

NICCOLÒ PEROTTI AND BESSARION'S *IN CALUMNIATOREM PLATONIS*



By John Monfasani

Perotti's role in revising Bessarion's Latin for the 1469 edition has long been established. It now seems probable that Giovanni Andrea Bussi helped with Bessarion's various Latin revisions prior to 1469 and perhaps with the Latin of the new Bk. 3 of the 1469 edition. Giovanni Gatti, OP, however, was responsible for the mass of scholastic citations in the new Bk. 3. Perotti's intervention resulted in the translations of classical Greek sources being noticeably different from Bessarion's original translations, especially in the case of Greek poetry. Perotti completed his revision in just a few months between April and August 1469.

I would like to revisit in this paper a topic I first discussed in three articles of the early 1980s.¹ I argued in those articles that Niccolò Perotti was responsible for the Latin of the 1469 edition of Cardinal Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis*. I could not produce an autograph manuscript which would have, in a sense, caught Perotti in the act of revising Bessarion's original Latin text, but I believed I had collected persuasive circumstantial evidence. Not only had I found in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence Perotti's own copy of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem* which he had corrected in his own hand as if he were the author,² but in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan I had also discovered Perotti's autograph of his Latin revision of a corpus of Bessarion opuscles already available in Bessarion's own version,³ achieved it would seem, in the same period that he, Perotti, revised the Latin of the *In Calumniatorem* as part of a large project to re-present Bessarion to the Latin West in a more polished Latin dress. I subsequently

¹ Monfasani 1981a; Monfasani 1981b; and Monfasani 1983. For bibliography on Perotti to 1992, see Charlet 1993.

² See Monfasani 1981a, 168; see also Monfasani 1983, 229–235, for a list of the corrections Perotti made in the volume. The volume in question has the shelf mark B. 2. 35.

³ See Monfasani 1981a, 168–169.

realized that Perotti had added in his own hand to Bessarion's deluxe manuscript copy of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem*, Zanetti Lat. 229 of the Biblioteca Marciana, almost all the corrections of the 1469 printed edition that he, Perotti, had made in his own copy of the printed edition and that he had also added in Zan. Lat. 229 two large marginal insertions missing from the printed edition.⁴ These two additions in Bessarion's deluxe manuscript, based on Latin classical sources, are to be distinguished from a third marginal addition of a strictly philosophical nature which is not something one would expect from Perotti and which is, in fact, written in Zanetti lat. 229 not in Perotti's hand, but in a scribal hand.⁵ Moreover, in a different manuscript, Bessarion himself wrote this particular marginal addition in his own hand, showing that Bessarion and Perotti continued to improve upon their common handiwork even after it had been printed.⁶ Finally, in a separate, earlier publication I had shown that the letter of Perotti that had previously been accepted as absolutely precluding his having any part in the Latin of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem* because in it he refuses Bessarion's invitation to help with the Latin is in fact to be dated three to four years earlier, to 1465–1466, and if anything it strengthens the case for his revising the *In Calumniatorem* in 1469.⁷

In 1987, four years after my second article, Jean-Louis Charlet brilliantly confirmed that Perotti was responsible for the Latin of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem*.⁸ Already in 1954 Revalo Oliver had pointed out that the translation of some of the Greek poems in the 1469 *In Calumniatorem* was identical to the translation of these same Greek poems in Perotti's *Epitome Fabellarum*.⁹ Charlet, however, realized that these poems must have had already been translated in the original Latin version of the *In Calumniatorem*, done by Bessarion. So he compared the two sets of translations and came to the conclusion that they could not have been done by the same person and that, moreover, the first was the product of someone whose grasp of Latin poetry was weak at best, i. e., Bessarion, while the later set, that in the 1469 *In Calumniatorem*, reflected the work of someone with a mastery of Latin poetry, but who aimed more at elegance than at an exact rendering of the Greek, i. e., someone who fitted the Identikit of Perotti, in whose *Epitome* the same translation of these poems in fact also appears.¹⁰

⁴ See Monfasani 1983, 218–219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 219–220, 229–235.

⁷ See Monfasani 1981b, 197–198.

⁸ Charlet 1987.

⁹ Oliver 1954, 17–18, n. 69; 23; 140.

¹⁰ See Charlet 1987, 59: "L'auteur de *LDP* [the original Latin text of the *In Calumniatorem Platonis*] est un homme cultivé [...] mais son latin n'est pas toujours très sûr et sa mé-

More recently I have been working on a critical edition of Bessarion's own Latin rendering of his defense of Plato,¹¹ and it is what I have learned from this editorial work that I would like to discuss here in respect to Perotti. Nothing I have learned changes the conclusion that Perotti is responsible for the Latin of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem*, but this new information does add color and nuance to his role.

To begin, I should lay out some basic facts. Bessarion first wrote his work in Greek. In translating it into Latin, he gave it the title *Liber Defensionum Contra Obiectiones in Platonem*, which I shall cite henceforth as the *Liber Defensionum*. Five manuscripts of the *Liber Defensionum* survive, four at the Biblioteca Marciana,¹² all of which once belonged to Bessarion and were never meant to circulate outside of his own household since they were working drafts, and a fifth, in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Hamilton 76, an elegant parchment copy, which Bessarion himself had given to the Venetian nobleman Pietro Foscari.¹³

The four Marciana manuscripts reflect progressively refined versions of the *Liber Defensionum*, with varying degrees of corrections, deletions, additions, and the various other changes one sees in a work going through different recensions. But one characteristic does seem a bit strange. In a manuscript of the earliest recension, Zan. Lat. 230, one frequently finds in the margins in a scribal hand the word *aliter* (alternatively) followed by an alternative word or phrase for what is in the main text.¹⁴ The next recension accepted this alternative wording into the main text and suppressed the original wording in every instance. Bessarion was not himself responsible for writing the alternative wording. He made autograph changes in Zan. Lat. 230, but never wrote any of the *aliter* marginalia. Someone whom Bessarion had consulted concerning his translation seems to have been responsible for these alternative words and phrases into the margins of the exemplar of Zan. Lat. 230 and the scribe of the latter copied them when creating Zan. Lat. 230. But who was this Latin consultant? He was not Perotti inasmuch as in 1465–1466, when Bessarion was writing the *Liber Defensionum*, Perotti had left Bessarion's household and was serving as papal governor of Viterbo,¹⁵

trique, souvent maladroite voire fautive. [...] Niccolò a rejeté au second plan la fidélité au grec. [...] nous avons relevé au moins une douzaine de cas où Perotti a sacrifié à l'élégance l'exactitude de la traduction du *LDP*."

¹¹ See Monfasani forthcoming(a).

¹² These are Marc. Lat. 226 (= 1636), Marc. Lat. 227 (= 2017), Marc. Lat. 230 (=1672), and Marc. Lat. VI, 60 (= 2591).

¹³ See Boese 1966, 39–40; and Monfasani forthcoming(a).

¹⁴ The scribal hand is not the same as the one which wrote the main text; there are in fact several correcting hands in the margins and text proper.

¹⁵ See Mercati 1925, 55–63.

and, moreover, in the letter to Bessarion redated to these years, he says he saw the *Liber Defensionum* for the first time when Bessarion sent it to him.¹⁶ But if Perotti had no part in the editorial process of these years, neither had Domizio Calderini. Calderini entered Bessarion's household later, probably in 1467.¹⁷ Bessarion's mysterious Latin consultant, I would suggest, was none other than Giovanni Andrea Bussi, against whose scholarship Perotti launched a savage attack in 1470, while Bessarion was still alive.¹⁸ The timing is about right. In 1464, the death of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa cost Bussi his patron at the papal court; and he would not find another patron until Cardinal Juan Carvajal brought him into his household for his legation to Venice in 1466.¹⁹ So Bussi would have been free to help Bessarion between 1464 and 1466, and one of the manuscripts of the *Liber Defensionum* proves that he did. MS Marcianus Latinus VI, 60 contains a recension later than that in Zan. Lat. 230. Its margins are covered with *notabilia* (noteworthy names) in Bussi's hand. A comparison between the *notabilia* in this manuscript and the marginalia in other manuscripts annotated by Bussi, such as MS Vat. lat. 5991, confirms the identification.²⁰ But we have to recall that Marc. Lat. VI, 60 was no ordinary manuscript. It was one of Bessarion's house manuscripts as he refined and reworked the *Liber Defensionum*. Bussi could have filled its margins with *notabilia* only if he was involved in the editorial process. Indeed, all these *notabilia* in a house manuscript only make sense if that manuscript was being prepared to serve as the exemplar for the publication of the *Liber Defensionum*. Bessarion eventually changed his mind and revised the text further, but Bussi's responsibility for the *notabilia* confirms his involvement with the preparation of the *Liber Defensionum*. We should also remember that Bussi was the first to announce the imminent publication of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem Platonis*.²¹ He did so in his preface to the edition of Apuleius that he published earlier that year with the Roman printers Sweynheym and Pannartz. Indeed, as the collaborator of Sweynheym and Pannartz, Bussi doubtless put Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem* through the press. When Perotti later revised the *Liber Defensionum* to create the *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, he pushed Bussi aside. The rivalry that exploded between the two men in 1470 may well have started in their work on Bessarion's Latin in the late 1460s.

¹⁶ Mohler 1923–1942, 594: “En tibi remitto divinum opus tuum [...] abs te editum ad me legendum misisti.”

¹⁷ Perosa 1973, 597.

¹⁸ See Charlet 2003; and Monfasani 1988.

¹⁹ See Miglio 1972, 567II; and Miglio 1978, XXV–XXVI.

²⁰ See Plates 1 and 2.

²¹ See Miglio 1978, 11, preface to the *Opera* of Apuleius, printed at Rome 28 February 1968; see also Monfasani 2006, 198–199.

If we turn next to yet another Marciana manuscript, Marc. Lat. VI, 61 (= 2592), even more questions arise concerning Perotti's relationship with Bussi and other members of Bessarion's household. On ff. 1r–70v, Lat. VI, 61 preserves the only extant draft of the new book of the *In Calumniatorem* added in 1469, namely, the new Bk. 3 that critiques George of Trebizond's discovery that Aristotle anticipated Christian revelation. With the insertion of the new Bk. 3, what had been Bk. 3 in the *Liber Defensionum* was re-numbered as Bk. 4 in the *In Calumniatorem*. The draft in Lat. VI, 61 is incomplete since a fascicle has dropped out. It contains deletions, additions, corrections, and marginalia, including some in Bessarion's hand. It also contains in the margins in the scribe's hand the same pattern of alternative wording, preceded by *aliter* that we saw in Zan. Lat. 230 for the *Liber Defensionum*. Most, but not all, of these alternative words and phrases were incorporated into the 1469 edition. Since Perotti would not have been so diffident about emending Bessarion's Latin, but would intervened directly in the main text and since the same lack of diffidence is probably true for Bessarion's new secretary, Domizio Calderini, Bussi once again appears as the most likely author of these alternative wordings.

