AESCHYLUS

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Fortuna

Aeschylus, according to the Marmor Parium, died 456/55 B.C. at the age of 69. He was, then, born 525/24 in Eleusis; belonging to a family of Eupatridae he was initiated into the Mysteries. At the age of 35 he fought at Marathon, at 45 at Salamis. He travelled to Sicily twice, 476/75 and between 471 and 469. There, the Persae were re-enacted. He died in Gela, after having won a victory with the Oresteia in 458. Suidas says that he wrote 90 elegies and tragedies. A list of 73 titles, of which the last column is missing, follows the Vita in two manuscripts. Here, 13 victories are mentioned while Suidas tells of 28. Only 7 plays have survived; probably they represent a selection made in the 2nd century A.D.

Prometheus, Septem, and Persae, the plays that are easiest to understand, were most widely read and copied. Up to the 9th century they were studied in Constantinople in school and were familiar to the educated public there. They are usually referred to as the 'Byzantine Triad'.

About 1423, Giovanni Aurispa, the Sicilian, purchased a manuscript containing Aeschylus which he sent to Niccolò Niccoli in Florence. This manuscript, written around 1000 A.D., is known as the Mediceus (M, Laurentianus XXXII, 9), the basic text, although 14 of its pages are missing which led the first editors and translators to believe that the Agamemnon and the Choephoroi were one play. Only after Petrus Victorius supplemented the Mediceus with another Laurentianus (cod. XXXI, 8 known as F) was the Oresteia restored. The Triad has an independent manuscript tradition, although there was a common archetype. Especially Wilamowitz recognized the independence of the codex Venetus, Zan. gr. 616 (663) of the 15th (?) cent. There is also a valuable manuscript of Bessarion, Marcianus Zan. gr. 468 (653), 13th or 14th Cent., which contains Ag. 211-348. The scholia of the Mediceus may go back to Didymus (4th Cent. A.D.?). There are younger Byzantine scholia to the Triad. Aeschylus' works were unknown to the West during the Middle Ages.

There are no Latin translations of complete plays of Aeschylus before the editio princeps of the Greek text prepared by Franciscus Asulanus and printed by Aldus Manutius, Venice 1518. Two fragments, however, of lost Aeschylean plays appear
in a Latin verse translation in the version of Plato's *Republic* by Petrus Candidus Decembrius, which is found, e.g., in cod. Vat. lat. 10669. Decembrius included them later among his own *Carmina*, preserved in cod. Trivulzianus 793 in Milan, f. 3r and 4r and Ambros. ms. D 112 inf. The captions are: 'Ex Eschilo poeta' and 'Ex Eschilo poeta conquistio Thetidis'. The fragments are from Aeschylus' *Niobe* (August Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1889, reprint Hildesheim 1964, p. 52, fr. 156, Plato *Resp.* II p. 380a, quem locum repetit Eusebius, Praep. Euang. p. 643e) and from an unidentified play (fr. 350, p. 105, Plato *Resp.* II p. 383b quem locum repetit Eusebius, Praep. Euang. p. 647a). These translations are noteworthy because they are so early; Decembrius died in 1477.1

Among the translators of the 16th century there is a marked interest in the 'Byzantine Triad.' Only after 1557 when a text with the whole *Oresteia* had been published by Petrus Victorius with Henricus Stephanus in Paris do translators realize that there are seven plays. In the early translations there are some wrong attributions of speeches throughout.

Guilielmus Canterus, whose edition of the text was printed posthumously in Antwerp in 1580, added notes in Latin, many of them dealing with metrics, and translated, in the form of an appendix, selected fragments from the lost and extant plays into Latin verse.

The standard edition and Latin translation for later times was the one by the barrister Thomas Stanley of Pembroke Hall, London 1663. It might be noted that in his introduction Stanley suggested that the translator Sanravius (see below I, 1) is identical with the humanist Sauromannus — a false assumption, but echoed on Stanley's authority by later scholars as late as G. Hermann. Stanley used verbatim large parts of the translation by Garbitius without acknowledging this.

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1. My attention was called to the Decembrius mss. by Dr. Paul Oskar Kristeller.

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**Bibliography**


**Composite Editions**

1555, Basileae (Basel): Joannes Oporinus (on last page: Ludovicus Lucius). BM; GLY; DK 2, 89; *Index Aureliensis A I* (1962) 97. The plays appear in the following order: *Prometheus, Septem, Persae, Agamemnon* (to v. 1159), *Choephoroi* (printed as part of the *Agamemnon*), *Eu menides, Supplices*. The translations are all in prose and by Joannes Sanravius.

1614, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): Pierre de la Riviére. Title: *Poetarum Graeciorum Veterum*. BM; M11; NIC (my attention was called to this edition by Prof. James Hutton). The plays occupy pages 598-719 of volume I, and appear in the following order: *Prometheus* (598-614), *Septem* (614-630), *Persae* (630-645), *Agamemnon* (646-671), *Choephoroi* (671-687), *Eumenides* (687-703), *Supplices* (703-719). The edition is in Greek and Latin. The translations are anonymous, but are actually those of Sanravius, with the exception of the *Prometheus* which is given in the translation of Garbitius. The same is true of the arguments, except for that of the *Prometheus*, which is neither by Garbitius nor by Sanravius, but probably by the editor himself. Also the explicit of the *Agamemnon* and the argumentum of the *Choephoroi* are new and probably by the editor.
I. Agamemnon
Translations
1. Joannes Sanravius

1. Dedication

[Inc.]: Λαμπροπάτατο Ἀνδρέι ΙΩΑΝΝΗ κεζηλώ προέδροι Ῥωάνος ὁ Σανραίος ἐν πράττειν. Ὄρθος ὡς ἔγορα, καὶ καλὸς ὁ δίδασκων ἡμᾶς πολὺ τιμῶν τοῦ ἡμέρας ἑκάστης λόγους περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ποὺ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦν μένους πράττονσι.
[Expl.]: δέχων οὖν δέομαι σοι, λαμπρότατε ἄνερ, τὸ δῶρον τούτο, θεῶν δίκαιον, οἶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάχιστα λαμβάνειν οὐκ αἰσχύνονται. ἔρωσο.

2. Dedication

[Inc.]: ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΟΥ ΒΕΡΤΡΑΝΑΧΟΥ, Ῥηγίνον πρὸς τοὺς ἐν εὐεξίαντες ἀναγνωστὰς ἑπίγραμμα.
Θυγατέρας μοῦ στηρίζει θεός τοῦ τερηκεφαλοῦν
ποιητῶν λιγοῦσι εἰν ἑλίκων τριφών.
[Expl.]: Νέν περὶ καλῶς ἔνθα τραγωδικεῖ τοῦ γε διελθοῦν
ἐλλάδι καὶ ἐξέχουν δυστάχεις πολέμον.

3. Dedication

[Inc.]: ΕΙΟΣΔΕΜ ΑΝ ΛΕΚΤΟΡΕΜ. Ἀττικα Εκερπίο ργνω δεκώτε κατον ἑτο, Αὐγοῦλον γεννω κατον ἑχτον. Ἐρασκλος Ρηγίνος φιλως μανη ποιητας, Μυρωνις υτα ταν πραμια δεγνα κερατ.
[Inc.]: Aeschilys Poetae Vita.
[Inc.]: Aeschylus tragicus poeta, genere quidem Atheniensis, populo Eleusinianus fuit; Euphorionis filius, Cynagiri et Amini fra
ter, ex ingenios naturam habens.
[Expl.]: victorias omnes tredecim accipit, non paucas vero post mortem victorias abstulit.
Accompanying poem (in some copies this is found at the end of the volume, p. 380).
[Inc.]: In translationem Aeschyli Paulus Ortenthalerus Oenivallensis.
Aeschylus antiquos inter celeberrimus autorem

Ingenii mira dextertitate valens...
[Expl.]: Propterea linguae graecae studiosa juventus
Sanravii hic gratus sit tibi mente labor. Argumentum
[Inc.]: Argumentum Aeschylis Agamemnonis. Agamemnon ad Ilium proficiscens, Clytemnestrae, si depopulatus Ilium esset, dicit illa die se face significatum.
[Expl.]: Acta est haec fabula imperante Philocele viccesimae octvae Olympiades secundo anno.

