ortus ea cuncta discutiatur, aut incendium aliquod renunciatur, quo simul conuiuium tandem aliquando dirimatur. Habes, amice, primum illud scilicet et suauissimum conuiuium, quod mihi quidem haudquaquam suauius sit cepis candidoque sale libere quum velim ex his et quantum velim edenti. Verum vt ne tibi commorem ructus acidos qui deinde sequuntur, vt ne nocturnos vomitus, mane vobis erit de mercede pacto transigendum, quantum et qua anni parte te oporteat accipere. Ergo praesentibus duobus aut tribus amicis, accersito te et considerare iusso, sic loqui incipit: Facultates nostrae cuiusmodi sint iam perspicere potuisti, quam nullus in his fastus, sed citra ostentationem moderata ac popularia 25 omnia, sed mediocria omnia ac plebeia. Sic autem animum inducas velim, vt existimes omnia nobis fore communia. Nam ridiculum profecto si, quum charissimam possessionum mearum partem, puta meam ipsius vitam, aut per Iouem liberorum etiam (si fors illi liberi fuerint erudiendi) tibi credam, non aliarum item rerum te mecum ex aequo dominum ac possessorem existimem. Caeterum 30 quando certi quippiam est praefiniendum, equidem video vitae tuae frugalitatem et animum paucis contentum. Neque non intelligo non mercedis adductum spe te in nostram venisse familiam, verum aliarum gratia rerum, puta nostrae in te beneuolentiae causa, tum honoris qui tibi praeter caeteros omnis continget. Attamen praefiniendum est aliquid. Quin ipse magis quod videbitur statuito, 35 habita ratione, vir amicissime, munerum etiam illorum quae quotannis festis diebus a nobis accepturus videris. Neque enim vel ista nobis fuerint neglectui futura, etiam si nunc haec pactione non complectamur. Scis autem complures per annum eiusmodi munerum occasiones incidere. Horum igitur habita ratione

5 cimicibus *D*, situ *A*, cymmibus *BC* | 15 dilectus *B*, formosus *A* | 24 perspicere *B*, prospicere *A* | 25-26 fastus ... prius omnia *B*, strepitus aut ostentatio *A* | 31-32 equidem ... Neque non *B*, age consideremus quid aptum quidque tuis moribus sit satis. Atque equidem *A* | 34 caeteros *ABC*, om. *D*

moderatius nimirum praemium nobis praescribas. Praeterea decet etiam vos homines eruditos pecuniam negligere. Haec ille dicens, totumque te varia spe labefactans, mitem sibi ac tractabilem reddidit. Tu porro, qui dudum talenta ac multa nummum milia somniaras, solidos agros et familias, sentis quidem tacitus  
 5 apud te hominis sordes ac parcimoniam; nihilominus blanditur tibi pollicitatio tamen, atque illud: Communia futura sunt omnia, ratum et verum fore arbitraris, ignarus eiusmodi dicta

*summis e labiis, non imo e corde profecta.*

Tandem prae pudore ipse statuendi ius defers; verum ille facturum sese negat.  
 10 Caeterum ex amicis praesentibus quempiam in eo negotio veluti medium intercedere iubet, qui salarii modum pronunciet eum qui neque ipsum grauet, ut cui plurimas tum alias in res magis his necessarias sumptus sit faciendus, neque rursus ei qui laturus est sit omnino indignus. Atque is seniculus quispiam diuitis  
 LB 305 aequalis vna cum illo a pueris adulando educatus: Eho tu, inquit, num inficias  
 15 ire potes quin vnus sis qui in hac vrbe viuunt omnium fortunatissimus, cui primum contigerit quod pluribus misere cupientibus vix a fortuna dari possit, nempe ut in huius hominis consuetudinem admittaris, ut communes penates habeas, ut in familiam inter Romanos primariam recipiaris? Id nimirum tum Croesi talenta, tum Midae diuitias superat, si modo modestus esse noris. Equi-  
 20 dem non paucos noui magni nominis viros qui cupiissent, etiam si quid vltro dandum fuisset, gloriae duntaxat causa cum isto viuere et familiares apud hunc atque amici videri. Quapropter haud inuenio quibus modis tuam praedicem foelicitatem, qui quidem ad hanc tam expetendam fortunam etiam praemio addito admitteris. Proinde mihi satis esse videtur, nisi plane es insolens, si tan-  
 25 tum accipias; simulque pronuntiat sane minimum quiddam, praesertim ad spes illas tuas. Attamen boni consulas necesse est; neque enim iam possis effugere, quum intra retia tenearis. Frenum igitur recipis mussitans ac dissimulans ac initio quidem non magnopere illi reluctans, facileque sequeris, ut quod non admodum te torqueat neque stringat, donec illi tandem paulatim assueueris.  
 30 Tum vero ii qui foris sunt mortales, hoc ipso nomine tuam fortunam admirantur, quod te conspiciant intra cancellos versantem ac nullo prohibente introeuntem, prorsusque praeclaris illis opibus deliciisque domesticum quendam ac familiarem esse factum. At ipse nondum videre potes, quamobrem illi te foelicem existiment, nisi quod gaudes tamen teque ipse fallis, semper futura meliora fore existimans. Caeterum contra atque speraris euenit, et quemadmodum adagio  
 35 dicitur, iuxta Mandrabuli morem negocium procedit, in singulos (ut ita dixerim) dies deterius ac retro relabens. Vnde paulatim velut in luce dubia tum demum dispiciens, intelligere incipis aureas illas spes nihil aliud fuisse quam ampullas quasdam inauratas, labores autem esse graues, feros, ineuitabiles ac per-

19 modestus esse noris *B*, sapere didicisti *A* | 20 vltro *E*, vltra *A B C D* | 33 nondum *B*, nequaquam *A* | 39 labores ... perpetuos *D*, porro graues, veri, ineuitabiles perpetuique labores *A B C*

petuos. Sed quinam isti sint, forsitan me rogabis. Neque enim video, inquires, quid in hac consuetudine sit adeo molestum, neque intelligo ista quae commemoras grauiataque intoleranda. Audi igitur, vir egregie, non molestiam modo negocii perpendens, verum foeditatem, humilitatem prorsusque seruitutem vel praecipue interim considerans. Principio memineris ex eo tempore te iam neque liberum neque ingenuum posse videri. Noueris enim te haec omnia, genus, libertatem, progenitores ante limen relinquere, quum in huiusmodi seruitutem temetipsum addicens in aedes ingrederis. Siquidem libertas tibi comes ire recusarit ad vitam tam indignam, tam humilem te conferenti. Seruus itaque (tametsi nomine ipso grauius offenderis), seruus inquam, velis nolis, futurus es, neque vnus seruus verum complurium, operamque seruilem praestare cogaris obstipito capite a diluculo in vesperam vsque, idque mercede vili atque indigna. Adde quod ne placebis quidem admodum neque domino satisfacies neque ab illo magni fies, vt qui non a puero fueris ad seruitium institutus, sed sero didiceris atque aetate multum aliena coeperis ad id erudiri. Excruciat autem te pristinae libertatis memoria animo recursans, facitque vt interdum resilire conere, relucterisque atque ob id ipsum fit vt seruitus tibi molestior accidat. Nisi forte illud tibi ad libertatem sufficere putas, quod non fueris Pyrrhia aut Zopyrione patre prognatus aut quod non sic vti Bithynicum aliquod mancipium vociferante praecone diuendaris. Atqui tum, vir egregie, quum instante nouilunio Pyrrhiis et Zopyrionibus immixtus manum itidem vt alii seruuli protendis capisque quodcunque illud tandem est quod datur, haec videlicet est auctio. Nam praecone nihil opus erat homini qui ipse sui fuerit praeco, quique ipse vltro sibi multo tempore dominum ambierit. Age iam, o sceleste, (quum enim non dicam, praesertim in eum qui se philosophum esse dicat?), si quis te pirata inter nauigandum captum aut si quis praedo in seruitutem tradidisset, te ipsum deplorares tanquam indignam fortunae iniuriam patientem. Aut si quis manu iniecta te duceret in seruitutem asserens, leges inclamares, omnia faceres, acerbis ferres, et: O terra, o dii! magno clamore vociferareris. Nunc vero quum ipse te ob paucos obolos, id aetatis, in qua etiam si seruus natus esses, tamen tempestium fuisset iam ad libertatem aspirare, cum ipsa virtute ac sapientia vltro adductum vendideris, nihil illa reueritus quae permulta ab egregio Platone, Chrysippo, Aristotele disseruntur, quum libertatem laudant, seruitutem damnant. An non te pudet quum inter homines assentatores et emptitios ac scurras versans ex aequo cum illis aestimaris, quum in tanta Romanorum turba solus peregrino in pallio versaris, quumque Romanam linguam perperam ac barbaram sonas, praeterea quum agitas conuiuia tumultuosa magna hominum turba conferta, quorum plerique collectitii quidam sunt et improbi, atque inter hos laudas odiose bibisque praeter modum, deinde mane ad tintinabulum expergefactus discussa ab oculis dulcissima somni parte, vna sursum ac deorsum circumcur-

22 praecone *A*, *corr. B* | 31 cum ... adductum *B*, ipso virtutis ac philosophiae titulo *A* | 40 circumcursas *B*, deambulans *A*

sas hesterno luto etiamdum tibiis adhaerente? Vsqueadeone te lupini aut hole-  
 rum agrestium tenuit penuria? Vsqueadeo tibi defuerunt fontes frigida manan-  
 tes aqua, vt per desperationem ad ista deuenires? Haud puto. Quin potius  
 palam est te non frigidae aquae neque lupini, sed bellariorum atque opsoniorum  
 5 vinique odorati cupiditate captum eo venisse. Quae dum lupi piscis in morem  
 auidius appetis, tuo merito euenit vt hamus tibi fauces transfixerit. Itaque  
 praesto sunt huius intemperantiae gulaeque authoramenta. Ac perinde atque  
 simia a trunco reinctus collo reliquis quidem omnibus risui es, at ipse tibi  
 deliciis affluere videris, cui contigerit affatim expleri caricis. Caeterum libertas,  
 10 ingenuitas, vna cum ipsis gentilibus ac tribulibus haec nimirum euanida cuncta,  
 atque istarum rerum ne memoria quidem vlla; quanquam hoc quoque feren-  
 dum, si vita ista cum hac turpitudine duntaxat esset coniuncta, quod e libero  
 seruum videri facit, non labores etiam accederent cum illa seruorum colluue  
 communes. Sed vide num quae tibi imperantur, leuiores sint his quae Dromoni  
 15 aut Tibio mandantur. Nam doctrinae quidem, cuius rei cupiditate simularat te  
 in familiam suam accersisse sese, perquam exigua illi cura est. Quid enim (vt  
 dici solet) commercii asino cum lyra? An non vides videlicet quam misere ma-  
 cerentur immodico desiderio vel Homericæ sapientiae vel Demosthenicæ graui-  
 tatis ac vehementiae vel Platonicae sublimitatis? Quorum mehercle ex animis  
 20 si quis aurum, argentum atque harum rerum curas tollat, nihil fuerit reliquum  
 praeter fastum, mollitiem, lasciuiam, luxum, ferocitatem, imperitiam. Atque ad  
 ista nihil prorsum opus te. Verum quoniam tibi barba ingens propendet a mento,  
 quoniamque vultu ipso graue quiddam et venerandum prae te fers, tum quia  
 25 pallio Graecanico decenter amictus es, noruntque iam omnes te grammaticum  
 esse, seu rhetorem, seu philosophum, pulchrum ille sibi putat, vt et eiusmodi  
 quispiam anteambulorum suorum pompae permixtus esse videatur. Futurum  
 enim hac re vt Graecanicarum disciplinarum studiosus reliquaeque omnis doc-  
 trinae neque negligens neque rudis esse putetur. Vnde fit vt in periculum, vir  
 egregie, venias, ne non tam ob admirandas illas artes, quin magis ob barbam  
 30 palliumque conductus esse videare, proinde vt perpetuus apud illum conspiciaris  
 oportet neque absis vnquam, verum vt diluculo relictis stratis in famulitio temet  
 exhibeas conspiciendum, neque locum in acie deseras. Porro ille iniecta non-  
 nunquam tibi manu, quicquid forte in mentem inciderit, de hoc tecum nugatur,  
 obuiis ostentans quam ne per viam quidem ingrediens incurius sit litterarum,  
 35 quin vt illud ipsum etiam ocium quod inter inambulandum datur, in re qua-  
 piam honesta colloquet. At tu miser interim nunc cursim, nunc gradatim, nunc  
 scansim plerunque, nunc descensim (nam scis huiusmodi esse vrbem) obam-  
 bulans, tum sudas, tum spiritum anhelus trahis. Deinde illo intus cum amico  
 quopiam ad quem accessit confabulante, quum tibi interim locus desit, vbi vel  
 40 assidere queas, librum videlicet stans in manu sumis, quoque fallas taedium

7 praesto *B*, in oculis *A* | 8 collo *MS C*, *om. AB* | 39 ad quem accessit *B*, quum libitum  
 fuerit *A* | 40 stans *MS C*, *om. AB*

legis. Post vbi ieiunum te sitientemque nox occuparit, incommode lotus intempestiue, puta nocte ferme concubia, ad coenam accedis, haud perinde deinceps in precio habitus neque conspiciendus his qui adsunt. Verum si quis aduenerit recentior, tu post tergum reiiceris. Itaque in angulum aliquem abiectissimum retrusus accumbis, testis duntaxat ac spectator eorum quae apponuntur, canum 5  
ritu ossa circumrodens, si fors ad te perueniat vel aridum maluae folium, quo reliqua inuoluunt, si fastidiatur ab iis qui supra te accumbunt, prae fame libenter arrepturus. | Audi iam et aliud contumeliae genus. Quid quod ne ouum quidem soli tibi apponitur? neque enim conuenit vt tu semper eadem requiras, quae hospitibus atque ignotis ministrantur, quandoquidem haec tua sit inscitia 10  
atque inurbanitas. Neque auis eiusmodi tibi apponitur qualis aliis, verum diuiti illi pinguis et succulenta, tibi pullus dimidiatus aut palumbus aliquis aridus atque insipidus, non auis videlicet sed manifesta contumelia ludibriumque. Neque vero raro fit, vt si quando desit alibi, minister repente te inspectante, submouens ea quae tibi erant apposita, aliis apponit, illud tibi ad aurem immurmurans: Tu 15  
profecto noster es. Quod si quando interim dissecetur vel porca foeta vel ceruus, aut structorem tibi modis omnibus propitium habeas oportet, aut certe Promethei partem feres, nempe ossa adipe circumtecta. Nam quod ei qui supra te accumbit patina sinitur adstare, quoad satiatus repudiet, te contra tam celeriter praetercurrat, quis tandem isthuc ferat, qui modo sit ingenuus cuique tantum 20  
insit bilis quantum vel ceruis adest? Atque illud equidem nondum dixi, quod reliquis suauissimum ac vetustissimum vinum bibentibus, tu solus malum quoddam et pingue bibis; proinde illud semper curas vt auro argentoue bibas, ne colore prodente palam fiat te vsqueadeo contemptum neglectumque esse conuiuam. Quanquam bene tecum ageretur, si vel illud ipsum ad satietatem vsque 25  
bibere liceret. At nunc vbi crebrius poposceris, minister audisse dissimulat. Adde iam multas interim et alias esse res quae te discrucient, imo nihil esse ferme quod non sit acerbum, maxime quum tibi cinaedus aliquis antefertur, quin pluris te fit is qui saltandi docet artem, qui iocos Ionicos contextit, Alexandrinus quispiam homunculus. Nam qui tibi speres tu, vt in accubitu aequeris 30  
iis qui voluptates et amatoria subministrant, qui litterulas in pectore gestant? Proinde in obscuro quopiam conuiuii latibulo tectus praeque pudore abstrusus suspiras, vti coniectandum est, teque ipsum deploras ac fortunam incusas tuam, quae tibi ne pauxillulum quidem leporis ac venustatis asperserit. Ac prorsus ita videris affectus, vt optes poeta fieri, vt amatorias conscribas cantiones, aut si id 35  
non contingit, vel eam assequi facultatem vt possis ab aliis conditas digne canere. Vides enim quibus in rebus situm est, vt quis efferatur plurimique fiat. Quin et illud ferre queas vt magi quoque aut arioli personam (si necesse sit) induas, ex horum genere qui amplas haereditates, qui imperia, qui cumulas opes pollicentur, quandoquidem hos quoque vides non mediocriter ad diuiti-

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1 occuparit *A B C D*, occupauit *E* | 7 inuoluunt *B*, corripuerint *A* | 15 apponit *A B C D*, apponat *E*

bus amari plurimique fieri. Eoque vel vnumquodlibet horum fieri percupias,  
 vti ne prorsus reiiculus atque inutilis appareas. Atqui ne ad ista quidem docilis  
 es infoelix; proinde submittas te oportet, mussitesque ac tacitus feras, clam apud  
 te plorans ac neglectui habitus. Etenim si te famulus aliquis susurro deferat, qui  
 5 solus omnium non laudaris puerum herae saltantem aut cythara canentem, ista  
 scilicet ex re non leue discrimen impendet. Quapropter terrestris in morem  
 ranae sitiens vocifereris necesse est, id operam dans vt in laudantium numero  
 insignis ac praecipuus appareas. Quin saepicule silentibus reliquis tibi ficta  
 quaedam laus proferenda quaeque multam sapiat assentationem. Iam vero mag-  
 10 nopere ridiculum est, quum esurias interim sitiasque, vnguentis collini ac ver-  
 tice gestare coronam. Siquidem id temporis non dissimilis videre sepulchrali  
 columnae vetusti cuiuspiam cadaueris, quae gestare solet ea quae manibus in-  
 feruntur. Nam huic infuso vnguento impositaque corona ipsi et bibunt et edunt  
 apparatus epulas. Porro si etiam zelotypus quispiam fuerit, sintque illi vel pueri  
 15 formosi vel vxor puella, neque tu prorsus a Venere Gratiisque fueris alienus,  
 profecto non satis tuta res neque periculum negligendum, propterea quod regis  
 plures sunt oculi, qui quidem non vera solum vident sed semper veris aliquid  
 addunt ad cumulum, ne conuiuere videantur. Quas ob res vultu demisso tibi est  
 20 accumbendum, quemadmodum in Persicis conuiuuiis fieri mos est, verito ne  
 quis eunuchus sentiat te in concubinam aliquam coniuicentem oculos, moxque  
 alter eunuchus cui iamdudum arcus in manu tensus est, quia videris quae videre  
 nefas, inter bibendum malam iaculo transfigat. Iam peracto conuiuio, vbi paul-  
 lulum dormieris, ad galli cantum expergefactus: O me miserum, inquis, o in-  
 30 fortunatum cuiusmodi quondam conuictus, quos amicos reliqui, | tum vitam  
 tranquillam et ocii plenam, somnum quem meapte paulisper cupiditate metiri  
 soleo, deambulationes liberas, atque ex his in quale barathrum memet praecipit-  
 em dedi! Et deum immortalem, cuius tandem rei gratia? Aut quodnam istud  
 magnificum praemium? At ne fieri quidem potuit, vt mihi vnquam alias plures  
 commoditates suppetere quam tum suppetebant. Tum autem accedebat liber-  
 35 tas atque omnia pro meopte arbitrio faciendi facultas. Nunc porro iuxta id quod  
 prouerbio iactatum est, leo chordula vinctus sursum ac deorsum circumferor.  
 Quodque omnium est miserrimum maximeque deplorandum, neque efficere  
 possum vt placeam neque gratiam emereri queo, propterea quod harum rerum  
 sum imperitus ac rudis, maxime compositus collatusque cum his qui haec velut  
 40 artem profitentur. Proinde iniucundus sum ac neutiquam aptus conuiuuiis, quippe  
 qui ne risum quidem concitare norim. Quinetiam sentio me non raro molestum  
 esse et importunum quum adsum, maxime quum ipse meipso festiuior esse  
 conor. Nam illi tetricus videor. In summa, nullam inuenio viam, qua me illi  
 accommodem. Etenim si meam ipsius auctoritatem ac seueritatem tueri pergo,  
 iniucundus videor ac propemodum horrendus ac refugiendus. Contra si risero

2 reiiculus *B*, rediculus *A* | 15 tu prorsus ... alienus *B*, tua aetas adhuc omnino defloruerit,  
 proculque abfuerit a rebus veneriis *A* | 22-23 paululum *B*, *om.* *A* | 25 paulisper *A*, *om.*  
*B* | 37-38 seipso ... conatur *B*



vultumque quam possum maxime ad hilaritatem composuero, fastidit ilico ille, et auersatur. Ac prorsus tale quiddam mihi videtur, quale sit si quis in persona tragica comoediam agere tentet. Postremo quam tandem aliam vitam mihi viuam demens, posteaquam hanc praesentem alteri vixerim? Dum haec tecum loqueris, iam sonuit tintinabulum, iamque ad eadem tibi redeundum est, obambulandum, standum, sed ceromate inunctis ante femoribus poplitibusque si modo velis par esse certamini praemioque tollendo idoneus. Deinde conuiuium idem et eadem apparatus hora. Iamque adeo diuersa viuendi ratio superiorique contraria, tum insomnia, sudor, defatigatio, paulatim quasi suffossis cuniculis inducunt vel tabem vel pulmonis exulcerationem vel intestini tormina vel egregiam illam podagram. Reluctaris tamen sedulo, ac frequenter quum valetudo poscat vti lecto decumbas, ne hoc quidem licet, eo quod assimilari morbus, quomunia officiaque iusta defugias, existimatur. Hinc praeter omnes perpetuo palles semperque iam iam morituro videre similis. Et hactenus quidem de his quae domi ferenda sunt. Quod si quando fuerit peregrinandum (vt ne interim referam alia incommoda), saepe fit vt pluuio coelo vbi postremus veneris (nam is locus tibi sorte contigit) vehiculum operiaris, donec nullo iam reliquo loco vbi diuerneris, proxime coquum aut herae comptorem te reclinant, ne stipulis quidem affatim substratis. Neque vero tibi referre grauabor, quod mihi Thesmopolis iste Stoicus narrauit sibi accidisse, rem profecto nimisquam ridiculam, quae tamen eadem possit et alii cuius accidere. Conuiuiebat enim cum opulenta quadam ac delicata muliere ex illustribus istis et vrbanis. Eam quum aliquando peregre proficisceretur (nam id primum aiebat sibi maximopere deridiculum accidisse), in curru sibi viro nimirum philosopho adiunxisse cinaedum quempiam picatis cruribus, derasa barba, quem illa honoris (vt coniiicio) gratia secum ducebat. Quin nomen quoque cinaedi commemorabat; aiebat enim Chelidonium vocari. Iam primum illud cuiusmodi fuerit vide: iuxta virum seuerum tetricumque, tum senem canoque mento (scis autem quam profundam ac venerabilem barbam habuerit Thesmopolis), assidere nihili hominem et effoeminatum, picturatis oculis, lubrico vultu, fracta ceruice, non Chelydonem, per Iouem, id est hirundinem, sed vulturem magis, reuulsis barbae plumis. Quod ni magnopere illum fuisset deprecatus ne faceret, futurum fuisse vt flammeum etiam in capite gestans assideret. Praeterea autem perpetuo hoc itinere molestias innumerabiles pertulisse sese illo cantillante garrienteque, demum (nisi idem hominem coercuisset) in rheda etiam saltante. Addebat secundo loco tale quiddam sibi fuisse mandatum. Accersito illi mulier: Thesmopoli, inquit, ita tibi dii bene faciant, magnum quoddam officium abs te requiram, quod caue recuses neque expectes vt quicquam te sim rogatura studiosius. Atque hoc (vt est credibile) omnia se facturum pollicito: Hoc, inquit, te rogo, quandoquidem video te virum | probum diligentem et amantem; caniculam quam nosti Myrrhinam in vehiculum

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18 diuerneris *B*, sedeas *A* | 23 aiebat *A MS C*, agebat *B* | 28–29 scis ... Thesmopolis *B*, om. *A*

recipe, eamque mihi serua, curans ne quid illi desit. Nam misera grauida est at-  
 que adeo propemodum iam propinqua partui. At isti scelesti et immorigeri  
 ministri, non dicam huius sed ne mei quidem ipsius magnopere rationem hab-  
 ent in peregrinationibus. Quare ne te putes mihi mediocre beneficium factu-  
 5 rum, si charissimam mihi iucundissimamque caniculam seruaris. Recepit Thes-  
 mopolis, quum illa tantopere rogaret ac propemodum etiam fleret. Porro spec-  
 taculum erat supra modum ridiculum: canicula e pallio prominens prospec-  
 tansque paulo infra barbam ac subinde immeiens (tametsi haec quidem Thes-  
 mopolis reticuit) ac gracili voce latrans (huiusmodi enim catellae iam in deliciis  
 10 sunt), neque non philosophi mentum oblingens, maxime si quid pridiani iuris  
 inhaereret. Porro cinaedus assessor ille, quum non insulse super conuiuium  
 dicteria quaedam icisset in eos qui aderant, ac denique et ad Thesmopolim  
 vsque dicacitas peruenisset: De Thesmopolide, inquit, vnum hoc possum di-  
 cere, eum e Stoico Cynicum iam nobis esse factum. Equidem audiui caniculam  
 15 etiam peperisse in Thesmopolidis pallio. Huiusmodi deliciis illudunt, vel (vt  
 verius dicam) huiusmodi contumeliis ac ludibriis tractant eos qui cum ipsis  
 viuunt, paulatim eos cicures ac mansuetos ad ferendas contumelias reddentes.  
 Praeterea autem et Carcharorum oratorem noui, qui iussus super coenam de-  
 clamabat, neutiquam inerudite per Iouem, imo grauitet et absolutissime, ac  
 20 laudabatur interim ab illis bibentibus, quum non ad aquae modum sed ad vini  
 amphoram oraret. Atque eam molestiam ob ducentas drachmas perpeti fere-  
 batur. Verum haec quidem fortassis vtcunque toleranda. Porro si diues ipse aut  
 poeticus fuerit aut historicus qui sua ipsius scripta in conuiuio recitare gaudeat,  
 tum vero maxime futurum est, vt discrucieris ac dirumparis, nempe quum ad-  
 25 mirari, quum assentari, quum novos quosdam laudandi modos comminisci  
 necesse habes. Sunt autem qui et formae nomine studeant admirandi videri.  
 Eos nunc Adonidas, nunc Hyacinthos appelles necesse est, etiamsi illis naris  
 nonnunquam cubitali hiet specu. Quod ni laudaris, protinus in lapidicinas Dio-  
 nysiacas asportaberis, tanquam qui illi tum inuideas, tum insidieris maleque  
 30 velis. Ad haec et sapientes et rhetores sint necesse est. Quod si etiam rustice  
 quippiam dixerint, tum vero iuxta illud quod dici solitum est, Atticae atque  
 Hymetti plenam orationem videri volunt, atque in legem abire vt deinceps ita  
 loquantur homines. Quanquam quae viri faciunt, ferri forsitan queant. At vero  
 mulieres (nam mulieribus etiam illud studio est, vt doctos aliquot in suo conuiu-  
 35 tu conductitios habeant, quique sese mercede assectentur), quandoquidem hoc  
 quoque ad reliquum cultum elegantiamque pertinere putant, si dicantur erudi-  
 tae, si philosophi, si carmina componere Sapphycis haud multo inferiora, ob  
 haec sane hae quoque conductitios rhetores, grammaticos, philosophos circum-  
 ferunt. Hos autem adire solent (id quod ipsum est ridiculum) tum temporis  
 40 quum vel comuntur aut capillos in orbem religant vel in conuiuio. Nam alias

28 specu *B*, magnitudine *A* | 33 quae ... forsitan *B*, in his quoque viri forsitan vtcunque  
 feri *A* | 38 sane: *B*, eadem *A*

non suppetit illis ocium. Porro saepe numero fit ut interim dum philosophus  
 quippiam disserit, interueniens ancilla litterulas ab adultero porrigat. Ac prae-  
 clari illi de pudicitia sermones intermittuntur, operientes donec illa rescripserit  
 adultero atque ita redeat ad auditionem. Porro si quando post multum temporis  
 instantibus Saturnalibus aut Panathenaeis misera quaequam umbella tibi mittatur 5  
 aut tunicula semiputris ac detrita, tum denique plurima missitentur oportet.  
 Atque aliquis qui statim subauscultarit herum id facere destinantem, praecurrit  
 ac primus rei index abiensque non exiguum precium aufert qui renunciarit. At  
 mane plus tredecim te adeunt idem adportantes nuncii, quorum quisque com-  
 memorat quam multa dixerit, quemadmodum submonuerit, quemadmodum 10  
 adhortans commodiora subiecerit. Omnes itaque donati praemio discedunt; at  
 non sine murmure tamen, qui non plura dederis. Porro salarium ipsum sex  
 ferme obolorum; idque si tu postules, grauis atque importunus habebis. Proinde  
 quo illud aliquando auferas, primum ipsi hero aduleris supplexque fias necesse  
 est, deinde captandus et dispensatoris fauor. Nam hoc quoque quoddam est 15  
 seruitutis genus. Neque vero negligendus is quem in consilium adhibet, neque  
 item amicus. Deinde quod acceperis iamdudum debebatur vel vestiario vel  
 medico vel cerdoni cuiquam. Vnde fit ut sera atque intempestiua eoque inutilia  
 praemia tibi accedant. Caeterum inuidia ingens iamque etiam calumniae quae-  
 dam paulatim struuntur in te, apud hominem qui iam non inuitis auribus acci-  
 piat, si quid aduersum te dicatur; quippe qui perspiciat te laboribus assiduis iam  
 detritum et ad obeunda munia famulatus claudicantem atque obaudientem, ac  
 podagra subinde grauari. Proinde posteaquam id quod erat in te florentissimum  
 decerpsit, aequique partem maxime frugiferam ac praecipuum corporis vigorem 25  
 detriuit, iamque te lacerum panniculum reddiderit, tum modis omnibus cir-  
 cumspicit in quod sterquilinum te deportatum abiiciat, atque alium perferendis  
 laboribus idoneum in tuum substituatur locum. Ibi insimulatus vel quod pusio-  
 nem illius tentaris vel quod homo senex vxoris ancillam virginem viciaris, vel  
 alio quouis imposito crimine, noctu obuolutus ac praiceps datus extruderis  
 discedisque desertus ab omnibus atque omnium inops rerum, optimam poda-  
 gram vna cum senecta comitem ducens. Quum interim, quae quondam sciueris,  
 tanto temporis spacio dedideris, tum ventrem culleo reddideris amplio-  
 rem tibi paraueris inexplebile quoddam et implacabile malum. Etenim gula ea  
 quibus assuevit flagitat; quae quum negantur, indignatur. Adde quod praeter-  
 ea nemo te posthac recepturus est in familiam, utpote cuius iam praeterierit 35  
 aetas, quique similis euaseris equis senio affectis, quorum ne pellis quidem per-  
 inde ut aliorum animantium est vsui. Quin ex hoc ipso quod eiectus es, calum-  
 nia quam potest proxime ad veri similitudinem conficta facit, ut aut adulter aut  
 veneficus aut aliud quippiam tale videaris. Nam accusatori vel tacenti fides  
 habetur; tu vero Graeculus moribus leuibus et ad omne facinus facilis. Siqui- 40

8 ac primus ... abiensque *MS C*, primus adiensque *A B* | 9 adportantes *B*, reputantes *A* |  
 33 implacabile *B*, intolerabile *A* | 39 quippiam *E*, quippe *A B C D*

dem huiusmodi nos omnes esse dicunt, idque iure optimo; videor enim mihi causam aduertisse, quamobrem eiusmodi de nobis obtineant opinionem. Nam plerique qui in familias accedunt, propterea quod alioqui nihil bonae rei didicerunt, diuinationem ac maleficia profitentur, conciliationem amorum, abdu-  
 5 ctiones in hostes, atque id quum faciunt, doctos sese affirmant, palliis amicti barbisque neutiquam contemnendis onusti. His rebus fit vt non iniuria eandem de reliquis omnibus habeant opinionem, quando eos quos praecipuos esse iudicant videant tales. Maxime vero posteaquam animaduernerint quam sint in  
 10 conuiuuis reliquoque conuictu adulantes, quam ad lucrum humiles ac seruales, deinde eiectos eosdem iam oderunt neque id iniuria, ac modis omnibus adnuntantur vt eos funditus perdant, si quo modo possint. Verentur enim ne cuncta illa vitae suae mysteria in vulgus efferant, quippe qui nihil non exacte norint quique illos nudos conspexerint. Ea res igitur illos male angit. Omnes enim  
 15 similes sunt pulcherrimis istis libris, quorum aurei quidem umbilici, purpurea foris pellis, caeterum intus aut Thyestes est liberos in conuiuio comedens aut Oedipus matris maritus aut Tereus cum duabus pariter sororibus rem habens. Eiusmodi sunt et illi splendidi conspicuique: porro intus sub purpura varias occulunt tragoedias. Quorum vnumquemque si euolueris explicuerisque, fabulam non mediocriter longam reperies, Euripidis cuiuspiam aut Sophoclis; contra  
 20 foris nil nisi purpura splendida aureique vmbilici. Harum itaque rerum sibi conscii oderunt illos atque insidias parant, si quis penitus ab illis defecerit qui eos probe cognitos depingat, qualesque sint euulget. Iam vero libet mihi Ceбетis illius exemplo et imaginem quandam huius vitae tibi depingere, vt eam contemplatus scire queas num ex vsu tuo sit eam adire. Equidem magnopere cupiam  
 25 vel Apellem quempiam vel Parrhasium vel Actionem vel Euphranorem ad hanc depingendam tabulam adhibere. Verum quoniam fieri potis non est, vt aliquem artificem tam egregium atque absolutum nanciscamur, in praesentia tenuem quandam pro mea virili imaginem adumbrabo. Ergo pingatur vestibulum sublime atque inauratum, neque id humi situm in solo, verum procul a  
 30 terra in aedito collis fastigio. Praeterea inaccessum ferme et abruptum lubricoque aditu, ita vt plerumque, qui se iam ad summum vsque verticem penetrasse sperarant, lapsa pede praecipitati ceruicem frangant. Intus autem Opulentia se|deat tota (sicuti videtur) aurea, maiorem in modum formosa atque amabilis.  
 35 Porro amator vbi vix tandem conscendit iamque ad fores accesserit, obstupescat oculis in aurum defixis; deinde Spes, quae et ipsa specioso vultu est ac versicoloribus amicta, manu prae-hensa introducat mire iam ipso ingressu attonitum. Atque ab eo quidem tempore Spes vsque illum antecedit ducatque, tum aliae mulieres illum excipientes, puta Fallacia Seruitusque, tradant Labori. At is miserum penitus defatigatum tandem Senectae tradat, iam morbidum colore-  
 40 que commutato. Postremo Contumelia arreptum illum ad Desperationem per-

1 nos *A MS C*, non *B* | 4-5 abductiones *B*, immissiones *A* | 9 conuiuuis *A*, *corr. B* | 15 pellis *B*, membrana *A* | 25 Actionem *MS C*, Etionem *A B* | 39 defatigatum *B*, renudatum *A*

trahat. Ex hoc quidem tempore Spes auolans euanescat. | Tum ille non per aureum illud atrium per quod ingressus fuerat, sed per posticum quoddam et occultum exitum extrudatur nudus, ventricosus, pallidus senex, laeua quidem pudorem occultans, dextra vero seipsum strangulans. Occurrat autem exeunti Poenitudo frustra lachrymans et miserum bis etiam conficiens. Atque hic quidem esto picturae finis. Caeterum tu, Timocles optime, ipse diligenter consideratis singulis expende, num e re tua sit vt in hanc imaginem per aureas illas fores ingressus, per illas longe dissimiles tam turpiter excutiaris. Quicquid autem feceris, memineris sapientis illius, quid dixit, deum in culpa non esse, verum qui sua sponte delegerit.

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Rumor iampridem hic perseuerat acerbior quam vt verum esse libeat credere, sed constantior tamen quam vt vanus credi possit, Philippum principem nostrum e viuus excessisse. Quid querar, mi Buslidiane, quid vociferer, quem incusem hominumue deumue? Quae comploratio, quae tragoedia huic tam atroci vulneri sufficiat? Nimio, heu nimio constitistis Hispaniae, quae quidem primum Franciscum Buslidianum, archiepiscopum Bizontinum, nobis ademistis, neque tanti viri iactura contentae principem etiam eum absorbuistis, quo (si viuere modo licuisset) nihil vnquam habuit hic orbis neque maius neque melius. Quaquam quid, quaeso, supererat, etiam adolescenti, nisi vti iam ipse sese superaret? Sed o dirum fortunae ludum, o nouam fatorum inuidenciam! O mors quam iniqua, tam etiam inuida, vt semper praestantissima quaeque quam ocys-  
10 sime tollis e medio, vixque oculis ostensa protinus subducis! Cuius ego vicem hic potissimum deplorem? Maximilianine patris, qui tali sit orbatus filio, quem vnum multis etiam imperiis anteponebat? an liberorum magis, quibus aetate tam immatura tam pius sit ereptus pater? an patriae potius, cui de charissimo principe tam serum gaudium, tam praeproperus contigerit luctus? an orbis demum vniuersi, cui tam singulare lumen sit ademptum, idque tam ante diem?  
20 Hoc nimirum, hoc tempestas illa fatalis, qua medio e cursu in Britanniam depulsus est, portendebat, videlicet fatis illum palam ab Hispania reiicientibus. Equidem panegyrico qualicumque laudaui iuuenem. Tum autem, bone Deus, quot mihi Panegyricos, quam copiosos pollicebar! Et en repente commutatis rebus epitaphium paro miser. Eamus nunc nos homunculi et fortunulis nostris  
25 fidamus, quum eos etiam pro sua libidine mors rapiat, quos quam diutissime viuere tantopere omnium refert.

Sed quid ego, mi Hieronyme, dum meo indulgeo dolori, tuum exhulcero? Quod reliquum est, precor vt superi propitii liberis paternam quidem foelicitata-

tem, sed cum diui Federici viuacitate copulatam, largiantur; tibi item in moderandis illis fraternos successus, sed vitam fraterna diuturniorem.

Litteris his, ne ad tantum tamque doctum amicum nullo litterario munusculo comitatae venirent, dialogos aliquot Luciani comites addidi; quos pauculis his diebus, dum obsidionis metu Florentiam profugeremus, Latinos feci, hoc nimirum agens ne nihil agerem. Nam in praesentia quidem in Italia mire frigent studia, feruent bella. Summus Pontifex Iulius belligeratur, vincit, triumphat, planeque Iulium agit. Vale, et amplissimo patri, Nicolao Ruterio, episcopo Atrebatensi, etiam atque etiam Erasmus commendato.

Bononiae xv. Cal. Decemb. M.D.VI.

## DIALOGI VARI

LB 311

### Cnemonis ac Damippi dialogus

CNE. Hoc illud est quod vulgo dici consuevit, hinnulus leonem.

DAM. Quid isthuc est quod tecum stomachare, Cnemon?

5 CNE. Quid stomacher, rogas? Equidem haeredem reliqui quendam praeter animi sententiam, videlicet astu delusus miser, iis quos maxime mea cupiebam habere praeteritis.

DAM. Sed isthuc quinam euenit?

10 CNE. Hermolaum nobilem illum diuitem, quum orbus esset, imminente morte captabam, assidens atque inseruiens. Neque ille grauatim officium meum admittebat. At interim illud quoque mihi visum est scitum consultumque, vt testamentum proferrem ac publicarem, quo illum rerum mearum in solidum haeredem institueram, nimirum vt ille vicissim idem faceret, meo prouocatus exemplo.

DAM. At quid tandem ille?

15 CNE. Quid ille suo in testamento scripserit, id quidem ignoro. Caeterum ego repente atque insperato e vita decessi tecti ruina oppressus, et nunc Hermolaus mea possidet, lupi cuiuspian in morem ipso hamo cum esca pariter auulso.

DAM. Imo non escam modo cum hamo, quin etiam te quoque piscatorem simul abstulit. Itaque technam istam in tuum ipsius caput struxeras.

20 CNE. Sic apparet, idque adeo deploro.

LB 312

### Zenophantae et Callidemidae dialogus

ZEN. At tu, Callidemides, quo pacto interisti? Nam ipse quemadmodum, Diniæ parasitus quum essem, immodica ingurgitatione praefocatus fuerim, nosti; aderas enim morienti.

25 CAL. Aderam, Zenophantes. Porro mihi nouum quiddam atque inopinatum accidit. Nam tibi quoque notus est Ptoeodorus ille senex?

3 illud *B*, scilicet *A* | 10 Neque *B*, meque *A* | 17 lupi *B*, lupus *A* | 23 Diniæ *A B*, corr. *MS C*



ZEN. Orbum illum dicis ac diuitem, apud quem te assidue versari conspici-  
bam?

CAL. Illum ipsum semper captabam colebamque, id mihi pollicens, fore vt  
meo bono quam primum moreretur. Verum quum ea res in longum proferretur,  
sene videlicet vel vltra Tithonios annos viuentē, compendiariam quandam ex-  
cogitavi viam qua ad haereditatem peruenirem. Siquidem empto veneno pocil-  
latori persuaseram, vt simulatque Ptoeodorus potum posceret, bibebat autem  
prolixius, praesentius in calicem iniiceret haberetque in promptu, porrecturus  
illi. Quod si fecisset, iureiurando confirmabam me illum manumissurum.

ZEN. Quid igitur accidit? Nam inopinatum quiddam narraturus mihi vi-  
deris.

