

XVIII. Politian's Translation of the *Enchiridion*

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Bibliographic Note

I here list all of the works that I shall have occasion to cite by the formula *op. cit.* or by abridged titles which I here indicate by the use of bold-faced type.

- Augusto Campana, "Per il **Carteggio** del Poliziano," *La Rinascita* 6 (1943) 437-72.
 ———, "**Contributi** alla biblioteca del Poliziano," *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Firenze 1957) 173-229.
 Juliana Cotton Hill, "**Death** and Politian," *Durham University Journal* 46 (1954) 86-105. The courtesy of the authoress enables me to use a reprint which contains valuable appendices and plates that were somehow omitted in the original publication.
 ———, "**Materia medica** del Poliziano," *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Firenze 1957) 237-45.
 Isidoro Del Lungo, **Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche editate e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano** (Firenze 1867).
 ———, "Tra lo **Scala** e il Poliziano," *Miscellanea storica della Valdese* 4 (1896) 170-80.
 ———, **Florentia: uomini e cose del Quattrocento** (Firenze 1897).
 ———, **Le Selve e la Strega di Angelo Poliziano** (Firenze 1925).
 Léon Dorez, "**I sonetti** di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," *Nuova Rassegna* 2 (1894) 97-114.
 ———, "Études aldines III: **Alde Manuce** et Ange Politien," *Revue des bibliothèques* 6 (1896) 311-26.
 ———, "**La mort** de Pic de la Mirandole et l'édition aldine des œuvres d'Ange Politien (1494-1498)," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 32 (1898) 360-4.
 Revilo P. Oliver, **Niccolò Perotti's Version of the Enchiridion of Epictetus** (Urbana, Illinois, 1954).
 ———, "**Era plagiaro** Poliziano nelle sue traduzioni di Epitteto e di Erodiano?" *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Firenze 1957) 253-71.
 Alessandro Perosa, "Poliziano, **Epigrammi greci**, a cura di Anthos Ardizzoni," *La parola del passato* 7 (1952) 66-80.
 ———, **Angeli Politiani Sylva in scabiem** (Romae 1954).
 ———, "**Contributi** e proposte per la pubblicazione delle opere latine del Poliziano," *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Firenze 1957) 89-100.
 Ioannis Pici Mirandulae <et> Concordiae comitis *Opuscula* (Bononiae 1496).
 Giovanni Battista Picotti, *La jeunesse de Léon X* (Paris 1931).
 ———, **Ricerche umanistiche** (Firenze 1955).
 William Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth*, 3d ed. (London 1827), vol. I.
 Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, 5^a ristampa con supplemento (Milano 1953).

For most of Politian's works we must still rely on the Aldine edition of the *Opera omnia* (Venetiis 1498) or one of the many editions copied from it (Florentiae 1499; Brixiae 1499; Parrhisiis 1512, 1519; Lugduni 1528, 1533, 1536, 1537, 1539, 1545, 1546, 1550; Basileae 1553; and probably others). The *Epistolae* and *Prima centuria*

miscellaneorum were frequently combined in separate reprints (e.g. Lugduni 1550; Antverpiae 1567), and there are a number of editions of the *Epistolae* alone (Argentorati 1513; Basileae 1522; Hanoviae 1604, 1622; etc.). The most complete edition of the Latin verse is in Del Lungo's *Prose* (see above). The Greek verse is now available in a critical edition by Anthos Ardizzoni (Firenze 1951). Politian's *Lamia* is reprinted in Del Lungo's *Selve* (see above).

Politian's Latin version of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus is a work of some importance in both ancient and modern literature. In the latter, it is one of the very few Humanistic translations that has a literary value of its own, and the only one, I believe, that has been accorded the unusual honor of being reprinted in our time not as an adjunct of scholarship, but for the general reader, to whom it was presented as stylistically the finest rendition of the thought of Epictetus into another language.¹ In the field of strictly classical studies, it is a witness to one form of the Greek text and the probable source of numerous emendations made by early editors, and accordingly it is frequently cited in the latest critical recension of the *Enchiridion* (Schweighaeuser, 1798). Although its value for the Greek text as a whole has been considerably diminished by the discovery of the translation made some thirty years earlier from a much better manuscript by Niccolò Perotti,² it will nevertheless have to be taken into account by anyone who has the fortitude to undertake a new recension of a text that has a manuscript tradition so complex that it has dismayed the courage, or baffled the perseverance, of prospective editors for the past century and a half.

Since the text of Politian's translation in all of the many printings³ is so sadly and seriously interpolated as to deceive editors concerning the lections of his manuscripts, and even to expose him to charges of plagiarism,⁴ it seems distinctly worth while now to present the evidence for what he really wrote. The work itself deserves, but the resources now known to me do not make feasible, a critical edition. As will be seen, I can athetize,

¹ *Epicteti Stoici Enchiridion ab Angelo Politiano e Graeco versum* (Mediolani 1926). The editor, Giuseppe Rensi, relied on three relatively late printed editions and introduced a number of emendations of his own.

² Oliver, *Perotti*, 59-60. In a special apparatus to this edition I have sought to determine the readings of the Greek manuscript used by Perotti.

³ For a list, see W. A. Oldfather, *Contributions Toward a Bibliography of Epictetus*, with the posthumous *Supplement*, edited by Marian Harman (Urbana, Illinois 1927, 1952).

⁴ Oliver, "Era plagario?" 254-6.

but I cannot restore. It therefore seems best to present a list of necessary corrections by reference to the printed text of Politian's version that is most likely to be in the hands of all interested scholars, that contained in the fifth volume of Schweighaeuser's *Epictetæ philosophiæ monumenta* (Lipsiae 1799–1800).

Preliminarily we shall attempt to determine the date at which Politian made the translation, consider the materials at his disposal and the probable nature of his interest in Epictetus, and reconstruct the history of the text. And since many of our problems arise directly from the circumstances of Politian's life and death, we must first call attention to some relevant biographical details.

I

Agnolo Ambrogini was born in the isolated hill-town of Montepulciano on 14 July 1454, the son of an attorney more noted for learning than wealth.⁵ The family was involved in a local feud. When he was nine Agnolo barely escaped death at the hands of unskillful assassins, and in the following year his father was murdered. Although the murder was soon avenged by one of Agnolo's cousins, it overshadowed all the rest of his life, for as soon as he had precociously attained even a modest position in the world, he, who was by nature "mollis animi in propinquos,"⁶ was recognized as the head of a numerous family (including the cousins) who made perennial demands on his purse and his time. The members of the family, however, regarded the pacific and unhandsome scholar with a kind of amused tolerance or even contempt, apparently having no comprehension that he was a great man, and certainly manifesting no concern for his reputation or the preservation of his work after his death.⁷

⁵ Dr. Johnson's projected *Vita Politiani*, according to Boswell, was never written, but its place was supplied by the extremely diligent work of a German contemporary: Friderici Ottonis Menckenii *Historia vitae et in litteras meritum Angeli Politiani* (Lipsiae 1736). This remains the standard biography, although, of course, a great deal of information has become available since it was written; it should be revised and brought up to date. See also N. Alexandri Bonafous *De Angeli Politiani vita et operibus disquisitiones* (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1845). Del Lungo's biography of Politian, to which he gives references in his various works, was, so far as I know, never completed. Subsequent studies of aspects of Politian's life are very numerous; a severely select bibliography may be found in Rossi, *op. cit.* 402–6, xvi–xvii.

⁶ His own phrase in a letter published by Del Lungo, *Prose*, 56.

⁷ On the family and its attitude, see especially Del Lungo, *Florentia*, 3–90, and Mrs. Cotton Hill, "Death," 3–4.

Soon after the murder, Agnolo's widowed mother, to lighten the burden of a too numerous progeny, sent him to Florence, where he had a cousin who was an unsuccessful tradesman, and a vague claim to the consideration of the Medici, whose cause his father had supported in Montepulciano. Though he lived in extreme poverty, Agnolo was somehow able to continue his studies, and he, his ungainly figure clad in rags and his toes protruding from his cracked shoes, attended the lectures of the foremost scholars in Florence. He was both precocious and brilliant. When he was sixteen, he undertook to continue the translation of the *Iliad* into Latin hexameters of which Carolus Arretinus (Carlo Marsuppini) had completed only the first book. About this time, Agnolo, in conformity with the current Humanistic practice, took a Latin name, Angelus Bassus, which he soon changed to Angelus Politianus, making the customary reference to the place of his birth.

The translation so confidently undertaken may have been brought to the attention of Lorenzo de' Medici even before the first book (i.e. *Il. β'*) was completed and dedicated to him, and we may assume an improvement in young Politian's circumstances. But it is clear from the dedication of the following book, which may be dated on internal evidence to late in 1472 or the first months of 1473,⁸ that the poet was still a petitioner for patronage.

This patronage Politian received in 1473, when he became a member of what Lorenzo called his *familia*.⁹ Politian was evidently maintained in the household and given access to the rich library of the Medici; there is no indication that he was charged with specific duties. The period from 1473 to 1475, therefore, was one which Politian could and did describe as *summum otium*.¹⁰ But we should note that the implied purpose of this *otium* must have been prosecution of the plan outlined in his request for patronage, i.e. completion of his translation of the *Iliad*. And in fact he did translate three more books before he interrupted his work in 1475.

⁸ Lines 6 (peace), 45-50 (sack of Volterra). The translations from Homer, first published by Cardinal Mai in 1839, may most conveniently be consulted in Del Lungo, *Prose*, 432-523.

⁹ This is now established by the letter published by Picotti, *Ricerche*, 74, 76. It is difficult to determine the month in which Politian took up residence in Lorenzo's household; *ibid.* 18-19. Although Politian may not have known it, Lorenzo was probably observing his character in contemplation of his later employment as tutor; see Picotti, *Léon X*, 12.

¹⁰ In the letter published by Picotti, *Ricerche*, 74.