Text
[Inc.]: (Qui praefatur non (sic) est custos constitutus ab Aegistro). A Diis quidem liberationem peto laborum Custodiae annuae, diu vero dormiebam Supra tectum Atiradum canis instar.

In Agamemnonem (Scholia by Sanravius)
[Inc.]: Viderat enim qui ab Agamenone constitutus erat spectatator flamam quandam, putatabque regem ipsum adventare.../....
[Expl.]: qovían, ἁκόλλαν. Haec puella tam impia fuit, ut non verita sit patrem et patriam prodere propter impudicum amorem non tantum peregrini hominis, sed etiam hostis.

Editions:
See composite editions of 1555 and 1614. The latter edition (p. 671) contains a new explicit, presumably added by Pierre de la Rovièr after the concluding lines of the play had been discovered and published.
[Expl.]: His etiam aeditus ego tuque imperantes de caeteris pro placito dispone

Biogr.:
Joannes Sanravius (Jean de Saint Ravis). Very little is known about his life. He came from a noble family which, on account of religious conviction, had to flee from the Aubergne to Montpellier where a later-born member became governor. The only document about the translator's life that has so far been found is his matricul-
lation at the University of Basel in the year 1552/1553 as ‘Dominus Joannes Sandravius Monspissulanensis.\(^1\) As Joannes Oporinus (Johann Herbst) happened to be professor of Greek at the University of Basel in 1554 it is quite understandable that Sandravius, perhaps his pupil, published his Aeschylus translation with Herbst as his printer the year after.

I am indebted for most of the above information to Mlle Edith Bayle, Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, Paris, to the director of the Archives de l’Hérault, and to Dr. Max Burekhardt, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel.

2. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

a. Fragmentary prose translation of choruses and lyrics


As a young professor at Geneva, Casaubon planned an edition of the whole of Aeschylus with a full commentary, and he announced his plan in two places in his commentary on Strabo published in 1587. While the full edition never came to fruition, we have the results of Casaubonus’ continued active concern with Aeschylus both in the marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge and also in a Paris manuscript.

The first stage of Casaubonus’ work is contained in marginal notes to the Petrus Victorius edition of Aeschylus (1557. Paris, H. Stephanus) now preserved in the

Cambridge University Library under the shelf-mark Adv. b. 3. 3. The earliest marginalia consist of short notes, largely of readings which differ from the Victorius text. A second group consists of what Fraenkel calls ‘headings’. Finally there is a third group of miscellaneous notes both critical and explanatory. By far the most important are devoted to the Agamemnon; next, at a considerable remove come the notes on the Septem ad Thebas and on the Persae. Finally Casaubonus added prose translations of a number of choruses and of other lyrics from the Agamemnon, the Septem ad Thebas, and the Choephoroi.

Of the Agamemnon, Casaubonus translated in this way lines 104-257, 367-487, 681-809, 975-1034, 1448-61, 1468-80, 1497-1512, 1521-36, and 1567-76.

Manuscript:

(Micro. and reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller). Cambridge University Library, Adv. b.3.3.; cf. H. R. Luard, A Catalogue of the Adversaria and Printed Books containing Manuscript Notes preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1864) p. 31; Luard gives the antiquated shelf mark Nn VI 5. The volume contains editions of Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, and Aeschylus, annotated by Casaubonus; Aeschylus is found in the 1557 Stephanus edition. In the Cambridge Library, Adv. e.3.2. (Luard pp. 26-27) contains Casaubonus’ notes on the Canter edition of Aeschylus (Antwerp, 1580). For details on the notations on Aeschylus in Adv. b.3.3., see Fraenkel, op. cit., p. 62 f.

b. Complete prose translation

In his last years, Casaubonus’ interest seems to have been concentrated more and more on the Agamemnon, and a Paris ms. (BN, Ms. grec. 2791, formerly codex Dupuy-Reg. 3330. 2) contains not only a complete translation but also a full commentary (for the commentary, see below I. b).

The title-page of the manuscript reads: ‘Aeschyli Agamemnon Isaaco Casaubono interprete MDCX’ and a later hand has added ‘cum ejusdem notis et observationi-

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bus erud.; at the end, we find 'Absoluit Isaacus Casaubonus 5 Kal. Mart. 1610.'

The manuscript contains in a first hand the Greek text of the Agamemnon, an interlinear translation above the Greek text, and some notes of a fairly elementary character; the same hand provided the colophon which enables us to date the translation in 1610.

The translation itself, as Fraenkel points out, is clearly intended to be of use even for readers with a very elementary knowledge of Greek; every Greek word has its Latin equivalent written above it, and the word order is barbarous. Nevertheless the complete translation of the Paris manuscript is identical with the disiecta membra of the Cambridge marginalia in all cases where these are available for comparison.

Argumentum Agamemononis Aeschylus.

[Inc.]: (f. 2) Introducitur hic primus quidam custos qui constitutus fuerat a Clytaemnestra in specula altissima qui Troiam versus semper respiraret. . . . .

[Expl.]: est autem sciendum hic hunc custodem nihil dicere aperte, sed tantum quid sentiat aperire et significare. (f. 2v blank).

Text

[Inc.]: (f. 3v) Deos quidem peto horum liberationem malorum custodiae nempe annuae longitudinem, quam custodiam excubans in domibus Atridarum a longo tempore canis instar stellarum didici nocturnarum, chorum, coetum. . .

[Expl.]: (f. 96) animum advertas ad hos insanos latratus et tu disponemus omnia habentes in potestate hanc domum.

Absoluit Isaacus Casaubonus 5 kal. Mart. 1610.

Manuscript:

(Micro. and reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller).


Biogr.: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

Commentaries

a. Franciscus Portus

Ms. B. P. L. 180 of the Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, contains commentaries by Franciscus Portus (1511-81) on all of the tragedies of Aeschylus except the Supplices. The commentaries must be not earlier than 1557, since they refer to the edition of Aeschylus published by Stephanus in Paris during that year; but they are not otherwise dated.

Argumentum

[Inc.]: (f. 97) Cum ad bellum Troianum profiscisceretur Agamemnon, polllicitus est uxori, Clytemnestrae, si Troian expugnasset. . . . . The argumentum breaks off at the bottom of f. 97v in the middle of the Dramatis personae. The following folio 98 begins with a commentary on line 861: τὸ μὲν γγῖναῖα. Dixit paulo ante Clytemnestra se miserrimam egisse vitam. . . . .

[Expl. of commentary]: (f. 197) (line 1662-63) et effudisse talia adversus me iurgia, ferri potest? quasi diceret, δαίμονας, δαίμονος πειρομένος. lacessentem malum genium, idest infortunium sibi quaerentes.

Manuscript:

(Micro. and reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller).

Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, ms. B. P. L 180, cart. s. XVI, 347 fols. Cf. Bibliothecae Universitatis Leiden-sis, Codices manu scripti, vol. III (1912), Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini, p. 88. The commentaries are found as follows: Eumenides f. 5-65v; f. 66-68 blank; Septem ad Thebas f. 69-96; Agamemnon 97-197; 197v-198v blank; Prometheus f. 199-247v; f. 248 an Aeschylus citation from Plato, De republica II 385A-B; Vita Aeschyl-i f. 249-51; Choephorii f. 255-311v; Persae f. 315-47.

Biogr.: See below Longinus I. a.
b. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

During a long period, Casaubonus was actively concerned with Aeschylus and particularly with the Agamemnon; the results are preserved in the marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge and in a Paris manuscript (see above I, 2). We find not only preliminary notes for a commentary but also the complete commentary itself.

The marginalia found in the Cambridge copy (1557, Paris, H. Stephanus) contain a large number of critical and explanatory notes on Aeschylus, and by far the largest number are devoted to the Agamemnon. The same scribe who was responsible for Casaubonus’ literal translation of the Agamemnon in the Paris manuscript also added a number of notes of a fairly elementary character. These notes represent reworkings of the marginalia of the Cambridge edition, and like the literal translation, had been completed by 1610.

