



The

New York

Anthology

OF

LATIN

PROSE

NEW YORK ANTHOLOGY OF LATIN PROSE

PHILIP THIBODEAU, editor

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PREFACE

This anthology took its beginning in a seminar on Latin rhetoric and stylistics that I taught for the City University of New York Classics graduate program in the spring of 2020. Students were given an assignment that involved selecting three Latin prose texts and providing them with commentary and translations. I was immediately struck by the diversity of periods, topics, and genres represented in their choices. Then, in the middle of the semester, the COVID-19 pandemic struck, bringing with it a shift to online instruction and a desire on my part to make the semester's work more meaningful and memorable. The idea to collect these projects into an anthology seemed like a natural one, and previous experience I had had with digital publication suggested that turning it into a digital book would offer us the most expeditious route to publication. Accordingly, this past summer I traded in my professor's hat for an editor's, and began working with the contributors to compile and clean up the texts. The editing aimed at creating consistency and clarity in the formatting, and eliminating as much 'translatio-nese' from the English versions as we possibly could.

A quick look at the Table of Contents will show just how eclectic the interests of the contributors are: national history, women's history, ethnography, geography, novels, biography, autobiography, hagiography, theology, religion, natural history, philosophy, medicine, and agriculture all represented, to name just a few. The texts range in date from the end of the second-century B.C.E. (Cornelia's letter to Gaius) to the present day (a recent papal encyclical). Some contributors, like Gia Chen, Patricia Hatcher, Paola Rodriguez, and John Young, ranged widely and made a choice of texts that reflect

their diverse scholarly passions. Some pursued themes, as did Jamie Banks (sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts on astronomy and cosmology), Madison Forbes (Renaissance treatises on literature and education), Steven Merola (key texts from the Catholic tradition), and Anna Paczuska (early writings on medicine). Some were even more tightly focused, like Kiran Mansukhani, whose selections deal with the philosophy of time; Katrina Moore, whose texts all touch on the life of Octavia, the sister of Augustus; and Haley Ryan, who chose three passages from Saxo Grammaticus' history of Danish antiquities. I added two additional texts – Cornelia's letter, and a selection on astral magic from the *Picatrix* – which I thought would serve to round out the collection thematically. It is my hope that this anthology will be of service to anyone who would like to explore some pieces of Latin prose they have never encountered before, and teachers who may find texts they would like to share with their classes.

I would like to dedicate this volume to the seminar participants: Haley Ryan, Kiran Mansukhani, Katrina Moore, Paola Rodriguez, and John Young from the CUNY graduate program; Madison Forbes, Steven Merola, and Anna Paczuska from Fordham University; and Gia Chen and Frances Merrill from New York University. I would also like to thank and recognize our contributor Jamie Banks, who, while not part of the seminar, was and is a valued member of our graduate program, an enormously gifted scholar, and an enthusiastic promoter of spoken Latin. I am also very grateful to Gia Chen, who, in addition to submitting three passages, volunteered to help me with the graphic design for the volume and did marvellous work on the cover and illustrations.

Philip Thibodeau
November 2020
North Haven, Connecticut

I.**Cornelia** (ca. 190–110 B.C.E.)

Letter to her son Gaius Gracchus

Cornelia, the daughter of the famous general Scipio Africanus, had a reputation as a force to be reckoned with in Roman politics, and was famous for her Latin eloquence. Portions of a letter addressed to her son Gaius are preserved in the manuscripts that contain the works of Cornelius Nepos. Scholars have occasionally questioned whether the letter is in fact genuine – the hostility directed at her son’s plans is remarkable, and while literacy among upper-class Roman women was not uncommon, no other female author from pagan Rome wrote prose works that survive. That said, nothing in the content or the style precludes its being authentic. It should thus be regarded as one of the oldest samples of literary Latin prose, standing alongside the fragments of early Roman oratory, the farming manual of Cato the Elder, and other works.

The letter is addressed to Cornelia’s son Gaius Gracchus on the eve of his run for the office of tribune, around 123 B.C.E. It expresses the reasons for her opposition to her son’s candidacy with lucidity and passion. Some features of the language were ‘archaic’ relative to the Latin of, say, Cicero’s time, but there is no conscious archaism. Instead, we find a complex and creative syntax, anaphora, doubled verbs and adjectives, and pointed deployment of alliteration and rhyme. The language of forged letters, like those ascribed to Sallust, is typically far less colorful and inventive.



1. Dices pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci. 2. Id neque maius neque

pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur, sed si liceat re publica salva ea persequi. 3. Sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore multisque partibus inimici nostri non peribunt atque, uti nunc sunt, erunt potius quam res publica profligetur atque pereat. 4. Verbis conceptis deierare ausim, praeterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necarunt, neminem inimicum tantum molestiae tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res, mihi tradidisse: quem oportebat omnium eorum, quos antehac habui liberos, partis [eorum] tolerare atque curare, ut quam minimum sollicitudinis in senecta haberem, utique, quaecumque ageres, ea velles maxime mihi placere, atque uti nefas haberes rerum maiorum adversum meam sententiam quicquam facere, praesertim mihi, cui parva pars vitae superest. 5. Ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin et mihi adversere et rem publicam profliges? 6. Denique quae pausa erit? 7. Ecquando desinet familia nostra insanire? 8. Ecquando modus ei rei haberi poterit? 9. Ecquando desinemus et habentes et praebentes molestiis insistere? 10. Ecquando perpudescet miscenda atque perturbanda re publica?

11. Sed si omnino id fieri non potest, ubi ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum: per me facito quod lubebit, cum ego non sentiam. 12. Ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi et invocabis deum parentem. 13. In eo tempore non pudet te eorum deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos habueris? 14. Ne ille sirit Iuppiter te ea perseverare nec tibi tantam dementiam venire in animum! 15. Et si perseveras, vereor, ne in omnem vitam tantum laboris culpa tua recipias, uti in nullo tempore tute tibi placere possis.



1. You will say that it is an attractive thing to take revenge on one's

enemies. 2. No one sees this as more important or attractive than I do – but on the condition that one could accomplish this goal while preserving the Republic. 3. But to the extent that this is not possible, for a long time and in many quarters our enemies will not vanish and will exist just as they do now – a thing preferable to our Republic being overthrown and vanishing. 4. I would venture to swear in solemn words that none of our enemies, besides those who murdered Tiberius Gracchus, has presented me with as much trouble and pain as you have over these matters; you are the one who should have taken on and taken care of the roles played by all those children whom I bore earlier, to make sure that in my old age I would have as little to worry about as possible, to make sure you would try to please me most in everything you do, and to make sure you would consider anything important that contradicted my wishes unthinkable, especially since only a small portion of my life remains. 5. And can I not have the benefit of this so short period of time without you turning against me and harassing the republic? 6. What end will there be at last? 7. Will our family ever stop going insane? 8. Will the limit of this business ever be reached? 9. Will we ever stop being in trouble, giving and receiving it? 10. Will we ever feel shame over our republic being confused and disturbed?

11. But if this is completely impossible, run for tribune when I am dead: as far as I am concerned, do what you like when I feel nothing. 12. When I am dead, you will worship me as parent and invoke me, your parent, as a god. 13. Will you not feel shame at that time praying to gods whom you abandoned and deserted while they were living and present? 14. May Jupiter not allow you to persist in those things, nor may such great madness come into your mind. 15. And if you persist, I fear that, through your own fault, you will receive so much trouble your whole life through that at no point in time will you ever satisfy yourself.



2. id neque maius neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur *atque* means ‘than’. An odd use of the comparatives *maius* and *pulchrius*, since the comparison is not between *id* and some other course of action but between *cuiquam* and *mihi*.

3. multisque partibus The noun *pars* often has a spatial sense indicating a direction or place of interest to the speaker.

4. verbis conceptis A phrase that often accompanies verbs of swearing and adds emphasis to them; see Plautus, *Cistellaria* 98, *Bacchides* 1028.

deierare the compound *de-iurare*, to swear, with a sound change from *u* to *e*.

ausim 1st person singular present active subjunctive of *audeo*

utique Note the use of both *uti* and *ut* throughout.

5. quin et mihi adversere et rem publicam profliges *quin*, which is a combination of *quo* and *ne*, here indicates a negated course of action: ‘without your opposing me, etc.’.

9. Ecquando desinemus et habentes et praebentes molestiis insistere If the manuscript reading is correct, a mild anacolouthon; we expect *habentes* and *praebentes* to be followed by an object e.g. *molestia*, but instead the noun is governed by the final verb, *insistere*, which leaves the participles without objects.

10. perpudescet The verb is a hapax, found only this passage.

miscenda atque perturbanda re publica The ablative gerundive has causal force, ‘because of the confusion and disturbance of our republic’.

11. petito... facito Both words are so-called ‘future infinitives’, which have the same meaning as regular infinitives, but are often marked as more formal or archaic.

per me idiomatic, ‘as far as I am concerned’

13. deum preces expetere Here *expetere* must mean ‘to resort to’ and *deum* (an archaic genitive plural) must be an objective genitive, ‘prayers *to* the gods’.

14. sirit 3rd person singular present subjunctive of *sino*

15. uti in nullo tempore tute tibi placere possis Note the archaic form *tute* and the alliteration of *t* and *p*, adding force to Cornelia’s declaration.



Dixon, Suzanne. 2007. *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi*. Routledge.

II.

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC)

De Divinatione 1.34–36

Divination vindicated

Marcus Tullius Cicero's treatise on divination is in two books and formatted as a dialogue with his brother Quintus. Book 1 recounts Quintus' argument in favor of divination in all its forms, along with many examples of each form; Book 2 contains Cicero's rebuttal. The former defends Stoic philosophy in his speech, while the latter speaks in favor of the skeptics. Cicero does not finish with any definitive conclusion about the validity of the art, thus leaving his purpose in writing *De divinatione* open to debate. Perhaps the central point of interest in the two books lies in the fleshed-out accounts of the Roman practice of divination along with historical records of the same. The following excerpt is from book one, and is Quintus' articulation of the two types of divination: artificial and natural. Note the attention to detail within Quintus' argument – place names and practices especially – and the frequent use of asyndeton and rhetorical questions.



1. Iis igitur adsentior, qui duo genera divinationum esse dixerunt, unum, quod particeps esset artis, alterum, quod arte careret. 2. Est enim ars in iis, qui novas res coniectura persequuntur, veteres observatione didicerunt. 3. Carent autem arte ii qui non ratione aut coniectura observatis ac notatis signis, sed concitatione quadam animi aut soluto liberoque motu futura praesentiunt, quod et somniantibus saepe contingit et non numquam vaticinantibus per furorem, ut Bacis Boeotius, ut Epimenides Cres, ut Sibylla Erythrea.

4. Cuius generis oracla etiam habenda sunt, non ea quae aequatis sortibus ducuntur, sed illa quae instinctu divino adflatuque funduntur; etsi ipsa sors contemnenda non est, si et auctoritatem habet vetustatis, ut eae sunt sortes, quas e terra editas accepimus; quae tamen ductae ut in rem apte cadant fieri credo posse divinitus. 5. Quorum omnium interpretes, ut grammatici poetarum, proxime ad eorum, quos interpretantur, divinationem videntur accedere.

6. Quae est igitur ista calliditas, res vetustate robustas calumniando velle pervertere? 7. 'Non reperio causam.' 8. Latet fortasse obscuritate involuta naturae; non enim me deus ista scire, sed his tantum modo uti voluit. 9. Utar igitur nec adducar aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare aut eandem gentem in fulgoribus errare aut fallaciter portenta interpretari, cum terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus, saepe motus multa nostrae rei publicae, multa ceteris civitatibus gravia et vera praedixerint.

10. Quid? qui inridetur, partus hic mulae nonne, quia fetus exstitit in sterilitate naturae, praedictus est ab haruspibus incredibilis partus malorum? 11. Quid? Ti. Gracchus Publi filius, qui bis consul et censor fuit, idemque et summus augur et vir sapiens civisque praestans, nonne, ut C. Gracchus, filius eius, scriptum reliquit, duobus anguibus domi comprehensis haruspices convocavit? 12. Qui cum respondissent, si marem emisisset, uxori brevi tempore esse moriendum, si feminam, ipsi, aequius esse censuit se maturam oppetere mortem quam P. Africani filiam adulescentem; feminam emisit, ipse paucis post diebus est mortuus.



1. Therefore I agree with those who have said that there are two kinds of divination: one which is a partner of skill, the other which lacks skill. 2. For there is skill in the case of those who tackle

new events through conjecture, and have learned about old events through observation. 3. Conversely those men lack skill who foresee future things not by reason or conjecture, using observed and reported signs, but through some agitation of the spirit, or some relaxed and free emotion; something that often befalls sleeping men as well as people prophesying through madness, like Bacis of Boeotia, like Epimenides of Crete, like the Sibyl of Erythrae. 4. One ought to class as oracles of this type not ones which are drawn using fair lots, but those which are poured out by divine instinct and inspiration – although the lot itself ought not be condemned if it has the authority of antiquity, like those lots which, we have read, were brought forth from the earth; they are drawn in such a way that they land in a manner appropriate to the subject, and we believe that this can happen through divine inspiration. 5. The interpreters of all these things seem to come close to the divine power of that which they interpret, just as the philologists do who deal with poets.

6. So what is this cleverness that wants to subvert facts made firm by antiquity using insults? 7. 'I don't perceive the cause.' 8. Perhaps the cause lies hidden, wrapped in the obscurity of nature, nor indeed does the god wish me to know such things, but only to use them. 9. So I will consult them and I will not be led to believe that all of Etruria is delirious in the case of entrails or that the same people make mistakes in the case of lightning or interpret these portents deceitfully, when the roaring, the rumbling, and the motion of the earth have often predicted many serious and true things for our republic and many things for other peoples.

10. Why, why was there laughter when a mule giving birth – a sterile creature producing a child – was interpreted as a sign by the haruspices, as a birth portending incredible evils? 11. What about Tiberius Gracchus, the son of Publius, who was twice consul and

ensor, an excellent augur and a wise man and an excellent citizen; did he not call for the haruspices after two snakes were observed in his house (as Gaius Gracchus, his son, left recorded in his writings)? 12. When they responded that if he let the male go, within a brief time his wife must die, while if the female was released, he himself must die, he considered it more fair that he meet a timely death rather than the young daughter of Publius Africanus; he released the female, and a few days later he died.



1. iis: alternative form of *eis*.

arte: ablative of separation with the verb *carere*.

esset and **careret:** imperfect subjunctives in indirect discourse following *adsentior*.

2. ratione aut coniectura: ablative of means. It is reason or conjecture that follows from observing signs or deciphering dreams etc. *coniectura* is a word used in augury.

veteres: agrees with **novas res**; Cicero chooses not to repeat *res*.

3. ii: unnecessary pronoun usage when *qui* is included.

observatis ac notatis signis: ablative absolute.

contingit: with dative of person when describing an occurrence.

non numquam: note the double negative, thus creating the opposite – an affirmative. Translate as ‘sometimes.’

4. habenda: ‘being held’, as if in the mind; hence the definitions ‘consider, esteem, think.’

aequatis sortibus: a specific phrase used to note lots that are completely fair and balanced.

accepimus: the translation ‘read’ covers the idea of having received and accepted the lots.

ut cadant: result clause.

credo posse divinitus: Indirect statement with a purpose clause.

5. ad eorum: ie. the gods.

8. involuta: nominative, in reference to *causam* in sentence 7. **tan-**

tum modo: read as **tantummodo** = ‘only.’

9. utar: ‘consult’ rather than ‘use’, since we are discussing divination. **adducar:** ‘I will not be led, sc. to believe.’

in extis: *in* + ablative often translates as ‘in the case of.’ The word *extis* here is ‘entrails,’ but entails only the major/prominent organs.

fremitus... mugitus... motus: taken together as the subject of *praedixerint*. Each is modified by **terrae**, though it is written only once at the beginning. Notice the threefold rhetorical structure here: the three things he will not believe about Etruria, then the three objects with which Etruria divines.

10. partus: the subject nominative of *inridetur* and *praedictus est*.

quia: here introducing an object clause.

partus: a repetition of the previous nominative *partus*.

11. duobus anguibus domi comprehensis: ablative absolute.

12. cum respondissent: temporal *cum* clause with pluperfect active subjunctive *respondissent*.

brevi tempore: ablative of time within which.

esse moriendum: the neuter gerundive periphrastic in indirect statement following *respondissent*.

ipse: when the pronoun stands alone, it can be translated as an intensified ‘he’.



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III.

Cornelius Nepos (ca. 110–25 BC)

Alcibiades 5

Alcibiades' exile and return

The twenty-five extant biographies of Cornelius Nepos (a Roman from Northern Italy), the *De Viris Illustribus*, are the earliest surviving examples of biography in the Latin language. Nepos was famous in his own day for clarity and readability. In this work, he compares foreign generals to Roman, leaving it to the reader to determine who was superior in each juxtaposition. In his treatment of Alcibiades (ca. 450 to 404 BCE), the exiled Athenian aristocrat comes vividly alive as a complicated personality in the mind of the reader in just eleven paragraphs. This fifth paragraph describes his flight from his new allies, the Spartans, to his friendship with Tissaphernes of Persia, and finally his renewed allegiance to Athens, whom he then led to important victories against the Spartans, and his return home.



1. Neque vero his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti quam timore ab eo alienati. 2. Nam cum acerrimi viri praestantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent, pertimuerunt, ne caritate patriae ductus aliquando ab ipsis descisceret et cum suis in gratiam rediret. 3. Itaque tempus eius interficiundi quaerere instituerunt. 4. Id Alcibiades diutius celari non potuit. 5. Erat enim ea sagacitate, ut decipi non posset, praesertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. 6. Itaque ad Tissaphernem, praefectum regis Darii, se contulit. 7. Cuius cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset et Atheniensium male gestis in Sicilia rebus opes senescere, contra Lace-

daemoniorum crescere videret, initio cum Pisandro praetore, qui apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuntios colloquitur et de reditu suo facit mentionem. 8. Erat enim eodem, quo Alcibiades, sensu, populi potentiae non amicus et optimatum fautor. 9. Ab hoc destitutus primum per Thrasybulum, Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur praetorque fit apud Samum; post suffragante Theramene populi scito restituitur parique absens imperio praeficitur simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene. 10. Horum in imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedaemonii, qui paulo ante victores viguerant, perterriti pacem peterent. 11. Victi enim erant quinque proeliis terrestribus, tribus navalibus, in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiserant, quae captae in hostium venerant potestatem. 12. Alcibiades simul cum collegis receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum, multas praeterea urbes Graecas, quae in ora sitae sunt Asiae, quarum expugnarant complures, in his Byzantium, neque minus multas consilio ad amicitiam adiunxerant, quod in captos clementia fuerant usi. 13. Ita praeda onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis Athenas venerunt.



But because of these things the Spartans did not become friends of Alcibiades as much as they were estranged from him by fear. For since they recognized the superior intelligence of this very shrewd man in all matters, they greatly feared that he, induced by a desire for his homeland, might at some time break with them and reconcile with his own people. So they decided to seek an opportunity to kill him. Alcibiades could not be kept in the dark about this for very long, because he was a man of such keenness that he was not able to be fooled, especially when he was trying to be careful. He went, therefore, to Tissaphernes, a satrap of King Darius. After he

had earned the satrap's intimate confidence, and saw that the resources of the Athenians were dwindling, since their operations in Sicily had gone awry, while those of the Spartans were by contrast increasing, Alcibiades began speaking through intermediaries with Pisander the Athenian commander, who had an army in Samos. He made mention of his possible return to Pisander, for this man was of the same sensibilities as Alcibiades, in that he was not a friend of democracy, but a supporter of aristocracy. Although disappointed in this attempt, he was received back by the army first through the agency of Thrasybulus, the son of Lycius, and became commander at Samos. Later, with the support of the tyrant Theramenes, he was restored *in absentia* and by decree of the people to a shared command together with Thrasybulus and Theramenes. Under the authority of these men, such a great change in the Athenian fortunes took place that the Spartans, who had a little earlier prevailed as victors, were terrified and sued for peace, because they had been worsted in five land battles and three naval battles, where they had lost 200 triremes, which were captured and commandeered by the enemy. Alcibiades, together with his colleagues, recovered Ionia, the Hellespont, and many other Greek cities besides, which were situated on the coast of Asia, many of which they had stormed, among them Byzantium. They brought over to friendship just as many other cities through their policies, because they had employed clemency with the prisoners. Thus, laden with spoils, having enriched the army and having achieved great military exploits, they returned to Athens.



1. **vero:** a transitional particle

his rebus: (ablative of means) The strategic counsel that Alcibiades

had given the Spartans contributed much to their success over the Athenians.

2. **ne... desciseret et rediret:** fear clause dependent on *pertimuerunt in gratiam... rediret:* *in gratiam cum aliquo redire:* to reconcile with someone

3. **tempus:** opportunity/occasion + genitive gerundive *interficiundi*; **interficiundi:** is an archaic form of *interficiendi*.

4. **id Alcibiades celari non potuit:** *celari* in the passive with the accusative for the thing concealed from the nominative expresses the same idea as an alternate, and simpler, reading, *id Alcibiadi celari non potuit*, with *id* in the nominative and *Alcibiadi* in the dative.

5. **ad cavendum:** *ad* + gerundive expresses purpose.

6. **Tissaphernem:** Tissaphernes was an important satrap of the western provinces of the Great King of Persia Darius' vast empire. The Persians often played the Athenians and the Spartans off of each other, hoping to see both sides weakened. Persian support of Spartan military operations was a consequential element of the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian war.

7. **male gestis in Sicilia rebus:** *res gestae* or 'deeds done' refers to military expeditions as often as actions taken more generally. Alcibiades' expedition against Sicily was a major disaster for the Athenians. Would it have been more successful if Alcibiades had not been recalled and forced into exile with the enemy?

7. **initio:** the ablative singular is used adverbially, 'in the beginning, at first'

8. **eodem... sensu:** ablative of description; *quo (sensu) Alcibiades (erat): quo* is also an ablative of description.

potentiae: dative with the adjective *amicus*

9. **ab hoc destitutus:** the subject is Alcibiades.

hoc: his hope to install an oligarchy in Athens and Samos that would recall him from exile and drop the charges against him.

Thrasybulus and Theramenes were important political and military leaders of Athens and her dependents.

10. **facta est ut...**: a result clause (a.k.a. consecutive clause) with a verb of effecting (GSL §553).

11. **in hostium venerant potestatem**: it is not uncommon for Latin to delay the conclusion of a phrase by inserting the clause's verb before the concluding word of the phrase. Read as: (*captae naves*) *venerant in hostium potestatem*.

12. **ora Asiae**: the coast of modern-day Turkey

neque minus multas (urbes): a contrast here is made between the number of cities they conquered with warfare (*expugnarant*) and those they won over without battle but through politics.

quod: because

clementia: ablative with *fuerant usi*

13. **Athenas**: city names do not require prepositions to indicate direction toward (accusative), direction from (ablative), or location in (locative).



The Latin text is that of The Latin Library (thelatinlibrary.com) which was submitted to the site by Hansulrich Guhl of Frauenfeld, Switzerland, from an unidentified edition, according to the credits page of the website.

IV.

Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC)

De Rebus Rusticis 1.3.1–4.5

The art and science of agriculture

Marcus Terentius Varro (sometimes called Varro Reatinus to distinguish him from a poet named Varro), ‘the most learned of the Romans’, as Quintilian called him, was truly a man for all seasons. He fought with Pompey the Great against the pirates and, perhaps, against Mithridates. He commanded armies for Pompey at Ilerda and Pharsalus. Pardoned twice by Julius Caesar for opposing him, he was appointed by the dictator to oversee the library at Rome. After being proscribed by Marc Anthony, he finally settled down into retirement, protected by Augustus, where he authored more than 70 titles on a great variety of topics. While we possess excerpts from many of his writings, only one of his works has come down to us complete, the *Rerum Rusticarum Libri Tres*. The following passage is taken from the first of its three books, wherein an imaginary discussion about the nature of agriculture takes among a group of friends whose very names, e.g. Agrasius, make word plays with the subject matter.



1. Igitur, inquit Agrasius, quae diiungenda essent a cultura cuius modi sint, quoniam discretum, de iis rebus quae scientia sit in colendo nos docete, ars id an quid aliud, et a quibus carceribus decurrat ad metas. 2. Stolo cum aspexisset Scrofam, Tu, inquit, et aetate et honore et scientia quod praestas, dicere debes. 3. Ille non gravatus, Primum, inquit, non modo est ars, sed etiam necessaria ac magna; 4. eaque est scientia, quae sint in quoque agro serenda

ac facienda, quo terra maximos perpetuo reddat fructus. 5. Eius principia sunt eadem, quae mundi esse Ennius scribit, aqua, terra, anima et sol. 6. Haec enim cognoscenda, priusquam iacias semina, quod initium fructuum oritur. 7. Hinc profecti agricolae ad duas metas dirigere debent, ad utilitatem et voluptatem. 8. Utilitas quaerit fructum, voluptas delectationem; priores partes agit quod utile est, quam quod delectat. 9. Nec non ea, quae faciunt cultura honestiorem agrum, pleraque non solum fructuosiore eadem faciunt, ut cum in ordinem sunt consita arbusta atque oliveta, sed etiam vendibiliorem atque adiciunt ad fundi pretium. 10. Nemo enim eadem utilitati non formosius quod est emere mavult pluris, quam si est fructuosus turpis. 11. Utilissimus autem is ager qui salubrior est quam alii, quod ibi fructus certus; 12. contra in pestilenti calamitas, quamvis in feraci agro, colonum ad fructus pervenire non patitur. 13. Etenim ubi ratio cum orco habetur, ibi non modo fructus est incertus, sed etiam colentium vita. 14. Quare ubi salubritas non est, cultura non aliud est atque alea domini vitae ac rei familiaris.

15. Nec haec non deminuitur scientia. 16. Ita enim salubritas, quae ducitur e caelo ac terra, non est in nostra potestate, sed in naturae, ut tamen multum sit in nobis, quo graviora quae sunt ea diligentia leviora facere possimus. 17. Etenim si propter terram aut aquam odore, quem aliquo loco eructat, pestilentior est fundus, aut propter caeli regionem ager calidior sit, aut ventus non bonus flet, haec vitia emendari solent domini scientia ac sumptu, quod permagni interest, ube sint positae villae, quantae sint, quo spectent porticibus, ostiis ac fenestris. 18. An non ille Hippocrates medicus in magna pestilentia non unum agrum, sed multa oppida scientia servavit? 19. Sed quid ego illum voco ad testimonium? 20. Non hic Varro noster, cum Corcyrae esset exercitus ac classis et omnes domus repletas essent aegrotis ac funeribus, immisso fenestris novis

aquilone et obstructis pestilentibus ianuaque permutata ceteraque eius generis diligentia suos comites ac familiam incolumes reduxit?



1. “All right,” said Agrasius, “since we have settled what kind of things ought to be considered distinct from agriculture, teach us, then, what sort of science there is in cultivation, and whether it is an art or something else, as well as the starting points from which it races towards its goals.”

2. Stolo looked at Scrofa and said, “You ought to speak, seeing that you surpass us in years and honor and knowledge.”

3. Scrofa willingly responded, “First of all, not only is it an art, but it is a great and necessary art. 4. It is a science, too, to know what to sow and grow in each field, to know where the land will constantly return the largest profits. 5. Its elements are the same as those which Ennius wrote were the elements of the universe – water, earth, the air, and the sun. 6. You ought to have some knowledge of these things before you plant seeds, which is the first step of production. 7. Starting from this point, the farmer must steer towards two goals: utility and pleasure. 8. Utility aims for profit, while the object of pleasure is enjoyment. The profitable part plays a more important role than the pleasurable. 9. Yet many of those luxury things that improve the look of the land, such as planted rows of fruit and olive trees, not only make the land more productive, but also more saleable, and add to the value of the farm. 10. For there is no one who would not rather pay more for land that is attractive than for equally profitable and fertile land that is unsightly. 11. In addition, a more wholesome farm is more valuable than others, because there the profit is certain. 12. Even on a productive farm, if it is less wholesome, misfortunes of blight prevent a farmer from

turning a profit. 13. Indeed, on a farm where death factors into the accounts, not only are the profits uncertain, but even the life of the farmers. 14. For that reason, without wholesomeness in the land, farming is nothing other than a throw of dice for the life and the fortune of the owner.

15. Now, this risk is certainly reduced by science. 16. For though wholesomeness, which is a product of climate and soil, is not under our control, but nature's, it still depends on us a lot because we can alleviate the worse effects by taking precautions. 17. If, on account of the nature of the land or water, a farm is too unwholesome because of a stench which is emitted in some place, or if the farm is too hot, on account of the climate, and the breeze does not blow well, the owners are accustomed to correct these faults through science and expenditures. For it makes a big difference where the house is placed, how big it is, and in what direction the porches, windows and doors face. 18. Didn't that famous doctor Hippocrates save through his science, not just a farm, but even many towns during a great plague? 19. But why should I call on him as a witness? 20. Our own Varro, who is right here, when the army and fleet were at Corcyra, and all the houses were filled with the sick and the dead, didn't he bring his comrades and staff back safely, by making new windows in order to admit the north wind and shut out the plague-bearing winds, and by rearranging the position of the doors and other such precautions?"



1. **Agrasius:** Publius Agrasius, we learn earlier in the work, was a tax-farmer. The name of this probably fictitious interlocutor is a pun on *ager*, and means basically a rustic or a farmer
discretum: the two relative clauses *quae diiugenda essent* and *cuius*

modi sint are subjunctive because they belong to indirect questions.
quae scientia sit: indirect question in subjunctive, depending on *docete nos*

in colendo: the gerund of *colere* ‘in farming.’

ars id an quid aliud: *id* refers back to *colendo*. Supply the verb *sit*

2. **Stolo:** Gaius Licinius Stolo was an early Roman tribune (376 BCE), who earned the cognomen Stolo because a *stolo* (“a shoot, branch, twig, or scion springing from the stock or root of a tree, a useless sucker” (LS)) was never to be found on his farm.

Scrofam: Gnaeus Tremelius Scrofa, perhaps a real Roman, whose cognomen means ‘a pig.’ He appears in Varro and in Columella as an expert agriculturist.

4. **quae sint serenda ac facienda:** passive paraphrastics in an indirect question

quo: *in quo loco*

5. **aqua, terra, anima, sol:** a variation on the four elements: water, earth, air, fire

9. **honestiorem:** in the sense of higher social class and respectability, upscale, even posh

ut: with indicative, ‘as, like’

10. **nemo...:** understand in this order: *enim nemo non mavult emere pluris (pecuniae) quod est formosius (sed) eadem utilitate, quam (emere quod est) turpis (et) si est fructuosus.*

13. **orco:** Orcus is another name for Pluto, the god of the Underworld, thus a synecdoche for death.

colentium: sc. *hominum colentium*, a present active participle in the genitive plural: ‘of the farmers’

16. **ut tamen multa sit in nobis:** an explanatory result (a.k.a. consecutive) clause (GSL §557)

quo graviora... possimus: purpose (a.k.a. final) clauses with comparative adjectives or adverbs use *quo* (= *ut eo*) instead of *ut* (GSL

§545).

17. **permagni interest:** the genitive of value expresses the degree of concern (GSL §382).

20. **Corcyrae:** modern day Corfu



The Latin text is from the Loeb Classical Library edition, 1934, based on the Teubner edition of Goetz, 1929, accessed through Bill Thayer's work at penelope.uchicago.edu.

V.

Vitruvius (ca. 70 BCE–15 CE)*De Architectura* 1.pr.–1.2

Preface to his treatise

The architect Vitruvius Pollio wrote a Latin like that spoken in the workshop rather than the more elevated style of his contemporaries like Cicero. He often combines the science of his treatise with a rationalized respect for the divine in nature. Vitruvius tells his readers that he is not tall, and that at the time of writing, he was elderly and no longer good-looking (2.pr.4). *De Architectura* is composed of ten books, each focused on a specific architectural aspect, such as temples and public buildings, with each of the column orders receiving their own chapter. Vitruvius' contributions to architecture and his influence far outlasted the man himself. Frontinus (40 to 103 CE) notes that Roman plumbers looked to Vitruvius to determine the size of their lead pipes (*Aquaed.* 25). Vitruvius' principle that all buildings should have 3 attributes – *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas* – was adopted by Roman architects across the empire. The rediscovery of Vitruvius' texts in the early 1400s in the library at the Saint Gall Abbey led to a Vitruvian renaissance, influencing Leon Battista Alberti's treatise, *De Re Aedificatoria* (ca. 1450) and famously Leonardo Da Vinci's Vitruvian Man (ca. 1490) drawn from the proportions given by Vitruvius (3.1.2–3). The following selection is drawn from the introduction to the first book of his collection. Before Vitruvius begins his technical treatise, he provides a masterclass on how the patronage system functioned in Rome before explaining what makes a good architect.



1. Cum divina tua mens et numen, imperator Caesar, imperio potiretur orbis terrarum invictaque virtute cunctis hostibus stratis triumpho victoriaque tua cives gloriarentur et gentes omnes subactae tuum spectarent nutum populusque Romanus et senatus liberatus timore amplissimis tuis cogitationibus consiliisque gubernaretur, non audebam, tantis occupationibus, de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus explicata edere, metuens, ne non apto tempore interpellans subirem tui animi offensionem. 2. Cum vero adtenderem te non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum, quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem, ideo quod primum parenti tuo de eo fueram notus et eius virtutis studiosus. 3. Cum autem concilium caelestium in sedibus immortalitatis eum dedicavisset et imperium parentis in tuam potestatem transtulisset, idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens in te contulit favorem.

4. Itaque cum M. Aurelio et P. Minidio et Cn. Cornelio ad apparitionem balistarum et scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum refectionem fui praesto et cum eis commoda accepi, quae, cum primo mihi tribuisti recognitionem, per sororis commendationem servasti. 5. Cum ergo eo beneficio essem obligatus, ut ad exitum vitae non haberem inopiae timorem, haec tibi scribere coepi, quod animadverti multa te aedificavisse et nunc aedificare, reliquo quoque tempore et publicorum et privatorum aedificiorum, pro amplitudine rerum gestarum ut posteris memoriae traderentur, curam

habiturum. 6. Conscripsi praescriptiones terminatas, ut eas adtendens et ante facta et futura qualia sint opera per te posses nota habere. 7. Namque his voluminibus aperui omnes disciplinae rationes.

8. Architecti est scientia pluribus disciplinis et variis eruditionibus ornata, [cuius iudicio probantur omnia] quae ab ceteris artibus perficiuntur. 9. Opera ea nascitur et fabrica et ratiocinatione. 10. Fabrica est continuata ac trita usus meditatio, quae manibus perficitur e materia cuiuscumque generis opus est ad propositum deformationis. 11. Ratiocinatio autem est, quae res fabricatas sollertiae ac rationis proportione demonstrare atque explicare potest. 12. Itaque architecti, qui sine litteris contenderant, ut manibus essent exercitati, non potuerunt efficere, ut haberent pro laboribus auctoritatem; qui autem ratiocinationibus et litteris solis confisi fuerunt, umbram non rem persecuti videntur. 13. At qui utrumque perdidicerunt, uti omnibus armis ornati citius cum auctoritate, quod fuit propositum, sunt adsecuti.



1. When your divine mind and will, *imperator* Caesar, were taking over the world through their power of command, when your enemies were laid low by your unconquered manly virtue, when the citizens were glorying in your triumphal procession and victory, when all conquered nations were attending to your will, and the Roman people and the Senate, now free from fear, were being steered by your grand thoughts and plans, I did not dare, because your preoccupations were so great, to publish my books and long-developed thoughts concerning architecture, fearing that, by interrupting at a bad time, I would experience the disfavor of your mind.

2. Yet when I considered that you had a concern, not just for the

shared life of all men and the nature of the commonwealth, but also for the advantages of public buildings – a concern that your agency might not only expand the body-politic with respect to its provinces, but also provide the majesty of our empire with the outstanding addition of public buildings – I judged that I must not miss my chance, and I ought to publish these things for you at the next opportunity. For to start with, I was known to your father and was devoted to his manly virtue. 3. Furthermore, after the council of celestial beings consecrated him on a throne of imperishable immortality and transferred your father's command to your authority, an enthusiasm which, in remembrance of him, remained the same, shifted in favor of you.

4. And so, along with Marcus Aurelius and Publius Minidius and Gnaeus Cornelius, I was in charge of preparing the ballistas and 'scorpions' and repairing the rest of the engines of war, and together with them I received benefits, which, when you first bestowed recognition on me, you preserved on the recommendation of your sister. 5. Because I was obligated by this benefit, which meant that until the close of my life I would have no fear of poverty, I began to write this work for you, since I observed that you had already built many buildings, both public and private, and are now building them, and for the rest of time will continue doing so, and that you would be concerned to pass them down to the memory of future generations, given the grandeur of these achievements. 6. I composed these clearly-defined precepts so that by attending to them you could tell on your own both what sort of projects were done before and what sort can be done. 7. For in these volumes I have explained all the rules of the discipline.

8. The knowledge of the architect is ornamented by numerous disciplines and various forms of learning, and from its judgement all things which are accomplished by the other arts receive approv-

al. 9. This work is produced by both craftsmanship and theory. 10. Craftsmanship is a continuous and tested meditation on experience, which is perfected by one's hands on whatever type of material is needed for the purpose of the form. 11. Theory, on the other hand, is that which is able to show and to set forth, with a mixture of skill and reason, things that have been built. 12. Thus architects, who strove without literature, although they were practiced in their hands, were not able to bring it about that they possessed an authority matching their labors; on the other hand, those who have trusted only in theory and literature seem to have followed the shadow, not the thing. 13. But those who learn both thoroughly, so that they are equipped with all necessary tools as well the requisite authority, have more quickly achieved the goal which they intended.



1. **numen:** lit. “divine will”

potietur: this deponent verb often takes a genitive; subjunctive in a temporal *cum*-clause.

orbis terrarum: “the world” or “the empire of Rome”

virtute: *virtus* is a notoriously difficult word to render into English. Here, “manly virtue” would be most suitable.

cunctis hostibus stratis: a temporal ablative absolute with an unusual usage of *stratis*, here meaning “having been overthrown”; in 31 BCE Octavian's admiral Agrippa defeated the fleet of Marcus Antonius and Queen Cleopatra VII of Egypt in the naval Battle of Actium, just off the coast of Greece near Actium. This marked Octavian's last hurdle to sole mastery of political power in Rome. Though he had to pursue the couple to Alexandria for their final

reckoning, they were broken and defeated. Antonius and Queen Cleopatra, we are told, took their own lives.

triumpho victoriaque: “triumphal procession and victory”; in 29 BCE, Octavian finally returned to Rome after defeating Antonius and Queen Cleopatra, and he celebrated the triumph-to-end-all-triumphs in a triple triumphal procession which celebrated his victory over Illyrium in 33, his victory at the Battle of Actium in 31, and his victory over Cleopatra in 30. Unspoken, of course, was the fact that his victory was over a fellow Roman, Antonius; this ended the civil war which had been threatening Rome since the death of Julius Caesar in 44.

gloriarentur: this deponent verb often takes an ablative. Subjunctive in a temporal *cum*-clause; *spectarent* and *gubernaretur* are subjunctive for the same reason.

gentes: “nations”

nutum: related to the previous *numen*, “command” or “will”

populusque Romanus et senatus: the eponymous SPQR

liberatus timore: Ablative of separation. Before their falling out, Octavian and Antonius, along with the third member of the so-called Second Triumvirate, Marcus Lepidus, perpetrated a proscription in 43 BCE on their enemies in Rome. A proscription was an official ‘hit-list’; if someone killed a proscribed man, they were allowed a share of the dead man’s property. During this proscription many elite Romans were killed (the *gentes omnes subactae* above), including Cicero. Thus, with rule by one man, Romans were free of the threat of civil war, and free of the threat of more proscriptions.

gubernaretur: the metaphor equating the body-politic to a ship that needs to be steered correctly was a common trope in ancient Greece and Rome, dating back at least to Plato’s *Republic* (488a), but also utilized by Roman rhetoricians like Cicero (see, for exam-

ple, *De Doma Sua* 24, 129, 137, *Pro Sestio* 25, 45, 46, and *In Pisonem* 9, 10, 20).

non audebam: here Vitruvius finally begins the main clause of the sentence with the complementary infinitive *edere*.

tantis occupationibus: Ablative of cause.

scripta: “books”

magnis cogitationibus: here *magnis* is being used to denote the amount of time spent on his *cogitationibus*.

edere: “to publish”

metuens: introducing a fear clause, with *ne* and the subjunctive *subirem*.

tempore: here the negative implication from context means “a bad time”

2. **vero:** “but”

adtenderem: “considered”; subjunctive in a temporal *cum*-clause which introduces indirect statement

te: accusative subject in indirect statement with *habere*

non solum...sed etiam...: “not only...but also...”; Vitruvius follows almost immediately with a nearly identical *non solum...verum etiam...*

de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem

habere: the accusative direct object of the infinitive *habere* in indirect statement; “you had care concerning the universal life of all people and the nature of the commonwealth.”

publicaeque rei: though commonly translated as “republic” the *res publica* that Octavian “restored” was not in fact a republic, but rather a monarchy thinly disguised as the *res publica*, and so is better translated as “commonwealth” for historical accuracy.

de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum: supply the *curam* of the previous clause

provinciis: ablative of respect

esset aucta: pluperfect subjunctive in a result clause signaled by the preceding *ut*

ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet

auctoritates: purpose clause; Octavian, now Augustus, bragged about finding Rome a city of brick and leaving it a city of marble (Suetonius, *Div, Aug.* 28.3) and Vitruvius is testifying to that fact, or at least that propaganda point.

non putavi praetermittendum: *praetermittendum* is acting as a passive periphrastic, though the *esse* has dropped out; the *non* must be taken not with *putavi* but with *praetermittendum*, “I judged that I must not leave undone.”

quin: corroborative

primo quoque tempore: a stock phrase, “at the first opportunity”

de his rebus: referring to the architecture of buildings

ea: referring to the *scripta* of the previous sentence

idea quod: relatively, “for”

primum: “in the first place”

parenti tuo: Octavian’s adopted father, Julius Caesar

de eo: architecture

studiosus: “devoted to”

3. **dedicavisset:** pluperfect subjunctive in a temporal *cum*-clause, *transtulisset* is subjunctive for the same reason.

permanens: modifying *studium*

contulit: here, “conferred.” Vitruvius is in essence explaining the logistics of the Roman patron-client system: after Julius Caesar died, all of his belongings (including clients) passed to his adopted son Octavian. The interesting thing to note is the active role Vitruvius ascribes to himself here.