In 1475, Lorenzo, evidently determined to be the father of a genius, made Politian, who was then twenty-one, the tutor of his three-year-old heir, Piero. We may doubt that this position, which must at first have been as much that of chief nurse as of tutor, could have been really pleasing to a young Humanist, but Politian faithfully tried to force the development of the child's mind, in accordance with the father's wishes, while the mother, in whom the usual sentimentality of women was augmented by a neurotic temperament¹¹ and pietistic tendencies, feared that discipline and pagan literature might bruise the tender soul of her darling. Thus began a period of constant friction, frequent quarrels, and iterated appeals to the authority of Lorenzo, which lasted until Clarice, in her husband's absence, had Politian ejected from the house on the fifth or sixth of May, 1479. During this period Politian, although he undoubtedly had some leisure for scholarship, and although he began to enjoy an independent income after he obtained his first benefice and became prior of San Paolo in October, 1477, certainly did not enjoy what could be described as *otium*. As the extant letters show, he was almost constantly busy as tutor, as secretary to Clarice, as secretary and at times cryptographer to Lorenzo when the latter was at home, and as Lorenzo's agent in the household when he was absent.

Lorenzo, confronted by his wife's *fait accompli* and perhaps weary of bickering, released Politian from all responsibilities, evidently continued his salary, and certainly instructed him to take up his residence in the luxurious Medicean villa in Fiesole, which was then vacant, except, of course, for the necessary servants and steward. Accordingly, from a few days after 6 May 1479 to the sixth of December in the same year Politian, who evidently had all of his time free for scholarship and writing,¹² enjoyed what he properly could, and did, describe as *dulce otium*.¹³

On 6 December 1479 a serious misunderstanding arose between

¹¹ Politian, who had a very considerable knowledge of medicine (see Mrs. Cotton Hill, "Materia medica"), in a letter to Lorenzo (published by Del Lungo, *Prose*, 63), clearly hints that Clarice's illness is what we should now call psychosomatic.

¹² Of course, certain duties were incumbent on the prior of San Paolo, but Politian hired some priest to perform them. His net income from the priorate was the large sum of about 150 florins (Picotti, *Ricerche*, 33, 36-7). Politian was later ordained, perhaps to qualify for the post as chaplain to Cardinal Gonzaga which he held briefly in 1480.

¹³ In the letter published by Picotti, *Ricerche*, 72.

Politian and Lorenzo. We need not here inquire on whom should rest the gravamen of blame,¹⁴ but the result was that when Lorenzo left Florence on a desperate mission from which many sagacious observers believed that he would never return, Politian set out on a tour of northern Italy, rather obviously in quest of new patrons. He must have received flattering offers, but by March of the following year he was seeking a reconciliation with Lorenzo, who had by that time converted defeat into a brilliant diplomatic victory. Politian returned to Florence in the late summer of 1480, was appointed Professor in the Studio, and so, at the age of twenty-six, became the colleague of some of his former teachers.

The following period of almost twelve years was the season of Politian's greatest happiness and security. He held a position which was in that age regarded with respect and even reverence. His salary in the university began at fifty florins per annum—the normal sum and precisely the amount that was paid to his successor—but he had quadrupled it by 1482, and by 1491 had raised it to the astonishing sum of 450 florins.¹⁵ He was at the same time busily accumulating ecclesiastical benefices.¹⁶ He had a large house in Florence, a little villa of his own in Fiesole, and there are indications that his household was graced by the presence of a rather handsome young woman who was certainly not his wife.^{16a}

¹⁴ Discussions which antedate the publication of Politian's letter of 20 March, 1480 to Lorenzo (Picotti, *Ricerche*, 73–82) are obsolete. The primary cause of the misunderstanding was undoubtedly the great press of business which confronted Lorenzo, and the nervous strain under which he must have labored, while he was preparing his sudden and secret departure from Florence. He had suffered a crushing military defeat, was diplomatically isolated, and threatened by the increasing disaffection of the subjects who were ostensibly his fellow citizens. In such circumstances Lorenzo made his plans so secretly that the Milanese agents in Florence did not suspect his intentions until midnight, when he was already on the road. It need excite no great astonishment that one of the messages carried orally between Lorenzo and Politian was inaccurately reported or misunderstood; cf. Picotti, *Ricerche*, 54–7, who—unnecessarily, I think—suspects Politian of “manchevolezze e reticenze” in his narrative of the incident.

¹⁵ Del Lungo, *Selve*, 232.

¹⁶ See the list, not necessarily complete, in Picotti, *Ricerche*, 134–7.

^{16a} The portrait of this young lady appears on four medals which are obviously the work of artists who were members of the circle that formed about Politian and Pico della Mirandola; see the plates (which do not do justice to the originals that I have seen) in Del Lungo, *Florentia*, 58–9, where the author speculates concerning the identity of the artists, but pudically avoids inferences by suggesting that the lady must have been Politian's sister. One of these medals bears on its reverse the inscription CONCORDIA

The mark of an intelligently precocious young man is that he has no illusions of premature maturity. Politian did not think of himself as intellectually adult before he was twenty-eight. In the autumn of 1482 he decided to lecture on the *Bucolics* of Vergil, and, since he frequently began his courses with praelections in hexameters, he composed for this occasion his *Manto*, one of the gems of modern Latin poetry. The poem, which was printed and published seven days later, was the first of his compositions that he sent to the press.¹⁷ It is important to note that although Politian freely confessed that a desire for fame was the ruling passion of his life,¹⁸ he had also a deep sense of intellectual dignity, and felt that it was indecent to invite the world's attention to work that had not been made as perfect as its author's patient diligence and mature judgment could make it.¹⁹ He accordingly

illustrated by three Graces, who are clearly the triad identified as Pulchritudo, Amor, Voluptas on a contemporary medal struck for Pico della Mirandola (see Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* [New Haven 1958] 49–50, figg. 10, 50); a second medal shows CONSTANTIA, but “the lance [the normal attribute of Constantia] is replaced by an arrow of love” (Wind, *ibid.* 74, fig. 49). Two other medals bear on one side portraits of the lady inscribed MARIA POLITIANA and on the other portraits of Politian inscribed ANGELI POLITIANI (note case). On one of these medals both Politian and the lady appear to my eye to be several years older than on the other. The cumulative evidence of these medals suggests to me intimate and probably amorous association in a single household over a number of years. Although Politian, unlike most of the Humanists of his day, has left little of the kind of verse that Victorians considered indelicate, and in his extant letters shows complete reserve on such matters, a careful reader of his works, I believe, will not doubt that he deeply appreciated and enjoyed the charms of women. I therefore understand the Greek verses which in the last years of his life he addressed to the beautiful and learned Alessandra Scala to mean what they say, and I cannot share the confidence of scholars who *know* that he had no amatory interest in her *because* he was technically a priest and so could not marry. Whether Politian also indulged in paederasty, as was widely alleged at the time of his death, is another question; the reports are numerous, but they all show malice. Some support for them, however, may perhaps be found in Politian's *Epig. Lat.* 62–4, *Epig. Graec.* 23, 26, 27.

¹⁷ It is true that he had published his *De coniuratione Pactiana commentarium* in 1478, but this was obviously printed at the instance of Lorenzo as political propaganda. In this narrative, stylistically modelled on Sallust, Politian is grossly unfair to the conspirators, but not necessarily venal as a writer. We must remember not only that his constant association with, obligations to, and affection for, his patrons understandably prejudiced him in their favor, but that Giuliano had been murdered and Lorenzo wounded before his very eyes while he himself was in considerable danger.

¹⁸ E.g. his letter to Pico (Pico, *op. cit.* YYiii): “Arsi paene semper—nimis improbe forsitan, sed arsi tamen semper studio famae perpetuae.”

¹⁹ Cf. his exhortation (still worthy of iteration) to young scholars, *Misc.* 90, “ne quid umquam de intentione remittant, neu parcant industriae operaeque, neve indulgeant sibi aut oneri cedant. Circumspiciant undique, librent, pensent,

made no effort to have printed the various works that he had written before 1482, either regarding them as juvenile work done *exercendi ingenii gratia* or reserving them for future revision.

Until he was almost thirty-eight, Politian's life was such that, as he put it, "unus ex omnibus litterarum professoribus et eram fortunatissimus et habebam."²⁰ Then, on 8 April 1492, Lorenzo il Magnifico died, presumably of natural causes. The next day the body of his physician, a noted professor of medicine, was found at the bottom of a well. With such auspices the power of the Medici, a beneficent despotism covered by a now threadbare and tattered mantle of republican forms, passed into the tremulous hands of Politian's former pupil, Piero, a boy of twenty who was heir to responsibilities beyond his capacities and to accumulated hatreds that might have daunted a Caesar.

The last two years of Politian's life, which practically coincided with the duration of Medicean rule, were spent in the shadow of the tempest that was gathering over Florence and all Italy. He, to be sure, retained his appointments, increased his income by adding a benefice or two, and, but for the guile of Alexander VI, would have become a cardinal. But he lived in an ever thickening atmosphere of malice. He was involved in various quarrels, too intricate to be examined here, with various scholars and with members of the Medicean court, was soon on bad terms with most or all of his colleagues in the university, and was attacked by the envious throughout Italy. By the end of 1493, it would seem, his only real friends of importance in Florence were the young Count della Mirandola, to whom he was bound by an affection that had not been impaired by the increasing diversity of their interests,²¹

exigantque singula, nihilque non olfactent, non excutiant, non examinent, non castigant etiam atque etiam ac sub incudem saepius revocent. . . . Sed in primis caveant . . . ne dum nimis ad vota laudum properant, cruda adhuc in publicum sua studia propellant." See also *Ep.* 9.1, with which he sends to Corvinus a "poëma multa lima cruciatum": "Quivis intelliget quam multis ista mihi lucubrationibus constiterint. Quare ne quaeso numeret Angeli Politiani carmina lector, sed ponderet." Politian probably intended never to publish such works as the poem *In scabiem* recently discovered in a unique manuscript by P. O. Kristeller; see Perosa, *Sylva*, 11-15. A curious instance of Politian's caution in such matters was, despite his wishes, preserved in Laurent. XC sup. 38, a letter which has a postscript requesting the recipient (Piero de' Medici) to destroy it because it was written in haste and sent without revision.

²⁰ *Ep.* 4.2.

