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Saltationes: A Notebook on Ancient Dance by Angelo Poliziano*

by LUIGI SILVANO

This article is dedicated to the memory of Shona Kelly Wray (wherever she is dancing now)

Abstract. MS *Magliabechianus* VIII. 1420 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence is a *zibaldone* of the Italian humanist Angelo Ambrogini, better known as Poliziano (1454-1494). Folia 1-6 contain a so far unpublished compilation of ancient sources on the dance, which presumably dates back to the 1470s. The initial and longer section of this compilation is an epitome of Lucian's *De saltatione*, the original text of which is mostly rendered in Latin. Poliziano's abridgment, and the more or less contemporary Latin version of the whole opuscule by Athanasius Chalkeopoulos, are the earliest attempts at translation of the *De saltatione* in Western Europe. Both texts are unpublished. This article provides a small *addendum* to the history of the *fortuna* of Lucian in Quattrocento Italy, by publishing an integral transcription of Poliziano's *cento* as well as a few extracts of the version of the *De saltatione* by Athanasius Chalkeopoulos (from MS *Parisinus graecus* 3013).

The ‘zibaldone’ Magl. VIII. 1420

A *desideratum* of everyone interested in the work of Angelo Poliziano (not to say in humanistic philology as a whole) would be to have available a complete transcription, or at least an accurate, analytical index of the contents of all his *zibaldoni*: this would allow us to understand and appreciate more thoroughly his entire activity as a philologist, teacher, man of letters, and poet.

These complex and rich manuscripts might be collectively defined as a sort of self-made encyclopaedia or commonplace book. But they were not merely repertoires of quotations, anecdotes, and treasured words that the humanist had selected and put together thanks to his extensive and unceasing readings: some *zibaldoni* also contain philological observations and preparatory notes for the courses to be held at the Florentine Studium (usually devoted to the interpretation of ancient Greek and Latin texts).¹ The *zibaldoni* as we have them now are mainly the result of the consolidation of several smaller notebooks (which the humanist refers to as *libelli*, *libri*,

collectanea, *collecta* etc.),² consisting in one or more fascicles. They were written either by Poliziano himself or by scribes working under his supervision, and were constantly updated; in some cases their redaction took years.

In most cases, the structure of Poliziano's *zibaldoni* as we can observe it now is the result of later interventions by former pupils and collaborators, who after Poliziano's death rearranged the fascicles and scattered *folia* containing his annotations, often binding them together chaotically, or at least without paying due attention to a consistent presentation and disposition of the material. Any attempt at classification of these compilations based on their actual facies, which probably does not reflect the humanist's intentions, might therefore result in an artificial product. A common feature of these books is the variety of contents: some are constituted by sections, each containing excerpts from a single author or work, or excerpts and notes taken from various sources but concerning a single work (as in the case of Poliziano's ‘commentaries’ on the *auctores* he was lecturing on): this is the

case with MS gr. 3069 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and MS gr. 182 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, both containing *excerpta* from various Greek sources.³ Other *zibaldoni* were organized by thematical sections (within each section, then, the annotations might again be arranged by author), such as the notebook “de poesi et poetis”, a miscellany on the definition of poetry and on the biography of ancient poets now forming a part of actual MS II. 1. 99 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.⁴

To the typology of the latter pertains also a larger compilation now dismembered into two distinct items: MS *Magl.* VIII. 1420 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence and MS *lat.* 798 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. Lucia Cesarini Martinelli has provided a full description of those manuscripts, as well as a convincing hypothesis that reconstructs the original ensemble, which was part of a projected (and never completed) conspicuous encyclopaedia of all arts and sciences, for which Poliziano had started collecting information from a wide set of sources.⁵ Such a voluminous self-made reference work was composed from sets of annotations, each devoted to a particular topic, starting with a general introduction to the *artes* and their partition, and then going through all the disciplines of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. The extant fascicles concern history (mostly biographies of illustrious men), mythology, physics, ethics, philosophy, religion, law, mechanical arts, *mores* and *consuetudines* of the ancient Greeks and Romans, fragmentary Greek and Latin poetry, rhetoric and poetics, proverbs and pleasant sayings.

In particular, the fascicles now bound in MS *Magl.* VIII. 1420⁶ mostly pertain to the section *Consuetudines*: dance (I: ff. I-VI, 1-7); proverbs and facetious remarks (II: ff. 8-23); proverbs again, Roman magistrates, games, banquets, games once again, luxury among the Romans, the qualities of milk (III: ff. 24-43); barbaric jewelry and clothing, punishments, a selection of poetic fragments mostly from Latin writers, some witnesses on

ancient poets (Homer, Archilochus), unusual habits of certain populations, funeral and wedding ceremonies (IV: ff. 44-65); on the concept of poesis, on festivals, on funerary usages (V: ff. 66-83); a list of the *problemata* treated in Macrobius’ book 7, definitions of rhetoric, *laudes* and *vituperationes* of rhetoric in Sextus Empiricus (VI: ff. 84-93); testimonies on Homer from various authors, excerpts from different sections of Suidas, anecdotes from Macrobius and other authors (VII: ff. 94-109); proverbs from various writers, then extracts on rhetoric from Macrobius, and finally comments on weddings and sacrifices from Sextus Empiricus (VIII: ff. 110-123). The major sources of the compilation are two huge repertoires of things and words: Macrobius’ *Saturnalia* and the Byzantine lexicon known as the *Suda* or *Suidas*.

The annotations on ancient dance

We will focus here on the first fascicle of MS *Magl.* VIII. 1420, where the first six folia contain, under the title *Saltationes* (“[types of] dances”), a collection of extracts from Greek and Latin sources on ancient dance. The neat and legible handwriting of these pages is most probably that of a copyist working under Poliziano’s direction.⁷ Poliziano added some notes of his own in his characteristic cursive hand (such as the subtitle “Ex Luciano”), as well as some of the Greek passages. The date of composition is uncertain, as this section, unfortunately, lacks a dated subscription (which is otherwise common in Poliziano’s manuscripts). However, it is likely that these notes, like other materials contained in the Florentine *zibaldone*, are to be dated in the Seventies, a decade during which the humanist fulfilled his literary studies and perfected his philological training, thus laying the foundations of a brilliant career as a poet, scholar and teacher.⁸

This notebook, as well as the rest of the encyclopaedia it was meant to be a part of, was not conceived for publication, and remained hidden among Poliziano’s papers after the scholar’s death. These pages were

not included by the editors in the posthumous Aldine edition of 1498, nor in other prints of Poliziano's *opera*. They are seldom cited by Poliziano scholars; moreover, no one has yet provided an edition of them.⁹ Nonetheless, this *cento* is an interesting document in several respects: first, it may provide a valuable insight into Poliziano's interests and working methodology (which parts of his sources interested him more, and which less? Is it possible to connect these pages with the composition of later writings by Poliziano?); secondly, from the point of view of the history of the classical tradition, these notes contain a Latin résumé of Lucian's *De saltatione*, which might represent the first (or second) experiment in humanistic translation of that text; thirdly, from the perspective of the history of ideas and of the further development of humanistic literature, this is probably the first attempt by a Western humanist to collect in a systematic way a considerable number of ancient sources regarding dancing, some of which later became standard *loci* for writers of treatises on the same topic.¹⁰

As we have said, the initial and longer part of these notes is an extensive compilation from the most detailed ancient treatment on dance: Lucian's *De saltatione*. Then follows a selection of extracts (the last ones of which possibly derived from later additions) from ancient and medieval sources: Homer's *Iliad* 18, 590-606 (a passage also referred to by Lucian in one of the paragraphs copied in the previous pages by Poliziano), containing the description of the part of Achilles' shield carved with a scene of dance; Eustathius of Thessalonica's commentary on that *locus*; the lemmata of the Greek lexica of Pollux and Suidas concerning the terminology of dance; finally, a selection of anecdotes and opinions commenting on (or referring to) dance and dancers by Latin authors (Horace, Suetonius, Quintilian, Cicero, Juvenal)¹¹ and Greek ones (the poet Boethus and Sextus Empiricus). All these passages are juxtaposed, rather than organized into an autonomous and coherent discourse. Such a patchwork of ancient sources

might have well been used to draft an original, monographic treatment on the dance, but most probably Poliziano had no intention of doing that. The scope of the composition of this *cento* was primarily to build up a repertory of *res* (curious stories, antiquarian and historical notions, witty sayings, etc.) and *verba* (names of all different types of dance, technical terms, poetical fragments) for future use.

In fact, some years later, when preparing his university lectures, Poliziano resorted to his *Saltationes* notebook on several occasions, in order to supplement his explanations of the classical texts he was reading to his students with quotations from Lucian and the other *auctoritates* copied there:¹² among the passages collected in the Magliabechiano manuscript, Luc. *salt.* 22-26 (on the three most common types of dance) is mentioned in his notes on Terence's *Andria* (written for a course probably held in 1484-1485) and in the preface to his university course on Persius (ca. 1482-1484);¹³ other *loci* (from Quintilian, Pollux, Juvenal, Lucian) that appear in the *Saltationes* notebook are also found in a passage from the commentary on Ovid's *Fasti* which Poliziano prepared for his 1481-1482 course.¹⁴

The main source: Lucian's De saltatione

Probably the main interest of these notes lies in the fact that they appear to be the earliest (or at least the second earliest: see *infra*) attempt at Latin translation of Lucian's *De saltatione*. There is no need to remind ourselves how popular the writings of Lucian of Samosata were across Renaissance Europe: first of all, they maintained the prominent role they had enjoyed in the Byzantine school-curriculum, and were commonly used as reading primers in humanistic universities.¹⁵ Therefore, several Latin translations originated from classroom-use; many others were produced also outside the school very early in Quattrocento Italy and reached a wider audience than that of the scholars and students of Greek only. Renaissance readers "emphasised an erudite and satirical Lucian, a moral philosopher, undisputed master of *serio-ludere*", and

