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HERODOTUS MAGISTER VITAE, OR: HERODOTUS AND GOD IN THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION*

Anthony Ellis

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All references given in the format '2.53' or '2.53.1' are to Herodotus' *Histories*, unless otherwise indicated. Greek and Latin references follow the conventions of LSJ and the *OLD*. Translations are my own, except where indicated. Melanchthon's writings and his revised edition of the *Chronicon Carionis* are cited from the *Corpus Reformatorum* (CR). In the absence of modern editions of the works of Pezel, Chytraeus, Casaubon, and others I preserve the original Latin and Greek typography of the editions consulted (including use and placement of Greek breathings and the intermittent use of iota subscript) but I expand out ligatures and abbreviations. Page numbers are not infrequently misprinted in editions of Chytraeus: I give the expected page number and include the number actually printed in brackets and inverted commas, e.g. Chytraeus (1601) 193 (= '191'). I have cited from later printings of works when the earliest edition I have been able to consult lacks page numbers (e.g. Chytraeus' *De lectione historiarvm recte institvenda*, Naucler's *Memorabilium*). Finally, Casaubon corrects an error in the pagination of Estienne's 1570 edition of Herodotus (misnumbered from p.127 onwards, so that the pages run 127, 128, 127, 128, 129, and so on, continuing two behind the 'correct' number). I quote from the original Stephanus page numbers, and give Casaubon's corrected pagination in brackets.

Abstract: During the sixteenth century Herodotus' *Histories* reached new audiences throughout Europe, in Greek, Latin, and the vernaculars. This period saw the emergence of an extensive scholarly literature on Herodotus, particularly in German-speaking lands, where Lutheran reformers and academics worked concertedly to incorporate Greek historiography into the new didactic curriculum of Protestant humanism. This article explores Herodotus' reception in the context of the religious and cultural upheavals of the Reformation, and examines the origins and impact of some striking claims: that Herodotus' religious beliefs were largely commensurable with Christianity; that his *Histories* were part of a divine plan to create a continuous record of world history; and that his was an excellent text with which to illustrate the Biblical Ten Commandments. In tracing a little-known chapter in the Christianisation of Herodotus, I focus on the close-knit circle of Hellenists trained by the Lutheran reformer Philipp Melanchthon and on the prodigious Francophone scholars Henri Estienne and Isaac Casaubon.

Keywords: Herodotus, Religion, Theology, Reception, Melanchthon, Chytraeus, Casaubon, Estienne, humanism.

Introduction: Herodotus in Rostock

In late 1559 a young theologian and historian at the University of Rostock began a course of lectures on the earliest surviving work of Greek prose: Herodotus' *Histories*, which described the Persian Wars of the 5th century BC and traced their origins through the dynastic successions of the Ancient Near East. David Chytraeus (1530–1600) worked his way through the *Histories* book by book, and elucidated its contents according to the historico-theological framework of his friend and former teacher Philipp Melanchthon. Only the advertisements for Chytraeus' lectures survive, but we can build up a picture of their contents from the many writings he published on Greek history and Herodotus from the early 1560s onwards.

Chytraeus' treatise 'On the Utility of Herodotus'[1] showed how the stories and maxims of the *Histories*

[1] The essay is variously called the *Oratio de Herodoti utilitate* (in the book title) and the *Praefatio in Herodoti Lectionem* (in the text). Its first publication seems to have been in 1597 (Halle: Paulus Graeber).

illustrated each of the Ten Commandments revealed to Moses,[2] expanding on claims made in his essay 'On teaching the reading of history correctly' (1563). Proceeding in order through each commandment, Chytraeus paraphrased Herodotus' *exempla* (exemplary stories) and *sententia* (sayings or opinions) to demonstrate the concord between the Decalogue and the *Histories*.[3] Chytraeus' 'Chronology of the *Histories* of Herodotus and Thucydides' (1565) began with God's creation of the world (in 3962 BC) and set the events of the Old Testament and the Greek historians side by side, demonstrating that Greek pagan history could confirm the truth of the Sacred Histories written by Moses and the Prophets but was also younger by over 3000 years.[4]

Throughout his works Chytraeus claims that Herodotus' writing has an important role to play in contemporary education because it illustrates divine law more vividly and memorably than the bare precepts alone.[5] Indeed nothing less than God's own beneficence had brought it about that the history of the world should be preserved without interruption from Creation to the present day. Hence, Chytraeus observed, Herodotus began his *Histories* at the very point where the Holy Scriptures cease: his account of Egypt describes the death of Apries (2.161)—as predicted in Jeremiah (44:29–30)[6]—and his description of Cyrus the Great's miraculous survival as a boy and the rise of the

[2] Ex. 20:1–17; 34:28–9; Deut. 5.4–21.

[3] Chytraeus (1601) 32–3, cf. Chytraeus (1579) 461.

[4] Chytraeus makes this claim in his *argumentum* to the second book (dated January 1560) regarding Herodotus' comment that Hesiod and Homer had created many components of Greek religion 400 years before his own time (2.53); cf. Chytraeus (1601) 212–14.

[5] Chytraeus (1601) 33 (*Praefatio in Herodoti lectionem*): 'Deinde, Exempla consiliorum & euentuum ac pœnarum, quæ ferè conspectiora sunt, & altius in animos rudiorum penetrant, ac efficacius quàm nuda præcepta, ad rectè factorum imitationem, & scelerum ac turpitudinis odium & fugam impellunt. Cùm igitur ambæ hæ Regulæ & Normæ vitæ, in Herodoto, purißima ac dulcißimâ Orationis formâ, & nectare ac melle suauiore, expositæ ac illustratæ extent ac eniteant'; cf. (1579 = 1565) 460.

[6] Apries is known as Hophra to Jeremiah.

Persian Empire illuminated the prophecy of Isaiah (Isa. 44:28–45, fulfilled in Ezra 1:1–8; cf. 2 Chron. 36:22–3).[7] God, it seemed, wanted history, including the pagan writings of the Greek historians, to be studied.[8]

Chytraeus was not the first to make these striking claims about the great relevance of history, Greek historians, and Herodotus in particular, to the moral and intellectual life of Christians. He was one of several Lutheran humanists to use his voice and pen to disseminate the moralising approach to Greek literature forged by the reformer Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), the prodigious reformer, theologian, and the first chair of Greek at the University of Wittenberg. During the 1550s and 1560s Herodotus was also the subject of lectures in Wittenberg by Christoph Pezel and Ernst Regius, and in Jena by Johannes Rosa. But Chytraeus seems to have been the only scholar in Lutheran circles who elaborated in detail for an ancient text what he asserted to be true in principle by turning his attention to a detailed exposition of Herodotus and Thucydides (on whom he lectured between April 1562 and May 1564, after having finished Herodotus). As Anthony Grafton has shown, the Ciceronian commonplace *historia magistra vitae* was ubiquitous in the historical treatises of sixteenth-century Europe, as was theorising on the utility of ancient *exempla*.[9] But few had the tenacity Chytraeus displayed when he showed precisely how Herodotus' text could illustrate every commandment revealed by God to Moses, enabling the *Histories* to be treated in practice, as well as in theory, as a storehouse of positive and negative exemplars which

[7] On Apries: Chytraeus (1601) 11–12, 211–2; on Cyrus: (1601) 48–9, 170, 200.

[8] Chytraeus (1565) Av (*In lectionem Herodoti*): 'VVLT Deus legi à nobis præcipuos scriptores, qui maximarum rerum memoriam, & continuam Mundi historiam à prima conditione ad nostra vsque tempora deduxerunt. Ideo enim Deus ipse primam historiam per Moysen scripsit, & continuam annorum Mundi & historiarum seriem conseruauit, vt rerum initia, primæ & veræ Religionis originem, & propagationem, ortus superstitionum, quæ postea in Mundum irrepserunt'. Cf. (1601) 1.

[9] See Grafton (2006) 31 and *passim*.

demonstrated the divine rewards and punishments that awaited good and bad behaviour.

In the late 1560s Herodotus was also the subject of several treatises by the peripatetic scholar-printer Henri Estienne (*ca.* 1531–1598). In his *Apologia pro Herodoto*, primarily directed at demonstrating Herodotus' historical integrity, Estienne put forward a series of ingenious arguments to show that Herodotus was as pious as it was possible for a man ignorant of Christianity to be. Estienne further demonstrated that Herodotus' theological statements conformed wholly with Christianity, and specifically (if implicitly) with predestinarian beliefs current among Calvinists. Emerging from the very different intellectual worlds of Paris, Geneva, and Rostock, the writings and lectures of Estienne and Chytraeus offer remarkable insight into the reception of Herodotus and ancient Greek religion in the humanist culture of the Northern Renaissance and the Reformation. As we shall see, each seems to have been intimately acquainted with the work of the others, and the many differences in their goals and methods reflect both personal differences and the different cultural milieu inhabited by each.

This article focuses on the largely unstudied reception of Herodotus' theological, philosophical, and ethical material in several of the treatises, lectures, and historical handbooks written in the sixteenth-century Reformation, where history was primarily an ethical and theological endeavour. It is generally acknowledged that Renaissance humanists took a moralising approach to Greek literature, and that the classical curriculum played a central role in Protestant pedagogy. Much less is known about how the reading of Classical texts was conducted in practice. A particular interest in what follows is to examine how Chytraeus and Estienne went about finding the theological and ethical messages they sought in the *Histories*, what inspired them to do so, and how they dealt with the inevitable complications.

I begin by exploring the origins of Chytraeus' approach to Herodotus in the writings and lectures of Philipp Melanchthon and the brood of Reformation theologians he

reared in Wittenberg in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. We shall see that Chytraeus' writing is an inextricable part of the wider culture of Melanchthonian Hellenism,[10] an intellectual movement which would profoundly influence German pedagogy, historiography, and scholarship over subsequent centuries.[11] In the following section I look in more detail at how Chytraeus, Melanchthon's most prolific student in the realm of classical historiography, applied his teacher's vision of the theological and ethical content of Greek history to Herodotus.[12] I then move beyond Lutheran Hellenism to examine Estienne's attempt to build new and ever more ambitious bridges between Herodotus' text and the religious and ethical thought of sixteenth-century Europe. Finally, I discuss Isaac Casaubon's engagement with Herodotean theology, by way of comparison with what precedes.

[10] On Melanchthonian historiography more generally see Ben-Tov (2009); For the reception of individual classical authors in Melanchthonian circles see: Schmitz (1993) 107–15 on Pindar, Lurie (2004) 94–103 and (2012) 442–4 on Sophocles, Pontani (2007) on Homer, and Richards (2013) on Thucydides. See also brief discussion below, nn. 40–2.

[11] For Melanchthon's influence on Protestant European universities, scholarship, and historiography in his own time and in the following centuries see, e.g. Rhein (1993), esp. 95, on the University of Rostock; Skovgaard-Petersen (1998) on Denmark; Kusukawa (2002) on England; Selderhuis (2002) on the Netherlands; on the influence of the *Chronicon Carionis* see Lotito (2011) 240–335. Lotito goes so far as to describe the work—published in thirteen languages (and many different versions) over 160 years—as 'a basis of Western historical thought' (167).

[12] Chytraeus' writings on Herodotus have not received much attention. In addition to passing comments by Momigliano (1966) 140, Kipf (1999) 25, Völkel (2000) 125–6, and Bichler and Rollinger (2000) 126, see Backus (2003) 338–43 (who gives an excellent description of Chytraeus' historical methods), Olivieri (2004) 45–52 (on the *Chronologia historiae Herodoti et Thucydidis*), and Ben-Tov (2009) 67–70.

1. Melanchthon and the Wittenberg Hellenists on Herodotus and Greek History

To say that Chytraeus' approach to Greek history and Herodotus was unoriginal would be an understatement. Although Melanchthon's direct remarks on Herodotus are limited to brief comments scattered throughout his vast oeuvre (28 weighty volumes in the *Corpus Reformatorum*), much of Chytraeus' basic approach to history and most of his individual points on Herodotus are repetitions—often verbatim—of treatises and speeches which Melanchthon published between the 1520s and 1550s.[13] Chytraeus had ample opportunity to become acquainted with Melanchthon's ideas. At fourteen he left the University of Tübingen (where he had been taught by Joachim Camerarius, the other luminary of Lutheran Hellenism)[14] and enrolled in Wittenberg, where he heard the lectures of Martin Luther, Paul Eber, Johann Forster, and of course Melanchthon. Between 1544 and 1550 Melanchthon took Chytraeus in as a lodger *filii loco*, on one account because he was so impressed by the young student's ability to handle

[13] Ben-Tov (2009) 67–8 notes that Chytraeus 'shared Melanchthon's humanistic sympathies and valued [Melanchthon's] *Chronicon Carionis*', but the extent of his dependence upon Melanchthon in his writings on Herodotus has not been appreciated (Melanchthon goes unmentioned in Momigliano (1966) 140 and Olivieri (2004) 45–52). For further discussion of Melanchthon's readings of Herodotus see Ellis (in preparation), and Kipf (1999) 19–23.

[14] Camerarius' influence is clearly observable at several points in Chytraeus' work—mostly where the latter 'defends' Herodotus—but Camerarius generally has far less impact on Chytraeus' published work than Melanchthon. This is, however, unsurprising, since their two-year acquaintance in Tübingen ended when Chytraeus was only eleven years old, when Camerarius moved to the University of Leipzig. The surviving section of an undated letter from Chytraeus to Camerarius (full of detailed questions about Herodotus) suggests that Camerarius exerted his greatest influence on Chytraeus through his 1541 *Proœmium* to Herodotus (which Chytraeus calls *defensio tua*; see Chytraeus (1614) 411–12; cf. 445–8). For clear examples of direct influence see, e.g., Camerarius (1541) a5^{v}–a5^{r} with Chytraeus (1601) 100–1 (on the meaning of divine *phthonos*, discussed in Ellis (forthcoming, a)), as well as below, pp. 194, 205 n. 75.

Thucydidean Greek.[15] As a young student in Melanchthon's house—the heart of the theological and political turmoil of the Reformation—Chytraeus met many of the influential thinkers and actors of his day and acquired a close familiarity with Melanchthon's vision of history and Greek literature, to which he remained devoted throughout his life.

Unless we have lost all record of a substantial written or oral treatment of Herodotus by Melanchthon (not impossible), the closest textual precedents for Chytraeus' approach to Herodotus are not Melanchthon's sparse references to Herodotus but his radical theories on Greek history and its role in God's providential plan for the world and in contemporary pedagogy. Although the *locus classicus* for these ideas is Melanchthon's revised edition of the *Chronicon Carionis* (1558–60),[16] which have been lucidly described by Asaph Ben-Tov,[17] it is clear, as I hope to show, that Melanchthon had elaborated the central ideas by the early 1540s, before and during the period in which Chytraeus lodged with him in Wittenberg.

In a speech on Ambrose of Milan and his struggles against Paganism (1542), Melanchthon elaborates a number of theologico-historiographical theories which would become the bread and butter of Lutheran historiography. If, Melanchthon argues, we accept the premise that the one true religion must also be the *first* religion,[18] then the relative ages of the world's religions and their foundational texts becomes an issue of the utmost importance. Mosaic history

[15] On Chytraeus' relationship with Melanchthon in his early days in Wittenberg see Rhein (2000). The Thucydidean anecdote is told by Chytraeus' colleague in Rostock Lucas Bacmeister (cited in Rhein (2000) 13).

[16] See particularly Melanchthon's dedicatory letter (CR ix 531–8) and preface (CR xii 712–21).

[17] See Ben-Tov (2009), esp. 36–47.

[18] Cf. Tertullian *Adversus Praxean* 2.2: 'id esse verum quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius'. For the development of this idea in antiquity (particularly in Jewish and Christian apologetics) see Pilhofer (1990).

(*Moisi historia*) is manifestly older because it describes the world from its beginnings, through its various ages, and shows the origins and migrations of different peoples, as well as the beginnings of religion. The writings of the Greeks, then, who say nothing about the beginnings of humanity or about the rise and spread of different religions, cannot be as old as the books of Moses.[19] Greek history might go back a fair way—remembering the flood and the names of Japheth, Ion, Cithim, Elam and others—but only Mosaic history tells how the human race survived the flood, the origins of Japheth, and remembered that Ion (i.e. Javan) was his son.[20] Likewise the origins of Greek religion were unknown to the Greeks themselves: the history of the oracle of 'Zeus Hammon' (i.e. Zeus Ammon) could only be discovered by reading the Bible, which narrated the life of Noah's son Ham, whose religion was the direct ancestor of the corrupted rites practiced by Ham's Egyptian descendants in Herodotus' day.[21] Digressing further from

[19] CR xi 566–98, *Declamatio de Ambrosio*; cf. 579: 'Unum autem extat scriptum Moisi, quod primum temporis vetustas nobis commendat, deinde doctrinae series. Nullum est enim scriptum antiquius? Deinde, nullum exordia mundi et tempora certo distincta numero annorum, origines gentium, et migrationes, initia religionum et depravationes certa series describit, ut haec Moisi historia. Cum igitur Graeca monumenta recentiora sint, cum nihil de ortu aut propagatione religionum certi dicant, denique cum absurdam opinionem de multitudine deorum contineant, necesse est anteferri Moisen.'

[20] More recently Louden (2013), in examining the genetic relationship between the Biblical Genesis and the Greek mythological tradition, has offered the opposite conclusion (also based on the names Ἰαπετός/יֶפֶת and Ἰάϝων/יָוָן).