4. **M. Aurelio et Publius Minidio et Cn. Cornelio:** there is little known about Marcus Aurelius, Publius Minidius, and Gnaeus Cornelius other than that they served with Vitruvius as military

engineers under Julius Caesar. This Marcus Aurelius is not to be confused with the emperor of the same name.

ballistarum et scorpionum: *ballistae* and *scorpiones* were two different types of missile-launching weapons. *Ballistae* launched large bolts or stones, while the *scorpiones* were smaller mounted cross-bows.

reliquorumque tormentorum: along with the *ballistae* and *scorpiones*, there were other war engines which utilized torsion springs (*tormenta*). Torture instruments like the rack also utilized this technology with something turned or twisted to create tension.

fui praesto: “I was in charge of,” taking the accusatives *apparationem* and *refectionem*.

commoda: a neuter substantive of the adjective *commodus*, *-a*, *-um*, here meaning “benefits”; the implication is that Vitruvius and his colleagues were very good at their jobs.

cum...tribuisti: a temporal *cum*-clause with an indicative verb

sororis: Octavia Minor, the older sister of Octavian, is the person who recommends Vitruvius to the service of her brother. Octavia would have been familiar with the clients of her uncle Julius Caesar. Her first marriage was to Claudius Marcellus, a contemporary and adversary of her uncle Caesar. (He attempted to offer Octavia in marriage to his friend-rival Pompey to strengthen the mens’ connection, but Pompey declined; Suetonius *Iul.* 27). This brief mention of Octavia by Vitruvius is a reminder that although women did not possess the ability to participate in politics directly, they could influence those around them with their patronage and their favor.

5. **cum ergo:** “because”

essem obligatus: pluperfect passive subjunctive in a causal *cum*-clause

haberem: imperfect subjunctive in a result clause signaled by the

preceding *ut*

haec: referring back to the *scripta* in the first sentence

animadverti: “observed,” introducing indirect statement

rerum gestarum: lit. “of the things having been accomplished” i.e. the building program of Octavian

traderentur: imperfect passive subjunctive in a result clause signaled by the preceding *ut*

curam habiturum: Vitruvius has been building to the future tense of this participle beginning with the previous *aedificavisse* in the perfect and *aedificare* in the present. This is an elaborate complement to Octavian beginning in the past, continuing through the present, and looking long into the future. The sentence is difficult to render into English as the *et publicorum et privatorum aedificiorum* should be repeated with each verb – Octavian has built these public and private buildings in the past, present, and future. After Vitruvius observed all of this care and effort, he began to write about architecture for Octavian, because Vitruvius saw that Octavian cared about architecture on the same level as Vitruvius himself.

6. **praescriptiones terminatas:** “defined precepts”

et ante facta et futura qualia sint opera: “both what sort of building projects were made before and what sort there can be”

posses: imperfect subjunctive in an indirect question signaled by the preceding *ut*

7. **disciplinae:** “the discipline” of architecture

8. **architecti...ornata:** Vitruvius is explaining that architecture can rely on the aid of other disciplines.

9. **et fabrica et ratiocinatione:** “both by craftsmanship and by theory,” a dichotomy for Vitruvius, as he explains below

10. **fabrica est continuata ac trita usus meditatio:** this is Vitruvius’ definition of *fabrica*, “craftsmanship.”

ad propositum deformationis: “for the purpose of shaping”

opus est: a construction meaning “is needed”

11. **proportione:** ablative of means with genitive *rationis*

12. **sine litteris:** “without literature,” i.e. reading and writing; meaning those architects who are illiterate.

essent exercitati: pluperfect passive subjunctive in a concessive clause signaled by the preceding *ut*

haberent: imperfect subjunctive in a causal clause signaled by the preceding *ut*

pro laboribus auctoritatem: “influence in proportion to their labors”

umbram non rem: “a shadow not a (tangible) thing”

13. **perdidicerunt:** introduces indirect statement

citius: comparative, “more quickly”

propositum: lit. “having been intended”

VI.

Valerius Maximus (active 20's CE)

Facta et Dicta Memorabilia 9.15

On frauds and impersonators

We know little about the Valerius Maximus who dedicated his nine book collection, written around 30 CE, to the Emperor Tiberius (14–37 CE). He tells us that his purpose in writing was to collect the memorable deeds and sayings which are worth remembering for both Rome and the world at large. He has helpfully gathered them into his collection to spare his readers from the work of chasing down these *exempla* by themselves (1.praef). The following selection is from book nine, where other topics include “Of Luxury and Lust” (1), and “Of Treachery” (6). This section (15) is the very last of the book and thus the entire work. Here Valerius Maximus provides examples of people from low birth who pretended to be of noble families; the preceding section was about individuals who bore a striking resemblance to each other.



1. DE IIS QUI INFIMO LOCO NATI MENDACIO SE CLARRISSIMIS FAMILIIS INSERERE CONATI SUNT

2. Sed tolerabilis haec et uni tantummodo anceps temeritas. 3.

Quod sequitur impudentiae genus nec ferendum ullo modo periculique cum privatim tum etiam publice late patentis. 4. Nam ut Equitium, Firmo Piceno monstrum veniens, relatum iam in huiusce libri superiore parte, praeteream, cuius in amplectendo Ti. Graccho patre evidens mendacium turbulento vulgi errore, amplissima tribunatus potestate vallatum est, Herophilus, equarius medicus, C. Marium septiens consulem avum sibi vindicando <ita se> extulit ut

et coloniae se veteranorum complures et municipia splendida collegiaeque fere omnia patronum adoptarent. 5. Quin etiam cum C. Caesar, Cn. Pompeio adulescente in Hispania oppresso, populum in hortis suis admisisset, proximo intercolumnio paene pari studio frequentiae salutatus est. 6. Quod nisi divinae Caesaris vires huic erubescendae procellae obstitissent, simile vulnus res publica excepisset atque in Equitio acceperat. 7. Ceterum decreto eius extra Italiam relegatus, postquam ille caelo receptus est, in urbem rediit et consilium interficiendi senatus capere sustinuit. 8. Quo nomine iussu patrum necatus, in carcere seras prompti animi ad omne molendum scelus poenas pependit.

9. Ne divi quidem Augusti etiam nunc terras regentis excellentissimum numen intemptatum ab hoc iniuriae genere. 10. Exstitit qui clarissimae ac sanctissimae sororis eius Octaviae utero se genitum fingere auderet, propter summam autem imbecillitatem corporis <iussu matris expositum, sed> ab eo cui datus erat perinde atque ipsius filium retentum, subiecto in locum suum proprio filio, diceret, videlicet ut eodem tempore sanctissimi penates et veri sanguinis memoria spoliarentur et falsi sordida contagione inquinarentur. 11. Sed dum plenis impudentiae velis ad summum audaciae gradum fertur, imperio Augusti remo publicae triremis adfixus est.

12. Repertus est etiam qui se diceret esse Q. Sertorii filium; quem ut agnosceret uxor eius nulla vi compelli potuit.

13. Quid? Trebellius Calcha quam adseveranter se Clodium tulit! 14. Et quidem dum de bonis eius contendit, in centumvirale iudicium adeo favorabilis descendit ut vix iustis et aequis sententiis consternatio populi ullum relinqueret locum. 15. In illa tamen quaestione neque calumniae petitoris neque violentiae plebis iudicantium religio cessit.

16. Multo fortius ille qui Cornelio Sulla rerum potente in domum Cn. Asinii Dionis irrupit, filiumque eius patris penetibus ex-

pulit, vociferando non illum sed se Dione esse procreatum. 17. Verum postquam a Sullana violentia Caesariana aequitas rem publicam reduxit, gubernacula Romani imperii iustiore principe obtinente, in publica custodia spiritum posuit. 18. Eodem praeside rei publicae in consimili mendacio muliebris temeritas Mediolani repressa est; si quidem cum se pro Rubria quadam, perinde ac falso credita esset incendio perisse, nihil ad se pertinentibus bonis insereret, neque ei aut tractus eius splendidi testes aut cohortis Augustae favor deesset, propter inexpugnabilem Caesaris constantiam irrita nefarii propositi abiit.

19. Idem barbarum quendam ob eximiam similitudinem Cappadociae regnum adfectantem, tamquam Ariarathes esset, quem a M. Antonio interemptum luce clarius erat, quamquam paene totius orientis civitatum et gentium credula suffragatione fultum, caput imperio dementer imminens iusto impendere supplicio coegit.



1. CONCERNING THOSE WHO WERE BORN TO A LOWER POSITION WHO TRIED TO THRUST THEMSELVES BY FALSEHOOD INTO ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILIES.

2. But this rashness is tolerable and dangerous to only one person. 3. That which follows is a kind of shamelessness that is in no way bearable and widely exposes not just private people but even the public to danger. 4. For I pass over Equitius, the monster from Firmum in Picenum, because I already recounted him in a previous part of this book, the Equitius whose clear lie in embracing Tiberius Gracchus as his father was given cover by a troubling confusion on the part the common people and the abundant power of the office of tribune. Herophilus, a horse doctor who claimed Gaius

Marius the seven-time consul as his grandfather, imposed himself in such a way that several colonies of veterans and distinguished municipalities and almost all the social organizations adopted him as their patron. 5. What's more, when Gaius Caesar, after he subdued Gnaeus Pompeius the younger in Hispania, admitted the public into his gardens, Herophilus was greeted with almost equal zeal by the crowd at the next column over. 6. If the powers of our divine Caesar had not opposed this embarrassing commotion, the republic would have received a wound similar to what it suffered in the case of Equitius. 7. But this man Herophilus, who was banished from Italy by Caesar's decree, after the latter was received into heaven, returned to the city and made a plan to destroy the Senate. 8. Under this pretext he was killed in prison by order of the Senate and paid a delayed penalty for possessing a mind open to the undertaking of every sort of crime.

9. Not even the highest authority of the divine Augustus, when he still ruled the earth, went untested by this sort of insult. 10. There was a man who dared to invent the story that he was born from the womb of Augustus' most honorable and most inviolate sister, Octavia, yet, on account of the utmost weakness of his body, was exposed by his mother's order. He was kept by the man to whom he was given just as if he was his own son, his natural son being relegated to his proper place; obviously he said this so that at one and the same time the most sacred household gods and memory of the true blood-line would be spoiled and also polluted by the unclean infection of this false man. 11. But while traveling to the highest degrees of boldness with his sails of shamelessness full, he was, by the command of Augustus, fastened to the oar of a public trireme.

12. One was also found who claimed that he was the son of Quintus Sertorius; but no violence could force Sertorius' wife to acknowledge him.

13. Can you believe how earnestly Trebellius Calcha passed himself off as a Clodius! 14. And indeed while he was fighting for Clodius' property, he went down to the Centumvirale Court with so much popularity that the confusion of the people barely left any room for just and equitable verdicts. 15. During that trial, however, the scruples of the judges did not yield to either to the claimant's cunning nor to the violence of the plebeians.

16. Much more bold was that man who, when Cornelius Sulla was in control of the republic, broke into the house of Gnaeus Asinius Dio and removed his son from his household gods, proclaiming that he, and not the other man, was Dio's natural son. 17. But later, after the fairness of Caesar rescued the republic from Sulla's violence and a more righteous chief was holding the rudder of Roman empire, the impostor's life was placed in a public prison.

18. Under the same ruler of the commonwealth the rashness of a woman from Mediolanum who told a similar lie was put down; for in fact, a woman who claimed that she was a certain Rubria, and acted as if the assumption that she had perished in a fire was false, thrust herself into an estate not her own. She had no lack of witnesses coming from that famous territory or favor from the Augustan court, but thanks to the unconquerable steadfastness of Octavian Caesar, she went away having failed to implement her nefarious plan.

19. Likewise there was a certain barbarian who, thanks to his uncanny physical resemblance, aspired to the throne of Cappadocia as if he were Ariarathes – a man who, just as clear as day, had been killed by Marcus Antonius. Although he was bolstered by the credulous recommendation of the cities and peoples of nearly the entire East, this man, who was foolishly threatening the empire, was forced by the same Octavian Caesar to pay a just punishment.



1. **infimo**: from *inferus*; “lower”

2. **Sed tolerabilis haec**: supply *esse*. *Haec* is referring to the previous section; to have a look-a-like running around only endangers the person whom they resemble.

tantummodo: “only”; *modo* strengthens the *tantum*.

anceps: lit. “two-headed,” but here “dangerous.”

3. **nec...ullo modo**: “not in any way”

cum...tum etiam...: “not only...but also...”

privatim....publice....: adverbs

4. **Firmo Piceno**: Firmum (modern Firmo) was a town in the region of Picenum, northeast of Rome.

huiusce libri superiore parte: *-ce* is an intensifier. Equitius has already been discussed at 3.2.18; 3.8.6; 9.7.1.

ut...praeteream: Valerius uses a purpose clause to explain why he is not including Equitius in this section.

Ti. Gracchus: Tiberius Gracchus (166–133 BCE), grandson of the famous Scipio Africanus through his mother Cornelia, was a tribune of the plebeians who famously proposed agrarian reforms which would have transferred land from wealthy landowners to poorer citizens. These proposed reforms caused such turmoil that Tiberius was killed in the streets of Rome with several of his supporters. Tiberius’ younger brother Gaius (154–121 BCE) would attempt similar reforms and suffer a similar fate for his efforts.

vallatum est: though the punctuation here in Latin is given as a comma, in English, a period after *vallatum est* is preferred as this completes Valerius’ comments on Equitius.

Herophilus: After a brief digression, Valerius has now shifted to the subject of the sentence, Herophilus.

C. Marius: Gaius Marius (157–86 BCE) was a famous Roman general and victor in the Cimbric and Jugurthine wars, who held the consulship more times than anyone before him. He was famously the leader of the *populares* faction against Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who opposed him as the the leader of the *optimates* faction.

collegiaque: “social organizations”

ferē: “almost”

patronum: a predicate accusative, “as patron.”

5. **quin etiam:** conventional translations such as “yea indeed” or “nay even” no longer ring true to modern sensibilities. A phrase such as “what is more,” might get across the escalation of the stakes that the Latin implies.

C. Caesar: Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) was a Roman statesman, famously murdered on the Ides of March by his fellow senators. Like Marius, Gaius Caesar was a member of the *populares* faction.

Cn. Pompeio adulescente: Gnaeus Pompeius the Younger (106–48 BCE), better known as Pompey the Great. A member of the *optimates* faction and a follower of Sulla, Pompey briefly allied himself with Caesar during the so-called First Triumvirate. Their relationship later fell apart and Pompey would be killed in Egypt, where he had fled to rally his forces against Caesar.

in hortis suis: “into his gardens,” these *hortis* would be the gardens of Caesar’s suburban villa in Rome.

proximo intercolumnio: ablative of place where. Literally “the next space between two columns,” but “at the next column over” sounds better in English.

paene pari studio: ablative of manner

6. **divinae Caesaris:** after his death in 44 BCE, Caesar’s adopted son, his nephew Octavian would lead the campaign to deify his adopted father, making him a god. Additionally, Caesar’s paternal

aunt Julia (130–69 BCE) was married to Gaius Marius and bore his only child, a son, Gaius Marius the Younger (110–82 BCE). Thus he would have been especially offended by someone claiming to be a long-lost relative.

huic erubescendae procellae: this Herophilus seemed also to have approached Cicero with his claims, as Cicero wrote the *Marius*. Cicero responds that Herophilus ought to petition his “closer” relatives, if he is indeed Marius’ grandson (*Att.* 12.49/292)

simile...atque...: indicates a comparison between two periods of time.

7. **ceterum:** with restricting force, “but” or “still.”

decretum: substantive of *decerno*, “decree.”

eius: Caesar

ille: Caesar

caelo: Romans believed that those who performed incredible deeds rose into the sky to become stars after their death: “[the Stoics] believe that the souls of brave men roam through the air in the manner of stars and are in this way immortal” (Comm. Lucan 9.6, translated by Nandini Pandey). Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis* famously imagines that great men find a sure place *in caelo* through their great deeds (*Rep.* 6.13) See Pandey 2013 for a deeper exploration of the cosmic symbols surrounding Julius Caesar’s death.

consilium interficiendi senatus capere sustinuit: lit. “he maintained to adopt a plan of destroying the senate” but in English would be better rendered as “he made a plan to destroy the senate.” Valerius seems to be implying that Caesar’s death left an opening that Herophilus capitalized on.

8. **quo nomine:** ablative of cause with an unusual use of *nomine*, “on account of this pretext”

iussu patrum: “by an order of the fathers,” i.e. the Senate

in carcere seras prompti animi ad omne moliendum scelus poe-

nas pependit: supply *habere*; “he paid the penalty of (having) an open mind to the undertaking of all crimes.”

9. **divi...Augusti...:** Following his death in 14 CE, Octavian Augustus, like his adopted father Caesar, was deified.

etiam nunc terras regentis: “when he still ruled the lands,” lit. “still at the time ruling lands”

numen: lit. “divine will”

intemptatum: supply an *est* to go with *intemptatum*, “was untested”

10. **exstitit:** impersonal, “one appeared”

sanctissimae: Valerius is not simply paying Octavia a complement.

In 35 BCE, Octavian had the Senate grant to his sister Octavia (and wife Livia) the ability to administer their own affairs, the right to have public statues in their likeness, and *sacrosanctitas* (Dio 49.38.1), the same inviolability given to the tribunes of the people. This grant of tribunician sacrosanctity gave both women security and protection against insult on a similar basis as the tribunes – importantly this meant that the women were protected as if they held public office. This incident described here by Valerius appears nowhere else in the surviving historical record and it appears to be the only time this protection needed to be invoked on behalf of Octavia. Livia too only needed the protection of *sacrosanctitas* once – when some men met Livia while naked. But unlike the fate of this pretender, Livia had the lives of the men spared, because to a chaste woman, naked men were the same as statues (Dio 58.2.4).

auderet fingere: introduces indirect speech, “dared to invent (a story) that”

ab eo: Agent

perinde atque: “just as if”

videlicet: impersonal, “it is easy to see” or “presumably”

penates: “the household gods”

11. **dum:** “so long as”

velis: “the sails” of a ship, the nautical metaphor makes the punishment quite fitting.

remo: “the oar”

publicae triremis adfixus est: the language seems deliberately unclear – the pretender could have been forcefully drafted into the navy, a highly dangerous line of work, or he could have literally been affixed to the oar, which would have also been a death sentence.

12. **Q. Sertorii:** Quintus Sertorius (127/118 – 73 BCE), a Roman general who led a large rebellion on the Iberian peninsula. He used what we would call “guerrilla tactics” to hold off the attacks of Pompey the Great, sent to assist Quintus Metellus, who had been kicked out of his own province by Sertorius.

nulla vi compelli potuit: the *vi* implies torture.

13. **quid?:** The punctuation is odd, but it relies on the excited force of the next sentence. In English we might say, “Can you believe it?”

adserveranter: adverb, “How earnestly Trebellius...”

Clodium: Publius Clodius Pulcher (93–52 BCE) was a colorful personality. Though born into a noble patrician family, he got himself adopted into a plebeian family so he would be eligible to serve as Tribune of the Plebeians. Famously he violated the sanctity of the all-women Bona Dea festival in 62 BCE by dressing as a woman, but was found out – to much scandal. A frequent enemy of Cicero, Clodius was murdered outside Rome by the bodyguards of a man named Milo.

14. **de bonis eius:** “about Clodius’ property,” lit. “concerning the good things of him”

in centumvirale iudicium: “the Centumvirale Court,” lit. “the hundred man Court.” This is the court of Roman law dealing with private law, or civil law. Originally this court was comprised of 100 men although it was later increased to as high as 180.

adeo: gives emphasis to *favorabilis*, “so very”

vix: an Adverb with *relinqueret*, “barely”

sententiis: “votes”

15. **in illa tamen quaestione:** here *quaestione* has a legal connotation, “However in this court case”

calumniae petitoris: “the cunning claimant” i.e. Trebellius Calcha

iudicantium: a substantive participle, “of the judges”

cessit: “yielded”

16. **Cornelius Sulla:** Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138–78 BCE) was a famous general and enemy of Marius during the civil war between them. He was the leader of the *optimates* faction. Sulla ruled Rome as dictator between 81–79 BCE and instituted the bloody proscriptions, in which enemies of the state were killed and their property confiscated.

rerum: “of the republic”

Cn. Asinii Dionis: Gnaeus Asinius Dio; there is no other mention of this man in the historical record.

penatibus: “the household gods” The implication is that by removing him from the penates, the usurper is casting the true son from his ancestral home.

vociferando: introduces indirect speech.

esse procreatum: lit. “was begat” but in modern English it is better rendered as “was the natural son”

17. **Caesariana aequitas:** this is the “Caesarian equity,” not of Gaius Caesar, but of his adopted son, Octavian Caesar. Octavian (63 BCE–14 CE) would later be given the name Augustus in 27 BCE.

reduxit: “restored”

gubernacula: though plural, it should be translated singularly, “the rudder”

18. **eodem praeside rei publicae:** this *eodem* is Octavian Caesar from the previous section, and thus the *rei publicae* is better trans-

lated as commonwealth here, as it was a republic in name only after Octavian took sole power.

Mediolani: Mediolanum, modern Milan in the north of Italy.

in consimili mendacio...repressa est: “in the same lie” This entire clause is referencing the previous paragraph about the imposter who was claiming to be the son of Dio. So Valerius is reporting that Octavian restrained this lie of the *muliebris temeritas Mediolani*, which was similar lie to the previous case.

cum se pro Rubria quadam: here *quadam* = *quaedam*, “claiming to be a certain (woman) Rubria,” lit. “with herself on behalf of a certain (woman) Rubria”

perinde ac falso credita esset incendio perisse: “just as if she had been believed to have perished in a fire falsely” This is a difficult sentence which seems to mean that the imposter showed up and pretended to be Rubria whom everyone had thought perished in a fire.

nihil ad se pertinentibus bonis insereret: “she was thrusting herself into an estate not her own” lit. “thrusting into the estate pertaining nothing to herself” When applied to situations of inheritance, *bonis*, lit. “the good things,” is someone’s “estate.”

tractus eius splendidi testes: “witnesses of that famous territory” i.e Mediolanum. The noun *tractus*, *-us* is literally a “tract” of land in this context.

cohortis Augustae favor: “the favor of the Augustan court” i.e. the people close to the ruling family of Augustus.

irrita nefarii propositi abiit: “she went away failing to achieve her nefarious plan,” lit. “she left off the vanities of her impious plan.”

19. **idem:** “the same (Octavian Caesar)” is the subject of this entire sentence, with the main verb *coegit*.

Cappadociae regnum: “the throne of Cappadocia,” an area in Central Anatolia, modern day eastern Turkey.

luce clarius erat: lit. “it was very clear by light,” but a better modern English translation would be “it was clear as day.”

caput...impendere...coegit: lit. “The same Caesar forced (the barbarian) to expend his head” although in modern English it is better rendered something like, “The same (Octavian) Caesar forced (the barbarian) to pay with his head” or “forced him to give up his head/life.”



For further examination of how this work functioned in elite education, see the forthcoming chapter in the *Handbook of Classics and Postcolonial Theory* by Liz Gloyn, “A Colonialist Trick of the Eye: Valerius Maximus’ Memorable Deeds and Sayings as a Tool of Imperial Education.”

VII.

Seneca the Younger (ca. 4–65 C.E.)

De Consolatione ad Marciam 2–3.3

How a woman ought to grieve the loss of a child

The genre of the *consolatio* can be traced back to a Greek philosopher of the fourth century BCE, Crantor, who wrote a letter to his friend Hippocles upon the death of his children. In his own *consolationes*, Cicero attests to the prestige of Crantor and the genre (*Acad.*, 2.135; cf. *Plin. Nat. Hist. Praef* 22), written and intended for those who had lost loved ones. The genre was therefore well-established by the time Seneca wrote his *De Consolatione ad Marciam* between 37–41 CE, and as such, it is filled with well-worn rhetorical flourishes, stock arguments, and historical examples. This *consolatio*, addressed to Marcia, is written as an essay rather than an epistle. Marcia had lost her adult son, Metilius, and was grieving. As a follower of Stoic philosophy, Seneca's advice sounds cold to modern sentiments. Grammatically, Seneca expects much of his readers; he frequently drops various verbs, especially forms of *sum*, and assumes his readers can keep up with his frequent and unmarked subject changes through context clues.



1. Scio a praeceptis incipere omnis, qui monere aliquem volunt, in exemplis desinere. 2. Mutari hunc interim morem expedit; aliter enim cum alio agendum est. 3. Quosdam ratio ducit, quibusdam nomina clara opponenda sunt et auctoritas, quae liberum non relinquat animum ad speciosa stupenti. 4. Duo tibi ponam ante oculos maxima et sexus et saeculi tui exempla: alterius feminae, quae se tradidit ferendam dolori, alterius, quae pari adfecta casu, maiore

damno, non tamen dedit longum in se malis suis dominium, sed cito animum in sedem suam reposuit. 5. Octavia et Livia, altera soror Augusti, altera uxor, amiserant filios iuvenes, utraque spe futuri principis certa.

6. Octavia Marcellum, cui et avunculus et socer incumbere coeperat, in quem onus imperii reclinare, adulescentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem, sed frugalitatis continentiaeque in illis aut annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandae, patientem laborum, voluptatibus alienum, quantumcumque imponere illi avunculus et, ut ita dicam, inaedificare voluisset, laturum; bene legerat nulli cessura ponderi fundamenta. 7. Nullum finem per omne vitae suae tempus flendi gemendique fecit nec ullas admisit voces salutare aliquid adferentis; ne avocari quidem se passa est, intenta in unam rem et toto animo adfixa. 8. Talis per omnem vitam fuit, qualis in funere, non dico non ausa consurgere, sed adlevare recusans, secundam orbitatem iudicans lacrimas amittere. 9. Nullam habere imaginem filii carissimi voluit, nullam sibi de illo fieri mentionem. 10. Oderat omnes matres et in Liviam maxime furebat, quia videbatur ad illius filium transisse sibi promissa felicitas. 11. Tenebris et solitudini familiarissima, ne ad fratrem quidem respiciens, carmina celebrandae Marcelli memoriae composita aliosque studiorum honores reiecit et aures suas adversus omne solacium clusit. 12. A sollemnibus officiis seducta et ipsam magnitudinis fraternae nimis circumlucentem fortunam exosa defodit se et abdidit. 13. Adsidentibus liberis, nepotibus lugubrem vestem non deposuit, non sine contumelia omnium suorum, quibus salvus orba sibi videbatur.

14. Livia amiserat filium Drusum, magnum futurum principem, iam magnum ducem; intraverat penitus Germaniam et ibi signa Romana fixerat, ubi vix ullos esse Romanos notum erat. 15. In expeditione decesserat ipsis illum hostibus aegrum cum veneratione et pace mutua prosequentibus nec optare quod expediebat audent-

ibus. 16. Accedebat ad hanc mortem, quam ille pro re publica obierat, ingens civium provinciarumque et totius Italiae desiderium, per quam effusis in officium lugubre municipiis coloniisque usque in urbem ductum erat funus triumpho simillimum. 17. Non licuerat matri ultima filii oscula gratumque extremi sermonem oris haurire. 18. Longo itinere reliquias Drusi sui prosecuta tot per omnem Italiam ardentibus rogis, quasi totiens illum amitteret, irritata, ut primum tamen intulit tumulo, simul et illum et dolorem suum posuit, nec plus doluit quam aut honestum erat Caesare aut aequom Tiberio salvo. 19. Non desiit denique Drusi sui celebrare nomen, ubique illum sibi privatim publiceque repraesentare, libentissime de illo loqui, de illo audire: cum memoria illius vixit; quam nemo potest retinere et frequentare, qui illam tristem sibi reddidit. 20. Elige itaque, utrum exemplum putes probabilius.



1. I know that all people who wish to advise anyone begin with maxims and end with examples. 2. Occasionally it is useful to change this habit; for things should be done in one way with one person and another way with another. 3. Reason can lead some people, but for others renowned names must be brought forward, as well as authorities, which will not allow the mind of one easily stunned by showy things to wander. 4. I shall set before your eyes two examples, the greatest both of their sex and of their generation: one woman who surrendered herself to suffering sadness, and another woman who, while affected by an equal misfortune, and experiencing a greater loss, nevertheless did not give those ills power over herself for long, but quickly restored her soul to its proper place.

5. Octavia and Livia, one the sister of Augustus, the other his

wife, lost sons in the flower of their youth, both with certain hope of becoming *princeps*. 6. Octavia lost Marcellus, on whom Augustus, his uncle and father-in-law, had begun to rely and to rest the burden of power; a young man quick of mind, powerful in character, greatly admired for his temperance and self-control not only at such a young age but amidst such wealth; enduring of toils, averse to pleasures. Whatever his uncle put upon him, and so to speak, whatever his uncle wanted to build on him, Marcellus would bear; well had Augustus chosen a foundation that would never yield to weight. 7. Octavia made no end of weeping and lamenting through the whole span of her life, she allowed no voice to bring her anything healthy, and she would not even allow herself to be diverted, focusing on one thing and fixating on it with her whole mind. 8. She went through her whole life as if in a funeral procession; I don't mean that she did not venture to stand up, but that she refused to be consoled, counting any tears lost a second bereavement. 9. She did not want to have any likenesses of her dearest son, she did not want any mention of him to be made. 10. She hated all mothers and kept raging against Livia in particular, because it seemed that her promised happiness had passed to Livia's son. 11. She was the most intimate friend of gloom and loneliness, not even having a care for her brother; she refused songs celebrating the memory of Marcellus or any other acknowledgement of devotion and shut her ears against all comfort. 12. Once she was removed from her customary obligations she hid and went away because she hated her brother's grandeur and the overly bright circle of his fortune. 13. With her children and grandchildren sitting by her, she did not put aside her mourning clothes, and caused injury to all her offspring, for although they were living, she imagined herself to be childless.

14. Livia had lost her son Drusus, a great yet-to-be *princeps*, when

he was already a great commander: he had penetrated far into Germany and planted Roman military standards in places where it had scarcely been known that any Romans existed. 15. He died on campaign, his very enemies affording him reverence and mutual peace during his illness, nor daring to opt for something which would have given them an advantage. 16. Added to this death, which he had met on behalf of the commonwealth, was the vast grief of the citizens and the provinces and all of Italy; the people of the municipalities and colonies mournfully turned out in droves everywhere for the funeral procession, and the funeral was conducted much like a triumph all the way to the city. 17. His mother was not permitted to drink in the last kisses of her son and the beloved words of his dying lips. 18. As she accompanied the remains of her Drusus throughout the long journey she was provoked by the many funeral pyres burning all across Italy, as if she was losing him so many times; nevertheless, as soon as she interred him in the tomb, she at once laid aside both him and her own pain, and felt no more pain than was either proper to Caesar or fair to Tiberius while they lived. 19. She did not cease to celebrate the name of her Drusus thereafter, she did not cease to display him everywhere, in public and private, did not cease to speak willingly about him, and did not cease to hear willingly about him: she lived with his memory, a memory which no one can preserve and celebrate if they make it sad for themselves.

(20) So you: choose! Which of the two examples do you deem more laudable?



1. **omnis**: plural accusative and substantive.
2. **agendum est**: a passive periphrastic, followed closely by another

in the next sentence, **opponenda sunt**.

3. **relinquat**: the subjunctive here signals a relative clause of purpose explaining why the *nomina clara* need to be used.

ad speciosa stupenti: the verb *stupeo* frequently takes *ad* and an ablative to indicate the means of the stunning.

4. **duo...exempla**: Seneca is careful to provide *exempla* which fit the sex of his recipient. For Marcia and the *consolatio* he wrote for his mother Helvia, he uses female *exempla*, while his *consolatio* to Polybius uses male *exempla*. This is interesting to note, considering that Seneca goes on to give his “good” *exempla*, Livia, qualities which would befit a male Stoic.

maiore damno: a concessive, comparative ablative absolute, missing a participle, which sets up the *tamen*. It is unclear why Livia’s suffering is worse.

5. **Octavia** Minor was the older full sister of Octavian, the man who would go on to take the name Augustus and become the first emperor of Rome. Octavia was born around 66 BCE and died around 11 BCE. She famously married Marcus Antonius in 40 BCE to seal the Treaty of Brundisium, a peace accord between her brother Octavian and Antonius. Though her only son Marcellus died in 23 BCE, the marriages of her four daughters would ensure that Octavia offspring were included in the Julio-Claudian dynasty; she was the great grandmother of the Emperor Nero through her daughter Antonia Major, and the grandmother of the Emperor Claudius and great grandmother of the Emperor Caligula through her daughter Antonia Minor.

Livia Drusilla, 59/58 BCE- 29 CE, married Octavian in 38 BCE and would remain his wife until his death in 14 CE. The couple never produced any children of their own, but Livia had two sons from her first marriage: Tiberius who would later become Octavian’s successor as emperor, and Drusus. Though Drusus died prema-

turely, he was the father of the future emperor Claudius, and the grandfather of the emperors Caligula and Nero, thus making Livia the grandmother and great grandmother, respectively, of these three emperors. The genealogy is interesting here, since Seneca was exiled under the Emperor Claudius and recalled to be the tutor of the young emperor Nero. Later, Seneca would commit suicide, stoically, for his implication in an assassination attempt on Nero.

principis: a notoriously difficult word to translate into English. Though one might use the English derivative “prince” it would not capture the complex political role, and thus title, of *princeps*.

6. **Octavia Marcellum:** supply *amiserant* from the previous sentence. Marcellus died in 23 BCE at the age of 19.

et avunculus et socer: Octavian, later called Augustus. Octavia’s son Marcellus was married to Octavian’s daughter Julia in 25 BCE, thus he was both the uncle and father-in-law of Marcellus.

quem onus imperii reclinare: the infinitive depends on *coeperat* in the previous clause.

adulescentem: Marcellus. Seneca spends nearly the rest of the sentence describing the young Marcellus. Some of his traits are predicate accusatives with corresponding ablatives of respect (*animo alacrem*), and others are genitive of characteristic (*frugalitatis continentiaeque*).

aut annis aut opibus: ablatives of respect. These Ablatives are difficult to render into English, “not only in respect to his age but also his wealth” would be the literal translation. Importantly, Seneca wants his readers to understand that even though Marcellus was a young man, and a young man surrounded by wealth – both being potential sources of problems and temptations – he was *non mediocriter admirandae*.

non mediocriter admirandae: lit. “[a young man] of not mediocre admiration.” A classic use of Latin negation to define a positive –

Marcellus was a young man to be greatly admired.

voluptatibus alienum: here *alienum* has the sense of “not familiar with.”

quantumcumque imponere illi avunculus et, ut ita dicam, inaedificare voluisset, laturum: Seneca is setting up a metaphor. Both the infinitives are governed by *voluisset*. The *ut* and subjunctive *voluisset* are marking a result clause. Marcellus was all of these wonderful things with the result that Octavian placed upon or metaphorically built upon the young man, “whatever his uncle had wanted to put upon [him] and, so to speak, [whatever his uncle] had wanted to build on him, he would bear.” **ut ita dicam:** best rendered into English as “so to speak.” Seneca is pre-apologizing for his use of metaphor.

bene legerat nulli cessura ponderi fundamenta: Seneca continues the metaphor. Here *legerat* has the sense of “to choose.” Though *fundamenta* is plural, it is best translated as singular, “well had he [Augustus] chosen a foundation that would never yield to weight.”

7. **per omne vitae suae:** though the previous sentence was describing Marcellus, Seneca reminds the reader that Octavia is the subject.

salutare aliquid adferentis: “bringing anything healthy.” This *salutare* is not an infinitive, but rather the neuter accusative of the adjective *salutaris* paired with the accusative *aliquid*. Seneca is painting a (historically inaccurate) negative *exempla* of Octavia which conveys that her behavior was not a healthy way to deal with the grief of her son.

ne avocari: “not to be diverted”

8. **talis...qualis...:** “as such...as if...” but in English the initial “as such” can be dropped to smooth out the translation.

non dico: introducing an indirect statement

secundam orbitatem iudicans lacrimas amittere: this clause de-

pende on the meaning of *adlevare recusans*. Octavia was refusing to allow her sorrows to be lifted, thus “she was judging tears lost as a second bereavement.” In modern English, we would likely say “counting tears lost.”

9. **voluit**: governs all the infinitives in the sentence.

nullam sibi de illo fieri mentionem: it is important to remember that Seneca is presenting Octavia as an *exemplum*, and his depiction of her is not historically accurate. Seneca’s claim that Octavia wanted “no mention about him to her” is hyperbole. She certainly was not adverse to hearing her son’s name: Octavia dedicated the libraries within her portico *in the name of her son* following his death (Dio 49.43.8; Plut. *Marc.* 30.6; Suet. *Gram.* 21). See Margaret Woodhull on why libraries would be a fitting memorial to commemorate a mother’s love for her son (Woodhull 2003, 28–32).

10. **in Liviam maxime**: “against Livia in particular.” This statement has no basis in historical fact. Often in our androcentric classical male sources, Octavia and Livia are set against each other, as Seneca does here. There is no reason why the two women needed to be adversarial, especially in grief. Octavia had four other natural born daughters, and was, by the time of Marcellus’ death in 23 BCE, taking care of Marcus Antonius’ children by his previous wife Fulvia, as well as his children by Queen Cleopatra VII. It does not seem likely Octavia would despise other mothers or Livia, especially as two of their children were married to one another; Octavia’s daughter Antonia Minor was married to Livia’s son Drusus.

illius: Livia

sibi: Octavia

promissa felicitas: “her expected happiness.” The implication being that Marcellus was a perfect son and thus would have made his mother very happy.

11. **tenebris et solitudini familiarissima**: *familiaris* often takes a

dative, and the superlative is being used substantively in the nominative to refer to Octavia.

ne...quidem: “not even”

carmina celebrandae Marcelli memoriae composita aliosque studiorum honores reiecit: Again, Seneca is loyal to stock arguments and rhetorical flourishes rather than historical accuracy. Octavia did not *reiecit carmina celebrandae Marcelli memoriae*; we are told by Suetonius that Octavia attended a reading by Virgil of his *Aeneid*, and was so moved by the poet’s inclusion of Marcellus in the Underworld (6.860–886) that she was overwhelmed and fainted (Suetonius, *Poet. Verg.* 32–33). Here **studiorum** is the zeal one holds for another person and **honores** is something given as a mark of honor, so *studiorum honores* would be “acknowledgements of devotions,” and could literally mean other works of literature but could also be kind words from others.

adversus: “against”

12. **a sollemnibus officiis seducta:** a temporal ablative absolute implying a departure from public duties.

ipsam magnitudinis fraternae nimis circumlucentem fortunam: Seneca’s point here is that Octavia was so deep in mourning that she even hated that her brother Octavian’s good fortune was “shining all around.” This would have been especially heinous to a Roman’s sensibilities, as devotion to family and *pietas* were considered traditional Roman virtues, i.e. Octavia is badly misbehaving in her unending grief.

exosa: an ablative of cause

defodit: “hid,” but with an implication of being buried, as in “to dig in and hide” or “to bury in the earth.” Seneca is hitting the reader over the head with Octavia’s (supposed) obsession with death, though she is still alive.

se et abdidit: the verb *abdo* is often paired with a reflexive pronoun,

“to go away” or “to remove oneself.”

13. **non sine contumelia omnium suorum, quibus salvis orba sibi videbatur:** the double negative *non sine* can be left out of the English rendering of the causal ablative, “causing injury to all her (children/grandchildren i.e. offspring)”; *quibus salvis* is a concessive ablative absolute with the verb dropped out, “which although they were uninjured/living, she seemed childless to herself.” The adjective *orba* means “bereaved” or “bereft” but when applied to parents or children takes on the meaning of “childless” or “parentless.”

14. **Livia amiserat filium Drusum:** Drusus died in 9 BCE at 29 years old.

futurum: has the sense of “yet-to-be” because Drusus died before he could be a *princeps*, an emperor.

iam: “already”

penitus: adverb, best rendered here as “far”

ibi...ubi...: there...where...

signa Romana: the Roman military standards

notum erat: impersonal, with the adverb *vix*, opening a indirect statement *ullos esse Romanos*; it was so far into Germany that no one knew Romans even existed.

15. **ipsis illum hostibus:** lit. “with his own enemies of him,” i.e. he died while on campaign, and thus surrounded by enemies.

ipsis...prosequentibus: a very long ablative absolute

nec optare quod expediebat audentibus: though it would have been advantageous for his enemies to take advantage of Drusus’ sickness and death, they chose not to out of respect.

16. **accedebat:** with *ad*, *accedo* has the meaning of increase, “was added,” and takes *ingens civium* as its subject.

pro: “on behalf of”

per quam: “through which”; *totius Italiae* is its antecedent.

effusis in officium municipiis coloniisque: lit. “with the (people

of the) municipalities and colonies being poured out mournfully at the funeral procession,” an ablative absolute which explains why the funeral was *triumpho simillimum*. Drusus had died in Germany, so the funeral procession had to travel from Germany to Rome.

usque in urbem: “all the way into the city,” that is, all the way into Rome.

ductum erat funus triumpho simillimum: a rather morbid sentiment. The people of Rome would turn out to watch a Roman triumph, which celebrated a military victory, similar to how Mardi Gras revelers turn out for parades and line the streets of the parade route. Here Seneca is comparing crowd sizes, but also perhaps implying that this was indeed Drusus’ triumph – the only problem, of course, being that Drusus was not alive to enjoy it.

