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## A forgotten translation by Theodorus Gaza unveiled and its context

**Abstract:** The emigrant Byzantine humanist Theodorus Gaza (c. 1400–1475) is well known as a teacher of Greek in various Italian cities, as a copyist of Greek manuscripts, and as a translator of Greek philosophical works into Latin. His undertakings as a translator of Latin works into Greek, among which his version of Cicero's *De senectute* deserves mention, have gone relatively unnoticed. In this article we rediscover a largely forgotten translation of Cic. *Fam.* 1.1, despite it having been printed independently twice (Paris 1542 and 1548) and having been included as an example of translation in the oft reprinted manual of rhetorical exercises, *Elementa rhetoricae* (first printed in Basel in 1541), by the Lutheran Joachim Camerarius.

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In an ancient catalogue preserved in the Vatican library, there is an entry that testifies to the existence of an almost unknown translation into Greek attributed to the well-known grammarian, poet, teacher of Greek, and copyist Theodorus Gaza.<sup>1</sup> I refer to manuscript *Vaticanus Barberinus* lat. 3185, which contains a cata-

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<sup>1</sup> See E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, I. Paris 1885 (reprint Brussels 1963), XXXI–XLII; D.J. GEANAKOPOLOS, Theodoro Gaza, a Byzantine scholar of the Palaeologan 'Renaissance' in the Italian Renaissance. *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), 61–81; C. B. SCHMITT, Theodorus Gaza, in P.G. Bietenholz / T.B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, I. Toronto 1985, 81; D.J. GEANAKOPOLOS, Constantinople and the West: Essays on the late Byzantine (Paleologan) and Italian Renaissance and the Byzantine and Roman churches. *Wisconsin* 1989, 68–90; C. BIANCA, Gaza, Teodoro. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 52 (1999), 737–746; P. BOTLEY, Learning Greek in western Europe, 1396–1529. *Philadelphia* 2010, 14–25; and N.G. WILSON, From Byzantium to Italy. Greek studies in the Italian Renaissance. London 1992 (2017) *passim*. Further bibliography in G. SALANITRO, *Il codice*

logue of the books in Greek that were at that moment in the private library of the Medici, temporarily housed in Rome in the Palazzo Madama in the quarter of Sant'Eustachio (*Graeca Bibliotheca of the Mediceae domus insignis bibliotheca, quae nunc est apud R[everendissim]um Car[dina]lem de Medicis*).<sup>2</sup> This catalogue was compiled by Fabio Vigili in around 1510, and in its f. 263 entry n<sup>o</sup>17, it has the following content<sup>3</sup>:

1. Aeschinis rhetoris orationes tres uidelicet contra Timarchum una, περί παραπροσβείας <id est> de corrupta siue falsa legatione 2<sup>a</sup>, Contra Ctesiphontem de coronatione tertia.
2. Bruti epistolae ad uarios.
3. Propositiones quaedam Geometricae Euclidis, ut uidetur.
4. M. Tullii Ciceronis Cato, siue de Senectute liber, a Theodoro in graecum sermonem conuersus.
5. Epistola Nicolai quinti Pontificis ad Constantinum Palaeologum Constantinopolitanum imperatorem, a Theodoro in graecum sermonem conuersa.
6. Ciceronis epistola prima ad Lentulum uidelicet ego omni officio, ab eodem Theodoro, ut puto, in graecum conuersa.
7. Dionysii Halicarnasei De fabula et historia ac philosophia quaedam et per consequens de poetis historicis et philosophis quibusdam ut de Homero Hesiodo Antimacho heroicis,

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zurigheese e la versione greca di Teodoro Gaza del *De senectute* ciceroniano. *Helikon* 15/16 (1975–76) 319 note 1.

**2** See E. B. FRYDE, Greek manuscripts in the private library of the Medici 1469–1510. Aberystwyth 1996, I, 4; and II, 536–537; M. H. LAURENT, Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le Ms. Barb. Lat. 3185. Città del Vaticano 1943, XVII–XVIII; I. G. RAO, Il fondo manoscritto, in T. de Robertis et al. (eds.), I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze, I. Plutei 12–34. Firenze 2008, 10; D. SPERANZI, La biblioteca dei Medici. Appunti sulla storia della formazione del fondo greco della libreria medicea privata, in G. Arbizzone et al. (eds.), Principi e signori. Le biblioteche nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Atti del Convegno di Urbino, 5–6 giugno 2008. Urbino 2010, 222; and S. GENTILE/D. SPERANZI, Antichi cataloghi. Gli inventari dei manoscritti greci della libreria medicea privata, in P. Degni et al. (eds.), Greek manuscript cataloguing. Past, present, and future. Turnhout 2018, 17–28. There is a manuscript copy in the Laurentian library (*Florentinus Laurentianus* Carte Lodi, Appendice 1, see GENTILE/SPERANZI, Antichi cataloghi, as above, 17 note 17).

**3** I follow A. Diller's transcription, but constantly use u for v, and add numbers to each title (see A. DILLER, The manuscript tradition of Aeschines' Orations. *Illinois Classical Studies* 4, 1979, 61–62, reprinted in IDEM, *Studies in Greek manuscript tradition*. Amsterdam 1983, 219–249). As is the accepted standard practice, I quote following the original pagination (f. 263 is today f. 5). On Fabio Vigili, see G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana. Città del Vaticano 1939, 33–41; M. H. LAURENT, Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le ms. Barb. Lat. 3185. Città del Vaticano 1943, VIII–XXII; E. B. FRYDE, Humanism and Renaissance historiography. London 1983, 161–162; D. F. JACKSON, Fabio Vigili's inventory of Medici Greek manuscripts. *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), 199–204; and A. MANFREDI, Le origine della Biblioteca Vaticana tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento. Città del Vaticano 2010, 321–322.

Panyasi Pindaro Simonide Sthesichoro Alcaeo lyricis, Aeschylo Sophocle Eurypide tragicis, Menandro comico, Herodoto Thucydide Philisto Xenophonte Theopompo historicis, Pythagoricis Xenophonte Platone Aristotele philosophis, Lysia Isocrate Lycurgo Demosthene Aeschine Hyperide oratoribus, deque eorum intentione et stilo.

8. Quaedam ad astrologica et logica pertinentia.

9. Isaac Argyri libellus de lingua.

According to this description, this manuscript contained three translations by Theodorus Gaza into Greek. Two of them (nn. 4, and 5) are very well-known, since they have been preserved in numerous manuscripts and have already been printed.<sup>4</sup> Both were expressly attributed to Gaza, but the third one, item n. 6, Gaza's translation of Cicero's first letter to Lentulus (Cic. *Fam.* 1.1), probably bore no indication of authorship, since the compiler has cautiously added *ut puto*.

