

# Greek and Latin historians in the Renaissance Library of D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança

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## Abstract

This text has as analysis field the library of D. Teodósio I, 5<sup>th</sup> duke of Bragança, known only by a 16<sup>th</sup> century copy of his House's inventory made after his death in 1563. As it would be expected, Antique culture is deeply represented in this great aristocratic library in all fields of knowledge – Philosophy, Poetry, Astronomy, Medicine, Theology, Civil and Canon Law. We will focus our attention on History, the most important section after Theology and Law, underlining the presence of Greek and Latin books and authors, both in their original version and in translation into vernacular languages, an eloquent testimony of the reception of Ancient Culture in Renaissance's Portugal.

**Keywords:** D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança, aristocratic libraries, History, Greek and Latin historians.

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## Greek and Latin historians in the Renaissance Library of D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança<sup>1</sup>

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As a result of a study included in a research project by CHAM, directed by Jessica Hallett on the heritage of the House of the 5<sup>th</sup> duke of Bragança<sup>2</sup>, we have pointed out, in several meetings, colloquiums and publications<sup>3</sup>, the singularity and dimension of the dukes of Bragança's library, at the time D. Teodósio, deceased in 1563. Being physically missing, we know the contents of this library only through a 16<sup>th</sup> century copy of the inventory from the Ducal House's heritage.

In terms of dimension, it is the largest Portuguese library of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, by comparison with other European aristocratic and regal book collections of the time, a major book collection of the Renaissance. It included the main knowledge branches, as they were conceived and valued at the time: Theology, Canon and Law, religious and spiritual literature, profane literature, architecture, poetry and music, philosophy, geography and history, mathematics, astrology/astronomy and the military art and war. This library assembled, in a coherent and structured whole, many of the authors and the major works of Christianity and Church, the Greco-Latin cultural legacy, the contemporary cultural, artistic, political and religious major trends, but also some of its tensions, such as the religious controversy. It also included a short but culturally significant number of work in Hebrew language and of Arab authors, particularly among the works of medicine, astrology and mathematics.

Among ancient and modern authors, virtually all the great names and the fundamental works of each knowledge area – and therefore many of the great editing locations and editors of that time – were found to be represented in the extremely updated book collection of the House of Bragança in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This book collection was set and inscribed on traditions and legacies, both religious and legal-regulatory (Theology, Canon, Law), Greek and Roman culture (historians in Latin and in vernacular languages, philosophy, poetry, astrology & mathematics), and chronicles of various kingdoms and territories. As to the chronicles, three dominants are clear: the strong presence of ancient history, a keen interest on contemporary European history,

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<sup>3</sup> Buescu 2013, 2013 a), b), 2016.

and finally the non-European geographic and political territories, especially the Ottoman Empire and aspects of the European maritime expansion, namely Iberian.

This was also a library opened to the models of Humanism and Renaissance in its more diverse cultural and artistic expressions – literature, architecture, political discourse – of the spirituality currents, religious controversy and science, with a high percentage of contemporary authors, as well as many editions of classic, recent or very recent authors. But it was also an aristocratic library, where models and practices of the social group of nobility were shown in its multiple aspects: law and theological culture, the powers and models of the perfect prince, a memory of lineage and regal Portuguese chronicles, the art of the military and war, architecture, hunt, the fruition and pleasure of reading, of amorous and chivalrous fiction. This library also testifies the opening to late medieval and the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries spiritual currents, namely by the presence of authors and works associated to mystical spirituality, to the *Devotio Moderna* and even to Erasmus' doctrines. Ideologically, it was still a transition library, reflecting the contemporary tensions, hosting several and very recent works of religious controversy, despite the residual expression of Lutheranism in Portugal.

Due to its size and specificity of contents, it became clear that it was not only a reading library of the greatest aristocratic house in 16<sup>th</sup> century Portugal, or even a library at the service of latinists, humanists, theologians and men of science who attended or were at the service of the Bragança court in Vila Viçosa. The individual fruition and reading was not absent from the relationship of D. Teodósio with books, as we know by his intellectual interests, and is patent in a note by Caetano de Sousa: “Em quanto comia [D. Teodósio] mandava ler livros curiosos, e de lição proveitosa, em que tinha satisfação, e em a dar entretendo aos que o servião” [While he ate [D. Teodósio], he was read curious books, of fruitful lesson, in which he had satisfaction, and providing it to those who served him]<sup>4</sup>. During his meals the duke discussed often astronomical issues, which captivated him.

Books were a component of the duke's genuine affection and interest by the world of culture. D. Teodósio had enriched his cultural patrimony with paintings, sculptures, being interested by the material testimonies of Antiquity, collecting epigraphic monuments in Vila Viçosa<sup>5</sup>. In his book *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* (1593), André de Resende mentions some inscriptions to Endovelicus, which the duke had ordered to collect and insert in the frontispiece of the Saint Augustine convent<sup>6</sup>. In de duke's library, among the “Books of Sketches, Geometry & Architecture”, we find a “Libro que comthem as termas de Doclesinao [sic]” [Book containing the baths of Diocletian], another “Liuro meão de debuxos de medalhas e outras cousas” [Book on medal drawings and other things], as a “Liuro de debuxos de antigualhas de Roma” [Book of ancient drawings of Rome], or another that contemplated the “Antiguidades E casarias de Roma” [Antiques and houses from Rome]. Among the books of the Latin historians, there is a “Promtuarío de medalhas” [Handbook of medals], as well as an unidentified entry described as “Roma Monumenta” [Rome's Monuments].

<sup>4</sup> *HGCRP*, VI 1949, 52.

<sup>5</sup> Matos 1956, 25.

<sup>6</sup> Resende 2009, 356.

But, as we have stated, D. Teodósio's collection of books was not simply a "reading" library of a 16<sup>th</sup> century noble house. In fact, D. Teodósio granted his library a patrimonial dimension within a wider cultural action emphasised by Luís de Matos. Furthermore, his library was part of a cultural and political strategy of emulation of the House of Bragança with the Royal House. As pointed out by Tereza Amado, also for D. Teodósio "The Library, institutional space of Knowledge, material vehicle and support of the acknowledged and allowed Wisdom [...], reveals the awareness and usefulness that Powers find in it"<sup>7</sup>.