17. **non licuerat:** the impersonal verb *licet*, which takes the complementary Infinitive *haurire*, “to drink in.”

gratumque extremi sermonem oris: reordered – *gratum sermonem extremi oris*, “the beloved words of his dying lips.”

18. **longo itinere...prosecuta:** ablative of time within which, “Throughout the long journey accompanying...”

tot...quasi...: so many...(it was) as though...

totiens: “so many times”

amitteret: Remember that *quasi* is really *qua + si*, and thus this verb is subjunctive in the protasis of a present contrary-to-fact clause.

ut primum: “as soon as.” The *simul* later in the sentence emphasizes that Livia was mourning in a respectable, but brief manner.

tumulo: the Mausoleum of Augustus, completed in 28 BCE. Marcellus was the first member of the Julio-Claudians to be interred there following his death in 23 BCE and Drusus would join him in 9 BCE.

Caesare...Tiberio salvo: *Caesare* and *Tiberio* are ablatives of respect, but *salvo* is an ablative of time within which and should be

understood as “while living” and applied to both Caesar (Octavian) and Tiberius.

19. **Non desit:** this finite verb governs the complementary infinitives, *celebrare*, *repraesentare*, *loqui*, and *audire*.

privatim publiceque: adverbs

quam: takes *memoria* as its antecedent, lit. “(memory) which no one is able to preserve and to celebrate, who surrenders their sadness to themselves.” In English, because of Seneca’s move from the specific circumstance of Livia’s memory of her son to the general observation about memory generally, it is more smoothly rendered with an “if” for the *qui*, “memory which no one, if they surrender themselves to sadness, is able to preserve and celebrate.”

20. **elige:** the second person singular present imperative of *eligo*

utrum: “which of the two”

putes: subjunctive in an indirect question

VIII.

Seneca the Younger*Epistulae Morales* 1

On time

Over the span of his political career Seneca wrote in a variety of genres, including plays, dialogues, and philosophical treatises. Among his best known works are his *Epistulae Morales*. The *Epistulae* are a collection of letters addressed to another politician under Nero known only to us as Lucilius. In these letters, Seneca leads his audience through explorations of multiple philosophical themes. This letter specifically focuses on time and poverty.

In this letter Seneca opens the entire collection by exhorting Lucilius to reevaluate his outlook on the nature of time. While the *Epistulae* are written in a more casual style than his formal treatises, note Seneca's use of rhetorical devices. He alternates between polysyndeton and asyndeton for tricolons, and utilizes chiasmic and synchetic sentence structure.



I. SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM

1. Ita fac, mi Lucili: vindica te tibi, et tempus quod adhuc aut auferebatur aut subripiiebatur aut excidebat collige et conserva. 2. Persuade tibi hoc sic esse ut scribo: quaedam tempora eripiuntur nobis, quaedam subducuntur, quaedam effluunt. 3. Turpissima tamen est iactura quae per negligentiam fit. 4. Et si volueris attendere, magna pars vitae elabatur male agentibus, maxima nihil agentibus, tota vita aliud agentibus.

5. Quem mihi dabis qui aliquod pretium tempori ponat, qui diem aestimet, qui intellegat se cotidie mori? 6. In hoc enim fallimur,

quod mortem prospicimus: magna pars eius iam praeterit; quidquid aetatis retro est mors tenet. 7. Fac ergo, mi Lucili, quod facere te scribis, omnes horas complectere; sic fiet ut minus ex crastino pendeas, si hodierno manum inieceris.

8. Dum differtur vita transcurrit. 9. Omnia, Lucili, aliena sunt, tempus tantum nostrum est; in huius rei unius fugacis ac lubricae possessionem natura nos misit, ex qua expellit quicumque vult. 10. Et tanta stultitia mortalium est ut quae minima et vilissima sunt, certe reparabilia, imputari sibi cum impetravere patiantur, nemo se iudicet quicquam debere qui tempus accepit, cum interim hoc unum est quod ne gratus quidem potest reddere.

11. Interrogabis fortasse quid ego faciam qui tibi ista praecipio. 12. Fatebor ingenue: quod apud luxuriosum sed diligentem evenit, ratio mihi constat impensae. 13. Non possum dicere nihil perdere, sed quid perdam et quare et quemadmodum dicam; causas paupertatis meae reddam. 14. Sed evenit mihi quod plerisque non suo vitio ad inopiam redactis: omnes ignoscunt, nemo succurrit.

15. Quid ergo est? 16. Non puto pauperem cui quantulumcumque superest sat est; tu tamen malo serves tua, et bono tempore incipies. 17. Nam ut visum est maioribus nostris, 'sera parsimonia in fundo est'; non enim tantum minimum in imo sed pessimum remanet. 18. Vale.



1. Do this, my Lucilius: free yourself for your own sake, and collect and save that time which so far was either taken away, snatched up, or fell away. 2. Convince yourself that this is just as I write: certain times are ripped away from us, some are carried off, and some vanish. 3. But the most disgraceful waste of a moment occurs through

negligence. 4. And if you wish, take heed: a great part of life slips away while men behave badly, the greatest part while men do nothing, and an entire life while men do something else.

5. Can you show me a man who places any price on time, who values each day, who understands that he dies daily? 6. For in this we are mistaken, that we look to death ahead of us: the greater part of it has already passed us by; death holds whatever years are behind us. 7. Act thus, my Lucilius, as you write you are doing, and embrace all your hours; and so it will happen that you may lose less of tomorrow, if you begin your work today.

8. While life is postponed, it runs by us. 9. All things, Lucilius, are foreign to us, only time is ours. Nature sent us to possess this singular moment, fleeting and slippery, and whoever so wishes can expel us from it. 10. And such is the foolishness of mortals that, in case of objects which are most trifling and cheap, and certainly replaceable, they acknowledge their debt when they obtain them. Meanwhile, no one who receives time would think he owes anything, when this is the one debt that not even a grateful man can repay.

11. You will probably ask what I myself am doing, as the man who advises these things. 12. I will confess frankly: I live like a self-indulgent but diligent man. I have made an account of my expenditures. 13. I cannot say that I waste nothing, but I can say what and why and how I waste. I account for the causes of my poverty. 14. But the same thing happens to me as happens to many men who have been reduced to poverty not due to their own vice: all men forgive them, but no one comes to their aid.

15. So what is my point? 16. I do not think him a pauper for whom whatever little bit remains is sufficient; nevertheless, I would prefer that you protect your own possessions, and begin early. 17. For as our ancestors saw it, 'frugality at the bottom of the barrel is

too late.' For not only is what remains at the bottom the most insignificant, it is also the worst. 18. Farewell.



- 2. hoc sic esse ut scribo:** 'this is just as I write'
- 3. iactura:** noun; 'a throwing overboard', or 'waste'
- 5. aestimet:** 'value'
- 7. facere:** infinitive in indirect discourse
- complectere:** imperative
- sic fiet:** idiom, introduces result clause. 'Thus it will happen...' or non-translatable.
- ut...pendeas:** result clause, 'so that...you lose'
- manum inieceris:** idiom, 'take up a task'
- 8. dum differtur vita transcurrit:** *vita* is the subject.
- 9. tantum:** 'only'
- ex qua expellit quicumque vult:** can switch the order of clauses. 'Whoever wishes expels us from this'.
- 10. imputari:** with *patiantur*, 'to be charged', 'to be indebted'
- impetravere:** perfect indicative
- patiantur:** 'acknowledge'
- ne...quidem:** 'not even'
- 12. ratio...constat:** idiom, 'the account is made', 'it proves right'
- 13. perdam:** subjunctive in indirect question
- reddam:** 'account for'
- 14. sed evenit mihi quod:** second *evenit* implied after *quod*. 'But it happens to me, which happens...'
- 16. non puto pauperem...est:** 'I do not think him a pauper for whom whatever little remains is sufficient for him'.
- superest sat est:** indicative for vividness
- malo:** 'choose', 'prefer'

bono tempore: ‘early’
17. minimum: ‘insignificant’



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Figure 1 Cast of a portrait of Octavia Minor (next page)



IX.

Petronius Arbiter (died 66 C.E.)

Satyricon 1/2

On the failure of rhetorical education

Not much is definitively known about the author. Based on information from a fragment of the *Satyricon*, and a passage from Tacitus' *Annals* (16.18), scholars believe him to be Titus Petronius Niger, who lived (and died) during the reign of Nero. This novel recounts the adventures of Encolpius (possibly a retired gladiator), and his slave lover, Giton. The most complete section of this fragmentary text is the *Cena Trimalchionis* (26–78), a racy indictment of the *nouveau riche* and lower classes of the time. Unfortunately not much else of the novel exists, though it seems like the original was extremely long based on quotes from other authors and the references to previous chapters in what survives.

The piece given here stars Encolpius griping about the current state of education and its focus on declamation. Encolpius lambasts current methods of education by appealing to great speakers of the past. Note the frequent use of result clauses.



1. Num alio genere Furiarum declamatores inquietantur, qui clamant: 'Haec vulnera pro libertate publica excepi; hunc oculum pro vobis impendi: date mihi ducem, qui me ducat ad liberos meos, nam succisi poplites membra non sustinent'? 2. Haec ipsa tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent. 3. Nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt ut, cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos. 4. Et ideo ego adulescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos

fieri, quia nihil ex his, quae in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident, sed piratas cum catenis in litore stantes, sed tyrannos edicta scribentes quibus imperent filiis ut patrum suorum capita praecidant, sed responsa in pestilentiam data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur, sed mellitos verborum globulos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa.

5. Qui inter haec nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere qui in culina habitant. 6. Pace vestra liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis. 7. Levibus enim atque inanibus sonis ludibria quaedam excitando, effecistis ut corpus orationis enervaretur et caderet. 8. Nondum iuvenes declamationibus continebantur, cum Sophocles aut Euripides invenerunt verba quibus deberent loqui. 9. Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat, cum Pindarus novemque lyrici Homericis versibus canere timuerunt. 10. Et ne poetas quidem ad testimonium citem, certe neque Platona neque Demosthenen ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse video. 11. Grandis et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio non est maculosa nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit. 12. Nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque iuvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere adflavit, semelque corrupta regula eloquentia stetit et obmutuit.



1. Are the rhetoricians disturbed by some other kind of Fury, those men who shout: “These wounds I received for the freedom of the state; I lost this eye for you: give me a guide, who may lead me to my children, for my knees which were cut out from under me do not hold up my body”? 2. These sorts of things would by themselves be tolerable, if they made a path for those who were headed towards eloquence. 3. As it is, by the swollenness of their topics

and the empty noise of their sentences they only achieve this: that when they come into the forum, they think that they have been carried off into another world. 4. And therefore I believe that the young men become morons in their schools, because they hear or see nothing of what we practice in real life; instead they learn about pirates standing with chains on the shore, tyrants writing edicts in which they order the sons to cut off the heads of their own fathers, oracles given in times of pestilence that three or more maidens should be sacrificed – honey-balls of words, all things said and done as if sprinkled with poppy and sesame.

5. Those who are nourished among these things are no more able to be smart than those who dwell in the kitchen are able to smell well. 6. With your permission allow me to say to you that, first of all, you have destroyed eloquence. 7. For by playing games with trivial and empty sounds you have brought it about that the body of oratory has grown weak and died. 8. Young men were not yet bound by oratorical exercises when Sophocles or Euripides discovered the words which they needed to speak with. 9. The shade-loving tutor had not yet destroyed innate talent when Pindar and the nine lyric poets were afraid to sing Homeric verses. 10. And indeed, not just to cite the poets as evidence, I know for certain that neither Plato nor Demosthenes got to this kind of exercise. 11. A sublime and, so to speak, modest language is not stained nor swollen, but rises up with a natural beauty. 12. Recently this bombastic and enormous talkativeness migrated from Asia to Athens and it breathed on the minds of the youth, which at the time were rising to greatness, like some pestilential star; once the rules were corrupted, eloquence stood still and fell silent.



1. num: an interrogative particle for which a negative answer is expected

qui me ducat: subjunctive used for a relative clause of purpose, introduced by the relative pronoun *qui*; the clause explains the purpose of the *ducem*.

succisi poplites: this phrase usually means that the hamstrings have been cut.

membra: stands for the body as a whole, a rhetorical device also known as metonymy.

2. ituris: a future active participle, masculine plural dative.

essent... facerent: subjunctives in present contrary-to-fact conditional statements ('should/would').

3. rerum... sententiarum...: the technical meanings of *res* (topic) and *sententia* (sentence) are in use within this speech.

hoc tantum: 'this only'

proficiunt ut: result clause: *ut* + subjunctive, preceded by *tantum*

cum... venerint: the entrance into the forum happens before the *putent*/belief.

se... delatos: accusatives in indirect statement following *putent*.

Delatos is a perfect passive infinitive with the *esse* truncated. Since the participle which forms the passive infinitive is an adjective, it agrees with the subject, here *se*.

orbem terrarum: a common phrase that merely means 'a world'

4. nihil ex his: translate as 'none of these things.'

in usu: *in* + ablative here translates as 'in the case of.' *Usu* as used in the passage refers to real life.

sed... sed: used after a negative clause to limit the negative statement (see *num* from beginning).

piratas: masculine, therefore **stantes** agrees with it

scribentes... data... dicta factaque... sparsa are accusative plurals

reliant upon **audiunt** and **vident**; these are things studied instead of real life.

ut virgines: indirect command following *responsa... data*

5. non magis... quam: construction used to make a comparison

6. pace vestra: translate the idiomatic phrase as ‘by your permission.’ **primi omnium**: the *omnium* strengthens the *primi*. Translate as ‘first of all.’

7. excitando: gerund and ablative of means.

ludibria: neuter accusative plural and the object of *excitando*.

Translate *ludibria...excitando* as ‘playing games.’

9. umbraticus doctor: a shade-loving (ie. lazy) tutor. Encolpius is literally throwing shade here.

10. neque Platona neque Demosthenen ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse: indirect statement reliant upon *video*. **video**: can mean ‘I know,’ which makes more sense than assuming Encolpius has literally seen these men.

11. ut ita dicam: translate this idiomatic phrase as ‘so to speak.’

12. loquacitas: the subject of *commigravit*



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X.

Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.)

Naturalis Historia 29.1–5

The history of medicine from Greece to Rome

After beginning his career as an officer in the Roman army, Gaius Plinius Secundus spent the last years of his life serving the emperor Vespasian. In his spare time, he wrote about natural philosophy and history. His most famous work, *Naturalis Historia*, the first of its kind, is written in the style of an encyclopedia and is divided into various sections, including astronomy, geography, zoology, botany, and pharmacology. In this passage from Book 29, he recounts the history of medicine from ancient Greece to Rome, providing first-hand insight into the reception of the medical art in Roman society. Pliny's style can be characterized by frequent run-on sentences, often with vague pronouns and verbs that need to be supplied by the reader. He uses many ablative absolutes and relative clauses, while adopting a sarcastic and sardonic tone. His erudition is evident in his rich vocabulary and thorough research, and in Book 1 of the *Naturalis Historia*, he documents the many sources of his information.



1. Natura remediorum atque multitudo instantium ac praeteritorum plura de ipsa medendi arte cogunt dicere, quamquam non ignarus sim, nulli ante haec Latino sermone condita ancepsque iudicium esse rerum omnium novarum, talium utique tam sterilis gratiae tantaque difficultatis in promendo. 2. Sed quoniam occurrere verisimile est omnium qui haec noscant cogitationi, quonam modo exoleverint in medicinae usu quae iam parata atque perti-

nentia erant, mirumque et indignum protinus subit nullam artium inconstantiorum fuisse aut etiam nunc saepius mutari, cum sit fructuosior nulla. 3. Dis primum inventores suos adsignavit et caelo dicavit. 4. Nec non et hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. 5. Auxit deinde famam etiam crimine, ictum fulmine Aesculapium fabulata, quoniam Tyndareum revocavisset ad vitam. 6. Nec tamen cessavit narrare alios revixisse opera sua clara Troianis temporibus, quibus fama certior, vulnerum tamen dumtaxat remediis.

7. Sequentia eius, mirum dictu, in nocte densissima latuere usque ad Peloponnesiacum bellum. 8. Tunc eam revocavit in lucem Hippocrates genitus in insula Coo in primis clara ac valida et Aesculapio dicata. 9. Is, cum fuisset mos liberatos morbis scribere in templo eius dei quid auxiliatum esset, ut postea similitudo proficeret, excrispsisse ea traditur, atque, ut Varro apud nos credit, templo cremato instituisse medicinam hanc quae clinice vocatur. 10. Nec fuit postea quaestus modus, quoniam Prodicus Selymbriae natus, e discipulis eius, instituit quam vocant iatralipticen et unctoribus quoque medicorum ac mediastinis vectigal invenit.

11. Horum placita Chrysippus ingenti garrulitate mutavit plurimumque et ex Chrysippo discipulus eius Erasistratus Aristotelis filia genitus. 12. Hic Antiocho rege sanato centum talentis donatus est a rege Ptolemaeo filio eius, ut incipiamus et praemia artis ostendere. 13. Alia factio ab experimentis se cognominans empiricen coepit in Sicilia. 14. Acrone Agragantino Empedoclis physici auctoritate commendato.

15. Dissederuntque hae scholae, et omnes eas damnavit Herophilus in musicos pedes venarum pulsu discripto per aetatum gradus. 16. Deserta deinde et haec secta est, quoniam necesse erat in ea litteras scire. 17. Mutata et quam postea Asclepiades, ut rettulimus, invenerat. 18. Auditor eius Themison fuit, seque inter initia adscripsit illi, mox procedente vita sua et placita mutavit, sed et illa

Antonius Musa eiusdem auditor auctoritate divi Augusti quem contraria medicina gravi periculo exemerat. 19. Multos praetereo medicos celeberrimosque ex his Cassios, Calpetanos, Arruntios, Rubrios. 20. Ducena quinquagena HS annuales mercedes fuere apud principes. 21. Q. Stertinius inputavit principibus quod sextiis quingenis annuis contentus esset, sescena enim sibi quaestu urbis fuisse enumeratis domibus ostendebat. 22. Par et fratri eius merces a Claudio Caesare infusa est, censusque, quamquam exhausti operibus Neapoli exornata, heredi HS CCC reliquere, quantum aetate eadem Arruntius solus. 23. Exortus deinde est Vettius Valens adulterio Messalinae Claudii Caesaris nobilitatus pariterque eloquentia. 24. Adsectatores et potentiam nactus novam instituit sectam. 25. Eadem aetas Neronis principatu ad Thessalum transilivit delentem cuncta placita et rabie quadam in omnis aevi medicos perorantem, quali prudentia ingenioque aestimari vel uno argumento abunde potest, cum monumento suo, quod est Appia via, iatronicen se inscripserit. 26. Nullius histrionum equorumque trigarii comitator egressus in publico erat, cum Crinas Massiliensis arte geminata, ut cautior religiosiorque, ad siderum motus ex ephemeride mathematica cibos dando horasque observando auctoritate eum praecessit, nuperque HS C reliquit, muris patriae moenibusque aliis paene non minore summa extractis. 27. Hi regebant fata, cum repente civitatem Charmis ex eadem Massilia invasit damnatis non solum prioribus medicis verum et balneis, frigidaque etiam hibernis algoribus lavari persuasit. 28. Mersit aegros in lacus. 29. Videbamus senes consulares usque in ostentationem rigentes, qua de re exstat etiam Annaei Senecae adstipulatio. 30. Nec dubium est omnes istos famam novitate aliqua aucupantes anima statim nostra negotiari. 31. Hinc illae circa aegros miserae sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem censente, ne videatur accessio alterius. 32. Hinc illa infelix monumentis inscriptio, turba se medicorum perisse. 33. Mu-

tatur ars cottidie totiens interpolis, et ingeniorum Graeciae flatu inpellimur, palamque est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitae nostrae necisque fieri, ceu vero non milia gentium sine medicis degant nec tamen sine medicina, sicuti p. R. ultra sexcentimum annum, neque ipse in accipiendis artibus lentus, medicinae vero etiam avidus, donec expertam damnavit.



1. The nature of remedies, as well as the multitude of current and past remedies, compel me to say more about the art of medicine itself, although I am not ignorant that no one has previously set these things down in Latin, and that judgements about all new things are uncertain, especially regarding subjects that are void of esteem and present such difficulty in setting them forth. 2. But because it is likely to occur to the minds of anyone familiar with the subject to wonder why some things which were previously developed and relevant to the practice of medicine have become obsolete, it at once comes as a source of wonder and shame that none of the other arts has been more unstable or has changed more often even today, although none is more profitable. 3. Medicine included its first inventors among the gods and assigned them a place in heaven. 4. Even today in many situations medicine is sought from oracles. 5. It then even magnified its fame through crime, as medicine tells the story that Asclepius was struck by lightning because he brought Tyndareus back to life. 6. Nor has it stopped saying that by its notable efforts other men were revived during Trojan times, when its renown was more certain, but only for the treatment of wounds.

7. Its subsequent story, it is remarkable to say, lay hidden in the darkest night until the Peloponnesian War. 8. It was then restored

to the light by Hippocrates, born on the island of Cos, a very famous and healthy place dedicated to Asclepius. 9. It had been a custom for those who recovered from illness there to inscribe in the temple of that god the help that they received, so that afterwards the comparison of cases could advance, and it is said that Hippocrates wrote them down (as our Varro believes) after the temple burned down, and founded that branch of medicine which is called clinical. 10. Afterwards no limit was set to profiteering, since one of his students, Prodicus, born in Selymbria, established what they call *iatraliptice*, cure by ointment, and he discovered a source of revenue even for those physicians who are anointers and drudges.

11. Chrysippus changed medicine's principles by using an enormous quantity of words, and after Chrysippus his student Erasistratus, a son of the daughter of Aristotle, made a great number of changes too. 12. For curing King Antiochus this man was given one hundred talents by King Ptolemy, his son; a fact that I mention just to show the rewards of the profession. 13. Another faction, naming themselves after their experiments, began Empiricism in Sicily. 14. Acron of Agrigentum was recommended by the authority of Empedocles, the physicist.

15. These schools were in disagreement, and were all condemned by Herophilus, who divided the pulses of veins into musical feet corresponding to the stages of life. 16. Later even this sect was abandoned because it was necessary for its members to know how to read and write. 17. Altered too was the sect which was later founded by Asclepiades, as I previously described. 18. He had a student, Themison, who in the beginning followed and adhered to him, but later, as he got older, also changed his tenets. Antonius Musa, a student of the same man, changed his teachings by the authority of the emperor Augustus, whom he saved from grave danger by using a contrary treatment. 19. I pass over many of the most

famous physicians, among them men like Cassius, Calpetanus, Arruntius, and Rubrius. 20. 250,000 sesterces were their annual profits from the emperors. 21. Q. Sternitius said that the emperors were in his debt because he was content with 500,000 sesterces a year, despite the fact that he showed by a count of the houses in the city that their number was 600,000. 22. A comparable amount was showered on his brother and his brother's estate by Claudius Caesar, and although it was exhausted by his adornment of Naples with buildings, it left his heir thirty million sesterces; Arruntius alone left just as much in the same era. 23. Then there appeared Vettius Valens, who was known for his adultery with Messalina, wife of Claudius Caesar, and equally so for his eloquence. 24. In order to gain followers and power, he founded a new sect. 25. The generation under the principate of Nero switched over to Thessalus, who destroyed all the tenets, and with a certain madness made grand arguments against doctors of all eras – with how much prudence and brilliance one could amply judge by one proof: on his tomb, which is on the Appian Way, he described himself as an *iatronices*, a 'medical victor'.

26. No actor or driver of a three-horse chariot was accompanied by greater crowds in public than Crinas of Massilia after he exceeded him in authority; a more cautious and religious man, he doubled the art, and prescribed food based on the movements of the stars according to astrological almanacs; recently he left behind ten million sesterces, having raised the walls of his native city and other fortifications for almost the same sum.

27. These men were steering the fates when the city was invaded by Charmis, also from Massilia, who condemned not only the former physicians but also the baths, and convinced people to bathe in cold water even during the winter chill. 28. He submerged the sick in tubs. 29. We used to see old men of consular rank, stiff from cold

to the point of showing off, for which we even possess confirmation recorded by Annaeus Seneca. 30. There is no doubt that all of these men, hunting for fame by some novelty, were conducting business with our very lives. 31. From there arose miserable disputes over opinions about the sick; no one would think in the same way, lest another man might seem to get an advantage. 32. Hence also this wretched inscription found on tombs: “He died from a crowd of doctors.” 33. The art changes every day, completely refurbished, and we are pushed along by the breeze of the clever Greeks, and it is clear that whoever exerts influence among them by speaking at once assumes supreme command over our lives and our deaths – as if thousands of nations do not in fact survive without physicians, though not without remedies, as the people of Rome did for more than six hundred years. They were not slow in accepting the art – in fact they were greedy for medicine – until they tried it and condemned it.



2. cum sit fructuosior nulla: *cum* here is concessive, ‘although’.

4. nec non: double negative, ‘even’

8. in primis clara ac valida et Aesculapio dicata: three predicates for the island of Cos

9. similitudo: ‘the making of comparisons.’ **apud nos:** translate simply as ‘our’.

12. ut incipiamus et praemia artis ostendere: purpose clause; ‘a fact that I mention just to show the rewards of the profession.’

16. litteras scire: a phrase literally meaning ‘to know letters,’ better translated as ‘to know how to read and write.’

19. ex his...: the meaning is more clear when this phrase is translated as ‘among these men like...’

20. ducena quinquagena HS annuales: two hundred and fifty thousand sesterces a year. *H* is used as a symbol for introducing currency, and *S* stands for *sesterces*.

22. HS CCC: 300,[000] sesterces

25. quali: dative of *qualis*, ‘to such kind.’ **monumento suo:** on his monument. **iatronices:** ‘conqueror among physicians’; a play on the Greek term for an Olympic victor, which in Latin would be *Olympianice*.

26. non minore: ‘no less than’ or ‘almost the same as’

30. aucupantes: from *aucupor*, meaning ‘chasing’ or ‘hunting’

33. p. R.: *populus Romanus*. **donec expertam damnavit:** two actions in sequence, first the accusative participle, then the main verb: ‘until they tried it and condemned it.’



Pliny the Elder. 1963. *Natural History, Volume VIII: Books 28-32*. W. H. S. Jones, translator. Loeb Classical Library 418, Harvard University Press.

XI.

Pliny the Elder

Naturalis Historia 9.12–18

Whales, and whether fish respire

In this excerpt from book nine of the *Natural History*, Pliny gives an account of whales, their relationship with orcas, and their and other fish's ability to breathe. Whales are believed to have come into the Mediterranean sea near Gades, a city in southwestern Spain, from the Indian Ocean. This passage in particular describes the activities of whales and orcas in the Mediterranean around Rome. Written under the reign of Vespasian, *Naturalis Historia* is an impressively erudite and expansive work, though the meaning is obscured at times by the paratactical syntax. Intentional antiquated spellings such as *inrumpunt* for *irrupunt* are also noticeable.



1. Ballaenae et in nostra maria penetrant. In Gaditano Oceano non ante brumam conspici eas tradunt, condi autem statis temporibus in quodam sinu placido et capaci, mire gaudentes ibi parere. 2. Hoc scire orcas, infestam iis beluam et cuius imago nulla repraesentatione exprimi possit alia quam carnis immensae dentibus truculentae. 3. Inrumpunt ergo in secreta ac vitulos earum aut fetas vel etiamnum gravidas lancinant morsu incursuque ceu liburnicarum rostris fodiunt. 4. Illae ad flexum immobiles, ad repugnandum inertes et pondere suo oneratae, tunc quidem et utero graves pariendive poenis invalidae, solum auxilium novere in altum profugere et se tuto defendere oceano. 5. Contra orcae occurrere laborant seseque opponere et caveatas angustiis trucidare, in vada urguere, saxis inlidere. 6. spectantur ea proelia ceu mari ipso sibi irato, nullis in sinu ventis,

fluctibus vero ad anhelitus ictusque quantos nulli turbines volvunt.

7. Orca et in portu ostiensi visa est oppugnata a Claudio principe.

8. Venerat tum exaedificante eo portum, invitata naufragiis tergorum advectorum e gallia, satiansque se per conplures dies alveum in vado sulcaverat, adtumulata fluctibus in tantum, ut circumagi nullo modo posset et, dum saginam persequitur in litus fluctibus propulsam, emineret dorso multum super aquas carinae vice inversae.

9. Praetendi iussit Caesar plagas multiplices inter ora portus profectusque ipse cum praetorianis cohortibus populo romano spectaculum praebuit, lanceas congerente milite e navigiis adsultantibus, quorum unum mergi vidimus reflatu beluae oppletum unda.

10. Ora ballaenae habent in frontibus ideoque summa aqua nantes in sublime nimbos efflant.

11. Spirant autem confessione omnium et paucissima alia in mari, quae internorum viscerum pulmonem habent, quoniam sine eo spirare animal nullum putatur.

12. nec piscium branchias habentes anhelitum reddere ac per vices recipere existimant quorum haec opinio est, nec multa alia genera etiam branchiis carentia, in qua sententia fuisse aristotelem video et multis persuasisse doctrina insignibus.

13. Nec me protinus huic opinioni eorum accedere haut dissimulo, quoniam et pulmonum vice alia possint spirabilia inesse viscera ita volente natura, sicut et pro sanguine est multis aliusumor.

14. In aquas quidem penetrare vitalem hunc halitum quis miretur, qui etiam reddi ab his eum cernat, et in terras quoque, tanto spissiolem naturae partem, penetrare argumento animalium quae semper defossa vivunt, ceu talpae; accedunt apud me certe efficacia ut credam etiam omnia in aquis spirare naturae suae sorte.

15. Primum saepe adnotata piscium aestivo calore quaedam anhelatio et alia tranquillo velut oscitatio.

16. Ipsorum quoque, qui sunt in adversa opinione, de somno piscium confessio – quis enim sine respiratione somno locus – praeterea bullantium aquarum sufflatio lunaeque effectum concharum quoque

corpora augescentia. 17. Super omnia est quod esse auditum et odoratum piscibus non erit dubium, ex aeris utrumque materia.



1. Whales even enter our local seas. 2. They say that whales are seen in the sea near Gades not before the winter solstice; moreover, at specific times the whales conceal themselves in some peaceful and spacious hollow, and give birth there, rejoicing marvellously. 3. Orcas know about this – a beast inimical to whales, and whose portrait can't be drawn in any other way than by picturing an immense heap of flesh, ferocious, with teeth. So the orcas break into the whales' secret hideouts, tear apart the whale calves and the new mothers and even the pregnant females, and gouge them with their biting attack, as if they were the prows of Liburnian ships. 4. The whales, stiff in their movements, hapless at fighting back and burdened by their own weight – for they are heavy with child at the time, or weak from the toil of childbirth – know that their only hope is to flee into the deep sea and defend themselves in the safety of the ocean. 5. For their part the orcas strive to encounter whales, to set up against them, and to kill them while they are engaged by the straits; they drive the whales into the shoals, and dash them on the rocks. 6. These battles look like the sea is enraged with itself, and even if there are no winds in the bay, no whirlwind can bring about so much panting and beating of the waves.

7. An orca was even seen in the harbor of Ostia and attacked by the emperor Claudius. 8. It came there at the time Claudius was constructing a harbor; it was lured by shipwrecks full of hides from Gaul, and after feeding for some days it ploughed a hollow in the shallows, surrounded by such a tumult of waves that there was no way to go around it; while it was pursuing its food, which the tides

had propelled onto the shore, its back would rise far above the water, just like an overturned keel. 9. Caesar ordered multiple nets to be spread across the mouth of the harbor, and after advancing there with his praetorian cohort he provided the Roman people with a spectacle, as the soldiers hurled spears against the orca from the attacking vessels; I saw one of these vessels sink from the blowing of the beast, as it filled with water.

10. Whales have their mouths on their foreheads, and when they swim on the surface of the water, their breath makes a rainstorm high above. 11. All people admit that whales and a few other animals, who possess a lung among their internal organs, respire at sea, since no animal is believed to breathe without lungs. 12. And those who hold this opinion maintain that no fish who have gills breathe in or out; nor do many other sorts of animals that lack gills. I know Aristotle was of this opinion, and he has persuaded many eminent men through his teaching. 13. I won't hide that I do not agree with the opinion of these men, since in place of lungs other respiratory organs could be present, just as numerous animals have another humor instead of blood. 14. Who would be surprised that this vital breath penetrates seawater once they have seen these animals respire it, or that this air even penetrates the earth, a much denser natural element, as is proved by animals, such as moles, that live underground? Certainly in my case there are some things leading me to believe that all things in water breathe according to the disposition of their nature. 15. First, it has often been noted that fish pant in a certain way during the heat of summer, and in calm weather they have a different breathing like gasping. 16. It's also admitted by those who disagree with me that fish sleep — but what place is there for sleep without breathing? Besides, we see the puffing of bubbling waters and the bodies of shellfish swelling under the effect of the moon. 17. On top of it all, there is no doubt

that fish possess the faculties of hearing and of smelling, both of which need air as their medium.



1. **gaditano**: of or belonging to Gades; the Phœnician *gadis* means hedge, a famous colony of the Phœnicians established on an island of the same name in Hispania Baetica, the modern Cadiz.

brumam: for *brevissima*, the shortest day of the year, the winter solstice.

2. **scire orcas. . . cuius. . . possit**: the infinitive and the accusative continues from the *oratio obliqua* set up by *tradunt*; the subjunctive comes from being part of a subordinate clause in the indirect statement.

3. **ceu liburnicarum rostris**: *rostrum*.: the curved end of a ship's prow, ablative of means agreeing with *morsu* and *incursu*; *liburnicarum* modifies an implied *navis*.

4. **illae**: points to *gravidas*, the pregnant female whales.

6. **ceu. . . volvant**: the comparison seems to be between the roaring sea and the commotion of the orcas, though grammatically *turbines* is the subject of *volvant*; the verb is present subjunctive because *ceu* can be used like *si* or *quasi* to mark a conditional.

8. **in tantum**: adverbial; 'so greatly'

carinae vice inversae: *vice* + genitive means 'after the manner of, like'.

9. **lanceas congerente milite e navigiis adsultantibus**: ablative absolute; *congero*: collect, but when used with weapons, missiles, etc., it means to throw in great numbers, accumulate, or shower.

reflatu beluae: referring to the water blowing through the orca's blowhole

10. **in sublime nimbos efflant**: literally, 'they breath out into a rain-



86. *Ostia in extremum littus prolabitur Orca.
Retibus atq; plagis concludit Claudius oras.* *Orcam è nauigijs oppugnat milite crebro.
Romani hæc spectant læti spectacula ciues.* XIX.

Figure 2 Jan van der Straet, An Orca at Ostia

storm high above'

13. **et pulmonum vice:** *vice* plus genitive meaning 'instead of, on account of'

14. **vitalem hunc halitum:** a translation of the Stoic concept of πνεῦμα

quis miretur: present subjunctive, potential subjunctive

qui. . . cernat: relative clause of characteristic

et in terras quoque: continuing the main clause, in parallel with *in aquas*

15. **tranquillo:** ablative of time when

17. **quod esse auditum et odoratum piscibus non erit dubium:** *quod* opens a 'the fact that' substantive clause; *non erit dubium* introduces an indirect statement; *esse* used with *piscibus* is the dative of possession.



Excerpt taken from: Pliny the Elder. 1906. *Naturalis Historia*. Edited by Karl Friedrich Theodor Mayhoff. Teubner.

XII.

Lucius Apuleius (ca. 124–170 C.E.)

Metamorphoses 1.1–2

Opening of the *Metamorphoses*

Apuleius was born in 125 CE in Madaura, Africa. His personal life is in certain respects reflected in his novel the *Metamorphoses*, the only fully extant Roman novel. Among the facts we know about the author include his studies in Athens, a marriage to his friend's mother (an older woman), and an accusation of witchcraft. Apuleius' novel is based upon a shorter Greek genre, the *fabulae Milesiae* (referenced in this passage), a collection of ribald stories. His writing style has many colloquial elements. The novel concerns the (mis)adventures of Lucius, whose interest in magic and witchcraft in book 3 results in his physical transformation into an ass. As he moves from one adventure to the next, Apuleius relates stories that are nested within the larger one, the most famous of which is that of Cupid and Psyche. In the novel's introduction there are broad hints of his impending metamorphosis. Additionally, to create a sense of a story told among friends, Apuleius frequently switches between first person singular and plural. Colloquial expressions abound, and they offer the reader a view of how the common folk of the time may have communicated.



1. At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram aureque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam – modo si papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere – figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursus mutuo nexu reflectas ut mireris. 2. Exordior.

“Quis ille?” Paucis accipe. 3. Hymettos Attica et Isthmos Ephyrea et Taenaros Spartiatica, glebae felices aeternum libris felicioribus conditae, mea vetus prosapia est; ibi linguam Atthidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui. 4. Mox in urbe Latia advena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore nullo magistro praeunte aggressus excolui. 5. En ecce praefamur veniam, siquid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero. 6. Iam haec equidem ipsa vocis immutatio desultoriae scientiae stilo quem accessimus respondet. 7. Fabulam Graecanicam incipimus. Lector intende: laetaberis.

8. Thessaliam – nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo inclito ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloriam nobis faciunt – eam Thessaliam ex negotio petebam. 9. Postquam ardua montium ac lubrica vallium et roscida cespitum et glebosa camporum emersi, in equo indigena peralbo vehens iam eo quoque admodum fesso, ut ipse etiam fatigationem sedentariam incessus vegetatione discuterem in pedes desilio, equi sudorem a fronte curiose exfrico, auris remulceo, frenos detraho, in gradum lenem sensim proveho, quoad lassitudinis incommodum alvi solitum ac naturale praesidium eliquaret. 10. Ac dum is ientaculum ambulatorium prata quae praeterit ore in latus detorto pronus adfectat, duobus comitum qui forte paululum processerant tertium me facio.



1. But allow me to unite for you various stories told in the famous Milesian style, and to delight your kindly ears with a charming whisper – if only you will not refuse to look at an Egyptian papyrus written with the wit of a Nile reed – so that you can marvel at the figures and fortunes of men turned into other forms and restored to themselves again in a mutual knot. 2. I begin. “Who is

that man?” Understand in a few words. 3. Hymettus of Athens and the Isthmus of Corinth and Taenarus of Sparta – fortunate clods of earth established for eternity in more fortunate books – is where my ancient line is from; there I first served the Attic tongue during the dues of boyhood. 4. Soon in the Latin city, a stranger to Roman studies, I cultivated the local language with troublesome labor, undertaken with no teacher to guide me. 5. So look! I apologize beforehand if I offend anyone as a rough speaker of an exotic and foreign language. 6. In fact this very alteration in my voice already matches the style of expertise of a horse-jumper, which I have aspired to. 7. We are beginning a Grecian story. Reader, pay attention: you will be delighted.

8. To Thessaly – for it is there in particular that the foundations of my mother’s family, laid down by Plutarch, that illustrious man, and then by Sextus, his philosopher nephew, give us glory – to Thessaly I was traveling on account of business. 9. After I emerged from the steepness of the mountains and the slipperiness of the valleys and the dewiness of the grasses and the cloddiness of the fields – while riding a very white horse from this native land (he was now very tired too) – I dismounted on foot, so that I could then break up my sedentary fatigue with the excitement of a walk. 10. I painstakingly rub the sweat of the horse from its brow, stroke its ears, detach the reins, and proceed slowly, at a gentle pace, until a normal and natural boost could alleviate the trouble of his weary stomach. And while he makes a walking breakfast from the meadows which he passes with his mouth twisted to the side and head down, I made myself a third companion to two travelers who by chance had passed me a little before.



1. at: used to begin a new story, as here. Lewis and Short compare it to the Greek δέ. OLD allows for use to introduce a change of subject, which the introduction hints at with the idea of *sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas*, indicating there have been other stories, though none are extant.

sermone: ‘language’ or ‘style’. The Latin use of this word is similar to the Greek λόγος.

conseram and **permulceam:** hortatory subjunctive. Apuleius channels a bard’s beginning with the idea of “let me tell you a tale!”

ut mireris: purpose clause

2. paucis: substantive, ablative of means (the means by which the reader will understand).

3. Hymettos, Isthmos, Taenaros: Greek nominatives in apposition to *glebae felices*.

aeternum: adverb.

stipendiis merui: an idiomatic expression meaning “I served as a soldier.” *Merui* serves as a zeugma between acquiring the language and serving in the army.

4. advena: an appositive with the “I” of *merui*.

5. praefamur: Apuleius switches between the first person singular and plural; however, both stand for “I,” the author.

veniam praefari: to apologize beforehand

respondet: with the dative can mean ‘correspond.’

6. immutatio: note the use of *mutuo* previously and now *immutatio*, both related to a metamorphosis.

desultoriae scientiae: jumper of genre. The phrase is loaded and is the focus of much scholarship. A *desultor* is a man who jumps on horses. An interesting metaphor, given the immediate jumping down from the narrator’s horse and his upcoming metamorphoses into an ass.

8. nam et: used here as an introductory conjunction for a paren-

thetical clause. *Ex* + ablative here denotes the idea of ‘on account of.’