²¹ After the beginning of their firm friendship, Pico della Mirandola learned Hebrew and Aramaic, became fascinated by the wild gibberish of the Kabbalah,

and Piero de' Medici, who appears to have been sincerely attached to his former tutor.²² But Politian became the target of almost all the political passions of a diseased commonwealth. To the surviving members of the old aristocracy that the Medici had so consistently humiliated, Politian seemed the *parvenu* hireling of tyranny. To the rabble, he represented the superiority of culture, ever a thing hateful in itself. The cadet branch of the Medici, fatuously engaged in sedition at home and treason abroad, regarded him as an obstacle to be removed. To the conglomeration of bigots, hypocrites, and scoundrels that was forming about the grim figure of Savonarola,²³ he was the symbol of "paganism." To more orthodox Catholics, his intimate association with Pico della Mirandola made him suspect of heresy.²⁴

In the middle of September, 1494, Politian suddenly and mysteriously fell ill. It is probable that he was systematically poisoned by the same unidentified group that instigated the poisoning of his friend, Pico della Mirandola.²⁵ While Politian

burned his poems, and—at least in certain moods—seemed to have become a strange enthusiast. But this side of his character was not exhibited in his relations with Politian, to judge from the latter's account (*Ep.* 9.13) of Pico's impulsive visits to his secluded villa in Fiesole: "sacpius e querceto suo me Picus invisit improvisus obrepens extractumque de latebra secum ducit ad cenulam . . . scitam plenamque semper iucundi sermonis et ioci." Eugenio Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (Firenze 1937), has left a number of interesting questions unanswered.

²² The best proof of this, I think, is the fact that after Politian's death Piero, in the midst of his desperate efforts to stave off ruin, began to write out with his own hand a defence of Politian against the malicious criticisms of Bartolomeo Scala. The document was published by Del Lungo, "Scala," 179–80. This is one of the reasons why I cannot accept Mrs. Cotton Hill's hypothesis ("Death," 12) that it was Piero who had Politian poisoned; for the other reason, see note 25.

²³ In an age largely dominated by the romantic notion that professions of good intentions somehow absolve men of responsibility for their acts, it is well to recall Roscoe's judicious characterization (*op. cit.* 294): "Savonarola united in himself those exact proportions of knavery, talents, folly, and learning, which, combined with the insanity of superstition, compose the character of a fanatic."

²⁴ In 1486 Pico had ostentatiously propounded in Rome nine hundred theses far more drastic and potentially dangerous to the Church than those which were nailed to a door in Wittenberg thirty-one years later. Pico, protected by the influence of Lorenzo and his own noble rank, escaped in that relatively tolerant time with only a token apology, but he was widely suspected of both heresy and witchcraft.

²⁵ The parallels between the deaths of Pico and Politian have been convincingly drawn by Mrs. Cotton Hill, "Death," 10, 12–13. Pico was poisoned by his secretary, who surely acted on behalf of principals whose identity remains unascertained; see Dorez, "La mort." Dorez and Mrs. Cotton Hill suspect Piero de' Medici (cf. note 22 above), but do not take into account a bit of information given in the yet unpublished chronicle of Piero Parenti (cf. note 26) quoted by Perosa, "*Epigrammi*," 67, n. 1. Now if we put our pieces of information together, we must be impressed by the fact that in

was still alive, the governing board of the university cancelled payment of the installment of his salary then due, and his benefices were being distributed to eager candidates. He died on 28 September 1494, almost universally hated: "passò di questa vita, con tanta infamia e publica vituperazione quanta omo sostenere potessi."²⁶

Politian's income and leaseholds ceased with his death. The members of his family appear to have been interested only in annexing portable property. It seems likely that they sold or abandoned his books and manuscripts, in which they had no interest. By the time that the state acted under some pretext to seize his books, few were left, and the only bit of Politian's work among them was what seems to have been a notebook dating from his boyhood.²⁷

It is quite possible that some copies of Politian's work were destroyed through sheer malice or in the course of the various civil disorders that closely followed his death. But some unpublished writings passed into the hands of persons of scholarly attainments or pretensions (Lascaris? Marullus? Scala?), if Aldus

August, 1497, when Savonarola and his faction were in complete control of Florence, six men were arrested on suspicion of intrigue on behalf of the exiled Piero de' Medici; five were summarily executed, but the sixth, who had been Pico's secretary, confessed to having poisoned him *and was immediately set free*.—Mrs. Cotton Hill's argument ("Death," Appendix 2) is somewhat weakened by her assumption that, despite the similarity of the symptoms that preceded the death of both men, Pico was poisoned with arsenic but a different poison was administered to Politian. Now, so far as I can see, this assumption is based on nothing more than the fact that Pico's body when it was exhumed in 1940 was "in as perfect condition as an Egyptian mummy" (*ibid.*, Appendix 3), while Politian's was so completely disintegrated that only a few bones were found. My friend, Dr. Max Appel, on the basis of his long and varied experience in forensic medicine, assures me that although arsenic is a highly efficacious taricheutic agent, not even the maximum quantity that could be internally administered as a poison would sensibly retard the normal process of putrefaction after death. He suggests that the preservation of Pico's body is probably the result of skillful embalming, in which arsenic may well have been employed. In his opinion, therefore, the condition of the bodies is not an indication that the two men, if poisoned, were not given the same poison, whether arsenic (which, to be sure, was a favorite poison in the Renaissance as in our own time) or one of the several other poisons which, administered in cumulative doses, could have produced the recorded symptoms.

²⁶ Piero Parenti, who was forty-four and in Florence when Politian died, seems to be a trustworthy and relatively impartial witness. The various accounts of Politian's death, most of them animated by a malice so obvious that it defeats its purpose, are collected by Del Lungo, *Florentia*, 255–79.

²⁷ The inventory, which is dated 24 October, 1495, but does not state when the books were actually seized, was first published by Roscoe, *op. cit.* Appendix 31.

Manutius was correctly informed when, in the preface to the first publication of Politian's *Opera*, he regretted that he could not include works "quae, ut audio, quidam Florentiae occultant, ut edant pro suis." Other unpublished works seem to have come into the possession of obscurantists and bigots, perhaps followers of Savonarola, for Politian's disciple, Petrus Crinitus, who had every opportunity to be well informed, laments that his latest "commentarii magna ex parte ab his retinentur atque occultantur qui meliores litteras et antiquitatem impudentissime contemnunt."²⁸ The works in question are now regarded as irretrievably lost, although it is not impossible that some of the abducted manuscripts may yet come to light.²⁹

The crimes that we have just mentioned make it seem quite improbable that any of the works of Politian printed in the years following his death, with the sole exception of the Greek epigrams,³⁰ were transcribed from his originals.

The tale of calamity was not yet complete. When Aldus, perhaps at the instance of Pico della Mirandola's nephew and heir, undertook to publish the available works of Politian, he entrusted the work of collecting and editing to a literary adventurer named Alessandro Sarti. Recognizing an opportunity for self-advertisement, officious meddling, and direct or indirect profit, this unsavory individual began by forging a few passages for insertion in Politian's correspondence to make it appear that Alessandro Sarti was the esteemed friend of Politian and a great scholar.³¹ If he had a copy of the collection of letters that

²⁸ *De honesta disciplina* (ed. Angeleri, Roma 1955) 11.12.

²⁹ The work of which Crinitus specifically deplores the concealment, Politian's second *Centuria miscellaneorum*, was, according to a circumstantial account which I heard from extremely reputable sources in Florence, secretly preserved in that city until after the recent war and then smuggled out of Italy. The manuscript is said now to be in a suburb of Chicago, Illinois.

³⁰ These were transcribed "sicut in archetypo volumine scripta erant" by Zenobio Acciaiuoli according to a preface dated 1 December, 1495, which was obviously intended for a printed edition. Conditions in Florence probably made it impossible for Acciaiuoli to bring out his edition (cf. Perosa, "*Epigrammi*," 68, note 1), and his manuscript eventually reached Sarti, who reproduced the preface in the Aldine edition, but may well have suppressed part of the collection. According to Anthos Ardizzoni in his critical edition, only four of the fifty-seven Greek poems in the Aldine edition have been preserved independently in manuscript, but four others are to be found in manuscripts known to Perosa, "*Epigrammi*," 74-5.

³¹ This shocking forgery was exposed by Dorez, "Alde Manuce." The complicity of Aldus is suggested, though not conclusively established, by the fact that Sarti also rewrote a letter from Aldus to Politian.

Politian had prepared for publication just before his death,³² he dismembered it and suppressed a considerable number of letters by Politian or to him.³³ What he did to the texts that he did print may be inferred from the fact that he, for reasons which may have been either political or pecuniary, urged some of the living correspondents of Politian to rewrite their letters and even sought to bring pressure to bear on them when they refused.³⁴ Although his greatest depredations were doubtless committed on the letters, he certainly censored the other writings, striking out poems and perhaps passages which might have displeased persons from whom he could expect favors or rewards.³⁵ And it is not to be imagined that such a man would show any great sense of editorial responsibility in preparing for the press the parts of Politian's work in which nothing was to be gained by dishonesty.

The Aldine edition was the source of all the later editions of Politian's *Opera* (including, of course, that printed in Florence in 1499). It is obvious, therefore, that for that part of Politian's work—unfortunately a large part—which is not preserved in manuscripts or other sources independent of the Aldine edition, the text cannot be accepted with implicit confidence, and should

³² At the time of his death, Politian, as is clear from his letter of 23 May, 1494 to Piero de' Medici (published by Del Lungo, *Prose*, 84–5), had ready for the press a collection of letters which he thought worthy of preservation, including his friends' replies. Of the three letters which he mentions having included, one, the dedication to Piero, is reproduced in the Aldine edition, a second is probably printed with modifications, and the third does not appear at all. Politian was a systematic man and must have given considerable thought to the arrangement of the letters for publication; of this clear traces appear in the Aldine edition amid a general chaos which cannot be the work of Politian. It is possible that Politian's collection was in twelve books; if so, the fact that Sarti's edition in twelve books contains so many letters neither to, by, nor about Politian, and a considerable number written after his death, suggests that he used padding to conceal drastic deletions. On the other hand, Politian speaks of his collection as a *liber*, and it may have been much less extensive.

³³ On the problems involved, see Campana, "Carteggio," and Perosa, "Contributi." On the dispersion of Politian's books and papers, see Campana, "Contributi," 174, and C. Di Piero, "Zibaldoni autografi di Angelo Poliziano," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 55 (1910) 1–3.

