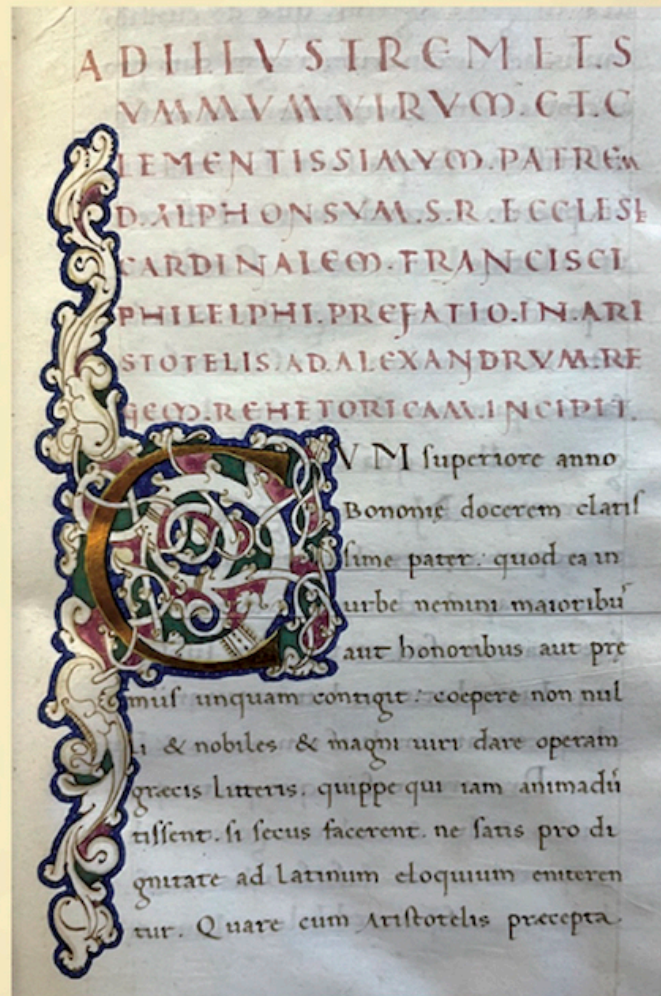


Francesco Filelfo

# Rhetorica ad Alexandrum



*Critical edition by*  
Jeroen De Keyser & Louis Verreth

Edizioni dell'Orso

© 2022

Copyright by Edizioni dell'Orso s.r.l.

15121 Alessandria, via Rattazzi 47

Tel. 0131.252349 - Fax 0131.257567

E-mail: [info@ediorso.it](mailto:info@ediorso.it)

<http://www.ediorso.it>

Redazione informatica e impaginazione: Arun Maltese ([www.bibliobear.com](http://www.bibliobear.com))

Grafica della copertina a cura di Paolo Ferrero ([paolo.ferrero@nethouse.it](mailto:paolo.ferrero@nethouse.it))

*È vietata la riproduzione, anche parziale, non autorizzata, con qualsiasi mezzo effettuata, compresa la fotocopia, anche a uso interno e didattico. L'illecito sarà penalmente perseguibile a norma dell'art. 171 della Legge n. 633 del 22.04.1941.*

*In questo volume è impiegato il font IFAO-Grec Unicode.*

ISBN 978-88-3613-271-3

ISSN 1825-3490

## Preface

Francesco Filelfo's Latin rendering of the (pseudo-)Aristotelian *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* was the first translation of any ancient Greek rhetorical treatise in the Quattrocento, and arguably the most successful and enduring among his writings. Surviving in 32 manuscript witnesses it is second, as far as manuscript transmission is concerned, only to the translation of Plutarch's *Apophthegmata ad Traianum*. Moreover, no other work of Filelfo's has been in print for such a long time, from the *editio princeps* in 1483/84 to five other incunabulum editions and then some forty sixteenth-century reprints, before ultimately its inclusion, in 1831, in the famous Aristotle edition by Immanuel Bekker.

As is often the case, the editors of those reissues have taken liberties in altering the text, letting themselves be guided more often by what they considered the Greek source text's true readings than by Filelfo's interpretation of the – often problematic – text he had in front of him. The present critical edition of Filelfo's translation is the first one that is based on a comprehensive study of the Latin text's transmission, identifying and documenting its different editorial stages.

Since it has been ascertained which manuscript Filelfo used as a model in producing this translation, we have deemed it an excellent opportunity to print that Greek text on facing pages. As this may seem a somewhat awkward choice, to some at least, it deserves some further explanation. In her elaborate study of Filelfo's translation of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, Maria Fernanda Ferrini demonstrates in a very detailed – and no less convincing – way that Filelfo based his translation on the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana's ms. Plut. 60.18, albeit at times preferring the alternative reading through his collation with another witness, most probably the current Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4684. The Laurenziana manuscript was transcribed for Filelfo in Constantinople by George Chrysococces, in May 1427, the year before it was then translated. As it happens, modern editors of the Greek text consider this codex to be one of the soundest witnesses to the text, and its readings are relatively close to the ones printed in their critical editions. Instead of reprinting the text of one of those recent scholarly editions we have therefore preferred to transcribe the Laurenziana manuscript, allowing the reader to grasp at a glance both Filelfo's translation and its model, rather than having to check time and again the apparatus for any departures in Filelfo's reference text from the current philological reconstruction of the text.

In the apparatus, then, the reader will find the readings adopted by the two most recent editors of the Greek text, Manfred Fuhrmann for the Bibliotheca Teubneri-

ana and Pierre Chiron for *Les Belles Lettres*, as well as the *variae lectiones* that were inserted into ms. Plut. 60.18 by either Filelfo or by other owners and users of the codex after him. Since the marginal notabilia displayed by the Laurenziana manuscript are mirrored at least to some extent in the marginalia added by Filelfo to his Latin version, these have all been reported too, in separate apparatuses.