[21] In the 16th century Melanchthon's etymological aspirations would not have seemed tendentious as they might today: the spelling of 'Ammon' as 'Hammon' is found in many classical Latin authors (e.g. Cic. *N. D.* 1.83; *Div.* 1.3; Virg. *Aen.* 4.198; Lucr. 6.848) and sixteenth-century Greek typefaces tended not to include breathings on capital alphas, so the texts of Manutius (1502) 8 and Camerarius (1541) 11 (both Αμμων) did not contradict the transliteration *Hammon*. In any case, since Herodotus' Ionic dialect was psilotic (and so did not pronounce word-initial 'h') his original text would likely have read Ἄμμων even if the oracle was widely known as Ἅμμων.

the topic of his discourse, Melanchthon notes that Herodotus begins his history 'at the very juncture' where the prophetic works cease.[22] Chytraeus would repeat these points in his Herodotean lectures and publications,[23] even offering further etymologies for the names of Greek religious institutions, revealing their origins in post-diluvian Hebrew culture.[24]

Four years later Melanchthon's treatise 'On the Hebrew Language' further elaborated God's plan for the survival of a continuous history of the world:[25]

[22] CR xi 580–1: 'Deinde Ieremias vaticinatur de Aprie … Haec postea recitat Herodotus, quasi inchoans historiam in eo ipso articulo, ubi nostri desinunt. Tantam vero superbiam ait Apriis fuisse, ut dixerit sibi nec deorum nec hominum quenquam regnum eripere posse. Fuit igitur gravis causa, cur ei Propheta supplicium minatus est.' This striking fact would be widely repeated both inside and outside Wittenberg circles, e.g., Regius (1555) 71; Baudouin (1579) 654; Chytraeus (1579) 471–2; (1601) 11–12, 212.

[23] Chytraeus explained in his Rostock lectures of January 1560 (apropos of Hdt. 2.55–6) that oracles of Jupiter Hammon and Dodona were the remnants of communities founded by Noah's son Ham and great-grandson Dodanim (Gen. 10:1–4); Chytraeus (1601) 212–14; cf. 118.

[24] After discussing the divinatory method of the Pythia (involving a tripod over a crevice in the floor of the temple which emitted vapours) Chytraeus (1601) 116–7 (*ad* Hdt. 1.46.2) suggests two possible Hebrew derivations for mount Parnassus which towered above Delphi: 'mountain of divination'/*mons divinationum* (from *har*/הר ('mountain') and *nakhash*/נחש ('prophecy')) or 'crevice of divination'/*hiatus divinationum* (from *pakh*/פָּךְ ('jug/flask'), and *nakhash*/נחש). The edition uses vocalic pointing intermittently (only on פָּךְ), writes *nakhash* with *sin* (rather than *shin*—perhaps to bring the sound closer to the target word), and uses the medial rather than final form of *khaf*. How exactly Chytraeus considered פָּךְ to mean *hiatus* is unclear to me.

[25] *De lingua Hebraica* (1546), CR xi 708–15. Cf. 713: 'Magnum donum Dei est, quod in Ecclesia extat continua historia omnium mundi temporum, non interrupta usque ad monarchiam Persicam. Ac ne ignota esset series sequentium rerum, Deus singulari consilio contexuit historiam, excitatis Graecis scriptoribus. Nam aliquanto ante finem Ieremiae, inchoat historiam Herodotus: postea Graecorum, Latinorum et Germanorum continua historia extat. Necesse est autem doctos viros in Ecclesia tenere integram seriem temporum, ut quae sit doctrina, et quae mutationes extiterint, considerent. Una est enim de Deo vera sententia, quae ab initio divinitus certis testimoniis Ecclesiae tradita est,

> It is a great gift from God that the Church possesses a continuous history of all the ages of the world, uninterrupted until the Persian monarchy. So that people should not be unaware of the order of subsequent events God created history by a singular plan—by inspiring the Greek writers. Shortly before the end of Jeremiah, Herodotus begins his history: after this there survives the continuous history of the Greeks, Latins, and Germans. It is necessary for learned men in the Church to know the continuous series of the ages […] For there is one true opinion about God, which from the beginning has been transmitted with divine aid in sure testimonies, and these cannot be judged without a consideration of history.

Pagan history, then, was God's gift to the Church, and its study was the obligation of educated churchmen.

It was not only churchmen that Melanchthon encouraged to study ancient history. In 1542 he wrote a letter to the Prince of the Palatine Electorate in Heidelberg which illustrates his pedagogical principles in action. Melanchthon praises the young prince for his studies and upright morals, before warning him of the divine rewards and punishments that await good and bad rulers:[26]

haec sine historiae consideratione iudicari non possunt: et in his historiis, gentium origines conferendae sunt. Haec sine literis fieri nequeunt.'

[26] CR iv 929: 'Divina res est gubernare caeteros. Ad hoc tantum munus magna cura animus praeparandus est, et ingentia praemia Deus gubernatoribus pollicetur. Rursus quam horribiliter irascatur cum ignavis, tum sceleratis Principibus, historiarum exempla ostendunt, quas quidem legere te iam hac aetate prodest, ut videas quantum decus sit imitari bonos. Saepe audivi narrantem Capnionem, adeo fuisse avidum historiarum Palatinum Philippum, ut contexi sibi integram historiam ac seriem Monarchiarum a Rudolpho Agricola curarit, qui aulam Heidelbergensem diu secutus est. Tunc enim Monarchias descriptas ab Herodoto paucissimi norant. Te vero adhortor praecipue ad sacrae historiae lectionem, quae doctrinam maxime utilem gubernatoribus continet, nec ulla pars est vitae, cuius non imago aliqua proposita sit in consiliis, actionibus, periculis et eventibus Principum, quos sacri libri recitant.'

> It is a divine thing to govern over others. For this great task the mind must be prepared with great care—and God promises great rewards to rulers. By contrast, the examples of history show how terribly God becomes angry with both slothful and depraved princes. You should read such things, even at your age, so you can see how fitting it is to imitate good rulers. I often heard [Johannes] Reuchlin tell how Philipp Prince of the Palatine [i.e. Philipp der Aufrichtige, 1448–1508] was so devoted to histories that he ordered Rudolph Agricola, who for a long time was present at the University in Heidelberg, to compose a continuous history and series of the monarchies. For at that time very few people knew of the monarchies described by Herodotus …

Properly interpreted, then, the *exempla* of history, pagan as well as Christian, could teach contemporary rulers the rewards and punishments that God had ordained for virtuous and sinful behaviour. For Melanchthon ancient history—whose original Greek sources remained inaccessible to all but scholars—was an important vehicle for the didactic messages he wished to impress upon a wide audience. In the introduction to his revised edition of the *Chronicon Carionis* (1558) Melanchthon outlines precisely which lessons a reading of histories could teach:[27]

> The histories of all periods relate examples of the punishment of blasphemy, perjury, tyrannical cruelty, sedition, wicked lustfulness, and robbery, whose punishments attest divine providence and justice, and also the rules that: 'God will not consider anyone

[27] CR xii 712: 'Recitant historiae omnium temporum exempla, de poenis blasphemiarum, periuriorum, tyrannicae crudelitatis, seditionum, flagitiosarum libidinum, et rapinarum, quae poenae testimonia sunt providentiae et iudicii divini, et harum regularum: Non habebit Deus insontem, quicunque vane usurpat nomen eius. Item: Qui gladium acceperit, gladio peribit. ltem de libidinibus: Omnis anima, quae fecerit abominationes has, delebitur. Item: Veh qui spolias, quia spoliaberis. Et potest ceu commune argumentum inscribi omnibus historiis: Discite iusticiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.'

> innocent who takes his name in vain' [cf. Ex. 20:7]; likewise: 'He who accepts the sword will die by the sword' [Matt. 26:52]; likewise concerning lustfulness: 'Every soul which commits such abominations will be destroyed', likewise: 'Ye who despoil others beware, because you too will be despoiled' [Isa. 33:1]. The following phrase can be inscribed on all histories like the common theme: 'be warned: learn justice and not to slight the Gods' [Virg. *Aen.* 6.620].

The *exempla* of history, Melanchthon noted, provide a vivid illustration of the punishments that await those who contravene the Decalogue. As examples he gave God's prohibitions of murder, adultery, and theft, as well as a non-biblical theme on which he lays great stress in his writing: the punishments that await those who begin 'unnecessary wars'.[28] Here, too, Melanchthon gestured down paths which Chytraeus would map out in detail in his *Praefatio in Herodoti lectionem*.

Melanchthon's most venturesome claim about Herodotus comes in a short paragraph in another declamation 'On the Study of the Hebrew language' (1549), where he compares the Greek historian favourably with the chronological inaccuracies of the Talmud. Herodotus is praised for the sweetness of his style (a commonplace since antiquity) and the utility of his *exempla*, which teach a clear lesson about divine justice: that the moderate come to a good end, while things undertaken in a spirit of ambition and greed end badly.[29]

[28] CR ix 534: 'Historiae Ethnicae magis proponunt exempla secundae Tabulae Decalogi, quorum multa pertinent ad praeceptum, Non occides, ad quod and haec regula pertinet: Omnis qui gladium acceperit, videlicet non datum a legibus, gladio peribit. Quam multi Tyranni, quam multae gentes poenas dederunt, iuxta hanc regulam? Mouit Annibal non necessarium and iniustum bellum' etc.

[29] CR xi 868: 'An quisquam tam agresti animo est, ut non malit legere Herodoti historiam perpetuam, de maximis rebus gestis inde usque a Croeso ad Xerxem, de plurimorum regnorum mutationibus sapientissime et dulcissime narrantem consilia gubernatorum, causas bellorum, exitus placidos in negotiis moderatis, tristes vero in rebus cupiditate et ambitione susceptis: quam legere Thalmudicos libellos, in

In the body of the *Chronicon Carionis* itself, the narratives borrowed from Greek historiography are carefully tailored to bear out these programmatic claims. The stories of Croesus, Cambyses, and Xerxes are treated as *exempla* illustrating certain principles, particularly the inconstancy of human life and the rule that those who start unnecessary wars in a spirit of arrogance or greed will be punished by God. Many Herodotean narratives clearly lend themselves to such moralistic readings. As a terrible tyrant born to a virtuous father, Melanchthon notes, Cambyses illustrates the inconstancy of human affairs, while his death from an accidental sword wound (in precisely the same spot on his thigh in which he had impiously stabbed the Egyptian god Apis, 3.64.3; cf. 3.29.3) serves as an *exemplum* of God's justice and providence, illustrating Jesus' words: 'every man who accepts the sword will die by the sword' (Matt. 26:52). 'Herodotus', Melanchthon observes, 'gives this *exemplum* of justice about Cambyses'.[30]

In order to uncover the didactic message embedded in the *exempla* of history, Melanchthon often had to tweak or fundamentally rework the Herodotean stories he used. In the *Chronicon Carionis* Xerxes is said to have started an unnecessary war because he was desirous for glory (*cupidus*

quibus et tempora mundi manifesto errore mutilata sunt, et tantum est insulsitatis, ut Alexandrum somnient gessisse bellum cum Dario filio Hystaspis, qui successit Cambysi. Si rerum suavitas et exempla memorabilia quaeruntur, multo est iucundius et utilius considerare Themistoclis sapientiam, in omnibus belli momentis providendis, et Aristidis iusticiam atque moderationem, et Graeciae universae constitutam concordiam in defensione patriae, quam legere fanaticos furores Ben Cosban.' For the topos of Herodotus' sweetness see Quint. *Inst. Or.* 10.1.73, also echoed by, e.g., Benedetto Brognolo in his dedicatory epistle in Valla (1474), Camerarius (1541) 2^{v}; cf. ch. 3, p. 110 in this volume for Byzantine echoes of the trope.

[30] CR xii 789–90: 'Cambyses … Sed talis cum esset Cambyses, aliquanto post divinitus punitus est. Cum enim in equum ascenderet, decidens ex vagina gladius ferit ei femur, ex eo vulnere post paucos dies mortuus est … Est autem et ipsius poena testimonium regulae: omnis qui gladium acceperit, gladio peribit. Ac talibus exemplis poenarum Deus caeteros homines de providentia et de suo iudicio commonefacit. Iusticiae exemplum de Cambyse hoc narrat Herodotus.'

gloriae), incited by Mardonius and dissuaded by his uncle Artabanus, a much simplified, if comprehensible reading of the Persian War Council as described by Herodotus (7.5–11). Melanchthon, however, omits the infamous dream scene that forms the dramatic centre-piece of Herodotus' story, in which Xerxes changes his mind, apologises to Artabanus, and abandons the expedition, but is then forced to go to war by a divine dream which also appears to Artabanus (7.12–18). In the Herodotean version Xerxes is entirely passive after the dream's final appearance to Artabanus and it is his cautious uncle who (amid professions of man's helplessness and the dangers of expansionism) finally and authoritatively commits the Persians to war, instructing Xerxes to obey the inevitable commands of God and announce to the Persians that the Grecian campaign will go ahead (7.18.3).[31] Indeed, in the course of threatening Artabanus, the divinely sent dream-figure describes the Greek campaign as 'what must happen' (7.17.2), appearing to refer to an ineluctable destiny. Only by disregarding a central element of Herodotus' narrative can Melanchthon use Herodotus' story of Xerxes to urge the moral that 'God does not want unnecessary affairs [in this case, war] to be

[31] Xerxes' reference back to the dreams in his conversation with Artabanus at Abydos (7.47.1) confirms that they are not—as claimed by most scholars seeking to justify the exclusion of the dreams from their analysis—merely a 'Persian' story from which Herodotus is keen to distance himself (for a review of attempts to see such 'distancing' in the phrase *καὶ δή κου* (7.12.1) see Christ's close examination of these particles, (1994) 194 n. 83, which concludes that the claim is unconvincing). The dreams clearly play an important part of Herodotus' dramatisation of the genesis of the Persian War. For recent attempts to wring a clearer moral from Herodotus' story by omitting the dreams from discussion, reinterpreting them as a divine test (an idea not found in Herodotus), or psychologising them (so that they reflect Xerxes' subconscious expansionist desires, Artabanus' inability to free himself from mental subordination to Xerxes' will, or the hard political reality) see, e.g., Schulte-Altedorneburg (2001), Pietsch (2001) 217, Munson (2001) 43–4 (cf. 35, 41), Saïd (2002) 144, Löffler (2008) 187. For a powerful critique of such attempts see Roettig (2010).

undertaken out of a desire for glory and a trust in human power'.[32]

Melanchthon identified and effected many other such changes necessary to massage the Herodotean stories of Croesus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Xerxes into the straightforward moral stories he sought.[33] Typically, this involved removing all traces of divine incitement to war (a theme which recurs in Herodotus' story of Croesus) and stressing the arrogance and impiety of the characters involved at the point at which they decide to wage war. This presented no significant difficulties: although the *Chronicon*'s main source for Persian history was Herodotus, it did not purport to be a reading of the *Histories* themselves but rather an interpretation of the *events* of the past, to which Herodotus was but one witness. Xenophon, Ctesias, and others presented alternative versions for many events and the *Chronicon Carionis* participates in a long tradition of historical chronicles which freely mix the accounts of different sources with, at most, casual attribution. In treating the origins of Croesus' disastrous campaign against Cyrus, Melanchthon bases his narrative on Herodotus, but abandons the ambiguous Delphic oracle delivered to Croesus in the Herodotean version in favour of the oracle reported by Xenophon, facilitating the conclusion that Croesus' campaign was motivated by his own stupidity and self-confidence.[34] Where the Delphic response given by

[32] CR xii 796: 'Vult enim Deus, non suscipi bella non necessaria cupiditate gloryae et fiducia humanae potentiae. Regula est enim, Necessaria mandata divinitus facienda esse, et petendum esse a Deo auxilium, iuxta dictum: Commenda Deo viam, id est, vocationem tuam, et spera in eum, et ipse faciet.' Cf. 798: 'Sunt autem exempla in hac historia consideratione digna plurima. Primum, ne quis fiducia potentiae res non necessarias moveat, quia Deus subito magnam potentiam delere potest, ut hoc bellum ante biennium finitum est.'

[33] On the characterisation of historical actors in the ecclesiastical parts of Melanchthon's history writing see Backus (2003) 335–6.

[34] CR xii 780: 'Croesus fiducia potentiae infert bellum Cyro, gerenti iustum bellum adversus tyrannum Babylonicum'; cf. 781–2: Croesus 'ait se deplorasse suam stulticiam, quod confisus praesenti potentia, bellum Cyro intulisset, tunc non cogitans fortunae inconstantiam, cum quidem

Herodotus—'Croesus will destroy a great empire' (i.e. his own: 1.52–3; cf. 1.91.4–6)—is misleading to the point of mendacity,[35] the oracle given to Croesus in Xenophon's account was, at least, not actively misleading, merely the comparatively harmless exhortation 'Know thyself' (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.2.20). In reality Herodotus was little more than one source of narrative material for the historical collage Melanchthon used to teach theology and ethics through the genre of didactic history. Thus far, however, no humanist had put Herodotus to comparable use.[36]

et oraculo recte monitus esset, se beatum fore, si sese nosset' (based loosely around Hdt. 1.91.6; 1.207.1–3, and Xen. *Cyr.* 7.2.20). For a perceptive discussion of Croesus' great *insecurity* at the point at which he goes to war, see Pelling (2006) 153–4.