³⁴ Chance has preserved for us a partial record of one such transaction. Sarti urged Antonius Codrus to rewrite one of his letters to Politian, and, when Codrus refused, enlisted the services of Baptista Palmarius, to whom Codrus (in a letter quoted by Dorez, "Alde Manuce," 325) finally wrote in exasperation "De epistola mea ad Politianum . . . iam . . . scripsi ad vos ut aut ita ut erat imprimeretis aut combureretis." The latter alternative was taken.

³⁵ Perosa, "Contributi," 97–9.

be regarded with suspicion at all points at which Sarti might conceivably have had a motive for tampering with it.³⁶

II

The date of Politian's translation of the *Enchiridion* was doubtless indicated, in conformity with his usual practice, at the end of the preface in which he dedicated the work to Lorenzo de' Medici, but this date has disappeared from the text that has come down to us. It can, however, be approximately determined.

In the preface Politian says that he translated Epictetus' manual for Lorenzo "ut indulti a te nobis huius tam suavis otii rationem aliquam redderem." It will have been seen from the foregoing account of Politian's career that there were only two periods in his life in which he could have described himself as enjoying *otium* through the indulgence of Lorenzo, viz. 1473-5 and May to December, 1479.

The first of these two periods is ruled out by the consideration that at that time Politian was supposed to be engaged on a specific project, i.e. completion of his translation of the *Iliad*, and he could scarcely have described himself as looking through Lorenzo's *pulcherrima bibliotheca* for a suitable work to translate—certainly not without some reference to the interruption of the work on which he was then engaged.

If we turn to the second period, we are entitled to infer from Politian's words ("ut . . . rationem *aliquam* redderem") that the translation was the first fruit of his leisure. This inference is confirmed by a striking verbal parallelism. In his letter of

³⁶ Perhaps even where there is no perceptible motive. Compare, for example, Politian's *Ep.* 1.12 with the text in Vittore Branca's edition of Hermolai Barbari *Epistolae, Orationes et Carmina* (Firenze 1943), No. 125. The Aldine edition omits some ten lines. Compare also the text of Pico's letter in the Aldine (*Ep.* 1.3) with the fuller version in Pico, *op. cit.* TTiii + 1, and note that the last part shows that Politian's letter (*Ep.* 1.4) appears in mutilated form in the Aldine edition, as is also shown by the fuller text of Pico's reply to it. (Pico's correspondence was also tampered with, but his nephew, who prepared the first edition, was motivated by religious fanaticism, changing *di* to *Deus* and doubtless furbishing up his uncle's piety in other matters, but apparently making no other changes.) But these are all changes which *could* have been made by Politian himself, for the stylistic revision of correspondence before publication was a common practice in the Renaissance—and, indeed, until quite recent times. But this, of course, does not palliate Sarti's dishonesty.

22 May 1479 to Lorenzo,³⁷ Politian says that he has settled down in the villa in Fiesole, promises to produce some *libelli* to show himself worthy of Lorenzo's kindness, and, after intimating that he is still smarting from the treatment he received from Clarice, says that "indulto nobis abs te hoc suavi otio aliquid iam . . . solatii reperimus." These words are so closely echoed in the preface ("indulti a te nobis huius tam suavis otii") that it is a reasonable inference that they were written at about the same time.

If Politian was beginning work on the translation about the time the letter was written, we can estimate the time that he spent on it. Politian's translation was seen, presumably soon after it was presented to Lorenzo, by Bartolomeo Scala, who made, either verbally or in writing, some sweeping criticisms of Epictetus, to which Politian replied in an epistolary essay which in the Aldine edition, our only source of the text, bears the date 1 August 1479. This date fits so well with our other information that we may accept it.³⁸

Politian translated Plutarch's *Amatoriae narrationes* for Pandolfo Collenuccio to whom he had shown a translation which he had just completed of the *Problemata* attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias. In the preface to Collenuccio, Politian remarks with some satisfaction that, despite the war and the pestilence that are afflicting Florence, he continues to enjoy scholarly leisure:

³⁷ Published by Picotti, *Ricerche*, 72-3, who has noted (*ibid.* 49) the parallelism on which I here remark and has drawn the same inference. When I mistakenly accepted (*Perotti*, 28) 1475 as the date of Politian's translation, I had not yet seen the rare pamphlet of Lorenzo d'Amore, *Epistole inedite di Angelo Poliziano* (Napoli 1909), in which this letter was first printed, and did not, of course, know Picotti's work.

³⁸ Such dates, if given at all in early printed editions, are apt to be unreliable. The letter is reprinted in the edition which I cite in note 1 above, and in Eugenio Garin, *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milano [1952]) 910-24. Politian's principal source is Simplicius. Properly to appreciate the letter we must remember that there seems always to have been a latent hostility between Politian and Scala, who was twenty-four or twenty-six years older than he and appears to have been the most insufferable type of "self-made" man (in a letter to Politian, *Ep.* 12.16, he boasts that he came to Florence "nudus omnium rerum bonarum, egenus, . . . vilissimis ortus parentibus"). As Chancellor of the Florentine Republic he was so useful to the Medici in concealing the real nature of their power that he became extremely wealthy and built for himself what Politian (*Od.* 10) sarcastically called a country estate in town. Scala insisted on posing as a learned man, and Politian undoubtedly thought him ridiculous, although formal courtesy was maintained until the death of Lorenzo. Hostilities then became open, precisely at the time that Politian was paying court to Scala's beautiful and learned daughter (cf. note 16a above).

"concesso nobis a Laurentio Medice Faesulano otio . . . fruimur." Now the only year in which he enjoyed such leisure was, as we have seen, 1479.³⁹ We are therefore justified in making a slight correction in the subscription given in the Aldine text and reading *Faesulis, Nonis Sextilibus, Mccccclxxviii*<*i*>.⁴⁰

Now if we assume that the three translations and the essay were the only work done by Politian between 22 May and 5 August, and that he worked at a uniform pace, the *Enchiridion* would have been translated between 22 May and 8 June. If we say that the translation was probably made in June, 1479, the approximation will be sufficiently close for our purposes.⁴¹

Another detail may properly be noted here. When Pico della Mirandola first visited Florence at the age of sixteen, he found in Politian, who was twenty-five and had been equally precocious, a mentor who warmly encouraged him in his studies and ambitions, which were at that time exclusively Humanistic. Although the boy and the young man parted with mutual good will and esteem, the warm and intimate friendship which lasted to their almost simultaneous deaths seems first to have been formed when Pico returned to Florence in 1484, and there is no evidence that they corresponded before 1483. Perhaps in March or April of that year,⁴² Pico, writing primarily on another matter, asked Politian to send him "Epictetum tuum et quae de Homero in hanc usque diem a te translata sunt, item quae de Iuliano Medice sermone patrio [*sc. Stanze per la giostra*] et quaecumque alia Latino sermone composuisti."⁴³ In answer to a second letter from Pico, written on 12 May 1483, Politian sent the *Enchiridion*, but declared that the other works requested were not fit to be seen: "Reliqui, quos petis, negant ferre lucem."⁴⁴ After Pico read the translation, he wrote enthusiastically that he had been

³⁹ In August of 1478 he was probably in Pistoia, as Picotti, who suggests the emendation I here adopt, notes, *Ricerche*, 30.

⁴⁰ Politian habitually wrote Roman numerals by addition, not subtraction.

⁴¹ I suspect that Politian was the type of scholar who works intermittently but very intensively. He claims (*Ep.* 4.13) to have dictated the first draft of his translation of Herodian (223 pages of Teubner text) *diebus pauculis*. It is a masterpiece of translation.

⁴² Dates are omitted in the printed texts, but see Dorez, "Sonetti," 98.

⁴³ Pico, *op. cit.* TTiii + 1. It would appear that Politian did not answer this letter before he received from Pico a second letter, which, according to Dorez (see note 42), was dated 12 May, 1483.

⁴⁴ *Ep.* 1.4, in reply to 1.3 (cf. note 36 above). This part of the correspondence (i.e. *Ep.* 1.3-6) is in chronological order; I suspect that Rossi's statement to the contrary (*op. cit.* 398) is based on some disorder in his notes.

converted to Stoicism.⁴⁵ The incident merely shows that Politian, although reserving the other works in question, was quite willing to send Pico a copy of the *Enchiridion*, and, we may be sure, supplied copies to other people. Were there reason to believe that the men were close friends before 1484, we might think it remarkable that Pico had not seen a translation completed four years earlier, but I know of no evidence to warrant such a supposition.

III

The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus was first translated into Latin by Niccolò Perotti in 1450. If we compare Perotti's version with Politian's translation in the form in which it has hitherto been printed, it will seem obvious that Politian was guilty of gross plagiarism. I duly noted this fact in my edition of Perotti's translation, but, since no manuscript of Politian's translation was known to be available at the time I wrote, I could only suggest as an hypothesis that the passages which seemed to prove plagiarism might have been interpolated by Philippus Beroaldus in the *editio princeps* of Politian's work.⁴⁶ That hypothesis has now been fully verified, and I think that I have been able to show that Politian had no knowledge of Perotti's translation.⁴⁷

In his prefatory letter Politian describes his sources and method of procedure thus:

Hoc ego opus cum Latinum facere aggrederer, . . . in duo omnino mendosissima exemplaria incidi pluribusque locis magna ex parte mutilata. Quapropter cum et cetera quaecunque usquam exemplaria exstarent non dissimilia his esse audirem, permisi mihi ut sicubi aliqua capita aut deessent aut dimidiata superforent, ea ego de Simplicii verbis, qui id opus interpretatus est, maxima, quantum in me esset, fide supplerem. . . . Quod ne quempiam forte perturbet, quemadmodum Aristarchus Homeri versus quos ipse non probaret, ita nos singula ipsa capita quae nostris quidem verbis explicentur obelo, hoc est veru, iuglavimus.

These *obeli*, we may be sure, were reproduced in all copies made under Politian's supervision,⁴⁸ but they have completely vanished from the text that has come down to us.

⁴⁵ *Ep.* 1.5.

⁴⁶ Oliver, *Perotti*, 29-30, 108-9.

⁴⁷ Oliver, "Era plagiatario?" 256-63.