But whose Latin was he improving? Lat. VI, 61 holds more than one surprise. It contains not only this Latin draft of the new Bk. 3, but on ff. 71r–152r, also a fragment of the source text of Bk. 3. No less significantly, the author of this fragment could not have been Bessarion, but rather must have been Bessarion's client, the Dominican theologian Giovanni Gatti.²² The distinctive characteristic of Bk. 3 of the *In Calumniatorem* is its avalanche of Latin scholastic citations and quotations, a characteristic missing from the *Liber Defensionum*.²³ Because of the fragment in Lat. VI, 61, we can now prove that Gatti supplied Bessarion with these citations. The author of the fragment wrote a distinctly scholastic Latin and was clearly much more familiar with the writings of the Dominicans Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great than he was with Franciscan and other authorities. The only person in Bessarion's household who corresponds to that description is Giovanni Gatti. In the comparison in Appendix I you can get a flavor of the style of the fragment and also see how Bessarion adapted the work to the more humanistic style of the *In Calumniatorem*. Hence, Gatti may have been the source of much of the material in Bk. 3, but he was not responsible for its Latin. Perotti would seem to be the next logical choice. But one of the strik-

²² See Monfasani 1997.

²³ Indeed, the *Liber Defensionum* quoted a medieval scholastic author only twice. Each time the author was Thomas Aquinas (Mohler 1923–1942, 2, 158.40–160.9 and 490.21–25), and the first of these quotations was an addition to a late revision of the *Liber Defensionum* (see Mohler's apparatus).

ing aspects of Perotti's autograph revisions in his copy of the printed edition and in Bessarion's manuscript copy of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem*, Zan. Lat. 229 of the Biblioteca Marciana, is the overwhelming number of revisions he made in Bk. 3 compared to the number he made in the other Books of the *In Calumniatorem*.²⁴ In other words, in Perotti's eyes the revision of the Latin of Bk. 3 had been inadequate, and he strove after the fact, i. e., after publication, to bring its Latin closer to humanist standards of Latinity. Perotti probably had some hand in the pre-publication revision of Bk. 3 — he was, after all, demonstrably the author of virtually all the other revised Latin texts of Bessarion that appeared in these years. But I suspect that in the rush to publication in 1468–1469 the Latin of this new Bk. 3 remained primarily Bessarion's own as he attempted to integrate Gatti's text into the *In Calumniatorem*. If this is true, then Perotti must have been critical of Bussi, though he could not say so publicly, for being such an inadequate humanist reviser not only of the three books of the *Liber Defensionum*, but also of the new Bk. 3 of the *In Calumniatorem*.

But this brings us to the question of the extent to which Perotti himself revised the *In Calumniatorem*. The answer to that question depends on the part or the aspect of the *In Calumniatorem* one is asking about. For instance, the new title itself, I believe, is Perotti's. The original title was really Greek masquerading as Latin and mimics similar titles in earlier polemical Greek works written by Bessarion. The general tenor of the Latin of the *In Calumniatorem*, however, remains decidedly faithful to Bessarion's original Latin. In Appendix II one will find as a sample the opening three paragraphs of Bk. 4, which was originally Bk. 3 of the *Liber Defensionum*. Perotti's Latin reads better and flows more elegantly, but he primarily worked by substituting words and phrases here and there without any wholesale changes. He did replace the unclassical *fusim* (diffusively) in line 23 with *sparsim* (dispersedly); on line 54 he dropped *locos* (places), which was nonsensical since it was George's arguments, i. e., his *rationes*, not his quotations, i. e., his *loci*, that were false; and he replaced Bessarion's *tanta - quanta* on lines 67–69 with the more correct sequence *tanta - ut*. But the single most important aspect of the Latin of the *In Calumniatorem* is that it is a paraphrase amounting to a literary recasting of Bessarion's own Latin translation and not a translation of the Greek in which Bessarion originally wrote the work.

The second most important fact is that Bessarion himself, and not Perotti, was responsible for making the Latin a paraphrase. To take just the first few lines of the Greek text, if it had been translated accurately, it would run something to the effect: "What is left for us is not even a struggle against the

²⁴ See Monfasani 1983, 231–233.

slanders of this insolent man against the extraordinarily chaste life of Plato. For it will be hardly any trouble at all clearly to dissolve his farrago of arguments and to show that when they are exposed to the light, they are nothing but sheer calumnies” instead of the considerably different opening we read in Bessarion’s Latin text.²⁵ The large omissions one encounters in Ludwig Mohler’s edition of the *In Calumniatorem* was Bessarion’s decision, not Perotti’s.

Interestingly enough, in making his translation, Bessarion did not even respect his earlier translation of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.²⁶ In the eleven instances in which he quoted Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, Bessarion gave a Latin rendering different from the one he had published in the 1450s.²⁷ Perotti revised these translations of Aristotle a bit, as he did all of Bessarion’s translations in the *In Calumniatorem*, including the very substantial passages that Bessarion inserted from Plato. But only for one class of texts did Perotti decisively alter Bessarion’s text, namely, wherever Bessarion translated poetry. As I pointed out at the beginning, Jean-Louis Charlet has shown how decisively Perotti altered seven poetic fragments that eventually found their way into Perotti’s *Epitome Fabellarum*. I can point out nine other instances where Perotti substantially altered Bessarion’s rendering.²⁸ In the realm of Latin poetry Perotti felt he was the master and could put aside whatever Bessarion wrote.

If anything, the final revision came closer to the Greek text than did Bessarion’s original translation. For instance, in the first chapter of Bk. 1, at the mention of Simplicius and Boethius, Bessarion’s Latin translation added the glosses “Graecus amplissimus auctor” (a most copious Greek author) and “Latinus nobilis auctor” (a most noble Latin author). The final Latin revision eliminated both glosses. Similarly, in Bk. 2, where Bessarion added in his Latin translation a three line gloss explaining the meaning of the Greek word *chora* (occupied space), the final revised Latin version completely dropped this gloss.²⁹

The final Latin version not only is more elegant; it also often clarifies what is obscure in Bessarion’s first translation. A good example is a passage from Bk. 2, cap. 6, par. 16, where Bessarion explains that according to Plato

²⁵ Compare the texts in Appendix II to Mohler 1923–1942, 3, 422.8–11: Λοιπὸς δὲ δὴ ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ὑβριστοῦ κατὰ τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου βίου τοῦ Πλάτωνος βλασφημίας οὐκ ἔτι μὲν ἀγών. ἔστι γὰρ οὐδεμία δυσχέρεια τὸν ἐκείνου τῶν λόγων συρφετὸν ἀποκλύσαι σαφῶς τε τὸ μηδὲν ἢ συκοφαντίας ἀνακεκαλυμμένας εἶναι δεῖξαι.

²⁶ On the date of this translation by Bessarion, see chapter 1 of Monfasani forthcoming(b).

²⁷ See Appendix III below, sections 1.1–4, 2.1–7.

²⁸ See Appendix III below, sections 5.1, 6.1–7, and 7.2.

²⁹ See Monfasani forthcoming(a), note 55.

and Aristotle matter is not an absolute first principle as is God, but a contributing factor in the constitution of things. You can read the Greek and the two Latin versions in Appendix III. As is obvious — and as is common throughout the *In Calumniatorem Platonis* —, neither Latin version is a very close translation of the Greek. It is also obvious that the revised Latin version is dependent on the first Latin version. But from its very first words, “non tamen simpliciter” (not, however, absolutely) rather than “tamen non simpliciter” (however, not absolutely), it is clear that the second version reflects a better feel for Latin. Perotti’s version eliminates the gloss “scholarum terminus est” (a term of the schools) of Bessarion’s version; and by rendering “ἀλλὰ συναιτίαν εἶναι” as “dumtaxat esse concausam” (it is just a co-cause), it is not only closer to the Greek, but also clearer and less wordy than the first version (“hanc comitem causae aut consortem aut quod (scholarum terminus est) concausam nominamus” (This we call a companion or a consort or a co-cause, which is a term of the schools)). Finally, the revised version’s “nec tam causam esse quam illae sunt” (nor is it a cause as those are) for the Greek “μηδὲ κυρίως αἰτίαν ὡς ἐκεῖνα” is clearer than Bessarion’s “neque tam causa quam illa” (nor cause as those). I should also mention that although Perotti’s revised Latin version usually retained the vocabulary of the first Latin version for technical terms, he did change them where they offended overly much, for instance, changing *substantiositas* to *substantialitas* (substantiality) as a translation of *οὐσιότης* further on in chapter 6 of Bk. 2.³⁰

In one instance, however, as I have shown elsewhere,³¹ Perotti’s blanket acceptance of Bessarion’s technical terms — save for when they offended his sense of Latinity — allowed Bessarion to fall into a ridiculous error. At the start of the *In Calumniatorem*, Bessarion distinguished between ideas as self-standing things and ideas as mere mental constructs. The Greek here is very clear: “εἶδη καθ’ αὐτὰ ὑφ’ ἑστώτα” (self-standing ideas) as opposed to ideas “ἐν ψυλαῖς κείμενα ἐπινοίαις” (residing only in mere notions). He was modeling his Greek on the wording of Porphyry’s *Isagoge*. The problem was that he translated “mere notions” (ψυλαὶ ἐπινοίαι) into Latin not literally, as he should have done, but, trying to be too clever by half, as “formae secundae animi conceptae” (second conceived forms of the soul). Perotti followed him in this. Bessarion had confused ideas as mere mental constructs, which could be true of any idea, with what Latin scholastics meant by “second intentions” (“secundae intentiones”), which were second-order ideas such as genus, species, noun, verb, and so forth as distinct from our

³⁰ See Mohler 1923–1942, 2, 127.39; and Monfasani forthcoming(a), where I make the same point about these passages.

³¹ Monfasani 2000.

first order ideas, such as man, house, virtue, and so forth. Significantly, when his fellow Greek émigré John Argyropoulos pointed out his error, Bessarion had Theodore Gaza rather than Perotti respond, confirming that Perotti's job was to give Bessarion's Latin a humanist veneer and nothing more.

If that was Perotti's job, he did it well. In the Renaissance everyone read Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem* as filtered through Perotti's Latin. Since by the time of the third edition of Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem* in 1516,³² Marsilio Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* had been printed only once³³ and his translation of the Platonic corpus only twice,³⁴ we need to conclude that into the 1510s Bessarion's work remained statistically the most popular contemporary statement of Platonism in the Renaissance. This achievement would not have been possible without Perotti's labors. Given what I believe was Bessarion's experience with Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Perotti did nothing less than rescue Bessarion. He understood how to give Bessarion's text a certain humanist elegance while preserving not only Bessarion's meaning, but also most of his words. Of the six parts of the 1469 *In Calumniatorem*, i. e., the four books of the *In Calumniatorem* proper, the critique of George of Trebizond's translation of Plato's *Laws*, and the treatise *De Natura et Arte*, Perotti seem to have little to do with the critique of Trebizond's translation, where Theodore Gaza probably served as Bessarion's main helper, and only a murky connection with the heavily scholastic Bk. 3, where Perotti's clearest demonstrable connection was his attempt to improve its Latinity after it was published. But for the other four parts, and perhaps even for Bk. 3, Perotti had worked an amazing transformation on the *In Calumniatorem* from the time he left Viterbo for Rome on 17 April 1469³⁵ and the appearance of the work in print four months later, in late August 1469. Perotti was not Pygmalion, and Bessarion was hardly Eliza Doolittle, but George Bernard Shaw certainly would have appreciated how in less than four months' time by teaching Bessarion's stodgy book to speak a more refined Latin, Perotti made it a triumph at the ball of Renaissance public opinion.