[35] This point remains contentious enough today to require emphasis: while the first part of the oracle is—at least technically—neutral, the natural interpretation is that the campaign would turn out well for Croesus. But the second part of the oracle's response—that he should ally himself with the most powerful Greeks—confirms Croesus' reading as the natural one: that the oracle is recommending military conflict. As Stephanie West observes 'there would be no point in involving the Greeks in defeat' (personal communication). And, while the oracle at 1.91 clearly blames Croesus for the 'misinterpretation', it is in many other ways an unsatisfactory reading of Herodotus' earlier narrative: the oracle tells Croesus he should have consulted again (ἐπανειρόμενος) to discover whose empire would be defeated (1.91.4–5). Croesus did, however, consult a second time, asking whether his own empire would be 'long lasting' (1.55.1), in return for which he received another opaque oracle. Regardless of how the incongruities between the narrative and the Delphic apology are interpreted—see, however, Nesselrath (2013) for an interesting theory on Herodotus' source usage—the narrator's description of the oracle as 'false'/'deceptive' strongly supports this reading of the early part of the narrative. Indeed, κίβδηλος is reserved, in the *Histories*, for actively deceptive oracles like that given to the Spartans (1.66.3) and for bribed oracles (5.91.2); elsewhere in classical Greek it is opposed to 'true' (see also n. 73, below). The oracle was, of course, notorious in antiquity as an example of mendacious ambiguity that (if accepted as genuine) stood to the discredit of the oracular institution: a hexameter version (different from the prose version given at Hdt. 1.53) is cited by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3.5, 1407a39–b2), Diodorus (9.31.1), and Cicero (*De div.* 2.115–16).

[36] For the scant knowledge of Herodotus in Heidelberg in the early German Renaissance—despite Melanchthon's claims to the contrary—see Ellis (in preparation). Earlier Italian Renaissance treatments of

Melanchthon's use of Herodotus must be understood in the context of his wider approach to Greek literature, and his concern to justify the reading of the pagan works of Greek antiquity in an intellectual culture often sceptical of such exotic activities.[37] Melanchthon's views can be seen from the titles of early works like 'On the utility of fables' (1526),[38] and from his inaugural speech on pedagogical reform as Chair of Greek in Wittenberg (29 Aug. 1518).[39] His writings on tragedy and Homer acclaim the salutary moral and theological lessons they contained. In his *Cohortatio ad legendas tragoedias et comoedias* (1545) Melanchthon generalised about ancient tragedy in the same terms he used for history:[40]

> Thus, in all the tragedies, this is the main subject. This is the thought they wish to impress upon the hearts of every man: that there is some eternal mind that always

Herodotus are not comparable; Aldus Manutius' brief dedicatory letter to his *Editio princeps*, for example, makes no mention the utility of history (1502); cf. Pontano's letter of 1st Jan. 1460, cited in Pagliaroli (2007) 116–17. For wider discussion of early Herodotean readings see Olivieri (2004).

[37] In the Preface to his 1511 edition of Pico's *Hymni heroici* Beatus Rhenanus wrote: 'non video, quo pacto ex aethnicis dumtaxat literis sancti mores hauriri queant' (cited from Schucan (1973) 158). He was not alone in advising caution, particularly regarding heathen poets; cf. Schucan (1973) 151–6. Melanchthon's teacher Reuchlin made the case for reading heathen poetry by reference to, *inter alia*, Basil of Caesarea's *Ad adolescentes, de legendis libris Gentilium*—'The charter of all Christian higher education for centuries to come' in the words of Werner Jaeger. For an overview of Basil's treatise see Schwab (2012) 147–56; on its reception in the writings of the early Reformers (for which surviving evidence is scanty) see Schucan (1973) 183–4.

[38] *De utilitate fabulorum*, CR xi 116–20.

[39] *De corrigendis adolescentium studiis*, CR xi 15–25.

[40] CR v 568: 'Ita Tragoediarum omnium hoc praecipuum est argumentum. Hanc sententiam volunt omnium animis infigere, esse aliquam mentem aeternam, quae semper atrocia scelera insignibus exemplis punit, moderatis vero et iustis plerunque dat tranquilliorem cursum' (trans. Lurie (2012) 443). On Melanchthon's wider reading of tragedy see Lurie (2004) 94–103.

> inflicts severe punishments upon atrocious crimes, while bestowing mostly a more tranquil path for the moderate and just.

In his *Preface* to Homer (1538), likewise, Melanchthon talks about the poet in reverent tones, praising him in almost exactly the same terms he would use when discoursing on the didactic uses of history: Homer is an ideal teacher (*magister*) and the utility of his text (*utilitas*) is derived from its *sententiae* (pronouncements, sayings), *sapientia* (wisdom), and *exempla*.[41] Pindar would receive the same treatment from Melanchthon himself, as well as his students Johannes Lonicer and David Chytraeus.[42] It was not only when theorising about history that the Lutheran academy was concerned to stress the moral usefulness and virtues of classical texts.

Nor was Chytraeus the only scholar to devote himself to the dissemination of Melanchthon's view of Greek history. At least two of his contemporaries discuss Herodotus in precisely the same terms in lectures delivered in Wittenberg in the 1550s and '60s. All that survives of Ernst Regius' 1555 lecture on Herodotus is a brief advert, but these show him to be a close follower of Melanchthon.[43] The historiograph-

[41] CR xi 397–413, esp. 400–3. Cf. 403: 'Talibus, inquam, maximis constat totum poëma Homeri, hoc est, communibus et utilissimis regulis ac praeceptis morum, vitaeque et civilium officiorum, quarum in omni vita et actionibus usus latissime patet, multa docet, multa sapienter monet, instillat temerae aetati honestissimas et suavissimas noticias, modestiae, verecundiae, ac reliquarum virtutum: suavitatis et humanitatis morum nullus eo melior Magister', etc. On Melanchthon's reading of Homer see Pontani (2007) 383–8.

[42] See Schmitz (1993) esp. 107–15, and, for bibliography on Lonicer's background, ibid. 77; Chytraeus's primary work on Pindar appeared in 1596.

[43] See, e.g., Regius (1555) 71 ('praecipuas Imperiorum in mundo mutationes Deus uult nobis notas esse') and 72 (on Herodotus' providential overlap with Jeremiah on the death of Apries). Regius particularly stresses two Herodotean passages: the narrator's comment that the sacking of Troy represented divine punishment for the adultery of Paris (2.120.5) and the dream figure which told Hipparchus shortly before his death that 'no mortal can escape punishments' (5.56.1).

ical compendium compiled by the jurist Johannes Wolff in 1576 (reprinted in 1579) contains another lecture on history, delivered in 1568 in Wittenberg by Christoph Pezel (1539–1604). Here Pezel notes that heathen histories (Herodotus' included) not only provide examples of divine justice and divine anger, but also show that God *loves* mankind (i.e. is *φιλάνθρωπος*).[44] This builds on Melanchthon's attempts to defend Homer against Plato in 1538, where the great Reformer had reinterpreted Homeric theology in overtly Platonic terms through a mixture of selective citation and allegorisation, and sought a more Christian vision of God.[45]

Several years later Chytraeus would cite these very passages as testimony of God's omnipotence, justice, and role as overseer of human lives and empires, (1579) 460: 'Valde igitur utile est in lectione Historiarum, Exempla omnium humanorum officiorum, tanquam in illustri posita loco, prudenter accommodare ad Regulas seu leges vitæ. Quarum hæc prima & summa est, quæ adfirmat, verè esse Deum conditorem & inspectorem Imperiorum & vitæ hominum, omnipotentem & iustum, qui flagitet & præmijs ornet timorem sui, iusticiam, obedientiam: & horribiliter puniet impietatem, iniurias, tyrannidem, superbiam, libidines, & alia scelera: *καὶ θεῷ ἀεὶ ξυνέπεσθαι δίκην* [*sic*], *τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρὸν* [= Pl. *Lg.* 716a]. Ad hanc communem regulam Herodotus totam belli Troiani historiam refert, cum inquit: Excidum Troiæ docere, *ὅτι τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων, μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ ἁι τιμωρίαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Et in Terpischore, hanc generalem regulam ad regendos mores utilissimam recitat: *οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκων τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει*, Nullus homo pœnam sceleris reus effugit unquam.' Cf. (1601) 5.

[44] Pezel (1579) 605: 'In historijs Ethnicorum conspiciuntur exempla & testimonia sapientiæ & iusticiæ Dei patefactæ in Lege, iræ & iudicij divini adversus scelera hominum, perpetuæ præsentiæ in genere humano, in imperijs ac politijs, in defensione piorum Principum, in fœlicibus & salutaribus consiliarijs, in pœnis Tyrannidis, iniusticiæ & libidinum, Quæ ostendunt, quòd sit Deus, & qualis sit, quòd rerum humanarum cura afficiatur, quòd sit *φιλάνθρωπος*, autor & conservator & custos ordinis Politici, legum, iudiciuorum, artium vitæ necessarium, disciplinæ, pij magistratus, honestarum & piarum familiarum, quòd sit iudex & vindex scelerum, & atrocia scelera puniat atrocibus pœnis, in ijs qui magistratum gerunt, & in privatis.' The penultimate clause loosely translates Hdt. 2.120.5.

[45] Melanchthon CR xi 409–10 (*Preface to Homer*): 'Facit Deum *φιλάνθρωπον*, unde Iuppiter ab ipso introducitur, conquerens affici se humanis casibus, et dolere sibi hominum mala atque miserias: statuit

Like Regius and Chytraeus, Pezel notes that the *exempla* of history support the commands of the Decalogue and then cites Herodotus' statement at 2.120.5 (after modifying it so that Herodotus talks about 'God' rather than 'the gods').[46]

In 1568 Johannes Rosa (1532–71), another former pupil of Melanchthon,[47] also lectured on Herodotus in Jena. Thirty double-sided pages of lecture notes survive in the hand of Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), who would later serve as Henri IV's ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire. But fourteen when he attended Rosa's lectures in 1568, Bongars was a diligent note-taker, and the headings reveal the influence of Lutheran humanism, with a strong interest in moral didactics and exemplarity.[48]

item bonos defendi, cumulari bonis, divinitus malos puniri.' The reference is to Hom. *Od.* 1.32–43.

[46] Pezel (1579) 606: 'Prudenter ac in exemplis consideremus, ad quæ Decalogi præcepta, ac ad quas vitæ regulas accommodanda sint, Quod quidem à sapientibus historicis observari videmus. Tradit hanc regulam expressè Herodotus: *μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι ἐισὶ καὶ τιμωρίαι παρὰ θεοῦ* [*sic*], Et plures alias, quas excerpere longum foret.' Herodotus, of course, uses 'the gods' and 'god' interchangeably (for discussion and bibliography see Harrison (2000) 158–69), but at 2.120.5 the text of all MSS runs *παρὰ τῶν θεῶν*.

[47] Rosa first enrolled in Wittenberg on 5th Jan. 1550; after a period of studies in Jena (summer 1553–1555) he returned and received his Masters in Wittenberg in March 1555 (examined by, *inter alia*, Melanchthon and Peucer). Cf. Förstermann (1841) 251, Köstlin (1891) 16.

[48] This is not the place for an extensive discussion of these largely unknown lecture notes, and I hope to explore them in more detail elsewhere. Bongars' brief underlined marginal notations serve to summarise, head, and emphasise aspects of the main body of notes, and in these we see the recurrence of ethical judgements and material: 'deposita veste, deponit pudor' (1568: 4^{r}); 'Periander crudelis' (5^{v}); 'rerum humanarum inconstantia', 'nemo ante mortem beatus', 'arrogantia' (6^{v}); 'Luxus', 'Persarum libido' (22^{r}); For the dates of Bongars' studies in Heidelberg, Marburg, Jena, and Strasbourg, and a brief overview of Bongars' notes from school and university, see Mittenhuber (2012a) and Michel-Rüegg (2012). For Bongars' life and humanistic endeavours see the essays in Huber-Rebenich (2015). I am grateful to both Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich and Florian Mittenhuber for making me aware of this manuscript.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the Lutheran historians of Wittenberg seem at first sight to have been relatively unconcerned with the question that has drawn forth the most ink shed in evaluating the Father of History—Herodotus' basic trustworthiness as a historical source. In his extensive writings Chytraeus sometimes states in passing that Herodotus deserves the highest level of trust,[49] but, to my knowledge, he goes further on one occasion only: in the *De lectione historiarum* Chytraeus briefly defends Herodotus' good faith by citing the historian's statement that it is his duty to report the stories he hears, but not to believe everything he reports (7.152).[50] This particular quotation has often formed the centre-piece of Herodotean apologetics, as it had in Camerarius' *Proœmium* to his edition of Herodotus (1541) and would in Estienne's *Apologia*,[51] both of which zealously defended Herodotus' historical integrity.[52] In the copy of the *Histories* belonging to the great textual critic and chronologer Joseph Scaliger—and later to his student Daniel Heinsius—this quotation is inscribed on the title page (see Fig. 1, bottom).[53]

[49] Chytraeus (1579) 471–2.

[50] Chytraeus (1579) 520.

[51] Camerarius (1541) 3^{v} (my italics indicating Herodotean citations): 'cauetq[ue] ne quis simplicior decipiatur, cum addit semper huiusmodi quiddam. *ut feru[n]t. ut ego audiui. quid ueri mihi quidem simili non fit.*' See Estienne (1980) 14–16.

[52] On this topic, which has been the focus of most reception work done on Herodotus in the 16th century, see the broad sketch of Herodotus' reputation for truth and lies by Momigliano (1966), as well as Boudou (2000) 436–9, and brief remarks in Evans (1968) and Bichler and Rollinger (2000) 124–32. For the 16th century see now Kliege-Biller (2004).

[53] Scaliger (Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.19.2.), with the text from Hdt. 7.152; compare, however, Scaliger's comments in the *Isagogices Chronologiæ Canones* (1606) 309–10, where he considers less flattering explanations for Herodotus' erroneous departures from the writings of Manetho, including the deception of Herodotus by devious Egyptian priests and Herodotus' cultivation of the *vitio Græculorum* (the game of mixing truth with falsehood); for the context of the remark see Grafton (1975) 171 and id. (1993) 258.

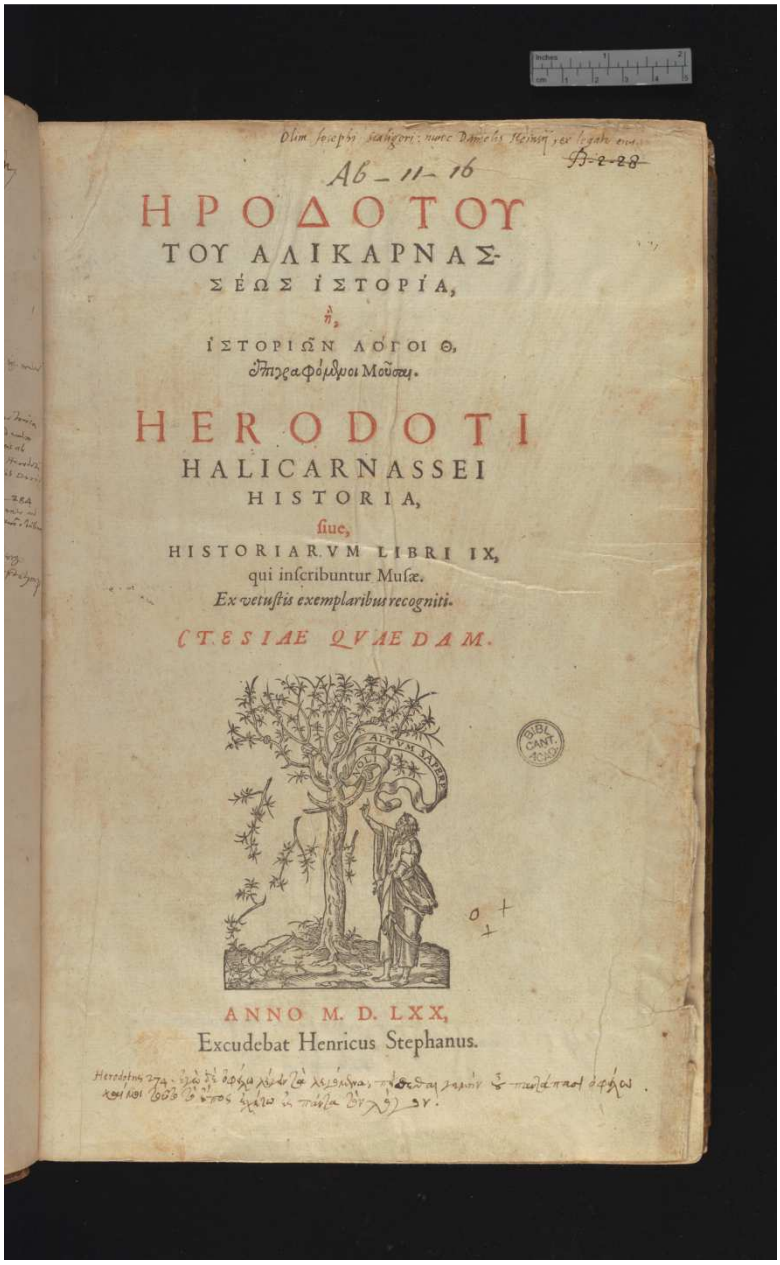

Fig. 1. Joseph Scaliger's copy of the *Histories* (Title Page). Cambridge University Library, Adv. a.19.2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

In Lutheran circles, however, it seems that it was rare to offer even such basic apologetics for Herodotus' veracity. The primary exception is Joachim Camerarius' *Proœmium*, published in the year Camerarius moved to Leipzig from Tübingen, which defends Herodotus' veracity at some length. In this, as in many other areas, Camerarius shows an independence from Melanchthon—his colleague and close friend—not often seen among Melanchthon's students like Chytraeus, Winsemius, and others.[54] In addition to citing 7.152, Camerarius observes that Herodotus qualifies implausible claims with indicators of source provenance, to ensure that we do not take them at face value. Camerarius also argues that Herodotus' very usefulness as a historical source is connected with his willingness to turn dry historical facts into vivid *exempla* that teach moral lessons. If, in doing so, Herodotus has to elaborate some details to work the basic historical framework into a compelling narrative, Camerarius says, this is to be commended not condemned.[55] Here the didactic function of history is again

[54] On, e.g., Winsemius' close adherence to many of Melanchthon's approaches to Thucydides see Richards (2013) 154–78. As Ben-Tov has observed (personal communication), there is arguably a discrepancy between Chytraeus' antiquarian approach in his letter to Camerarius on Herodotus, and the moralistic and Melanchthonian tone of his published work.