Something more was underlying this library, where Theology was present, with all its great names, from Saint Augustine to S. Bonaventure, St. Thomas Aquinas or Eusebius, "father" of the Church's history, as well as outstanding names of great currents of medieval and modern spirituality; all the great classics, from Herodotus to Virgil, from Plato to Aristotle, from Valerius Maximus to Pliny, from Ptolemy to Galen, Plutarch, Xenophon, Plautus, Sophocles, Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca and so many others; the greater names and works of the medieval and 16<sup>th</sup> century legal culture; humanists and authors such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Thomas Moore, Paolo Giovio. But also the chronicles: Portuguese, Castilian, Aragon, French, English, Burgundy, from several Italian cities, as well as from kingdoms and territories such as Poland, Hungary, Denmark or Greece; mathematics and ancient and modern books from leading names such as Euclid, Petrus Apianus, Regiomontanus, Oronce Finé, Pedro Nunes or Nicolaus Copernicus.

The solid intellectual background of D. Teodósio and his taste for literature and arts, in part inherited from his father D. Jaime, *doctissimus princeps*<sup>8</sup>, were unquestionable, and in his will the duke granted a patrimonial dimension to his library: «Deixo minha Livraria, e todos os livros, que tiver, ao Duque de Barcellos, meu filho, para que ande em Morgado, e não dará elle nem os seus successores da dita Livraria nenhuns livros, sem comprarem outros como elles, que metão na dita Livraria» [I leave my library, and all the books it has, to the Duke of Barcelos, my son, so that we goes in *Morgado*<sup>9</sup>, and he will not give him or his successors of the mentioned library, any books without buying others like them, that they put in the Library]<sup>10</sup>.

The duke had a specific purpose for his library: D. Teodósio has sought, near the Holy See, and has been granted papal permission for the institution of "huma Universidade de estudos geraes" [a University of general studies] in Vila Viçosa, which has been approved by a Pope Pius IV's letter in 1560. However, such a project has not been followed<sup>11</sup>. Around that same time, D. Teodósio has sponsored the foundation, in Bragança, in 1561, of the College of the Holy Name of Jesus, eighth institution of the Society of Jesus to be introduced in Portugal, whose classes have opened the following year<sup>12</sup>, and whose

<sup>7</sup> Amado 1998, 36.

<sup>8</sup> Appreciation of the humanist Cataldo Sículo, meaningful even excluding some rhetoric effects. Ramalho 2004, 50.

<sup>9</sup> That is, belonging to the duke's global estate.

<sup>10</sup> *HGCRP*, VI: 47. Full will in *PHGCRP* 1755, IV, 243-244 for the section in question.

<sup>11</sup> Purificação 1656. P. II, Book VI, Tit. VI, 197v-199.

<sup>12</sup> Osswald 2010, 261.

maintenance the duke had ordered his son in his will<sup>13</sup>. In 1559, the University of Évora was founded, sponsored by the cardinal and master inquisitor D. Henrique<sup>14</sup>, and in 1563 the duke died, frustrating his project of higher studies in Vila Viçosa, despite recommending his son, in the will, the prosecution of the project<sup>15</sup>. D. João, his successor, according part of the will's spirit, established two public classes of Grammar, Latin and Greek<sup>16</sup>. This document information allows us to place this library in another intellectual horizon, and to include it among the instruments of power and prestige of the House of Bragança, a goal of all major regal and aristocratic libraries of that time.

Ancient culture was profusely represented in all branches of knowledge – Philosophy, Poetry, Astronomy, Medicine, Architecture, Theology, Civil and Canon Law. In fact, we can say that this presence is transversal, given that we can find Greek and Latin authors and works of the more varied matters and knowledge in all its sections, whether in Latin or in its translation to vernacular languages, particularly Spanish and Italian, but also, although residually, French and German, and even in the smaller but significant sections of books in Greek and Hebrew.

We will focus our attention in History, the largest section following Theology and Law, stressing the presence of Greek and Latin authors and books, an eloquent testimony of the Ancient culture's reception in Renaissance Portugal. That unquestionable supremacy, also quantitative, of Theology, Law (Law/Canon) and History in the represented set of knowledge, is patent in the table and graphics presents below:

<b>Number of books in each section</b>	
<b>Theology</b>	<b>447</b>
<b>Medicine</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Canon</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Law</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>Philosophy</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Drawings, Geometry &amp; Architecture</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Greek</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Hebrew</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Oratory and Grammar</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>Historians in Latin</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>Poetry</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Astrology &amp; Mathematics</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Italian Books</b>	<b>58</b>

<sup>13</sup> *PHGCRP*, IV, 1755, 239-240.

<sup>14</sup> Teles 1647, Part II, book V, chap. XVII.

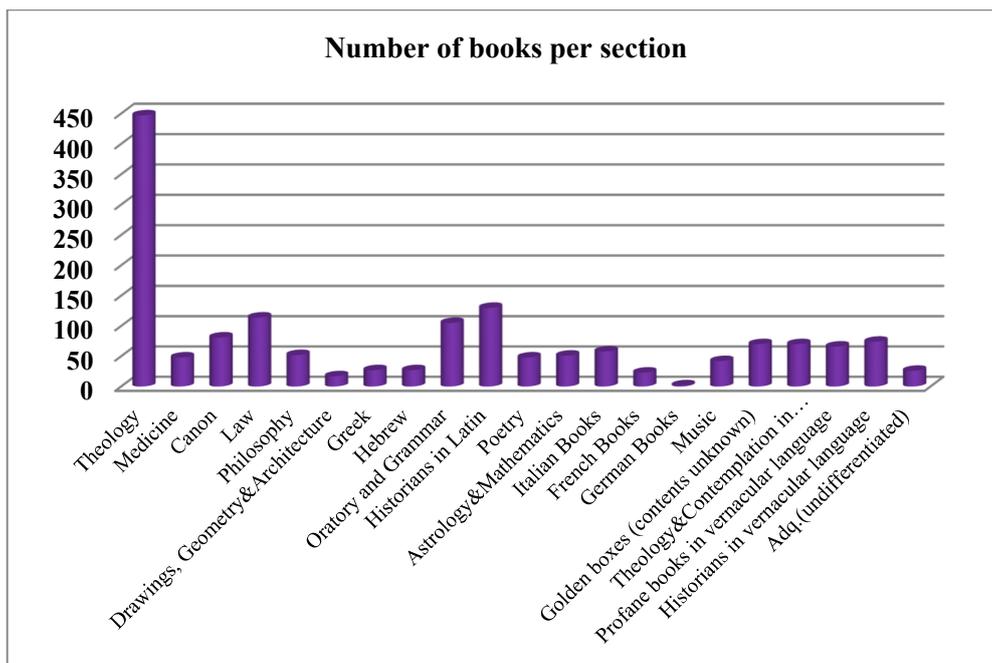
<sup>15</sup> *HGCRP*, VI, cap XI, 54.

