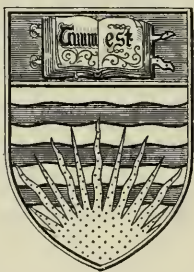


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A
SHORT HISTORY
OF
CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP



SCENES FROM THE SCHOOLS OF ATHENS EARLY IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

Vase-painting on a Cylix, with red figures on black ground, found at Caere in Etruria; described on p. 10.

A
SHORT HISTORY
OF
CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

*FROM THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
TO THE PRESENT DAY*

BY

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COMMANDER IN THE HELLENIC ORDER OF THE REDEEMER

WITH TWENTY-SIX ILLUSTRATIONS

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1915

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

London: FETTER LANE, E.C.

Edinburgh: 100 PRINCES STREET



New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD

Toronto: J. M. DENT AND SONS, LTD.

Tokyo: THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

PREFACE

THE present work is on the same subject as the author's *History of Classical Scholarship*, begun in the volume of 1903 (which attained a second edition in 1906), and completed in the two further volumes published by the University Press in 1908. But the treatment of the theme has here been kept within a more moderate compass. While the text of the three volumes of the larger work extended to as many as 1629 pages, that of the single volume of the present *Short History* is limited to 434. The former publication was mainly meant for the use of classical scholars; the present is primarily intended for the classical student, and also for the general reader. With a view to saving space, scholars of comparatively subordinate importance, whose achievements were fairly entitled to a place in the larger work, have now been either omitted altogether, or very briefly dealt with, while those of primary importance are treated with almost the same fulness as before. From the notes, even more than from the text, many details on minor points have been withdrawn, but others have been added wherever it seemed desirable to bring the literature of the subject up to the present date.

The broad outlines of the treatment of the theme remain unchanged. In both works, the History of Scholarship in the Athenian Age, from 600 to 300 B.C., is followed by that of the Alexandrian Age, from 300 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian Era, and by that of the Roman Age, which here ends about 530 A.D. Then follow the Middle Ages, in the East and West, here regarded as extending from about 530 to about 1350. The Middle Ages are succeeded by the Revival of Learning in Italy, including the two centuries between the death of Dante in 1321 and the death of Leo X in 1521, and ending with the Sack of

Rome in 1527. This is followed by the subsequent History of Scholarship in Italy, and by a survey of the successive centuries of that history in France, the Netherlands, England, and Germany, with a brief notice of Greece and Russia, and of Hungary and Scandinavia.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the nations are reviewed in the following order: Italy, France, the Netherlands, England, and Germany. This order is, however, abandoned in the eighteenth, in which the influence of Bentley on the Greek Scholarship of Holland makes it historically necessary to place England immediately before the Netherlands. It has also been abandoned in the nineteenth, in the case of Germany. Hence the history of the eighteenth century in Germany is immediately followed by that of the nineteenth in the same country. Finally, the history of the nineteenth century in England is naturally succeeded by that of the United States of America.

Of the eighty-six illustrations which appeared in the former work, twenty-five have been reproduced in the present, while the spurious portrait of Hemsterhuys has been superseded by the genuine portrait on p. 278.

The Index is not limited to an alphabetical register of the contents of the volume. In the case of the principal classical authors, it also includes references to modern editions, which, for adequate reasons, are not actually mentioned in the body of the work. In this, and in other respects, the convenience of the classical student has been constantly kept in view.

J. E. SANDYS.

CAMBRIDGE, 1915.

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RHAPSODE RECITING AN EPIC PASSAGE

beginning ὦδέ ποτ' ἐν Τύρυνθι (*sic*)...

From an amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum. See p. 6 *infra*.

BOOK I

THE ATHENIAN AGE

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF POETRY

THE earliest poems of Greece supplied the Greeks with their earliest themes for study, for exegesis, and for literary criticism. From about 600 B.C. we have definite proof of the recitation of the Homeric poems by rhapsodes in many parts of the Greek world,—at Chios, at Delos, at Cyprus, at Syracuse, at Sicyon, and in Attica. By an ordinance of Solon, the date of whose archonship is 594 B.C., the rhapsodes were required to recite consecutive portions of the Homeric poems, instead of selecting isolated passages¹. The effect of this ordinance would be to promote on the part of the audience, no less than on that of the reciters, a more consecutive and more complete knowledge of the contents of the poems themselves.

The above tradition regarding the Athenian legislator Solon has its counterpart in a legend relating to the Spartan legislator Lycurgus. The date of Lycurgus is uncertain, one account placing him in 776 B.C., at the beginning of the Olympic era, and another a century earlier. According to Plutarch². Lycurgus

¹ Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Solon*, i 2, 57, τὰ τε Ὅμηρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε βαψφδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον.

² *Lycurgus*, c. 4.

met with the Homeric poems in Crete, and brought a copy back with him to Greece. Even on Attic soil, Solon has a rival in Peisistratus, whose rule at Athens began in 560 and ended in 527 B.C. According to the well-known story, he is said to have been the first to collect the scattered poems of Homer and to arrange them in order. The story is not found in any earlier author than Cicero, or in any extant Greek writer earlier than Pausanias (*fl.* 174 A.D.)¹, but the question whether it was Solon or Peisistratus who did a signal service to the Homeric poems was apparently familiar to a Megarian historian of the fourth century B.C.², and it has also been suggested that the source of the story about Peisistratus was a treatise on Homer by Dicaearchus who flourished about 310 B.C.³ The story has been much discussed. Accepted unreservedly by some scholars and rejected entirely by others, it has sometimes been accepted in a limited sense by those who hold that the story need only imply the restoration of a unity which in process of time had been gradually ignored. The festival of the Panathenaea, at which the Homeric poems were in after times usually recited⁴, was celebrated with special splendour by Peisistratus, who is even sometimes called the founder of the festival⁵; and, according to a dialogue attributed to Plato, it was one of the sons of Peisistratus, namely Hipparchus (527—514 B.C.), who ‘was the first to bring into this land the poems of Homer, and who compelled the rhapsodes to recite them successively, in regular order, at the Panathenaea, as they still do at the present day’⁶. The story is inconsistent with the statement that the poems of Homer were recited at Athens in the time of Solon, but it is possibly true that the recitations at the *Panathenaea* in particular were introduced by Hipparchus.

¹ Cicero, *De Or.* iii 137; Pausanias, vii 26.

² Diogenes Laertius, i 2, 57, μάλλον οὖν Σόλων "Ομηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, < Dr Leaf, *Iliad*, 1900, p. xviii, here inserts ἐκείνος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τὰ ἔπη εἰς τὸν κατάλογον ἐμπούσας καὶ οὐ Πεισίστρατος, > ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. Dieuchidas is placed in the 4th century B.C. by Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, 240 f.

³ Düntzer in *fahrb. f. Philol.* xci 738 ff.

⁴ Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 102.

⁵ Scholiast on Aristides, *Panath.* p. 323 Dindorf.

⁶ [Plato], *Hipparchus* 228 D.

In the age succeeding the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, Pindar, with a conscious reference to the origin of the word *Rhapsôdos*¹, describes the Rhapsodes as Pindar
 'the sons of Homer, singers of deftly woven lays'². He also alludes to the laurel-branch that they bore as an emblem of poetic tradition. Homer himself (he tells us) had 'rightly set forth all the prowess of Ajax, leaving it as a theme for other bards to sing, by the laurel-wand of his lays divine'³.

The Homeric poems supplied Aeschylus with the theme of at least six tragedies and one satyric drama, Sophocles The Tragic
 with that of three tragedies (*Nausicaa*, and the poets
Phaeacians, and possibly the *Phrygians*), and Euripides with that of one satyric drama, the *Cyclops*. The unknown author of the *Rhesus* derived his theme from the *Iliad*; and Achilles and Hector, with Laërtes, Penelope and her Suitors, were among the themes of the minor tragic poets of the fifth and fourth centuries. But, among the tragic poets in general, a far larger number of their subjects were suggested by other poems of the Epic Cycle, namely the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, the *Little Iliad*, the *Iliupersis*, the *Nostoi* and the *Têlegonia*.

Aeschylus himself probably regarded 'Homer' as the author of all the poems of the Epic Cycle, when he described his dramas as 'slices from the great banquets of Aeschylus
 Homer'⁴. Sophocles is described by Greek critics as the only true disciple of Homer, as the 'tragic Homer', and as the admirer of the Epic poet⁵. His verbal Sophocles
 indebtedness to Homer is less than that of Aeschylus, though, like other dramatists, he borrows certain epic forms and epithets, as well as certain phrases and similes. His dramas reproduce the Homeric spirit. While very few were directly suggested by the

¹ *ῥαψῳδός*, from *ῥάπτειν αἰοιδήν* (Hesiod, *frag.* 227), *contexere carmen*, *pan-gere versus*.

² *Nem.* ii 1, 'Ὀμηρίδαι, ῥαπτῶν (lit. 'stitched') ἐπέων αἰοιδοί.

³ *Isth.* iii 55, "Ὀμηρος...πᾶσαν ὀρθώσας ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.

⁴ *Athen.* 347 E, τεμάχῃ τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων.

⁵ *Ion*, in *vita Sophoclis*, μόνον...Ὀμήρου μαθητήν. Polemo, ap. Diog. Laert. iv 20, "Ὀμηρον τραγικόν. Eustathius on *Iliad*, p. 440 etc., φιλόμηρος.

Iliad or *Odyssey*, he is described as 'delighting in the Epic Cycle'¹. The extant plays connected with that Cycle are the *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*. Of the extant plays of Euripides, the *Cyclops* alone is directly taken from Homer's *Odyssey*, while the Epic Cycle is represented by the *Iphigeneia in Aulide*, *Hecuba*, *Troades*, *Andromache*, *Helen*, *Electra*, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and *Orestes*.

Herodotus places Hesiod, as well as Homer, about four hundred years before his own time, i.e. about 400 years (or exactly 12 generations²) before 430 B.C.³ He assumes that other poems beside the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were generally attributed to Homer, namely the *Cypria* and the *Epigoni*. He doubts the Homeric authorship of the *Epigoni*⁴, and denies that of the *Cypria*⁵.

Thucydides regards the Phaeacians as a historical people and the Homeric catalogue as a historical document. But he makes the story of the siege of Troy a theme for rationalising criticism⁶.

For the three centuries between 600 and 300 B.C. the Homeric poems were the subject of a considerable amount of uncritical study. Homer was 'the educator of Hellas'⁷; and, during the fifth century B.C., the Sophists, who were among the most active educators of their age, had naturally much to say of one whose poems formed the foundation of all education at Athens. Thus Protagoras (c. 480—411 B.C.), who classified the modes of expression under the heads of question, answer, prayer and command, ventured to criticise the opening words of the *Iliad*, for expressing what was meant as a *prayer* to the Muse in the form of a *command*, μήνιν ἄειδε θεά⁸.

Hippias of Elis, so far as we can infer from the two Platonic dialogues which bear his name, was interested, not only in the accurate study of letters and syllables

¹ Athen. 297 D, ἔχαιρε...τῷ ἐπικῶ κύκλῳ.

² Her. ii 142.

³ Her. ii 53.

⁴ Her. iv 32.

⁵ Her. ii 117.

⁶ Thuc. i 9 and 11.

⁷ Plato, *Rep.* 606 E, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαιδευκεν.

⁸ Aristot. *Poet.* c. 19 § 5.

and rhythms and harmonies¹, but also in discussing the characters of the Homeric heroes, holding the 'frank and straightforward' Achilles superior to the 'wily and false' Odysseus².

Lastly, Gorgias (c. 485—380 B.C.) probably composed a Eulogy of Achilles³. He is the author of two extant speeches connected with the tale of Troy, namely the Gorgias 'Encomium of Helen' and the 'Defence of Palamedes'. His pupil Alcidas described the *Odyssey* as 'a fair mirror of human life'⁴.

The Homeric representations of the gods roused a protest on the part of the founder of the Eleatics, Xenophanes of Colophon (fl. 530 B.C.), who says that 'Homer and Hesiod have imputed to the gods all that is Protests against the Homeric mythology blame and shame for men'⁵. His great contemporary, Pythagoras, is said to have descended to the world below, and to have seen the soul of Hesiod bound to a brazen column, squeaking and gibbering; and that of Homer hanging from a tree and encircled by serpents, in punishment for all that he had said concerning the gods⁶.

In reply to protests such as these, some of the defenders of Homer maintained that the superficial meaning of his myths was not the true one, and that there Homer defended by allegorical interpretation was a deeper sense lying below the surface. Theagenes of Rhegium (fl. 525 B.C.), who suggested a two-fold form of allegory, moral and physical, regarded the names of the gods as expressing either the mental faculties of man or the various elements of nature. Thus Apollo was, in his view, opposed to Poseidon, as fire to water; Pallas to Ares, as wisdom to folly; Hera to Artemis, as the air to the moon; Hermes to Leto, as reason, or intelligence, to forgetfulness⁷. Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (fl. 450 B.C.) saw the rays of the sun in the arrows of Apollo. His pupil, Metrodorus of Lampsacus (d. 464 B.C.),

¹ *Hippias Major*, 285 B; *Minor*, 368 D.

² *Hippias Minor*, 365 B.

³ Aristot. *Rhet.* iii 17.

⁴ Aristot. *Rhet.* iii 3 § 4.

⁵ Sextus Emp., *Math.* ix 193, πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν "Ομηρός θ' Ἡσιόδός τε ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν.

⁶ Diog. Laert. viii § 21.

⁷ Schol. Venet. on *Il.* xx 67.

maintained that Hera, Athene and Zeus were the elements of nature¹, and that Agamemnon² represented the air. Such interpreters as these may well have been in Aristotle's mind, when he mentions the 'old Homerists, who see small resemblances, but overlook large ones'³.

In the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon the rhapsodes are described as 'very precise about the exact words of Homer, but very foolish themselves'⁴. Among the rhapsodes who were also celebrated as *interpreters* of Homer, were Stesimbrotus of Thasos⁵, a con-

Homer in
Plato's *Ion*

temporary of Pericles, and Ion of Ephesus, a contemporary of Socrates. Ion, who gives his name to one of the most interesting of the shorter dialogues of Plato, was not only a reciter, but also an interpreter of Homer. He comes to recite Homer to more than 20,000 Athenians at the Panathenaea. He wears a golden crown and is arrayed in a magnificent robe⁶. He is 'possessed' with an enthusiasm for Homer, and he transmits his enthusiasm to his audience. It is through him that the magnetic influence, which has passed from the Muse to the poet, passes from the poet to the listener, who is the last link in the magnetic chain⁷. Ion was also the author of a commentary on Homer. He declares that he 'can speak about Homer better than anyone else',—better than Metrodorus or Stesimbrotus; and it may fairly be assumed that the fluent rhetorical exposition, with which he 'embellishes' Homer, was in the main a fanciful allegorical interpretation of the poet's meaning.

But no apologetic interpretation of the Homeric mythology was of any avail to save Homer from being expelled with all the other poets from Plato's ideal Republic. Plato insists that the stories of gods and heroes told by Homer and Hesiod give a false representation of their nature⁸. The poet is a mere 'imitator', and 'we must inform him that there

Homer in
Plato's *Rep.*
public

¹ Tatian, *c. Graccos*, 202 D.

² Hesychius, *s.v.*

³ *Met.* xiii 6, 7.

⁴ *Mem.* iv 2, 10.

⁵ Xen. *Symp.* 3, 6.

⁶ Cp. 'rhapsode reciting', facing p. 1 *supra*.

⁷ *Ion* 533 D—E.