While studying the manuscript tradition of Aeschynes' speeches, referring to item n. 6, Diller says that there was no further indication of the existence of this work: "The translation of Cicero *ad fam.* I 1 is new, so far as I know". Moreover, since he thought this translation was a starting point for a full translation of this work, he concluded that it was likely that the whole manuscript was written by Theodorus himself: "Perhaps it was an inchoate work. If so, our codex would be near to Theodore Gaza, perhaps autograph."<sup>5</sup>

This translation was not recorded by M. E. Cosenza in his *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical*

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4 There are twenty-three manuscripts of *De senectute's* translation. To the eighteen used by G. Salanitro in his edition, we should now add one in Athens, two in Poland, one in the Vatican library, and another in Elbląg (Elbing) in Poland, shelfmark O.2, is now missing, according to J.-M. OLIVIER, *Supplément au répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, I. Turnhout 2018, 412. Salanitro already mentioned two missing manuscripts: *Berolinensis* 391, and *Escorialensis* M IV 5 (see G. SALANITRO, *M. Tullii Ciceronis liber De senectute in Graecum translatus*. Leipzig 1987, VIII note 2), although the missing *Berolinensis* is today *Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* Berlin graec. 8<sup>o</sup>.15. This translation was first printed by Aldus Manutius' heirs in 1517, and reedited several times: the last time by SALANITRO, as above, VIII–XII, XX–XXI, XXV and IDEM, *Il codice zurighese*, as footnote 1 above, 322–325). Gaza's translation of Pope Nicolas V's letter to Constantinus XI has been preserved in twenty-eight manuscripts (see <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/5239/>). There is an ancient printed edition: P. ARCDIUS, *Opuscula aurea theologica*. Romae 1670, 685–699 (for the other editions, see G. HOFFMANN, ed., *Epistulae pontificae ad Concilium florentinum spectantes*, Series A, pars 3. Roma 1946, 130–138 [no. 304]); and a modern English translation based on the Latin text in W.K. HANAK, *Pope Nicholas V and the aborted crusade of 1452–1453 to rescue Constantinople from the Turks*. *Byzantinoslavica* 65 (2007), 354–359.

5 For both quotations, see DILLER, *Manuscript tradition* (as footnote 3 above), 63.

*Scholarship in Italy, 1300–1800*, II. Massachusetts 1962, 1563–1571, and neither does G. Salanitro mention it in his preface to his edition of Gaza's translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, although he had a good opportunity to do so, since he affirmed that Gaza translated two other works of Cicero, in reference to the translations attributed to Gaza of the treatises *De amicitia* and *De officiis*.<sup>6</sup> Nor does he mention it in his summary of Gaza's translations published several years later, where his aim was to present "una rapida rassegna delle traduzioni a noi pervenute".<sup>7</sup>

Finally, in recent times, P. Botley, in his study of Greek grammars, lexica, and textbooks when he refers to Theodorus Gaza's translations as a student's tool to learn Greek, repeats in a footnote the information provided by A. Diller: "A lost Florentine manuscript seems to have contained a Greek version made by Gaza of the first letter of the first volume of Cicero's correspondence".<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, the *Mediceus* manuscript mentioned by Fabio Vigili in his 1510 catalogue remains missing. It seems that it was borrowed by Angelo Poliziano on 21st November 1481 or 1482 (he had already used it for his lessons on Stace's *Silvae*,<sup>9</sup> and for his lessons on Ovid's *Epistle of Sapho to Faon* [Ov. *Her. XV*]),<sup>10</sup> by Demetrius Chalcondyles on 13th January 1489, and by Janus Lascaris

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**6** See SALANITRO, *M. Tullii Ciceronis liber* (as footnote 4 above), VI. The Greek translation of Cicero's *De amicitia* has been attributed to the Jesuit theologian Denis Pétau (1583–1652), while on the translation of Cicero's *De officiis*, M. Salanitro affirms that its authorship needs to be verified (see M. SALANITRO, *Teodoro Gaza traduttore di testi classici*, in M. Cortesi / E. V. Maltese, eds., *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV*. Napoli 1990, 224).

**7** See SALANITRO, *Teodoro Gaza* (as footnote 6 above), 223.

**8** See BOTLEY, *Learning Greek* (as footnote 1 above), 196 note 45.

**9** Poliziano quotes Dionysius of Halicarnassus' epitome in the commentary preserved in manuscript Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze *Florentinus Magliabechianus* VII 973, edited by L. CESARINI MARTINELLI, Angelo Poliziano. *Commento inedito alle Selve di Stazio*. Firenze 1978 (see notes on *Stat. Silu.* 2.1.113 [*epit. de imit.* 2.14] [f. 79<sup>v</sup>; Cesarini Martinelli, 393], and on 4.7.8 [*epit. de imit.* 2.5] [f. 132; Cesarini Martinelli, 687]). For Poliziano's lessons on the *Silvae*, see I. DEL LUNGO, *Florentia*. Firenze 1897, 176–177; L. CESARINI MARTINELLI, *Poliziano professore allo Studio fiorentino*, in: *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*. *Politica economia cultura arte*. *Convegno internazionale di studi* (Firenze–Pisa–Siena, 5–8 novembre 1992), II. Pisa 1996, 463–481; and P. HARSTING, *More evidence of Menander Rhetor on the wedding speech: Angelo Poliziano's transcriptions in the Statius commentary (1480–1481)*. *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge grec et latin* 72 (2001), 11–34.

**10** See E. LAZZERI, *Angelo Poliziano*. *Commento inedito all' epistola ovidiana di Saffo a Faone*. Firenze 1971, XI–XV. This commentary has been preserved in manuscript *Monacensis lat.* 754, ff. 133–159, which belonged to Petrus Victorius; see F. TINNEFELD, *Zur Geschichte der Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, in M. Restle (ed.), *Festschrift für K. Wessel zum 70. Geburtstag*. München 1988, 316–318; R. MOUREN, *L'identification d'écritures grecques dans un fonds humaniste: l'exemple de la bibliothèque de*

in August 1492. It still appears in the inventory of the Medicean library dated in 1495.<sup>11</sup>

It remains to be determined whether any of these humanists attained a copy of Gaza's translation of Cic. *Fam.* 1.1, or perhaps there were other copies completely unbeknownst to us circulating among the humanists and libraries of Italy and beyond, but approximately fifty years later, this text found its way to Basel, where the German classical scholar and Lutheran theologian Joachim Camerarius included it as an example of translation from Latin into Greek in his *Elementa rhetoricae siue capita exercitationum studii puerilis et stili ad comparandam utriusque linguae facultatem collecta*. Basileae: ex officina Ioannis Oporini, [1541], 281–285.<sup>12</sup> This handbook was reedited several times,<sup>13</sup> but its influence was limited since Camerarius' works were soon going to be included in

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Piero Vettori, in G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*. Atti del V colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998). Firenze 2000, 434; and K. HAJDÚ, *Die Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Münchener Hofbibliothek bis zum Jahr 1803*. Wiesbaden 2002, 81–88). He quotes the epitome in his notes on l. 6 (*carmina*) (*epit. de imit.* 2.3) (f. 128; Lazzeri, 199) and l. 29 (*Alcaeus*) (*epit. de imit.* 2.8) (f. 134<sup>v</sup>; Lazzeri, 45). On the authenticity of this Ovidian epistle, see A. RAMÍREZ DE VERGER, *La carta de Safo a Faón de Ovidio*. *Emerita* 77 (2009), 187–222.

**11** See E. PICCOLOMINI, *Inventario della Libreria medicea privata compilato nel 1495*. *Archivio storico italiano*, 3a serie 20 (1874), 69 [no. 388]; IDEM, *Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della libreria medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508*. *Archivio storico italiano*, 3a serie 21 (1875), 285 and 287; D. DEL PIAZZO, *Protocolli del Carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1472–74, 1477–92*. Firenze 1956, 490; DILLER, *Manuscript tradition* (as footnote 3 above), 62; and FRYDE, *Greek manuscripts* (as footnote 2 above), II, 536 and 595 note 82. Fryde suggested that this manuscript might have been stolen by Lascaris; however, this suggestion cannot be validated.