<sup>16</sup> Teixeira 1983, 42. In his will, D. Teodósio ordered “muito a meu filho, que queira dar ao Mosteiro de Santo Agostinho de Villa Viçosa a Chancelaria da casa como eu lha dou pera se acabar o Collegio, e que tenha muita conta com ir adiante, e des que forem feitos os Gerais, pessa [sic] aos Padres que ponhão Mestres para ler artes” [much to my son, who is willing to provide to the Monastery of St. Augustine of Villa Viçosa the ministry of the house as I do in order to finish the College, and keep in mind to move forward, since the generals have been made, asks to the priests to put masters to read arts]. *PHGCRP*, IV, 239.

French books	23
German books	2
Music	42
Golden boxes (contents unkown)	70
Theology & contemplation in vernacular language	70
Profane books in vernacular language	66
Historians in vernacular language	74
Adq.[undifferentiated]	26
	<b>1575*</b>
*adding those which are outside the library (Chapel)	82
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1657</b>

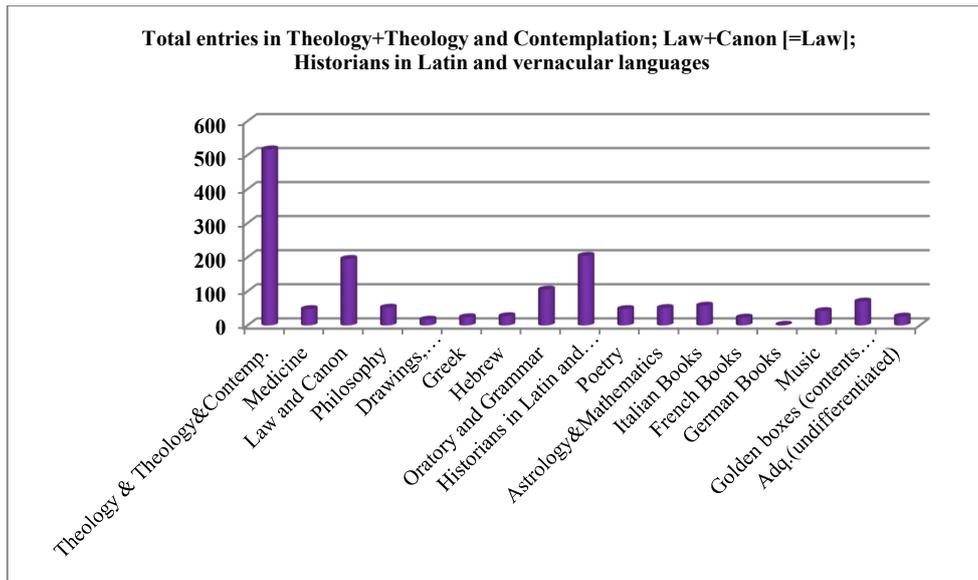
Table 1

The same data in graphic:



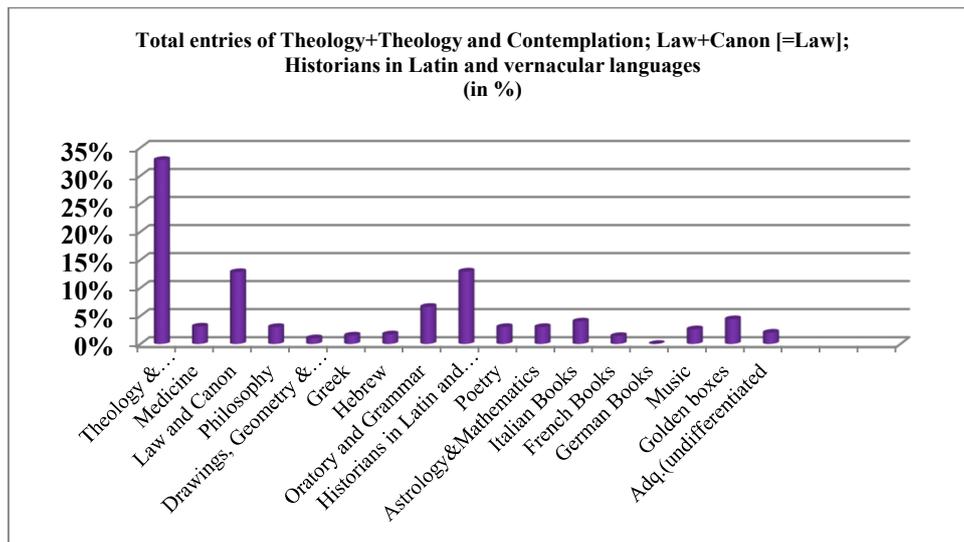
Graphic 1

If we group the total of the entries in the sections of Theology and Theology and Contemplation; Law and Canon, and Historians in Latin and Historians in [vernacular] Language, that supremacy is more differentiated:



Graphic 2

Below a graphic with the same values in percentage:



Graphic 3

The addition of the 74 entries regarding “*Historians in [vernacular] language*” to the section of “*Historians in Latin*”, with its 130 entries (8.25%), the works of history amount to 204, corresponding to 12.96% of the total content of the ducal library. There was still a substantial number of works of historic and chronicle nature, in Latin and vernacular language, in other sections, still adding to this quantitative dimension.

The place of history in the ducal library reflects one of the more persistent traces of aristocratic culture since the Middle Ages, and renewed in the Renaissance: a preference for the memory and for the *true* example conveyed by the chronicles, which example should be privileged by the princes. In the dedication to Phillip of Asturias, offering him the Spanish translation of the works by Xenophon, in 1552, Diego Gracián concluded: “De la qual [historia] assi como de oraculo se pueden tomar los auisos necesarios para la gouernacion: pues la historia sola contiene la memoria de los buenos hechos, dichos, y consejos: y amonesta a los Principes lo que deuen de hazer mas que ningunas otras pinturas, o imagines de los antepassados” [of which [history], as an Oracle, can be taken the necessary warnings for governing: because history itself contains the memory of good accomplishments, sayings and advise: and warns the Princes on what they should do more than any other paintings or images from their ancestors]<sup>17</sup>.

