

Two Renaissance Translations of Menander Rhetor on the Monody

Edited with a Note on the Introduction of the Genre in the Latin West

*Pernille Harsting**

The prescriptions περὶ μονωδίας, on the monody, form one chapter of the second of the two late-classical treatises on epideictic rhetoric traditionally attributed to Menander Rhetor (R&W 434,10-437,4).¹ The detailed prescriptions on the composition of this variety of the funeral speech was the part of Menander Rhetor's work that was first translated into Latin. There are two extant copies of the translation. The oldest of these was written by one Ditaiutus de Vitaliis from Osimo (in the modern Italian region of Le Marche). It is dated the 13th September 1423 and now belongs to the Vatican Library.² The other surviving copy is to be found in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia. The text of this copy was originally transcribed and forwarded by one Aurelius Romanus to another likewise unknown Aurelius. We do not know the date of the original transcription; the Perugia copy, however, was written in the late 15th or early 16th centuries.³ The texts transmitted by Ditaiutus de Vitaliis and Aurelius Romanus are both apographs of an original translation, based on the first branch of the Greek manuscript tradition.⁴

* The text edition supplements Harsting 1991 and 1992, where I have dealt with the *fortuna* of the various Menander Rhetor translations and their manuscript sources. I am grateful to Russell L. Friedman for his comments on an earlier draft of this article and for correcting my English.

¹ All references to Menander Rhetor's text are to Russell and Wilson 1981 (= R&W). On the attribution of the text, see Soffel 1974, pp. 100-104, and more recently Russell and Wilson 1981, pp. xxxiv-xxxix; Pernot 1986, pp. 34 and 52-53; and Pernot 1993, p. 71, n. 72.

² See Harsting 1992, pp. 140-141.

³ Art.cit, pp. 141-142.

⁴ Art.cit., pp. 142-143.

The translation was probably made in Rome, necessarily before the 13th September 1423.⁵ Neither the Vatican nor the Perugia copy has hitherto been edited.

The two treatises attributed to Menander Rhetor are both from the late 3rd or the early 4th century. Along with the *Ars rhetorica* by the so-called Pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁶ they are the most important of the theoretical writings on epideictic rhetoric that we have preserved from the Second Sophistic. There is reason to believe, however, that the type of handbook they represent was not uncommon in this period.⁷

In Byzantium Menander Rhetor's work formed part of a didactic and literary canon. The number of preserved epideictic poems and orations as well as the surviving manuscripts that contain Menander Rhetor's treatises in whole or in part, bear witness to the importance attached by the Byzantines to epideictic theory and practice.⁸

The monody is one of the genres with roots in the late-classical epideictic theory that remained popular throughout the Byzantine period. From the second century until the fall of Byzantium, monodies were composed by authors such as Aristides and Himerius, Michael Psellus, Georgius Gemistus Pletho, and Bessarion.⁹ According to Menander Rhetor's prescriptions, the monody is first and foremost an expression of

⁵ This appears from the colophon and the postscript in the copies, see below in this article, in section 1.1.-2.; see also art.cit., pp. 140-142.

⁶ On this work, see Russell and Wilson 1981, pp. 362-381; and Pernot 1993, esp. pp. 68-71. I am preparing a study on the translations of the *Ars rhetorica* in the 15th and 16th centuries (forthcoming in *ARID*, 1998), as well as the article on Pseudo-Dionysius for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*.

⁷ See, e.g., Pernot 1993, p. 68 and n. 64.

⁸ On the influence of Menander Rhetor's work in Byzantium, see Hunger 1978, I, esp. pp. 88-89; and Viljamaa 1968, esp. p. 22. On the manuscript tradition, see Russell and Wilson 1981, pp. xl-xlv.

⁹ See Hunger 1978, I, pp. 132-145, on "Epitaphioi und Monodien" with numerous examples of the genre. On the monodies by Bessarion, see below.

grief and pity at the death of a young person.¹⁰ In practice, however, it is mainly distinguished from the two other kinds of funeral speeches, the παραμυθητικός (R&W 413,5-414,30) and the ἐπιτάφιος (R&W 418,5-422,4), on account of its brevity,¹¹ and is employed to express grief at tragic events of any sort.¹² An early example of this is Libanius' monody (or. 61) on the destruction of Nicomedia by an earthquake in 358, whereas the monodies on the fall of Constantinople conclude the long Byzantine tradition.¹³

The appearance in Italy of a translation of Menander Rhetor's chapter on the monody obviously reflects the generally increasing importation of Greek manuscript texts from Byzantium in the beginning of the 15th century. Considering the popularity of the monody in Byzantium, it is most probable, however, that Menander Rhetor's prescriptions on this genre were particularly picked out of the epideictic corpus with an eye to its applicability in the Latin West.