³² The Aldine Press in Venice reprinted the *In Calumniatorem Platonis* in 1503 and 1516; on the exceptional quality of these editions, see Monfasani 2003, 220–223.

³³ See Kristeller 1937, 1, LX, nos. e1 and e 2. After the *princeps* of 1482, the next edition did not appear until 1524.

³⁴ See *ibid.*, 1, LX–LXI, nos. f 1–f 3. After the *princeps* of 1484, the next two editions came out in 1491 and 1517.

³⁵ See Mercati 1925, 55–56.

Appendix 1. Comparison between Anonymous and Bessarion in *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, Liber III, cap. 20, par. 5

<p>Anonymous, in Marc. Lat VI, 61 (= 2592), f. 71r:</p>	<p>Bessarion, <i>In Calumniatorem Platonis</i>, Mohler 1923–1942, 2, 327.2–9:</p>
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Nam in primo Phys. volens probare materiam primam esse ingentam probat [Aristoteles] per hoc, quod si generaretur, praesupponeret aliquod aliud subiectum et ita non esset primum subiectum. Et in VIII Phys. inquit quod omne quod fit possibile est ipsum fieri; alioquin impossibile fuisset ipsum fieri, et quod est possibile, esse est ex materia, quae est in potentia ad formam. Et in V Met. diffiniens potentiam activam dicit quod potentia activa est principium transmutandi aliud in quantum aliud. Quodque repetit in VIII Met.

Iam vero is [Aristoteles] primo Physicorum libro, cum materiam primam ingentam esse probare velit, accipit rationem, quod, si generaretur, praesupponeret sibi aliquod aliud subiectum. Et in octavo eiusdem operis: “Omne quod fit,” inquit, “possibile est fieri. Aliquin impossibile esset id fieri. Et quod esse possibile est, id ex materia est, quae est in potentia ad formam.” In quinto etiam Metaphysicorum; “Potentia activa est,” inquit, “principium mutandi alterum qua alterum est.” Quod in octavo eiusdem operis repetit.

Appendix 2. Comparison between Bk. 3, c. 1, par. 1–3 of the *Defensionum Librum* and Bk. 4, c. 1, par. 1–3 of the *In Calumniatorem Platonis*

<p>Liber Defensionum Liber III</p> <p>Capitulum Primum Platonem ab omni libidinosa voluptate et ipsum semper abstinuisse et aliis abstenendum suasisse testimonioque sanctorum Hieronymi et Augustini castissimum esse iudicatum utque omnium Latinorum sit denique laude cumulatus adversus temerariam calumniam adversarii</p>	<p>In Calumniatorem Platonis Liber IV</p> <p>Cap. I. Platonem ab omni voluptate mundum fuisse</p>
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1 Sequitur ut de contumeliis, convitiis, et maledictis quibus Platonem adversarius insectatur agamus. Nec enim hoc loco deserendus est vir ille virtute praeditus singulari ut praeter omnem veritatem ab hoc homine laceretur, quanquam hunc locum, qui vel facilem laudem praebeat Platonis, facit difficilem tractatu summa importunitas maledici hominis. Quem enim virum modestum non pudeat nominare ea scelera quae adversarius tam turpiter de moribus Platonis fingens vituperat? Auget vero difficultatem loquacitas hominis, quae vix comprehendi potest nisi longiore quadam responsione. Conabor tamen sic agere ut neque defensio necessaria praetermittatur et quae fusim ab adversario dicuntur attingam, quoad fieri potest, cum honestius tum etiam brevius. Verum si forte ita evenerit ut per adversarii inauditam loquacitatem abripiar longius parumper quam velim, officium certe sit hominis et iusti et humani ut mihi ignoscat et Platoni hoc facile det ne taedeat latius pro tanto viro contra summas iniurias audire. Res enim honestissimas non solum latius explicandas, sed etiam saepius repetendas esse, Platonis quem defendimus sententia est. Quid autem honestius agi potest quam ipsa veritatis defensio, quam nos perlibenter pro Platone suscepimus ne iniqui ingratiue videremus in homine

1 Superest, ut de contumeliis, iurgiis ac maledictis, quibus Platonem adversarius insectatur, agamus. Neque enim hoc loco deserendus est vir singulari ac paene divina virtute praeditus, nec permittendum, ut praeter ius fasque ab homine iniquissimo laceretur. Quanquam hunc locum ex quo alioquin laudes Platonis facile diluscerent, difficilem tractu facit temeritas maledici hominis — Quis enim dumtaxat vir modestus et gravis possit sine pudore ea scelera nominare, quae adversarius tam foede ac turpiter de moribus Platonis fingens adducit? Auget vero difficultatem loquacitas hominis prope immensa, quae vix comprehendi nisi oratione longissima potest —, verumtamen conabor ita agere, ut nec defensio necessaria praetermissa esse videatur et, quae ab adversario sparsim ac tumultuarie dicta sunt, quanto honestius et brevius poterō, attingam. Quodsi forte contigerit ob nimiam adversarii loquacitatem trahi me aliquando longius, quam vellem, erit certe iusti et humani viri officium mihi ignoscere et dare hoc Platoni, ne molestum sit pro tanto viro adversus summam iniuriam nobis aures praebere, quippe res honestas non modo explicandas latius, sed etiam saepenumero repetendas Platonis, quem defendimus, sententia est. quae autem res esse aut dici honestior potes quam defensio veritatis? Hanc nos pro Pla-

qui tam magnifice de hominum genere benemeritus est?

2 Sed quoniam adversarius voluptatem in primis Platoni obiicit et eam voluptatis partem quae in rebus venereis consumitur, studetque summopere Platonem incontinentem et obscenis voluptatibus deditum fuisse ostendere, hunc nos etiam locum primum disponimus. Et in quo libentius vituperator ipse versatur, eodem in primis occurrendum statuimus. Cum itaque sic adversario placeat ut ex iis quae de moribus a Platone et Aristotele scribuntur iudicetur uter vita et moribus honestior fuerit Platonisque vitia ex eius sermone explicaturum polliceatur, et ita agere conetur, primum libri ipsi Platonis in medium proferendi sunt et quid de virtute, moribus bonis, et vita honesta praecipit, hortatur, consulit, monet perspicendum in his est. Mox testimonium petendum ex iis qui nos praecesserint doctissimis viris; tum ad adversarii locos et rationes plane falsas ac temerarias veniendum est ut quisque videre apertissime possit istum partim fingere, partim pervertere.

3 Platonis itaque vitam fuisse continentissimam atque a quibusvis voluptatibus semper abhoruisse licet in omni eius

tone facile libenterque suscepimus, ne in hominem tam magnifice de hominum genere bene meritum parum grati esse videremur.

2 At quoniam adversarius voluptatem imprimis Platoni obiicit et eam maxime voluptatis partem, quae in rebus venereis consistit, studetque imprimis Platonem ostendere incontinentem et obscenis deditum voluptatibus fuisse, nos quoque hunc locum primum aggrediamur et, in quo libentius ille versatur, ei primum occurramus. Postquam igitur ita adversario placet, ut ex iis quae de moribus a Platone atque Aristotele scripta sunt, utrius vita honestior fuerit, iudicetur, Platonisque vitia explicaturum se ex illius operibus ostendit et ita, quantum in se est, molitur, primum libri ipsi Platonis a nobis in medium proferendi sunt, ex iisque quid ille de virtute, moribus, honestate praecipiat, moneat, consulta, perspicendum. Mox vero ab iis, qui ante nos fuerunt, doctissimis viris testimonium petendum est. Tum ad rationes adversarii plane falsas ac temeritatis et impudentiae plenas veniendum ut videre omnes manifestissime possint hunc, quae scribit, partim fingere, partim animi malignitate pervertere.

3 Platonis itaque vitam continentissimam fuisse, abhoruisseque eum semper ab omnibus corporis voluptatibus licet in omnibus eius

sermone perspicere. Omnibus enim locis virtutem mirifice laudat et commendat, vitia reprehendit et ipsam qua de agimus incontinentiam et voluptatem ita acriter insectatur ut non modo officio viri philosophi sed censoris etiam cuiusdam fungi videatur. Sunt profecto qui satis quid virtus esset et quae eius officia scripserint. Sed nemo tanta facundia, tanto studio, tanta erga genus humanum benivolentia et caritate consulit, invitat, hortatur ad virtutem quanta Plato. Quod non verbis nos fingimus, ut adversarius scelera, sed facile perspicere potest in eius libris varie, apte, accommodateque tractari quam vetustos poetas aut legum auctores reprehendat, qui voluptatibus inhonestis locum aliquem dederint cum vel summum hominis bonum voluptate determinarent vel virorum illustrium aut deorum etiam voluptates narrarent vel alioquo modo probare viderentur quod ad voluptatem turpem referretur. Expellit porro id genus hominum de eo reipublicae statu quem ipse constituendum censet, et iuvenes continuo ex pueritia vetat ne libros legant qui tenerae adhuc aetati mores pariant malos, quos reliqua tota vita sibi haerentes possideat auctoritate aut deorum aut magnorum hominum, quos ita egisse narretur. Nam si vel stuprum vel tale aliquod facinus a diis factum adolescens sero audit, parum ipse, qui homo est, se abstinere studebit, ne quid tale commu-

sermonibus animadvertere. Ubique enim virtutem mirifice laudat. Contra vero vitia reprehendi et ipsam imprimis, de qua agimus, voluptatem ita insectatur, ut non tam philosophi, quam severissimi cuiusdam censoris officio fungi videatur. Multi profecto, quid virtus esset et quae sint eius officia, scripsere, sed nemo tanto studio, tanta facundia, tanta erga genus humanum benevolentia et caritate ita invitat, hortatur consulit, excitat ad virtutem ut Plato facit. Quod non verbis quidem nos fingimus, ut adversarius scelera, sed facile discerni potest, quoniam haec in eius libris varie, apte graviter, accommodate tractentur, cum vetustos poetas seu legum auctores reprehendat, qui inhonestis voluptatibus locum aliquem reliquerint, quando vel summum hominis bonum voluptate definirint vel illustrium virorum aut etiam deorum voluptates narrarent vel quovis alio modo ea visi sint probare, quae ad turpem voluptatem referri possunt. Hinc cum ratione qualis esse debeat reipublicae status, firmaret, poetas censuit urbe depellendos esse nec iuventuti permittendum, ut eorum libros lectitarent ne tenerae adhuc mentes deorum sive heroum auctoritate permotae his moribus corrumpere, quos abolere postea validior aetas non posset. Nam si vel stuprum vel aliquod huiusmodi scelus a diis patratum serio adolescentes audierint, parum abs-

tat quando referre id habet ad tan- tinere poterunt cum homines sint,
tos auctores. ne simile aliquid committant,
quando id referre possint ad ex-
cellentes auctores.