In Antiquity, biography kept a narrow relation - although not absolute - with history. In the words preceding Alexandre’s life, Plutarch wrote and substantiated his intention: “it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives<sup>18</sup>. From Thucydides (†395 bC) onwards – rediscovered by humanism of the *Quattrocento*, translated from the Greek, edited and offered by Lorenzo Valla to the pope Nicholas V (†1457)<sup>19</sup> – history claimed the possibility of writing a true, or deemed truthful, narrative on the past. Historian/biographers, on their hand, were committed mostly to building narratives on real characters in their historical context, but that would also transmit life lessons. This way, ancient biographies would cross and interconnect with history, but based on the statement by Cicero in *De Oratore* (II, 36): “history, master of life”. The past should be projected onto the future, providing positive and negative examples of action and conduct that should be duplicated, emulated or, on the contrary, rebutted. In an equally famous formulation, Plutarch explained the reasons why he designed, compiled and presented the lives of great Greek and Roman men: “It happened to me to have initiated the composition of these biographies due to the instigation of others but, if I keep this task, I do it in my own interest; it is if history [of great men] was a mirror where I seek, somehow, to ordain and conform my life to the image of their virtues”<sup>20</sup>. In this statement by Plutarch, it is not difficult to understand the moral and formative sense granted to the mirror image chosen by him: history was, truly, *magistra vitae*.

Although taking different formulations, this notion of history has been one of the major intellectual legacies in the knowledge of the past and of the role and function of history in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. In its core, history had a teaching and moral function, through exemplary memories and their normative effect – not excluding the remembrance of tyrants and bad princes’ actions. The *exemplum* has full part of history

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<sup>17</sup> Gracián, 1552. We have read the copy in BNP, Res. 563 V.

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, 1. 2, 225.

<sup>19</sup> It was this bibliophile and founder of the Vatican library pope, who has financed this, as well as many other translations and editions of classical works. Grafton 1997, 11-12. Still according to Grafton, Coluccio Salutati († 1406) has known the I Book of Sículo’s work, especially translated by Leonardo Bruni († 1444) for his mythological researches but has not had access to Thucydides’ work. There is a joint edition of Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus in the library’s inventory.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Leão. 2012, 13.

and its acting power, whether to glorify models to be followed and emulated, whether to evidence tyrannies, malpractices and rulers' vices, which the good prince, good military and good ruler, must know in order to avoid them. The tradition of sayings, adages and sentences which, coming from Ancient rhetoric, was cultivated during medieval times and the Renaissance, and equally expressed that dimension of example, confining the old collections of the *chreiai* with the biography genre, with a correlated expression in the old library funds<sup>21</sup>.

Being possible to remember numerous examples, we hereby recall two of them, due to considering them expressive of this power of history, although in different ways. The short and simple “*Prollego*” from the *Crónica do Condestabre*, edited in 1526 sponsored by D. Jaime de Bragança, stated: “Antigamente foy custume fazerê memoria das cousas que se faziam: assy erradas como dos valentes & nobres feitos: dos erros porq[ue] se delles soubessê guardar. E dos valentes & nobres feytos aos boõs fezessem cobiça auer peras [sic] semelhâtes cousas fazerem [...]” [In the old days it was customary to remember the things that were made: both the wrong and of the valiant & noble deeds: of the mistakes to avoid them. And of the valiant & noble deeds by the good so that other could covet to do such things]<sup>22</sup>.

In 1560, painter Hubert Goltzius (+1583) published in Antwerp a monumental work dedicated to Phillip II, *Los Vivos Retratos de todos los Emperadores desde Iulio Cesar hasta el Emperador Carlos V y Don Fernando su hermano....* Due to the convergence of the power of verb and of the history lesson, but also through the “presentification” of the great emperors since Antiquity through the portraits collected in coins and other formats and present like their true effigies, it was about solemnizing the role of history, of the past and of the example of the great emperors of the past, uniting Antiquity and the present in a continuous time. Each portrait of each emperor, occupying a whole page in a round shape, like if it was a medal/coin, was topped by a sentence/emblem, and underneath with a brief chronological indication of their kingdom. In the back of the previous page, there was a short biography of each ruler.

Thus, we can understand the value conferred to history by European culture and, in its core, by aristocratic culture, which showed a preference for memory and for the example conveyed by the historic and chronicle narrative, by the lives of great men and their achievements, and the most important episodes in the continuous time flow. Like most of his peers, Guillaume Budé, humanist and librarian of Francis I of France, considered that history was essential to political success. “Prudence” – he wrote – “comes mostly from experience and from the observation of past examples as registered by history”<sup>23</sup>.

Nadine Kuperty-Tsur notes how the broader knowledge of the great heroes of Antiquity represented a secular alternative to the reports of Christian and redemptive sacrifice of the lives of saints and hagiographies which, continuing to be a much disclosed reading, had now found “competition”<sup>24</sup>. “Par le biais de la traduction, les nobles découvrent des

<sup>21</sup> Pereira 2004, 66.

<sup>22</sup> *Coronica do Condestabre* 1526, II. We have read the copy in BNP with the reference Res. 26 A.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted by Knecht 2008, 203.

<sup>24</sup> Nadine Kuperty-Tsur 2001, 67-68.

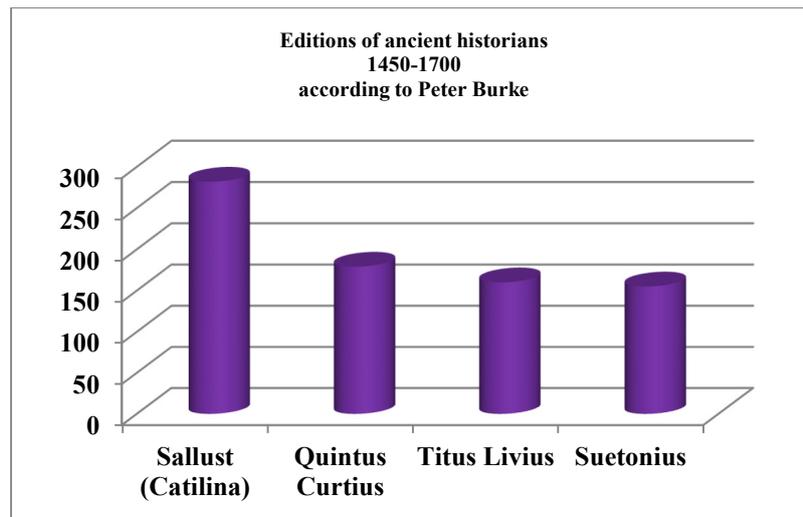
textes susceptibles de leur servir de modèles et qui connaissent un immense succès à la Renaissance. D'une certaine façon, les images des héros grecs ou des généraux romains, libres et dignes, proposent une alternative à la conception chrétienne de l'homme, pécheur dès sa naissance et infiniment misérable devant Dieu. Aux récits des sacrifices et des souffrances salvatrices des hagiographies médiévales, sont préférés les Vies parallèles de Plutarque, la Vie des empereurs de Suétone, les Histoires de Tacite, les Commentaires de César [...]» [Through translation, the nobles have discovered the texts that can serve them as models and that have an immense success in the Renaissance. In a certain manner, the images of Greek heroes or Roman generals, free and worthy, present an alternative to the Christian conception of Man, sinner from birth and endlessly miserable before God. To the tales of sacrifices and saving suffering of the medieval hagiographies, they prefer the Parallel Lives of Plutarch, the Life of Emperor Suetonius, the Stories of Tacitus, the Commentaries by Cesar].