[55] Camerarius illustrates the point with Herodotus' story of king Candaules, who lost his throne after persuading a servant to look on his naked queen (1.8–12). See (1541) α4^{r}: 'Cum autem historia non solum delectationem cognitionis, sed instructionem etiam animorum continere debeat, ut & uoluptatem & utilitatem afferat legentibus: si his ipsis quæ ut fabulosa notantur etiam monita utilia atque salutaria multa insunt, quis iam eos non modo qui uitupererent, sed qui laudent iniquius ferre omnino possit? fuit Candaules rex Lydorum: Nemo, ut opinor, negare audet. Hoc tempore in aliam familiam translatum fuit regnum Lydiæ. An quisquam falso hoc proditum dicit? Cur igitur illa iam culpant de satellite coacto aspicere nudam Reginam? Quae si, quod haud scio an non sint, conficta essent, quanti multis de caussis fieri mererentur? Nónne illam peruersionem animorum, quae ita mirabiliter, ut diuinitus effici uideatur, sæpe urgentibus fatalibus casibus animaduertitur, demonstrant? Quàm speciosis & bonis sententijs illustris est narratio?'

brought to the fore to exculpate Herodotus from the ancient charge that he shunned his duty to the truth.[56]

Chytraeus' tendency to avoid meeting Herodotus' critics head-on may, perhaps, simply be a different approach to the same goal. His stress on the harmony between Herodotus and the Bible, like the claim that Herodotus' writing was part of God's plan for seamless historical coverage, acts to implicitly reaffirm Herodotus' historical worth; his almost complete silence on Herodotus' detractors gives the impression that Herodotus' historical fidelity is beyond doubt. We should not forget, however, that even some of Melanchthon's students read Thucydides' infamous methodological comments (1.22.4) as a criticism of Herodotus' fabulous elements (*τὸ μυθῶδες/fabulosa*), and implicitly downgraded the latter's value as a historical source, following the judgements of earlier humanists like Agricola, Erasmus, and Vives.[57]

To sum up this section, then, the extensive writings and lectures of Chytraeus, Pezel, and Regius embedded Greek history and Herodotus within the providential framework laid out by Melanchthon. They promoted his didactic concerns, borrowed specific observations and arguments (such as the overlap between Jeremiah and Herodotus and the superior age of Biblical history), and closely echoed his language.[58] Chytraeus' work, however, is of particular

[56] Camerarius, accordingly, does not think that the speeches of the ancient historians could (or should) be verbatim reports of what was said, but rather defends the validity of speeches composed by the author; cf. (1541) 3^{v}, and (1565), as discussed in Richards (2013) 86–8, 141–2. For contemporary debates over the validity of including speeches in historical works see Grafton (2006), esp. 35–46.

[57] See Winsemius (1580 = 1569) b1^{v} and discussion in Richards (2013) 161–2; cf. below, n. 63.

[58] Bold assertions about what 'God wishes' ring out in greatest density from the revised *Chronicon* (1558/60): Melanchthon CR xii 721–2 (cf. 713–14, 718, 727, 783): 'Singulari consilio D e u s în Ecclesia extare et semper conservari voluit initia mundi, et seriem annorum … Vult enim sciri Deus originem generis humani, et divinas patefactiones, et testimonia patefactionum, et quae doctrina, et quomodo propagata sit. Vult sciri certo, ideo conditum esse genus humanum, ut inde aeterna Ecclesia colligatur. Vult et causas sciri calamitatum humanarum, et

interest because of its greater depth, in large part due to the commentary format he employs, which prompts him to offer his opinion on much more material than the author of a short treatise, who could merely excerpt and modify a handful of passages that suited his argument. The following section, therefore, looks in more detail at Chytraeus' writings on Herodotus, and in particular at his handling of several Herodotean narratives: the stories of Croesus, Cyrus, and Xerxes.

2. David Chytraeus: Forging Exemplarity from Herodotus

In pragmatic terms, Chytraeus' writings strive to incorporate the *Histories* into the body of literature that could be used as the basis for a Lutheran education. Chytraeus sought to achieve this by constantly referring the reader to points of contact between Herodotus and the Christian tradition, whether chronological, linguistic, geographical, or ethical. By dating Herodotean events with respect to Old Testament regnal systems Chytraeus knitted together Biblical and Herodotean chronology into a single narrative that united the historical traditions of the ancient

mortis, et agnosci filium, per quem liberabimur ab his malis, et restituentur iusticia et vita aeterna.' He had used the same expression in another context in his *De studiis linguae Graecae* (1549), CR xi 860: 'voluit Deus et hunc thesaurum per eiusdem linguae ministerium humano generi impertiri …'. Compare Regius (1555) 70–1: 'Deus uult notam esse seriem temporum mundi. Vult enim sciri initia generis humani …'; Chytraeus (1579) 463: 'Vult enim Deus sciri à nobis, mundi & Ecclesiæ initia'; (1565) Av: 'VVLT Deus legi à nobis præcipuos scriptores …'; (1601) 1: 'Vt enim Deus totum hoc pulcherrimum mundi theatrum, cælos, solem, Lunam, stellas, elementa, plantas, animantia [*sic*], aspici à nobis & considerari vult […]'; Pezel (1579) 616: 'quantum Dei beneficium sit, quòd integram & nusquam interruptam temporum ac historiarum seriem Deus extare voluit de qua alibi dicetur. Cogitent & de causis huius consilij, quæ sunt: Quod vult Deus sciri initia generis humani, exordia, instaurationem & conservationem Ecclesiæ …'.

world into a continuous whole;[59] by references to idioms Herodotus shared with Christian texts he showed the importance of Herodotus to a linguistic understanding of the Bible;[60] by his many references to shared subject matter he showed how a reading of Herodotus confirmed and further illuminated the Bible;[61] by frequent etymologising he reinforced the long-standing belief that the Greeks and their sacred institutions were the corrupted remains of communities established by Old Testament figures dispersed after the flood;[62] and by highlighting specific Herodotean passages he turned Herodotus' text into a mine of *exempla* and *sententiae* that could act as a guide to a good Christian life. While these activities were clearly interrelated, in what follows I focus on this final aspect, which was arguably the most complex task Chytraeus attempted.

[59] The dates of Croesus, for example, are given according to the Lydian, Persian, Jewish, and Roman regnal systems, and the oppression of the Athenians by the Pisistratids is dated to the time of the Babylonian captivity; Chytraeus (1601) 47, 80; cf. 85, 176. Melanchthon, it seems, had done likewise in his lectures on Thucydides in the 1540s and 1550s: see Richards (2013) 42.

[60] See, e.g., Chytraeus' comments at (1601) 162, which seem to claim that the word δικαιόω is used in the same sense ('justum puto, justum censeo') in Herodotus' dialogue between Croesus and Cyrus (1.89.1) and Paul's doctrine of justification. Melanchthon, too, attempted this with Herodotus, see e.g. CR viii 37.

[61] Herodotus' mention of the city of Ascalon (1.105) is cross-referenced to Judg. 1:18, Jer. 25:20, 47:5, Amos 1:8. Likewise Herodotus' description of the capture of Babylon (1.191.6) is said to cohere with Daniel 5; Herodotus' mention of the Colossians (7.30) is of interest because they later received Paul's evangelical letter; Cf. Chytraeus (1601) 169, 193 (= '191'), 237.

[62] See above, nn. 23–4, for Chytraeus' derivation of Dodona from Dodanim, son of Javan (Gen. 10:2, 4), the Getae (or Goths) from Gether (Gen. 10:23), the oracle of Ammon from Ham (Gen. 10:1), and Parnassus from various Hebrew words. See Chytraeus (1601) 117, 118, 120–1, 196, 212–13; cf. also 167, 191, 192. For more such etymologising in the Melanchthonian circle see Ben-Tov (2009) 64–6 (particularly on Caspar Peucer).

It is worth noting at once that Melanchthon's claims about the utility of pagan literature were as contested in Chytraeus' day as they had been in Melanchthon's own lifetime, and his strenuous assertions must be seen in the light of such debates. The Calvinist Matthieu Béroalde based his 1575 *Chronicum* exclusively on the sacred histories, and even Gnesio-Lutherans like the Centuriators of Magdeburg (working between 1559 and 1574) excluded pagan history from their historical endeavours on the grounds that it was, at most, of meagre value as a source of theological, moral, and historical guidance.[63]

Chytraeus lays out his theoretical approach, inherited from Melanchthon, in his *In lectionem Herodoti* (first published 1563). The figures of history, he writes (in reference to history as a whole, not just Herodotus), can be divided into positive and negative examples: in the latter category he cites Paris, Astyages, Croesus, and Xerxes (amongst others), who were punished by God for their tyranny, lust, envy, and ambition. As positive *exempla* he offers Cyrus, Deioces, Darius, Miltiades, Themistocles, and Pausanias, all admirable for their justice, goodness, mercy, bravery in *necessary* wars, and moderation in tolerating the errors of others. History and a reading of Herodotus thus teach rulers the truth of the maxim 'the throne is stabilised by justice' (cf. Prov. 16:12) and that 'it is due to injustice that the Kingdom is transferred from one people to another'.[64]

[63] On the Magdeburg Centuries see Backus (2003) 358–60, esp. n. 115. For Béroalde's views on the unreliability of pagan Greek and Roman historians see Béroalde (1575) 208–9. This did not, however, stop him from basing his scathing judgements of Herodotus' many fables and lies (à propos of his treatment of Cyrus) on a positive assessment of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (1575) 153. For a brief outline of Herodotus' reputation as a historian among earlier 15th- and 16th-century humanists see Boudou (2000) 436–9 and Kipf (1999) 16–19, who note the negative judgements of Herodotus given by Agricola, Budé, Erasmus, Vives, and Turnebus (Estienne's Greek teacher); cf. also above, n. 57.

[64] Chytraeus (1579) 461: 'Hæc exempla nunc quoque boni Principes in suis ditionibus gubernandis studeant imitari. Cyrus, Deioces, Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, iusticia [*sic*], bonitate, clementia, fortitudine in bellis necessarijs ... iuxta Regulam: Iustitia stabilitur

Chytraeus' pedagogical goals, then, required that the delicate shades in which Herodotus sketched his characters be reduced to bolder and simpler ones. Such a project might not appeal to the sensibilities of scholars today, but it is crucial to realise that this reflects not a lack of sophistication on Chytraeus' part, but a fundamentally different view on the purpose of reading Greek literature. Chytraeus' aim, in line with the program of Melanchthonian pedagogy, was to simplify Herodotus' narrative to render it a useful tool of ethical instruction. The examples of Herodotus were to be extracted and placed next to other historical *exempla* to illustrate salutary moral lessons.[65] When Herodotus, as narrator, states that 'a great *nemesis* from god took Croesus' (1.34) Chytraeus draws parallels with the defeat and humbling of Sennacherib (2 Chron. 32) and Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4).[66] In commenting on Herodotus' proem (1.1–5)—where tit-for-tat abductions by Greek and barbarian raiders culminate in the rape of Helen and the sacking of Troy—Chytraeus explains the destruction of Troy as God's punishment for the libidinous crimes of Paris (clearly taking his cue from Herodotus' comments at 2.120.5). This Herodotean example is cited alongside the Biblical tales of the flood and the destruction of Sodom (which, Chytraeus observes, was also destroyed

thronus ... Econtrà Tyrannide, libidinibus, invidia, ambitione fiducia fœderum, intestinis odijs & dissidijs, potentissima regna & civitates horrendis calamitatibus obrutæ & eversæ sunt, ut in prima statim pagina Herodotus narrat. ... Hæc exempla ad regulam pertinent: propter iniustitiam transfertur regnum de gente in gentem ...'. This last quote is also used by Melanchthon in the *Chronicon Carionis* (CR xii 1088).

[65] On the humanist practice, encouraged by Melanchthon, of extracting *sententiae* from ancient texts and storing them according to theme for later retrieval and use without regard to original context, see Blair (2003); Grafton (2006) 208–9.

[66] Chytraeus (1601) 113: '*ἔλαβε ἐκ θεῶν νέμεσις κροῖσον*] comes superbiæ est *ἀδράστεια*, & Abominatio est coram Deo, quicquid inflatum est in mundo. Sennaherib. Nebuchodonosor. Hæc est Babylon quam EGO ædificaui. Timotheus. Hoc EGO feci, non fortuna.'

for the inappropriate sexual behaviour of its citizens, in contravention of the sixth commandment).[67]

Two sets of ideas particularly resonated with Chytraeus, as with Melanchthon: the fragility and transience of all human power (and humanity's consequent dependence on God) and the inevitability of punishment for arrogance, lust, injustice, and prosecuting 'unnecessary wars' which God did not wish to be fought. Both scholars, therefore, place great stress on several Herodotean episodes, like Solon's warning to Croesus on the vicissitudes of the human lot: that 'man is entirely *sumphorē*' ('chance' or 'disaster', 1.32). Indeed, it is clear that Chytraeus actually had Melanchthon's *Chronicon Carionis* in hand when he commented on this passage—here (as elsewhere) he borrows Melanchthon's elaborate, non-literal translation of the Greek, rather than translating it himself or using Valla's Latin translation.[68] The Swabian chronicler Johannes Naucler (1425–1510), by contrast, who also found the passage worth citing in his account of Croesus, had reproduced Valla's text verbatim, much closer to the unusual Greek phrase used by Herodotus.[69]

Complications inevitably arise in the attempt to set a Christian moral tale in the pre-Christian, pagan world of classical antiquity. In using ancient non-Biblical narratives to teach the importance of piety and the punishment of

[67] Chytraeus (1601) 24–5, 44–5, 54. For the flood: Gen. 6–8 (and for man's wickedness Gen. 6:4–5, 11–12); for Sodom's destruction after the citizens' infamous attempt to violate the angels lodging with Lot: Gen. 18–19. The most obvious of the many problems with Chytraeus' reading is that Herodotus states his agnosticism about the story told by the Persian *logioi* (1.5). For a recent description which brings out the complexities of the Proem see, e.g., Bravo and Węcowski (2004) with further bibliography.

[68] Chytraeus' text (1601) 45–6: '… homo hoc totum quod est, omnibus calamitatibus & aduersis casibus obnoxium sit') is a rearrangement of that given in the *Chronicon Carionis* CR xii 781–2 ('Homo hoc totum quod est, est obnoxium multis calamitatibus et adversis casibus').

[69] Naucler (1579) 221: 'Ita igitur omnino calamitosus est homo', cf. Valla (1474) [7^{r}] and Hdt. 1.32.4: *πᾶν ἐστι ἄνθρωπος συμφορή*.

idolatry, would-be moralists are confronted with the fact that, in Christian terms, much 'piety' displayed by an ancient Greek consisted in the performance of aberrant rituals to wily demons. The Reformation educator was faced with a choice, in principle, between treating talk of 'god' or 'the gods' in a Greek narrative as if it referred to 'God' and treating it as if it referred to a pagan demon. None of the scholars considered here takes a systematic approach to this issue, and the combination of approaches often pulls Herodotus' interpreters in contrary directions. Chytraeus, for example, is torn between the hostile condemnation of pagan demons (most often found in the context of oracular institutions, following in the footsteps of the early Christian apologists) and the theological syncretism that characterises much Humanist treatment of the pagan classics and most naturally suits his moralising goal.[70]

In consequence of his indecision, Chytraeus offers two quite different visions of Croesus' disastrous war with Cyrus and the Persians, and uses each to a different moralising purpose. The two interpretations rely upon fundamentally different theological assumptions. Chytraeus generally uses Croesus as a negative *exemplum* of the divine punishments which fall upon those who have excessive confidence in their own capabilities and wage 'unnecessary war';[71] when doing so he studiously ignores the role of the Delphic oracle (described by the narrator as 'deceptive') in pushing Croesus into war.[72] The approach was not uncommon in

[70] Ossa-Richardson (2013) 13–47 traces, *inter alia*, the trope of the ambiguity and deception of the Delphic *daimones* through early Christian apologetics and into the early-modern period.

[71] Chytraeus (1601) 47; cf. 6–7, 154.