At the end of the book, we have added a bi-directional glossarium. Admittedly, it will always remain a somewhat arbitrary decision what (not) to include in such a listing. We have decided to incorporate all rhetorical terms and concepts discussed or thematised in the treatise instead of producing a double full *index verborum*. The latter would practically repeat what is already supplied by Chiron in his edition, and with the Latin words added to the Greek words Chiron indexes it would be much longer than the actual edition we have produced. Since Filelfo put quite some variation in how he rendered the Greek, the most helpful option, in our opinion, was to give the reader the opportunity to examine Filelfo's translation practice and preferences in their entirety by offering a juxtaposition of the translation and its source text throughout.

The obvious absence of a source text to face Filelfo's dedicatory letter offered us the opportunity to print an English translation of it instead. We are very grateful to David Marsh, who allowed us to adopt the rendering he made of this letter in his seminal article about Filelfo's translation, published in 1994. He was willing to adapt his version in close consultation with us, mostly in view of the divergences between our Latin text and the 1488 incunabulum he used for his article.

Thanks are due also to Bogdan Craciun (Biblioteca Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca), Giustino Farnedi (Archivio della Badia di San Pietro, Perugia), Joachim Ott (Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Jena), Maurizio Romanò (Biblioteca Giustiniani Falck Recanati, Venezia) and Hans-Peter Zimmer (ÖNB, Vienna), who showed themselves helpful in assisting us with our research on their manuscripts. Furthermore, it is our pleasure to thank several colleagues and friends who have generously assisted us in various ways and at different stages of this research project: Davide Baldi Bellini, Monica Berté, Anna Bloemen, Ide François, Martijn Jaspers, David Lines, Stephen Oakley and Jolien Van Wallegghem. Last but not least, we are much obliged to Matthew Payne for vetting our English and to Enrico V. Maltese for extending a warm welcome to our booklet in *Hellenica*, ever more the home of Filelfo studies.

While this publication as a whole has been under the scrutiny of both editors, who have read and vetted each other's work, the editorial responsibility was principally divided as follows: the critical edition of the Latin text and the introduction were produced by Jeroen De Keyser; the transcription of the Greek source text and its collation with the two modern editions as well as the composition of the indices were taken care of by Louis Verreth.

The fact that Filelfo's version of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* originated during his stints at the universities of Bologna and Florence provides this text with some special meaning for both of us, bringing back memories of our own *curricula*

*studiorum*. Coincidentally it was also one of the very first of Filelfo's scholarly endeavours which then became the final tailpiece to the editorial afterlife of his entire oeuvre – thereby making for an even more apt specimen for us with which to commence and conclude our respective Filelfo journeys.

Jeroen De Keyser  
Louis Verreth



# Introduction

## 1. Filelfo and the *Rhetorica*

Two complete rhetorical treatises survive from the Greek classical age and both have been handed down under the name of Aristotle (384-322 BCE): his *Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική, *Ars rhetorica*) in three books, and the so-called *Rhetoric to Alexander* (Ῥητορική πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*), which is now generally believed to be composed by Anaximenes of Lampsacus (c. 380-320 BCE).<sup>1</sup> Unlike Aristotle's more philosophically oriented treatise, Anaximenes' writing is a practical manual for professional orators. Both the manual's name and the ascription to Aristotle are based on a forged dedication letter, allegedly sent by the philosopher to the king, along with the text.

The traditional ascription to Aristotle was first rejected by Erasmus. In 1548 the Italian humanist Pier Vettori (1499-1585) suggested the authorship of Anaximenes instead, relying on a passage in Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3.4.9) where the description of Anaximenes' rhetorical system appears to coincide with the one that is given at the beginning of the *Rhetoric to Alexander*.<sup>2</sup> However, this alternative ascription remains dubious.<sup>3</sup> Not only is the text as transmitted by all our manuscripts at times problematic,<sup>4</sup> it also departs significantly from the version given by the (very partial) papyrus Hibeh 26. Other elements as well point to a layered composition history and probably to an injection of original Aristotelian material at some point.

During the Middle Ages two anonymous Latin translations of the treatise were produced, each of them surviving in a single manuscript from the beginning of the fourteenth century. After their abodes, they are usually called the *translatio Vati-*

<sup>1</sup> Extensive introductions to the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* are to be found in the prolegomena to Pierre Chiron's 2002 Belles Lettres edition (with facing French translation) and in Maria Fernanda Ferrini's 2015 Bompiani edition (with facing Italian translation). An excellent synthesis in English is given by Chiron 2007; recent studies are Calboli Montefusco 2011, Celentano 2011, Chiron 2011, Kraus 2011, Mirhady 2011, Noël 2011, Pasini 2011, Piazza 2011, all published in a special issue of the journal *Rhetorica*.

<sup>2</sup> Ferrini 2015, 7-8 and 79-81.

<sup>3</sup> Chiron 2007, 102-04, offers an overview of theories on the treatise's genesis.

<sup>4</sup> See Kassel 1967, Zwierlein 1969 and Reeve 1970 – all three published as reactions to Manuel Fuhrmann's revised Teubner edition, which came out in 1966 – and in particular Chiron 2000, a thorough study of the entire transmission which renders everything else written on the subject out-of-date.

*cana* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 2995) and *translatio Americana* (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, ms. 8).<sup>5</sup> A different Vatican manuscript (Vat. lat. 2083), written in 1284, contains yet another translation of the spurious dedication letter to Aristotle alone.