The superiority of ancient history and of chronicles over novel literature and chivalric romance, very popular then, resided in the fact that they transmitted really happening facts, worthy of memory and polarizers of example, while chivalry books brought deception, illusion and deceit. Gracián, translator of the *Moralia*, established the confrontation between "[...] estos libros fingidos de cauallerias y patrañas fingidas [...]" [these false books of cavalries and false "tricks"], and the example, not only likely but true, of the stories conveyed by Plutarch. At the end of a long diatribe (fols. 8-9), Gracián concluded, addressing the emperor Charles V, to whom he dedicated the work: "Assi que en lugar de Tristanes/Reynaldos florisandos/primaleones Palmerines y Duardos y otros cien mil tales que hinchén los papeles de mentiras donde muchas personas muy amenudo gastan sus buenas horas por medio desta traslacion tomaran vn passatiempo no menos prouechoso que deleytable y honesto los que quisieren gozarlo en conoser quiê fueron Emperadores/Reyes/Principes/y efforçados capitanes y otros varones y mugeres illustres dignos de memoria [...]" [Thus, instead of Tristan/Reynald Florisand/Primaleon Palmerin and Dudardos and other one hundred thousand as such who fill the papers with lies where many people very often spend many hours, through this translation, they have taken a no less fruitful hobby than delectable and honest those who wished to know who have been Emperors/Kings/Princes and dedicated captains and other illustrious men and women worthy of memory]<sup>25</sup>.

In the confluence of the exemplar value of history and the consecration of classic culture during Renaissance, the section of historians in Latin from the ducal library included a large number of Greco-Latin Antiquity historians, whose European dissemination has been enhanced by humanist typography. Cesar, Titus Livius, Sallust, Quintus Curtius and Suetonius are among the most read historians, with a large number of editions, between the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century and late 17<sup>th</sup> century. For the considered period<sup>26</sup>, Peter Burke accounts 155 editions of Suetonius, 160 of Titus Livius, 179 of Quintus Curtius or 282 of the *Catilina* by Sallust.

<sup>25</sup> Consulted edition: *Morales de Plutarco traduzidos de lengua griega en castellana* 1548, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Burke 1992, 171.



Graphic 4

The library of duke D. Teodósio showed this central importance of ancient history and this “simmer” in its editorial circulation. It is the case of Titus Livius († 17), of whose work *Ab Urbe Condita* we find, only in this section, two entries, apart from a joint edition with Justin, Roman historian (3<sup>rd</sup> century)<sup>27</sup>. Plutarch († c. 120) is another of the represented names, through *Vitae Parallelae*, with great fortune since the Renaissance<sup>28</sup>. It was the humanist movement of the *Quattrocento* that has initiated his works’ restitution process<sup>29</sup>, namely the *Moralia* and *Vitae Parallelae*, the latter comprehending a series of biographies from princes and illustrious men in Antiquity such as Pericles, Artaxerxes, Solon, Pyrrhus, Alexander, Julius Cesar, Alcibiades, Themistocles, Lyncurgus or Cicero, whose fortune was based mostly in the fact of supplying finished models of the heroic ideal, stressing the figures of Alexandre – paradigm of the heroes already in the Middle Ages<sup>30</sup> - and Julius Cesar.

Fully or partially, the *Vitae* by Plutarch were the subject of a wider editorial movement, in Latin, Greek and vernacular language, being one of the main repository of *exempla* of political literature in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>31</sup>, and a fundamental presence in aristocratic pedagogy. Humanist and bishop Jacques Amyot, French translator of the *Moralia*, in the dedication of his translation of the *Vitae* (1559) addressed to his two pupils, the future Charles IX (1562-1574) and Henry III (1574-1589) of France, claimed Plutarch was [...] l’auteur le plus idoine et plus propre à vostre estat, pour vous proposer à

<sup>27</sup> It is a joint edition of *Décadas*, or part of *Décadas* by Titus Livius, and the *Epitome* de Justin, a well disseminated summary during the Middle Ages of the *Historiae Phillipicae et Totius Mundi Origines et Terrae Situs*, by Pompeius Trogus, written in Cesar Augustus’ time.

<sup>28</sup> *Princeps* Latin ed. of *Vitae*: Rome, 1470. There was also a Greek edition of this work in the ducal library.

<sup>29</sup> Aulotte 1965: 21-38. V. The inventory of the Greek manuscripts by Plutarch existing in Italy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Bolgar 1977: 485-487, and the list of translations for the common languages during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, 520-521.

<sup>30</sup> Cary 1956.

<sup>31</sup> Aulotte 1965, 21-130; Bolgar 1977, 520-523.

lire quand vous seriez venu en âge d'y pouvoir prendre quelque goust" [the most idoneous and proper author to your condition, to propose you to read, when you've come to that age and when you enjoy its reading]<sup>32</sup>.