The monody in fact made its way into Renaissance literature during the 15th century, and the Latin translation undoubtedly played a role in this process. The range of its readership was probably limited, however, as was the number of humanists able to read the Greek text of Menander Rhetor's treatises that was copied in a number of manuscripts in the 15th and early 16th centuries.¹⁴ Yet, by reading the Greek theory

¹⁰ τί τοίνυν ἡ μονωδία βούλεται; θρηνεῖν καὶ κατοικτιρίζεσθαι. (R&W 434,18-19). εὐδηλον δὲ ὡς αἱ μονωδίαι εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ νεωτέροις λέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ γεγρακόσι. (R&W 436, 21-23).

¹¹ ἔστω δὲ μὴ πέρα τῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ἐπῶν ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τοὺς πενθοῦντας μακρᾶς σχολῆς μηδὲ λόγων μήκους ἐν συμφοραῖς καὶ ἀκαιρίαις. (R&W 437,1-4)

¹² On the genre and on the genre term, see Soffel 1974, esp. pp. 155-157; and Hadzis 1964, who should, however, be read with caution; curiously enough, Hadzis does not even mention Menander Rhetor.

¹³ See Hunger 1978, pp. 143-144; Hadzis 1964, pp. 182-184.

¹⁴ A list of these later manuscripts will be provided in connection with my forthcoming article on Menander Rhetor for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*.

and the Greek *exempla*, by translating the texts into Latin and imitating them in their own writings, it was this very circle of humanists that transmitted the knowledge of the epideictic subgenres to a wider circle.

For it should not be forgotten that epideictics was to a great extent learnt by way of imitation, both of the theory and of earlier specimens of the various genres. The Italian humanist Niccolò Perotti (1429-1480) offers an example of this, and at the same time sheds light upon the introduction of the monody in the Italian Renaissance.¹⁵

Interestingly enough, there is reason to believe that Perotti was not familiar with the practice of the genre until, most likely at the end of 1470 or the beginning of 1471,¹⁶ he undertook to make a Latin translation of one of Cardinal Bessarion's early writings: the monody on the death of the young Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425).¹⁷ The reading of Bessarion's monody apparently drew Perotti's attention to the monodies by Aristides (or. 18, on the earthquake that destroyed Smyrna) and Libanius (or. 17, on the death of the Emperor Julian). Perotti subsequently translated these early Greek monodies into Latin and published them in an autograph manuscript, along with his Latin version of the monody by Bessarion, and a monody that he had written himself on the death of his brother Severus.¹⁸

¹⁵ On the life and work of Perotti, see, e.g., Mercati 1925; and various articles in *RPL* 4 (1981) ff.

¹⁶ The translation was published by Perotti sometime between January and July 1471, see n. 19 below. In the dedicatory letter, Perotti maintains that he spent only four days on translating the monodies, cf. Mercati 1925, p. 155, and n. 19 below.

¹⁷ Bessarion's monody is preserved in the autograph ms., Cod. Marc. Gr. 533 (= 788) that also contains other of Bessarion's monodies and funeral poems. On the monody on Manuel II, the manuscript, and the modern edition of the Greek text, see Ronchey 1994, pp. 47-50. — On Perotti's translation of the monody as part of a project towards a "Bessarion Latinus", see Monfasani 1981, esp. p. 175: "Then, from mid-April 1469 [...] to February 1471, [...] Perotti embarked on a grand project: in those two years he set out to transfer almost all of Bessarion's Greek *oeuvres* into Latin."

¹⁸ On this autograph manuscript, Vat. lat. 6835, and on the other copies of the text, see Mercati 1925, pp. 70-74 and 151; and Marucchi 1985, p. 120, who, however, generally

The manuscript edition of the monodies is dedicated to Pietro Foscarelli, *apostolicae sedis protonotarius*, and the dedicatory letter presents interesting information on the knowledge of the genre in the second half of the 15th century.¹⁹ First of all Perotti defines the monody as a Greek version of the Latin *nenia*, and a genre that was first employed by Aristides and Libanius.²⁰ Furthermore, Perotti maintains that, as far as he knows, the genre had not yet been employed by any Latin author.²¹ Apparently, it was only after having read Bessarion's monody that Perotti got to study the monodies of the two Greek authors — which, in fact, he compared unfavourably to Bessarion's.²² While refusing to be recognised on a par with Aristides, Perotti nevertheless claims to be the first to use the genre among the Latin writers, and presents his own monody as an *exemplum* to his contemporaries.²³

The dedicatory letter is concentrated on epideictic practice and on the importance of the *exemplum* in the tradition and reception of the

refers to Mercati 1925. Cf. also Monfasani 1981 on the ms. VF 12 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples which, however, only contains the translated monodies.