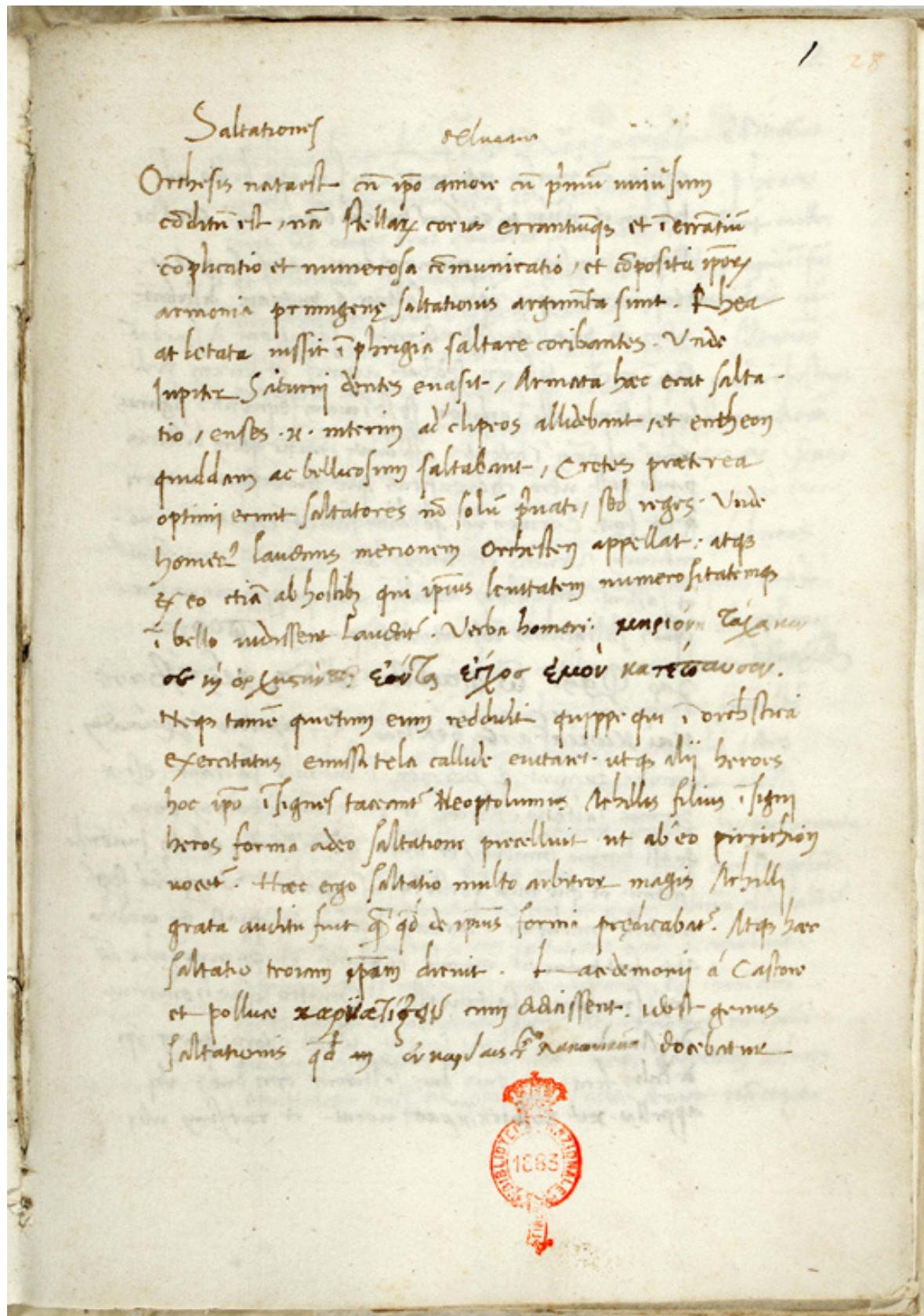


Fig. 1. MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VIII. 1420, f. 6r (Courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana – Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. Further reproduction forbidden by any means).

appreciated him not only as a model of pure, accurate and clear Greek prose, but also for “that union of serious content and comic style that included irony, parody and paradox”.¹⁶ His writings stimulated the the revival of the satirical genre among Western humanists; moreover, Lucian’s “influence was no longer confined to literature: he could provide inspiration to artists, [...] Botticelli’s *Calumny of Apelles* being the most famous example”.¹⁷

On the other hand, Lucian’s *On the Dance* (Περὶ ὄρχησεως, i.e. *De saltatione*), despite its interest for modern scholars as “a boldly imaginative document, the first attempt in Western theatrical history to map the somatic and mental qualities required of a successful stage-performer”,¹⁸ seems not to have enjoyed a wide diffusion in fifteenth-century Italy. For sure the *De Saltatione* – a treatise in dialogic form, aimed at defending pantomime dancing by connecting it to its glorious ancestor, classical dance – was not the kind of writing one would expect to enter the syllabus of school-readings, and it definitely was not included among the most commonly translated works by Lucian.¹⁹ To my knowledge, there is only one fifteenth-century translation, that of Athanasius Chalkeopoulos, completed probably in the same decade in which Poliziano excerpted the same text. It was only from the sixteenth century onwards that *De saltatione*’s popularity started to grow, through compilations like the one by Celsus Rodiginus and through the first printed Latin translations,²⁰ thus becoming a standard reference work for theorists of ballet and dance performance.

One could imagine that Poliziano (who was well acquainted with the work of Lucian, which he repeatedly quoted or hinted at in his writings and teaching materials)²¹ might have been attracted by this opuscule precisely for the reason that at the time it was not widely read or oftenly quoted (indeed, the tireless search for lesser known sources was typical of his erudite taste)²². Undoubtedly he realized that the treatise was an invaluable source for knowledge about the ancient dance, and

especially about the history and developments of the genre of pantomime dancing, and on its various performance types and techniques. Be that as it may, he extrapolated from the *De saltatione* all the information he considered relevant for the section on dance of his projected encyclopaedia on the arts.²³

Poliziano excerpted roughly half of Lucian’s text in the *Saltationes* notebook. To judge from the omissions, he was not interested at all (at least for the immediate scope of this compilation) in the original setting of the dialogue, i.e. the discussion that arises between two fictive interlocutors, Crato, who is skeptical about pantomime dancing, and the dance-enthusiast Lycinus, who eventually persuades his opponent of the beauties and utility of it. Poliziano omitted the dialogical sections at the beginning (paragraphs 1-6) and at the end (the last part of par. 86, where Crato cannot but admit that attendance to pantomime shows produces ethical improvement in the spectators); moreover, he cut off paragraphs 38 to 61 (a sort of inventory of all the things that the perfect pantomime dancer should know, basically consisting in an outline of the major Greek myths arranged ‘chronologically’ and geographically: all this is resumed by Poliziano with the words: “Atque hoc loco omnium historiarum capita recenset Lucianus”), and skipped almost entirely paragraphs 71 to 75 (on the benefits of practising pantomime dance for both soul and body, on the psychical and physical requirements of the perfect dancer) and 80 (on the ignorance of some pantomime dancers). All this evidently did not match the purposes of his encyclopaedic compilation; Poliziano concentrated instead on the central paragraphs of the dialogue, i.e. on the lengthy defence of dancing pronounced by Lycinus.

Translating Lucian’s De saltatione: Poliziano and Chalkeopoulos

Poliziano, as we have seen, only wrote down a selection of extracts from Lucian’s text. His aim was to collect words and *Realien* rather than to provide a complete and readable

translation of Lucian's treatise. He only made complete Latin translations of a very few passages; in the majority of his *excerpta* the original text is paraphrased, abridged and synthesised, in such a way that a whole paragraph might become condensed into a couple of sentences, or even into a few words (see the first and the last one of the *specimina* printed below); Poliziano seems not to be concerned with inconsistencies produced by these ellipses and abridgements (see for instance, the extract from Luc. *salt.* 25, where the sentence “quamvis tum primum inciperet” is lacking a subject – “saltatio” or similar).²⁴ Single terms, and occasionally entire clauses are copied in the original Greek text (this is the case with the verses by ancient poets quoted by Lucian,²⁵ and with some icastic phrases or *dicta memorabilia*, such as for instance the response of the Delphic oracle in *salt.* 62 and the words of Demetrius the Cynic philosopher in *salt.* 63). As to the technical terminology (the names of the various types of dance, of stage items and scene customs, etc.), some words remain in Greek (for instance ἐμμέλεια, l. 60), and others are simply transliterated into Latin (*emmeleia* again, *cordax*, *sicinnis*, *embate*, *prosternidia*, *progastridia* and numerous others); in some instances Poliziano does use a proper Latin equivalent (πρόσωπον = *persona*, etc.).

As to the rare portions completely rendered into Latin (see below, *specimina* nr. 2, 3 and 4), one may notice that Poliziano's translation is mostly *ad verbum*, accomplished with no other intention than that of rendering the original text as faithfully as possible, so that he could later revert back to these excerpts for reliable quotations from the *De saltatione*. The text is often shortened rather than amplified; the rendering is mostly correct.

Though Poliziano's notes, therefore, cannot properly be defined as a translation, it may be of some interest to compare them with the only extant complete fifteenth-century translation, that of Athanasius Chalkeopoulos († 1497), which was conceived as a literary homage to an influential person, Antonello Petrucci, humanist (he had been a

student of Lorenzo Valla) and first secretary of Ferrante (Ferdinand) I of Aragon, king of Naples. The translation seems to have survived only in the elegant dedication copy, today MS *Parisinus graecus* 3013, a parchment codex in which a calligraphic hand has written first the Latin version (ff. 3v-23v), and then the Greek original (ff. 25r-47v).²⁶

As can be observed through the *specimina* that I publish here from MS *Par. gr.* 3013, Athanasius translates *ad sententiam* rather than *ad verbum*; he tends to amplify the original text, often introducing synonyms and explicative glosses.²⁷ For instance, at Luc. *salt.* 7-8 Ρέα is translated “Cybelem” and then glossed “magnum matrem” (Poliziano translates “Rhea”), while ὄρχηστήν is rendered “orchestem, hoc est saltatorem”; in the same passage, there is no parallel in Lucian's text for “egregium militem”, which Athanasius associates to “Merionem”; *salt.* 12 does not mention a Spartan origin of the so called *hormos*, which Athanasius attributes to the Lacaedemonians; in the same passage, where Lucian says that *hormos* results from the combination of temperance and strenght (ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας), Athanasius renders “ex duabus illis virtutibus fortitudine et temperantia”; a couple of lines lower, he introduces on his own the (quite elementary) etymology of the term *gymnopodiae* (“which derived their name from the nude feet”). A single word in Lucian is often rendered with a couple of synonymous terms, as in the following instances: *salt.* 12 πλεκόμενον / “implexus constitutusque”; *salt.* 32 μὴ ἐναγώνιος / “non contenditur et certatur”; *salt.* 32 εἰς ἔξέτασιν καλεῖσθαι / “in collationis examen veniret atque percenseretur”. Sometimes Athanasius intervenes in order to strengthen Lucian's affirmations (for instance, when he adds to *salt.* 67 οἱ Ἰταλιῶται / “Itali” the clause “quorum auctoritas contemnenda non est”); in some instances such expansions are meant to provide a more precise interpretation of the meaning of the original sentence, as in the case of *salt.* 67 τὸν ὄρχηστὴν παντόμιμον καλοῦσι, ἀπὸ τοῦ δρωμένου

σχεδόν / “saltatorem mimum appellant ea scilicet re, quod nihil omnino esset quod non facile imitetur”. Athanasius often tries to embellish his version also by choosing more elegant or old-fashioned forms (for instance the archaic *quom*, always preferred to the more common *cum*); he also provides a hexameter translation of the Homeric couplet quoted in *specimen* nr. 4 (where he employs the poetical *iunctura* “laude secundus”, which occurs in the same *sedes* as in Martial 9, 9 *praef.*).

Athanasius’ translation of course deserves a fuller treatment. For now, we can observe that Athanasius was much concerned with the clarity, elegance and accuracy of his rendering, while Poliziano was not (as is perfectly understandable for a series of notes basically conceived as a mere repertory of words, notions, and *loci*). The overall quality of Athanasius’ version seems not inferior to that of Poliziano, and at least in some instances the Greek scholar seems to have understood and interpreted Lucian’s text more accurately, as I will try to illustrate in the following.²⁸ The passage of Luc. *salt.* 69 on Lesbonax Mytilenaeus (“Λεσβῶναξ γοῦν ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, χειρισόφους τοὺς ὄρχηστὰς ἀπεκάλει καὶ ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν ὡς βελτίων ἀναστρέψων ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου”) is translated by Athanasius as follows (MS *Par. gr.* 3013, f. 18v): “Proinde Lesbonax Mitylenaeus, vir probatissimus, chiroscopos appellare saltatores solebat, quasi sapientes manuarios quosdam, libentissimeque ad eorum spectaculum veniebat tanquam praestantior ex theatro redditurus”. Athanasius’ interpretation is sound and adheres to the original (one can notice the correct rendering of the continuative aspect of the imperfects *ἀπεκάλει* and *ἦει*), even though it indulges in the usual redundancies (such as the adverb “libentissime”, which has no parallel in the Greek text, and the gloss to **χειρισόφους**,²⁹ which Athanasius interprets by resorting to a calque). Poliziano’s version omits some details (the qualities of Lesbonax) and does not

follow the original word order: “Lesbonax Mytilenaeus saltatores omisso theatro spectatum ibat atque eos **χειρισόφους** appellabat”. Moreover, and most significantly, Poliziano misinterprets the last sentence as if it means that Lesbonax used to attend the performances of the dancers, but had ceased going to theatre (scil. to assist with other forms of representations?); on the contrary, as we have already seen through Athanasius’ version, here Lucian means that Lesbonax “used to go to see them [the dancers] with the expectation of returning from the theatre a better man”.³⁰ Another example might be taken from *salt.* 27, where Lucian describes “the frightful spectacle” of the tragic actor “tricked out to disproportionate stature, *mounted upon high clogs*”.³¹ Poliziano rendered the words in italics, which correspond to the words **ἐμβάταις** **ὑψηλοῖς** **ἐποχούμενος** used by Lucian, with “embate quibus gravitet tenues”, thus using a calque instead of searching for an appropriate Latin equivalent for **ἐμβάται**, and probably confusing the adjectives **ὑψηλός** and **ψιλός**. Here too, Athanasius’ version (MS *Par. gr.* 3013, f. 10v) is preferable: “soccis sustinendus *praealtis*”.