**12** Although it is often mentioned that the *editio princeps* of this handbook appeared in Basel in 1540, I have found no copy of this edition, since the copy at the Bodleian Library, with bookshelf 8 C 26 Art, quoted as printed in 1540 by L. D. GREEN / J. J. MURPHY, *Renaissance rhetoric short-title catalogue 1460–1700*. Aldershot 2006, 94 (no. 707), is dated to 1551 in the colophon (p. 430), and is in fact a copy of the 1551 edition (see following note). This confusion has probably arisen because there is no date in its title page and its preface is dated as 1540 (f. A7). It is also mistakenly quoted as a 1540 edition in some ancient catalogues, such as *Bibliothecae Josephi Garampii cardinalis catalogus*. Romae 1796, 27 no. 7415. See J. BARON, *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574)*. München 1978, 32 note \*.

**13** In fact, it was edited by Johannes Oporinus' press in 1541 (see previous note), and later reedited by the same press in 1545 (pp. 282–286) and 1551 (pp. 281–284), and in Leipzig, in officina Voegietiana, in 1562 (pp. 266–269), 1564 (pp. 266–269), and 1600 (pp. 233–235), and also in Leipzig on Tobias Steinmann's press in 1580 (pp. 258–261). See T. ARCOS PEREIRA, *Los Elementa rhetoricae siue Capita exercitorum studii puerilis et stili* de Joachimus Camerarius: estudio preliminar, in F. Hernández / M. Martínez Hernández / L. M. Pino Campos (eds.), *Sodalium munera. Homenaje al Prof. Á. González Luis*. Madrid 2011, 43–55.

several *Indices librorum prohibitorum* throughout Europe,<sup>14</sup> probably due to his close friendship with the Lutheran Philip Melanchthon.<sup>15</sup>

Since the copy he owned was anonymous (as was probably the *Mediceus* copy itself<sup>16</sup>), in his foreword to Gaza's translation Camerarius expressed his doubts regarding its authorship, although he does conclude by affirming that it might well be a *πάρεργον* to Gaza's translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, which in his copy actually preceded the anonymous translation of Cic. *Fam.* 1.1:

Incidit autem felicissimo auspicio ante annos aliquot in conatum talem<sup>17</sup> nescio cuius, non enim adscriptum nomen erat: sed hominis, ut facile apparet, et eruditi, et minime inepti, qui epistolam Ciceronis primam ad Lentulum in Graecam linguam conuertisset. Sunt et Gazae conuersiones in manibus. Sed nos illam, quam fortuna nobis conseruauit, primum, deinde et nostram quandam referamus. Ac ne quid prorsus dissimulem, adiecta erat haec conuersio ad libellum *De senectute*, quem transtulisse in Graecum sermonem Gazam scimus, ut de hoc qua si *πάρεργον* eiusdem auctoris credi posse uideatur. De quo tamen, praesertim in dubitatione nostra, liberum cuique iudicium relinquimus.<sup>18</sup>

Camerarius' edition is not the only printed text of this translation. Just one year later it was printed in Paris by Jean Loys' press in a booklet of four folia, along with a Latin version of Cicero's first letter to Lentulus, a slim volume known as *M. T. Ciceronis Romani oratoris prima ad Lentulum Proconsulem Epistola, per The-*

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**14** Some of his books were individually included in several *indices librorum prohibitorum*, but all his works were jointly censored in the 1551 Portuguese index; see J. M. DE BUJANDA, Index de l'Inquisition Portugaise 1547, 1551, 1561, 1564, 1581, IV. Sherbrooke 1995, 275 (nos. 299–301); the 1554 index of Venice and Milan, see IDEM, Index de Venise 1549, Venise et Milan 1554, II. Sherbrooke 1987, 306 (no 351); the 1559 and 1564 index of Rome, see IDEM, Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564, VIII. Sherbrooke 1990, 515 (no. 440); the 1559 Spanish index, see IDEM, Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559, V. Sherbrooke 1984, 392 (no. 276); in the 1571 index d'Anvers, see IDEM, Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571, VII. Sherbrooke 1988, 538 (note 85); and finally also in the 1583 Spanish index, see IDEM, Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole 1583, 1584, VI. Sherbrooke 1993, 388 (no. 892).

**15** See S. KUNKLER, Zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Der Humanist Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) im Wechselspiel von pädagogischen Pathos und theologischen Ethos. Hildesheim 2000, 45–50. Camerarius was going to become the first biographer of Melanchthon: J. CAMERARIUS, De Philippi Melanchthonis ortu, totius uitae curriculo et morte. Lipsiae 1566. There is a German translation by V. WERNER, Das Leben Philipp Melanchthons. Leipzig 2011.

**16** See *supra*.

**17** He refers to what he has previously said: Sed quod diximus etiam temptandum, ut de Latinis Graeca faciamus (pp. 280–281).

**18** CAMERARIUS, Elementa rhetoricae, 281. I quote following the copy at the Bodleian with bookshelf 8 C 26 Art (see footnote 12 above). After Gaza's translation, Camerarius added a short story both in Latin and Greek regarding a so-called Maximilianus imperator (see CAMERARIUS, Elementa rhetoricae, 285–287).

*odorum Graecè donata*, Parisiis: excudebat Ioannes Lodoicus Tiletanus ex aduerso Collegii Remensis, 1542.

It was reedited six years later, in 1548, by Jean Loys' successor in the press, Thomas Richard,<sup>19</sup> who was no doubt less careful and skilled than his predecessor, since his edition contains mistakes and misreadings: he omitted some letters and monosyllabic words, he sometimes confused  $\iota/\upsilon$ , and  $\eta/\iota$ , and on two occasions he misunderstood a common abbreviation.<sup>20</sup>

Curiously Jean Loys' and Thomas Richard's editions almost follow the same pattern of obliviousness of the *Mediceus* manuscript, since they remained unnoticed even to the great bibliophile E. Legrand.<sup>21</sup> Jean Loys' volume was also overlooked in P. Renouard's posthumous volume that deals with his press,<sup>22</sup> and, although both are quoted by A. Pettegree, and M. Walsby in their *French Books III & IV. Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than French* (Leiden 2012) I, p. 420 (n<sup>o</sup> 61538), and p. 428 (n<sup>o</sup> 61744), in the case of Thomas Richard's volume, they failed to mention that it contains Gaza's translation.<sup>23</sup>

To the best of our knowledge, only one copy of Jean Loys' edition has been preserved, located in the library of the University of Bologna (bookshelf A.V. Tab.I. N.II. 224/4),<sup>24</sup> and four copies of the 1548 reedition have been preserved, located in the libraries of Roanne (Médiathèque de Roanne R 4 73/P) and La Rochelle (Médiathèque Michel-Crépeau 18115 C.)<sup>25</sup> in France, and in the libraries of

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**19** Marci T. Ciceronis Romani oratoris prima ad Lentulum Proconsulem Epistola, per Theodorum Graecè donata. Parisiis: apud Thomam Richardum, sub Bibliis aureis, è regione Collegii Remensis, 1548.

**20** See Appendix I *infra*.

**21** See LEGRAND, *Bibliographie Hellénique* (as footnote 1 above), XXXI–XLIX.

**22** See P. RENOARD, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Jean Loys. Paris 1995.

**23** It is also absent from the National Union catalogue of pre-1956 imprints. London 1968–81, 754 vols. (Theodorus Gaza is in vol. 193, 225–227, and vol. 705, 479–482, and Cicero is in vol. 109, 415–579, and vol. 710, 406–452).