¹⁹ The dedicatory letter is edited in Mercati 1925, pp. 151-155. Mercati dated the letter to 1472, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-72), but Monfasani 1981, pp. 176-177, convincingly argues that it was written between January and July 1471.

²⁰ *Hoc genus dictionis Graeci monodiam, quasi funebrem quendam cantum et lachrimis mixtum, appellant: quales erant quae apud maiores nostros neniae dicebantur. Primus apud Graecos hoc dicendi genere usus est Aristides, deinde Libanius; praeter eos ex veteribus nemo*, cf. Mercati 1925, p. 154.

²¹ *Apud Latinos vero nullus adhuc, quod in meam notitiam venerit, usus est*, *ibid.* In fact, among the many Italian *orationes funebres* from 1274-1534, listed in McManamon 1989, pp. 249-292, the only monody is Perotti's on his brother. However, several other monodies, later than Perotti's, are registered in P. O. Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*.

²² *Accepi subito Aristidem Libaniumque in manibus et eas monodias elegeri [...]. Quas cum Bessarionis monodiae comparassem [...], longo sane intervallo praeferendum Bessarionis opus existimavi [...]*, cf. Mercati 1925, pp. 154-155.

²³ *Nos vero, ut non modo verbis nostros homines ad hoc honestissimum munus hortemur sed etiam exemplo excitemus, nostram quoque monodiam post alias omnes addidimus, quam paulo ante in Severi fratris acerbissimo funere infaelices meditati sumus. Hoc autem nemo me arroganter fecisse existimet, ut instar Aristidis primus ex Latinis in hoc dicendi genere et quasi dux essem, sed ut alios in viam ponerem et - quod in proverbio est - digito fontem demonstrarem*, *op.cit.*, p. 155.

monody. As regards the theory of the genre, the closest Perotti comes is to define the monody as a counterpart to the Latin *nenia*. This definition is also found in Perotti's major work, the *Cornu copiae*. Here, however, taking Horace as his authority, Perotti ascribes the invention of the monody to the Greek poet Simonides, thus dating the first use of the genre several centuries before the works of Aristides and Libanius.²⁴ Neither the description in the dedicatory letter, nor the one in the *Cornu copiae*, is based on the prescriptions by Menander Rhetor.

As far as we know, the chapter on the monody was the only part of Menander Rhetor's treatises that was translated from Greek until well into the 16th century. At this point, in 1553, Luigi Leopardi published the Neapolitan Andrea Londano's Italian translation of the prescriptions on the "imperial speech", the βασιλικὸς λόγος (R&W 368-372,13).²⁵ The translation was printed in Padua or Venice and explicitly intended to provide material for the encomiastic speeches on the appointment of the new Doge in Venice.²⁶

Only five years later, in 1558, and likewise in Venice, there appeared a Latin translation of the whole of Menander Rhetor's work, made by the Venetian Natale Conti (1520-1582) who had previously, in

²⁴ Perotti's definition in the *Cornu copiae* is an autograph addition in the Urb. lat. 301. The passage is edited by Harsting in Perotti 1995, p. 61, § 106: [...] *monodia lugubris cantus qui fit á praefica in defunctorum funeribus, quasi unius cantus. Nam caeteris flentibus sola praefica canit. Huiusmodi cantus á nostris naenia dicitur. Solebat enim huiusmodi carmen laudandi gratia apud ueteres in defunctorum funeribus cantari ad tibiam. Est autem naenia facticium nomen á similitudine uocis eorum qui quaeruntur et dolent. [...] Naeniam siue monodiam primus instituisse dicitur Simonides poeta, ex Cea insula. Horatius [carm. 2,1,37-38]: "Sed relictis musa procax iocis Caeae retractes Munera Naeniae."* See also Mercati 1925, p. 154, n. 2, with reference to this passage in the Aldine 1513 edition of the *Cornu copiae*, col. 691, and to another, brief, passage, *ibid.*, col. 1007, where the monody is paralleled to the *epicedium* and again compared to the Latin *nenia*.

²⁵ On Londano (fl. in the 16th century) and on this translation, see Harsting 1992, pp. 143-148 and 152-153. Unlike the Latin translations, the Italian translation is based on the third branch of the manuscript tradition, cf. *art.cit.*, pp. 145-146.

²⁶ See Harsting 1992, pp. 147-148.