⁸ *Rep.* 377 D—378 E. Hesiod is also clearly meant, though not mentioned, in *Laws* 886 B—C.

is no room for such as he in our State'¹. 'The awe and love of Homer', of which Plato had been conscious from his childhood, 'makes the words falter on his lips; but the truth must be spoken'². 'All the poets, from Homer downwards, are only imitators; they copy images of virtue, but the truth they never reach'³. 'We are ready to admit that Homer is the greatest of poets..., but we must remain firm in our conviction that hymns to the gods and eulogies of famous men are the only poetry which ought to be admitted into our State'⁴. Homer's expulsion from Plato's Republic called forth a considerable controversial literature. Athens, notwithstanding this expulsion, continued to learn Homer by heart⁵, and this ancient custom was continued far beyond the Athenian age. Even at the close of the first century of our era there were Greeks in the Troad who taught their children Homer from their earliest years⁶. In fact, from the Athenian age to the present day, the study of Homer has never ceased.

In the earliest play of Aristophanes there was a scene in which a father, who believed in the old-fashioned style of poetic education, is represented as examining his son as to the meaning of certain 'hard words in Homer'⁷.

Aristophanes

Isocrates, in his letter of exhortation to Nicocles, expresses his own admiration for Homer and for the early tragic poets⁸, and rebukes his contemporaries for preferring the most paltry comedy to the poems of Hesiod and Theognis and Phocylides⁹. In his *Panegyric* he describes the fame of Homer as enhanced by the fact that 'he pronounced a splendid eulogy on those who fought against the foreign foe', adding that this was the reason why he had been honoured by Athens in the instruction of her youth¹⁰. In his *Panathenaic*, he speaks of the frequenters of the Lyceum as reciting the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and as 'talking twaddle' about them¹¹.—It was probably in the time of

Isocrates

¹ *Rep.* 398 A.² 595 B.³ 600 E.⁴ 607 A.⁵ *Xen. Symp.* 3 § 5.⁶ Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* 11 p. 308 R.⁷ Aristoph. *Δαιταλεῖς*, πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ λέξον 'Ομηρέλους γλώττας, τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα..., τί καλοῦσ' ἀμνηνὰ κάρηνα;⁸ Isocr. 2 § 48.⁹ Isocr. 2 §§ 43, 44.¹⁰ *Paneg.* 159.¹¹ 12 §§ 33, 34.

the pupils of Isocrates that Homer became the theme of the paltry criticisms of Zoilus.

The quotations from the 'Homeric poems' in the Athenian age sometimes differ from our present texts. These variations may be due to errors of memory, and they appear to throw little (if any) light on the state of the Homeric text in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. On the whole, the evidence of quotations shows that the text of those centuries was practically the same as ours.

The epic poet Antimachus, of Colophon in Ionia (*fl.* 464—410), who was among the older contemporaries of Plato, prepared a text of Homer, which is mentioned about twelve times in the Venetian Scholia on Homer¹. An 'edition' of Homer is also attributed to Aristotle by Plutarch and Strabo. The former in his life of Alexander quotes Onesicritus as stating that Alexander constantly kept under his pillow, with his dagger, a copy of the *Iliad*, which Aristotle had corrected for him, called 'the casket copy'². Strabo calls Alexander an admirer of Homer (*φιλόμηρος*), adding that there was a recension of Homer called 'that of the casket'; that Alexander had perused and annotated certain parts of it with the help of men like Callisthenes and Anaxarchus; and that he kept it in a casket of costly workmanship which he had found in the Persian treasure³.

Aristotle, in his treatise on Poetry, describes Homer as 'representing men as better than they are'⁴, and as 'pre-eminent in the serious style of poetry'⁵; as 'the earliest and the most adequate model' of all the excellences of epic poetry, and as 'unequalled in diction and thought'⁶. The poet keeps himself in the background, leaving his characters, which are clearly marked, to speak for themselves⁷. He has taught all other poets the true art of illusion⁸. In 'unity of

¹ ἡ Ἀντιμάχου (sc. ἔκδοσις), ἡ κατὰ Ἀντίμαχον, ἡ Ἀντιμάχειος.

² Plut. *Alex.* 8, ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος.

³ Strabo, p. 594. 'The *Iliad of the Casket* may safely be dismissed as a picturesque legend' (Monro, *Od.* p. 418).

⁴ 2 § 3.

⁵ 4 § 9.

⁶ 24 §§ 1, 2.

⁷ § 7.

⁸ § 9.

plot', as in all else, he is of surpassing merit; he has made the *Iliad*, as well as the *Odyssey*, centre round a single action¹. These two poems 'have many parts, each with a certain magnitude of its own; yet they are as perfect as possible in structure'².

Aristotle's interest in Homer led him to draw up a collection of *Homeric Problems*, a subject which he approaches in the chapter on 'critical difficulties and their solutions' towards the close of his treatise on Poetry. These Problems are only preserved in a fragmentary form. For most of our knowledge of their purport we are indebted to the *scholia* on the mss of Homer, especially in the Venice ms B (cent. xi). They are there quoted in twenty-one places, not to mention isolated passages of Strabo, Plutarch and Athenaeus; they were also familiar to the Neoplatonist Porphyry, the author of a similar work in the third century of our era. The points raised concern the ethical and dramatic sense of the poems, rather than verbal or literary criticism.

We have seen thus far that, from the days of Solon to those of Aristotle, Homer was constantly studied and quoted, and was a favourite theme for allegorizing interpretation and for rationalistic or rhetorical treatment. He was also the subject of a very limited amount of *verbal* criticism. Of any *literary* criticism of his poems, we have scanty evidence, with the important exception of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry. The criticism of his *text* was in the main reserved for the Alexandrian age.

An interesting picture of the normal course of education at Athens is drawn by Protagoras in the dialogue of Plato which bears that name. In the picture in question special stress is laid on the study of the poets.

The study of
poetry.
Plato's
Protagoras

When the boys have learned their letters, and are beginning to understand the sense of what is written,...their teachers set beside them the works of excellent poets, and compel the boys, while seated on the benches, to read them aloud and learn them by heart. In these are contained many admonitions, many detailed narratives and eulogies and laudations of brave men of old. These are learnt by heart, in order that the boy may emulate and imitate

¹ 8 § 3.

² 26 § 6.

those brave men, and be eager to become like them.... Then, again, the teachers of the *cithara*, as soon as their pupils have learned to play on that instrument, instruct them in the works of other excellent poets, the composers of songs, which they set to music, forcing the very souls of the boys to become familiar with their rhythms and their melodies, in order that they may be more gentle, and be better fitted for speech and action by becoming more beautifully 'rhythmical' and 'melodious'; for the whole of man's life has need of beauty of rhythm and of melody. Besides all this, their parents send them to the master of gymnastic, in order that they may have their bodies in better condition and able to minister to the virtue of their minds, and not be compelled by the weakness of their bodies to play the coward either in war or in any other action¹.

The artistic counterpart of this picture is to be found in the scenes from an Athenian school which adorn the outside of an Attic vase executed by Duris in the early part of the fifth century B.C. In the centre of one of the two scenes the master, seated on a chair, holds a scroll half open, and listens to a boy standing before him, who may either be saying by heart the lesson that he has learnt, or committing it to memory under the master's prompting. The open part of the scroll bears a rather inaccurate copy of a line from some ancient Hymn:—Μοῖσά μοι ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον εὐρροον ἄρχομαι ἀείδειν².

Literary criticism was promoted at Athens not only by the epic recitations of the rhapsodes, but also by the contests for the prizes offered for lyric, and much more by those for dramatic poetry. But such criticism was purely of a popular and unprofessional kind. The contests of the drama were at first decided by acclamation, and the voice of the people awarded the prize. Subsequently the decision was made by five judges in comic, and probably the same number in tragic, contests. This small number of judges was appointed by lot, out of a large preliminary list elected by vote. It speaks well for the general competence of the judges that Aeschylus and Sophocles were usually successful; but, strange to say, at the presentation of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Sophocles was defeated by a minor poet, Philocles, a nephew of Aeschylus. Euripides won the prize on five occasions only, while Aeschylus

Vase-painting by Duris

Dramatic poetry and literary criticism

¹ Plato, *Protag.* 325 C—326 E.

² See *Frontispiece*.

is credited with thirteen victories, and Sophocles with at least eighteen.

Dramatic criticism occasionally found its way into the plays themselves. Euripides, in his *Electra* (l. 552—544), openly criticises the means adopted by Aeschylus in the *Choëphoroe* for bringing about the recognition of Orestes by his sister.

In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (405 B.C.), Sophocles takes no part in the contest for the throne of Tragedy. Aeschylus and Euripides enter the lists and criticise passages in one another's plays (1119—1413).

*The Frogs of
Aristophanes*

The plays of Aeschylus were frequently reproduced after his death, but in the fourth century Sophocles was more popular, and finally Euripides was left without a rival. In process of time, alterations made by actors and copyists led to uncertainties as to the true text. A decree was accordingly carried by the eminent Athenian statesman and orator, Lycurgus (c. 390—324 B.C.), providing, not only for the erection of bronze statues of the three great tragic poets, but also for the preservation of a copy of the tragedies in the public archives. The town-clerk was to collate the actors' copies with this text, and no departure therefrom was to be allowed in acting¹.

Dramatic criticism in Plato is represented mainly by certain important passages of the *Republic*, and also by some incidental references in other dialogues. In the *Phaedrus* a person coming to Sophocles or Euripides, and saying that he 'knows how to compose very long speeches about a small matter and very short speeches about a great matter, and also pathetic or terrible and menacing speeches', is described as 'knowing only the preliminaries of Tragedy', while Tragedy itself is the 'arranging of all these elements in a manner suitable to one another and to the whole'². Tragedy, in brief, must be an organic whole. Tragedy and Comedy, not as they *might* be, but as they *were*, find very scanty appreciation in the *Republic* and the *Laws*. Plato urges that the effect, which Tragedy produces on the audience, depends on the excitement of pity and grief; that of Comedy, on the excitement of laughter and

*Dramatic
criticism in
Plato*

¹ [Plutarch], *Lives of the Ten Orators*, p. 841 F.

² *Phaedrus*, 268 C—269 A.

(ultimately) exultation over the misfortunes of others. The poets (he continues) claim our sympathy for the passions of love, anger, fear, jealousy, and the rest,—all of them unworthy passions, which we do not approve in ourselves, and the representation of which ought not to afford us any pleasure¹. The excitement of pity and fear by means of Tragedy is, according to this view, relaxing and enfeebling, these emotions being apt to degenerate into sentimentality, and to make men unmanly. For these and similar reasons Plato banishes dramatic poetry from his ideal Republic.

While Plato thus objects to Tragedy as tending to make men and in Aristotle's treatise on Poetry cowardly and effeminate by the excitement of their sympathies, Aristotle tacitly opposes this view in his famous definition of Tragedy. The closing words of that definition imply that Tragedy presents us with noble objects for the exercise of the feelings of pity and fear, and affords relief by removing them from our system:—‘through pity and fear accomplishing’ (not the *purification* but) ‘the *pur-gation* of those emotions’².

The treatise on Poetry includes a slight sketch of the historical development of Tragedy. We are here told that Aeschylus was the first to introduce a second actor, that he made the chorus more subordinate, and gave greater prominence to the dialogue; also that Sophocles introduced a third actor, and added scene-painting³. Sophocles and Euripides are twice contrasted, firstly, when Aristotle insists that the chorus ‘should be regarded as one of the actors and be an integral part of the whole and join in the action, in the manner of Sophocles but not of Euripides’⁴; and secondly, when he tells us that ‘Sophocles said that he drew men as they *ought* to be (or ‘to be drawn’), but Euripides as they *are*’⁵. There are at least four references to the *Oedipus*⁶, a play which Aristotle obviously admires. Euripides is defended against the criticism of those, who ‘censure him for making many of his plays end unhappily’; this (says Aristotle) is ‘the right ending’; such plays ‘have the most tragic effect’, and in this respect Euripides, ‘faulty as he is in the management of the rest,’ is recognised as

¹ *Rep.* 603 C—608 A, 387 C, *Laws*, 800 C.

² *Poet.* 6 § 2.

³ 4 § 13.

⁴ 18 § 7.

⁵ 25 § 6.

⁶ c. 14, 15, 16, 26; afterwards known as the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

the most tragic of the poets¹. His *Medea*, his *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and his *Orestes* are noticed. Poets who have ‘dramatised the whole story of the Fall of Troy, instead of selecting portions, like Euripides, have been unsuccessful’². Of the ‘Three Unities’ of Action, Time and Place, popularly ascribed to Aristotle, the first is the only one which he actually enjoins. As a treatise on poetry the work is obviously incomplete, Lyric poetry being practically ignored, and Comedy noticed only in a slight sketch of its origin. But, even in its present condition, it is an invaluable work. Severely scientific and masterly in method, unadorned in style, and almost entirely destitute of literary grace and charm, it nevertheless stands out conspicuously in Greek literature as the earliest example of a systematic criticism of Poetry; and, in our present survey of the critical literature of the past, we shall find nothing in Greek literature to rival it as a model of literary criticism until, in the Roman age, we ultimately reach the celebrated treatise *On the Sublime*.

Aristotle’s interest in the Drama led to his laying the foundation of its history in the form of chronological lists of the details of the representation of the several Aristotle’s
didascaliae plays. From the term (*διδάσκειν*), applied to the teaching and training of the chorus and actors and the general rehearsal of a play, the play itself, or the connected group of plays produced by a poet at a single festival, was called a *didascalia*. The same designation would naturally be given to the official record of the result, and hence the title of Aristotle’s work. Such a work was doubtless largely founded on the various records of success in the dramatic contests. These records were mainly of two kinds : (1) the documents preserved by the State in the public archives; (2) the inscriptions on the monuments erected at private expense by the citizen, who as *chorêgus* had borne the cost of the production of the play. Plutarch has preserved an early example of (2), commemorating a victory won in 476 B.C., when the *chorêgus* was Themistocles³. Aristotle was apparently the first to make the

¹ 13 § 6.

² 18 § 5.

³ Plutarch, *Them.* 5 § 3, ‘He set up a tablet of the victory bearing this inscription :—Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν’.

necessary transcripts from the archives, and to publish the result in a connected form. There are thirteen fragments of his *didascaliae*, five of them with his name and the rest without it¹. Similar lists are preserved in extant inscriptions², the earlier items of which were probably derived from the published work of Aristotle. This work is the ultimate source of our knowledge of the results of the dramatic contests in which poets such as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes were competitors. It was the authority followed by Callimachus (c. 260 B.C.) and Eratosthenes (c. 234), and also by Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 200 B.C.) in a work which survives in the fragments quoted from it by the Scholiasts in the Arguments to Greek plays still extant. Aristotle was also the author of a work on
Dionysiac
Victories *Dionysiac Victories*, the character of which may be inferred from an extant inscription probably copied from that work³. Lastly, he drew up lists of victors in the Olympian and Pythian games.

¹ Aristot. Frag. 618—630 Rose.

² *C.I.A.* ii 972—975.

³ *C.I.A.* ii 971. In its complete form this inscription recorded the Dionysiac Victories from 473 to 328 B.C. The last item, under the archonship of Philocles (459—8 B.C.), refers to the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus:—*τραγῳδῶν Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδναῖος ἐχορήγει, Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδασκεν*. Cf. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Didaskaliai*, and A. Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen* (Wien, 1906).

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF RHETORIC AND THE STUDY OF PROSE

GREEK rhetoric came into being in Sicily with the establishment of democracy at Acragas in 472 B.C., and at Syracuse in 466. Its earliest professors were Corax and Tisias, and Pericles had passed away two years before Gorgias, the famous pupil of Tisias, made his first appearance in Athens in 427. He came as an envoy to invite Athens to aid his native town of Leontini against the encroachments of Syracuse. The speech delivered by Gorgias made a singular sensation. The Sicilian historian, Diodorus¹, tells us that 'the Athenians, clever as they were and fond of oratory (*φιλόλογοι*), were struck by the singular distinction of the style of Gorgias, with its pointed antitheses, its symmetrical clauses, its parallelisms of structure and its rhyming endings, which were then welcomed owing to their novelty'. These figures of speech are most simply classified as follows :--

ἀντίθεσις = contrast of sense.