CAL. Vbi iam loti venissemus, puer duobus paratis poculis, altero Ptoeodoro  
cui venenum erat additum, altero mihi, nescio quomodo errans, mihi venenum,  
Ptoeodoro porrexit innoxium. Mox ille quidem bibit, at ego protinus humi  
porrectim stratus | sum, supposititium videlicet illius loco funus. Quid hoc?  
Rides, Zenophanta? Atqui non conuenit amici malis illudere.

ZEN. Rideo profecto, nam eleganter ac lepide tibi haec res euenit. Porro  
senex ille quid interim?

CAL. Primum ad casum subitum atque inexpectatum sane conturbatus est.  
Deinde simulatque intellexit id quod acciderat, puta pocillatoris errore factum,  
risit et ipse.

ZEN. Recte sane. Tametsi non oportuit ad compendium illud diuertere, si-  
quidem venisset tibi populari vulgataque via tutius certiusque, etiam si paulo  
serius.

### Menippi et Tantalī dialogus

MEN. Quid eiulas, O Tantale, aut quid tuam deploras fortunam, stagno im-  
minens?

TANT. Quoniam siti enecor, Menippe.

MEN. Vsqueadeo piger es atque iners, vti non vel pronus incumbens bibere  
noris, vel caua vola hauriens?

TAN. Nihil profecero si procumbam: refugit enim aqua simulatque me pro-  
pius admoueri senserit. Quodsi quando hausero orique coner applicare, prius  
effluxit quam summa rigem labia. Atque inter digitos effluens aqua, haud scio  
quomodo rursus manum meam aridam relinquit.

MEN. Prodigiosum quiddam de te narras, Tantale: verum dic mihi isthuc  
ipsum, quorsum opus est bibere, quum corpore careas? Nam illud quod esurire  
poterat aut sitire, in Lydia sepultum est. Caeterum tu quum sis animus, quinam  
posthac aut sitire queas, aut bibere?

3 ipsum *A B C D*, *om. E* | 15-16 Quid hoc? Rides, Zenophanta? *B*, Quid haec rides, Zeno-  
phanta? *A*

TANT. Atqui hoc ipsum supplicii genus est, vt anima perinde quasi corpus sit, ita sitiatur.

MEN. Age, hoc ita habere credamus, quandoquidem affirmas te siti puniri. At quid hinc acerbi tibi poterit accidere? Num metuis, ne potus inopia moriari?  
5 At equidem haud video alteros inferos, si quis hos relinquat, neque locum alium in quem morte demigret quispiam.

TANT. Recte tu quidem dicis: verum hoc ipsum supplicii genus est, sitire quum nihil sit opus.

MEN. Desipis, Tantale, et vti verum tibi fatear, non alio potu videris egere  
10 quam veratro mero. Nam diuersum quiddam pateris iis quos canes rabiosi momorderint, vt qui non aquam, quemadmodum illi, sed sitim horreas.

TANT. Ne veratrum quidem recusarim bibere, Menippe, si liceat modo.

MEN. Bono es animo, Tantale, certum habens numquam fore vt vel tu, vel reliquorum Manium quispiam bibat. Nec enim fieri potest, quanquam non om-  
15 nibus, quemadmodum tibi, poena adiudicata est vt sistant, aqua illos non expectante.

#### Menippi ac Mercurii dialogus

MEN. At vbinam formosi illi sunt ac formosae, Mercuri? Ducito me docetoque, vtpote recens huc profectum hospitem.

MER. Haud mihi licet per ocium, Menippe, quin tu isthuc ipso e loco dextror-  
20 sum oculos deflecte. Illic et Hyacinthus est et Narcissus ille et Nireus et Achilles et Tyro et Helena et Leda, breuiter quicquid est veterum formarum.

MEN. Equidem praeter ossa nihil video caluariasque carnibus renudatas, inter quae omnia nihil sit omnino discriminis.

MER. Atqui haec sunt quae poetae cuncti mirantur ac celebrant, ossa scilicet  
25 quae tu videris contemnere.

MEN. At Helenam saltem mihi commonstra. Nam ipse quidem haud queam dignoscere.

MER. Haec videlicet caluaria Helena est.

MEN. Et huius scilicet ossis gratia mille naues ex vniuersa Graecia acto delectu  
30 sunt impletae, tantaque tum Graecorum tum barbarorum multitudo confligit, tot vrbes sunt euersae?

MER. Caeterum, Menippe, non vidisti mulierem hanc viuam; quod si fecisses, forsitan diceres tu quoque vitio dandum non esse

35 *Pro tali muliere diu tolerare labores.*

Alioqui si quis flores etiam arefactos marcidosque contempletur, posteaquam coloris decus abiecerint, deformes nimirum videantur. At iidem donec florent coloremque obtinent, sunt speciosissimi.

3 credamus D, credimus ABC | 5 inferos B, infirmos A; hos B, hoc A | 14 Nec E, neque ABCD | 18 formosi B, formosa A | 24 sit MS C, fit AB

MEN. Proinde illud iam demiror, Mercuri, si Graeci non intellexerunt sese pro re vsqueadeo momentanea, quaeque tam facile emarcesceret, elaborare.

MER. Haud mihi vacat tecum philosophari, quare delecto loco, vbicunque velis, prosterne temet ac recumbe. Mihi iam aliae sunt traducendae vmbrae.

Menippi, Amphilochi, Trophonii disceptatio

5

MEN. Vos nimirum, Trophoni atque Amphiloche, quum si|tis mortui, tamen haud scio quonam modo phanis estis donati vatesque credimini, ac stulti mortales deos esse vos arbitrantur.

LB 314

TRO. Quid? An nobis igitur imputandum, si per inscitiam illi de mortuis huiusmodi opinantur?

10

MEN. Atqui non ista fuissent opinati, ni vos tum quum viueretis eiusmodi quaedam portenta ostentassetis, tanquam futurorum fuissetis praescii quasique praedicere potuissetis, si qui percontarentur.

TRO. Menippe, nouerit Amphiloachus hic, ipsi pro sese repondendum esse. Caeterum ego heros sum, vaticinorque si quis ad me descenderit. At tu videre nunquam omnino Lebadiam adiisse, neque enim alioqui ista non crederes.

15

MEN. Quid ais? Equidem nisi Lebadiam fuissetem profectus ac linteis amictus, offam ridicule manu gestans, per angustum aditum in specum irrepsissem, nequaquam fieri potuisset vt te defunctum esse cognoscerem, perinde atque nos, solaque praestigiatura reliquos antecellere. Sed age per ipsam diuinandi artem, quid tandem est heros? Neque enim intelligo.

20

TRO. Est quiddam partim ex homine, partim ex deo compositum.

MEN. Nempe quod neque sit homo, quemadmodum audio, neque deus, verum pariter vtrumque. Ergo dimidia illa tui ac diuina pars quo nunc recessit?

TRO. Reddit oracula, Menippe, in Boeotia.

25

MEN. Haud intelligo quid dicas, Trophoni, nisi quod illud plane video, te totum esse mortuum.

Charontis ac Menippi dialogus

CHAR. Redde naulum, sceleste.

MEN. Vociferare, siquidem isthuc tibi voluptati est, Charon.

30

CHAR. Redde, inquam, quod pro traiectioe debes.

MEN. Haudquaquam auferre queas ab eo qui non habeat.

CHAR. An est quisquam, qui ne obolum quidem habeat?

MEN. Sitne alius quispiam praeterea equidem ignoro; ipse certe non habeo.

CHAR. Atqui praefocabo te, per Ditem, impurissime, ni reddas.

35

MEN. At ego illiso baculo tibi comminuam caput.

6 Trophoni *D*, Trophonie *BC*, Trophome *A* | 24 ac diuina *B*, *om.* *A* | 25 Boeotia *B*, Lebadia *A* | 26 Trophoni *D*, Trophonie *BC*, Trophome *A*

CHAR. Num ergo te tam longo traiectu gratis transuexero?

MEN. Mercurius meo nomine tibi reddat, vt qui me tibi tradiderit.

MER. Belle mecum agatur, per Iouem, siquidem futurum est vt etiam defunctorum nomine persoluam.

5 CHAR. Haud omittam te.

MEN. Quin igitur vel huius gratia perge, vt facis, nauim trahere; quanquam quod non habeo quinam auferas?

CHAR. At tu nesciebas quid tibi fuerit adportandum?

10 MEN. Sciebam quidem, verum non erat. Quid igitur? Num ea gratia erat mihi semper in vita manendum?

CHAR. Solus ergo gloriaberis te gratis fuisse transuectum?

MEN. Haud gratis, O praeclare, siquidem et sentinam exhausti, et remum arripui, et vectorum omnium vnus non euilui.

15 CHAR. Ista nihil ad naulum; obolum reddas oportet, neque enim fas est secus fieri.

MEN. Proinde tu me rursum in vitam reuehe.

CHAR. Belle dicis, nimirum vt verbera etiam ab Aeaco mihi lucrifaciam.

MEN. Ergo molestus ne sis.

CHAR. Ostende quid habeas in pera.

20 MEN. Lupinum si velis et Hecatae coenam.

CHAR. Vnde nobis hunc canem adduxisti, Mercuri? Tum qualia garriebat inter nauigandum, vectores omnes irridens ac dicteriis incessens vnusque cantilans, illis plorantibus?

25 MER. An ignoras, Charon, quem virum transuexeris, plane liberum cuique nihil omnino curae sit? Hic est Menippus.

CHAR. Atqui si vnquam posthac te recepero...

MEN. Si receperis, O praeclare? Ne possis quidem iterum recipere.

#### Cratetis ac Diogenis dialogus

30 CRAT. Moerichum diuitem nouerasne, Diogenes? Illum, inquam, supra modum diuitem, illum Corintho profectum, cui tot erant naues onustae mercibus, cuius consobrinus Aristetas, quum ipse quoque diues esset, Homericum illud in ore solebat habere:

*Aut me confice tu, aut ego tete.*

DIOG. Cuius rei gratia sese captabant inuicem, Crates?

35 CRAT. Haereditatis causa, quum essent aequales, vterque alterum captabant. Iamque testamenta publicauerant ambo, in quibus Moerichus (si prior moreretur) Aristeam omnium rerum suarum dominum relinquebat, Moerichum vicis-

5 te B, om. A | 6 Quin ig. vel huius D, Quin tu ig. hac A B C | 27 recipere B, reciperet A | 35 captabant B, -bat A | 37 Aristean B, Aristen A

sum Aristeas, si quidem ipse prior e vita decederet. Haec igitur quum essent in tabulis scripta, illi inter sese captabant et alter alterum adulationibus obsequiisque superare contendebat. Porro diuini, haud scio vtrum ex astris id quod | futurum sit coniectantes, an somniis quemadmodum Chaldaei faciunt, quin et  
LB 315  
5  
Pythius ipse nunc Aristeam victorem fore pronuntiabat, nunc Moerichum, ac  
5  
trutina quidem interim ad hunc, interim ad illum propendebat.

DIOG. Quid igitur tandem euenit? Nam audire est operae precium, Crates.

CRAT. Eodem die mortui sunt ambo. Caeterum haereditates ad Eunomium ac Thrasyclem deueniunt, quorum vterque cognatus illis erat. Atqui de his nihil praedixerant diuini futurum, vt tale quippiam accideret. Etenim cum  
10  
Sicyone Cirrham versus nauigarent, medio in cursu obliquo orto Iapyge, euersa nauis perierunt.

DIOG. Recte factum. At nos, quum nos essemus in vita, nihil eiusmodi alter de altero cogitabamus. Neque enim ego vnquam optabam vt moreretur Antisthenes, quo nimirum baculus illius ad me rediret haeridem (habebat autem egregie validum, quem ipse sibi parauerat oleaginum), neque tu Crates, opinor, desiderabas vt me mortuo in possessionum mearum successionem venires, puta  
15  
doli ac perae, in qua quidem lupini choenices inerant duae.

CRAT. Neque enim mihi quicquam istis rebus erat opus, imo ne tibi quidem, Diogenes: siquidem quae ad rem pertinebant quaeque tu Antistheni succedens  
20  
accepisti, deinde ego succedens tibi, ea nimirum multo sunt potiora multoque splendidiora quam vel Persarum imperium.

DIOG. Quaenam sunt ista quae dicis?

CRAT. Sapientiam, inquam, frugalitatem, veritatem, dicendi viuendique libertatem.  
25

DIOG. Per Iouem, memini me in istiusmodi opum haereditatem Antistheni successisse, tibi que eas longe etiam maiores reliquisse.

CRAT. Verum reliqui mortales hoc possessionum genus aspernabantur, neque quisquam nos ob spem potiundae haereditatis obsequiis captabat, sed ad aurum omnes intendebant oculos.  
30

DIOG. Nec iniuria: neque enim habebant quo facultates eiusmodi a nobis traditas acciperent, quippe rimosi iam viciatique deliciis non aliter quam vasa carie putria. Quo fit vt siquando quis in illos infundat vel sapientiam vel libertatem vel veritatem, effluat ilico perstilletque, fundo quod immissum est continere non valente. Cuiusmodi quiddam et Danaï filiabus aiunt accidere, dum in  
35  
dolum pertusum haustam aquam important. At iidem aurum dentibus et vnguibus omnique vi seruabant.

CRAT. Proinde nos hic quoque nostras possidebimus opes. Illi simulatque huc venerint, obolum duntaxat secum ferent, ac ne hunc quidem vlterius quam ad portitorem.  
40

11-12 euersa nauis perierunt *E*, eo sunt depulsi *A B C D* | 13 At *B*, ad *A*; nos *alterum om. E* | 19 mihi *B*, missi *A* | 23-25 Quaenam ... libertatem *B*, *om. A* | 24 dicendi viuendique *MS C*, *om. B* | 26 memini *B*, nemini *A*

## Nirei ac Thersitae dialogus

NIR. Ecce denique vel Menippus hic iudex erit, vter nostrum sit formosior. Dic, Menippe, an non tibi videor forma praestantior?

MEN. Imo quinam sitis prius arbitror indicandum, nam hoc opinor scito est  
5 opus.

NIR. Nireus ac Thersites.

MEN. Vter Nireus, vter Thersites? Nondum enim vel hoc satis liquet.

10 THER. Iam vnum hoc vinco quod tibi sum similis, neque tantopere me praecellis, quantopere te caecus ille Homerus extulit, vnum omnium formosissimum appellans. Quin ego fastigiato vertice, rarisque et impexis capillis ille, nihilo te inferior visus sum arbitro. Iam vero tempus est vti pronuncies, Menippe, vtrum altero formosiozem existimes.

NIR. Mirum ni me Aglaia Charopeque prognatum,

*qui vir pulcherrimus vnus*

15 *Omnibus e Graiis Priameia ad Pergama veni.*

MEN. Atqui non item sub terram, opinor, pulcherrimus venisti, quippe qui reliquis quidem ossibus aliis appareas assimilis. Porro caluaria hoc vno insigni a Thersitae caluaria dignosci possit, quod tua delicata est ac mollicula, quandoquidem isthuc habes effoeminatum ac neutiquam viro decorum.

20 NIR. Attamen Homerum percontare, qua specie tum fuerim quum inter Graecorum copias militarem.

MEN. Tu quidem somnia mihi narras; at ego ea specto quae video quaeque tibi adsunt in praesentia. Caeterum ista norunt, qui id temporis viuebant.

NIR. Quid igitur tandem? An non ego formosior, Menippe?

25 MEN. Neque tu neque quisquam alius formosus hoc loco, siquidem apud inferos aequalitas est, paresque sunt omnes.

THER. Mihi quidem vel hoc sat est.

## Diogenis ac Mausoli dialogus

LB 316 DIO. Ohe tu Car, quare tandem insolens es tibi que places, ac dignum te  
30 credis qui vnus nobis omnibus anteponare?

MAV. Primum regni nomine, O tu Sinopensis, quippe qui Cariae imperauerim vniuersae, praeterea Lydiae quoque gentibus aliquot; tum autem et insulas nonnullas subegerim, Miletum vsque peruenerim plerisque Ioniae partibus vastatis. Ad haec formosus eram ac procerus ac bellicis in rebus praeualidus.  
35 Postremo, quod est omnium maximum, in Halicarnasso monumentum erectum habeo singulari magnitudine, quantum videlicet defunctorum alius nemo possi-

2 Ecce denique B, postremo A | 11 tempus est vti pronuncies B, contemplare A | 24 formosior C, hic formosior B, huic formosior A | 31 Siopensis A B C D, corr. E

det, neque pari etiam pulchritudine conditum, viris scilicet atque equis pulcherrimo e saxo ad viuam formam absolutissimo artificio expressis, adeo vt vel phanum aliquod simile haud facile quis inueniat. Num iniuria tibi videor has ob res mihi placere atque efferri?

DIO. Num ob imperium ais, ob formam atque ob sepulchri molem? 5

MAV. Per Iouem, ob haec, inquam.

DIO. Atqui, o formose Mausole, neque vires iam illae neque forma tibi iam adest. Adeo vt, si quem arbitrum de formae praecellentia delegerimus, haudquaquam dicere potis sit quamobrem tua caluaria meae sit anteferenda. Siquidem vtraque pariter tum calua tum nuda; vtrique dentes pariter ostendimus, pariter oculis orbatii sumus, pariter naribus simis ac sursum hiantibus deformati. Caeterum sepulchrum ac saxa illa preciosa Halicarnasseis forsitan iactare licebit et hospitibus gloriae causa ostentare, tanquam qui magnificam quandam apud se structuram habeant. Verum quid hinc commoditatis ad te redeat, vir egregie, nequaquam video, nisi forsitan illud commodum vocas, quod plus oneris atque nos sustines sub tam ingentibus saxis pressus ac laborans. 10 15

MAV. Itane nihil illa mihi conducunt omnia? Planeque pares erunt Mausolus ac Diogenes?

DIO. Imo haud pares, inquam, vir clarissime; nam Mausolus discrucia bitur quoties earum rerum in mentem veniet, quibus in vita florere consuevit; at Diogenes interim eum ridebit. Atque ille quidem de suo illo monumento, quod est in Halicarnasso, memorabit ab vxore Artemisia atque sorore parato; contra Diogenes ne id quidem suo de corpore nouit, numquid habeat sepulchrum. Neque enim illi res ea curae est, verum apud viros excellentissimos sui memoriam famamque reliquit, vt qui vitam peregerit viro dignam, tuo monumento, Carum abiectissime, celsiorem ac tutiore in loco substructam. 20 25

#### Simyli ac Polystrati dialogus

SIM. Venisti tandem et tu, Polystrate, ad nos, quum annos vixeris haud multo pauciores centum, opinor.

POL. Nonaginta octo, Simyle. 30

SIM. Sed quinam triginta istos annos egisti, quibus mihi fueras superstes? Nam ipse perii te ferme septuagenario.

POL. Quam suauissime profecto, etiam si hoc mirum tibi videbitur.

SIM. Mirum vero, siquidem tibi primum seni, deinde inualido, postremo etiam orbo quicquam poterat esse in vita suaue. 35

POL. Principio nihil erat quod non possem, praeterea pueri formosi complures aderant, tum mulieres nitidissimae, vnguenta, vinum mire fragrans, postremo mensae vel Siculis illis lautiores.

2 ad MS C, om. AB | 10 pariter ostendimus B, prominulos pariter ostentamus A | 31 cuiam  
\*MS (vt videtur)

SIM. Noua narras, nam ego te plane sordidum ac parcissimum esse sciebam.

POL. Atqui, vir praeclare, ex alienis arcis opes mihi subscatebant. Tum diluculo protinus quamplurimi mortales ad fores meas ventitabant, simulque ex omni rerum genere, quae terrarum vbiuis pulcherrimae reperiuntur, munera deportabantur.

SIM. Num me defuncto regnum gessisti?

POL. Minime, verum amantes habebam innumeros.

SIM. Non possum non ridere: tune amantes, tantus natu quum esses vixque tibi dentes superessent quattuor?

POL. Habebam, per Iouem, equidem optimates ciuitatis, quumque essem tum senex, tum caluus, sicuti vides, praeterea lippiens etiam ac senio caecutiens, postremo naribus muccosis, tamen cupidissime mihi inseruiebant, adeo vt is foelix videretur, quemcunque vel aspexissem modo.

SIM. Num tu quoque, quemadmodum Phaon ille, Venerem aliquam e Chio transuexisti, vt ob id optanti tibi illa dederit rursus ad iuuentam redire ac denuo formosum atque amabilem fieri?

POL. Haudquaquam. Quin magis, quum talis essem, qualem dixi, tamen supra modum adamabar.

SIM. Aenigmata narras.

POL. Atqui notissimus est hic amor, quum vulgo sit frequens, nempe erga senes orbos ac diuites.

SIM. Nunc tua forma vnde tibi profecta fuerit intelligo, vir egregie, nimirum ab aurea illa Venere.

LB 317 POL. Veruntamen non | parum multas commoditates ab amantibus tuli, Si-  
25 myle, propemodum etiam adoratus ab illis. Porro saepius etiam quasi procax illis illudebam, excludens interdum nonnullos eorum: interim illi inter sese decertabant, et in ambiendis primis apud me partibus, alium alius anteire nitebatur.

SIM. Sed age, de facultatibus tuis quid tandem statueras?

POL. Palam quidem affirmabam me vnumquenque illorum relicturum haeredem, idque illi quum crederent futurum, certatim se quisque obsequentio-rem atque adulantio-rem praebebat. Caeterum alteras illas veras tabulas quas apud me seruaueram reliqui, in quibus omnes illos plorare iussi.

SIM. At postremae illae tabulae quem pronuntiabant haeredem? Num e cognatis quempiam?

POL. Non, per Iouem, imo nouicium quendam ex formosis illis adolescentulis, natione Phrygem.

SIM. Quot annos natum, Polystrate?

POL. Viginti ferme.

SIM. Iam intelligo quibus obsequiis ille te demeruerit.

POL. Attamen multo illis dignior qui scriberetur haeres, etiam si barbarus



erat ac perditus; quem iam ipsi etiam optimates colunt captantque. Is igitur mihi extitit haeres, iamque inter patricos numeratur, subraso mento barbaroque cultu ac lingua; quin eum Codro generosior, Nireo formosior, Vlysse prudentior esse praedicant.

SIM. Non laboro: vel totius Graeciae sit imperator, si libet, modo ne illi potiantur haereditate. 5

### Veneris et Cupidinis dialogus

VEN. Quid tandem in causa est, Cupido, ut quum reliquos deos omnes adortus expugnaris, Iouem ipsum, Neptunum, Apollinem, Iunonem, me denique matrem, ab vna Minerua temperes, utque aduersus hanc nec vllum habeat incendium tua fax et iaculis vacua sit pharetra, tum et ipse arcu careas neque iaculari noris? 10

CVP. Equidem hanc metuo, mater: est enim formidabilis truculentoque aspectu ac ferocitate quadam supra modum virili. Proinde si quando tenso arcu petam illam, galeae cristam quatiens expauefacit me, moxque formidine tremere occipio sic ut arma mihi e manibus excidant. 15

VEN. Atqui Mars an non erat hac formidabilior? Et hunc tamen superatum exarmasti.

CVP. Imo, ille cupide me recipit atque vltro etiam inuitat. Verum Minerua semper adductis superciliis obseruat; quin aliquando temere ad illam aduolauit, facem propius admouens. At illa: Si quidem ad me accesseris, inquit, per parentem Iouem, quouis modo te confecero, aut lancea te transfigam, aut pedibus arreptum in Tartara dabo praecipitem, aut ipsa te discerpam. Plurima item id genus comminabatur. Ad haec acribus obtuetur oculis, postremo et in pectore faciem quandam gestat horrendam, viperis capillorum vice comatam; hanc nimirum maximopere formido. Territat enim me, fugioque quoties eam aspicio. 20 25

VEN. Esto sane, Mineruam metuis, ut ais, atque huius gestamen gorgona reformidas, idque quum Iouis ipsius fulmen non formidaueris. Caeterum Musae quam ob causam abs te non feriuntur atque a tuis iaculis tutae agunt? Num et hae cristas quatiunt aut gorgonas praetendunt? 30

CVP. Has quidem reueror, mater; sunt enim vultu pudico ac reuerendo, praeterea semper aliquo tenentur studio, semper cantionibus animum intentum gerunt. Quin ipse etiam non raro illis assisto, carminis suauitate delinitus.

VEN. Esto, nec has adoriris, propterea quod sint reuerendae. At Dianam qua tandem gratia non vulneras? 35

CVP. Ut breuiter dicam, hanc ne deprehendere quidem vsquam sum potis, quippe perpetuo per montes fugitantem: ad haec alterius cuiusdam sui cupidinis illa tenetur cupidine.

11 acreas *A*, corr. *B* | 17 separatim *B*, corr. *MS C* | 26 maximopere *A B C D*, magnopere *E* | 34 adoriris *B*, odoriris *A*

VEN, Cuius, O gnate?

CVP. Nempe venatu ceruorum et hinnulorum, quos insectatur vt capiat ac iaculo figat. Ac prorsum tota rerum huiusmodi studio tenetur, tametsi fratrem eius, qui nimirum arcu valet et ipse, feritque eminus...

5 VEN. Teneo, gnate, eum saepenumero sagitta vulnerasti.

#### Martis ac Mercurii dialogus

MARS. Audistin, Mercuri, cuiusmodi nobis minatus sit Iuppiter? Quam superba quamque dictu absurda? Ego, inquit, si voluero, catenam ex aethere demittam, vnde si vos suspensi me vi detrahere conemini, luseritis operam.  
10 Nunquam enim me deorsum trahetis. Contra ego vos si velim in altum attrahere, non vos modo, verum etiam tum terram ipsam, tum mare pariter subuectum in sublime sustulero. Ad haec alia | permulta quae tu quoque audisti. At ego, si quidem cum vno quolibet singulatim conferatur, ita praestantiorum eum esse viribusque superiorem haudquaquam negauerim. Verum vnum tam multis  
LB 318 pariter in tantum antecellere, vt eum ne pondere quidem vincere queamus, 15 etiam si terram ac mare nobis adiunxerimus, id neutiquam crediderim.

MER. Bona verba, Mars. Neque enim sat tutum est ista loqui, ne quid forte mali nobis haec petulantia conciliet.

MARS. An vero credis apud quemlibet haec dicturum me? Imo apud te solum  
20 id audeo, quem linguae continentis esse sciebam. Sed quod mihi maxime ridiculum videbatur, tum quum haec minitantem audirem, haud queam apud te reticere. Etenim memineram, quum non ita multo ante Neptunus, Iuno ac Pallas, mota aduersus eum seditione, machinarentur comprehensum illum in vincula coniicere, quantopere formidarit vtque in omnem speciem sese verterit,  
25 idque quum tres duntaxat essent dii. Quod ni Thetis misericordia commota Briareum centimanum illi auxiliatum accersiuisset, ipso pariter cum fulmine ac tonitru vinctus erat. Haec reputanti mihi ridere libebat eius magniloquentiam iactantiamque.

MER. Tace, bona verba. Neque enim tutum est ista vel tibi dicere, vel audire  
30 mihi.

#### Mercurii et Maiaie dialogus

MER. Est vero, mater, deus quisquam in coelo me miserior?

MAIA. Caue ne quid istiusmodi dixeris, Mercuri.

MER. Quid non dicam? Qui quidem tantum negociorum solus sustineam,  
35 quibus delassor, in tam multa ministeria distractus? Nam mane protinus surgendum est mihi statimque verrendum coenaculum, vbi dii comptant. Tum

10 ego vos si *E*, si ego vos *A*, ego vos *BCD* | 16 si terram *om. B, corr. MSC* | 24-25 vtque ... dii *B*, atque id tris duntaxat deos *A*

vbi curiam in qua consultant vndique strauero ac singula ita vt oportet composuero, Ioui necessum est assistere, ac perferendis illius mandatis toto die sursum ac deorsum cursitare; insuper quum redeo, puluerulentus adhuc, ambrosiam apponere cogor. Porro priusquam nouicius iste pocillator aduenisset, ego nectar etiam ministrabam. Quodque est omnium indignissimum, soli omnium ne noctu quidem agere quietem licet, verum id quoque temporis necesse habeo defunctorum animas ad Plutonem deducere, maniumque gregi me ducem praebere, tum autem et tribunalibus assistere. Neque enim mihi sufficebant scilicet diurna negotia, dum versor in palaestris, dum in concionibus praeconis vices ago, dum oratores instruo, ni haec quoque prouincia accedat, vt simul etiam vmbrae res disponam? Atqui Ledae filii alternis inter ipsos vicibus apud superos atque inferos agitant. Mihi necesse est quotidie tum hoc tum illud pariter agere: deinde duo illi Alcmena ac Semele miseris prognati mulieribus ociosi in conuiuuiis accumbunt, at ego Maia Atlantide progenitus illis ministro scilicet. Quin nunc quum recens Sidone a Cadmi filia reuersus essem, nam ad hanc me legarat visum quid ageret puella, priusquam respirassem et adhuc anhelum de via, rursus ad Argos emandauit, visurum qui cum Danaë ageretur. Rursus inde in Boeotiam profectus, inquit, obiter Antiopam visito. Adeo vt plane iam pariturum me negarim. Quod si mihi licuisset, lubens profecto fecissem, id quod solent ii qui in terris duram seruiunt seruitutem.

MAIA. Missa fac ista, gnate. Decet enim per omnia morem gerere patri, quum sis iuuenis; ac nunc quo iussus es, Argos contende, deinde in Boeotiam, ne si cessaris fuerisque lentior, plagas etiam auferas. Nam iracundi sunt qui amant.

#### Veneris et Cupidinis dialogus

VEN. Cupido gnate, vide quae facis flagitia. Non iam de his loquor, quae te impulsore mortales in terra vel in se quisque, vel inuicem alii in alios faciunt. Verum de his ago quae apud superos quoque designas, qui quidem Iouem ipsum cogis varias assumere formas, in quodcunque tibi pro tempore visum fuerit eum vertens. Tum Lunam e coelo deuocas. Quin et Solem aliquoties compellis lentum apud Clymenen cessare aurigandi muneris oblitum. Nam quicquid iniuriae in me matrem etiam committis, audacter ac tanquam tuto facis. Verum tu quidem, O deorum omnium confidentissime, Rheam insuper ipsam iam anum, praeterea deorum tam multorum parentem, eo perpulisti, vt pusionem admet atque in Phrygium illum adolescentulum depereat, ac tua iam opera insanit iunctisque leonibus, adhibitis item Corybantibus, quippe qui et ipsi furore quodam sunt afflati, per Idam montem sursum ac deorsum oberrat, ipsa quidem Attis amore eiulans. Caeterum Corybantum alius suum ipse penem ense

13 pariter *B*, pater *A* | 15 Sidone a *E*, a Sidone *A B C D* | 17 rursus *MS C*, versum *A B* | 34 pusionem *B*, pulsionem *A* | 36 iunctisque *MS C*, iunctusque *A B*

desecat, alius demissa coma per montes fertur insanus, alius cornu canit, alius tympano tonat, alius cymbalo perstrepat; breuiter, omnis vndiquaque Ida tumultus atque insaniae plena est. Proinde cuncta timeo. Metuo ne tale quid accidat, quandoquidem te produxi, malum ingens, vt si quando resipiscat Rhea, vel potius si pergat insanire, Corybantibus imperet vt te correptum discerpant  
 5 aut leonibus obiiciant. Hic me sollicitat metus, quod videam tibi periculum imminere.

CVP. Ocioso animo esto, mater, siquidem leonibus etiam ipsis iam familiaris sum factus, ita vt saepenumero conscensis eorum tergis prehensaque iuba,  
 10 equitis ritu insidens illos agitem. At vero illi interim mihi caudis adblandiuntur ac manum ori insertam receptant lambuntque, deinde mihi reddunt innocuam. Porro Rhae ipsi quando tandem vacauerit vt me ulciscatur, quum in Atte sit tota? Postremo quid ego pecco, quum res pulchras, vt sunt, offero ac demonstro? Vos ne appetite res pulchras, quare his de rebus ne in me crimen conferte.  
 15 Num vis ipsa tu, mater, vti neque tu posthac Martem ames, neque ille te?

VEN. Vt es peruicax et nulla in re non superas; attamen horum quae dixi, aliquando memineris.

#### Doridis et Galatae dialogus

DOR. Formosum amantem, Galatea, nempe Siculum istum pastorem aiunt  
 20 amore tui deperire.

GAL. Ne ride, Doris. Etenim qualis qualis est, Neptuno patre prognatus est.

DOR. Quid tum postea, si vel Ioue ipso sit progenitus, quum vsqueadeo agrestis atque hispidus appareat, quodque est omnium deformissimum, vno-  
 culus? An vero credis genus illi quicquam profuturum ad formam?

25 GAL. Ne isthuc quidem ipsum, quod hispidus est atque agrestis, vt tu vocas, illum deformat, quin virile magis est. Porro oculus media in fronte decet etiam, quo quidem nihilo segnus cernit, quam si duo forent.

DOR. Videris, Galatea, non amantem habere Polyphemum, sed illum potius adamare; sic eum praedicas.

30 GAL. Equidem haud adamo, sed tamen insignem istam vestram insultandi opprobrandique petulantiam ferre non queo. Ac mihi nimirum inuidencia quadam isthuc facere videmini, propterea quod ille quum forte aliquando gregem pasceret suum, nosque e littorali specula in littore ludentes cerneret in prominentibus Aetnae pedibus, qua videlicet inter montem et mare littus sese  
 35 in longum porrigit, vos ne aspexerit quidem, at ego omnium vna visa sim formosissima, eoque in vnam me coniecerit oculum. Ea res vos male habet. Nam argumentum est, me forma praestantiorum esse ac digniorem quae amer, vos contra fastiditas esse.

1 demissa B, dimissa A | 17 aliquando memineris B, fac in posterum meminerit A | 29 eum B, hominem A | 33 in littore B, om. A

DOR. An istud tibi putas inuidendum videri, si primum pastori, deinde lusco formosa visa sis? Quanquam quid aliud ille potuit in te probare praeter candorem? Is illi placet, opinor, quod caseo et lacti assueuerit. Proinde quicquid his sit simile, id protinus pulchrum iudicat. Alioqui vbi libebit scire qua sis facie de scopulo quopiam in aquam, si quando tranquilla steterit, despectans, temetipsam contemplare. Videbis aliud nihil nisi perpetuum candorem: verum is quidem non probatur, nisi rubor admixtus illi, decus illi iunxerit. 5

GAL. Atqui ego illa immodice candida, tamen eiusmodi habeo amantem, quum interim e vobis nulla sit, quam vel pastor vel nauta vel portitor aliquis miretur. Caeterum Polyphemus (vt alia ne dicam) etiam canendi peritus est. 10

DOR. Tace, o Galatea; audiuius illum canentem, quum nuper pruriret in te, sed, O sancta Venus, asinum rudere dixisses; nam lyrae corpus simillimum erat ceruino capiti ossibus renudato, tum cornua perinde quasi cubiti prominebant. Iis iunctis inductisque fidibus, quas ne collope quidem circumtorquebat, agreste quiddam et absonum cantillabat, quum aliud interim ipse voce caneret, aliud lyra succineret, ita vt temperare nobis nequiuerimus, quin rideremus amatoriam illam cantionem. Nam Echo ne respondere quidem illi voluit balanti, quum sit adeo garrula: imo pudisset, si visa fuisset stridulum illius et ridiculum cantum imitari. Ad haec gestabat in vlnis amasius iste delicias suas, vrsi catulum pilis hirtum, ipsi non dissimilem. Quis autem non inuideat tibi amicum istum, Galatea? 15 20

GAL. Quin tu igitur, Dori, tuum ipsius amicum nobis commonstra, qui meo sit formosior quique doctius ac melius vel voce canat vel cithara? LB 320

DOR. Mihi quidem nullus est amator, neque me hoc nomine iacto, quasi sim vehementer amabilis, veruntamen istiusmodi amicum, qualis est Polyphemus, nempe totus hircum olens, tum crudis victitans carnibus, et hospites si qui appulerint deorans, tibi habeas, eumque tu mutuuum ames. 25

### Diogenis et Alexandri dialogus

DIO. Quid hoc rei, Alexander? Itane defunctus es tu quoque, perinde atque nos omnes? 30

ALEX. Vides nimirum, Diogenes. Tametsi mirandum non est, si homo quum fuerim, defunctus sim.

DIO. Num ergo Iuppiter ille Hammon mentiebatur, quum te suum filium esse diceret, an vero tu Philippo patre prognatus eras?

ALEX. Haud dubie Philippo, neque enim obiissem, si Hammone parente fuisset progenitus. 35

2 praeter B, praeter solum A | 14 iunctis B, colligatis A; quas ... circumtorquebat B, ne sinui quidem lyram admouens A | 15 et absonum B, atque insuaue A | 16 lyra B, illa A | 17-18 Nam Echo ... garrula B, siquidem lyrae sonitus adeo loquax ac garrulus erat vt nollet illi balanti respondere A | 20 hirtum B, hirtis A | 22 Dori B, om. A | 29 rei C, rei est A B

DIO. At qui de Olympiade etiam consimilia quaedam ferebantur, puta draconem quendam cum ea fuisse congressum visumque in cubiculo; ex eo grauidam peperisse te; porro Philippum errare fallique qui se tuum patrem esse crederet.

5 ALEX. Inaudieram quidem et ipse ista, quemadmodum tu: at nunc video neque matrem neque Hammonios illos vates sani quicquam aut veri dixisse.

DIO. Attamen istud illorum mendacium, Alexander, ad res gerendas haudquaquam tibi fuit inutile, propterea quod vulgus te verebatur metuebatque, quum deum esse crederet. Sed dic mihi, cuinam tam ingens illud imperium  
10 moriens reliquisti?

ALEX. Id equidem ignoro, Diogenes. Celerius enim e vita submouebam quam vt esset ocium de illo quicquam statuendi, praeter id vnum quod moriens Perdiccae anulum tradidi. Sed age, quid rides, Diogenes?

DIO. Quidni rideam? An non meministi quid Graeci fecerint, quum nuper  
15 tibi arrepto imperio adularentur, principemque ac duce aduersus barbaros deligerent; nonnulli vero in duodecim deorum numerum referrent, ac phana constituerent; denique sacra facerent tanquam Draconis filio? Sed illud mihi dicito, vbi te sepelierunt Macedones?

ALEX. Etiamdum in Babylone iaceo tertium iam diem. Porro Ptolemaeus  
20 ille satellites meus, si quando detur ocium ab his rerum tumultibus qui nunc instant, pollicetur in Aegyptum deportaturum me atque inibi sepulturum, quo videlicet vnus fiam ex diis Aegyptiis.

DIO. Non possum non ridere, Alexander, qui quidem te videam etiam apud  
25 inferos desipientem sperantemque fore vt aliquando vel Anubis fias vel Osiris. Quin tu spes istas omittis, o diuinissime, neque enim fas est reuerti quenquam, qui semel paludem transmiserit atque intra specus hiatum descenderit, propterea quod neque indiligens est Aeacus neque contemnendus Cerberus. Verum illud abs te discere peruelim, quo feras animo, quoties in mentem redit quanta felicitate apud superos relicta huc sis profectus, puta corporis custodibus, satel-  
30 litibus, ducibus, tum auri tanta vi, ad hoc populis qui te adorabant, praeterea Babylone, Bactris, immanibus illis beluis, dignitate, gloria, deinde quod eminebas conspicuus dum vectareris, dum amiculo candido caput haberes reuinctum, dum purpura circumamictus esses? Numquid haec te discruciant quoties recur-  
35 sant animo? Quid lachrymas, stulte? An non id te sapiens ille docuit Aristoteles, ne res eas quae a fortuna proficiscantur stabiles ac firmas existimares.

ALEX. Sapiens ille? Quum sit assentatorum omnium perditissimus? Sine me solum Aristotelis facta scire, quam multa a me petierit, quae mihi scripserit, deinde quemadmodum abusus sit mea illa ambitione, qua cupiebam eruditione caeteris praestare, quum mihi palparetur interim ac praedicaret me nunc ob  
40 formam, tanquam et ipsa summi boni pars quaedam esset, nunc ob res gestas atque opes. Nam has quoque in bonorum numero collocandas esse censebat,

ne sibi vitio verteretur quod eas acciperet. Plane praestigiosus vir ille quidem erat ac fraudulentus, o Diogenes: quanquam illud fructus scilicet ex illius sapientia fero, quod nunc perinde quasi summis de bonis excrucior, ob ista quae tu paulo ante commemorasti.

DIO. At scin quid facies? Ostendam tibi molestiae istius remedium. Quando- 5  
quidem his in locis veratrum non prouenit, fac vt Lethei fluminis aquam auidis  
faucibus attrahens bibas, iterumque ac saepius bibas. Atque eo pacto desines de  
bonis illis Aristotelicis discrucari. Verum enim Cletum etiam illum et Calisthe-  
nem video cumque his alios | complureis raptim huc sese ferentes, quo te dis- LB 321  
cerpant poenasque sumant, ob ea quae quondam in illos commisisti. Quare fac 10  
in alteram hanc ripam te conferas et crebrius (vt dixi) bibas.

### Menippi et Chironis dialogus

MEN. Equidem inaudiui, Chiron, te deus quum esses, tamen optasse mortem.

CHIR. Vera nimirum sunt ista quae audisti, Menippe, planeque mortuus sum  
sicuti vides, videlicet quum mihi licuerit immortalem esse. 15

MEN. At quaenam te mortis cupido tenebat, rei videlicet quam vulgus ho-  
minum horreat?

CHIR. Dicam apud te, virum neutiquam stultum atque imperitum. Iam mihi  
desierat esse iucundum immortalitate frui.