Appendix 3. Comparison of *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, Liber II, cap. 6, par. 16

Mohler 1923–1942, 2, 124.38–42

ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ στοιχειώδη αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸ ἔνυλον εἶδος τίθετον, ἐξ ὧν τὸ σύνθετον γίνεσθαι. τὴν δὲ στοιχειώδη ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀντίξουν πρὸς τὸ ποιητικὸν τε καὶ τελικὸν αἴτιον, μηδὲ κυρίως αἰτίαν ὡς ἐλεῖνα, ἀλλὰ συναιτίαν εἶναι μόνον ἄλλου δεομένην αἰτίαν.

Versio Latina Prima (Liber Defensionum)

tamen non simpliciter, sed elementale principium, tum materiam ipsam, tum etiam formam materialem, e quibus res composita constet, ponimus. Nec principium hoc elementale adversum cause agentis aut finali est. Neque tam causa quam illa, sed illam potiore, hanc comitem causae aut consortem aut quod (scholarum terminus est) concausam nominamus.

Versio Latina Ultima (In Calumniatorem Platonis)

non tamen simpliciter, sed elementale principium; tum materiam ipsam, tum etiam formam materialem ponimus, ex quibus res compositae constant. Nec principium hoc elementale adversum esse causae agentis aut finali, nec tam causam esse quam illae sunt, sed dumtaxat esse concausam.

Appendix 4. Translations (not allusions, references, or paraphrases) in the *Liber Defensionum* and the *In Calumniatorem Platonis*³⁶

1. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, in *ICP*, Bks. 1, 2, 4

1) 1.986b27 (Παρμενίδης δὲ μᾶλλον βλέπων ἔοικέ που λέγειν) in *ICP* 2.12.2 (Greek 204.9: Παρμενίδης δὲ, φήσιν, ἔοικέ που βλέπειν):

Bess. 3, 484I = Parmenides vero magis vidisse quae dixit videtur

LD = Parmenides itaque alio cernere videtur

ICP 211.3–4 = Parmenides itaque alio videtur spectare

³⁶ Abbreviations

Bess. = Bessarion's translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in *Aristotelis Opera*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, vol. 3, Berlin, 1831, pp. 481–536 (in two columns, designated here I of II).

ICP = *In Calumniatorem Platonis*

LD = *Liber Defensionum*

2) 2.993b11–19 in *ICP* 2.3.1

Bess., *ib.*, 487I = Verum non solum illis agenda sunt gratiae quorum opinionibus quis acquiescet, sed illis qui superficie tenus dixerunt. Conferunt enim aliquid etiam isti: habitum namque nostrum exercuerunt. Si enim Timotheus non fuisse, multum melodiae nequaquam habuissemus: si tamen Phrynis non exstisset, ne Timotheus quidem. Simili modo et de illis est qui de veritate asseruerunt. A quibusdam enim aliquas accepimus opiniones; quidam vero, ut hi fierent, causa fuerunt.

LD = Non modo iis habenda gratia est qui nobis diligentius opiniones tradiderint, verum etiam iis qui levius asserverint. Nam hi quoque aliquid ad nostram utilitatem contulerunt. Nostrum etenim habitum ante exercitatione reddiderunt aptiorem. Nam si Timotheus non fuisset, non tantum copiae modulorum haberemus; sin Phrynis non ante fuisset, Timotheus non claruisset. Hoc eodem modo de iis qui de veritate disseruerunt censendum est. Etenim accepimus quidem a nonnullis opiniones aliquas. Sed sunt qui auctores fuerunt ut hi praestantiores evaderent

ICP 85.13–20 = Non modo his agere gratias aequum est, qui nobis praecepta disciplinarum diligentissime tradiderunt, verum his etiam, qui de illis leviter ieiuneque disseruere. Nam hi quoque aliquid nobis utilitatis attulerunt, dum habitum nostrum exercitatione reddiderunt aptiorem. Enimvero si Timotheus non fuisset non tantum modulorum haberemus; quodsi Phrynis non fuisset, ne Timotheus quidem claruisset. Eodem modo de iis existimandum est, qui veritatem indagare voluerunt. Accepimus enim ab aliquibus opiniones aliquas. Sed hi ut tales essent, illi causa fuerunt.

3) 12.1073a33–34 in *ICP* 2.5.12

Bess., *ib.*, 526I = Necessè est harum quoque lationum unamquamque a per se immobili et aeterna substantia moveri

LD = Unamquamque enim delationem, inquit, moveri ab immobili et per se sempiternaque substantia necesse est

ICP 109.10–11 = Unamquamque enim delationem, inquit, necesse est ab immovibili et per se sempiterna substantia moveri

4) 12.1076a4 in *ICP* 2.4.4 and 3.8.1

Bess., *ib.*, 527II = Non est bonus multorum principatus: unus esto princeps

LD = Rex unus princeps unus

ICP 93.2 = Rex unus, princeps unus
ICP 245.6 = Rex sit duxque unus numero, haud iuvat esse tyrannos

2. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, in *ICP*, Bk. 3

1) 5.1020a5 in *ICP* 3.20.5

Bess., *ib.*, 499II = Quare propria primae potentiae definitio profecto erit principium transmutativum in altero, prout alterum est.

ICP 327.8–9 = Potentia activa est, inquit, principium mutandi alterum, qua alterum est.

2) 5.1021b24 in *ICP* 3.10.5

Bess., *ib.*, 500II = Item quibus finis studiosus est, ea perfecta dicuntur: etenim secundum quod habent finem, perfecta dicuntur

ICP 253.20.21 = Eo, inquit, perfecta sunt qua habent finem

3) 7.1035b27–31 in *ICP* 3.23.1

Bess., *ib.*, 507I = Homo vero et equus et quae intra se habent, in singularibus sunt. Universale vero substantia non est, sed totum quiddam ex hac ratione et hac materia tanquam universali: singulare vero ex ultima materia iam Socrates est; et de ceteris similiter.

ICP 393.36–395.2 = Homo, inquit, et equus et reliqua huiusmodi particularia sunt. Universalis vero non est substantia, sed concretum quid ex hac ratione et hac materia ut universali, particulare autem ex particulari materia. Socrates iam est. Idemque de reliquis sentio.

4) 7.1037a5–10 in *ICP* 3.23.1

Bess., *ib.*, 507II = Manifestum autem est quod anima quidem substantia prima, corpus vero materia, homo vero vel animal, quod ex ambobus ut universale. Socrates vero et Coriscus, si anima quidem, duplex. Hi enim ut animam dicent, illi autem ut ipsum totum. Quodsi simpliciter anima haec, et hoc corpus, quemadmodum universale, etiam et singulare.

ICP 395.2–6 = Mox constat etiam animam esse substantiam primam corpus autem materiam, hominem vero aut animal, quod ex utroque sit ut universale. Socratem autem aut Coriscum, si anima sit duplex esse. Alii enim pro anima, alii pro concreto accipiunt. Sed si simpliciter anima haec et corpus hoc sit, quem ad modum universale sic esse et particulare.

5) 8.1043b7–13 in *ICP* 3.18.2

Bess., *ib.*, 511I = Compositio enim et mistio non ex iis quorum est compositio aut mistio. Similiter nec aliorum ullum utputa limen positione, non es limine positio, sed magis istud ex illa, nec homo est ipsum animal et bipes: sed aliquid esse oportet quod praeter haec est, si haec materia sunt. Sed nec elementum nec ex elementis, sed substantia quod materiam auferentes dicunt.

ICP 305.36–307.1 = Non est, inquit compositio et mistio ex iis, quorum composition aut mistio est [...] Sed aliquid esse oportet quod praeter haec sit, non utique elementum neque ex elementis, sed substantia, quod exclusiva materia dicitur.

6) 9.1046a10 in *ICP* 3.20.5 (cf. no. 1 for 5.1020a5 supra)

Bess., *ib.*, 512I = omnes aliqua principia sunt et ad unam primam dicuntur, quae est principium transmutationis in alio, prout aliud est

ICP 327.8–9 = Potentia activa est, inquit, principium mutandi alterum, qua alterum est.

7) 12.1070b33–34 in *ICP* 3.10.6

Bess., *ib.*, 525I = Sanitas namque quodam modo est ars medendi, et aedificativa species domus; et homo hominem generat: praeter haec item cuncta movens, tanquam omnium primum.

ICP 255.32–34 = Quippe cum medicina sanitas quodam modo sit, et aedificativa forma sit aedium, et homo hominum generet.

3. Other works of Aristotle in *ICP*, Bks. 1, 2, and 3

1) *Anal. Pr.* 1.43b9–11 = *ICP* 1.5.6

LD = Et quo eiusmodi pluribus abundamus initiis, eo facilius conclusionem afferre possumus et quo verioribus, eo certius demonstramus.

ICP 65.23–25 = Et quo pluribus eiusmodi initiis abundamus, eo facilius conclusionem deducere possumus, et quo verioribus, eo certius demonstramus.

2) *Anal. Pr.* 1.46a1- in *ICP* 1.5.6

LD = Ex consequentibus enim et iis quae quodvis consequatur propositiones et medium sumantur necesse est. Itaque syllogismus, ut dictum iam est, confici aliter aut perfici non potest.

ICP 65.25–27 = Ex consequentibus enim propositiones mediaeque sumantur necesse est, nec syllogismus, sicut iam supra dictum est, perfici aliter potest.

3) *Phys.* 1.184b15–17 in *ICP* 2.12.1

LD = Necessesse est, inquit, aut unum esse aut plura; et si unum, aut immobile, ut Parmenides ait et Melissus, aut mobile, ut physicis placet.

ICP 209.7–9/27–30 = Necessesse est, inquit, aut unum esse aut plura, et si unum, aut immobile, ut Parmenides Melissusque dixere, aut mobile, ut physicis placet.

4) *Phys.* 1.187a34 in *ICP* 2.7.1

LD = Convenit enim, inquit, inter omnis hac de re qui de natura disseruerint.

ICP 131.14–15 = Convenit, inquit, hac de re inter omnes, qui de natura disseruerunt.

5) *Phys.* 1.191b13–16 in *ICP* 2.7.1

LD = Nos autem et ipsi generari quidem simpliciter nihil ex non ente fatemur. Attamen generari ex non ente velut per accidens. Nam ex privatione, quae per se est non ens, minime inexistente generatur.

ICP 131.16–19 = Nos autem et ipsi generari nihil simpliciter ex non ente dicimus, verum tamen generari ex non ente tamquam per accidens. Nam ex privatione, quae per se est non ens, minime in existente generatur.