παρίσωσις = parallelism of structure.

παρομοίωσις = parallelism of sound.

The last is subdivided into *ὁμοιοκάταρκτον*, *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* and *παρονομασία*, according as the 'parallelism of sound' affects the beginning, or the end, or the whole, of the two contrasted words. Gorgias was the founder of an artificial or semi-artistic type of Greek prose.

The figures of speech characteristic of Gorgias were retained by his pupil, the eminent rhetorician, Isocrates (436—338 B.C.). Isocrates, however, unlike the later 'Asiatic' adherents of Gorgias, with their cramped and jerky

Isocrates

sentences, succeeded in expanding the unduly concise and monotonous clauses of his master by moulding them into an ampler and more varied periodic form, in which metrical and symmetrical effects were diversified by meandering melodies of rhythm and subtle harmonies of cadence. A very short specimen of his prose may here be quoted from the latter part of his *Panegyric* (§ 186):—*φήμην δὲ καὶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν | πόσῃν τινὰ χρὴ νομίζειν, | ἢ ζῶντας ἔξειν, | ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν, | τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας*; The style of Isocrates was in the main the foundation of the style of Cicero; and the style of Cicero has in its turn supplied the languages of Europe with a model for some of the most highly finished forms of the ampler types of modern prose.

While rhetoricians of the Sicilian school of Gorgias, in cultivating a semi-poetic type of prose, aimed mainly at ‘beauty of language’ (*εὐέπεια*), the Greek school of certain other Sophists, such as Protagoras, Prodicus and Hippias, aimed at ‘correctness of language’ (*ὀρθοέπεια*)¹. Protagoras classified the modes of speech; Prodicus, whose style is parodied in Plato’s *Protagoras*², dwelt on distinctions between synonyms; while Hippias aimed at a correct and elevated style of expression.

The two dialogues of Plato specially concerned with rhetoric are the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*. In the former it is described, not as an art, but as a happy knack acquired by practice and destitute of scientific principle³. In both dialogues Plato casts ridicule on the writers of the popular rhetorical treatises; but, in the *Phaedrus*, instead of denouncing rhetoric unreservedly, he draws up an outline of a new rhetoric founded on a more philosophic basis, resting partly on dialectic, which aids the orator in the invention of arguments, and partly on psychology, which enables him to distinguish between the several varieties of human character in his audience and to apply the means best adapted to produce that persuasion which is the aim of his art⁴.

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 267 C; Spengel, *Artium Scriptores*, pp. 40 f.

² 337 A—C.

³ 463 B, 501 A.

⁴ Thompson’s *Phaedrus*, p. xiv.

The hints which Plato throws out in the *Phaedrus* are elaborately expanded in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, especially in the first two books, which deal with the modes of producing persuasion. In the first book these are classified; while the second includes (1) 'a careful analysis of the affections of which human nature is susceptible, and also of the causes by which such affections are called forth; (2) a descriptive catalogue of the various modifications of the human character, and the sort of arguments adapted to each'¹. The first two books, which thus deal with the invention of arguments (εὑρεσις), are followed by a third occupied with the two other parts of rhetoric, style (λέξις) and arrangement (τάξις).

The study of the style of prose in the Athenian age was mainly connected with the study of rhetoric. The prose of public speech was the first to attain an artistic form, but other kinds of prose had a closer connexion with it than they have in modern times. In the domain of history, the style of Thucydides shows the influence of the Sicilian rhetoric; and the historian readily resorts to *speeches* as a means of expressing the political opinions of the day, while he employs the medium of a *dialogue* to give a dramatic representation of the controversy between Athens and Melos. In the next century, two prominent historians, Ephorus and Theopompus, were both of them pupils of that trainer of rhetoricians, Isocrates. The criticisms in the *Rhetoric* are not confined to the criticism of speeches. A particular kind of prose-style is there² exemplified from Herodotus, while many of the precepts apply to prose in general, and not a few to poetry as well. From the time of Aristotle downwards literary criticism forms part of the province of rhetoric.

While the place of poetry in Athenian education was due partly to a belief in the poet as a teacher and as an inspired being, partly to the fact that poetry attained an artistic form at an earlier date than prose (besides being easier to commit to memory), the place of prose was distinctly subordinate. In Plato's *Phaedrus*³ Socrates is described as disparaging reading and writing in comparison with talking and memory; but

¹ *ib.* p. xx.² iii 9, 2.³ 274 C.

in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*¹ we find him unrolling and perusing, with his friends, 'the treasures of the wise men of old, which they wrote down in books and left behind them'. As a young man, he had 'heard someone reading aloud' a book of Anaxagoras, and hastened to obtain it². 'Strains written in prose', and 'compositions in prose, without rhythm or harmony', are discussed, as well as poetry, in the scheme of education in Plato's *Laws*³, but the 'works handed down by many writers of this class' (whether in prose or verse) are deemed 'dangerous', while a discourse like that in the *Laws* is described as 'inspired of heaven' and 'exactly like a poem', and as in fact an appropriate pattern for other discourses to be used in the education of youth⁴.

After the death of Plato the original manuscripts of his dialogues were possibly preserved in the school of the Academy. For eight years the school was under the care of his nephew and successor, Speusippus, and afterwards for twenty-five under that of Xenocrates, who was succeeded by Polemon and others. Copies of the original MSS were doubtless made at an early date, and some of these may have been transmitted from Athens to Alexandria, possibly through the agency of Demetrius of Phalêron. The earliest extant MS of any part of Plato has been found in Egypt. It is a papyrus from the Faiyûm, containing about 12 columns of the *Phædo*, belonging to the middle of the third century B.C.

On the death of Aristotle, the school of the Lyceum, with the library of its founder, remained for more than 34 years under the control of his successor Theophrastus. Theophrastus, on his death in or about 287 B.C., left his own library and that of Aristotle to his pupil Nêleus, who removed it to his home at Scêpsis in the Troad. A few years later the town passed into the possession of the Kings of the Attalid dynasty, who from about 230 B.C. began to found a great Library at Pergamon to vie with that of the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The heirs of Nêleus prudently concealed the MSS in a cellar, awaiting an opportunity for sending them safely out of the country. The MSS had thus remained in their possession for more than 150 years, when, about 100 B.C., they were bought by Apellicon of Teos, and restored

¹ i 6, 14.² *Phædo*, 97 B.³ 809 B, 810 B.⁴ 811 C—E.

to Athens. After the capture of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C., they were transported from Athens to Rome, where they were consulted by scholars such as Tyrannion, Andronicus¹, and others; but, owing to long neglect, many of them had become illegible, and the copies made after they had passed into the hands of Apellicon were disfigured with unskilful conjectures and restorations. The above story of their fortunes is told us by Tyrannion's pupil, Strabo, who adds that Aristotle was the first to 'collect books', thus setting 'an example afterwards followed by the Kings of Egypt'². The story is partly confirmed in one passage of Athenaeus³, but contradicted in another⁴, carelessly asserting that *all* the books of Aristotle in the possession of Nêleus were purchased for the Alexandrian library by Ptolemy II, who is elsewhere described as possessing more than 1000 books or rolls of the Aristotelian writings⁵. The earliest extant manuscript of the Aristotelian writings is the papyrus containing Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, found in Egypt in 1890 and ascribed to about 100 A.D.

¹ Added in Plutarch's *Sulla*, 26.

² Strabo, pp. 608-9.

³ 214 D—E.

⁴ 3 B.

⁵ Schol. Arist. 22 a 12.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF GRAMMAR AND ETYMOLOGY

WE are told by Herodotus¹ that the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus brought with them the letters of the Phoenician alphabet, and that in course of time they adapted the method of writing them to the requirements of the Greek language. In the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, Herodotus had himself seen three tripods inscribed with 'Cadmeian' letters, 'for the most part resembling those of the Ionians'. He assigns the three inscriptions to the age of Laius in the third, and to those of Oedipus and Laodamas in the fourth and sixth generations from Cadmus². We are also told by Herodotus that the Ionians who lived nearest to the Phoenicians (*e.g.* in Cyprus and Rhodes) borrowed the Phoenician alphabet, with a few changes, and habitually called them the 'Phoenician' letters³.

From the Phoenician alphabet of 22 signs was derived the original Greek alphabet of 22 letters, which in the oldest extant inscriptions approximate to the following forms :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ϝ	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο
α	β	γ	δ	ε	<i>digamma</i>	ζ	<i>heta</i>	θ	ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο
17	18	19	20	21	22						23				
Π	Μ	Ρ	Σ	Τ						To this was added Υ and the four					
π	<i>san</i>	<i>koppa</i>	ρ	σ	τ						υ				

24 25 26 27

'non-Phoenician' signs : Φ Χ Ψ Ω. In the Ionic alphabet nos. 6 (*digamma*) and 18 (*san*) were omitted, and no. 19 (*koppa*)

φ χ ψ ω

¹ v 58.

² v 59—61.

³ v 58.

very rarely used; no. 8 (*heta*) denoted η ; the forms were simplified, and the result was the following series of 24 letters:

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗ(earlier Θ)Θ(earlier ⊗)ΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ¹.

There were various local varieties in the alphabet, but we are here concerned only with the old Attic alphabet of 21 letters:

ΑΒΛ(γ) ΔΞΙ(ζ) Η(ħ) ΘΙΚΛ(λ) ΜΝΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧ². Ξ represented ϵ , $\epsilon\iota$, η ; Ο represented $ο$, $ου$, $ω$; Η (*heta*) denoted the aspirate; ξ was spelt as Χζ, and ψ as Φζ. This alphabet was in public use from about 540 to 404 B.C.; but, between 431 and 404 B.C., certain other forms were also in use, such as Ε, Θ, Ρ and Σ³. This local Attic alphabet was gradually superseded by the old Ionic alphabet in which the long Ε was represented by Η, the long Ο by Ω, and the double consonants by the single symbols Ξ and Ψ. This Ionic alphabet was in *literary* and *private* use at Athens before 403 B.C. Thus, in a fragment of the *Theseus* of Euripides, a play produced before 431 B.C., a slave who cannot read describes the second letter of the name of the hero of the play as consisting of two lines separated by a third line (Η)⁴. But it was not until the archonship of Euclides (403 B.C.) that official sanction was given to such changes by the decree ordering that henceforth all *public* documents should be written in the Ionic characters. This reform was advocated in a special pamphlet published by the statesman Arctinus⁵.

Spelling was taught by means of a series of syllables combining the consonants with all the vowels in succession. Fragments of a tile have been found in Attica bearing the syllables $\alpha\rho\ \beta\alpha\rho\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \delta\alpha\rho$, $\epsilon\rho\ \beta\epsilon\rho\ \gamma\epsilon\rho\ \delta\epsilon\rho$ etc. The comic poet Callias wrote a 'letter-play' (*γραμματικὴ τραγωδία*) in which the *dramatis personae* were the letters of the alphabet, all of which were enumerated in the

¹ Cp. E. S. Roberts, in *Companion to Greek Studies*, pp. 582 f., and *Greek Epigraphy*, pp. 4 f., 106 f.

² Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Geschichte des gr. Alphabets*, Tafel I, xiii (1).

³ Kirchhoff, *ib.* Tafel I, xiii (2).

⁴ Athenaeus, 454 B.

⁵ Suidas, *s.v.* Σαμίων δῆμος.

prologue, with a separate enumeration of the vowels at a later point. The play included a spelling-chorus, βῆτα ἄλφα βᾶ etc.

The current division of letters (στοιχεῖα), as may be inferred from three passages of Plato, was as follows: (1) 'voiced' or 'vocal' letters (φωνήεντα, *vocales*), our 'vowels'; (2) 'voiceless' letters (ἄφωνα), our 'consonants'. The latter were divided into (a) letters not only 'voiceless' but also 'without sound' (ἄφωνα καὶ ἄφθογγα), our 'mutes'; and (b) letters that are 'not vocal', but 'not without sound' (φωνήεντα μὲν οὐ, οὐ μέντοι γε ἄφθογγα), *i.e.* λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, afterwards known as 'semivowels' (ἡμίφωνα)¹. A passage in the *Timaeus*² mentions the 'teeth', 'tongue' and 'lips' as producing 'the river of speech', which is 'the fairest and noblest of all streams'. In the *Cratylus*³ Plato notices that the only letters which have no special names are Ε, Υ, Ο, Ω, thus showing that the names *epsilon*, *upsilon*, *omicron* and *omega* are of later origin, the Greeks in this age calling these letters ε, υ, ου, and ω. The name *epsilon*, or 'simple' ε, was afterwards introduced to distinguish that letter from the diphthong αι, and similarly *upsilon*, or 'simple' υ, to distinguish that letter from the diphthong οι, and both these names belong to the late Byzantine age, when ε and αι, and υ and οι respectively, were pronounced alike. The name *omega* is also late.

The earliest trace of any classification of words is to be found in Plato. 'Grammar' was at first regarded mainly as the art of reading and writing; but it also included the theory of the nature of sounds and of accent, with questions of quantity and rhythm, and in these respects it was closely connected with Music. With the classification of words grammar entered on a new stage. It is traditionally held that Plato was the first to distinguish between the Noun and the Verb, calling the former ὄνομα and the latter ῥῆμα. But the correspondence between these terms is incomplete, and the distinction drawn by Plato between ὄνομα and ῥῆμα does not answer to the *grammatical* distinction between Noun and Verb, but to the *logical* distinction between Subject and Predicate. This is true even of the passage in the *Sophistes*⁴, which is the main support of those who ascribe to Plato the first

¹ *Cratylus*, 424 C; *Philebus*, 18 B, C (where τὰ μέσα are the 'semivowels'); *Theaet.* 203 B.

² 75 D.

³ 394 D.

⁴ 261 E.

distinction between Noun and Verb as parts of speech. He there says:—‘There are two kinds of intimations of being which are given by the voice’, ‘one of them called *ὀνόματα* and the other *ῥήματα*’; ‘that which denotes action we call *ῥῆμα*’, ‘the articulate sign set on those who do the actions we call *ὄνομα*’; ‘a succession of *ὀνόματα* or *ῥήματα* alone is not discourse’; ‘it is only when they are mingled together that language is formed’. *ῥῆμα* in Plato includes every kind of predicate. Thus, in the *Cratylus*¹, *Δὲ φίλος* (being predicated of a person) is called a *ῥῆμα*, while its derivative *Δίφίλος* is an *ὄνομα*. In later times Plato’s *ὄνομα* and *ῥῆμα* were regarded as grammatical parts of speech, and the question whether this division was meant by Plato to be exhaustive, or whether the other parts of speech were only omitted because they were comparatively unimportant, was discussed by Plutarch in his *Platonic Questions*², and decided in the latter sense. In Plato we find suggestions of the distinction afterwards drawn in grammar between the Substantive and the Adjective³; he also recognises Number⁴, Tenses of Verbs⁵, and ‘Active and Passive’⁶.

Moods are not yet mentioned, but Protagoras had already distinguished in rhetoric some of the various modes of expression which correspond to the Moods of grammar. He had also divided nouns into three classes, male, female, and inanimate (*σκέυη*), a classification apparently founded on a real or natural, and not on a grammatical basis, ‘male’ and ‘female’ nouns denoting male and female persons, or distinctions in sex, whether in mankind or among animals in general, and things inanimate including the names of all other objects, natural and artificial, real and abstract. This last class contains many words which are grammatically masculine or feminine, but the classification of Protagoras can hardly be identified with a classification of nouns as masculine, feminine and neuter. Protagoras uses in the sense of ‘classes’ the same term (*γέννη*), which was afterwards adopted in grammar to denote ‘genders’⁷.

¹ 399 B.