9. ardua montium: note the polysyndeton which starts here with the ablative + genitive construction and is then linked to others of the same with *ac... et... et*. The author is able to convey the length of the journey by drawing out the description.

incessus vegetatione: ‘by the excitement of a walk’

discuterem: a purpose clause

curiose: adverbial form

auris: alternate accusative plural form of *ures*

quoad: compound of *quo* + *ad*, introduces a temporal clause of intention used with the imperfect subjunctive *eliquaret*. Translate as ‘until he might...’

eliquaret: read in order as: *quoad solitum ac naturale praesidium eliquaret incommodum lassitudinis alvi*.

10. prata quae: in apposition to *ientaculum ambulatorium*, the accusative object of *adfectat*

ore in latus detorto: ablative absolute



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XIII.

Gaius Julius Solinus (*floruit* 3rd century C.E.)

De Mirabilibus Mundi 35.1–7, 52.41–45

The Geography of Judaea

Marvellous Animals of India

The third-century grammarian Solinus's most famous work, *De Mirabilibus Mundi*, also known as *Polyhistoria* or *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, was widely popular amongst medieval and Renaissance readers. Borrowing heavily from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* and Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbis*, Solinus' encyclopedic narrative however focuses less on geographic accuracy than the marvels contained in each region. His prose shows characteristics of late Latin, including more frequent use of the reflexive personal pronoun *ipse*, of substantive *ut* clauses, and of prepositions where they are not required in classical Latin. The first passage excerpted here describes the geography of Judaea, particularly its various bodies of water and the asphalt of the lightning-struck cities Sodom and Gomorrah. The second excerpt describes the marvelous sea snakes, whales, and parrots of India.



Judaea

1. Judaea inlustris est aquis, sed natura non eadem aquarum omnium. 2. Iordanis amnis eximiae suavitatis, Paneade fonte dimissus, regiones praeterfluit amoenissimas; mox in Asphaltitem lacum mersus stagno corrumpitur. 3. Qui Asphaltites gignit bitumen, animal non habet, nihil in eo mergi potest; tauri etiam camelique inpune ibi fluitant. 4. Est et lacus Sara extentus passuum sedecim milibus, circumsaeptus urbibus plurimis et celebribus, ipse par opti-

mis. 5. Sed lacus Tiberiadis omnibus anteponitur, salubris ingenuo aestu et ad sanitatem usu efficaci. 6. Iudaeae caput fuit Hierusoly-ma, sed excisa est. 7. Successit Hierichus, et haec desivit, Artaxerxis bello subacta. 8. Callirrhoe Hierusolymis proxima, fons calore med-ico probatissimus et ex ipso aquarum praeconio sic vocatus.

9. In hac terra balsamum nascitur, quae silva intra terminos viginti iugerum usque ad victoriam nostram fuit; at cum Iudaea potiti su-mus, ita luci illi propagati sunt, ut iam nobis latissimi colles sudent balsama. 10. Similes vitibus stirpes habent; malleolis digeruntur, rastris nitescunt, aqua gaudent, amant amputari, tenacibus foliis sempiterno inumbrantur. 11. Lignum caudicis attrectatum ferro sine mora moritur; ea propter aut vitro aut cultellulis osseis, sed in sola cortice artificiose plaga vulneratur, e qua eximiae suavitatis gutta manat. 12. Post lacrimam secundum in pretiis locum poma obti-nent, cortex tertium, ultimus honos ligno.

13. Longo ab Hierusolymis recessu tristis sinus panditur, quem de caelo tactum testatur humus nigra et in cinerem soluta. 14. Ibi duo oppida, Sodomum nominatum alterum, alterum Gomorrhum, apud quae pomum quod gignitur, habeat licet speciem maturitatis, mandi tamen non potest: nam fuliginem intrinsecus favillaciam ambitio tantum extimae cutis cohibet, quae vel levi pressa tactu fumum ex-halat et fatiscit in vagum pulverem.

India

1. Aquae etiam gignunt miracula non minora. 2. Anguillas ad tri-cenos pedes longas educat Ganges. 3. Quem Statius Sebosus inter praecipua miracula ait vermibus abundare caeruleis nomine et co-lore. 4. Hi bina habent brachia longitudinis cubita non minus sena, adeo robustis viribus, ut elephantos ad potum ventitantes mordicus comprehensos ipsorum manu rapiant in profundum. 5. Indica maria balaenas habent ultra spatia quattuor iugerum, sed et quos physe-

teras nuncupant. 6. Qui enormes supra molem ingentium columnaru[m] ultra antemnas se navium extollunt haustosque fistulis fluctus ita eructant, ut nimbose adluvie plerumque deprimant alveos navigantium.

7. Sola India mittit avem psittacum colore viridem torque puniceo, cuius rostri tanta duritia est, ut cum e sublimi praecipitat in saxum, nisu se oris excipiat et quodam quasi fundamento utatur extraordinariae firmitatis; caput uero tam valens, ut si quando ad discendum plagis sit admonendus (nam studet ut quod homines loquatur), ferrea clavicula sit verberandus. 8. Dum in pullo est atque adeo intra alterum aetatis suae annum quae monstrata sunt et citius discit et retinet tenacius; paulo senior et obliuiosus est et indocilis. 9. Inter nobiles et ignobiles discretionem digitorum facit numerus; qui praestant, quinos in pedes habent digitos, ceteri ternos. 10. Lingua lata multoque latior quam ceteris avibus; unde perficitur, ut articulata verba penitus eloquatur. 11. Quod ingenium ita Romanae deliciae miratae sunt, ut barbari psittacos mercem fecerint.



Judaea

1. Judaea is famous for its bodies of water, but the nature of all these waters is not the same. 2. The Jordan river, distinguished by its sweetness and released from the spring of Paneas, runs by the most pleasant regions; as soon as the river is immersed in Lake Asphaltite, it is polluted by it. 3. Lake Asphaltite also produces bitumen; it contains no animals, nothing is able to be submerged in it, and even bulls and camels float there. 4. The lake at Gennesar stretches sixteen miles; this lake, which is surrounded by numerous cities, is equal to the best of them. 5. Lake Tiberias surpasses all lakes, wholesome because of its natural heat and its health benefits.

Jerusalem was the capital of Judaea, but was destroyed. 6. Jericho succeeded it but ceased to be the capital after it was conquered in war by Artaxerxes. 7. Callirrhoe is close to Jerusalem; its spring is most appreciated for its therapeutic heat and it was so named because of the fame of its waters.

8. In this land grows balsam, a forest of just twenty-acres until our victory over Judaea; once we conquered Judaea, that forest was propagated, so that now the hills perspire balsam for us very widely. 9. Their roots are similar to vines; they are planted using cuttings, they gleam under the rake, like to be in water, love to be pruned, and are shaded by tenacious foliage all year round. 10. The trunk of balsam dies immediately when it is touched by iron, so the tree is wounded by a skillful blow of either a glass or bone knife on a single piece of bark, from which trickles a drop of remarkable sweetness. 11. After the balsam's teardrops, the tree's fruits are considered second in value, its bark third, and lastly its wood.

12. In a remote area far from Jerusalem there stretches a gloomy bay, whose dark soil, broken down into ash, bears witness to the fact that it was once struck by heaven. 13. Two towns are there, one named Sodom, the other Gomorrah, in which there grows a fruit that, although it looks ripe, cannot be eaten: for the round of its outermost skin contains ash-like soot inside, which evaporates like smoke when pressed softly and crumbles into stray dust.

India

1. Even India's waters produce no smaller marvels. 2. The river Ganges rears eels up to thirty feet long. 3. And Statius Sebosus considered it one of the greatest marvels that this river abounds in snakes 'caerulean' in both name and color. 4. These snakes have two arms no less than six cubits long and of such strength that they can snatch elephants who come to drink and pull them into deep water.

5. The seas of India have whales more than four acres large, which they also call *physeters*. 6. These beings, more enormous than a mass of huge columns, raise themselves up above the yardarms of ships and belch forth waters they have imbibed through their blowholes, with the frequent result that sailors' hollow ships sink under their stormy wash.

7. Only India produces the parrot bird – green in color, reddish on its collar, its beak so strong that when it flies head first down from the sky against a rock, it can hold itself up by its beak and use it as a foundation of extraordinary firmness. Indeed its head is so strong that if it needs to be beaten into learning – for it is eager to repeat what humans say – it has to be whipped with a small iron key. 8. While it is a young chick, still in the second year of its life, it learns very quickly whatever is shown to it and retains that very firmly; when a little older, it is both forgetful and unteachable. 9. The difference between the noble and the lowly breeds lies in the number of their claws; those which are superior have five claws on their feet, the rest have three. 10. Its tongue is broad, much broader than that of other birds, and so it speaks very articulate words. 11. The Roman love for luxury admires these bird's talents so much that foreigners have turned parrots into a trade item.



Judaea

2. **eximiae suavitatis**: genitive of description

Paneade fonte: referring to Paneas, or Baniyas, near the southwestern base of Mount Hermon. The Baniyas River is one of the three main tributaries of the Jordan River, though the ablative case suggests that it is the origin of Jordan.

3. **etiam tauri camelique inpune ibi fluitant**: *fluitant* here does not

mean *to swim* but *to float* (as dead bodies do).

4. **lacus Sara:** *Sara* indeclinable; a corruption from Pliny the Elder's *Genesara*, another name for the Sea of Galilee in the Jordan Rift Valley.

5. **lacus Tiberiadis:** Tiberias, a city founded by Herod Antipas (d. 39 C.E.) in the honor of Tiberius

7. **Artaxerxis bello subacta:** Solinus might be referring to the contemporary military expansion of Ardashir I of the Sasanian Empire (180-242 C.E.), though there is little evidence that Jericho was ever the capital of Judaea. This is an unexpected insertion of a current event into a text largely borrowed from Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 5.16.

8. **Callirrhoe:** *Καλλιρρόη*, 'beautiful flow'

10. **malleolis:** diminutive from *malleus*, (tech.) a shoot cut for planting

11. **ea propter:** = *propterea* (adv.): therefore, on that account

12. **ligno:** *lignum*: wood, dative of possession

14. **habeat licet:** the pairing of *licet* with a concessive *tamen* is found in post-classical Latin; the *licet* functions like the conjunction 'although'; *habeat* is subjunctive governed by *licet*.

India

4. **longitudinis cubita non minus sena:** *cubitum*: literally, 'elbow'; in measurement, the distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger, or a cubit

5. **physeteras:** a large species of whale, a cachalot, spermaceti whale, cf. Pliny 9.4.3.

7. **mittit:** from *mitto*, but when used as the product of a country, 'to produce'

excipiat . . . utatur: result clause anticipated by *tanta* in the previous clause

studeo ut . . . loquatur: *studeo* takes a substantive *ut* clause, a rare construction.

si . . . sit admonendus . . . sit verberandus: future-less-vivid conditional in a subordinate result clause, though the passive periphrastic construction of the verbs seems to contradict the less-vividness.

10. **perficitur ut . . . eloquatur:** *eloquatur* in a substantive *ut* clause, subject of *perficitur*: “it is brought about that . . .”, simultaneous with the main clause



Excerpts taken from: Gaius Iulius Solinus. 1895. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, 2nd Edition. Edited by Teodor Mommsen. Weidmann.

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XIV.

Saint Augustine (354–430)

Confessiones 11.13.16–14.17

On time

Augustine of Hippo was a philosopher and theologian known for reconciling Early Church doctrine with Neoplatonism. Born in North Africa to an Amazigh (Berber) and Roman family, Augustine had a long, distinguished career as a rhetorician before joining the Catholic Church. His early life and journey to Christianity are detailed in his *Confessiones*, considered one of the first works of autobiography in Western literature. While the first nine books of the *Confessiones* are spent on his autobiography, Book 10 provides the transition from memoir to a meditation on memory, which in turn becomes an extended exegesis on *Genesis* 1:1 in Books 11–13.

This passage is taken from Book 11, where Augustine provides an account of time to explain the events of *Genesis* 1:1. There are significant similarities between this account and the one provided in Plato's *Timaeus* (37c–38d). In both of these works, time and eternity are considered distinct phenomena. Augustine, in this passage, provides his own argument for that distinction within his exegesis. While it may be tempting to compare Augustine's Latin style to Jerome's Vulgate, Augustine in fact preferred the *Vetus Latina* ("Old Latin"), a series of non-standardized Latin translations of the Septuagint and Greek New Testament. Augustine's style is still intentionally biblical, with its short clause length and repetition of nouns and verbs that could otherwise be ellipsed. Augustine uses the following words to indicate parts of time:

praesens	present
praeteritum	past
futurum	future



1. Nec tu tempore tempora praecedis, alioquin non omnia tempora praecederes. 2. Sed praecedis omnia praeterita celsitudine semper praesentis aeternitatis et superas omnia futura, quia illa futura sunt, et cum venerint, praeterita erunt. 3. Tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient: anni tui nec eunt nec veniunt, isti enim nostri eunt et veniunt, ut omnes veniant; anni tui omnes simul stant, quoniam stant, nec euntes a venientibus excluduntur, quia non transeunt. 4. Isti autem nostri omnes erunt, cum omnes non erunt. 5. Anni tui dies unus, et dies tuus non cotidie sed hodie, quia hodiernus tuus non cedit crastino; neque enim succedit hesterno. 6. Hodiernus tuus aeternitas; ideo coaeternum genuisti cui dixisti, 'ego hodie genui te.' 7. Omnia tempora tu fecisti et ante omnia tempora tu es, nec aliquo tempore non erat tempus.

8. Nullo ergo tempore non feceras aliquid, quia ipsum tempus tu feceras. 9. Et nulla tempora tibi coaeterna sunt, quia tu permanes. 10. At illa si permanerent, non essent tempora. 11. Quid est enim tempus? 12. Quis hoc facile breviterque explicaverit? 13. Quis hoc ad verbum de illo proferendum vel cogitatione comprehenderit? 14. Quid autem familiarius et notius in loquendo commemoramus quam tempus? 15. Et intellegimus utique cum id loquimur, intellegimus etiam cum alio loquente id audimus. 16. Quid est ergo tempus? 17. Si nemo ex me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare velim, nescio. 18. Fidenter tamen dico scire me quod, si nihil praeteriret, non esset praeteritum tempus, et si nihil adveniret, non esset futurum tempus, et si nihil esset, non esset praesens tempus.

19. Duo ergo illa tempora, praeteritum et futurum, quomodo sunt, quando et praeteritum iam non est et futurum nondum est? 20. Praesens autem si semper esset praesens nec in praeteritum transiret, non iam esset tempus, sed aeternitas. 21. Si ergo praesens, ut tempus sit, ideo fit, quia in praeteritum transit, quomodo et hoc esse dicimus, cui causa, ut sit, illa est, quia non erit, ut scilicet non vere dicamus tempus esse, nisi quia tendit non esse?



1. And you do not precede eras within time, otherwise you would not precede all eras. 2. But you precede all past eras because of the elevation of an ever-present eternity and you are above all future eras, because those eras will be, and once they have come, they will be past. 3. However you yourself are the same, and your years will not run out. Your years neither proceed nor come, while our years proceed and come, so that all may come. All of your years stand still simultaneously because they stand still, nor are proceeding years excluded from those coming, because they do not pass. 4. Meanwhile, all of our years exist when they will not. 5. Your years are one day, and your day is not daily but today, because your today does not yield to tomorrow, and neither does it succeed from yesterday. 6. Your today is eternity. Thus you, everlasting, beget the man to whom you said, 'Daily I beget you.' 7. You made all eras and you exist before all eras, and time did not exist within some other time. 8. Therefore at no time were you making something, because you made time itself. 9. And no eras are as everlasting as you are, because you persist. 10. But if these eras persisted, they would not be eras. 11. For what is time? 12. Who could explain this easily and briefly? 13. Who could comprehend it in thought or in order to speak about it? 14. Yet what do we recall, in speaking, that is more

familiar and known than time? 15. And we certainly understand time when we speak of it, and we also understand when we hear another person speaking of it. 16. Thus, what is time? 17. If no one should ask me this, I know. If I wish to explain it to someone inquiring, then I do not know. 18. Nevertheless, I can say with confidence that I know that if nothing passed, there would not be past time, and if nothing arrived, there would be no future time, and if nothing was, there would not be present time. 19. So those two types of times, past and future, how do they exist, when past time no longer exists and future time does not yet exist? 20. The present, however, if it were always present and were not to pass into the past, would no longer be time, but eternity. 21. Therefore, if the present, so that it may be time, becomes this because it passes into the past, how can we even say time exists, whose reason for being is the following: that it will not exist – with the result that we may not say time exists, except on the grounds that it aims not to exist?



1. tu: ‘God.’

tempore: ablative of time

tempora: ‘periods’, ‘eras’

alioquin: ‘in another way’, ‘otherwise’

praecederes: subjunctive in a present contrary-to-fact conditional

2. celsitudine: from *celsus*, ‘high’, ‘elevated’

3. isti: loses its demonstrative force in late antiquity; not translated.

ut omnes veniant: purpose clause

7. aliquo tempore: ablative of time

8. nullo...tempore: ablative of time

10. at illa si permanerent, non essent tempora: present contrary-to-fact conditional. ‘But if these persisted...they would not be eras’.

13. ad verbum...proferendum: purpose: ‘towards speaking’, ‘in order to speak’

19. quomodo sunt: ‘are in such a way’

21. ut tempus sit: result clause

ideo fit: ‘becomes (time) for this reason’

quomodo: ‘how’

hoc esse: ‘this (time) exists’

cui: dative of possession

ut sit: ‘so it may be’

ut scilicet: take ironically; part of a result clause

tendit: ‘aims’



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XV.**Saint Benedict of Nursia (480–543)***Regula* 48.1–16, 22–25

The monks' daily labor

Saint Benedict of Nursia was the founder of Western monasticism. He wrote his *Rule* in 516, and ever since it has served as the foundation for the monastic life. In it he details the qualities a monk should possess, the way monks are to live in community, the pattern of prayer to be followed each day, and, here, a schedule of the monks' daily lives of work and private meditation. The style is straightforward; it is meant to convey clearly the pattern monks are to follow throughout their day. He employs the hortatory subjunctive, and sometimes the gerundive, to illustrate his directions. These specific, direct rules are still followed by the monks of St. Benedict's order throughout the world today. Benedict indicates the time for work in relation to the monastic hours of the day. These hours together form the *Divinum officium*, a daily schedule of communal prayer centered on the recitation of the Psalms. For clarity, the monastic hours are written with capital letters to distinguish them from the actual hours of the day. For example, *Nona* refers to the liturgical prayer of the office of Nones, while *nona hora* refers to the actual ninth hour of the day (around 3:00 p.m.). The monastic hours referenced in this passage are:

Prima Prime, prayer made at sunrise

Tertia Terce, midmorning prayer

Sexta Sext, afternoon prayer

Nona Nones, midafternoon prayer

Vespera Vespers, evening prayer made at sunset



Figure 3 St Benedict hands his Rule to St Maurus



1. Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina. 2. Ideoque hac dispositione credimus utraque tempore ordinari, id est, ut a Pascha usque Kalendas Octobres a mane exeuntes a Prima usque hora pene quarta laborent quod necessarium fuerit; ab hora autem quarta usque hora qua Sextam agent lectioni vacent; post Sextam autem surgentes a mensa pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio, aut forte qui voluerit legere sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet; et agatur Nona temperius mediante octava hora, et iterum quod faciendum est operentur usque ad Vesperam. 3. Si autem necessitas loci aut paupertas exegerit ut ad fruges recolligendas per se occupentur, non contristentur, quia tunc vere monachi sunt si labore manuum suarum vivunt, sicut et patres nostri et apostoli. 4. Omnia tamen mensurate fiant propter pusillanimes.

5. A Kalendas autem Octobres usque caput Quadragesimae, usque in hora secunda plena lectioni vacent; hora secunda agatur Tertia, et usque Nona omnes in opus suum laborent quod eis iniungitur; facto autem primo signo nonae horae, deiungant ab opera sua singuli et sint parati dum secundum signum pulsaverit. 6. Post refectioem autem vacent lectionibus suis aut psalmis. 7. In Quadragesimae vero diebus, a mane usque tertia plena vacent lectionibus suis, et usque decima hora plena operentur quod eis iniungitur. 8. In quibus diebus Quadragesimae accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca, quos per ordinem ex integro legant; qui codices in caput Quadragesimae dandi sunt.

9. Dominico item die lectioni vacent omnes, excepto his qui variis officiis deputati sunt. 10. Si quis vero ita negligens et desidiosus fuerit ut non velit aut non possit meditare aut legere, iniungatur ei

opus quod faciat, ut non vacet. 11. Fratribus infirmis aut delicatis talis opera aut ars iniungatur ut nec otiosi sint nec violentia laboris opprimantur aut effugentur. 12. Quorum imbecillitas ab abbate consideranda est.



1. Idleness is the enemy of the soul, and so at certain times the brothers ought to be busy with manual labor, and at other times in sacred reading. 2. And so we believe both are to be temporally ordered in this arrangement, that is, that from Easter to the first of October, the monks, leaving from Prime in the morning, should work at whatever will be needed to about the fourth hour. And from the fourth hour to the hour at which they pray Sext, they should be free for reading. After Sext, let them rise from table and rest at their beds in grand silence, or if anyone should wish to read to himself, he should read in such a way as not to disturb another. Let Nones be done on time in the middle of the eight hour, and again let them work at what must be done until Vespers. 3. If some need connected with their location or poverty demand that they busy themselves in collecting crops, let them not be troubled, since then they are truly monks, if they live by the work of their hands, as did our Fathers and the Apostles. 4. Yet let everything be done measuredly on account of the weak in spirit.

5. From the first of October to the beginning of Lent, the monks should be free for reading until the end of the second hour. Let Terce be prayed at the second hour, and let everyone labor at the work to which they have been assigned until Nones. When the signal of the ninth hour has first sounded, they should individually separate from their work and be at the ready until the second signal has struck. 6. After dinner they should be free for reading or

the Psalms. 7. But in the days of Lent, from morning until the end of the third hour they should be free for their own readings, and until the end of the tenth hour they should work at what has been assigned to them. 8. In these days let them all take their own books from the library, which they should read entire from cover to cover; and these books should be given at the start of Lent.

9. Likewise on Sunday all should be free for reading, except those who have been assigned to various duties. 10. If anyone will be so negligent or lazy that he should not wish or be able to contemplate or read, let there be assigned to him a work to do, that he may not be idle. 11. To the sick and weak brothers let such a work or craft be assigned that they be neither indolent, nor be weighed down by the harshness of the labor or put to flight. 12. Their weakness should be considered by the abbot.



1. otiositas: not the classical ideal of *otium* or *scholē*, but the sin of idleness. Largely a later usage.

lectio divina: a practice of meditative and prayerful reading of the Scriptures, performed alone in the monk's cell.

2. id est ut: introduces a result clause; *id est* is the adverbial signal.

Pascha: Easter, the day celebrating Jesus Christ's Resurrection from the dead.

usque hora...quarta: in Classical Latin, this would read *usque ad horam quartam*, but here the ablative is used. Benedict uses *usque* with the ablative several more times below.

quod necessarium fuerit: in Classical Latin this would be an indirect question, but here the future perfect indicative is used.

qua Sextam agent: *in which hour they pray Sext.* In the monastic life, prayer and work become united, hence the monks' liturgical

practices are done as much as they are prayed.

in lecta sua: the monks arise from table in the refectory and proceed to their cells to rest, hence *in* with the (neuter) accusative.

4. mensurate: *measuredly*. Adverb from the perfect passive participle of *mensuro*, to measure; a rare form.

pusillanimes: monks who may initially be lacking physical or spiritual resolve.

5. a kalendas...Octobres: here the preposition *a* takes the accusative. **caput Quadragesimae:** the beginning of Lent. Lent is a long penitential season in the spring which culminates in the celebration of Easter.

in hora secunda plena: *in the fullness of the second hour*, i.e., for the entire second hour. Benedict uses this phrase several more times below. **signo:** a bell or some other sign marking the hour.

8. ex integro: in their entirety.

9. Dominico...die: Sunday, the Lord's Day. **excepto:** *except*; conjunction.

12. abbate: the Abbot, the monk responsible for leading all the other monks. The word comes from the Aramaic *abbā*, meaning "Father."



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XVI.**Saint Gregory the Great (540–604)***Homilia in Evangelia 2.23*

The Road to Emmaus

St. Gregory the Great reigned as pope from 590 to his death. Born to an aristocratic Roman family, Gregory spent time both as a government official and later a monk. The many accomplishments of his papacy, including the daily feeding of the poor in Rome and the evangelization of Britain, have earned him the title of “Great.” The following is an excerpt from a sermon Gregory gave the day after Easter in the year 593 (fittingly, it is the reading at Matins for Easter Monday in the traditional Roman breviary). In it, he provides an exegesis of the “Road to Emmaus” episode from the Gospel of Luke (24:13–35). Christ has risen from the dead and, unrecognized, is walking to the town of Emmaus with two unnamed disciples. Though he employs usages from Later Latin (like indirect statement with *quia*), many elements of Gregory’s style illustrate his excellent classical education. His constructions can be periodic, highly subordinated, and often feature interwoven syntax. This sermon illustrates well certain aspects of Patristic exegesis, including allegorical and moral interpretation of the Biblical text.



1. Ecce audistis, fratres charissimi, quia duobus discipulis ambulanti-
bus in via, non quidem credentibus, sed tamen de se loquenti-
bus, Dominus apparuit: sed eis speciem, quam recognoscerent, non
ostendit. 2. Hoc ergo egit foris Dominus in oculis corporis, quod
apud ipsos agebatur intus in oculis cordis. 3. Ipsi namque apud se-
metipsos intus et amabant, et dubitabant: eis autem Dominus foris

et praesens aderat, et quis esset non ostendebat. 4. De se ergo loquentibus praesentiam exhibuit: sed de se dubitantibus cognitionis suae speciem abscondit. 5. Verba quidem contulit, duritiam intellectus increpavit, sacrae Scripturae mysteria, quae de seipso erant, aperuit: et tamen quia adhuc in eorum cordibus peregrinus erat a fide, se ire longius finxit. 6. Fingere namque, componere dicimus: unde et compositores luti, figulos vocamus. 7. Nihil ergo simplex Veritas per duplicitatem fecit: sed talem se eis exhibuit in corpore, qualis apud illos erat in mente. 8. Probandi autem erant, si hi, qui eum etsi necdum ut Deum diligenter, saltem ut peregrinum amare potuissent. 9. Sed quia esse extranei a charitate non poterant, hi cum quibus Veritas gradiebatur, eum ad hospitium quasi peregrinum vocant. 10. Cur autem dicimus, vocant, cum illic scriptum sit: *Et coegerunt eum?* 11. Ex quo nimirum exemplo colligitur, quia peregrini ad hospitium non solum invitandi sunt, sed etiam trahendi. 12. Mensam igitur ponunt, panes cibosque offerunt: et Deum, quem in Scripturae sacrae expositione non cognoverant, in panis fractione cognoscunt. 13. Audiendo ergo praecepta Dei illuminati non sunt, faciendo illuminati sunt: quia scriptum est: *Non auditores legis iusti sunt apud Deum, sed factores legis iustificabuntur.* 14. Quisquis ergo vult audita intellegere, festinet ea, quae iam audire potuit, opere implere. 15. Ecce Dominus non est cognitus dum loqueretur, et dignatus est cognosci, dum pascitur.



1. You have heard, dear brethren, that the Lord appeared to two disciples who were walking along the road, and who, while not believing, were nevertheless talking about him amongst themselves. But he did not reveal his face to them, something they would have recognized. 2. The Lord thus performed outwardly in the eyes of

the body what was being performed inwardly in them in the eyes of the heart. 3. For they continued to love inwardly within themselves, and were in doubt: meanwhile, the Lord was present to them outwardly, and did not yet reveal who he was. 4. So he displayed his presence to those who were talking about him, yet he hid the face of his own recognition from those same who were in doubt. 5. He applied words, he broke the hardness of their understanding, he opened the mysteries of the Sacred Scripture, which were about himself: and yet, because in their hearts he was still a stranger to their faith, he arranged to go a while longer. 6. We mean *figere*, “to arrange,” in the sense of *componere*, “to put things together;” in the same sense that we call those who put mud together *figulos*, “potters.” 7. So, the simple Truth did nothing through deceit, but showed himself to them in the body just as he was to them in their mind. 8. They were to be tested to see whether, even if they did not yet love him as God, they would at least be able to love him as a stranger. 9. But because those with whom the Truth was walking were unable to be strangers to love, they summoned him to hospitality as if he were a stranger. 10. And why do we say, “they summon,” when it is written there “and they forced him?” 11. Evidently it is to be inferred from this example that strangers are not just to be invited to hospitality, but even dragged. 12. And so they set a table, they offer food and bread; and God, whom they had not recognized in the interpretation of Sacred Scripture, they recognize in the breaking of bread. 13. Therefore, the teachings of God are not illuminated by hearing, but by doing. Hence it is written, “The hearers of the law are not just in God’s presence, but the doers of the law will be justified.” 14. Whosoever wishes to understand the things he has heard, let him rush to complete in action what he has already been able to hear. 15. For behold, the Lord was not recognized while he was speaking: he thought it right to be

recognized while being fed.



1. audistis...quia...Dominus apparuit: in later Latin, *quia* is often used to introduce an indirect statement, instead of an accusative-infinitive construction. In Classical Latin, this statement might read: *audistis Dominum apparuisse...*

de se: about him, i.e. Jesus. The reflexive refers back to the subject *Dominus*.

recognosceret: apodosis in a present contrafactual clause.

3. ipsi: the two disciples on the road to Emmaus.

4. cognitionis suae: here means “recognition” more so than “thought.”

5. peregrinus: the sense in this passage is “stranger,” though the connection to travel seems to be understood as well.

finxit: as Gregory explains, here *fingerere* does not so much mean to “deceive” but “to arrange”

6. figulos: from *figulus*, potter.

7. talem...qualis: correlatives, though in reverse order.

9. cum quibus: in Classical Latin, *quibuscum*.

11. nimirum: “evidently.”

trahendi: the sense is of “urged, exhorted” not “forced.”

13. Non auditores...iustificabuntur: cf. Romans 2:13.

14. festinet...opere: observe the following rearrangement: *festinet implere opere ea, quae iam audire potuit*. The infinitive *implere* completes *festinet*. The direct object of the infinitive *implere* is the accusative *ea*, and the relative clause follows.



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XVII.

Hugh of Saint Victor (ca. 1096–1141)

Didascalicon 2.20–27

The mechanical arts

Hugh of St. Victor was one of the leading theologians and philosophers of the so-called twelfth-century renaissance, during which the Latin West experienced a rising interest in the Platonic and Aristotelian corpora, resulting in an eclectic output of philosophical works that attempted to synthesize pagan and Christian worldviews. The *Didascalicon* is Hugh's most celebrated work, which consists of six books, the first three concerning profane arts and the last three concerning scriptural interpretation. The secular arts are further divided into theoretical and mechanical arts, each having seven subdivisions. The excerpt below, from his description of the seven mechanical arts, covers the last two divisions: medicine, and theatrics.



Divisio Mechanicae in Septem

1. Mechanica septem scientias continet: lanificium, armaturam, navigationem, agriculturam, venationem, medicinam, theatricam. 2. Ex quibus tres ad extrinsecus vestimentum naturae pertinent, quo se ipsa natura ab incommodis protegit, quattuor ad intrinsecus, quo se alendo et fovendo nutrit, ad similitudinem quidem trivii et quadrivii, quia trivium de vocibus quae extrinsecus sunt et quadrivium de intellectibus qui intrinsecus concepti sunt pertractat. 3. Hae sunt septem ancillae quas Mercurius a Philologia in dotem accepit, quia nimirum eloquentiae, cui iuncta fuerit sapientia, omnis humana actio servit, sicut Tullius in libro rhetoricorum de studio eloquenti-

ae dicit: hoc tuta, hoc honesta, hoc illustris, hoc eodem vita iucunda fiat. Nam hinc ad rem publicam plurima commoda veniunt, si moderatrix omnium praesto est sapientia. Hinc ad eos qui ipsam adepti sunt, laus, honos, dignitas, confluit. Hinc amicis quoque eorum certissimum et tutissimum praesidium est.

4. Hae mechanicae appellantur, id est, adulterinae, quia de opere artificis agunt, quod a natura formam mutuatur. 5. Sicut aliae septem liberales appellatae sunt, vel quia liberos, id est, expeditos et exercitatos animos requirunt, [vel] quia subtiliter de rerum causis disputant, vel quia liberi tantum antiquitus, id est, nobiles, in eis studere consueverant, plebei vero et ignobilium filii in mechanicis propter peritiam operandi. 6. In quo magna priscorum apparet diligentia, qui nihil intentatum linquere voluerunt, sed omnia sub certis regulis et praeceptis stringere. 7. Mechanica est scientia ad quam fabricam omnium rerum concurrere dicunt.

Sexta: medicina

8. Medicina dividitur in duas partes, occasiones et operationes. occasiones sex sunt: aer, motus et quies, inanitio et repletio, cibus et potus, somnus et vigiliae, et accidentia animae. 9. Quae ideo occasiones esse dicuntur, quia faciunt et conservant sanitatem, si temperata fuerint; si intemperata fuerint, infirmitatem. 10. Accidentia animae ideo dicuntur occasio sanitatis vel infirmitatis, quia aliquando vel commovent calorem impetuose, ut ira, vel leniter, ut delectationes, vel attrahunt et celant aut impetuose, ut terror et timor, aut leniter, ut angustia. 11. Et sunt quae commovent naturalem virtutem intus et extra, ut est tristitia.

12. Omnis operatio medicinae aut intus fit aut extra: intus, ut ea quae ore, naribus, auribus sive ano intromittuntur, ut potiones, vomitationes, pulveres etc., quae bibendo, vel masticando, vel attrahendo sumuntur; foris, ut epitimata, cataplasmata, emplastra,

chirurgia, quae duplex est: in carne, ut incidere, suere, urere; in osse, ut solidare et iuncturae reddere. 13. Nec moveat quemquam quod cibum et potum inter attributa medicinae annumero, quae superius venationi attribui, quia secundum diversos respectus hoc factum est. 14. Vinum namque in botro agriculturae est, in peno, celararii, in gustu, medici. 15. Similiter ciborum apparatus ad pistrinum, macellum, coquinam pertinet; virtus saporis, ad medicinam.

Septima: theatra

16. Theatra dicitur scientia ludorum a theatro ubi populus ad ludendum convenire solebat, non quia in theatro tantum ludus fieret, sed quia celebrior locus fuerat ceteris. 17. Fiebant autem ludi alii in theatris, alii in gabulis, alii in gymnasiis, alii in amphicircis, alii in arenis, alii in conviviis, alii in fanis. 18. In theatro gesta recitabantur vel carminibus, vel personis, vel larvis, vel oscillis in gabulis choreas ducebant et saltabant. 19. In gymnasiis luctabantur. 20. In amphicircis cursu certabant vel pedum, vel equorum, vel curruum. 21. In arenis pugiles exercebantur. 22. In conviviis, rhythmis et musicis instrumentis et odis psallebant et alea ludebant. 23. In fanis tempore solemni deorum laudes canebant. 24. Ludos vero idcirco inter legitimas actiones connumerabant, quia temperato motu naturalis calor nutritur in corpore, et laetitia animus reparatur; vel, quod magis videtur, quia necesse fuit populum aliquando ad ludendum convenire, voluerunt determinata esse loca ludendi, ne in diversoriis conventicula facientes probrosa aliqua aut facinorosa perpetrarent.



1. The mechanical arts contain seven branches: wool-working, armor-making, commerce, agriculture, hunting, medicine, and theatre. 2. Three of these branches pertain to the outer garment

of nature, by which nature protects itself from discomforts; four pertain to the inner part, through which nature sustains itself by feeding and keeping warm. These are similar to the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* of the liberal arts, since the *trivium* studies vocal forms, which are conceived of as external, and the *quadrivium* studies intellection, which is conceived of as internal. 3. These arts are the seven handmaidens which Mercury received from Philology as her dowry, since of course every human action serves eloquence, should wisdom be joined to it, just as Cicero said about the study of eloquence in his book of rhetoric: ‘Because of this eloquence, life could be made safe, honorable, brilliant, and joyous. For the most advantageous things come to the Republic from it, if wisdom, who bestows moderation on all things, is present. From this source those who have obtained this wisdom acquire praise, honor, and dignity; and from this source the friends of these men also have the most sure and safe defense.’

4. These are called the mechanical arts, that is, the adulterated arts, since they deal with artisanal works that borrow their form from nature. 5. In the same way the other seven arts are called liberal arts, either because they require minds that are ready and well-trained, or because they discuss the natural causes of things in subtle fashion, or because in the old days only free men, that is the nobles, were accustomed to study them, while the children of the plebs and of the low-born studied the mechanical arts on account of their experience with work. 6. In this area the diligence of the ancients seems great, since they did not wish to leave anything untouched but to pull everything under certain rules and guidelines. 7. *Mechanica* is the science by which they say the fabrication of all things is united.

...

Sixth: Medicine

8. Medicine is divided into two parts: conditions and operations. There are six conditions: air, motion and rest, hunger and repletion, food and drink, sleep and wakefulness, and qualities of the spirit. 9. So things are called conditions because they produce and preserve health if they are temperate; if they are intemperate, they cause illness. 10. Qualities of the spirit are called the conditions of health or illness because they either stir the heat drastically, like anger, or gently, like pleasures, or because they draw down and conceal the heat drastically, like fear and terror, or gently, like distress. 11. And there are qualities which stir the natural force within and without, such as sadness.

12. Every operation of medicine takes place either within or without. Operations within include things which are let in through the mouth, nostrils, ears, or the anus, like potions, emetics, and powders, etc.; things which are taken in by drinking, or masticating, or inhaling. Operations from without include compresses, poultices, plasters, and surgery, which is twofold: in the case of flesh, cutting open, sewing, and burning; in the case of bone, making solid and rejoining bone. 13. Let the fact that I include food and drink among the attributes of medicine not upset anyone – things which I previously attributed to hunting – since this attribution is made in a different respect. 14. For wine is part of agriculture when it is in the grape, belongs to the cellar-attendant when it is in the store-room, and belongs to the doctor when it is tasted. 15. Similarly, the preparation of food pertains to the pounding mill, the meat market, and the kitchen; the effect of its savors pertains to medicine.

Seventh: Theatrics

16. Theatrics is the name for the science of games at theaters where

people used to come together for amusement, not because such games only happened in the theater, but because this place was more popular than the rest. 17. Some games took place in theaters, some in *gabulis*, some in gymnasiums, some in amphitheaters, some in arenas, some in banquets, and some in temples. 18. In the theater stories were recited either in song or with the masks called *persona*, *larva*, or *oscillum*. They would lead choruses in *gabulis* and dance. 19. In gymnasiums people would wrestle. 20. In amphitheaters they would compete either in running, or in riding, or in chariot racing. 21. In arenas they would exercise as boxers. 22. In banquets, they would sing in rhythm and to musical instruments, and harp songs, and play dice. 23. In temples at solemn times they would sing the praises of the gods. 24. They listed games among legal activities because the body's natural heat is nourished by tempered movement and the spirit is revived by happiness; or, as seems more likely, because it was necessary for the people to come together sometimes for amusement, and they wished the places of play to be defined in order that they might not make their assemblies in diverse places and commit wicked or nefarious crimes.



1. **navigationem**: while literally meaning 'sailing, navigation', it's clear that here Hugh uses the word as a synecdoche for trade and commerce.

2. **ad extrinsecus vestimentum . . . ad intrinsecus**: *extrinsecus* (adverb): from without; *intrinsecus* (adverb): from within; the preposition *ad* takes *vestimentum*.

trivii et quadrivii: refers to the seven liberal arts, as described in Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (ca. 5th century C.E.) and Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* (523 C.E.),

which consist of grammar, rhetoric, and logic (*grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica*), i.e., the trivium, and of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music (*arithmetica, geometria, astronomia, musica*), i.e., the quadrivium.

3. **cui iuncta fuerit sapientia:** *fuerit* is a perfect subjunctive in a relative clause of cause, prior time.

hoc tuta. . . praesidium est: cf. Cicero's *De inventione*, 1.4.24–29.

4. **adulterinae:** an etymological misinterpretation likely originating from a ninth-century monk's commentary that confused μηχανή (machine) with μοιχός (adulterer).

12. **attrahendo:** possibly referring to the motion of inhaling, as the previous word *pulveris* suggests.

foris: (adverb) *lit.* out of the doors, outside, without

epitimata, cataplasmata, emplastra, chirurgia: ἐπιθέμα (compress), κατάπλασμα (poultice), ἔμπλαστρα (plaster), χειρουργία (surgery)

14. **agriculturae. . . cellararii. . . medici:** genitive of characteristic; *cellarius* is the cellarer of a convent.

16. **gabulis:** the meaning of this word is uncertain, likely a synonym for some sort of theatrical stage.

17. **personis. . . larvis. . . oscillis:** three different types of mask used in theatrical performance.



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XVIII.

Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1178)

Physica, 1.22–28

Healing Plants: The Rose and Lily

Hildegard von Bingen was a Benedictine nun, mystic, scientist, and theologian, who also composed sacred monophonic music. Among her most famous works is the *Physica*, originally titled *Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum* (*Subtleties of the Diverse Qualities of Created Things*), which describes hundreds of natural remedies. Despite the name of the work *Physica*, adopted in 1533, the subject matter is pharmacology, specifically monastic medicine, based on *naturalia* (natural medical tools). Hildegard's anthology contains a list of not only plant and animal products, but also of beneficial elements, stones, and metals. It is unclear how much of her knowledge was acquired through books or was divinely inspired as a result of her many visions, which she began having at a young age.