The Paris manuscript also contains a number of additional notes by a different hand. In Fraenkel’s words, we have here ‘neither a mass of ‘private’ notes nor mere materials for a commentary, but to all intents and purposes Casaubon’s commentary on the Agamemnon in as nearly final a form as it was possible for him to produce in the harassed conditions of the last few years of his life’ (Fraenkel, op. cit. I, 74). Fraenkel further shows that the commentary is to be dated in the last years of Casaubon’s life, between his arrival in London in 1610 and his death in 1614.

[Inc.]: (f. 3v) ἵσμαθαι (line 2) non dicitur de dormitione hoc loco sed de eo qui fuerit alicubi collocatus ut inde se non moveat . . . .

[Expl.]: (f. 96) ἀπευθύνη (line 1667) dirigat. Ultitut D. Paulus epistola quadam ad Cor. [Chapter XVI, 2] eleganti verbo ad idem significandum quod hic vult significare Aeschylus verbo ἀπευθύνη. Hoc verbum est ἐνδοδούν quod hoc loco ita esset accomodandum ἐὰν δαίμων Ὄρεστην ἐνδοδοση, idest si deus Orestem huc dirigat et promovere iter suum faciat.

Manuscript: See above I. 2. b.

Biogr.: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

II. ChoephorI

Translations

1. JOANNES SANRAVIUS

The play is treated as a part of the Agamemnon and begins with line 10.

[Inc.]: (p. 139) Or. Quam rem video, quae tandem haec caterva, Et mulierum vestibus Ornata, cui calaminati assimilabo?

[Expl.]: Nunc vero rursus tertia venit unde servator aut fatum diciam, Ubī vide licet perficiet, ubi desinet Sopitius furor detrimenti?

Secth.ia.: Sanravius’ scholia on the Choephori are included with those on the Agamemnon; see above under I. 1.

Editions: See above under I. 1. The edition of 1614 (p. 671-687) also has an argumentum, presumably added by Pierre de la Roviere after the separate existence of the ChoephorI had been discovered.

Argumentum Tragediae quae inscribitur ChoephorI.

[Inc.]: Clytemnestrae matris suae cruentas manus, atque Aegisthi, qui Agamemonis caedem adiuverat, effugiens Orestes in exilio educatus est.

[Expl.]: Daulia nominet fingens, prius quam Aegisthus eum interrogat, cuis sit, illum humi mortuum prostermit, celeri circumveniens ense, ipsisque matrem, regi nam Clytemnestram.

Biography: see above under I. 1.

2. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

Fragmentary prose translation of choruses and lyrics.

Casaubonus long concerned himself with a planned edition of Aeschylus with commentary. Though the edition never came to fruition, much of Casaubonus’ preparatory work for it has survived (see I. 2 above). The marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge contain translations of the following choral and lyric

**Manuscript**: See above I. 2. a.

**Biogr.**: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

**Commentary**

a. **Franciscus Portus**

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Choeophori*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above I. a.

**Argumentum**

[Inc.]: (f. 255) χαράφων ἐπόθεσις. Quo tempore Clytaemnestra maritum Agamemnonem per insidias interfecit, eoque Electra timens Orestae fratris salutih.../. . .

[Expl.]: (f. 255v) χαράφων est eius inceptis a captivis mulieribus, ex quibus constat chorus, et quae ferebant χαος id est inferias ad monumentum Agamemnonis.

**Commentary**

[Inc.]: (f. 256) Τοῦ ὁ χαράφων ἐπόθεσις (sic) (line 32). Summam istius carminis illam esse diximus: significat spectabilitur chorus se missum a Clytaemnestra cum istis inferis. . ./. . .

[Expl.]: (f. 311v) (line 1068) congeries malorum, quae in Pelopidarum familia acciderunt.

**Manuscript**: See I. a., above.

**Biogr.**: See Longinus I. a, below.

**III. Eumenides**

**Translations**

1. **Joannes Sanravius**

**Argumentum**


[Expl.]: Has vero furias placans, vocavit Eumenidas. Apud nullum iacet fabula.

**Text.**

[Inc.]: Primo quidem prece hac deorum honoro Terram primivatem, ex qua Themis aiunt, Quae secunda a mater sedit... . . .

[Expl.]: Libationes omnino in domo sint. Palladis civibus Jupiter omnino speculat. . .

**tor. Sic enim Parca simul descendit. Iubilate nunc in cantionibus.**

In *Eumenides* (Schollia)

[Inc.]: προτομαντιν γαίαν] Delphos intelligit. Sed scendium est a principio terram illam vaticinari solitamuisse. . ./. . .

[Expl.]: ἐργηθέος] Id est, in Attica habebitis sedem, nam Athenienses Parcas quas ipsi Eumenidas vocant, coluerunt a tempore quo Orestes eo venit. Nam ipse Orestes illis struxit templum, in quod si quis sanguine pollutus ingrediatur, statim ad insaniam prae metu redigitar.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

2. **Joseph Scaliger** (lost)


In what appears to be a roughly contemporary letter to his friend and associate, Florens Christianus (see below VI. 4), Scaliger writes of his translation entitling the play *Dirae* and indicates that he has incorporated into his translation some of his emendations of the Greek text. ‘Tamen mitto at te Aratum et Diras meas: sic enim cas appellos. nihil enim habent Aeschyli, quod scio tamen habituras, quia censurae et judicio tuo eas committo... Videris oro, ne Dirarum quaterniones distraheas. Et si quaedam (pauca vero sunt) inveneris quae tibi videntur a graeca lectione dissentire, scito ex nostra correc- tione id esse. Vale.

Non habeo aliud exemplar Eumenidum. Quare peto a te ut illud quamprimum ubi usus fueris ad me mittas. Promisi enim alicui’ (Joseph Scaliger, *Epistolae*, Frankfurt, 1628, ep. XXX p. 123). The trans-
lation is also mentioned by Gulielmus Canterus in a letter to J. Scaliger printed in their edition of the *Cassandra* of Lycophron (Basel, 1566 p. 102). A poem addressed to Scaliger by Johannes Gardesius and printed in the edition of Scaliger's translation of Sophocles' *Ajax* (Paris, 1573 p. 102) suggests that the translation of the *Eumenides* was made after that of the *Cassandra*.

However, when Isaac Casaubon prepared an edition of the *Opuscula* of Scaliger (Paris, 1610) he was unable to find the translation. He declares in the Preface 'Scimus Q. Sept. Florentem Christianum, inter aequales poetae merito suo clarissimum, summam versionum huivi virt [sc. Jos. Scaligeri] admiratione ductum, quam ante annos viginti quinque publice est testatum [perhaps a reference to Christianus'] remarks in the dedication of his translation of the *Septem ad Thebas*. See below VI, 4, et initia Orphei et Diras Aeschyli ex eiusdem interpretatione ad edendum praeparasse. Sed Dirae quidem, incertum quo casu, perierunt; initia vero manu patris descripita, Claudius Christianus Petro Puteano tradidit' (fol. iii.a). Casaubon was at this time in close touch with Claudius Christianus; with his help he had recently printed Florens Christianus' translation of Euripides' *Cyclops* (with I. Casaubon, De satyrice Graecorum poesi, Paris, 1605). The Scaliger *Eumenides* had disappeared from the papers of Florens Christianus; it has not since been discovered.

**Biogr.:**

Joseph Justus Scaliger (de la Scala) was born at Agen in Guyenne during the night of August 4-5, 1540, and he died at Leyden on January 21, 1609. Joseph Scaliger began his studies with the famous Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), and in 1551 he was sent to Bordeaux where he was a pupil of M. A. Muretus and George Buchanan. After three years he returned to Agen and remained there until his father's death. He then went to Paris to study Greek with Adrian Turnebus; he found himself too little prepared and turned to extraordinarily rapid self-instruction not only in Greek but also in Hebrew.