² *Moralia*, ii 1008.

³ Cp. *ἐπωνυμία* in *Parm.* 131 A, *Soph.* 225 D, *Phaedr.* 238 A.

⁴ *Soph.* 237 E.

⁵ *Parm.* 151 E, 156 A; *Soph.* 262 D.

⁶ *Soph.* 219 B; *Philebus* 26 E.

⁷ Ar. *Clouds* 659 ff. may be a satire on Protagoras.

In the earlier Greek philosophers we find a few traces of speculation on the origin of language. Thus Pythagoras (fl. 540—510 B.C.) held that, next to 'number', the highest wisdom belonged to 'him who gave things their names'. Heracleitus (fl. 500 B.C.), though celebrated for the obscurity of his language, appears to have laid stress on linguistic expression, but we know of no scientific enunciation of his on this subject. He is, however, known to have held that words existed naturally (φύσει). Words, he said, were not like the artificial, but like the natural images of visible things; they resembled shadows, and reflexions in water, or images seen in mirrors². Democritus (460—357 B.C.) described the names of the gods as their 'vocal images'³. His contemporary Hippocrates (c. 460—359 B.C.) called names 'ordinances of nature' (φύσιος νομοθετήματα); and Antisthenes (fl. 400 B.C.) wrote on names and on language in connexion with his dialectical theories. But our knowledge of these speculations is very imperfect. In the case of Plato we have more material for forming an opinion, but even here there is much that is confused and perplexing. It was said of Plato that he was the first to speculate on the nature of 'grammar'⁴. In the *Cratylus* there are three interlocutors holding different views as to the nature and origin of language. (1) HERMOGENES holds that language is *conventional*, and that all names have their origin in convention and mutual agreement; like the names of slaves, they may be given and altered at pleasure. (2) CRATYLUS, a follower of Heraclitus, holds that language is *natural*, and that every name is either a true name or not a name at all; he cannot conceive of degrees of imitation; a word is either the perfect expression of a thing or a mere inarticulate sound. (3) SOCRATES takes up an intermediate position, holding that language is founded on *nature*, but modified by *convention*⁵.

¹ ὁ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασι θέμενος, Proclus on Plato's *Cratylus*, p. 6; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i 25.

² Ammonias on Aristotle, *de Interp.* p. 24 B Ald.

³ ἀγάλματα φωνήεντα, Olympiodorus on Plato, *Philebus*, p. 242.

⁴ Favorinus ap. Diog. Laert. III i 19, 25, πρῶτος ἐθεώρησε τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν δύναμιν.

⁵ See also Introduction to the *Cratylus* in Jowett's *Plato*, i 253—321³, and Dr Jackson's *Praelection*, 1906.

Aristotle's treatise on Poetry includes an analysis of the parts of speech and other grammatical details (c. 20), and a passage on the gender of nouns (c. 21). Aristotle Probably both of these passages are interpolations. In the former a 'letter' is defined, and letters divided into vowels, semivowels and mutes (φωνήεντα, ἡμίφωνα and ἄφωνα); a noun, a verb, and a 'connecting word' (σύνδεσμος) are also defined; and 'inflection' (πτῶσις) is described as belonging to the noun and the verb, and expressing 'of', 'to', or the like, or the relation of number, or that of 'mode of address'. In the *De Interpretatione* the verb in the present tense is the ῥῆμα, and the other tenses are its πτώσεις, and elsewhere the πτώσεις of a noun include even adjectives and adverbs. In contrast with πτώσις, the nominative is called κλήσις¹. Various cases are distinguished by Aristotle, but their number and their names are still undetermined. In addition to 'Active and Passive' Verbs, those subsequently known as 'Neuter' and 'Deponent' are now recognised for the first time. The symbol of the rough breathing distinguishing ΟΡΟΣ 'boundary' from ΟΡΟΣ 'mountain' is called by Aristotle a παράσημον², the former word being probably written as ὁ ΟΡΟΣ. The writings of Heracleitus are described as hard to punctuate (διαστίξαι)³, but the only mark of punctuation actually mentioned by Aristotle is the παραγραφή⁴, a short horizontal dash drawn below the first word of the line in which the sentence is about to end. It is from this ancient symbol, which marks the close of the sentence, that we give to the sentence itself, or to a connected group of sentences, the name of a 'paragraph'.

The only parts of speech that Aristotle recognises in the first chapter of the *Categories* are ὄνομα and ῥῆμα, the Noun and the Verb. In the *Rhetoric*⁵ and the *Problems*⁶ he makes incidental mention of σύνδεσμοι, a term including conjunctions, connecting particles and even connecting clauses. In the treatise on Poetry⁷ he is also made to mention ἄρθρα (Pronouns and Articles), but we are assured by Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁸ that only three parts of speech were recognised by Aristotle, and, for this and other

¹ *Analyt. Priora*, 36, p. 48 b 41 f.

² *Soph. El.* 177 b 3.

³ *Rhet.* iii 5.

⁴ *Rhet.* iii 8.

⁵ iii 5 and 12.

⁶ xix 20.

⁷ c. 20.

⁸ *De Comp.* c. 2.

reasons, the chapter in question is best regarded as an interpolation.

In the controversy as to the origin of language Aristotle is an adherent of 'convention' and not of 'nature'. The terms constituting a Proposition are declared by Aristotle to be a Noun in the nominative case as Subject, and a Verb as Predicate; and the Verb is distinguished from the Noun as connoting time¹. While Plato² regards the Proposition as composed of the *ὄνομα* and the *ῥῆμα* (having no other terms than these for Subject and Predicate), and expresses affirmation by *φάσις* and negation by *ἀπόφασις*, Aristotle has a technical term not only for affirmation (*κατάφασις*) and negation (*ἀπόφασις*) and for negative Noun and Verb, but also for Subject (*τὸ ὑποκείμενον*) and for Predicate (*τὸ κατηγορούμενον*)³. 'Subject' is in fact the modern form of *subjectum*, the late Latin rendering in Martianus Capella⁴ of the term first found in Aristotle. The further development of the terminology of Grammar was reserved for the Stoics of the third and following centuries B.C.

Meanwhile, the Peripatetic School carried on the Aristotelian tradition by the special study of the history and criticism of Literature. Thus Heracleides Ponticus of Heracleia Pontica on the Bithynian coast (c. 390—310 B.C.), who had been a devoted pupil of Plato before he became a very independent pupil of Aristotle, wrote on Rhetoric and Music, and also on Poetry and Poets, on Homeric problems⁵, on the age of Homer and Hesiod, on Homer and Archilochus, and on Sophocles and Euripides. These writings were later than his return to his birthplace on the Euxine in 338 B.C. According to his rival, Aristoxenus, the tragedies which he attributed to Thespis were really forged by Heracleides⁶, a fact on which Bentley insists in

¹ *De Interpr.* c. 5.

² *Sophistes*, 261 f.

³ *Analyt. Priora*, c. 1 and c. 28.

⁴ iv 361.

⁵ His two books *Λυσέων Ὀμηρικῶν* are quoted in six of the Homeric *scholia*. They are not to be confounded with the *Ὀμηρικὰ προβλήματα* of Heracleitus, an allegorist of the early Roman Empire (ed. Oelmann, 1910).

⁶ Diogenes Laërtius, v 92.

discussing the 'Age of Tragedy' in the course of his Dissertation on Phalaris¹. Aristoxenus of Tarentum (*fl.* 318) was the leading authority in the ancient world on Rhythm and Music². He also wrote biographies of Pythagoras, Archytas, Socrates and Plato, in which undue prominence was given to the merest gossip. Another rival of Heracleides Ponticus, his fellow-countryman, Chamaeleon, wrote on Homer, Hesiod, Stesichorus, Sappho, Anacreon, Lasus, Pindar, Simonides, Thespis and Aeschylus; also on the early history of Tragedy and on ancient Comedy.

Aristoxenus

Chamaeleon

The critical study of prose style was continued by Aristotle's successor, Theophrastus of Eresos in Lesbos (372—287). His treatise *On Style* (*περὶ λέξεως*), was still extant in the time of Cicero. He is expressly named in Cicero's *Orator* in connexion with the style of Herodotus and Thucydides (§ 39), the four points of excellence in style (79), the rhythm of prose (172, 228), and the use of the paean (194, 218); while several passages may probably be traced to him, *e.g.* that on delivery and its effect on the emotions (55), on beauty of diction (80) and on moderation in the use of metaphor (81). To Theophrastus we also owe the division of style into the 'grand', the 'plain', and the 'mixed' or 'intermediate', adopted by Cicero in §§ 20, 21³.

Theophrastus

Dicaearchus

Among the younger and more independent pupils of Aristotle was Dicaearchus of Messana (*fl.* 310 B.C.), the author of an important work entitled *βίος τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. It was the first attempt at a history of civilisation, tracing the 'Life of Greece' from the dawn of history to the age of Alexander. It included an account of the geography and history, as well as the moral and religious condition of the country, besides embracing music and poetry in its extensive range. Treatises on Constitutions, such as that of Sparta, and those of Pellene, Corinth

¹ p. 238 ed. 1699 (p. 266 ed. Wagner).

² The Harmonics of Aristoxenus, ed. with translation and notes by H. S. Macran, Oxford, 1902.

³ See A. Mayer's *Theophrasti περὶ λέξεως... fragmenta*, pp. 1—50, 1910, and cp. Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi*, Leipzig, 1912.

and Athens, mentioned by Cicero¹, may have either formed part of this work or served as materials for it ; while that on 'musical competitions' may have belonged to a larger treatise on 'Dionysiac contests'. His account of Homer was possibly the source of the story of the collections of the Homeric poems by Peisistratus². His name is assigned to certain Arguments to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides ; and those on the *Alcestis* and *Medea* are still extant. He wrote biographies of Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and probably also of the Seven Wise Men and Plato, besides treating of the leading poets in the course of his great work on Greece. He did much for the study of Greek geography, and his maps were known to Cicero³; but he was much more than a mere student. He measured the altitudes of the mountains of the Peloponnesus, and he appeared as a public speaker at the Panathenaic festival at Athens, and at the Panhellenic festival at Olympia.

A pupil of Theophrastus, Praxiphanes of Rhodes or Mytilene (fl. 300 B.C.), was one of the first to pay special attention to 'grammatical' studies in the *literary* sense of the term. His interests included history, poetry, rhetoric, and the criticism and interpretation of literature. He was the first to suggest the spuriousness of the beginning of the ordinary text of Hesiod's *Works and Days* on the ground of its omission in the earlier MSS ; and he also criticised the opening words of Plato's *Timaeus*. His work on poetry was in the form of a dialogue between Plato and Isocrates ; and, probably between 291 and 287 B.C., he counted among his pupils Aratus and Callimachus.

Another pupil of Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phaléron (c. 350—c. 280), was the first to introduce recitations by rhapsodists into the *theatre* of Athens⁴. For a period of ten years (317—307) he ruled with distinction at Athens as Regent for Cassander. After his fall in 307 he fled to Thebes, and, ten years later, in 297, left for Egypt, where he attained great influence at the court of Ptolemy I. Besides his numerous political and oratorical works, he wrote on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, collected the Fables of Aesop, and drew up a chronological list of the Archons of Athens. In

¹ *Ad Atticum*, ii 2.

² p. 2 *supra*.

³ *ib.* vi. 2.

⁴ Athen. 620 B.

his treatise on Rhetoric he told the story he had heard from Demosthenes himself, on the way in which the orator had in his youth corrected the defects of an indistinct delivery¹. The treatise *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* which bears his name belongs to a later age. He is described by Cicero as the leading representative of the 'intermediate' style, which combines the minimum of force with the maximum of charm; his diction was marked by a placid smoothness, and 'lit up by the stars of metaphor and metonymy'². More florid than Lysias and Hypereides³, he marks the beginning of the decline in Attic eloquence which followed the death of Demosthenes. In the history of Scholarship he marks the close of the Athenian and the beginning of the Alexandrian age, serving as a link between the first capital of Greek culture and the second, in so far as, after holding a prominent position in the oratorical and political world of Athens, he prompted the founding of the famous Library of Alexandria.

¹ Plut. *Dem.* c. 11.

² *Orator*, §§ 91 f.

³ *Brutus*, 285.

BOOK II

THE ALEXANDRIAN AGE

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA

GREEK Scholarship was fostered in Alexandria under the rule of the earlier Ptolemies. It was during the reign of Ptolemy Soter that Demetrius of Phalêron gave the first impulse towards the founding of public libraries in the Egyptian capital (c. 295 B.C.). Ptolemy Soter, who had in vain invited Theophrastus and Menander to settle in Alexandria, entrusted the education of his son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—247), to the poet and scholar, Philetas of Cos, and to the philosopher, Straton, the successor of Theophrastus; and the monarchical city of Alexandria took the place of democratic Athens as the literary centre of the Greek world. Early in the Alexandrian age literary institutions of the highest importance were founded in the city of the Ptolemies. The foundation of the Great Library in particular was probably due in the first instance to Ptolemy Soter, acting under the advice of Demetrius, but the credit is often assigned to Philadelphus.

Philadelphus is also credited with the foundation of
The Museum the splendid shrine of learning known as the *Μουσεῖον*, 'the temple, or home, of the Muses', which is described by Strabo, who visited Alexandria in 24 B.C., as forming part of the royal quarter of the city, and as including a covered walk, an arcade furnished with recesses and seats, and a large building containing a common hall, in which the Scholars who were members of the Museum met for their meals. This learned body had endowments;

and its president, nominated by the government, was called 'the priest of the Museum'¹. Even 500 years after its foundation it is eulogised by Philostratus as a society of celebrities²; in the following century the quarter of the city where it lay is described by Ammianus Marcellinus as 'having long been the home of eminent men'³, while the last who is actually named as a member of the Museum is the celebrated mathematician and neo-platonist Theon (Æ. 380 A.D.), the father of the noble-hearted and ill-fated Hypatia (d. 415 A.D.). It is in connexion with the pathetic story of her life that the old associations of this memorable haunt of Alexandrian scholars and poets have been happily characterised by Kingsley:— 'School after school, they had all walked and taught and sung there, beneath the spreading planes and chestnuts, figs and palm trees. The place seemed fragrant with all the riches of Greek thought and song'⁴.

The other literary institutions of the earlier Ptolemies were the two libraries. The larger of these is stated to have been in the *Brucheion*, the N.E. quarter of Alex-
The Library
 andria, and was probably very close to the Museum. It has however been conjecturally placed in the *western* half of the city, S.E. of the Heptastadion, about 400 yards from the Great Harbour, and to the north of the main street, which was lined with shady colonnades and extended for nearly four miles from the N.E. to the S.W. of Alexandria. 'There it towered up, the wonder of the world, its white roof bright against the rainless blue; and beyond it, among the ridges and pediments of noble buildings, a broad glimpse of the bright sea'⁵.

The smaller Library, sometimes called the 'daughter-library', was in the *Rhakôtis*, the S.W. quarter, near the temple of Serâpis and 'Pompey's Pillar', and not
The Library
of the
Serapeum
 far from the Mareotic lake, which extends behind the spit of land on which Alexandria was built. The completion of the Library of the *Serapeum*, like that of the Great Library of the *Brucheion*, may be ascribed to Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was also Philadelphus who, according to the

¹ p. 793 f.² *Vit. Soph.* i 22, 5.³ xxii 16, 15, diuturnum praestantium hominum domicilium.⁴ *Hypatia*, c. 2.⁵ *Hypatia*, c. 2.

'Letter of Aristeeas', quoted by Josephus¹, caused the Law of Moses to be translated into Greek by a commission of learned Jewish elders, thus beginning the version known as the *Septuagint*, probably projected in the reign of Ptolemy Soter. To the reign of Philadelphus, and to about the year 255 B.C., belongs the settlement of a Greek colony in the newly reclaimed and greatly enlarged oasis of Lake Moeris, now known as the Faiyûm. The Hellenic culture of that district is attested by the numerous *papyri* there discovered.