Hildegard provides remedies for all types of ailments, and in this passage, she explains the beneficial uses of the rose and lily plants. Her writing is sprinkled with German terms for her *naturalia*, which poses the main difficulty in her writing since her syntax is not usually complicated. Most of her passages introduce each *naturale* with a curious classification of hot or cold and wet or dry properties, which are originally based on Hippocrates' medical theory of the four humors (black bile, yellow bile, blood, and phlegm), which were commonly believed to necessitate a balance within the body for optimal health. About a century before the time of Hildegard, Avicenna modified these original four humors, or bodily fluids, into qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry, and Hildegard clearly was aware of this change, either through her monastic education, word of

mouth, correspondence with others, or divine inspiration.



1. Rosa frigida est, et idem frigus utile temperamentum in se habet. 2. Homo autem qui in oculis dolet et caligat, in mane aut ortu iam die folium rose tolle, et illud oculis tuis superpone, et humorem, id est droffen / trieffen, eis extrahit et eos clarificat. 3. Quia frigus rose utile est, et ideo etiam inutiles humores extrahit. 4. Et qui preceps in ira est, rosam accipiat et minus de salvia, et eas in pulverem terat, et in hora illa cum ira in ipso surgit, naribus suis propter bonum odorem apponat, nam rosa letificat, salvia consolatur. 5. Quod si rosam habere non poterit, pro rosa visco de persico utatur, qui amaritudinem et melancolie destinationem aufert. 6. Rosa accipiat et ad medietatem ipsius salvia, recente quoque arvina que insulsa est addita, et hec in aqua simul coquantur, ita ut inde unguentum fiat. 7. Et ubi homo a crampo vel a paralisi fatigatur, ipso unguento ibidem inungatur, et melius habebit. 8. Nam frigiditas rose cum calore et siccitate salvie, arvina quoque insulsa temperata, quia sal vires istarum herbarum minueret, virtute sua et crampen et paralisim sedant. 9. Sed et qui modica ulcera in corpore suo habet, eis folia rose superponat, et livorem ab eis extrahit. 10. Sed et rosa ad potiones et ad ungenta atque ad omnia medicamenta valet, si eis addatur, et tanto meliora sunt, si eis aliquid de rosa additum fuerit, quamvis parum. 11. Hoc est de bonis viribus illis, ut predictum est.

12. Liliū plus frigidum quam calidum est. 13. Accipe ergo caput radicis lilii, et illud cum veteri arvina fortiter tunde, et tunc in patella zelaz, et sic in vasculum pone; et deinde qui albam lepram, scilicet quod quedchit, habet, cum eo frequenter unge, prius calefacto unguento, et sanabitur. 14. Sed rubea lepra difficile curari potest. 15. Et qui urslechte habet, lac caprinum sepe bibat, et urslechte ab

eo perfecte exeant. 16. Et tunc stam et folia liliorum accipiat et ea tundat, ac succum eorum exprimat, et eundem succum cum arvina insimul knede, et ubi in corpore ab urslechte dolet se perungat. 17. Sed tamen antequam hoc ungento se inungat, lac caprinum semper bibat. 18. Odor etiam prime eruptionis, id est blut, liliorum, ac etiam odor florum eorum cor hominis letificat ac rectos cogitatus ei parat propter utilem viriditatem suam.



1. The rose is cold, and this same coldness has a beneficial temper in it. 2. A person who has pain in their eyes or is blinded should take a rose petal either in the morning or once daylight has risen and place it over one's eyes, and the petal will draw out and clear out the humor, that is *the drip*, from the eyes. 3. Because the cold of the rose is beneficial, it also draws out harmful humors for that reason. 4. Someone who is in danger of being angry should take some rose and a smaller amount of sage and grind them into a powder; at the time anger arises in the person, one should put it near his nostrils because of its pleasant smell, for the rose causes joy and the sage soothes. 5. But if one cannot obtain rose, instead of rose, make a paste from a peach, which removes bitterness and the melancholic tendency. 6. Rose and half as much sage should be taken, and after some fresh unsalted lard has been added, these should be cooked together in water, to make an ointment from them 7. And when a man is troubled by spasms or by paralysis, he should rub himself with the same ointment, and he will be better. 8. For the cold of the rose together with the heat and dryness of sage, tempered by the unsalted lard – since salt diminishes the powers of these herbs – allay spasms and paralysis by their strengths. 9. And in addition, he who has small ulcers on his body should place rose

petals on them, and it will extract the discoloration from them. 10. Furthermore, rose is good for potions, ointments, and for all medications when it is added to them, and they are much better, if some rose is added, even a little. 11. What was just said concerns the rose's good powers.

12. The lily is more cold than hot. 13. So, take the bulb of the lily root, and vigorously crush it with old lard, then mix it on a small dish and place it in a small container; then, if someone has white leprosy, or really anything, he should anoint with it frequently, once the ointment is heated, and he will be cured. 14. But red leprosy is difficult to cure. 15. And one who has a rash should often drink goat's milk, and the rash will completely leave him. 16. Then one should take the stem and leaves of the lily and crush them, squeeze out their juices, and combine these same juices with lard, and apply where the body is afflicted by the rash. 17. Yet before anointing oneself with this ointment one should always drink goat's milk. 18. Even the smell of the first buds, that is the *blossom*, and even the odor of their flowers cheers the human spirit and produces virtuous thoughts thanks to its beneficial freshness.



2. drieffen / troffen: from the Old High German verb *triefen* meaning “to drip.” The text here follows that of Hildebrandt et al., who print both forms together without comment, presumably because they reflect what is written in the manuscripts.

4. preceps: Medieval Latin for *praeceps*, can be translated here as “in danger of (being angry).”

in hora: “when.”

5. Quod si: “But if.”

melancolie destinationem: It is most likely that *melancolie* func-

tions as an adjective here, the two words meaning “melancholic obstinacy.”

6. Note the omission of the *a* in **que** (*quae*) and **hec** (*haec*), and *u* in **ungentum** (*unguentum*).

7. crampo: from the Old High German word *krampf*, meaning cramp or spasm.

paralisi: *paralysi*.

9. and 10. sed et: can be translated as “but in addition,” “and also,” or “moreover.”

12. predictum: *praedictum*

13. caput radice: “head of the root,” meaning “the end of the root.”

zelaz: from the German word *zelazen*, meaning to dissolve

quedchit: an unusual spelling variation of *quidquid*

15. urslechte: Old High German word for a rash.

16. knede: singular imperative of Old High German verb meaning ‘to knead, mix, combine’.

18. prime eruptionis, id est blut: “the first eruptions, that is, the buds.”

viriditatem: difficult to translate; “greenness, freshness, youthful vigor.”

XIX.**Hildegard von Bingen***Physica*, VII.5

The Unicorn

In this passage from Book 7 of the *Physica*, Hildegard describes the elusive unicorn with a fascinating and colorful story about how it can be captured, followed by the various regimens and benefits derived from it, which are useful for human health. Usually she does not include specific measurements for the ingredients in her recipes, so some guessing would be involved when using these remedies in practice. Once again we see Old High German vocabulary, as in the previous passage. Note also the variations in Medieval Latin spelling, for example, the omission of the letter *a* in words such as *femine* (*feminae*) and *predicti* (*praedicti*).



1. Unicornis plus calidus est quam frigidus; sed fortitudo eius maior est quam calor ipsius, et mundas herbas comedit, ac in eundo quasi saltus habet, et hominem et cetera animalia fugit, preter ea que generis sui sunt, et ideo capi non potest. 2. Et virum valde timet et ab eo declinat, velut serpens in primo casu a viro declinavit et mulierem inspexit, sic et animal istud a viro declinat et post mulierem videt. 3. Quidam enim philosophus erat, qui naturas animalium perscrutaverat, et ille animal istud nulla arte capere potuit, unde valde mirabatur. 4. Hic quadam die venatum ivit ut prius facere solebat, et viri et femine ac puelle eum comitabantur. 5. Puelle autem separatim ab aliis hominibus ibant, et interim floribus ludebant. 6. Unicornis vero puellis visis saltus suos contraxit et paulatim ivit, ac denique super posteriores pedes suos de longe ab eis remotus se-

dit, et ipsas diligenter inspexit. 7. Et philosophus hoc videns, cum omni diligentia hoc consideravit, et intellexit quod unicornis per puellas capi posset, et a tergo ad illum accedens, ipsum per easdem puellas cepit. 8. Nam unicornis a longe visa puella miratur quod barbam non habet, sed tamen formam hominis; et si due aut tres puelle simul sunt, tanto plus miratur et tanto citius capitur dum oculos suos in eas figit. 9. Puelle autem ille per quas capitur, nobiles esse debent et non rustice, nec omnino adulte nec omnino parvule, sed moderate adolescentie, et has diligit quia eas blandas et suaves esse cognoscit. 10. Et semper in anno semel vadit ad terram illam que sucum de terra paradysi habet, et ibi optimas herbas querit, et illas pede fodit ac eas comedit, et de hiis multas vires habet, et ideo etiam cetera animalia fugit. 11. Sub cornu autem suo os habet quod velut vitrum perspicuum est, ita quod homo in illo faciem suam velut in speculo considerare potest, sed tamen non valde pretiosum est. 12. Nam quia idem animal bono calore et magna sanitate perfusum est, quoniam instabili et non mutabili aere eius conversatio est, noxios humores qui pestes et febres homini inferunt mitigat.

13. Iecor autem unicornis pulveriza, et pulverem istum sagimine (id est smalcz) de vitello ovorum paratum inmitte, et sic unguentum fac, et nulla lepra est cuiuscumque generis sit, si eam sepe cum hoc unguento unxeris, quin curetur, nisi mors illius sit qui eam habet, aut Deus eum curare non vult. 14. Iecor enim animalis huius bonum calorem et munditiam habet, et sagimen vitellorum pretiosissimum est quod in ovo est, et velut unguentum est. 15. Sed lepra multotiens de nigra colera est, et de nigro superhabundante sanguine nascitur. 16. Et cum hoc inungitur, unguento de pulvere predicti iecoris et predicti sagiminis facto, bono calore et bonis viribus illius sanatur cum sic, velut predictum est, idem unguentum temperatur. 17. Et de cute eius cingulum para, et cum eo ad cutem tuam te cinge, et nulla fortis pestis aut febris te interim ledet. 18. Sed et calcios de pelle

eius para et eos indue, et semper sanos pedes et sana crura et sanos renes / gelancken interim habebis, nec pestis interim te in eis ledet, quoniam magna virtute et sanitate eadem pellis perfusa est. 19. Et unguem unicornis in cingulum tuum firma, et unguem istum sub scutellam in qua cibus est, aut sub ciphum in quo potus est, pone, et si cibus aut potus ille calidus est, et si venenum in eo est, cibum aut potum in vase fervere facit, vel si cibus aut potus ille frigidus est, et si venenum in eo est, eum fumigare facit. 20. Et ita venenum ibi appositum esse poteris scire. 21. Nam unguis eius propter frequentem cursum et velocitatem ipsius reliqua carni eius purior et sanior est, et ideo quandam vim in se habet que veneno tantum timorem incutit, quod etiam fervet et fumigat. 22. Cetera que in eo sunt medicine non conveniunt.



1. The unicorn possesses more heat than cold, but its strength is greater than its heat, and it consumes clean herbs, and when it goes it has a kind of jump, and it flees human beings and other animals, except for those animals which belong to its kind, and therefore it cannot be captured. 2. And it greatly fears men and avoids them, just as, during the first fall, the serpent avoided the man and looked at the woman; similarly this animal avoids man and looks at women. 3. In fact there was a certain philosopher who investigated the nature of animals, and he was unable to capture this animal by any means, which greatly amazed him. 4. One day this man went on a hunt, as he was previously accustomed to do, and men, women, and girls accompanied him. 5. The young girls walked separately from the others and played among the flowers. 6. But a unicorn, seeing the girls, shortened his leaps and walked slowly, and finally sat down on its hind legs far from them and carefully watched them.

7. Upon seeing this and considering it with due diligence, the philosopher understood that the unicorn could be captured using girls, and after approaching him from behind, captured the unicorn using the same girls. 8. For the unicorn, seeing a girl from far away, was amazed that she did not have a beard, although she possessed a human form; and if there were two or three girls at the same time, he marvelled all the more, and was captured all the more easily while his eyes were fixed on them. 9. The girls who are used to capture him should be noble and not uncouth, not fully grown up and not entirely young, but of mid-adolescence, and these the unicorn likes because he considers them to be attractive and agreeable. 10. Once a year it always goes to that land which has the juices of the land of paradise, and there he searches for the best plants, and he digs these up with his hooves and consumes them; and from these he has many powers, and that is why he flees other animals. 11. Moreover, under his horn the unicorn has a bone which is clear like glass, so that a man is able to contemplate his own face as if in a mirror, yet it is of no great value. 12. For because this same animal is endowed with good heat and great health, whenever it frequents places of unsteady and not changeable air, it mitigates the harmful humors which bring men plague and fevers.

13. Pulverize the unicorn's liver, and mix that powder with fat (that is, lard) prepared from egg yolks; make an ointment this way, and there is no leprosy of any sort whatsoever that will not be cured if you rub it frequently with this ointment, unless death is approaching the one who has it, or God does not wish to cure him. 14. For the liver of this animal possesses a good heat and cleanliness, while the fat of the yolks is the most precious thing in the egg, and is a kind of ointment unto itself. 15. But oftentimes leprosy is caused by black bile, and is brought about from a superabundance of black blood. 16. So when this ointment, made of the

aforementioned powder of liver and egg yolk, is rubbed on, one can be healed by the good heat and good powers of this animal, as mentioned before, and the same ointment creates a tempering. 17. Also, prepare a belt from its hide; with it fastened to your skin, no strong plague or fevers can hurt you at the time. 18. In addition, prepare shoes from its hide and wear them, and while you do you will always have healthy feet and healthy legs and healthy kidneys / joints, nor will the plague hurt you while you are wearing them, since the skin is endowed with great virtue and health. 19. Also, secure the unicorn hoof in your belt, and place the hoof itself under a dish in which there is food, or under a cup in which there is drink, and if the food or drink is hot, and if there is poison in it, it will cause the food or drink in the dish to boil, or if the food or drink is cold and contains poison, then it will cause it to smoke. 20. And in this way you will be able to know that poison is near. 21. For its hoof, because of its frequent running and speed, is more pure and healthy than the remainder of the body, and for this reason it has a certain power inside it, which instills such great fear in poison that it even boils and smokes. 22. The other things which are in the animal are not useful for medicine.

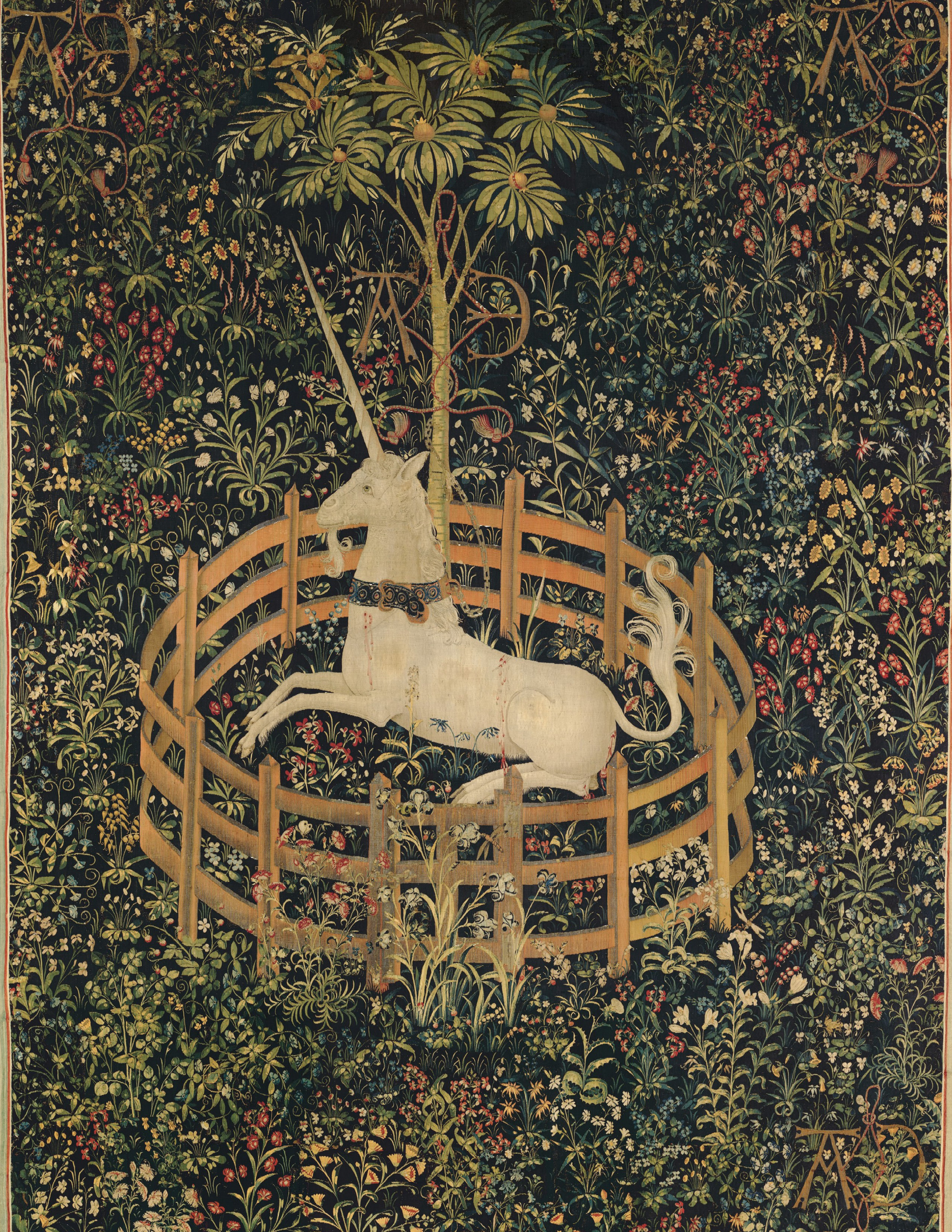


1. preter: *praeter* meaning “besides.”

4. femine, puelle: *feminae, puellae*.

9. moderate adolescentie: “of moderate adolescence” or “mid-adolescence.”

10. Et semper in anno semel vadit ad terram illam que sucum de terra paradysi habet: The meaning is unclear, but perhaps there were parts of the earth considered to still hold the vitality of the original earthly paradise before the fall of Adam and Eve. Note *que*



is *quae* with the Medieval Latin omission of *a*.

12. instabili et non mutabili aere: The meaning is unclear since *instabili* and *non mutabili* are more or less opposites. This sentence would make more sense if it originally came after 17.

13. Iecor: from *iecur*, meaning “liver.”

sagimine (id est smalcz): *Sagimine* is derived from *sagino*, “to fatten,” meaning fat. *Smalcz* (*schmaltz*) is an Old High German word for lard. **ungentum:** *unguentum*, meaning “ointment.”

sepe: *saepe*.

15. multotiens: “many times” or “often.” **superhabundante:** *superabundante*, note the addition of *h* (or sometimes *ch*), which is sometimes found in German Medieval Latin texts.

17. ledet: *laedet* from *laedo*, meaning “to hurt, injure, wound.”

18. gelancken: Old High German word for “joints.” (The modern German word is *Gelenke*.) It is unclear why the kidneys and joints are paired together in this manner for this unique remedy.

21. Nam unguis eius propter frequentem cursum et velocitatem ipsius reliqua carni eius purior et sanior est: an obscure train of thought; why should running make the hoof more pure?

que veneno tantum timorem incutit: Note the personification of the poison.

que: *quae*.



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XX.**Geoffrey of Monmouth** (1095–1195)*Historia Regum Britanniae* 2.10/11

The story of King Lear (Lleir)

Geoffrey of Monmouth was a British Catholic priest and historiographer whose most famous work, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, served as a mine of stories for later generations of authors. The *Historia* traces the history of Britain, beginning with the matter of Troy and Aeneas' flight up to the time of King Arthur and includes an interlude of prophecies by Merlin. Merlin also features in Geoffrey's other influential work, the *Vita Merlini*, a poem on Merlin's life. Both the *Historia* and the *Vita* were the first texts which spoke of the Arthurian world that would later become synonymous with courtly British and French medieval love literature, giving birth to the myriad stories of the Arthurian cannon.

Although presented as historical, Geoffrey used oral sources and perhaps even Celtic folktales to provide material for his narration and is best taken as a work of historical fiction combined with popular stories and tales. His Latin seems to shy away from excessive subordination while showing a steady grasp of a Latin prose style that is subtly sophisticated. His prose is spare, favoring participles, gerunds and infinitives, as well as a considerable reliance on demonstratives and a vocabulary that shows slight variations in meaning from classical and canonical Latin as well as instances of pleonasm. Word order is particularly important in Geoffrey's prose, replacing the importance of case seen in classical Latin. In the following excerpt the story of King Lear and his three daughters, later made into a play by William Shakespeare, is told.



1. Quo defuncto, Lleir, filius eiusdem, in regem erigitur, qui sexaginta annis regnum viriliter rexit. 2. Aedificavit autem super flumen Soram civitatem de nomine eius dictam Kaerllir; saxonice vero Leicestre nuncupatur. 3. Huic natae sunt tres filiae, denegata masculini sexus prole. 4. Nomina earum Gorenilla, Ragau, Cordeilla. 5. Pater eas paterno amore, sed magis iuniorem Cordeillam diligebat. 6. Cumque in senectutem vergere coepisset, cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere et cum parte regni maritis copulare. 7. Sed, ut sciret, quae illarum parte regni potiore dignior esset, interrogationibus suis singulas temptavit, scilicet quae magis illum diligeret. 8. Interroganti igitur, Gorenilla, quae maior natu erat, numina caeli testata est se ipsum magis diligere quam vitam suam. 9. Cui pater: “Quoniam senectutem meam tuae vitae praeposuisti te, carissimam filiam maritabo iuveni quemcumque elegeris in regno meo, cum tertia parte regni mei. 10. Deinde Ragau, secunda, exemplo sororis suae benivolentiam patris captans, iure iurando respondit se super omnes creaturas eum diligere. 11. Credulus ergo pater, eadem dignitate qua primogenitam cum tertia parte regni maritare spondit. 12. At Cordeilla iunior, cum intellexisset sororum adulationibus acquiescere eum, temptare cupiens patrem, respondit: 13. “Est uspiam, pater mi, filia quae patrem suum plus quam patrem praesumat diligere? 14. Non credo etiam ullam esse quae hoc fateri audeat, nisi iocosis verbis veritatem celare nitatur. 15. Nempe ego semper te dilexi ut patrem et adhuc a proposito non desisto. 16. Et si a me amplius extorquere vis, audi amoris certitudinem quem tecum habeo et interrogationibus tuis finem impone. 17. Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo.” 18. Porro pater ratus eam ex iracundia aut derisione tale responsum dedisse, indignans stom-

achando ait: 19. “Quoniam sic patris senectutem sprevisi, ut vel eo amore quo me sorores tuae diligunt dedignata es respondere, ego in tantum te dedignabor ut in regno meo partem cum sororibus tuis non habebis. 20. Quippe cum te plus quam ceteras hucusque dilexerim, tu me minus quam ceterae diligere fateris.”

21. Nec mora, consilio procerum suorum praedictas puellas dedit, unam duci Cornubiae et alteram regi Albaniae, quibus post decesum suum tota regni monarchiam concessit. 22. Contigit interea quod Aganippus, rex Francorum, uxore carens, audita fama pulchritudinis Cordeillae, nuntios dirigit ad regem Britonum ut illam sibi connubio copularet. 23. Pater autem, filiae responsionum nondum oblitus, ait se eam daturum sibi, sed sine dote: duabus enim prioribus regnum suum diviserat. 24. Quod cum Aganippo intimatum esset, amore virginis inflammatus, remisit iterum ad regem, dicens se satis auri et argenti et terrae possidere, neque dote alia indigere nisi tantummodo puellae nobilis coniugio, de qua postmodum sibi heredes procrearet. 25. Confirmato igitur nuptiali foedere, mittitur Cordeilla ad regem Aganippum et ei in uxorem coniungitur.

26. Post multum vero temporis, ut Lleir rex, senio affectus, torpere coepit, insurrexerunt in illum duces, quibus filias praedictas locaverat et abstulerunt ei regnum et regiam potestatem. 27. Concordia tamen inter eos habita, rex Albaniae, Maglaunus, alter generorum, illum secum retinuit cum sexaginta militibus, ne inglorius esset propter filiam suam, coniugem eius. 28. Moram autem apud illum eo faciente, indignata <est> aliquando filia sua Gorgonilla, ob multitudinem militum secum commanentium, quia ministris eiusdem conviciabantur. 29. Maritum suum affata, iussit patrem suum contentum esse debere obsequio triginta militum. 30. Indignatus ille, relicto Maglauno, secessit ad Henuium, ducem Cornubiae, sponsum alterius filiae. 31. Apud quem moratus, infra annum orta est discordia inter utrorumque famulos, unde iussus est a filia pa-

ter senex totam familiam deserere, praeter quinque milites, qui ei obsequio satis essent. 32. Porro pater, ultra quam dici potest, tunc anxius et tristis, reversus est iterum ad primogenitam, sperans, mutato animo eius, ipsum cum tota familia honorifice velle retinere. 33. At illa per numina caeli iuravit quod nullatenus secum commareret, nisi, relictis omnibus, solo milite contentus esset. 34. Paruit ille tristis et cum solo milite illi adhaesit. 35. Recordatus itaque sui honoris pristini et dignitatis amissae, detestando miseriam ad quam redactus erat, cogitare coepit quod iuniorem filiam expeteret. 36. Aestimans eam pietate posse moveri paterna, transfretavit ad Gallias et in transfretando, cum se tertium infra navem inter principes, qui aderant, conspexisset, memor praeteritorum, ait:

37. “O irrevocabilia seria factorum, quae solito cursu fixum iter tenditis! 38. Cur, inquam, me ad instabilem felicitatem promovere voluistis, cum maior poena sit ipsam amissam recolere, quam sequentis infelicitatis praesentia urgeri? 39. Magis enim gravat me illius temporis memoria, quo, tot centenis militibus stipatus, moenia urbium diruere et provincias hostium vastare solebam, quam calamitas miseriae meae, quae ipsos, qui iacebant sub pedibus meis, iam debilitatem meam deserere coegit. 40. O irata fortuna! 41. O Cordeilla, filia, quam vera sunt dicta illa quae quaestionibus meis sapienter respondisti ut, quantum haberem, tantum valerem, tantumque me diligeres! 42. Dum igitur habui quod dare possem, visus fui valere his, qui non mihi sed donis meis applaudebant. 43. Interim dilexerunt me, sed abeuntibus muneribus et ipsi abierunt. 44. Sed qua fronte tamen, filia mea carissima, tuam audebo videre faciem, vel me ipsum tibi praesentare, qui, quasi vilem et abiectam, te deterius et sine dote, quam sorores tuas, inter extraneos locare curavi?”



1. When this man died, Lleir, his son, was elevated to the kingship, and ruled the kingdom manfully for sixty years. 2. He built a city upon the river Soar whose name he declared to be Kaerllir after himself; in Saxon the name is given as Leicester. 3. To this man were born three daughters, as children of the male sex were denied to him. 4. Their names were Gorenilla, Ragau and Cordeilla. 5. The father loved them all with paternal love but loved the youngest, Cordeilla, above all. 6. And when he began to decline into old age, he decided that he would divide his kingdom among his daughters and give them in matrimony with the divisions as dowry. 7. But in order to know which of them was worthy of the better share of land, he tested them one by one with an interrogation, specifically asking which of them loved him best. 8. So Gorenilla, the first-born, upon being asked, called the powers of heaven as witnesses that she loved him more than her own life. 9. Her father said to her: "Since you placed my elderly life before your own, I will marry you, dearest daughter, to whichever youth you choose from my kingdom, and give you a third of my kingdom." 10. Then Ragau, the second-born, attempting to capture her father's benevolence in the same way as her sister, answered with an oath, swearing that she loved him above all creatures living. 11. The credulous father, with the same respect that he had given to the elder, promised her a third of the kingdom and marriage. 12. But Cordeilla, the youngest, because she knew that he had given in to the adulation of her sisters, and wishing to test her father, answered: 13. "Is there any daughter, my father, who would presume to love her father more than a father? 14. I do not believe, indeed, that there is one who would dare profess this, unless they were striving to hide the

truth with playful words. 15. Of course I have loved you always as a father and as yet I do not desist from this purpose. 16. And if you should wish to wrench more from me, hear the surety of love which I have for you and put an end to your interrogation. 17. For in fact, you are worth as much as you possess, and so much do I love you.” 18. After this, the father, believing her to have given such an answer out of anger or derision, raged indignantly and said: 19. “Since you hold your father’s old age in such disdain that you refuse to answer with the love your sisters showed for me, I will repay you with the same, as you will not have a part of my kingdom like your sisters will. 20. For although I loved you until now more than the others, you profess that you love me less than the others.”

21. Without delay, in a council of his court, he gave away the aforementioned girls, one to the duke of Cornwall, the other to the king of Albany, and to both he promised the entire rule of his kingdom after his death. 22. Meanwhile, it happened that Aganippus, the king of France, was lacking a wife, and upon hearing the praise of Cordeilla’s beauty sent a messenger to the king of Britain to ask that he might join with her in marriage. 23. The father, not yet forgetting the daughter’s response, said he would give her to him, but without a dowry, for he had divided the kingdom among his two other daughters. 24. When this was made known to Aganippus, who was inflamed with love for the virgin, he sent again to the king, saying that he had enough gold, silver, and lands and did not need any dowry other than marriage to a noble girl from whom he would soon beget an heir for himself. 25. The wedding was thereupon confirmed and Cordeilla was sent to king Aganippus and was joined to him in marriage.

26. After a time, as king Lleir, worn down by age, began to decline into infirmity, his two son-in-laws, to whom he had given his daughters, raised a rebellion and took the kingdom and royal power

away from him. 27. Yet they made a compact amongst themselves, and Maglaunus, the king of Albany and one of the son-in-laws, took him in with sixty knights on account of his daughter, Maglaunus' wife, so that he might not be without power. 28. However, after he had stayed a short while there, his daughter Gorenilla was indignant because the many soldiers who were staying with him allegedly insulted her servants. 29. After she had spoken to her husband, she ordered her father to be content with the attendance of thirty soldiers. 30. Angry, he left Maglaunus and went to Henuinus, duke of Cornwall, the husband of the other daughter. 31. After he had stayed with him a year, a dispute arose between the servants of the two men, after which the elderly father was ordered by Ragau to abandon his entire retinue, except for five knights, which, she said, was enough attendants for him. 32. Then the father, more anxious and sad than he was able to describe, returned to the elder, hoping for a change in her heart, that she might let him have his entire retinue as a matter of honor. 33. But she swore by the powers of heaven that he could in no way live with them unless he were content with only one knight and left the others. 34. He sadly obeyed and retained his one knight. 35. He remembered then his previous honor and his lost dignity, hating the misery into which he had been reduced, and he began to wonder whether he should seek his youngest daughter. 36. Thinking she might be moved by paternal piety, he journeyed to France, and during the voyage, when he realized he was the third of the princes who were present on the ship, remembering his past, he spoke:

“37. O the irrevocable links of the Fates, who proceed by your regular course on a fixed path! 38. Why, I ask, did you wish to promote me to an unstable happiness, when it is a greater pain to remember such lost happiness than to be oppressed by the present unhappiness that followed? 39. The memory of that time when,

accompanied by thousands of soldiers, it was my custom to destroy city walls and to ravage enemy lands, weighs upon me more than the despair of my miserable state, produced by those who once lay under my feet, which now compels me into my weakness. 40. O wrathful Fortune! 41. O Cordeilla, daughter, how true those words are which you wisely gave in answer to my interrogation, that I was worth as much as I possessed, and so much did you love me! 42. While I had something which I was able to give, I seemed valuable to them, who were praising not me but my gifts. 43. During this time they loved me but when my gifts were gone they left as well. 44. But with what face, most darling daughter, will I dare to see your face? Or present myself to you, I who took care to settle you among strangers, like a vile and rejected woman, in a degrading fashion and without dowry?"

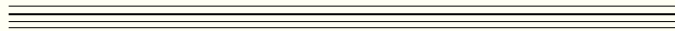


Figure 5 King Leir and his daughters

2. **saxonice:** Anglo-Saxon, or old English, the West Germanic language from which modern English developed and the language which was spoken at the time among the inhabitants of Britain. The original name *Kaerllir* is a Welsh name, Welsh being the language which preceded Anglo-Saxon in that part of England.
3. **denegata:** it is not certain why male children were denied to the king, perhaps, because of her absence from the story, the queen died after the birth of Cordelia.
6. **cogitavit:** here, a verb of mental action and sets off an indirect statement
7. **ut sciret:** purpose clause.
- scilicet:** an adverb used to indicate an clarification here.
8. **testata est...suam:** indirect statement
10. **exemplo:** ablative of means.
- iure iurando:** pleonasm, similar to line 5, *pater paterno amore*.
12. **Cum intellexisset..patrem:** *cum* temporal followed by an indirect statement ending at *patrem*.
19. **ut...respondere:** temporal clause
- ut...non habebis:** temporal clause
21. **consilio:** ablative of time when
23. **filiae responsionum:** genitive with a verb of remembering, *non-dum oblitus*.
24. **Quod cum.....intimatum esset:** circumstantial clause
27. **Ne.....coniugem eius:** purpose clause
28. **moram illum:** accusative of duration of time
33. **iuravit....contentus esset:** present contrary-to-fact conditional within an indirect statement.
37. **irrevocabilia seria:** accusative of exclamation, neuter plural; *seria* seems to be a misrecollection of classical *series*, cf. Lucan, *de Bello Civili* 1.70, *fatorum series*.
38. **cum...recolere:** circumstantial clause

quam: comparative with *maior*

39. **quo:** temporal, ablative of time when, “when”

quam: comparative with *magnis*

41. **ut...diligeres:** result clause

XXI.**Boncompagno da Signa** (1165 to ca.1240)*Rota Veneris*, 1.1–2.3

How to address love letters

Boncompagno da Signa was an Italian grammarian, philosopher, university professor and historian. He taught rhetoric at the University of Bologna and was a part of the influential school of ‘dictators’, or teachers of grammar, that was born there. He wrote in both Italian and Latin and inhabited the goliardic atmosphere linked to the medieval European universities; his style is certainly reminiscent of this circle of ‘wandering scholars’. Among his works are found a chess manual and manuals of rhetoric. His Latin is often idiosyncratic, creating odd conditional clauses and cases that are sometimes confusing or do not match the subject to the verb. A definite sense of humor, often ironic, is expressed in his works, and his vocabulary belies an imaginative and playful use of Latin. Occasional orthographic variations highlight the cross-fertilization of Italian pronunciation on Latin orthography. The *Rota Veneris* (*Wheel of Venus*) is a manual of love inhabiting a genre that descends from Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* and whose most known example is Andrea Capellanus’ *De Amore*. Boncompagno’s ‘little book’ provides instructions and examples on how to write a proper love letter written by a narrator inspired by the goddess of love. In this excerpt from the *Rota Veneris* the narrator encounters Venus who orders him to write a guide to the composition of love letters.



1. In principio veris, cum sensibilia et animata quelibet ex aeris

temperie revirescunt et germinare incipiunt ex temperantia qualitatum ipsius, que premortua hiemis presentia videbantur, stabam in rotundo monticulo iuxta Ravonem inter arbores florigeras et audiebam iocundissimas et variables phylomenarum voces, sicque recreabam animam post laborem. 2. Cum autem sic starem et infra mentis archana plurima revolverem, ecce virgo in vestitu deaurato circumamicta varietatibus ex insperato comparuit, quam natura in omnibus taliter perpoliverat, ut nulla in ea deformitas compareret. 3. Ad modum siquidem regine preciosam habebat coronam, regale sceptrum in manu dextra dominabiliter deferendo. 4. Venerat equidem a finibus terre, ut singulorum curialitatem et sapientiam scrutaretur. 5. Hanc intuens facie hilari et iocunda dixi, ut precipere dignaretur. 6. Illa vero non interrogata firmiter asseruit se deam esse Veneram, addendo pariter, cur salutationes et delectabilia dictamina non fecissem, que viderentur ad usum amantium pertinere. 7. Stupefactus ad hec assumpsi stilum propere et hoc opusculum incepti, quod Rota Veneris volui nominare, quia cuiuscumque sexus vel conditionis homines amoris ad invicem vinculo colligantur, tamquam rota orbiculariter volvuntur et pertimescunt omni tempore plurimum, quoniam perfectus amor continuum parit assidue timorem. 8. Preterea placuit michi virgineum chorum a dextris Veneris collocare, uxoratas, moniales, viduas et defloratas ponere a sinistris. 9. Sub scabellum vero pedum ipsius universas ab istis inferius constituo, quia in eis turpissima est voluptas et iocundatio nulla. 10. Ponam in genere breviter de omnibus exemplum, ne prolixitas auditorum pregravet aures.

11. Quecumque igitur sit, his generalibus poteris salutationibus uti: “Nobili ac sapienti domine S. morum elegantia decorate I. salutem cum promptitudine servitii.” 12. Vel aliter: “Nobilissime ac sapientissime domine G. de Castelnovo I. se ipsum totum.” 13. Vel aliter: “Inclite ac magnifice domine B. comitisse, forma et morum

elegantia decorate, I. de Porto salutem et promptum in omnibus servitium” vel “salutem cum fidelissimo servitio” vel “salutem et quicquid potest” vel “salutem et si aliquid valeret salute preciosius inveniri” vel “salutem et quicquid fidelitatis et servitii potest.”

14. Iste quippe salutationes locum habent, antequam aliquis percipiat, quod affectat. 15. Postquam vero suum compleverit desiderium, hoc modo salutabit amicam: “Anime sue dimidio pre cunctis mortalibus diligende B., amice dulcissime, I. se ipsum totum” vel “quicquid sibi affectat” vel “salutem cum diligentissimi amoris perserverantia” vel “cum indissolubili vinculo amoris” vel “salutem cum sincerissimi amoris vinculo” vel “salutem cum perpetui amoris constantia.” 16. Vel aliter: “Forma, sensu, genere decorate M., amice dulcissime, I. quicquid amoris potest” vel “se ipsum et sua.” 17. Vel aliter: “Anime sue dimidio et suorum oculorum lumini B., formosissime amice sue, I., animam et corpus et si plura posset” vel “quicquid habet et habere videtur” vel “se ipsum et sua.” 18. Vel aliter “Gloriosissime ac preciosissime domine B., amice dulcissime, O. salutem et illud ineffabile gaudium mentis, quod aliqua voce vel actu exprimi non potest.” 19. Vel aliter “Super aurum et topazion relucenti domine C., amice dilectissime, I., quecumque potest et si ultra posse valeret aliquid invenire.”

20. Consueverunt autem quidem ponere rusticanam et ridiculosam salutationem, qua forte posset quandoque benivolentia captari. 21. Hoc enim est: “Amice dulcissime G., forma et morum elegantia redimite, I. tot salutes et servitia, quot in celo fulgent sidera, quot in arboribus folia et quot arene circa maris littora.” 22. Et nota, quod fere omnes mulieres appetunt semper de pulcritudine commendari, etiam si fuerint deformes. 23. Unde tam in salutationibus quam in cunctis epistole partibus te oportet benivolentiam a pulcritudine captare. 24. Utaris igitur superlativis et insistas commendationi, quia muliebris conditio huiusmodi laudibus citius

inflectitur et inclinatur. 25. Ponas igitur quandoque ‘sapientissime’, quandoque ‘nobilissime’ et ‘illustrissime’, si nobilis fuerit, quandoque ‘amatissime’ seu ‘spendidissime’ vel ‘lucidissime’ aut ‘iocundissime’. 26. Ex hiis autem salutationibus poteris trahere omnes modos salutandi amicas pro amicis et amicos pro amasiis, si volvere sciveris et mutare mutanda.



1. In the beginning of spring, when various sensate and animate creatures are revived by the warmth of the air and begin to germinate thanks to the blending of its qualities – creatures which in the presence of winter seemed to be too-early dead – I was standing on a little round hill in the vicinity of the Ravon between flowering trees and was listening to the most joyful and multi-toned voices of the nightingales, and in this was refreshing my soul after work. 2. As I was standing like this and turning many secret thoughts in my mind, I beheld a young woman who appeared out of nowhere enveloped in a dress with golden embroidery, who seemed by nature so perfect in every way that no baseness or ugliness was in her. 3. For she had a precious crown in the manner of a queen and was bearing a regal sceptre in an aristocratic way. 4. In fact, she had come from the ends of the earth to observe the knowledge and the lives of common men. 5. Looking at her, I spoke with a jovial and pleasant face and told her I was at her service. 6. She, without being asked, firmly asserted that she was the goddess Venus, adding furthermore the question, why I had not made the proper greetings and enjoyable sayings which are considered to pertain to the usage of those in love. 7. Stupefied at this, I hastily took up a pen and began this little work, which I chose to call “The Wheel of Venus,”

because humans of whatever condition or sex are tied in turn by the alternating chains of love as if turned on a spinning wheel, and they are in great fear all the time because love, having been achieved, always produces continuous fear. 8. Moreover, it seemed proper to me to locate a choir of virgins to the right of Venus and to place married women, nuns, widows and experienced ones to her left. 9. Under Venus' foot-scabellum I placed all those of lower rank, because in them there is the ugliest carnality and nothing of enjoyment. 10. I will set down in compact explanations an example of each type so that the listener's ear may not be abused by prolixity.

11. So, whoever she may be, these general greetings you will be able to use: "to the noble and learned lady S. with elegance of manners decorated, I. sends greetings to you with prompt service." 12. Or: "to the most notable and most learned lady G. di Castelnovo, I. sends himself entirely." 13. Or: "to the celebrated and magnificent lady B. with utmost attention, decorated with elegance of manner and of shape, I di Porto sends greetings and is prompt to serve in all things," or "greet with the most loyal service" or "greet you and am available for anything that is possible" or "sends greetings and anything that is more valuable than a greeting that can be found" or "sends greetings and everything of fidelity and service that is possible."