MEN. Quid? An iniucundum erat te viuere lucemque tueri? 20

CHIR. Erat, inquam, Menippe; nam quod iucundum vocant, id ego neuti-  
quam simplex sed varium quiddam esse arbitror. Verum quum ego semper  
viverem atque iisdem perpetuo rebus vterer, sole, luce, cibo, tum horae eadem  
recurrerent, reliqua item omnia, quaecunque contingunt in vita, reciproco quo-  
dam orbe redirent atque aliis alia per vices succederent, satietas videlicet eorum 25  
me cepit. Neque enim in eo voluptas est sita, si perpetuo fruaris iisdem, sed  
omnino in permutando posita est.

MEN. Probe loqueris, Chiron: caeterum haec quae apud inferos agitur vita,  
quinam tibi procedit, posteaquam ad hanc tanquam ad potiorem te contulisti?

CHIR. Haud insuauiter, Menippe: siquidem aequalitas ipsa quiddam habet 30  
admodum populare. Nihil autem interest vtrum in luce quis agat, an in tenebris:  
praeterea neque sitiendum est nobis quemadmodum apud superos, neque esu-  
riendum, sed eiusmodi rerum omnium egentia vacamus.

MEN. Vide, Chiron, ne temet ipse inuoluas, neue eodem tibi recidat oratio.

CHIR. Quamobrem isthuc ais? 35

MEN. Nempe si illud tibi fastidio fuit, quod in vita semper iisdem similibus-  
que rebus vtendum erat, quum hic itidem similia sint omnia, eundem ad modum  
parient fastidium. At de integro tibi quaerenda erit vitae commutatio, atque  
hinc quopiam aliam in vitam demigrandum, id quod arbitror fieri non posse.

CHIR. Quid igitur faciendum, Menippe.

MEN. Illud nimirum, vti sapiens quum sis, quemadmodum opinor, et vulgo praedicant, praesentibus rebus sis contentus, bonique consulas quod adest, neque quicquam in his esse putes, quod ferri non queat.

5 Menippi et Cerberi dialogus

MEN. Heus, Cerbere, quandoquidem mihi tecum cognatio quaedam intercedit, quum et ipse sim canis, dic mihi per Stygiam paludem, quomodo sese habebat Socrates quum huc accederet? Verisimile est autem te, deus quum sis, non latrare modo, verumetiam humano more loqui, si quando velis.

10 CER. Quum procul adhuc abesset, Menippe, visus est constanti atque interrito adire vultu, perinde quasi mortem nihil omnino formidaret, ac tanquam hoc ipsum vellet iis qui procul a specus ingressu stabant ostendere. Verum simulatque despexit in hiatum, viditque profundum atque atrum antri recessum, simulque ego cunctantem etiam illum aconito mordens pede correptum detraherem, infantium ritu eiulabat, suosque deplorabat liberos, nihilque non faciebat, in omnem speciem sese conuertens.

MEN. Num igitur fucate sapiens erat ille, neque vere mortem contemnebat?

20 CER. Haud vere: caeterum vbi vidit id esse necesse, audaciam quandam prae se ferebat, quasi vero volens id esset passurus, quod alioqui volenti nolenti tamen omnino fuerat ferendum, videlicet quo spectatoribus esset miraculo. Equidem illud in totum de viris istiusmodi vere possim dicere, ad fauces vsque specus intrepidi sunt ac fortes: porro intus quum sunt, nihil mollius neque fractius.

MEN. Caeterum ego quonam animo tibi visus sum subiisse specum?

25 CER. Vnus mortalium, Menippe, sic mihi visus es subire, vt tuo dignum erat genere, et prior te Diogenes, propterea quod neutiquam adacti subieritis, aut intrusi; verum tum vltronei, tum ridentes, atque omnibus plorare renunciantes.



## PRAEFATIO, SEV HERCVLES GALLICVS

Herculem Galli lingua gentis vernacula Ogmium vocant. Porro deum ipsum  
noua quadam atque inusitata | figura depingunt: decrepitis est apud illos, re- LB 322  
caluaster, reliquis capillis, si qui reliqui sunt, plane canis, cute rugosa et in ater-  
rimum exusta colorem, cuiusmodi sunt nautae isti senes. Charontem potius aut 5  
Iapetum quempiam, ex his qui apud inferos versantur, diceres. In summa,  
quiduis potius quam Herculem esse coniiiceres ex imagine. Atque tali specie  
quum sit, tamen Herculis ornatum gerit, vt qui tum leonis exuuium indutus sit,  
tum clauam dextra teneat, tum pharetram humeris aptatam portet, tum arcum  
tensum laeua praetendat; denique modis omnibus Hercules est. Haec equidem 10  
arbitrabar in Graecanicorum deorum contumeliam perperam facere Gallos,  
quum eum eiusmodi fingerent effigie, quo nimirum illum talibus picturis vlcis-  
cerentur quod olim in regionem ipsorum incursasset, praedas agens id tempo-  
ris, quum Geryonis armenta vestigans Occidentalium gentium plerasque regio- 15  
nes peruastaret. At nondum etiam dixi id quod erat in imagine maxime nouum  
atque mirandum: siquidem Hercules ille senex ingentem admodum hominum  
multitudinem trahit, omnibus ab aure reuinctis, porro vincula catenulae tenues  
auro electroue confectae pulcherrimis istis monilibus adsimiles. Atqui quum vin-  
culis vsqueadeo fragilibus ducantur, tamen neque de fugiundo cogitant, quum  
alioqui commode possint, neque prorsus obnituntur, aut pedibus aduersus tra- 20  
hentem obtendunt, sese resupinantes: verum alacres ac laeti sequuntur, ducen-  
tem admirantes, vltro festinantes omnes, et laxatis funiculis etiam anteuertere  
studentes, perinde quasi grauiter laturi, si soluerentur vinculis. Ne illud quidem  
pigebit referre, quod mihi videbatur omnium absurdissimum: etenim quum 25  
non inueniret pictor vnde catenularum summam ansas necteret, videlicet dextera  
iam clauam, laeua arcum tenente, summam dei linguam perterebrauit, atque  
ex hac religatis catenulis eos trahi fecit. Ipse nimirum ad eos qui ducebantur

3-4 decrepitis ... recaluafter *B*, senex apud illos est ad extremum vsque occipitium recaluus  
*A* | 4 plane *B*, *om.* *A* | 9 dextra *A B C D*, dextera *E* | 10 tensum *B*, *om.* *A*

vultum et oculos conuertebat, arridens. Haec ego quum diutius assistens essem contemplatus, admirans, haesitans, indignans, Gallus quispiam qui propius astabat nostratum litterarum non indoctus, id quod declarauit, quum Graecanicam linguam absolute sonaret, philosophus opinor ex eo genere philosophorum quod apud illos esse fertur: Ego tibi hospes, inquit, picturae istius aenigma explicabo: nam videre vehementer ad eam attonitus ac stupefactus. Orationem nos Galli nequaquam arbitramur esse Mercurium, quemadmodum vos Graeci, verum Herculi illam tribuimus, propterea quod hic Mercurio longe robustior extiterit: nam quod senex fingitur, nihil est quod mirere. Siquidem vna facundia consuevit in senecta demum absolutum vigorem ostendere, si modo verum vestri dicunt poetae:

*Obduci iuuenum densa caligine pectus:  
Contra senectam posse quiddam dicere,  
Rudi iuuenta melius ac praeclarus.*

15 Hinc videlicet apud nos et Nestoris lingua melle profluit, et Troianorum concionatores liriöessan edunt videlicet floridam quandam vocem: nam liria, si satis commemini, flores appellantur, Proinde quod ab auribus vinctos ad linguam trahit senex hic Hercules, qui non aliud quam ipse est sermo, ne id quidem debes admirari, qui quidem non ignores linguae cum auribus esse  
20 cognationem. Neque vero ad contumeliam illius illud pertinet, quod ea pertusa est, nam memini, inquit, et iambicos quosdam versiculos e comoediis apud vos discere:

*Siquidem viris loquacibus  
Extrema lingua perforata est omnibus.*

25 Quin de eodem hanc in summa habemus opinionem, vt quicquid egit, id oratione facundiaque confecisse putemus, vtpote virum sapientem, ac persuadendo pleraque sibi subegisse. Iam tela illius nimirum rationes sunt acutae, missiles, citae, atque animum sauciantes, vnde pennigera dicta vos quoque nominatis. Hactenus Gallus. Ac mihi quidem quum huc me conferens mecum  
30 inter eundum perpenderem, num decorum iam esset vt, tam grandis natu, quique iampridem ab his doctrinae certaminibus memet abdicassem, rursum me tam multorum iudicum calculis exponerem iudicandum, in tempore subiit animum meum eius picturae recordatio. Nam antehac verebar ne cui vestrum  
LB 323 viderer haec admodum pueriliter agere, quasique praeter aetatem | iuuenari.  
35 Proinde ne quis Homericus adolescentulus illud mihi impingeret dicens,

*Aetas iam periit tua;*

tum illud:

*Ac te corripuit cariota senecta, minister  
Inualidusque tibi et segnes tardique caballi,*

videlicet eo scommate pedes meos notans. Verum quoties senex ille Hercules recurrit animo, ad quiduis adducor vt faciam, neque me pudet haec audere, quum sim ipsi aequalis imagini. Itaque robur, celeritas, forma, et si qua sunt alia corporis bona, valeant, cumque his tuus, o Teie vates, Cupido, vbi me mento subcano viderit *auro rutilantibus alis*, si videbitur, vel aquilas praeteruolet: neque laborabit Hippoclydes, imo nunc vel maxime tempestiuum fuerit, facundia repubescere, florere, vigere, et quam licet plurimos ab auribus ducere, ac saepius arcu ferire, quandoquidem periculum non est ne quando quis praeter spem pharetram inanem reperiat. Vides quibus modis aetatem meam meamque senectutem ipse consoler animemque, adeo vt non sim veritus nauim iam olim in terram subductam denuo reuellere, suisque instructam armis medium in pelagus demittere. Contingant autem a vobis, o dii, afflatus secundi, quando nunc vel maxime praesente bono atque amico vento nobis est opus: quo si digni modo videbimur, in nos quoque dicat aliquis Homericum illud:

*Quos profert senior pannis e vilibus armos.*

## EUNVCHVS SIVE PAMPHILVS

PAM. Vnde nobis aduenis, Luciane, seu quidnam rei rides? Semper tu quidem et alias consueuisti nobis hilaris ac festiuus occurrere, verum isthuc maius aliquid solito videtur esse, de quo risum nec compescere queas.

5 LVC. E foro tibi adsum, o Pamphile. Porro mox efficiam vt tu quoque mecum rideas, simulatque audieris cuiusmodi litis adfuerim actioni, duobus philosophis inter sese contententibus.

PAM. Iam isthuc ipsum profecto ridiculum est quod ais, philosophos inuicem lites agitare. Nam etiam si quid magni fuisset negotii, inter ipsos modeste  
10 citraque pugnam controuersiam compositam oportuit.

LVC. Quid ais? Tranquille componant illi, qui quidem solida plaustra concuiciis onusta alter in alterum effuderint, vociferantes miraue peruicacia contententes?

PAM. Videlicet de disciplinis atque opinionibus, Luciane, ita vt assolent  
15 dissentiebant, quod erant diuersae factionis?

LVC. Nequaquam, imo aliud quiddam erat hoc, de quo dissidebant. Nam eiusdem sectae erant ambo eiusdemque scholae, et tamen orta inter eos lis erat. Porro iudices, qui cognoscebant, primates erant huius reipublicae natuque maximi ac sapientissimi; breuiter, apud quos pudescat aliquis etiam parum apte  
20 quippiam elocutus, nedum ad tantam proeuctus inuerecundiam.

PAM. Quin tu igitur litis argumentum exponis, quo videlicet ipse etiam cognoscam, quae res tibi tantum risum concitarit?

LVC. Scis, Pamphile, salarium, idque neutiquam exiguum, ab imperatore fuisse constitutum singulis philosophorum generibus, puta Stoicis, Platonis, Epicureis, cumque his etiam Peripateticis, ita vt unicuique sectae praemium esset  
25 aequale. Caeterum demortuo ex his quopiam, alius aliquis in eius locum subrogandus est, qui sit optimatum calculis probatus. Porro praemium illud neque

3 maius *AE*, magis *BCD* | 14 Luciane *B*, *om. A* | 16 Nequaquam *B*, *om. A* | 19–20 apud ... inuerecundiam *B*, quos habere quis gaudeat, si quid parum concinne parumque modulate sonuerit, non autem si ad tantam tanque insignem impudentiam ac foeditatem labatur *A*

bubula pellis erat quaeppiam, quemadmodum ait poeta, nec porcellus, verum singulos in annos decies mille nummum, quos accipiunt vti doceant iuuentutem.

PAM. Memini quidem ista. Quin aiunt nuper ex illis diem obiisse quempiam, alterum (ni fallor) e Peripateticis.

LVC. Haec ipsa, Pamphile, Helena propter quam illi inter sese singulari certamine conflictabant. Et hactenus quidem nihil etiam ridendum erat in illis praeter hoc, quod quum philosophos esse se profiterentur ac pecunias pro nihilo ducere, tamen earum gratia perinde atque pro patria in discrimen adducta, pro religione maiorum, pro monumentis progenitorum decertarent.

PAM. Atqui Peripateticorum istud est decretum, non admodum esse negligendas pecunias, verum eas in tertio quodam bonorum ordine esse ponendas.

LVC. Recte dicis. Nam ista quidem aiunt. Proinde bellum hoc ex maiorum iudicio sententiaque illis extitit. Verum quae postea consequuta sint, iam ausculta. Primum complures quidem alii in defuncti illius funebribus ludis decertabant: sed inter hos praecipue duo viribus pares, puta Diocles ille senex, nosti | quem dicam, contentiosum illum, inquam; praeterea Bagoas, qui quidem ea specie est vt eunuchus esse videatur. Inter hos initio de doctrina deque philosophiae decretis atque opinionibus est decertatum. Et vterque sui specimen ac documentum dedit, quod esset Aristotelicae factionis, quodque eius placita sequeretur ostendit. At, per Iouem, in hoc certamine neuter altero superior erat. Lis igitur huc deflexit denique: Diocles desinens iam eruditionis suae periculum ac specimen ostendere, ad Bagoam descendit, ac vitam illius inprimis carpere est aggressus. Bagoas itidem huius vitam vicissim taxabat.

PAM. Idque merito, Luciane. Siquidem eius rei magis erat habenda ratio. Proinde si ego forte iudex causae sedissem, magis in hoc, vt mihi videtur, futurus eram occupatus, potiusque spectassem vter moribus esset praestantior quam vter ad disputandum ac dicendum promptior; atque illi potius quam huic victoriam adiudicassem.

LVC. Recte dicis. Equidem isti tuae sententiae meum et ipse calculum addo. Verum vbi iam conuiciis, vbi maledictis essent satiati, tandem Diocles illud aiebat nefas esse vel conari aut proponere Bagoam vti cum philosophiae studio cumque pulcherrimis illius praemiis commercium haberet, qui quidem eunuchus esset. Imo hoc hominum genus non solum ab eiusmodi contubernio secludi oportere, verum ab ipsis etiam sacris ac vasis puris, breuiter ab omnibus publicis coetibus eiici, ostendens inauspicatum quoddam et occursu infaustum spectaculum fore, si quis mane domo egressus vel videat istiusmodi quippiam. Atque hac de re multis verbis disserebat, affirmans eunuchum neque virum

1 bubula pellis *B*, bucula *A*; porcellus *B*, nec hostia *A* | 2 nummum quos *B*, drachmae quas *A* | 2-3 doceant iuuentutem *B*, cum adolescentulis habeant consuetudinem *A* | 13 Nam ita (ista *E*) quidem aiunt *B*, dicunt haec illi *A* | 22 denique *B*, *om.* *A* | 30 Recte dicis *B*, *om.* *A* | 33 pulcherrimis illius praemiis *B*, praestantissimis eius professoribus *A*

esse neque mulierem, sed quiddam vtrinque compositum et conflatum, planeque monstrum ab hominum natura specieque alienum.

PAM. Nouam accusandi rationem nobis narras, Luciane. Iamque et ipse ridere compellor, crimen audiens tam inauditum. Sed alter ille quid? Num  
5 obticebat? An vicissim et ipse quiddam ausus est ad ista respondere?

LVC. Initio quidem pudore ac metu (nam id est istis familiare) diutius obticebat, erubescens interim palamque prae se ferens id quod erat. Tandem autem tenuem quandam ac muliebrem aedens vocem, negabat aequum facere Dioclem, qui se quod eunuchus esset ob id a philosophia secluderet, cum qua foeminis  
10 etiam esset commercium. Allegabantur Aspasia, Diotima, Thargelia, quae causam illius adiuuabant. Praeterea Academicus quidam eunuchus natione Gallus, qui paulo ante nostram aetatem maximi nominis apud Graecos florisset. Porro Diocles etiam illum ipsum siquidem extaret ac simili negotio sese misceret prohibitorium sese respondit, nihil expauefactum opinione quam apud vulgus  
15 obtinebat. Ad haec quum ipse quaedam diceria in illum iaciebat, tum referebat in eum, quae a Stoicis maximeque Cynicis dicta ad risum concitandum erant idonea, de corpore mutilo atque imperfecto. Hac in re iudicum cognitio versabatur. Denique totius causae iam illud caput esse coepit: num eunuchus idoneus esset censendus qui ad philosophiam admitteretur quique iuuenibus praefici  
20 postularet, quum alter interim formam etiam ac corporis integritatem in philosopho requirendam esse diceret; maxime vero vti barbam altam ac promissam gerat, quo videlicet iis, qui discendi cupidi aduenirent, vir grauis appareat et is cui fides haberi debeat, neque indignus videatur decem illis drachmarum milibus, quae forent ab imperatore capienda. Caeterum eunuchorum conditionem  
25 quam spadonum esse viliorem. Nam illos aliquando virile quiddam expertos fuisse, at hunc ab ipso statim ortu fuisse exectum planeque animal esse quoddam varium atque anceps, non aliter quam cornices, quae neque inter columbas neque inter coruos numerari queant. Alter contra responderet eo iudicio, non de corporis agi figura verum de animi virtute, proinde mentis qualitatem expendi oportere, deque dogmatum cognitione quaerendum esse. Eius rei testis  
30 citatus Aristoteles, qui quidem Ermeam eunuchum Atarne oriundum tyrannum supra modum sit admiratus, adeo vt illi perinde atque diis sacra fecerit. Ausus est et illud addere Bagoas, multo magis idoneum esse eunuchum, cui adolescentes erudiendi credantur, quod ab hoc nulla in illos calumnia possit haerere,  
35 neque Socraticum illud crimen in hunc competat, quod adolescentulos corrumpat. Deinde quae ille potissimum in mentem imberbe fuerat cauillatus, ea hic facete vt ipsi quidem videbatur reiecit. Et|enim si e barbae prolixitate, inquit,  
LB 325 philosophos aestimare conuenit, nimirum hircus ante omnes primas tenebit. Hic tertius quidam assistens (nomen hominis silebitur): Atqui, iudices, inquit,  
40 hic malis laeuibus ac foeminea voce reliquoque corporis habitu eunucho adsimilis, si quis vestes detrahat, egregie vir esse videbitur. Alioqui mentiuntur

qui ferunt eum aliquando in adulterio deprehensum, membra in membris, vt legum tabulae loquuntur, habentem; atque id quidem temporis ad eunuchum confugisse, eaque reperta latebra absolutum fuisse, quum iudicibus crimen persuaderi non posset, vt qui e specie hominem iudicarent eunuchum. At nunc mihi palinodiam canturus videtur, idque propter ostentatum praemium. Haec 5 quum dicerentur, omnibus, vt par erat, risus est obortus. Porro Bagoas magis etiam perturbabatur, omnem in speciem sese varians, atque in innumerabiles versus colores, tum frigido sudore fluens; ac neque decorum sibi existimabat adulterii crimen agnoscere, neque rursus eam accusationem inutilem ad praesens certamen arbitrabatur. 10

PAM. Profecto deridicula sunt ista, Luciane, neque vulgarem vobis, vti coniectandum est, voluptatem praebuerunt. Verum quo tandem res euasit? Et quid super his pronunciarunt iudices?

LVC. Non erat eadem omnium sententia. Verum aliis quidem visum est vti nudato illo quemadmodum in emptitiis seruis fieri consuevit, inspicerent num 15 in iis quae ad penem pertinent philosophari posset. Alii vero sententiam dixere multo magis etiam hac ridiculam, nempe vt accersitis e lustro mulieribus aliquot iuberent illum cum illis congregari, ac viri officio fungi, astante interim e iudicibus quopiam, qui quidem esset natu maximus fideque spectatissima, qui inspiceret num philosophum praestaret. Haec vbi omnium risu fuissent excepta, 20 neque quisquam omnino adesset cui non doleret alius risu concussus, visum est vt integra causa in Italiam reiceretur. Ac nunc alter (vt aiunt) ad eloquentiae ostentationem semet exercet atque instruit et accusationem quam elaboratissimam meditatur, adulterii crimen aggrediens, id quod ipsi maxime aduersatur. Quod quidem et hic facit, iuxta malorum rhetorum morem, quum ex ipso 25 crimine aduersarium inter viros recenset. Contra Bagoas diuersa curat, quemadmodum audio, et assidue virum agit, negociumque prae manibus habet. Postremo victurum sese sperat, si modo docere possit se nihilo deteriore esse equas ineuntibus asinis. Id enim, amice, visum est optimum philosophiae documentum atque vna demonstratio quae refelli non queat. Proinde optarim vt 30 filius, qui mihi est adhuc admodum adolescens, non animum et linguam sed penem haberet ad philosophiam idoneum.

20 fuissent *B*, essent *A* | 21 omnino *B*, *om. A* | 21-22 doleret ... causa *B*, venter doleret risu distortus, statuerunt vt causa vtriusque *A* | 22 *Ac A B*, at *C D*, et *E* | 22-26 ad eloquentiae ... recenset *B*, quo possit ea quae dixit docere, semet ad causam exercet atque apparat, summoque ingenio accusationem meditatur. Iamque adulterii crimen labefactat, vt quod sentiat sibi maxime aduersari, idque facit iuxta pestilentiam (*leg. -ium*) istorum oratorum, morem ex ipsa colligens accusatione quo aduersarium refellat *A* | 26-27 curat ... negociumque *B* (*cura pro curat habent D E*), affert, causam vt videbatur omnibus viri agit, ac negotium. *A* | 28 victurum sese *B*, vincere litem *A* | 29 equas ... asinis *B*, equis ... asinas *A*; Id enim amice visum *B*, siquidem rem amare visam *A* | 30 atque ... queat *B*, vnaque probatio cui non possit contradici *A*; optarim *B*, optauerim *A* | 32 philosophiam *A MS C*, linguam *B*

## DE SACRIFICIIS

Enimuero si quis recensere velit, quae stultissimi mortales factitant in sacris,  
in festis diebus, in adeundis salutandisque diis, tum quas res ab illis petant,  
quae vota faciant, cuiusmodi sint, quae de illis sentiunt statuuntque, equidem  
5 haud scio, sitne quisquam animo curis ita confecto, vsqueadeo moesto, quin  
risurus sit, vbi perpenderit negotii tum absurditatem, tum amentiam. At multo  
antequam ridere incipiat, opinor, secum illud expendet: vtrum pios istos appel-  
lari conueniat, an contra diis inimicos atque infoelices ac genios malos, qui  
quidem numen ipsum rem vsqueadeo humilem atque abiectam existiment esse,  
10 vt humanis egeat obsequiis vtque adulatione capiatur ac gaudeat: rursus vt  
stomachetur atque iracunde ferat, si negligatur. Nam Aetolica illa mala, simul-  
que Calydoniorum calamitates, totque hominum caedes, ad haec et Meleagri  
interitum, haec omnia a Diana authore profecta esse praedicant, quae videlicet  
grauiter ferret, quod ab Oeneo non esset ad sacrificium adhibita. Vsqueadeo  
15 nimirum alte dolor hic animo illius insederat, quod sacris epulis esset frustrata.  
Quin illam iam mihi videre videor, vt erat id temporis, in coelo solitariam, reli-  
quis diis ad Oenei conuiuium profectis foras, miseris modis gerentem sese, ac  
miserabiliter eiulantem, quod ab eiusmodi festo esset abfutura. Contra Aethio-  
pes illos fortunatos, ac multis modis foelices quis dixerit, si modo Iuppiter illis  
20 gratiam referret pro humanitate, quam in initio poematis Homerici in ipsum  
exhibuerant, duodecim perpetuos dies epulis acceptum, idque quum reliquis  
LB 326 etiam diis comitatus ad conuiuium veniret. | Vsqueadeo nihil, vt apparet, quic-  
quid faciunt illi, gratis faciunt: verum sua bona vendunt mortalibus, atque  
emere quidem ab illis licet omnia, puta bonam valitudinem bucula, diuitias  
25 bobus quatuor, tum regnum bobus centum, praeterea sospitem ab Troia in  
Pylum reditum tauris nouem; iam ex Aulide ad Ilium transmittendi facultatem  
regia puella. Nam alius quidam, ne id temporis vrbs caperetur, a Minerua mer-  
catus est bobus duodecim ac peplo. Verisimile est autem, esse praeterea quae-

9 existiment *A B*, existimant *C* | 19–20 illis ... humanitate *B*, meminert humanitatis ac  
benignitatis illorum *A* | 26 Ilium *MS C*, illum *A B*



dam, quae vel gallo, vel corolla, vel solo thure ab illis redimi queant. Haec igitur quum non ignoraret, opinor, Chryses ille, vtpote tum sacerdos tum senex, diuinarumque rerum egregie peritus, posteaquam re infecta redisset ab Agamemnone, tanquam qui pridem Apollini mutuuum dedisset beneficium, ita nunc imputat ac reposcit vicem, quin conuiciatur etiam propemodum, nempe quum 5  
 sic ait: Equidem, Apollo egregie, templum tuum, quum id temporis adhuc esset incoronatum, saepenumero coronis ornaui, deinde tam multas tibi in aris adoleui coxas taurorum pariter atque caprarum. At tu contra me negligis, quum huiusmodi patiar iniurias, proque nihilo ducis hominem bene de te meritum. Qua quidem oratione in tantum ille pudefactus est, vt protinus arrepto arcu, ac 10  
 supra nauium stationem sese collocans, pestem in Graecorum copias iacularetur, ne mulis quidem et canibus intactis. Sed quoniam de Apolline incidit mentio, referam de eodem et alia quae de illo sapientes isti tradunt, non illa quidem, quoties quam infoeliciter amarit, non Hyacinthi caedem, neque Daphnes superbiam, verum quemadmodum damnatus etiam fuerit, et ob Cyclopes interfectos in exilium exactus. Vnde factum vt e coelo in terram demitteretur, humana iam sorte vsurus, nostrisque malis factus obnoxius. Praeterea autem quemadmodum in Thessalia mercenariam operam suam locarit apud Admetum, tum item in Phrygia apud Laomedontem, atque apud hunc quidem haud solus, verum cum Neptuno, quum ambo propter egestatem lateres componerent, inque 20  
 construendis moenibus operam praestarent. Ac ne mercedem quidem solidam a Phryge illo tulerunt, verum debebat illis adhuc de summa, vt ferunt, plus triginta drachmas Troiani nomismatis. Quid enim? An non haec in deorum honorem fabulantur poetae? atque his etiam multo diuiniora de Neptuno, de Prometheo, de Saturno, de Rhea, denique de vniuersa ferme Iouis familia, idque 25  
 inuocatis, vt adsint canentibus in exordio poematum, Musis, a quibus tandem velut afflati numine, id quod apparet, huiusmodi quaedam cantant: Quemadmodum Saturnus, vt primum Coelum patrem suum execuisset, ipse in eo regnauerit, deinde liberos suos deuorarit, sicuti ferunt fecisse et Argium illum Thyestem. Deinde quemadmodum Iuppiter furtim occultatus a Rhea, saxum 30  
 pueri loco subiiciente, in Cretam sit ablegatus, atque inibi a capella nutrice sit alitus; itidem videlicet, vt Telephus a cerua, Cyrus Persa, is qui prior regnauit, a cane narratur enutritus. Postea quemadmodum expulso patre, atque in vincula coniecto, ipse potitus sit imperio. Duxerat autem vxores complureis quidem alias; sed postremo loco Iunonem germanam, idque iuxta Persarum et 35  
 Assyriorum institutum. Tum autem quod esset in amores propensus, atque in Venerem effusus, facile coelum liberis expleuerit. Quorum alios ex suae sortis deabus crearit; alios contra nothos, ex mortali terrestrique genere sustulerit, quum interim generosus ille, nunc in aurum, nunc in taurum, nunc in cygnum aut aquilam verteretur; ac in summa plures sibi formas assumeret quam vel 40  
 Proteus ipse. Porro Mineruam e suo ipsius capite progenuit, hanc plane sub

ipso cerebro complexus. Nam Bacchum imperfectum adhuc (vt aiunt) e matre  
 etiamnum conflagrante surreptum, in suum femur illatum defodit; deinde vr-  
 gente partu execut. Nec his dissimilia de Iunone etiam canunt. Nempe hanc  
 5 citra virilem congressum, subuenteo conceptu grauidam puerum aedidisse  
 Vulcanum: atque eum quidem non admodum fortunatum, verum excusorem  
 ac fabrum aerarium, quique perpetuo tum in igni, tum in fumo versetur, ac  
 scintillis oppletum, quippe cuius ars in fornacibus exerceatur. Tum autem ne  
 pedibus quidem integris; claudicare enim e ruina quum a Ioue praeceps datus  
 esset e caelo. Quod ni Lemnii pro sua bonitate eum, dum adhuc ferretur in  
 LB 327 aere, suscepissent, perierat uobis Vulcanus, non aliter quam A|styanax e turri  
 11 deiectus. Quanquam quae de Vulcano narrant, toleranda videantur. Caeterum  
 de Prometheo, cui non cognitum est, quam atrociam sit passus, propterea quod  
 supra modum humanae gentis amans fuerit? Siquidem hunc Iuppiter in Scy-  
 15 thiam deportatum, super Caucasum montem cruci suffixit: adhibita illi aquila,  
 quae iecur illius assidue circumroderet. Hic itaque poenas pendit. Porro Rhea  
 (nam sunt haec quoque simul referenda) an non indecore atque indigne facit?  
 Iam anus quum sit et aetate exacta, iisque rebus intempestiua, deinde tam mul-  
 torum mater deorum, dum pueros adhuc adamat, eosque zelotypia prosequitur,  
 dumque Atten ipsum leonibus secum circumuectat, praesertim quum iam vtilis  
 20 esse non queat? Itaque quinam posthac vitio vertat aliquis, vel Veneri quod  
 adulteretur, vel Dianae quod ad Endymionem frequenter medio e cursu diuer-  
 tens descendat? Sed age missas faciamus has fabulas, atque ipsum coelum con-  
 scendamus, poetico illo more subuolantes, ea nimirum via, quam vnam pariter  
 cum Homero Hesiodus commonstrat, contemplaturi, quem in modum singula  
 25 apud illos sint ordinata. Ac primum quidem, quod forinsecus sit ferreum, vel  
 ab Homero, qui id ante nostram aetatem dixit, audiuius. Quod si superas, ac  
 sublato paulum capite sursum aspexeris, ac plane in ipsum quasi dorsum perue-  
 neris, ibi simul et lumen apparet candidius, et serenior sol, et astra fulgentiora,  
 nihilque vsquam oculis occurrit nisi clarus dies, ac solum vndique aureum.  
 30 Caeterum introgredienti, primo loco mansitant Horae, quippe quae portas  
 seruant. Post eas Iris ac Mercurius, vtpote ministri Iouis et internuntii. Deinde  
 Vulcani fabrilis officina, omnigena referta artificio. Postea deorum aedes, ac  
 Iouis ipsius regia: quae quidem omnia Vulcanus pulcherrime fabricatus sit. At  
 vero dii iuxta Iouem assidentes (conuenit enim, opinor, vt in supernis illis sedi-  
 35 bus magno strepitu fastuque viuatur) in terram despiciunt: et quoquoversum  
 intento capite circumspectant, sicunde subuolantem ignem videant, aut nido-  
 rem in aera surgentem, circaque fumum rotantem sese. Quod si quis forte  
 sacrum faciat, epulantur omnes fumo inhiantes, ac muscarum in morem san-  
 guinem exugentes circum aras effusum. Alioqui si domi cibum capiant, nec-  
 40 tare atque ambrosia vicitant. Nam olim homines etiam ab illis in conuiuium

1 imperfectum adhuc *MS C, om. A B* | 2 etiamnum *MS C, etiamdum A B* | 26 superans *A, corr. B* | 30 quae *A B C D, om. E* | 32 omnigeno *E*

sunt adhibiti, vnaque cum eis potarunt, nempe Ixion ac Tantalus; verum illi quoniam vim et raptum pararent essentque futiles et garruli, ob id in hunc quoque diem poenas luunt. Porro reliquo mortalium generi coelum iam inaccessible est atque occultum. Et in hunc quidem modum viuunt a diis. Proinde videlicet etiam mortales ipsi in colendis illis consimilia quaedam atque istis consentanea 5 moliuntur. Nam primum lucos illis attribuerunt, tum et montes dicarunt, praeterea aues consecrarunt; deinde suam cuique arborem assignarunt. His factis per regiones illos distributos colunt, eosque velut in ciuitatem suam receptant. Nempe Apollinem Delphi Delique; Mineruam Athenienses, quae quidem Graecis Athena dicta, vel ipso vocabulo se ei reipublicae familiarem esse testatur; 10 Argiui Iunonem; Mygdonii Rheam; Venerem Paphii. Rursum autem Cretenses Iouem affirmant non modo vixisse apud sese nutritumque fuisse, verum etiam sepulchrum illius ostendunt. At nos scilicet interim tam multis iam seculis fallimur, qui quidem opinemur Iouem tonare, pluere, reliquaque omnia peragere, et illud nos latuit, eum iam olim fuisse defunctum, et apud Cretenses sepultum. 15 Deinde vero phanis in honorem illorum erectis, ne tectis videlicet aut penatibus careant, formas illorum exprimunt, adhibito ad id vel Praxitele vel Polycleto vel Phidia. At hi quidem artifices, haud scio vbinam visam eorum effigiem repraesentant. Ac Iouem quidem barbaturum fingunt, Apollinem vero semper puerum, Mercurium iam pubescentem | primamque ducentem lanuginem, Neptunum nigro capillitio, caesiis oculis Mineruam. Attamen qui templa ingrediuntur, non iam arbitrantur sese videre vel ebur ab Indis aduectum, vel e Thracum venis effossum aurum, verum ipsum Saturni Rhaeaeque filium a Phidia in terram hospitem adductum, iussumque Pisanorum in solitudine custodem ac speculatorem assistere: idque hoc contentum praemio, bonique consulentem, si intra quinque perpetuos annos dum Olympia celebrantur, interim obiter illi sacrificet aliquis. Tum autem constitutis aris, designatis sacrorum septis, puris vasis collocatis, victimas offerunt, bouem aratorem agricola, agnum opilio, capram caprarius. Est qui thus, est qui placentulam offerat. At si quis pauper, is ita deo litat, vt dexteram duntaxat suam ipsius exosculetur. Iam 30 vero quum immolant (nam ad illos redeo), primum sertis coronant pecudem, multoque ante explorant, num legitima sit et sacris idonea, ne quid forte mactent ex his quae religio repudiat, deinde ad aram applicant, ac sub oculis dei iugulant, flebile quiddam emugientem beneque, sicuti licet coniiicere, ominatum, denique voce iam leuiore ad sacri tibias respondentem. Quis vero non facile 35 coniectet gaudere deos, quum ista spectant? Quin et in frontispicio posita scriptura denuntiat, ne quis intra pura vasa consistat, qui manibus sit impuris. Atqui sacrificus ipse sanguine foedatus, neque aliter quam Cyclops ille pecudem incidit, intestina educit, cor reuellit, cruorem arae circumfundit, ecquid

30 suam ipsius *B*, illius *A* | 34 ominatam *E* | 35 denique ... respondentem *B*, iamque voce submissiore sonans quod ad rem diuinam sit accommodatum *A* | 36-37 et in ... denuntiat *B*, ante sacrum denunciationem aiunt fieri *A* | 39 ecquid *A*, et quid *B*

tandem non obiens peragensque, quod ad pietatem sacrorumque ritum pertineat? Post omnia demum incenso igni, capram ipsam pariter cum pelle deportatam imponit, ipsam item cum lanis ouem. Nidor interim ille sacer atque diuinus sursum fertur, atque in ipsum vsque coelum subuectus paulatim diffunditur. Iam vero Scythae reliquis omnibus hostiis omissis, vt quas viles atque humiles existiment, ipsos homines mactant Dianae, atque eo ritu deam placant. Verum haec fortassis modesta videantur, cumque his ea quae factitant Assyrii, quae Phryges, quae Lydi. Verum si in Aegyptum proficiscaris, ibi demum, ibi videbis permulta religiosa planeque coelo digna: puta Iouem arietino vultu, Mercurium illum optimum facie canina, Panem vero totum hircum, ad haec alium Ibim, alium Crocodilum, alium etiam Simiam. Quod si his quoque de rebus

*quo plane pernosse queas didicisse licebit,*

complures sophistas audies, tum scribas ac prophetas, mento raso, qui tibi narrent (sed prius, vt dici solet, fores occlude prophane), quemadmodum videlicet quondam ea seditione territi, quam mouerant hostes atque gigantes, in Aegyptum deuenerint, vt illic in posterum tuti ab hostibus latitarent, et ob eam causam alius hircum induerit, alius arietem, nimirum prae formidine, alius feram, alius auem. Atque hinc esse vt dii nunc etiam eas obtineant formas, quas id temporis assumpserant. Nam haec diligenter mandata literis idque ante annos plus decies mille in adytis illorum reposita seruantur. Porro sacrorum peragendorum idem ferme apud illos ritus, nisi quod hostiam luctu prosequuntur, iamque mactatae circumfusi membra laniant. Sunt qui sepeliant duntaxat, posteaquam occiderint. Nam Apis ille, qui quidem deus apud illos est maximus, si quando moriatur, quis vsqueadeo magni faciat caesariem suam, qui non eam detondeat, ac nudo capite luctum prae se ferat, etiam si vel purpuream Nisi comam habuerit? Est autem hic Apis deus ex armento iam antea suffragiis designatus, vtpote multo formosior ac venerabilior reliquis illis priuatis et gregariis bubus. Haec igitur quum sic habeant, et tamen a vulgo vera seriatque credantur, mihi quidem postulare videntur, non qui reprehendat, sed vel Heraclitum potius aliquem vel Democritum, quorum hic amentiam eorum rideat, ille deploret incitiam.

3 ipsam *E*, ipsa *A B C D* | 4 ipsam *A*, *corr.* *B* | 6 Dianae *E*, Artemidi *A B C D* | 15 fores occlude prophane *B*, foras abitate prophani *A*

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS IOANNI EUTYCHIO SVO S.P.D.

LB 329

Quaquam hic Luciani dialogus, Eutychi doctissime, plurimum habeat artis ob decorum mire seruatum in personis tam multis tamque diuersis, tamen aliquot repperi qui dicerent esse premendum, quod liberius ac velut ἐξ ἀμάξης philosophorum omne genus laceret. At mihi videtur iustius esse stomachandum in huius saeculi mores, quo videmus philosophorum ac theologorum scholas multo puerilius etiam inter se dissidere nec minus atrociter digladiari; tum inter religionis professores nihilominus cruentam esse pugnam quam in eo conuiuio fuisse Lucianus vel finxit vel retulit. Hunc igitur libellum, quoniam forte ἀδέσποτον repperi et tamen patrono videbatur egere, Eutychio dicaui. Bene vale καὶ εὐτύχει, vt plane sis quod diceris. Antuerpiae An. M.D.XVII.

## CONVIVIVM SEV LAPITHAE

LB 329

Philon. Lucianus.

PHILON. Nouam quandam et variam disputationem, Luciane, vobis fuisse  
narrant, super coenam apud Aristaenetum: tum philosophicos quosdam ser-  
5 mones dictos, ac super his summam contentionem exortam fuisse. Quod ni  
mentitus est Charinus, etiam ad vulnera vsque rem processisse: denique san-  
guine conflictum fuisse diremptum.

LVCIANUS. Atqui vndenam, Philon, ista rescivit Charinus? Neque enim is  
nobiscum aderat in conuiuio.

10 PHIL. E Dionico medico aiebat audisse sese; porro Dionicus etiam ipse e  
conuiuuarum numero fuit, opinor.

LVC. Fuit maxime. Verum ne is quidem ab initio rebus omnibus fuit prae-  
sens, sed serius aduenerat, media ferme pugna, pauloque ante vulnera. Proinde  
demiror, si quid comperti certius referre potuit, qui non ordine spectarit illa,  
15 vnde inter illos nata lis, postea ad sanguinem vsque deducta est.

PHIL. Proinde, Luciane, Charinus etiam ipse, si rem compertius vellem cog-  
noscere, et quo singula modo sint gesta doceri, te adirem iussit. Nam Dionicum  
etiam ipsum fassum fuisse, ne se quidem toti negotio praesentem adfuisse. Te  
vero quicquid esset actum, id omne comperto certoque scire; tum etiam quae  
20 dicta inter illos fuerint, meminisse, quippe qui eiusmodi non obiter neque  
neglectim audire, sed per ocium atque attente auscultari sis solitus. Proinde  
nunquam effugies, quin nos hoc suauissimo accipias epulo; quo mihi quidem  
haud scio an vllum possit accidere iucundius, praesertim quod sobrii per ocium  
tuto ac citra sanguinem, extraque teli, quod aiunt, iactum constituti sumus  
25 epulaturi, siue senes aliquid super coenam sunt debacchati siue etiam iuuenes a  
mero compulsi sunt, quae neququam fas erat, tum dicere, tum facere.