⁴⁸ They certainly appeared in the copy sent to Pico, who (*Ep.* 1.5) jests about the number of *obeli* that Epictetus had fixed, like arrows, in his body.

The loss of the *obeli* greatly complicates the problem of identifying the Greek manuscripts that he used, for while his dependence on the commentary is in many places obvious, there are passages in which it is difficult to decide whether his words are a paraphrase based on the commentary or represent a possible translation of a possible reading in some form of the Greek text. And since he used two manuscripts, it would be necessary to identify *both*, if either is to be identified with any certainty—unless, of course, there are marginal notations in Politian's hand. I can only report that an extensive, though not, of course, exhaustive, search in various Italian libraries has produced no noteworthy results.

In the Laurentian library manuscript Redi 15 contains, ff. 14–31, a Greek text of the *Enchiridion* with *variae lectiones* and marginal notes in both Greek and Latin which, according to the catalogue of that collection,⁴⁹ are in the hand of Politian.

This copy of the *Enchiridion*, as shown by an undated colophon, was made in Crete by Antonius Mediolaneus, a scribe who later signed his name as Antonius Damilas, and whose earliest dated work was done in Crete in May, 1479.⁵⁰ At first sight this manuscript seems to meet our requirements. As is clear from marginal notes such as “hoc non erat in alio codice,”⁵¹ it was collated with one other manuscript. This work was done in Florence by some one who had access to one of the Medicean collections and was presumably contemplating a translation, for one of the first notations made on the manuscript, presumably by the collator, although in a larger and much coarser hand, reads

Exegesin habes huius libelli in uolumine uiridi in quo
Aphorismi Hippocratis
In bibliotheca Diui Marci
[Nota quod siñe hac interpretatione impossibile est
epictetum latinum facere. Cum ea facillimum erit.]⁵²

⁴⁹ By Enrico Rostagno, *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 1 (1893) 219.

⁵⁰ See Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) s.n. Antonii. The accuracy of the statements there given is confirmed by my colleague, Professor Alexander Turyn, on whose vast erudition in such matters I implicitly rely.

⁵¹ On ff. 21^r, 24^r, 26^v.

⁵² The passage which I have shown as deleted was probably blotted out when the annotator discovered that there was a Latin translation. Inserted above the colophon is the memorandum “Confer exegesin cum latino et super adde quae uidentur addenda.”

But all of this is sheer coincidence, for Politian cannot have used this manuscript.

In the first place, the writing, though somewhat similar, is not Politian's. Augusto Campana, the celebrated palaeographer of the Vatican Library, who has an unrivalled knowledge of Humanistic hands in general and of Politian's in particular, examined the manuscript and gave to me the opinion on which I base my confident statement.

Secondly, the copious annotations from the *Exegesis* of Simplicius, which are partly in Latin and partly in Greek, stop abruptly at chapter 9 of the *Enchiridion*, where the scholiast has written in the margin "Hactenus interpres: deinceps non est in codice uiridi." Clearly, his only text of Simplicius stopped at this point. Politian, on the other hand, as is clear from his translation, used Simplicius throughout, and depends most heavily on him in some of the later chapters.

Finally, a collation of this manuscript shows conclusively that Politian cannot have used it. A single example, of the many possible, will, I think, be probative. The first part of chapter 40 of the *Enchiridion* reads as follows in this manuscript:

αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθύς ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἰδ̄ κυραὶ καλοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. τοιγαροῦν ὁρῶσαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο μὲν αὐταῖς πρόσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμᾶσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἄρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάσας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας.⁵³

This whole passage is represented in Politian's version by the following:

Mulieres statim a quarto decimo anno dominae vocantur.
His enim viri ob concubitus blandiuntur. Virorum ergo culpa sibi
deinceps nimis placet.

The words that I have italicized obviously do not come from the Greek text; on examination, it will be found that they are taken from Simplicius (300B). And similarly, in every passage in

⁵³ I have resolved the numerous contractions, but have reproduced the scribe's occasionally erratic accentuation and habitual neglect of iota subscript. It will be noted that the passage corresponds in meaning to, although it differs in some details from, the *textus receptus* of the *Enchiridion*. This manuscript and the one with which it was collated show no consistent pattern of agreement with any of the manuscripts used by Schweighaeuser; the *variae lectiones* transcribed from the second manuscript more frequently agree with the text presupposed by Politian's version than do the readings of the manuscript itself.

which Politian turned to Simplicius to eke out his mutilated texts, the Laurentian manuscript presents a text which, although not always correct, is substantially complete and easily translatable. Unless Politian was indulging in an elaborate and futile mystification, the conclusion is inescapable.

In summary, therefore, the two Greek manuscripts used by Politian remain unidentified. Laurentianus Redi 15 was not one of them.

IV

Why did Politian choose to translate the *Enchiridion*? He undoubtedly had at his disposal in the library of the Medici many Greek works of comparable length preserved in much better manuscripts and more likely to please Lorenzo—for despite Politian's prefatory claim that Epictetus' doctrine, "si recte perpendas, non cuiquam magis aliorum quam ingentis fortunae viris conveniat," we may doubt that the magnificent master of Florence was much impressed. I have elsewhere argued that the *Enchiridion*, which did not become popular and widely read until after the religious crises of the sixteenth century, contravened much that was inherent in the spirit of the early Renaissance⁵⁴; and while Politian's early poverty and the painful insecurity that he must have felt when as a tutor he was squeezed between the conflicting wills of a husband and wife may have chastened his soul,⁵⁵ he, for whom literary glory was the highest good and who proudly thought of himself as a *grammaticus* in the ancient tradition, cannot have been willing to learn from Epictetus contempt for fame, literary elegance, and the learning of the *grammatici*. But, improbable as it may seem *a priori*, Politian did assimilate so much of the thought of the *Enchiridion* that no other source contributed more conspicuously to the stock of ideas in his mind thirteen years later when he delivered the graceful prose

⁵⁴ Oliver, *Perotti*, 27–8.

⁵⁵ Picotti, *Ricerche*, 50, suggests in passing that Politian translated the *Enchiridion* because some of its maxims "in que' giorni potevano sembrare a Lorenzo e forse a Clarice, sdegnata per altre meno rispettose parole di Agnolo, quasi proposito di vita nuova." But Picotti has just shown (*ibid.* 45) that Clarice had no intellectual interests and probably could not even read Latin. As for Lorenzo, had Politian intended the translation as a promise of better conduct, he would surely have given some hint in his preface. There is no indication in the extant correspondence that Politian ever felt that he had been in the wrong.

praelection entitled *Lamia*.⁵⁶ To regard his translation as an exercise in scholarship or a tribute to a patron⁵⁷ would be as great a mistake as to regard Politian as a disciple of Epictetus.

Politian always maintained—nowhere more emphatically than in the *Lamia*—that he was not a philosopher, and he has usually been taken at his word.⁵⁸ But he makes it clear that he is not a philosopher because he does not presume to determine the ultimate nature of the universe or enforce by logic an analysis of man. He is what we should call a philologist, and although Politian is following in the tradition of Valla, he is, so far as I know, the first Humanist clearly to envisage and to define the scope of Humanistic research. It is the function of the scholar to understand, to elucidate, to criticize all the manifestations of high civilization: “grammaticorum enim sunt haec partes, ut omne scriptorum genus, poëtas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, medicos, iureconsultos, excutiant atque enarrent.”⁵⁹ Critics in

⁵⁶ I here indicate a few obvious parallels, citing the *Lamia*, *faute de mieux*, by pages of Del Lungo's edition of 1925 and the opening words of the passage in question, and citing the *Enchiridion* by the standard divisions of the Greek text, appending in Roman numerals the number of the chapter in Politian's version: 186 “qui sic repente philosophus prodiit” ~ 22 (xxvii). 186 “quod . . . videri velim philosophus” ~ 23 (xxviii). 194 “in primis necessariam esse” ~ 52 (lxvii). 220 “te repente prodiiisse” ~ 22 (xxvii). 220 “me Aristotelis profiteor interpretem” ~ 49 (lxiv). 224 “‘Oves’ inquit Stoicus Epictetus” ~ 46 (lxi). There are also reminiscences of Simplicius' commentary, e.g. 202 “nostra curabimus . . . nos ipsos . . . posthabebimus” ~ 6c.

⁵⁷ Perotti (Oliver, *Perotti*, 20–5) translated the *Enchiridion* to please Nicholas V, who had commissioned a version of the whole of Simplicius' commentary. Politian himself translated Herodian because he had been commissioned by Innocent VIII to translate a Greek historian (*Eph.* 8.1), and Plutarch's *Amatoriae narrationes* because, as he says in the preface, Collenuccio had expressed interest in the subject.

⁵⁸ E.g. Picotti, *Ricerche*, 11: “Il Poliziano fu mai filosofo”; Eugenio Garin, *Filosofi italiani del Quattrocento* (Firenze 1942) 409: “Porre fra i filosofi il Poliziano . . . potrebbe sembrare fuori luogo. . . Ebbe tuttavia spesso il senso del mondo della cultura come prodotto dell'opera umana.” But cf. Giuseppe Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento* (Bologna 1949–51) 1.546, who points out that Politian's thought “assume un atteggiamento filosofico, la quale vuol essere, ed è, una costruzione libera del sapere.” Politian, in fact, by replacing formal doctrine with a kind of encyclopaedic knowledge of all that affects man's life in this world, “pone in risalto la filosofia, ma considerata non più come soltanto scienza speculativa.”

⁵⁹ *Lamia*, 220. Cf. Politian's survey of human knowledge in the *Panepistemon*, a praelection of November, 1490, and *Misc.* 4: “Qui poëtarum interpretationem suscipit, eum non solum (quod dicitur) ad Aristophanis lucernam, sed etiam ad Cleanthis oportet lucubrasse. Nec prospiciendae autem philosophorum modo familiae, sed et iureconsultorum et medicorum item et dialecticorum et quicunque doctrinae illum orbem faciunt quem vocamus encyclicia [cf. Quintil. 1.10.1], sed et philosophorum quoque omnium; nec prospiciendae tantum, verum introspiciendae magis, neque

this sense are the true "censores et iudices scriptorum omnium," for it is they who determine the value of all works—even those of the philosophers—by submitting them to the test of a high discipline, which is really an analysis based on historical knowledge. This implies the wisdom of the man who sees all things in the vast perspective of recorded history and the mutations of mankind—who knows, for example, that the proudest king has in his veins the blood of slaves, and that the meanest slave may be a descendant of kings: "omnia enim . . . longa aetas miscuit."⁶⁰ Let the philosopher find (if he can) eternal verities; the philologist knows the world of flux and reflux in which we live. And from this he may extract a wisdom that is not less real because it is not to be reduced to the formulaic simplicity of dogma.