Specimina from Poliziano’s and Chalkeopoulos’ versions.

In the extracts from Lucian the parts omitted by Poliziano are in Italics.*

*The Latin text in MS *Par. gr.* 3013 has a certain number of orthographical errors and inconsistencies which might have occurred in the copy from Athanasius’ draft (now lost) and which I have rectified in the text (such as *orantium* instead of *errantium* and *exaltandi* instead of *e saltandi* in *specimen* nr. 1, *planem* instead of *plane* in *specimen* nr. 2, *caretra* for *pharetra* and *saltus* for *saltu* in *specimen* nr. 3; also, in *specimen* nr. 1, I tentatively suggested *quom ad scuta* for *quem ad scuta*). I also normalized the rendering of diphthongs and the spelling of some words, even in the case of forms otherwise attested in medieval Latin (for instance, where the MS has *saltarenque, primevo, corea, numme, evaserunt, areptum* I printed *saltarentque, primaev, chorea, nume, evaserunt, arreptum*). In Luc. *salt.* 12 both Poliziano and Athanasius read **γυμνοποδίαι**, as all the medieval mss. of Lucian, whilst the modern editors read **γυμνοπαιδίαι**.

1. *Luc. salt. 7-8*

[...] οὐ νεώτερον τὸ τῆς ὄρχήσεως ἐπιτίδευμα τοῦτό ἔστιν οὐδὲ χθές καὶ πρώην ἀρξάμενον, οἶν κατὰ τοὺς προπάτορας ἡμῶν ἢ τοὺς ἑκείνων, ἀλλ’ οἵ γε τάληθέστατα ὄρχήσεως πέρι γενεαλογοῦντες ἄμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν δλων φαῖεν ἄν σοι καὶ ὄρχησιν ἀναφύναι, τῷ ἀρχαῖο ἔκεινῳ "Ἐρωτι συναναφανεῖσαν. Ή γοῦν χορεία τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς τῶν πλανήτων συμπλοκὴ καὶ εὔρυθμος αὐτῶν κοινωνία καὶ εὔτακτος ἀρμονία τῆς πρωτογόνου ὄρχήσεως δείγματά ἔστιν. Κατ’ ὅλιγον δὲ αὐξανομένη καὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἀεὶ προσθήκης τυγχάνουσα, νῦν ἔσικεν ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀποτελέσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι ποικίλον τι καὶ παναρμόνιον καὶ πολύμουσον ἀγαθόν.

Πρῶτον δέ φασιν Ῥέαν ἡσθεῖσαν τῇ τέχνῃ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μὲν τοὺς Κορύβαντας, ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ τοὺς Κουρῆτας ὄρχεῖσθαι κελεῦσαι, καὶ οὐ τὰ μέτρια ὥντα τῆς τέχνης αὐτῶν, οἵ γε περιορχούμενοι διεσώσαντο αὐτῇ τὸν Δία, ὡστε καὶ σῶστρα εἰκότως ἄν ὁ Ζεὺς ὄφειλεν ὄμολογοίη αὐτοῖς, ἐκφυγῶν διὰ τὴν ἑκείνων ὄρχησιν τοὺς πατράφους ὀδόντας. Ἐνόπλιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ὄρχησις ἦν, τὰ ξίφη μεταξὺ κροτούντων πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ πηδώντων ἔνθεόν τι καὶ πολεμικόν. Μετὰ δέ, Κρητῶν οἱ κράτιστοι ἐνεργῶς ἐπιτηδεύσαντες αὐτὸῦ ἄριστοι ὄρχησται ἐγένοντο, οὐχ οἱ ίδιωται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλικῶτεροι καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιοῦντες. Ὁ γοῦν Ὀμηρος τὸν Μηρίονην, οὐκ αἰσχύναι βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ κοσμῆσαι, ὄρχηστήν προσεῖπεν, καὶ οὕτως ἄπαντα ἐπίσημος ἦν καὶ γνώριμος ἄπασιν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄρχηστικῇ ὡστε οὐχ οἱ "Ἐλληνες μόνον ταῦτα ἡπίσταντο περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Τρῶες αὐτοῖς, καίτοι πολέμοι ὅντες· ἔώρον γάρ, οἴμαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῦ κουφότητα καὶ εύρυθμίαν, ἦν ἐξ ὄρχήσεως ἔκέκτητο. Φησίν δὲ τὰ ἔπη ὧδε πως: "Μηρίονη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὄρχηστήν περ ἐόντα ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε". Καὶ ὅμως οὐ κατέπαυσεν αὐτόν· ἄτε γάρ ησκημένος ἐν τῇ ὄρχηστικῇ, ράδίως, οἴμαι, διεδίδρασκεν τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις τῶν ἀκοντίων.

Athanasius Chalceopulus (ms. Par. gr. 3013, f. 6r-v)

[...] studium hoc saltandi recens non esse, nec nuper coeptum tempore scilicet quorum et praevorum nostrorum qui enim huius rei verissimam tradunt originem, una cum universi orbis ortu saltationem etiam extitisse dixerint, aequalem cum illo primaevō Cupidine. Chorea namque ipsorum siderum et errantium cum inerrantibus copulatio et numerosa earum communio et modestissimus concentus signa profecto sunt primae saltationis, quae paulatim quom incresceret atque in meliora subinde proficeret ad summam tandem devenit, confectaque est varium quoddam et modulatissimum et luculentissimum bonum. Primam Cybelem aiunt magnam matrem hac scientia delectatam, Corybantes in Phrigia, in Creta Curetes saltatores instituisse; nec parum fructus ex eorum industria cepisse, quippe quom circum undique saltantes ipsi Iovem illi servaverint; itaque vel mercedem suae salutis Iuppiter his debere iure confiteatur, ut qui dentes paternos beneficio saltationis illorum evaserit. Genus autem illud saltandi armigerum erat, quom ad scuta gladios quaterent saltarentque more bellico instincti quodam prope numine. Cretenium deinde illustriores data diligentissima opera saltatores optimi evaserunt, nec solum privati, sed etiam reges et qui principes esse contendent. Quamobrem Homerus Merionēm egregium militem quom laude digna decorare vellet atque ornare, orchestem hoc est saltatorem appellavit, qui scilicet usque adeo insignis notusque omnibus erat saltandi scientia ut non modo Graeci id scirent, verum etiam Troiani quamvis hostes. Videbant enim agilitatem eius in dimicando numerosumque motum, quem e saltandi studio sibiique acquisierat. Haec Homerus: "Μηρίονη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὄρχηστήν περ ἐόντα ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε".

Politianus (ms. Magl. VIII. 1420, f. 1r)

Orchesis nata est cum ipso Amore, cum primum universum conditum est: nam stellarum chorus errantiumque et inerrantium complicatio et numerosa communicatio et composita ipsorum armonia primigenae saltationis argumenta sunt.

Rhea at lactata iussit in Phrigia saltare Coribantes,

unde Iuppiter Saturni dentes evasit. Armata haec erat saltatio, enses enim interim ad clipeos allidebant, et entheon quiddam ac bellicosum saltabant.

Crete praeterea optimi erant saltatores non solum privati, sed reges; unde Homerus laudans Merionem orchesteren appellat, atque ex eo etiam ab hostibus qui ipsius levitatem numerositatemque in bello vidissent laudatur;

verba Homeri:
"Μηρίονη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὄρχηστήν περ ἐόντα ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε".

2. *Luc. salt. 12*

"Ομοια δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ὄρμον
καλούμενον ὄρχούμενοι ποιοῦσιν.
Οὐ δέ ὄρμος ὄρχησίς ἐστιν κοινὴ
ἐφήβων τε καὶ παρθένων, παρ' ἔνα
χορεύοντων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄρμω
ἐοικότων· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἔφηβος
τὰ νεανικὰ ὄρχούμενος καὶ σσοις
ὕστερον ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσεται, ἢ
παρθένος δὲ ἔπειται κοσμίως τὸ θῆλυ
χωρεύειν διδάσκουσα, ὡς εἶναι τὸν
ὄρμον ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας
πλεκόμενον. Καὶ σί γυμνοπαιδίαι δὲ
αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὄρχησίς ἐστιν.

Athanasius Chalceopulus (ms.
Par. gr. 3013, f. 7r-v)

Simile faciunt qui hormum
saltant. Hormus genus saltandi
eorundem Lacedaemonorum est,
constitutum ex adolescentibus
et puellis alternatim ad choream
dispositis, et plane ut nomen
significat monilis speciem
referentibus: dicit enim
adolescens militarem exercens
disciplinam qua postea quom
hostem invadit utatur; sequitur
puella modestia insignis saltum
femineum agens cum decoro ut
hormus implexus constitutusque
sit ex duabus illis virtutibus
fortitudine et temperantia. Quin
etiam gimnopediae eorundem
quae a mundis pedibus nomen
accepterunt genus saltandi est.

Politianus (ms. Magl. VIII. 1420,
f. 1v)

Similia faciunt qui hormon idest
monile saltant: est enim hormos
saltatio epheborum et virginum,
in eodem choro quasi hormo
similium; et dicit quidem chorus
ephebus iuvenile saltans et quae
mox in bello sit usurpatur; virgo
vero sequitur modeste muliebrem
choream docens ut quasi ex
modestia atque fortitudine
sit monile complicatum. Et
gymnopedion apud eos similiter
saltatio est.

3. *Luc. salt. 18*

Αἰθίοπες δέ γε καὶ πολεμοῦντες
σὺν ὄρχήσει αὐτὸ δρῶσιν, καὶ οὐκ
ἂν ἀφείνῃ τὸ βέλος Αἰθίοψ ἀνὴρ
ἀφέλων τῆς κεφαλῆς – ταύτη γάρ
ἀντὶ φαρέτρας χρῶνται περιδέοντες
αὐτῇ ἀκτινηδὸν τὰ βέλη – εἰ μὴ
πρότερον ὄρχήσαιτο καὶ τῷ σχήματι
ἀπειλήσειε καὶ προεκφοβήσειε τῇ
ὄρχήσει τὸν πολέμιον.

Athanasius Chalceopulus (ms.
Par. gr. 3013, f. 8v)

Aethiopes vero pugnam ineunt
cum saltatione, neque illorum
quisque telum miserit arreptum
de capite – nam pro pharetra
capite utuntur cingentes telis
radiorum instar – nisi prius
saltaverit, gestuque corporis
minatus saltu deterruerit hostem.

Politianus (ms. Magl. VIII. 1420,
f. 2r)

At Aethiopes ne in bello quidem
saltationis obliviscuntur, neque
sagittam Aethiops emitteret nisi
cum sagittam capite demet –
nam capite utuntur pro pharetra
circumdantes illam radiantem
sagittis –, nisi prius saltet et
minetur ac compellat saltatione
hostem.

4. *Luc. salt. 32*

Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐναγώνιος ἡ ὄρχησις, ἐκείνην
εἴναι φημὶ αἰτίαν, τὸ δόξαι τοῖς
ἀγωνισθέταις μεῖζον καὶ σεμνότερον
τὸ πράγμα ἡ ὥστε εἰς ἔξετασιν
καλεῖσθαι. Ἐῶ λέγειν ὅτι πόλις ἐν
Ἰταλίᾳ, τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους ἡ
ἀρίστη, καὶ τοῦτο ὥσπερ τι κόσμημα
τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγώνι προστέθεικεν.