LVC. Iuuenilius tu quidem, Philon, atque inconsultius haec nos iubes in  
vulgus efferre, eaque referre, quae inter pocula ab ebriis sunt acta; quum haec

3 disputationem Luciane *B*, vitae faciem Luciane variumque coetum *A* | 4-5 philosophicos ...  
summam *B*, philosophicas quasdam deceptions habitus summamque inter ipsos *A* | 16  
Proinde Luciane *B*, verum hinc adeo Philon *A*

magis oporteat obliuioni tradere, eaque omnia Baccho deo velut auctori impu-  
tare. Qui quidem haud scio an quenquam suis non afflatum orgiis et Bacchana-  
lium expertem praeterierit. Proinde vide ne hominis sit parum bene morati,  
eiusmodi adamussim exquirere, quae rectius erat in conuiuio reliquisse, atque  
ita discedere. Siquidem odi (sicut inquit versus poeticus) memorem compoto- 5  
rem. Ne a Dionico quidem recte factum, qui haec apud Charinum effutiuerit,  
immodicamque et pridianam dissiparit temulentiam hominum philosophorum.  
Caeterum ego absit vt istiusmodi quippiam sim dicturus.

PHIL. Nugas agis, Luciane, quum ista dicis. Quin haudquaquam oportebat  
ad istum modum apud me praesertim agere, vt qui certo sciam, te multo cupi- 10  
diorem esse narrandi quam ego sim audiendi; adeo vt mihi videaris, si desint  
qui te audiant, vel ad columnam aliquam aut statuam libenter accessurus, quo  
cuncta pariter euomas. Quod si nunc coner discedere, non sines, ni te prius  
audiero, abire: verum vltro aderis, consectabere, rogabis. At tum ego te vicis- 15  
sim lusero. Iamque adeo, si ita vis, abimus, ex alio quopiam haec eadem audi-  
turi. Tu vero ne dicitō.

LVC. Age ne quid succenseas: equidem dicam, quandoquidem vsqueadeo  
cupidus es audiendi: verum heus ea lege, ne passim in vulgus efferas.

PHIL. Ni prorsus ignoro Lucianum, tute isthuc potius feceris. Nam prior  
ipse denar|rabis omnibus, vt me quidem ad nihil futurum sit opus. Sed illud 1B 330  
mihi primo responde loco: Aristaenetus num filio Zenoni dabat vxorem, atque 21  
ita in nuptiis eius vos accepit?

LVC. Non: imo filiam suam elocauit Cleantidem, idque Eucriti nummularii  
filio, qui philosophiae dat operam.

PHIL. Formoso admodum, per Iouem, adolescentulo, tametsi tenero adhuc 25  
et vxoriae rei non admodum maturo.

LVC. Verum: at non inueniebat, opinor, alterum generum magis idoneum.  
Hunc igitur qui tum modestus videretur, tum ad philosophiae studium propen-  
sus, praeterea autem vnicus Eucriti diuitis, ex omnibus delegit filiae suae mari-  
tum. 30

PHIL. Causam neququam leuem dixisti, nempe quia diues sit Eucritus. Ve-  
rum heus, Luciane, quinam erant conuiuiae?

LVC. Reliquos illos quorsum attinuerit tibi recensere? Verum e philosopho-  
rum numero ac litteratorum, quos potissimum, opinor, audire cupis, Zenothe- 35  
mis erat, senex ille Stoicus; vnaque cum hoc Diphilus, cui cognomen Labyrin-  
thus: et hic quidem quod esset Zenoni Aristaeneti filio praeceptor. Deinde  
Peripateticae factionis Cleodemus; nosti hominem, nempe dicacem illum et  
argutum, atque ad refellendum instructum; discipuli Gladium ac Bipennem no-  
minant. Quin et Hermon aderat Epicureus. Verum hunc, quum ingrederetur,  
Stoici toruis obtuebantur oculis, et auersabantur, palamque perinde quasi par- 40

9 Quin *B*, quanquam *A* | 23 elocauit *B*, ille locauit *A* | 27 opinor *B*, *om.* *A* | 29 diuiti *A*,  
*corr.* *B* | 36 Zenoni *MS C*, *om.* *A B*

ricidam quempiam atque impium ac funestum detestabantur. Et hi quidem tanquam Aristaeneti ipsius amici, familiaresque fuerant ad coenam vocati, quos comitabatur et Istiaeus grammaticus et Dionysodorus rhetor. Iam vero propter sponsum Cheream vna cum illo conuiuium accesserat Ion ille Platonius, quod  
 5 is iuueni praeceptor esset, vir venerandus aspectu, ac maiestatis quiddam prae se ferens, multumque dignitatis ipso ostendens ore; vnde nonnulli propter animi constantiam ac rectitudinem Regulam illum appellant. Huic simul vt ingrediebatur assurebant omnes, ac veluti praecipuum quendam ac primum hominem comiter atque officiose exceperunt; adeo vt plane numen aliquod aduenire videretur, quum adesset Ion admirandus ille. Tandem vero, quum iam  
 10 omnes ferme conuiuiae praesentes essent, tempus erat vt discumberetur. Itaque ad dextram ingressus totam illam spondam mulieres (erant autem complures) occupabant. Inter quas erat et sponsa, summo studio culta, hinc atque hinc stipata foeminis. Porro ex aduerso ostii altera turba, pro cuiusque dignitate  
 15 locis distributis. Porro e regione mulierum primo loco accumbebat Eucritus, secundo Aristaenetus: sub haec ambigi coeptum, vtrum altero priorem opereretur accumbere, Zenothemimne Stoicum, quippe senem, an Hermonem Epicureum. Nam hic erat Castoris ac Pollucis sacerdos, tum autem nobilissimae inter ciues familiae. Verum eam haesitationem sustulit Zenothemis: Si me, inquit,  
 20 Aristaenete, minoris ducis Hermone, viro videlicet isto, vt ne quid aliud mali dicam, Epicureo, discedo, totumque conuiuium vobis relinquo. Et puerum protinus aduocat, discedere parans. Tum Hermon: Imo habeto, inquit, tibi priores partes, Zenothemi. Quamquam etiam si nihil aliud, vel hoc nomine par erat concedi, quod sacerdos sim, vt plane contemnas Epicurum. Rideo, inquit Zenothemis, sacerdotem Epicureum, simulque cum dicto accumbebat. Post hunc  
 25 tamen Hermon, deinde Cleodemus Peripateticus, pone hunc Ion, proxime hunc sponsus, post eum ego, iuxta me Diphilus; huic assidebat Zenon discipulus, postremo rhetor Dionysodorus cum Istiaeo grammatico.

LB 331

PHIL. Papae, Luciane, Musarum conuentum quendam mihi narras fuisse  
 30 istud conuiuium, quippe plurimis sapientibus ac doctis viris refertum. Ego vero laudo Aristaenetum, qui quum optatissimam illam ac splendidissimam solemnitatem celebraret, prae caeteris sapientissimos viros adhibere voluerit, idque adeo delectis ex vnaquaque philosophiae secta praecipuis, non hos aduocans illos praeteriens, verum promiscue vocans omnes.

LVC. Is vero nequaquam est e vulgariu istorum diuitum numero, verum et  
 35 litterarum est studiosus ac maximam vitae partem in his rebus versatur. Coenabamus igitur initio quidem taciti et quieti, variusque erat apparatus et omni iugus. Neque enim arbitror operae precium vt numero recenseam etiam illa condimenta, cupedias, aromata atque id genus illectamenta. Cuncta siquidem affatim suppetebant. Inter haec Cleodemus admoto ad Ionis aurem ore: Non vides,  
 40

4 accesserat nos, -rant edd. | 9-10 aduenire B, praesens esse A | 18-19 tum ... familiae B, om. A | 23 par B, mihi par A | 36 versatur B, versatus est A



inquit, senem illum (Zenothemim dicebat; subauscultabam enim) vt sese opsoniis ingurgitat, vtque iure vestem oppleuit, tum quam multa puero a tergo stanti porrigit, putans interim se aliorum oculos fallere, neque meminit post sese accumbentium? Haec igitur fac et Luciano commonstres, quo testis esse possit. Mihi vero nihil Ione monstratore opus erat, quippe qui haec multo ante 5  
limis iam oculis praeuideram. Haec simulatque dixisset Cleodemus, irruit in conuiuium et Alcidamas Cynicus, atque is quidem inuocatus, vulgatum illud festiuitatis gratia praefatus de *Menelao, qui vltro ad fratris conuiuium accessisset*. Itaque plerisque turpiter atque impudenter visus est fecisse, et quod cuique tum forte in mentem veniebat, in eum torquebant, alius illud '*Insanis, Menelae*', 10  
alius rursus '*Verum Agamemnoniae menti non ista placebant*'. Ad haec alia quae pro tempore salse lepideque dici poterant, in eum obmurmurabant. Nam palam nullus audebat quicquam dicere, propterea quod metuerent Alcidamantem, vtpote conuiciatorem egregium vnumque e Cynicis omnibus clamosissimum. Qua quidem re adeo visus est reliquis antecellere, vt nulli non esset formidandus. 15  
At Aristaenetus collaudatum illum quod inuocatus aduenisset, iussit accepta sella iuxta Istiaeam ac Dionysodorum accumbere. At ille: Apage, inquit, muliebri quiddam ac molle dicis, vti in scamno aut sella sedeam, quemadmodum facitis vos, mollibus in stratis pene supini recumbentes purpura suffulti. Quin ego tibi vel stans coenauero in ipso interim conuiuio etiam obambulans. 20  
Quod si defatigatus fuero, tum humi substrato pallio cubito innixus cubuero, qualem videlicet Herculem pingunt. Ita fiat, inquit Aristaenetus, siquidem isthuc mauis. Sub haec Alcidamas in orbem conuiuium lustrans coenabat Scytharum ritu ad vberiora pascua subinde sese transferens, vnaque cum his qui inferebant edulia circumiens atque obambulans. Atque interim tamen dum cibum caperet, haudquaquam negotio vacabat, de virtute obiter, de vitio disserens, tum in aurum atque argentum dicteria iaculans; iamque Aristaenetum percontabatur, quidnam sibi vellent tam multa, tam magna pocula, quum non minus vsui possent esse fictilia. Verum Aristaenetus iam obturbantem molestumque esse pergenter in praesens quidem compescuit, ministro innuens vt 30  
ingentem calicem infuso meracissimo vino illi porrigeret. Atque id quidem visus est optime excogitasse, nondum etiam intelligens quantorum malorum is calix esset author futurus. Hunc igitur vt accepisset Alcidamas, aliquantis per silentium agebat. Ac solo sternens sese cubabat seminudus, quemadmodum facturum sese fuerat pollicitus, cubito humi fixo innitens, simulque dextra 35  
scyphum sustinens, qualem Herculem apud Pholum pictores effingunt. Iam vero et inter alios calix assidue circumagebatur, tum inuitatiunculae ad bibendum et confabulationes ortae, demum et lucernae illatae. Interim ego quum puerum qui iuxta Cleodemum adstabat (erat autem is pocillator egregie for-

3-4 meminit ... accumbentium *B*, quid se deceat memor *A* | 17 accumbere *E*, accumberet *A B C D* | 19 suffulti *B*, circumfulti *A* | 31 Atque id *B*, ac sibi *A* | 32 optime excogitasse *B*, rem vtilissimam fecisse *A*

mosus) subridentem vidissem (nam, arbitror, quicquid obiter inter coenandum  
 obtigit commemorari oportere, maxime si quid sit elegantius ac scite factum),  
 iam admodum attentus observare coepi quidnam rei rideret. Ac paulo post  
 accedebat puer tanquam calicem a Cleodemo recepturus. At ille simul et digitum  
 5 illius substringebat et drachmas puto duas vna cum calice tradebat. Porro  
 puer ad substrictum digitum rursus arridebat. Caeterum de pecunia quum non  
 LB 332 sensisset, opinor eo|que non reciperet, in terram delapsis drachmis strepitus  
 est concitatus, moxque ambo pariter rubore suffundebantur, idque ita palam vt  
 nemo non animaduerneret. Ambigebatur igitur inter eos qui proxime sede-  
 10 bant, cuiusnam essent illi nummi, quum et puer negaret a se proiectos et Cleo-  
 demus item, iuxta quem strepitus acciderat, sibi excidisse dissimularet. Verum  
 ea res tum neglecta est ac conniuenter omissa, propterea quod id quod acciderat  
 non ita multi vidissent, praeter vnum (vt mihi quidem visum est) Aristaenetum.  
 Nam is paulopost puerum loco mouit, clanculum ablegans et alii cuidam innuit  
 15 vti Cleodemo pocillator assisteret, videlicet ex exoletis illis ac robustis mulioni  
 aut equisoni cuiquam. Ad hunc modum ea res vtcunque abiit, summum alioqui  
 allatura pudorem Cleodemo, siquidem ad omnes permanisset ac non protinus  
 occupans Aristaenetus eam sopisset, ciuilitate dextreque admodum inducta tem-  
 20 ulentia. Caeterum Alcidas (iam enim potus erat) percontatus quidnam  
 esset nomen puellae nubenti, tum clara voce indicto silentio simulatque ad  
 foeminas conuerso vultu: Praebibo, inquit, tibi Cleanthi, Herculis Archegetae  
 omine. Sub haec quum risissent omnes: Ridetis, inquit, sacrilegi, quod sponsae  
 Herculis dei mei nomine propinauerim? Imo illud scito opus est: ni scyphum a  
 me traditum accipiat, nunquam futurum vt illi filius obtingat talis qualis ego  
 25 sum, virtute interritus, animo liber, tum corpore adeo robusto. Simulque cum  
 dicto sese magis etiam renudabat etiam vsque ad illa quae sunt maxime pudenda.  
 Ad ea quum iterum arrisissent conuiuiae, indignatus ille surrexit toruis iam  
 atque efferatis obtuens oculis, vultuque ipso testans iam neque pacem neque  
 quietem acturum amplius. Forsitan et baculum illisisset alicui, ni commodum id  
 30 temporis placenta praegrans fuisset illata. Nam hanc simulatque conspexit,  
 lenior ac mitior esse coepit ac stomachari desiit, obambulans interim ac placen-  
 tam auide vorans. Iam vero plerique temulenti esse coeperant, et clamoribus  
 vndique perstrepebat conuiuium. Nam et Dionysodorus rhetorem illic agens,  
 orationes quasdam pronuntiabat laudabaturque a ministris qui a tergo assiste-  
 35 bant. Et Istiaeus grammaticus vicissim, qui post illum accumbebat, versuum  
 centones quosdam recitabat, Pindari, Hesiodi et Anacreontis carmina simul  
 contexens atque consarcinans, ita vt ex omnibus vnicam redderet cantilenam  
 oppido quam ridiculam. In primis autem illa perinde quasi vaticinans de his  
 quae postea acciderunt:

5 puto *B*, *om. A* | 16 vtcunque *B*, vtrisque *A* | 17 allatura *B*, illatura *A* | 18-19 sopisset ...  
 temulencia *B*, sepelisset petulantiam ciuilitate commodeque ferens *A* | 21-22 Herculis Arch.  
 nomine (omine *C*) *MS C*, Herculis nomine *B*, Hercule duce atque auspice *A*

*Commisere simul clypeos.*

Tum illud quoque:

*Tum vero clamorque virum luctusque coortus.*

At vero Zenothemis libellulum quempiam minutis conscriptum litterulis a  
 puero acceptum legebat. Verum quum ii quorum partes erant edulia inferre, 5  
 aliquantisper ita vt solent cessarent morarenturque, Aristaenetus, sedulo curans  
 ne vel id interea temporis aut ociosum esset aut voluptatis expers, accersitum  
 intro morionem iussit ridiculum aliquid vel dicere vel facere, quo magis etiam  
 exhilararentur conuiuiae. Moxque ingressus deformis quidam, deraso capite,  
 pauculos capillos in vertice gestans eosque cristae in morem erectos, hic salta- 10  
 bat atque inter saltandum, quo maiorem concitaret risum, rotatu sese circum-  
 agebat distorquebatque. Tum cymbalo concusso sonabat interim quiddam lin-  
 guam imitans Aegyptiorum. Postremo dicteria quaedam iaculabatur in eos qui  
 aderant. Ac reliqui scommate tacti ridebant. Verum vbi et in Alcidamantem 15  
 simile quiddam torsisset, catulum illum Melitaeum appellans, indignatus ille  
 (iamdudum autem prae se ferebat quod inuideret illi, dum probaretur ac conui-  
 uarum oculos retineret) abiecto pallio, vt secum luctaretur prouocauit. Quod ni  
 faceret: Hunc, inquit, baculum tibi impingam. Atque ita miser ille Satyrion  
 (nam id erat morioni nomen) congressus cum eo pancratio decertebat. Erat id  
 spectaculi multo iucundissimum, quippe quum viderent hominem philoso- 20  
 phum cum morione compositum quum ferire, tum vicissim feriri. Proinde qui  
 aderant partim pudore tangebantur, partim ridebant, donec iam ictus Alcida-  
 mas pugnam detrectaret ab homuncione omnium plausu comprobato certamine  
 superatus. Haec igitur quum essent non mediocri risu excepta, ibi tandem in-  
 gressus et Dionicus medicus haud multo post peractam concertationem. Aiebat 25  
 autem in mora fuisse Polyprepontem tibicinem, dum hunc phre|nesi correptum  
 curandi gratia viseret. Ac plane quiddam risu dignum commemorabat. Dicebat  
 enim in aedes illius venisse sese ignarum etiam hominem iam eo morbo teneri.  
 At illum protinus surrexisse foribusque ocllulis ac nudato gladio tibias ipsas  
 sibi tradidisse iisque vti caneret iussisse. Deinde vbi id non posset, illum percus- 30  
 sisse, scuticam sublata manu gestantem. Sese porro in tanto periculo tale quid-  
 dam fuisse commentum. Nempe ad canendi certamen prouocasse hominem,  
 idque ea lege vt victus praescriptum certumque plagarum numerum acciperet.  
 Ac sese priorem cecinisse prae atque imperite, deinde traditis illi tibiis scuti- 35  
 cam ab illo recepisse, gladium autem extemplo per fenestras in aream abiecisse.  
 Dein quum minore iam discrimine cum illo luctaretur, auxilio aduocasse vicini-  
 nos. Eos reuulsisse belluam atque ita illorum opera seruatum sese. Ostendebat  
 autem et plagarum vestigia quaedam, nonnullaque in facie tubera liuentia. Ergo

12-13 linguam B, om. A | 15 Melitaeum B, in deliciis habendum A | 22 pudore tangebantur B, tacti gaudebant A | 26 Polyprepontem B, Polyprepum A | 31 scuticam E, scutum A B C D | 34-35 scuticam E, scutum A B C D

quum Dionicus ob huiusmodi fabulam non minus placuisset quam morio ipse, proxime Istiaeum reclinans sese de reliquiis coenabat. Atque hic quidem haud absque numine quodam nobis aduenerat, imo prorsum vsui futurus ad ea quae postea contigerunt. Nam prodiens in medium conuiuium puer quidam, qui se  
 5 ab Etoemocle Stoico venire diceret, epistolium quoddam adferens, aiebat ab hero sibi mandatum, vt eo palam omnibus audientibus perlecto, rursus domum sese reciperet. Hic igitur, permittente Aristaeneto, admotus ad lucernam legebat.

PHIL. Num orationem, Luciane, in sponsae laudem compositam aut carmen  
 10 nuptiale, quod genus permulta faciunt?

LVC. Videlicet nos quoque tale quippiam existimabamus. Verum ne accedebat quidem ad id, vt aiunt. Caeterum in litteris ita scriptum erat:

Etoemocles philosophus Aristaeneto

Quam non mouear conuiuuiis, omnis anteacta vita mea fuerit testis. Qui quidem, quum quotidie mihi complures ea causa molesti sint te multo ditiores,  
 15 tamen haud vnquam illis morem gessi, perpendens nimirum quantum sit in eiusmodi comotationibus tumultus, quantum licentiae petulantiaeque: verum aduersus vnum te mihi videor meo iure stomachatus, qui tantum temporis a me officiosissime cultus et obseruatus, tamen indignum habueris quem  
 20 vel inter reliquos amicos tuos numerares, sed solum ex omnibus praeterieris, idque quum vicinus essem. Proinde tua causa magis discrucior, qui quidem te tam ingratum praeberis. Nam ipse foelicitatem nequaquam in hoc statuo, si quis mihi impartiat vel suem siluestrem vel leporem vel placentam; quae mihi affatim contingunt apud alios qui officia norunt. Quandoquidem etiam  
 25 hodie quum apud discipulum Pammenem coenare mihi licuerit opiparam (vt vocant) coenam, non annui tamen vehementer obsecranti, tibi scilicet demens ego memetipsum reseruans. At tu nobis praeteritis alios accipis conuiuio. Idque merito facis, neque enim villo modo potes quid sit rectius dignoscere, nec apprehensiuam illam phantasiam habes. Caeterum haud sum  
 30 nescius vnde mihi ista sint profecta, nempe ab egregiis istis philosophis tuis Zenothemide ac Labyrintho. Quibus equidem (absit inuidia dicto) vel vnico syllogismo mihi videor os protinus obturare posse. Alioqui respondeat istorum aliquis quid sit philosophia aut haec quae inter elementa traduntur, quid habitio differat ab habitu, vt ne quid interim de perplexis illis rogationibus  
 35 proponam: quid sit syllogismus cornutus, quid aceralis, quid metens. Verum tu quidem istis fruaris licet. Nam ego qui solum in bonis ducam quod sit honestum, facile tulero contumeliam. Atqui ne possis posthac ad istam ex-

11 Videlicet *B*, quin *A* | 11-12 tale ... Caeterum *B*, istiusmodi quiddam facere consueuimus, verum nihil his rebus simile, siquidem *A* | 16 illis morem gessi *B*, adduci quiuerim vt illic me conferrem ac coenis me dederem *A* | 18 stomachatus *B*, stomachaturus *A*; qui *E*, qui quum *A B C D* | 24 officia *B*, quid cuique competat *A* | 29 apprehensiuam *B*, apprehensam *A*

cusationem confugere, vt dicas te mei oblitum fuisse, nimirum in tanto re-  
rum strepitu tantisque occupationibus, bis te hodie sum alloquutus, primum  
mane domi tuae, deinde rursum in Castoris ac Pollucis templo rem diuinam  
facientem. Ac his quidem de rebus haec responderim. Quod si tibi videor  
coenae gratia succensere, quid Oeneo acciderit cogitato. Videbis nimirum  
ipsam etiam Dianam indignantem quod ille se solam non adhibuerit ad sa-  
cificium, quum reliquos deos omnes acciperet conuiuio. Nam hac de re sic  
alicubi meminit Homerus:

*Seu quia non norat, seu non succurrerat illi;  
Acri ter est offensa tamen.*

5

10

Item Euripides:

*Calydon quidem haec Pelopeii regio soli  
Qua parte saenum spectat aduersa fretum  
Agros habens tum diuites tum fertiles.*

Rursum Sophocles:

*Immanis apri triste monstrum in Oenei  
Immisit agros gnata Latonae dea  
Docta eminus missis ferire spiculis.*

LB 334

16

Haec tibi e plurimis pauca citaui vt intelligeres cuiusmodi praeterito viro  
Diphilum ad coenam adhibeas, cui et ipsi filium commiseris tuum. Idque  
recte. Est enim iucundus adolescenti, et ita cum eo viuit vt placeat atque  
obsequatur: atque adeo ni mihi turpe dictu fuerat, addidissem et aliud  
quiddam. Quod quidem tu si libebit e Zopyro eius paedagogo verum esse  
cognosces. Verum non conuenit obturbare in nuptiis, neque accusare quen-  
quem praesertim criminibus vsqueadeo foedis ac pudendis. Tametsi Diphilus  
dignus in quem facerem, quippe qui duos iam discipulos a me retraxerit;  
ego tamen ipsius philosophiae causa reticebo. Porro famulo huic mandau  
vti, si quam ipsi partem dare velles vel apri vel cerui vel placentae, mihi de-  
portandam vt isthoc pacto te mihi de coena purgares, ne reciperet, ne ad hoc  
ipsum a nobis missus fuisse videatur.

20

25

30

Haec, amice, quum legerentur, sudor interim vtique mihi manabat prae pudore,  
simulque iam illud, quod vulgo dici solitum est, optabam, vt terra mihi dehis-  
ceret, quum viderem eos qui praesentes aderant ad singulas epistolae partes  
inter se ridentes, potissimum autem hos qui nouerant Etoemoclem virum can-  
num tantumque seueritatis prae se ferentem. Admirabantur igitur quod eius-

35

4 videor *B*, videre *A* | 10 Acriter ... tamen *B*, at dedit ingentes animi socordia clades *A* | 14  
Agros *MS C*, Argos *A B* | 19 citaui *B*, proposuerim *A* | 26 quem *B*, quem id *A* | 28 ipsi  
*A B C D*, om. *E* | 31 vtique *B*, vndique *A* | 35 tantumque ... ferentem *B*, quique tantum  
seueritatis ac modestiae prae se ferat *A*

modi vir esset, hactenus fugisse sese, barba videlicet ac vultus austeritate de-  
 ceptos. Caeterum Aristaenetum mihi quidem haud videbatur hominem con-  
 temptu negligentiaue praeterisse, verum quod desperasset, si fuisset inuitatus,  
 vnquam adduci posse vt annueret, vtque ad eiusmodi res se morigerum praebe-  
 5 ret, eoque ne tentandum quidem esse putasse. Ergo posteaquam puer iam  
 legere desiisset, vniuersum conuiuium in Diphilum ac Zenonem torquebant  
 oculos, quod hi iam metu trepidi sederent ac pallidi ipsaque vultus inconstantia  
 ac perplexitate crimen agnoscentes ab Etoemocle intentum. Porro Aristaenetus  
 quanquam esset sane perturbatus vehementerque consternatus animo, tamen  
 10 nos iubebat bibere, conans nimirum id quod euenerat commode vertere subri-  
 dens interim. Ac puerum redire iussit, respondens ea sibi curae fore. Paulo  
 autem post surgens et Zeno clanculum sese abduxit e conuiuio submonitus a  
 paedagogo vt discederet innuente, idque tanquam patris iussu. Ibi vero Cleo-  
 demus, qui iamdudum occasionem quaeritabat (nam gestiebat omnino cum  
 15 Stoicis conflictari, verum dirumpebatur quod non reperiret causam ad id satis  
 idoneam) tum igitur ansam praebente epistola: Huiusmodi, inquit, facit egre-  
 gius ille Chrysippus et Zenon ille mirabilis neque non Cleanthes, verba misera  
 neque quicquam praeter rogatiunculas et vmbras duntaxat philosophorum.  
 Caeterum Etoemocles sunt plerique omnes. Videtis quam et ipsae epistolae  
 20 graves sint ac seniles. Postremo Aristaenetus hic Oeneus est, Etoemocles Diana.  
 Dii boni, quam bene auspicata omnia quamque congrua celebrandae festiuita-  
 ti! Ita per Iouem, inquit Hermon, supra hunc accumbens. Inaudierat autem, vt  
 opinor, aprum quendam Aristaeneto paratum vt in conuiuio proponeretur,  
 eoque putabat non intempestiue factam mentionem apri illius Calydonii: Per  
 25 Lares, Aristaenete, fac quam primum sacri partem mittas, ne senex interim ille  
 fame pereat tanquam Meleager tabefactus. Tametsi nihil queat acerbum accide-  
 re, quandoquidem Chrysippus haec indifferentia censet esse. Itane vos Chrysi-  
 pum nominatis? inquit Zenothemis, erigens sese maximaque voce intonans:  
 30 An ex uno homine qui non legitime philosophiam exercent, nempe praestigia-  
 tore isto Etoemocle, Cleanthem ac Zenonem metimini viros sapientes? At qui  
 tandem estis ipsi vos, qui haec dicitis? An non tu, Hermon, Castoris et Pollucis  
 caesariem quam habebant auream circumtondisti? Cuius quidem facti poenam  
 dabis carnifici traditus. Tu porro, Cleodeme, nonne Sostrati discipuli tui vxo-  
 rem stuprasti? Nonne in adulterio eo deprehensus nefandissima passus es? An  
 35 non igitur silebitis quum huiusmodi dedecorum vobis sitis conscii? Atqui non  
 sum meae ipsius vxoris leno, Cleodemus inquit, quemadmodum tu, neque dis-  
 cipuli diuersantis apud me viaticum sustuli, quod is deposuerat, eoque facto  
 rapuisse me per Palladem deierans abnegauit, neque quaternis drachmis foenero,  
 neque discipulos obtorto collo in vincula duco, nisi in tempore mercedem per-

1 vir B, vix A | 2 Aristaenetum B, -tus A | 12 abduxit D, subduxit A B C | 19-20 plerique ...  
 seniles MS C, quamplurimi, vt videtis, quam sint seniles epistolae scilicet A B | 29 An B,  
 aut A | 37 quod is deposuerat MS C, om. A B | 38 Palladem B, caniciem A; dragmis B,  
 corr. MS C

soluerint. Verum illud, inquit | Zenothemis, haudquaquam possis inficias ire, LB 335  
 te Critoni venenum quo patrem necaret ministrasse. Atque interea forte bibe-  
 bat, quicquid autem erat in calice reliquum (erat autem ferme semiplenus) in  
 duos illos profundebat. Porro conspersus est pariter et Ion, idque praemii  
 tulit, quod illis vicinus accumberet, alioqui eo malo non indignus. Hermon 5  
 igitur demisso vertice merum e capite abstergebat, eos interim qui praesentes  
 erant attestans quod id genus contumeliis esset affectus. Cleodemus autem quum  
 non haberet calicem, inuadens primum conspuebat Zenothemidi. Deinde laeua  
 comprehensum a barba plagam in tempus erat illisurus ac senem fortasse necas-  
 set ni Aristaenetus dextram sublatam retinisset. Is mox transcenso Zenothe- 10  
 mide inter vtrumque medius assedit, vt eo veluti muro dirempti pacem inter  
 ipsos agerent. Haec igitur dum gerebantur, Philon, equidem varia meo cum  
 animo voluebam. Primum illud statim occurrebat, nullum esse operaeprecium  
 si quis disciplinas perdiscat, ni simul et vitae rationes ad id quod est optimum  
 accommodet atque componat, quum viderem illos qui verbis alios antecellerent, 15  
 quam factis ipsis sese ridiculos exhiberent. Deinde et illud veniebat in mentem,  
 ne forte verum esset quod vulgo plerique dictarent, videlicet eruditionem a  
 recta ratione bonisque institutis abducere istos qui solos libros spectarent, qui-  
 que sollicitudine curaque, quam illi adferrent, perpetuo tenerentur. Quando-  
 quidem quum ibi tam multi praesentes essent philosophi, ne casu quidem 20  
 vllum erat cernere a peccando immunem. Verum alii faciebant turpia, alii dice-  
 bant turpiora. Neque enim iam poteram eorum quae fiebant culpam vino  
 auctori imputare, mecum reputans cuiusmodi essent, quae Etoemocles neque  
 cibo neque potu etiamdum gustato scripserat. Ita rerum vices praeposteras  
 atque inuersas videbantur, siquidem vidisses idiotas illos summa cum modestia 25  
 conuiuium agitantes neque vino petulantes neque indecore sese gerentes. At  
 ridebant duntaxat et iam damnabant eos, opinor, quos dudum suspexerant, ex  
 habitu iudicantes eos alicuius esse pretii. Contra sapientes illi et in libidinem  
 ferebantur et conuitiis certabant et supra modum sese potu cibusque explebant,  
 postremo vociferabantur et ad manus vsque conserendas rapiebantur. Caete- 30  
 rum admirandus ille Alcidamas etiam meiebat sub oculis omnium, nihil reueri-  
 tus foeminas. Ac mihi quidem, si quis haec quae in eo conuiuio gerebantur  
 rectissime voluisset conferre, simillima videbantur iis quae de Eride dea poetae  
 fabulantur, nempe hanc, quod non esset ad Pelei nuptias aduocata, malum in  
 medium conuiuium abiecisse, ex quo tam ingens apud Troiam bellum fuerit 35  
 ortum. Itidem Etoemocles mihi visus est epistola illa quasi malo quopiam in  
 medium proiecta non minus malorum quam Ilias habebat excitasse. Neque  
 enim finem contentionis faciebant Zenothemis ac Cleodemus, quanquam me-  
 dius inter vtrumque intercesserat Aristaenetus. Age, inquit Cleodemus, in prae-  
 sentiarum quidem sat est si literas nescire conuincamini; sed crastino die vos 40

2 Atque interea *B*, haec quum diceret *A* | 6 abstergebat *B*, depluebat *A* | 17 eruditionem *MS*  
*C*, -one *A B* | 24 Ita *E*, itaque *A B C D*

vliscar quibus conueniet modis. Responde mihi, Zenothemi, vel tu vel elegantissimus iste Diphilus, qua tandem gratia pecuniae possessionem inter indifferentia ponendam esse censetis, quum ex omnibus nil aliud spectetis quam vt ipsi quam plurimum pecuniae possideatis? Atque ob id causae semper apud  
 5 diuites haeretis, foeneratis atque vsuris incumbitis, neque non mercede docetis. Rursum quum voluptatem detestemini atque hac de causa Epicureos in ius vocetis, quur ipsi voluptatis gratia turpissima tum facitis tum patimini, indigne ferentes si quis vos non vocarit ad coenam; rursum si vocemini, non sat est tantum vorare vt cibo turgeatis nisi et famulis tantum donetis? Atque haec quum  
 10 diceret, pariter et linteum reuellere conatus est, quod Zenothemidis puer tenebat, omni carniū genere refertum, planeque futurum erat vt apertum illud ac solutum medium in solum abiiceret, nisi quia puer non omittebat e manibus, gnauiter aduersus trahentem retinens. Hic Hermon: Euge, Cleodeme, respondeant qua gratia damnent voluptatem, quum ipsi supra caeteros omneis studeant voluptati. Quin magis, inquit Zenothemis, tu, Cleodeme, respondeto  
 15 quamobrem diuitias inter indifferentia numeres. Imo tu potius? Atque hunc ad modum diutius est altercatum, donec Ion capite tandem in apertum prolato: Desistite, inquit: ego si libet sermonum argumenta proponam in medium conuiuio nuptiisque digna. Vos porro citra contentionem vicissim et dicite et auscultate, quemadmodum et apud Platonem nostrum alternis dicendi vicibus res  
 LB 336 vt plurimum agitur. Id dictum probabant, quum omnes qui aderant, tum in  
 21 primis Aristaenetus atque Eucritus, nimirum in spem erecti fore vt eo pacto ab odiosis illis contentionibus discedi posset. Et Aristaenetus priorem in locum sese recepit, iam partam esse pacem ratus. Iamque nobis inferebatur ea conuiuii  
 25 pars, absolutam coenam vocant, singulae singulis aues, carnes aprugnae, pulpa leporina, piscis Tagenicus, placentae, breuiter illa quaecunque liberum est, seu velis in aluum condere, seu domum asportare malis. Apponebatur igitur non sua cuique quadrula, verum Aristaeneto atque Eucrito eadem in parte mensae  
 vna ambobus communis, ita vt de sua vtrique parte quae se spectaret esset  
 30 edendum aut tollendum. Deinde altera Zenothemidi Stoico et Hermoni Epicureo et his item inter ipsos communis. Deinceps Cleodemo atque Ioni. Post hos sponso ac mihi. Porro Diphilo duorum pars apposita, propterea quod Zeno iam discesserat. Haec facito, Philon, vt i memoria teneas. Nam paulo post ad intellectum narrationis erunt vsui.

35 PHIL. Meminero sane.

LVC. Tum Ion: Primus igitur exordiar, inquit, si quidem videtur. Deinde vbi paulisper intersiluisset: Conueniebat, inquit, fortassis vt apud eiusmodi viros de ideis atque incorporeis substantiis deque animi immortalitate sermo haberetur, verum ne mihi contradicant ii qui diuersam philosophiae sectam sequuntur, de

3 quum ... spectetis *B*, nisi quod ... spectatis *A* | 7 quur *nos*, quum *A B C D E* | 13 grauiter *A*, corr. *B* | 16 non differentia *MS alia manu* | 25 absolutam coenam *B*, quam secundas mensas *A* | 35 sane *B*, *om. A*



nuptiis dicam ea quae congruunt. Atque illud quidem optimum fuerat futurum, si nuptiis opus non haberemus, sed Platonis ac Socratis dogma sequuti a foeminarum commercio nos penitus abdicaremus. Etenim qui ita fecissent, ii demum ad absolutam illam virtutem pertingere potuissent. Quod si viris omnino ducendae sint vxores, vt eas iuxta Platoniam sententiam inter se communes habeant, videlicet quo zelotypia vacemus. Haec quum essent risu excepta, vt quae nimis intempestiue dicerentur, tum Dionysodorus: Non tu desines, inquit, barbarica ista nobis occinere? Nam vbi zelotypiam istam reperias, aut apud quem? At tu etiam hiscere audes, inquit, sterquilinum? Ad haec Dionysodorus, opinor, iam erat conuitia quae conueniebat regesturus; verum grammaticus Istiaeus vir optimus ille: Desinite, inquit. Ego vobis epithalamion recitabo. Simulque coepit legere. Erant autem elegiaci versus hi, si satis memini.

*Nuper Aristaeneti in aedibus vnica summo  
 Nutrita est studio diua Cleanthis hera,  
 Virginibus cunctis reliquis praestantior vna  
 Vel potior Phoebe, vel potior Venere.  
 Salue et tu iuuenum validissime sponse valentum  
 Nereo prior ac fortior Aeacida.  
 At rursum vobis hoc carmen saepius olim  
 Commune ambobus coniugiale canam.*

Haec, ita vt est consentaneum, risus est consequutus. Reliquum erat vt cibi tollerentur. Iamque tollebant Aristaenetus atque Eucritus ex his quae sibi fuerant proposita suam vterque partem. Tum ego quae mihi, et Chereas item quae sibi erant proposita. Eundem ad modum Ion et Cleodemus. Porro Diphilus etiam Zenonis digressi partem tollere parabat, affirmans vni sibi ea fuisse proposita, atque hac de causa cum ministris dimicabat; ac vicissim inter sese trahebant manibus vtrinque in auem iniectis, non aliter quam Patrocli cadauer hinc atque illinc attrahere conantes. Postremo vicit ille atque abstulit, plurimum interim risum praebens conuiuis, maxime quum eam ob rem postea grauiter stomacharetur, perinde quasi atroci affectus iniuria. Iam vero Zenothemis atque Hermon qui pariter, vt dictum est, accumbebant, alter superius puta Zenothemis, alter infra hunc, reliqua quidem quoniam aequalia fuerant apposita, citra pugnam sustulerant. Caeterum auis quae iacebat ad Hermonis partem erat altera paulo pinguior, idque ita casu euenerat, opinor. Iamque suam vterque sublaturus erat: ibi Zenothemis (sed tu mihi nunc quam maxime fac animum aduertat, iam enim ad ipsum negotii caput peruenimus), Zenothemis, inquam, omissa ea quae sese spectabat, eam quae ante Hermonem iacebat tollere est aggressus, quae quidem (vti iam diximus) erat pinguiuscula. At ille contra nitens retinebat, haud sinens vt ea in re potiores ferret. Inter haec clamore coorto vtrique in alterum irruentes ipsis auibus facies mutuo caedebant, ac barbibus inuicem prehen-

sis auxilio aduocabant, hic quidem Cleodemum puta Hermon, ille vero nempe  
 LB 337 Zenothemis Alcidamantem ac Diphilum. At caeteri quidem ad partes accesse-  
 runt, partim huius partim illius, praeter | vnum Ionem qui sese neutrum atque  
 ancipitem seruabat. Caeterum illi inuicem conserti pugnabant. Ac Zenothemis  
 5 quidem scyphum e mensa sublatum eum qui coram Aristaeneto stabat, abiecit in  
 Hermonem.