6) *Phys.* 1.191b27–30 in *ICP* 2.7.1

LD = Unus hic modus est; alter autem quod dici haec possunt per potentiam et actum. Ita quod diximus, dubia illa solvuntur quibus nonnulla, ex iis quae dicta a nobis sunt, tollebantur.

ICP 131.19–21 = Unus quidem hic modus est; alter autem, quia dici haec possunt per potentiam et actum [...] Itaque sicut diximus dubitationes illae solvuntur, ex quibus infringi aliqua, quae a nobis dicta fuerant videbantur.

7) *Phys.* 1.192a (paraphrase) in *ICP* 2.7.1

LD = Contrariis subiectum oportet quod quodammodo ens, quodammodo non ens sit. Ex quo imprime inexistente et per se generantur quaecunque generantur.

ICP 131.24–26 = Et aliquid, inquit, contrariis esse subiectum oportet, quod aliquo modo ens, aliquo modo non ens sit. Ex quo primo in existente generantur, quaecunque generantur.

8) *Phys.* 6. 238a31 in *ICP* 2.10.12

LD = An generationes etiam sint violentae nec fatales, quibus contrariae naturales sunt?

ICP 197.11–13 = An generationes etiam sint violentae nec fatales, quibus contrariare naturales sunt?

9) *Phys.* 5.231a in *ICP* 1.5.3

LD = Nobis, inquit, iaceat res omnes naturales aut aliquas moveri.

ICP 59.34–35 = Illud, inquit, nobis propositum sit res omnes naturales aut aliquas moveri.

10) *De Caelo* 1.268a7–10 in *ICP* 2.5.2

LD = Magnitudinis, quod in unum distenditur, linea est, inquit; quod in duo, planum; quod in tria, corpus. Et praeter haec nulla est magnitudo, quoniam tria cuncta sunt et ter quaque parte

ICP 95.1–3 = Magnitudinis, inquit, quod in unum distenditur, linea est; quod in duo, superficies; quod in tria, corpus. Prater haec nulla alia est magnitudo, quoniam tria cuncta sunt et ter quaque parte.

11) *De Caelo* 1.268a9–10 in *ICP* 2.5.2

LD = Tria enim cuncta et ter quaque parte esse, inquit, ut Pythagoreis placet. Hoc est, universum et cuncta ternatio terminantur. Finis enim, medium, et principium numerum habet universi.

ICP 95.12–14 = Nam tria, inquit, cuncta esse et ter quaque parte, ut Pythagoreis placet, hoc est universum et cuncta ternario terminari. Finis enim, medium et principium numerum habet universi.

12) *De Caelo* 1.268a9–13 in *ICP* 2.5.1

LD = Tria cuncta esse et ter quaque parte secundum Pythagorerorum sententiam, qui universum et cuncta ternario terminari volunt. Principium namque, medium, et finis numerum universi optinent. Haec autem ternarium habent.

ICP 93.15–18 = Tria cuncta esse et ter quaque parte secundum Pythagoreorum sententiam, qui universum et cuncta ternario numero terminari volunt. Principium namque medium et finis numerum universi obtinent. haec autem ternarium faciunt.

13) *De Caelo* 1.268a14, 2.284b3–5, 1.284b3–5 in *ICP* 2.5.12

LD = Et ad sacra deorum hoc numero utimur. Item, secundo eiusdem operis libro: Caelum et locum supremum veteres diis attribuerunt. Ac rursus: Coniecturae qua deos esse suspicamur ita dumtaxat reddere rationes consentaneas possumus.

ICP 107.34–37 = Ita, inquit, et in sacris deorum hoc numero utimur. Item secundo eius libri volume: Caelum et locum supremum veteres diis tribuerunt. Et rursus: Coniecturae, qua deos esse suspicamur, ita dumtaxat reddere rationes consentaneas possumus.

14) *De Caelo* 1.269a4–17 in *ICP* 1.5.3

LD = Motum simplicem corporis simplicis esse; corpus simplex motum simplicem aliquem secundum naturam habere; duos esse simplices motus; unum uni esse contrarium. Quod contrario caret, id non habere a quo corrumpatur.

ICP 59.36–39 = Motum simplicem corporis simplicis esse. Corpus simplex motum aliquem simplicem secundum naturam habere. Duos esse simplices motus, unum uni esse contrarium. Quod contrario caret, id nihil a quo corrumpatur, habere.

15) *De Caelo* 2.85a29, 2.286.11, 2.289a14 in *ICP* 2.5.12

LD = Caelum enim, inquit, animatum est et motus principium optinet. Et : Caelum corpus divinum est. Atque stellarum unaquaeque ex eodem corpore est in quo circumfertur.

ICP 107.39–41 = Caelum etenim, inquit, animatum est et motus principium obtinet et corpus divinum est atque unumquodque sidus ex eodem corpore est in quo circumferatur.

16) *De Caelo* 2.291b25–28, 2.292a14–18 in *ICP* 1.11.9

LD = Veneratione potius dignum, inquit, quam temeritatis culpa hunc animum arbitrari oportet, si quis philosophandi scientiam sitiens exiguas etiam facultates libenter haurit in his rebus quaerendis quarum summas habeat dubitationes. Itemque exquirendum amplius de his est, quanquam parum rei confessae habemus unde exordiamur tamque longinqui sumus ab eventis quae ipsis accidunt.

ICP 207.17–27 = Veneratione, inquit, potius dignum quam reum temeritatis hunc animum arbitrari oportet, si quis philosophandi disciplina sitiens exiguas etiam facultates libenter haurit in iis rebus investigandis, quarum dubitatione maxime teneatur. Itemque

exuirendum amplius de his est, quamquam parum certi habemus, unde exordiamur, tamquam remoti sumus ab eventis, quae ipsis accidunt.

17) *Meteor.* 1.352a28–31 in *ICP* 2.10.12

LD = Horum omnium causa ponenda est quod per tempora fatalia fiunt, ut in temporibus anni hyems, sic circuitus longi cuiusdam pars hiems fit.

ICP 197.4–6 = Horum, inquit omnium causa ponenda est, quod per tempora fatalia fiunt, ut in temporibus anni hiems, sic circuitus cuiusdam longi pars hiems fit.

18) *Probl.* 30.953.a10–12 in *ICP* 1.3.3

LD = Cur omnes qui vel philosophia vel carmine vel artibus vel in administranda republica claruerunt, melancholici fuisse videntur.

ICP 27.29–31 = Cur ii, qui in philosophia vel poetica vel liberalibus disciplinis vel etiam rei publicae administratione claruerunt, melancholici fuerint.

19) *Pol.* 1.1256b26–32 in *ICP* 4.14.7

LD = Genus possidendi unum naturale est rei familiaris pars quod aut praeesse oportet aut adhiberi studio curae ipius rei familiaris ut pecniae tantum adsit quantum ad usum necessarium et commodum sic pro civitatis aut familiae societate atque divitiae verae in hoc consistere videntur Eius nanque possessionis sufficientia ad hominum bonorum vitam immensa non est.

ICP 615.7–13 = Genus, inquit, possidendi unum naturale est rei familiaris pars. Quod autem praeesse oportet aut adhiberi studio curae ipsius rei familiaris, ut pecuniae tantum adsit, quantum ad usum necessarium et commodum sit pro civitatis aut familiae societate. Et in hoc consistere verae divitiae videntur. Etenim eius possessionis necessitas ad bonorum hominum vitam immensa non est.

20) *Pol.* 3.1280a12, 5.1301b28–35, 5.1302a3–5 in *ICP* 4.14.1

LD = Iustum, inquit, esse videtur quod inaequale est Etenim ita est sed non omnibus sed inaequalibus tantum [...] Dissident enim inquit de aequali omnino duplex autem ipsum aequale est alterum numero alterum dignitate numero dico quod multitudine aut magnitudine idem aequaleque sit dignitate autem quod ratione verbi gratia unum ad vobis et duo a tribus equali numero exuperantur [...] Par-

tes enim aequales hae inter se sunt ratione cum utraque dimidium sit altera quaternarii altera binarii numeri.

ICP 605.12–14, 17–21, 22–23 = Iustum, inquit, esse videtur, quod inaequale est. Etenim ita est, sed non omnibus, sed inaequalibus tantum. [...] Dissident enim, inquit, omnino de aequali. Duplex autem aequale est, alterum numero, alterum dignitate. Numero aequale dico, quod multitudine aut magnitudine idem aequaleque est, dignitate autem, quod ratione. Verbi gratia, duo a tibus et unum a duobus aequali numero exsuperantur. [...] Partes enim aequales hae inter se sunt, cum utraque dimidium sit, altera quaternarii, altera binarii numeri.

21) *Pol.* 2.1274a7–15 in *ICP* 4.8.4

LD = Senatum enim Areopagitanum inquit Ephialtes diminuit et Pericles iudices vero mercenarios Pericles constituit atque ad hunc modum quisque tribunus et recor ad praesentem popularem magistratum rem auxit quod quidem minime ex Solonis sententia fuisse videtur sed potius casu eventumque accidisse populus enim quod cause fuerit ut pugna navali medorum copiae superarentur elatus animo superbire coepit arbitratoque suo tribunos recortesque sibi constituit pravo adversus probos qui bene administrarent.

ICP 551.1826 = Senatum enim Areopagitarum, inquit, Ephialtes deminuit et Pericles, iudices, vero mercenarios Pericles instituit, atque in hunc modum unusquisque tribunus et rector ad praesentem popularem magistratum rem auxit. Quod quidem minime ex Solonis sententia videtur accidisse, sed potius atque eventu. Populus enim, qui causa fuerat, ut pugna navali Medorum copiae superarentur, elatus animo exercere superbiam coepit et suo arbitratu tribunos sibi rectoresque constituit improbos adversus probos, qui bene rem publicam administrarent.

22) *Pol.* 7.1326a22–33 in *ICP* 4.7.5

LD = De qua, inquit, urbe artifices multi numero, milites pauci proficiscuntur, haec magna esse non potest. Non enim numero populi ampliore magnitudo civitatis iudicanda est, sed virtute ac viribus. Quodsi quantalibet civitas fungi officio civitatis potest, hanc magnam esse arbitrandum, populosa admodum illa ne regi quidem legibus bene fortasse possit. Itaque nullam ex iis quae regi bene putantur rempublicam videmus excedere numero. Quinetiam ratione hoc idem constat. Lex enim ordo quidam est, et legis virtutem ordinis esse virtutem necesse est. Numerus autem admodum excedens servare ordinem nequit.

ICP 543.32–545.5 = De qua, inquit, urbe artifices multi, miites pauci proficiscuntur, haec magna esse non potest. Neque enim numero populi maiore magnitudo civitatis iudicanda est, sed virtute ac moribus. Quodsi quantalibet civitas fungi civitatis officio potest hanc agnam esse arbitrandum est. Frequens admodum illa ne recte quidem legibus regi fortasse poterit. Itaque nullam ex iis, quae regi bene existimantur, rem publicam videmus excedere numero. Quin etiam ratione hoc idem constat. Lex enim ordo quidam est, et legis virtutem ordinis esse virtutem necesse est. Numerus autem admodum excedens servare ordinem non potest.