Now this attitude implies what one may call eclecticism, but it rests on the premise that underlies all Humanistic studies from the Renaissance to our own day, although it is now frequently obscured by the strange notion that scholarship is concerned with techniques, so that many people think of a Classicist as a technician in Greek syntax or even in the art of amusing uneducated undergraduates, just as the Professor of Advertising, for example, is a technician in the science of bamboozling boobs. The Humanistic premise has always been that the intensive study of Graeco-Roman antiquity makes men more human, makes them *better*—or, to put it another way, is the means of improving and even, in a sense, of creating ourselves. We study the Classics *ut nos ipsos nobis quantum liceat asseramus*.⁶¹ However strange the proposition may sound to some modern ears, the affirmation of a necessary and reciprocal connection between the study of Greek and Latin and the recognition of ethical values is a commonplace from Petrarch to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.⁶²

There is a further connection with ethics, particularly relevant when we speak of Politian, that is so obvious that, like Poe's purloined letter, it is generally overlooked. Although we are

(quod dicitur) ab limine ac vestibulo salutandae, sed arcessendae potius in penetralia et in intimam familiaritatem, si rem iuvare Latinam studemus et inscitiam quotidie invalescentem profligare."

⁶⁰ *Lamia*, 212.

⁶¹ The conclusion of the letter to Scala cited in note 38 above.

⁶² Cf. Wilamowitz' *aurea sententia* in *Die griechische Tragödie und ihre drei Dichter* (Berlin 1923) 5: "Ohne Lernen erreicht zwar niemand etwas in der Wissenschaft aber das Beste *will erlebt werden*."

well aware that the generalization cannot be extended to many individuals, we all instinctively regard the practitioners of palmistry and astrology and similar arts based on false premises as conscious frauds and therefore at least potentially dishonest in all the relations of life. Conversely, we all share, I think, the feeling which leads Norbert Wiener in his recent autobiography⁶³ to record the pained amazement which he and his colleagues felt when they first encountered among professed scientists men who intrigued and lied, but to regard it as normal that such men are *incompetent* as scientists and accordingly seek administrative positions in which they can indulge their resentment against all "first-rate minds." In other words, we take it for granted that a scoundrel *cannot* be a scholar, whatever appearance of technical proficiency he may be able to present; the pursuit of truth is an ethical activity.

Politian was one of the first Humanists to formulate explicitly the ethical implications of scholarship. His *Centuria miscellaneorum* is generally recognized as providing the first true model of the scholarly note or article, whose purpose is to present *all* of the evidence with lucid dispassion; it deserves equal recognition for its insistence on the pursuit of truth as paramount to all personal considerations,⁶⁴ and on the obligation to enforce on oneself and others a standard of absolute personal integrity.⁶⁵ It is not a coincidence that Politian was not involved in polemics of the type with which we must regretfully associate such great names as Poggio, Filelfo, and Valla, nor that he occasionally astonishes readers accustomed to the period by admitting that he could err.⁶⁶

Politian felt the relation between scholarship and morality—if we may use that word without implying the Victorian distortion of its meaning—so strongly that in a letter to Archbishop (later Cardinal) Lorenzo Cibò, brother of Innocent VIII, he drew, and expected his reader to accept, a contrast between the "genus ipsum

⁶³ *I Am a Mathematician* (New York 1956) 271–2, 360–5.

⁶⁴ See the preface and the "coronis" of the *Centuria miscellaneorum*; cf. *Ep.* 11.2.

⁶⁵ *Misc.* 9 and 90.

⁶⁶ E.g. returning a manuscript of his Herodian that he had corrected for publication (*Ep.* 4.13): "nostra errata plura in eo quam librarii deprehendas"; cf. *Misc.* praef.: "Si quid indoctius incautiusque protulero, refutari a quovis cupio, refutaturus ipse me, si fuero admonitus. Non enim sic me perverse amo ut errare alios malim quam innotescere quod errem."

monachorum contumacissimum et prostitutae frontis" and scholars: "cogites velim . . . me vero hominem puri et simplicis ingenii, quales plerique litterarum studiosi, . . . qui neque mentiri ipse constituerim et fide nihil habeam antiquius."⁶⁷

To such a mind the simple sincerity and moral earnestness of Epictetus would necessarily make a strong appeal, while the very principle of philological criticism, which teaches men to understand and to esteem *both* Aristophanes and Euripides, would imply acceptance of the *Enchiridion* as part of the great lesson of antiquity, rather than as a unit of dogma. It is in this light, I think, that we should explain both Politian's decision to translate the *Enchiridion* and its subsequent influence upon him.

V

Politian, we may be sure, presented to Lorenzo de' Medici a calligraphic copy of his translation, and to Pico della Mirandola and others copies which, if less ornate, were equally correct. He undoubtedly retained at least one fair copy of a work that he may have intended eventually to revise.⁶⁸ These have all disappeared. Our only extant manuscript⁶⁹ was copied by a stupid or negligent scribe from an exemplar that may have been in a crabbed hand and appears to have been removed by so many steps from the original that the text had already become corrupted. It contains many errors of the usual kind and a few that strain a palaeographer's imagination—how, for example, *could* the word *tuas* have been changed to a nonsensical *Aesopi*? The *obeli* of Politian have completely disappeared—unless, perchance, they suggested certain squiggles that the scribe uses promiscuously, apparently as a kind of decoration.

Sometime before May, 1497, this manuscript came into the possession of Philippus Beroaldus the elder,⁷⁰ who decided to include Politian's *Enchiridion* in what appears to have been the

⁶⁷ Published by Giovanni Pesenti, *Athenaeum* 3 (1915) 292-4.

⁶⁸ He intended to revise his translation of the *Problemata* (which seems to be the translation to which he turned after completing the *Enchiridion* in the summer of 1479), according to Crinitus in the letter annexed to this translation in the Aldine edition of the *Opera*.

⁶⁹ I disregard the manuscript in the library at Savignano di Romagna (56), which is obviously a handwritten copy of some 17th-century printed edition.

⁷⁰ The uncle of the well-known editor of Tacitus; see J. Paquier, *De Philippi Beroaldi iunioris vita et scriptis* (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1900) 6-7, 93-96.

second edition⁷¹ of a small miscellany containing Censorinus *De die natali* followed by a few *opuscula* translated from the Greek by various Humanists.

Beroaldus, as I have shown in detail elsewhere,⁷² read through the manuscript and corrected some of the obvious mistakes by conjecture, but working in such haste that here and there he merely compounded the error he sought to correct. He had at hand a copy of the earlier translation by Niccolò Perotti, to which he occasionally referred and from which he transcribed what was needed to fill the lacunae that he noticed in the text of Politian. He then sent the manuscript to the printers, who (as is shown by the compositor's marks) set type from it. A considerable number of typographical errors were overlooked by the proofreader, and the edition was published in Bologna on 12 May 1497.

Fortunately for us, Beroaldus and the Bolognese printers did not follow the procedure that seems to have been customary in their day and toss the manuscript copy into the scrap-bin. Beroaldus' copy of Politian's *Enchiridion* (together with several other short manuscripts that he had owned or used) was preserved and at some later time incorporated in Riccardianus 766, a large codex of such highly miscellaneous content that Politian's translation escaped notice until 1954.⁷³

A copy of Beroaldus' printed miscellany was in the hands of Sarti when he was preparing the Aldine edition of Politian's *Opera*, and, as is shown by the reproduction of typographical

⁷¹ What is believed to be the first edition of the miscellany (Hain 4846) bears neither printer's name nor date. The edition which includes Politian's translation (Hain 4847) was, according to the colophon, "impressum Bononiae per me Benedictum hectoris bononiensis adhibita pro uiribus solertia & diligentia. Anno salutis M.cccclxxxvii. quarto idus Maii." The *solertia et diligentia* did not prevent a considerable number of typographical errors. It is curious that the dedicatory preface of this edition should repeat that of the first with only the changes necessary to include the expanded contents. I should not be astonished to learn that there had been a third printing, but I have not been able to locate a copy of it.

⁷² Oliver, "Era plagiaro?" 257-9.

⁷³ I must here express my gratitude to the learned director of the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Dr. Giovanni Semerano, whose many courtesies greatly facilitated my work. The first 156 folios of Riccardianus 766 contain lectures on law by a Vicentius Paliotus and some annexed juristic material that was apparently left incomplete; the remaining 326 folios contain twenty-five different works, including the letters of Symmachus, "Aemilius Probus," Sextus Rufus, "Cornelius Gallus" (i.e. Maximianus), Censorinus, and various translations from Plutarch, Plato, Xenophon, Lucian, *et al.* Politian's *Enchiridion* occupies ff. 309^r-318^v.

errors made by the Bolognese printers, served as the copy that was used by the typesetters in Aldus' establishment. This, of course, was merely in conformity with the established custom of contemporary printers, who, I believe, never set type from written copy if they could possibly procure an earlier printing of the text.⁷⁴

Sarti made a few corrections and additions to the printed text before sending it to the typesetters. As I have argued in detail elsewhere,⁷⁵ Sarti must have had at hand a manuscript of Politian's translation—perhaps a very good one. We do not expect from a man of his character a conscientious discharge of editorial duties, but he obviously did refer to the manuscript at two of the points at which Beroaldus' text was clearly incomplete, and seems capriciously to have consulted it in several other places, but he left so much that was wrong and even nonsensical in the text that he cannot have done so much as to read through the manuscript. With the text thus prepared, he, we may be sure, blithely threw the manuscript into the scrap-bin, in conformity with what appears to have been habitual procedure in Aldus' celebrated press.⁷⁶

All subsequent printings of Politian's *Enchiridion* were derived directly or indirectly from the Aldine edition, which was the source of all the later editions of the *Opera*, and in the light of which the text in Beroaldo's miscellany, if known at all, was corrected. The translation formed part of a miscellany printed in Strassburg in 1508; from this Haloander took the Latin text that accompanied his edition of the Greek text published at Nürnberg in 1529; this edition, after the deletion of Haloander's

⁷⁴ If there are exceptions to this rule, which I formulate on the basis of a considerable experience with books printed in Italy, Spain, and Germany during the 15th and 16th centuries, I have not encountered them.