Athanasius Chalceopulus (MS
Par. lat. 3013, f. 11v)

Si in saltando non contenditur
et certatur, causam illam affero
quod auctoribus res haec visa
est praestantior et gravior quam
in collationis examen veniret
atque percenseretur. Omitto
dicere urbem Italiæ coloniam
Chalcidensium* praeclaram
id quoque velut ornamentum
suis adiecisse ludis ut saltatione
decertaretur.

*[mg. Neapolis]

Politianus (ms. Magl. VIII. 1420,
f. 3r)

Quod si non venit in certamen
saltatio, id est in causa quoniam
maior graviorque res videtur
quam de qua possit facile iudicari,
quamvis urbs optima in Italia
Chalcidici generis hoc quoque
suo certaminis ornamentum
adicet.

5. *Luc. salt. 67-68*

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος. Οὐκ ἀπεικότως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰταλιῶται τὸν ὄρχηστὴν παντόμιμον καλοῦσι, ἀπὸ τοῦ δρωμένου σχεδόν. Καλὴ γάρ ἡ ποιητικὴ παραίνεσις ἔκεινη, τὸ “ὦ παῖ, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου νόον ἔχων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὅμιλει”, καὶ τῷ ὄρχηστῇ ἀναγκαῖσ· καὶ δεῖ προσφύντα τοῖς πράγμασιν συνοικειοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἐκάστω τῶν δρωμένων. Τὸ δὲ ὄλον ἥθη καὶ πάθη δείξειν καὶ ὑποκρινεῖσθαι ἡ ὄρχησις ἐπαγγέλλεται, νῦν μὲν ἐρῶντα, νῦν δὲ ὄργιζόμενόν τινα εἰσάγουσα, καὶ ἄλλον μεμηνότα καὶ ἄλλον λελυπημένον, καὶ ἄπαντα ταῦτα μεμετρημένως. Τὸ γοῦν παραδοξόταν, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἄρτι μὲν Ἀθάμας μεμηνώς, ἄρτι δὲ Ἱνώ φοβουμένη δείκνυται, καὶ ἄλλοτε Ἀτρεύς ὁ αὐτός, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν Θυέστης, εἴτα Αἴγισθος ἢ Λερόπη· καὶ πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα θεάματα καὶ ἀκούσματα ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἔργου ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει· ἡ γάρ αὐλός ἐστιν ἡ κιθάρα ἡ διὰ φωνῆς μελῳδία ἡ τραγική δραματουργία ἡ κωμική γελωτοποίια· ὁ δὲ ὄρχηστής τὰ πάντα ἔχει συλλαβθών, καὶ ἐνεστιν ποικίλην καὶ παμμιγῆ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν, αὐλόν, σύριγγα, ποδῶν κτύπον, κυμβάλου ψόφον, ὑποκριτοῦ εὐφωνίαν, ἀδόντων ὄμοφωνίαν.

Athanasius Chalceopulus (ms. Par.gr. 3013, ff. 17v-18v)

Politianus (ms. Magl. VIII. 1420, f. 4r)

Itali saltatorem pantomimum vocant.

Et illa laus poetæ his accommodata: “ὦ παῖ, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου νόον ἔχων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὅμιλει”.

Omnes autem affectus actusque exprimunt, eodemque die et Athamas insanus et fugiens Ino unus est homo.

Haec barbarus ille. Nec vero Itali quorum auctoritas contemnenda non est temere saltatorem minimum appellant ea scilicet re, quod nihil omnino esset quod non facile imitetur. Praeceptum enim poeticum illud scitum est: “Mi fili, fac mentem habeas more saxatilis beluae marinae, quom in quavis urbe versaris”; idemque saltatori vel maxime necessarium est, rebus enim ipsis inhaerendo se singulis quae aguntur accomodet nimirum oportet. Summa haec est: mores affectusque saltatio simulaturam ostensuramque pollicetur agendo modo amantem modo iratum, alias furentem alias moerentem, eaque omnia apte et moderate. Itaque quod maxime admirabile est, eodem die modo Athamas furiosus, modo Ino pertimescens ostenditur; Atreus iam apparuit, mox Thyestes, tum Aegistus, aut Aerope, atque haec omnia unus homo est.

Iam cetera spectacula aut aurium oblectamenta [aut] singulatim numerorum ostentationem deferunt: aut etiam tibia est aut canticum aut fides aut tragicus actus aut comicus iocus. At vero saltator ipse omnia complexus est, et licet munus eius inspicere varium atque omnium rerum promiscuum, tibiam, fistulam, applosionem pedis, cymbali sonum, histrionis canorum, cantantium concentum.

Erat eius apparatus varius: tibia, fistula, pedum plausus, cymbali sonitus, histrionis vocalitas, canentium concordia.

Edition of Poliziano's notes

Saltationes.

Ex Luciano.

Orchesis nata est cum ipso Amore, cum primum universum conditum est: nam stellarum chorus errantiumque et inerrantium complicatio et numerosa communicatio et composita ipsorum armonia primigenae saltationis argumenta sunt.

Rhea at laetata iussit in Phrigia saltare Corybantes, unde Iuppiter Saturni dentes evasit. Armata haec erat saltatio, enses enim interim ad clipeos allidebant, et entheon quiddam ac bellicosum saltabant.

Crete praeterea optimi erant saltatores non solum privati, sed reges; unde Homerus laudans Merionem orchesten appellat, atque ex eo etiam ab hostibus qui ipsius levitatem numerositatemque in bello vidissent laudatur; verba Homeri: “Μηρίονη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὄρχηστήν περ ἐόντα / ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσεν” *Hom. Il. 16, 617-618*. Neque tamen quietum eum reddidit, quippe qui in orchestra exercitatus emissa tela callide evitaret.

Utque alii heroes hoc ipso insignes taceantur, Neoptolemus Achillis filius insigni heros forma adeo saltatione praecelluit ut ab eo pyrrichion vocetur. Haec ergo saltatio multo arbitror magis Achilli grata auditu fuit quam quod de ipsius forma praedicabatur. Atque haec saltatio Troiam ipsam diruit.

Lacedaemonii a Castore et Polluce καρυατίζειν cum didicissent, idest genus saltationis quod ἐν Καρύαις τῆς Λακωνικῆς docebatur, | omnia cum Musis agebant, vel in ipso bello ad tibiam et numerum καὶ εὔτακτον ἔμβασιν τοῦ ποδός, atque ita musice atque numero duce omnes superabant. Neque minus ipsorum ephebi saltare quam pugnare discebant: nam cum pugillatu contendebant, in saltationem definiebant, atque in medio tibicen sedebat accinens et terram pede supplodens; illi in ordinem sese invicem sequentes figuræ omnes ad numerum incedentes ostendunt, nunc quidem bellicas, paulo post vero choreuticas quae Dioniso et Veneri gratae sint.

Carmen vero quod idem saltatur canitur invocationem Veneris et Amoris habet, ut secum et comessent et saltent. Atque alterum carminum – duo quippe canuntur – ipsius saltationis continet disciplinam: “Πόρρω, – γάρ φασιν – ω παῖδες, πόδα μετάβατε καὶ κωμάξατε βέλτιον” *carm. pop. 18, PMG 864 Page*, hoc est ἀμεινον ὄρχήσασθαι. Similia faciunt qui hormon idest monile saltant: est enim hormos saltatio epheborum et virginum, in eodem choro quasi hormo similium, et dicit quidem chorūm ephebus iuvenile saltans et quae mox in bello sit usurpatur. Virgo vero sequitur modeste muliebrem choream docens ut quasi ex modestia atque fortitudine sit monile complicatum. Et gymnopodium apud eos similiter saltatio est. Omitto quae Homerus de Ariadne in clipeo scripsit deque choro quem ipsi Daedalus fecit *Hom. Il. 18, 590 ss.* et quos duos saltatores chori duces ibi appellant, κυβιστητῆρας vocat. Et rursum ubi | in clipeo dicit: “κοῦροι δ' ὄρχηστῆρες ἐδίνευον” *Hom. Il. 18, 494*, quasi pulcherrimam rem ibi Vulcanus fecerit.

3-5 Orchesis – sunt : Luc. *salt.* 7 | 6-12 Rhea – evitaret : Luc. *salt.* 8 | 13-16 Utque – diruit : Luc. *salt.* 9 | 17-23 Lacedaemonii – sint : Luc. *salt.* 10 | 24-27 Carmen – ὄρχήσασθαι : Luc. *salt.* 11 | 27-31 Similia – est : Luc. *salt.* 12 | 31-37 Omitto – θεώμενον : Luc. *salt.* 13

2 ex Luciano] *Politiani manus* | 10-11 Μηριόνη – κατέπαυσεν] *Politiani manus* | 14 saltatione] *nescio an* saltationi *ms.* | 17 καρυατίζειν ε καριατίσειν corr. | 18 ἐν Καρύαις] *ante hoc in del.* | 21 contenderant] *an pro* contenderent? | accinens] *accines ms. ut videtur* | 29 chorūm *scripsi*] *chorus ms.* | 31 gymnopodium (gymnopodium *ms.*) *cum Luc. mss. (γυμνοποδίαι)*] *γυμνοπαιδίαι corr. Meursius* | 33 κυ *ante κυβιστητῆρας*

Phaeacas autem non mirum erat gaudere saltationibus, cum essent molles et felicitate abundantes. Itaque Homerus hoc nimirum in ipsis admirantem fecit Ulyssem καὶ τὰς “μαρμαρυγὰς” τῶν “ποδῶν” θεώμενον *cf. Hom. Od. 8, 265*. In Thessalia adeo innotuit saltationis exercitatio ut ipsorum praefecti et protagonistae proorchesteres vocarentur. Unde inscriptiones statuarum hoc indicant quas dicabant τοῖς ἀριστεύουσι: “Προύκρινε” γάρ φασιν “προορχηστῆρα ἢ πόλις”, et rursum “Εἰλατίωνι τὰν εἰκόνα ὁ δάμος εὗ δρχησαμένῳ τὰν μάχαν”.

35

Nulla celebritas sacrorum sine saltatione apud antiquos ut quas Orpheus Museus constituerunt. Nam ut taceantur orgia ob prophanos, illud vulgo notum quod qui misteria revelant ἔξορχεῖσθαι dicuntur.

40

In Delo ne sacra quidem sine musicis fiunt. Sed pueri coibant ad tibiam et citharam atque alii quidem ἔχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο autem qui optimi erant electi et carmina quae his choris erant scripta hyporchemata vocabantur atque his plena erat lyra.

45

Indi cum surgebant mane solem adorantes, nostri tamen ut Graeci manum osculabantur, sed stantes adversum solem saltatione eum accipiebant figurantes se ipsos tacite atque imitantes dei choream; hocque faciunt etiam occidente sole.

f. 2v At Aethiopes ne in bello quidem saltationis obliviscuntur, neque sagittam Aethiops emitteret nisi cum sagittam capite demet – nam capite | utuntur pro pharetra circumdantes illam radiantem sagittis –, nisi prius saltet et minetur ac compellat saltatione hostem.

50

Idem sentiendum est de Protheo, quem dicunt omnia mutatum, quod faciunt saltatores, ut fingunt Aegyptii; talis fortasse et Empusa quam fingunt in varias solitam formas demutari.

Salii Martis sacerdotes saltant Romae.

55

Bithyni dicunt Priapo uni ex Titanibus vel ex Idaeis Dactilis deo belligero traditum a Iunone Martem in disciplinam, quoniam esset superior, esse prius saltationem quam bellicas artes edoctum. Unde illi habitus a Iunone honor ut decima eorum quae Marti offerrentur ipsi dicaretur.