*Atque hunc haud tetigit, alio sed flexus aberrat.*

Verum sponsi caput dissecuit alto grauissimoque vulnere. Itaque mulierum  
 coorta vociferatio, quae medium in proelium insiliebant, cum primis autem  
 10 adolescentuli mater, quum iam sanguinem eius aspexisset; praeterea et sponsa  
 metu territa prosiliit. Inter haec Alcidas strenuum virum praestitit, quum  
 Zenothemidi ferret opem, et illiso suo baculo, Cleodemi quidem caluariam,  
 Hermonis vero maxillam comminuit; ad haec e famulis aliquot opitulari paran-  
 tes vulnerauit. Quanquam illi nihil his rebus territi cesserunt. Verum Cleode-  
 15 mus intentato digito Zenothemidi oculum effodit, tum admotus narem mordi-  
 cus auulsit. Porro Hermon Diphilum Zenothemidi suppetias ferre conatum e  
 sponda in terram praecipitem dedit. Sauciatus est et Istiaeus grammaticus, dum  
 interuentu suo eos studet dirimere, calice videlicet in dentes illius illiso, idque a  
 Cleodemo, quum hunc Diphilum esse credidisset, non Istiaeu. Iacebat igitur  
 20 miser ille, iuxta suum ipsius Homerum, *sanguinem ab ore vomens*. Praeterea tumultus  
 atque lachrymarum plena vndique erant omnia, dum et mulieres eiularent  
 Chereae sponso circumfusae, dumque alii has student compescere. Porro maxi-  
 ma malorum omnium pars erat Alcidas, posteaquam semel ad suum redisset  
 ingenium, feriens quicumque forte in ipsum incidisset. Neque vero pauci in eo  
 25 proelio cecidissent, scito, ni baculum is fregisset. Ego porro iuxta parietem  
 erectus assistens spectabam omnia, neque me ei negotio admiscebam, nimirum  
 Istiaei iam doctus exemplo, quam esset periculosum eiusmodi conflictus velle  
 dirimere. Lapithas itaque Centaurosque vidisses: euerti mensas, effundi san-  
 guinem, proiici scyphos. Demum Alcidas subuersa lucerna magnas induxit  
 30 tenebras. Iamque res, vt est coniectu facile, atrocior etiam multo esse coepit,  
 praesertim quum haud esset proclive luminis copiam alicunde recuperare, sed  
 multa interim ac saeua patrata sunt in tenebris. Post vbi accederet nescio quis  
 lucernam tandem adportans, Alcidas quidem repertus est tibicinae vestem  
 sustollens, vique cum illa congregi pugnans. Dionysodorus autem in alio quo-  
 35 dam ridiculo facinore deprehensus est. Nam vt surrexerat, scyphus e sinu illius  
 elapsus in solum decidit; postea excusans aiebat Ionem in tumultu calicem  
 sublatum sibi tradidisse, ne periret. Id ita factum Ion admodum sollicite quasi  
 patronum agens asseuerabat. His rebus dimissum est conuiuium, a lachrymis

8 dissecuit *MS C*, dissecuit *A B* | 11 prosiliit *B*, sese super illum iniecit *A* | 20 sanguinem  
 ... vomens *B*, purpureum vomitum proiectans ore cruorem *A* | 23-24 ad ... ingenium *B*,  
 pro sua virili irruisset *A* | 35 Nam *B*, iam *A* | 36-37 postea ... periret *B*, *om. A*

denuo in ridiculum exitum conuersum, idque Alcidamantis Dionysodori atque Ionis gratia. Porro qui erant saucii, sublatis sarcinae ritu, foras deportabantur miseris affecti modis, maxime senex ille Zenothemis, pariter tum oculo, tum nare mutilatus, enecari se prae cruciatu clamitans, adeo vt Hermon quanquam ne ipse quidem expers malorum, nam huic duo dentes fuerant excussi, palam attestaretur: Memineris, inquit, O Zenothemis, ne posthac dolorem in mediis habendum ducas. At sponsus iam vulnere a Dionico curato domum reuectus est fasciis reuincto capite, eidem impositus vehiculo quo sponsam fuerat abducturus. Atque ita miser ille nuptias acerbas celebrarat. Deinde et aliis item Dionicus pro sua virili remedium adhibuerat. Postremo postquam iam dormierant, asportati sunt, plerique mediis in viis vomentes. Caeterum Alcidamas inibi remanebat. Neque enim valebant hominem extrudere posteaquam semel sese in spondam abiecerat, atque ibi transuersus accubisset. Hic erat, O bone Philon, eius exitus conuiuii, de quo rectissime illud dici possit, quod in fine tragoediarum nonnunquam accinitur:

*Sunt fortunae varii casus:  
 Plurima quae baud speraueris unquam,  
 Ea conficiunt numina diuum.  
 Rursum quae certo speraris,  
 Ea frustrato non contingunt.*

Siquidem et haec plane praeter expectationem atque inopinato exierunt. Praeterea et illud iam didici, non esse tutum, cui non sit opus, cum eiusmodi philosophis agitare conuiuium.

## DE ASTROLOGIA

LB 338 De coelo deque astris est nobis institutus sermo; non de ipsis quidem astris  
neque ipso de coelo, verum de diuinatione ac veritate, quae ab illis in hominum  
vitam proficiscitur. Neque rursus mihi libellus hic se traditurum aut docturum  
5 profitetur, quo pacto diuinationem hanc assequi liceat. Sed illud queror, doctos  
omnes quum in caeteris omnibus exercent sese, suisque omnibus tradant,  
solum astrologiam nec habere in precio nec exercere. Atqui hoc doctrinae genus  
vetustum est, neque nuper ad nos peruenit, sed inuentum est priscorum regum,  
quos dii amabant. At huius aetatis mortales non solum inscitia socordiaque, ve-  
rum etiam odio laboris, diuersa ab illis sentiunt; quumque forte inciderint in  
10 eos, qui falsa praedicunt, tum et astra culpant et ipsam astrologiam habent ex-  
sam, neque salutarem eam neque veridicam arbitantes, sed artem magis falsam  
atque inanem, haud recte, sicuti mihi quidem videtur, sentientes. Neque enim  
ob imperitiam fabri ars ipsa culpatur, neque ob cantoris inscitiam ipsa musica  
15 parum est erudita; quin illi potius artium sunt ignari. Caeterum ars vnaquaeque  
suapte natura scita est. Primum igitur Aethiopes hanc rationem mortalibus  
tradiderunt. In causa fuit partim gentis eius sapientia; nam caeteris quoque in  
rebus Aethiopes reliquos homines antecellunt sapientia. Partim regionis quam  
incolunt opportunitas, propterea quod apud eos perpetua sit coeli serenitas  
20 tranquillitasque, neque patiuntur anni mutationes, sed eadem temperie viuunt.  
Itaque quum primum viderent lunam non semper eodem vultu apparentem,  
sed varia subinde specie, et in aliam atque aliam verti formam, visa est illis ea  
res admiratione atque disquisitione digna. Deinde, quum inquisissent, repper-  
runt hanc esse earum rerum causam, quod lunae non esset lumen proprium, sed  
25 a sole mutuatum. Inuenerunt autem et reliquarum stellarum motus, harum  
quas nos erroneas appellamus, nam stellarum hae solae mouentur, naturamque  
earum ac potestatem et effectus, quos vnaquaeque praestet, nominibus quoque  
inditis, non illis quidem vtcunque visum est confictis, sed quae notae rerum  
essent. Haec igitur in coelo perspexerunt Aethiopes; mox Aegyptiis finitimis  
30 artem imperfectam tradiderunt. Porro Aegyptii diuinandi rationem, quam ab  
illis dimidiatam acceperant, in maius prouexerunt, quippe qui mensuram etiam,

ad quam vnaquaeque stella moueretur, indicarint. Ad haec annorum, mensium, horarumque numerum instituerunt. Ac menses quidem illi luna metiuntur, atque eius recursu finiunt; annum vero sole et huius circuitu metiuntur. Quin his etiam maiora ostenderunt. Nam ex vniuerso coelo reliquisque stellis, et errantibus et fixis, neque simul cum caeteris sese mouentibus, duodecim partes effecerunt in his quae mouentur, et vnamquanque suis animantibus repraesentarunt, partim marinis, partim homine, partim feris, partim volatilibus, partim pecudibus. Vnde et sacra Aegyptiorum varie fiunt. Neque enim omnes Aegyptii ex omnibus duodecim partibus diuinabant, sed alii aliis utebantur partibus. Itaque arietem colunt, qui ad Arietem spectabant; piscibus non vescuntur, qui Pisces annotarant; nec hircum mactant, qui Capricornum viderant; atque alii item alia venerabantur, quae quisque inuenerat. Quin taurum etiam ob honorem caelestis Tauri colunt. Nam Apis apud illos res in primis sacra regionem sortita est, et qui eam incolunt partem, oraculum quoque dicarunt, signum videlicet diuinationis quam a caeleste Tauro petunt. Ac non multo post Libyes quoque artem hanc sunt aggressi. Siquidem et oraculum quod est apud illos Ammonis, ad coelum et huius scientiam refertur, iuxta Ammonem, quem illi arietis specie fingunt.

Calluerunt autem haec omnia et Babylonii; atque hi quidem affirmant se primos omnium fuisse. Verum, vt ego existimo, multo posterius ad hos scientia peruenit. At vero Graeci nec ab Aethiopibus nec Aegyptiis de astrologia quicquam audierunt; verum illis Orpheus Oeagro Calliopeque prognatus primus ista monstrauit, non ille quidem admodum dilucide, neque rem clare docuit, sed praestigiis ac mysticis inuolucris obtexit. Sic enim illi visum est. Nam concinnata lyra orgia instituit, sacrasque cantiones decantabat. Porro lyra, quum septem haberet chordas, concentum mobilium stellarum repraesentabat. Haec conquirens atque haec agitans, Orpheus omnia deliniebat omniaque vincebat. Neque enim illam hominis lyram spectabant, neque illi alterius musices studium erat, verum haec magna illa Orphei lyra. Hisce rebus quum Graeci honorem habere vellent, locum illi in ipso coelo designarunt, et complusculae stellae vocantur Orphei lyra. Quod si quando Orpheum videris vel saxo expressum vel coloribus effictum, sedet in medio canenti similis, manibus tenens lyram; circum hunc animantium innumera multitudo, inter quae et homo et taurus et leo. Quumque horum singula videris, fac horum mihi memineris, cuiusmodi sit illius cantus, cuiusmodi lyra; cuiusmodi taurus et cuiusmodi leo Orpheum audiant. Quod si eorum, quae dico, causas intelligas, tum et in coelo horum vnumquodque contemplator. Fertur autem et Tiresia, genere Boeotius, diuinandi gloria multum celebris fuisse. Hunc Tiresiam ex Graecis aiunt dixisse, stellarum erraticarum alias esse foeminas, alias mares, non tamen eadem efficere. Vnde eundem ancipiti quoque sexu fuisse fabulantur, aliquando foeminam, aliquando marem. Porro Atreo et Thyeste de regno paterno decertantibus, iam

tum maximam astrologiae coelestisque doctrinae curam fuisse Graecis, palam est. Ac publico consensu statuerunt Argiui, vt vter scientia praecelleret, is imperio potiretur. Ibi Thyestes arietem illis in coelo demonstraui, atque hinc aureum arietem Thyestae fuisse proditum est fabulis. At Atreus de sole deque  
5 vario illius exortu loquutus est, ostendens non eodem modo ferri solem et mundum, sed contrario inter se cursu rapi, et qui nunc videtur occasus, quum sit occasus mundi, solis exortum esse. Haec loquutum Argiui regem crearunt, magnamque doctrinae laudem est assequutus. Equidem et de Bellerophonte similia sentio. Nam alatum equum illi fuisse, non admodum credo; verum arbitror illum hanc disciplinam sectantem sublimiaque cogitantem et inter astra  
10 versantem in coelum non equo ascendisse, sed animo. Eadem de Phryxo Athamantis filio dixerim, quem aureo ariete per aerem vectum fabulantur. Quin et ipsum sane Daedalum Atheniensem, etiam si res est noua auditu, tamen haud existimo eum ab astrologia fuisse alienum. Sed quum ipse ea maxime est vsus,  
15 tum filium suum eandem perdociuit. Ast Icarus quum iuuentutis calore et inscitia non ea disquireret quae conueniebant, sed ad ipsum vsque polum animo tolleretur, delapsus est a vero, totaque aberrauit arte, et in mare praiceps decidit rerum immensae profunditatis. De quo Graeci secus fabulantur, qui ex huius nomine sinum eius maris Icarium frustra vocant. Fieri potest, vt Pasiphae quoque quum  
20 ex Daedalo de Tauro audisset inter stellas apparente, deque ipsa astrologia, in artis amorem inciderit. Ob id existimant factum, vt Daedalus illam tauro copularit. Sunt autem qui scientiam in portiones partiti in singulis partibus singuli elaborarint, alii in iis quae ad lunam, alii quae ad Iouem, alii quae ad solem pertinent congerentes, neque non cursum ac motum et vim illorum. Atque Endymion lunae rationem tradidit; Phaëton solis cursum deprehendit, non ille quidem vere, sed moriens imperfectam artem reliquit. Haec qui ignorant, Phaëtonem solis filium credunt, fabulamque de illo haudquaquam veram narrant, adisse Solem patrem ac postulasse ab eo, vt sibi liceret lucis currum moderari; illum id concessisse, monuisseque qua ratione foret aurigandum; Phaëtonem  
30 vero conscenso curru partim ob aetatem, partim ob imperitiam ita egisse, vt aliquando esset vicinus terrae, aliquando longo semotus spatio a terra; interim mortales frigus atque aestus intolerabilis conficiebat. Ob haec indignatum Iouem ingenti fulminis telo percussisse Phaëtonem. Eum deiectum sorores circumstantes magno luctu prosequabantur, donec immutarent formas; quae  
35 nunc sunt populi, ac lachrymarum vice, quibus fratrem deplorabant, electrum destillant. Haudquaquam haec ita gesta sunt, neque pium est his habere fidem; neque Soli fuit filius, neque illi filius interiit. Sed narrant Graeci et alia permulta fabulosa, quibus ego non admodum credo. Nam qui consentaneum est credere Aeneam Veneris fuisse filium, aut Minoa Iouis, aut Ascalaphum Martis, aut  
40 Autolycum Mercurii? Verum hi homines pii diisque grati fuerunt, eosque nascentes, hunc Venus, illum Iuppiter, alium respiciebat Mars. Etenim qui patres-

familias sunt mortalibus, in hoc progignendi genere, ii veluti parentes sibi similia producunt omnia, et colorem et formam, et facta et animum. At rex quidem Minos Iouis auspiciis, Aeneas formosus Veneris fauore natus est. Fur Autolycus; at ea furacitas illi ex Mercurio contigit. Iam vero nec Saturnum Iuppiter coniecit in vincula, nec in | Tartara praecipitem dedit, neque caetera machinatus est, quae putant homines. Verum Saturnus extremus mouetur, proculque a nobis semotus est; segnis illi motus, neque facilis animaduersu mortalibus, atque hanc ob causam illum stare dicunt, ceu vinculis alligatum. Caeterum ingens aeris altitudo Tartarus appellatur. Sed potissimum ex Homeri poetae Hesiodique carminibus liceat intelligere priscorum fabulas cum astrologia consentire. Siquidem vbi Iouis catenam narrat ac solis iacula, quae quidem ego radorum ictus esse coniicio, tum vrbes quas in clypeo finxerat Vulcanus, praeterea choream et vineam, ad haec quaecunque de Veneris ac Martis adulterio dixit, deque detectione, haud aliunde quam ex hac scientia sunt conficta. Quandoquidem Veneris et Martis concursus Homericae cantilenae praebet argumentum; in aliis autem versibus vtriusque diuersum effectum descripsit, Veneris, quum ait illi:

*Tute, Venus, iucunda magis connubia cura.*

Porro de belli negociis:

*Cuncta cito haec curae fuerint Marti atque Mineruae.*

Haec quum intelligerent veteres illi, maxime diuinationibus vtebantur, nec eam ociosam esse putabant, adeo vt nec vrbes conderent, neque moenia circumducerent, neque quenquam occiderent, neque ducerent vxores, priusquam de singulis a vate responsum acceperint. Denique nec ipsa deorum oracula ab arte astrologica erant aliena. Verum apud Delphos virgo praedicendi munus administrat, quae caelestem illam Virginem repraesentat, ac draco sub tripode vocem aedit, quoniam et inter stellas Draco conspicitur; in Didymis vero templum est Apollinis, et hoc, sicuti mihi videtur, ex his didymis, id est Geminis, qui coelo sunt, appellatum. Vsqueadeo vero diuinatio visa est illis res sacra, vt Vlysses etiam quum errando fessus vellet certo de rebus suis cognoscere, ad inferos penetrarit, non quo *videret vmbras et locum inamoenum*, sed quod cuperet cum Tiresia colloqui. Qui simulatque in locum peruenerat, quem Circe monstrarat, foueam fodit, oues mactauit, quumque complures essent vmbrae, atque inter has matris quoque, sanguinem bibere cupientes, non prius ille permisit vlli, ne matri quidem, quam Tiresia gustasset, coactusque esset sibi vaticinium aedere; potuitque interim matris vmbrae videre sitientem. Ad haec Lycurgus Lacedaemoniis omnem reipublicae administrationem e coelo temperabat, ac legem illis dedit, ne quando in bellum prodirent ante plenilunium. Non enim

7 animaduersa B, corr. MS C | 28 secuti B, corr. MS C; id est MS C, .i. B | 34 ille B C D, om. E

existimabant eandem esse ciuitatis administrationem crescente luna et euanescente, propterea quod omnia ab illa regerentur. Porro Arcades soli haec non receperunt, nec in precio habuerunt astrologiam, sed iidem ob imperitiam et stultitiam aiunt se luna antiquiores esse. Proinde quum nostri maiores vsque  
 5 adeo fuerint astrologiae studiosi, huius aetatis homines partim aiunt fieri non posse vt homines finem inueniant diuinandi scientiae, propterea quod neque certa sit neque vera, neque Martem aut Iouem nostra causa moueri in coelo, verum illis humanarum rerum nullam esse curam, neque quicquam esse eis cum  
 10 his negociis commercii, verum secundum hos necessitate circumaguntur; partim dicunt astrologiam non esse quidem mendacem, at inutilem. Non enim mutari vaticinio quaecunque fati decreta instant. At ego sane vtrisque respondere possum, stellas in coelo suo quidem motu volui, caeterum obiter eius motus effectum ad nos peruenire. An vis equo currente, et gallinis aut hominibus  
 15 tumultuantibus, lapides subsilire stipulasque moueri ventis cursu concitatis, siderum vero vertigine nihil praeterea effici? Tum ab igni exiguo calor ad nos permanat, neque nostra tamen causa quicquam erit ignis, neque illi curae est aestus noster, ab astris autem nihil ad nos defluit? At sane fieri non potest, vt per astrologiam ex malis bona faciamus, neque mutare quicquam earum rerum, quae ab illis ad nos demanant. Sed hanc vtilitatem ars adfert vtentibus. Bona  
 20 multo ante delectant eos, qui ventura praescierint; mala vero facile, quum non imprudentibus venerint, accipiuntur. Neque enim in illos irruunt, sed quia meditata expectataque sunt, leuia mitiaque videntur. Haec mea est de astrologia sententia.

1 existimabat *B*, corr. *MS C* | 13 currentem *B*, corr. *MS C* | 20–21 non imprudentibus *E*,  
 imprudentibus *MS C D*, om. *B*



## LONGAEVI

Adfero tibi muneris loco longaeuos, ornatissime Quintille, somnio quodam vt id facerem admonitus, quod olim quidem vidi visumque amicis exposui, quum alteri filio tuo nomen imponeres. Caeterum quum coniectare non possem, quosnam longaeuos deus me tibi iuberet offerre, optabam a diis vt tum tibi tum 5 liberis tuis vitam quam longissimam darent, ratus id expedire quum vniuerso mortalium generi, tum praecipue mihi meisque omnibus; videbatur enim deus mihi quoque quiddam boni portendere. Deinde quum rem mecum expenderem, venit in mentem vero proximum esse id iubere deos, vt viro litterarum studioso litterarum aliquid mitterem. Itaque quum putem hunc diem tuorum natalium 10 esse longe auspicatissimum, dono tibi eos qui prospera corporis valetudine menteque integra ad multam senectutem pertigisse narrantur, maxime quum geminam quandam ex hoc libro sis vtilitatem percepturus. Nam primum animi voluptatem nonnullam adferet spemque bonam praebebit, vt te quoque quam longissime viuere posse confidas; dein de exemplis nonnihil eruditionis accedet, 15 si cognosces qui maxime corporis et animi curam egerunt, eos incolumi prorsus valetudine ad plurimam senectam peruenisse. Nestorem igitur Graecorum sapientissimum ad tres vsque aetates pertigisse narrat Homerus, quem nobis velut exemplar proponit hominis optime et animo et corpore exercitati. Porro Tiresiam vatem ad sextam aetatem venisse prodidit tragoedia; est autem verisimile 20 virum diis dicatum puraque vitae ratione vtentem Tiresiam quam diutissime vixisse. Quin et hominum genera quaedam tota longioris aevi referuntur esse ob vitae moderationem, quemadmodum qui apud Aegyptum hierogrammates, id est sacri scribae vocantur, et apud Arabos fabularum interpretes; apud Indos autem ii qui Bragmanes appellantur, homines mire dediti philosophiae studii, 25 praeterea qui vocantur magi, genus diuinum diisque sacrum. Tum et apud Persas, Parthos, Bactros, Chorasmios, Areos, Sacas ac Medos atque apud alios barbaros complures sunt et valentes et longaeui, propterea quod et ipsi philosophiae studio temperatissime viuunt. Iam vero etiam nationes nonnullae longissimae vitae reperiuntur, velut Seres, quos litteris proditum est ad trecentos 30 annos viuere, aliis coelo, aliis terrae longioris aevi causam ascribentibus, aliis

etiam vitae moderationi; aiunt enim totam hanc gentem aquae potu vti. Item Athotas triginta supra centum annos viuere est in historiis. Praeterea Chaldaeos centesimum annum praetergredi fama est, atque eosdem pane hordeaceo vesci, tanquam id acuendo visui conducatur; et ob hanc victus temperiem aiunt caeteris  
 5 quoque sensibus praeter alios mortales valere. Et hactenus quidem de longaeuitate generum ac nationum quas narrant viuacissimas esse, siue propter terrae coelique naturam siue propter vitae rationem vel propter vtrunque.

Ego vero tibi quoque longae vitae spem merito facileque iniecerim, si exposuero quibuslibet in terris et sub quouis coelo longaeuos homines extitisse, qui  
 10 moderatis exercitationibus et vitae ratione quam maxime ad bonam valetudinem idonea sint vsi. Sic autem partiar sermonem, vt prima parte virorum studia sequar, primoque tibi regum ac ducum exempla percensebo. Quorum de numero est is, quem augustissima magni diuinissimique imperatoris fortuna ad summum euexit locum, eaque re de orbe terrarum, cuius est ipse dominus,  
 15 optime meritis. Sic enim fiet vt tu quoque ad imitandum viuacium hominum habitudinem, ac fortunae benignitatem respiciens, senectutem speres et sanam et longam, simulque vitae moderationem aemulatus vitam tibi reddas et longissimam et saluberrimam. Numa Pompilius regum Romanorum felicissimus maxime religioni deorum deditus vltra octogesimum annum vixisse traditur.  
 20 Seruius Tullius, rex et ipse Romanorum, octogesimum item annum excessisse narratur. Tarquinius postremus Romanorum rex, in exilium actus et Cumis agens, prosperrima valetudine nonagesimum annum praetergressus legitur. Atque hi quidem reges Romani, quibus annectam et caeteros reges qui ad multam senectutem peruenerunt; deinde vnus cuiusque subiiciam exercitationes; postremo et reliquos ascribam Romanos qui ad longissimam senectutem  
 25 peruenerunt, additis et iis qui per omnem reliquam Italiam quam diutissime vixerint. Reuincet enim probabilibus argumentis historia eos qui coelum hoc calumniari conantur, vt sperare possitis vestra vota futura rata, quibus optatis vt vniuersae terrae marisque dominus ad longissimam vegetamque senectam  
 30 perueniat. Agathonium Tartesiorum regem quinquaginta supra centum annos vixisse narrant Herodotus historicus et Anacreon lyricus; quanquam hoc fabulosum esse nonnullis videtur. Agathocles Siciliae tyrannus annos natus nonaginta quinque mortuus est, quemadmodum Demochares et Timaeus referunt. Hieron Syracusanus tyrannus annos natus nonaginta duos morbo periit, quum  
 35 regnasset annos septuaginta, vt authores sunt Demetrius et Calistianus. Anteus Scytharum rex aduersus Philippum ad flumen Istri pugnans cecidit annos natus plusquam nonaginta. Bardilis Illyriorum rex narratur ex equo pugnasse in eo praelio quod cum Philippo commisit nonaginta praetergressus annos. Teres Drusorum rex auctore Theopompo nonagenarius diem obiit. Antigonus Philippi filius vnoculus, Macedonum rex, in Phrygia contra Selerium ac Lysimachum pugnans multis vulneribus confectus periit annos natus vnum et  
 40 octoginta, veluti refert Hieronymus qui sub illo militauit. Item Lysimachus Macedonum rex in pugna aduersus Seleucon periit annum agens octogesimum,

vt idem narrat Hieronymus. Antigonus autem filius Demetrii nepos Antigoni  
 Lusci quadraginta quattuor annis regnauit, vixit octoginta, quemadmodum  
 Medius alique historici litteris prodiderunt. Consimiliter et Antipater Iolai  
 filius, qui plurimum valuit multosque Macedonum reges subuertit, peractis  
 plus octoginta annis diem obiit. Ptolemaeus Lagi filius, regum eius aetatis om-  
 nium fortunatissimus, Aegyptiis imperauit octoginta quattuor annos viuusque  
 tradidit imperium Ptolemaeo filio, cui cognomen Philadelpho, biennio ante  
 mortem, qui solus ex fratribus in paternum regnum successit. Philaeteos primus  
 Pergami regnauit, quum esset eunuchus; obiit diem annos natus octoginta.  
 Attalus cognomento Philadelphus et hic Pergamenorum rex, ad quem et Scipio  
 ductor Romanus peruenit, octogesimo secundo anno vitam finiit. Mithridates  
 rex Ponti cognomento Ctistes, quum Antigonum vnoculum fugeret, in Ponto  
 diem extremum obiit annos natus octoginta quattuor, vt Hieronymus caeteri-  
 que scriptores memorant. Ariarathes Cappadocum rex duos et octoginta vixit  
 annos, vt inquit Hieronymus, fortassis victurus etiam diutius, verum in pugna  
 aduersus Perdicam captus in crucem suffixus est. Cyrus Persarum rex ille pris-  
 cus, quemadmodum indicant Assyriorum litterae, cum quibus sentire videtur  
 Onesicritus, qui scripsit ferme Alexandri temporibus, natus annos centum,  
 quum singulos amicos requisisset cognouissetque plerosque sublato a Cam-  
 byse filio, isque diceret sese hoc ipsius iussu fecisse, partim male audiens ob  
 filii crudelitatem partim seipsum vt desipiscentem incusans vite diem obiit.  
 Ataxerses cognomine Moremon, aduersus quem Cyrus frater exercitum duxit,  
 in Persis regnans periit morbo sex et octoginta natus annos aut, vt refert Dinon,  
 nonaginta quattuor. Ataxerses alter Persarum rex, quem Isidorus Charaunus  
 scripsit maiorum suorum temporibus regnasse, annos natus nonaginta tres  
 fratris Gosithri insidiis sublatus est. Synarthocles Parthiensium rex annum  
 egressus octogesimum a Sacauracibus Scythis adactus regnare coepit, ac reg-  
 nauit annos septem. Tigranes Armeniorum rex, aduersus quem Lucullus bel-  
 lum gessit, quinque et octoginta natus annos supremum vitae diem obiit morbo  
 absumptus. Hispasines Characis filius, rex eorum qui iuxta Erythram accolunt,  
 octoginta quinque natus annos morbo vitam finiit. Tereus, qui post Hispasinem  
 tertius regnauit, nonagesimo secundo vitae anno morbo interiit. Artabazus,  
 is qui septimus post Tereum imperauit, Characi sex et octoginta annorum ascit-  
 us a Parthis imperium tenuit. Mnascires rex Parthiensium sex supra nonaginta  
 vixit annos. Massinissas Maurusiorum princeps nonaginta vixit annos. Asan-  
 der autem, qui pro praeside vocatus est rex Bosphori a diuo Augusto, quum  
 esset ferme nonagenarius, nemini cedebat vel equestri pugna vel pedestri. Is  
 quum vidisset milites in pugna ad Scribonium desciscere, spontanea inedia  
 periit annos natus nonaginta tres. Soaesus, vti refert Isidorus Characenus, suis  
 temporibus Manon dictus aromatarii filius, quum annos regnasset quindecim,  
 vixissetque centum, morbo interiit.

Atque hos quidem reges longaeuos maiores nostri prodiderunt. Iam et de  
 philosophis caeterisque litterarum studiosis, qui valetudinis curam agentes ad

longam senectutem peruenerunt, commemoremus, quorum apud scriptores fit mentio; et primo quidem loco de philosophis. Democritus igitur Abderita annos natus centum et quattuor cibo abstinens vitam finiit. Xenophilus musicus, vt auctor est Aristoxenus, Pythagoricae addictus philosophiae, vixit Athenis vltra centum annos et quinque. Solon, Thales et Pittacus, qui de numero septem sapientum fuerunt, vixerunt singuli centum annos. Zenon, Stoicae scholae princeps, annos vixit nonaginta; de quo referunt, quum in concionem ingressus prolapsus esset, dixisse: Quid me vocas? Deinde domum regressus ac cibis abstinens vitam finiit. Cleanthes, Zenonis discipulus ac successor, nonaginta nouem natus annos bubonem habebat in labro atque obduruit. Deinde quum ad eum allatae essent epistolae quaedam ab amicis, rursus accepto cibo peractisque iis quae postulabant amici, denuo cibo abstinens vitam reliquit. Xenophanes Dexini filius, Archelai physici discipulus, vixit annos nonaginta vnum. Xenocrates Platonis discipulus obiit natus annos octoginta quattuor. Carneades posterioris Academiae princeps annos vixit octoginta quinque, Chrisippus octoginta vnum, Diogenes Seleucensis Trigi oriundus Stoicus philosophus octoginta octo, Posidonius Apameus (ea est Syriae ciuitas) lege Rhodius idemque philosophus et historiae scriptor octoginta quattuor, Critolaus Peripateticus supra octoginta duos, Plato ille diuinus octoginta vnum. Athenodorus Sandonius Tarsensis Stoicus, qui et praeceptor fuit Caesaris diui Augusti, a quo Tarsensium ciuitas a tributis immunis est reddita, quum annos vixisset octoginta duos, in patria mortem obiit, eique Tarsensium populus quotannis honores persoluit vt diuo. Nestor Stoicus Tarsensis praeceptor Caesaris Tiberii annos vixit nonaginta duos. Xenophon Grilli filius vltra annos nonaginta vixit.

Atque ii quidem inter philosophos celebres. Porro ex scriptoribus Ctesibius centum et viginti quattuor natus annos in ambulatione periit, quemadmodum in Annalibus narrat Apollodorus. Hieronymus, in bellis versans ac plurimis exhaustis laboribus, vixit annos quattuor supra centum, veluti narrat Agatharchides in nono Asiaticae historiae libro; virumque admiratur, qui ad extremum vsque vitae diem in coitu valuerit, nec villo corporis organo factus sit debilior. Hellanicus Casbius octoginta quinque, Pherecides Syrus totidem peregit annos, Timeus Tauromenita nonaginta sex. Aristobulus Casadrensis vltra annos nonaginta vixisse legitur; caeterum annum agens octogesimum quartum historiam conscribere aggressus est, quemadmodum ipse operis initio testatur. Polybius Lycortae filius Megalopolitanus rure rediens ex equo decidit atque inde contracto morbo periit annos natus octoginta duos. Hypsicrates Amisenus historiae scriptor, vir multarum disciplinarum peritus, annos vixit nonaginta duos. Ex rhetoribus Gorgias, quem nonnulli sophistam vocant, centum et octo natus annos cibo abstinens periit. Ab hoc quum quaereretur, quur ad tantam senectutem peruenisset cum tanta sensuum omnium integritate, respondisse ferunt quod nunquam sese aliorum conuiuuiis miscuisset. Isocrates nonaginta sex natus annos panegyricam orationem scripsit; anno vero vndecentesimo, vt cognouit

Athenienses in praelio iuxta Cheroneam commisso superatos a Philippo, deos obtestatus Euripideum versiculum subiecit, eum ad sese referens:

*Sidoniam olim Cadmus urbem deserens,*

addensque futurum vt Graecia seruiret, vita defunctus est. Apollodorus Perga-  
 menius rhetor, qui fuit diui Caesaris Augusti praeceptor vna<que> cum Atheno- 5  
 doro philosopho Tarsensi illum erudiit, annos vixit octoginta duos; Potamon,  
 orator haud obscurus, annos nonaginta. Sophocles tragoediarum scriptor acino  
 vuae in potu hausto suffocatus est annos natus nonaginta quinque. Hic ab Io-  
 phonte filio in extrema aetate accusatus dementiae iudicibus tragoediam, cui 10  
 titulus Oedipus in Colono, legit, ipsa fabula demonstrans se sanae mentis esse,  
 adeo vt iudices supra modum admirati filium ipsum dementiae condemnauerint.  
 Cratinus comoediarum scriptor septem et nonaginta vixit annis; is, quum in  
 fine vitae pugilarem artem didicisset, vicissetque, paulopost diem obiit. Phile-  
 mon comicus eodem modo quo Cratinus septem et nonaginta peractis annis  
 decumbebat in lecto quietus; quumque vidisset asinum ficos sibi paratas eden- 15  
 tem, in risum concitatus est, vocatoque ministro <cum> multo as perpetuo risu  
 iuberet vt asino merum porrigeret, risu praefocatus interiit. Epicharmus comi-  
 cus et ipse annos nonaginta septem vixisse legitur. Anacreon lyricus poeta vixit  
 annos quinque et octoginta, Stesichorus lyricus totidem, Simonides Cous vltra  
 nonaginta. Ex grammaticis vero Agathosthenes Cyreneus Aglai filius, quem 20  
 non grammaticum modo verum etiam poetam recte quis dixerit ac philoso-  
 phum neque non geometram, octoginta duos vixit annos. Lycurgus legum lator  
 apud Lacedaemonios octoginta quinque annos vixisse legitur.

Hi sunt principes ac docti quos in praesentia potuimus colligere. Sed quo-  
 niam polliciti sumus nos recensuros etiam longaeuos aliquot ex his qui Romam 25  
 atque Italiam incoluissent, hoc tibi fauentibus diis in altero libello exponemus.



# GALENI TRACTATVS TRES

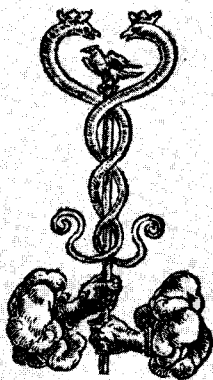
edited by

JAN HENDRIK WASZINK

Leyden

# GALENIME

DICORVM PRINCIPIS EX  
hortatio ad bonas arteis, præsertim me  
dicinam, de optimo docendi gene  
re, & qualē oporteat esse me  
dicū. ~~.....~~  
~~.....~~. interprete.



BASILEAE AN. M. D. XXVI.



## INTRODUCTION

In April–August 1525 the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of Galen was published in five folio volumes in the *officina Aldina* at Venice.<sup>1</sup> Erasmus quickly took the opportunity to make Latin translations of the more general essays which are found at the beginning of vol. I (pp. 1<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>), *viz.*, Προτροπτικός ἐπὶ Τέχνας (*Exhortatio ad bonas artes, praesertim medicinam*), Περὶ ἀρίστης διδασκαλίας (*De optimo docendi genere*), and Ὅτι ὁ ἀριστος ἰατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος (*Quod optimus medicus idem sit et philosophus*). In October 1525 Erasmus had not yet received the Aldine edition,<sup>2</sup> but on 3 September 1526 he wrote to Francis Asulanus, thanking him for presenting him with a copy.<sup>3</sup> At that moment Erasmus' translations had already been published: *Galenī Paraphrastae Menodoti Exhortatio ad bonas artes, praesertim medicinam, de optimo docendi genere, et qualem oporteat esse medicum; D. Eras. Roter. interprete*. Basle, J. Froben, May 1526, 80.<sup>4</sup> From his letter to the physician John Antoninus,<sup>5</sup> which serves as a preface to this edition, as well as from a fair number of utterances in other letters it is evident that Erasmus regarded the text of the Venice edition as extremely faulty, so that he felt obliged again and again to correct the Greek text before translating it. The most important of these utterances deserve to be quoted here: Ep. 1707 (to Baptista Egnatius; Basle, 6 May 1526), l. 2–3: 'Verti Latine priores aliquot paginas in Galeno. Nihil comperi mendosius.'; Ep. 1713 (to

<sup>1</sup> The colophons in the first three volumes read: 'Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Asulani soceri mense aprili MDXXV.' The colophon in vol. IV has the date 'mense augusto MDXXV'; in vol. V the colophon is lacking. For further details see Allen's note on Ep. 1594, l. 107; Renouard, I, p. 176 sqq.; Maittaire, II, p. 663 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 1628, Basle, 5 October 1525, to Francis Asulanus, l. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 1746, Basle, 3 September 1526, to the same, l. 1. sqq. Many years later Erasmus wrote to John Lasky, who after his death was to be the recipient of his books: '... Galenus, quem mihi dono misit Franciscus Asulanus, hic nudus et crudus vendebatur triginta florenis aureis.' Ep. 2780, Freiburg, 21 March 1533, l. 9 sq.

<sup>4</sup> I have used the copy of the Municipal Library of Rotterdam, 10 H 17:3.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 1698, Basle, 28 April 1526. For John Antoninus (c. 1499–a. 1543) of Kassa in North Hungary see Allen's introduction to Ep. 1602; also Emil Schultheiss, *Joannes Antoninus Casoviensis, Humanist und Arzt des Erasmus*. Gesnerus, *Revue trimestr. d'hist. de la médecine et des sciences naturelles*, 17, p. 117–122.

James Tusanus; Basle, 16 May 1526), l. 27 sqq.: 'Mitto ad te praeludium Galeni, qui totus Graecus prodiit ex Aldi officina, versum a nobis; conferes et iudicabis nuncubi recte diuinauerimus. Nam plane diuinandum erat; nihil adhuc vidi deprauatius.'; Ep. 2049 (to Joachim Martinus; Basle, c. 16 September 1528), l. 7-12: 'Galeno sane faues meritissimo; sed discrucior tantum autorem tantis impendiis tam mendose proditum, qualia fere sunt quae nobis nunc prodeunt ex Italia. Vide quid faciat auri sacra fames! Quantum sacrilegium committitur ob paucos aureolos, quibus conducere poterat eruditus castigator!'<sup>6</sup>

It is evident that, for his translations, Erasmus had only the Aldina at his disposition. This is also brought out by the fact that in Ep. 1713 he characterizes his correcting activity as *diuinatio*. In fact a collation of his translations with the *editio princeps* of the Greek text shows the number of his irrefutable corrections and of his conjectures to be remarkably high. We can, of course, trade Erasmus' activity in this field by re-translating his Latin into Greek. Thus we can state that he very often anticipated conjectures by later scholars – or also, as we shall soon see, directly offered them the possibility for a correction. It goes without saying that these numerous emendations are by far the most important part of Erasmus' work as a scholar in these translations; and this is also explicitly said by him in the dedicatory epistle, l. 10 sqq.: 'Prodiit totus Galenus sua lingua nobis loquens, cuius primitias ad te mitto, inflammandis ad rei medicae studium iuuenum animis versas, *et quidem maiore negotio quam credas*. Causam non eloquar, verum ipse si non grauaberis nostra cum Graecis conferre, statim intelliges *minorem fuisse laboris portionem vertere*.' (Italics by me.) I have mentioned Erasmus' corrections and conjectures in the apparatuses of the editions of the three treatises.

As to the editions of these treatises, Allen has already observed in his introduction to *Ep.* 1698 (Tom. VI, p. 325) that 'there is no other authorized issue until the Basle *Opera*, 1540, i. 871'. A reprint of the Frobeniana was published by Justus Badius Ascensianus at Paris in the same year 1526. I have not personally collated this edition which is extremely rare (as Drs. E. van Gulik, the Director of the Municipal Library of Rotterdam informs me, a copy of it is preserved at the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris). However, from the fact that the very numerous quotations from it in a paper by M. Beaudouin (cf. *infra*, p. 634), who did not use the Frobeniana, but only Badius' reprint,<sup>7</sup> are without exception identical with the relevant texts in the Frobeniana, it may be inferred that Badius literally reproduced the text of the original edition. Further,

<sup>6</sup> Further, on 1 April 1527 Antoninus asked Erasmus to translate 'quae restant Galeni meliora, si non vacat omnibus mentem adhibere, ac frugaliora saltem tuo diuino ingenio Latinitate donare' (Ep. 1810, 52 sqq.). To this Erasmus answers (Ep. 1825; Basle, c. 21 May 1527, l. 26): 'In Galeno, etiamsi maxime possem quod cupis, non vacat.'

<sup>7</sup> The title of this reprint is identical to that of the Frobeniana (cf. the description by M. Beaudouin, *Rev. de philol.* 22 (1898), p. 236, n. 2). The Frobeniana has at the end the indication 'Mense Maio. AN. M.D.XXVI', the Ascensiana at the same place: 'Calend. Iunii. Anno. M.D.XXVI.'

Erasmus' translations have been included during his lifetime in the edition of Galen by Andreas Cratander which appeared at Basle in March 1529. I have not managed to find a copy of this work.

From these facts it is clear that, as Allen has already observed (cf. *supra*), no critical apparatus containing variants made during Erasmus' lifetime can be added to the edition of the text.

In the Basle edition (1540) we find a number of not quite unimportant changes in the text: if I am not mistaken, we must regard them as changes made by Beatus Rhenanus. They are the following:

(a) *Exhortatio*: p. 642, 3 *Conspicias* – *Conspicias* *BAS*; 642, 28 *aut* – *et*; 645, 16 *Fugimus* – *Fingimus*; 646, 17–18 *habitare* – *inhabitare*; 648, 6 the first *et* is omitted in *BAS*; 648, 12 the first *contingat* – *continget*; 648, 22 *pronunciauit* – *pronunciarit*; 650, 16 *ludus hic* – *hic ludus*; 650, 18 *moxque* – *mox* (p. 644, 13–14 *contemnuunt* instead of *contemnuuntur* seems to be an error of the press).

(b) *De optimo docendi genere*: 659, 16 *ait libro* – *libro ait*; 660, 11 *Quoniam* – *Quopiam*; 663, 31 *id* om.; 664, 17 *ne* – *vel ne*.

(c) *Quod optimus medicus, etc.*: 664, 17 *sita* om. *BAS*; 668, 7 *homoeomere* – *homoeomera*.

The three treatises are found in the Leiden edition in vol. I, col. 1049–1064. In the establishment of the text Clericus has not troubled to reproduce the first edition: what he gives is a reprint of the Basle edition.