14. These greetings certainly have a place before anyone hears that which is desired. 15. After he has finished with his desire, this is the way he will say farewell to his woman friend: "to the other half of my soul, above all other mortals being loved, B., sweetest friend, I. sends all of himself" or "anything she wishes" or "greetings with the most loving fidelity of love" or "with the strongest bond of love" or "sends greetings with the most sincere bond of love" or "greetings with the eternal fidelity of love." 16. Or: "to M., sweetest friend, decorated with beauty, sense and lineage, I. sends everything

possible of love” or “he is entirely hers.” 17. Or: “to the other half of his soul and the light of his eyes, B. most beautiful friend of his, I. sends his body and soul and much more if possible” or “anything he has and seems to have” or “he and everything his.” 18. Or: “to the most glorious and beautiful lady B., sweetest friend, O. sends his greetings and that inexpressible joy of his mind which is not able to be expressed by any voice or action.” 19. Or: “to lady C., shining brighter than gold or topaz, beloved friend, I. sends everything possible and anything beyond, were he able to discover it.”

20. Some are accustomed, however, to use coarse and ridiculous greetings, with which favor can sometimes be obtained. 21. For this is an example: “to the sweetest friend G. wreathed with beauty and elegance of manners, I. with all of himself sends greetings and as many services as stars shine in the sky, as leaves are in trees, and as much sand is found on the beach shores.” 22. And note that all women always long to be complimented for their beauty, even if they are ugly. 23. Therefore, as much in the greetings as in all other parts of the letter, it is necessary that you obtain favor through allusion to her beauty. 24. So, you will use superlatives and press her with compliments because the favors of women are quickly turned by and inclined to this sort of praise. 25. So, you will write sometimes “wisest”, sometimes “noblest” and “most learned” if she is noble, sometimes “beloved” or “most splendid” or “brightest” or “happiest.” 26. From these greetings you will be able to extend all sorts of greetings – girls for their boyfriends and boyfriends for their lovers – if you know how to turn them around and effect the necessary changes.



1. **cum:** temporal clause
que: *quae*; the pronunciation of Latin at this time, particularly in Italy, probably made this orthographic distinction unnecessary.
premortua: participle of *praemiorior*. **presentia:** ablative of means
2. **cum:** temporal clause
archana: *arcana*; orthographic variation
deaurato varietatibus: ablative of material. **ut.....compareret:** result clause.
4. **ut..scrutaretur:** purpose clause
5. **ut.....dignaretur:** purpose clause; literally, 'to ask what she might see fit'; *precere* seems to be used as an infinitive.
7. **ad hec:** *ad hoc*, "at this"
8. **michi:** *mibi*; this variation in spelling seems to rise from the development in Italian of pronouncing the *c* with palatalization before the *i* and *e*, necessitating an *h* before it to sustain the classical Latin sound.
9. **scabellum:** a cymbal shaped instrument placed within the sole of the shoe
10. **ne...pregravet:** purpose clause
11. **sit:** potential subjunctive
14. **antequam aliquis percipiat, quod affectat:** *percipiat* is potential subjunctive, and *affectat* a subjunctive by attraction.
15. **postquam...salutabit:** future more vivid condition with emphatic protasis. The author seems to replace the *si* with *postquam*, a situation similar to what we find in 14.
23. **benevolentia a...captare:** highly influential aspect to courtly love literature, absorbed from Ciceronian rhetoric.
24. **utaris:** jussive subjunctive

26. **mutare mutanda:** may be paraphrasing the set phrase *mutatis mutandis*.

XXII.**Saxo Grammaticus** (ca. 1160–1220)*Gesta Danorum* 0.1.1, 0.1.3–5Introduction to the *History of the Danes*

The following selections come from the introductory passages of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, a 16-book work mostly in prose detailing the history of the Danish people and of Scandinavia from prehistoric times to contemporary twelfth-century events. It is estimated that Saxo composed the *Gesta Danorum* in the early 13th century, and perhaps its greatest modern claim to fame is that William Shakespeare is believed to have had access to a version of this text while writing *Hamlet*. Saxo himself came from a military family closely acquainted with Danish royals, and was the secretary of the Archbishop Absalon, a highly ranked royal advisor and commissioner of the work.

While the vocabulary he uses is relatively simple, Saxo's syntax is complex. He incorporates both hypotactic and paratactic structures, sometimes using multiple subordinate clauses and at other times placing clauses alongside one another in the same sentence without subordination. His sentences are unusually long, at times making it difficult to keep track of verb subjects and objects. Saxo often places his words in a nested or chiasmic structure, an extreme example being at the end of the first paragraph with *oneri cunctis praeteriti aevi scriptoribus inexperto*. The complexity of the syntax may be attributed to a desire on Saxo's part to emulate Cicero or other classical authors in order to achieve a level of legitimacy for his work. There are no archaic forms in this passage, but rather a strict adherence to Classical vocabulary that facilitates reading for those with knowledge of Classical Latin as opposed to medieval.



1. Cum ceterae nationes rerum suarum titulis gloriari voluptatemque ex maiorum recordatione percipere soleant, Danorum maximus pontifex Absalon patriam nostram, cuius illustrandae maxima semper cupiditate flagrabat, eo claritatis et monumenti genere fraudari non passus, mihi, comitum suorum extremo, ceteris operam abnuentibus, res Danicas in historiam conferendi negotium intorsit inopemque sensum maius viribus opus ingredi crebrae exhortationis imperio compulit. 2. Quis enim res Daniae gestas litteris prosequeretur? 3. quae nuper publicis initiata sacris, ut religionis, ita Latinae quoque vocis aliena torpebat. 4. At ubi cum sacrorum ritu Latialis etiam facultas accessit, segnities par imperitiae fuit, nec desidia minora quam antea penuriae vitia exstiterent. 5. Quo evenit, ut parvitas mea, quamvis se praedictae moli imparem animadverteret, supra vires niti quam iubenti resistere praeoptaret, ne finitimis factorum traditione gaudentibus huius gentis opinio potius vetustatis oblivii respersa quam litterarum monumentis praedita videretur. 6. Igitur oneri cunctis praeteriti aevi scriptoribus inexperto rudes laboris humeros subicere coactus imperiumque negligere veritus audacius quam efficacius parui, quam ingenii mei imbecillitas fiduciam negabat, ab hortatoris amplitudine mutuatus.

7. Nec ignotum volo, Danorum antiquiores conspicuis fortitudinis operibus editis gloriae aemulatione suffusos Romani stili imitatione non solum rerum a se magnifice gestarum titulos exquisito contextus genere veluti poetico quodam opere perstrinxisse, verum etiam maiorum acta patrii sermonis carminibus vulgata linguae suae litteris saxi ac rupibus insculpenda curasse. 8. Quorum vestigiis ceu quibusdam antiquitatis voluminibus inhaerens tenoremque veris translationis passibus aemulatus metra metris reddenda curavi, qui-

bus scribendorum series subnixa non tam recenter conflata quam antiquitus edita cognoscatur, quia praesens opus non nugacem sermonis luculentiam, sed fidelem vetustatis notitiam pollicetur. 9. Quantum porro ingenii illius homines historiarum edituros putemus, si scribendi sitim Latinitatis peritia pavissent, quibus tametsi Romanae vocis notitia abesset, tanta tradendae rerum suarum memoriae cupido incessit, ut voluminum loco vastas moles amplecterentur, codicum usum a cautibus mutuantes?

10. Nec Tylensium industria silentio oblitteranda: qui cum ob nativam soli sterilitatem luxuriae nutrimentis carentes officia continuae sobrietatis exercent omniaque vitae momenta ad excolendam alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. 11. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse memoriaeque mandare voluptatis loco reputant, non minoris gloriae iudicantes alienas virtutes disserere quam proprias exhibere. 12. Quorum thesauros historicarum rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud parvam praesentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui, nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tanta vetustatis peritia callere cognovi. 13. Nec minus Absalonis asserta sectando, quae vel ipse gessit vel ab aliis gesta perdidicit, docili animo stiloque complecti curae habui, venerandae eius narrationis documentum perinde ac divinum aliquod magisterium amplexatus.



1. Because other nations are accustomed to be glorified by the reputations of their states and to gain pleasure from the remembrance of their ancestors, Absalon the Archbishop of the Danes always burned with the greatest desire to shed light on our fatherland, and not to let it be deprived of that kind of fame and renown. So he

launched at me, the least expected of his companions – since the rest rejected the task – the business of collecting Danish affairs into a history, and compelled my weak disposition to embark upon a task greater than its strength through the authority of his constant exhortation. 2. For who could possibly describe the deeds of Denmark in writing? 3. The nation itself was only just recently incorporated into public religious ritual; and just like its religion, its deeds are uncomfortably stiff in the Latin language. 4. But once facility in Latin was added to religious ceremony, sluggishness was the equal of inexperience, and the vices of laziness were not smaller than the vices of poverty had been before. 5. In this way it happened that my insignificance, although it felt itself unequal to the aforementioned burden, earnestly wished to labor beyond its strength rather than resist his orders, lest, while neighboring peoples rejoice in the traditions of their deeds, the reputation of this people might seem to be frittered away into an oblivion of olden times rather than being spoken forth in the monuments of literature. 6. Therefore, forced to cast my shoulders, unused to labor, upon a burden unknown to other writers of former ages and fearing to neglect the order, I obeyed with more daring than ability, borrowing from the esteem of my commander a confidence that the weakness of my ability denied.

7. Nor do I wish it to be ignored that the earlier Danes, when they accomplished conspicuous deeds of bravery, were filled with ambition for glory, and through imitation of the Roman style not only narrated the honors of deeds they had magnificently performed using a refined kind of composition akin to a work of poetry, but had also taken care that the deeds of their ancestors be inscribed on stones and rocks in the letters of their own language as lays composed in ancestral vocabulary. 8. By following their traces as if they were ancient volumes, and emulating their course, in a true process of translation I took care to translate meter with me-

ter, so that this series of events, which deserves to be committed to writing, might seem like it was not recently thrown together, but published in ancient times; for the present work promises not some noteworthy linguistic whimsy, but a faithful account of the past. 9. Besides, how much history should we think that men of such ingenuity would have written if they had quenched their thirst for writing with expertise in Latin? Even if they did not have familiarity with the Roman tongue, desire to pass down their own memories of events inspired them to such a degree that instead of books they embraced vast rocks as their medium, exchanging the use of codices for stones.

10. Nor should the diligence of the people of Thule be obliterated by silence: those people who lacked the nourishment of luxury because their land was barren acted with constant temperance, and were accustomed to dedicate every moment of their lives to developing familiarity with foreign works, compensating for need with ingenuity. 11. Naturally they consider it a pleasure to learn and memorize the deeds of other nations, judging it not of less glory to examine foreign virtues than to display their own. 12. After consulting carefully their repositories packed with tokens of historical events, I assembled a small part of the present work through imitation of their stories, and I did not avoid using as witnesses those whom I perceived to excel in their expertise of antiquity. 13. Following Absalon's assertions, I have taken care to encompass deeds which he either performed himself or learned about from others, making use of a teachable mind and pen, and I embraced the proofs of his venerable storytelling as if they were divine instruction.



1. Absalon: Danish archbishop, politician and royal advisor in the twelfth century who commissioned Saxo's work; he lived ca. 1128-1201.

illustrandae: gerundive, dative of reference with *cupiditate*

eo claritatis et monumenti genere: note chiasmic structure

conferendi: gerund, predicative genitive expressing purpose with *negotium*

intorsit: a violent choice of words, perhaps indicating the level of burden Saxo feels having been assigned such an enormous task

2. Quis enim res...prosequeretur?: rhetorical question; the phrase *res Daniae gestas* evokes the title of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*; *prosequeretur* is imperfect deponent subjunctive in a relative clause of characteristic; the force of the *pro-* prefix denotes the depth of the proposed description.

3. publicis initiare sacris: here and elsewhere Saxo uses nested word arrangements.

5. animadverteret, praeoptaret: imperfect subjunctive with *quamvis* in a clause of concession.

ne finitimis factorum...videretur: imperfect subjunctive in a clause of fearing

finitimis factorum traditione gaudibus: ablative absolute

6. oneri cunctis praeteritio...inexperto: a double chiasmus, with *oneri...inexperto* forming the outer layer, *cunctis...scriptoribus* forming the middle, and *praeteritio aevi* at the center

7. editis: "having been accomplished"

8. subnixa: "relying on," takes the ablative

antiquitus: adverb

9. ingenii illius: genitive of description

10. Tylensium: Thule, in the ancient world thought to be the northernmost habitable land on earth

exerceant, soleant: present subjunctive in a *cum* concessive clause

12. thesauros historicarum rerum...refertos: note the treasure imagery associated with historical accounts in Saxo's vocabulary here

13. complecti: deponent infinitive of *complector*

XXIII.**Saxo Grammaticus***Gesta Danorum* 0.1.6.8–0.2.1.4

The geography of Denmark

In this passage Saxo offers his readers a geographical outline of Denmark to orient them with the setting of his writings. He assumes reader knowledge of various place names, which are glossed in the commentary. There is a focus on the bodies of water that divide the various land masses that make up the country, no doubt owing to the nature of the Danes as a seafaring people living in close proximity to the water regardless of their location within the country. While still quite long, Saxo's sentences are shorter than elsewhere here, perhaps owing to the fact that there is no action described in the passage. He frequently uses result clauses to illustrate various aspects of the Danish landscape.



1. Huius itaque regionis extima partim soli alterius confinio limitantur, partim propinqui maris fluctibus includuntur. 2. Interna vero circumfusus ambit Oceanus, qui sinuosis interstitiorum anfractibus nunc in angustias freti contractioris evadens, nunc in latitudinem sinu diffusiore procurrens complures insulas creat. 3. Quo fit ut Dania mediis pelagi fluctibus intercisa paucas solidi continuique tractus partes habeat, quas tanta undarum interruptio pro varia freti reflexioris obliquitate discriminat. 4. Ex his Iutia granditatis inchoamentique ratione Danici regni principium tenet, quae sicut positione prior ita situ porrectior Theutoniae finibus admovetur. 5. A cuius complexu fluminis Eydori interrivatione

discreta cum aliquanto latitudinis excremento septentrionem versus in Norici freti litus excurrit. 6. In hac sinus, qui Lymicus appellatur, ita piscibus frequens existit, ut non minus alimentorum indigenis quam ager omnis exsolvere videatur.

7. Huic etiam Fresia minor adiacet, quae a Iutiae prominentia subsidentium camporum ac gremii devexioris inclinata recessu maximos frugum proventus beneficio Oceani inundantis assequitur. 8. Cuius reflexionis vis plus utilitatis an periculi incolis afferat, ambiguum exstat. 9. Siquidem tempestatis magnitudine perruptis aestuariis, quibus apud eos maritimi fluctus intercipi solent, tanta arvis undarum moles incedere consuevit, ut interdum non solum agrorum culta, verum etiam homines cum penatibus obruat.

10. Post Iutiam insula ad orientem versus Fionia reperitur, quam a continenti angusti admodum aequoris interiectus abrumpit. 11. Haec sicut ab occasu Iutiam, ita ab ortu Sialandiam prospectat, conspicua necessariorum rerum ubertate laudanda. 12. Quae insula amoenitate cunctas nostrae regionis provincias antecedens medium Daniae locum obtinere putatur, ab extimae remotionis limite pari spatiorum intercapedine disparata.

13. Ab huius ortivo latere occasivum Scaniae media pelagi dissicit interruptio, opimam praedae magnitudinem quotannis piscantium retibus adigere soliti. 14. Tanta siquidem sinus omnis piscium frequentia repleti consuevit, ut interdum impacta navigia vix remigii conamen eripiat nec iam praeda artis instrumento, sed simplici manus officio capiatur.



1. So the outermost parts of this region are partly confined by the borders of other lands and partly enclosed by the waves of the

nearby sea. 2. The Ocean, which pours around the land, embraces its innermost parts, and as its curves bend around the spaces in between, it at times goes into the narrows of a contracting inlet, and at times runs out into a wide spreading gulf, creating several islands. 3. For this reason it happens that Denmark, divided in the middle by the waves of the sea, has few sections of continuous solid land, and massive interruptions of waves divide them along the varying angles of its winding strait. 4. Of these sections of land, Jutland holds the seat of the Danish government by reason of its size and its fundamental nature. It is both leading in terms of its geographical position and also longer in area, being situated near the borders of Germany. 5. Separated from a full connection to Germany by the water of the Eider river, it runs out to the shore of the Noric Channel facing northward, with a small increase in width. 6. In the area of the bay which is called Liim there is such a multitude of fish that it seems to deliver no less nourishment to the native people than the entire land produces.

7. North Friesland lies next to this place, which inclines away from the peninsula of Jutland and constitutes a remote recess of sunken fields and sloping interior. It attains the highest production of grain because of the advantages of the overflowing Ocean. 8. It remains uncertain whether the force of the flowing water brings the inhabitants more usefulness or danger. 9. When a storm of great size breaks through the estuaries which usually cut the sea waves off from the territory, a burden of waves frequently moves toward the fields, one of such a size that it sometimes destroys not just the crops in the fields but also the men along with their homes.

10. After Jutland is the island Funen, facing east, narrowly broken off from the mainland by the intervening sea. 11. This island faces Jutland to the west, and to the east, Zealand, an island admired for its conspicuous richness of valuable things. 12. An stretch of equal

space divides Zealand from the borders of that remote region; this island is considered to contain the core of Denmark; it exceeds all the other provinces of our region in loveliness.

13. The interruption of the sea divides the western part of Scania from the eastern side of Zealand, and the sea typically drives a rich annual haul into the nets of the fisherman. 14. The whole bay is normally filled with such a great number of fish that sometimes the effort of the oarsmen is scarcely enough to move the stuck vessels, and the haul is caught not by tools, but simply by the use of hands.



1. **huius itaque regionis:** i.e., Denmark
2. **sinu diffusiore:** ablative absolute, **not** ablative of source
3. **tractus:** “territory” – genitive singular
4. **Iutia:** Jutland (Danish: Jylland), the main peninsula of Denmark bordering Germany in the south which makes up the largest part of its domestic territory
Danici: “Danish”
Theutoniae: modern day northern Germany
5. **Eydori:** the Eider river, located in Schleswig-Holstein in northern Germany (formerly part of Denmark)
- Norici freti:** “the Skagerak, the straight between Jutland and Norway”
6. **Lymicus:** Limfjorden, a strait that connects the North Sea to the Kattegat across the northern part of Jutland
indigenis: “to/for the native people” – dative plural
7. **Fresia minor:** the North Frisian Islands in the North Sea, today divided between Germany and Denmark
9. **arvis:** dative with *incedere*

10. Fionia: Funen (Danish: Fyn), the island located between the Jutland peninsula and the island Zealand.

11. Sialandiam: Zealand (Danish: Sjælland), the island east of Funen on which the capital Copenhagen is located

laudandam: refers to Zealand; Saxo moves very quickly from a brief description of Funen to his discussion of Zealand, perhaps indicating the importance of the islands relative to one another.

12. medium...putatur: Saxo no doubt includes this detail because Copenhagen is located on Zealand.

13. Scaniae: the region of Scania (Skåne) belonged to Denmark in Saxo's time, but is now part of the south of Sweden and contains the country's third-largest city, Malmö.

XXIV.

Saxo Grammaticus*Gesta Danorum* 3.6.22–25

The story of Hamlet (Amleth)

This passage draws much of its significance from the fact that it was, in some form, one of Shakespeare's sources for *Hamlet*. Here we see Amleth, the Danish prince, return to Denmark and take revenge for his father's death by killing his uncle. Unlike Shakespeare's version, in which Hamlet dies, Amleth continues his adventures after taking his revenge. Saxo's sentences are shorter here than in the previous two passages, perhaps indicating the suspense of the action.



1. Apud quem annum emensus, impetrata profectionis licentia, patriam repetit, nihil secum ex omni regiarum opum apparatu praeter gerulos auri bacillos deportans. 2. Ut Iutiam attigit, praesentem cultum pristino permutavit, moribus, quibus ad honestatem usus fuerat, in ridiculae consuetudinis speciem de industria conversis. 3. Cumque triclinium, in quo suae ducebantur exsequiae, squalore obsitus intrasset, maximum omnibus stuporem iniecit, quod obitum eius falso fama vulgaverat. 4. Ad ultimum horror in risum concessit, exprobrantibus sibi mutuo per ludibrium convivis, vivum affore, quem ipsi perinde ac defunctum inferiis prosequerentur. 5. Idem super comitibus interrogatus, ostensis quos gestabat baculis: 'Hic,' inquit, 'et unus et alius est.' 6. Quod utrum verius an iocosius protulerit, nescias. 7. Siquidem ea vox, quamquam a plerisque vana existimata fuerit, a veri tamen habitu non descivit, quae perempto-



Figure 6 Kronborg (Elsinore in Shakespeare's Hamlet)

rum loco pensationis eorum pretium demonstrabat.

8. Pincernis deinde, quo maiorem convivis hilaritatem afferret, coniunctus, curiosiore propinandi officio fungebatur. 9. Et ne gressum laxior vestis offenderet, latus gladio cinxit, quem plerumque de industria destringens supremo digitos acumine vulnerabat. 10. Quamobrem a circumstantibus curatum, ut gladius cum vagina ferreo clavo traiceretur. 11. Idem quo tutiorem insidiis aditum strueret, petitam poculis nobilitatem crebris potionibus oneravit adeoque cunctos mero obruit, ut, debilitatis temulentia pedibus, intra regiam quieti se traderent eundemque convivii et lecti locum haberent.

12. Quos cum insidiis opportunos animadverteret, oblatam propositi facultatem existimans, praeparatos olim stipites sinu excipit ac deinde aedem, in qua proceres passim, fuis humi corporibus, permixtam somno crapulam ructabantur, ingressus, compactam a matre cortinam, quae etiam interiores aulae parietes obducebat, rescissis tenaculis decidere coegit. 13. Quam stertentibus superiectam, adhibitis stipitum curvaminibus, adeo inextricabili nodorum artificio colligavit, ut nemo subiectorum, tametsi validius adniteretur, consurgendi effectum assequi posset. 14. Post haec tectis ignem inicit, qui crebrescentibus flammis late incendium spargens totos involvit penates, regiam consumpsit omnesque aut profundum carpentes somnum aut frustra assurgere conantes cremavit.

15. Inde petito Fengonis cubiculo, qui prius a comitibus in tabernaculum perductus fuerat, gladium forte lectulo cohaerentem arripuit suumque eius loco defixit. 16. Excitato deinde patruo, proceres eius igne perire retulit: adesse Amlethum veterum uncorum suorum ope succinctum et iam debita paternae cladi supplicia exigere avidum. 17. Ad hanc vocem Fengo lectulo desiliens, dum proprio defectus gladio nequicquam alienum destringere conatur, opprimitur. 18. Fortem virum aeternoque nomine dignum, qui stultitiae commento prudenter instructus augustiorem mortali ingenio sa-

pietiam admirabili ineptiarum simulatione suppressit nec solum propriae salutis obtentum ab astutia mutuatus ad paternae quoque ultionis copiam, eadem ductum praebente, pervenit. 19. Itaque et se sollerter tutatus et parentem strenue ultus, fortior an sapientior existimari debeat, incertum reliquit.



1. After passing the year there and procuring leave to depart, Amleth returned to his fatherland, carrying with him none of his royal possessions except walking sticks decorated with gold. 2. When he reached Jutland, he replaced his present attire with his old clothing, and purposefully altered the behaviors he had used to achieve respectability in order to create an amusing façade. 3. When, covered in filth, he entered the dining room in which his own funeral rites were being carried out, he greatly astonished everyone, since a rumor had falsely spread of his death. 4. Horror finally yielded to laughter and the guests reproached one another with mockery because the dead man they were honoring with funeral rights was still alive. 5. The same man, when asked about his comrades, displayed the walking sticks he was bearing and said, “Here is one, and here is the other.” 6. Whether he meant this truthfully or jokingly, one couldn’t say. 7. Although most people thought his words were meaningless, nevertheless they did not depart from the truth in their content: they referred to the price of compensation for those who had been murdered.

8. Then, after joining the cupbearers so that he could bring even more merriment to the guests, he performed the duty of serving drinks with great care. 9. To prevent his loose clothing from impeding his stride, he girded his side with a sword, and repeatedly

and purposefully unsheathed it, cutting his fingers with its tip. 10. For this reason bystanders took care that his sword was fixed to its sheath with an iron nail. 11. By acting this way Amleth was preparing a safer entrance for his ambush; he targeted the nobility through their cups and weighed them down with constant drinks, overwhelming all of them with so much wine that, because their feet were weak from drunkenness, they submitted to rest inside the castle and used the same place to feast and to sleep.

12. When he observed that they were in the right condition for an ambush and thought that the opportunity for his scheme had arrived, he removed some stakes he had previously prepared from his pocket, then, after entering the house where the nobles, their bodies scattered far and wide on the ground, were belching out the drunkenness that suffused their sleep, Amleth began taking down the curtain his mother had made, which covered the interior walls of the hall, cutting it from its hooks. 13. After throwing it over the snoring men he fastened it by bending the stakes, and bound them with such an inextricable arrangement of knots that none of the subjects, even if he strongly exerted himself, could get up successfully. 14. After this he set fire to the building, a fire which spread its blaze widely as the flames thickened and enveloped the whole home, consuming the castle and incinerating everyone who was deep asleep as well as those who tried in vain to get up.

15. From there Amleth sought out the bedroom of his uncle Feng, who had been led inside earlier by his companions, and seized the sword that was, by chance, attached to his bed, fastening his own sword in its place. 16. Then, after waking his uncle, he told him that his nobles had died in a fire, that Amleth was here, wearing the assistance of his previous “claws,” and was now eager to exact the punishment owed for the murder of his father. 17. Feng, jumping out of bed at the sound of his voice, was killed deprived of his own

sword and desperately trying to unsheathe Amleth's. 18. What a brave man, Amleth, and worthy of his eternal name! Who under the pretense of stupidity cleverly laid an ambush and covered up a superhuman cleverness with an admirable charade of foolishness. By shrewdly altering his pretense, he not only secured his own safety, but also acquired an opportunity to avenge his father, which was his set goal. 19. He thus saved himself so skillfully and avenged his father so promptly that it remains uncertain whether Amleth should be considered more brave or clever.



1. quem: refers to the king with whom Hamlet has been living for the past year in Britain.

gerulos: take in apposition to *bacillos*.

2. Iutiam: Jutland, the Danish peninsula

usus fuerat: = *usus erat*; here and elsewhere Saxo uses the perfect tense of *esse* instead of the traditional imperfect.

de industria: "on purpose"

4. vivum affore: indirect statement after *exprobantibus*; *prosequeretur* is subjunctive because it is a subordinative clause in indirect statement.

5. unus et alius: i.e., his companions

7. descivit: from *descisco*

12. cortinam: curtain

14. qui crebrescentibus flammis: *qui* is the subject of the next three verbs, *involvit*, *consumpsit*, and *cremavit*.

penates: metonymy for the home

15. suumque: modifies understood *gladium*.

16. proceres: nobles

uncorum suorum: metaphorical; “claws”

17. alienum: i.e., Amleth’s sword; note that, as Saxo has already described, Amleth’s sword has been rendered useless.

18. fortem virum aeternoque...dignum: accusatives of exclamation referring to Amleth

copiam: opportunity

XXV.**Anonymous** (late 13th century)*The Picatrix*, 3.7.23/4

How to ask Mars for a favor

The massive compilation which goes by the name *Picatrix* – one of the oldest and fullest grimoires, or treatises on magic, known to Christian Europe – was the work of multiple Arab and Spanish scholars whose identity today is either uncertain or unknown. It originated as a compilation written in Arabic under the title *Ghāyat al-Hakīm, The Aim of the Sage*. According to Ibn Khaldun, it was composed by the astronomer, chemist, and economist Maslama al-Majriti, who was active in Spain during the rule of al-Hakam II, ca. 950–1007; however, the *Picatrix*'s anonymous author dates his own work to the late 950's, when al-Majriti was still a child. At any rate, the volume was then translated into Spanish around 1257 at the request of Alphonso X of Castile, and from Spanish into Latin sometime thereafter; neither translator has been identified. Even the meaning of its odd title is unclear, though it likely represents a distorted transliteration of some Arabic word or phrase.

Despite its shadowy origins, the *Picatrix* exerted an enormous influence on later European magic and natural philosophy. This is due in part to its comprehensiveness, and in part to its deployment of astrology – at the time, an elaborate and highly-regarded science – to lend an aura of legitimacy to its theurgic procedures. The text quoted here is a good example of this. Strictly speaking the Mars whom one invokes is the *daemon* who occupies the sphere of the planet Mars; however, Mars also retains his classical associations as the god of war and conflict, and these inform the details of the ritual which the supplicant is to perform.

The Latin is quite straightforward, with the usual medieval spelling *e* for *ae*. The substitution of *c* for *t* before *i* (*eciam* for *etiam*, *peticio* for *petitio*, etc.) will reflect the influence of contemporary Spanish phonetics. Note that the pronoun *ipse*, *ipsa*, *ipsum* has the same force as the classical pronoun *is*, *ea*, *id*.



1. *Quando orare volueris Martem*
2. *Quando rogare volueris Martem ipsique loqui et honorare, ponas ipsum in bono statu ut supra diximus in Saturno.*
3. *Et induas te pannis rubeis, et in tuo capite pannum linteum vel sericum rubeum necnon et rubeum galerum in capite ponas, et in tuo collo ensem deferas, et munias te omnibus armis quibus poteris muniri; et in forma hominis litigantis vel militis accingas, et ponas anulum ereum in tuo digito.*
4. *Et thuribulum ereum cum accensis carbonibus accipe, in quibus hanc suffumigationem ponas.*
5. *Recipe absinthii, aloes, squinanti, euforbii, macropiperis, nasturcii partes omnium equales.*
6. *Omnia terantur et cum humano sanguine misceantur; facies enim pillulas ex eisdem quas usui reservabis.*
7. *Cum autem incipere volueris operari, ponas unam ex ipsis in thuribulo, quod ad locum remotum ad hoc specialiter deputatum tecum portabis.*
8. *Et cum ad ipsum perveneris, erigas te in pedibus et dicas secrete, audacter et sine aliquo metu versus partem meridiei, in qua tunc sit Mars fortunatus, et in bono ut supra in aliis diximus, ipsumque semper aspiciendo.*
9. *Et cum fumus elevatur, dicas:*
“O Mars, qui dominus es honoratus et es calidus et siccus, valens, ponderosus, corde robustus, sanguinis effusor ipsiusque infirmitatis dator!
10. *Tu es fortis, roboratus, acutus, audax, nitidus, agilis, do-*

minus preliorum, penarum, miseriarum, vulnerum, carcerum, mesticiarum, rerum mixtarum et separatarum, qui non habes timorem nec cogitationem alicuius rei, et unus coadiutor in tuis effectibus et circa ipsas inquisitiones, fortis estimacionibus et voluntatibus vincendi et ad fortunandum inquirentes, actor litis et preliorum, male agens debili et forti, amator filiorum preliorum, malorum hominum et in mundo mala agencium vindicator. 11. Rogo te et coniuro tuis nominibus et tuis qualibus in celo existentibus tuisque devictionibus, tuis eciam petitionibus domino Deo qui in te posuit potentiam et fortitudinem, colligit te et separat ab aliis planetis ad habendum fortitudinem et vires, super omnibus victoriam magnumque vigorem. 12. Queso te per cuncta nomina tua: videlicet, in Arabico Marech, in Latino Mars, in Feniz Baharam, in Romano Bariz, in Greco Hahuez et in Indiano Bahaze. 13. Coniuro te per Deum altum universi ut meam oracionem exaudias petitionemque animadvertas, meam eciam humilitatem videas et meam petitionem compleas. 14. Et rogo ut mihi tale quid facias.” 15. Hic autem tuam petitionem qualiscumque fuerit dicas. 16. “Et postea dicas: coniuro te per Raucahehil, qui est angelus quem Deus tecum posuit ad complenda tua negocia et effectus.”

17. Et semper cum predicta dixeris, fumus ex thuribulo continuo eleveltur, et predicta multociens reiterabis, et que volueris petas. 18. Postea leopardum si poteris habere decollabis, si non muscipulum, quem decollatum combures quemadmodum aliis diximus supra eiusque epar comedas. 19. Et id quod volueris adimplebitur.



1. *When you wish to pray to Mars.* 2. When you want to make a request of Mars and speak with him and show him honor, you will

need to put him in a favorable status, as we described above in the case of Saturn. 3. Dress yourself in red cloth, and place a piece of cloth made of linen or silk on your head, red in color, as well as a red helmet, and let a sword hang from your neck, and arm yourself with all the weapons that you can, and deck yourself out to look like a litigator or a soldier, and put a golden ring on your finger. 4. Then take up a golden incense burner full of burning coals and lay the following fumigation upon them. 5. Take some wormwood, aloe, quinsy, euphorbium, pepper, and nasturtium, all in equal portions. 6. Grind them all, and mix them with human blood, for you will make pills from these ingredients which you can set aside for future use. 7. When you wish to begin the rite, place one of these pills in the incense burner, and carry this with you to a remote location set aside specifically for this purpose. 8. When you come to the place, stand up straight on your feet, and speak in secret, but boldly and without fear, while facing south, where Mars should be, favorable and in a good location, as was described above, and be looking at Him constantly. 9. And while the smoke rises, say:

“O Mars, honored lord, you who are hot and dry, powerful, of great weight, strong at heart, spiller of blood, grantor of weakness! 10. You are brave, stout, keen, bold, bright, mobile, lord of battles, lord of punishment, of misery, injuries, imprisonment, and lashing, lord of things mixed and separated. You are one who has no fear or concern for anything, you are the sole catalyst of the outcomes you cause and of inquiries involving you; good at evaluations of victory, at wishes for victory, and at bringing luck to those who seek it; agent of conflict and battle, dealing evil both to the weak and to the strong, lover of battles among sons, champion of evil men and of those who work evil in the world. 11. I request of you and conjure you by your names and by the qualities which are yours in heaven and by your victories and even by your petitions to the lord

God who reposed power and fortitude you, who concentrates you and distinguishes you from the other planets by your possession of fortitude and strength, victory over all, and great force. 12. I beg you in all your names, to wit, Marech in Arabic, Mars in Latin, Baharam in Phoenician, Bariz in Roman, Hahuez in Greece, and Bahaze in Indian. 13. I conjure you in the name of the sublime God of the universe: hear my prayer, pay notice to my request, see my humility and fulfill my request. 14. And I ask you to do something for me...” (15. Here you should state what your request is.) 16. After that say, “I conjure you through Raucahehil, the angel set next to you by God to fulfill your tasks and outcomes.”

17. And as you speak the aforementioned words, smoke should constantly be rising from your incense burner, and you shall repeat the aforementioned words many times, and seek what you want. 18. After that, decapitate a leopard, if you have one, or a mousetrap (*sic*) if you do not; once it had been beheaded, burn it in the manner which was described above, and consume its liver. 19. And your wish will be fulfilled.

2. ponas ipsum in bono statu ut supra diximus in Saturno A

cross-reference to 3.7.16, where the author explains where in the zodiac Saturn should be located if the petitioner’s prayer is to meet with success.

5. absinthii, aloes, squinanti, euforbii, macropiperis, nasturcii

The various botanicals listed here are all either hot and bitter tasting.

8. in qua tunc sit Mars fortunatus An astrological notion; the planet Mars would be especially ‘fortunate’ in the sign of Aries, where its ‘dignity’ lies.

aspiciendo In late and medieval Latin the ablative gerund is often used where classical Latin would tend to the deploy the present

active participle.

12. in Arabico Marech, in Latino Mars, in Feniz Baharam, in Romano Bariz, in Greco Hahuez et in Indiano Bahaze

Most of these titles bear little relation to their putative originals – save for the Latin, of course, and the Arabic, whose pronunciation recalls the word for Mars, *al-Mirrekh*.

18. muscipulum Strictly speaking a mousetrap, but in this context presumably indicating a house cat.

epar The Greek word for liver, ἥπαρ, transliterated.



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XXVI.**Iacobus de Voragine** (ca. 1230–1298)*Legenda Aurea, de Sancto Francisco*

The life of Saint Francis of Assisi

Iacobus de Voragine was an Italian chronicler, author of sermons, and archbishop of Genoa. His most influential and well-known work is the *Legenda Aurea*, a collection of hagiographies, or lives of saints, which exerted considerable influence on the collective knowledge and imagination of saints in the Medieval period, being widely read and translated into vernaculars. The *Legenda* begins with chapters describing biblical events and holy days, after which it is divided into chapters which recount a specific saint's life. It is commonly thought that Voragine compiled and collected the lives from different sources, written and oral, and that it was intended to be read, and understood, by a wide, mostly lay, audience. The Latin is straightforward, with an ecclesiastical vocabulary and style reminiscent of patristic Latin, Jerome and Augustine particularly. There is a repetitive structure to much of the *Legenda Aurea* prose, reflecting Voragine's background in sermons, with an especial focus on showing the acts and deeds, and their meaning, of the respective saint. In this excerpt the life and deeds of Francis of Assisi are told, confirming his reputation as a humble lover of nature.



1. Quadam die dum audiret ea, quae dominus discipulis suis ad praedicandum missis locutus est, statim ad universa servanda tota virtute consurgit, solvit calceamenta de pedibus, tunica una, sed vili induitur et pro corrigia mutavit funiculum. 2. Multi nobiles et ig-

nobiles, clerici et laici sprete saeculari pompa eius vestigiis adhaeserunt, quos pater sanctus docuit evangelicam perfectionem implere, paupertatem apprehendere et per viam sanctae simplicitatis incedere. 3. Scripsit praeterea evangelicam regulam sibi et suis fratribus habitis et habendis, quam dominus papa Innocentius confirmavit. 4. Coepit extunc ferventius verbi Dei semina spargere et civitates et castella fervore mirabili circuire.

5. In visione servus Dei supra se Seraphim crucifixum adspexit, qui crucifixionis suae signa sic ei evidenter impressit, ut crucifixus videretur et ipse. 6. Consignantur manus et pedes et latus crucis caractere, sed diligenti studio ab omnium oculis ipsa stigmata abscondebant. 7. Quidam tamen haec in vita viderunt, sed in morte plurimi conspexerunt. 8. Quod autem haec stigmata per omnia vera exstiterint, multis miraculis ostensum est.

9. Beatus Franciscus columbina simplicitate plenus omnes creaturas ad creatoris hortatur amorem, praedicat avibus, auditur ab iis, tanguntur ab ipso nec nisi licentiatae recedunt; hirundines, dum eo praedicante garrissent ipso imperante protinus conticescunt. 10. Apud Portiunculam iuxta eius cellam cicada in ficu residens frequenter canebat; quam vir Dei manum extendens vocavit dicens: "soror mea cicada, veni ad me." 11. Quae statim oboediens super eius manum adscendit. 12. Cui ille: "canta, mea soror cicada, et dominum tuum lauda!" 13. Quae protinus canens non nisi licentiata recessit.

14. Parcit lucernis, lampadibus et candelis, nolens sua manu deturpare fulgorem. 15. Super petras reverenter ambulat intuitu eius, qui dicitur petra legis divinae; vermiculos, ne transeuntium pedibus conculcentur levat et apibus, ne inedia pereant glacie hiemali, mel et optima vina iubet apponi, fraterno nomine animalia cuncta vocabat. 16. Miro et ineffabili gaudio replebatur ob creatoris amorem, cum solem, lunam et stellas intuebatur et eas ad creatoris amorem

invitabat. 17. Coronam sibi magnam fieri prohibebat dicens: “volo, quod fratres mei pulices partem habeant in capite meo.”

18. Cum apud castrum Alvianum praedicaret, propter garritus hirundinum ibidem nidificantium audiri non poterat. 19. Quibus ille: “sorores meae hirundines, iam tempus est, ut loquar ego, quia vos satis dixistis; tenete silentium, donec verbum domini compleatur.” 20. Cui continuo oboedientes protinus conticuerunt. 21. Transeunte aliquando viro Dei per Apuliam unam bursam magnam repperit in via denariis tumentem, quam socius videns accipere voluit, ut pauperibus erogaret, sed ille nullatenus permisit dicens: “non licet, fili, alienum auferre.” 22. Sed cum ille vehementer instaret, Franciscus paululum orans iubet, ut bursam tollat, quae iam colubrum pro pecunia continebat. 23. Quod videns frater timere coepit, sed oboedientiae volens implere mandatum, bursam manibus capit et inde magnus serpens protinus exilivit. 24. Et ait Franciscus: “pecunia servis Dei nihil aliud est quam diabolus et coluber venenosus.”



1. On a certain day when he heard the words which the Lord spoke to his disciples before they were sent to preach, he immediately rose full of virtue in order to procure the salvation of all things and removed the sandals from his feet, clothed himself in a single, poor tunic and instead of a belt used a string. 2. Many aristocrats and commoners, both priests and laypeople, spurning the ostentatiousness of the time, followed in his footsteps and the saintly father taught them to fulfill the holy rule, to take up poverty and to go on the path of holy simplicity. 3. In addition, he wrote a holy rule for himself and his fellow brothers, for those already made brothers

and for those wishing soon to be, which Pope Innocent confirmed. 4. From there he began to sow more fervently the seeds of the word of God and to visit cities and fortresses with wondrous fervor. 5. In a vision, Francis, the servant of God, observed above himself a seraph crucified, which impressed upon him so clearly the signs of the lord's crucifixion that it seemed as if he himself was the one crucified. 6. His hands and feet and side were given the wounds of the cross, but he hid the stigmata with diligent care from the eyes of others. 7. Nevertheless, a few people saw these wounds in life and in death they were seen by all. 8. It was shown by his many miracles that these stigmata were altogether true.