**24** Thanks are due to Prof. Assoc. Valentina Garulli for providing me with pictures of this edition. This copy is bound with other volumes, among others with a copy of *Ἐπιστολαὶ Αἰσχίνου*. *Epistolae Aeschinis*. Parisiis: apud Ioannem Lodoicum Tiletanum, e regione Collegii Remensis, 1542.

**25** This copy was owned by the Calvinist physician, bibliophile, and collector François Mizière (1541–1621). On his life, see J.-P. PITTION, *Note sur quelques livres ayant appartenu à François Mizière et conservés à la bibliothèque Marsh de Dublin*, in F. Barbier (ed.), *Le berceau du livre: autour des incunables. Études et essais offerts au Professeur Pierre Aquilon per ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis*. Bordeaux 2004, 391–395.

Cambridge (Wren Library, Trinity College T.23.11[9])<sup>26</sup> and Oxford (Bodleian Library Byw. D 1.9)<sup>27</sup> in the United Kingdom; however, there are probably more copies either bound with other works or on their own in other libraries.

These printed editions have only four pages that contain the following: – Title page, with the title in both Greek and Latin at the top of the page,<sup>28</sup> printer's mark,<sup>29</sup> and place of publication, with the printer's name and date at the bottom.<sup>30</sup>

– Hypotheses in Greek.<sup>31</sup>

– Theodorus Gaza's Greek version of Cic. *Fam.* 1.1.<sup>32</sup>

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**26** This copy is also bound with other works dated between 1550 and 1563, some of which are translations from Greek into Latin of several of Plutarch's treatises and Dionysius Periegetes' *Periegesis* (see Wren library online catalogue at <<http://lib-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk>>).

**27** This copy entered the Bodleian as part of Ingram Bywater's collection, which was bequeathed to the library in 1915. It is quoted in I. BYWATER, *Elenchus librorum uetustiorum apud \*\*\* hospitantium*. Oxford 1911, 35 (no. 921). This volume has been bound with a modern green cover probably in Bywater's time (1840–1914) with two quires of eight blank folia with golden edges as endpapers. These quires are needed to fit the tiny spine, which has lettered on it “Ciceronis Epist. ad Lentulum Gr. – Par. 1548” in golden capital characters.

**28** F. [Ai]. The title is as follows: ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΥ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ Η ΠΡΟΣ Λέντουλον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐπιστολή α'. Ἑρμηνεία Θεοδώρου. / Marci (M. in the Loys' edition) T. Ciceronis Romani oratoris prima ad Lentulum Proconsulem Epistola, per Theodorum Graecè donata.

**29** M. L. C. SILVESTRE, *Marques typographiques*. Amsterdam 1971, 65 (no. 130) (Loys' edition), and 109 (no. 224) (Thomas Richard's edition); PH. RENOUDARD, *Les marques typographiques parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles*, I. Paris 1926–28, 219 (no. 687, with the break detected by RENOUDARD, *Imprimeurs*, as footnote 22 above, 21) (Loys' edition), and II, 317 (no. 979) (Thomas Richard's edition).

**30** PARISIIS / Excudebat Ioannes Lodoicus Tiletanus es ad-/uerso Collegii Remensis / MDXLII, and: PARISIIS, / Apud Tomam Richardum, sub bibliis aureis / è regione Collegii Remensis, MDXLVIII.

**31** F. Ai<sup>v</sup>. This appears in both editions: Ξυλομόρου ὑπόθεσις. / Τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολομαίου κάθοδον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ πεπραγμένα Κικέρων ὁ χαρισόμενος τῷ Λεντούλῳ ἀπαγγέλει. In Thomas Richard's edition, this hypothesis is preceded by another: Μακεραίου ὑπόθεσις / Μάρκος ὁ Κικέρων μετὰ δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ οἰκειῶς ἐχόντων, τοῦτου δῆθεν ἐπιτυχάνειν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ὑπερεπιθυμεί, ὥστε δ' ἄρα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον συγχωρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τῷ Λεντούλῳ ἢ τῷ Πομπηίῳ. Ξυλομόρου and Μακεραίου are probably the Greek translation of the Latin names of two contemporary humanists. They are otherwise unattested as Greek names: see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names [LGPN]*: <https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>; *PLP*; and M. JEFFREYS et al., *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, 2016 (King's College London, 2017) available at <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk>.

**32** Ff. Aii–Aiii in Loys' edition, ff. Aii–Aii<sup>v</sup> in Thomas Richard's edition.

– Latin original of Cic. *Fam.* 1.1, preceded in the case of Thomas Richard’s edition by an “Argumentum”.<sup>33</sup>

The variants between these editions and that of Camerarius are insufficient to conclude that they were based on different manuscripts. They also fail to reflect that Gaza revisited and corrected his version, as was common both for him and among his contemporary translators.<sup>34</sup>

Two of the differences are worthy of note: in Cic. *Fam.* 1.1.2.8, while Camerarius printed the very poorly attested late form εὐεργημάτων,<sup>35</sup> Jean Loys’ and Thomas Richard’s editions preferred the classical form, εὐεργετημάτων.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, while Camerarius printed πρὸ εἰδῶν and τοῖς εἰδοῖς in 3.2, Jean Loys and Thomas Richard preferred the variants πρὸ ἰδῶν and τοῖς ἰδοῖς.<sup>37</sup>

Since it is a very brief letter, it is impossible to ascertain which manuscript Gaza used for his translation. He follows *Parisinus* lat. 17812, f. 51 (= R) in the spelling of the name *Volcatius* (Βουλκατίος), while other manuscripts present ei-

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**33** Ff. Aiii–Aiv in both editions. The argumentum is as follows: ARGUMENTVM EPISTOLAE SEQVENTIS. / Rex Aegypti erat pulsus regno a sorore: hunc uoleban<t> per se restitui Lentulus, et Pompeius: sed erant alii qui impediabant utrumque, ita ut tandem Rabirius restituerit. Ex qua re causa Rabirii orta est. Fuit autem oraculum Romae, futuram Tunc Imperii mutationem, quando ingrederentur Romani in Aegyptum. Caesar igitur quando occupauit Aegyptum, absterritus isto oraculo, noluit Aegyptum in prouinciam redigere. Cicero autem nuntiat Lentulo absenti, quid de causa illius in senatu actum sit. As for the Latin text, there are certain differences between the two editions: 3.3 om. non R / 3.13 assentiri L (here L follows A. Cratander’s edition [Basileae 1528]) : assentire R / 3.15 Hyspei R / 4.1 auctoritatem R / 4.7 et amorem L / 4.9 Vale add. L. On the other hand, both editions present a text very similar to that of Badius Ascensius printed at Argentorati in 1515 (almost exactly reproduced at Opera Ciceronis epistolica, Paris: ab Ioanne Paruo & Iodoco Badio, 1522), since it always agrees with the Badius Ascensius’ edition even in the instances where the text of both Parisian editions and Aldus Manutius 1512 and 1522 editions agree in contrast with the Badius 1511 edition: 3.16 in eam opinionem Ald. Asc. (1515): in opinionem Asc. (1511), 4.4 et ab Ald. Asc. (1515): et Asc. (1511). It is not a reproduction of Aldus Manutius’ edition (both 1512, and 1522), since it departs from its texts on several occasions (for instance, 1.7 igitur Ald., 3.4 decernitur Ald.). Apart from a few typographical errors, orthographic variants and omissions, only at 4.7 does Thomas Richard’s text presents a different reading: 4.7 omnes, amorem R : omnes, amoremque Asc. (1511) : omnes, et amorem Ald. Asc. (1515) L (omnes, amorem is also present in Paulus Manutius’ 1540 edition, but he presents very different text elsewhere; for instance, in 3.5 reducas, and commodo Reip. facere).