Eiusmodi sunt Bacchica omnia: nam cum sint generalissimae tres saltationes – cordax, sicinnis, ἐμμέλεια – satyri ministri Bacchi inventores singulos a se nominaverunt. Hac arte Bacchus Tyrrhenos, Indos, Lidosque thiasis devicit.

60

Homerus optima pulcherrimaque enumerans ὕπνον καὶ φιλότητα καὶ μολπὴν καὶ ὥρχησιν, solam hanc ἀμύμονα appellavit *cf. Hom. Il. 13, 636-637*; rursum alibi “ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμῆια ἔργα, / ἄλλω δ’ ὥρχηστύν τε καὶ ἴμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν” *Hom. Il. 13, 730-731 + Od. 1, 421 (= Od. 18, 304)*. Ut videtur in duo Homerus bellum videlicet et pacem omnia divisisse atque haec sola belli artibus opposuisse.

65

Hesiodus, qui ipse Musas vidit, in principio versuum “αἱ τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ’ ἀπαλοῖσιν / ὥρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέου Κρονίωνος” *Hes. th. 3-4*.

f. 3r Socrates etiam senex saltationem discebat; idem ad ludos tibicinarum ibat, atque a meretrice Aspasia non erubescerat | bonum aliquid discere, quamvis tum primum inciperet.

70

37-40 In Thessalia – μάχαν: Luc. *salt.* 14 | 41-43 Nulla– dicuntur : Luc. *salt.* 15 | 44-46 In Delo – lyra : Luc. *salt.* 16 | 47-49 Indi – sole : Luc. *salt.* 17 | 50-52 At – hostem : Luc. *salt.* 18 | 53-54 Idem – demutari : Luc. *salt.* 19 | 55 Salii – Romae : Luc. *salt.* 20 | 56-58 Bithyni – dicaretur : Luc. *salt.* 21 | 59-61 Eiusmodi – devicit : Luc. *salt.* 22 | 62-66 Homerus – opposuisse : Luc. *salt.* 23 | 67-68 Hesiodus – βωμόν : Luc. *salt.* 24 | 69-70 Socrates – inciperet : Luc. *salt.* 25

del. | 39-40 Προύκρινε – μάχαν *Politiani manus?* | 43 dicuntur] *nescio an e dicentur corr.* | 59 sicinnis] *ante hoc sicimnis del.* | 68 ὥρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος *Hes.] ὥρχεῦνται, τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν βωμὸν περιχορεύουσαι Luc.*

In tragedia et comoedia saltationibus utebatur: nam emmeleia erat in tragedia, in comoedia cordax; interdum et sicinnida accipiebat. Quod si comparetur tragediae, quam indecens illius forma, aspectus torvus, statura enormis, embate quibus gravitet tenues, persona supra caput extensa, ore magno et hianti, quasi spectatores sit voratus! Omitto prosternidia et progastridia, appositam et artificiosam crassitudinem, ne nimia longitudo tenuitate redarguatur; intus homo clamore se disrumpens, interdum et canens iambos. Et donec aut Andromache, aut Hecuba est, ferenda ode; cum ingreditur Hercules, enormis est. Personae etiam comicae ridiculae, quales Davorum, coquorum, Tibiorum. At saltatio modestam habet decentemque figuram, pulcherrimam personam subiecto dramati similem, non qualem hianti ore, sed complexo: multos enim per se clamantes habet. Antiquitus autem idem et caneabant et saltabant; mox quia motu ode concutiebatur, rectius visum est alios subcanere. Hypotheses ipsis communes.

Quod si non venit in certamen saltatio, id est in causa quoniam maior graviorque res videtur quam de qua possit facile iudicari, quamvis urbs optima in Italia Chalcidici generis hoc quoque suo certamini ornamentum adiecit.

Multi de genere saltationum scripsere, singularumque inventores tradidere.

Floruit maxime Augusti temporibus. Omitto τὸ θερμαστρίζειν καὶ γέρανον ὄρχεῖσθαι et Phrygiam saltationem cum ebrietate rusticis muliebriter saltantibus. Plato in Legibus quasdam huius laudat species, nonnullas aspernatur, dividens in iucundum et utile, et incongruas | figurās inde eximens (Pl. *lg.* 7, 814e-816c).

Hactenus de orchestice Lucianus, tum subicit quae habere saltatorem deceat: musicen, numeros, metricen, moralem naturalemque philosophiam, rhetorican propter utrosque affectus, picturam quoque et plasticem; Memoriam et eius filiam Polymniam propitiam habere oportet. Et secundum Homerum Calchanta nosse omnia “quae sint, quae fuerint quae mox ventura trahantur” (Hom. *Illiada* 1, 70; cf. Verg. *g.* 4, 393). Est enim mutatrix et explicatrix ars. Quodque de Pericle Thucydides ait ad hunc pertinet “γνῶναι τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεῦσαι αὐτά” (Thuc. 2, 60); sed in primis nosse historias omnes a mundi principio ad Aegyptiam Cleopatram.

Atque hoc loco omnium historiarum capita recenset Lucianus. Haec enim omnia oportet ita plane effingi a saltatore ut intelligentur ut spectator possit iuxta Pythicum oraculum καὶ κωφοῦ συνιέναι καὶ μὴ λαλέοντος ἀκούειν (cf. Hdt. 1, 47; *orac.* Parke-Wormell. II, nr. 52).

Accusabat saltationem cynicus Demetrius; rogatus ab optimo saltatore sub Nerone ut sibi saltanti extra etiam cantus atque tibias adesset, ut vidi Veneris et Martis adulterium, Solem indicantem et Vulcanum insidiantem, et vinclis ambos Venerem Martemque captos et circumstantes deos et erubescensem Venerem, supplicantem Martem ita exclamavit Demetrius: “Ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἀποιεῖς, οὐχ ὄρῶ μόνον, ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν”.

Barbarus ex Ponto regius homo missus ad Neronem ut vidi saltatorem illum adeo evidenter

71-72 In tragedia – accipiebat : Luc. *salt.* 26 | 72-77 Quod si – enormis est : Luc. *salt.* 27 | 77-80 Personae – habet : Luc. *salt.* 29 | 80-81 Antiquitus – subcanere : Luc. *salt.* 30 | Hypotheses – communes : Luc. *salt.* 31 | 82-84 Quod si – adiecit : Luc. *salt.* 32 | 85 Multi – tradidere: Luc. *salt.* 33 | 86-89 Floruit – eximens : Luc. *salt.* 34 | 90-92 Hactenus – plasticem : Luc. *salt.* 35 | 92-95 Memoriam – αὐτά : Luc. *salt.* 36 | 95-96 sed – Cleopatram : Luc. *salt.* 37 | 97 hoc loco – Lucianus : cf. Luc. *salt.* 38-61 | 97-99 Haec – ἀκούειν : Luc. *salt.* 62 | 100-104 accusabat – λαλεῖν : Luc. *salt.* 63 | 105-108 Barbarus – indicet : Luc. *salt.* 64

71-72 utebatur... accipiebat] *an potius* utebantur... accipiebant *legendum?* | 73 gravitet] *nescio an* gravitare *ms.* | tenues] *quasi e* φιλοί : ύψηλοί *Luc.* | 74 prosternidia (prosterninia *ms.*)] προστερνίδια *Luc.* | progastridia (προγαστρίδια *Luc.*)] *e* progastinia *corr.* | 75 clamore] *e* clamori *corr.*, *ut* videtur | 81 ipsis subcanere] *ante haec sub del.* | 86 τὸ] *e* τὰ *corr.*

saltantem, cum non intelligeret quae accinebantur, intellexit omnia. Cum vero recedenti Nero offerret multa: | “Da” inquit “mihi pro maximo munere saltatorem”. Roganti imperatori causam: “Ut barbaris” inquit “vicinis alia lingua loquentibus hic nutu quae velim indicet”.

Hypocrisis et declamatoria accomodata saltatori: nam et illi personis quas agunt se accommodant.

Barbarus alias cum quinque vidisset personas – tot enim erant paratae saltatori, totidemque in dramate partes erant – unum videns saltatorem, quinam essent ceteri rogavit; ubi intellexit eumdem <in> omnes mutatum “Habes,” inquit “quod nesciebam, corpus unum, multas animas”.

Itali saltatorem pantomimum vocant. Et illa laus poetae his accomodata: “*Ὦ παῖ, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου νόσον ἔχων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὄμιλει*” *cf. Pind. fr. 43 Snell-Maehtler; Ath. 12, 513c*. Omnes autem affectus actusque exprimunt, eodemque die et Athamas insanus et fugiens Ino unus est homo.

Erat eius apparatus varius: tibia, fistula, pedum plausus, cymbali sonitus, histrionis vocalitas, canentium concordia.

Corporisque atque animi inest virtus. Lesbonax Mytilenaeus saltatores omisso theatro spectatum ibat atque eos *χειρισθόφους* appellabat. Timocrates ipsius praceptor cum saltatorem sua imitantem vidisse: “Οἴου με, ἔφη”, “θεάματος ἡ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν αἰδώς ἀπεστήρεκεν”.

Tres animae partes, iracundiam, appetitum, rationemque saltator explicat. Iocatus quidam in saltatores dixit Pythagoricos esse.

Motus vehemens, strophe, periagoge, saltus, resumptiones saltatorum agile quoque corpus praestat.

Cum in Antiochia parvus saltator ingressus esset scenam | ut Hectorem saltaret, una omnes exclamaverunt: “*Ἄστυάναξ· Εκτωρ δὲ ποῦ;*” Item cum magnus quidam Capanea imitaretur et moenibus scalas admovere tentaret “Transili” dixerunt “moenia, scalis non eges!” Pingui saltatore fortius saltare conante: “Rogamus ut parcas thymele!” Et macilento cuidam clamaverunt ut aegroto: “*Καλῶς ἔχε*”.

Quod autem οὐκ ἀπήλλακται ἡ ὅρχησις καὶ τῆς ἐναγωνίου χειρονομίας, sed etiam Mercurii, Pollucis Herculisque in palestra bonorum participat, multa sunt argumenta in vario genere saltationum.

Herodotus fideliora esse dicit quae oculis quam quae auribus obiciantur *cf. Hdt. 1, 8, 2*: utrumque inest saltationi.

Permovetque mimos ut saepe spectatores fleant. In Ionia, Bacchica, satyrica saltatio cogit spectatores omnium oblitos interesse saltationi, atque ipsos inter principes saltare.

Hic explicat Lucianus vitia saltatorum.

Delphicum illud “te ipsum nosce” hinc eruitur, singuli enim suas vident imagines.

Quidam optimus saltator dum Aiacem supramodum imitaretur insanum prorsus egit: nam et vestem laceravit cuiusdam qui ferreo calceamento supplodebat et e manu tibicinis raptâ tibia Ulixem percussit ita ut supra se caderet, ita ut universum quoque theatrum cum illo insanuerit,

109 Hypocrisis – accomodant : Luc. *salt.* 65 | 110-112 Barbarus – animas : Luc. *salt.* 66 | 113-116 Itali – homo : Luc. *salt.* 67 | 117-118 Erat – concordia : Luc. *salt.* 68 | 119-121 Corporisque – ἀπεστήρεκεν : Luc. *salt.* 69 | 122-123 Tres – esse : Luc. *salt.* 70 | 124-125 Motus – praestat : Luc. *salt.* 71 | 126-130 Cum in Antiochia – ἔχε : Luc. *salt.* 76 | 131-135 Quod autem – saltationi : Luc. *salt.* 78 | 136-137 Permovetque – saltare : Luc. *salt.* 79 | 138 Hic – saltatorum : cf. Luc. *salt.* 80 | 139 Delphicum – imagines : Luc. *salt.* 81 | 140-144 Quidam – percuterentur : Luc. *salt.* 83

112 in] inserui | 123 saltatores dixit Pythagoricos] ante haec histriones del. |

multaeque sunt vestes laceratae. Ille etiam inter duo consulares sedit metuentes ne ab ipso flagellis percuterentur. Unde ille mox prae penitentia in morbum incidit, rogatusque aliquando ut Aiacem saltaret subiecit “Hypocritem” dixitque πρὸς τὸ θέατρον “ἰκανόν ἐστιν ἄπαξ μανῆναι.”

f. 5r 145 Agit saltatio | id quod secundum Homerum aurea virga Mercurii quae “ἀνδρῶν ὅμματα θέλγει” *Hom. Il. 24, 343 al.* excitatque. Hactenus ex Luciano ἐν τῷ περὶ ὥρχηστικῆς.