The number of MSS comprised in the two Alexandrian Libraries is variously stated. We are informed that, in reply to a royal inquiry, it was stated by Demetrius of Phalêron (about 285 B.C.), that it was already 200,000, and that he would soon bring it up to 500,000². In the time of Callimachus (c. 310—c. 240 B.C.), the larger Library contained 400,000 volumes, including several works in each volume, and also 90,000 separate works³. In the middle of the first century B.C. the number is said to have been 700,000⁴. The smaller Library comprised 42,800 volumes⁵, which were probably comparatively modern MSS with each roll complete in itself.

It will be remembered that the Library has been conjecturally placed at a distance of about 400 yards from the harbour of Alexandria⁶. In 47 B.C., shortly after the death of Pompey, the conflicts between the Roman soldiers and the Egyptians in the streets of the city compelled Caesar to set the royal fleet on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the Egyptians. The naval arsenal was also burnt⁷. According to the historian Orosius (c. 415 A.D.), the flames spread to the shore, where 40,000 volumes *happened* to be stored up in the adjacent buildings⁸. The phrase used by Orosius has led to the conjecture that these volumes, having been removed by Caesar from the Library, were

¹ *Ant. Jud.* xii 2.

² 'Aristeeas' ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* viii 2, p. 350 a.

³ Tzetzes, Proleg. in Arist. *Plutus*.

⁴ Gellius vi 17; Amm. Marc. xxii 16, 13.

⁵ Tzetzes, *u.s.*

⁶ p. 31 *supra*.

⁷ Caesar, *B. C.* iii 111.

⁸ Orosius, iv 15, 31, quadraginta milia librorum proximis forte aedibus condita exussit.

temporarily stacked in certain buildings near the harbour, with a view to their being shipped to Rome as part of the spoils of conquest; and that the burning of these books led to the legend of the burning of the Library¹. The earliest mention of the disaster which befell the MSS is in Seneca². 'The Pergamene Libraries', containing 200,000 separate volumes, were presented to Cleopatra by Antonius in 41 B.C.³, and Domitian is said to have supplemented the deficiencies of the libraries in Italy by means of transcripts from the Alexandrian MSS⁴. Under Aurelian (272 A.D.) the *Bruchion* was laid waste⁵, and under Theodosius I (391 A.D.) the Library of the Serapeum was probably demolished⁶. In 642 A.D., when Amrou, the general of Omar, Caliph of the Saracens, captured Alexandria, it is stated that Johannes Philoponus, the commentator on Aristotle, asked the conqueror for the gift of the Alexandrian Library, that the conqueror felt constrained to consult the Caliph, and that the Caliph made the well-known reply:—'if these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed'. It is added that the contents of the Library were consigned to the flames, and that they served for six months as fuel for the 4000 baths of Alexandria. The authority for this story is Abulpharagius⁷; but it has been urged by Gibbon⁸ that his account, written in a distant province six centuries after the event, is refuted by the silence of two annalists of an earlier date and of a direct connexion with Alexandria, the more ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has minutely described the destruction of the city. The destruction of books, the historian adds, is contrary to the principles of Mohammedanism. In any case it may well be doubted whether any large number of ancient MSS were still to be found in Alexandria at the date of its capture by the general of the Saracens.

¹ Parthey, *Museum Alex.* p. 32.

² *De Tranq. An.* 9. quadraginta milia librorum Alexandriae arserunt.

³ Plut. *Ant.* 58.

⁴ Suet. *Dom.* 20.

⁵ Amm. Marc. xxii 16, 5.

⁶ Cp. Orosius, vi 15, 32.

⁷ Cp. Gibbon, v 453, 515, Bury.

⁸ c. 51.

The first six Librarians of Alexandria were Zenodotus, Apollonius Rhodius, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Apollonius the Classifier, and Aristarchus¹.

The Alexandrian age is in the main an age of erudition and criticism. Even its poets are often scholars. The earliest of the scholars and poets of this age is Philêtas of Cos (c. 340—c. 285), the preceptor not only of Ptolemy Philadelphus (in 295—2 B.C.), but also of Zenodotus and of the elegiac poet Hermesianax. He was the author of a glossary of unusual poetic words. The readings which he preferred in the Homeric text are mentioned in several of the *scholia*, while those preferred by a greater Homeric scholar, Aristarchus, were noted by the latter in a work entitled *πρὸς Φιλητᾶν*. About 292 he returned to Cos, where he apparently presided over a brotherhood of poets including Theocritus and Aratus.

His pupil Zenodotus of Ephesus (c. 325—c. 234 B.C.) was made the first Librarian of the great Alexandrian Library early in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (c. 285). As Librarian, Zenodotus classified the epic poets, while Alexander Aetolus dealt with the tragic and Lycophron with the comic drama. He compiled a Homeric glossary, in which he was apparently content with merely guessing at the meaning of difficult words. Shortly before 274 he produced the first scientific edition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was founded on numerous mss; each of the two poems was probably now for the first time divided into 24 books, and spurious lines marked with a marginal obelus. His reasons for condemning such lines were mainly because he deemed them inconsistent with the context, or unsuited to the persons, whether deities or heroes, whose action is there described². Himself an epic poet, he occasionally inserted verses of his own to complete the sense, or blended portions of several verses into one. He deserves credit, however, for making the comparison of mss the foundation of his text. Our knowledge of his criticisms rests almost entirely on statements recorded in the *scholia* on

¹ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1914), no. 1241, pp. 100, 102, 107 f.

² Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*, p. 333³; cp. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 225—39 (esp. 227, 234) and 251.

the Venice MS (A) of Homer. He is sometimes right, when his great successors, Aristophanes and Aristarchus, are wrong. His recension of Homer was the first recension of *any* text which aimed at restoring the genuine original. His merits as a Homeric critic are well summed up by Sir Richard Jebb. 'In the dawn of the new scholarship, he appears as a gifted man with a critical aim, but without an adequate critical method. He insisted on the study of Homer's style; but he failed to place that study on a sound basis. The cause of this was that he often omitted to distinguish between the ordinary usages of words and those peculiar to Homer. In regard to dialect, again, he did not sufficiently discriminate the older from the later Ionic. And, relying too much on his own feeling for Homer's spirit, he indulged in some arbitrary emendations. Still, he broke new ground; his work had a great repute; and, to some extent, its influence was lasting'¹.

Alexander Aetôlus (born *c.* 315) was responsible for the classification of the tragic and satyric dramas in the Alexandrian Library. His work at Alexandria Alexander
Aetolus lasted from *c.* 285 to 276 B.C., at which date he withdrew to the Macedonian capital of Antigonos Gonatas. In his youth he was probably a companion of Theocritus and Aratus in Cos, and he was also associated with the latter in Macedonia. As a tragic poet, he was included among the seven known as the Alexandrian Pleias. He also wrote in epic verse, and in anapaestic tetrameters. Among the latter were some notable lines on Euripides:

ὁ δ' Ἀναξαγόρου τρόφιμος χαιοῦ στριφνὸς μὲν ἔμοιγε προσειπεῖν,
καὶ μισογέλως, καὶ τωθάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' οἶνον μεμαθηκώς,
ἀλλ' ὅ τι γράψαι, τοῦτ' ἂν μέλιτος καὶ σειρήνων ἐτετεύχει².

Lycophron of Chalcis in Euboea was summoned to Alexandria *c.* 285 B.C., and entrusted with the arrangement of the comic poets in the Alexandrian Library. He Lycophron was one of the tragic Pleias of Alexandria. His *Alexandra* is a lengthy tragic monologue consisting of a strange combination of

¹ Jebb's *Homer*, p. 92 f.; cp. Monro, *Od.* 436 f.

² In Gellius, xv 20, 8.

mythological, historical and linguistic learning, grievously wanting in taste and deliberately obscure in expression. He also wrote the earliest treatise on Comedy, the extant fragments of which give an unfavourable impression of his attainments as a scholar.

Callimachus of Cyrene (c. 310—c. 240), and his somewhat earlier contemporary Aratus, studied at Athens under the Peripatetic Praxiphanes. In his youth he was invited to Alexandria, where he spent the rest of his life. His literary feud with Apollonius Rhodius has left its mark on the poems of both. In contrast to the vast and diffuse epic of Apollonius, he preferred composing hymns and epigrams, and treating heroic themes on a small scale, expressing his aim in a phrase that has become proverbial:—*μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν*¹. He was a most industrious bibliographer. He is said to have drawn up lists of literary celebrities in no less than 120 volumes described as *πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμπάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν*. This vast work was far more than a mere catalogue. It included brief lives of the principal authors, and, in the case of the Attic drama, the dates of the production of the plays. It was divided into eight classes:—(1) Dramatists, (2) Epic and Lyric poets, (3) Legislators, (4) Philosophers, (5) Historians, (6) Orators, (7) Rhetoricians, (8) Miscellaneous Writers. In the Drama, the order was that of date; in Pindar and Demosthenes, that of subject; in Theophrastus and in the Miscellaneous Writers, the order was alphabetical. If the authorship was disputed, the various views were stated. In these lists, as well as on the label (*σίλλυβος*) attached to each roll in the Library, the opening words and the number of lines contained in each work were given, in addition to the author and the title. Legends of the origin and foundation of various cities were included, not only in the four books of his poem known as the *Ἀῖτια*, but also in one of his prose-works. His works in prose and verse extended to over 800 volumes. To his school belonged some of the most celebrated scholars and poets, such as Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, his own rival Apollonius Rhodius, with Hermippus, Istrus, and Philostephanus of Cyrene.

¹ Athen. 72 A.

Zenodotus, the first of the Alexandrian Librarians, was succeeded, not by Callimachus, but by the slightly younger pupil, and rival, of Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius. Apollonius Rhodius, who criticised his predecessor's recension of Homer. Apollonius may have been the tutor of Ptolemy Euergetes about 270; he was still a young man when he produced his epic poem on the Argonautic Expedition, but his feud with Callimachus led to his leaving Alexandria for Rhodes about 260. One of the Lives of Apollonius makes him die in Rhodes, while the other makes him return to Alexandria and hold the office of Librarian. It is uncertain whether he held the office before or after his retirement to Rhodes.

The third of the Librarians, Eratosthenes (c. 275—c. 195 B.C.)¹, spent some years in Athens, whence he was recalled to Alexandria by Ptolemy Euergetes, and placed at the head of the Library. He remained in that important position during the reigns of Ptolemy Euergetes (d. 222 B.C.), and Philopator (222—205). His wide and varied learning prompted him to be the first to claim the honourable title of φιλόλογος. He was the first to treat Geography in a systematic and scientific manner. He also wrote on Mathematics, Astronomy and Chronology, and, in connexion with the latter, we may mention his work on the Olympian victors. But the masterpiece of his many-sided scholarship was a work in at least twelve books, the first of its kind, on the Old Attic Comedy (περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας). He there corrected his predecessors, Lycophron and Callimachus, dealing with his theme, not in the order of chronology, but in a series of monographs on the authorship and date of the plays, and on points of textual criticism, language and subject-matter. His encyclopaedic learning was not incompatible with poetic taste. In opposition to the prosaic opinion that the battles of the warriors in the *Iliad*, and the wanderings of the hero of the *Odyssey*, were a precise description of actual events, he maintained that the aim of every true poet is to charm the imagination and not to instruct the intellect². 'The scenes of the wanderings

¹ c. 284—204 has been suggested. In any case, he lived to the age of 80, and died after 205 B.C., the date of the accession of Ptolemy V (*Epiphanes*).

² Strabo, p. 7, ποιητῆς πᾶς στοχάζεται ψυχαγωγίας, οὐ διδασκαλίας.

of Odysseus will be found' (said Eratosthenes), 'when you find the cobbler who sewed up the bag of the winds, and not before'¹.

His successor as Librarian (c. 195 B.C.) was Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257—c. 180), the pupil of Zenodotus, Callimachus and Eratosthenes. He was the first of the Librarians who was not a poet as well as a scholar; but in Scholarship he holds, with Aristarchus, one of the foremost places in the ancient world. He reduced accentuation and punctuation to a definite system. To Aristophanes are attributed the use of the mark of elision, the short stroke (ὑποδιαστολή) denoting a division in a word (such as the end of a syllable), the hyphen (— below the word), the comma (ὑποστιγμή), the colon (μέση στιγμή) and the full stop (τελεία στιγμή); also the indications of quantity, ∪ for 'short' and — for 'long', and lastly the accents, acute ´, grave ` , and circumflex ^ or ^ . These accents were invented with a view to preserving the true pronunciation, which was being corrupted by the mixed populations of the Greek world. Aristophanes was certainly the originator of several new symbols for use in textual criticism. To the short horizontal dash called the ὄβελος or 'spit' — , which had already been used by Zenodotus to denote a spurious line, he added the asterisk * to draw attention to passages where the sense is incomplete, and, in lyric poets, to mark the end of a metrical κῶλον; also the κεράνιον T, to serve as a collective obelus where several consecutive lines are deemed to be spurious; and, lastly, the ἀντίσιγμα, or inverted sigma, D, to draw attention to tautology². These symbols were used in his edition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which marked an advance on that of Zenodotus and the next editor, Rhianus. He agreed with Zenodotus in obelising many lines, but he also reinstated, and obelised, many which had been entirely omitted by his predecessor. Thus he appears to have had some regard for manuscript evidence, or at least for the duty of faithfully recording it, even if he disapproved it. In rejecting certain lines, he acted on independent grounds; in this he showed considerable boldness, but was often right. A good example of his acuteness is his rejection of the

¹ Strabo, p. 24.

² Reifferscheid, *Suetoni Reliquiae*, pp. 137—144.

conclusion of the *Odyssey*, from xxiii 296 to the end¹. Like Zenodotus, however, he is apt to judge the picture of manners presented in the Homeric poems by the Alexandrian standard, and to impute either impropriety, or lack of dignity, to phrases that are quite in keeping with the primitive simplicity of the heroic age².

Besides his Homeric labours, he edited the *Theogony* of Hesiod, and the lyric poets, Alcaeus, Anacreon and Pindar. In the case of Pindar he produced what was probably the first collected edition.

It may fairly be inferred from the *scholia* on Euripides and Aristophanes that he prepared a recension of both of those poets. It is probable that he also edited Aeschylus and Sophocles. He wrote introductions to the plays of all the three tragic poets, as well as to Aristophanes, and these have survived in an abridged form in the Arguments (ὑποθέσεις) prefixed to their plays, which are ultimately founded on the researches of Aristotle and others of the Peripatetic School. Aristophanes also divided the works of Plato into trilogies, viz. (1) *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*; (2) *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Cratylus*; (3) *Laws*, *Minos*, *Epinomis*; (4) *Theaetetus*, *Euthyphron*, *Apologia*; (5) *Crito*, *Phaedo*, *Letters*; but an arrangement which separates the *Crito* and *Phaedo* from the *Apologia* cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

He further compiled an important lexicographical work entitled λέξεις, in the course of which he treated of words supposed to be unknown to ancient writers, or denoting different times of life, forms of salutation, terms of relationship or civic life or of Attic or Laconian usage. The work showed a wide knowledge of dialects, and marked a new epoch by tracing every word to its original meaning, thus raising 'glossography' to the level of lexicography. He probably wrote a work on *Analogy* or grammatical regularity, as contrasted with *Anomaly* or grammatical irregularity. In this work he apparently endeavoured to determine the normal rules of Greek declension, by drawing attention to general rules of regular inflexion rather than irregular and exceptional forms. Lastly, there is reason to believe that he drew up lists of the ancient poets who were foremost in the

¹ Nauck, *Aristophanis Byz. frag.* p. 32.