The works of Plutarch were known and read in Portugal in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In D. Manuel's wardrobe inventory there is a reference to "Dous livros da Vyda de Putraco [sic]" [two books on the life of Plutarch]<sup>33</sup>; amongst D. Catarina's books it is mentioned the *Vidas*<sup>34</sup> and, in the inventory of the books received from Castille in 1534, the "Apoetamata Plutarquy, cubiertas de cuero aleonado en papel, con sus fytas y dorados" [Apoetamata Plutarch, covered in fulvous leather in paper, with its straps and golden decorations], most certainly the Spanish translation by Diego Gracián, published in the previous year<sup>35</sup>. Also among D. Duarte's († 1543) books, bastard son of D. João III, there were the *Vidas* by Plutarch<sup>36</sup>. In D. Teodósio's library there were seven entries regarding works of Plutarch, making him in one of the more represented ancient authors in the ducal library, in accord with his fortune in the European culture during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Another Greek author recovered by Renaissance was Xenophon († 355 bC). The *Cyropaedia* (c. 378-362 bC), considered the most perfect model of prince since Antiquity, after a long period of obscurity, has gained a wide circulation with the translation of the original Greek into Latin by Poggio († 1447). In 1470, Vasco de Lucena, a Portuguese humanist at the service of the court of Burgundy, translated it into French, based on Poggio's version, dedicating it to Charles *the Bold*, son of Isabel of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy<sup>37</sup>. The translations multiplied, throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, into English, French, German, Italian and Spanish<sup>38</sup>. To the request of D. João III, the humanist Diogo de Teive († c. 1566) has translated the *Cyropaedia* directly from the Greek, a version which has been lost<sup>39</sup>. Also the bastard son of D. João III, D. Duarte, has had two books of Xenophon, surely *Cyropaedia*, one in Latin and another in the original Greek version.

This work existed in the duke's library in a manuscript copy, as well as Xenophon's *Opera* in two copies in this section, and also the Spanish translation by Diego Gracián, dedicated to prince Phillip of Asturias, in the section of the historians in vernacular languages. In the library there were still many other central authors of history, as well as ancient geography, with influence in Renaissance culture as it is the case of Tacitus, who had not been fully unknown during medieval times but, as many other authors, has gained

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted by Adler 1957, 132. V. the presence of Plutarch in the conception of *Livre de l'Institution du Prince* (c. 1519, published in 1547), by Guillaume Budé, dedicated to Francis I, or in the set of the advised readings by Filipe de la Torre to young Phillip II in *Institución de un Rey Christiano* (1556), chap. IV, ed. Truman 1979, 26-30.

<sup>33</sup> "Inventario" 1904, 411.

<sup>34</sup> "A Livraria real" 1902, 30-31.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, nº50, 35.

<sup>36</sup> "[21] Item plutharchus de uitis uirorum Jlustrem". *Ibidem*, doc. V: 104. On the presence of Plutarch in Portugal, v. Soares 2011, 11-49.

<sup>37</sup> Gallet-Guerne 1974.

<sup>38</sup> Bolgar 1977, 524-525.

<sup>39</sup> Machado 1965, 703. The *Cyropaedia* seems to have been translated into Portuguese at least four times, being the oldest one the translation by Teive. Prieto 1984, 775.

prominence during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It was the publication, around 1470 in Venice, of the *princeps* edition of his works and of the first edition of the *Annales* in 1515, then recently rediscovered, which have made the fortune and influence of this historian and of his political thought in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe, with multiple translations and editions. But also Sallust, Suetonius, Julius Cesar, Ptolemy<sup>40</sup>, Pomponius Mela<sup>41</sup>, Quintus Curtius<sup>42</sup>, Cornelius Nepos<sup>43</sup>, Eutropius<sup>44</sup>, some of them still present in other sections, and even lesser known authors, such as Hegesippus<sup>45</sup>, Aelianus<sup>46</sup>, Arian<sup>47</sup>, Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>48</sup>, composing a set we repute of extraordinarily relevant.

In the case of Suetonius, the other great biographer of Antiquity after Plutarch, his most famous work, *De Vita XII Caesarum*, existed in four copies in D. Teodósio's library. The work consisted in the biographies of Roman rulers, from Julius Cesar to Domitian, both as conduct models, as is emperor Titus, and as negative examples by reprehensible actions or vices, such as Nero and Caligula, among others. In summary, the writing of the "lives" in Antiquity has mostly a moral and exemplary goal, in the sense of offering to the men of the present a set of actions to reproduce or rebut. Without achieving the extraordinary popularity and impact of Plutarch, *The Twelve Cesars* by Suetonius, well known since the high Middle Ages<sup>49</sup>, had around 18 printed editions until 1500, reaching 100 during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The characteristics of this collective biography of the first rulers of the Empire answered to the Renaissance taste for the heroes' models, but also by the lives, in a conception

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<sup>40</sup> Claudius Ptolemy († 168), Greek astronomer, mathematician and cosmographer. It is *Geografia*, whose *princeps* edition, without the maps, is from 1475. During Renaissance, this knowledge kept a narrow bond with history; therefore it is not unusual to be in this section, as it is the case of many works present.

<sup>41</sup> The *De Situ Orbis* by Pomponius Mela († c. 43-50) has been one of the main sources of geographic knowledge for centuries. Another entry in the inventory, "de commento", with commentaries.

<sup>42</sup> In two copies. Although the inventory's entry does not mention the title, it is his single work that survived, *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, biography of Alexandre, *the Great*, in ten books. The first two have been lost and the remaining eight are incomplete.

<sup>43</sup> Cornelius Nepos († c. 25 bC), Roman biographer. *Vitae Excellentium Imperatorum*. Author of an extensive work, this has been the one that survived, having a wide circulation.

<sup>44</sup> Flavius Eutropius (4<sup>th</sup> century), Roman historian. *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*. It is a ten-book compendium on the history of Rome since the Foundation, partly based on Titus Livius. Continued by Paulus Diaconus under the emperor Justinian. Another copy in the ducal library.

<sup>45</sup> Hegesippus (2<sup>nd</sup> century) has been the author of *Historiographi Fidelissimi Ac Disertissimi et inter Christianos Antiquissimi Historia De Bello Iudaico. Seeptri Sublatione. Iudaeorum Dispersione [...]*.

<sup>46</sup> Claudius Aelianus († c. 235), author and rhetoric professor, with deep expertise in Greek language. The *Varia Historia (Ποικίλη Ἱστορία)* is a mix of anecdotes and small biographies of authors, heroes and famous athletes of Antiquity. Ed. *princeps* 1545, only Latin 1548.

<sup>47</sup> Lucius Flavius Arrianus († 160), or Arriano f Nicomedia, Roman historian of Greek origin, *Anabasis Alexandri [=De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni]*. It is his main work, deemed one of the more important sources of Alexandre's campaigns.

<sup>48</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus († a. 391), Roman historian. The work is entitled *Res Gestae*, and it covers the history of Rome from 96 to 378, the penultimate great historical account of that time (the last by Procopius). The inventory only registers the name of the author.