At Paris, Scaliger was associated with Gulielmus Canterus and with Johannes Auratus (Dorat). In 1562 he became a Calvinist and remained faithful to the Reform until his death. In 1563 Scaliger met Louis Chasteigner, Lord of La Roche-Pozay, who was his patron for thirty years and with whom he travelled widely. Scaliger was in Italy 1565-66 and then spent some time in England. After his active participation as a soldier in the religious struggles, Scaliger in 1570 went to Valence in the Dauphiné where he studied Roman Law with Jacobus Cujacius, and where he began a long friendship with the historian Jacobus Augustus Thuanus. Scaliger was in Strasbourg on St. Bartholomew's Day, and he left for Geneva. In 1574 he returned to France and spent the next fifteen years in the south, living with his patron or his friends. In 1590 Justus Lipsius left his chair at Leyden as he prepared to return to Catholicism; and the Dutch invited Scaliger to take his place. After some hesitation Scaliger accepted and remained there until his death. Though he did not engage in formal teaching, he had many disciples including Janus Dousa, Hugo Grotius, and, as his most devoted disciple, Daniel Heinsius. He was also engaged in extended correspondence with Isaac Casaubon. Scaliger was by general consent recognized as the greatest scholar of his age, and he opened a new epoch, not only for classical scholarship but also for all of ancient history, with his works on chronology.

**Works:** For a descriptive catalogue of Scaliger's works, see J. Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, pp. 269-307. Scaliger produced a large number of editions and commentaries on Latin authors, including Varro, Vergil, the elegiac poets, Caesar, Festus, Apuleius, and Ausonius; he also edited the Greek Gnomic poets, and Hermes Trismegistos. With his edition of Manilius, *Astronomica* in 1579 Scaliger moved into what would be his special field of ancient chronology. He continued with the first edition of his *De emendatione temporum* in 1583, with editions of Hippolytus, *Canon paschalis*, and of Eusebius, *Chronica*, and
finally with the *Thesaurus Temporum* of 1606. Scaliger produced several Latin translations from the Greek, including the *Alexandra* of Lycophron and the *Ajax* of Sophocles; he translated Martial and other Latin poets into Greek. He wrote Latin and Greek poetry, a number of controversial works, and a large body of letters, including one with an autobiographical conclusion, *Epistola de vetustate et splendore gentis Scaligerae* (first printed 1594).

Bibl.: Allgemeine deutsche Biographie 30 (1890) 466-474, by R. Hoche; Giornalesco (1959) 640-642; Encyclopaedia italiana 30 (1936) 1000; J. P. Nicéron, Mémoires 33 (1733) 279-315; J. E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship II, 199-205, 305-306 and passim.


**COMMENTARY**

a. **Franciscus portus**

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Eumenides*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above, I. a.

[Inc.]: (f. 5) παράφων μὲν ἐδέχα (line 1)
Pythia vates agit prologum: res aguntur Delphis. erat in scena oraculum Apollinis, erat trupos, quem vates ascendere solebat... /

[Expl.]: (fol. 65v) ἡμεῖς δ’ ἣγεισθε (line 1010)... hoc fit a poeta tum quia in loca obscura et tenebrosa erant deducendae Eumenides, tum quia ea res, faces nimirum et splendor, erat allaturus (sic) scenae decus et magnificentiam.

**Manuscript**: See I. a., above.

**Biogr.**: See below, Longinus I. a.

**IV. Persae**

**Translations**

1. **Joannes Sanarius**

**Argumentum**

[Inc.]: Persarum Argumentum. Glaucus in fabulis Aeschylhi ex Phrynicos Persas falso factas esse ait. Exponit vero principium fabulae hoc, hoc est, Persarum olim ascendentium... / ...

[Expl.]: Ultimus vero Darius, qui ab Alexandro Philippi filio subactus est. Quidam quarto Darium addunt.

**Text**

[Inc.]: Haec quidem Persarum profici- scendium

In Graeciam praesidia vocantur fidelia, Et locupletum divitumque
Sedum custodes, tanguam antiquos... ... 


In Persas (Scholia)

[Inc.]: Ὡρσαυκολεῖται! Apud Hesychium legitur, ὄρσαυκολεῖται... ... /

[Expl.]: μετρόπολις Athenas intelligit. Nam Athenienses multas traduxerunt colonias; ipsi vero αὐτόχθονοι vocati sunt; illique in causa fuerunt, ut autor dicit, detrimenti Asiae.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

2. **Adrianus Turnebus**

Translation in prose. In the manuscript, the plays appear in the following order: *Prometheus, Septem, Persae*. At the end of the *Septem*, the date 1555 is given.

**Vita.** (f. 1-2).

[Inc.]: Vita Aeschylhi Poetae. Aeschylus tragicus patria quidem erat Atheniensiis Eleusinius municipii filius Euphorionis frater Cynagiri et Amenae genus ducens ex patriciis nobilitatis... ... /

[Expl.]: Victorias consequatus est omnino tredecim. Non paucas etiam victorias post mortem rettulit.
Argumentum


[Expl]: (23 v). Fuit qui iversus fuit ab Alexandro Philippi filio. Quem enim dicunt esse quartum Darium is rex non fuit.

Text

[Inc.]: (23 v). Ista quidem fidelibus fiducia Persarum protectorum in terram Graeciae vocatur et custodes sedium Persiae opulentarum. . .

[Expl]: (30 v). Heu heu Persica terra infelicitur heu heu qui iustum (?) navibus multos habentibus remos comitabor te felitibus male ominosum et aenciitiis.

Manuscript:

(Micro). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 13042 (from St. Germain des Prés), misc. s. XVI, f. 23-30. L. Delisle, Bibliothèque de l'École des Charles 28 (1867) 550. My attention was called to this manuscript by Dr. Paul Oskar Kristeller.


Adrianus Turnebus (Adrien Turnèbe) b. 1512 in Les Andelys and d. 1565 in Paris. He studied, beginning at the age of 12, with Toussain, Legros, Guillaume Duchesne, being a protégé of the Cardinal de Chatillon. In 1547 he succeeded Toussain at the Collège Royal, first as professor of Greek, then of Greek and Latin philosophy. He wrote letters, orations, poems, and Adversaria and edited numerous ancient authors, some of them for the first time (Philo, Synesius, scholia of Sophocles by Demetrius Triclinius). In 1552 he published an excellent text of Aeschylus. He commented on Cicero, Horace, Quintilian and Varro, and he translated into Latin Aristotle, Arrian, Clemens Romanus, Oppian, Philo, Plutarch, and Theophrastus.


Commentary

a. Franciscus Portus

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the Persae, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above I. a.

Argumentum

[Inc.]: (f. 315) Δίαγγέλων Πέρσαι. Inscriptio fabulce est Persae a gente Persarum, quorum cladem poetca hic exponit. argumentum eius iam accipite. . . .

[Expl]: (f. 315v) quod in Phoenissis Phrynichric eunuchus nuntiat Xerxis cladem et sternit sodia senatoribus. Hie prologum agit coetus seniorum.

Commentary:

f. 316 contains commentary on line 81. The beginning of the commentary is found later.

[Inc.]: (f. 319) τάδε μὲν Πέρσων (line 1). Haec sunt pignora Persarum qui Graecis bellum illaturi abierunt. . . .

[Expl]: (f. 347) κατ' Ąaτν (line 1071). confirmatis chori dictum, et ait singulas Persarum urbes esse infelices. άβοπαβάται, άβοϊ deliciosis, a mutat(atione) fort(asse) πάθων.

Manuscript: See I. a., above.

Biogr.: See Longinus I. a, below.

V. Prometheus Vinetus

Translations

1. Ioannes Sanraavius

Argumentum.

[Inc.]: Prometheus vinctus. Actus Hypothesis. Ex Prometheo in Scythia vineto (eo quod ignem surripuerat) intelligent Io er-
rans, ubi in Aegyptum venerit se parituram ex Jovis congressu Epaphum.

[Expl.]: Animadvertendum est, non esse Prometheum, ut vulgo fertur, Causaso vinctum sed in illis potius Europae partibus Oceani, ut ex verbis ad Io factis colligere licet.

Text

[Inc.]: Aeschylı Prometheus vinctus. Robur et vis.

Terra sanae in procul remotum venimus solum,
Scythicam in viam, ac profundam solitudem.

[Expl.]: O matris mi cultus, o omnibus Aether commune lumen volvens, Vides me quam inustria patior.

In Prometheum Vinctum Scholia.

[Inc.]: Cum docctissimorum virorum libri, pro diversa materia diversas sint sortiti inscriptiones; hoc tamen potissimum tragicis poetis accidit, ut ex personis patientibus plerumque suas fabulas nominaverint.