² Cp. Cobet, quoted on p. 34.

various forms of poetry. This is inferred from a passage of Quintilian (x 1, 54) stating that Apollonius Rhodius is not included in the *ordo a grammaticis datus*, 'because Aristarchus and Aristophanes did not include any of their own contemporaries'. In the same chapter (§ 59) he states that Archilochus was one of the three iambic poets approved by Aristarchus; elsewhere (i 4, 3) he describes the ancient *grammatici*, not only as obelising lines and rejecting certain works as spurious, but also as including certain authors in their list and entirely excluding others; and from the first chapter of his tenth book (§§ 46—54) we infer that the four leading epic poets were Homer, Hesiod, Antimachus and Panyâsis. These passages are almost all the foundation for the discussions on the Alexandrian canon. The canons of the orators, recognised by Caecilius of Calacte, the friend of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, may have been derived from Hermippus. Between the age of Aristarchus and that of Strabo, Philêtas and Callimachus were added to the canon of the elegiac, and Apollonius, Aratus, Theocritus and others, to that of the epic poets. The most important document bearing on the Alexandrian canon is a list first published by Montfaucon from a ms of the tenth century from Mount Athos. The following are the names included in this list, as revised by Usener¹, who omits late additions. The last in the list is Polybius, who died more than 50 years after Aristophanes of Byzantium.

(Epic) Poets (5): Homer, Hesiod, Peisander, Panyasis, Antimachus.

Iambic Poets (3): Semonides, Archilochus, Hipponax.

Tragic Poets (5): Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Ion, Achaëus.

Comic Poets, Old (7): Epicharmus, Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Pherecrates, Crates, Plato. *Middle* (2): Antiphanes, Alexis. *New* (5): Menander, Philippides, Diphilus, Philemon, Apollodorus.

Elegiac Poets (4): Callinus, Minnervus, Philetas, Callimachus.

Lyric Poets (9): Alcman, Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Pindar, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides.

Orators (10): Demosthenes, Lysias, Hypereides, Isocrates, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Isaeus, Antiphon, Andocides, Deinarchus².

Historians (10): Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, Philistus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Anaximenes, Callisthenes, Hellanicus, Polybius.

¹ *Dion. Hal. de Imitatione*, p. 130.

² Deinarchus, omitted by Usener, is restored by Krochnert.

Aristophanes of Byzantium was succeeded, as Librarian, by Apollonius the 'Classifier'.¹ His successor, Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 215—c. 145 B.C.), lived in Alexandria under Ptolemy Philometor (181—146). His continuous commentaries (ὑπομνήματα) filled no less than 800 volumes, partly as notes for lectures, partly in finished form. These were valued less highly than his critical treatises (συγγράμματα) on such subjects as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, on the naval camp of the Achaeans, and on Philetas and on Xenon (one of the earliest of the *chorizontes*, who ascribed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to different poets). As a commentator he avoided the display of irrelevant erudition, while he insisted that each author was his own best interpreter. He also placed the study of grammar on a sound basis; he was among the earliest of the grammarians who definitely recognised eight parts of speech, Noun, Verb, Participle, Pronoun, Article, Adverb, Preposition and Conjunction². As a grammarian he maintained the principle of *Analogy*, as opposed to that of *Anomaly*. He produced recensions of Alcaeus, Anacreon and Pindar; commentaries on the *Lycurgus* of Aeschylus, on Sophocles and Aristophanes, and even on Herodotus; and recensions, as well as commentaries, in the case of Archilochus and Hesiod. He had a profound knowledge of Homeric vocabulary, and was the author of two recensions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, with critical and explanatory symbols in the margin of each. These symbols were six in number: (1) the *obelus* — to denote a spurious line, already used by Zenodotus and Aristophanes³; (2) the *diplê* (διπλῆ) >, denoting anything notable either in language or matter; (3) the *dotted diplê* (διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη) >., drawing attention to a verse in which the text of Aristarchus differs from that of Zenodotus; (4) the *asterisk* (ἀστερίσκος) ✱, marking a verse wrongly repeated elsewhere; (5) the *stigmê* or dot (στιγμή), used by itself as a mark of *suspected* spuriousness,

¹ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, x (1914), p. 107 f; cp. Etym. Magn., Ἀπολλών(ιος) εἰδογράφος, ἐπειδὴ εὐφυνὴς ὦν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τὰ εἶδη τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἐπένειμεν.

² ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, μετοχή, ἀντωνυμία, ἄρθρον, ἐπίρρημα, πρόθεσις, σύνδεσμος (ὄνομα included the Adjective). Quint. i 4, 20, alii ex idoneis...auctoribus octo partes secuti sunt, ut Aristarchus.

³ p. 38 *supra*.

and also in conjunction with (6) the *antisigma* Σ , in a sense differing from that of Aristophanes, to denote lines in which the order had been disturbed, the dots indicating the lines which ought immediately to follow the line marked with the *antisigma*.

In his criticisms on Homer three points have been noticed. (1) His careful study of Homeric *language*. (2) His strong reliance on *manuscript authority*, and, in cases of conflicting readings, on the poet's usage. (3) His comments on the *subject-matter*, comparing the Homeric versions of myths with those in other writers, and noticing characteristic points of Homeric civilisation.

The Homeric MSS accessible to Aristarchus mainly fall into two groups, those bearing the names of (1) *persons*, or (2) *places*. The former are often cited by the name of the editor:—Antimachus, Zenodotus, Rhianus, Sosigenes, Philemon, Aristophanes; the latter, by the names of the places from which they came:—Massilia, Chios, Argos, Sinope, Cyprus, Crete and Aeolis; but the Cretan edition was probably not used by Aristarchus, and the Aeolian is cited only for some variants in the *Odyssey*. Besides these groups there were other texts denoted as 'common' or 'popular' (*κοινά, δημώδεις*), representing the 'vulgate' of the day, described as 'the more careless' (*εἰκαιότεραι*) as contrasted with the 'more accurate' or 'scholarly' (*χαριέστεραι*).

(1) The extant evidence for the text of Homer is to be found mainly in the two MSS in Venice, A and B, belonging to the 10th and 11th century respectively, together with statements in the *scholia* in the earlier of these MSS, and quotations in ancient authors. From these materials what may be called the 'vulgate' text of Homer has been formed. (2) Of the known readings of Aristarchus (664 in number) about one-fifth have left no trace in our MSS, and only one-tenth are found in all MSS hitherto examined. Notwithstanding the very slight impression which Aristarchus produced on the current text of Homer, later writers had a profound respect for his authority as a critic. His power of critical divination is recognised by Panaetius, who calls him a 'diviner'¹; and with Cicero² and Horace³ his name is a synonym

¹ *πάντις*, Athen. 634 C.

² *Ad Att.* i 14, 3.

³ *A.P.* 450.

for a great critic, and it has so remained ever since. He was the founder of scientific Scholarship. He was also the head of a School, and Apollodorus, Ammonius and Dionysius Thrax were among the most famous of his forty pupils.

Before turning to the pupils of Aristarchus, we must mention a pupil of Callimachus, Hermippus of Smyrna, the Hermippus author of an extensive biographical and bibliographical work, connected with his master's *Pinakes* and including lives of literary celebrities and lists of their writings, so far as they were preserved in the Alexandrian Library. It was one of the chief authorities followed by Diogenes Laërtius, and by Plutarch in his Lives of Lysurgus, Solon and Demosthenes.

Apollodorus of Athens (*fl.* 144 B.C.) was a pupil of Aristarchus in Alexandria, which he left *c.* 146 B.C. Apollodorus After 144 B.C. he dedicated to Attalus II of Pergamon a great work on Chronology, beginning with the fall of Troy and ending with the above date. The work was afterwards brought down to 119 B.C. It was written in comic trimeters, possibly as an aid to the memory. Where the exact date of the birth and death of any personage was unknown, he used some important date in that personage's active life to determine the time at which he flourished; this was called his *ἀκμή* and was regarded as corresponding approximately to the age of 40. He also wrote an important work in 24 books on the Religion of Greece (*περὶ θεῶν*). Some of the numerous fragments of this work are inconsistent with the corresponding passages in the mythological *Bibliotheca*, which bears the name of the same author. Between 100 and 55 B.C. a handbook of mythology was compiled, which became the source from which Diodorus, Hyginus and Pausanias drew their information on this subject; this was also the source of the extant *Bibliotheca* (possibly of the time of Hadrian) bearing the name of Apollodorus.

Aristarchus was succeeded by his pupil Ammonius, who devoted himself mainly to the exposition and the Ammonius defence of his master's recensions of Homer. He was one of the main authorities followed by Didymus in his work on the recension of Homer by Aristarchus.

Another eminent pupil of Aristarchus was Dionysius Thrax
 Dionysius (c. 170—c. 90 B.C.), the author of the earliest extant
 Thrax Greek Grammar. It is a work of less than 16 printed pages¹. It begins by defining 'Grammar' as 'in general the practical knowledge of the usage of writers of poetry and prose'. It divides the subject into six parts:—(1) accurate reading, (2) explanation of poetic figures of speech, (3) exposition of rare words and of subject-matter, (4) etymology, (5) statement of regular grammatical forms, (6) the criticism of poetry, 'which is the noblest part of all'². It next deals with Accentuation, Punctuation, Letters and Syllables, and, after enumerating the Parts of Speech³, ends with Declension and Conjugation, without including either Syntax or precepts on Style. In this Grammar *ὄνομα* includes not only the Noun, but also the Adjective and the Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns; and *ἄρθρον*, not only the Article but also the Relative Pronoun; while *ἀντωνυμία* ('Pronoun') is limited to the Personal and Possessive Pronouns. Among the Greek terms of this treatise are *ὄνομα*, *γένος*, *ἀριθμός*, *κλίσεις* ('Declensions'), *πτώσεις* ('Cases'), *πτώσεις ὀνομαστική καὶ εὐθεία* (Nom.), *γενική* (Gen.), *δοτική* (Dat.), *αἰτιατική* (Acc.), *κλητική* (Voc.); *ῥῆμα*, *συζυγίαι* ('Conjugations'), *διαθέσεις* ('Voices'), *ἐγκλίσεις* ('Moods'), *χρόνοι* ('Tenses'), *πρόσωπα* ('Persons'). With a strict adherence to Attic usage the Active and Passive *Voices* are here exemplified by *τύπτω* and *τύπτομαι*, the *Numbers* by *τύπτω*, *τύπτετον* and *τύπτομεν*, and the *Persons* (in inferior MSS) by *τύπτω*, *τύπτεις*, *τύπτει*. It was apparently in the *Canons* of the late Alexandrian grammarian Theodosius (probably a friend of Synesius of Cyrene, *fl.* 400 A.D.), that this verb appeared for the first time with the complete paradigm of all its imaginary moods and tenses. Among the Romans, Varro was indebted to the Grammar of Dionysius Thrax for his definition of the 'Persons' of the Verb, and for that of Grammar itself. It was also the authority followed by

¹ Ed. Uhlig, 1883; apparently written at Rhodes, under Stoic influence.

² A fourfold division, which is more logical, in so far as it does not confound the *aims* and the *means* of instruction, is that ascribed to his pupil Tyrannion (see p. 45 *infra*).

³ *ὄνομα*, *ῥῆμα*, *μετοχή*, *ἄρθρον*, *ἀντωνυμία*, *πρόθεσις*, *ἐπίρρημα*, *σύνδεσμος*.

Suetonius, by Remmius Palaemon (the teacher of Quintilian), and (probably at second hand) by later Roman grammarians. It remained the standard work on Greek Grammar for at least 13 centuries.

His pupil, Tyrannion the elder, who was taken to Rome by Lucullus in 67 B.C., and was a teacher there in the time of Pompey the Great, was among the Tyrannion first to recognise the value of the Aristotelian MSS transported to Rome by Sulla in 86 B.C.¹ He has been identified as the learned adviser of Atticus in his editions of Greek authors, such as Aristotle and Theophrastus. While Dionysius Thrax had divided 'Grammar' into six parts, it was probably his pupil, Tyrannion, who, more logically, divided it into four:—(1) accurate recitation, (2) exposition, (3) correction of the text, and (4) criticism. It was through Varro that this division was transmitted to the Roman grammarians². He wrote on the connexion between the Greek and Latin languages, and on the parts of speech. A commentary on the latter work was written by his pupil, Tyrannion the younger, who reached Rome as a prisoner and owed his freedom to Terentia, the wife of Cicero.

The most versatile and industrious of all the successors of Aristarchus was Didymus (c. 65 B.C.—10 A.D.), who Didymus taught at Alexandria, and perhaps also in Rome.

To his prodigious industry he owed the notable name of *Chalcenterus*. He is said to have written between 3500 and 4000 books, and we are not surprised to learn that he sometimes forgot in one book what he had himself written in another. His lexicographical labours included two vast works on the language of Comedy, and on the language of Tragedy (λέξεις κωμικαί and τραγικαί), which may be regarded as the ultimate source of most of the lexicographical learning which has come down to us in Athenaeus and the *scholia*, and in the lexicons of Hesychius and Photius. He also made an elaborate attempt to restore the Homeric recension of Aristarchus. Aristarchus had produced

¹ p. 19 *supra*.

² Diomedes, i 426, 'grammaticae officia, ut adserit Varro, constant in partibus quattuor: lectione enarratione emendatione iudicio'.

two recensions ; but both were lost, and Didymus had to restore their readings with the help of transcripts together with such evidence as could be derived from the critical monographs and the continuous commentaries of Aristarchus. He also wrote commentaries on Hesiod, Pindar and Bacchylides, on Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and on the comic poets. Extending his industry to prose, he produced editions of the Attic orators, Isæus, Hypereides, Aeschines and Demosthenes¹. Of the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus, §§ 1—45 are due to Didymus.

Among the contemporaries of Didymus was a specialist in
 Tryphon grammar and pure scholarship, who flourished under Augustus, named Tryphon. Several of his works are still extant. The most important of these is the treatise on tropes². Part of an abstract of his Grammar was first published by the British Museum in 1891³.

Theon the 'grammarian', of Alexandria, who flourished under
 Theon Tiberius, wrote a commentary on the *Odyssey*, and possibly also on Pindar ; and apparently produced from the materials collected by Didymus a lexicon of tragic and of comic diction. As a learned commentator on Lycophron, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Nicander, he has been aptly described as 'the Didymus of the Alexandrian poets'.

The scholars of Alexandria were mainly but not exclusively concerned with the verbal criticism of the Greek poets, primarily with that of Homer, and secondarily with that of Pindar and the dramatists. They were the earliest examples of the professional scholar, and they deserve the gratitude of the modern world for criticising and classifying the literature of the golden age of Greece and handing it down to posterity. From the verbal critics of Alexandria we now turn to the more varied studies cultivated in the school of Pergamon, and to the system of grammar connected with that school.

¹ *De Demosthene commenta*, ed. Diels and Schubart (1904) ; and *Mémoire* by Foucart (1907).

² Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.* iii 189—214.

³ *Classical Texts*, ed. Kenyon, p. 109 f.

CHAPTER V

THE STOICS AND THE SCHOOL OF PERGAMON

GRAMMAR was studied by the Stoics, not as an end in itself, but as a necessary part of a complete system of dialectics. Much of their terminology has become a permanent part of the grammarian's vocabulary.