Eustathius exponens illud Homeri in clipeo Achillis:

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
τῷ εἴκελον οἶόν ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνώσσῳ εύρείη
Δαίδαλος ἥσκεσεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
“Ἐνθα μὲν ἡγέοι τε καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ἀρχεῦντ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες.
Τῶν δ’ αἱ μὲν λεπτὰς ὁθόνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ χιτῶνας
εἶχον εὐνήτους ἥκα στίλβοντας ἐλαίω·
καὶ ὁ’ αἱ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ μαχαίρας
εἶχον χρυσείας ἐξ ἀργυρέων τελαμώνων.
Οἱ δ’ ὅτε μὲν θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσι
ρεῖσα μάλ’, ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμησιν
έζόμενος κεραμεὺς πειρήσεται, αἱ κε θέησιν·
ἄλλοτε δ’ αὐτὸν θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισιν.
Πολλὸς δ’ ἵμερόντα χορὸν περιίσταθ’ ὅμιλος
τερπόμενοι· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ’ αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους,

f. 5v 165 duo genera saltationis putat esse: bellicam, quae pyrricham et Curetiae est similis, et mitem, quae figuras habet Bacchicas decetque pacem. Utramque hic vult intelligi a poeta, primum genus ex armatis | viris, secundum ex mulieribus. Ille chorus postquam Theseus ex labirintho evasit a Daedalo et constitutus. Pausanias *Paus. Gr. ε 36 Erbse* saltationis genus tragice vult emmeleam. Similiter Aelius Dionisius *Ael. Dion. ε 34 Erbse* quem ad modum comica cordax satyrica sicinnis appellabatur quoque inquit emmelea quod sub tragicam saltationem ad tibiam caneabantur. Pausanias quoque scribit xifismum esse genus emmeleae *Paus. Gr. ξ 4 Erbse* unde ἀποξιφίσαι τὸ ἐξօρχήσασθαι *Paus. Gr. α 136 Erbse*. Hactenus ex Eustathio.

Suidas duas dicit saltationes nosse Homerum: urinantum et sphaerae. Sphaericam lusit Alexander Charysius magni Alexandri sphaeristes. Saltatio pantomimus inventa ab Augusto, a Pilade et Bacchylide primo tractata. Et Anagallis Cercyraea grammatica inventionem sphaerae Nausicae Alcinoi tribuit. Haec Suidas.

144-145 Unde – μανῆναι : *Luc. salt. 84* | 146-147 Agit – excitatque : *Luc. salt. 85* | 149-164 ἐν δὲ – μέσσους : *Hom. Il. 18, 590-606* | 165-168 duo – constitutus : Eust. *in Il. 1165, 54-59 et 1166, 15-18* (IV, 266, 20-267, 1 et 18-23 van der Valk) | 168-172 Pausanias – ἐξօρχήσασθαι : Eust. *in Il. 1167, 19-24* (IV, 272, 10-15 van der Valk) | 173-174 duas – sphaeristes : Suid. o 670 Adler | 174-176 Saltatio – tribuit : Suid. o 671 Adler

151 Ἀριάδνη (*Ἀριάδνη ms.*) ex Ἀριάδνης corr. | 152 ἡγέοι τε καὶ] *pro ἡγέοι καὶ* | 155 εἶχον ex Eust.] εῖσται *Hom. mss. fere omnes, edd.* | 163 κυβιστητῆρε] κυβιστῆρε *ms.* | 165 duo genera] *ante haec* Eustathius del. | pyrricham] *pro pyrrichae* |

Pollux enumerat praeter emmeleam cordaca et sicinnida, armatas duas saltationes pyrrichen et telesiada a Cretensibus inventoribus dictas. Erat et podismos, erat et comos saltatio, et tetracomos sacra Bacchi et bellica, et commastica in qua pugna et vulnera, et heducomus et oclasma Persica saltatio quae et hygra, et fallica Dionisi et callinicus Herculi, et colabrismus Thracum et Carum, armata; et baucismus mollis saltatio, et mothion rustica et nautica, et geranus in qua multi saltabant in serie dispositi, inventa a Theseo quae laberintum imitaretur; dipodia Laconum, gingras vel tibia dicta; hecaterides vehemens saltatio in qua manum motus exercebatur, thermaustris in qua saltus; eclactismata | mulierum, in qua humerum calce ferire oportebat, et bibasis in Laconia in qua pueri puellaque certabant ut pedibus pygas contingerent et enumerabant saltus; pinacides, quam saltabant sive supra tabulas, sive tabulas gestantes; cernoforon in quo licna quae cerna dicuntur gestarentur; Ionicum Dianae Siculi saltabant; angelicum in quo figuram nuntiorum agebantur; morphasmos in quo omnium animantium; scops quae et scopias in qua erat circumferentia gutturis imitans avem quae ex stupore capitur saltationibus; leo, metuenda saltatio; erant et Laconica, ut Diamaleas, in qua Sileni erant et satyri sub cursim saltantes; ithymi Baccho, cariatides Diana, baryllica inventa a Baryllico, ubi mulieres Apollini et Diane saltabant; et hypogipones in qua senes cum baculis, gypones in qua subibant lignea tigilla pellucidis vestibus induiti; Escharinthon ab inventore tibicinae; tyrbasia dithyrambica; mimetice, qua agebantur deprehensi in penu furendo. Tragicae saltationis multae erant figure quae recensentur a Polluce. Partes quoque chori ab eodem Polluce recensentur. Haec ex Polluce ii.

Hinc possumus intelligere illud Horatii “agrestem Satyrum aut Cyclopa movetur”; hinc illud apud Suetonium de Canace parturiente quam egerit Nero deque actore Laureoli; hinc illud apud Quintilianum libro nono atque apud Ciceronem in Oratore quando cordacem appellavit Aristoteles trocheum “ut nimis currentem”; hinc illud Juvenalis | “chironomon Ledam molli saltante Batillo” et “chironomunta volanti cultello”.

Extant praeterea Graeca epigrammata in orchestas ut Boethi in Piladen:

Eἰ τοῖος Διόνυσος ἐστὶ ιερὸν ἥλθεν "Ολυμπον
κωμάζων Λήναις σύν ποτε καὶ Σατύροις
οἴον ὁ τεχνήεις Πυλάδης ὡρχήσατο κεῖνον
ὅρθὰ κατὰ τραγικῶν τέθμια μουσοπόλων,
παυσαμένη ζήλου Διὸς ἀν φάτο σύγγαμος "Ηρη·
"Εψεύσω, Σεμέλη, Βάκχον· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτεκον."

177-193 praeter – furendo : Poll. 4, 99-104 | 194-195 Tragicae – recensentur : cf. Poll. 4, 105-112 | 196 agrestem – movetur : cf. Hor. *ep.* 2, 2, 125 | 197 de Canace – Nero : cf. Suet. *Nero* 21, 3 | deque – Laureoli : cf. Suet. *Cal.* 57, 4 | 198-199 cordacem – currentem : Quint. *inst.* 9, 4, 88; cf. Cic. *or.* 57, 192-193 (*ad. ad Arist. rh.* 3, 1408 b 36 ὁ δὲ τροχαῖος κορδακικώτερος) | 199 chironomon – Batillo : Iuv. 6, 63 | 200 chironomunta – cultello : Iuv. 5, 121-122 | 202-207 Εἰ – ἔτεκον : *AP* 9, 248 (Boethus)

178 dictas *scriptis*] dicta ms. | 181 geranus] grns ms. | 182 vel tibia] *an* a tibia ms.? | 185 puellaque] *post hoc ser del.* | pygas (scil. πυγάς)] *an* pugas ms.? | 187 nuntiorum] *e* nuptiorum corr. | 189 Laconica] *post hoc in q del.* | 190 Diamaleas] *pro διὰ Μαλέας* | sub cursim (*sic ms., nisi fallor; post haec litteram vel compendium aliquod dispicere nequeo*)] succussim *potius legerim* (ὑπότρομα Poll.) | cariatides] *an e* Bacciades corr.?

Ex quarto Pyrrhoniorum Sexti:

Σώστρατος ὁ Ἀντιόχου ὄρχηστής, λαβόντος ὑποχείριον τὴν Πριήνην τοῦ βασιλέως πατρίδα οὗσαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀναγκαζόμενος ὄρχεῖσθαι, οὐ καλὸν ἔφη τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ δουλευούσης, αὐτὸν ἐλευθερίαν ὄρχεῖσθαι• καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλευθερωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν.

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209-212 Σώστρατος – πόλιν : S.E. m. 1, 293