These medieval *ad verbum* translations are relevant since, according to the most recent editor of the Greek text, they descend from another source than all our Greek manuscripts. In other words, in this bifurcated stemma the readings of the Latin versions have the same weight as the branch containing all Greek manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> While the medieval translations survive in single witnesses and most probably hardly ever circulated, they are deemed very relevant for the reconstruction of the original text. As we will see below, quite the opposite is the case for Francesco Filelfo's translation:<sup>7</sup> depending on a well-known Greek source manuscript, it has no value for an editor of the Greek text, yet the reception of Francesco Filelfo's version was wide and exceptionally long-lasting.<sup>8</sup>

The most elaborate information about the origin and circumstances of Filelfo's translation of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* is given in the dedicatory letter to Cardinal Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz that precedes the actual translation, which is also quite interesting – and unique, in this respect, in Filelfo's oeuvre – in that it contains a justification of his translation method and stylistic preferences, following the examples of Cicero, Horace and Jerome and therefore departing from Quintilian's practice in rendering rhetorical terminology.<sup>9</sup> That aspect may have earned this dedicatory letter more scholarly attention than Filelfo's other translation prefaces, yet, as Noreen Humble has lucidly observed, there is another interesting aspect to it:

The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* itself is about rhetoric, not about translation, and the very way Filelfo constructs this dedication letter shows his ability to compose persuasive rhetoric. With scarcely any direct references to the content of the *Rhetorica*,

<sup>5</sup> The *translatio Vaticana* has been studied and published in Grabmann 1932, the *translatio Americana* in Stapleton 1977.

<sup>6</sup> See Chiron 2000, 21-23, for descriptions of the three Latin manuscripts, and 66, for the stemma.

<sup>7</sup> For basic bibliography concerning Filelfo, see the biographical profile in Viti 1997, the monograph Robin 1991, the edited volumes Avesani & al. 1986, Fiaschi 2015, Albanese & Pontari 2017, Fiaschi 2018, De Keyser 2018. For Filelfo and Aristotle, see Calderini 1913, 266-78, and Bianca 1986. On his translation of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* see the seminal studies Marsh 1994 and Ferrini 2014, and also Fiaschi 2007, 79-83. Roelli 2020 offers an overview of the transmission of Aristotle's works from Antiquity to Filelfo's time.

<sup>8</sup> Strikingly, both the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* itself and Filelfo's version – the first humanist translation of any Greek rhetorical text, and the one with the longest afterlife – are absent from the otherwise excellent history of Renaissance rhetoric offered by Mack 2011.

<sup>9</sup> See Marsh 1994. In Appendix C to his seminal study of Filelfo's translation, David Marsh offered a listing of rhetorical terms as given in "his" Greek-Latin lexicon, that is, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Conv. Soppr. 181. However, in the meantime Antonio Rollo has convincingly demonstrated that this codex did not belong to Filelfo's library (see Rollo 2011).



*Rhetorica ad Alexandrum regem*

Francisco Philelfo interprete

To the illustrious and eminent gentleman, Most Clement Reverend Father  
Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church,  
Francesco Filelfo's preface to  
*Aristotle's Rhetoric to King Alexander*

[1] While I was teaching in Bologna last year, most excellent father – which gave me the greatest honors and rewards ever enjoyed by anyone in that city – a number of noble and prominent gentlemen began to study Greek, for they had perceived that, unless they did so, they would fail to achieve sufficient eloquence in Latin. [2] As a result, when I lectured to them in Greek on Aristotle's handbook on civil cases, which he wrote for King Alexander with his customary erudition and elegance, they pressed me with insistent urgings to produce a Latin version of the work. They judged sensibly that they would derive greater benefit and distinction from this work in Latin than if it were to remain in Greek, since they prefer to speak Latin rather than Greek. [3] Now, we do not all strive to master Greek letters for use in Athens or Byzantium, but as an aid and guide to attaining greater fluency and eloquence in Latin. And it also happens somehow that those who study Greek books in a hasty and shallow manner without giving them their full attention, never acquire the incredible and nearly divine grace and sweetness of honeyed Greek elegance, not from the orators nor from the poets nor the philosophers. [4] Hence, most of our countrymen who desire to charm their listeners prefer at first to peruse Greek works in Latin rather than in Greek. They are unaware that it would be more useful for students of Greek to have Greek words and Greek harmonies fill their ears night and day; and that, just as the Latins surpass the Greeks in gravity, so they far surpass us in sweetness through the ambrosia and nectar, as it were, of their style.

[5] I began by resisting the demands of my friends with great obstinacy. For I knew that they were asking for something which is by nature quite difficult. In fact, the art of translating often requires rendering word for word; but avoiding absurdity in this sometimes requires great effort and, given the differences and limitations of language, can only be hoped for on occasion. I knew, moreover, that my talent and experience scarcely enabled me to express

Ad illustrem et summum virum et clementissimum patrem,  
dominum Alphonsum, Sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem,  
Francisci Philelfi praefatio in  
Aristotelis *Rhetoricam ad Alexandrum regem*

5 [1] Cum superiore anno Bononiae docerem, clarissime pater (quod ea in urbe  
nemini maioribus aut honoribus aut praemiis unquam contigit), coepere non  
nulli et nobiles et magni viri dare operam Graecis litteris, quippe qui iam  
animadvertissent, si secus facerent, ne satis pro dignitate ad Latinum eloquium  
eniterentur. [2] Quare cum Aristotelis praecepta illa iis Graece legerem quae de  
10 civilibus causis ad Alexandrum regem cum pro auctoris more doctissime, tum  
ut semper disertissime scripta sunt, summis a nobis praecibus contenderunt id  
efficerem, ut ea Latine loquerentur. Censebant enim prudentes viri quod longe  
plus et utilitatis et ornamenti ex iis Latinis a me factis (quoniam et illi Latine  
loqui quam Graece mallent) quam si Graeca essent, assequerentur. [3] Non  
15 enim eo Graecas litteras tantopere omnes discere studemus, quo iis apud  
Athenienses Byzantiosve utamur, sed ut illarum subsidio atque ductu Latinam  
litteraturam atque eloquentiam melius teneamus et lautius. Praeterea nescio  
quopacto qui minus et diu et multum Graecos codices pertractarint et sese illis  
totos dediderint, nusquam incredibilem illum ac prope divinum lactei Graeco-  
20 rum eloquii leporem atque dulcedinem neque apud oratores neque apud poetas  
neque apud philosophos percipiunt. [4] Quo fit ut nostri fere omnes qui auris  
delinire concupierint, malint initio Graeca Latine quam eadem Graece lectitare,  
ignorantes hi quidem et utilius admodum fore volentibus Graeca discere, ut  
Graecae voces Graecique concentus illorum auribus die noctuque obstrepant,  
25 et quemadmodum gravitate Latinos Graecis, ita nobis suavitate illos et quadam  
quasi dictionis ambrosia ac nectare mirum in modum antecellere.