The
Grammar of
the Stoics

While the earlier Stoics recognised four parts of speech, ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον, Chrysippus distinguished between ὄνομα as 'a proper name' (e.g. Σωκράτης), and ὄνομα προσηγορικόν, *nomen appellativum* (e.g. ἄνθρωπος). Under ἄρθρον was included the pronoun as well as the article, and it was noticed that, while the ἄρθρον was inflected, the σύνδεσμος was not. The definition of the ῥῆμα is identical with that of the κατηγορημα, or predicate. Predicates may be active (ὀρθά), passive (ὑπτία), or neuter (οὐδέτερα). A special variety of the verbs passive in form, but not in sense, are the 'reflexive causative' verbs (ἀντιπεπονθότα) now generally called 'middle'. The term πτώσις or 'inflection' is applied by the Stoics to the noun and the ἄρθρον (pronoun and adjective), not to the verb. While Aristotle calls the nominative ὄνομα, and the oblique cases πτώσεις, the Stoics apply πτώσις to the nominative as well, but they do not (like Aristotle) call an adverb a πτώσις of the corresponding adjective. In fact they confine πτώσις to the four cases, the nominative (ὀρθῇ πτώσις or εὐθείᾳ, *casus rectus*) and the three oblique cases (πτώσει πλάγίαι), the genitive (γενική), the dative (δοτική) and the accusative (αἰτιατική). The original meaning of these oblique cases was soon forgotten; the accusative did not originally mean the case that denotes the object of an accusation, but the case that denotes the effect of (τὸ αἰτιατόν, 'that which is caused by') an

action; so that its original meaning is best expressed by the epithet *effectivus* or *causativus*. Again, γενική to the Stoics could only mean the case that denotes the γένος or kind or class (as in the 'partitive' genitive), although Priscian afterwards translated it by *generalis*. A verb, when used with a nominative subject, is called by the Stoics a σύμβαμα (e.g. περιπατεῖ); when used with an oblique case a παρασύμβαμα (e.g. μεταμέλει). A verb with a nominative subject needing an oblique case to complete the sentence is called ἔλαττον ἢ σύμβαμα (e.g. Πλάτων φιλεῖ Δίωνα); a verb with an oblique case needing another oblique case to complete the sentence is called ἔλαττον ἢ παρασύμβαμα (e.g. Σωκράτει μεταμέλει Ἀλκιβιάδους). In other words, we have two kinds of verb, personal and impersonal, and each of these kinds may be either transitive or intransitive. Time past, present and future was distinguished as (χρόνος) παρωχημένος, ἐνεστώς and μέλλων. The Stoics named the present and past tenses as follows:

Present: (χρόνος) ἐνεστὼς παρατατικός (or ἀτελής).

Imperfect: παρωχημένος παρατατικός (or ἀτελής).

Perfect: ἐνεστὼς συντελικός (or τέλειος).

Pluperfect: παρωχημένος συντελικός (or τέλειος).

The above four tenses, whether τέλειοι or ἀτελεῖς, are all ὠρισμένοι, (*tempora finita*); the other tenses, whether future or past, are ἀόριστοι; but, while the future is called ὁ μέλλων (χρόνος), the term ἀόριστος is only used of the past.

The grammatical theories of the Stoics were known to Varro, who (as he tells us) combined the study of Cleanthes with that of Aristophanes of Byzantium¹. The Stoics also paid attention to Etymology, regarding language as a product of nature, and 'onomatopoeia' as the principle on which words were first formed.

The founder of the Stoics, Zeno of Citium (364—263), is said to have written περὶ λέξεων. He also wrote on
 Zeno 'poetry', and produced five books on 'Homeric problems', full of allegorical interpretations, which were justly attacked by Aristarchus. The allegorical interpretation of myths in general, and of the Homeric poems in particular, was in fact one of the characteristics of the Stoic school.

¹ Varro, *L. L.* v 9.

Zeno's successor, Cleanthes of Assos (331—232), wrote on grammar, and was the first of the Stoics to write on rhetoric. In his work *περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ* he treated Cleanthes of Homer, applying playful etymologies and fanciful allegories to the interpretation of the poet. In the allegorical sense which he applies to the herb 'moly' we find the earliest known example of the word ἀλληγορικῶς.

As a representative of the grammatical as well as the general teaching of the Stoics he was less famous than Chrysippus (c. 280—c. 200-4), who wrote a series of Chrysippus works on 'ambiguity', with treatises 'on the five cases', 'on singular and plural terms', 'on rhetoric', and 'on the parts of speech'. To the five parts of speech recognised by Chrysippus (ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμος and ἄρθρον), his pupil, Antipater of Tarsus, added a sixth (μεσότης, the participle). Chrysippus also wrote four books on 'anomaly', being (so far as is known) the first to use the term in a grammatical sense, as the opposite of 'analogy', the adherents of 'analogy' insisting on the *rules* applicable to the forms of words, and the adherents of 'anomaly' on the *exceptions*. The cause of 'analogy' was maintained by the Alexandrian critic, Aristarchus, while among the most conspicuous adherents of 'anomaly' was the Stoic Crates of Mallos, who, like Chrysippus and Antipater, was a native of Cilicia, and (about 168 B.C.) was the head of the Pergamene school.

Among the sculptors who flourished at Pergamon under Attalus I (241—197) was Antigonos, who also Antigonos of Carystos wrote treatises on the toreutic art and on famous painters, and is once called Antigonos of Carystos. The sculptor and writer on art have accordingly been identified with the author of that name and place, who died later than 226 B.C., after writing lives of philosophers founded on his personal knowledge, and frequently quoted by Diogenes Laërtius, and also a work on the wonders of nature, which is still extant. In literature he is the leading representative of the early Pergamene school¹.

Among other scholars who owed allegiance to the rulers of Pergamon, was Polemon of Ilium, a contemporary of Aristophanes of Byzantium (fl. 200— Polemon of Ilium

¹ Cp. Wilamowitz in *Philologische Untersuchungen* iv (1881).

177 B.C.). He was specially famous for his extensive travels in all parts of Greece, and in Italy and Sicily, and paid special attention to copying, collecting and expounding inscriptions. He was however more widely famous as the *periêgêtês*. He devoted four books to the Votive Offerings on the Athenian Acropolis alone.

Antiquarian research was represented about 150 B.C. by Demetrius of Scêpsis in the Troad (born *c.* 214 B.C.), who wrote a discursive work in 30 books on the list of the Trojan forces comprised in only 60 lines of the second book of the *Iliad*. 'This work appears to have been one of the most wonderful monuments of scholarly labour which even the indefatigable erudition of the Alexandrian age produced. The most complete examination of every point which the subject raised or suggested was supported by stores of learning drawn from every province of ancient literature, from every source of oral or local tradition. Mythology, history, geography, the monographs of topographers, the observations of travellers, poetry of every age and kind, science in all its ancient branches, appear to have been laid under contribution by this encyclopaedic commentator'¹. Polemon of Ilium had with local patriotism identified the Greek Ilium in the Trojan plain as the site of Homeric Troy. The Greek Ilium corresponds to *Hissarlik*, or Schliemann's 'Troy', which lies only 3 miles from the Hellespont. The pretensions of the Ilions were rejected by Demetrius of Scêpsis in favour of a lofty site about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles further inland, corresponding to the village of *Bunârbashi*.

The head of the Pergamene school during the reign of Eumenes II (the builder of the Pergamene Library) was Crates of Mallos. He was a strong opponent of his somewhat earlier contemporary, the great critic Aristarchus of Alexandria, being (like Chrysippus) an adherent of 'anomaly' as opposed to 'analogy'. The controversy on 'analogy' and 'anomaly', in which Crates was interested as a grammarian of the Stoic school, turned mainly on matters of declension and conjugation. Aristophanes of Byzantium had endeavoured to classify words by the application of five tests. If two words

¹ Jebb, in *J. H. S.* ii 34 f.

were of the same 'kind', *e.g.* both of them nouns or verbs, in the same 'case' or 'inflexion', and identical in termination, number of syllables and sound, they were 'analogous' to one another; *i.e.* they belonged to the same declension or conjugation. Aristarchus added a sixth test, by which both the words compared were to be simple or both of them compound. Crates appears to have regarded all the trouble spent on determining the laws of declension and conjugation as idle and superfluous, and preferred simply to accept the phenomena of language as the arbitrary results of custom and usage. But he was wrong in denying all 'analogy', and in practically opposing the accurate grammatical scholarship of the Alexandrian school.

Crates was sent as an envoy to the Roman Senate 'shortly after the death of Ennius' (169 B.C.)¹. By a curious accident his visit had a remarkable effect on literary studies in Rome. While he was wandering on the Palatine, he accidentally stumbled over an opening in a drain and broke his leg. He passed part of the time during which he was thus detained in giving lectures, which aroused among the Romans a taste for the scholarly study of literature.

In comparing the scholarship of Alexandria with that of Pergamon, we must remember that the former Alexandria
and Pergamon passed through several phases. Under the first three Ptolemies, whose combined rule extended over a century (323—222 B.C.), scholarship of the first rank flourished at Alexandria and left its mark on all later ages. In the first age of Alexandrian scholarship Philêtas, Zenodotus, Callimachus and Eratosthenes were 'poets' as well as scholars. In the second, Aristophanes and Aristarchus were scholars alone: the scholar had now narrowed into a specialist, but had gained a new power in the process. This second age closes with the accession of Ptolemy Physcon (146), and the death of Aristarchus (*c.* 143). Physcon played at textual criticism, and yet persecuted the Greeks of Alexandria, including the great critic himself. This persecution 'filled the islands and cities with grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, musicians, painters, trainers, physicians and many other professional persons, whose poverty impelled them

¹ Suet. *De Grammaticis*, c. 2, 'sub ipsam Ennii mortem'.

to teach what they knew, and thus to turn out many notable pupils'¹. In the third age of Alexandrian scholarship, a pupil of Aristarchus, Apollodorus of Athens, preferred Athens and Pergamon to Alexandria, while Dionysius the Thracian left Alexandria for Rhodes, and Didymus, a century later, possibly resided in Rome.

But in all its phases the school of Alexandria was in the main a school of *verbal criticism*. Even the versatile and widely-accomplished Eratosthenes laid himself open to the attacks of a representative of the Pergamene school, Polemon of Ilium, who exposed his mistakes in matters connected with Attic antiquities. This is one of the earliest indications of the literary rivalry between Alexandria and Pergamon. The conflict between Aristarchus, the adherent of 'analogy', and Crates, the adherent of 'anomaly', is another. The feud descended to the successors of both: pupils of Aristarchus, such as Dionysius Thrax, attacked the opinions of Crates, while a pupil of Crates, Zenodotus of Mallos, attacked those of Aristarchus. It found an echo even in distant Babylon. A follower of Crates, of uncertain date, named Herodicus of Babylon, doubtless recalling the disputes of the Alexandrian critics on the epic forms of the personal pronouns, and especially the fact that Aristarchus had proved that Homer used only *μιν*, not *νιν*, describes the followers of Aristarchus as 'buzzing in corners, and busy with monosyllables':

γωνιοβόμβυκες μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλεν
τὸ σφὶν καὶ σφωῖν καὶ τὸ μὶν ἤδὲ τὸ νιν².

While the school of Alexandria was mainly interested in verbal scholarship, the school of Pergamon found room for a larger variety of scholarly studies. In that school art and the history of art were represented by Antigonus of Carystos; learned travel and the study of inscriptions, by Polemon of Ilium; topography, by Demetrius of Scêpsis; chronology, by Apollodorus of Athens; the philosophy of the Stoics, combined with grammar and literary criticism, by Crates of Mallos.

¹ Meneclæ ap. Athen. 184 C.

² Athen. p. 222 A.

BOOK III

LATIN SCHOLARSHIP IN THE ROMAN AGE

CHAPTER VI

LATIN SCHOLARSHIP FROM 169 B.C. TO THE AUGUSTAN AGE

SUETONIUS, in his treatise *De Grammaticis*, begins by remarking that in earlier times, while Rome was still un-
civilised and engrossed in war, and was not yet Crates
of Mallos
in the enjoyment of any large amount of leisure for the liberal arts, the study of literature (*grammatica*) was not in use, much less was it in esteem. The beginnings of that study, he adds, were unimportant, as its earliest teachers, who were poets and half-Greeks (namely Livius Andronicus and Ennius, who were stated to have taught in both languages at Rome and elsewhere), limited themselves to translating Greek authors or reciting anything which they happened to have composed in Latin. After adding that the two books on letters and syllables and also on metres ascribed to Ennius were justly attributed to a later writer of the same name, he states that, in his own opinion, the first to introduce the study of literature into Rome was Crates of Mallos, who, during his accidental detention in Rome, gave many recitations and lectures which aroused an interest in the subject¹. We are further informed that the example set by Crates led to the publication in seven books of a new edition of the epic of Naevius on the First Punic War, and to the public recitation of the *Annals* of Ennius; and also (two generations later) to the recitation of the satires of Lucilius.

¹ p. 51 *supra*.

Among the first of the Romans who travelled in Asia Minor was L. Accius (170—c. 90 B.C.), who was famous as the author of numerous tragedies on the tale of Troy. In the history of Scholarship he concerns us only as the author of a history of Greek and Roman poetry, especially that of the drama, written in Sotadean verse, under the name of *Didascalica*, a title probably suggested by the διδασκαλῖαι of Aristotle. He was the first to discuss the genuineness of certain plays wrongly assigned to Plautus. Among the peculiarities of his orthography we are told that he never used the letters Y and Z, and that, when A and E and U were long, he denoted the fact by writing them double.

Among the younger contemporaries of Accius and the precursors of Varro was Q. Valerius of Sora (born c. 154), a man of distinction in linguistic and antiquarian research. When Varro was asked the meaning of *favisae Capitolinae*, he admitted that he knew nothing of the origin of the word *favisae* and took refuge in quoting the opinion of Valerius to the effect that *favisae* was a corruption of *flavisae* and meant the same as *thesauri*¹.

The foremost scholar of this age was L. Aelius Stilo Praecogninus (c. 154—c. 74 B.C.) of Lanuvium, a Roman knight, who read the plays of Plautus and others with younger men such as Varro and Cicero. In 100 B.C. he left Rome for Rhodes, where he spent two years. Dionysius Thrax, the head of the Aristarchean school, was then in Rhodes, and it was probably owing to his influence that Stilo introduced the symbols of Aristarchus into the criticism of the Latin poets. He is characterised by Cicero in the *Brutus* (205) as a man of the profoundest learning in Greek and Latin literature, and as an accomplished critic of ancient writers and of Roman antiquities in their intellectual as well as in their historical and political aspects. His grammatical and especially his etymological inquiries were partly inspired by his devotion to the Stoic philosophy. He appears to have been an industrious writer, and much of his lore passed into the pages of Varro and of

¹ Quint. ii 10, 3.

Verrius Flaccus, of Pliny the elder, and of Gellius. His writings included a commentary on the *Carmina Saliorum*¹; a critical list of the plays of Plautus, in which he recognised 25 plays as genuine; probably also an antiquarian work on the laws of the XII Tables, and lastly a glossary including articles on etymological, antiquarian and historical subjects.

Stilo's most famous pupil, M. Terentius Varro (116—27 B.C.), is characterised by Quintilian as 'the most learned of the Romans'². His books numbered as many as 620, belonging to 74 separate works. They included xli books *Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum*, with other antiquarian works *de vita* and *de gente populi Romani*, a book of 'origins' called *Aetia* (like the *Ἀἰτία* of Callimachus), and a treatise on Trojan families and on the Roman tribes. His writings on literary history comprised works on Plautus³ and on the drama, on poetry and on style, with three books on Libraries. His grammatical writings included xxv books *de Lingua Latina*, of which v—x are extant. Further, he was the author of the first encyclopaedic work in Latin on the 'liberal arts'. Under the name of *disciplinarum libri novem*, it comprised (1) grammar, (2) logic, (3) rhetoric, (4) geometry, (5) arithmetic, (6) astronomy, (7) music, (8) medicine, (9) architecture, the first seven of which were the seven liberal arts of Augustine and Martianus Capella, afterwards represented by the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* of the educational system of the Middle Ages. In his *Imagines* he collected 700 portraits of famous Greeks and Romans. Apart from fragments, the only works which have survived are the books *de Re Rustica*, and six books *de Lingua Latina*—the earliest extant Roman work on grammar. This great work, which was finished before 43 B.C., owed much to the Stoic teaching of Aelius Stilo, and also to that of a later grammarian who combined the Stoic and the Alexandrian traditions. Varro even derived his definition of grammar from that of Dionysius

Varro

¹ *Ib.* x 1, 99.