⁷⁵ Oliver, "Era plagiaro?" 259–61. I feel confident that Sarti's insertions came from a manuscript of Politian's work. To escape this conclusion we should have either to posit the existence of a third and now lost Latin translation of the *Enchiridion*, which is improbable, or to suppose that Sarti procured a Greek text and translated from it, which is fantastic.

⁷⁶ Modern attempts to track down important manuscripts often lead us to the portals of the Aldine lion where, like the fox in the fable, we see *πολλῶν εἰσόντων ἔχνη, ἐξιόντος δὲ οὐδενός*. Two very important manuscripts of Pliny's letters, for example, disappear there; one is supposed by E. K. Rand, *HSCP* 34 (1923) 100, and B. L. Ullman, *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 27–8 (1956) 580, to have been the manuscript in 6th-century uncials of which a small fragment is now in the Morgan Library, and even if, with S. E. Stout, *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters* (Bloomington, Indiana 1954) 62–70, we reject this identification, it was nevertheless a manuscript which Aldus himself described as a *codex venerandae antiquitatis*.

name, was copied at Basel in 1531; and it was on this reprint—which at least gave a text of Politian's work that was free of the interpolations made by later editors—that Schweighaeuser principally relied for the text of Politian which he included in his *Epicteteae philosophiae monumenta*.

Since Schweighaeuser's truly monumental work *must* be at the disposal of every serious student of Epictetus, I have based on it the list of corrections which I here present. To the minimum apparatus I have made a few additions (within parentheses) so that the list may also be used by those who may prefer to refer to the text in the Aldine edition of Politian's *Opera*. An attempt to list all the errors and interpolations of the other editions that I have collated would have complicated the apparatus to the point of seriously impairing its utility.

IN POLITIANI ENCHIRIDION COMMENTARIOLVM CRITICVM

Quae sequuntur adnotata eo consilio propono ut in promptu habeas quatenus fides sit habenda ei Politiani versionis exemplo quod Schweighaeuser in iis voluminibus, quibus omnia est *Epictetae philosophiae monumenta* complexus, typis describendum anno 1800 curavit. Omnes igitur codicis Riccardiani lectiones ab Schweighaeuserianis dissentientes exscripsi praeter menda quae librarius ipse in scribendo sustulit. Qui codicem primum correxit, *R*² nominavi, quamquam adhuc dubito utrum is idem sit ac Beroaldus an vir aliquis qui codicem ante Beroaldum inspexerit. Beroaldo eas tantum tribuo lectiones quae ita in codice scribuntur ut manus eius facile agnosci possit. Editiones Bononiensem (qui anno 1497 in lucem prodiit), Aldinam (1498), Florentinam (1499) Badianam (1519), Gryphianam (1528), Basileensem (1553), Oporinanam (1554), editionesque his posteriores ideo adhibeo ut appareat quis primum singula codicis Riccardiani menda correxerit lacunasve expleverit. Praeterea nonnulla ex Aldina (in parenthesi) exscribo ne quid desit ei qui Politiano potius quam Epicteto studens eam malit adire editionem.

Litteris crassioribus ea descripsi quae meo iudicio et cum eo scribendi genere quo Politianus plerumque in hoc aliisque scriptis est usus et cum iis Epicteti Simplicii verbis quae Latine reddere voluisse videtur ita congruunt consentiuntque ut ea in textum sine dubitatione recipienda censeam. Quisquilias ad rem orthographicam spectantes consulto praetermisi; legitimam autem flexurae varietatem sedulo adnoto ne te fugiat utra duarum formarum (v.g. *omnis* et *omnes*) utri anteferenda Politiano sit visa. Praeterea moneo Politianum semper *cum* et *alioquin*, numquam *quum* et *alioqui*, scripsisse.

Numerorum notis quae Indicae sive Arabicae dicuntur capita Graeci *Enchiridii* indicavi, Romanis autem capita versionis Politiani. Ea quae in lemmatis cuique versionis capiti praemissis leguntur primo loco LITTERIS MAIUSCULIS PARVIS descripsi, quo facilius ea ab ipsius versionis verbis discerneres. Politiani praefationis capitula (ut sunt apud Schweighaeuserum) in tres partes (a, b, c) inter se pares ipse divisi.

PRAEFATIO

- tit.* epistola: *om. R, add. Ald.*
 1a **Caenea:** Ceneas *R, cor. R²* || Lapitham: **Lapithan** *R* || ingessissent: **congessissent** *R* || **ceterisque:** cæteris *R, cor. R²*
 1b **exterminaverit:** exterñirit *R, cor. Bero.*
 1c vereque: **veroque** *R* || **omnis in rationali animo substantia:** omnis in rationali substantia *R* vis omnis in rationali substantia *Bero., cor. Ald* || **id ad se:** id se *R, cor. Bero.*
 2a **interiit:** interierit *R* interit *Ald., cor. Flor.*
 2b energiae: **enargiae** *R*
 2c diathecās: *sic R, quod verbum Politianus pro hypothecas perperam posuisse videtur.*
 3c fortasse: **forte** *R*
 4a **usurpabat:** usurpat *R, cor. Ald.*
 4b Hierapolim: Hieropolim *R* || Marci: **M.** *R* || Hierapolin: Hieropolim *R.* Num fidem debemus adiungere codici plurimis locis depravato? Politianus certe hoc loco librum adhibuit Suidae, qui (E§2424 Adler) Epictetum Nicopolin migrasse testatur. || **apud tragicum:** tragicum *R, cor. Ald.* || omnes: **omnis** *R*
 4c quaedam: **quidem** *R* (quaedam *Ald. typothetae fortasse lapsu*).

ENCHIRIDION

- 1.1 i **ut uno dicam:** uno dicam *R, cor. Ald.*
 1.3 ii **natura:** nostra *R, cor. Ald.* || **id solum tuum:** solum solum *R, cor. Bero.*
 1.4 iii **tui ipsius:** sui ipsius *R, cor. Bero.*
 2.1 v **promissione excidit:** promissionem excidit *R, cor. Ald.* || sola declinas: **sola declines** *R.* Politianus enim prava suae aetatis ratione grammatica deceptus saepenumero subiunctivum modum in protasi, futurum tempus in apodosi posuit, ut mox “si declines, . . . eris.”
 3 vi **TRACTANDA:** tractanda sint *R* || quale id quicque est: *sic R; Politianus quidem non solet sermonem huiusmodi soloecismo inquinare; lege igitur aut quale id sit, quicquid est, aut quale id quicque sit.*

- 4 vii irrorantes: **irrorantis** *R* || conviciantes: **conuiti-**
antis *R* || furantes: **furantis** *R* || atque ita tutius:
atque tutius *R*, *suppl.* Bero. || accidit: **accidat** *R*
(*cf. ad* 2.1).
- 6 x est ergo: ergo est *R* || ergo cum in usu opinionum:
Haec verba Beroaldus e Perottina versione deprompsit ut
textum librarii incuria mancum resarcinaret. Pro certo
autem habeo Politianum hoc loco ex consuetudine in usu
imaginationum *pro Graeco ἐν χρήσει φαντασιῶν*
scripsisse; quid praeterea in codicibus Graecis legerit,
incertum.
- 7 xi **praebeatur**: praebentur *R*, *cor.* Ald. || **neque**: ne
quae *R*, *cor.* Bero. || senex: lacuna in *R*, *suppl.* Bero. ||
vocatus: voratus *R*, *cor.* *R*²
- 8 xii POSSIMVS: possumus *R*, *cor.* Ald.
- 9 alterius: alius *R*, *cor.* Bero. Politianus autem alius
nonnumquam *pro* alterius usurpavit.
- 11 xiv AMITTIMVS: amittamus *R* *cor. post.* || per quem: aut
per quem *R* *cor.* *R*², *sed debuit fortasse aut in autem*
mutare. || **praebeantur**: praebentur *R*, *cor.* Ald.
- 12.1 xv ELIGENTES AB AERVMNIS NON: eligere ac erumnis *R*,
cor. Opor. || **Nisi puerum**: si puerum *R*, *cor.* Bero.
- 12.2 incipias oportet: *haec Beroaldus a Perotto est mutuatus*
ut textum suppleret.
- 13 xvi extrinsecus: **intrinsicus** *R*, quod mutavit Beroaldus,
qui Perottinam versionem respexit; Politianum arbitror
codice usum simili ei quem Pg nominat Schweighaeuser.
- xvii sunt: **sint** *R*. *Ii enim "qui sint extrinsecus" tales sunt*
ut ea tantum "quae non sunt in nobis" animadvertant;
quare Politianum subiunctivum modum posuisse existimo.
- 14.1 xviii **excidere**: excedere *R*, *cor.* Ald. || exercere: sic *R*;
fortasse exerce quod.
- 14.2 xix **aut dare**: autem dare *R*, *cor.* *R*²
- 15 xx **versari**: seruari *R*, *cor.* Beroaldus, *adhibita versione*
Perottina. || **conviva**: lacuna in *R*, *suppl.* Bero. || **cum**
facerent: non facerent *R*, *cor.* Bero.
- 16 xxi absit aut: aberit aut *R* **abierit aut** *R*², quae verba
delevit Beroaldus, qui Perottinam versionem strictim
negligenterque inspexerat. (absit aut Ald., quod Sartium
suo Marte scripsisse arbitror.)