23) *Frag.* 623. 1583 in *ICP* I.3.3

LD = Hic fama sublimi Cecropis ut solum adisset.
Mox aram ingenue struxit amore pio
Olli, quem fas ne sit vel laudare prophanis.
Unus vel primus quique viam docuit
Ipse sua vita mortales arteque fandi
Ut probus, ut felix vivere quisque potest
ICP 27.35–41 = Cecropis ad claras venerat usque domos
Dulcis amicitiae. Mox illi condidit aram
Quem laudare nefas ora profana foret.
Qui solus vita, doctrina, moribus, ore
Admonuit cunctos et monumenta dedit,
Ut virtute queant felicem ducere vitam.
Nulla ferent talem saecula futura virum.

4. Translations of Plato in *ICP*, Bks. 1,2, 4

1) *Phaedr.* 265c sq. in *ICP* 1.4.5

LD = Socr. Equidem cetera per ludum iam acta a nobis fateor, sed eorum quae forte diximus generum duorum facultatem siquis arte percipere possit, pulchrum hoc sane sit. — Phae. Quorum ais? — Socr. Ad unam respiciendo speciem colligere quae varie sunt dispersa ut quodque de quo velis docere definitione declares, quemadmodum de amore quid sit modo definitum a nobis est, sive bene sive male, tamen certum illud sibi que consentiens. Ob eam rem ita statuendum censuimus. — Phae. Alterum vero genus quid, Socrates, statuas? — Socr. Ut rursus per singula possis secare articulatum, quae suapte natura constant, neque membrum frangere ullum coneris more coqui inepti, sed ut modo utraque pars disputationis nostrae, dementem animi partem unam quandam communem sibi acceperat speciem, quam dirigendo ad propria venerit. Nam ut ex eodem corpore

partes duplices nominisque eiusdem consortes dependent, alterae dexterae, alterae sinistrae vocatae. Sic furoris genus, quod quasi simplex in nobis, pars disputationis nostrae utraque existimarit, altera partem secans sinistram et resecans non desiit priusquam vitiosum quemquam amorem compererit, quem maledictis iure optimo insectata est; altera, cum nos in dextram furoris partem deduxisset, nomine quidem eodem sed divinum quendam amorem repperit atque exposuit, quem laudavit tamquam rerum summe bonarum auctorem.

ICP 37.22–39.7 = So. Equidem cetera quasi per ludum acta iam a nobis fateor. Sed duorum, quae diximus, generum si quis arte comprehendere valeat, profecto pulcherrimum sit. — Ph. Quorum inquis? — So. Ad unam speciem respiciendo colligere, quae varie sunt dispersa, et quodlibet de quocumque dicere velis, definitione declarare. Quem ad modum de amore, quid sit, modo a nobis definitum fuit, sive bene sive male, tamen certum illud sibi consentiens ob eam rem ita studendum censuimus. — Ph. Alterum vero genus quodnam est, o Socrates? — So. Ut rursus per singula possis quasi articulatim secare, quae suapte natura constat, nec membrum frangere ullum instar inepti coqui. Sed ut modo utraque pars disputationis nostrae dementem unam quandam communem sibi speciem accepit, quam digerendo venit ad propriam – nam ut ex eodem corpore partes duplices eiusdem nominis dependent, quarum dextrae alterae, alterae sinistrae vocantur – sic dementiae genus tamquam unam speciem pars disputationis nostrae utraque existimavit, quippe altera partem secans sinistram et resecans non ante destitit, quam vitiosum quendam amorem compererit, quem maledictis optimo iure insectata est, altera vero, cum nos in dextram furoris partem deduxisset, nomine quidem eodem sed divinum quendam amorem reperit, quem tamquam rerum summae bonarum causam laudavit.

2) *Parm.* 136a4–c5 in *ICP* 1.5.7

LD = Si tuum exercere studiosius ingenium cupis, oportet non solum posito quovis ut esset considerare quid accidere potest ex ea ipsa positione, sed etiam posito ne esset quid potest accidere, verbi gratia, si de eo quod Zeno posuerit, an unum sit multa, agendum sit; considerandum quid accidere possit tum ipsis multis vel respectu sui vel respectu unius, tum uni vel respectu sui vel respectu multorum; rursus si unum multa non sit, considerandum quid accidere possit et uni et multis tum respectu sui, tum respectu vicissim collationis ad summam de quacunque re ponatur, aut ut sit aut ne sit aut aliquo pacto affecta sit. Consideranda sunt ea quae accidant respectu tam eius ip-

sus quam cuiusvis rerum aliarum quam intenderis, eodemque modo respectu aut plurium aut omnium, quinetiam cetera respectu tum sui, tum aliorum quicquid tandem intenderis. Sive ut ens sive ut non ens posuisti, ita agendum est si integro ingenii exercitio debes inspicere sincere veri rationem.

ICP 67.4–19 = Si tuum, inquit, exercere ingenium cupis, oportet non modo posito, ut quaevis res sit, quid accidere possit, ex ea ipsa positione considerare, sed etiam posito, quod non sit, quid inde possit evenire. Verbi gratia, si de eo agendum sit, quod Zeno posuerat, an unum sit multa, animadvertendum est quid accidere possit tum multis vel respectu. Rursus, si unum multa non sit, considerandum, quid accidere possit et uni et multis, tum suo ipsorum tum mutuae comparationis respectu. In summa de quacumque re ponatur, vel quod sit vel quod non sit vel aliquo modo affecta sit, diligenter scrutari oportet, quae accidant tam suo ipsius quam cuiusvis alterius rei, quam intenderis, respectu. Eodemque modo respectu aut plurium aut omnium, quinetiam cetera respectu tum suo tum aliorum Denique quicquid intenderis, sive ut ens sive ut non ens positum abs te sit, ita agendum est, si perfecta ingenii exercitatione veri rationem cupis investigare.

3) *Resp.* 3.395c– in *ICP* IV, 1.5

LD = At vero siquid praeterea simulandum sit, ait, simili continuo a pueritia quae officio suo convenient, videlicet, animi magnitudinem, constantiam, fortitudinem, fidem, temperantiam, modestiam, continentiam, religionem, et reliqua quae mores ingenuos liberalesque efficiant. Res autem illiberales, inhonestas, et turpes nec agere neque simulare studere ne per simulationem habitum rei quam simulent sibi concipiant. An nescis, inquit, eam vim simulationis esse ut si a pueritia longius perseveret, mores naturamque constituere et animi et vocis et corporis valeat?

ICP 427.26–34 = At si quid praeterea fingendum est, inquit, fingi continuo a pueritia oportet, quae officio convenient, videlicet animi magnitudinem, constantiam, fortitudinem, fidem, temperantiam, modestiam, continentiam, religione, et reliqua, quae mores ingenuos ac liberalis instituat. Res autem illiberales et inhonestae et turpes neque agenda neque fingendae sunt, ne fictione huiusmodi eorum quae fingunt habitum concipiant. An nescis, inquit, eam vim simulationis esse ut, si a pueritia longius perseveret, mores naturamque constituere et animi et vocis et corporis possit?

4) *Leg. 7.792d in ICP 4.4.2*

LD = Mea enim sententia non voluptates recta vivendi ratio sequitur, non dolores omnino devitat, sed mediocritatem ipsam et medium adamat et colit, quod iam dictum nomine mitiore velim. Quam quidem animi dispositionem dei etiam esse quadam oraculi celebris fama recte ab omnibus putari potest. Hunc habitum sectari is debet qui virtute divinus futurus sit. Ergo nec ipsum quempiam propensum ad voluptatem esse oportet nec pati ut alius, sive senex sive iuvenis sive mas sive foemina, ita afficiatur, et omnium minime, quoad eius fieri potest, is qui nuper ad vitam venerit. Tunc enim aetas moribus imbuitur inhaerentius et habitu ineluibili quodam adolescit.

ICP 521.18–27 = Mea quidem sententia nec voluptates recta vivendi ratio sequitur nec dolores prorsus vitandos ducit, sed mediocritatem quandam amat, quod mitiori nomine dictum a me velim, quam quidem animi dispositionem dei etiam esse quadam celebris oraculi fama recta ab omnibus existimari potest. Hunc habitum sectari debet, qui virtute divinus est futurus. Ergo elaborandum omnibus est ut nec ipsi ad voluptatem proclives sint nec alios sive senes sive iuvenes sive matres sive feminas ita affici patiantur, minime autem omnium, qui nuper in lucem prodierint. Tunc enim tenera aetas facile mores imbibit, qui ita animo haerent, ut nulla deinde ratione possint aboleri.

5) *Leg. 6.765e–766c in ICP 4.5.4*

LD = Ortus, inquit, rei cuiusque primus bene depromptus pro suae naturae virtute plurimum valet ad finem commodum afferendum tam in stirpibus quam in animalium genere omnium, tum agrestium, tum mitium. Homo autem, quanquam mite animale, tamen, si bene erudietur naturaque felici quadam sit praeditum, mitissimum atque divinum animal reddetur, si minus, agreste omnium maxime quae natura procreat evadit. Quapropter non secundo quodam loco et in re supervacanea liberorum eductio habenda est apud legum auctorem, sed primum. Inde incipere is debet qui recte consulat, ut vir de civibus deligatur qui omnibus in rebus virtute praestantissimus sit, isque summa cum diligentia constituatur censor, procurator, tutor, magister iuventutis, qui etiam quinquennio magistratum gerat. Mox alius modo eodem deligatur, quique bene suo officio functus probetur examine diligentissimo censorum eorundemque magistratum, amplissimum honoribus summis donetur; contra, qui minus, supplicii summis plectatur.

ICP 527.32–529.4 = Ortus, inquit, primus uniuscuiusque rei bene depromptus pro suae naturae virtute plurimum valet ad finem commodum afferendum tam in stirpibus, quam in omnium animantium tum mansuetorum, tum agrestium genere. Homo autem quanquam mite animal est atque mansuetum, tamen si bene erudiatur et felici quadam natura paretum sit, mitissimum et vere divinum animal reddetur, sin minus omnium, quae natura produxit maxime agreste evadat, necesse est. Quam ob rem non secundo loco nec pro re supervacua educatio liberorum habenda est apud legum auctorem. Sed ante omnia, qui recte consulit inde exordiri debet ut ex civibus unus eligatur qui omnibus in rebus virtute praestantissimus sit, isque summa diligentia constituatur iudex procurator, tutor, magister iuventutis et quinquennio magistratum gerat, mox alius modo eligatur. Quique officio suo recte functus esse censorum examine diligentissimo, qui et ipsi ex summis debent esse magistratibus, decernetur, maximis donetur honoribus. Qui vero contra fecerit, summis suppliciis plectatur.

