Latin Translations of Marcus Aurelius

In this paper I examine the Latin translations of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* by W. (Xylander) Holtzmann (1558-1568), Méric Casaubon (1643), and Thomas Gataker (1652), comparing the differences between their editions in order to investigate the reception of the Stoic notion φαντασία through their Latin translations and accompanying scholarly annotations. I argue that the careful and consistent use of specialized terminology in Xylander's translation of the *Meditations* clearly indicates that his primary source for Stoic terminology was Cicero (and not Seneca) and that he was concerned for the philosophical content even though his *annotationes* are primarily philological. Casaubon's translations, which are largely adopted *verbatim* from Xylander, betray the additional influence of Seneca at points of amendment and show a different division of (Latin) types of φαντασία. Gataker produced an independent translation that seems to foreshadow Enlightenment notions of cognition and imagination.

Xylander was a prolific translator of classical Greek texts into Latin, most notably Dio Cassius, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias. He also published the *editio princeps* of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* based on a now lost MS found by his friend Conrad Gessner (labelled **T** in the manuscript tradition). Xylander's accompanying Latin translation of the *Meditations* has been little studied, and even repudiated, although it was republished many times and likely forms the basis for the many translations of the *Meditations* into the vernacular in the 17th and 18th centuries. Indeed, Méric Casaubon's influential edition of the *Meditations* was almost entirely adopted from Xylander's 1568 edition, and his earlier translation into English (1634) was based on Xylander's work in both Greek and Latin. Thomas Gataker, who was working on his edition at the same time as Casaubon and with whom he corresponded about their common work, was

delayed in publishing his magisterial edition, translation, and commentary on the *Meditations* by the activity of the Westminster Assembly. His edition is the source for the modern divisions of the *Meditations*.

Certain aspects of the technical vocabulary of the Stoics have been well-studied - eg. *sunkatathesis* and *katalepsis* (Kerferd 2002; Imbert 2002) - and have clear and consistent analogues in our classical Latin sources - eg. *adsentire* and *comprehendere* - thanks largely, it seems, to Cicero (Levy 1992). These terms, then, provide a control group, as it were, against which to examine Xylander's consistency. Other key terms, such as *oikeiosis*, *koinonia*, and their cognates (Engberg-Petersen 1990; Klein 2016), because they receive so little discussion in technical contexts in classical Latin sources (Cic. *Fin*. 3.16ff is the main critical discussion in Latin of *oikeiosis*) but are of central importance to Stoicism, allow us to confirm classical source(s) and compare translations of the *Meditations* in order to assess consistency in Latin usage. For instance, at *Meditations* 5.10.1 the phrase τοῦ χαριεστάτου ἀνασχέσθαι is translated by Xylander *gratiosissimum perferre* but "corrected" by Casaubon to *commodissimum perferre*, using a Latin term usually associated in Stoic sources with the Gk. εὔχρηστος (e.g. *Chrysipp.Stoic.2.334*), and one far more "technically" Stoic in Latin than the Greek would suggest. But φαντασία, which for the Stoics is underscored by a complex psychology, has been less of a focus, even though there are clear Greek-Latin translations offered in classical Latin sources. The separate Latin translations of Xylander, Casaubon, and Gataker, show varied and distinct multipart understandings of this single, complex term.

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