[Expl.]: γόνα πεντηκοντάτων] Periphrasis pro Danao, qui propter matrimonium nepotum et filiarum fugit Argos. Sed de his in Danais loquemur.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

2. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

Argumentum

[Inc.]: (f. 2) Cum ignem a Jove furatus esset Prometheus et hominibus dedisset ignem homines consecuti sunt omnes artem. Juppiter iratus tradit eum Potentiae et Violentiae satellitibus.

[Expl.]: (2°) Personae sunt potentia et vis Muleiber Prometheus Nympharum Oceanidum chorus Io Inachi filia Mercurius. Praefatur potentia et vis.

Text

[Inc.]: (f. 2°) Aeschylı Prometheus Vinctus.

In solum terrae longinquum venimus, in Scythicam rus in solitudinem inviam. Vulcane, tibi autem mandata opportet curae esse Jovis... 

[Expl.]: (f. 14°) O matris meae Themidis maiestas — omnium Aether communis lumen qui volvis videse me quam indigna patior. iniqua.

For manuscript and biography, see above under IV. 2.

3. MATTHIAS GARBITIUS

Translation in prose. Data kindly supplied by Mr. Dennis E. Rhodes.

1. Dedication

Ad Lectorem M. Garbitiuss

[Inc.]: ἔθα φιλάνθρωπος καὶ πάνσοφος εἰρήκτο Προμηθεὺς,

ἀντὶ εὐθυγεσιῶν δίνω πάγχυ λαχών.

[Expl.]: ταῦτ᾽ ἄρα γ᾽ ἔχιστος γε θεός,

ἀσφεῖς γε βροτοὶ,

τῇ, ἄλλους σοφὸς γ᾽, οἶδε μὲν οὕτι σοφὸς.

2. Dedication

Patricii et senatorii ordinis viro pietate, virtute et sapientia in primis eminenti Hieronymo Bogarterno, Domino suo observandissimo, salutem et foelicitatem in Christo domino nostro precatur Mathias Garbitius Graecae linguae et morum doctoriae professor ordinarii Tubingae in Academia inclyta.

[Inc.]: Hanc Aeschylı, poetae sapientissimi, tragoeidiam longe gravissimam, sicut post Hesioder explicationem certo consilio suscepi interpretandum...ita post illius evulagionem elicitam hanc quoque fabulae huius interpretationem tandem passus sum mili elici.../. /

[Expl.]: Vale quam optime cum omnibus tuis in Christo Domino nostro gubernante te in omnibus consilii et conatibus tuis per suam coelestem προμήθειαν.

Prefatory Poem

[Inc.]: M. Toxitles Nunc etiam adhāδης regit omnia ubique Προμηθέως:

Qui tamen hoc possit cernere, rarus erit.

[Expl.]: Tanta est humanae vesana superbia mentis:

Quae magis Illyricus iam tibi nota facit.

Scholia

[Inc.]: Mathiae Garbitii Illyrici in Aeschyli Prometheum Scholia. Praefatio.

Quae de auctore hoc, quem interpretandum susceimus, dici poterat, ex Graecis praeceptis scripitoriis, sunt fere praefixa hisce eius quae adhuc restant, fabulis.../. ...
AESCHYLUS

[Expl.]: Huius hic sunt praefixae duae περονγαι quae breviter capita negotii huius recensent, quorum cognitio hic ab initio sufficiere videtur.

1. Argumentum

[Inc.]: Cum Prometheus Jovi furatus esset ignem, et cum hominibus contribuisset, per quem ipsi homines invenuerunt artes omnes, Jupiter indignatione commotus tradidit ipsum ministris suis, Potentiae, Violentiae et Vulcanum. [Expl.]: Actio fabulæ proponitur in Scythia ad montem Caucasum. Ipsa autem inscribitur Prometheus captivus.

2. Argumentum

[Inc.]: Argumentum Aeschyli Tragoediae, quæ inscribitur Prometheus vincitus. Ex Prometheus in Scythia vincito propter ignem furtim sublatum Iam in erroribus suis ad ipsum delata cognoscit se, cum perveniret in Aegyptum, ex attrectatione Jovis parituram Epaphum.

[Expl.]: . . . sed ad Oceanum in partibus Europae, quemadmodum licet colligere ex iis quae ad Io dicuntur.

De personis fabulæ

[Inc.]: De moribus personarum, quae a Poeta inducuntur in hæ fabula, nihil dicetur . . ./. . .

[Expl.]: alterum Chori Nympharum cum Prometheus, quod subinde usque ad finem negotii iteratur, tertium Oceani cum Prometheus, quartum Vis, quintum Mercurii cum eodem.

3. Argumentum

[Inc.]: Est inscriptio fabulæ, quae continet tria: authorem, genus scripti, et argumentum . . ./. . .

[Expl.]: κρύοτος Prometheus ad locum designatum perducto, suo et Violentiae nomine alloquitur Vulcanum, et eum cohortatur ad aggressionem et executionem sollicitam mandati de captivo validissime constringendo.

Text

[Inc.]: (Potentia et Vis.) Pervenimus quidem in remotum terræ solum, In viam Scythicam, et solitudinem inviam; Tibi vero Vulcanus curae esse debent mandata. [Expl.]: O matrix meae sanctitas, o omnium Communem lucem circumvolvens aether, Cernis quam inuista patiar?

Scholia. [Inc.]: χθονός) locum Scythiae, in quem pervenerunt, paucis describit. Pervenimus, inquit, in locum . . ./. . .

[Expl.]: Quam nobis omnibus contributam per spiritum suum Magister coelestis, in quo sunt thesauri omnis sapientiae et virtutis, ut inde totum nostrum ἄνωτερον spectet παῖδα τὸ σωφρόνειν.

Editions:

1559, Basilae (Basel): Joannes Oporinus. Gr.-Lat. The text is that of Turnebus. MH; BM; Index Aureliensis A I (1962) 98.

1567, Geneva: H. Stephanus. Without dedications and preface (v. 3, p. 853-943). With Euripides and Sophocles. NNC; MH; Index Aureliensis A I (1962) 98. The title announces all the plays in the edition as 'Cum duplici interpretatione Latina, una ad verbum, altera carmine', but the Prometheus is found only in the prose translation of Garbius.

1614, Geneva: P. de la Rovière. See above under composite editions.

Biographia:

Matthias Garbitius or Grabitius (Matthias Grabitz), born in Illyria (Dalmatia), place and date unknown. He died in Tübingen in 1559. He was trained by his patron Joachim Camerarius and studied in Heidelberg and Wittenberg. He became professor of Greek in Tübingen. Luther and Melanchthon commended him and gave him recommendations, but the Visitatores in Tübingen criticized his harsh personality and doubted the integrity of his protestantism.

Bibl.:

K. Klüpfel, Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 8 (1878) 367.

4. Florens Christianus (lost).

Florens Christianus translated the Prometheus before 1585 and supplied it with a commentary, but neither has survived.

The most direct evidence for the translation is found in I. Casaubonus, De satyrlica Graecorum Poesi (Paris, 1605). Casaubon included in the volume Florens Christianus’ translation of Euripides’ Cyclops, a translation which had been given him by Florens’ son Claudius. Casaubon also included a list of Florens’ pub-
lished works and a second list: ‘Libri edendi quos habet penes se Claudius Christianus Florentis F.’ (p. 5, second pagination), and we find the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus listed with other translations.

Further evidence is found in a *Prologus* written for Florens Christianus’ *Prometheus* by Joseph Scaliger. Scaliger speaks of this in a somewhat garbled reminiscence found in the *Scaligerana* (Hagae Comitum, 1668 p. 25) ‘Aeschyl Prologum Prometheus verti, il y a trente six ans rogante F. Christiano. Cedit in opusculum Josephi Scaligeri. Je ne m’en scurois souvenir, j’ay point de mémoire.’


Favete linguis vos et animum advertite.
Desmota Graeca est Aeschuli Tragoe-dia;

Poeta noster vortit illam barbarae;
illamque optimam et uberem facundiam
et scriptione est assuetus et stilo:
ut ne quid inibi possit inveniri
errore omissum, sive perpetudine.
Hanc ergo vobis fabulam e vetere

Adporto. Tantum est. vos valete et

[vivite.]