6) *Ep.* 2.312d–e in *ICP* 2.3.4

LD = Sed dicendum per ambages atque aenigmata ut, si forte liber vel mari vel terra iactetur, qui legerit non intelligat. Res ita se habet. Apud regem omnium omnia sunt illiusque gratia omnia constant, illudque omnium bonorum causa est; secundum secundis et tertium tertiis accommodatur.

ICP 15.41–17.3 = Scribendum est, inquit, per ambages atque aenigmata ut si forte mari vel terra iactari librum contigerit qui legerit non intelligat. Res ita se habet. Circa omnium regem cuncta sunt et illius gratia omnia, illudque est causa bonorum omnium. Secundum vero circa secunda, et tertium circa tertia.

7) *Ep.* 2. 314b–c in *ICP* 2.3.4

LD = Cave ne aliquando te poeniteat eorum quae modo minus digne deciderint. Cautum vero in primis tutumque non scribere, sed memoriae mandare. Fieri enim non potest ne quae scripta sunt decident. Quamobrem nunquam ego de his rebus aliquid scripsi. Neque est ullum Platonis opus neque erit; sed ea quae nunc mea dicuntur Socratis sunt, quem virum etiam adhuc iuvenem probitate praestitisse certum est.

ICP 17.13–19 = Cave, ne te aliquando paeniteat eorum quae in presentia minus digne deciderint. Tutum vero imprimis est nihil scribere, sed discere. nam quae scribuntur, fieri non potest, quin decident. Ea

ratione nihil ego de iis scripsi unquam nec est Platonis opus aliquod perscriptum nec erit. Nam quae circumferuntur Socratis sunt omnia, quem virum etiam iuvenem virtute ac sapientia claruisse compertum est.

5. Plutarch in *ICP*, Bks. 1, 2, 4

1) *Lycurg.* 21, ed. Ziegler 36.34–8 in *ICP* 9.11

LD = Hames potemes alcimi neaniae. Nos fuimus iuvenes robusto pectore quondam

Mox iuvenes aetatis florentis respondere:

Hames degesmen aedelis piranlabe Nos sumus et siquis dubitat licet experiatur.

Tum adolescentulos subdere Hames degesometha Pollo Carones

Nos vero longe cunctis erimus probiores.

ICP 571.1–5 = Nos fuimus iuvenes robusto pectore quonam

Mox iuvenes florentis aetatis respondere:

Nos sumus, et si quis dubitat, valet ille probare.

Postremo adolescentes subdere:

Nos probitate alios quidni superare necesse est.

2) *Lycurg.* 29, ed. Ziegler 48.22–26 in *ICP* 4.14.4

LD = Ita, inquit, respublica Lacedaemoniorum universe Graeciae praestitit legibus bonis et auctoritate annis quingentis quamdiu Lycurgi leges servarentur quas nullus e regibus quos decem et quattuor numero a Lycurgo ad agim Archidami filium creatos accepimus negligere passus est rege autem Agide primum lapsus in civitatem est Numus et cum Numo cupiditas et opulentiae emulatio accessit per Lysandrum qui tam etsi ipse pecunia capi non poterat tamen patriam vertit in studia divitiarum luxum atque illecebras.

ICP 611.13–20 = Ita, inquit, respublica Lacedaemoniorum universae Graeciae praestitit bonis legibus et auctoritate annis fere quingentis, quamdiu scilicet Lycurgi leges servatae sunt. Has nullus e regibus, quos quattuordecim a Lycurgo ad Agim Archidami filium fuisse constat, neglegi passus est. Regnante autem Agide lapsus primum in civitatem est nummus et cum eo cupiditas et opulentiae aemulatio urbem introierunt auctore Lysandro, qui tametsi pecunia ipse capi non potuit, tamen patriam vertit in studia divitiarum et luxum atque illecebras.

6. Homer in *ICP*, Bks. 1, 2, 4

1) *Il.* 1.225 in *ICP* 4.1.4

LD = Ebrie, cui cor cervi est atque oculi canis adsunt.

ICP 425.41 = Ebrie, cui catuli sunt lumina cordaque cervi.

2) *Il.* 4.412 in *ICP* 4.1.4

LD = Tu iunior, tacitus nostris obtempera dictis.

ICP 425.39 = Mi iuvenis taceas et nostra amplectere dicta.

3) *Il.* 6.488–489 in *ICP* 2.10.3

LD = Haud mortalis quis fugiat decreta sororum.

Improbis aut probis hec, ut primum, lumina venit.

ICP 183.27–28 = Mortalis nemo fugiet decreta sororum.

Improbis atque probis debent sua corpora mortis.

4) *Il.* 20.336 in *ICP* 2.10.3

LD = Parcas ne contra faciam te pergere manes.

ICP 183.31 = Ne contra Parcas manes trudaris ad imos.

5) *Od.* 9.9–11 in *ICP* 4.1.4

LD = Haud res ulla profecto est mensa suavior illa,

Quae Cereris locuples et carnibus excipit uber,

Vinaque misces pocula de cratere ministret.

ICP 427.1–2 = Nulla, crede mihi, res mensa suavior illa est,

quae Cererem Bacchumque simul carnesque ministret.

6) *Od.* 12.342 in *ICP* 4.1.4

LD = Quam durum et miserabile sit loetum fame obire.

ICP 427.4 = Quam parit atra fames, dirum est heu morte perire.

7) *Od.* 20.17–18 in *ICP* 4.1.4

LD = Incessens animum percusso pectore fatur.

Quin patientur fers. Iam ante his graviora tulisti.

ICP 427.16–17 = Intendens animum percusso pectore fatur.

Fortiter ista feras, iamiam graviora tulisti.

7. Miscellaneous in *ICP*, Bks. 1, 2, 4

1) *Epistolographi Graeci*, ed. Hercher, 601–603 = Iamblichus *De Vita Pyth.*, 17.75–78, in *ICP* 1.2.3

LD = Lysis Hipparcho salutem. Equidem postea quam Pythagoras e vita discesserat, nunquam fieri posse ut eius discipulorum collegium dissiparetur putavi. Verum cum praeter spem, velut a navi facto naufragio longe in alto, alius alio disiecti delatique simus, meminisse tamen praeceptorum viri illius sanctorum pium est nec bo-

na philosophiae communicare cum iis qui ne somniare quidem, ut dicitur, animi purificationem potuere debemus. Haud enim quibuslibet praebere ea quae tot cum laboribus nos adepti fuerimus fas est. Quomodo ne prophanis quidem hominibus arcana dearum Eleusiniarum exponere fas est. Aequae enim utrique iniqui et impii habentur qui ita egerint. Praestat igitur memoria repetere cogitareque quantum temporis consumpserimus in abstergendis maculis pectori inhaerentibus nostro priusquam dicta illius capere digne possemus. Ut enim tinctorum telam sibi inficiendam priusquam inficiant purgant rebusque arcerbis quibusdam parant ut penitus color imbibatur et nunquam deleri possit, sic vir ille divinus homines philosophiae deditos instituere solebat ne spe frustraretur in aliquo ex iis quos fore probos sperasset. Non enim doctrina adulterata mercabatur. Non laqueos iuvenum animis annectebat, ut plerique sapientiae professores faciunt cum nullam rem docere utilem studeant. Sed rerum divinarum humanarumque explorator praeceptorque erat, cuius doctrinam nonnulli nunc simulantes permultos gravesque errores committunt cum iuvenes non ut decet erudiant. Itaque importunos ac temerarios suos reddunt auditores, quippe qui moribus perturbatis et impuris scita et dicta ingenua misceant. Ut enim si quis in praealtum puteum plenum caeni fuderit aquam puram atque sinceram, caenum perturbat et aquam amittit, ita iis accidit qui sic docent et docentur. Crebra enim obdensa fructa et silvae frequentes cor et praecordia eorum qui non sincere initiati sunt occupant. Quae omnem animi cultum, omnem mitem conditionem, omnem denique rationem, obumbrant atque impediunt. Subeunt hanc silvam opacam permultae ac variae beluae vitiorum, quae depascunt, interpellant, arcent. Nullo pacto permittunt ut ratio prodeat in lucem. Quarum beluarum matres primum nomino incontinentiam et cupiditatem, quae partu fecundissimae sunt. Itaque incontinentia natae habentur illicitae nuptiae, ebrietates, labes, voluptates contra naturam. Nati etiam impetus vehementes quidam ad mortem usque et praecipitia agitantes. Iam enim nonnulli adeo citati libidine sunt ut ne a matre quidem aut filia abstinuerint. Quos eadem, quae contra leges, patriam, principes, parentes impulerat, libido captivos, manibus tergo reductis, ad postrema supplicia et interitum rapuit. Cupiditate autem natae sunt rapinae, parricidia, sacrilegia, veneficia, reliqua generis eiusdem. Quamobrem silvam ipsam in qua affectus hi manent excidendam ferro aut igne absumendam aut, quocumque fieri possit, ingenio tollendam primum curare oportet. Quo cultu, cum iam rationem ab eiusmodi affectibus liberarimus, tunc serere aliquid boni in ea et fructum quae mandaverimus semina allatura sperare debemus. Quae tu didiceras

quidem, Hipparche, non sine studio. Sed servare noluisti, vir bone, posteaquam Siculos sumptus istos gustasti. Quibus certe nulla res est quam postponere debueris. Multi etiam te publice philosophari retulerunt, quod, ut nosti, Pythagoras vetuit, qui Damam filiam commentariolos, quos illi commendasset, nemini praeter suam familiam relinquere iussit. Quae quanquam praegrandi quadam pecunia vendere illos poterat, tamen noluit; et quamvis mulier, facile suam paupertatem ferebat et pluris iussa paterna quam aurum faciebat. Hoc idem Damam quoque morientem mandasse Vitaliae suae filiae ferunt. At nos, qui viri sumus, non debito erga illum officio fungimur, sed quae promisimus ultro deserimus. Quod si te emendes, laetitia vehementer afficiar. Si minus, mortuum iam te esse existimabo. Vale.

ICP 13.23–15.34 = Lysis Hipparcho Salutem. Equidem post mortem Pythagorae nunquam futurum existimavi, ut discipulorum eius societas disungeretur, sed cum praeter spem quasi naufragio facto alii alio disiecti delatique simus, nihilo minus meminisse divionorum praeceptorum illius pium est, nec bona philosophiae cum his comunia facere, qui ne sominiare quidem animi purificationem potuerunt. Nec fas est ea omnibus porrigere, quae nos cum tot laboribus adepti sumus, quem ad modum nec profanis hominibus Eleusinarum dearum licet arcana patefacere. Aequae enim utrique ista facientes iusti atque impii haberentur. Operae pretium est igitur recensere, quantum temporis in abstergenis maculis, quae nostris iustae preceptoribus erant, consumpserimus, antequam praecepta illius percipere digne possemus. Ut enim tinctorum solent, priusquam telam inficiant quarundam rerum acrimonia eam purgare quo facilius colorem imbibat, qui aboleri postea non possit, sic vir ille divinus studiosos philosophiae instituere et quasi formare solebat ne quando frustrari ea spe posset, quam de alicuius virtute concepisset. Neque enim doctrinam mercennariam atque venalem habebat, nec iuvenum animis, quod plerique philosophiae professores facere soleant laqueos adnectebat, sed divinarum humanarumque rerum praeceptor erat. Nunc veroplerique doctrinam eius simulantes nullo ordine nec, ut decens esset, iuventutem erudiunt [...].