1550, translated the progymnasmata of Hermogenes and Aphthonius.²⁷ The 1558 translation, however, contributed to the knowledge of "that part of eloquence which deals with praise and vituperation of individual feats", and which "has largely come to prevail not just in historical writing, but also in other parts of literature," as Conti writes in the dedicatory letter to Francesco Gonzaga. The translation of Menander Rhetor's prescriptions is, in other words, supposed to appeal to a general interest in epideictics, and Conti explains the importance of the work by the fact that "no one ever wrote more elaborately or copiously on that matter than Menander."²⁸

Natale Conti's translation of Menander Rhetor's treatises was probably based on the *editio princeps* of the Greek text, which was printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice, in 1508, as part of the first volume of the *Rhetores Graeci*.²⁹ In fact, Conti's translation includes all of Menander Rhetor's text except the chapters on the *κατευναστικός* and the *προσφωνητικός*, which are also missing in the Aldinè edition.³⁰ This also indicates that the translation, like the edition, follows the text transmitted in the first branch of the manuscript tradition.³¹ On the frontispiece the book is presented as the first Latin translation of the text: "*Menandri [...] libri duo [...] nunc primum è Græco in Latinum ad*

²⁷ On Conti's translation of Menander Rhetor, see Harsting 1992, pp. 148-150 and 153-155. The edition of *Hermogenis Tarsensis philosophi ac rhetoris acutissimi de arte rhetorica præcepta, Aphthonii item sophistæ præ<e>xercitamenta, nuper in Latinum sermonem uersa. A Natale de Comitibus Veneto*, Basileæ [1550], is rare and not mentioned in the bio-bibliographical article on Conti in Ricciardi 1983. I have seen a microfilm copy of the book in the Bibliothèque Nationale i Paris.

²⁸ The Latin letter is edited with translation in Harsting 1992, p. 155.

²⁹ Conti's translations of Hermogenes' and Aphthonius' progymnasmata, see n. 27 above, were probably also based on Aldus' *Rhetores Graeci* 1508-1509.

³⁰ See the transcribed table of contents in section 2.2., below in this article. Russell and Wilson 1981, p. xlv, erroneously do not list all of the chapters contained in the Aldine, some of which were printed without a heading, see Harsting 1992, p. 145 and n. 30.

³¹ Cf. Russell and Wilson 1981, p. xlv, for the table of contents of the main representative of this branch, P = ms. Par. gr. 1741. For a further discussion of Conti's Greek source, see Harsting 1992, p. 149.

omnium utilitatem translati." In fact, the translation includes both of the previously translated chapters on the monody and on the imperial speech. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Conti knew or made use of the earlier Latin translation of the chapter on the monody: the identical formulations are relatively few and most of them could easily be dismissed as obvious choices in Latin.³² In any event, Conti's is the first attempt at a complete translation of Menander Rhetor's treatises into Latin, and thus the first endeavour to make the prescriptions on both the monody and the various other epideictic genres accessible to a large readership.

The following edition of the earliest translation of Menander Rhetor's chapter on the monody is based on ms. Ross. 442 (IX, 32), 58r-59v, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (13th September 1423), here called *V*,³³ and on the ms. C 61, 122r-123v, in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia (15th-16th century), here called *P*.³⁴ The variant

³² Some examples are: *non praetermisit* (*V-P*, l. 4; Conti, l. 2-3) for οὐ παραλέλοιπε (R&W 434,12); *Quid igitur funebris sermo uult* (*V-P*, l. 8) and *Quid igitur uult monodia* (Conti, l. 7) for τί τοίνυν ἡ μονωδία βούλεται (R&W 434,18); *commiscere* (*V-P*, l. 10) and *commista* (Conti, l. 9) for παραμιγνύντα (R&W 434,20-21); *non ad felix theatrum conuenerunt* (*V-P*, l. 33; Conti, l. 34) for συνεληλύθασιν οὐκ εἰς θέατρον εὐδαιμον (R&W 435,22-23); *non amplius, sed omnia conciderunt* (*V-P*, l. 55-56) and *non amplius conuolutiones, sed omnia conciderunt* (Conti, l. 56) for οὐκέτι ἕλικες, ἀλλὰ συμπεπτωκότα πάντα (R&W 436,20-21); *qui cum ab inuicem separantur patienter tolerant, uoce sola significant conquestum* (*V-P*, 60-61) and *quæ uicissim separari tolerant, at uoce ipsa se conqueri significant* (Conti, l. 62-63) for ἀνέχεται χωριζόμενα ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐπισημαίνει τῇ φωνῇ ὀδυρόμενα (R&W 436,28-29). — Notice, however: *Oratio autem funebris non excedat ultra CL uersus*, *V-P*, l. 64, where Conti, l. 66-67, has: *Sit autem oratio non plurium quam centum et quadraginta carminum*. R&W 437,1-2, have the reading ἔστω δὲ μὴ πέρα τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐπῶν ὁ λόγος, and give no comments *ad locum*.