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NOTES

- * I wish to thank my good friend Scott Blanchard for revising the English form of this article. I am grateful to Mariantine Pade for her suggestions and improvements on the manuscript, and to Maria Accame for her comments.
- ¹ On Poliziano's *zibaldoni*, "schedari che l'umanista costruiva con straordinaria pazienza e abilità come indispensabili strumenti per il suo lavoro", see Cesarini Martinelli 1980, 1982 (here, 190, the quoted passage), 1983; the same scholar (in Cesarini Martinelli & Ricciardi 1985, XVII) distinguishes between three different typologies of "depositi di fonti" by Poliziano: in fact the humanist used to store his extracts not only in his "raccolte autografe di *excerpta*" and in his "commenti universitari" (i.e. the sets of preparatory notes for his lectures at the Florentine Studium), but also in the blanks of the pages of manuscripts and printed books containing other texts ("libri di sua proprietà opportunamente postillati"). On the practice of compiling personal anthologies, mostly due to a general lack of reference works, by which scholars like Poliziano and many others built up their own repertoires of sources and *loci* to be used when composing orations, treatises, works of erudition etc., see Cesarini Martinelli 1980, 348-349 (who underlines that the first and unique systematical encyclopaedia stemming from the Italian humanism was GiorgioValla's *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, printed in 1501 in Venice). More generally, on the practice of compiling personal *florilegia* from the Middle Ages to the Italian and North European Renaissance see Moss 1996, especially 51-65. As to the codicological features of the *zibaldoni*, see the overview by Gentile & Rizzo 2004 (in particular, on Poliziano's *zibaldoni*, 393-394). On Poliziano's *postillati* see Lo Monaco 2002.
- ² For such terminology see e.g. Cesarini Martinelli 1980, 340 n. 1.
- ³ For a description of MS *Mon. gr.* 182 see Maier 1965, 201-203, Silvano 2005, 410-417 and Haidú 2012, 32-36; for MS *Par. gr.* 3069 see Silvano 2010, XXVI-XLIX. Both manuscripts mainly contain extracts from Greek sources, either copied in the original version, or translated, and often summarized, into Latin.
- ⁴ On MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II. I. 99 see Cesarini Martinelli 1982, 185 ff. This notebook was originally a self-standing quaderno of 50 *folia*, probably compiled during winter 1479-1480. It contains a vast collection of testimonies (from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius-Hieronymus, Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae philosophorum*, Plutarch's *Moralia*, Suidas' lexicon, Pausanias' *Graeciae descriptio*, the *Anthologia Planudea*, Eustathius on the *Iliad*, the *Vita metrica* and *Vita Thomana* of Pindar, Strabo's *Geographia*, plus shorter extracts from other Latin and Greek sources) concerning the definition of poetry, its justification on a moral and philosophical level, its pedagogical value, the different opinions in favour of poetry or against it, the concepts of poetical inspiration and *furore*, the lives and deeds of poets (famous and unknown ones, as well as mythical poets and *rates*) and the merits of poetry. This *shedario* results from extensive research on the history of poetry, which lasted for years, "una sorta di *work in progress* che ha all'inizio il carattere di un'indagine erudita iniziata fuori dalla scuola e poi sviluppata al suo interno" (Cesarini Martinelli 1985, 478, who offers a full description of this MS). The numerous *loci* assembled here were in fact later quoted and reelaborated by Poliziano while drafting the preparatory notes for his university course on Statius' *Silvae*, and extensively used in the composition of his poetical prologue *Nutricia*, which in 1486 inaugurated a course on the *Iliad* or on poetry in general (for a detailed commentary on the *Nutricia* and an analysis of this *silva*'s sources see Bausi 1996, 163-254; on its composition see also Bausi 2012, 280-281).
- ⁵ This thick and rich miscellany ("Una enciclopedia delle arti e delle scienze", as it is termed by Cesarini Martinelli 1980, in her title) was disassembled after Poliziano's death, possibly by one of his former pupils (Cesarini Martinelli suggests Petrus Crinitus) who might have wanted to retrieve the numerous blank pages, and also to organize the material into two more handy volumes made up by uniting folios of the same format (thus subverting the architecture of the original miscellany): the *folia* in 'quarto' format ended up forming MS *Monacensis lat.* 798, while those in 'octavo' were bound in the present *Florentinus Magl.* VIII. 1420 (Cesarini Martinelli 1980, esp. 349-350). On Poliziano's efforts at acquiring an encyclopedic erudition, not only as a necessary background for his poetical and literary production, but also in view of developing an "encyclopedic system of learning", which should include the disciplines of both the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, see chapter III of Godman 1998 (quotation from p. 113; however Godman, *ibid.*, 131-132, is skeptical about the results of such a "grandiloquent attempt to derive *enkyklios paideia* from the *studia humanitatis*", and observes that Poliziano's "campaign, in practice, was confined to the province of language. There Poliziano was unquestionably a *virtuoso*". A discussion of this issue, however, would drive us too far from the purpose of the present article).
- ⁶ This small format manuscript, once part of the Strozzi collection, consists of VI + 126 paper leaves measuring ca. 24, 2 x 15, 5 cm; the binding, dating from the seventeenth-eighteenth century, is in cardboard covered with half-parchment. The first scholar to call attention to this manuscript was Kristeller 1963, 134, who tentatively suggested Poliziano as the scribe. Descriptions were provided by Maier 1965, 117-123, and Cesarini Martinelli 1980, 334-339 and 346.
- ⁷ Maier 1965, 118, does not suggest any possible identification for the "main *unconnue*" who wrote these pages, whilst "toutes les autres feuillets semblent de la main de Politien et contiennent les notes de travail de l'humaniste".
- ⁸ Maier 1965, 118, has proposed a dating of these pages between 1470 and 1488 (i.e. "entre la fin de l'adolescence et la maturité de Politien"); Cesarini Martinelli 1980 and Daneloni 2006 (quoted below, n.9) suggest a dating in the Seventies.
- ⁹ Maier 1965, 118 describes the contents of ff. 1r-6v of MS *Magliabechianus* VIII 1420 as follows: "un résumé du

Traité de la Dance de Lucien et une série de notes prises d'après des nombreux auteurs grecs et latins ayant écrit sur le même sujet"; Cesarini Martinelli 1980, 335 defined these notes as a "trattatello sulla danza" (in the following, the scholar lists – though not in detail – the passages from ancient sources excerpted by Poliziano); according to Daneloni 2006, 553, these are "sintetiche schedature, risalenti agli anni '70 e perlopiù tradotte in latino, di vari testi greci riguardanti la danza presso gli antichi [...] poi, a [f.] 6rv, un interessantissimo elenco di passi di autori latini che, secondo lui [scil. Poliziano], divenivano più chiaramente comprensibili grazie alle fonti greche testé trascritte"; Daneloni then offers a transcription of the lines from "hinc possumus intelligere illud Horatii" to "Piladen" (my edition, lines from 196 to 201) as well as that of a short passage from *salt.* 78 at f. 4v (my edition ll. 131-133), which Poliziano, according to Bartolomeo Fontius, referred to in his university course on Juvenal while commenting on the word *chironomon* at Juv. 6, 63.

- ¹⁰ Some ten years after Poliziano's death, Raffaele Maffei Volaterranus published his *Commentarii rerum urbanarum* (ed. princeps Rome 1506), which included, within an overview of the liberal arts, a chapter *De saltationibus* (which enumerates the names of the different kinds of dance, many of which are derived from Pollux – the same source extensively quoted by Poliziano in his *zibaldone*). Alessandro D'Alessandro included in his *Dies geniales* (first published in Rome in 1522) some passages on ancient dance which focused, among other issues, on the *cheironomia*, a technique on which Poliziano commented on several occasions (see below, notes 13 and 14). The first substantial dissertation on ancient dance is by Lodovico Ricchieri alias Celius Rodiginus, who dedicated to it two chapters of book III of his *Antiquae lectiones* (1st edition Rome 1516; in the posthumous edition of Basel 1542 the same chapters are found in book V); Rodiginus used several ancient sources, providing also a paraphrase of Lucian's treatise, of which he was one of the first popularizers in the early sixteenth century. Different in scope and in the choice of sources is the chapter *De ludis saltatoriis* in book VIII of Blondus Flavius' *Roma triumphans* (written in the late 1450s), mostly derived from Macrobius and Cicero, and centred on the moral judgement on dance amid the Romans (on all this see Arcangeli 2007, 66-68). If Italian humanists became acquainted with Lucian's *De saltatione* in the sixteenth century (for instance, Rinaldo Corso quotes from it several anecdotes in his *Dialogo del ballo*, 1555), the treatise became a standard reading in the rest of Europe only later, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when it was quoted in several treatises on dance (Hall 2008, 366-375). On this issue see also the appendix "Fortuna de 'La danza' nel Settecento" by M. Nordera in Beta & Nordera 1992, 143-156 and Nye 2011, esp. 40-43.
- ¹¹ As emphasised by Daneloni (quoted above n. 9), Poliziano, by the words "hinc possumus intelligere" that introduce this list of *loci*, is suggesting that they may better be understood in light of the passages of Lucian he has transcribed so far.
- ¹² For a general introduction on Poliziano as a teacher see Branca 1983, 73-83 and Orvieto 2010, esp. 324-396; Cesarini Martinelli 1996 has provided a year-by-year list of the courses given the humanist; for further bibliography I refer the reader to the introduction of Silvano 2010 and to the up-to-date treatment of Bausi 2012 on Poliziano's academic prolusions. On the mutual dependence of the several different sets of *excerpta* and annotations written by Poliziano for various pedagogical and scholarly purposes, see Lo Monaco 1991, XIX-XXIX; Silvano 2010, LXXVIII-LXXIX and n. 51.
- ¹³ Cesarini Martinelli & Ricciardi 1985, 10, ll. 217-220 emphasize an echo of Luc. *salt.* 22 in a passage of the *Praelectio in Persium* (only extant in printed copies, the first one being the Aldina of Poliziano's *Opera* of 1498): "Sunt autem Satyri Liberi patris comites corniculis insigniti atque capripedes, qui tris praecipuas saltationum species, quae in theatris usurparentur, cordaca, sicinni atque emmelian invenerunt, singulas ab inventorum nominibus appellata". In the manuscript notes of MS *Mon. lat.* 754 pertaining to the same university course, Poliziano undoubtely refers to *salt.* 22-26, within an overview of some ancient *fuentes* on the Satyres and on the satirical genre which preceeds the *enarratio* of Persius' *Satyræ*: "Lucianus ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὄρχησεως a Satyris inventa ait genera praecipua saltationum κόρδακα, σίκινιν, ἐμμέλειαν: illam primam comoediae, ultimam tragiciae esse, tertiam sumi deinde ab utraque, dicta ab inventorum nominibus" (Cesarini Martinelli & Ricciardi 1985, 18, 22-26). In the prolusion on the history of ancient comedy which introduces his university lectures on Terence's *Andria*, Poliziano again refers to Luc. *salt.* 22-26: "Saltationes quibus actores utebantur permultae sunt, sed precipue ἐμμέλειαι tragicorum, κόρδακες comicorum, σίκιννις satyrica. Qui saltabant ὄρχησται graece aut χειρονόμοι appellabantur, qui ad tibiam saltantes et gesticulantes nutu gestuque et totius corporis motu agebant quaecunque in scena pronuntiabantur. Unde ait Gellius, capite X libri primi: 'Quid enim foret ea re ineptius, si ut planipedī saltant, numeros et modos et frequentamenta quaedam varia tibicen incineret?' (Gell. 1,11,12). *De saltationibus* autem huiusmodi multa scribit Lucianus" (Lattanzi Roselli 1973, 23, ll. 16-25). On other occasions Poliziano simply mentions a *locus similis* in Lucian, without quoting the text *in extenso*. For instance, when commenting on *Thracia* of Stat. *sih.* III, 1, 31 (Cesarini Martinelli 1978, 550, ll. 15-19) Poliziano renvoys to the treatise *On the dance* for a parallel to the story of Diomedes' mares (the allusion is probably to *salt.* 51, where Lucian, talking about Thrace as a place which "has much that is essential to one who intends to dance" – transl. Harmon 1936 –, remembers that it was in that region that the dismemberment of Orpheus took place): "Thracia'. Diomedes, cuius equarum mentionem fecimus cum de equis supra scripsimus. De Abdero puero Herculis a Diomedis equabus lacerato, unde sit urbs Abdera appellata, habes quidem abundanter apud Philostratum in Imaginibus. Attigit tamen et Lucianus De orchestice". Finally, in a course on Suetonius he delivered privately to a Portuguese student in 1490-91, Poliziano, in commenting on Nero 20, 3, refers to *De saltatione*, though in this case barely mentioning the opuscule's title: "Lucianus vero librum composuit περὶ ὄρχηστῶν id est De orchestris et saltationibus" (Fera 1983, 185).
- ¹⁴ Ed. Lo Monaco 1991, 283, ll. 62-70: "Culta' [Ov. F. III, 538]: Quintilianus libro primo cap. Xo de chironomia agit et Pollux de orchestica libro III^o et Lucianus proprium ei librum dedit. Juvenalis: 'chironomon Ledam' et alibi et: 'chironomunta volanti cultello'. Ovidius in 3^o de arte amandi: 'Quis dubitet, quin scire velim saltare puellam, / ut quae moveat posito brachia iussa mero? Artifices lateris scenae spectacula amantur / tantum mobilitas illa decoris habet'. Virgilius in *Copa*: 'crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus'. De his diximus in dictatis Statianis. 74. M. Varro

in libro de agricultura, ut habes etiam apud Columellam in prohemio, hoc significat cum inquit et in circis potius ac theatris quam in segetibus ac vinetis manus movemus". The *fontes* of this passage are Quint. *inst.* 1, 11, 17; Poll. 4, 95-98; Luc. *salt.* 78; Iuv. 6, 63 and 5, 121-122 (the next to last *locus* was later commented on by Poliziano in his lectures on Juvenal; however, the passages of the two extant sets of *recollectae* pertaining to that course, published in Daneloni 2006, 552, do not contain direct allusions to Lucian nor to the other *fontes* mentioned here); Ov. *ars* 3, 349-352; *Copa* 2; Polit. in *Stat. sih.* ed. Cesarini Martinelli 1978, 363, l. 19-365, l. 3; Varr. *ruct.* 2, *proem.*; Colum. 2, 1, 2-5.