<sup>49</sup> In the eulogy he wrote about Charles Magne († 814), Einhard had been inspired very closely by *Vidas* by Suetonius. Henri-Jean Martin and Bruno Delmas (colab.) 1996, 129.

which emphasizes, apart from the power and military and legislative activity, other aspects such as physical appearance, faults and virtues, vices and tastes within the Roman social life, rendering those great men closer and more real, in summary, more human for those who read them during Renaissance. Suetonius highlighted, for example, the food habits of the several emperors, mentioning that Tiberius preferred Chios wine, Augustus, who drank little, preferred the wines from Falerno; he also detailed curiosities about the imperial banquets, relating how Caligula drank pearls of inestimable value dissolved in vinegar and Vitellius offered his guests a majestic plate including salmon livers, pheasant and peacock brains, flamingo tongues and lamprey eggs. Other biographers from Antiquity, leaving sometimes unique and precious materials for the knowledge of ancient history and culture, were still present in this section of the library, such as the Greek Diogenes Laërtius (3<sup>rd</sup> century) with his *Vitae et Sententiae*, the most complete collection of biographies of ancient Greek philosophers, a fundamental contribution for philosophy's history until the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>50</sup>.

Besides the Greco-Latin historiography/geography, D. Teodósio's library was much up-to-date regarding contemporary historians. Despite the ongoing process, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, of valuing vernacular languages, Latin was still the quintessential conveying language in the European circulation of learned culture. Therefore, we find in this section many authors from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries whose works, whether due to being humanist authors who preferably or exclusively wrote in Latin, whether aiming to reach a larger circulation, have been published in Latin. Besides this contemporary chronicles published in Latin, topic we will not develop here, the library also displayed a large number of editions of Latin and Greek historic works translated into vernacular language. The case of Titus Livius is paradigmatic, although Plutarch, Xenophon, Julius Cesar or even others may be raised. Apart from Latin editions of *Decades*, the library also encompassed an Italian and a Spanish edition of its work, as well as "hûa parte de Titu Liuo de Letra de mão" [handwritten part of Titus Livius], partial manuscript copy of an Italian translation of *Decades*.

Finally, let us note that the section of the historians in Latin makes clear how, during the Renaissance, the bond between geography and history was very narrow<sup>51</sup>; a dimension apparent in several authors and works, like the Greek geographer and historian Strabo († c. 24) and his *De Situ Orbis*, Solinus and Pomponius Mela<sup>52</sup>, Pliny *The Elder* († 79) and

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<sup>50</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> printed edition has been the Latin, with the indicated title, in Rome, 1472. The library contained perhaps a later edition. The 1<sup>st</sup> full edition in the Greek original is the one from Basel: Froben, 1533.

<sup>51</sup> Issue mentioned and contextualized by Isabelle Pantin (ENS, Paris) in the communication delivered in the international workshop *Bibliotecas e Livro Científico (séculos XV-XVIII). Objectos, espaços e ideias*, Centro IUHCT, January 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> 2011, Lisbon, FCUL-BNP, org. Luana Giurgevich, Teresa Nobre de Carvalho and Henrique Leitão.

<sup>52</sup> Caius Julius Solino (3<sup>rd</sup> century) and Pompónio Mela († c. 43-50) Latin geographer, *Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistor, Rerum toto Orbe memorabilium Thesaurus locupletissimus. Huic ob Argumenti Similitudinem Pomponii Melae De Situ Orbis Libros Tres*, [...], "de comento". The *De Situ Orbis* by Mela has been one of the main sources of knowledge in geography for centuries.

the *Naturalis Historia*<sup>53</sup>, the *Geography* by Ptolemy († c. 168)<sup>54</sup>. We will signal still that two of the possible four copies<sup>55</sup> existing in the ducal library of *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (= *De Re Militaris*) by Publius Flavius Vegetius (4<sup>th</sup> century), the most important treaty on military organization and strategy of Antiquity, are found in this section. This influential work, of which there are more than 200 manuscripts in European libraries, had a *princeps* edition in Utrecht, in 1473, and there is the doubt around a possible translation into Portuguese by infante D. Pedro<sup>56</sup>.

Below there is a table with the names of all the Latin historians, which we were able to identify, by alphabetical order – only in the respective section, being that, as we have mentioned, there are other entries in other sections of the library's inventory concerning historians of Antiquity.

GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORIANS IDENTIFIED IN THE SECTION OF HISTORIANS IN LATIN		
Inventory order number	Name	N° of entries
4388	Ammianus Marcellinus	1
4317	Gaius Linius Secundus	1
4361	Carolus Sigonius	1
4313	Claudius Aelianus	1
4360	Cornelius Nepos	1
4373	Diogenes Laërtius	1
4348	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	1
4270; 4391	Strabo	2
4271	Eusebius of Caesarea	1
4319; 4364	Eutropius	2
4306; 4327	Flavio Biondo	2
4278	Flacius Philostratus	1
4337; 4370	Flacius Josephus	2
4392	Hegesippus	1
4279	Heliodorus	1
4349	Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus	1
4273	Julius Cesar and Plutarch	1
4372	Lucius Florus and Polybius	1

<sup>53</sup> Gaius Plinius Secundus, known also as Pliny, *the Elder*, Roman naturalist. It is his encyclopaedic work, written c. 77-79, in which Pliny collected a lot of the knowledge of his time and has become the model for the genre. Another copy in the Philosophy section.

<sup>54</sup> The *princeps* edition, without the maps, is from 1475, being certain that in D. Teodósio's library there was a later and complete edition.

<sup>55</sup> The *De Re Militari* by Vegetius is confirmed for two entries. There may be another copy in a joint volume with another work, in the language historians' section, but we cannot confirm it, as it happens with entry n° 5002, given the author is not identified. Let us recall that engineer Roberto Valturio has been an author of a treaty in *De Re Militari*, with *princeps* edition in 1472, a book which is also present in the library among the Latin historians; therefore we could not confirm Vegetius as the author of the works in the entries n°s 4925 and 5002.

<sup>56</sup> There was another copy among the oratory and grammar books, and a version in vernacular language, in a volume with a work on the conquest of Rodes among the historians in vernacular language. There is a bilingual Latin/Portuguese edition with the title *Vegécio. Compêndio da Arte Militar*, translation by João Gouveia Monteiro and José Eduardo Braga, Introductory study, commentary and remarks by João Gouveia Monteiro, Foreword by Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira, Coimbra: 2009. On Vegetius in Portugal, s. 133-147, based on a study by Peter Russal published in 2001, Gouveia Monteiro believes that Infante D. Pedro has, in fact, translated this work into Portuguese.