As to the influence exercised by Erasmus' translations on the gradual establishment of the text of these three treatises, the following observations can be made. First of all we should bear in mind that the Greek text of the *Exhortatio* is not found in any existing manuscript, whereas the *De optimo docendi genere* has come down in the Codex Laurentianus 74, 3 (*L*), the treatise *Quod optimus medicus, etc.*, in this same manuscript and further in the Codex Urbinas 67 (*U*), the Codex Marcianus V 4 (*M*), and the Codex Parisinus graecus 2164 (*P*). However, since the earlier editors used to reproduce the last edition which they knew with a number of emendations of their own, it is only in the Teubner edition of the second treatise by J. Marquardt and in the edition in the same series of the third treatise by Iwan von Mueller that the manuscripts really become the foundation of the establishment of the text. In this connection it is obvious that Erasmus' numerous corrections, be it in Latin translation, have exercised their influence for more than three centuries.

This influence is not yet present in the first serious attempt to correct the indeed very faulty text of the Aldina, *viz.*, the notes written in the margins of a copy of this edition, which is now in the University Library at Jena, by Janus Cornarius, a physician from Zwickau, who read through the whole volume in September 1532. Many of his corrections (of which the first complete list for the *Exhortatio* is given by Kaibel in his edition, cf. *ib.*, p. VI) are identical with those by Erasmus. Shortly after (1538), the Basle edition of Galen brought at least corrections of the greater part of the elementary

mistakes in Greek grammar and accentuation which mar the Aldina; I have not discovered here any influence of Erasmus' corrections and conjectures.

About the same time a new Latin translation was made of the *Exhortatio* by Ludovicus Bellisarius, a physician from Modena. It is mentioned in the edition of this treatise by Frédéric Jamot (Paris 1583) in the following words: 'Duplex cum esset latina hujus libelli interpretatio, altera Ludovici Bellisarii medici Mutinensis, altera D. Erasmi Roterodami, viri eruditionis nomine ubique terrarum noti ac nobilis, illa certis de causis praetermissa, hanc vobis (*viz.*, Jamot's two sons) exhibuimus a nobis recognitam et quibusdam annotationibus explicatam atque illustratam.' No copy of the first edition of this translation seems to be known nowadays: M. Beaudouin, who has given great attention to this translation in his paper '*Le «Protrepticus» de Galien et l'édition de Jamot (1583)*' (*Rev. de philol.*, N. S. 22 (1898), 233-245), has used the reproduction of this edition in the eighth volume of the Latin translation of Galen's works published by Froben at Basle in 1542. Beaudouin made an important discovery, *viz.*, that several of Bellisarius' corrections are the exact Latin translation of readings which are mentioned in the edition by Theodorus Goulston (in: *Cl. Galeni Pergameni opuscula varia*, London 1640) as coming from two manuscripts which are now lost, *viz.*, a Codex Londinensis and a Codex Adelphi. It is, therefore, probable that, unlike Erasmus, Bellisarius had access to manuscripts of the *Exhortatio*.<sup>8</sup>

Next we are to devote a few words to the edition of the *Exhortatio* by Jamot, which was already mentioned shortly before. Jamot's Greek text – to which, as we saw, he added Erasmus' translation – repeatedly offers corrections which were already, in a latinized form, presented by Erasmus. Beaudouin, *op. cit.*, gives a fairly long argument in order to prove that Jamot must have taken his corrections directly from Erasmus' translation. In my opinion, this fact is immediately obvious from the wording of the title of his edition: *Claudius Galenus. Paraphrasis in Menodoti Exhortationem ad liberalium artium studia. Ex Des. Erasmi interpretatione a Federico Jamotio recognita et annotationibus illustrata*. Indeed the words *Ex ... Erasmi interpretatione recognita* could not be more explicit.

In 1645 an edition of the *Exhortatio* together with the translation by Erasmus was published at Paris.<sup>9</sup> Little value is to be attached to the complete edition of Galen by Charterius (Paris, 1675).<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, some attention should be devoted to the edition by Abraham Willet (Leiden, 1812), which contains a number of suggestions for the correction of the text made by Daniel Wytenbach.<sup>11</sup> The Teubner edition by J. Marquardt (Leipzig, 1884) has a

<sup>8</sup> An enumeration of the relevant passages is given by Beaudouin, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>9</sup> In the copy of this edition which is preserved in the University Library at Leiden the translation has been removed. This may well be regarded as one more example of that 'anti-Erasman' mentality of which two striking examples will be mentioned in the Introduction to the translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia Aulidensis*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the qualification of this edition in Kaibel's Praefatio, p. VII.

<sup>11</sup> A number of these corrections and some exegetical notes written by Wytenbach are found

critical apparatus which is both incomplete and faulty in many places; moreover, his establishment of the text is far from fortunate (cf. the review by A. Nauck in *Mélanges gréco-romaines* V (1886), 253, and Kaibel's Praefatio, VIII). By far the best edition is that by Georg Kaibel (Berlin, 1894; photographic reproduction 1963<sup>12</sup>).

As to the treatise *De optimo docendi genere*, it should be mentioned that a Latin translation of it was made in the first half of the fourteenth century by Niccolò da Reggio, 'translator regius'.<sup>13</sup> It was published for the first time at Venice in 1490, 'studio Andreae Bonardi physici Brixienensis'. A good edition of both the Greek text and this translation was given by A. Brinkmann in 1914.<sup>14</sup> In the Preface Brinkmann thoroughly discusses the merits and shortcomings of the earlier editions, among which the most important is that by Ludwig Kayser (in his edition of Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum*, Heidelberg, 1838); particularly important is his judgment of Marquardt's edition of this treatise, p. V. Finally, a still better edition of this treatise has recently been published by A. Barigazzi in his edition of the fragments of Favorinus of Arles,<sup>15</sup> fr. 28 (= pp. 179-186; with an excellent Italian translation, *ib.*, 186-190).

In the case of the third treatise, *Quod optimus medicus, etc.*, the importance of Erasmus' translation, and of his 'latent' corrections of the Greek text in the first place, is considerably smaller, since here we have at our disposal four manuscripts. The only thing to be mentioned is that the Teubner edition by Iwan von Mueller is greatly superior to the edition of the *De optimo docendi genere* by Marquardt in the same series; particularly important is his Praefatio (enumeration of the authorities for his edition *ib.*, p. III-V).

After studying the tradition of the original text of these three treatises we arrive at the conclusion that Erasmus, having only the Aldina as his starting-point, has remarkably often hit upon the truth. There is no necessity for a general statement here: the only possibility to discover his merits as a classical scholar lies in a discussion or at least an enumeration of the relevant passages: this is done in the apparatuses added to the text.

at the end of a copy of Koehler's school-edition of the *Exhortatio* (Leipzig, 1778) which is now at the University Library at Leiden (press number: 756. E. 24). I did not find there any correction which is not also in Willet's edition. More interesting is a copy of Willet's edition in the same library with notes in pencil by G. G. Cobet (press number: 759. E. 63).

<sup>12</sup> It is to be regretted that this new edition is a purely mechanical reprint, for Kaibel's critical apparatus can now be completed and corrected in numerous passages; cf. the list in Beaudouin's paper, p. 233, n. 1. In a future paper I hope to give a few more corrections, especially concerning Cobet's *curae Galenianae*.

<sup>13</sup> About his life and works, cf. Fr. lo Parco, *Niccolò da Reggio*, Atti R. Accad. arch. lett. b. arti, N. S. II, Napoli 1913, p. 243 sqq., and other papers, quoted by Brinkmann (cf. the next note), p. IV, n. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Galenii de optimo docendi genere libellus*. Programm zur Feier des Gedächtnisses des Stifters der Universität König Friedrich Wilhelm III (Bonn, 1914).

<sup>15</sup> *Favorino di Arelate, Opere. Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di Adelmo Barigazzi* (Firenze, 1966).



ORNATISS. IOANNI ANTONINO CASSOVIENSI, MEDICO, ERASMVVS  
ROTERODAMVVS S. D.

Ornatissimi viri Ioannis Henckelli literis vt mihi tui reditus adempta spes est, Antonine charissime, ita non mediocriter mitigatum est absentis amici desiderium, posteaquam intelligo te summis magnatum fauoribus ac praemiis 5 amplissimis apud tuos alligari, praeterea ductam vxorem puellam, non minus sanctissimis moribus quam forma praestantem, quae te non sinit auolare *tenetque grata compede vinctum*. Reliquum est vt hoc quo licet modo mutuas inter nos fabulas misceamus.

Prodiit totus Galenus sua lingua nobis loquens, cuius primitias ad te mitto, 10 inflammandis ad rei medicae studium iuuenum animis versas, et quidem maiore negotio quam credas. Causam non eloquar, verum ipse si non grauaberis nostra cum Graecis conferre, statim intelliges minorem fuisse laboris portionem vertere.

Margaritum tuum haudquaquam patietur mihi excidere amabilem istum niuei 15 pectoris tui candorem. Neque me fallit quid ἀνίτηται concionatoris Sebastianus, videlicet Erasmus maledicorum iaculis expositum. Reddita sunt et a clarissimo Christophoro palatino Cracouiensi ἀπερείσια δῶρα, qualia ne regi

The letter is Ep. 1698 in Allen's collection (Tom. VI, p. 325).

3 For Henckellius cf. Ep. 1660, 1651 and 1672.

5 *magnatum* The post-classic substantive *magnas* occurs for the first time in the Vulgata (Eccles. 33,19; Judith 5,26), from which Er. must have known it.

7-8 *tenetque ... vinctum* (not only *compede vinctum*, as Allen says ad loc.) is a literal quotation of Hor. Carm. IV, 11, 23-24.

11-14 *et quidem ... vertere* The entire passage refers to the poor quality of the text of the *editio princeps* of Galen (cf. Introduc-

tion, p. 631, for further references in the letters), which Er. has successfully corrected in numerous passages, as is shown by his translation; cf. the enumeration of the most striking passages in the apparatuses of the editions of the three treatises.

16 *concionatoris* refers to Henckell.

16-17 *Sebastianus* "The figure of the saint on the spoon (see Ep. 1660, 17 n.) which Henckell had sent as a present to Erasmus" (Allen).

18 *Christophoro Viz.*, Schydlowytz, for whom cf. Ep. 1593, introd.

quidem indecorum fuerit vel dare vel accipere. Rescribam singulis, nisi quod hic libellus in publicum emissus aliqua fortassis occasione celerius isthuc perueniet quam epistolae. Bene vale, mi Antonine, cum suauiissima coniuge: cui precor vt tecum contingat feliciter consenescere.

5

Basileae. iiii. Calend. Maias. Anno M.D.XXVI.

1 These gifts are mentioned in Ep. 1660, 1 *Rescribam* As is done in Ep. 1751-1753. 48-50; 1728; 1752.



GALENI PARAPHRASTAE MENODOTI  
EXHORTATIO AD ARTIVM  
LIBERALIVM STVDIA

An animantia quae dicuntur bruta, prorsus expertia sint rationis, nondum satis liquet. Fortassis enim tametsi non habent eam rationem, quae iuxta vocem intelligitur nobiscum communem, quam vocant enunciatiuam, certe eam quae secundum animam accipitur, quam rationem appellant affectuum capacem, habent nobiscum communem omnia, licet alia magis alia minus. Perspicuum sane est hominem hac parte longe caeteris animantibus antecellere, vel ex illo quod cernimus, quanta sit artium multitudo quas hoc animal tentat discere, vel ex hoc quod solus homo scientiae capax quamcunque velit artem percipit. Siquidem animantia reliqua fere omnia sunt artium expertia, si pauca quaedam hinc excipias; quin his etiam ipsis natura magis quam institutione contigerunt artes. Caeterum nec apud illa quicquam est artium, quod homo non meditetur, sed in arte texendi imitatus est araneas, in arte fingendi, quam plasticen vocant, apes, nec imperitus est natandi, quum sit animal terrestre. Iam nec a diuinis artibus

LB 1049

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*Title*

The title in the editio princeps of the Greek text (*a*) is Γαλήνου παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνοδότου προτρεπτικὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας. Er. undoubtedly deleted the τοῦ of the Greek text, because he saw that Galen could not be called the son of Menodotus (Bellisarius has the wrong translation *Menodoti filii*). He must have regarded the genitive *Menodoti* as depending on *paraphrastae*. Cf. Beaudouin, 245, n. 1.

5-7 *Fortassis ... capacem* At the beginning of the sentence *a* has εἰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὴν φωνήν (sc. μετέχει). The translation *tametsi non habent eam rationem, quae iuxta vocem intelligitur* shows that Er. anticipates Goulston's correction εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦ κ.τ.φ. In what follows the words *eam quae secundum animam accipitur* make it clear

that Er. already added a κατὰ before τὴν ψυχὴν, as was done afterwards by Jamot. Finally, we should note that, whereas προφορικόν (sc. λόγον) is correctly translated (*rationem ... enunciatiuam*), ἐνδιάθετον is rendered rather surprisingly by *affectuum capacem*.

9 *hac parte* This is an addition by Er.

9-10 *vel ... vel a* has ὁρῶσι τό γε πλῆθος... καί. Er. must have read τε instead of γε, as was conjectured by Wyttenbach.

13 *his ... artes* τεχνῶν εὐτυχηκεν *a*; as it seems, Er. has anticipated Jamot's conjecture τετύχηκεν which was adopted by Goulston and Marquardt. However, εὐτύχηκεν is the correct reading, cf. Kaibel, 23-24.

16 *imperitus ἀνάσχητος a*; ἀνάσκητος Jamot, certainly from Er.

destituitur, imitans et Aesculapii, quae eadem est Apollinis, medicam artem, ad caeteras item omnes quas habet Apollo, iaculandi canendi diuinandi; ad haec quam vnaquaeque Musarum habet peculiarem, nec geometricae nec astronomiae expers. Verum *et ea quae subter humum sunt et ea quae supra caelos sunt*, quemadmodum ait Pindarus, contemplatur. Denique bonorum omnium maximum sua sibi parauit industria, philosophiam. Has igitur ob causas, quanquam caeteris animantibus non deest ratio, tamen solus homo vocatur rationalis, quod omnibus antecellat.

An non igitur turpissimum est, id quod vnum nobis inest commune cum diis negligentes aliarum rerum studio teneri ac spretis artibus fortunae nos ipsos committere? Cuius improbitatem nobis ob oculos ponere volentes prisci, tum picturis tum statuis eam repraesentantes, non sat habuerunt dare mulieris speciem, quanquam hoc ipsum satis magnum erat amentiae signum, verum et clauum illi dederunt in manibus, ac pedibus subiecerunt basim figura sphaerae, tum et oculis eam priuarunt, nimirum his omnibus declarantes illius inconstantiam. Quemadmodum igitur in naui vehementer iactata tempestate, adeo vt in periculo sit, ne procellis ac fluctibus obruta demergatur in profundum, perperam fecerit, qui caeco gubernatori clauum commiserit, itidem opinor in vita, quum hic in permultis aedibus grauiora fiant naufragia quam scaphis accidunt in mari, non recte iudicarit, qui semet ipsum in tantis negociis vndique circumstantibus ac vallantibus caecae commiserit deae, nec huic satis stabili; in tantum enim stupet ac demens est, vt plerunque bonis viris praeteritis, quorum oportebat haberi rationem, locupletet indignos, ac ne id quidem constanter, sed tantisper, donec rursus pari qua dedit temeritate eripiat donata. Hanc deam sequitur turba non mediocris hominum ineruditorum, nunquam eodem in statu manentem propter basis cui insistit volubilitatem, quae illam huc illuc agit rapitque per praecipitia, nonnunquam et in mare. Ibi pariter intereunt omnes illam sequentes, caeterum illa sola euadit indemnis et illaesa, ridens interim plorantes et ipsius opem frustra implorantes, quum hinc iam nulla sit illis vtilitas. Atque huiusmodi sane sunt fortunae facta.

Porro Mercurium tanquam rationis dominum omnisque artis autorem consi-

4 Pind. fr. 292 Snell.

5 *bonorum omnium* τῶν θεῶν ἀγαθῶν Galen (from Plato *Tim.* 47 B: ἀγαθὸν ... δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν). Evidently Er. wants to avoid too high a qualification of pagan philosophy.

10 *studio teneri* ἐσπευκέναι a; Er. may have anticipated Jamot's conjecture ἐσπουδακέναι; cf. Kaibel, 24–25.

12 *non ... speciem* οὐ μόνον ἐν εἶδει γυναικὸς ἠρκέσθησαν a. Marquardt reads οὐ μόνον <οὐκ> εἶδει, etc. (cf. his *Praefatio*, XXX sq.) but the text of a is acceptable. Er. simplifies the whole by leaving μόνον

untranslated.

19 *naufragia nauαγιῶν* a; Er. anticipates Kaibel's conjecture ναυαγιῶν.

24 *donec ... donata* a reads ἀλλ' ὅσον πάλιν οὕτως ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ δοθέντα, the London MS of Goulston: ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἔδωκεν οὕτως, etc., which is combined by Kaibel into ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἔδωκεν οὕτως πάλιν ἀ.τ.δ. (cf. his note, 27–28). The words *qua dedit* show that Er. has already found this solution.

25 *eodem in statu* ἐν αὐτῷ a; ἐν ταύτῳ rightly Jamot (as Er.).

dera rursus, quam diuersa quamque pugnante cum Fortunae simulacro forma  
 repraesentarunt illi prisci, tum picturis tum statuis. Adolescens est formosus,  
 nequaquam habens pulcritudinem asciticam aut artificio comptorum additam,  
 sed talem vt protinus in ea reluceat | animi virtus. Est autem hilari vultu,  
 oculis acribus. Basis autem cui insistit est omnium figurarum firmissima, mini-  
 meque volubilis, videlicet vndique quatuor angulis nitens tessara. Interdum et  
 ipsum deum hac figura repraesentant. Videas autem et huius cultores similiter  
 hilares, quemadmodum est is quem sequuntur, nec vnquam de illo querentes,  
 quod solent ii qui sequuntur Fortunam. Nec destituunt illum nec seiunguntur  
 ab eo, sed perpetuo et sequuntur illum et illius prouidentia fruuntur.

LB 1050

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Contra qui Fortunam sequuntur, videre licet inertes ac disciplinarum indoci-  
 les semper inhiantes spe duci, cumque currente dea currere, alios quidem prop-  
 pius, alios vero procul, nonnullos autem et ab illius manu pendentes. Inter hos  
 omnes videbis et Croesum illum Lydum et Polycratem Samium, ac fortasse mi-  
 raberis alteri quidem Pactolum affluxu suo inuehentem aurum, alteri vero mari-  
 nos etiam pisces subseruientes. Cum his rursus et Cyrum videbis et Priamum et  
 Dionysium. Verum paulo post hos eosdem haud eodem in statu conspicies,  
 Polycratem in crucem suffixum, tum Cyro subactum Croesum, rursus Cyrum  
 ab aliis deiectum; videbis et Priamum constrictum et Dionysium Corinthi.  
 Quod si contempleris illos, qui procul insequuntur eam currentem nec tamen  
 assequuntur, nimirum prorsus oderis eum chorum. Sunt enim hic oratores  
 permulti, meretrices et scorta, et amicorum proditores, sunt et homicidae et  
 monumentorum perfossores ac rapaces, complures vero qui ne diis quidem  
 pepercerint, sed hos sacrilegio compilarint.

15

20

Caeterum in altero choro omnes modesti et artium opifices neque currunt  
 neque vociferantur neque inter sese decertant, sed in illorum medio deus est, et  
 circum hunc suo quisque loco compositus, nec ordinem quem cuique dedit  
 deus deserunt: alii quidem deo proximi et hunc ordine composito cingentes,  
 videlicet geometrae arithmetici philosophi medici astronomi et grammatici.  
 Hos sequitur alter chorus, pictores plastae scriptores fabri et architecti, lapidarii.

25

30

1-2 *quam diuersa ... repraesentarunt illi* ὅπως ἐξ ὑπεναντίου τὴν τύχην ἐκοσμήκασιν (*sic*)  
 a. The correct reading τῇ τύχῃ, which is presupposed by Er.'s translation, occurs in Goulston's Codex Adelphi.  
 2 *illi prisci* πάλιν οἱ a; Er.'s translation is based on his conjectura palmaris in this treatise, viz., οἱ παλαιοί, as is acknowledged by Kaibel (who wrongly quotes *prisci illi*). Er.'s correction is adopted by Jamot and the later editions.  
 6 *vndique ... tessara* is a somewhat circumstantial translation of τὸν κύβον.  
 10 *perpetuo* This word is evidently connected by Er. with both *sequuntur* and *fruuntur*, whereas Galen connects διὰ παντός with

ἀπολαύοντας only.  
 11 *qui Fortunam sequuntur* τοὺς ... τῆς τύχης συνεπομένους a. Er. anticipates the correction τῇ τύχῃ by Goulston and Cobet (Mnemosyne, Nova Series, 10, 178).  
 12 *semper inhiantes spe duci* ὀχοιμένους δ' ἐξ ἐλπίδων ἀεὶ a. One wonders whether Er. has anticipated Wyttenbach's conjecture ἐπ' ἐλπίδων.  
 17 *haud eodem in statu* is an addition by Er.  
 30 *alter chorus* In the text of Galen the words ὁ δεύτερος χορός must be a gloss (cf. l. 25 in *altero choro*, p. 642, 1 *ordo tertius*), as was first stated by Kaibel's pupil Emil Metzger (cf. Kaibel, 30-31).

Post hos sequitur ordo tertius, reliquas artes omnes continens, sic in ordinem digestis singulis, vt omnes tamen ad deum communem vertant oculos iussis illius pariter obtemperantes. Conspicies quidem et hic numerosam multitudinem adhaerentium deo. Caeterum videbis et quartum quendam chorum a caeteris selectum atque extraordinarium, non quales erant illi qui Fortunam comitabantur. Non enim ex dignitatibus ciuilibus neque ex generis claritate neque ex diuitiis consuevit deus hic praestantissimos iudicare, sed qui cum virtute vitam agerent quique in suis artibus excellerent quique praeceptis ipsius obsequerentur ac legitime suas exercerent artes, hos et magni facit et caeteris anteponeit, sibi coniunctissimos habens semper. Hunc, ni fallor, chorum si nosset qualis sit, non solum admirareris, verum etiam adorares. In hoc est Socrates et Homerus et Hippocrates et Plato et horum studiosi, quos pari cum diis honore dignamur, tanquam assectatores ac ministros quosdam dei, quanquam ne caeterorum quidem quisquam fuit vnquam a deo neglectus: non solum enim praesentium curam habet, verum etiam et nauigantibus adest, nec in naufragio destituit. Aristippus igitur, quum aliquando nauigans fracta scapha in littus Syracusanum eiectus esset, primum quidem bono animo esse coepit quum in harenis vidisset lineas geometricas; reputabat enim sese ad Graecos et sapientes viros, non ad barbaros peruenisse. Post vbi venisset in Syracusiorum gymnasium et hosce versus pronunciasset:

*Quis Oedipum in diem vagantem et exulem  
Donis recipiet, nunc quidem rarissimis,*

et habuit qui ipsum adirent et agnito quis esset protinus omnia quibus opus erat impartierunt. Deinde quum essent | qui in Cyrenen illius patriam nauigaturi percontarentur, nunquid ad suos vellet scribere, 'Tubete', inquit, 'illos has sibi parare possessiones, quae nauis fracta simul enatant cum possessore'.

Caeterum multi infelices et omnia diuitiis metientes, si quando incidunt in talem rerum statum, aurum aut argentum suspendunt ac circumponunt corpori simulque cum illis perdunt et vitam, ne id quidem apud se reputare valentes, quod ipsi ex brutis animantibus ea potissimum amplectuntur, quae sunt artibus ornata, siquidem equos ad bellum edoctos et canes venandi peritos caeteris anteponunt, quin et famulos curant artibus instituendos et frequenter in hos plurimam impendunt pecuniam, quum semetipsos negligant. Quid? An non turpe videtur famulum nonnunquam aestimari drachmarum decem milibus,

1-2 *sic in ordinem digestis singulis κατὰ μέρη μὲν, οὕτω κεκόσμηται* a. Er.'s translation presupposes the reading *κεκόσμηται* which occurs in the Codex Adelphi.

2 *omnes ... oculos πάντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσι κοινῶ* a. Er. must have conjectured *κοινόν* (or *κοινὸν κοινῶ*, Beaudouin, 238), which is adopted by Jamot, Goulston, and Marquardt. His correc-

tion *omnes*, too, is accepted by Jamot (*πάντες*).

4-5 *a caeteris selectum atque extraordinarium* A somewhat circumstantial translation of *ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἔκκριτον*.

9 *sibi αὐτόν* a. Er. anticipates Marquardt's conjecture *ἑαυτόν*.

21-22 Soph. *Oed. Col.* 3-4.

33-34 *An ... aestimari* a reads *καίτοι τὸν οὐκ*

ipsum autem dominum nec vnus haberi drachmae? Quid autem dixi 'vnus'? Nemo talem vel gratis acceperit in famulitium. An non tandem se solos vilissimos omnium reddiderunt, qui soli nullam artem didicerint? Etenim quum bruta quoque artium exercitationibus erudiant et famulum ignauum nulliusque peritum artis nullo pretio dignum iudicent, curent autem et agros et reliquas possessiones, vt quaeque quantum fieri potest sit quam optima, seipsos solos negligant, ne hoc quidem intelligentes animum habeant necne, perspicuum est, quod similes sint famulis contemptissimis, vt iam aliquis insultans homini tali, merito verbis huiusmodi illum alloquatur: 'O homo, familia quidem tua tibi recte habet, mancipia omnia et equi et canes et agri, et quicquid possides bene compositum est: at ipse tu parum curatus es.' Praeclare igitur Demosthenes ac Diogenes, quorum alter diuites indoctos appellauit *oues onustas aureo vellere*, alter dixit eos *similes ficis arboribus in praeruptis locis stantibus; nam harum fructibus non homines, sed coruos et graculos vesci*; sic horum pecunias nulli esse vsui viris probis, verum ab assentatoribus absumi, qui quidem, si sic acciderit vt nihil sit reliquum, forte obuios factos praetereunt illos quos exhausserunt, perinde quasi ne nossent quidem. Vnde quidam non inelegans dixit istos *similes fontibus*; etenim qui prius e fontibus aquare solent, simul atque desierint habere aquam, apud eosdem sublatis vestibis vrinam reddunt, et sane videtur aequum, qui nulla re suspiciendi sunt nisi ob diuitias, simul atque his spoliati fuerint, pariter et illis spoliari quae ob diuitias habebant. Quid enim isti facerent qui nullum proprium possident bonum, sed perpetuo pendent ab alienis et ab his quae sunt Fortunae?

Tales videlicet sunt et hi qui generis nobilitatem venditant atque hinc sibi placentes tollunt cristas. Nam et isti, quoniam propriis bonis carent, ad maiorum imagines confugiunt, non saltem hoc intelligentes, quod ista generis nobilitas qua gloriantur, similis est publico singularum ciuitatum nomismati, quod apud eos quidem valet qui instituerunt, apud alios vero adulterinum habetur.

αἰσχρὸν οἰκέτην... ἄξιον. The Basle edition corrects the text as it was evidently already done by Er.: καίτοι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τὸν οἰκέτην, etc.

2 se αὐτούς α, ἐαυτούς, like Er., Marquardt.

11 Demosthenes There is no passage in the speeches of Demosthenes where an utterance of this kind occurs, nor is it mentioned under his name in the existing collections of anecdotes. Kaibel is almost certainly right in reading Ἀντισθένης instead (cf. his note, 32-33).

12-14 Diogenes ... vesci Diog. Laert. VI, 2, 60 (there not referring to the rich but to the ἄσωτοι).

16 forte obuios factos praetereunt ἀπατώντες πατέρχονται a Er. has anticipated the ἀπατώντας of the Basle edition.

17 quidam non inelegans (οὐδ' ... ἄμουσός τις Galen) unknown; cf. the similar formulation in p. 655, 16-17.

20 suspiciendi 'of whom all people stand in awe' (περιβλέπτους Gal.).

21 habebant εἶχεν α, εἶχον Goulston.

25-26 ad ... confugiunt All editions have ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἤκουσιν. Kaibel, comparing Menander fr. 533 Koch (=612, 2-5 Körte), conjectures καταφεύγουσιν instead of ἤκουσιν. This is the very reading translated by Er.

*Te haud quaquam in altum generis euexit decus,  
Non altus huc sum polluam ut genus meum.*

*Praeclarus* igitur, ut inquit Plato, *thesaurus est progenitorum virtutes*, sed *praeclarus* est huic opponere posse Sthenei dictum:

5 *Atqui nos patribus longe praestamus auisque.*

Nam si qua omnino est nobilitatis utilitas, hanc solam habet, quod hinc accenditur studium aemulandi, proposito exemplo domestico. Proinde si procul de-  
generemus a progenitorum virtute, merito discrucientur illi, si quis modo sensus  
10 insit defunctis, nobis autem tanto plus est dedecoris, quanto genus est  
faciunt, quod plerique nesciunt quales sint, caeterum quos decus et claritudo  
generis non sinit latere, quid aliud fructus ferunt ex nobilitate, nisi ut illorum  
infelicitas sit illustrior? Sane qui generi suo non respondent, magis contemnuntur  
15 quam obscuro loco nati. Itaque fit, ut si vecors praedicet claritatem generis,  
declaret suum ipsius vitium minus esse venia dignum. Neque enim eadem trutina  
aestimamus aut exploramus plebeios homines qua claro genere natos, sed  
illos, si vel mediocri virtute praediti sint, probamus et amplectimur, quod  
deest illorum virtuti generis obscuritati importantes, rursus hos qui nihil habent  
dignum imaginibus maiorum, etiam si caeteris omnibus antecellant, nondum  
LB 1052 tamen suscipimus. Proinde si quis sapit, ad exercendam artem sese conferat  
21 per quam si nobilis fuerit, videbitur genere non indignus, sin minus, ipse  
genus ornabit suum, veterem illum Themistoclem imitatus, cui cum probro  
obiceretur, quod nothus esset, *At ego*, inquit, *a meipso genus auspiciabor ac meum  
quidem genus a me incipiet, tuum vero in te desinet*. Vides non obstitisse Anacharsidi

1-2 *Te ... meum* Galen quotes Eur., *Phoen.* 404-405, in which the first line is spoken by Jocaste, and the second by Polynices; for the function of the two verses in this context, cf. Kaibel, 33-34. The second part of Polynices' answer, τὸ γένος οὐκ ἔβροσκέ με, is in accordance with the preceding sentence, in which noble descent is compared to coins which are without value outside the city which produced them. In the translation by Er. the first thing to be noted is that the first line is not given in the form of a question (as is also the case in *a*). The second line in *a* runs as follows: κατὰ (instead of κακόν) τὸ μὴ ἔχειν (no distinction here) τὸ γένος οὐκ ἔβροσκέ με. Er. has translated this thoroughly corrupted form of the verse as well as he could (οὐκ ἔβροσκέ με - *non altus huc sum*; κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ γένος - *polluam ut genus*

*meum*).

3 Plato *Menex.* 247 B. *ut ἤ a* (deleted by Kaibel), for which Er. seems to have read ἤ, which was adopted by Jamot (Beaudoûin, 233, n. 1).

4 *Sthenei* Σθένεως *a*, which is maintained by both Er. and Bellisarius. The correct reading, *viz.*, Σθενέλου, was put into the text by Jamot.

5 Hom. *Il.* IV, 405.

10 *illustrius* περιφανέστατον *a*. Er. translates the comparative, which was adopted by Jamot and all later editors.

13 *Sane* καὶ μὲν γε *a*, καὶ μὲν δὴ Kaibel. Er. rightly felt the necessity of an emphatic word here.

23 *a meipso* τοῖς μετ' αὐτόν *a*. τοῖς ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ Jamot, τοῖς μετ' ἑμαυτόν Willet. Er.'s translation neglects τοῖς; Jamot follows Bellisarius (*posteris meis*). Cf. Beaudoûin, 240.

Scythae, quo minus sit in admiratione et inter sapientes numeretur, tametsi genere barbarus esset. Huic quum quidam exprobraret, quod genere barbarus esset ac Scytha, *Mihi quidem*, inquit, *patria dedecori est, tu vero patriae*, pulchre retaxans hominem ex sese nihili nec alia re superbientem quam patria. Quod si  
 5 fixius et attentius contempleris res hominum, comperies non homines factos illustres ex ciuitatibus, sed contra per viros bonos et artibus praestantes horum patrias fuisse nobilitatas. Etenim quod nomen aut quam dignitatem habuissent Stagira, nisi per Aristotelem contigisset? Rursus quae Solorum, nisi per Ara-  
 10 tum et Chrysippum contigisset? Quin et Athenarum nomen unde tam procul dimanauit? Non ob terrae foecunditatem – habuit enim agros parum feraces –, sed per eos potius qui illic nati sunt, quorum plerique dum in viros optimos euaserunt, nonnullam suae gloriae portionem impartierunt et patriae. Hoc autem esse verissimum euidentissime perspicies, si tecum reputes Hyperbolum et Cleonem, quibus ad nihil aliud profuit Athenarum nobilitas, nisi vt illorum malefacta redderentur famosiora. *Quondam Boeotios vocabant sues*, inquit Pindarus,  
 15 et idem rursus: *Fugimus Boethicum suem*, iterum volens totius prope gentis de imperitia probum aboleri per ipsius poeticam.

Quin et legislatorem illum Atheniensem iure laudarit aliquis, qui vetuit parentem alimoniae ius a filio petere, quem nullam artem docuisset. Quum id  
 20 potissimum temporis omnis ars illic exerceretur, vbi corpora videbantur esse quam formosissima, multis vsu venit, vt ob corporis formam admirandi negligerent animum, deinde sero frustra deplorarent dicentes: *Vtinam forma, quae me perdidit, pereat male*. Tum illis et illud Solonis in mentem venit, qui iubet *in primis spectari vitae finem*. Deinde et senectutem incusant, quum seipsos debuerint, et Euripidem laudant qui dicit *non expedire pulchritudinem ultra capere quam  
 25 in medio*. Praestat igitur eos laudare, qui iudicarunt formam adolescentiae adsimilem vernis floribus, vt qui voluptatem habent temporariam, simulque laudare Lesbiae dictum: *Nam qui formosus est, tantisper est dum videtur; at quisquis bonus est, protinus et formosus erit*. Parendum autem et Soloni eandem sententiam profe-

3 *inquit* No verb connoting 'saying' occurs in the Greek text. Marquardt conjectured  $\xi\phi\eta$ , Wilamowitz  $\xi\phi\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , Kaibel  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu$ .

7 *habuissent τίς γὰρ ἦν, etc. a.* Cobet (Mnemosyne, N.S. 10, 178), followed by Kaibel, added  $\delta\upsilon$ .

8 *Rursus ἔν a.* Er. reads  $\alpha\delta$ , which was afterwards conjectured by Marquardt.

15–16 With regard to the two quotations we find in the margin *In dithyrambis / in olympiis*.

15 Pind. fr. 83 Snell.

16 *Fugimus Boethicum suem, iterum a* has  $\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \beta\omicron\iota\omega\tau\iota\alpha\nu\ \alpha\delta$ . The text of Pindar (*Ol.* 6, 152) has  $\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \beta\omicron\iota\omega\tau\iota\alpha\nu\ \delta\upsilon$ . Er. evidently reads ( $\epsilon\lambda$ )  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \beta\omicron\iota\omega\tau\iota\alpha\nu$

$\delta\upsilon\ \alpha\delta$  (with or without a comma before  $\alpha\delta$ ).

18–19 *legislatorem ... docuisset* An allusion to a law of Solon which is quoted in a more correct form by Plutarch, *Vita Solonis* 22:  $\upsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\ \tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \mu\eta\ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\iota\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$ .

22–23 *Trag. Graec. Fragm. Adesp.* 174 Nauck. 23–24 Hdt. I, 32.

24 *incusant*  $\lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ a$ ,  $\lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$  Jamot, certainly from Er.

25 *non expedire*  $\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota\ a$ .  $\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\delta}\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$  Jamot (again from Er.).

25–26 Eurip. fr. 928 Nauck.

28–29 Sappho fr. 50 L.-P.

29 *Soloni* Kaibel, 37, rightly follows Wilamowitz who observed that this quotation

renti: *Senectus porro molesta, veluti tempestas imminens*, egens non calciamentis solum et vestitu, verum et domicilio commodo aliisque rebus innumeris. Aduersus hanc probi gubernatoris exemplo multo ante velut in venturam tempestatem oportet praeparari, quando miserum est illud *Vecors intelligit acta*. Ad quid enim dixeris vtilem esse formam adolescentis nulla excultam arte? Num ad bellum? Atqui non abs re quis illud Homericum in tales iaculetur: *Quin tu coniugii tractas mulcentia facta?*, et illud, *Ito domum et tracta tibi conuenientia facta*, siquidem Nireus *venerat ad Troiam cunctis formosior vnus, at mollis erat* eoque non nisi semel huius meminit Homerus in recensendis nauibus, haud quidem ob aliud mea sententia, nisi vt declararet quam sint inutiles viri forma praestantissimi, quoties illis praeter formam nihil adest quod ad vsum vitae conducat. At infelix quispiam dicere non verebitur ad parandas opes conducibilem esse formam, quum liberalis honestus firmusque pecuniarum census ex arte parari soleat, caeterum ex corporis forma reditus turpis est semper et infamis. Oportet igitur adolescentem iuxta vetus praeceptum suam ipsius formam ad speculum contemplari; qui si se conspexerit facie pulchra, aduigilandum est vt talis sit et animus, existimetque vehementer absurdum in formoso corpore animum habitare deformem. Rursum si se viderit esse forma corporis infelici, tanto magis oportet animi excolendi curam agere, quo dicere possit illud Homericum: |

LB 1053 *Est aliquis cui forma parum sit corpore felix,*  
 21 *Sed comptis formam verbis deus ornat, et illi*  
*Defixis oculis vultum huius cernere gaudent.*  
*Ille nihil fallens loquitur placido ora rubore*  
*Suffusus reliquosque foro toto eminet inter,*  
 25 *Vtque deum aspiciunt, incedit quando per urbem.*

Ex his igitur quae diximus perspicuum est his qui non prorsus mente carent, neque generis claritate neque diuitiis neque formae gratia fretum oportere negligere studium artis. Atque haec quidem sufficiebant; attamen melius, opinor,

need not necessarily stem from Solon's poems, and adds that it may be an inference drawn from Solon's law on the education of children.

1 *Senectus ... imminens a* has τὸ δὲ γῆρας καθάπερ χαλεπὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα χειμῶνα Er. seems to translate τὸ δὲ γῆρας χαλεπὸν καθάπερ, etc.

4 Hom. *Il.* XVII, 32.

6-7 Hom. *Il.* V, 429.

7 *et illud* There is nothing here in *a*. Charterius adds καί, Koehler καὶ πάλιν, Marquardt (followed by Kaibel) ἤ.

Hom. *Il.* VI, 490.

8 Hom. *Il.* II, 673; 675.

11 *nihil ... conducat* μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον, χρήσιμον *a*. The obvious cor-

rection, viz., χρησίμων, was made by Goulston. Er. rather seems to have deleted τῶν.

11-12 *At ... verebitur* Er. has changed the structure of the sentence by leaving εἰ untranslated.

20-25 Hom. *Od.* VIII, 174, 170-173.

20 In the first line of the quotation Galen substitutes the beginning of *Odyss.* VIII 174: ἄλλος μὲν δ' αὐτ' εἶδος μὲν (μὲν, which is omitted by Kaibel, is necessary: it occurs both in Homer and in *a* and in the Basle edition) for the beginning of vs. 169: ἄλλος μὲν γάρ τ' εἶδος. Er. translates neither δ' αὐτ' nor μὲν γάρ τ'. Cf. Beaudouin, 233, note 1.



fuerit ceu pulchrum epodum accinere Diogenis illud. Is quum apud quendam acciperetur conuiuio, qui res omnes quas possidebat exacta prouidentia nitidas et instructas habebat, caeterum sui ipsius nullam omnino curam habuerat, screans veluti sputum eiecturus, quum vndique circumspexisset, nihil vidit in quod expueret, sed in ipsum solum domus herum expuit. Ille quum indignaretur rogaretque, quam ob causam id faceret, respondit se nihil in tota domo tam sordidum ac neglectum videre quam esset ipse: nam parietes omnes egregiis picturis ornatos esse, solum autem ex tessellis preciosis esse concinnatum, habens ex his deorum expressas imagines, vasa omnia pura ac nitentia, quin et stragulas et lectos pulchre magnoque artificio elaboratos esse, solum ipsum videri neglectum et incuratum; omnibus autem esse morem, vt in locum omnium qui adsunt inhonestissimum expuant. Ne committas igitur, adolescens, vt te praebeas dignum in quem sputum eiciatur, etiam si reliqua omnia pulcherrima tibi videantur adesse. Rarum enim est, istis simul vniuersis potiri, vt idem pariter et nobilis sis et diues et formosus. Quod si cui sane simul ista contingant aliquando, tamen absurdum fuerit te vnum in omnibus tuis facultatibus videri conspuendum.

Agite igitur, o pueri, quicumque meam audistis orationem, ad cognoscendas artes animum appellite, ne quis vnquam seductor et impostor homo vos aut inutiles artes aut improbas doceat, scientes quaecunque artes nihil adferunt vtilitatis ad vitam, has artes non esse. Ac plane persuasum habeo de caeteris quidem vos ipsos perspicere, quod nihil istius modi rerum artis nomine sit dignum, veluti iacere talos, ambulare super tenuem funem et rotatu circumagi in gyrum, non considerantem interim quid acciderit Myrmeciadae Atheniensi et Calli-crati Lacedaemonio; tantum athletarum exercitium metuo, ne veluti corporis

1 sqq. Diog. Laert. VI, 32; cf. also Kaibel's note, 38.