[5] Id igitur ita familiaribus a me illis efflagitantibus obstinatissime refragari  
coepi, tum quia videbam rem a nobis peti sua natura difficilem (est enim in  
arte verbum saepius e verbo exprimendum; quod ne absurde fiat, laboris  
30 nonnunquam maximi, interdum autem propter sermonis vel dissimilitudinem  
vel angustias voti est), tum quia non eo me pollere ingenio usuve intelligerem,  
qui maiestatem Aristotelicae dictionis Latinae interpretationis filo exprimerem.

5 Bononia 10 Alexander rex

4 *Ad Alexandrum regem Rhetoricam* incipit **K** 8 satis *om.* **P** 12 quod **P om.** **α β** 13 a  
**P ab α β** 15 iis **P** his **α β** 16 bizantiasve **P** | sed *om.* **P** 19 dediderint] dedirint **W**  
28 sua] cum sua **P**

1420a Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εὖ πράττειν.

[1] Ἐπέστειλάς μοι ὅτι πολλάκις πολλοὺς πέπομφας πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς διαλεξο-  
 μένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ γραφήναι σοι τὰς μεθόδους τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ  
 5 διὰ ῥαθυμίαν ὑπερεβαλόμην ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ζητεῖν οὕτως  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραφήναι σοι διηκριβωμένως, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος γέγραφε τῶν περὶ  
 ταῦτα πραγματευομένων. [2] Ταύτην δὲ εἰκότως τὴν διάνοιαν εἶχον. Ὡσπερ γὰρ  
 ἐσθῆτα σπουδάξεις τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν, οὕτως  
 εὔρεσιν λόγων λαβεῖν ἐστὶ σοι πειρατέον τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην. Πολὺ γὰρ κάλλιον  
 10 ἐστὶ καὶ βασιλικώτερον τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν εὐγνωμονοῦσαν ἢ τὴν ἕξιν τοῦ σώμα-  
 τος ὀρᾶν εὐεματοῦσαν. [3] Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ τὸν τοῖς ἔργοις πρωτεύοντα  
 φαίνεσθαι τῶν τυχόντων τοῖς λόγοις ὑστερίζοντα, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς μὲν  
 ἐν δημοκρατία πολιτευομένοις, ἢ ἀναφορὰ περὶ πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τὸν  
 δῆμον ἐστὶ, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἡγεμονίαν τεταγμένοις, πρὸς λόγον.  
 15 [4] Ὡσπερ οὖν τὰς αὐτονόμους τῶν πόλεων διορθοῦν εἴωθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιστον  
 110v ἄγων ὁ κοινὸς νόμος, | οὕτω τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν καθεστῶτας ἄγειν  
 δύναται ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ὁ σοὺς λόγος. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐστίν (ὡς ἀπλῶς  
 εἰπεῖν) λόγος ὠρισμένος καθ' ὁμολογίαν κοινὴν πόλεως, μηνύων πῶς δεῖ πράτ-  
 τειν ἕκαστα. [5] Πρὸς δὴ τούτοις (οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὡς οἶμαι, σοι τοῦτό ἐστιν) ὅτι  
 20 τοὺς μὲν λόγῳ χρωμένους καὶ μετὰ τούτου πάντα πράττειν προαιρουμένους, ὡς  
 1420b ὄντας καλοῦς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ ἄνευ λόγου τι | ποιούντας, ὡς  
 ὄντας ὠμοὺς καὶ θηριώδεις μισοῦμεν. [6] Διὰ τούτου καὶ κακοὺς τὴν αὐτῶν  
 κακίαν ἐμφανίσαντας ἐκολάσαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς δηλώσαντας αὐτῶν τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν ἐξηλώσαμεν. Οὕτω καὶ τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν ἀποτροπὴν εὐρήκαμεν  
 25 καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν ἔχομεν. Καὶ διὰ τούτου καὶ τὰς ἐπιούσας  
 δυσχερείας ἐφύγομεν, καὶ τὰς μὴ προσούσας ἡμῖν ὠφελείας ἐπορισάμεθα.  
 Ὡσπερ γὰρ βίος ἄλυπος αἰρετός, οὕτω λόγος συνετὸς ἀγαπητός. [7] Εἰδέναι δέ

17 Ὅρος νόμου

5 ὑπερεβαλόμην] ὑπερεβαλλόμην *Fu* 9 εὔρεσιν] δύναμιν *add. marg. F<sup>pc</sup>* | ἐνδοξοτάτην]  
 εὐδοξοτάτην *Fu Ch* 14 δῆμον] νόμον *Fu Ch* 19 δὴ] δὲ *Fu Ch* 22 <τοῦς> κακοὺς *Fu*  
*Ch* | αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν *Fu Ch* 23 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν *Fu Ch* 24 Οὕτω] Τούτῳ *Fu* 25 ἔχομεν]  
 ἔσχομεν *Fu Ch*

## Aristotelis *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum regem*

Aristoteles Alexandro regi salutem dicit.