[72] Herodotus mentions the oracle as a motivation for Croesus on numerous occasions (1.71.1; 1.73.1; 1.75.2; cf. 1.87.3–4). At 1.73.1, the narrator mentions three motives: the 'desire for land' (the motive appears only here); the Delphic oracle's 'deceptive' response; and 'revenge'. In his comment on this passage Chytraeus (as elsewhere) simply omits the oracle, listing 'greed' and 'revenge' as the sole motives: (1601) 154: '*ἐστρατέυετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος*] CAVSÆ belli, a Crœso adversus Cyrum suscepti; CVPiditas amplificandi imperii, & VINDictæ.

contemporary literature, and has continued to prove popular with interpreters who explain Croesus' defeat by his own moral shortcomings.[73] Croesus' three consultations of the oracle are declared excessive (showing 'insolence' toward God) and it is suggested that his dedications to Delphi were made in the wrong spirit, with—Chytraeus remarks in Protestant umbrage—a focus on the gift itself rather than the state of his own soul.[74] Thus treated, the

πρωτίστη δὲ κακῶν πάντων ἐπιθυμία ἐστὶ. ac Reges aliena regna injustè appetendo, sæpe propria amittunt, ut Cyro, & aliis plurimis accidit. Vindicta verò bonum est vita jucundius ipsâ.'

[73] Since the mid-20th century scholars taking this approach have attempted to harmonise this view with the narrator's comment that the oracle was *κίβδηλος* ('deceptive' or 'counterfeit', 1.75.3). Claims that this is a neutral term are hard to reconcile with the fact that Herodotus otherwise only uses *κίβδηλος* of another actively deceptive oracle (1.66.3) and bribed oracles (5.91.2; cf. 5.63.1; 5.66.1; 5.90.1). For attempts to make *κίβδηλος* imply an oracle of 'mixed' quality rather than one that is 'counterfeit' (as Kurke argues) see Pelling (2006) 154 n. 49, citing Kroll (2000) 89, who focuses on the fact that debased coinage is a 'mix' of more and less precious metals. While ingenious, this ignores the term's highly negative sense in the archaic and classical periods: in Theognis (119–23) *κίβδηλος* money finds its human analogue in 'lying' (*ψυδρός*) and 'deceptive' (*δόλιον*) friends; Plato (*Leg.* 728d) uses *κίβδηλος* in opposition to 'true' (*ἀληθής*; cf. Thgn. 975; Democr. *Vorsok.* 68 B 82; Eur. *Hipp.* 616). Moralising treatments which explain Croesus' misfortunes as the result of his negative character traits (imperialistic ambition, non-Greekness, tyrannical inability to heed good advice, etc.) pass over the narrator's comment here (or render *κίβδηλος* as 'ambiguous', 'zweideutig' *vel sim.*) so that Croesus can take full responsibility for the misunderstanding. See, e.g., Marg (1953) 1105; Kirchberg (1965) 26–7; Munson (2001) 41–2; Saïd (2002) 136; Kindt (2006); Löffler (2008) 32; Gagné (2013) 326–43. Flower (1991) 71 and n. 96 and Kurke (1999) 152–6, however, take the implications of *κίβδηλος* seriously. I hope to explore the wider implications of this and other points to the interpretation of the Croesus *logos* elsewhere.

[74] Chytraeus (1601) 121, cites various Classical and Biblical precedents for the idea that it is the spirit of the sacrifice rather than the quantity, that matters: 'SACRIFICIA & ANATHEMATA CROESI. de quibus Aristotelis sententiam, in Rhetoricis, studiosi meminerint, *χαίρει ὁ θεὸς, οὐ ταῖς δαπάναις τῶν θυομένων, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐυσεβείᾳ τῶν θυόντων*, congruentem aliqua ex parte cum Prophetarum dictis. Esa. 1. Quo mihi multitudinem victimarum vestrarum. Ose. 6 misericordiam volo, & non sacrificium. Plato in Alcibiade, Non donis flectitur Deus, vt

story provides ample opportunity for Chytraeus to preach against cupidity, insolence towards God, and the prosecution of wars which God does not wish to be fought. Elsewhere, by contrast, Chytraeus condemns the deception perpetrated by the pagan demon residing in Delphi. In Herodotus' narrative Croesus confronts Apollo with the charge that he violated the principle of reciprocity by misdirecting him (1.89–90). Chytraeus comments, drawing on the common knowledge of the sixteenth-century humanist:[75]

> Apollo is called Loxias because he used to give oblique, ambiguous, and deceptive oracles to those who consulted him, partly so that he might hide his own untrustworthiness, and partly so that he might cast those who were deceived by his ambiguity into sad calamities and yet be able to excuse himself, as he does here before Croesus.

auarus fœnerator, sed animum intuetur.' On whether Herodotus disapproves of Croesus' oracle-testing see Christ (1994) 189–94. Chytraeus, however, may have viewed Croesus' testing in the light of Jesus' response to the devil at Matt. 4:8 (Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου).

[75] Chytraeus (1601) 162–3 (*ad* 1.91): 'Λοξίεω] Λοξίας, Apollo vocatus est, quod obliqua seu ambigua & captiosa oracula consulentibus daret, partim vt tegeret suam vanitatem, partim ut deceptos ambiguitate, in tristes calamitates conijceret, & tamen se excusare posset, ut hic Crœso se excusat.' Pagan oracles, Chytraeus explained in his *Praefatio in Herodoti lectionem* (1601) 12–13, were demons with limited access to prophetic truth and no genuine prophetic powers of their own: their predictions were often cribbed from earlier statements made by God's true prophets or were based on other non-miraculous sources of knowledge. For the background to this view in Lutheran demonology—especially the influential 1553 *Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum gentibus* by the Philippist Caspar Peucer (son-in-law of Melanchthon)—see Ossa-Richardson (2013) 55–60. For Camerarius' comments on pagan oracles in his *Commentarius de generibus divinationum, ac graecis latinisque earum vocabulis* (published posthumously in 1576, Leipzig), see Ossa-Richardson (2013) 116.

Croesus is, here, given comparatively sympathetic treatment as the victim of a diabolical trick, and his decision to attack Persia is approached from a very different perspective, alive to quite different aspects of the Herodotean text from those explored elsewhere.[76]

Chytraeus was, of course, scarcely the first to base his interpretation of the Pythia's prognostications to Croesus on the assumption that Apollo was a pagan demon. Already in the late 2nd century AD Tertullian had suggested that the demon in Delphi, while unable to predict the future, was able to crib prophecies from the Bible and to move at great speed to learn about contemporary events, and thereby impress his human consultants (specifically Croesus, when boiling the lamb and tortoise, Hdt. 1.46–9).[77] Later, an anonymous Byzantine scholar (whose annotations survive on a Vatican manuscript of Herodotus) composed a gloating address to Croesus which elaborated on a semi–Herodotean variant of the story, given by the Byzantine historian John Malalas:[78]

> *σὺ μὲν ὦ Κροῖσε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ θαρρήσας κατὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐξώρμησας. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὸν μέγιστον προφήτην Δανιὴλ μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐρωτήσας καὶ*

[76] Elsewhere Chytraeus (1601) 12–13 gestures in the direction of uniting these readings by suggesting that Croesus finds what he wants in the ambiguous oracle: 'since we easily believe the things for which we wish' ('vt quæ volumus, libenter credimus').

[77] Tert. *Apol.* 22.8–10; For an overview of how early Christian apologists dealt with the question of pagan oracles see Ossa-Richardson (2013) 29–38 (30–1 on Tertullian).

[78] Vat. Gr. 123, cited from Stein (1869–71) II.431 (= MS R, 33.10 *ad* 1.53). The commentator is familiar with the alternative narrative of John Malalas in his *Chronicle* (6.9 = 156 Dindorf). If the original Byzantine author of this comment (in Stein's MS R, 14th century) is the same commentator who makes free use of the first-person elsewhere in the same manuscript (e.g. *ἀκουομεν*, *οἶμαι*, *βλέπω*), then we might hesitantly date him to somewhere between the late 11th century and the mid 13th century by a reference he makes elsewhere to the *Komanoi*, a Turkic peoples known to the Byzantines by this name between their first arrival in the late 11th or early 12th century and their defeat by the Mongols in 1241.

> μαθὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅτι σε καὶ ἡττήσει καὶ αἰχμάλωτον λήψεται, τὸν πρὸς σὲ συνεκρότησε πόλεμον, καὶ ὁ μὲν σοὶ δοθεὶς χρησμὸς ἐψεύσθη, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δανιὴλ προφητεία ἠλήθευσε.
>
> You, Croesus, were encouraged by the oracle in Delphi and set out against Cyrus. But Cyrus summoned the great prophet Daniel, questioned him, and learnt from him that he would defeat you and take you prisoner, and so he clashed in war with you; the oracle you were given lied, whereas Daniel's prophecy told the truth.

The author misses—or perhaps follows Malalas in intentionally suppressing—the fact that the Herodotean oracle, however deceptive, is open to a *double* meaning (rather than being wholly and utterly a lie), and presents the conflict between Croesus and Cyrus as a sort of prophecy-competition between God and the demon known as Apollo. Chytraeus is unlikely to have known this particular comment, but his commentary succeeds in incorporating both this apologetic, Christian approach to Croesus' defeat (based on the assumption of Delphic impotence, ambiguity, and malevolence), and the moralising approach which attributed Croesus' misfortune to avoidable human folly (which edits the mendacious oracle out of the story). It would, however, be churlish to criticise Chytraeus for attempting to push the story of Croesus in two directions at once. Given his pedagogical goals, he might fairly view his presentation as a triumph, since he succeeds in extracting two morals from superficially incompatible interpretations of the same story.

The story of Cyrus presented its own special complications, and Chytraeus' treatment represents one of his relatively scarce innovations from Melanchthon's *Chronicon Carionis*. Humanists had long been puzzled by the fact that Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and Herodotus' *Histories* presented completely different accounts of Cyrus' death.[79]

[79] As recent talks by Keith Sidwell and Noreen Humble in the panel 'Reading Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* in the Early Modern Period'

Xenophon's Cyrus, apparently an idealised Socratic ruler, dies peacefully after a pious death-bed speech to his friends and sons, exhorting them to virtue (*Cyr.* 8.7). Herodotus' Cyrus dies in an expansionist war against the Massagetae in the north of his kingdom, urged on by his unbounded successes and a birth that seemed 'more than human' (1.204).[80] Since Cyrus' death is not reported in any Biblical narrative, both versions lay open to the humanist historian, though Herodotus' was by far better known.[81] The Bible did, of course, mention Cyrus, and particularly influential on Chytraeus was God's proclamation that Cyrus was his anointed and chosen ruler (cited repeatedly by Chytraeus):[82]

> That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure … Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of

(Renaissance Society of America, Berlin, 26th March 2015) have demonstrated. Poggio Bracciolini and his correspondents had exercised themselves about this very topic—although Poggio, writing before Valla's translation of Herodotus was in circulation, describes Cyrus' violent death in the campaign against the Massagetae as the account of Justin/Pompeius Trogus (see below, n. 81). This strongly suggests that he never turned his (self-avowedly basic) knowledge of Greek on Herodotus' *Histories*. Puzzlement at the conflicting versions continued throughout the quattrocento as well as in 16th-century France, with commentators generally explaining the divergence either by Herodotus' mendacity or by the exemplary (and thus fictive) nature of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (the explanation proffered by Poggio citing Cicero's famous judgement in *Q. Fr.* 1.23). See Harth (1987) III.135–6 (to Lionello Achrocamur, summer 1451) and 225 (to Alberto Pisari, Florence 25th June 1454). I thank Keith Sidwell for making me aware of these passages.

[80] For comparisons of Cyrus' death in Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon see Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2010).

[81] The outlines of the Herodotean version are followed in Lucian *Charon* 10–13, Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (1.8), and Orosius' *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* (2.7).

[82] Isaiah 44:28–45:4 (cited from the KJV); Chytraeus cites extracts from this prophecy three times (from the Latin of the Vulgate): (1601) 48–9, 170–1, 200; Melanchthon refers to but does not cite the prophecy in the *Chronicon Carionis* (see n. 84).

> kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut … I will break in pieces the gates of brass and cut in sunder the bars of iron … and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I, the Lord, which called thee by thy name, am the God of Israel.

To the eye of the Lutheran theologian Isaiah's prophecy proclaimed Cyrus ruler of the second of the world's four Monarchies, divinely appointed to lead the Jews and God's true Church back from captivity in Babylon. Faced with the contrasting narratives of Herodotus and Xenophon, Melanchthon had acknowledged both in his final revision of the *Chronicon Carionis*,[83] and ingeniously used the Herodotean version—in which Cyrus dies while prosecuting an unnecessary and thus unjust war—to warn the virtuous against complacency: 'Not only the impious and those who commit injustice, like Pharaoh, Saul, and countless others have to fear an adverse fate. Even the elect, when they reach their peak, must do so, particularly if they are indolent …'. Cyrus might have been a member of God's true Church (taught by the prophet Daniel) and an inheritor of eternal life, but he was not immune from human infirmity or divine punishment.[84]

Although Chytraeus does, on several occasions, repeat Melanchthon's moralising treatment of the Herodotean

[83] A 1532 German edition of the *Chronicon Carionis*, by contrast seems to have mentioned neither the contradiction, nor the negative Herodotean version, cf. Lotito (2011) 179. For the publication history of the *Chronicon Carionis*—the *Corpus Reformatorum* only produces part of the Melanchthon's final revision of the Latin text—see Lotito (2011), esp. 28–32.

[84] CR xii 783–4: 'Et fieri potest, ut Cyrus Deum recte invocaverit, et fuerit verae Ecclesiae membrum, ac haeres vitae aeternae, didicerat enim a Daniele veram doctrinam, tamen ut Iosias moto non necessario bello, cladem acceperit, et inter exempla propositus sit, quae monent, non solum impios et iniusta moventes, a Deo everti, ut Pharaonem, Saulem, et alios innumerabiles, sed etiam electis, cum in fastigium venerunt, metuendos esse adversos casus, praesertim si fiant segniores …'.

version,[85] he shows a marked preference for Xenophon's idealised vision of Cyrus and, in the fashion of his day, he solved the problem by a piece of ingenious genealogising, proposing a case of mistaken identity. Xenophon, he argued, recounts the true story of the death of 'Cyrus the Persian' (i.e. Cyrus the Great, God's anointed ruler), whereas Herodotus' *Histories* preserved the death story of 'Cyrus the Mede'—brother and successor to 'Darius the Mede' (the otherwise unknown figure who appears in Daniel 6–11)[86] and brother to Mandane (mother of Cyrus the Persian, Hdt. 1.108–21). Herodotus, confused by the similarity of name, had innocently attached a story about Cyrus the Mede to his nephew, Cyrus the Persian. Chytraeus elaborates this theory several times and illustrates it with a genealogical table.[87] Given its absence from the *Chronicon Carionis* and Chytraeus' fondness for genealogy,[88] it seems likely that it is of his own devising, motivated by a desire to keep Cyrus as a positive exemplar and preserve his pristine presentation in the Bible without discrediting the basic reliability of Herodotus.

In his treatment of Xerxes, Chytraeus follows Melanchthon more closely: Xerxes is both an example of the fragility of human affairs and temporal power and an example of the punishments which God gives to those who 'wage unnecessary war' convinced of their own wisdom and power. Artabanus' comments on God's punishment of those who 'think big' (7.10ε) are cited approvingly, next to Chytraeus' own conclusions: 'God, in a sudden moment, is

[85] Chytraeus (1601) 199–200 (*ad* 1.204.2): '*πολλὰ γὰρ μῖν καὶ μεγαλα*] Causæ interitus CYRI. Res secundæ etiam sapientum animos fatigant, ac insolentes reddunt. Superbia verò and *ὕβρις καὶ μαγνητας* [*sic*] *ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα* [= Thgn. 1103]. Odit enim and punit DEVS omne superbum'; cf. (1601) 50. The Theognis quotation was a favourite of Melanchthon, CR xii 712–13; xxiv 343.

[86] For an overview of attempts to reconcile 'Darius the Mede' with the historical record, see Collins (1994) 30–2.

[87] Chytraeus (1601) 50, 203–4.

[88] On the contemporary interest in genealogy see Grafton (2006) 150–63.

capable of destroying the greatest power, and hates the arrogant and the meddlesome'.[89] Chytraeus, like Melanchthon, offers the reader no aid on how to reconcile Xerxes' status as a negative *exemplum* of arrogance and bellicosity with the rest of the Herodotean narrative in which Xerxes repents, changes his mind, and is forced to go to war by a divine dream. But Chytraeus, like most scholars who followed him over the subsequent centuries, did not allow the intransigence of the text to prevent him from making the centre-piece of the morality play Xerxes' refusal to heed advice and abandon the war. Nowhere in his *argumentum* for Book 7 or in his commentary does Chytraeus discuss Xerxes' dreams. It would be left to scholars of the nineteenth century and beyond to reconcile such attitudes about Herodotus' theological beliefs and moralising agenda with the attention to textual detail that the academic establishment increasingly demanded.[90]

In evaluating Chytraeus' work on Herodotus, it is important to note that he does, at times, distinguish in principle between stories which are worthy of *historical* credence and stories which are of *didactic* worth. In his brief discussion of Xenophon in the *De lectione Historiarum*, Chytraeus repeats the Ciceronian judgement that Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is not of value for its faithfulness to history (*ad historiæ fidem*), but as a form of teaching (*forma institutionis*).[91] If this distinction is absent from most of Chytraeus' work on Herodotus, this is not because he was

[89] Chytraeus (1601 [= the 1561 *Argumentum* for Book 7]) 234–5: 'Nemo fiduciâ propriæ sapientiæ aut potentiæ res periculosas, aut non necessarias suscipiat. Nam Deus, subito momento, summam potentiam euertere potest, & omnes superbos ac πολυπράγμονας odit, φιλέει ὁ θεὸς τὰ υπερέχοντα κολούειν … Insigne exemplum fragilitatis maximæ potentiæ & omniam rerum humanarum, in toto hoc Xerxis bello propositum est …'.