**34** See SALANITRO, Il codice zurighese (as footnote 1 above), 346–348.

**35** See PitAn III 123, Ps. 77,40–43 (Orig.) (see LSJ and LBG s.u. εὐεργημα).

**36** Elsewhere in this translation, Gaza used forms only present in the work of late authors, such as εὐφραδέστερον, and περισπουδαστότερον (2.6). He also used forms frequent in later texts, but extremely rare in classical authors, such as the verb συναποδέχομαι (which is testified only once in an inscription dated in the 2nd century B.C. [SIG 629.18 (Aetolia); see LSJ s.u.]).

**37** Both forms are equivalent and correctly spelt.

ther *Volcaci* or *Volgaci*.<sup>38</sup> In 1.3, ὅτι seems to be a translation of *quod*, the reading of *Harleianus* 2773 (= G) (quoniam ς : qui M : quia R [ut uidi] *Victorius*), 3.5 δεόντως πράξει seems to be a translation of *commode rem facere*, moreover the reading of G (R has *commodius facere*, while the *Mediceus* 49.9 *commodo rem facere*), and in 4.7, πρὸς σε ἀπόντα is a faithful version of *tui absentis*, present in both R and G (and in M<sup>3</sup>), but what follows, οἱ σοὶ... παρόντες, agrees instead with M, which has *praesentes tui* in contrast with the reading of both G and R (*praesentisue*).

However, it is remarkable that in all the instances mentioned, Gaza's translation agrees with the text of the *editio princeps*, published in Rome in 1467 by Sweynheim and Pannartz.<sup>39</sup> These readings are also printed in the incunabula by Johannes de Spira (Venetiis 1469), and by Nicolas Jenson (Venetiis 1471).<sup>40</sup> Thus, the same manuscript or another very similar manuscript was probably used by the editors of these incunabula and by Gaza himself.

On the other hand, τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως καὶ ... στοργῆς (4.8) seems to be a translation of *nostram fidem... et amorem* (4.7), a reading not attested in any of the manuscripts usually collated. However, it is printed in both of Aldus Manutius' editions (1512, and 1522), and Badius Ascensius' 1522 edition (his 1511 edition has *omnes, amoremque*, the same reading as Philippus de Lavagnia's edition of Milan, c. 1476, and Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler's 1480 edition).<sup>41</sup>

As for the purpose and date of this translation, in Gaza's time there was a growing interest in learning Greek as a direct way to gain access to Greek science, literature, and culture, and although Gaza is well known as an influential

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**38** See, for instance, 3.10 *volcaci* M<sup>2</sup> G : *volga-* M : *volcatium* R. For the readings of Cicero's manuscripts of the *Epistulae ad familiares*, I follow D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY's *sigla* and edition (M. Tullius Cicero. *Epistulae ad familiares*. Stuttgart 1988), but I have checked R and pointed out where I differ.

**39** This incunabulum presents the following readings: 3.5 *commode facere*, 3.10 *Volcatus*, and 4.7 *tui absentis praesentisque tui*. The edition by Philippus de Lavagnia (Milano *circa* 1476) presents *commodo rem facere* (3.5) and *tui absentis praesentisque* (4.7 [om. *tui*<sup>2</sup>]). At 1.3, the *editio princeps* has *cum*. For the sake of clarity, I have reproduced Sweynheim and Pannartz's text in Appendix II.

**40** These incunabula are available at "Three editions side by side", by the Polonsky Foundation Digitalization Project (<<http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/news/three-editions-of-cicero-side-by-side>>), and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital (<<https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de>>).

**41** The 1467, 1469, and 1471 editions present here the same reading: *Nostram fidem omnes amorem tui absentis praesentisque tui cognoscent*.

translator into Latin of works of Aristotle and other classical authors,<sup>42</sup> and as the author of a highly appreciated Greek Grammar,<sup>43</sup> primarily he was no doubt a teacher of Greek, a usual occupation among Greek *émigrés* that enabled them to introduce themselves into the cultural milieu of Italian Renaissance.<sup>44</sup> Gaza was no exception: since he had arrived in Italy in 1440, he earned a living mostly as a teacher of Greek: a profession he continued to practice until his death. We found him first in Pavia, trying to study medicine, and Milan, where he worked as a copyist for Francesco Filelfo. Later, he moved to Mantua, where he probably taught at the school of Vittorino da Feltre, and Ferrara, invited by Giovanni Aurispa, until around 1451, when he was called by Pope Nicholas V to Rome to translate Greek classical works into Latin. However, in addition to his duty as a translator, he continued teaching Greek. When the Pope died in 1455, he moved to Naples, with the support of Alfonso II King of Naples. There he taught Greek to Francesco Pontano and Antonio Beccadelli, better *known as Il Panormita*. From then onwards, knowledge of his movements remains uncertain, but we can infer that he spent his time between Rome and Calabria, where he finally died in 1475.<sup>45</sup>

It is therefore likely that, in the context of his teachings, in order to provide his students with practice and study material, he also translated Cic. *Fam.* 1.1 into Greek, among the other translations of Latin into Greek firmly credited to him, including Cicero's *De senectute*, and Pope Nicholas V's letter to Constantine XI, although the latter had no pedagogical purpose.<sup>46</sup> Both translations were also preserved in the lost *Mediceus* manuscript, and they could most probably be dated in the period Gaza spent in the Pope's court between 1451 and 1455. This remains the common opinion regarding the first version of his major trans-

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42 See SALANITRO, Teodoro Gaza (as footnote 6 above), 219–225, and specifically P. BEULLENS/A. GOTTHELF, Theodore Gaza's translations of Aristotle's *De Animalibus*: content, influence, and date. *GRBS* 47 (2007), 469–513 (see the bibliography quoted in note 1).

43 It was first printed by Aldus Manutius in 1495: In hoc volumine haec insunt. Theodori Introductivae grammatices libri quatuor (...). Impressum Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi Romani, 1495.

44 See J. MONFASANI, The Greeks and Renaissance Humanism, in S.J. Milner et al. (eds.), *Humanism in fifteenth-century Europe*. Oxford 2012, 44–46.

45 For Gaza's biography, see footnote 1 above.

46 He is also credited with two lost translations of two treatises by Michael Savonarola, his *De Balneis et thermis naturalibus omnibus Italiae sicque totius orbis proprietatibusque earum*, first printed in Ferrara 1485, and the unedited *Physiognomiae speculum*, on which see G. ZUCCOLIN, *The Speculum phisionomie* by Michele Savonarola, in A. Musco (ed.), *Universality of reason. Plurality of philosophies in the Middle Ages*. XII Congresso internazionale di filosofia medievale. Palermo, 17–22 settembre 2007. Palermo 2012, 873–886.

lation from the Latin, Cicero's *De senectute*,<sup>47</sup> and the Pope's letter bears a colophon dated 1451.<sup>48</sup>

In Gaza's era, Greek-Latin transactions were highly appreciated for their improvement of the knowledge of both classical languages. It was a practice already recommended in classical times, as testified by Plin. *Epist.* 7.9.2:

Utile in primis, et multi praecipunt, uel ex Graeco in Latinum uel ex Latino uertere in Graecum: quo genere exercitationis proprietates splendorque uerborum, copia figurarum, uis explanandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inueniendi facultas paratur.