10 *stragulas* τὴν στρωμνὴν *a* and all further editions; 'fort. τὰς στρωμνὰς' Kaibel, which is what Er. must have conjectured.

16 *te vnum* ἑαυτὸν *a*. Marquardt, followed by Kaibel, reads αὐτόν, which gives the same impersonal construction which occurs in the preceding sentence (ὡς εὐγενῆ τε καὶ πλοῦσιον εἶναι καὶ καλὸν ἕμα τὸν αὐτόν). Er., who already, under the influence of the preceding σεαυτόν, had used the second person in that sentence (*sis*), now translates σεαυτόν instead of ἑαυτόν.

18-19 *Agite ... appellite* Ἄγετ' οὖν, ὦ παῖδες, ὁπόσοι τῶν ἐμῶν ἀκηρότεες λόγων ἐπὶ τέχνης μάθησιν ὄρηθησθε *a* and all further editions. Er. has anticipated Marquardt's conjectures ἀκηρόατε and ὄρηθησθε.

22 *vos ipsos perspicere* ὑμῖν καὶ πάνυ πέποιθα γυγνώσκειν *a*. The ὑμᾶς translated by

Erasmus is found for the first time in Jamot's edition (not Goulston's, as Kaibel says). Since ὑμᾶς also occurs in Bellisarius' translation and Goulston's edition it may come from the Codex Adelphi (cf. Beaudouin, 245).

23 *iacere talos* πεττοριπτεῖν *a*. Er. translates πεττοριπτεῖν, which is rejected by Jamot: 'Legendum puto πεταυριστεῖν non πεττοριπτεῖν.' Bellisarius follows Er.: *in jaciendis tesseris*. As to the sense, Jamot is certainly right; however, Kaibel's πετευρίζειν is preferable. Cf. Kaibel's note, 46, and Beaudouin, 241.

24 *considerantem* Here Er. translates the σκοπούμενον which is found in *a*, whereas the correct reading is undoubtedly σκοτούμενον which was put into the text by Jamot after the example of Bellisarius' translation *sic ut non offundantur caligines* (Beaudouin, 240).

robur pollicens et gloriam apud vulgus concilians, publicitus etiam apud maiores diurnis pecuniae largitionibus honoratum parique in pretio habitum cum praestantissimis artibus decipiat aliquem adolescentem eoque seducat, vt hoc arti cuiquam anteponat. Vnde satius est aduersus haec praeparatum ac praemedi-

5 tatum esse. Nam facile quisque fallitur in his, in quibus est impraemeditatus. Sane genus hominum, o pueri, communionem habet simul et cum diis, et cum brutis animantibus: cum illis quidem quatenus vtitur ratione, cum his vero quatenus est mortale. Satius est igitur, vt animis ad meliorem communionis partem adiectis curemus eruditionem quam assequuti quod est in bonis summum habebimus; sin eam non fuerimus assequuti, non tamen hoc nomine pudescemus, quod brutis ignauissimis simus facti inferiores. Athletica vero corporis exercitatio si non contingat affectanti, turpissimum est; si maxime contingat, nihilo tamen praestantior est brutis animantibus. Quis enim robustior leonibus aut elephantis? Quis lepore velocior? Quis vero nescit ipsos etiam deos non ob aliud laudari quam propter artes, adeo vt ob has etiam homines eximios dignati simus diuinis honoribus, non quod bene cucurrerint in stadiis aut discum scite iecerint aut in palaestra probe luctati sint, sed propter artes repertas. Profecto Aesculapius et Bacchus siue quondam homines fuerunt siue dii ab initio, summos honores promeruerunt, alter ob monstratam artem medendi, alter quod nos docuerit vitium colendarum rationem. Quod si mihi non vis credere, certe Pythii dei te moneat auctoritas. Hic est ille, qui et Socratem virorem omnium sapientissimum pronunciauit et Lycurgum affatus hunc in modum salutat:

*Huc aduenisti, ad mea ditia templa, Lycurge |*

LB 1054 *Grate Ioui et cunctis quis altus habetur Olympus:*

25 *Addubito, anne deum te dicam hominemne, Lycurge;*

*Spero tamen magis esse deum numenque verendum.*

Hic rursus idem videtur honorem haud mediocrem habuisse Archilocho mortuo. Quum enim huius interemptor vellet illius templum ingredi, vetuit dicens:

*Occisor clari vatis, ne templa subito.*

2-3 *praestantissimis artibus* is a somewhat surprising translation of τοῖς ἀριστεύσει.

11 *ignauissimis a* has the impossible form ἀργήστων. Er. seems to translate ἀργοτάτων. Kuehn reads ἀχρήστων, Kaibel χειρίστων.

14-15 *deos ... laudari* θεοὺς ... διὰ τὰς τέχνας ἐπαινομένους *a*. Er. has corrected into ἐπαινομένους which occurs for the first time in Jamot's edition (the Basle edition has ἐπαινομένους; cf. Beaudouin, 233, note 1). In the following words *adeo vt ob has*, which are the rendering of ὡς καὶ in *a*, Er. is thinking of the διὰ τὰς τέχνας in the first half of the sentence. However,

it will be necessary to follow Goulston in reading οὕτως instead of ὡς; as the gods are praised for their creation of the arts, the best of men are held worthy of divine honours for the same reason.

21-22 Plato *Apol.* 21 A; Diog. Laert. II, 37. 23-26 Hdt. I, 65.

28 *vellet* βουλεύομενον *a*, βουλόμενον Jamot, certainly from Er.

29 The verse is only quoted in the present passage of Galen, but allusions to the story are fairly frequent, e.g. Dio Chrysost. 33, 12 (I, p. 300 v. Arn.); Plut. *de sera num. vind.* 17, 560 E; Aelian. fr. 80.

Nunc mihi tu refer athletas huiusmodi titulis honoratos; at non facies, non enim habes quod dicas, nisi forte testem aspernaris velut indignum cui credatur. Videris enim tale quiddam subindicare, dum sermonem refers ad vulgi testimonia et nobis obicis horum laudationem. Et tamen neque morbo laborans, sat scio, te ipsum vulgo commiseris, sed ex omnibus delectis paucis aliquot atque  
5 his quidem medicae rei peritissimis, neque nauigans cuiuis e numero vectorum, sed vni videlicet gubernatori. Denique et in rebus minimis, si aedificas, fabro credis, si calciamentis egeas, coriario. Qui fit igitur vt vbi de rebus summis periculum est, tibi vindicas iudicandi potestatem adimens eam his qui plus sapiunt quam tu? Nam in praesentia quidem omitto de diis facere mentionem.  
10 Audi igitur quid de athleticis sentiat Euripides:

*Innumera quum sint mala per omnem Graeciam.*

*Haud aliud vllum est peius athleticis genus.*

*Primum ii domi sibi consulunt parum bene,*

*Quum liceat. Etenim quomodo vir qui siet*  
15

*Gulaeque seruus atque ventri deditus,*

*Opes pararet vnde viveret domi?*

*Egere rursus non potest, sed nec suis*

*Contentus esse sustinet fortunulis.*

*Nam numquam honestis assueti moribus*  
20

*Mox sese ad artes improbe vertunt malas.*

Iam vt intelligas et omnia, quorum studio tenentur isti, nihil habere bonae rei, audi rursum quae dicit, si libet:

*Quis enim in palaestra vir, pedum cursu valens*

*Feliciter versatus aut disco bene*  
25

*Misso aut probe sciteque mala icta viri*

*Patriae coronam rettulit partam suae?*

Quod si cupis audire his etiam expressiora, ausculta:

*Num aduersus hostes praeliabuntur, manu*

*Discos ferentes, siue vibrata aspide*  
30

5 *te ipsum* αὐτόν *a*, σαυτόν Jamot, once more from Er.

12-21 Eurip. fr. 282, 1-9 N.

14 *Primum ... bene* οἱ πρῶτον οἰκεῖν οὐδὲ μάνουσιν εἰ *a*. One wonders whether Er. has read οἴκοι instead of οἰκεῖν. As to the verb, he does not seem to have hit upon the obvious correction μανθάνουσιν, which also occurs in the quotation of the verse in Athenaeus, X, 413 C.

15 *Quum liceat* ὅταν δύναιτο *a*. The correct reading, quoted by Athenaeus, is οὐτ' ἂν δ.

18 *Egere* *a* has the senseless form παίνεσθαι.

The Basle edition of Galen has the correction πένεσθαι, which is presupposed by Er.'s translation.

18-19 *sed ... fortunulis καὶ ξυπηρετεῖν τύχαις a*.

The quotation in *a* does not contain the words Οἴοι τ' at the beginning of the next line, which are found in Athenaeus. Er. seems to have conjectured *sustinet* by himself.

24-27 Eurip. fr. 282, 16-18 N.

29-3 (next page) Eurip. fr. 282, 19-23 N. (also *infra* p. 654, 3-7; there in the second line *numue* instead of *siue*).

*Pedibus citi hostem submouebunt patria?  
Nullus profecto: vana fiunt omnia haec,  
Vbi cominus ferrum micare coeperit.*

Vtrum igitur Euripidem et huius generis alios autores reiciemus, philosophis  
5 autem permittemus iudicandi ius? Imo vero horum omnium suffragio velut  
vno ore loquentium damnatur istorum ars, adeo vt eam nec medicorum quis-  
quam probarit. Primum enim audies Hippocratem ita dicentem: *Affectio athletica  
non est secundum naturam, melior est habitudo salubris*. Idem autem suaserunt optimi  
10 quique medici, qui Hippocratis aetatem sequuti sunt. Equidem nolim a testibus  
pendere iudicium, nam id oratorum est potius quam hominis apud quem in  
precio sit ipsa veritas. Attamen quoniam nonnulli confugiunt ad testium multi-  
tudinem et hinc inanem captant gloriam nec curant exercitium rebus externis  
nudatum quale sit ipsum considerare, coactus sum et his obicere testes, quo  
videlicet intelligant se ne hic quidem esse nobis superiores. Vnde mihi non  
15 intempestium videtur commemorare quod fecit Phryna. Haec quum esset in  
quodam conuiuio, in quo ludus hic agebatur vt singuli per vices conuiuis im-  
perarent quae vellent, vidissetque adesse mulieres anchusa cerussa et fuco pic-  
tas, iussit inferri aquam moxque praecepit, vt omnes aquae immersas manus  
semel admouerent ad faciem, deinde vt ilico linteo extergerentur atque hoc ipsa  
20 prima omnium fecit. Ac caeteris quidem omnibus foeminis facies maculis op-  
plebatur: diceres te videre quasdam ad terrorem arte factas imagines. Ipsa vero  
pulchrior apparebat quam antea; sola enim carebat artificio formae, sed speciem  
habebat natuiam, nihil opus habens malis artibus ad formae commendationem.  
Quemadmodum igitur vera pulchritudo certo exploratur ipsa per se sola, rebus  
25 omnibus foris accidentibus nudata, sic et athletarum exercitationem expendi

4 *Euripidem ... autores a* has Εὐριπίδη μὲν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων καταγνώμεν. Since Er. puts Euripides and the other authors on one line in his translation, he must have corrected into Εὐριπίδου, which actually occurs in Jamot's edition.

7-8 *Affectio ... salubris* Hippocr. *de alimentis* (IV, 110 Littré). This quotation returns p. 652, 10-11 with a different form of the second half, *viz.*, *sed habitudo salubris melior*.

14-15 *non intempestium* ὅθεν δὲ ... ἄκαιρον *a*. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ... ἄκαιρον Jamot in his notes.

16 *in quo ludus hic agebatur* παιδιᾶς τοιούτης γενομένη *a*. The correct reading, *viz.*, *γενομένης*, is first given by Jamot (not in the Basle edition, as Kaibel says; cf. Beaudouin, 235).

18-19 *vt omnes ... faciem* ἐκέλευσεν ... ἀρ-  
υσαμένας ταῖς χερσὶ προσενεγεῖν ἀπαξ

αὐτῷ τῷ προσώπῳ *a*. Kaibel reads ἀπάσας instead of ἀπαξ αὐτῷ. It is remarkable that Er., though maintaining the reading of *a* (*semel*: αὐτῷ is not translated), yet feels the necessity to bring in *omnes*. Bellisarius translates the reading which we find in Kaibel (ἀπάσας, and ἀπαξ omitted; cf. Beaudouin, 245).

21 *diceres ... imagines* ἦν ὁμοιότητα ἰδεῖν τοῖς μορμολυκείοις *a*. Jamot, followed by most of the editors, reads ὁμοιοτάτας, which, according to Beaudouin, 238, may once more be caused by Er.'s translation. However, his translation *imagines* rather reminds us of ὁμοιότητα; ὁμοιοτάτας would rather have been suggested by a translation like *eas* (sc. *mulieres*) *similes factas imaginibus*, etc. Cf. also the discussion of this passage by Kaibel, 49, who hesitatingly proposes to read ὁμοιότατα.

conuenit solam, an videatur aliquid utilitatis adferre vel publice ciuitatibus vel priuatim iis a quibus exercetur. |

Quum igitur variae sint bonorum species quae insunt natura, puta quae pertinent ad animum, quae ad corpus, quae ad externa, nec praeter haec vllum aliud bonorum genus possit excogitari, cuius perspicuum est, quod athleticam exercentes animae bona ne in somnis assequuti sint, quando prorsus illud ignorant an habeant animam, tantum abest, vt illam sciant esse rationis participem. Etenim quum semper aggerant vim carniū et sanguinis, habent animam suam veluti multo immersam coeno, vt nihil exacte possit intelligere, verum non minus stupida sit quam brutorum animae. At fortassis contendunt athletae, tanquam aliquid conferant ad bona corporis. Num igitur bonam valetudinem, qua nihil preciosius, sibi vindicabunt? Atqui non alios reperias corporis affectione magis periculosa, si quidem Hippocrati fides habenda, qui dixit *summe bonam corporis valetudinem periculosam esse, quam affectant isti*. Quin et illud ab Hippocrate recte dictum, quod *sanitatis exercitatio est non satiari cibus, sed in omnibus agilem esse*, laudatur ab omnibus; at isti contra faciunt, dum et supra modum laborant et iidem supra modum explentur. In summa, veteris illius Hippocratis sermonem ceu Corybantum furore correpti contemnunt. Nam ille demonstrans quae vitae ratio sit accommoda tuendae bonae valetudini dixit: *Labores cibi potus somni Venus, omnia moderata*, isti vero quotidie supra quam conuenit laboribus exercentur et ingurgitant sese nonnunquam et vi, ad mediam vsque noctem profereutes cibi sumptionem, vt aliquis non immerito in illos torserit illud Homeri:

*Dormibant reliqui diuique hominesque per omnem  
Noctem, praedulci resoluti corpora somno;  
Ast nullus miseros athletas somnus habebat.*

Itaque quemadmodum se habent in cibus et laboribus, eodem modo moderantur et somnum. Etenim quo tempore caeteri iuxta naturam viuentes ab opere veniunt et cibum requirunt, tum isti surgunt a somno, vt illorum vita similis

6 *ne in somnis* One would expect *ne in somnis quidem* (οὐδ' ἔναρ Galen), the more so, since *ne ... quidem* occurs more than once in the present translation. It seems probable that the omission of *quidem* is due to a printing error, but on the other hand *ne* alone with this meaning does occur in other works of Er.  
9 *nihil exacte ... intelligere* Galen has οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς νοῆσαι. Er. anticipates Kaibel's conjecture 'fort ἀκριβῶς'. It is, however, not certain that this is to be preferred to the traditional reading.  
13-14 Hippocr. *Aphorism.* I, 3 (IV, 458 L.).  
15-16 Hippocr. *Epidem.* VI, 4, 18 (V, 312 L.).  
17 *veteris illius Hippocratis* Galen only has

τοῦ παλαιοῦ.  
18 *ceu ... corrupti* κορυβαντιῶντες *a.* Er. has, of course, read κορυβαντιῶντος, which was afterwards conjectured by Willet.  
19-20 Hippocr. *Epidem.* VI, 6, 2 (V, 324 L.).  
20 *supra quam conuenit* παρὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος *a.* Er. clearly read πέρα, which was again conjectured by Willet.  
23-25 Hom. *Il.* XXIV, 677-679 (with ἀθλητάς κακοδαίμονας instead of Ἑρμείαν ἐριούνιον in vs. 679).  
27 *ab opere veniunt* ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἔχουσιν *a.* Jamot has in his text ἔχουσιν, which is the reading of the Basle edition; in his annotations he gives the evident correction ἤχουσιν which must have been suggested by Er.'s translation.

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videatur suillae, nisi quod sues non vltra modum laborant neque coguntur ad edendum. Isti vero et haec perpetiuntur, nonnunquam iisdem et rododaphnes maculis terga notantur. Proinde priscus ille Hippocrates, praeter haec quae dicta sunt addit et illa: *Vehementer ac repente corpus explere vel inanire, vel calefacere vel refrigerare, aut alio quocunque modo mouere, periculosum est. Quicquid enim, inquit, est uehemens, inimicum est naturae.* Isti vero nec his auscultant nec aliis quae bene ab hoc dicta transgrediuntur, quin potius vtuntur omnibus quae pugnant cum his praeceptis. Quapropter ego sane dixerim istam exercitationem non facere ad bonam valetudinem, sed morbos potius accersere. Nam id, ni fallor, sentit Hippocrates, quum ait: *Affectio athletica non est secundum naturam, sed habitudo salubris melior.* His dictis non solum palam negauit illorum exercitationem esse naturalem, verum ne habitudinem quidem appellauit illorum affectionem, spoliens illos etiam nominis honore, quo cuncti veteres appellare solent homines qui vere essent bonae valetudinis, siquidem habitus est affectio quaedam stabilis ac perpetua, contra athletarum ad summum progressa bona corporis habitudo tum obnoxia periculo est, tum facile in diuersum mutabilis: neque enim recipit accessionem, eo quod ad summum peruenit, tum ex eo quod eodem in statu consistere non potest, nihil restat, nisi vt vergat in deterius. Atque hoc quidem in statu corpus est ipsis, dum athleticam exercent; caeterum vbi discesserint ab exercitiis, multo peius habent. Etenim nonnulli paulo post emoriuntur, alii vero diutius quidem viuunt, at ne ipsi quidem perueniunt ad senectutem. Et vt iam aliquando perueniant, nihil differunt a Litis illis Homericis, *claudi rugosi lusciosi oculis orbi.* Quemadmodum enim moenium partes tormentis concussae quouis incommodo corruunt nec terrae motum nec alium vllum grauiorem insultum ferre possunt, itidem et athletarum corpora, corrupta et imbecillia facta plagis ac vulneribus in exercendo acceptis, facile ad quamlibet leuem occasionem laeduntur. Proinde oculi plerisque ceu fossis cauati, quando iam vis abest resisten-

2 *rhododaphnes* The sentence is a somewhat unclear translation of Galen's words of δὲ ... καὶ ῥοδοδάφναις ἐνλοτε τὰ νῶτα διακναίονται. The point was first explained by Kaibel in his note, 51: The athletes are compared to swine on account of the fact that they live in mud; thus Seneca *Ep.* 88, 18: *luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam.* Now many athletes, like swine, suffered from scabies, and for this an approved remedy was an unction which, among other ingredients, contained olcander leaves (Vegetius, *Mulomed.* II, 135, 7 ed. Lommatzsch).

4 *addit* Er. leaves ἐμπροσθεν untranslated.

4-6 Hippocr. *Aphorism.* II, 51 (IV, 484 L.).

10-11 Cf. note on p. 650, 7-8.

22-23 *claudi ... oculis orbi* Cf. Hom. *Il.* IX,

502-503. Galen says that old athletes are

like the Λιταί in Homer, 'χλωλοί τε ῥυσοί τε παραβλώπες τ' ὀφθαλμῶ' (*Il.* IX, 503) ἀποτελούμενοι (for such inclusions of entire verses in his sentences, see Kaibel's note, 36). *a* has at the end ὀφθαλμῶν, which makes the sentence unintelligible. It is evident that Er. has connected the genitive ὀφθαλμῶν with ἀποτελούμενοι, for which he then almost certainly substituted ἀποστερούμενοι (*orbi*), which occurs for the first time in Jamot's edition. Cf. also Beaudouin, 238.

24 *grauiorems insultum* βραχυτέραν ... περίστασις *a*, which is adopted by Kaibel. Er. must have read βαρυτέραν, as was already observed by Marquardt (who adopted this reading): '*Versions: "grauiorems" insultum.*' Jamot reads τραχυτέραν.

di, complentur pituita. Dentes vero, vtpote frequenti concussione labefacti, progressu temporis destituti virtute, facile decidunt. Caeterum membrorum compages, vt frequenter | intortae, aduersus omnem violentiam foris incidentem redduntur inualidae, et quicquid semel ruptum fuit aut contractum, facile mouetur. Itaque, quod ad bonam valetudinem attinet, palam est nullum genus esse miserius quam athletarum. Vnde non iniuria quis dixerit eos generoso cognomine notari, dictos athletas, vel quod ab athleta cognomen habeant ἄθλιοι, id est miseri, vel quod vtrique communiter ab athliotete, id est miseria, velut ab vna terra cognomen sortiti sint.

Posteaquam igitur de eo, quod inter bona corporis summum est, tractauimus, nimirum de bona valetudine, transeamus ad reliqua. Iam quod ad formam attinet, sic illis habet res, vt non solum exercitatio athletica nihil conferat ad pulchritudinem, verum etiam multos ex istis optime composito corpore gymnastae qui eos curandos susceperant, supra modum saginantes et infercientes carnibus et sanguine, in diuersam corporis speciem perduxerint, nonnullos vero facie quoque prorsus deformi foedaque reddiderint, eos potissimum, quos ad pancratium aut pugilum certamen instituissent. Caeterum vbi tandem et membra fregerint aut distorserint aut oculos extuderint, tum, opinor, tum vel maxime fructus artis ipsorum euidenter apparet, pulchritudo. Hunc ad modum illis res successit ad formae commodum, quamdiu sani sunt. Caeterum vbi desierint exerceri, simul et reliqua corporis organa pereunt cunctaque, vt dixi, membra distorta nihil non reddunt deforme.

At fortassis nihil quidem ex omnibus his quae dicta sunt, sed robur sibi vindicabunt. Nam hoc, sat scio, dicturi sunt: illud omnium ad rem publicam pertinere maxime. Quod, per deos, robur aut ad quid vile? Num ad agricolationem? Perpulchre igitur vel fodere vel metere aut aliud quippiam quod ad

7 *cognomen habeant ἄθλιοι* τὴν προσηγορίαν τῶν ἄθλιων ἐσχηκότων *a*. Er. seems to have conjectured τῶν ἀθλίων, which occurs in Jamot's edition. The words *id est miseri* are, of course, an explication added by Er. Cf. further Kaibel's note, 52.

9 *sortiti sint ὀνομασμένον* *a*. Er. rightly reads ὀνομασμένων (τῶν ἀθλητῶν ... ἐσχηκότων ἢ ... ὀνομασμένων), which is put into the text by Cornarius and (independently of the latter) by Jamot. Er. does not have the correction of the reading of *a* ἀπὸ γῆς μῶς, viz., α. πηγῆς μ., which is found in Bellisarius' translation (*ab uno fonte*), and which was adopted from it by Jamot (cf. Beadouin, 240).

12 *vt non solum ... pulchritudinem* *a* has ὡς μὴ μόνον ὠφελείσθαι τι πρὸς τῆς ἀθλήσεως τὴν φύσιν, which is adopted without comment by Kaibel. Of course we must then suppose that the words *μὴ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ*

*καὶ* are equivalent to *μὴ μόνον οὐ ... ἀλλὰ καὶ* (this possibility is denied by Marquardt in his *Praefatio*, XXX–XXXI, which makes him adopt Goulston's conjecture *μὴ μόνον <οὐκ>*). Er. rightly translates *nihil conferat*; further, he chooses the active form of the verb, and translates φύσιν by *pulchritudinem*.

23 *quidem ... sed* The μέν translated here by Er. was added by Cornarius, the δέ by Cornarius and Jamot.

24 *sat scio* εἶ οἶδ' ὅν *a*, which makes no sense. Er. must have anticipated Cornarius' conjecture εἶ οἶδ' ὅτι.

24–25 *illud ... maxime* *a* reads (τοῦτο) πάντων ἰσχυρότατον εἶναι. In order to make the adjective understandable, Er. has added *ad rem publicam*. Cornarius is probably right in reading ἰσχυρότατοι.

26–1 (next page) *metere ... pertinet* *a* has the impossible text θερίζειν παρῶντι τῶν

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agricolationem pertinet possunt. 'Sed fortassis ad res bellicas valet'. Rursus Euripidem huc mihi cita, qui laudes illorum canit dicens:

*Num aduersus hostem praeliabuntur, manu  
Discos ferentes, numue vibrata aspide  
5 Pedibus citi hostem submouebunt patria?  
Nullus profecto: vana fiunt omnia haec,  
Vbi cominus ferrum micare coeperit.*

Caeterum aduersus rigorem et aestum validi sunt, hoc ipso sane Herculem ipsum referentes, vt tum hyeme tum aestate vna pelle tegantur, vt incalceati  
10 perpetuo sub dio dormiant, humi cubantes. In his enim omnibus pueri nuper nati sunt imbecilliores. Qua tandem igitur in re roboris sui specimen aedent aut vnde sibi placebunt et cristas erigent? Non sane profecto in hoc, quod coriarii fabri domorum aedificatores qui sunt, eos vel in palaestra deiciant vel in stadio. Fortassis itaque in hoc, quod toto die puluerescunt, iudicabunt recte fieri laude-  
15 que dignum; verum ista laus adest et coturnicibus et perdicibus, siquidem par est vt hinc tollant cristas, quod toto die luto lauentur. Sed age per Iouem, Milo ille Crotoniates sublatum in humeros vnum ex immolatis tauris olim per stadium baiulauit. O insignem dementia istorum, qui ne hoc quidem intelligunt, quod paulo ante idem corpus viui animantis gestarit illius anima multoque sane  
20 minore labore portauit quam Milo, nam et currere poterat quum gestaret; attamen ea nullius erat precii, quemadmodum nec Milonis anima. Declarauit autem et exitus hominis quam nihil habuerit mentis. Quum enim aliquando conspiceret adolescentem cuneis immissis findentem arbores, illum quidem irrisum sub-

ἄλλων τὴν κατὰ γεωργίαν, which was corrected by both Cornarius and Jamot into θερίζειν ἢ ἀροῦν ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν. As is evident from his translation, Er. has here seen part of the truth: he does not have *arare*, and thus he must have read ἢ τι instead of ἀροῦν τι, which is, of course, a corruption of ἢ ἀροῦν τι. For a second possibility, cf. Beaudouin, 242.

3-7 *Num ... coeperit* Cf. note on p. 649, 29-p. 650, 3. Once more Er. gives the full translation of Euripides fr. 282, 19-23 Nauck, which he had already quoted *loc. cit.* However, the Greek text here only gives the first line and the beginning of the second (πότῃρα ... δίσκουσ ἐχόντες) and then continues τῷ γὰρ ὄντι 'οὐδεις ... πέλας' (= l. 23 of the fragment).

10-11 *pueri nuper nati* Er. starts here from the senseless reading of *a*: τῶν νεογνῶν παῖδες εἰσὶν ἀσθενέστεροι; he seems to have read οἱ νεογνοὶ παῖδες. It should, of course, be τῶν νεογνῶν παιδῶν, as was conjectured by Jamot on account of Bellisarius' trans-

lation: *imbecilliores nuper natis infantibus*.

12 *in hoc, quod a* has ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ, of which Jamot only retains ὅτι, and Kaibel only τῷ. Since in l. 14 Er. translates ἐπὶ τῷ in the text of Galen by *in hoc, quod*, he may here too have read ἐπὶ τῷ. However, Beaudouin, 240, observes: 'Erasmus n'a pas exactement compris.' Bellisarius translates: *eo, quod*.

14-15 *iudicabunt ... dignum a* has δικαιούσιν, before which Kaibel adds θαυμάζεσθαι. The translation *iudicabunt recte fieri* may be regarded as somehow equivalent to δικαιούσιν; however, the addition of *laude dignum* comes near to Kaibel's conjecture.

19 *paulo ante a* has πρὸ βραχέος τὸ βραχύ. Er. rightly deletes τὸ βραχύ; his correction is adopted by Jamot.

23 *cuneis σφίνων a*. Er. anticipates the correction by the Basle edition, *viz.*, σφηνῶν (it should, however, be observed that both this edition and Jamot wrongly print σφηνῶν: Beaudouin 235, note 1).



mouit, ipse non alio vsus instrumento quam suis ipsius manibus ausus est lignum diducere. Mox quicquid habebat roboris in primo impetu colligens diduxit arboris huc atque huc partes. Interim elapsis cuneis, quum reliquam arboris partem diducere non posset, diu quidem obnixus est, tandem victus non potuit educere manus, sed a trunci partibus in sese coeuntibus comprehensae primum ipsae quidem contritae sunt, mox et Miloni miserandi exitii fuere causa. Plurimum igitur illi profuit in hoc, ne quid mali pateretur, in stadio gestasse taurum mortuum. An Graecorum rem publicam seruare potuisset id temporis, quum aduersus barbaros bellum gerebant, Milonis vis, quam in tauro gestando declarauit, potius quam Themistoclis sapientia? Qui primum recto iudicio apprehendit sententiam oraculi, deinde bellum quemadmodum oportebat gessit. *Vnicum enim consilium prudens multas superat manus, caeterum inscitia cum armis peior est quouis malo.*

Arbitror itaque iam perspicue declaratum athletarum exercitationem nihil utilitatis adferre ad vitae functionem. Caeterum quod nec in ipsis quibus exercentur vilius precii sint, cognoscetis, si vobis retulero fabulam illam, quam vir quidam non inelegans prolixo carmine ornauit. Habet autem hunc in modum fabula. Si Iouis voluntate cunctis animantibus consensus ac societas contingeret in degenda vita, vt in Olympia praeco non solum homines ad certamen vocaret, sed omnibus etiam animalibus permetteret ad vnum venire stadium, nullus, opinor, hominum coronaretur. In eo certamine, in quo cursus ad viginti tria stadia porrigitur, vnde et δολιχὸν appellant, equus, inquit, longe superabit,

11-13 Eurip. fr. 200, 3-4 N.

15 *in ipsis quibus* ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἷς *a*. Er.'s correction was first adopted by Goulston; it may have been in one of Goulston's manuscripts (cf. Introduction, p. 634).

16-17 *vir quidam non inelegans*: again the person indicated in this way is unknown (cf. *supra* the note on p. 643, 17). See Kaibel's note, 54.

18-9 (next page) *Si Iouis ... ruditor* It had already been observed by the brothers Asolano that the text of this fable is the paraphrase of a poetical treatment, for they had it printed in two columns of short sentences. Afterwards Charterius and Thomas Gataker arrived at a similar conclusion. In a paper in *Hermes* 4 (1870), 8 sqq., Moritz Haupt rearranged the text in a form in which several dactylic hexameters could be reconstructed. After him Cobet, in *Mnemosyne, Nova Series*, 4 (1876), 352, also reconstructed seven hexameters by means of a number of conjectures; for instance, the words which Er. translates by 21-22 *In eo ... superabit* have this form in *a*: ἐν μὲν γὰρ

δολιχῷ ὑπέρτατος (,φησίν,) ὁ ἵππος ἔσται, instead of which Charterius reads at the end: πανυπέρτατος ἔσεται ἵππος (Kaibel: 'possis μέγ' ὑπέρτ'); further, p. 656, 3-4 *O leues ... viri* has the following form in *a*: ὁ κοῦφοι ἀσκητῆρες, ἀθλοιοὶ ἄνδρες, which with the preceding ἐν ποσὶν gives a full hexameter, if we only follow Gataker (or Cobet, who frequently overlooked the achievements of his predecessors) in reading ἀσκήτορες. For further literature on this interesting passage cf. the note by Marquardt, and especially that by Kaibel, 54-57. It is somewhat astonishing that Er., who had before his eyes the 'poetical' arrangement of the text in *a*, and who was generally so keen on giving elegant metrical translations of quotations from Greek poetry, made no attempt to give a translation, at least partly, in dactylic hexameters.

21-22 *In eo ... appellant* An expansive translation of ἐν ... δολιχῷ. Thus also in p. 656, 1 *in cursu ... profertur* renders τὸ στάδιον, and after *diaulo* (656, 2) Er. adds the relative clause *in quo ... stadium*.

in cursu vero breuiore, qui non vltra stadium profertur, lepus feret praemium, caeterum in diaulo, in quo cursus ac recursus duplicat stadium, primas feret caprea, neque quisquam hominum in aliquo numero futurus est. O leues exercitationes vestras, athlii, id est miseri viri! Imo ne Herculis quidem posterorum  
 5 quisquam elephanto aut leone robustior apparebit. Arbitror autem futurum, vt et in pugilum certamine taurus coronam laturus sit. Et asinus, inquit, si velit calcibus contendere, coronam auferet, et in historia variorum euentuum scribe-  
 10 tur, quod asinus in pancratio aliquando vicerit viros. Erat autem Olympias prima ac vigesima quum vinceret ruditor. Admodum venuste fabula haec declarat robur athleticum non esse de numero eorum quibus homines decet ex-  
 15 cereri. Atqui si ne robore quidem antecellunt animantibus athletae, quodnam ex caeteris bonis sibi vindicabunt?

Quod si quis dicat voluptatem corporis inter bona numerandam, ne huius quidem compotes sunt, neque quum exercentur, neque postquam ab exercita-  
 15 tione discesserint, quandoquidem dum exercent athleticam, in laboribus ac miseriis agunt, non tantum ob exercitia, verum etiam ob id quod coguntur ad edacitatem; quod si contingerit eos ab arte missionem accipere, plerisque cor-  
 LB 1058 poris membris claudi fiunt ac debiles.

Ergo fortassis inde gloriantur, quod prae caeteris plurimum colligunt et  
 20 coaceruant pecuniarum. Atqui videre licet istos omnes aeri alieno obstrictos; non solum id temporis quo exercent artem athleticam, verum etiam quum ab ea dimissi sunt, haudquaquam inuenies athletam pilo ditio-  
 25 rem quouis viri diuitis oeconomo. Quanquam ne id quidem per se praeclarum est ex arte parare diuitias, sed talem potius artem scire, quae fracta nauis simul cum domino enatet e naufragio, quod quidem nec his contingit qui res procurant diuitum neque publicanis neque negociatoribus, et tamen hi maxime ditescunt e suis artibus. Caeterum si pereant illis pecuniae, simul perit et negotiatio, ad quam opus

3 *futurus est* After these words Er. leaves ἐν ποσίν untranslated.

7 *contendere* ἐρείσας *a.* Er. has, of course, corrected into ἐρίσας, which was first put into the text by Jamot.

*in historia variorum euentuum* ἐν ιστορίῃ πολυπλήρῳ *a.* Er., followed by Jamot, must have read πολυπείρῳ.

9 *Admodum venuste* All editions of Er. have *venusta* here, but the sentence in Galen, πάνυ χαριέντως οὗτος ὁ μῦθος ἐπιδείκνυσι, makes it certain that *venuste* is what Er. wrote. Therefore, *venusta* is to be regarded as a typographical error overlooked by Er.

11 *ne robore quidem μηδὲν ἰσχύει* *a.* Er. translates μηδ' ἰσχύι. The dative ἰσχύι occurs already in Jamot's edition; μηδ', as far as I can see, was first conjectured by

Kaibel.

19–20 *quod ... pecuniarum* ἐπὶ τῷ χρήματι πάντων ἀθροΐζειν πλεῖστα *a.* Er. has evidently seen that χρήματι is a corruption of χρήματα, which is found for the first time in Jamot's edition.

22 *athletam pilo ditio-  
 25 rem* ἀθλητὴν οὐδενὸς πλουσιώτερον *a.* Er. must have read οὐδέν, which occurs in Goulston's edition (though, according to Kaibel, he must have meant οὐδένα, which is indeed the obvious correction).

24 *quae ἦν a;* ἦ Er. and, after his example, Jamot.

25 *his ... qui ... procurant* τὰ διοικοῦσι *a.* Er. has, of course, corrected τοῖς διοικοῦσιν, which occurs in the Basle edition and in Cornarius' marginal notes.

quidem habent aliqua sorte pecuniae; caeterum si haec desit, non possunt instaurare pristinam negociationem: nullus enim illis mutuum credit absque pignoribus et hypothecis. Proinde si quis studet sibi parare viam ad parandas pecunias et tutam nec infamem, ars exercenda est per omnem vitam permansura. Porro quum prima diuisione in geminum discrimen artes distribuuntur – quaedam enim ex his ratione constant suntque liberales et honestae, quaedam contra contemptibiles, quod corporis laboribus constant, quas sedentarias ac manuaras vocant –, praestiterit ex illo priore genere quampiam discere. Nam posterius illud genus destituere solet senectute grauatos artifices. Prioris autem generis sunt medicina rhetorica musica geometria et arithmetica dialectica astronomia grammatica ac legum prudentia; adde his, si voles, fingendi pingendique artificium. Quamquam enim hae manuaras constant opera, tamen earum exercitatio non eget robore iuuenili. Ex his igitur artibus aliquam deligere conuenit et exercere iuuentutem, cui mens non sit omnino pecunia, vel harum potius optimam, quae quidem mea sententia est ars medendi. Hoc autem deinceps nobis erit demonstrandum.

1 *instaurare* ἀρξασθαι *a.* Er. anticipates Kaibel's suggestion <πάλιν> or <αἰθίς> ἀρξασθαι.

3 *ad parandas pecunias* προσχρηματισμόν *a.* (and the Basle edition), corr. Er. and Jamot.

4 *permansura* παραμένουσαν *a.* Er. anticipates Cobet's correction (Mnemosyne, Nova Series, 10 (1882), 179) παραμε-

νοῦσαν.

9 *destituere* ἀπολείπειν *a.* One wonders whether Er. anticipates Kaibel's conjecture ἐπιλείπειν.

13 *robore iuuenili* ἰσχύος νεανικῶς *a.* The correct reading, restored by Er., occurs for the first time in the Basle edition (νεανικῆς).



Fauorinus censet optimum doctrinae genus, per quod vtranque in partem praeparatur. Sic enim appellabant Academici, propter aduersam partem quam asseuerabant. Itaque vetustiores existimabant hanc doctrinam desinere in epochen; epochen autem appellabant, quasi dicas suspensam sententiam nihilque 5  
definientem, quod est nulla de re pronuntiare nec asseuerare certo. Recentiores autem (non enim solus fecit hoc Fauorinus) nonnumquam eo proferunt epochen, vt negent vel illud intellectu posse comprehendere, solem esse. Rursus alias eo proferunt cognitionem, vt discipulis suis permittant, antequam didicerint, de scientiis iudicare. Nec enim aliud est quod dixit Fauorinus libro de affectione 10  
Academica, cui titulus inditus est Plutarchus. Dicit autem idem in libro ad Epictetum, in quo inducitur Onesimus Plutarchi seruus cum Epicteto disputans. Quin et in libro quem postea scripsit ad Alcibiadem, laudat alios etiam Academicos, qui in partes ambas sibi pugnantes et contrarias disserebant, caeterum discipulis permittebant, vt quod verius videretur eligerent. In hoc 15  
sane ait libro sibi videri probabile nihil certo sciri posse, contra in Plutarcho concedere videtur esse certam alicuius rei cognitionem. Praestat autem sic appellari, γωστὸν, id est 'cognoscibile', quod aliis dicitur καταληπτὸν, id est 'comprehensibile', relicto vocabulo Stoico. Ego sane mirabar, ita me dii bene

3-4 *propter ... asseuerabant* Er. translates as well as possible the faulty text of *a*: καθ' ἣν τὴν ἀντικειμένην προσαγορεύουσι. The correct reading (κ. ἦ. τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις συναγορεύουσι) occurs in *L*; it was known to Nicolaus Rheginus who translates: *eam secundum quam oppositis consentiunt*.

5-6 *suspensam sententiam nihilque definientem* An expanded translation of Galen's ἀοριστίαν.

11 *idem ad τό a*. Er. gives the correct reading (τὸ αὐτό Cornarius, followed by Volkmann, ταὐτόν Marquardt, followed by

Barigazzi).

13 *ad Alcibiadem* This is a faulty translation, for Galen means a book with the title 'Alcibiades'; the mistake is caused by the fact that *a* leaves out the τῶ before Ἀλκιβιάδῃ. Again Nicolaus Rheginus, following *L*, has the correct reading before his eyes: *Ac in libro qui post illos scriptus est allribiadem*.

19 *relicto vocabulo Stoico a* has ἀποχωροῦντας δνόματι στωικῶ. Er. has, of course, conjectured the correct reading ἀ. δνόματος στωικοῦ which occurs in *L*.

ament, quod Fauorinus, qui consuevit omnia nomina ad Atticam linguam vsurpare, non desinat vti his vocibus: 'comprehensibile', 'comprehensio', 'comprehensiuua imaginatio', vel his contrariis, veluti quae per priuationem dicuntur, vt 'incomprehensiuua imaginatio' aut ipsa 'incomprehensibilitas', adeo vt, quum  
 LB 1058  
 6 Aristarchum, omnibus titulum indiderit De comprehensiuua imaginatione, ac per omnes hos libros strenue contendit, dum conatur demonstrare nullam esse posse comprehensiuam imaginationem.