9. The holy Francis, filled with dove-like simplicity, exhorted all creatures to love their creator; he preached to the birds and was heard by them, they were petted by him and they did not retreat unless he gave them license; the swallows who would chatter while he preached would immediately fall silent when he ordered. 10. Next to his cell near the Portiuncula church a cricket living in a fig-tree would often sing and the man of God would say to her, extending his hand: "My sister cricket, come to me!" 11. She, obeying at once, would climb onto his hand. 12. To her he would say: "Sing, my cricket sister and praise your lord!" 13. Immediately she would sing and would never leave unless he gave her license.

14. He shunned the use of lamps, torches and candles, not wishing to sully natural light with his hand. 15. He walked over rocks with consideration, in awe of the man who is called the rock of divine law; he picked up little worms, so that they might not be trod upon by the feet of passersby; he ordered honey and good wine to be set out for the bees, so that they might not die from starvation and the winter cold; he would call all animals by the name of brother. 16. He was filled with wonder and ineffable joy on account of the Creator's love when he gazed upon the sun, moon, and stars

and he urged them to love the Creator. 17. He forbade a large tuncure to be made on himself, saying: “I wish that my flea-brothers may have a place upon my head.”

18. When preaching near the Alvianus fortress, he could not be heard because of the chatter of the swallows building their nests there. 19. He said to them: “My sisters the swallows, it is now time for me to speak, for you have said enough; be silent until the word of God is finished.” 20. They, obedient to him as always, immediately fell silent. 21. Once, the holy man was walking through Apulia and chanced upon a large purse in the street filled with money, which his friend wished to take so that he might give it to the paupers, but Francis absolutely forbade it, saying: “It is not proper, my son, to take what is of another.” 22. When the friend insisted more urgently, Francis prayed for a short time and ordered him to lift up the purse, which now held a snake instead of money. 23. Upon seeing this, the man began to feel frightened, but, wishing to fulfill the order of obedience, took the purse in his hands, and a huge serpent at once jumped out of it. 24. Francis then declared: “To a servant of God, money is nothing but a diabolical and venomous snake.”



1. **dum**: temporal with the sense of “when” or “as soon as”. **ea, quae**: supply *verba* as the implied noun.

vili: “badly worn”

funiculum: Franciscan friars generally wore a string or piece of rope around their tunics.

5. **evidenter impressit ut**: result clause

8. **quod... ostensum est**: causal clause with a perfect subjunctive, *exstiterint*, responding to its place within the apodosis of the sim-

ple conditional clause. Medieval Latin authors used the subjunctive quite freely, often in any subordinate clause or apodosis; translate as if in the indicative.

9. **licentiatae**: from the noun *licentia*, here with the meaning of “being let go” or “being dismissed” by Francis.

17. **coronam**: from *corona*, here indicating the distinctive shaving of the crown of the head used by Franciscan friars.

21. **tumentem**: in apposition to *bursam*.

23. **serpens**: used as synonym to *colubra*, perhaps wishing to allude to the word’s biblical connotations, eg. the serpent in the Garden of Eden.



Figure 7 Giotto di Bondone, *Legend of St. Francis Assis, Sermon to the Birds*

XXVII.**Saint Thomas Aquinas** (1225–1274)*Summa Theologiae* 1.10.4

On time

Thomas Aquinas is considered one of the most influential thinkers in Western Philosophy, writing at a time when the Latin translations of Aristotle first arrived in Europe. While he never described himself as a philosopher, he is best known for his commentaries on Aristotle and his theological works, which utilize references to both pagan and Christian philosophy to elaborate on Catholic doctrine.

Although never finished, the *Summa Theologica* is perhaps Aquinas' most famous work. The *Summa* is a series of questions and responses meant to prepare men both spiritually and intellectually for entrance into the ministry. This passage is a response to issues raised about the difference between time and eternity. Unlike the Augustine passage quoted earlier in this collection, Aquinas relies on two Aristotelian distinctions to make his argument: first, that between essential and accidental properties, and second, that between actuality and potentiality.

The syntax and vocabulary is straightforward here, although some knowledge of Aristotelian terminology is necessary to make the argument clear. Aquinas signposts the premises in his argument, clarifying whether they are his own claims or commonly held views. He accomplishes this by employing short, balanced periods, frequent subordination, and repetition of idioms.



1. Respondeo dicendum quod manifestum est tempus et aeterni-

tatem non esse idem. 2. Sed huius diversitatis rationem quidam assignaverunt ex hoc quod aeternitas caret principio et fine, tempus autem habet principium et finem. 3. Sed haec est differentia per accidens, et non per se. 4. Quia dato quod tempus semper fuerit et semper futurum sit, secundum positionem eorum, qui caeli ponunt sempiternum, adhuc remanebit differentia inter aeternitatem et tempus, ut dicit Boetius in libro De consolat., ex hoc quod aeternitas est tota simul, quod tempori non convenit: quia aeternitas est mensura esse permanentis, tempus vero est mensura motus.

5. Si tamen praedicta differentia attendatur quantum ad mensurata, et non quantum ad mensuras, sic habet aliquam rationem: quia solum illud mensuratur tempore, quod habet principium et finem in tempore, ut dicitur in IV Physic. 6. Unde si motus caeli semper duraret, tempus non mensuraret ipsum secundum suam totam durationem, cum infinitum non sit mensurabile; sed mensuraret quamlibet circulationem, quae habet principium et finem in tempore.

7. Potest tamen et aliam rationem habere ex parte istarum mensurarum, si accipiatur finis et principium in potentia. 8. Quia etiam dato quod tempus semper duret, tamen possibile est signare in tempore et principium et finem, accipiendo aliquas partes ipsius, sicut dicimus principium et finem diei vel anni: quod non contingit in aeternitate.

9. Sed tamen istae differentiae consequuntur eam quae est per se et primo differentiam, per hoc quod aeternitas est tota simul, non autem tempus.



1. I respond: it must be said that it is clear that time and eternity are not the same thing. 2. But certain men attributed the reason

for this difference to the fact that eternity lacks a beginning and an end; time, by contrast, has a beginning and an end. 3. Yet this distinction exists on account of accidental properties, and not according to nature. 4. For given that time always was and always will be, following the proposition of those who consider the heavens eternal, still, there will remain a difference between time and eternity, as Boethius said in his book, *Consolations of Philosophy*, based on the fact that eternity is whole simultaneously, which is not an accidental feature of time; for eternity is a measure of persistence, while time is a measure of motion.

5. If, however, the aforementioned difference is considered insofar as it relates to things measured, but not to the measures, there is some rationale for this: because that alone is measured by time which has a beginning and an end in time, as it is said in Book IV of Aristotle's *Physics*. 6. For this reason, if the motion of heaven were to persist always, then time would not measure it through its entire duration, since infinity is not measurable. Instead, it would measure some circular course which has a beginning and end in time.

7. Nevertheless, it is possible to make another argument based on measures, if beginning and end are identified in their potential aspects. 8. For even given that time persists always, it is nevertheless possible to mark both a beginning and an end in time by identifying some of its parts, just as we say there is a beginning and end for a day or a year, which does not hold in the case of eternity.

8. But nevertheless these differences follow from that difference which is according to its nature and primary: the fact that eternity is whole simultaneously, but time is not.



1. manifestum est: ‘it is clear’

esse: infinitive in indirect discourse introduced by *manifestum est*.

2. hoc quod: ‘the fact that’

3. accidens...per se: ‘accidents’...‘in itself’. Aristotle and Aquinas both distinguish between the essence of an object and its accidental properties. The essential nature of an object is what is necessary for it to exist, or its true definition. Accidental properties need to be realized through an object, but aren’t necessary for the object to exist. See τό τι ἐστι and συμβεβηκός in Aristotle (cf. *Met.* 1013b).

4. dato quod: ablative absolute, non-classical variant: ‘it is given that’, ‘it can be conceded that’.

ex hoc quod: ‘based on the fact that’.

convenit: Latin rendering of συμβαίνω, the verb from which συμβεβηκός is derived: ‘is an accident’ or ‘is an accidental feature’.

Boetius in libro De consolat.: Boethius, *Consolations of Philosophy*.

esse: with *permanentis*, ‘being persistent’

5. quantum: ‘how much’, ‘to the extent that’

habet aliquam rationem: idiom, indicates a point can be made rationally: ‘there is some rationale’, ‘it has some reason’.

5. tempore: ablative of time

IV Physic: cf. Arist. *Phys.* IV. 208a–223b on time and motion.

6. quamlibet: ‘any’, ‘whatsoever’

7. istarum mensurarum: objective genitive

finis et principium: understood together as the singular object of *accipiatur*.

in potentia: ‘potentially’, ‘as a potential’. In the Aristotelian tradition, an object’s capacity to fully realize itself is not the same as a full manifestation. This capacity is called a potentiality, and the full

realization is its actuality. Cf. δύναμις in Aristotle, *Met.*1049b4–19.



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XXVIII.**Francesco Petrarch** (1304–1374)*Rerum Familiarum Libri* 24.7

Letter to Quintilian

In this passage Francesco Petrarca writes a laudatory letter to the deceased Latin grammarian and rhetorician Quintilian (35 CE–100 CE). Petrarch was in awe of Quintilian as an author after receiving as a gift portions of the recently discovered *Institutio Oratoria*, one of the Renaissance’s most frequently cited sources for the teaching of rhetoric and oratory. Petrarch here discusses the material condition in which he found selections of the *Institutio*. This work came to Petrarch *discerptus et lacer*, but Petrarch still finds great value in its dismembered and fragmentary state. Petrarch’s style is colloquial and similar to Cicero’s own letter-writing style. Note the medieval spellings throughout the text.



Franciscus Quintiliano salutem.

1. Olim tuum nomen audieram et de tuo aliquod legeram, et mirabar unde tibi nomen acuminis; sero ingenium tuum novi: *Oratoriarum Institutionum* liber, heu, discerptus et lacer, venit ad manus meas. Agnovi etatem vastatricem omnium et dixi mecum: “Facis ut solita es; nil bona fide custodis, nisi quod perdere lucrum erat.
2. O etas segnis et insolens, tales michi remittis insignes viros cum ignavissimos colas!
3. O Sterilis et feda pars temporum tot rebus ediscendis ac scribendis dedita que melius nescirentur, opus hoc habere integrum neglexisti.”
4. Ceterum is michi de te veram liber opinionem attulit; diu tuis in rebus erraveram; errori finem ad-

venisse gratulor. 5. Vidi formosi corporis artus effusos; admiratio animum dolorque concussit; et fortasse nunc apud aliquem totus es, et apud talem forsitan qui suum hospitem habet incognitum. 6. Quisquis in te reperiendo fortunatior fuit, sciat se rem magni precii possidere, quamque si noverit, primas inter divitias locet. 7. Tu quidem in his libris, quo quot sint nescio sed haud dubie multi sunt, rem a Cicerone iam sene summo studio tractatam refricare ausus. 8. Quod factu impossibili iudicabam, post tanti viri vestigia novam non imitationis sed doctrine proprie preclarique operis gloriam invenisti. 9. Adeo diligenter ab illo instructus orator a te comptus ornatusque est, ut multa ab illo vel neglecta vel non animadverta videantur, atque ita singulatim omnia colligis duci tuo elapsa, ut quantum vinci eloquio tantum diligentia vincere recto ni fallor iudicio dici possis. 10. Ille enim suum oratorem per ardua causarum ac summos eloquentie vertices agit et iudicialibus bellis ad victoriam format; tu longius repetens, oratorem tuum per omnes longe via flexus ac laterbras ab ipsis incunabulis ad supernam eloquii arcem ducis; placet, delectat et mirari cogit; eo namque aspirantibus nichil utilius. 11. Ciceroniana claritas pro vectos illuminat et celsum validis iter signat, tua sedulitas ipsos quoque fovet invalidos et optima nutrix ingeniorum lacte humili teneram pascit infantiam.



Petrarch greets Quintilian.

1. Some time ago I heard your name and read something about you; I was wondering from where you received your reputation for acuity. 2. Lately I have come to know your brilliance: the book, the *Institutes of Oratory* came into my hands – oh, so mutilated and dismembered! I recognized Time as the destroyer of everything, so I

said to myself: “You do what you are accustomed to do: you protect nothing in good faith except that which it is lucrative to lose. 3. O slow and insolent Time, such eminent men you send me while you promote the most ignoble! O sterile and infertile Time, devoted to studying and copying down things which would have been better left unknown, while you neglected to preserve this work unharmed and whole.” 4. But this book has shown me a true opinion about you; for a long time I was mistaken about your writings; I rejoice in coming to the end of my error. 5. I saw the detached limbs of your finely formed body; both admiration and grief shook my soul. Perhaps now you are intact in the hands of some other man, and perhaps such a man does not recognize the value of the guest he holds. 6. Whoever has been more fortunate in discovering you, let him realize that he possesses a thing of great worth, and that if he knew this, he would set it among his most prized riches. 7. Indeed in these books – I do not know how many of them there are, but undoubtedly there are many – you were so bold as to revive again a topic which had been discussed by Cicero with the utmost passion when he was already an old man. 8. Something I judged to be impossible, you, following the footsteps of such an important man, discovered a new glory, based not on imitation but your own teaching and outstanding work. 9. Through this work you teach the orator to be eloquent and ornate and with such diligence that it appears many things were neglected or passed unnoticed by Cicero; one by one, you gathered together what slipped away from your guide; as a result, if my judgment is not mistaken, you can rightly be said to have conquered in your diligence just as much as he did in eloquence. 10. For Cicero leads his orator through the challenges of court cases and up to the summits of eloquence, and fashions the orator for victory in judicial battles; but you, looking further back, lead your orator through every bend and turn on the long road that

leads from the very cradle to the highest citadel of eloquence. It pleases, delights, and compels one to admire; for people with aspirations, nothing is more useful than this. 11. Cicero's clarity sheds light for advanced men and marks the high road for those who are strong, while your assiduity even supports the weak; the best of nurses for inborn talent, it feeds the impressionable infant with humble milk.



1. **Franciscus Quintiliano salutem** implied *do*: I, Petrarch (Franciscus) give to you, Quintilian, a greeting.

et mirabar unde tibi nomen acuminis Implied *daretur* with *nomen* as subject; subjunctive because indirect question off of *unde*.

etatem: classical would have *aetatem*, whereas medieval has *etas*, *etatis*.

2. **etas**: see above note.

michi: Where the classical would have *mibi*, the medieval has *ch*.

3. **O sterilis et feda pars**: vocative

rebus ediscendis ac scribendis: ablative absolute: with things learned and written down.

dedita que: "things which were forgotten," the *que* is nominative plural *quae*, referring back to the *rebus*; *dedita* agrees with *que*.

melius nescirentur: imperfect subjunctive, "would have been better unknown."

o sterilis... neglexisti: "O sterile and fertile periods of history!— with things studied and written down, things which have been lost would have been better forgotten."

4. **feda**: classical *foeda*

michi: See note on 7.

5. **effusos**: implied *esse* with indirect statement following *vidi*.
6. **reperiendo**: gerundive with *te*
sciat: jussive subjunctive, “let him know”
noverit...locet: mixed conditional, “if he had known...he would have.”
7. **quo quot sint nescio**: A relative clause with an indirect question: “in which I do not know how many there are.”
haud dubie: medieval spelling; meaning, ‘undoubtedly, doubtless.’
sene: in apposition to *Cicerone*
ausus: implied *es*, with Quintilian as subject: “you have dared.”
8. **factu impossibili**: supine with adjective, “impossible to do.”
9. **comptus ornatusque**: both words associated with the style of an orator’s speech, but here applied to the orator himself: “polished and adorned”
- ita singulatim omnia colligis duci tuo elapsa**: “but one by one you gathered together everything that had fallen from your leader (i.e. Cicero).”
- ut quantum vinci eloquio tantum diligentia vincere...dici possis**:
The correlatives *quantum tantum*: “so that you can be said to have conquered so much diligence, as much as Cicero was conquered by eloquence.”
10. **ille**: here refers to Cicero.
11. **Ciceroniana claritas**: i.e. the clarity of Cicero

XXIX.**Leonardo Bruni** (1370–1444)*De Studiis et Litteris Liber ad Baptistam de Malatestis* 1–3

Letter to lady Battista Malatesta of Montefeltro

This passage is taken from a letter written by Leonardo Bruni to Lady Battista Malatesta of Montefeltro, the recipient of his educational treatise. The treatise is a foundational text in humanist education theory of the Italian Renaissance. While Bruni lays out his program of study there, it is especially significant that he dedicates this educational treatise to a woman in his prefatory letter. The treatise is thus ostensibly written not only for the education of young boys, but also for the education of young girls. In the prefatory letter that accompanies the treatise, Bruni extols the erudition of Lady Battista Malatesta as well as the few female authors from antiquity, namely Cornelia (Scipio's daughter), Sappho, and Aspasia, a learned woman who even taught Socrates a few things. Bruni's style is colloquial and laudatory.



1. Compulsus crebro rumore admirabilium virtutum tuarum scribere ad te constitui, ut ingenio illi, de quo tam ampla magnificaque audissem, vel gratularer iam perfectionem consecuto vel certe ad eam consequendam per meas litteras cohortarer. 2. Neque enim desunt mihi clarissimarum mulierum exempla, quae et litteris et studiis et eloquentia claruerunt, per quarum commemorationem te provocare ad excellentiam possim, siquidem Corneliae Scipionis Africani filiae multa saecula post eius mortem exstabant epistolae elegantissimo stilo perscriptae, at Sapphus poemata et libri summo

in honore apud Graecos propter singularem facundiam et scribendi artem habiti sunt. 3. Aspasia quoque per Socratis tempora fuit doctissima quidem mulier et eloquentia litterisque praecellens, a qua Socratem, philosophum tantum, se didicisse quaedam non pudeat confiteri. 4. Fuerunt et aliae quas referre possum, sed tamen haec tria satis esto famosissimarum feminarum exempla retulisse. 5. Ad illarum igitur praestantiam, quaeso, mentem erige atque extolle! 6. Tantam enim intelligentiam ac tam singulare ingenium nec frustra tibi datum nec mediocribus contentum esse decet, sed ad summa spectare atque adniti. 7. Et tua quidem laus illustrior erit quam illarum fuit propterea quod illae his saeculis florere in quibus eruditorum hominum magna supererat copia, ut multitudo ipsa minueret admirationem, tu autem his temporibus florebis in quibus usque adeo prolapsa studia sunt, ut miraculi iam loco habeatur videre virum, nedum feminam eruditam. 8. Eruditionem autem intelligo non vulgarem istam et perturbatam, quali utuntur ii qui nunc theologiam profitentur, sed legitimam illam et ingenuam, quae litterarum peritiam cum rerum scientia coniungit; qualis in Lactantio Firmiano, qualis in Aurelio Augustino, in Hieronymo fuit, summis profecto theologis ac perfectis in litteris viris. 9. Nunc vero qui eam scientiam profitentur, pudendum est quam parum persciant litterarum. 10. Atque ego licet non ea, qua volui, ianua ingressus sum, prosequar tamen sermonem, non quo te doceam aut dirigam (puto enim te non indigere), sed quo tibi, quid ipse sentiam, innotescat.



1. I feel compelled by the many rumors of your admirable virtues to write to you, either to offer congratulations for intellect, about which I had heard such grand and magnificent things, on achieving

perfection, or certainly to encourage the pursuit of that perfection through my letters. 2. For I do not lack examples of very famous women who were famed for their literature, studies, and eloquence, through the recollection of which I could provoke you towards excellence, given that there exist many letters by Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, which survived many years after her death, written in a most elegant style, while the poems and books of Sappho are held in the highest honor among the Greeks because of their unique eloquence and prowess in writing. 3. There is also Aspasia, who lived during the time of Socrates, a most learned woman indeed who excelled in eloquence and letters, by whom Socrates, so great a philosopher, was not embarrassed to admit he had been taught. 4. There were others I could refer to, but these three will be sufficient to recall as examples of very famous women. 5. Therefore, I beg of you, elevate and raise your mind toward their excellence! 6. It is fitting that so great an intelligence and such a unique mind as yours not be given to you in vain nor be satisfied with mediocre things, but should look to the highest things and strive for them. 7. And certainly your praises will be more illustrious than theirs were because they flourished during times when there was a great excess of mortal erudition, with the result that the very multitude reduces admiration; you, however, will flourish at a time when studies have collapsed to such an extent that it is now considered a miracle to see a learned man, let alone a learned woman. 8. I understand erudition to be, not that common and confused sort of thing deployed by those who profess theology, but that legitimate and gifted kind which joins the expertise of literature with knowledge of the real world; men such as Lactantius Firmianus, and Augustine, and Jerome were, the absolutely highest theologians but also men perfected in literature. 9. But now, when it comes to those who profess this knowledge, it is embarrassing how little literature they know.

10. So although I have not entered by the door I wanted to, nevertheless, I will continue with my speech, not so that I may teach or direct you (for I do not think you require that), but that you may understand what I myself think.



1. **audissem:** subjunctive in a relative clause of characteristic
- cohortarer:** subjunctive in a purpose clause
2. **Corneliae Scipionis...elegantissimo stilo perscriptae:** English word order would be, *epistulae perscriptae filiae Corneliae Scipionis Africani elegantissimo stilo exstabant multa saecula post eius mortem.*
- multa saecula:** accusative duration of time, “for many years”
- scribendi artem:** “the skill of writing”
- pudeat:** another relative clause of characteristic
4. **satis esto:** future imperative, “all three will be sufficient”
7. **ut multitudo ipsa minueret admirationem:** result clause
- adeo..ut:** result clause introduced with *adeo*: “to the point that”
10. **licet...tamen:** Although...nevertheless
- quo...innotescat:** subjunctive in a relative clause of purpose.

XXX.

Desiderius Erasmus (1468?–1536)

Antibarbarorum pp. 38–41

Autobiographical preface

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam was a Dutch philosopher and scholar, famous even in his own day. He was so prolific a writer that it has been said that a majority of the books in print during in the 16th century were penned by him. An important humanist of the Northern Renaissance, and the brightest light of Latin prose since St. Augustine, Erasmus championed a return to a Latinity based upon classical authors. In this, he struggled against two camps: those who deplored and eshewed the authors of antiquity for their paganism and corrupting themes, and those who insisted that Cicero alone was to be imitated when composing Latin. In one of his earliest works, *Liber Antibarbarorum*, (which he began, as he says, before turning twenty years old, though he reworked it later), he develops his attacks against the former. He develops the theme by means of a dialogue that takes place between him and his friends, who are here introduced in such a way that reveals the author's sensibilities, his elegance and cordial humanity, even as his peerless erudition comes to the fore.



1. ANTIBARBARORUM LIBER PRIMUS AUTORE D.
ERASMO ROTERODAMO.

2. Cum adolescens, pestilentiae quae tum apud nostrates inclementissime saeviebat defugiendae studio, in rusculum quoddam Brabanticum me contulissem tum salubre tum amoenum, quod is

locus non solum tuendae saluti verumetiam studiorum secessibus vel maxime videretur idoneus, hoc nomine vel Platonis Academia potior, quod ocio par, salubritate vinceret, cum illam pestilenti coelo fuisse legamus, hic praeter salubris aerae commendationem habebat et silentii plurimum, amoenitatis etiam quantum philosopho satis esset fortassis et Musis, quae lympidis fontibus ac ripis smaragdinis et opacis nemorum umbris delectari feruntur; 3. hic latitantem ac suaviter rusticantem praeter spem invisit Hermannus Guilhelmus, tum aequalium meorum unus longe mihi charissimus, quicum mihi a teneris (ut aiunt) unguiculis singularis quaedam charitas saneque iucunda studiorum societas sic cum ipsa prope aetate accreverat, ac penitus iis vinculis ea fide ea benevolentia conglutinarat, ut nec Oresti Piladem nec Pirithoo Theseum nec Patroclo Achillem nec Damoni Pithiam nec Eurialo Nisum coniunctiorem fuisse crediderim. Adeo copulat arctius animos hominum puerilium studiorum communio quam ulla cognationis aut affinitatis propinquitas. 4. Ex huius igitur adventu, vel hoc etiam gratiore, quod esset inexpectatus, cum incredibilem cepissem voluptatem, ne hoc tanto bono solus adeo fruerer invidus, communi amico Iacobo Batto, qui proximae civitatis Berganae tum erat publicus a secretis, confestim renunciandum curo, homini, deum immortalem, quo candore, qua morum suavitate, qua doctrina, quam felici facundia. 5. Is iampridem partim mea praedicatione, qua de veteri sodali lubens apud recentem uti solebam, partim ipsius literis accensus, incredibili quodam videndi Guilhelmi desiderio flagrabat. 6. Neminem enim adhuc mortalium vidi qui sic admiraretur, sic veneraretur, sic adamaret eruditos, praesertim in his literis, quas non absque causa bonas appellant. 7. Is vero simulatque rescivit, ascito e congerronibus suis uno duntaxat, non dicam accurrit, sed prorsus advolat, idque adeo nocte fere concubia, quod interdium aegre liceret abesse, praesertim quod nuper in administrationem Reipublicae vocato omnia pop-

ularius ac studiosius essent obeunda. 8. Eius noctis minima portio somno tributa est. 9. Vixdum diluxerat: consurgitur, reditur ad literatas fabulas, mox coeli serenitas ad prodeambulandum invitat. 10. Obambulatur, ac loci situm regionisque faciem hospiti demonstro. 11. Ibi forte fortuna in diverticuli ponte consistentibus, de improviso Iodocus Medicus, vir cum primis humanus atque eruditus, una cum Guilhelmo Conrado, eius urbis cive primario, de via nobis sese ostendit. 12. Erat huic haud prociui a nobis praediolum rusticanum, quo vir prudentissimus recipere sese solitus erat, quoties eum urbis urbanorumque negotiorum cepisset satietas (nam apud suos summo magistratu subinde fungebatur), quoties fluctus illos civilium causarum voluisset paulisper effugere, quoties nugari liberius atque (ut ait Flaccus) discincto ludere collubitum esset. 13. Porro perpetuum hoc tempus quod ruri agebatur aut ille apud nos aut nos apud illum eramus, tum quod hominis et comis et eruditi consuetudine delectabar, tum quod essent mihi quaedam communia cum illo negocia. 14. Is ubi nobis conspectis suo more blandius arrisisset, mox ego: Quo tam mane, inquam, fugitive? 15. Male (ita me deus amet) cum Republica agitur quae tibi sit tradita, qui tanquam luscinia quaedam nemoribus nihil anteponis: urbem non secus quam caveam odisti. 16. Quid cum rure consuli, quid tibi cum hoc ocio, homo hominum qui vivunt turbulentissime?



The first book of “Against the Barbarians” by the author D. Erasmus of Rotterdam.

When I was a young man, eager to escape the plague which was at the time mercilessly ravaging our nation, I took myself to the countryside of Brabant. A wholesome and beautiful place, it seemed

perfectly suited not only for preserving my health, but also for pursuing my studies. For this reason it was preferable even to Plato's Academy, which it equaled in peace and quiet but surpassed in healthfulness, since we read that even the Academy suffered from the plague. Here, besides the benefit of wholesome air and plentiful quiet, there was also as much beauty as would satisfy a philosopher and perhaps even the Muses, which are said to delight in emerald-green springs and banks of brooks and groves' tenebrous shadows. While I was hiding out and pleasantly rustivating in this place, out of the blue William Herman visited me. William was at that time my closest friend by far, for whom from my earliest childhood a genuine love constantly grew, which, of course, since we were about the same age and happily enjoyed the same interests, was cemented by bonds of loyalty and kindness, so that I could not have believed Pilades closer to Orestes or Theseus to Pirithoos, neither Achilles more devoted to Patrocles, or Pithia to Damon, nor Nisus more devoted to Euryalus, than he to me and I to him. Our shared interests bound our boyish spirits more closely than any family ties or the proximity of neighbors.

His arrival, therefore, made all the more pleasing to me because it was unexpected, seized me with an incredible desire for our mutual friend James Batt, who was at that time the public secretary of the nearest town, Bergen op Zoom, so that I not enjoy so great a boon alone like some greedy person. I immediately sent a message to him, a man, by god, of such brilliance, such agreeable manners, such learning, and an eloquence so pleasing! James had been for a long time very eager to meet William, partially on account of the praise which I was accustomed to heap on my old friend in the presence of my new one, and in part animated by William's writings. I knew no one else who admired, respected, and esteemed educated men so much, especially authors of those books which not are without

cause called good literature. James, as soon as he got the message, with only one servant to accompany him, I wouldn't say he ran so much as flew to us, even though it was that time of night when people were just lying down to sleep, for he would not have been permitted to be absent during the day, especially because he had only recently been appointed to his post with the city and had to manage everything carefully and in person.

Only the smallest portion of that night was given over to sleep. The day had hardly begun to dawn when we rose and returned to our clever talk. Soon the serenity of the sky invited us to ramble about on foot. As we wandered, I pointed out the lay of the land and its features to our guest. There, by chance, while we were standing on a little bridge, Iodocus the town doctor, a most kind and learned man, appeared out of nowhere, together with William Conrad, a leading citizen of Bergen. Conrad had a little land not far from there, to where he was prudently accustomed to retreat, whenever he was fed up with the city and its affairs, (for he frequently held the office of mayor of the town), whenever he wanted to escape for a spell the waves of civil lawsuits, and whenever it pleased him to relax more freely and play around ungirded, as Horace says. After that meeting, we spent those endless summer days in the country either at his place, or he at ours. I found him delightful both because of his affable and erudite ways, and because we had some affairs in common. When he caught sight of us and laughed in that charming fashion he had, I called out, "Where are you off to so early, you fugitive? Heaven help me, woe betide the state when it elects a man who, like some nightingale, prefers nothing to the woodlands. You hate the city like it's a cage! What business does a mayor have in the country? What has leisure got to do with the world's busiest man?"



2. **cum...**: the *cum*-clause here started finds its verb in *contulisse* in line 3. A quick look ahead will reveal that a lengthy periodic sentence (which is complex thought built up by a series of clauses that all come together in meaning with a main predicate placed at the close) begins with the first word and does not terminate until line 13. Students of Latin find it good practice to rearrange the Latin words so that they occur in the order of the student's mother tongue.

pestilentiae: the bubonic plague was a continuing threat in Europe for centuries

nostrates (sc. homines): *nostras, -atis*, adj. of our country, native (LS)

studio: in the ablative (of cause of his flight or description of his nature) takes the dative *pestilentiae defugiendae*

rusculum Brabanticum: the countryside of Brabant, a region of the southern Netherlands, more specifically Halsteren, the estate of his employer Henry of Bergen, bishop of Cambrai

tum... tum...: "not only... but also..." the first of several such connectives in the passage; right on its heel we find *non solum... verumetiam* "not only... but also"

vel maxime: *vel* with a superlative is used to denote the highest degree possible (LS)

idoneus: "suitable for" + dative

potior: (from *potis*) *potior* here is nominative, describing the place "(it should) rather be called by this name, the Academy of Plato"

ocio: an alternate spelling for *otio*

I am unable to locate the source for Erasmus' mention of the closure of Plato's Academy due to plague. Perhaps he erroneously

assumed the Academy existed during the time of the great plague described by Thucydides. An attractive explanation has been put forward by my colleague Kiran Mansukhani, who uncovered that there had been a school in 15th century Florence called “Plato’s Academy,” possible well-known to the humanist Erasmus, which most certainly had closed its door during the numerous outbreaks of bubonic plague of that time.

ripis smaragdinis: “emerald-green river banks”

feruntur: “are said” or “are reported”

3. **latitantem et rusticantem:** supply *me* (the direct object of *invisit*). William Herman of Gouda was an early schoolmate of Erasmus at Peter’s Winckel’s school at Gouda. Herman became a Latinist and scholar in his own right.

charissimus: a late spelling for *carissimus*

quicum: *quicum*, an old ablative form = *quocum*

a teneris (ut aiunt) unguiculis: Erasmus was a great collector of adages, one of which is this: “from the tenderest fingernails” which means “from earliest childhood”

iis vinculis ea fide ea benevolentia: a hendiatri (figure of speech in which three words or phrases are used to express one idea) of causes by which their friendship was cemented.

Erasmus remembers six famous pairs of devoted friends from ancient literature and mythology. Each of their stories is worth investigating.

4. Erasmus states that James Batt was a friend in common to both him and W. Herman, but in sentence 5 he makes it seem as if Batt had never met Herman, but knew him through his writings and Erasmus’ praise. James Batt was the secretary of the city council (*publicus a secretis*) of town of Bergen op Zoom at the time.

renunciandum curo: a variant spelling of *renuntiandum*, “I saw to it that his arrival be announced to James Batt...”

deum immortalem: a common exclamation of Erasmus

quo candore... (quā) quam felici facundiā: ablatives of description used to describe Batt: ‘of such brilliance... of (such) eloquence so felicitous.’ *quam* offers a pleasant contrast of sound after the repeated *quo/qua*

partim... partim...: “in part on account of ..., in part because of...”

5. **praedicatione:** a praising, a commendation

6. **admiraretur, veneraretur, adamaret:** a tricolon of activities in a relative clause of characteristic

eruditos in his literis: a variant spelling of *litteris*. “(educated) in that literature”

7. **ascito e congerronibus suis uno duntaxat:** ablative absolute. *duntaxat* specifies or intensifies the number associated with it “only one and more more.” James apparently took an unnamed friend or servant with him to visit Erasmus and William Herman.

idque: “and on that account”

vocato... omnia obeunda...: dative of agent with a passive periphrastic (*Iacobo vocato...*)

nocte concubia: one of the divisions of the night made by Romans, that time when people are laying themselves down to sleep

9. **litteratas fabulas:** educated or clever or literary conversation

ad prodeambulandum: *ad* + gerundive to express purpose

10. **obambulatur:** an impersonal verb of motion in historical present: “we wandered”

11. **Iodocus:** a prominent doctor from Bergen

cum primis: “among the best”

Wilhem Conrad, a prominent citizen, mayor of Bergen, had a ranch and villa nearby.

12. **negociorum:** a variant spelling of *negotiorum*. And again in sentence 13: *negocia* = *negotia*.

ut ait Flaccus: Quintus Horatius Flaccus is Horace. Erasmus al-

ludes to his *Satire* 2.1.73 “*nugari cum illo et discincti ludere*”; *discincto* “ungirded, at leisure”

14. **quo tam mane...**: adverbial *quo*. Supply a verb of motion, such as *tendis* or *is*. *tam mane*: “so early in the morning”

15. **male cum Republica agitur**: *agere* with an adverb (often with *cum* + abl.) is an expression used to indicate how someone or something is treated; it is frequently used in the passive to indicate how someone/something is faring: “it goes ill with the republic”

ita deus me amet: another favorite exclamation of Erasmus

non secus quam: = *non aliter quam*

16. **quid cum rure consuli, quid tibi cum hoc ocio**: the formula for this expression is: *quid alicui cum aliquo*. Recall Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 1.456, when Apollo addresses Cupid: ‘*quid*’ *que tibi, lascive puer, cum fortibus armis?*’

ocio: a variant spelling of *otio*, as before and throughout

homo hominum...: *homo* is in the vocative with the superlative adjective *tubulentissime*. *hominum* in turn is a partitive genitive that depends on the superlative adjective.



The Latin text is from the North-Holland Publishing Company of Amsterdam’s *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: Ordinis Primi Tomus Primus*, 1969. The introduction to *Antibarbarorum Liber* by Kazimierz Kumaniecki and his notes proved invaluable.

XXXI.**Desiderius Erasmus***De ratione studii* 1–3

Recommendations for reading

In this passage from his educational treatise *De ratione studii* (1512) Erasmus constructs a theory of reading based on a thorough philological training in the classical languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Erasmus relies heavily on the rhetorical tradition he has inherited from Cicero. Erasmus' style imitates the liberality of Cicero's own rhetoric—he feels that any language or style is at the tip of his quill.



1. Principio duplex omnino videtur cognitio rerum ac verborum. 2. Verborum prior, rerum potior. 3. Sed nonnulli dum ἀνίπτοις, ut aiunt, ποσίῃ ad res discendas festinant, sermonis curam negligunt, et male affectata compendio in maxima incidunt dispendia. 4. Etenim cum res non nisi per vocum notas cognoscantur, qui sermonis vim non calleat, is passim in rerum quoque iudicio caecutiatur, hallucinetur, deliret necesse est. 5. Postremo videas nullos omnium magis ubique de voculis cavillari, quam eos qui iactitant sese verba negligere, rem ipsam spectare. 6. Quapropter utroque in genere statim optima et quidem ab optimis sunt discenda. 7. Quid enim stultius quam magno labore discere quae postea maiori cogaris dediscere? 8. Nihil autem facilius discitur quam quod rectum ac verum est. 9. At parva si semel inhaeserint ingenio, dictu mirum quam non possint revelli.

10. Primum igitur locum grammatica sibi vindicat, eaque protinus duplex tradenda pueris, graeca videlicet ac latina. 11. Non modo

quod his duabus linguis omnia ferme sunt prodita quae digna cognitu videantur, verum etiam quod utraque alteri sic affinis est, ut ambae citius percipi queant coniunctim, quam altera sine altera, certe quam latina sine graeca. 12. A Graecis auspicari nos mavult Quintilianus, sed ita, si his litteris perceptis, non longo intervallo latinae succedant. 13. Sane utrasque pari cura tuendas esse monet, atque ita futurum ut neutrae alteris officiant. 14. Ergo utriusque linguae rudimenta, et statim et ab optimo praeceptore sunt hau-rienda: qui si forte non contingat, tum (quod est proximum) optimis certe utendum auctoribus, quos equidem perpaucos, sed delectos esse velim. 15. Inter graecos grammaticos nemo non primum locum tribuit Theodoro Gazae, proximum, mea sententia, Constantinus Lascaris sibi iure suo vendicat. 16. Inter latinos vetustiores Diomedes. 17. Inter recentiores haud multum video discriminis, nisi quod Nicolaus Perottus videtur omnium diligentissimus, citra superstitionem tamen. 18. Verum ut huiusmodi praecepta fateor necessaria, ita velim esse, quoad fieri possit, quam paucissima, modo sint optima. 19. Nec unquam probavi literatorum vulgus qui pueros in his inculcandis complures annos remorantur.

20. Nam vera emendate loquendi facultas optime paratur, cum ex castigate loquentium colloquio conuictuque, tum ex eloquentium auctorum assidua lectione, e quibus ii primum sunt imbibendi, quorum oratio, praeterquam quod est castigatissima, argumenti quoque illecebra aliqua discentibus blandiatur. 21. Quo quidem in genere primas tribuerim Luciano, alteras Demostheni, tertias Herodoto. 22. Rursum ex poetis primas Aristophani, alteras Homero, tertias Euripidi. 23. Nam Menandrum, cui vel primas daturus eram, desideramus. 24. Rursum inter latinos quis utilior loquendi auctor quam Terentius? 25. Purus, tersus et quotidiano sermoni proximus, tum ipso quoque argumenti genere iucundus adolescentiae. 26. Huic si quis aliquot selectas Plauti comoedias putet addendas quae

vacent obscoenitate, equidem nihil repugno. 27. Proximus locus erit Vergilio, tertius Horatio, quartus Ciceroni, quintus C. Caesari. Salustium si quis adiungendum arbitrabitur, cum hoc non magnopere contenderim, atque hos quidem ad utriusque linguae cognitionem satis esse duco. 28. Neque enim mihi placent qui in evoluendis hunc in usum auctoribus, etiam quibuslibet, vitam omnem conterunt, prorsus infantem existimantes eum quem ulla chartula suffugerit.



2. **prior...potior:** correlative: “first words and then things”
3. **Sed nonnulli dum ἀνίπτοις, ut aiunt, ποσίν... incidunt dispendia:** “But some people while they hasten to learn things with “unwashed feet,” as they say, they neglect the art of language, and wrongly they cut things studied into abridged versions at a great cost.”
4. **cognoscantur:** subjunctive in a causal *cum* clause
qui...non calleat: relative clause of characteristic
in rerum quoque iudicio: *quoque in iudicio rerum*
necesse est: subject infinitive
5. **videas:** potential subjunctive, “you may see”
magis... quam: “more...than”
6. **sunt discenda:** “they (i.e., *res et verba*) must be taught”
9. **dictu mirum quam non possint revelli:** “it is remarkable to say how they are unable to be removed”; *possint* is subjunctive in indirect question.
10. **tradenda pueris:** gerundive, “should be handed down to boys”
11. **Non modo...verum etiam:** “not only... but also”
digna cognitu: ablative supine, “worthy to know”

videantur: potential subjunctive, “should be considered”

ut ambae citius percipi queant coniunctim: result clause

altera sine altera: “one without the other”

12. si his literis perceptis, non longo intervallo latinae succedant:

proviso clause hence subjunctive *succedant*, “provided that, if having learned the Greek literature, in no time at all will Latin literature will follow.”

14. sunt haurienda: “they must be adhered”

utendum: “it must be used”

15. Theodoro Gaza: A Greek scholar (ca. 1400-1478), who taught for many years in Italy. Erasmus later translated some of his works.

Constantinus Lascaris: A Greek exile (1431-1501) who came to Italy after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

16. Diomedes: Fourth century grammarian

17. Nicolaus Perottus: lived ca. 1430-1480 and wrote the first modern Latin grammar; secretary to Cardinal Bessarion, and a member of the literary circle with Theodorus of Gaza and Lascaris.

18. Verum ut huiusmodi...sint optima: “Truly, I admit that the above teachings are necessary, I would wish that they are, if it is at all possible to do, they are extremely few, provided that they are the best.”

20. loquendi facultas: “the skills of speaking”

sunt imbibendi: literally, “must be imbibed.” Erasmus uses drinking imagery here for the process by which students ascertain knowledge

blandiatur: potential subjunctive, “it should entice”

21. Luciano...Demostheni... Herodoto: Lucian, Demosthenes, and Herodotus

22-25. Aristophani... Homero... Euripidi... Menandrum...