2) Hesiod *Op. et Di.* 11–13 in *ICP* 4.21

LD = Quid igitur mirum si benivolentia, honesta, et sancta nomen idem cum affectu turpi et impio habeat?

ICP 445.25–26 = Haec perversa nimis digna est, laudari illa. Adversosque animos longe propellare tendunt.

3) Numenius, from Eusebius *PE*, ed. Mullach frg. 10, in *ICP* 2.5.7

LD = Distribuendum iam est: deus primus in se ipse substans simplex est ideo; quod sibi devinctissimus semper nunquam dividi potest secundus; autem deus et tertius unus est, sed adherens materiae, quae binarius est. Eam unit et ipse ab ea scinditur. Et paulo post: Etenim nec decet quo primus creet et creantis dei patrem esse primum deum putandum est.

ICP 101.3–10 = Distribuendum iam est. Deus primus in se substans simplex est, quod sibi ipsi omni ex parte semper copulatus disiungi dividique non potest. Secundus autem deus et tertius unus est; sed haerens materiae, quae binaria est, eam unit ipseque ab ea secatur. Et paulo post: Neque enim creare decens est primum deum, et creatoris dei patrem esse primum deum putandum est.

4) Proclus, *Th. Plat.* 1.24–25, in *ICP* 2.5.

LD = His, inquit, hominibus, qui ad summum bonum accedere cupiunt, non scientia et ingenii opera, sed firmitate, stabilitate, et quiete, tranquillitateque opus est. quod, ut ex toto dicam, fides deorum est, quae nos admovens ad bonum ipsum, et deorum ac demonum omnia genera animasque beatas ineffabili ratione coniungit. Non enim per scientiam aut ullam ingenii operam exquirendum petendumque est bonum ipsum, sed offerendum commendandumque nos ipsos lumini divino et sensu ocluso acquiescendum in illa incognita et occulta entium unitate. Hoc enim fidei genus antiquius omni doctrinae opera est.

ICP 107.17–25 = Iis, inquit, hominibus qui ad summum bonum pervenire cupiunt, non scientia et ingenii exercitatione opus est, sed firmitate, stabilitate, tranquillitate, quod ut summatim dicam fides deorum est, quae nos ad summum bonum et deorum ac daemonum omnia genera atque animas beatas ineffabili ratione trahit atque coniungit. Non enim per scientiam aut operationem ullam ingenii exquirere summum bonum aut ad ipsum aspirare debemus, sed offerre commendareque nos divinae luci et praeclusis sensibus in illa incognita et occulta entium unitate quiescere. Hoc enim fidei genus omni doctrina antiquius est.

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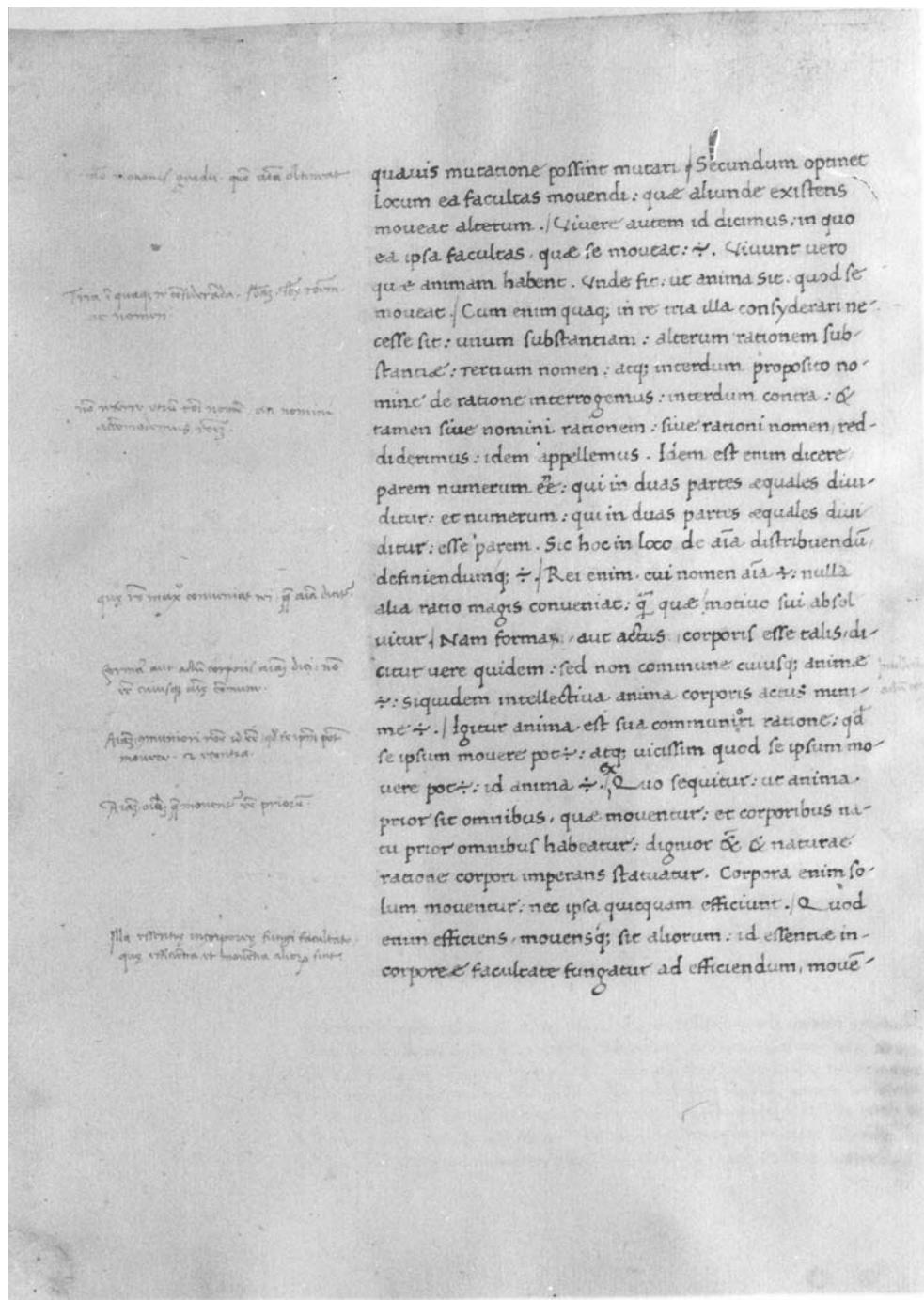


PLATE 1 : Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. VI, 60 (= 2591), f. 63v: Bessarion, *Liber Defensionum*, with marginalia in the hand of Giovanni Andrea Bussi.

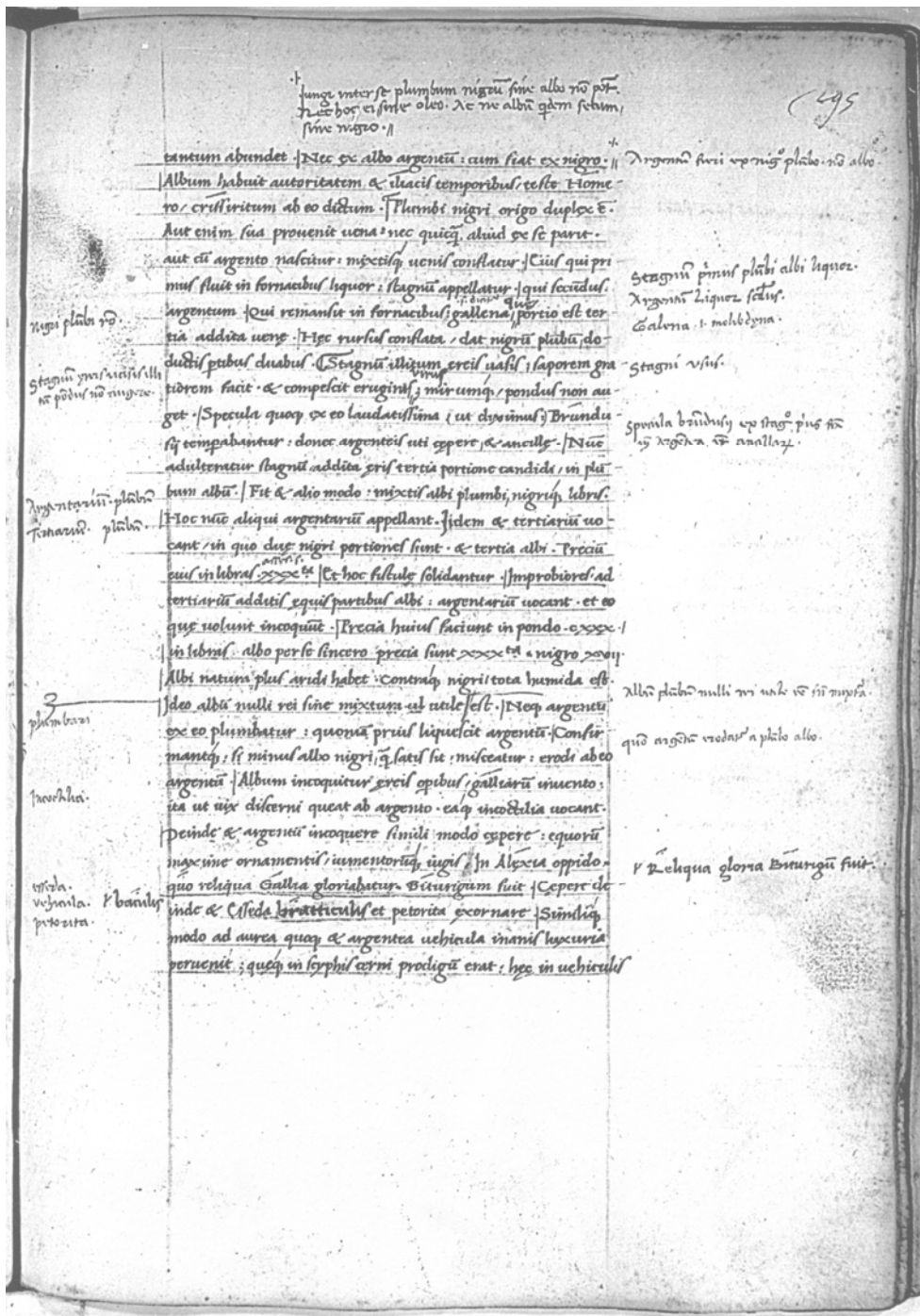


PLATE 2 : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5991, f. 295r: Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, with marginalia in the hand of Giovanni Andrea Bussi.