³³ On this manuscript see Harsting 1992, p. 140; cf. also Pellegrin 1982, p. 441 (where the Fondo Rossiano is described by J. Fohlen, C. Jeudy, and Y.-F. Riou). The manuscript is now also included in Kristeller 1992, p. 393, that supplements id. 1967, pp. 465-472, on the Fondo Rossiano.

³⁴ See Harsting 1992, p. 141, with bibliography.

readings are few, but in order to give an impression of the original manuscripts, I have also noted the characteristic orthographica in the *apparatus criticus*. In fact, the misspellings as well as the grammatical and orthographic "grecisms", typical of the *conversio ad verbum*, are more pronounced in the Vatican than in the Perugia manuscript.³⁵ This suggests that the less polished Vatican copy is closest to the original translation.³⁶ In addition to the edition of the translation, I have included the copyist's colophon to the Vatican copy (text 1.1.) and Aurelius Romanus' postscript to the Perugia copy (text 1.2.).³⁷

Natale Conti's Latin translation of Menander Rhetor's Greek text — as well as the frontispiece of the book and the table of contents — are all transcribed from the printed 1558 edition, pp. 61v-63r. I have used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.³⁸

The orthography of the manuscript text has been normalised according to the standards of this journal; apart from the correction of a few obvious errors, the transcription of the frontispiece (text 2.1.), the table of contents (text 2.2.), and the very translation by Natale Conti (text 2.3.) respect the orthography of the printed 1558 edition.

³⁵ E.g., *in futuro* in V, is corrected to *in futurum* in P. The transliterations *orphanus* from the Greek ὀρφανός (Latin = *pupillus*, see Conti's translation), and *apostrophe* from ἀποστροφή (Conti has *conuersione*), found in both mss., are also indicative of a *conversio ad verbum*. On this type of translation, see Sabbadini 1922, pp. 22-23.

³⁶ See Harsting 1992, p. 142.

³⁷ These texts are translated into English in Harsting 1992, pp. 151-152.

³⁸ The book is preserved in a limited number of copies, and only in European libraries. I have seen the two copies in the BN in Paris and the copy in the Vatican Library.

1. THE EARLIEST TRANSLATION

[V 58r] [P 122r] Ex Menandro Rhetore in secundo diuisionis demonstratiui³⁹ generis capite de oratione funebri⁴⁰ caput xiiii.

Homerus diuinus poeta et alia nos docuit ueluti et spetiem orationis funebris non praetermisit. Nam Andromachae Priamoque et Hecubae
 5 sermones funebres imposuit unicuique personae proprios tanquam docere nos uolens et horum expertes non esse. Oportet igitur a poeta sumere⁴¹ uolentes principia prius facere ut speculationem earum rerum intelligant quae poeta tradidit. Quid igitur funebris sermo⁴² uult? Flere et misereri, quamuis⁴³ et mortuus affinis non sit, illius obitum tamen deflere, laudes
 10 lamentis commiscere, conquestus assidue manifestos reddere, ne oratio ipsa simpliciter sit circa laudes, sed ut laus ipsa sit ex causa conquestus. [122r] Si uero affinis sit nihilominus et qui orationem habebit etiam miserebitur, uel quia orphanus⁴⁴ relictus est, uel quia patre optimo priuatus, sicque patris et propriam destitutionem conqueretur. Si autem
 15 praefectus fuisset ciuitati ille qui diem obiit, dicendum est aliquid et de ipsa ciuitate et huiusmodi laudationem ad materiam deducere, puta quod ciuitas splendida erat et qui eam aedificauit et rexit nunc defecit: "Cui erit cura ciuitatis? Quis eam tuebitur quemadmodum ille?" Quod si iuuenis erat qui mortuus est, ab aetate luctum mouebis, a natura quod
 20 ingeniosus, quod magnam spem de se exhibuit, et a futuris orationem terminare, puta quod [58v] ipse paulo post oculus ciuitatis futurus erat; a ciuitate quoniam ciuitas gloriosa ac clara esset cum ipsum haberet aedilem curulem oratorem et certamina disponentem, et ubique in toto