[90] For recent attempts see above, n. 31 and, for the 19th century, Ellis (forthcoming, a).

[91] Chytraeus (1579) 473: 'Cyri maioris παιδείαν, non ad historiæ fidem, sed velut formam institutionis, & imaginem boni Principis quem nihil à patre bono differre ait, sapientissimè expressit' (citing Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.23).

incapable of countenancing the idea that some ancient accounts might be less suited to his purposes than others. In fact, Chytraeus' near total silence about aspects of Herodotus which did not fit his didactic agenda must have been a studied position. The books and linguistic skills necessary to read Greek history had only begun to filter into Germany in the late fifteenth century, and they had been strongly opposed by the theological and philosophical establishment, which perceived that it was being rapidly disenfranchised by a generation of scholars who could appeal to a set of authoritative sources that their elders could not read.[92] The community of Lutheran theologians who sat at the centre of the growing religious, political, and military community of the Reformation held many of the keys to this ever-increasing body of authoritative knowledge. The democratisation of knowledge—both biblical and historical—was a key ideological component of the Reformation, and it was thus essential that it was the *right* knowledge that was available. As the local guardians of letters and educators of successive generations, Melanchthon and his students applied themselves with zeal to crafting a vision of a history that would suit their rhetorical goals. They fed all texts—sacred and profane alike—through the formidable Melanchthonian moralising mill to produce a single, sequential, and uniform narrative of the past that served contemporary ideological needs.

Although Chytraeus and, to a lesser extent, Melanchthon give a great deal of attention to Herodotus—both as the first pagan historian whose narrative intersected with the Bible and because many of his stories lent themselves to moralising interpretation—this cannot be seen in isolation from the wider picture. Biblical narratives, too, were subjected to the same selective exegesis. Few lessons are drawn about God's nature or how humans ought to behave from the numerous biblical passages that

[92] See further Pohlke (1997) 45–6; Kluge (1934) 12–14; for similar conflicts in France see Stevens (1950) 116–17, who discusses various apologetic arguments offered for Hellenic study in the early French Renaissance.

defy a simple moralising analysis. The plague God sends to Pharaoh in punishment for taking Sarai into his palace—after she claimed that Abram was her brother rather than her husband (Gen. 12:11–20)—is one of many such complex stories to go unmentioned in Melanchthon's discussion of biblical history, presumably because such passages—like the majority of sacred and profane literature—are less than ideal pedagogical tools.[93] Likewise, little is said of the undeserved sufferings which the Devil inflicts on Job (and his family) with God's consent. The moralising exegetes of the Reformation were doubtless capable of smoothing the rough edges of these stories to their own satisfaction, but Chytraeus and Melanchthon do not waste space by complicating the picture any more than is strictly necessary: inconvenient details are omitted from the Bible as readily as they are from Herodotus.

Comparison with Thucydidean scholarship is, once again, illustrative. Chytraeus' general prefatory comments about Thucydides are, in places, identical to those on Herodotus and diverge strikingly with judgements on Thucydides today. Thucydides, Chytraeus writes, is to be praised for his *exempla* and *sententiae*, which illustrate moral rules more effectively than the bare precepts themselves;[94] the whole Peloponnesian War is an admonition against 'unnecessary wars', as well as a sign of God's anger and punishment of covetousness and crimes, and the work as a whole offers numerous rules which show how to live correctly.[95] In Chytraeus' close analysis of the individual

[93] Note also God's hardening of Pharaoh's heart, for which Pharaoh is then punished, at Ex. 7:1–5. Chytraeus briefly mentions the punishment of Pharaoh as an *exemplum* of God's anger at (1601) 3. Melanchthon uses Pharaoh as an *exemplum* of an unjust man at CR xii 783–4.

[94] Chytraeus (1579) 543: 'Thucydides non orationibus tuantummodò and sententijs gravissimis, verùm etiam insignibus consiliorum ac eventuum exemplis illustrat. Quæ multò effacius, quàm nuda præcepta, hominum animos ad omnem posteritate movent & percellunt.' Compare Chytraeus' statements on Herodotus (nearly identical at points) cited above, n. 5.

[95] See Chytraeus (1579) 544 (= '444').

books, however, we see a different reading of Thucydides emerge, undoubtedly in response to the different nature of the text. Here the historian's usefulness is said to derive primarily from his political savvy, theological opinions come to the fore less frequently, and comparatively few attempts are made to link the subject matter and chronology to the Bible.

Chytraeus, then, clearly reveals his desire to use Thucydides and Herodotus to teach precisely the same morals and themes, but the differences between the two authors (and the critical traditions attached to each) to a large degree determine the nature of his treatment. Comparison with Thucydides, then, reveals why Herodotus held a special place in the hearts of Lutheran commentators: he stood at the juncture of Sacred and Profane history, his work was strewn with explicitly theological and moral content that could be relatively easily manipulated to serve a new didactic purpose, and his *Histories* could act (in carefully delineated ways) as a supplement to gaps in Biblical history.

The preceding pages have explored the use made of Herodotus by the school of theologians educated by Melanchthon in Wittenberg in the early years of the Reformation, a group which wrote and lectured widely throughout Protestant Germany in the late sixteenth century, and went on to have a disproportionate impact on the scholarship and educational institutions of the following centuries. The final part of this article will look at the reception of Herodotus over a similar period in a quite different intellectual milieu, that of mid- to late-sixteenth-century Paris and Geneva, where another adherent of the reformed faith, Henri Estienne, turned his hand to similar topics with quite different results.

III. Henri Estienne and the Christian Piety of Herodotus

In 1566 Henri Estienne, the prolific scholar and publisher, produced two polemical tracts on Herodotus: a Latin

Apologia pro Herodoto, which he prefaced to his revised edition of Valla's Latin translation,[96] and a much longer French satire full of anti-Catholic polemic, commonly known as the *Apologie pour Hérodote*, that (on one account) had Estienne burnt in effigy in Paris while he hid in the mountains.[97] Estienne was writing four years after the end of Chytraeus' Herodotean lectures, three years after the publication of Chytraeus' *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda*, and six years before the massacre of Protestants on St Bartholomew's Day 1572.

Melanchthon and Chytraeus had, as we have seen, produced a corpus of didactic texts that passed over hermeneutic difficulties, typically eschewed close readings, and drove their message home by repetition and consistency. The opening pages of Estienne's *Apologia* present their author in an altogether different light. Estienne poses as an urbane commentator aware of the controversies surrounding Herodotus, keen to pursue a middle path between those who revere the ancients with a superstitious devotion and those who attempt to deprive them of their due credit.[98] Estienne thus positions himself between the two rhetorical poles of the debate that would (in later manifestations) become known as the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*. Although his claim to be a balanced commentator is undermined by his consistently apologetic tone, his posturing points to an important difference with Lutheran humanists: in place of—if occasionally alongside—dogmatism and simplification, Estienne uses argument and counter-argument, anticipating his reader's objections rather than their unquestioning acceptance.

[96] Estienne (1566a) **iiiii^{r}–****iiii^{v}; I cite the *Apologia* from Kramer's edition (1980).

[97] Estienne (1566b). For discussion of the relationship between the two see Kramer's introduction to Estienne (1980), esp. vii–x. On Estienne's burning in effigy and associated witticism (Estienne apparently said 'se nunquam magis riguisse quam cum Parisiis ustularetur') see Greswel (1833) 223–4, who finds no early authority for the story.

[98] Estienne (1980) 2.

Estienne's audience, of course, was not composed of the children who arrived at Lutheran universities but the learned minds of the Republic of Letters. As with Joachim Camerarius' *Proœmium* to his 1541 edition of Herodotus, the critic Estienne is most concerned to answer is Plutarch, whose polemical pamphlet *On the Malignity of Herodotus* (*De Herodoti malignitate*) was well known to contemporaries.[99]

Camerarius' *Preface* had attempted (with limited persuasiveness) to deflect the charge of sacrilege—*sacrilegus* as he translates Plutarch's βλασφημία—which Plutarch (following in a long Platonic tradition) had leveled against Herodotus for representing god as *phthoneros* ('grudging', 'envious') in the dialogue between Solon and Croesus (1.32.1).[100] Estienne's *Apologia* is formally structured as a series of examples of Herodotus' 'love of truth' (φιλαλήθεια), but he includes extensive arguments for Herodotus' piety as further evidence of his honesty. If Herodotus was so pious, Estienne asks leadingly, why should he intentionally and gratuitously mislead his readers?[101]

Estienne's professed goal was not, therefore, that of Chytraeus and Melanchthon, to demonstrate that reading the *Histories* could be beneficial to the education of a Christian—though he would doubtless have endorsed that conclusion—nor was it to argue that Herodotus was part of God's plan to provide a continuous documentation of the history of the world, nor that his narrative illustrated the

[99] Although not named until almost half way through the *Proœmium*, Plutarch lurks behind the critics Camerarius mentions early on, who accuse Herodotus of 'malignity', see Camerarius (1541) 2^{v}, $4^{r–v}$. Estienne mentions Plutarch several times, but never explicitly names him as a critic of Herodotus. Plutarch's popularity, Estienne's wide reading, and his knowledge of Camerarius' *Proœmium*—which he would later prefix to his own Greek edition of Herodotus (1570)—make it inconceivable that he was not fully aware of Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*. Estienne's omission of divine *phthonos* (below, n. 104) further confirms this conclusion.

[100] Camerarius (1541) $5^{r–v}$; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 857F–858A. For Platonic criticisms of divine *phthonos* see, e.g. *Timaeus* 29e and ch. 1 in this volume, pp. 19–21.

[101] Estienne (1980) 30.

biblical Decalogue. It was an altogether more ambitious and personal one than his contemporaries in Wittenberg and Rostock attempted: to demonstrate that Herodotus was himself pious in a manner that cohered with Christian conceptions of god, morality, predestination, and divine providence. This might seem a forbidding task, but Estienne's near-exhaustive knowledge of the *Histories* enabled him to make a powerful case, which he structured—after the manner of his day—around an exhibition of the most laudable sayings (*sententiae* or γνῶμαι) he could cull from the work.

Estienne begins with Herodotus' statement on the 'foresight of the divine' (3.108). This, like many Herodotean *sententiae*:[102]

> show[s] Herodotus to be gifted with as much piety as can occur in a man ignorant of the Christian religion; in truth, they show that he thought the same things about divine power and divine providence which it is right and fitting for a Christian to think.

After this, Estienne then gives a lengthy citation of Artabanus' comments in the Persian War Council (translating 7.10ε), including his statements that 'god loves to abase whatever stands out the highest' and god's refusal to let any but himself 'think big'.[103] Presumably so as to avoid

[102] Estienne (1980) 18: 'Multae enim sententiae siue γνῶμαι … tanta illum pietate praeditum fuisse testantur quanta in hominem Christianae religionis ignarum cadere potest: imò verò ea de diuina potentia prouidentiáque sensisse quae Christianum sentire et deceat et oporteat. Huiusmodi sunt haec in Thalia: …' (cites Hdt. 3.108).

[103] Here, as in the next section, it may not be superfluous to draw attention to the motto of the Estienne press from 1526–78: *noli altum sapere* (see further below, n. 125, and Floridi (1992)). Estienne, like all Hellenists worth their salt, knew that the phrase from Paul *Rom.* 11.20 (μὴ ὑψηλοφρόνει ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ) was a warning against *pride* and *arrogance* (Henri himself is reported to have suggested the translation 'ne elato sis animo': see Floridi (1992) 145–6). The resonance of this with the Herodotean caution against μέγα φρονέειν would have been obvious to most well-educated humanists.

getting bogged down in unnecessary complications Estienne edits his Latin translation here to omit a clause that would cause later commentators as much difficulty as it had already caused Camerarius, namely Artabanus' statement that greater armies are defeated by smaller ones 'whenever God, feeling *phthonos* ('envy', 'jealousy', or 'resentment'), casts down fear or thunder, by which they are destroyed in a manner unworthy of themselves'.[104] Omission and silence were, in fact, the most common response among the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers when confronted with the disquieting notion of divine 'envy' or 'jealousy' (*invidia*/*φθόνος*) in classical Greek literature.[105] In following this general trend Estienne neatly sidestepped divine *phthonos* and the awkward notion that God might destroy people in an 'unworthy' manner.

After adducing parallels from Hesiod (*Op.* 5–8) and Horace (*Carm.* 1.34.12–14) that (like Herodotus' Artabanus) proclaim the omnipotence of God, Estienne showcases Herodotus' *exempla* and *sententiae* on divine punishment. He cites Herodotus' comments on the terrible death of Pheretime, eaten alive by maggots as a testament to the gods' abomination of excessively harsh (human) punishments (4.205),[106] and lays special emphasis on the

[104] Estienne (1980) 18. The omitted Greek clause runs: *ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν.*

[105] For discussion of examples from Naucler's Latin paraphrasing of Valla, Hieronymus Boner's 1535 German translation, and B. R.'s 1584 English translation, see Ellis (forthcoming, a), which attempts a more general examination of attempts between the Renaissance and the present to reconcile divine *phthonos* with a providential, just, and benevolent theology. For Camerarius in particular see Ellis (forthcoming, b). In the 16th century, however, perceptions of *phthonos* were dominated by the highly negative description of the emotion in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1386b16–20, echoed throughout classical literature), and most scholars were well aware that the notion of divine *phthonos* had been unanimously condemned as impious by all Christian authorities from the early Fathers through to Aquinas, following Plato's comments at *Tim.* 29e; further, ch. 1 in this volume, pp. 19–21.

[106] Herodotus observes that 'excessively harsh punishments are *epiphthonos* (abominable) to the gods', a statement which contains the

eye-for-an-eye revenge taken by the eunuch Hermotimus upon the man who castrated him before selling him into slavery. Estienne particularly approves of Hermotimus' accusatory speech before he forces his enemy to castrate his four sons and then forces them, in turn, to castrate their father (8.105–6):

> Did you think that you would escape the notice of the gods, when you did this? Using just law the gods brought you, the perpetrator of these unholy deeds, into my hands, so that you will find no fault with the justice I shall exact.

'Is any of what we read here', Estienne asks, 'unworthy of a Christian mouth, if we only change the plural number of gods into the singular?'[107] He then moves on to Herodotus' much-lauded comment on the destruction of Troy (2.120.5) and a wealth of other examples and professions of divine punishment to be found in the *Histories*.[108]

Estienne then considers Herodotus' belief in predestination, citing many instances in which the narrator states that 'it was necessary' that something should happen.[109] Today prevailing scholarly opinion links Herodotus' talk of 'what must happen' (with δεῖ or χρή) to *moira* (one's 'portion', or 'fate') or the Moirai ('fates')

phthon- root (associated with envy/jealousy/resentment), and which Estienne ((1980) 22) does this time translate directly: 'Nempe homines tam atrocibus vindictis <u>inuidiam</u> sibi apud deos conflant'.

[107] Estienne (1980) 22: 'Quid quaeso hîc legimus quod ore Christiano sonari non meretur, si tantum pluralem deorum numerum in singularem vertamus?'

[108] Estienne (1980) 22, citing: 3.126.1 (the *tisies* of Polycrates come upon Oroites); 6.72.1 (the *tisis* given to Demaratus); 6.84.3 (the *tisis* paid by Cleomenes to Demaratus); 9.64.1 (the *dikê* paid by Mardonios for the death of Leonidas), 7.134.1 and 7.137.2 (the *mênis* of Talthybius which falls upon the Spartan messengers).

[109] Estienne (1980) 26, citing: 1.8.2 ('it was necessary for Candaules to end badly'); 9.109.2; 5.33; 5.92δ.1; 6.135.3; 9.15.4; 9.16.2–5. Estienne also suggests that Herodotus is the source of Livy's statements on divine necessity (Livy 1.4.1).

mentioned in the Delphic oracle given to Croesus, where Apollo proclaims: 'Even for a god it is impossible to change predestined fate' (1.91).[110] Estienne, by contrast interprets 'what must happen' as a reference to God's providentially determined fate, and to support this interpretation he cites the conversation reported by Thersander on the eve of the battle of Plataea in which an anonymous Persian talks about 'what must come *from god*' (9.16).[111] Estienne thereby demonstrates that 'what must come' is, in Herodotus' language, merely a shorthand for 'what must come from God'. By joining the dots in this neat but selective fashion, the humanist was able to claim that the *Histories* is studded with the author's professions of God's providential predestination, a conclusion of obvious interest to a contemporary Calvinist.[112]

Though Estienne might have stopped at this stage—having argued his point through a clever if selective exposition—he goes a step further in a virtuoso display of rigour and considers a potential counter-argument:[113]

[110] Thus several scholars today treat 'what must happen' as logically exclusive of divine action and consider the mix of 'fatalistic' and 'divine' causation a contradiction—see, e.g., Maddalena (1950) 65–7; Versnel (2011) 186.

[111] As I hope to argue elsewhere, Estienne's decision to read 'what must happen' against the words of Thersander's dinner companion at 9.16 is preferable to reading it against the oracle at 1.91, since the oracle does not use the words δεῖ or χρή and is written in a markedly different theological register from the rest of the narrative (reminiscent of the theological world of epic hexameter). Estienne, however, never discusses the oracle at 1.91 and suppresses the complication.

[112] For natural theology in Calvin's writings—important background for Estienne's claim that Herodotus agrees with Christian theology—see McNeill (1946) 179–82. For the theological ideas underlying Estienne's *Apologie pour Herodote* see Boudou (2000) 478–88.