[1] Sum tuis litteris factus certior non nullos saepe ad nos misisse qui ut civilium causarum praecepta ad te perscriberem a me peterent. Ego vero haud  
5 negligentia quidem ulla in hoc usque tempus rem distuli, sed ut quaererem ita diligenter de iis ad te scribere, ut alius certe nemo qui iisce in rebus elaborasset diligentius unquam scripserit. [2] Haec igitur recte mihi fuerat sententia. Nam quemadmodum vestium decore atque magnificentia caeteris hominibus praestare maxime studes, ita ut etiam dicendi inventionem ac vim eam accipias  
10 nitendum est, quae pulcherrima sit apprimeque clarissima. Longe enim pulchrius est ac regale magis animo esse bene constituto quam habitum corporis vestibus ornatum pulchris intueri. [3] Absurdum enim est eum qui rerum gestarum gloria caeteris antecellat videri humillimis quibuspiam in dicendo cedere, praesertim cum non sit nescius eos qui in populari principatu versentur,  
15 res omnis ad populum, qui vero sub unius imperii ductu constituti sint, ad rationem orationemque referre. [4] Quemadmodum igitur liberas civitatis communis lex, quae ad honestissimum aliquem finem ducat, dirigere consueverit, eodem etiam modo et oratio tua queat eos quos imperio tenes, ad id agere, quod conducibile sit et utile. Et enim lex (ut ita dixerim) oratio quaedam est, quae communi civitatis consensu definita iubet quopacto unumquodque agendum sit. [5] Accedit ad rem (quod neque tibi obscurum existimo) solere nos laudibus eos perinde atque honestos et fortis prosequi, qui et ratione et oratione utuntur et omnia ea duce agere pergunt; qui vero absque ratione et oratione quicquam faciunt, tanquam atroces immanisque odimus.  
25 [6] Qua quidem re factum est ut et malos suum vitium ostendentis male affecerimus, et bonos suam virtutem declarantis quasi beatos admirandos imitandosque voluerimus. Sicque et quomodo futuras calamitates evitaremur bonisque instantibus frueremur adinvenimus. Proinde et imminentes difficultates effugimus, et absentes utilitates comparavimus. Nam veluti vita quae nulli maerori

19 Lex quid

1 Aristotelis...regem] Praefatio **P** 4 a **P** ab **α β** 9 etiam **P** et **α β** 10 clarissima] praeclarissima **P** | enim **P** nanque **α β** 11 regale **P** regium **α β** 12 enim est **P** est enim **α β** 14 sit] sis **P** 15 unius **P om.** **α β** 16 orationem rationemque **W** | igitur **om.** **P** civitatis **P** civitates **α β** 18 etiam **P** et **α β** 20 definita **P** diffinita **α β** 23 et oratione **P om.** **α β** 24 et oratione **P om.** **α β** | immanisque] immanesque **P** 25 quidem **om.** **K** | re] reetiam **β P** de re | suum] eorum **P** | ostendentis] ostendentes **P** 26 suam] eorum **P** declarantis] declarantes **P** 27 Sicque] Sic quae **P**

[1.1] Τρία γένη τῶν πολιτικῶν εἰσι λόγων· τὸ μὲν δημηγορικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιδεικτικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν. Εἶδη δὲ τούτων ἑπτὰ· προτρεπτικόν, ἀποτρεπτικόν, ἐγκωμιστικόν, ψεκτόν, κατηγορητικόν, ἀπολογητικόν καὶ ἐξεταστικόν, ἢ αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτό, ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο. [2] Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἶδη τῶν λόγων τοσαῦτα ἀριθμῶ ἐστι.

5 Χρησόμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔν τε ταῖς κοιναῖς δημηγορίαις, καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια δικαιολογίαις, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ὁμιλίαις. Οὕτω δ' ἂν ἐτοιμότατον λέγειν περὶ αὐτῶν δυνηθείμεν, εἰ καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον εἶδος ἀπολαβόντες ἀπαριθμησαίμεθα τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς προτροπὰς καὶ ἀποτροπὰς, ἐπεὶ περ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ὁμιλίαις καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς  
10 δημηγορίαις ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν χρήσις ἐστὶ, διέλθοιμεν ἄν. [3] Καθόλου μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν· προτροπὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ προαιρέσεις ἢ λόγους | ἢ πράξεις παράκλησις· ἀποτροπὴ δὲ ἀπὸ προαιρέσεων ἢ λόγων πράξεων διακώλυσις.

[4] Οὕτω δὲ τούτων διωρισμένων, τὸν μὲν προτρέποντα χρῆ δεικνύειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ παρακαλεῖ, δίκαια ὄντα καὶ νόμιμα καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ ἡδέα καὶ  
15 ῥάδια πραχθῆναι. Εἰ δὲ μή, δυνατὰ τε δεικτέον, ὅταν ἐπὶ δυσχερῆ παρακαλῆ, καὶ ὡς ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐστὶ. [5] Τὸν δὲ ἀποτρέποντα δεῖ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων κώλυσιν ἐπιφέρειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαιον οὐδὲ νόμιμόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ συμφέρον οὐδὲ καλὸν οὐδὲ ἡδὺν οὐδὲ δυνατόν πράττειν τοῦτο, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς ἐργῶδες, καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. Ἄπασαι δὲ αἱ πράξεις μετέχουσι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων. Ὡστε μηδετέ-  
20 ραν τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἔχοντα λόγων ἀπορεῖν.