The phrase ‘vortit illam barbarae’ does not indicate a vernacular translation, but rather echoes a joking phrase used by Plautus (e.g. *Trin. 19*: Philemo scrispit, Plautus vortit barbarae)\(^1\). Similarly in a parallel *Prologus to Florens’ Latin translation of Aristophanes’ Pax*, we read:

Irena Aristophani vetus Comoedia est
Florens recantat atque vortit barbarae
Hoc est Latinum quantum et ut potuit...

(Paris, 1579 p. 3).

Florens Christianus mentions the *Prologus* of Scaliger in the preface to his 1585 edition

\(^1\) I am indebted to Professor Revilo P. Oliver (University of Illinois) for this information.

of the *Septem ad Thebas* (See below VI. 4). In the same preface he also refers to his *Commentaria or Glossemata* on the *Prometheus*. While the work does not appear to have survived, its general character and scope may be suggested by the *Glossemata or Commentaria* which accompany Christianus’ translation of Aristophanes’ *Pax* (Paris, 1579, second pagination pp. 1-141).

Biogr.: See VI. 4 below.

5. Paulus Aicardus (?)

Translation in prose, made during the last decades of the sixteenth century. It is fragmentary, beginning with v. 700.

Text:

[Inc.]: (f. 243, v. 700) Prius desideria perfecistes sic (?) a me citius, discere enim
hoc primum vultis quam circa eam calamitatem enarrat.

[Expl.]: (f. 251) O matri meae reverientia,
o omnium Aether, communis lux circumver-tens, vides me, ut iniusta patior.

Manuscript:


Biography:

Paulus Aicardus (Paolo Aicardo, or Aicardo, or Acciardi) was born in Albenga; the year is unknown. There are different dates of death given by Mazzuchelli (1, 1, 225), who indicates August 10, 1607 (an obvious error since Pinelli, who survived Aicardo, died in 1601), by Rivolta (p. xxiv) who gives Nov. 3, 1597, and by P. Gualdo (Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, p. 65) who states: ‘Obit Aicardus anno MDXCVII. IV ID. AUG.’, that is, August 10 (verified by Dott. Rino Avesani). The last date must be considered as correct. He distinguished himself in philosophy and medicine at Torino, and pursued further studies at Padova in 1570. There he met Pinelli, became his intimate friend, and was entrusted with Pinelli’s library during the latter’s travels. He withdrew with him to Monselice in order to escape the plague. His knowledge of Latin and Greek was
renowned. Others had him revise their manuscripts before publication, e.g. G. Mercuriale. He is called ‘Polyhistror, Philhellen’. It seems, therefore, not unlikely to me that the letters ‘P. A.’ which are connected with the Aeschylus translation, stand for Paulus Aicardus, especially since the manuscript comes from Pinelli.

_Bibliography:_

Mazzuchelli I 225; M. E. Cosenza, _Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800_ (Boston, 1962) I, 75.

Paulus Gualdus, _Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli_ (Augustae Vindelicorum 1607) 55-70; Pierre de Nolhac, _La Bibliotheque de Fulvio Orsini_ (Paris, 1887) p. 103 and passim; Adolfo Rivolta, _Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell’ Ambrosiana_ (Milano, 1933) XXIV-XXV.

6. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS.

A prose translation by Casabonus of lines 1-642 of the _Prometheus_ is preserved in Ms. Burney 367 of the British Museum. Fraenkel does not mention this translation, and it is not clear what its relation may be to the Casabonus translations found in the Cambridge marginalia and in the Paris manuscript (see above, I. 2). Unlike the translation of the _Agamemnon_ in the Paris manuscript, the translation of the Burney manuscript, while prose, is not of the interlinear, word-for-word type.

_Text:_

[Inc.]: (f. 153). Aeschyli Prometheus(us). Nos quidem ad remotissimam telluris plagam ad viam Scythicam, ad solitudines inaccessibles. Vulcane mandata tibi curare oportet, ut hunc pa(?) ad saxa praecelse affigas.

[Expl.]: (v. 642, f. 159v) I. Non video qui possim ego vobis non facere (?) caeterum quidquid petitis; audiatis verbis perspicuis.

_Manuscript:_


_Biogr._: See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

**Commentary**

a. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the _Prometheus_, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581.

For details, see above I. a.

[Inc.]: (f. 199) Vis et imperium admo- nent Vulcanum ut iussa Jovis exequatur et suffigat Prometheus in vertice montis...

[Expl.]: (f. 247v) (line 1040) cum illud minime sit dubium, numquam sibi mo- riendum esse; turbet itaque, inquit, misceatque Juppiter omnia, detrudat me in Tar- tara, numquam arcanum hoc vaticinium enuntiare me coegerit, nisi prius vinculis me liberarit (verified by Mr. P. F. J. Ob- bema).

_Manuscript:_ See I. a., above.

_Biogr._: See Longinus, I. a, below.

VI. Septem ad Thebas

_Translations_

I. JOannes SANRAVII

_Argumentum_

[Inc.]: Argumentum Tragoediae Septem Duces ad Thebas. Laius Labdaci filius regnavit Thebis, uxorem adventi Iocastem filiam Menoecei: qua cum congregi, filiosque generare non audebat...

[Expl.]: Inscribitur argumentum, Septem ad Thebas, propterea quod septem duces custodiunt septem portas. Sunt vero hae Thebae septem, quae vero in Aegypto centum portarum.

_Text:_

[Inc.]: (Praefatur Eteocles populum Thebanum ad praesidium urbis praeparam). Thebani cives, quae opportuna sunt, opus est dicere Quicumque negotiorum curam habet, in puppi civitatis Habens clavum, palpebras ne det somno.

In Septem ad Thebas Scholia

[Inc.]: Κάδρου πολίται] Periphrasis pro Thebanis. Fuit enim Cadmus conditor Thebarum.

[Expl.]: θεωρίζει, inquit, πλοίοι αθήρησιν έστιν ἢ κατ' ἔτος εἰς δήλον ἐπέμπετο, καὶ εὐθαμένοι θησσάως ὅτ' εἰς κρήτην ἀπῆλε καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐτος αθήραιοι ἐπεμπον. vocat enim θεωρίδα cymbam Charontis, sed illa non est quae proficiebatur in Delum, propter eam dicit ἀστίβη ἀπόλλων.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1,

2. Adrianus Turnebus

Argumentum

[Inc.]: (f. 15) Argumentum Septem ad Thebas. Laius Labdacì filius regnabat Thebis possidentiuxorem locastam filiam Menoeici cum qua congregi et liberis procredere non audebat.


Text

[Inc.]: (f. 16). Cadmi cives, oportet loqui quod usui est qui rem tuetur et pupi civitatis regens clavum gestat non sopitans (?) somno.


Finis coronat opus. 1555
For the manuscript, see above under IV. 2.

3. Joannes Caselius

Translation in prose.

Dedication

[Inc.]: Ad illustrissimum DN. ULRICUM ducem Megap., principem Vandalorum, Comitem Suerinense, Provinciarum Rostochianae et Stargardensis Dominum Prooemium IOANNIS CASELII. Semper homines docti, idemque boni viri ad reges monumenta ingenii sui mittere soliti sunt.


Text

[Inc.]: Interpretatio Aeschylui Tragoediae septem ad Thebas Ducum. Eteocles. O Cadmi cives, oportet eum, qui in puppi civitatis clavum dirigens neque oculis somnum capios summan rerum custodit, quae ex usu publico sunt dicere.


Argumentum

Argumentum Tragoediae Aeschylui, Septem ad Thebas Ducum.


Scholia

[Inc.]: (fol. O2) Habeam equidem in animo tragoediâm hanc a capite ad calcem schollis meis illustrare. ./. ./.[Expl.]: (fol. P3v) Atque ita me geram in caeteris etiam meis vigillis, quas in manibus habeo futuras neque dissimiles prriorum neque insignias homine erudito neque inutiles cultoribus litterarum, certe noxias honorum nemini.

Editions:

(micr.) 1581, Rostochii (Rostock): Stephanus Myliander. Gr.-Lat. (Greifswald, Universitätsbibliothek); Index Aureliensis A I (1962) 98.

(*) 1582, Rostochii: Myliander. Index Aureliensis 98 (Bonn; CTV)

Biography. See below, Gregorius Nazianzenus III. 15.

4. Florens Christianus.

Translation in verse.