[113] Estienne (1980) 28: 'Non quomodo (dicent nonnulli) huic quam praedicas pietati consentanea sit illa τύχης appelatio, quae quum apud vetustissimos scriptores rarò, apud Homerum autem nunquam reperiatur, hic contrà illi euentus rerum imputat? Qui fortunam constituit, nonne is prouidentiam tollit?'

> Is the piety which you have just mentioned—many will say—not somehow incompatible with the word 'chance' (*τύχη*) which, though it is rare amongst the oldest writers and never found in Homer, Herodotus often uses to explain the outcome of affairs? Surely he who elevates fortune (*fortuna*) destroys providence (*prouidentia*)?

Here Estienne meets his imagined critics on home ground. Estienne had long cultivated the humanist penchant for proverb collecting and in doing so accumulated not only a stock of comparative material in the form of Latin, Greek, and French proverbs, but also various exegetical approaches that he could deploy to great effect.[114]

Estienne's response to this hypothetical attack is to argue that talk of 'chance' and 'fate' are not at all incompatible. Today the neatest route to this conclusion would seem to lie through the field of linguistic pragmatics,[115] and Estienne's actual argument gestures in a similar direction by denying that *τύχη* has the 'popular' sense of 'chance' (*fortuna*) in these passages.[116] Herodotean 'chance' is not, he argues, opposed to God's will, because Herodotus sometimes talks of 'divine chance' (*θεία τύχη*)[117] indicating that 'chance' is equivalent to 'divine fate' (*θεία μοῖρα*—Estienne's phrase, not Herodotus'),[118] namely God's providential will. To drive his point home, Estienne observes that the same phenomena are found in contemporary Christian proverbs like the French expression *C'est fortune: Dieu le ueult*' ('it's fortune, God wills it'). Estienne was, in fact, particularly fond of noting parallels between the Ionic dialect of ancient Greek

[114] For Estienne's collection, ordering, and publication of proverbs see Boudou (2005).

[115] I consider this approach—which contemporary Herodotean scholars have typically eschewed in recent decades—further in Ellis (2015).

[116] Estienne (1980) 26: 'sed *τύχην* illis in locis vulgarem fortunae significationem habere nego.'

[117] Estienne (1980) 26, citing: 4.8.3 (*θείῃ τύχῃ*); 5.92.3 (*θείῃ τύχῃ*); and 9.91.1 (*κατὰ συντυχίην*, *θεοῦ ποιεῦντος*).

[118] But compare, e.g, Pind. *Olymp.* 2.21: *θεοῦ μοῖρα*.

and French: his 1570 edition includes a list of *Ionismi Gallici, sive Ionici Gallicismi* ('Gallic Ionicisms, or Ionic Gallicisms') and in the *Apologia* (impelled by the similarity of these proverbs) he repeats one of his favourite claims: that the French language was descended from Greek.[119]

Estienne ends his discussion of Herodotus' religious and theological beliefs with a flash of characteristically grandiloquent rhetoric:[120]

> In truth, when I consider the pious sayings of Herodotus which I have gathered … a fear strikes my soul that, like that pagan lady the Queen of Sheba, Herodotus and with him other pagan authors … should, on that final day of judgement, make the accusation that we, who have committed our name to Christ and accepted his name as our surname, frequently think and speak and write things in a more profane way.

Despite such rhetorical overstatements, Estienne's claims are accompanied by an impressively detailed knowledge of the text and a subtlety of argument which make the *Apologia* the first significant scholarly study of Herodotus' religious beliefs, which contains much of enduring value for Herodotus' readers.[121]

[119] See Estienne (1565); cf. Boudou (2005) 166; Schleiner (2003) 753, 758.

[120] Estienne (1980) 30 (cf. 1 Kings 10): 'Verumenimuero quas hactenus recensui Herodoti pias sententias dum mecum reputo (vt tandem huic sermoni finem imponam) hic animum meum percellit metus, ne cum profana illa muliere regina Saba profanus Herodotus, et cum Herodoto caeteri profani scriptores quibuscunque adeo sacra dicta erupuerunt, nos in illo extremo iudicii die reos peragant, qui quum Christo, vnico verae religionis duci, nomen dederimus, et cognomen ab eo acceperimus, profanius plerunque et sentimus et loquimur et scribimus.'

[121] In noting the importance of context in the interpretation of contradictory proverbs and looking beyond the purely semantic meanings of words like *τύχη*, Estienne anticipates proverb research of the latter part of the twentieth century, which much scholarship on Greek religion has yet to take into account. I evaluate various

But Estienne's rhetorical goals take total priority over a balanced treatment: to a scholar who knew the *Histories* as well as Estienne, the *Apologia* is clearly selective in its quotations, omissions, and mistranslations, and set a precedent for Herodotus' Christianising interpreters during subsequent centuries.

IV. Isaac Casaubon Reading Herodotus

In the winter of 1601–2 Isaac Casaubon embarked on a series of lectures on Herodotus to a group of friends at his home in Paris. His diary entries suggest that the task caused him more vexation than pleasure, another in the endless line of Parisian distractions which conspired to keep him from his books and embroiled him in petty disputes.[122] The lectures were originally envisaged for six or seven friends but, once word got out, a multitude of eminent hearers poured in, resulting in the envy of his enemies, the kindly intervention of the king and, finally, Casaubon's voluntary decision to discontinue the lectures on the excuse of ill health.[123] Casaubon's diary records the popularity of the lectures and groans with regret at the loss of time for study:[124]

methodological approaches to the interpretation of Herodotus' proverbs in Ellis (2015). On contradictory proverbs see, e.g., Yankah (1984) 10–11; on the importance of context to their interpretation see, e.g., Siran (1993). In epigram CCXLII (= XX) of his *Premices* Estienne suggests that contradictory proverbs in fact refer to different situations: (1594) 207; cf. Boudou (2005) 170.

[122] For further discussion of Casaubon's reading habits and his convictions of the greater worthiness of reading the scriptures and church fathers see Grafton (1983) and Pattison (1875) 54–6.

[123] See Casaubon's letter of 1602 to David Hoeschel (1566–1617), *Ep.* 294 in Janson (1709) 154–5.

[124] Casaubon (1850) I.374 ('Kal. Oct. Mane quod male haberemus e nocturna febri, quodque hodie privatas lectiones rogatu amicorum magnorum essemus aggressuri jacuerunt studia. Ergo incepimus, quod felix et faustum velit esse ὁ μέγας θεός. Γένοιτο, γένοιτο. Herodoti interpr. Hodie misi ad Scaligerum excerpta nostra e Siculis fastis. Recepi 10 mensibus post'); 377; 394–5.

> *Kal. Oct.*: Early today my studies lay abandoned, both because I was weak from a nocturnal fever and because I embarked on some private lessons at the request of some friends in high places. And so we begin, may the great God wish it to be happy and prosperous. May it come to pass, may it come to pass.
> Lecturing on Herodotus. Today I sent to Scaliger my excerpts of the Sicilian *Fasti*. I received it 10 months ago.
>
> *X. Kal. Nov.*: I taught a great number of preeminent men in my house today. Surely this benediction is yours, O Father. The honour and praise is yours eternally. Amen.
>
> *IV. Eid. Jan.*: Look, I see that the lectures which I began at the request of my friends are a burden to me. That's all. I'm sorry I began them. But you, O God, be with me. Amen.

But if Casaubon was at best ambivalent towards the reality of lecturing on Herodotus amid the confessional and academic rivalries of Paris, the dense thicket of spidery writing covering the margins of Casaubon's copy of Herodotus' *Histories*—in the handsome Greek edition published in 1570 by his father-in-law, Henri Estienne—betrays an avid interest in the text itself, particularly in its theological aspects. It reveals that Casaubon continued the magpie-like reading habits of his predecessors. On the title page, to the left of the olive tree and words *noli altum sapere* (which served as the Estienne printer's mark for over four centuries),[125] Casaubon inscribed Herodotus' comment on

[125] As Jill Kraye has suggested to me, Casaubon's placement of this citation next to the motto of the Stephanus press—*noli altum sapere*—may be intentional. If so, the possible implications are several, as Casaubon may be linking Herodotus' comment on divine punishment (2.120.5) with the Latin of Jerome's Vulgate (*noli altum sapere*)—open to various readings from anti-intellectualism to anti-dogmatism: possibilities

the gods' punishment of Troy (2.120.5)—which had been admiringly cited before him by Regius, Chytraeus, Pezel, and Estienne—and like many of his predecessors he translated it into Christian idiom by making 'the gods' singular (see Fig. 2).[126] In the body of the text, next to the underlined passage itself, he jotted down a pithy laudation—*aurea sententia* ('a golden maxim').[127] This was imagery as scintillating as that used by David Chytraeus in his lectures four decades earlier in the winter of 1560: 'This saying is a rule for life, most useful for discipline and the correct governing of the morals, and an eternal tenet of divine justice. It shines out like a jewel from the second book of Herodotus'.[128]

On the 31st of December 1601 Casaubon ended the year with a thankful prayer to 'the most clement, mild, and well-disposed Lord' for the blessings with which he had showered Casaubon, his convalescing wife, and their new son, including Casaubon's successful studies and the

explored in Floridi (1992)—or alternatively with the Greek text of which Jerome's Vulgate is a hyper-literal translation: Paul *Rom.* 11:20 (*μὴ ὑψηλοφρόνει ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ*). Since Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum* (1516) it was well known to scholars that Jerome's translation was misleading, and humanists from Valla to Calvin and Henri Estienne himself had proposed alternative translations restoring the original exhortation against *arrogance* (see above, n. 103). Casaubon may, therefore, have been associating the Herodotean cautions against 'thinking big' or arrogance (e.g. 7.10ε) with his statement about divine punishment (2.120.5).

[126] Casaubon's title page reads '84: *τῶν μεγάλων ἁμαρτημάτων μεγάλαι αἱ παρὰ θεοῦ τιμωρίαι*' (the number refers to the page of the quotation). Chytraeus and Pezel had made precisely the same change (cf. above, nn. 43 and 46 and below, n. 128). On Casaubon's annotation practices, particularly on title pages, see Grafton and Weinberg (2011) 20–1.

[127] Casaubon (Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv.a.3.2) 84 (*ad* 2.120.5).

[128] Chytraeus (1601) 210–11: 'Regula vitæ, ad disciplinam ac mores rectè gubernandos utilißima, & judicij divini norma immota, est hæc sententia, quæ in II. Herodoti libro velut gemma enitet: *τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι ἐισὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, Atrocia scelera atrocibus â D E O pœnis puniuntur.'

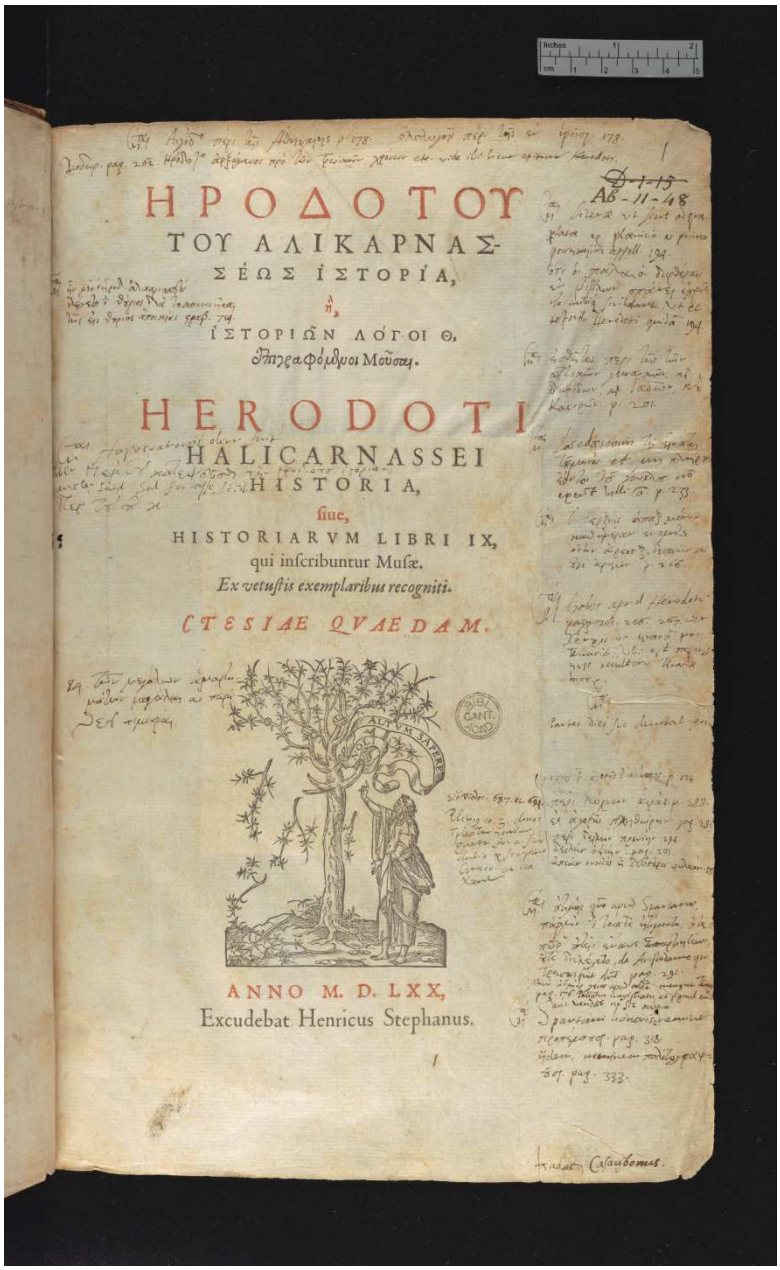

Fig. 2. Casaubon's copy of Herodotus' *Histories* (Title Page). Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.3.2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

generosity of king Henri IV.[129] His joy was to be short-lived. February brought news of the death of his sister Sara—the only comfort to his mother back home—and in April his nephew ('Petrus Chabaneus meus') contracted a sickness, and was to die in May. The diary entries of that winter and spring resound with prayers and lamentations:[130] 'Most merciful Lord, be present with my mother and our whole family!' 'My studies lie abandoned, it pains me not. What pains me is the sickness of my dear Chabanes, who seems beyond hope.' But Casaubon, who had left the Geneva of Beza and Calvin less than five years earlier and continued to suffer for his refusal to conform to the Catholic faith,[131] was not ignorant of the theological implications:[132]

> XIII. *Kal. Mar.*: Eternal Lord, bring it about that I should be mindful of the punishment with which you

[129] 'clementissime, mitissime, benignissime Domine … Regis illa liberalitas, O Deus, tota muneris est tui. Tu enim restrictiorem principis manum aperuisti … Accessio si qua facta est studiis, quod nos putamus, id quoque muneris est tui. Jam quod infirmam uxorem et ex morbo decubentem *ἐν ταῖς ὠδῖσι* roborasti, ad *εὐτοκίαν* perduxisti, filiolo nos auxisti, omnes denique feliciter ac valentes annum exigere voluisti, quam *ἀθρόα* sunt hic beneficia tua!'

[130] Casaubon (1850) I.397 (III Kal. Feb), 417 (III Eid. Apr.); cf. 397: 'IV. Kal. Feb. … Sed angit me quod me præcesseris, mea soror; quod tibi terras linquere meditanti non adfuerim; quod tua morientis mandata non abs te acceperim; te denique non viderim, amplexibusque tuis non hæserim, et magnum tibi vale non dixerim.'

[131] For a colourful narrative of the Fontainebleau conference, conditions at the University (from which Protestants were barred by statute), and the intense persecution Casaubon suffered for his Calvinism both personally (while growing up in Dauphiné) and as a citizen of Geneva while teaching at Calvin's Academy, see Pattison (1875) *passim*, esp. 153–62, 175–89.

[132] Casaubon (1850) I.404: 'XIII. *Kal. Mar.* … Fac etiam, Deus æterne, ut memor castigationis, qua nuper me et familiam hanc universam objurgasti, optimam sororem ad te evocans, animum tibi subjicere, et id semper velle quod vis tu, in dies magis magisque assuescam.' id. (1850) I.418: 'XVII. Kal. Mai. Æquum est, Pater, justum est; tua fiat voluntas, quam hodie fecisti, cum ad te vocasti Petrum Chabaneum *τῆς μακαρίτιδος* sororis meæ filium. Petrus Chabanei obitus die Lunæ ut vocant, hora tertia et dimidia.'

> recently scourged me and this whole family by calling my blessed sister unto you; subject my soul to you; and may I always want what you want, and become ever more accustomed to it as the days go by.
>
> XVII. *Kal. Mai.*: It is fair, Father, it is just. May your will come to pass, which you wrought today, when you called Pierre Chabanes unto yourself, the son of my blessed sister.

That Casaubon should have met such personal tragedies head-on with professions of God's fairness and punitive justice attests the depth of his theological convictions. Casaubon's comments on the maxims he encountered in Herodotus that winter would seem to express a genuine delight in finding divine truths pithily expressed in the Greek language.

While reading the story of Glaucus—who asked the Delphic oracle whether he could break an oath to steal money entrusted to him—Casaubon underlined the oracle's response ('asking god about it and doing it are equivalent', 6.86). In his margin he wrote a judgement which recalls the writings of his father-in-law: *Christianam sententiam* ('a Christian opinion', see Fig. 3, lower right). In his commentary on the first book of the *Histories* Chytraeus had chosen this passage to illustrate the ninth and tenth commandments—prohibitions of coveting one's neighbour's possessions or wife: the Herodotean *sententia*, Chytraeus had argued, proved that God punishes not only human *actions* but also their desires and emotions.[133]

[133] Casaubon (Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.3.2) 229 (p.231 in Casaubon's pagination); Chytraeus (1601) 32: 'Cum IX. & X. Præceptis, quæ non externa tantûm scelera, sed interiores etiam animi cupiditates & adfectus DEO displicere & prohiberi docent, congruit oraculi sententia in Erato, *τὸ πειρῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, ἴσον δύναται*. Tentare Deum tacita cogitatione aut conatu delicti, & FAcere, æquale peccatum est, & similem pœnam apud DEVM meretur. In maleficijs enim voluntas non exitus spectatur.'