4383	Lucius Flavius Arrianus	1
4352; 4382; 4389	Marcus Junianus	3
4269	Plutarch	1
4307	Polydorus	1
4374; 4392; 4394	Pomponius Mella	3
4396	Ptolemy	1
4371; 4284	Quintus Curtius	2
4291	Sallust	1
4272	Sallust and Suetonius	1
4311	Solinus and Pomponius Mela	1
4281; 4283; 4387	Suetonius	3
4346; 4350	Tacitus	2
4267; 4367; 4369	Titus Livius	3
4343	Titus Livius and Justin	1
4300; 4355	Vegetius	2
4325; 4329; 4336	Xenophon	3

Table 2

As mentioned above, there is still to be considered the presence of ancient history in other sections of the library, with an emphasis to the historians in vernacular language. The vast majority of those versions are translations into Spanish. Here we can find names and works such as Plutarch and the *Vidas*<sup>57</sup>, the *Catão* by Cicero<sup>58</sup>, Appian of Alexandria and the *Triunfos*<sup>59</sup>, the *Obras* by Xenophon, Valerius Maximus and the *Hechos y Dichos Memorables*<sup>60</sup>, Titus Livius “with images”<sup>61</sup>, Quintus Curtius and the *Historia de Alexandre Magno*<sup>62</sup>, Flavius Josephus *De la Guerra Judaica*<sup>63</sup>, *Los Comentarios de Julius Cesar*<sup>64</sup>. Also Plautus, considered to be the greatest comedigrapher of ancient

<sup>57</sup> The *princeps* edition of the Spanish edition has the title *Translation de las Vidas... de Latin em Romance por Alfonso de Palencia*, Seville, 1491, to which many translations have followed.

<sup>58</sup> *Livro de Marco Tvllio Ciçeram chamado Catam Maior ou da Velhiçe, dedicado a Tito Põponio Attico*. Might have been the 1538 edition, Venice, with a translation by Damião de Góis. Reedited with presentation by João Alves Dias 2002.

<sup>59</sup> Published in Valencia, 1522. There is also, with different titles but identical subject, *História de las Guerra que uvo entre los Romanos*, Alcalá, 1536.

<sup>60</sup> Publius Valerius Maximus (1<sup>st</sup> century bC -1<sup>st</sup> century aD), Roman writer. The *Factorum Dictorum Memorabilium* written in 31 AD is the oldest compilation of *exempla* that has come to us since Antiquity. The first Spanish translation is from Antoni Canals, in 1395. Between 1416 and 1427 Juan Alfonso de Zamora, secretary of Juan II of Castile, has made a new translation, whose *princeps* edition is from Zaragoza, 1495.

<sup>61</sup> We have not identified the Spanish “depicted” translation of *Décadas*.

<sup>62</sup> *Historia de Alexandre Magno// De los hechos del Magno Alexandre Rey de Macedonia*. The *princeps* is the one from Seville, Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polonio, 1496; a 2<sup>nd</sup>, Seville, 1534.

<sup>63</sup> *De Antiquitatibus ac de Bello Judaico/De la Guerra Judaica*. The 1<sup>st</sup> Latin printed edition is from 1470; despite the title appearing in Latin, it is the Spanish translation which is present. The Spanish *princeps* translation is from 1492, by Alonso de Palencia. Flavius Josephus is much represented in the library: a manuscript copy, maybe in Spanish, although safeguarding the hypothesis of being in Portuguese, with the indication “not assessed due to being in the list of restricted book ”; it is also included in the Latin books, *De Antiquitatibus ac de Bello Judaico*, and another in Italian.

<sup>64</sup> *Los Comentarios de Cayo Julio Cesar* by Diego López de Toledo. The *princeps* edition of the Spanish translation is from Toledo, 1498.

Rome, is present among the historians in vernacular language, with the *Comédia chamada Soldado Glorioso*<sup>65</sup>.

Below there is a table with the names of Greek and Latin historians in vernacular languages, which we were able to identify, by alphabetical order.

IDENTIFIED GREEK AND LATIN HISTORIANS IN VERNACULAR LANGUAGES		
Inventory order number	Name	N° of entries
4910;4914	Appian of Alexandria	2
4931; 4941	Flavius Josephus	2
4945	Julius Cesar	1
4971	Marcus Tullius Cicero	1
4972	Plautus	1
4928	Pliny	1
4907	Plutarch	1
4947	Polydor Vergil	1
4930	Quintus Curtius	1
4968	Sextus Julius Frontinus	1
4915	Titus Livius	1
4913	Valerius Maximus	1
4912	Xenophon	1

Table 3

Among the Greek books we find some historians. Apart from two entries regarding Plato, one of them the complete works with commentary<sup>66</sup> or the comedies by Aristophanes († c. 385 bC), we will stress a bilingual Greek/Latin edition of the Greek geographer and historian Polybius († 120 bC), Plutarch and the *Vitae*, also in a Latin edition in the library, as we have seen, Aesop († 560 bC), alongside with other authors, Homer's the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Euripides († 406 bC) or Lucian of Samosata († c. 181); and in an undifferentiated section of the library we again find Herodotus († c. 420 bC), Appian of Alexandria (90 -† ?) with two works, Flavius Josephus († c. 100), Herodian († 252), Justin (3<sup>rd</sup> century), or the geographer Pomponius Melia († 50).

We believe this sample shows the cultural and ideological importance of History, as well as its reception, value, influence and irradiation of the great Greek and Roman historians, founders of a conception of formative and exemplary history so dear to the humanist and Renaissance thought. We end with a statement by the Portuguese humanist, bishop and historian Jerónimo Osório, which synthesizes the status and place of history in the culture of Renaissance, as it is clear in D. Teodósio's library: "[...] there is nothing more useful

<sup>65</sup> Titus Maccius Plautus († 180?). *Miles Gloriosus*, in the Latin original. We could only find the Spanish translation *La Comedia de Plauto intitulado Milite Glorioso*, Antwerp, 1555. There are several contemporary translations into Portuguese, with the title *O Soldado Fanfarrão*.

<sup>66</sup> Alongside with a work by Plutarch in Latin.

than History to acquire knowledge, nor stronger than her to awaken the virtues, nor healthier to heal the wounds of the Republic, nor more pleasant for the delight of life”<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> Jerónimo Osório, “Carta-dedicatória” [Dedication-letter] to Cardinal D. Henrique from the edition of the chronicle by D. Manuel, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Gestis...*, 1571 [1572], section translated and quoted by Pinho 1988, 340.

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