Ego vero nihil aliud arbitror sonare 'comprehensibile' quam 'cognoscibile'  
 10 nec aliud 'comprehendere' quam 'certo cognoscere', caeterum inter se respondere comprehensionem et comprehensiuam imaginationem. Quoniam enim nonnulla videmur nobis videre audire aut alioqui sensu percipere, quod accidit in somnis aut per insaniam, nonnulla vero non tantum putamus nos videre, sed re vera videmus aut alioqui sensu percipimus, haec quidem posteriora omnes  
 15 homines, exceptis Academicis et Pyrrhoniis, ad certam cognitionem pertingere credunt, caeterum quae per somnium aut mentis errorem apparent animo, ea falsa esse. Quod si porro concedunt hoc ita se habere, deleant e libris suis quod inibi scriptum est: *In rerum iudicio nec sano magis esse fidem habendam quam insano, neque recte valenti magis quam aegrotto, neque vigilantis magis quam dormienti.* Sin istis  
 20 nihil est cognoscibilis quam iis qui sunt diuerso modo affecti, nimirum confusa sunt veritatis iudicia, nec ipse praeceptor Academicus nec discipulus poterit iudicare rationes, quae in ambas partes inter se pugnantes disseruntur. Imo ne opus quidem omnino fuerit talibus doctoribus, quum possimus ipsi quae a secutarum auctoribus hinc atque hinc disserta sunt legere nihiloque minus quam  
 25 Academicis scire, et si quid apud hos fuerit obscurum, quod erit apud Chrysippum, Stoici magistri possunt appellare certius, quod apud Theophrastum et Aristotelem, Peripatetici itemque de caeteris, vt iam nihil omnino reliquum sit,  
 LB 1059  
 30 quod doceant Academicis iuxta Fauorini quidem disputationem. Siquidem hoc sane docuerunt illi veteres, nullum esse datum homini iudicium a natura, quo collatis inter se rebus omnibus exacte possit dignoscere, eoque nulla de re pronuntiandum esse censebant, sed semper de omnibus suspendendam esse sententiam. Verum si nobis physicis concedant, vt oportet, sensum, iam nihil opus

4 *ut, quum a* has ὡς δέ. Er. anticipates the conjecture by Cornarius, *viz.*, ὥστε.

23-24 *quae ... legere τὰ γεγραμμένα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων ἀντιδιηρημένων (sic) ἀναγνωσκῆναι* Er. rightly leaves the ἀντιδιηρημένων, which occurs in *a* only, untranslated.

28 *iuxta ... disputationem a*, like *L*, reads ὃν ἐπὶ τῷ Φαβωρίνου λόγῳ, which does not make sense. Er. may have anticipated here the conjecture by Charterius (adopted by Barigazzi), *viz.*, ὅσον for ὃν.

32 *Verum ... sensum* The consensus of *L* and *a* has: 'Ἄλλ' εἰ δὴ τοῖς φυσικοῖς κριτηρίοις αἰσθησὶν ἰκανῶς συγχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν. Barigazzi translates: 'Ma, se ci accorderanno tra i criteri naturali almeno la sensazione.' Brinkmann regards the text as corrupted and conjectures πιστεύειν instead of αἰσθησὶν. Er. leaves κριτηρίοις untranslated, which enables him to connect φυσικοῖς with ἡμῖν (*nobis physicis*).

habebimus in vtranque partem exerceri, sed alia quadam re fuerit opus, videlicet repetitione, vt artifices non statim artem praebent discipulis, sed aliud exigunt, nimirum considerationem eorum quae tradita sunt, quod a plerisque dicitur ad calculum vocare, hoc autem est instare ei qui exercetur, et in hoc animaduertere, vbi labatur, eaque sola corrigere. Consimili modo qui pueros exercent ad palaestram, corrigunt luctantium errata. Sic et grammaticus et rhetor et geometres et musicus docent, non labefactantes neque conuellentes in discipulis fidem quam habent naturae iudicio, sed instantes iis quos exercent, donec in singulis actionibus eo prouexerint, vt iam non errent, tantum abest vt inducant sententiae suspensionem. Perinde enim faciunt qui suspendunt sententiam, ne credant euidetiae rerum vna cum sensibus, atque qui contemnunt ea quae certo ab aliquo cognoscuntur. Itaque Carneades ne illud quidem quod est omnium euidetissimum concedit esse credendum, quod magnitudines vni cuiquam aequales sint etiam inter sese aequales. Rationes igitur, quibus conatur destruere et haec et alia permulta, quae tibi euidenter apparent credunturque esse vera, adhuc in hunc vsque diem seruatas habemus, proditas scriptis, ab illius discipulis collectas. Solutiones autem nec ab illis nec ab alio quopiam Academicorum, qui post Carneadem fuerunt, datae sunt. Ea res sola declarat istius rationes omnes esse sophismata nobisque quaerendae sunt, o discipuli, istarum solutiones. Improbum est enim hoc, attamen nihilo minus improbum fecerunt illi, qui scripserunt quidem has, caeterum vobis non indicarunt, quales essent.

Lubens autem perconter, si vel Fauorinus adesset, vtrum me iubeat credere omnibus istis rationibus an considerare verae sint an falsae. Vnum hoc sane concessit, considerare. Rogarem autem post haec in vniuersum, num homini

1-3 *sed ... tradita sunt* There must be a serious corruption in the text here, cf. the critical apparatuses of Marquardt and Barigazzi. Er. gives a free translation of the text offered by *a*.

10-12 *Perinde ... cognoscuntur* αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ καὶ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις σὺν αἰσθήσεσιν ἀπιστεῖν ἀνατιθέντες ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βεβαίως γινωσκομένοις καταφρονεῖν *a*. In this form it is impossible to understand the sentence. Charterius was certainly right in conjecturing οὗτοὶ for αὐτοὶ. Er. renders the αὐτοὶ ... ἢ by *Perinde ... faciunt ... atque*. The term *euidetia rerum* shows that he read ἐναργείαις instead of ἐνεργείαις, thus coming near to Marquardt's conjecture, which is adopted by Barigazzi, viz. ταῖς ἐναργείαις αἰσθήσεσιν. The words *suspendunt sententiam* must be a translation of ἀνατιθέντες. In the second part of the sentence Er. anticipates Marquardt's conjecture τῶν ... γινωσκομέων; moreover, he seems to have read

καταφρονεῖν instead of καταφρονεῖν. 15 *et haec κατὰ ταῦτα a*; Er. anticipates the καὶ ταῦτα conjectured by Cornarius and Charterius.

16 *illius αὐτῶν a*. Er. translates the correct reading αὐτοῦ, which occurs in *L*.

19 *nobisque ὑμῖν a*. Er. anticipates the correction of the text by Cornarius (ἡμῖν).

20 *attamen nihilo minus improbum fecerunt* Evidently Er. does not follow the text of *a* (σμικρότερον δ' ὕμωσ οὐ πεποιήκασιν). After the preceding *Improbum est enim hoc*, which is the translation of μοχθηρόν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο, he has read μοχθηρότερον, which is also conjectured by Barigazzi, with a reference to the version by Nic. Rheg.: *magis prae vero fecerunt*.

22 *si vel Fauorinus adesset* εἴπερ ἦν ὁ Φ. *a*; it is clear that Er., like Cornarius, read εἰ παρῆν ὁ Φ.

23 *istis αὐτοῖς a*; Er. read τούτοις, like Marquardt.

natura vis insit iudicandi, quae sermones veros discernat a falsis, an potius ars quaedam et ratio sit vtrunque cognoscendi. Si natura, qui fit vt non omnes inter nos consentiamus neque similiter iisdem de rebus pronunciemus? Sin ars est ac ratio, haec omnium primum erat discenda, deinde conueniebat doctores ludo  
5 praefectos variis modis exercere discipulos multis propositis exemplis, quemadmodum instituuntur, qui discunt artem luctandi aut coriariam aut fabricandi domos nauesue aut rhetorice dicendi aut legendi aut scribendi aut, vt summam dicam, quidlibet aliud operari iuxta artem.

Proinde si quis Academicorum scripsit, quae tandem res sit demonstratio,  
10 quod sophisma, et quomodo oporteat alterum horum ab altero discernere, et quemadmodum in his oporteat exerceri, quemadmodum Fauorinus admittit iudicium discipulorum in vtranque partem exercitatorum, nisi quod supervacaneum est: nimirum docuit Academicus omnia quae dicta sunt haberemusque nos praeceptores qui propria decreta doceant. Quod si nullus istorum  
15 scripsit quomodo ista differunt, nec exercuit quenquam, perinde facere videntur ac si faber praecipiat discipulo, vt et metiatur, vt aequet, vt dirigat et circum describat, nec interim det illi cubitum quo metiatur, nec xyston quo poliat, neque regulam ad quam dirigat, neque circinum quem circumducatur. Atqui forsitan dicet tale nihil esse in philosophia ac dogmatibus. Ne igitur posthac  
20 adsimules te aliquid scire neque pronuncia neque descisce a veterum Academicorum decreto, qui prodiderunt suspendendam esse sententiam, neque te iacta dum facis, quod solet grammaticus, qui semet in his exercuit quae dicta sunt a prioribus. Proinde nihil apud illos esse praeclari perspicuum est consideranti. Neque enim hoc est eius qui docendi munus profitetur, sed nugacitas potius  
25 quaedam est et ineptia.

Vnde igitur cognoscendi veri spes reliqua est? Etenim cui non adest iudicium veri ac falsi, huic nulla spes est cognitionis. Tantum hoc stude, vt  
LB 1060 sophistas doceas nullam nobis a natura insitam vim iudicandi. Deinde fortassis impudenter nobis, inquit, et sensum et intellectum, quibus euidenter  
30 iudicamus de vero, concedet aliquis, cupiens nos in logicis frustranea spe

4 *discenda* and *conueniebat* Instead of the ἐδεήθηγν found in the Laurentianus and in all editions, Er. must have read ἐδέησε.

12-13 *nisi... Academicus a reads* (in accordance with *L*) πλὴν ὅτι περιττός ἐστιν, ἐδίδασκεν ὁ ἀκαδημαϊκός, which was corrected by Sauppe, who read πλὴν ὅτι περιττόν ἐστι, εἰ διδάσκει ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκός. Er. also read περιττόν (*supervacaneum*) but he did not read εἰ; therefore, *nimirum* has to connect the two sentences.

16 *aequet* The Greek text has στήσαι; hence one would rather expect *ponderet* ('pesare' Barigazzi).

17-18 *quo metiatur ... quem circumducatur* The

four explicative relative clauses are additions by Er. (cf. our note on the *Exhortatio*, p. 655, 21-22).

23 *perspicuum est consideranti a* has: ὅτι δὲ αὐτῶν ὀφέλιμος ἐστὶν οὐδὲν, εὐδηλον ἐνοῶν. Marquardt (and the 'editiones superiores', as Barigazzi says in his apparatus without further specification) read εὐδηλον ἐν νόῳ, which is what Er. translates.

27 *Tantum hoc stude ἐνεχείρησον δὲ a*, which can not be correct. Er. clearly emended ἐγχείρησον, which was conjectured by Goulston and adopted by Marquardt. The second hand in *L* gives ἐνεχείρησε which is accepted by Barigazzi.



volutari. Quicumque vero sustulerunt totam spem, quod fecit ille, frustra nugantur. Perspicuum igitur est, quod Fauorinus pudore subuertit omnia et quod inde fateatur nihil sciri, vnde veteres Academici Pyroniique dicebant, caeterum fecte discipulis permittere iudicium, quod priores ne sibi quidem ipsis permittebant. Ergo quod eiusmodi doctrina et institutio discipulorum 5 artem quamcunque discentium, qualem sentit Fauorinus, non solum caeteris praestantior non sit, verum ne doctrina quidem omnino dicenda sit, opinor a nobis dilucide demonstratum. Iam de reliquis, quae doctrinae quidem sunt omnes, an optimae sint consideremus, rursus ab iisdem ordientes. Apparet enim hoc nobis euidenter, quod sophistae maxime student sibi reddere incredibile, 10 nullum esse iudicium naturae. Etenim circinus pingit circulum, cubitus autem discernit longitudinem, quemadmodum lances grauitatem. Haec autem ipse fabricatus est homo, ex naturae instrumentis ac iudicio impulsus, quibus nullum vltra iudicium nec antiquius habemus neque praeclarius. Hinc igitur incipiendum est. Dicit enim rursus ipsa mens, quod possibile nobis est naturali iudicio 15 credere siue non credere, ipsum autem iudicium per aliud aliquid iudicare possibile non est. Qui fiet enim, vt id quo iudicantur reliqua omnia, ab alio quopiam iudicetur? Credere vis oculis clare cernentibus et linguae gustanti hoc quidem esse malum, hoc vero ficum, an non credere? Concedam quod voles facere in nobis, si quidem studes mecum disputare; quod si non credis, discedam abs 20 te, velut ab eo qui praeter naturam affectus est. Ponamus primum te non credere neque sperare futurum vt quicquam ex me discas; hoc enim modo coeperam dicere. Ponamus rursus te credere ac spem esse futurum, vt ex me discas iudicare. Caeterum ego sentio iudicare sensibilia quidem ex his quae euidenter apparent sensibus, intelligibilia vero ex his quae dilucide intelliguntur. Quoniam 25 autem ex naturae iudicio artes omnes parant et instrumenta et iudicandi secundum artem organa, per quae alia quidem ipsi sibi componunt, alia rursus ab aliis composita iudicant, et ego docebo in vniuersum et instrumenta et iudicia, tum ea per quae tibi parabis veros sermones, tum ea per quae iudicabis ab aliis dictos. Sic enim habes totum. Etenim si quid ex sese euidenter apparet sensibus 30 aut intellectui, ad id nihil opus est inquisitione. Quod si nihil est tale, necesse

1 *sustulerunt* ἀν ἡρήκασιν (*sic*) *a*, which Er. could easily correct into ἀνηρήκασιν (Goulston).

6 *sentit* ἐννοεῖ τε *a*. Er. anticipates the correction ἐννοεῖται which occurs for the first time in the Basle edition of Galen.

8 *nobis a*, ἡμῶν *a*, ἡμῖν Cornarius.

14-15 *Hinc igitur incipiendum est* In *a* we find: εἰ τοίνυν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχεσθαι δεῖ. Er. rightly eliminates the εἰ, as was done afterwards by Marquardt (followed by Barigazzi), who read δεῖ instead and deleted it at the end of the sentence.

15 *naturali iudicio* ὡς τῷ φυσικῷ κριτηρίῳ *a*.

Er. rightly deletes the ὡς.

22-23 *hoc enim modo coeperam dicere* A somewhat surprising translation of τοῦτο γὰρ ἄρτι πέπαυμαι λέγων.

24 *Caeterum ego sentio iudicare* ἀλλ' ἐγὼ *a*. Er. translates the ἀλλ' ἐγὼ κρινῶ conjec-tured by Barigazzi in his edition (*ad* p. 184, 16).

29 *ab ἐφ' a* (not ἀφ', as is indicated by Barigazzi). Er. has correctly conjectured ὑφ', which occurs in the Laurentianus (and which, consequently, is also translated by Nic. Rheg.).

est vt accedat cognitio quae aliunde paratur. At ego polliceor me traditurum tibi quaedam quae respondeant instrumentis quae fiunt ab arte, ex quibus inuenies quod quaeris, alia vero respondentia iudiciis, ex quibus iudicabis, an vere tibi videaris inuenisse. Haec autem vbi didiceris, multis exemplis exercebo te,

5 vt et celeriter et exacte inuenias iudicesque quod quaeris, vt posthac nec vlllo libro futurum sit opus ad inuentionem veri nec alia doctrina; mox et aliis dicentibus aliquid eorum quae cupis inuenire facile poteris cognoscere. Etenim qui cognouit rectam viam rectam esse, non eget alia doctrina ad redarguendum eos qui aberrant; ita qui rectam demonstrationis viam perdiderit, protinus

10 cum hac nouit vias erroneas. Fauorinus autem mihi videtur simile quiddam facere, quasi si quis dicat te caecum esse, nihilominus tamen iudicare posse, vter nostrum sit sordidior aut candidior, haud reputans secum quod ei qui talia sit iudicaturus, opus est adesse visum. Atque nihil refert, quod ad iudicandum attinet, vtrum omnino visu careas an, quum habeas, illi non credas. Ad eundem

15 autem modum, quod id quo iudicamus est tale quiddam quodque quae huic paria sunt, sunt et inter se paria; quemadmodum asinis nemo permetteret iudicare, quoniam omnino mente carent, ita nec hominibus, si ne hi quidem mentem habeant, cui credi possit. Nihil enim interest, quod attinet ad incertitudinem eorum quae iudicanda sunt, an omnino nullum habeas iudicium an non credas

20 illi. Ridiculus est igitur Fauorinus permittens iudicium discipulis, quum organis iudicandi detrahat fidem; etenim si nihil est euidentis intellectui aut certum ex sese, | periiit omne rerum iudicium. Contra si est quidem, velut oculus in corpore, sic intellectus in animo, non tamen omnibus pariter acutus, consentaneum est vt, quemadmodum qui cernit acutius, adducat ad id quod videtur eum, cui

25 visus est ebetior, ita quibus contigit in rebus intelligibilibus perspicere clare quod offertur intellectui, adducant ad contemplationem eandem maxime caecutientem. Atque hoc est praeceptoris officium, vt inquit Plato et ego assentior. Et his de rebus scripsimus copiosius in tractatione demonstrationis quod doctrina talis quaedam sit | euidentis ad intelligentiam. Scripsimus autem et illud,

LB 1062 quomodo quis exorsus in vnoquoque ab elementis ac principiis maxime demonstrare possit, quicquid est demonstrabile, non quemadmodum admirandus

30 ille Fauorinus facit per totum librum, in quo demonstrat ne id quidem comprehendere posse, solem esse, ac nobis obliuiosis in vtranque disputat partem conceditque esse aliquid quod certo cognosci possit, cuius iudicium et electionem

35 permittit discipulis.

13 *opus ... visum* Er. leaves πρότερον untranslated.

19 The second *an ἀλλ' ἢ α*, which does not make any sense. Er. rightly connects it with the preceding clause (*an ... iudicium*), which in Galen's text is introduced by

ἢ μὴδ', thus anticipating Barigazzi's conjecture at the beginning of the second clause, *viz.*, ἢ μὴ.

22-23 *in corpore τῷ σώματι α*. Er. rightly reads ἐν σώματι, which is the reading of *L*, adopted by all editors.

GALENI QVOD OPTIMVS MEDICVS IDEM SIT  
ET PHILOSOPHVS

LB 1061

Quod accidere solet athleticis plerisque, qui cupiunt quidem in Olympiis victores  
euadere, caeterum vt id assequantur nihil exercent curantue, tale quiddam et  
medicis compluribus vsu venit. Nam laudant quidem Hippocratem ac medicis 5  
omnibus anteponunt, vt autem ipsi similes illi reddantur, quiduis studio habent  
potius quam hoc. Atque alii quidem non mediocre momentum adferre ad rem  
medicam aiunt astronomiam et, quae hanc videlicet necessario praecedat, geo-  
metriam, ipsi vero non modo neutram harum cupiunt discere, verum etiam in-  
cusant eos qui id conantur. Rursus alius vult exacte cognosci naturam corporis, 10  
asseuerans id esse principium totius rationis medicae. Verum iidem rerum ha-  
rum adeo studiosi sunt, vt non solum ignorent vniuscuiusque partis naturam  
aut flexum aut duplicaturam aut magnitudinem aut communionem quam habet  
cum vicinis partibus, verum ne situm quidem eius intelligant. Et tamen ex eo,  
quod ignoramus speciatim simul ac generatim distinguere morbos, accidere 15  
medicorum errorem circa curandi scopos dixit Hippocrates, qui iubet nos exer-  
cere speculationem rationalem. At horum temporum medici tantum abest vt  
hac exercitati sint, vt alios id facientes damnent velut inutilia conantes. Itidem,  
vt ante cognoscas tum eos qui praecesserunt tum praesentes tum futuros labo-  
ranti morbos, multo studio curaque praeparari oportere dixit Hippocrates. Isti 20  
vero circa hanc artis partem adeo laborarunt, vt si quis praedixerit sanguinis  
eruptionem aut sudorem, impostorem et incredibilia pollicentem appellent.  
Vix autem isti laturo sint, si quis alia quoque praedicat, sed iidem vix unquam  
constituere poterunt victus rationem ad futuram morbi intensionem. Atqui  
Hippocrates sic dicit esse moderandam victus rationem. Quid igitur tandem 25  
reliquum est in quo virum aemulantur? Nam is quidem non solum in aliis,  
verum etiam in explicandi dexteritate praecellit; quod istis adeo in diuersum

8 *aiunt* After οἱ μὲν Er. rightly reads φασι (which occurs only in *M P*) not φησι, which is given by *a*.

9 *ipsi* οἱ δ' ... αὐτοί: one would rather expect *alii vero ipsi* (cf. also *Rursus alius*

in 10).

26-27 *Nam is quidem ... praecellit* Er. has evidently corrected the text of *a*, which runs as follows: ὁ γὰρ δὴ τήνδε τῆς ἐρμηνείας δεινότητα, τῷ μὲν γε καὶ τοῦτο

succedit, vt eorum multos videre liceat eadem in dictione bis peccantes, quod quidem nec intelligi facile queat.

Eoque mihi visum est inquirere, quae nam esset causa, per quam fieret vt omnes vnum admirarentur nec tamen legant illius libros, neque si id faciant, intelligant quae dicuntur, aut, si quis id quoque consequatur, non perducatur  
 5 speculatiuam artis rationem ad experientiam, studens confirmare quod didicit et in habitum ducere. Tandem vbi repererit omnia ex animi sententia, quaecun-  
 que vel consilio vel viribus homini possunt adesse, desit autem horum alter-  
 utrum, vt illorum etiam fine frustrentur necesse est. Protinus quidem athletas  
 10 videmus vel ob corporis malam habitudinem vel ob negligentiam exercitatio-  
 num frustrari expetito fine. Iam vero si et corporis natura digna fuerit victoria  
 nec in exercitatione quicquam possit desiderari, quid negotii fuerit hanc coro-  
 nam ferre in certaminibus? Vtrum igitur in vtrisque sunt infelices horum tem-  
 porum medici, neque vires neque consilium satis idoneum adferentes ad artis  
 15 exercitationem, an alterum quidem illis adest, altero vero destituuntur? Caete-  
 rum nunc nasci neminem, qui natura satis compositus sit ad percipiendum  
 LB 1062 artem tam fami|liarem et amicam humano generi, mihi dictu videtur absurdum,  
 quum nunc idem sit mundus qui fuit olim quumque nec horarum ordo sit im-  
 mutatus neque solis circuitus inuersus nec aliarum stellarum siue fixarum siue  
 20 erraticarum ulla mutata sit. Verum probabile est ob malam educationem, qua  
 nunc educantur homines, et ob diuitias antepositas virtuti iam neminem am-  
 plius existere qualis fuit vel Phidias inter statuarios vel Apelles inter pictores  
 vel Hippocrates inter medicos. Et tamen nobis, quod veteres illos aetate sequuti  
 sumus quodque ab his artes ad summum prouectas recepimus, non mediocris  
 25 fuit praerogatiua, quod facillimum sit ea quae multo tempore parta docuit  
 Hippocrates paucis annis ediscere. Quo facto licet quod superest aetatis ad  
 inuenienda quae restant insumere. Atqui fieri non potest vt qui pluris faciat

κατόρθωται. He seems to have read: οὐ γὰρ δὴ μόνον τέλλα, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἐρμηνείας δεινότητα. The οὐ occurs in the Codex Urbinas and is, moreover, conjectured by Cornarius.

4 *unum τὸν ἄνδρα* Gal. Did Er. perhaps write *virum*?

5 *quis* From this translation it is clear that Er. has corrected the preceding *εἰ καὶ τῷ τούτῳ παρασταίη (a)* into *εἰ καὶ τῷ*, etc.

7-9 *Tandem ... necesse est* The structure of the sentence is somewhat surprising. Er. has seen that the new sentence must begin with *εὐρίσκων*, which in *a* is preceded by a comma. On the other hand, he has not seen that what follows after *εὐρίσκων* (*σύμπαντα ... παραγιγνόμενα*) is an acc. cum inf., and that a new sentence begins with *θατερου*. In consequence of this, the Latin sentence does not run.

11 *Iam vero si οὐτῶ δ' a*. Er. has seen that a hypothetical clause is needed here (*si*), thus anticipating the conjecture *ἔτω* by Scaliger, which has been adopted by nearly all later editors.

12-13 *quid ... certaminibus? hanc* must be a misprint instead of *hunc*. The meaning of the sentence is: 'What can prevent such an athlete from winning matches in which a wreath is the prize? *a* gives: *τις μηχανὴ μὴ οὐ πολλῶ (sic) ἀνελέσθαι τόνδε στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας*. Er. has seen that the sentence is a question.

18 *quum nunc idem sit mundus* *δμοίου γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου ἔντος a*. Er. rightly refrains from translating *γὰρ*; the correct reading is *γε δὴ*, which occurs in two manuscripts (*M P*), and which was also conjectured by Scaliger.

diuitias quam virtutem quique artem non in hoc didicit, vt de hominibus bene mereretur, sed vt ditesceret, ad proprium artis finem perueniat. Citius enim alii ditabuntur quam nos ad artis consummationem peruenire queamus. Proinde fieri nequaquam potest, vt simul et pecuniae studio seruiamus et artem tam arduam exerceamus, sed necesse est, vt qui vehementius incumbit in alterum, alterum negligat. Possumusne igitur ex huius temporis hominibus proferre quempiam qui hactenus expetit possidere pecuniam, quatenus satis est ad suppeditandum corporis necessitatibus? Est aliquis qui possit non solum oratione fingere, verum etiam factis ipsis docere finem diuitiarum iuxta naturam haud longius proferri quam ne esuriamus, ne sitiamus, ne algeamus?

At sane si quis talis est, is contemnet et Artaxerxen et Perdiccam, et alterius quidem nec faciem videre dignabitur, alterum vero sanabit quidem morbo laborantem et Hippocratis artem implorantem, haud tamen dignabitur illi assidue conuiuere, sed interim curabit pauperes Cranone et Thaso aliisque oppidulis laborantes; verum relinquet Cois et ciuibus Polybum aliosque multos discipulos, ipse autem per omnem oberrabit Graeciam; nam oportet eum nonnihil scribere et de regionum natura. Vt igitur experimentis iudicet quae ratione didicit, oportet ipsum omnes ciuitates oculis intueri, et quae vergunt ad meridiem, et quae ad septentriones et quae ad solis exortum et quae ad occasum, ac dispicere quae sita sit in plano, quae in aedito, quae iuxta littus aquis obnoxia, quae fontibus abundans, quae pluuiis, quaeque stagnis ac fluminibus sibi suppeditans. Neque negliget discere, si qua aquis vehementer frigidis vtatur, si qua calidis, si qua nitrosis, si qua constrictiuis aut aliis rebus eius modi. Videbit autem et magno flumini imminentem ciuitatem, aut stagno aut monti vicinam aut mari, ceteraque omnia perspiciet de quibus ipse nos docuit. Itaque qui talis sit euasurus, eum non solum oportet negligere pecunias, verum etiam supra modum impigrum esse et industrium. Atqui fieri non potest vt aliquis sit industrius et impiger, qui inebriatur, qui se ingurgitat cibo, qui studet Veneri et, vt in summa dicam, qui pudendis ac ventri seruit. Itaque qui sobrietatis amator est nec

2 *ad ... perueniat a* has ἐφίεσθαι; Er. anticipates the conjecture by Cornarius, viz., ἐφικέσθαι (in line 7, Er. translates ἐφίεσθαι by *expetit*).

9-10 *finem diuitiarum ... proferri a* has τοῦ ... πλούτου τὸν ὄρον ... προϊόντος, whereas three of the manuscripts (*U M P*) read προϊόντα, which is also conjectured by Cornarius. It is clear that Er., too, has conjectured προϊόντα.

12-13 *morbo ... implorantem* νοσοῦντα νόσημα τῆς Ἱπποκράτους τέχνης δεόμενον. Er. translates as if before τῆς there stood καί.

18 *omnes ciuitates ... intueri* The mss. and early editions have πάντως αὐτόπτην γενέσθαι πόλεως; von Mueller reads πόλεων, but B. Alexanderson, *Eranos* 64

(1966), 120, reads παντὸς ... πόλεως, which may already have been conjectured by Er.

20 *in aedito* ἐφ' ὑψηλῶ both manuscripts and editors; Er. anticipates the conjecture by Cornarius (ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ).

22 *si qua* εἰ μὴδ' εἰ τις *a*; the first εἰ is rightly deleted by von Mueller; the translation presupposes the same expunction. The same holds good for *si qua nitrosis*, *si qua constrictiuis*, where the manuscripts and editions read μήτε νιτρῶδεσι μήτε στυπτηριώδεσιν, but Er. anticipates the conjecture by Cornarius: μὴδ' εἰ (*si qua*) νιτρῶδεσι μὴδ' εἰ (*id.*) στ.

25 *de quibus* καὶ περὶ ὧν. The καὶ is rightly deleted by both Er. and Cornarius.

- LB 1063 minus veritatis amans, hic verus medicus comperitur. | Iam et ars rationalis discenda exercendaque est, quo sciat quot in vniuersum sint morbi, secundum species ac genera digesti, deinde quo pacto cuiusque sit sumenda curationis ratio. Haec autem eadem ars docet etiam corporis nosse naturam, tum eam
- 5 quae constat ex primis elementis quae tota inter sese cohaerent ac vicissim alia pendent ab aliis, tum eam quae constat ex secundis, videlicet sensibilibus, quae sane vocantur homoeomere, hoc est similium partium, ad haec tertiam quae constat ex instrumentalibus partibus. Quin insuper horum vnumquodque quae dicta sunt, quem vsum praebeant animanti et quid operentur, et hoc oportet
- 10 haudquaquam oscitanter explorare, sed per demonstrationem certum et persuasum habere, quod quidem ars docet rationalis. Quid igitur iam deest medico, quo minus sit philosophus quisquis Hippocratis artem vt par est exercuerit? Etenim si, vt deprehendat quidem corporis naturam ac morborum discrimina curationumque rationes, in logica speculatione conuenit exerceri, vt vero impigre in his exercendis perseueret, oportet contemnere pecunias et sobrietatem amplecti, nimirum omnes philosophiae partes habebit, tum eam quae rationalis dicitur, tum eam quae naturalis, tum eam quae moralis. Nec enim iam periculum fuerit, ne qui pecunias contemnit quique sobrietatem colit, absurdum aliquid committat. Quicquid facinoris audent homines patrare, aut auariciae persuasu aut voluptatis fallacia patrant. Ita necessario consequitur, vt et reliquas habeat virtutes, omnes enim inter sese cohaerent, neque fieri potest, vt vnam quamcumque sequaris, quin protinus et omnes alias habeas consequentes, tanquam ex vno fune reuinctas. Quod si necessaria est medicina philosophia, tum ad eam cognitionem vnde sit initium, tum ad exercitationem quae sequitur,
- 15 perspicuum est, quisquis medicus est, eundem omnino et philosophum esse. Nec enim arbitror vlla demonstratione probandum esse, quod medicis opus sit philosophia ad recte vtendum arte, quum plerunque videamus eos veneficos esse, non etiam medicos, qui pecuniae studio dediti in aliud vtuntur arte quam inuenta est.
- 20 Num igitur amplius de vocabulis digladiaberis ac nugaberis contendens temperantem quidem ac pudicum, pecuniarum contemptorem ac iustum oportere esse medicum, non tamen esse necesse vt sit philosophus, et corporum naturam cognoscat et actiones instrumentorum vsusque partium ac morborum disci-
- LB 1064
- 25
- 30

1-2 *discenda exercendaque est* The manuscripts and editions only give ἀσκειν. Erasmus anticipates the conjectures by Cornarius (ἀσκειν χρή) and Marquardt (ἀσκητέον).

4-6 *tum ... aliis* an expanded translation of Galen's & δι' ἀλλήλων ἕλα κέκραται.

7 *hoc est similium partium* As not unfrequently, Er. adds a Latin explication of a Greek technical term (cf., for instance, my note on Exhort., p. 655, 21-22).

11-12 *Quid ... philosophus a* has τί δὴ οὖν ἔτι

λείπεται πρὸς τῷ μὴ εἶναι φιλόσοφον τὸν ἰατρὸν ...; Er. gives a correct translation, thus anticipating von Mueller's text: πρὸς τὸ μὴ <οὐκ> εἶναι, etc.

12 *quisquis* οὗς ἂν *a*, ὡς ἂν *L M P*. Er. reads δς ἂν, which is also found in von Mueller's text (his critical apparatus is not quite clear here).

25 *quisquis ... eundem* ὅστις ... οὕτως *a*, οὗτος von Mueller (he does not mention the reading of *a*), which is clearly presupposed by the translation.

mina curationumque rationes, quumque concedas illi, vt circa rationalem speculationem aut in actionibus sit exercitatus, de nominibus erubescas disputare? Quanquam id sero quidem. Praestat autem vt nunc non graculi aut corui more de vocibus decertes, sed ipsi rerum veritati des operam. Non enim illud dicere poteris, quod nemo quidem textor aut coriarius citra disciplinam et exercitacionem vnquam euasurus sit, iustus autem aut temperans aut demonstrandi peritus aut excellens in cognitione naturae subito fiat aliquis qui nec praeceptore sit vsus nec ipse se ipsum exercuerit. Hoc itaque si videtur impudens, alterum vero contententis est non de rebus, sed de nominibus, nobis in eo philosophandum, quod prius dictum est, si modo vere sumus Hippocratis aemulatores. Idque si fecerimus, nihil vetat, quo minus euadamus, non dicam illi similes, sed superiores etiam illo, perdiscentes quidem quae recte ab illo scripta sunt, quae vero restant nostra ipsorum industria inuenientes.

## FINIS

BASILEAE APVD IOAN.

15

FROB. MENSE MAIO. AN.

M.D.XXVI.

3-4 *Praestat ... decertes* Here Er. leaves the participle σωφρονήσαντα untranslated. Such omissions are extremely rare in his translations.

9-10 *nobis ... est* A somewhat free translation of φιλοσοφητέον ἡμῖν ἐστιν πρό-

τερον (von Mueller deletes πρότερον).  
10 *Idque τούτω a* (with *M P* and the Codex Adelphi used by Goulston). Er. correctly reads τούτω, which is also given by von Mueller.





# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY USED

## A. CLASSICAL AND PATRISTIC AUTHORS

<i>Act.</i>	<i>Acta Apostolorum.</i>
<i>Ael.</i>	Claudius Aelianus.
<i>Aesch. Agam.</i>	Aeschylus <i>Agamemnon.</i>
<i>Anthol. Lat.</i>	<i>Anthologia Latina.</i>
<i>Apoll. Rhod.</i>	Apollonius Rhodius.
<i>Aristoph. Vesp.</i>	Aristophanes <i>Vespae.</i>
<i>Arist. Probl.</i>	Aristoteles <i>Problemata.</i>
<i>Athen.</i>	Athenaeus.
<i>Aug. Civ.</i>	Augustinus <i>De ciuitate dei.</i>
<i>Boeth.</i>	Boethius.
<i>Cic. Ac.</i>	Cicero <i>Academicorum libri.</i>
<i>Ad Q. fr.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Quintum fratrem.</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Atticum.</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus.</i>
<i>Catil.</i>	<i>In Catilinam.</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Cato maior de senectute.</i>
<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore.</i>
<i>Ep. ad Att.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Atticum.</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad familiares.</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>De finibus.</i>
<i>Inu.</i>	<i>De inuentione.</i>
<i>Lael.</i>	<i>Laelius de amicitia.</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro L. Murena.</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis.</i>
<i>P. red. in sen.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum in senatu.</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De prouinciis consularibus.</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes.</i>
<i>Verr.</i>	<i>In Verrem.</i>
<i>Cor.</i>	<i>Ad Corinthios.</i>
<i>Diod. S.</i>	Diodorus Siculus.
<i>Diog. Laert.</i>	Diogenes Laertius.
<i>Dn.</i>	<i>Deuteronomium.</i>
<i>Don.</i>	Aelius Donatus grammaticus.
<i>Dt.</i>	<i>Deuteronomium.</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastes.</i>
<i>Ennius Scaen.</i>	Ennius <i>Fragmenta scaenica.</i>
<i>Esr.</i>	<i>Esrā.</i>
<i>Eur. Phoen.</i>	Euripides <i>Phoenissae.</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba.</i>
<i>Iph. Aul.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis.</i>
<i>Iph. Taur.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica.</i>

<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus.</i>
<i>Ez.</i>	<i>Ezechiel.</i>
<i>Gal.</i>	<i>Galenus.</i>
<i>Gell.</i>	<i>Aulus Gellius.</i>
<i>Hdt.</i>	<i>Herodotus.</i>
<i>Hes. Erg.</i>	<i>Hesiodus Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι.</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia.</i>
<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Hieronymus.</i>
<i>Hilar.</i>	<i>Hilarius.</i>
<i>Hippocr.</i>	<i>Hippocrates.</i>
<i>Hom. Il.</i>	<i>Homerus Ilias.</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssea.</i>
<i>Hor. Carm.</i>	<i>Horatius Carmina.</i>
<i>Ars.</i>	<i>Ars poetica.</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistolae.</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi.</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones.</i>
<i>Iac.</i>	<i>Iacobi epistola.</i>
<i>Ioh.</i>	<i>Iohannes.</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>Iosua.</i>
<i>Ios. Flav. A.J.</i>	<i>Flavius Iosephus Antiquitates Iudaicae.</i>
<i>Ap.</i>	<i>contra Apionem.</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Isaias.</i>
<i>Iuv.</i>	<i>Iuuenalis.</i>
<i>Lc.</i>	<i>Lucas.</i>
<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Liuius.</i>
<i>Lucian. J. Tr.</i>	<i>Lucianus Jupiter Tragoedus.</i>
<i>Lucr.</i>	<i>Lucretius.</i>
<i>Macr. Sat.</i>	<i>Macrobius Saturnalia.</i>
<i>Martial.</i>	<i>Martialis.</i>
<i>Mt.</i>	<i>Matthaeus.</i>
<i>Ov. Ars</i>	<i>Ovidius Ars amatoria.</i>
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores.</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides.</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses.</i>
<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Ex Ponto.</i>
<i>Rem.</i>	<i>Remedia amoris.</i>
<i>Paulin. Nol. Carm.</i>	<i>Paulinus Nolanus Carmina.</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persius.</i>
<i>Petr.</i>	<i>Petri epistola.</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus.</i>
<i>Philostr.</i>	<i>Philostratus.</i>
<i>Pind. Ol.</i>	<i>Pindarus Olympia.</i>
<i>Plato Apol.</i>	<i>Plato Apologia.</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demodocus.</i>
<i>Gorg.</i>	<i>Gorgias.</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges.</i>
<i>Menex.</i>	<i>Menexenus.</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus.</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica.</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus.</i>
<i>Plaut. Amph.</i>	<i>Plautus Amphitruo.</i>
<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asinaria.</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchides.</i>
<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Casina.</i>
<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio.</i>
<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus.</i>

<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi.</i>
<i>Merc.</i>	<i>Mercator.</i>
<i>Most.</i>	<i>Mostellaria.</i>
<i>Poen.</i>	<i>Poenulus.</i>
<i>Pseud.</i>	<i>Pseudolus.</i>
<i>Rud.</i>	<i>Rudens.</i>
Plin. <i>Epist.</i>	Plinius minor <i>Epistolae.</i>
Plin. <i>Nat.</i>	Plinius maior <i>Naturalis historia.</i>
Plut.	Plutarchus.
Poll.	Pollux.
<i>Priap.</i>	<i>Priapea.</i>
Prisc. <i>Praeex. Gramm.</i>	Priscianus <i>Praeexercitamenta.</i>
Prop.	Propertius.
Prud.	Prudentius.
<i>Prv.</i>	<i>Proverbia.</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Psalmi.</i>
Quint. <i>Inst.</i>	Quintilianus <i>Institutio oratoria.</i>
<i>Rg.</i>	<i>Reges.</i>
<i>Rhet. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad C. Herennium.</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Ad Romanos.</i>
<i>Sap.</i>	<i>Sapientia Salomonis.</i>
Schol. Aristoph. <i>Av.</i>	Scholia Aristophanes <i>Aues.</i>
Sen. <i>Epist.</i>	Seneca <i>Epistolae ad Lucilium.</i>
<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules.</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea.</i>
<i>Oed.</i>	<i>Oedipus.</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedra.</i>
<i>Thy.</i>	<i>Thyestes.</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades.</i>
Serv. <i>Comm. Georg.</i>	Seruius <i>Commentarius in Vergilii Georgica.</i>
Sil.	Silius Italicus.
Sidon.	Apollinaris Sidonius.
Soph. <i>Ai.</i>	Sophocles <i>Aias.</i>
<i>Oed. Col.</i>	<i>Oedipus Colonus.</i>
Stat. <i>Ach.</i>	Stattius <i>Achilleis.</i>
<i>Theb.</i>	<i>Thebais.</i>
Ter. <i>Ad.</i>	Terentius <i>Adelpboe.</i>
<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus.</i>
<i>Heaut.</i>	<i>Heautontimorumenos.</i>
<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio.</i>
Tert.	Tertullianus.
Theocr.	Theocritus.
<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Ad Thessalonicenses.</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides.
Tib.	Tibullus.
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Ad Timotheum.</i>
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Ad Titum.</i>
Val. Flacc.	Valerius Flaccus.
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus.
Verg. <i>Aen.</i>	Vergilius <i>Aeneis.</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae.</i>
<i>Georg.</i>	<i>Georgica.</i>
Xen. <i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon <i>Memorabilia.</i>
Zenob.	Zenobius.

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