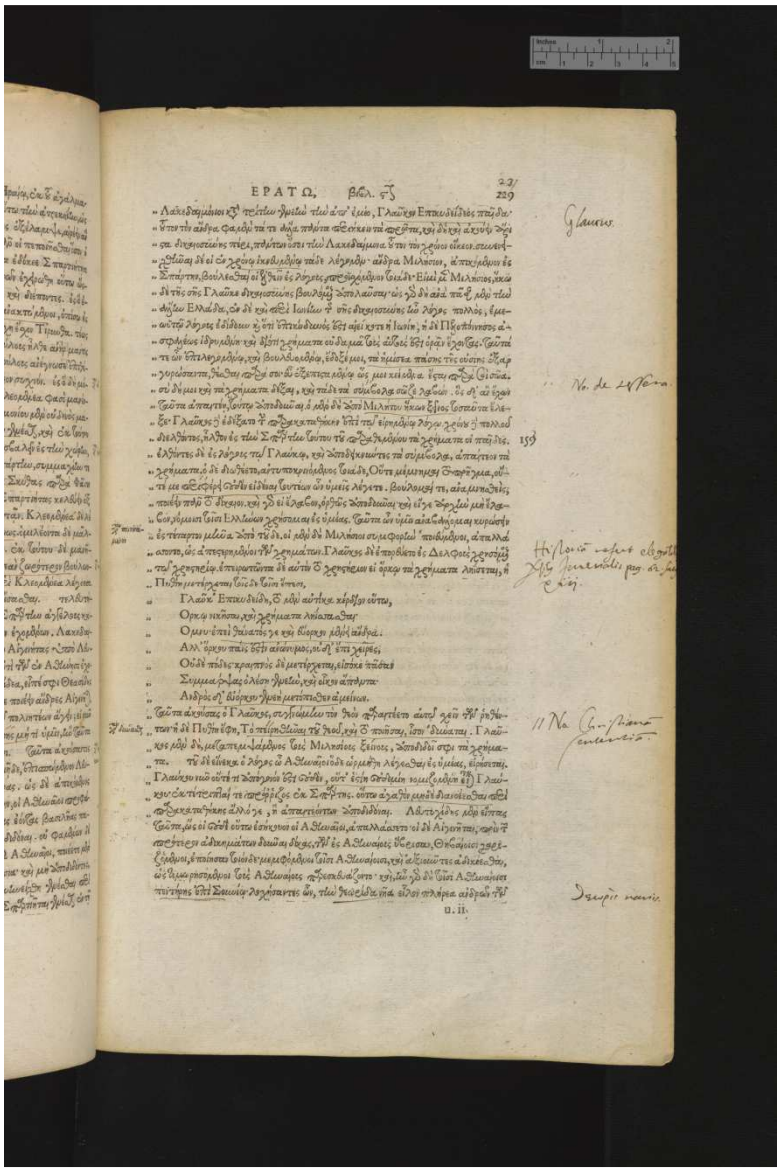

Fig. 3. Casaubon's copy of Herodotus' *Histories* (p. 229). Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.3.2; Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Estienne, as we have seen, deduced Herodotus' belief in God's providential predestination from his statement that 'it was necessary for Candaules to end badly' (1.8.1). Above these words in his own copy Casaubon squeezed in

cramped handwriting a famous quotation from the *Iliad*: 'and God's plan came to pass' (Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, *Il.* 1.5). No more than an interesting parallel, perhaps, but it is also suggestive of an attitude of pervasive theological syncretism towards Greek literature, which would also attribute to Homer a belief in providential predestination.

It is striking that Casaubon assiduously marks every statement that god is *phthoneros* ('grudging', 'jealous') in his text of Herodotus, both in Camerarius' preface and in the Greek text itself (see, e.g., Fig. 4, middle left).[134] If Casaubon ever formed a certain opinion on whether divine *phthonos* was the blasphemy Plutarch claimed or could be reconciled with Estienne's claims about Herodotus' proto-Christian piety, it does not survive in the records I have seen,[135] but, as I have shown elsewhere, it is clear that he was fully aware of the theological problems raised by divine *phthonos*. In his copy of the *Corpus Hermeticum* he underlined the statement that '*phthonos* does not come from [above]' (4.3), and his annotation links it to the Platonic criticisms discussed in the introduction to this volume (Casaubon writes 'Plato *Tim.* 29e' in the margin).[136]

Casaubon's own notes from his lectures of 1601–2 contain an extensive defence of Herodotus against Plutarch's attacks—also sketched out in the margins of his copy of Herodotus[137]—but they offer no discussion of the tricky question of divine *phthonos*, nor do they stray onto Herodotus' religious or ethical material to make claims

[134] See Casaubon's copy of Estienne (1570) (Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.3.2) *ad* 1.32.1, 7.10ε, 7.46. *Ad* 3.40 the margin contains a cross-reference to p. 8 (i.e. 1.32). Casaubon fails to mark only Themistocles' statement that the gods ἐφθόνησαν ('felt *phthonos*') that Xerxes should rule Asia and Europe (8.109.2).

[135] I have not had an opportunity to consult the notes mentioned by Pattison (1875) 187 n. 41, apparently taken by two unidentified auditors of Casaubon's Herodotus lectures, now held in the National Library, Paris (Shelfmark Latin 6252).

[136] See Grafton (1983) 81 n. 19; see Ellis (forthcoming, a); cf. Ch. 1 of this volume, pp. 19–21.

[137] Casaubon (Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.3.2) on p. 24 of the introductory material.

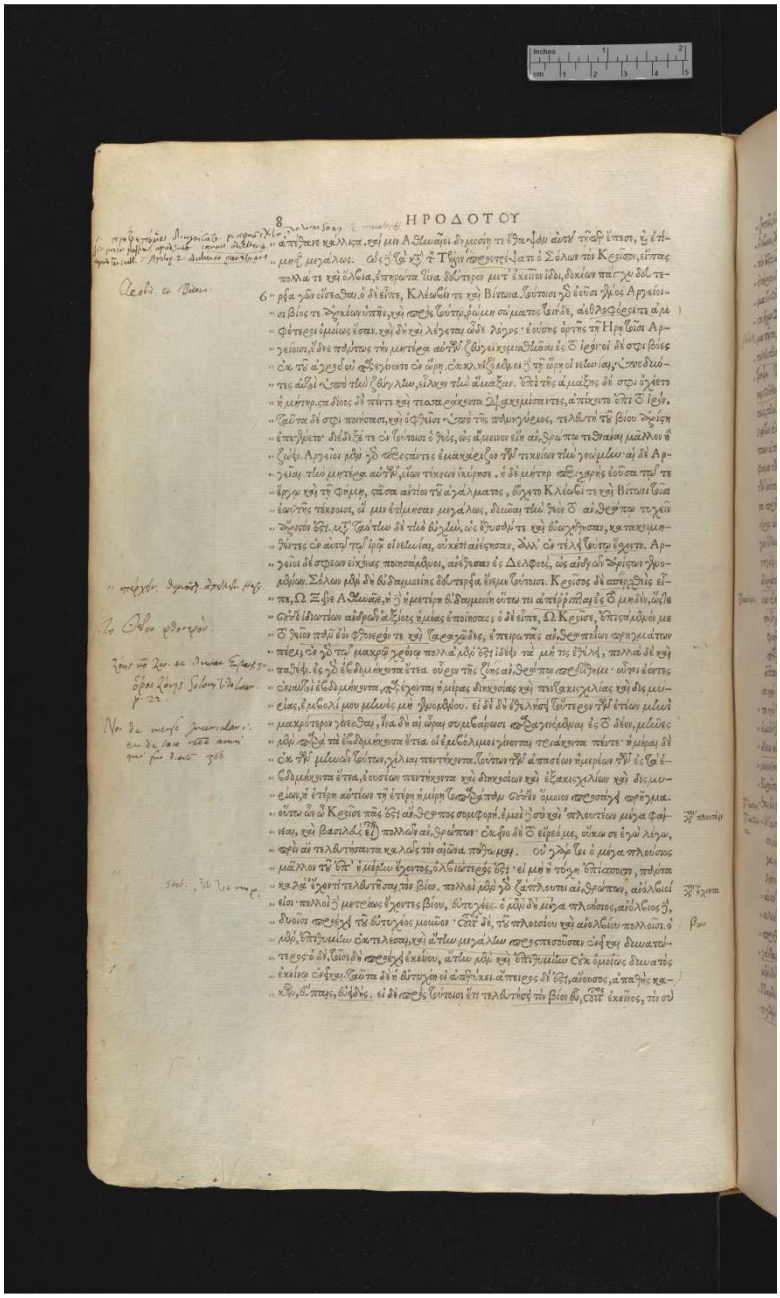

Fig. 4. Casaubon's copy of Herodotus' *Histories* (p. 8). Cam. Uni. Lib. Adv. a.3.2; Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

comparable to those that appear in the pedagogical or apologetic writings of Melanchthon, Chytraeus, Pezel, and Estienne.[138] Casaubon's pen does, however, reveal that he paid attention to other areas of the text that Herodotus' apologists typically ignored. He underlines large portions of the Delphic oracle at 1.91, including the stipulation that a 'god cannot change fate'—a statement earlier humanists like Erasmus had also found interesting enough to highlight and which Estienne, again, had not mentioned.[139]

Casaubon's scattered comments on Herodotus show, as we might expect, that the hallmarks of the humanist approach to a reading of the *Histories* were largely unchanged in the early seventeenth century. Casaubon might have disagreed with some of his predecessors on the pedagogical utility of negative *exempla*,[140] but he read the *Histories* with a keen eye for theological *sententiae* with a Christian ring, and his comments suggest (in so far as such brief annotations can) that his reading of Herodotean theology had much in common with that of his father-in-law, Henri Estienne. Yet the absence of any judgements on Herodotus' piety or theology in Casaubon's own lecture notes pulls in the opposite direction. In the context of Casaubon's hatred of the *dolus bonus* (little white lies told to

[138] Casaubon makes a self-conscious *praeteritio*, claiming that he will not meet each one of Plutarch's attacks, and instead dilates on the underlying cause of the attacks, namely Plutarch's excessive Hellenic patriotism, and his wounded Boeotian pride—the same rhetorical tactic Camerarius had used to defend Herodotus; cf. Casaubon (1601/2) 104^{v}–105^{r}, Camerarius (1541) 4^{v}. A similar approach had been taken by the Jesuit Antonio Possevino in his *Apparatus ad omnium gentium historiam* (Venice, 1597), described in Longo (2012) 15–17. Casaubon would, however, later defend the metaphysical views of Polybius against the reproaches of the *Suda* (in a manner that recalls many aspects of Estienne's defence of Herodotus' piety) in a 1609 dedicatory letter to Henri IV, reprinted in Janson (1709) 74–5.

[139] See the marginalia in Erasmus' copy of Manutius' 1516 Greek edition of the *Histories* (*ad* 1.91 = Erasmus [Brit. Lib. C.45.k.6] 19). On Erasmus' two copies of Herodotus see Wilson (2015) xxiv n. 57 (with bibliography).

[140] Further Grafton (2006) 206.

further Christianity),[141] his vociferous defence of Polybius' religious views against the criticisms of the Suda,[142] and his assiduous underlining of problematic theological elements in Herodotus for which Estienne had been unable to account, it may be that Casaubon's silence over Herodotus' religious views in his lectures reflects his inability to present Herodotus' theological views both honestly and positively in what is, otherwise, a mini *apologia* for the *pater historiae*.[143]

Conclusions

Taken as a whole the lectures, histories, advertisements, commentaries, and marginalia analysed in this article show that, during the sixteenth century, many readers engaged closely with Herodotus' ethical and theological content both on a personal and emotional level and on the level of rhetoric and pedagogy.

It is worth stressing that the differences between the approaches of Estienne and the Lutheran reformers are not the result of ignorance of one another's Herodotean endeavours, for these Protestant humanists read one another's works voraciously. Estienne had dedicated his edition of Pindar (1560) to Melanchthon, and in the dedicatory epistle Estienne basks in the reformer's 'paternal benevolence' towards him. Estienne's editions of Thucydides (1564) and Herodotus (1566) were dedicated to Joachim Camerarius and his Greek edition of Herodotus (1570) reprinted Camerarius' *Proœmium* to Herodotus. In

[141] Further Grafton and Weinberg (2011) 66 and n. 12.

[142] See his *Præfixa Commentariis in Polybium* (1600) in Janson (1709) 74–5, which recall Estienne's *Apologia pro Herodoto* to no small degree.

[143] The apologetic tone of the lecture notes is apparent from the start. Casaubon lauds the good taste of those who praise Herodotus (he lists Cicero, Quintilian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hermogenes, Longinus), then introduces Herodotus' detractors as envious of his glory ('non desuerunt qui tanto viro obstreperent & suam illi gloriam inuiderent') before listing and refuting their criticisms: (1601/2) 100^{r}. Casaubon, like Camerarius before him, names Plutarch explicitly, and announces that he will 'respond', (1601/2) 101^{r}.

1564 (in a dedication to Théodore Beza) Estienne described Camerarius and Melanchthon (who had died in 1560) as the 'twin luminaries of Germany in our age', and, in 1588, he printed an extract from Chytraeus' *Chronologia historiae Thucydidis* in his second edition of Thucydides.[144] Given that Melanchthon and Estienne were correspondents there is no reason to suppose that Estienne's familiarity with the works of the Lutheran reformers was one-sided—and indeed Camerarius dedicated his 1565 translation and commentary on selections of Thucydides to Estienne.

Yet, despite a close knowledge of one another's works, the interests and goals of these scholars differed greatly. The requirements of Melanchthonian historiography caused Lutheran humanists to simplify Herodotean narratives to fit a model of exemplary history reminiscent of that favoured by ancient authors like Plutarch (who far outstripped Herodotus in popularity in the sixteenth century).[145] It is, moreover, striking that Camerarius' defence of Herodotus in his *Proœmium* (1541) argues openly (against Plutarch) that the *Histories* was written according to the principles of exemplarity, while Melanchthon and his pupils write as if this point had never been in dispute. Estienne's reading of Herodotus' theology in the *Apologia* represents the first in a long line of works which would claim that Herodotus subscribed to a proto-Christian theology—a coherent belief in a just, all-powerful, providential divinity whose will was fate. Despite being the first substantial stone thrown in a debate that would last over three hundred years, the *Apologia* remains one of the most thorough and sophisticated examples, unsurpassed in several respects until the 20th century.[146]

[144] See Estienne (1560) 3–5; id. (1564) *ded. ep.*: 'geminorum Germaniae nostro seculo luminum'; id. (1588) ggg iiij^{r} – vi^{r}. The text of Estienne's prefaces and dedications can be found reprinted in Kecskeméti, Boudou, and Cazes (2003) 58–9; 104–5; 116; 593.

[145] See Burke (1966) 135–9, 142–3.

[146] Comparable attempts are, e.g., De Jongh (1832), Baehr (1830/5) *ad* 3.108, Meuss (1888). An explicitly Christian attempt to claim Herodotus as proof of the efficacy of natural theology is Schuler (1869).

The attempt of the Wittenberg theologians to read Herodotus' *Histories* in moral and exemplary terms has proved yet more enduring. Much scholarship on Herodotus written in the last century attempts, like Herodotus' Renaissance readers, to divide the characters of the *Histories* into positive and negative exemplars which are rewarded or punished by the gods according to their merits and deserts.[147] Scholars who propose one or another structuralist dichotomy as the hermeneutic key to the *Histories* place themselves under similar interpretative pressures to those experienced by Melanchthon and his successors, and they have inherited or independently alighted on many of the same tactics in order to deal with the textual difficulties.

But, as we have seen, Herodotus' text does not give the dogmatist an easy time. In a work as large and generically diverse as the *Histories*, such an approach necessarily involves drastic simplification—it denies the possibility of 'tragic' elements in the *Histories*, of characters who suffer arbitrarily, senselessly, or disproportionately, or of more troubling notions like divine hostility towards humanity. By watching Herodotus' early modern commentators attempt familiar exercises—like dismissing Herodotean complexities to present Croesus and Xerxes as wholly negative exemplars of bad kingship 'justly punished' for their expansionist mania—we gain a fresh perspective on the preoccupations, assumptions, and techniques of much more recent literary criticism.

The study of the rhetorical and didactic treatment of Herodotus in the Renaissance is, then, an exercise in hermeneutics as well as a significant chapter in the afterlife of the *pater historiae*. Observing Renaissance scholars appropriating Herodotus' text should encourage us to look more critically at the assumptions that underlie the way we, Herodotus' latest readers, approach the vast and complex work that stands at the beginning of the tradition of European historiography.

[147] In addition to recent literature discussed above (nn. 31 and 73) see, e.g., Van der Veen (1996). In recent years the structuralist tendencies of literary Herodotean scholarship have been challenged by, e.g., Pelling (1997); id. (2006); Baragwanath (2008).

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usus est dialecto: omnia in studiosorum utilitatem diligenter conscripta (Basel: Hervagius).

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