¹⁵ David Marsh (1998, 8) has well summarized the reasons for this continuity: Lucian's "works proved eminently suitable for beginning students of Greek. Used as a textbook, Lucian provides, in short and entertaining pieces, a readable Attic prose that beginning students can easily handle"; teachers and humanists in general were attracted by "the quantity, brevity, and variety of Lucian's works" (*ibid.*), and appreciated him for his *eloquentia* and *facundia*; moreover, many "Renaissance readers turned to Lucian for his iconoclastic side", since he was a "provocative satyr-ist" (*ibid.*, 5; see in general chapter I of Marsh's book).

¹⁶ Panizza 2007, 71.

¹⁷ The quotation is taken from Wilson 2006, 60-61. A recapitulation of the *fortuna* of Lucian in Quattrocento Italy and in Renaissance European school tradition and literature would be out of place here. General surveys on the reception of Lucian and on 'Lucianism' are provided by Robinson 1979; Mattioli 1980; Lauvergnat-Ganière 1988; Zappala 1990; Ligota & Panizza 2007; Geri 2011; on Lucian's influence on Renaissance authors of satire see also Blanchard 2007. As to the *Fortleben* of Lucian in the West between Late antiquity (with a particular focus on the patristic authors) and the Middle Ages, see Santelia 2008, 55-56 (with further bibliography); for medieval (Byzantine) Southern Italy see Bianchi 2011. As to the use of Lucian's writings as school primers in Byzantium, in Quattrocento Italy and in the European Renaissance, see Robinson 1979, 68-81; Berti 1987; Wilson 2000, esp. 21-23, 30-32, 61-62; Botley 2010, 85-88. On the manuscript circulation of Lucian's works in fifteenth-century Italy see Sidwell 1986; on Renaissance prints see Lauvergnat-Ganière 1988, 343-421; on printed Latin translations see Cortesi & Fiaschi 2008, II, 849-1042. On Renaissance Latin translations, besides the above mentioned literature, see Marsh 1998 and Berti 2006, in particular XI-XLI; De Faveri 2002 has listed manuscripts and editions of fifteenth and sixteenth century translations of works by Lucian (unfortunately, without taking into consideration the *De saltatione*). Recent contributions on translations of single opuscules by Lucian include Deligiannis 2006 (on the translations by Guarino da Verona, Lapo da Castiglionchio and Francesco Griffolini), Dapelo & Zoppelli 1998 (on Lilio Tifernate's translation of the *Vera historia*, with a valuable introduction and an ample bibliography), and Tramontana 2005 (on Pontico Virunio's partial version of the *Encomium muscae*); for translations into the vernacular see Panizza 2007 and Hosington 2009.

¹⁸ Lada-Richards 2007, 12. Lucian's book, which concerns mainly "pantomime dancing and its *virtuoso* artist, the 'pantomime' (*pantomimos*) or simply 'dancer' (*saltator, orchestes*)" (Lada-Richards 2007, *ibid.*), has been defined as "an encomiastic treatise, set in a frame of dialogue" (Harmon 1936, 209) as well as "une apologie de la pantomime" (Billault 2010, 146). Lucian might have wanted to compose this tract as a reply to Aelius Aristides, who according to Libanius' *or. 64 Pro saltatoribus* had attacked the art of pantomime (Aelius' discourse, now lost, can be partially reconstructed through Libanius: see Anastasi 1984, and in particular, on Lucian *salt.* as a source for Libanius' oration, 245-247). The attribution of this treatise to Lucian has long been questioned, but recent scholarship (from Anderson 1977 onwards) tends to consider it genuine and to connect its composition to the sejourn in Antioch of emperor Lucius Vero, a pantomime enthusiast, at a time when Lucian also resided there (scholars have proposed dates in the time span 162-166 AD). On all these issues see, among others, Jones 1986, 68-70 (in subsequent pages, observations on the contents and purpose of the treatise); Beta & Nordera 1992, 27-28 (here, 28-38, a concise though useful introduction to the work, which may be integrated with Lada-Richards 2006 and Lada-Richards 2008, 298-312); Bompaire 1993, XVII, n. 19; Lada-Richards 2007, 12 and especially 154-158; Bowersock 2008, esp. 73; Billault 2010, 146-148. For a full treatment of the pantomime genre I refer the reader to the essays collected in Hall & Wyles 2008, many of which also deal with or refer to Lucian's treatise.

¹⁹ On this canon see Robinson 1979, 82-83. On the diffusion of the *De Saltatione* in the Renaissance see Beta & Nordera 1992, 144-147; Bianchi 2011, 48 reports of only two manuscripts of the *De saltatione* stemming from Southern Italy: the *Neapolitanus* II. F. 48 (XV-XVI c.) and the *Parisinus gr.* 3013, containing the Greek text with the Latin version by Chalkeopoulos (see below and n. 26). The printed editions containing the Greek text of *De saltatione* date from the 1490s (Arcangeli 2000, 113); the oldest printed translation appears to be the one by Vincentius Opsopaeus (in Micyllus 1538, 154-161); unfortunately we still lack "a scholarly history of the printed editions and translations of *On Dancing*", which "would be a most useful 'new direction' in which pantomime scholarship could move" (Hall 2008, 365 n. 8).

²⁰ See above, notes 10 and 19.

²¹ Mattioli (1980, 162-166) referred to the presence of Lucian in Poliziano's writings as to "un fatto non particolarmente vistoso"; Mattioli himself noticed several quotations of Lucian's opuscules in the *Miscellanea* (I, 15; I, 16; I, 54-55) and in other philological writings and teaching materials, such as the *Praefatio in Suetonium*, but pointed out that the humanist mostly overlooked (as did Guarino Veronese and other contemporary scholars) the parodic writings of Lucian. Mattioli's judgment needs to be reconsidered. In fact, it suffices to skim through the indices of the recent editions of Poliziano's university commentaries to find quotations from several Lucianic dialogues. For instance, in the *enarratio* on Ovid's *Fasti* edited by Lo Monaco 1991 there are quotations from Lucian's *De astrologia*, *Cataplus*, *Dialogi Deorum*, *De saltatione* (one each); *Bacchus*, *Charon*, *Vitarum auctio* (two each); *Adversus indoctum* (three times); in his commentary to Statius' *Sihae* (Cesarini Martinelli 1978, *ad indicem*) he quotes three times the *Adversum indoctum*, then twice each the *Dialogi deorum* and the *Dialogi meretricium*, and once each *Anacharsis*, *Calunnia*, *Dialogi mortuorum*, *Dionysius*, *Gallus*, *Vitarum auctio*. In all these cases, Lucian's text is mostly paraphrased and reduced,

though in some cases also long passages of the Greek text are transcribed. More occurrences can easily be found in the other published school commentaries by Poliziano. Also in major works by Poliziano it is possible to trace the influence of Lucian, as both hidden model and explicitly quoted *auctoritas* as to notions and anecdotes; a *locus* from *Gallus* is most probably hinted at in the *Lamia* (see Wesselink 1986, 29, 32, 37); in the *Nutricia*, lines 624-628, some particulars concerning the myth of Sappho and Phaon most probably derive from Luc. *Dialogi mortuorum* 9, 2 (a passage already quoted in the *enarratio in Sapphus epistolam*, ed. Lazzeri 1971, 6; cf. Bausi 1996, 233-234); *Nutricia* lines 109-312 refer to the episode of Neanthos, according to Luc. *Adversus indoctum* 12 (the same passage that the humanist had already written down *in extenso* in the Greek original among his notes for his 1483-1484 course on Virgil's *Georgia*, ed. Castano Musicò 1990, 223-224; cf. Bausi 1996, 194).

²² On the features of Poliziano's erudition and philology, and in general on his intellectual biography it suffices to refer the reader to the classic studies of Bigi 1967, Grafton 1977, Branca 1983; see also the recent work by Orvieto 2010.

²³ See above, 8 and n. 5. I have not been able to individuate Poliziano's manuscript source. There are no major discrepancies between the text reported in Poliziano's *excerpta* and that of the Oxford edition of Lucian's works; moreover, the variants registered in MacLeod's apparatus are not of much help – unless one does not want to search for pointless *minutiae* such as, at *salt.* 11, the reading ὁρχήσασθαι, which Poliziano has in common with Lucian's manuscripts ΓΕΦ (Γ: *Vat. gr.* 90; Ε: *Harleian.* 5694; Φ: *Laur. Conv. Soppr.* 77), instead of the ὁρχήσασθε of other witnesses.

²⁴ In this passage, Lucian is saying that Socrates learned to dance late in his life, and that he appreciated that art, though (these are the words referred to by Poliziano) “ἐκεῖνος ἄρτι ἀρχομένην ἐώρα τότε τὴν τέχνην”.

²⁵ On some occasions Poliziano supplies words or verses lacking in Lucian, as in *salt.* 24 (see *infra*, 18 l. 68).

²⁶ On the biography of Athanasius, see Manoussacas 1973; on his unpublished translation see Laurent & Guillou 1960, 228-231, with an edition of the dedicatory epistle contained at ff. 1r-3v of the Paris manuscript (the translation is mentioned in Mattioli 1980, 79; Sidwell 1986, 245; Beta & Nordera 1992; Fiaccadori 1996, LIV; Toste 2001, with bibliography). A description of MS *Par. gr.* 3013 is in Laurent & Guillou 1960, 228 n. 4. Legrand 1903, 24 believed *Par. gr.* 3013 to be “très vraisemblablement un autographe d'Athanase”; Laurent & Guillou (*loc. cit.*) did not share this opinion; in fact, the amanuensis' hand has been later identified with that of Ioannes Chalkeopoulos, Athanasius' brother (Gamillscheg & Harlfinger 1989, nr. 249; for Athanasius see *ibid.*, nr. 7); the manuscript was copied in Gerace or Oppido (the two dioceses having been unified under Athanasius' episcopate in 1472: Laurent & Guillou 1960, XXX), where Ioannes was active between 1469 and 1475 (Gamillscheg & Harlfinger 1989, *ibid.*; see also Fiaccadori 1996, LIV; Lucà 1998, 304 and 2007, 63; Bianchi 2011, 48.); this pushes back to 1475 the *terminus ante quem* of 11 May 1487 (date of the execution of Petrucci, the dedicatee of the translation) indicated by Laurent & Guillou and accepted by Manoussacas 1973; as the author designates himself bishop of Oppidum and Gerace, an appointment he held from 19th August 1472, the translation is likely to be dated within the triennium 1472-1475 (Nordera, in Beta & Nordera 1992, suggested a dating “intorno agli anni Ottanta” of the fifteenth century). In the margins surrounding the Latin version there are some *tituli* and *notabilia*, as well as short notes which may be of help in solving some ambiguities in the text, such as in the case of the marginale “Neapolis” corresponding to the “urbs optima in Italia Chalcidici generis” in the text, which Athanasius might have considered necessary to the young readership comprised of Antonello Petrucci's sons, whom he addresses at the very beginning of the preface.

²⁷ I compared the Greek text of MS *Par. gr.* 3013 (P) to the text printed in the Oxford edition of the *De Saltatione* for all passages that I quote in what follows, and I found only minor discrepancies (for instance, as to the passage I quote in specimen nr. 1: ἀποτελέσθαι Luc. : ἀποτελέσθαι P; διεσώσαντο Luc. : διεσώσαν τὸ P). The additions in the Latin version are therefore most presumably due to Athanasius.

²⁸ Other inconsistencies, such as *chorus* for *chororum* (l. 29) and διὰ Μαλέας of Pollux 4, 104 rendered *Diamaleas* (l. 190), might be due to the copyist.

²⁹ According to Harmon 1936, 272-273 and n. 1 the term signifies “handywise”, “because of their extensive use of gestures”.

³⁰ Transl. Harmon 1936, 273.

³¹ Transl. Harmon 1936, 239. We still lack an overall treatment of Poliziano's translations and translation technique; for an overview of this issue, see Accame 2012, 85-103 (with up-to-date bibliography).