A verse translation by Florens Christianus of the Septem ad Thebas was publish-
ed in 1585, along with an edition of the Greek text. In the prefatory letter to the publisher, Federicus Morellus, Christianus indicates that he had also worked on scholia and notes to the play, but these are not included in the edition.

Q. Sept. Florens Christianus Federico Morello suo S. D.

[Inc.]: (fol. aii) Vicit pertinacieam meam amor in te meus, per quem licuit tibi esse pervicaci. Ecce enim Septem-Thebanam Aeschuleam Tragoediam, quam si non Latinam et barbaram factam fidei tuae commendans ut typis manendus, quasi invitus trado quod nollem nudum prodire istud scriptionis genus, sed cum scholiis et notatis quae in schedis meis sunt addescutura mox Commentarium ad Prometheus Desmotam. Deinde male metuebam a criticis nostri temporis, quorum indicia saepe sunt in dolo et ambitione, quamvis Princeps Scaliger tanquam unus Plato instar mili multorum esse potest, cui quam non displicuerunt priora Aeschulea nostra, argumentum ut scis dedit ex elegantissima (sic) Prologo... Glossemata ad Aeschulum nostra habebis quando voles: vix enim alio nomine digna censeo quae in nostris commentariis notatisque reperies...[Expl.]: ut si aliquando ta ἡμετέρα νοσή et incidamus fortassis in Pelopidarum exempla, sanates (sic, i.e. sanatos) induamus animos ad ea toleranda quae fatalis Necessitas Deo volente invelexerit. Vale mi Morelle.

Poem

[Inc.]: Ad Federicum Morellum Typogr. Regium, de Florentis Christiani stylo Tragico.

Papae! cothurno nixus Attico, novus Aemulator Aeschylui
Sic fortioris compotem Tragoediae
Examusim originem.../...[Expl.]: Vigere in hoc FLORENTENS Gallia abneget.

Atticissimum Aeschyli?
Paulus Melissus Francus

Comes Pal. et Eques, civis Romanus.

2. Poem.

[Inc.]: In Quint. Septimii Florentis Christiani Poemata.

An mirum est Musas, flores quis tem-

FLORENTIS scriptis velle favere sui?

[Expl.]: Huique Thalia dedit numeros ad comica natos:
Coetera confertim sex tribuere Deae.
Fed. Morellus P. T. R.

Argumentum:

[Inc.]: Hypothesis vel (ut vocant) Argumentum Aeschylae Tragoediae, quae inscribitur Septem ad Thebas. Laius Labdaci filius cum regnaret Thebis uxorem habuit locastam filiam Meneocei, quam cognosce ad liberos procreandos cavebat, metuens diras Pelopis imprecationes.

[Expl.]: Inscribiturque Hypothesis, Septem ad Thebas: quod septem duces custodiret portas Thebanorum. Nam septem portas habuerunt istae Thebae: quae vero in Aegypto sunt, centum.

Text.

[Inc.]: Eteocles. Cadmea plebs res se-

rias aequum est loqui,

Qui civitatis obtinens servac-

num Guberna veluti versat haud som-

[um].

[Expl.]: Namque secundum vim superum

et Iovis, Cadmeam urbem tuitus sic est
Ne fuerit subversa, atque undis

Alienenum

Penitus submersa viorum.

Finis Aeschyleae Tragoediae Sep-

tem Ad Thebas.

Ed: (On the last page an emblem around which is written: διάσμον τοῦ βιοντός γένος οὗς ἐν γραμμα κυλίνδει)

Edition:

1585, Lutetiae (Paris): Apud Federicum Morellum Typographum Regium, via Jacobea, ad insigne Fontis. BM; BN; CTY; Index Aureliensis 98; DK 2, 110.

Biogr.:

Florens Christianus (Florent Christien). Was b. Jan. 26, 1541 in Orléans and d. Oct. 3, 1596 in Vendôme. Called himself Quintus because he was the fifth child in his family, and Quintus Septimius Florens was also the name of the Church Father Tertullian. His father Guillaume was a scholar. He was brought up as a Protestant and studied Greek at Geneva under Henri Estienne and at Lausanne. He became the
teaching a natural translation of the Greek Anthology into Latin.

**Bibliography**


5. **Paulus Aicardus** (7)

**Text**

[Inc.]: (f. 252) Aeschylus ili tragoed.

Eteocl. Cadmi cives decet edere sententias utiles quicumque gubernat rem in puppi civitatis clavum movens, palpebras non sopiens somno.

[Expl.]: (f. 268v)

Sem. Nos autem una cum isto, sicut et civitatis iustum laudat. Post enim beatos et Jovis potentiam hic Thebanos liberavit ne everteretur neque externorum fluctu hominum obrueretur maxime.

Finis secunde tragodie Aeschylis.

For manuscript and biography, see above under V. 4.

6. **Isaacus Casaubonus**

Fragmentary prose translation of choruses and lyrics.

Casaubonus long concerned himself with a planned edition of Aeschylus with commentary. Though the edition never came to fruition, much of Casaubonus’ preparatory work for it has survived (see I. 2, above), and the marginalia of an Aeschylus edition now at Cambridge contain translations of the following choral and lyric passages of the *Septem ad Thebas*: 78-107, 288-335, 720-91, 832-53, and 915-25. For details on these marginalia, see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63.

**Manuscript**

See above I. 2. a.

**Biogr.** See below, under Theophrastus I. 7.

**Commentary**

a. **Franciscus Portus**

Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on the *Septem ad Thebas*, along with other plays of Aeschylus, between 1557 and his death in 1581. For details, see above I. a.

[Inc.]: (f. 69) Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ θήβαις (sic).

Haec est inscriptio huius fabulae propter septem duces, qui Thebas oppugnatum venerunt seculi Polynicis auspicia.../. . .

[Expl.]: (f. 96) Ἐκι πόλεις ἄλλος (line 1070) exemplum civitatis se secutas ait.

Civitas etiam alias aliter sentit de jure, idest quod improbat iam, probabit forfesse paulo post.

**Manuscript**: See I. a., above.

**Biogr.** See below, Longinus I. a.

**VII. Supplye**

**Translation**

1. **Joannes Sanrauys**

**Argumentum**

[Inc.]: Supplicium Argumentum. Danaus Beli filius, cum acceperat oraculum se a proprio genere interfecit iri, noluit quinquaginta filias, quae illi erant, filiis Aegypti fratris despondere.

[Expl.]: cum hoc Aegypti filii perceptissent, illum insecuti sunt, quibus Danaus filias in uxoribus dedit. Illae vero a parente instructae, maritum quaeque una excepta peremitt.

**Text**

[Inc.]: Utinam Jupiter quidem Aphictor [videat prompte

Classem nostram

Navalem elevatam

Ante angusta ostia

Nili divam vero relinquentes,

Terram vicinam Syriae, fugimus.


Et causa causae, sequi cum precibus meis, Solutoris machinis a Deo.
In Supplices (Scholia).


[Expl.]: Ciliciam intelligit in qua educatus fuit Gigas ille, ut ostendimus in Prometheo.

For editions and biography, see above under I. 1.

VIII. Sententiae

Translations

1. Gulielmus Canterus

The first task of sixteenth century Aeschylean scholarship had been to produce Greek editions and Latin translations of the preserved plays. As this task neared completion, we find an increased concern with the 'sententiae' of the extant plays and the fragments of the lost plays. The sentences and the fragments were closely connected, since a large proportion of the fragments were indeed 'sententiae', and since the main ancient model for sentences, Johannes Stobaeus, was also a prime source for fragments of lost plays. Books I-II of Stobaeus had been translated into Latin verse by Gulielmus Canterus in an edition published at Antwerp in 1575; Books III-IV had appeared in a prose translation by Conrad Gesner published at Zurich in 1543.

Gulielmus Canterus went on from his work on Stobaeus to make the first Graeco-Latin collection of the sentences of Aeschylus, and it was published posthumously at Antwerp in 1580 as an addition to Canterus' complete Greek Aeschylus. In the prolegomena, Canterus promised a Latin translation of all the Greek tragedies, 'statuimus...post restitutos a nobis, quantum eius fieri potuit, Graecos tres tragicos, poetas praestantissimos, ad eorumdem Latinam interpretationem nos convertere, eamque omnibus partibus elaboratum et accuratum studiosi dare' (p. 6). In this projected work of translation, Gulielmus Canterus seems to have gone no further than brief collections of sentences from each of the three tragedians (for Sophocles, see the edition of Antwerp, 1579; for Euripides, see the edition of Antwerp, 1571).