³⁹ demonstratiui V : DEMONSTRATIVI P

⁴⁰ FVNRI P : B *add. s.l.* P

⁴¹ summere P

⁴² sermo funebris P

⁴³ quemuis V

⁴⁴ See n. 35 above.

sermone perficere, haec omnia reddere causas luctuum. Necesse est
 25 etiam in tali oratione illico haec aegre ferre ad deos et parcas et fatum
 iniustum quod legem definiuit iniquam. Rursus illico a persona mortui
 qualem arripuit quantumque huic aduersata est. Verum ne multa talia
 dicamus, hac arte simpliciter uteris orationemque ad huiusmodi materias
 diuides. Ad tria autem tempora [122v] diuidetur oratio funebris. Ad
 30 praesens etenim magis sermo mouebit, si a praesentibus et quae sunt ante
 oculos et ab accidentibus misericordiam adduces, si aetatem, si modum
 mortis dicas, si longa aegritudine defecit, si acuta mors, a conuentu etiam
 adstantium, quandoquidem non ad felix⁴⁵ theatrum conuenerunt. Deinde
 a praeterito tempore, qualis erat iuuenibus dum esset iuuenis, qualis esset
 35 erga uiros dum uir esset, quod facilis auditu, quod humanus, quod in
 uerbis gratus, quod erga adolescentes⁴⁶ et coetaneos facilis, qualis in
 uenationibus, qualis in gymnasiis. A futuro autem, qualem spem de ipso
 populus habuit. Postea uero apostrophe⁴⁷ uteris: "O res publica in hanc
 usque horam praeclara, quae auro diuitiis nobilitateque propalata
 40 gloriabaris. Verum omnia haec huius morte confusa sunt; qualem
 thesaurum⁴⁸ propositum eiecisti." Simul etiam cum patre et matre flere
 oportet luctumque augere, quali spe priuati sint. Rursusque a ciuitate
 incipere, qualis circa ipsam futurus [59r] fuisset, qualem se ad ciuitatis
 gloriam praebuisset, qualemque se praebuit. Praecipueque si de eorum
 45 numero erat, qui rem publicam gubernabant, pleraque de praeterito
 tempore in medium adducere. Si uero ad rei publicae [123r] regimen
 futurus erat, in futuro⁴⁹ haec omnia in medium adduces personas
 temporibus penitus obseruando. Demum post tria haec tempora funus

⁴⁵ foelix V

⁴⁶ adoloscentes V

⁴⁷ See n. 35 above.

⁴⁸ ad thesaurum *add* hic thesaurus et dicitur hoc thesaurum *in mg. sin. V*.

⁴⁹ in futuro V : in futurum P

50 describes, cui*<i>*um⁵⁰ conuentus postmodum referre: "Utinam duceretur
 ad thalamum⁵¹, utinam ad secessum a quo redire posset, utinam ad
 audiendam huius orationem omnes conuenissemus." Postea uero corporis
 uenustatem describes, qualis erat, qualem perdidit pulchritudinem,
 55 qualem genarum decorem, qualis lingua contracta est, qualis lanugo
 languescit, quales insignes comae, acies oculorum non amplius uidebunt,
 pupullae iam dormiunt, superciliorum grauitas non amplius, sed omnia
 ceciderunt⁵². Clarum autem est orationes funebres ad iuuenes dici
 consueuisse, non autem ad senes et decrepitos. Non ne superfluum est et
 inane huiusmodi senes oratione deflere? Oratio etiam funebris uxoris a
 uiro suo dicetur, quod animalium inrationabilium memor erit, puta bos,
 60 equus, cygnus, hirundo qui cum ab inuicem separantur patienter
 tolerant⁵³, uoce sola significant conquestum. Cygnus enim ad Zephyrum
 uolans pro socio lachrimas⁵⁴ fundit, hirundo conqueritur et [123v]
 harmoniam⁵⁵ ad luctum conuertit, saepenumero et in arboribus⁵⁶ stans
 luget. Oratio autem funebris non excedat ultra CL uersus, quandoquidem
 65 in luctu existentes longa oia sufferre non ualent⁵⁷ neque sermonum
 prolixitatem in calamitatibus. Sermo autem [59v] funebris sit humili
 stilo. Finis⁵⁸.

50 Ciuum V: Ciuuum P

51 talamum V: Thalamum P

52 cecider-t ? V: ceciderunt P

53 tollerant V: tolerant P

54 lachrimas V: lachrymas p.c. P

55 armoniam V: harmoniam P

56 harboribus V: arboribus P

57 existentes ... ualent V: existens ... ualet P

58 om. P

1.1. Colophon to the Vatican copy

[59v] Particulam suprascriptam ex Vrbe missam transcripsi ego Ditaiutus de Vitaliis Auximas inter iure consultos minimus anno a natiuitate Saluatoris Mcccc, xxiii Idibus Septembris.