Terentius... Plauti: Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, Menander, Terrence, Plautus

27. Vergilio...Horatio...Ciceroni...C. Caesari: Vergil, Horace, Cicero, Julius Caesar



1. To begin with it seems that all knowledge is twofold: knowledge of things and knowledge of words. 2. Knowledge of words is first, but knowledge of things is more important. 3. Yet some people, while they hasten to learn things with “unwashed feet,” as they say, neglect the art of language, and wrongly cut their study material into abridgements at great cost. 4. In fact, since things are not known except through the marks of spoken language, he who does not know the power of language must be blind, delusional, and delirious in his judgement of things as well. 5. Finally, you can see that no people are more nit-picky about words than those who boast that they eschew words and inspect the thing itself. 6. Accordingly in both categories the best must be learned as soon as possible and it must be learned from the best teachers. 7. For what is more foolish than to learn something with great labor which you will you be forced to unlearn with even greater labor at another time? 8. Indeed, nothing is more easily learned than that which is correct and true. 9. But once small errors are imprinted on the mind, it is remarkable how impossible it is to remove them.

10. Therefore grammar claims the first place for itself, and from the start it should be handed down to boys in two ways: Greek and Latin. 11. Not just because almost everything which seems worth knowing sprouts from these two languages, but also because each is related to the other, with the result that both can be learned more quickly in conjunction than one without the other, and certainly more quickly than Latin without Greek. 12. Quintilian prefers us

to begin with Greek literature, provided that Latin literature will follow not long after these texts are learned. 13. He reasonably advises that both must be attended to with equal diligence, and thus it will be that neither blocks the other. 14. Therefore the fundamentals of each language must be learned at once and from the best instructor – who, if he happens to be unavailable, then, as a second best, the best authors must be used, whom I would wish to be few, but carefully selected. 15. Among the Greek grammarians no one does not assign the first place to Theodorus of Gaza; next, in my opinion, Constantine Lascaris claims second place as his own right. 16. Among the Latinists who are older there is Diomedes. 17. Among the more recent, I do not see much difference, except that it seems to me that Niccolò Perotti is the most diligent of all, however on this side of superstition. 18. But while I admit that teachings of this kind are necessary, I would wish them to be (if it is at all possible) extremely few, provided that they are the best. 19. Nor at anytime have I approved the crowd of literary teachers who slow down boys for many years by teaching these authors.

20. For the true skill of speaking free from errors is obtained most suitably by conversation and community with others, and also from constant readings of eloquent authors; those who should be absorbed first are those whose language, beside the fact that it is the most correct, will please the learners even with certain charms of plot. 21. In this category in particular I will assign first place to Lucian, second to Demosthenes, and third to Herodotus. 22. Again, from the poets I would assign first place to Aristophanes, second to Homer, and third to Euripides. 23. For we lack Menander, to whom I would have given first. Again, among the Latins, who is a more useful authority on speaking than Terence? 24. Clear, simple, and closest to everyday conversation, he is also agreeable to school boys because of his content. 25. If anyone thinks some select come-

dies of Plautus should be added, those which are free of obscenities, certainly I would not push back. 26. Second place will go to Vergil, third to Horace, fourth to Cicero, fifth to Gaius Caesar. 27. If anyone thinks that Sallust should be included, I would not put up a big fight, and certainly I think that these indeed are sufficient to know both Greek and Latin. 28. For I am not pleased by those who waste their whole life unfolding authors for this purpose, thinking someone is a mere infant if any little text escapes him.



XXXII.**Giordano Bruno** (1548–1600)*De immenso et innumerabilibus* 1.3

The infinite universe

Giordano Bruno was born in 1548 near Naples, Italy and died at Rome in 1600, executed for heresy after a seven-year trial before the Roman Inquisition. He wrote in both Latin and Italian and in a variety of genres and styles, including philosophical dialogues, treatises on geometry, moral and natural philosophy. Aside from his gruesome death as a martyr to his principles, he is probably best known for believing that there are infinitely many universes, which went against the views of Galileo, Kepler, and other fellow supporters of Copernicus's heliocentric theory. His works often mix topics and genres, literary and academic styles, but show consistency of conviction as they push for the peaceful coexistence of different religions and the importance of intellectual debate, including on controversial religious topics.

On the Immeasurable and Innumerable is a lengthy didactic work, a mix of prose and poetry that has precedent in the genre of Menippean satire. It is the longest in a group of three works all published in Frankfurt in 1591 that were meant as a summary of Bruno's natural philosophy; it treats physics and cosmology, while the other two treat metaphysics and geometry. In this passage Bruno argues that there must be infinitely many objects like our Sun orbited by planets like our Earth. His argument is primarily theoretical and philosophical, but he does address potential objections based on astronomical observations. Note that *immenso*, "immeasurable," refers to the impossibility of measuring the size of the universe, and is not to be confused with our English sense of "immense" meaning simply "vast." As is common in other contemporary Latin authors,

we see various non-classical spellings: in particular, *e* for *ae* and *c* for *t* (*spacium* in place of *spatium*, for example).



1. Ut solem hunc circa Tellus, Luna, aliger Hermes,
Saturnus, Venus et Mavors, et Iuppiter errant,
Et numerus fasso maior, nam caetera turba
Partim pro vicibus partim non cernitur umquam,
Sic circum fit quemque alium: nam lege necesse est
Naturae, flammis fomentum sumere ab undis...

2. Ponimus hoc quod summa probabimus evidentiā: duo in universo precipua primorum corporum genera, Soles nempe atque Tellures. 3. De primo genere fixae (quas appellant) stellae sunt, de quarum singularum loco non maior, neque aliter sol iste spectabilis esset quam illae a loco istius solis et a nostris sunt spectabiles regionibus. 4. De secundo genere est Luna, Mercurius, et reliqui Planetarum qui circa solem tum annuis discursitant motibus tum diurnis. 5. Omnia in uno eodemque aethereo spacio, caelo, campo, firmamento non aliter quam Tellurem consistere videmus, et ponderibus librata propriis consistunt.

6. Neque est quod ad universi speciem magis obtinere medium dicere possis, quam quodcumque aliud; cum conster circa omnia pariter undequaque immensum pro innumerabilium astrorum seu mundorum continentia spacium patere. 7. Unum primorum corporum genus absque alio consistere minime posse illud indicat, quod diversorum oppositorumque concursu ad motum, ad generationem et rerum consistentiam natura provideat. 8. Quibus absque ingenio atque ratione largiti sunt oculi ita negabunt circa alia astra

fixa nempe soles discurrere planetas sicut et non apparent: cum et omnis ratio dictet quod tum propter corporum parvitatem tum maxime propter vim luminis remissioem quae est in speculo quod lucis umbram atque imaginem non ipsam lucem obiectat, a fixorum astrorum quocumque alio tellures quae sunt circa hoc fixum astrum non apparere possunt.



1. *As Earth, the Moon, winged Mercury, Saturn, Venus, Mars and Jupiter wander around this Sun, plus a number of bodies greater than speech (for of the rest of the multitude, some can be discerned only sometimes and some never), so it happens around every other Sun: for the law of nature requires that flames draw their tinder from water. [...]*
2. We claim the following, which we will prove with the best evidence: that there are two main types of primary bodies in the universe, namely Suns and Earths. 3. The fixed stars, as they are called, are of the first type. Our own Sun would not appear any larger or different from the vantage point of any of these stars than these stars appear from the vantage point of our Sun or our own location. 4. The Moon, Mercury and the rest of the Planets that roam around the Sun in both their annual and daily motions are of the second type. 5. We see that all of these exist in one and the same aether, sky, plain, or heaven, which is no different than that our own Earth, and that they stand rest, balanced by their own weight.
6. Nor could you say, taking a broad view of the universe, that one thing is more at the center than any other; thus we conclude that an immeasurable space containing innumerable stars and worlds

extends equally in every direction. 7. That each of these types of primary bodies could never exist without the other is indicated by the fact that nature provides for their motion, growth and material substance through the movement of various opposites. 8. Those who have eyes but no intelligence or reason will deny that planets roam around other fixed stars – Suns, that is – since they are not visible; yet all reason dictates that the Earths that exist around each fixed star cannot be seen from any other of the fixed stars, due to the smallness of their bodies and especially the weaker strength of the light in the reflecting body, which throws the shadow and image of the light at us, not the light itself.



1. aliger: from *ala* (wing) + *ger*, from *gerere* = to wear

Mavors: alternate form for *Mars*, an older form and used mostly in poetry.

fasso maior: *fasso* here from the past participle of *fateor*: “larger than [can be] said”

pro vicibus: on occasion, by turns.

sic circum fit quemque alium: in typical prose word order, *sic fit circum quemque alium*, with *solem* understood.

undis poetic for *aqua* or *aquis*, not specifically waves.

2. Ponimus hoc: the language of logic and argument: “we suppose the following.”

precipua: in classical Latin spelling, *praecipua*: main, principal

tellures: here referring to the Earth; near-synonym of *terra*.

3. de primo genere: that is, the *genus* (type) that *Soles*, suns, belong to.

esset: “would be,” imperfect subjunctive of *esse*; this is a hypotheti-

cal thought experiment.

a loco istius solis & a nostris sunt spectabiles regionibus: *spectabiles* here refers to *illae*, the *stellae fixae*, and is placed between *a loco istius solis et a nostris regionibus*, which go together in sense **iste, istius:** demonstrative pronoun referring to our own Sun; the nearer one

4. tum annuis...tum diurnis, that is, these *Planetae*, or “wandering stars,” both revolve (around our Sun, in annual motions) and rotate (around their axes in a regular motion that takes a “day” on that planet).

5. ponderibus librata propriis: “balanced by their own weight”
consistunt: “they stand still”

6. Neque est quod: “nor is there anything which...” (with *dicere possis*)

possis: present subjunctive, relative clause of characteristic

ad universi speciem: *ad speciem* is often use to specify an aspect: “as to the universe...”

cum conster...: The core of this long, confusing clause is: *conster circa omnia... immensum... spacium patere*; the *conster* introduces indirect statement with accusative and infinitive.

conster: a rare, post-classical form of *consto*, with the sense “it is agreed” (*constat*)

spacium: classical spelling *spatium*

7. illud indicat, quod...: “illustrates this, [namely] that...”

ad motum, etc.: here *ad* refers to purpose or end.

8. Quibus... negabunt: The relative clause is placed first here and the grammatical antecedent to the relative pronoun ellipsed: “those who were given eyes..., [they] will deny.”

tum propter parvitatem... tum maxime propter vim luminis remissioem: two causes are given for the weaker light we see with the *tum...tum*, the *maxime* indicating that the second is the primary

reason.

remissiorem luminis vim: *remissior* from *remissus*, past participle of *remittere*, so “sent back” or “reflected,” but also used as an adjective meaning “weak, soft, mild”: the reflected *lumen* is weaker than direct *lux*

lucis umbram atque imaginem non ipsam lucem: a *speculum* reproduces *lumen*, not *lucem ipsam*; here we see the two different words for light have different senses, *lumen* being reflected and, in a way, less real – a mere *imago* of the *lux* it derives from.



The text is that of Fischer’s 1591 edition as digitized in Google Books.

XXXIII.**Galileo Galilei** (1564–1642)*Nuncius Sidereus* (*The Starry Messenger*) pp. 7/8

Advertisement of his discoveries

Galileo Galilei was a philosopher and astronomer born in Pisa, in what is now Italy, in the year 1564. He is famous for his role in what we call the Scientific Revolution and his trial for heresy before the Inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church, but the details tell a more complex story than the commonly repeated one of vigorous defense of the heliocentric theory and outright defiance of Church authority. He was a meticulous debater and politically savvy, going so far as to name the moons of Jupiter that he discovered after the Medici family that held power in Florence and appointed him court mathematician. The importance of the telescope he invented and his relationship with the Church should not obscure his many other important works, including over 3,000 letters in Latin and Italian to fellow scholars and philosophers, as well as treatises on theoretical astronomy and the physics of matter.

In *The Starry Messenger*, Galileo reports detailed new observations of the Moon's surface made with the help of his telescope, in addition to the discovery of four "planets" (the moons) around Jupiter. In this passage we see precise descriptions of his astronomical observations, a talent for self-promotion, and emphasis on the novelty of his work within the astronomical tradition.



1. Magna equidem in hac exigua tractatione singulis de natura speculantibus inspicienda contemplandaque propono. 2. Magna, in-

quam, tum ob rei ipsius praestantiam, tum ob inauditam per aevum novitatem, tum etiam propter Organum, cuius beneficio eadem sensui nostro obviam sese fecerunt.

3. Magnum sane est, supra numerosam inerrantium Stellarum multitudinem, quae naturali facultate in hunc usque diem conspici potuerunt, alias innumeras superaddere oculisque palam exponere, antehac conspectas nunquam, et quae veteres ac notas plusquam supra decuplam multipliciter superent.

4. Pulcherrimum atque visu iucundissimum est, lunare corpus, per sex denas fere terrestres semidiametros a nobis remotum, tam ex propinquo intueri, ac si per duas tantum easdem dimensiones distaret; adeo ut eiusdem Lunæ diameter vicibus quasi terdenis, superficies vero noningentis, solidum autem corpus vicibus proxime viginti septem millibus, maius appareat, quam dum libera tantum oculorum acie spectatur: ex quo deinde sensata certitudine quispiam intelligat, Lunam superficie leni et perpolita nequaquam esse indutam, sed aspera et inæquali; ac, veluti ipsiusmet Telluris facies, ingentibus tumoribus, profundis lacunis atque anfractibus undique confertam existere.

5. Altercationes insuper de Galaxia, seu de Lacteo circulo, subtilissime, eiusque essentiam sensui, nedum intellectui, manifestasse, parvi momenti existimandum minime videtur; insuperque substantiam Stellarum, quas Nebulosas hucusque Astronomorum quilibet appellavit, digito demonstrare, longeque aliam esse quam creditum hactenus est, iocundum erit atque perpulcrum.

6. Verum, quod omnem admirationem longe superat, quodve admonitos faciendos cunctos Astronomos atque Philosophos nos apprime impulit, illud est, quod scilicet quatuor Erraticas Stellas, nemini eorum qui ante nos cognitatas aut observatas, adinvenimus, quae circa Stellam quandam insignem e numero cognitarum, instar Veneris atque Mercurii circa Solem, suas habent periodos, eamque

modo praeceunt, modo subsequuntur, nunquam extra certos limites ab illa digredientes. 7. Quae omnia ope Perspicilli a me excogitati, divina prius illuminante gratia, paucis abhinc diebus, reperta atque observata fuerunt.



1. Great indeed are the things I set forth in this little treatise for inspection and contemplation by each and every person who investigates nature. 2. Great, I say, on account of the excellence of the things themselves, and also for their novelty, unheard of in any age, and further because of the Instrument through whose help these things made themselves apparent to our senses.

3. It is of course a momentous thing to add to the numerous multitude of fixed Stars which could be viewed until now with our natural faculty innumerable other stars, and to expose them to our sight, stars never seen before and which number more than ten times the older, known stars.

4. It is exceedingly beautiful and pleasant to observe the lunar body, which is removed from us by a distance of nearly 60 Earth radii, so close up, as if it were only two of the same units distant; with the result that the Moon's diameter appears nearly 30 times larger, its surface 900 times, and its solid body nearly 27,000 times larger than when it is inspected with the gaze of the naked eye alone: from this observation anyone at all can understand, with the certainty of the senses, that the Moon is in no way clothed with a smooth and polished surface, but rather a rough and uneven one, and that just like the face of the Earth itself, is packed with giant swellings and deep holes and cavities in every direction.

5. It should hardly be judged of small importance to end the de-

bates about the ‘Galaxy’, that is the Milky Circle, and to make its essence plain to the senses, if not the intellect; and still further, it will be pleasant and most beautiful to point out that the substance of those stars which every Astronomer has heretofore called “Nebulous” is quite different than has been believed until now.

6. But the most wondrous thing of all, and that which mainly pushed us to make all Astronomers and Philosophers aware of these things, is that we have discovered four Wandering Stars, neither known nor observed by anyone before us, which have regular orbits around a certain remarkable Star, one of those known to us, just like those Venus and Mercury have around the Sun, and that they sometimes go before this Star, and sometimes follow it, never going more than certain limited distances away from it. 7. All of these things were discovered and observed with the help of the Glasses I created a few days ago, with divine grace lighting my way.



2. obviam sese fecerunt: *se obviam facere* is an idiom with roughly the same meaning as *se ostendere*: “to make themselves known, to reveal themselves”; *sese* is a form equivalent to the reflexive pronoun *se*.

Organum: From the Greek: *instrumentum*, a tool

3. in hunc usque diem: *usque adhuc*, “up to this day,” “until now”

inerrantium Stellarum: *inerrantes* is in astronomical jargon equivalent to *fixae*: stars that do not wander, i.e., our stars, not planets (“wandering stars”).

naturali facultate: That is, with the naked eye, unaided by Galileo’s new instrument.

supra innumerosam...superaddere: in a clearer word order, drop-

ping the relative clause: *supra numerosam multitudinem inerrantium Stellarum alias [Stellas] innumeras superaddere*

supra plusquam: a pleonasm - either of these words would alone suffice.

decuplam multiplicitatem: *decies*: “ten times”

4. semidiametros: half-diameters, thus, radii.

sex denas, etc.: Notice that each of these factors is 30 times the previous, as is mathematically expected when we move from length, to area, to volume.

ac si...distaret: an imperfect subjunctive indicating a present contrafactual or hypothetical: “as if they were at a distance of...”

Lunê: *Lunae*

libera tantum oculorum acie: “with the naked eye”; *acies oculorum* is a standard term for ‘gaze’, even in classical Latin.

adeo ut... maius appareat: present subjunctive in a result clause, comparing the situation when viewing the moon with his new instrument versus with the naked eye.

quispiam intelligat: independent use of the present subjunctive: “anyone at all would/could understand...”

sensata certitudine: “with reasonable certainty”; *sensata*, like the English “sensible,” can, by itself, mean both “reasonable” and “able to be sensed,” “perceptible.”

Lunam...indutam: *induere*, “to dress, to adorn”; regularly applied to people, and one might perceive here Galileo personifying the Moon.

inêquali: *inaequali*

ipsiusmet Telluris: *ipsiusmet* is an intensified form of the pronoun *ipsius*.

anfractibus: “windings,” often associated with tortuous paths or roughness

confertam: *confertus*: “thick with, dense, stuffed”

5. altercationes...substulisse: “to have eliminated the debates”
substulisse, manifestasse: these infinitives are the subjects of *vide-*
tur, the predicate being *parvi momenti minime aestimandum*

digito demonstrare: “to point out” (lit. “show with the finger”);
 again a subject infinitive, with predicate *iocundum erit atque perpul-*
crum; as Galileo is speaking of making observations with his new
 telescope, the phrase could be taken quite concretely here.

**substantiam Stellarum digito demonstrare...iocundum atque
 perpulcrum erit:** the intricate sequence of clauses in this sentences
 can be rendered in a clearer word order thus: *iocundum atque pul-*
chrum erit digito demonstrare substantiam... longe aliam esse quam
hactenus creditum est.

perpulcrum: *perpulchrum* in classical spelling

6. admonitos faciendos cunctos...: *admonitum facere* is equivalent
 to *admonere*

apprime: here *inprimis*, “firstly, above all”

nemini eorum qui ante nos...: the verb elided here is *vixerunt* vel
 sim.; *nemini* goes with *notas aut cognititas*

instar: *instar* takes the genitive and is used for comparisons: “simi-
 lar to, just like”

eam... ab illa: both pronouns refer to the *Stellam quandam*

7. Quae omnia...: connecting relative summarizing “and all of the
 above...”

ope Perspicilli a me excogitati: “with the aid of the Telescope I
 thought up.” *Perspicillum* is Galileo’s coinage, appearing here for the
 first time in print. It is related to words for *lens* and *glasses*, and its
 derivatives are used to mean the same in other, later authors, in-
 cluding the “glasses” some people wear. A reader of the text when
 it was just published would hear these intriguing resonances, rather
 than the “telescope” well known to us now.



The Latin text is that of the 1610 Frankfurt edition as digitized in Google Books.

XXXIV.

Johannes Kepler (1571–1630)

Dissertation on Galileo's "Starry Messenger" pp. 30, 31/2

The geometry of the solar system

Born in a small town in the southwest of what is now Germany in 1571, Johannes Kepler would not stray far from the area for most of his life, even as his mathematical astronomy took him on mental voyages across the cosmos. He originally trained for a career in theology and remained deeply religious and philosophical throughout his life, mixing the mathematical work on planetary motion that he is best known for today with speculation, in a tradition stretching back to Plato, about the relation between music and the structure of the universe. In a 1595 letter to his mentor Maestlin, he wrote: "I wanted to become a theologian and for a long time I was restless. Now however behold how God is being celebrated in astronomy." Convinced of Copernicus's heliocentric model of the solar system, he did much to popularize it among both scholars and laymen, exchanging letters with people like Galileo and writing what we would now call a work of science fiction, *Kepler's Dream*, that describes how the earth would look to inhabitants of the Moon.

In the first passage from his *Dissertation on Galileo's "Starry Messenger"* we see how he united theology and mathematics. For Kepler, the study of geometry and the use of deductive reasoning could reveal details of God's fundamentally geometric creation of the universe. Here he writes in the language of mathematical proof and uses a standard *reductio ad absurdum* technique to argue that the universe cannot be infinite (as Giordano Bruno and others claimed it must be). Within this technical language, though, we can also spot the fanciful imagination that produced fiction – note how he describes infinitely many Galileos.

In the second passage here Kepler waxes poetic as he describes the Sun as the majestic heart of God's cosmos and gives several reasons based in the perfection of geometrical relations and the positions of the other planets why Earth is the best possible home for mankind. While his argument is based in technicalities of solid geometry and planetary orbits, the analogies he draws resonate with his belief in a benevolent creator God: the Earth is a particularly suitable home for mankind because the Sun governs its motions just as God governs human lives.



1. Geometria una et aeterna est, in mente Dei refulgens: cuius consortium hominibus tributum inter causas est, cur homo sit imago Dei. 2. In geometria vero figurarum a globo perfectissimum est genus. 3. Corpora quinque Euclidea ad horum vero normam et archetypum distributus est hic noster mundus planetarius.

4. Da igitur, infinitos esse mundos alios: ii aut dissimiles erunt huius nostri, aut similes. 5. Similes non dixeris. 6. Nam cui bono infiniti, si unus quisque in se perfectionem omnem habet? 7. Aliud enim est de creaturis generationis successione perennibus. 8. Et Brunus ipse defensor infinitatis, censet, differre oportere singulos a reliquis totidem motuum generibus. 9. Si motibus, ergo et intervallis, quae pariunt motuum periodos. 10. Si intervallis, ergo et figurarum ordine, genere, perfectione, ex quibus intervalla desumpta.

11. Adeoque si mundos invicem similes statueres per omnia, creaturas etiam feceris similes, et totidem Galilaeos, nova sidera in novis mundis observantes, quot mundos. 12. Id autem cui bono? 13. Quin potius cavemus uno verbo, ne progressus fiat in infinitum.



1. Geometry is one and eternal, shining in the mind of God: and the fact that man can take part in it is among the reasons why mankind is the image of God. 2. In geometry the most perfect figure is that derived from the sphere. 3. Thus our planetary system is arranged according to the measure and archetype of the five Euclidean solids.

4. Suppose then that there are infinitely many other cosmoses: they will either be different from ours or similar. 5. One should not say that they are similar. 6. For what good would infinitely many cosmos be, if each one contained all perfection in itself? 7. The matter of creatures made eternal by the succession of generations is a different matter. 8. Even Bruno, the very defender of infinity, judges that each should differ from the rest in terms of the kinds of motions. 9. If they differ in motions, they must also differ in the intervals that give rise to the periods of their motions. 10. And if they differ in these intervals, they must also differ in the order, type and perfection of the figures from which the intervals are derived.

11. If you were in turn to create identical cosmos everywhere, you would also make identical creatures, and as many Galileos observing new stars in new cosmoses as there are cosmoses. 12. But what good would that be? 13. Instead let us be cautious, in a word, lest the progression go on infinitely.



1. **consortium [geometriae]:** “society,” in an antiquated sense in English: taking part in, being together with, sharing in something.
2. **figurarum a globo perfectissimum est genus:** rearranged, *perfec-*

tissimum genus figurarum est [genus] a globo: the figures (geometric solids here) that derive from a sphere (*globo*).

3. corpora... Euclidea: Euclidean solids, also known as the Platonic solids (and described mathematically in book XIII of Euclid's *Elements*): the tetrahedron, cube, octahedron, dodecahedron, and icosahedron. These are the regular convex polyhedrons. Each Platonic solid can be said to be “derived” from a sphere in a mathematically precise sense related to its high degree of symmetry.

mundus: has the sense of both “arrangement, order” and “world” (for example, coming into Italian as *il mondo*). The Greek *cosmos*, from which we get both “cosmic” and “cosmetics,” has a similar cluster of meanings.

hic noster mundus planetarius: the sense is “our ordinary world,” the real one – since Kepler will go on to reject the hypothetical idea of infinite worlds, in contrast to the solid fact of ours.

4. da igitur: the language of mathematical proof, “suppose therefore...,” building up a proof by contradiction or *reductio ad absurdum*.

5. non dixeris: “you would not say”: perfect subjunctive. In the language of mathematical proof in English, we would use a general subject: “one would not say...”

8. Brunus ipse defensor infinitatis: Kepler opposes his views to those of Giordano Bruno (whose idea of the infinite were treated in passage XXXII), that “defender of infinity himself.” Bruno believed that the number of cosmoses must be infinite based on theoretical arguments.

et: here an adverb “Even Bruno...”

9-10. si motibus, et intervallis, etc.: *differre oportere* is to be understood here; a very compressed style of argumentation. Implicit here is the idea of the music or harmony of the spheres, the proposed relation between the geometry of the cosmos and certain intervals

formed by ratios deemed to be “harmonic” – meaning, for Kepler, “pleasing to the [human] ear,” but he also believed that the basis of this sense of concordance went much deeper, to the rational soul of the human and further to God as the rational soul of the universe. Kepler, known as a mathematical astronomer and well-versed in practical calculations, also wrote a treatise on *Harmonics* that is philosophical and astronomical as much as musical and was one of the last astronomers to attempt to argue for a “music of the spheres” with mathematical and scientific arguments (as we would now classify them).

11. si...statueres similes mundos per omnia: *statueres* here is an imperfect subjunctive – the reader is invited into this hypothetical thought experiment.

13. cavemus uno verbo, ne : with a rhetorical flourish, Kepler dismisses the argument: he will not devote one more word to this ridiculous line of thought.

ne progressus fiat in infinitum: fear clause with the verb *cavere*.



1. Sol quidem in centro mundi est, cor mundi est, fons lucis est, fons caloris, origo vitae motusque mundani est. 2. At videtur homo aequo animo illo throno regio abstinere debere, Coelum coeli Domino, Soli iustitiae, Terram autem dedit filiis hominum. 3. Nam et si Deus corpus non habet, nec habitaculo indiget; in Sole tamen (ut passim per scripturam in caelo) plus exerit virtutis, qua mundus gubernatur, quam in globis caeteris. 4. Agnoscat igitur homo ipsius etiam habitaculi sui distinctione suam indigentiam, Dei abundantiam; agnoscat se non esse fontem et originem ornatus mundani, sed a fonte et ab origine vera dependere. 5. Adde et hoc, quod in Opticis dixi: contemplationis causa, ad quam homo

factus, oculisque ornatus et instructus est, non potuisse hominem in centro quiescere; sed oportere, ut navigio hoc Telluris, annuo motu circumspacietur, lustrandi causa: non secus atque mensores rerum inaccessibleium, stationem statione permutant, ut triangulo mensorio iustam basin ex stationum intervallis concilient.

6. Post solem autem, non est nobilior globus, aptiorque homini quam Tellus. 7. Nam is primum numero medius est ex globis primariis (circulatoribus hic, et Lunae globo circumterrestri seposito, ut par est) habet enim supra, Martem, Iovem, Saturnum: infra complexum sui circuitus, currentes Venerem, Mercurium, et tornatum in medio Solem, cursum omnium incitatorem, vere Apollinem; qua voce Brunus crebro utitur.

8. Deinde cum quinque corpora abeant in duas classes, trium primarium, Cubi Tetraedri Dodecaedri; duorum secundariorum Icosaedri et Octaedri: Telluris circuitus, sic inter utrumque ordinem, veluti maceries intercedit, ut superius dodecaedri centra planorum duodecim, inferius respondentis Icosaedri angulos duodecim stringat: quo vel solo situ inter figuras, prae caeteris orbibus notabilis est orbis Telluris.

9. Tertio nos in Tellure Mercurium, planetarum primariorum ultimum, vix visu apprehendimus, propter propinquam et nimiam Solis claritatem. 10. Quanto minus in Iove vel Saturno, Mercurius conspicuus erit? 11. Summo itaque consilio hic globus homini videtur attributus, ut omnes planetas contemplari posset.



1. The Sun is in the center of the cosmos: it is the heart of the cosmos, the source of light, the source of heat, the origin of life and earthly motion. 2. But it seems that mankind must calmly abstain from that royal throne: for God gave the Heavens to the Lord of

Heaven, the Sun of Justice, but gave the Earth to the sons of man. 3. For even if God does not have a body, he needs no dwelling place; still, in the Sun (as in Heaven, throughout the Scriptures) he uncovers more of that virtue by which the world is governed than he does in the other heavenly bodies. 4. Therefore let mankind recognize from this difference the neediness of his own dwelling place and the abundance of God's; let him recognize that he is not the source and origin of the cosmic order, but is dependent on its true source and origin. 5. Add this point too, which I said in my *Optics*: that mankind, being created and endowed with eyes for the sake of contemplation, could not rest still in the center; instead we must wander around in this vessel of the Earth in an annual motion, that we may investigate and survey the cosmos: it is not unlike the way surveyors of inaccessible things switch from station to station so that they can obtain a sound foundation in the intervals between the stations and use a measuring triangle.

6. After the Sun there is no more noble globe nor one more fit for mankind than Earth. 7. First of all, in terms of number, it lies in the middle of the primary globes (that is, the orbiting ones, with the Moon that orbits the earth set aside, as is fair), since it has Mars, Jupiter and Saturn above it, while below the embrace of its orbit run Venus, Mercury, and the Sun, spinning in the middle, which incites all the other orbits, a true 'Apollo', in the expression Bruno often uses.

8. Next, since the five solids fall into two classes – three primary solids, Cube, Tetrahedron, Dodecahedron, and two secondary, Icosahedron and Octahedron – the orbit of the Earth falls between the two groups like a wall, so that from above it skirts the centers of the dodecahedron's twelve faces, and from below it skirts the twelve angles of the corresponding icosahedron: thus, merely by its location between the figures the sphere of the Earth is notable in

comparison to the other spheres.

9. Thirdly we here on the Earth can hardly discern Mercury, the farthest of the primary planets, with our sight on account of its closeness and the excessive brightness of the Sun. 10. How much less visible would Mercury be from Jupiter or Saturn? 11. Thus it seems that this planet was given to mankind with the greatest foresight, so that we might contemplate all the planets.



1. fons: “fountain,” but here metaphorically, as in English, “source, origin”

motus mundani: here, “the Earth’s motion” or “Earthly motion,” from *mundus*. “Mundane” is an English derivative, and the sense of ordinary vs. heavenly/celestial may be at play here.

2. aequo animo: ablative of description describing *homo*; *aequus* has the sense of “undisturbed,” “at rest.” Someone who is *aequo animo* is calm. From this we get the English *equanimous*.

illo throno regio: ablative going with the verb *abstinere*, which is accompanied by the ablative with or without the preposition *ab*.

coelum: classically, *caelum*

terram autem dedit filiis hominum: Quoting *Psalms* 113:24.

3. nam et si: *et si*, “even if”

habitu indiget: *indiget* from *indigere*, “want, lack, have need of” + ablative

exerit: alternate form of *exserit*.

qua mundus gubernatur: *qua* is an ablative of instrument and refers back to *virtutis*.

4. agnoscat: from *agnoscere*, “to recognize”; independent hortatory subjunctive, “let him...”

5. quod in Opticis dixi: The *Optica* is an earlier work of Kepler's dealing with optics.

ad quam homo factus, etc.: *quam* refers to *contemplationis*; *ad* here is purpose or end goal.

oportere: along with *potuisse*, etc. earlier, infinitive in indirect statement depending on *Adde*.

non secus atque: *secus* far away; *non secus atque* or *ac* sets up a comparison: "not so different from..."

mensores: from the deponent *metiri*, "to measure," and *-tor*, the suffix that describes the "agent" or doer of the verb's action (English *-er*)

stationem statione permutant: *statione* here is technically an "ablative of price" - here used simply with the verb of exchange or changing places, *permutare*.

basin: *-in* is a Greek accusative form; the word is from the Greek *basis*, with the same meaning as it has in English.

7. circulatoribus... et globo... seposito: *seposito*: setting aside, excluding from consideration.

incitorem cursuum omnium: *incitator* from *incitare*, "to incite, stir up"; the Sun as the *cause* of the motion of all the other planets is here a rather metaphysical concept; Kepler has not worked out a theory of gravity.

qua voce Brunus crebro utitur: *voce* here, from *vox*, meaning "a word, a term;" as Kepler notes here, Giordano Bruno uses *Apollo* to refer to our and other suns. *Utitur* takes the ablative.

8. telluris circuitus...veluti maceries: *veluti*, "like, as," is used to make a comparison; *maceries*: "wall, barrier."

ut... stringat: subjunctive in a result clause.

angulos stringat: *angulos stringere* is a term from geometry meaning to be at a tangent to the angles, with angles here referring to the vertices of a 3-dimensional solid figure

quo...situ: ablative of cause, the reason why the Earth is *notabilis prae caeteris*.

9. tertio: adverbial, “thirdly.” Kepler gives the third of his three reasons why the Earth is the most apt planet and dwelling for mankind.

ultimum: here, “farthest”

11. ut... contemplari posset: *posset* imperfect subjunctive in a purpose clause in secondary sequence, depending on the perfect tense verb *attributus [esse]*, not the present tense *videtur*.



The Latin text is that of the 1610 edition by H.F. Schulz, as digitized in Google Books.

Caspar, Max. *Johannes Kepler*. W. Kohlhammer, 1948.



A TATIS SVA
1610

XXXV.**Pope Francis** (1936–)Encyclical Letter *Lumen Fidei* 4, 12

The light of faith

A specimen of twenty-first century Latin, the following is an excerpt from Pope Francis's encyclical letter *Lumen Fidei*, or "The Light of Faith." An encyclical letter is a letter sent by the Pope to all the clergy and faithful of the world on a particular topic of faith. Although ascribed to Pope Francis, *Lumen Fidei* is almost entirely the work of his predecessor Benedict XVI (1927–), who abdicated the papacy three months before its publication. This work completes Pope Benedict's series of encyclicals on the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. A product of the Vatican's Latin office, the style is straightforward, practical, and clear. The verb to be is employed rather than implied; sentences tend to be shorter and less periodic; pronouns are added to a degree one would expect in a modern language but not in Classical Latin. Though the text clearly aims for readability, portions of it display a more complicated and poetic structure. As these samples illustrate, the Pope aims to show that faith is not, as commonly conceived, a plunge into the darkness, but a step into the light.



1. Instat igitur ut lucis natura, quae ad ipsam fidem spectat, recuperetur, quandoquidem cum eius flamma exstinguitur reliquae quoque luces extenuantur. 2. Nam fidei lumen singularem habet naturam, cum facultatem habeat totam hominis existentiam illuminandi. 3. Ut lux sic potens sit, a nobis ipsis manare non potest,

nativiore ex fonte oriri debet, ex Deo tandem fluere debet... 4. Fides, quam a Deo veluti supernaturale donum recipimus, ut in via lux manifestatur, quae iter nostrum in tempore dirigit... 5. Intellegimus tunc non incolere in obscuritate fidem, esse ipsam pro nostris tenebris lucem. 6. Dantes in Divina Comoedia, postquam suam fidem coram sancto Petro professus est, eam describit veluti “favillam / quae dilatatur in flammam postea vivacem, / et sicut stella in caelo, in me scintillat.” 7. Hac de ipsa fidei luce loqui volumus, ut crescat ad praesentia illuminanda usque dum stella fiat quae nostri itineris prospectus demonstrat, tempore quodam cum peculiarem in modum luce indiget homo.

8. Populi Israel historia, in Exodi libro, fidei Abraham exemplum persequitur. 9. Ex primigenio dono oritur denuo fides: Israel Deo agenti se tradit, qui eum ab eius miseria liberare vult. 10. Domini in Sina adorandi atque terrae promissae hereditatis accipiendae causa fides ad longum iter vocatur. 11. Divinus amor habet patris effigiem qui in itinere suum filium ducit (cfr Dt 1,31). 12. Fidei Israel professio veluti narratio beneficiorum Dei, eius actionis in liberandum regendumque populum (cfr Dt 26,5-11) evolvitur, quam narrationem de generatione in generationem populus transmittit. 13. Dei lux Israel per memoriam rerum a Domino factarum coruscat, quas ritus memorant et confitentur, quaeque a parentibus ad filios transmittuntur. 14. Sic discimus lucem a fide delatam cum certa coniungi vitae narratione, cum grata recordatione Dei beneficiorum atque cum eius repromissionibus, quae gradatim explentur. 15. Gothica architectura id probe ostendit: in amplis cathedralibus templis de caelo per fenestras vitreas lux labitur, ubi historia sacra fingitur. 16. Dei lux per eius revelationis narrationem ad nos pervenit, atque sic nostrum iter in tempore illuminare valet, dum divina beneficia memorat, dum demonstrat quomodo eius repromissiones perficiantur.



1. Therefore, it is important that the nature of light, which looks toward faith itself, be recovered, since when its flame is extinguished, other lights are also taxed. 2. For the light of faith has a singular nature, since it has the power of illuminating the entire existence of man. 3. For this light to be as powerful as it is, it cannot flow from ourselves, but should arise from a more original source – namely, it ought to flow from God... 4. Faith, which we have received from God as a supernatural gift, is revealed like a light on our way, which directs our course in time... 5. We understand, then, that faith does not dwell in darkness, but is light for our darkness. 6. Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*, after he proclaimed his faith before St. Peter, describes this faith as “a spark, which is expanded into a flame after it is alight, and as a star in the sky, shining in me.” 7. About this light of faith we wish to speak, that it may increase to illuminate our present circumstances until such a time as that star may come about which will direct us as a guide on our journey, at this certain moment when man is lacking light in a particular way.

8. The history of the people of Israel, in the book of *Exodus*, follows the example of the faith of Abraham. 9. Faith arises once again from that primeval gift: the people of Israel hand themselves over to an acting God, who wishes to free them from their misery. 10. For the sake of adoring the Lord in Sinai, and of receiving the land promised as an inheritance, faith is called to a long journey. 11. The divine love has the likeness of a father who leads his own son on a journey. 12. Israel’s profession of faith is unfurled as a story of the favors of God, of his act of freeing and ruling his people. The people pass down this story from generation to generation. 13. The

light of God shines on Israel through the memory of the things done by the Lord, which religious rites recall and acknowledge, and which is passed down from parents to their sons. 14. Thus we learn that light, brought down by faith, is joined with a certain story of life, with a grateful remembrance of the mercies of God, and with his promises, which step-by-step are fulfilled. 15. Gothic architecture illustrates this idea well: in the great Gothic cathedrals light falls from heaven through glass windows where sacred history is displayed. 16. The light of God arrives to us through the story of his revelation, and so it is able to illuminate our journey in time while it recalls the divine mercies, while it shows how his promises are brought to completion.



1. **instat:** it is urgent or important. Introduces an indirect command.
2. **facultatem...illuminandi:** the object of the gerund is *totam...existentiam*.
3. **ut...sit:** a purpose clause dependent on *ex Deo...debet*.
- tandem:** “namely.”
- donum:** in apposition with *quam*.
4. **Fides...ut lux manifestatur:** *manifestatur* is indicative, so here *ut* introduces a simile, not a purpose clause. Thus *lux* is in apposition with *fides*.
5. **esse...pro nostris tenebris:** two unusual usages that would be unlikely to appear in Classical Latin. *esse* is used as a subject infinitive in an indirect statement, where it is often simply understood. The preposition *pro* is used in place of a dative of reference.
6. **Dantes:** Dante Alighieri, fourteenth-century Italian poet. Dan-

te's most famous work, *The Divine Comedy*, describes in three parts the poet's journey from Hell (*Inferno*) to Purgatory (*Purgatorio*) to Heaven (*Paradiso*).

favillam...scintillat: from *Paradiso* XXIV.145-147. The original is of course in Italian, but has been translated into Latin here for this encyclical. The original text is:

*Quest' è 'l principio, quest' è la favilla
che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,
e come stella in cielo in me scintilla.*

7. prospectus demonstrate: *prospectus* is nominative, in apposition with *stella*. *Demonstrat* has an intransitive sense here, "directs, shows the way."

usque dum: until such time as when.

8. Israel: here in the genitive case; indeclinable.

in Exodi libro: Exodus, the second book of the Torah and the Old Testament, tells the story of the escape of the Jewish people from slavery in Egypt toward freedom in a promised land.

9. denuo: once again.

agenti: The God of Israel is not remote and uninvolved, but acts and intervenes in history.

10. in Sina: Mt. Sinai, where God gave to Moses the Ten Commandments.

causa: ablative with the phrases *Domini...adorandi* and *terrae...accipiendae*.

14. coniungi: present passive infinitive of *coniungere*.

15. probe: well.

amplis cathedralibus templis: i.e., Gothic cathedrals.



Francis. 2013. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 105.7: 557, 561.

FINIS.