[6] Ὡς μὲν οὖν ὀρέγεσθαι δεῖ τοὺς προτρέποντας καὶ ἀποτρέποντας, ταῦτα ἐστὶν. Ὅρισασθαι δὲ πειράσομαι τούτων ἕκαστον τί ἐστὶ. Καὶ δεῖξαι πόθεν αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς λόγους εὐπορήσομεν. [7] Δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ἀπάντων ἢ τὸ τῶν πλείστων ἕθος ἄγραφον, διορίζον τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ. Τοῦτο δὲ  
25 ἐστὶ· τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδίδοναι. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐκ ἐπιτάττουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, | ἀλλ' ἔθει ἀγράφῳ καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δίκαια ταῦτά ἐστι. [8] Νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁμολόγημα κοινὸν πόλεως, διὰ γραμμάτων προστάττον πῶς χρῆ πράττειν ἕκαστα. [9] Συμφέρον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
1422a ἀγαθῶν | φυλακῆ, ἢ τῶν μὴ προσόντων κτήσις, ἢ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κακῶν ἀποβολή, ἢ τῶν προσδοκωμένων γενήσεσθαι βλαβερῶν διακώλυσις. [10] Διαιρήσεις δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις εἰς σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκτητα. Σώματι

11 Τί ἐστὶ προτροπὴ 12 Τί ἀποτροπὴ 28 Τί ἐστὶ νόμος 29 Τί ἐστὶ συμφέρον

3 ψεκτόν] ψεκτικόν *Fu Ch* | κατηγορητικόν] κατηγορικόν *Fu Ch* | ἀπολογητικόν] ἀπολο-  
γικόν *Fu* 4 καθ' ἑαυτό] αὐτό *F<sup>ac</sup> Fu* 7 καὶ *om. Fu Ch* 10 τοῖς] τοῖς *F<sup>ac</sup> pc<sup>2</sup>* <δὲ> *F<sup>pc1</sup>*  
διέλθοιμεν ἄν] διέλθωμεν *Fu* 19 μηδ' ἕνα τὴν> ἑτέραν *Fu Ch* 22 δεῖξαι *om. F<sup>ac</sup>* 26 οὐκ  
ἐπιτάττουσι] οὐ προστάττουσι *Fu Ch* 28 κοινὸν πόλεως] πόλεως κοινὸν *Fu Ch*

[1.1] Tria sunt *genera* civilium causarum: *deliberativum*, *demonstrativum*, *iudiciale*. Horum autem *species* sunt septem: *suasio*, *dissuasio*, *laus*, *vituperatio*, *accusatio*, *defensio* et *quaestio*, aut ipsa secundum sese, aut ad aliud. [2] *Species* igitur in quibus omnis versatur oratio, hae sunt numero. Iis autem utimur et in consultatione civili, et apud iudices, et circa alicuius certae personae dictionem. De quibus quidem omnibus ita poterimus apte dicere, si singillatim uniuscuiusque speciei vim et usum et exercitationem numero comprahenderimus. Et primum quidem de suasionibus est dissuasionibusque dicendum. Ipsarum enim usus in demonstrativo deliberativoque genere locum in primis habet. [3] Ut igitur summatim dixerim: *suasio* est ad aliquid eligendum aut dicendum agendumve exhortatio; *dissuasio* vero nequid eligatur aut dicatur agaturve dehortatio.

[4] His autem ita definitis, *suasor* ostendat oportet, haec ad quae exhortatur, et *iusta* et *legitima* et *utilia* et *honestas* et *iucunda* et *facilia* factu esse. Quod si minus id poterit, demonstrandum erit, cum ad laboriosa et gravia quaedam exhortatur, haec factu et *possibilia* esse, et quam *necessaria*. [5] *Dissuasor* autem ex contrariis dehortetur oportet, ut neque iustum neque legitimum neque utile neque honestum neque iucundum neque factu possibile hoc sit, vel saltem et laboriosissimum id esse, et minime necessarium. Omnes autem actiones harum utriusque sunt causarum participes. Quare dubitandum non est quin oratio harum alteram contineat.

[6] Quae igitur suadentes dissuadentesque desyderare conveniat, haec sunt. *Definire* autem iam aggrediar unumquodque horum quid sit. Demonstrabiturque unde ea nobis in dicendo suppeditemus. [7] *Iustum* igitur est omnium aut plurimorum non scripta consuetudo, honesta turpiaque determinans. Id vero est: honorare parentes, amicis benefacere et beneficis gratiam referre. Haec enim et his similia non iubent scriptae leges hominibus faciunda, sed consuetudine non scripta et communi quadam lege legitimum fit. Iusta igitur haec sunt. [8] *Lex* autem est communis civitatis consensus, qui scriptis praecipit quomodo unumquodque agendum sit. [9] *Utile* vero est praesentium bonorum conservatio, aut absentium comparatio, aut malorum instantium propulsatio, aut futurorum incommodorum inhibitio. [10] Hoc autem dividas oportet privatis quidem hominibus in *corpus* et *animum* et *res extrarias*. *Corpori* enim est utile

1 Genera tria 2 Species septem 10 Suasio quid 11 Dissuasio quid 23 Iustum quid  
28 Lex quid 29 Utile quid 32 Bona triplicia in privatis hominibus

1 Tractatus *titulum* habet **P** om. **α β** 3 quaestio **P** exquisitio **α β** 6 quidem] quid est **P**  
8 est] et **W** 15 haec **P** ea **α β** 17 sit hoc **W** 18 autem **P** vero **α β** 22 Definire **P**  
Diffinire **α β** 25 beneficis] beneficiis **P** 26 faciunda **P** faciunda **α β** 27 igitur **P** itaque  
**α β** 28 praecipit] praeciperit **P** 29 vero] non **P** 30 instantium] instantiam **P** 32 enim  
**P** nanque **α β**