1.2. Postscript to the Perugia copy

[123v] Habes Aureli mi carissime quod summopere et á me et per dominum Angelum communem amicum efflagitasti. Nollem tamen propterea quod hucusque ad te hanc traductionem mittere moratus fuerim me contumacem existimares. Potes enim et quia antea non habueris minime mihi sed meae fortunae imputare, et quia nunc habes Domini Angeli diligentiae adscribere. Ita fiet post haec nubilosa tempora cum clarior illuxerit dies, ut siqua in manus uenerint ad te mittere uelim. Permodo te mihi haud iratum sciuerim. Vale. Commenda me fratri tuo de patre non curo. Romae Nonis Decembris.

Aurelius tuus Romanus

2. NATALE CONTI'S TRANSLATION FROM 1558

2.1. Frontispiece

[1r] MENANDRI ACVTISSIMI AC SAPIENTISS. RHETORIS de genere Demonstratiuo LIBRI DVO.

A NATALE DE COMITIBVS VENeto nunc primum è Græco in Latinum ad omnium utilitatem translati, & multis in locis partim erroribus purgati, partim ubi fuerant corrupti, in integrum restituti.

Cum gratia, & Priuilegio.

VENETIIS Apud Petrum Bosellum 1558.

2.2. Table of contents

[6r] QVÆ A MENANDRO CONSCRIBuntur in capita diuisa.

Ex libro primo.

Laudationum diuisio	Cap. 1.
De hymnis in Deos	Cap. 2.
De uocantibus hymnis	Cap. 3.
De hymnis dimmitentibus	Cap. 4.
De naturalibus	Cap. 5.
De fabulosis	Cap. 6.
De genealogicis	Cap. 7.
De fictis	Cap. 8.
De deprecantibus & precantibus	Cap. 9.
Quo pacto regio sit laudanda	Cap. 10.
Quomodo laudantur urbes	Cap. 11.
Quomodo portus sint laudandi	Cap. 12.

Quomodo sinus laudandi	Cap. 13.
Quomodo arx laudanda	Cap. 14.
Quomodo à genere urbs laudanda	Cap. 15.
Quomodo à studiis urbes laudentur	Cap. 16.
Differentia laudis & encomii	Cap. 17.
A quot rebus Deus laudandus	Cap. 18.

Ex lib. secundo.

De regum laudibus	Cap. 1.
De rebus gestis	Cap. 2.
Diuisio regiæ orationis	Cap. 3.
[6v] De lalia, quod genus est ad delectandos auditores comparatum	Cap. 4.
De lalia præmittente	Cap. 5.
De epithalamiis	Cap. 6.
De genethliaca oratione	Cap. 7.
De oratione consolatoria	Cap. 8.
De oratione funebri	Cap. 9.
De coronaria	Cap. 10.
De oratione legationis	Cap. 11.
De aduocante oratione	Cap. 12.
De adiungente	Cap. 13.
De monodia seu lamentatione funebri	Cap. 14.
De proœmio	Cap. 15.

2.3 Natale Conti's translation of the chapter on the monody

[61v] De monodia, siue lamentatione funebri. Ca. XIII.

Diuius poeta Homerus cum in alijs nos erudijt, tum Monodiæ genus non prætermisit: quippe qui apud Andromachen & Priamum, & Hecubam singulis personis monodiæ orationes conuenientes accomodauerit: 5 tanquam uellet nos docere ne harum prorsus essemus ignari. Opus est igitur ubi facultates has à poeta ceperimus, ipsas theorema cognoscentes efficere, ex quibus concessit poeta. Quid igitur uult monodia? lamentari, & implorare mise= [62r] ricordiam. Atque nisi coniunctus mortuus extiterit, ipsum solum conqueri defunctum par est, ubi commista fuerint 10 lamentationibus encomia, atque lamentationem exprimere, ne absolute sit encomium; uerum ut encomium querimoniarum causa sit opportuna. Quod si fuerit coniunctus nihilominus mereri misericordiam studebit ipse qui dicit, uel quia pupillus⁵⁹ relictus est, uel quòd optimo patre sit priuatus, atque se desertum queretur. Sin præfectus extiterit ciuitatis qui 15 ex hac uita migravit, conaberis & de ipsa ciuitate uerba facere, atque huius encomium iuxta causam: quòd illustris quidem ciuitas, at is concidit qui ipsam concitauit; num aliquis curabit hoc pacto? Quis quemadmodum ille seruabit? si iuuenem esse contigerit, eum qui mortuus est, lamentationem ab ætate concitabis, ab ingenio, quòd erat 20 optimo ingenio, quòd magnam spem concitauerit, & à contingentibus explens*⁶⁰ quòd ipse oculus breui tempore erat futurus, cœnacula ab ijs quæ circa urbem. Quòd ciuitas erat insignis, si habuisset præfectum, si concionantem, si edentem spectacula. Hæc ipsa ubique ex tractatu facienda sunt semper querimoniarum causæ opportunæ. Opus est igitur

⁵⁹ See n. 35 above.