The sentences from Aeschylus include 4 from the Prometheus, 2 from the Septem contra Thebas, 1 from the Persae, 2 from the Agamemnon, 1 from the Choephorae, 1 from the Dirae (sc. Eumenides), 2 from the Supplices, 1 from the Armorum Judicia, and 1 from the Cares.

The sentences of Aeschylus are found after the Greek texts of the tragedies and with a separate pagination; the Greek originals and the Latin translations are printed on facing pages.

Aeschylis Sententiae aliquot insigniores breviter collectae et Latiniis versibus reddite a Gulielmo Cantero.


Prometheus

[Inc.]: (unnumb. fol. 359) Namque hic solet quodammodo tyrannidem tentare morbus, non amicis fidere (lines 226-227). ./. . .

Cares

[Expl.]: (unnumb. fol. 361). Sed Mars amat qui semper acie sunt in omni principes.

(Nauck, Fr. 100)

Edition:

1580, Antwerp: ex officina C. Plantini, with Aeschylus, Tragoediae VII. . .opera Gul. Canteri. Ruelens and De Backer p. 215. BM; BN; CtY; MH.

1663, London: typis J. Flescher, prostant apud C. Bee, with Aeschylus, Tragoediae septem, ed. T. Stanleius p. 867. BM; BN; CtY; MH.

1664, London: typis Jacobi Flescher, prostant vero apud Jonam Hart, with Aeschylus, Tragoediae Septem, ed. T. Stanleius p. 867. BM; CtY.

1745, The Hague: apud P. Gosse filium et socios, with Aeschylus, Tragoediae ed. J. C. de Pauw, v. II, 1118. BM; BN; CtY.

1816, Cambridge: typis ac sumptibus academicis, with Aeschylus, Tragoediae, ed. S. Butler, v. IV, 101-103. BM; CtY.

Biogr.:

Gulielmus Canterus (Willem Canter) was born at Utrecht on July 24, 1542; he died at Louvain on May 18, 1575 and was buried there.

During his earliest years, he exhibited a zeal for study, and he began his schooling
under Georgius Macropedius at Utrecht in 1548. In 1554 he went to Louvain where he studied Latin and then Greek under Cornelius Valerius. Finally Valerius sent him on to Paris for further Greek, and here he studied with Johannes Auratus (Dorat) 1560-62. Canterus left France because of the religious troubles, and spent a number of years in travel. In Italy he visited Bologna, Padua, and Venice; from Italy he went to Germany. He finally returned to Louvain, where he spent the last eight years of his life. He devoted himself entirely to a rigorous scholarly routine, and he declined to become involved either in teaching or in legal practice despite repeated offers. Contemporaries attributed his early death from consumption to his excessive devotion to scholarship.

Canterus’ works include Novarum lectionum libri quatuor and De ratione emendandi Graecos auctores syntagma. He edited Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides among the Greeks, and Propertius, Ovid, and Ausonius among the Latins. In addition he did numerous translations from Greek into Latin, including Aristides, the pseudo-Aristotelian Peplus, and Lycephon’s Alex-


2. HUGO GROTIUS

Hugo Grotius published in 1626 a standard collection of sentences from Greek tragedy and comedy, and he included a section on Aeschylyus; Grotius offered both the Greek texts and Latin verse translations.

Grotius’ collection of sentences arose out of his earlier work on Johannes Stobaeus. He had in 1623 published a volume including both the Greek text and a verse translation of the poetic sentences in Stobaeus (H. Grotius, *Dicta Poetica quae apud Io. Stobaeum extant, emendata et Latino carmine reddita*. Paris. No. 458 in the Grotius Bibliographie of ter Meulen and Diermanse). Grotius notes that he had added his own verse translation because the earlier Gesner translation had been in prose ‘magno cum gratiae detrimento’ and because the Canterus translation had been unsuccessful ‘quos [sc. versus] autem verterat Canterus, graece latinique doctissimus, ita verterat ut appareret in carminibus eum minus fuisset exercitatum’ (fol. a 4).

Even while working on the selections from Stobaeus, Grotius came to realize the need for a larger collection of sentences, and he began to read widely in order to locate as many of the fragments of lost plays as possible. This was particularly necessary in the case of the tragedies; in the case of the comedies two printed collections already existed. While engaged in this reading, Grotius learned from Andreas Schott that a collection of the comic and tragic fragments had been made by Theodorus Canterus and was available in manuscript: ‘vir natus demerendis literis Andreas Schottius me monuit factam a vno non mediocriter eruditio Theodoro Cantero dillgentissimam utriusque generis comici ac tragici collectionem, cui additas a se, item a Sealigno emendationes nonnullas, et ex libris antehac editis Latinam soluta oratione versionem. Eos codices ipso monente a Roverianis typographis utendos sumsi, unde haberi poterit siquid impri velit quod nostro operi abest’ (from Grotius’ Preface to his *Excerpta* fol. e 1r).

Further details on the collection of Theodorus Canterus are found in the letters of Andreas Schottus to Grotius. Theodorus Canterus (1564-1617) was a younger brother of Gulielmus Canterus (See 1, above). Theodorus received an excellent training in classics, but he devoted most of his life to law and politics. In 1588 he became Mayor of Utrecht and held that position until he was banished for alleged Catholic and Austrian sympathies in 1610 (for the details, see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* I (1911) c. 555, s. v. Dirk Canter). While in exile at Antwerp, Theo-
dorus turned again to scholarship and prepared the collection of Greek tragic and comic fragments; he was surely following in the tradition of his brother Gullelmus, and he may have been able to use the latter's papers. On his death in 1617, Theodorus left the collection to Andreas Schott with the hope that they might be published. Schott earnestly worked for their publication and since he doubted that they would be acceptable without a Latin translation, he added one (Grotius, as noted, indicates that it consisted of prose versions taken from works already published). Schott had then sent the ms. to the printer P. de la Rovière, and it was from Rovière's heirs that Grotius obtained it (for the story of the Theodorus Canterus collection, see the letters of Schott to Grotius in the Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius II 1936, 845 p. 300 f.; 860 p. 318-19; III 1961, 1312 p. 378; 1332 p. 400. See also the letter of Grotius to Schott III 1086 p. 59).

Grotius, as he tells us in his Preface, had returned the ms. to the printers de la Rovière. In the middle of the eighteenth century Joecher in his Gelehrten-Lexicon (1 [1750] p. 1630) states that the ms. then belonged to Petrus Dovillius. The d'Orville mss. eventually reached the Bodleian, and the various fragment collections of Theodorus Canterus are listed in the printed catalogues (Codices manusciptii et impressi eum notis manusciptii olim d'Orvilliani qui in bibliotheca Bodleiana apud Oxonienses servabantur. Oxford, 1806 pp. 25-26. Mss. X I. 4, 19; X I. 4, 20; and X I. 4, 22; F. Madan etc. A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library IV 1897, pp. 66-67, nos. 16999-17001. Location of the d'Orville mss. supplied by P. O. Kristeller).


Benigno lectori:

[Inc.]: (unnumb. fol. a4a) Non multo te sermone hic, mi Lector, detinebo. Sufficiunt enim et instituto meo demonstrando, et commendendae utilitati huius quoque operis ea quae ad versus ex Stobaeo a nobis graece lateinque editos, anni iam tres sunt, praefati sumus.../...[Expl.]: (fol. 6r) quod quin ita sit non rector, partim errare nateae humanae infirmitati, partim tempori condones. Lutetiae pridie Cal. Ianuas anni M. DC. XXVI.

p. 2. Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinetus

[Inc.]: Dis coelestibus nunc ille poenas criminis debet sui. (lines 8-9).../...p. 56 (Incerta)

[Expl.]: Iustitia quoties copulata est robori hac esse biga quid quaeat valentius (Nauck, Fr. 381).

Editions:


1664, London: typis Jacobi Flescher, prostant vero apud Jonam Hart, with Aeschylus, Tragoediae, ed. T. Stanleius, pp. 868-78. BM; CTY.


Biogr.: See I, 110.