## Indices to the Introduction

### a. Index of Manuscripts

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN –  
PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ

ms. Phillips 1627: 40

BERNKASTEL-KUES,  
ST. NIKOLAUS-HOSPITAL (CUSANUSSTIFT)

ms. 180: 23, 34, 37, 41

BOLOGNA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA

ms. 2948 (Miscellanea Tioli), vol. 15:  
23, 37

CLUJ-NAPOCA,  
BIBLIOTECA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

ms. Lat. 5 (169): 23, 38

FLORENCE,  
BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA

ms. Ashb. 954: 23, 37, 41

ms. Conv. Soppr. 181: 12

ms. Plut. 52.31: 23, 37

ms. Plut. 55.19: 40

ms. Plut. 57.12: 40

ms. Plut. 59.22: 40

ms. Plut. 60.18: 1-2, 39-40

ms. Plut. 80.21: 40

ms. Plut. 90 sup. 54: 24

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA

ms. 159 (N.II.19): 24, 37, 41

GIESSEN, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK

ms. 1249: 24, 38

HOLKHAM HALL,  
LIBRARY OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER

ms. 490: 24-25, 35

JENA, THÜRINGER UNIVERSITÄTS-  
UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK

ms. G.B.o.1: 23, 25, 37

MADRID,  
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA

ms. 4684: 1, 40

MANTUA,  
BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE TERESIANA

ms. 378 (D.I.3): 25, 35

MILAN, ARCHIVIO DI STATO

Autografi dei letterati, 127, 3, int. 1,  
Missive 160: 35

MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA

ms. B 161 sup.: 25, 41

MILAN, BIBLIOTECA TRIVULZIANA

ms. 658: 25, 37

ms. 873: 41

MODENA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO

Archivi per Materie, Cass. 1, fasc. III.1:  
25, 38

MODENA,  
BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE UNIVERSITARIA

ms. Lat. 183 (α.O.6.20): 26, 37

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

ms. Clm 382: 26, 38

NAPLES, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE

ms. VIII E 3: 26, 38

ms. XIV C 23: 26, 37

PARIS,  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

ms. lat. 7810: 26-27, 35



PERUGIA,  
 ARCHIVIO DELLA BADIA DI SAN PIETRO  
 ms. C.M.31: 27, 38

PISTOIA, BIBLIOTECA CAPITOLARE  
 ms. C.62: 27, 38

RAVENNA,  
 ISTITUZIONE BIBLIOTECA CLASSESE  
 ms. 182: 27, 38-39

TURIN, BIBLIOTECA REALE  
 ms. Varia 75: 17

URBANA-CHAMPAIGN,  
 UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS,  
 RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY  
 ms. 8: 12

VATICAN CITY,  
 BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA  
 ms. Chigi I.V.153: 20, 27-28, 41  
 ms. Chigi I.VII.240: 28, 37, 41  
 ms. Ott. lat. 1267: 23, 28, 37  
 ms. Ott. lat. 1808: 28-29, 38  
 ms. Ott. lat. 1976: 29  
 ms. Urb. lat. 306: 29, 38  
 ms. Vat. lat. 2083: 12  
 ms. Vat. lat. 2995: 12

VENICE, BIBLIOTECA GIUSTINIANI  
 FALCK RECANATI  
 ms. II.97: 29, 37

VENICE,  
 BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA  
 ms. Marc. lat. VI.118 (3563): 21, 29,  
 37, 41  
 ms. Marc. lat. XI.5 (3810): 29-30, 38

VIENNA,  
 ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK  
 ms. 255: 20, 30, 37, 41

## b. Index of Names

Aemilius Paulus, Lucius 28  
 Aesop 29  
 Albergati, Niccolò 24  
 Alberti, Alberto 13  
 Alberti, Leon Battista 13  
 Aleman, Louis 13-14  
 Alexander the Great 11, 18, 21, 34  
 Amerbach, Johann 31  
 Anaximenes of Lampsacus 11  
 Antiquari, Jacopo 27, 31  
 Aretino, Rinuccio 28  
 Argyropulus, John 26  
 Aristotle & ps.-Aristotle 1-2, 11-42  
 Arles 13  
 Aubry, Johann 33  
 Augustine 23  
 Aurispa, Giovanni 13-14, 28  
 Averroes 27, 29-30  
 Bade, Josse 31  
 Barbaro, Francesco 16-17  
 Barzizza, Gasparino 24  
 Basel 31-32  
 Basil of Caesarea 28  
 Beccadelli, Antonio, "il Panormita" 13, 27  
 Becchetti, Giacomo 19  
 Bekker, Immanuel 1, 33, 40  
 Berjon, Jacques 33  
 Berlin 40  
 Bernkastel-Kues 23, 34, 37, 41  
 Bertano, Giovanni Antonio 32  
 Billaine, Jean 33  
 Bindoni, Gaspare 32  
 Bologna 2, 13-16, 21, 23-24, 29, 37  
 Borso d'Este (Duke of Ferrara) 29  
 Bracciolini, Poggio 24, 26  
 Brescia 31  
 Britannico, Jacopo 31  
 Brugnolo, Gioacchino 33  
 Bruni, Leonardo 15-16, 24, 28  
 Buhle, Johann Gottlieb 33  
 Bussi, Giovanni Andrea 34  
 Buswiler, Johannes Frank de 27