⁶⁰ The asterisk in Conti's translation marks an incomprehensible passage in the Greek manuscripts that belong to the first branch of the tradition, see also R&W 435,4 (p. 202, with *apparatus criticus*) on this "*locus nondum expeditus*".

25 in his orationibus semper erga dæmones atque iniquam parcam, quæ
 legem iniquam tulerit, miserabiliter queri. Tum erit ab instante
 sumendum; ut rapuerunt enim; ut contra mortuum tulerunt. Verum ne
 hæc similia plura dicamus, hac arte simpliciter uti conueniet,
 orationemque in causas huiusmodi disperties. Diuides monodiam in tria
 30 tempora, in [62v] præsens statim ac primum: est enim oratio quæ magis
 concitet, uel ab ijs quæ ad aspectum attinent, uel à contingentibus
 præsentibus misericordiam aucupantur ob ætatem, uel siquis mortis
 modum explicauerit, si ex diuturna ægritudine obijt, uel si præceps fuit
 mors: ex præsentium conuentu, quòd non ad felix theatrum conuenerunt.
 35 Mox a præterito tempore, qualis erat inter iuuenes cum esset iuuenis:
 qualis inter uiros cum esset uir, quam facilis, quam comis, quam in
 sermonibus decorus, quam inter adolescentes & coætaneos hilaris, &
 grauis, qualis in gymnasiis. Ex futuro, quam de illo spem genus
 concitauerat: tum conuersione⁶¹ uteris, ò splendidum genus, & ad hanc
 40 usque horam perbeatum: ornabaris auro, felicitate, ac celebri nobilitate,
 nunc omnia qui obijt simul confudit & deuastauit. Quam supellectilem
 talem possides? qualem perdidit? conquerere igitur cum patre, & matre;
 atque misericordiam augebis, qua spe frustrati sint. Tum denuo de
 ciuitate tibi est dicendum, qualis in illam extitisset, qualem se ipsum ad
 45 honorum gloriam præbuisset, qualemque præbuerit. Atque si unus sit ex
 iis qui reip. gubernaculis incumbunt, multa de eo præteriti temporis
 commemorabis. Sin ex ijs qui sint ad remp. accessuri, hæc de futuro
 tempore dices, semperque ad personas pertinentia ad ipsa tempora
 accommodabis. Describes post tria tempora funeris pompam, ciuitatisque
 50 congressum, siue in thalamum erat comitandus, siue erat mox peregrè
 profecturus; postea orationem de illo audituri con= [63r] uenimus.
 Deinde conformabis corporis formam, cuiusmodi erat, ut abiecit ruborem

⁶¹ See n. 35 above.

ex genis præclarum ornamentum, quemadmodum contracta est lingua,
 qualis lanugo labefactata uideatur, ueluti capillorum cincini non amplius
 55 erunt conspicui, oculorum conuersiones ac pupillæ dormiunt, ciliorum
 conuolutiones non amplius conuolutiones, sed omnia conciderunt.
 Manifestum est autem quod pro iunioribus dici monodiæ consueuerunt,
 ac non etiam pro senibus. De senioribus enim conqueri in monodia, quo
 pacto non sit & fatuum, & superuacaneum? fieri posset & pro uiro
 60 uxorem dicente monodia, atque ea ratione carentium animalium
 mentionem contineat, tanquam non sint rationis expertia, uelut est Bos,
 aut equus, aut cygnus, aut hirundo, quæ uicissim separari tolerant, at
 uoce ipsa se conqueri significant. Vt cygnus alam ad Zephyrum
 extendens conqueritur ob casum familiaritate coniuncti: hirundo
 65 lamentatur musicamque sæpius in querimonijs conuertit, considensque
 super ramis arborum lamentatur. Sit autem oratio non plurium quam
 centum et quadraginta carminum, quandoquidem ij qui dolent non
 longum perferunt ocium, neque longitudinem orationum inter calamitates
 ac in tempestiuum tempus patiuntur. At semper remissa est monodia.

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