- 17 xxii **longam:** longum *R*, *cor.* *R*² (longum *Bonon.*, *Ald.*) || **mendicum:** *sic R.* (medicum *Ald.*) || tunc ingeniose: **hunc ingeniose** *R* || **si privatum:** *suppl. Ald.; cf. ea quae infra ad cap. 24.1 adnotavi.*
- 18 xxiii **horum:** hora *R* omen *R*², *cor.* *Bero.*
- 19.2 xxv corruptus: **correptus** *R* || **in iis:** iuris *R*, *cor.* *Ald.* || in nobis sunt: **in nobis non sunt** *R*
- 20 xxvi velut iniuriam facere: *sic R*, *literarum compendio perperam usus; lege igitur* velut iniuriam faciente || irritat: irritet *R*, *num recte?* || **a principio:** te a principio *R*, *cor.* *R*²
- 21 **sunto:** santo *vel* fanto (*pro* *fiunto?) *R* facito *R*², *cor.* *Ald.*
- 22 xxvii **irridearis:** inuidearis *R*, *cor.* *Ald.* || irridebant: **deridebant** *R* || duplici irrisione: *dupla anxione R* *dupla anxietate Bero.* **dupla irrisione** *Ald.*
- 23 xxviii EXTERNOS: *sic R*, *veri simile autem est Politianum aut externa aut extraneos scripsisse.*
- 24.1 xxix non crucient: **ne crucient** *R* || **Numquid igitur:** numquid *R*, *suppl. Ald.* || **honore carere? Quo-**
modo vero: *desunt in R*, *add. Ald.* *Vnde autem haec sumere potuit Sartijs, nisi ex aliquo huius versionis codice? Eum igitur existimo codicem nostro meliorem adhibuisse ut nonnullis locis ipsius Politiani verba ex eo exscriberet.* || maxime: *mañ R*, **maximi** *legendum esse recte monuit Schweighaeuser.*
- 24.3 servans: **servans memet** *R*
- 24.4 **quantum:** quam *R*, *cor.* *Ald.* || balneas: balneus *R*, *cor.* *Bero.*
- 24.5 **impudens:** imprudens *R*, *cor.* *Bad.* || **infidusque:** infidus *R*, *cor.* *Ald.*
- 25.1 xxx **si mala:** similia *R*, *cor.* *Bero.* || **paria:** patriam *R*, *cor.* *Bero.*
- 25.2 **habere potest:** habere non potest *R*, *cor.* *Ald.* || **deducens:** deducetis *R*, *cor.* *Bero.* || **laudans:** laudaris *R*, *cor.* *Bero.* || **iniustus:** iustus *R*, *cor.* *Opor.* || **nequaquam:** nequicquam *R*, *cor.* *Ald.*
- 25.3 qui accipit: **qui accepit** *R*
- 25.4 **accipere:** acciperes *R*, *cor.* *R*²
- 25.5 **limen:** lumen *R*, *cor.* *R*²

- 26 xxxi **in quibus:** et in quibus *R*, *cor.* *Ald.*
- 28 xxxiii **perturbetur:** perturbatur *R*, *cor.* *Bas.* || **confundatur:** confunditur *R*, *cor.* *Bas.*
- 29.1 numquam: *sic R*; *haud scio an Politianus neququam scripserit. Quid in codicibus suis Graecis legerit, dubium.*
- 29.2 xxxiv QUID: quod *R*, *cor.* *Opor.* || bene se: **bene sese** *R* || **multam haphen:** multum aphen *R*, *cor.* *Ald.* || **superari:** superaris *R*, *cor.* *R*²
- 29.3 palaestritae ludunt: **palaestritas ludunt** *R*, *sc.* 'palaestritarum partes ludendo agunt,' quod non intellexit Beroaldus, qui scripturam mutavit.
- 29.4 **Bene Socrates:** *sic R* bene ut Socrates Bero., qui Perottinam versionem respexit. (ut rursus delevit *Ald.*) || qui: *sic R*, *lege quis*
- 29.5–29.7 Homo considera——vel idiotae: *Haec omnia Beroaldus e Perottina versione in textum invexit. Toto loco, opinor, caruerunt codices Graeci quibus usus est Politianus; nihil ergo deest in R.*
- 30 xxxv SE: **sese** *R* || **bono patri:** bono parenti *R*, *cor.* *Bero.* || **a cive:** in ciue *R*, *cor.* *Ald.* || ab imperatore ad imperatorem: ad imperatorem ab imperatore *R*
- 31.1 xxxvi ERGA: **aduersus** *R*
- 31.2 **quae nolis:** *sic R* (quae nobis Bonon., *Ald.*)
- 31.5 lascivia: *lacuna in R*, *suppl.* *Bero.* || **non parce:** cum parte *R*, *cor.* *Bero.*
- 32.1 xxxvii **accedis:** credis *R*, *cor.* *Bero.* || **quid sit:** quod sit *R*, *cor.* *Bas.* || quidque: quicquid *R*, *cor.* *Bad.*
- 32.2 tibi quid: quid tibi *R* || obaudire: obaudieñ *R*, *lege obaudiendum*
- 32.3 dictabat: **dictitabat** *R* || cum tantum: cum *R*, *suppl.* *Ald.* || **dixerit:** dixeris *R*, *cor.* *R*² || **Maximo:** maximum *R*, *cor.* *Bas.*
- 33.2 xxxviii paucis et raro. Aut quandoque: paucis. Raro autem quandoque *R*, *cor.* *Bero.*, *sed male; fortasse paucis.* Raro autem et aliquando || tecum sunt: tecum sint *R* || deprehensum: deprensum *R*
- 33.5 xl prorsus: *deest in R*, *add.* *Opor.*
- 33.7 xlii **attinet:** attineat *R*, *cor.* *Ald.*
- 33.8 xliii **assumenda:** assumendam *R*, *cor.* *R*²

- 33.10 xlv eum tantummodo—qui victor fuit: *Haec Beroaldus sumpsit e Perottina versione; utrum similia e codice nostro exciderint an Politianus, deficientibus codicibus Graecis, nihil hoc loco scripserit, dubito.* || status: sic *R* (satus *Ald.*)
- 33.12 xlvii **fecisset:** fuisset *R, cor. Bero.*
- 33.13 xlviii ADITVRI: audituri *R, cor. R²* || **adire:** audire *R, cor. R²*
- 33.15 il absit et: absit etiam *R* || **moveas:** moueamus *R, cor. Ald.* || est enim res—venerationem: *Haec a Perotto mutuatus est Beroaldus ut textum librarii incuria laceratum sarciret.* || qua te: quo te *R, vestigium scilicet eorum quae e textu Politiani exciderunt; qua te Bero.*
- 34 I RESISTENDVM: praesistendum *R, cor. R²* || et quo . . . et quo: et qua . . . et qua *R, cor. post.* || increpa: sic *R, lege autem increpabis* || quam melius: sic *R* *literarum compendio usus; malim quanto melius*
- 35 li **opinaturi:** opinati *R, cor. Bero.* || Si enim non recte—fugiendum est: *Haec e Perottina versione sumpsit Beroaldus ut textum suppleret.* || **si recte:** si enim recte *R, cor. Bero.*
- 36 **apposita:** opposita *R, cor. Bad.*
- 37 lii **tuas:** Aesopi *R, cor. Bero.*
- 39 liv **deinde punctabundus:** desunt in *R, add. Ald.; cf. 24.1.*
- 40 lv decimoquarto: xiiii *R* || fore: **fore ut** *R* || in honore: **in honore sint** *R*
- 41 lvi DEGENERIS SIGNVM: De generis signo *R* **De degeneris signo** *Bero.* || abs re: ab re *R*
- 42 lvii suo se officio fungi: suum esse officium facere *R* suum esse officium *Bero.* **suum se officium facere** *Ald.* || facere aut dicere: sic *R* male facere aut dicere *Bero.* aut dicere *Ald. male, quod Oporinum adduxit ut dictum reformaret; lege* ita facere aut dicere || **si male:** simile *R, cor. Ald.* || loquere *e.q.s.: male interpunxit Schweighaeuser; lege* loquere igitur sic in quavis re, “ipsi est visum.”
- 43 lviii **qua . . . qua:** quae . . . quae *R, cor. post.* || scilicet: frater *R, cor. Ald., qui autem debuit verbum a contextu alienum delere.* || **qua ferri:** quae ferri *R, cor. post.*

- 44 lix **Ego sapientior**—**melior te**: *desunt in R, add. Ald., non suo Marte, sed, ut opinor, ex aliquo huius operis codice; cf. quae adnotavi ad 24.1.* || **Ego te ditior**—**sapientior**: *haec quoque desunt in R, add. Ald.* || **Mea igitur**: *mea R, suppl. Ald.* || **Tu vero**—**oratio**: *add. Ald.*
- 46.1 lxi eruditos: **ineruditos** *R* || **ut oportet**: *ut oporteat R, cor. Ald.*
- 46.2 **ferunt**: *sic R (feruntur Bonon., Ald.)*
- 47 lxii **mendici**: *medici R, cor. Bad.* || **tum quod**: *sic R, lege* **tum quot** || **tecum ipse**: *verum ipse R, cor. Ald.* || **a potentioribus**: *potentioribus R, suppl. Ald.* || **inscendunt**: *infrendunt R, cor. Ald.*
- 48.1 lxiii **aut nocumentum**: *aut monimentum R, cor. Ald.* || **philosophi status et**: *philosophi status est R philosophi status est et Bero., cor. post.* || **ac nocumentum**: *ac monimentum R, cor. Ald.* || **si sit**: *si scit R, cor. Ald.* || **ridet**: *videt R, cor. Opor.* || **ipse secum**: *secum ipse R, cor. Ald.* || **se expurgat**: *se depurgat R, cor. Ald., malim sese purgat*
- 49 lxiv **operte**: *aperte R, cor. Bero.* || **eorum bono**: **eorum bonum** *R* || **interpretari ipse**: *ipse interpretari R* || **aliis**: *illis R, cor. Bero.*
- 50 lxxv non tuum: *tuum non R*
- 52.1 lxvii **secundus**: *secundum R, cor. R²* || **cur mentiri**: *cum mentiri R, cor. Opor.* || **confirmandas**: **eas confirmandas** *R* || **prospiciendas**: *sic R, recte autem monuit Schweighaeuser legendum esse perspicendas* || **possimus**: *possumus R, cor. Ald.*
- 52.2 **tertius quidem**: *tertius quidam R, cor. R²* || **secundus vero**: *secundus R, suppl. Bad.* || **omnium necessarius**: *omnium necessarius est R, cor. Ald.*
- 53.1 lxviii *renitar*: **renitor** *R*
subscriptio: Epicteti Stoici Enchiridion Explicitum – Τελωσ R