Inspired in this passage, the humanist teacher Battista Guarino affirms that both translation exercises were a good activity for those already initiated in the study of Greek:

Ubi uero aliquantum progressi fuerint, tunc uel ex Graeco in Latinum uel ex Latino in Graecum uertere incipient; in quo genere exercitationis proprietatem splendoremque uerborum et promptitudinem linguae facillime comparabunt.<sup>49</sup>

The selection of Cic. *Fam.* 1.1 might be due to the fact that his students were very familiar with it, since the *Epistulae ad familiares* were used, along with other *corpora* of letters by Cicero himself, and also letters by Pliny, Seneca, and Jerome, as an initial tool to teach Latin, especially in order to learn how to write letters in Latin, an exercise of which humanists of the time were very fond.<sup>50</sup> Moreover,

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**47** His second version is usually dated in a later period, when he was probably in Rome between 1453 and 1463 collaborating with Cardinal Bessarion. See J. E. SANDYS, *A history of classical scholarship*, II. New York 1958, 62; G. SALANITRO, *M. Tullii Ciceronis liber* (as footnote 4 above), V–VI; and SALANITRO, *Teodoro Gaza* (as footnote 6 above), 219–225. For an earlier dating (1433) of the first version, see E. PINTO, *Teodoro Gaza, Epistole*. Napoli 1975, 12.

**48** See ARCUDIUS, *Opuscula* (as footnote 4 above), 698–699.

**49** B. GUARINO, *De ordine docendi et studendi* (written circa 1459). 20, ll. 10–13 (= C. KALLEN-DORF, *Humanist educational treatises*. Cambridge, Mass. 2002, 283–285). See also Camerarius, *Elementa rhetorica*, 281: *Sed quod diximus etiam tentandum, ut de Latinis Graeca faciamus: id propter linguae utriusque excellentem bonitate, quo maior facultas illarum acquiri et utraque certius cognosci possit, diligenter est elaborandum*. See W. H. WOODWARD (ed.), *Vittorino da Feltrè and other humanist educators*. Cambridge 1912, 159–178; F. DI BENEDETTO, *Leonzio, Omero e le "Pandette"*. *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 12 (1969), 111 note 2; F. CICCOLELLA, *The Greek Donatus and the study of Greek in the Renaissance*. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 12 (2005), 11 note 29; BOTLEY, *Learning Greek* (as footnote 1 above), 76–77; and WILSON, *From Byzantium* (as footnote 1 above), 41.

**50** See G. CONSTABLE, *Letters and letter-collections*. Turnhout 1976; A. QUONDAM (ed.), *Le carte messagiere. Retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento*, Roma 1981, and R. BLACK, *Humanism and education in medieval and Renais-*

Guarino Veronese, father of the aforementioned Battista Guarino and teacher of Greek contemporary with Gaza, used to recommend to his students the letters of Cicero as a textbook to improve their Latin: *Curabis quoque ut puer ipse Ciceronis epistulas secum habeat*.<sup>51</sup> For his son, the memorization of the letters of Cicero was highly useful for the improvement of declamation:

Sub idem tempus et in Ciceronis epistolis declamabunt ex quibus stili tum elegantiam, tum facilitatem et sermonis puritatem ac sententiarum<sup>52</sup> grauitatem adipiscentur; quas si memoriae mandauerint, mirificos postea fructus in scribendi promptitudine percipient.<sup>53</sup>

It remains a mystery as to whether Gaza planned to translate more letters of this collection, and failed to continue with this task for unknown reasons, thereby leaving an “inchoate work” as Diller proposed.<sup>54</sup> This translation, however, might well have been simply a way to prepare an example of translation from Latin into Greek readily available for his students of Greek.

Finally, during the Renaissance, translating Latin into Greek was not as fashionable as the reverse (Greek into Latin<sup>55</sup>). Gaza was not alone in this task, however,

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sance Italy: tradition and innovation in Latin schools from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Cambridge 2001, 352–355. For letter writing practices shortly after Gaza’s time, see J.M. NAJEMY, *Between friends: discourses of power and desire in the Machiavelli–Vettori letters of 1513–1515*. Princeton 1993, 18–57; L. VAILLANCOURT, *La lettre familière au XVI siècle: Rhétorique humaniste de l’épistolaire*. Paris 2003, and A. COROLEU, *Printing and reading Italian Latin Humanism in Renaissance Europe (ca. 1470–ca. 1540)*. Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, 69–80.

51 R. SABBADINI, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, I. Venezia 1915, 367.

52 I prefer here the reading printed by G. PIACENTE (ed.), *La didattica del Greco e del latino*. De ordine docendi et studendi e altri scritti di Guarino. Bari 2002, 48, which is also testified in the antique editions: *sententiarum* instead of *scientiarum*, the reading preferred by E. GARIN, *Il pensiero pedagogico dello umanesimo*. Firenze 1958, 452 and KALLENDORF, *Humanist* (as footnote 49 above), 284 (see Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, c. 1474, f. 11<sup>v</sup>; Heidelberg: H. Knobloch, 1489, f. B; Argenterati: ex aedibus Schurerianis, 1514, f. Biiii<sup>v</sup>, and even B. G. Struve’s 1704 edition, p. 79; see also ms. *Jenensis* Bos. o. 1, f. 16<sup>v</sup>).

53 See GUARINO, *De ordine docendi*, 21, ll. 8–12 (= KALLENDORF, *Humanist*, as footnote 49 above, 284).

54 See *supra*.

55 See D. P. LOCKWOOD, *Two thousand years of Latin translation from the Greek*. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 49 (1918), 115–129; W. BERSCHIN, *Traduzioni dal greco in latino (secoli IX–XIV)*, in S. Settis et al. (eds.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società, III: I Greci oltre la Grecia*. Torino 2001, 1023–1031; P. CHIESA, *Le traduzioni in latino di testi greci*, in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 3: *Le culture circostanti*, 1: *La cultura bizantina*. Rome 2004, 491–519; A. TAYLOR, *Introduction: the translations of Renaissance Latin*. *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 41 (2014), 329–353; the eleven volumes already published of P.O. KRISTELLER et al. (eds.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*. Washington DC

since he belonged to a tradition that, starting from Byzantine times, began with Manuel Holobolos, Maximos Planudes, Georgios Pachymeres, and Sophonias (who is credited with translating a selection of sentences from the *Speculum doctrinale* of Vincent de Beauvais<sup>56</sup>), continued with authors such as Demetrios Kydones, his younger brother Prochoros Kydones, Manuel Kalekas, the contemporaries of Gaza Gennadios Scholarios and Konstantinos Laskaris, and persisted with later humanists, such as Denis Pétau and Adrien Turnèbe.<sup>57</sup>

## Appendix I<sup>58</sup>

Conspectus siglorum

C = consensus omnium Joachimi Camerarii editionum praeter nominatim laudatas.