- Calabro, Pietro (Pietro Vitali da Pentidattilo) 19  
 Capella, Martianus 23, 29  
 Carrillo de Albornoz, Alfonso 12-13, 23-30, 34, 37  
 Casaubon, Isaac 33  
 Casella, Ludovico 31  
 Charles VII (King of France) 19-20  
 Chrysococces, George 1, 39-40  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 12-13, 17-19, 23, 26-29, 31  
 Cicero, Quintus Tullius 28  
 Cluj-Napoca 23, 38  
 Colines, Simon de 32  
 Constantinople 1, 17, 39  
 Corbinelli, Angelo 25  
 Corner, Federico 24, 27, 31  
 Cossa, Giovanni 20  
 Crotti da Cremona, Paolo 28  
 Cusanus *see* Nicholas of Cusa  
 Da Castiglionchio, Lapo 27  
 Da Feltre, Vittorino 16  
 Da Sala, Bornio 17  
 Da Serico, Lombardo 28  
 Da Trio, Comin 32  
 Dares Phrygius 29  
 Dati, Agostino 25  
 Demonicus 28  
 Demosthenes 28  
 Dio Chrysostom 40  
 Dionysius Periegetes 29  
 Donatus, Aelius 23  
 Duval, Guillaume 33  
 Erasmus 11  
 Eratosthenes 19-20, 25, 28, 30  
 Fava, Niccolò 15  
 Ferrara 29  
 Fieschi, Stefano 25  
 Filelfo, Francesco 1-3, 11-42  
 Filelfo, Pietro Giustino 27, 31, 35, 41  
 Florence 1-2, 12, 14-16, 19-21, 23-24, 27-28, 30, 37, 39-41  
 Fortunatianus, Atilius 23  
 France 19-20  
 Frankfurt 33  
 Frellon, Jean 32  
 Frontinus, Sextus Iulius 25  
 Galen 27, 31  
 Garzone, Giovanni 18-19, 21  
 Geneva 33  
 Gießen 24, 38  
 Giuliano, Andrea 14, 19  
 Giunta, Jacques 32  
 Giunta, Jean-Jacques 33  
 Giunta, Lucantonio 32  
 Giustiniani, Bernardo 28  
 Gourmont, Gilles de 32  
 Gracchi 28  
 Gryphe, Sébastien 32  
 Guarini, Battista 24  
 Guarino Veronese 17, 24-26, 28  
 Heliogabalus 24  
 Herbst (Oporinus), Johann 32  
 Hermán el Alemán 27, 29-30  
 Herwagen, Johannes 32  
 Hiero of Syracuse 28  
 Holkham 24-25, 35  
 Homer 13  
 Honorat, Barthélemy 33  
 Horace 12-13  
 Hyginus 29  
 Isocrates 28  
 Jena 23, 25, 37  
 Jerome 12-13  
 Jouvenel des Ursins, Guillaume 19-20  
 La Rovière, Pierre de 33  
 Laimarie, Guillaume de 33  
 Leipzig 32  
 Lombardis, Bernardus de 28  
 Loschi, Antonio 17, 24  
 Lotter, Melchior 32  
 Lucian 28  
 Luder, Peter 24  
 Luna, Niccolò della 18  
 Lupus, Rutilius 21  
 Lyon 32-33  
 Lysias 19-20, 25, 28, 30

- Madrid 1, 40  
 Maffei, Timoteo 27  
 Mantua 25, 35  
 Manuzio, Aldo 32  
 Marcello, Jacopo Antonio 21, 24, 26, 31, 35  
 Marinelli, Giovanni 32-33  
 Marne, Claude 32  
 Martin V (Pope) 14  
 Medici, Cosimo de' 24  
 Michel, Etienne 32  
 Milan 20, 25, 30-31, 34-35, 37, 41  
 Modena 25-26, 37-38  
 Munich 26, 38  
 Naples 26, 37-38  
 Nepos, Cornelius 24  
 Nicholas of Cusa 23, 34, 37, 41  
 Nicholas V (Pope) 24, 27, 31  
 Nicocles 28  
 Oporinus (Herbst), Johann 32  
 Pachel, Leonard 30  
 Paris 26-27, 31-33, 35  
 Patrizi, Francesco 27, 38  
 Perugia 27, 38  
 Peter of Spain 24  
 Petit, Jean 31  
 Petrarch 26, 28  
 Philibert I (Duke of Savoy) 21-22  
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio *see* Pius II (Pope)  
 Picenardi, Giovan Francesco 17  
 Pinzi, Filippo 31  
 Pistoia 27, 38  
 Pius II (Pope) 25  
 Plato 19, 24, 40  
 Plutarch 1, 21, 24-26, 28, 31, 35, 40  
 Polenton, Sicco 25  
 Poliziano, Angelo 40  
 Pomponius Mela 28  
 Porphyry 26  
 Prez, Nicolas des 31  
 Priscian 29, 42  
 Probus, Aemilius 24  
 Quintilian 11-12, 17, 26-27, 38  
 Ravenna 27, 38-39  
 Rufinus Antiochensis 29  
 Ryt, Goswinus de 24  
 Sallust 25  
 Scinzenzeler, Ulrich 30  
 Servius 25  
 Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan) 30-31, 34  
 Sforza, Ludovico Maria (il Moro) 17, 21, 24, 26, 30, 34, 36  
 Simonetta, Cicco 20  
 Sixtus IV (Pope) 31-32  
 Steccuti de' Visdomini, Onofrio 25  
 Strozzi, Matteo di Simone 18  
 Strozzi, Palla 14, 25, 28, 30  
 Terence 23-24, 29  
 Themistocles 28  
 Theodectes 17, 31-32  
 Toscanella, Giovanni 17  
 Trajan 24-26, 31  
 Trapezuntius, George 26, 28  
 Traversari, Ambrogio 21  
 Troy 29, 40  
 Turin 17  
 Urbana-Champaign 12  
 Valgrisi, Giovanni 32  
 Valla, Giorgio 27, 31  
 Vatican City 12, 20, 23, 27-29, 37-38, 41  
 Vegio, Maffeo 29  
 Venise 21, 29-33, 37-38, 41  
 Vergil 13, 16, 47  
 Veronese, Guarino *see* Guarino Veronese  
 Vettori, Pier 11  
 Victorinus Afer, Gaius Marius 23  
 Vienna 20, 30, 37, 41  
 Villa Dei, Alexander de 25  
 Vincent, Antoine 32  
 Visconti, Filippo Maria 19, 24-25, 27, 31  
 Vitali, Bernardino 32  
 Vitali, Pietro (Pietro Calabro) 19  
 Xenophon 24, 28, 40  
 Zani, Bartolomeo 31

# Table of Contents

Preface	p.	1
Bibliography		5
Introduction		
1. Filelfo and the <i>Rhetorica</i>		11
2. Witnesses		23
3. Transmission		34
4. Editorial Principles		39
a. Greek Source Text		39
b. Latin Translation		40
<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i> , Francisco Philelfo interprete		43
Indices		
1. Indices to the Text		159
a. Index of Names		159
b. Index of Rhetorical Terms: Greek – Latin		160
c. Index of Rhetorical Terms: Latin – Greek		164
2. Indices to the Introduction		170
a. Index of Manuscripts		170
b. Index of Names		171