L = *M. T. Ciceronis Romani oratoris prima ad Lentulum Proconsulem Epistola, per Theodorum Graecè donata*, Parisiis: excudebat Ioannes Lodoicus Tiletanus ex aduerso Collegii Remensis, 1542.

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1960–2016; and M. CORTESI / S. FRASCHI, Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa. Secoli XV–XVI. Firenze 2008, 2 vol.

<sup>56</sup> See I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, El libro de actor. Una traducción bizantina del *Speculum doctrinale* de Beauvais (Vat. Gr. 12 y 1144). *Revue des Études Byzantines* 55 (1997), 81–136.

<sup>57</sup> See V. REICHMANN, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung. Leipzig 1943; W.O. SCHMITT, Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz. Die Übersetzungen des Maximos Planudes und die moderne Forschung. *JÖB* 17 (1968), 127–147; G. SALANITRO, Sulle opere latine tradotte in greco dal XIII al XV secolo: nuove prospettive di studio. *Sileno* 14 (1988), 69–71; F. TINNEFELD, Translations from Latin to Greek. A contribution to late Byzantine intellectual history, in D. Searby (ed.), *Never the twain shall meet? Latins and Greeks learning from each other in Byzantium*. Berlin/Boston 2018, 9–20; and B. ROCHETTE et al., La traduction du latin en grec à Byzance: un aperçu general, in A. Garcea et al. (eds.), *Latin in Byzantium I. Late antiquity and beyond*. Turnhout 2019, 297–312.

<sup>58</sup> I have disregarded differences and mistakes in accents, breathing, iota subscripts, and all minor changes between the editions of Camerarius' *Elementa rhetoricae*, such as omissions of monosyllables and misspellings. The differences between the edition by Camerarius and that by Jean Loys and Thomas Richard have been recorded, since I suspect they may reflect the use of a different manuscript.

R = *Marci T. Ciceronis Romani oratoris prima ad Lentulum Proconsulem Epistola, per Theodorum Graecè donata*, Parisiis: Apud Tomam Richardum, sub bibliis aureis è regione Collegii Remensis, 1548

P = consensus L et R

Μάρκου Τυλλίου Κικέρωνος Ῥωμαίου ἢ πρὸς τὸν Λέντουλον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐπιστολή α΄.

Μάρκος ὁ Κικέρων Λεντούλῳ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ εὖ πράττειν.

- 1 Ἐγὼ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθηκόντων, μᾶλλον δέ τινα περὶ σέ  
 5 εὐσεβεία ἐξαρκῶ, ἑμαυτῷ δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐξαρκέσαι ἔχω. τὸ γὰρ τοι μέγεθος τῶν  
 σῶν πρὸς ἐμέ εὐεργεσιῶν τηλικούτον ἐστίν, ὡσθ' ὅτι σὺ μὲν οὐ πρὶν τὰ πρὸς  
 ἐμέ πεπαυμένος ἡσυχίαν ἀγάγοις, ἢ τοῦ ὄλου συντελεσθέντος πράγματος. ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ταῦτ' οὗτο περὶ τὴν σὴν οὐκ ἐργάζομαι ὑπόθεσιν, πικρὸν τινα τὸν βίον ἑμαυ-  
 τῷ ὄντα ὑπολαμβάνω. τάδε περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὧδέ πως ἔχει· Ἀμμώνιος ὁ τοῦ βασι-  
 10 λέως πρεσβευτῆς χρήμασιν ἡμῖν διατελεῖ μαχόμενος ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς. πράσσει-  
 ται δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι, δι' ὧν δὴ καὶ ἡνίκα παρῶν σὺ ἐτύγχανες, ἐπράσσετο  
 πρότερον. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔνεκα, εἴ τινες οἱ θέλοντες εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δ' εἰσὶ, πάντες  
 οὔτοι εἰς Πομπήιον μεταφέρειν ἀξιοῦσι τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἢ σύγκλητος δ' ἄρα τὴν περὶ  
 τὴν θρησκείαν διαβολήν, ὁσιότητι μὲν οὐδεμιᾶ, δυσνοίᾳ δὲ καὶ φθόνῳ τῆς  
 15 βασιλέως πολυδωρίας ἐπαινοῦσα συναποδέχεται. 2 Πομπήιον δὲ προτρέπει τε  
 καὶ ἀντιβολεῖν, καὶ ἐλευθερώτερον ἢδε αἰτιᾶσθαι ἔτι καὶ παραινεῖν, ἵνα τοσαύτην  
 δυσφημίαν φεύγῃ, οὐ παυόμεθα. ὁδ' ἀντικρυς οὐδενός, οὔθ' ὧν δεόμεθα, οὔθ'  
 ὧν παραινοῦμεν, τυγχάνει λειπόμενος. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν λόγοις,  
 τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ σαφῶς οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὴν σὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἠγωνίσαστο, ὥστε  
 20 μὴτ' ἂν εὐφραδέστερον, μὴτε σεμνότερον, μὴτε περισπουδαστότερον, μὴτε  
 μὴν φιλονεικότερον μηδένα ἂν ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ σὺν μεγάλῃ δὴ τινὶ τῶν σῶν  
 περὶ αὐτὸν εὐεργημάτων καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ σέ φιλίας διαμαρτυρήσει. Μάρκελ-  
 λον δὲ ὀργιστικῶς τὰ πρὸς σε ἔχοντα οἶσθα δήπου. οὗτος δὴ πλὴν τῆς τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως ὑποθέσεως τῆσδε, πάντα σοι τᾶλλα συνήγορος τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔσσεσθαι

1 ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΥ | ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ Η ΠΡΟΣ | τὸν Λέντουλον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐπιστολή α΄. | Μάρκος ὁ Κικέρων Λεντούλῳ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ | εὖ πράττειν P : ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ ΛΕΝΤΟΥΛΩ C | 5 ἐξαρκέσαι C R : ἐξαρκέσαν L | 6 τηλικούτον C : τηλικούντόν P ὡσθ' P : ὡστ' C (praeter 1541 et 1551 [ὡς]) | 7 ἐγὼ δὲ P C (praeter 1600 [ἐγὼ]) | 14 δυσνοίᾳ C L : δισνοίᾳ R | 15 πολυδωρίας C : πολυδορίας P | 18 ἡμέραν C L : ἡμέρας R | 19 μὴτ' P : μὴθ' C | 21 σὺν C L : σὴν R | 22 εὐεργετημάτων P : εὐεργημάτων C | 23 τὰ om. R | 24 τῆσδε P C (praeter 1600 [τῆσδε]) σοι C L : τοι R

25 ἀποφαίνει. ὃ μὲν οὖν δίδωσι λαμβάνομεν, ὃ δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔγνω ἀνενεγκεῖν  
καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη ἀνηνέγκεν, οὐχ οἷόντε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεταθέσθαι. 3 πέπρακται μὲν  
πρὸ εἰδῶν ὤδε. ταυτὶ γὰρ ταῖς εἰδοῖς γέγραφα ἔωθεν. ἡ μὲν Ὀρτησίου καὶ Λευ-  
κόλλου καὶ ἐμῆ γνώμη τοῖς ὁσίοις ὑπεῖξε τὰ περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἄλλως γὰρ  
30 σοῦ ἀναφέροντος, σοὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψηφίζεται κάθοδον, ὥστε ταύτη ἂν εἴη  
σοι μόνον δεόντως πράξαι, εἰ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τὰ ὅσια ἀφαιροῖτο, σὲ δὲ ἡ βουλή  
περιποιῶσα αὐθέντην χειροτονοίη. Κράσσοσ προέσβεις αἰρεῖται τρεῖς, οὐδέτι  
Πομπήιον ἔξω τίθησι. καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τινα τῶν ἡγεμονευόντων οὗτός γε ἀξιοῖ.  
Βίβλος δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτευόντων τρεῖς ἀποφαίνεται. τούτῳ δὲ συμφέρονται οἱ λοι-  
35 ποὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἅπαντες, πλὴν Σερβιλίου, ὃς οὐδ' ὄλως κατάγειν φησὶ δεῖν, καὶ  
πλὴν Βουλκατίου, ὃς Λύπου ἀναφέροντος ψήφον τοῖς περὶ Πομπήιον τίθεται, καὶ  
πλὴν Ἀφρανίου, ὃς σύμφηφος Βουλκατίῳ ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο καὶ τὰ τῆς Πομ-  
πηίου γνώμης ὑποπτα ἐπαυξάνει. ἦν γὰρ τοι προσέχουσι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ Πομπη-  
ίου οἰκειοὺς Βουλκατίῳ προστιθεμένους ὄρᾶν. πολὺς δὲ πάνυ ἐνέστηκε πόνος  
40 καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γέγονεν ἑτερορρέπες. ἡ Λεῖβωνος δὲ καὶ Ὑψαίου οὐκ ἀφανῆς  
σύνοδος καὶ φιλονεικία καὶ ἡ πάντων τῶν Πομπηίου σπουδὴ καὶ παραγγελία  
εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπολήψεως τὸ πρᾶγμα διῆγαγον, ὥστε Πομπήιον αὐτὸν γλίχασθαι δο-  
κεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον διοικῆσαι. οἳ δ' οὐκ ἂν βούλοιντο τούτῳ, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι  
σοὶ οἰκειῶς οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ὅτι κεκοσμηκῶς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν εἴης. 4 ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτη  
45 που ἔλασσον περὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀξίωμα ἔχομεν, ἧ πλείονων σοι ὑπόχρεω ὄντες  
δοκοῦμεν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εὐχάριστον ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑποψία,  
οἳ τοῖς περὶ Πομπήιον χαρίζεσθαι ἂν οὕτως οἷονται, ἀφανίζει. καθάπερ δὲ τοι  
καὶ πολλῶ πρὶν ἀποκεχωρηκέναι σὲ ἐνθένδε, πρῶτα μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ βασιλέως  
καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου οἰκειοτάτων καὶ συνηθεστάτων ὑποῦλα γέγονεν. ἔπειτα δὲ  
50 παρὰ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἐξελήλαται καὶ εἰς φθόνου προῆκται ἔσχατα. οὕτω καὶ νῦν  
ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν διατρίβομεν. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως καὶ πρὸς σε ἀπόντα  
στοργῆς, οἳ σοὶ γινώσκονται εὖ μάλα παρόντες. εἰ δὲ τί που ἦν πιστὸν ἐν οἷς τὰ  
μάλιστα εἶναι ἐχρῆν, οὐ πάνυ τι ἂν ἐπονοῦμεν.

Ἔρρωσο.

27 εἰδῶν C : ἰδῶν P εἰδοῖς C : ἰδοῖς P | 29 προβουλεύματι C L : προβειλεύματι R | 31 εἰ τὸ μὲν P C (praeter 1564 et 1580 [εἰ μὲν]) | 32 χειροτονοίη C L : χειρότονοι R | 34 οἱ λοιποὶ C L : οἱ λιποὶ R | 35 καὶ πλὴν C L : γὰρ πλὴν R | 36 Λύπου C L : Λίπου R | 37 Βουλκατίῳ C : Βουκατίῳ P ἐστίν P : ἐστί C | 39 ἐνέστηκε C L : ἐνέστηκε R γέγονεν P : γέγονε C | 40 καὶ C L : γὰρ R | 41 ἡ C L : ἦ R | 42 αὐτὸν P C (praeter 1541 et 1551 [αὐτῶν]) | 43 διοικῆσαι C L : διοικήσαι R | 44 δὲ om. P | 45 σοὶ C L : τοι R | 46 οἱ C R : ὁ L | 47 ἀφανίζει C L : ἀφανίζει R | 48 ἐνθένδε C L : ἐνθέντε R | 54 Ἔρρωσο om. C

## Appendix II<sup>59</sup>

### M. T. C. epistolarum familiarium liber primus ad Lentulum

Marcus T. Cicero Lentulo proconsuli salutem dicit<sup>60</sup>

**1.** Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satisfacio omnibus: mihi ipse numquam satisfacio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritum: ut cum tu nisi perfecta re de me non conquiesci: ego quia non idem in causa tua efficio: uitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In causa haec sunt. Hamonius regis legatus aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores per quos cum tu aderas agebatur. Regis causa si qui sunt qui uelint qui pauci sunt omnes rem ad Pompeium defere uolunt. Senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed maliuolentia et illius regiae largitionis inuidia comprobatur. **2.** Pompeium et hortari et orare et iam liberius accusare et mouere ut magnam infamiam fugiat non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris nec admonitionibus nostris reliquit locum. Nam cum in sermone cotidiano tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam: ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam neque grauitate neque studio nec contentione agere potuerit. Cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis. Is hac regis causa excepta caeteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus. Quod instituit referre de religione: et saepe iam retulit ab eo deduci non potest. **3.** Res ante idus acta sic est. Nam haec idibus mane scripsi. Hortensii et mea ex Luculi sententia cedit religioni de exercitu. Teneri res aliter non potest. Sed ex illo senatus consulto qui te referente factum est tibi decernit: ut regem deducas. Quod commode facere possis ut exercitum religio tollat: te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tres legatos decernit: Nec excludit Pompeium. Censet enim iam ex his qui cum imperio sint. Bibulus tres legatos ex his qui priuati sunt. Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares praeter seruilium qui omnino reduci negat oportere: et Volcatium qui Lupo referente Pompeio decernit. Et Affranium qui assentitur Volcatio. Quae res auget suspicionem Pompei uoluntatis. Nam

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<sup>59</sup> I have used the copy held at the University of Valencia (Spain), with bookshelf BH Inc. 198, and have regularized the use of capital letters, some common confusions, such as the use of c/t, and the evident omission of certain letters, and have added the paragraph numbers used in modern editions.

<sup>60</sup> These two lines have been added by hand. Other copies, such as the volumes in the Vatican Library (Inc. III 1) or in the National Library of France (RES-Z-1984), present differences in wording.

aduertebatur Pompei familiares assentire Volcatio. Laboratur uehementer. Inclinata res est. Libonis et Hispei non obscura concursatio et contentio omniumque Pompei familiarium studium in eam opinionem rem ut Pompeius adduxerunt cupere uideatur. Cui qui uolunt idem tibi: quod eum ornasti non sunt amici. **4.** Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus: quod tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram exstinguit hominum suspicio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. Vt in rebus multo antequam profectus es: ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac domesticis Pompei clam exulceratis. Deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam inuidiam adductis ita uersamur. Nostram fidem omnes amorem tui absentis praesentisque tui cognoscent. Si esset in his fides in quibus summa esse debebat non laboraremus.