² x 1, 95.

³ The 21 plays recognised by Varro were called the *Fabulae Varronianae* (Gellius iii 3, 3), which may safely be identified with the 20 extant plays and the *Vidularia*, of which fragments only have survived in the Ambrosian Palimpsest (cent. v).

Thrax, probably through the medium of Stilo, and he was directly indebted to Dionysius' pupil, the elder Tyrannion. The first three of the surviving books are on Etymology, book v being on names of places, vi on terms denoting time, and vii on poetic expressions. The next three books are concerned with the controversy on Analogy and Anomaly: viii on the arguments against Analogy, ix on those against Anomaly, and x on Varro's own view of Analogy.

Cicero's view agrees with that of Varro. He is an analogist, who nevertheless respects *consuetudo*. As a practical
 Cicero orator it would have been impossible for him to disregard it. So he keeps to himself his knowledge of the scientifically correct forms, and is content to follow popular usage. *Usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reservavi* (*Orator*, 160).

Analogy was the theme of a work by Caesar, written while he
 Caesar was crossing the Alps, probably in 55 B.C. It consisted of two books (1) on the alphabet and on words, and (2) on irregularities of inflexion in nouns and verbs. It was in this work that Caesar laid down the memorable rule: *ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum*¹.

Among the younger contemporaries of Cicero, the Neo-Pythagorean P. Nigidius Figulus (c. 98—45 B.C.),
 Nigidius Figulus the praetor of 58 B.C., was ranked by a later age as second to Varro in learning. His *commentarii grammatici* dealt with grammar in general, and especially with orthography, synonyms, and etymology. He was perhaps the inventor of the method of denoting the long vowel by an apex.
 L. Ateius Praetextatus L. Ateius Praetextatus, who was born at Athens and became a Roman freedman, assumed (like Eratosthenes) the name of *Philologus*. He was a student of style and of Roman history, and a friend of Sallust and Asinius Pollio.
 Valerius Cato Valerius Cato, who had a great reputation as a teacher of young noblemen with a taste for poetry, closed his life in extreme poverty; but even the satirical lines of Bibaculus unconsciously do him honour by comparing him as a *summus*

¹ Gellius, i 10, 4.

grammaticus with the scholars of Alexandria and Pergamon:—*en cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis*¹.

Latin grammar owes its terminology, in the first instance, to Varro; and, in the next, to Nigidius Figulus. In the middle of the first century B.C. the Gender or *Grammatical terminology* *genus* of a noun or *nomen substantivum* was distinguished by the terms *virile*, *muliebre* and *neutrum* (*masculinum* and *femininum* not occurring earlier than the second century A.D.)². The Number or *numerus* was described by Varro as either *singularis* or *multitudinis*, while *pluralis* is found later in Quintilian (who represents the teaching of Remmius Palaemon), and *pluralivus* in Gellius. A Case (as with the Stoics) might be either *rectus* or *obliquus*; the *casus rectus* was also known to Varro as the *casus nominandei* or *nominativus*; the Genitive was called by Varro the *casus patricus*, by Nigidius the *casus interrogandi*; the Dative was described by both as the *casus dandi*, while *genetivus* and *dativus* occur in Quintilian; the Accusative is in Varro the *casus accusandei* or *accusativus*; the Vocative the *casus vocandei*, while *vocativus* is found in Gellius; the Ablative, recognised by Quintilian, possibly owes its name to Caesar, Varro's name for it being the *sextus* or *Latinus casus*, as it was not found in Greek. The Declensions and Conjugations are unrecognised by Varro. He divides each of the three times, past, present and future, into a *tempus infectum* and a *tempus perfectum*; but he knows nothing of any technical sense of *modus*.

Virgil and Horace became classics soon after their death, driving out the taste for the older poets, and finding admirers and imitators in Lucan and Persius respectively. While Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* were published during his life-time, the *Aeneid* was first edited by Varius and Tucca after his death (19 B.C.). He was attacked by Carvilius Pictor in his *Aeneidomastix*; his supposed faults of style were collected by Herennius; his alleged plagiarisms, by Perellius Faustus; and his translations from the Greek, by Octavius Avitus; while his detractors were answered by Asconius, better known as

¹ Suet. *Gram.* 10.

² First found in Caesellius Vindex (Gellius vi (vii) 2).

the earliest commentator on Cicero. The first to expound Virgil in the schools of Rome was a freedman of Atticus, named Q. Caecilius Epirota, who opened a school after the death of his second patron, the poet Cornelius Gallus (27 B.C.). Virgil was criticised by Hygînus, the librarian of the Palatine Library, and by Cornutus, the friend of Persius. In the time of Quintilian¹ and Juvenal² he shared the fate, which Horace³ had feared for himself, of being a textbook for use in schools. The first critical edition of Virgil was that of Probus in the time of Nero. Among his interpreters were Velius Longus, under Trajan; Q. Ter. Scaurus, under Hadrian; Aemilius Asper (towards the end of the second century); and Aelius Donatus (Æ. 353 A.D.). The earliest *extant* commentaries are those in the Verona *scholia*, including quotations from Cornutus, Velius Longus, Asper, and Haterianus (end of third century): that on the *Eclogues and Georgics* bearing the name of Probus (Æ. 56—88 A.D.); that on the *Aeneid* by Tib. Claudius Donatus (end of fourth century), which is simply a prose paraphrase exhibiting the rhetorical connexion of the successive clauses; and that on the whole of Virgil by Servius (late in fourth century), which includes references to the lost commentary by *Aelius* Donatus, who appears to have been deficient in knowledge and judgement and far too fond of allegorising interpretations, and in these respects inferior to the learned and sober Servius. The earliest MSS of Virgil belong to the fourth or fifth century.

The first critical edition of Horace was that of Probus; the first commentary that of Q. Terentius Scaurus, followed (late in the second century) by Helenius Acro, who also expounded Terence and Persius. The only early commentaries now extant are the *scholia* collected by Pomponius Porphyrio (third century), and by Pseudo-Acro, and those compiled from various MSS by Prof. Cruquius of Bruges (1565). It is only through Cruquius that we know anything of the *codex antiquissimus Blandinius*, borrowed from the library of a Benedictine monastery in Ghent⁴, and burnt with the monastery after it had been returned to the library. It represented a recension earlier than the date of Porphyrio, since,

¹ i 8, 5—6.

² vii 226 f.

³ *Ep.* i 20, 17.

⁴ *Classical Review*, 1909, p. 204.

in Sat. i 6, 126, instead of *fugio rabiosi tempora signi* (recognised by Porphyrio), it had the true text:—*fugio campum lusumque trigonem*. The only MS which retains the latter is the *codex Gothanus* (cent. 15). In this, and seven other MSS, we find a record, at the end of the *Epodes*, showing that, at the close of the Roman age, there was a recension of Horace produced, with the aid of Felix, *orator urbis Romae*, by Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius (the consul of 527). The earliest extant MS belongs to the eighth or ninth century.

CHAPTER VII

LATIN SCHOLARSHIP FROM THE AUGUSTAN AGE TO 300 A.D.

ONE of the foremost scholars of the Augustan age was Hygînus
Hyginus (c. 64 B.C.—17 A.D.), the pupil of Alexander Polyhistor, a learned Greek of the school of Crates. Hygînus was the Head of the Palatine Library founded by Augustus in 28 A.D. In his studies he followed the traditions of Varro as well as those of Nigidius Figulus. Among the most important of his multifarious works were (1) his commentary on Virgil, and (2) his treatise on the *Urbes Italiae*, repeatedly cited by Servius.

Varro was the model set up by Fenestella (52 B.C.—19 A.D.),
Fenestella the author of more than 22 books of Annals, which became the source of a vast variety of later erudition connected with Roman antiquities and literary history. In the same age Verrius Flaccus (fl. 10 B.C.) produced
Verrius Flaccus his encyclopaedic work *De Verborum Significatu*, the first Latin lexicon ever written. This survives in the incomplete and fragmentary abridgement by Pompeius Festus (second century A.D.), which in its turn was further abridged by Paulus, who dedicated his epitome to Charles the Great. We learn from Suetonius that Verrius Flaccus introduced among his pupils the principle of competition. He was made tutor to the grandchildren of Augustus and died as an old man in the reign of Tiberius. The remains of his work may still be traced in Quintilian, Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius and other writers.

A name of note in the history of Latin Grammar is that of
Palaemon Q. Remmius Palaemon (fl. 35—70 A.D.) of Vicentia. His *Ars Grammatica*, probably published between 67 and 77 A.D., was the first exclusively scholastic treatise on

Latin Grammar. Palaemon was the preceptor of Quintilian, and it is highly probable that, in i 4 and 5 §§ 1—54, Quintilian is paraphrasing from his preceptor's treatise. He was the first to distinguish four declensions; and part of his grammatical teaching is preserved by Charisius (fourth century).

One of the most competent commentators of the first century was Q. Asconius Pedianus (c. 3—88 A.D.), best known as the writer of a learned historical commentary on Cicero's speeches, composed about 55 A.D. All that has survived is certain portions of the commentary on the Speeches *in Pisonem*, *pro Scauro*, *pro Milone*, *pro Cornelio*, and *in toga candida*. It abounds in historical and antiquarian lore, and shows familiarity with even the unpublished works of Cicero, and the speeches of his partisans and his opponents.

Grammar was one of the many subjects which attracted the attention of the elder Pliny (23—79 A.D.). His nephew, Pliny the younger¹, names in the list of his uncle's works eight *libri* on *dubius sermo* (or Irregularities in Formation), written in the time of Nero. It is probably this work that is the source of a large part of Quintilian i 5, 54 to i 6, 287.

M. Valerius Probus of Beyrut (fl. 56—88 A.D.) was the foremost grammarian of the first century A.D. He produced recensions of Plautus (?), Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace and Persius, with critical symbols like those used by the Alexandrian Scholars. In settling the text of Virgil, he went back to the earliest authorities. We are told that he had himself examined a MS of the *First Georgic* corrected by Virgil's own hand², and traces of some of his critical signs survive in the Medicean MS of Virgil, while we may ascribe to him the nucleus at least of the extant commentary on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, which bears his name. Among the grammatical works assigned to Probus is one on anomaly (*de inaequalitate consuetudinis*), and others on tenses, and on doubtful genders. Pliny and Probus are probably responsible for most of the remarks on irregularities of declension and conjugation found in the later grammarians. To these two writers, and to Palaemon, may be ascribed the main outlines of the traditional Latin Grammar.

¹ iii 5, 5.

² Gellius, xiii 21, 4.

From Probus we turn to a name of far greater note. Fabius Quintilianus (c. 35—95 A.D.) was the pupil of Palaemon and the preceptor of Tacitus and the younger Pliny. In 88 A.D. he was placed at the head of the first State-supported school in Rome, and probably three years afterwards he began his great work, the *Institutio Oratoria*. The study of literature (*de grammatica*) is the theme of chapters 4—8 of his first book, while c. 9 is *de officio grammatici*. There is reason to believe that c. 4 and c. 5 §§ 1—54 are founded on Palaemon; c. 5 § 54 to c. 6 § 27 on Pliny, and c. 7 §§ 1—28 on Verrius Flaccus. In the controversy between analogists and anomalists, Quintilian was on the side of the former without adhering to them very strictly.

Our main authority on the history of Latin Scholarship from 168 B.C. to the time of Probus is C. Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 75—160 A.D.), who was private secretary to Hadrian, and spent the latter part of his life in preparing encyclopaedic works on the history of language and literature. Apart from his extant work *de vita Caesarum*, he wrote an important series of biographies entitled *de viris illustribus* under the headings of ‘poets’, ‘orators’, ‘historians’, ‘philosophers’, ‘scholars’ (*grammatici*), and ‘rhetoricians’. Of the early part of this work we possess excerpts alone. From the book on ‘poets’, we have short lives of Terence, Horace, Lucan, Virgil and Persius; from that on ‘historians’, a few remains of a life of the elder Pliny. Of his 36 biographies of ‘scholars and rhetoricians’, no less than 25 have survived. In a lost work entitled *Pratum* or *Prata* he treated of various notations of time in connexion with the Roman year, being one of the authorities followed on this point by Censorinus and Macrobius, besides being one of the main sources of the erudition of Isidore of Seville. The works of Suetonius included a treatise on the critical signs used in the margins of MSS¹. Most of our knowledge of the meanings of these symbols is due to Suetonius.

Among the Scholars of the second century A.D. were Q. Terentius Scaurus, who wrote on orthography as well as Grammar and Poetry, and was also a com-

Scaurus.
Velius Longus

¹ Reifferscheid, *Suetoni Reliquiae*, p. 135 f.

mentator on Plautus and Virgil, and probably on Horace; Velius Longus and Flavius Caper, both of whom wrote on orthography; and Aemilius Asper, the learned and acute commentator on Terence, Sallust and Virgil.

In the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius (born *c.* 130 A.D.) we have an interesting and instructive compilation of varied lore on the earlier Latin Language and Literature, and on Law and Philosophy, deriving its name from the fact that the author began it, about the age of thirty, in the winter evenings near Athens. Its main importance is due to its large number of citations from works which are now no longer extant. He refers to good MSS of Fabius Pictor, Cato, Catullus, Sallust, Cicero and Virgil, but in these references it is possible that he may be really borrowing from Probus who, according to Suetonius, 'gave an immense amount of attention to the collection of good MSS of classical authors'¹. More than a fourth of his work is concerned with Latin lexicography, e.g. the singular use of *mille*, with notes on *pedarii senatores*, on the different senses of *obnoxius*, on *proletarii* and *adsidui*, on the exact meaning of the phrase in Ennius, *ex iure manum consertum*, and on Cicero's use of *paenitere*. He also discusses synonyms, words of double meaning, derivations, and moot points of Grammar, such as the pronunciation of *h* and *v*, the quantity of *in* and *con* in composition, the question whether one should say *tertium* or *tertio*, *curam vestri* or *vestrum*, and the difference between *multis hominibus* and *multis mortalibus*. In a history of *Classical Scholarship* it may be worth noticing that, while Cicero² describes Cleanthes and Chrysippus as *quintae classis* in comparison with Democritus, Gellius contrasts a 'scriptor *classicus*' with a 'scriptor *proletarius*'³, obviously deriving his metaphor from the division of the Roman people into *classes* by Servius Tullius, those in the first class being called *classici*, all the rest *infra classem*, and those in the last *proletarii*. It is from this rare use of *classicus* that the modern term 'classical' is derived.

To the close of the 2nd century may be assigned Terentianus Maurus, the writer of a manual in verse on 'letters, syllables and

¹ Suet. *Gram.* 24.

² *Acad.* ii 73.

³ xix 8, 15, *classicus adsiduusque* (=locuples) *scriptor*, non *proletarius*.

metres'; also Acro, the commentator on Terence and Horace; and Festus, the author of the abridgement of Verrius Terentianus. Flaccus. Porphyrio, whose *scholia* on Horace are Acro. Festus. Porphyrio still extant, probably belongs to a later date than Acro, whom he quotes on *Sat.* i 8, 25, and whose name is wrongly given to a number of miscellaneous *scholia* on Horace founded partly on Acro and Porphyrio.

As we glance over the three centuries from the age of Augustus to that of Diocletian, we are bound to recognise that, in the first century A.D., grammatical studies are more systematic, but at the same time more narrow, than in the last century of the republic. The preparation of practical manuals for educational purposes has superseded the scientific and learned labours of a Varro, and has ultimately led to the actual loss of the greater part of his encyclopaedic works; but we may well be thankful to the grammarians of the first century for all the lore that they have preserved¹.

The second century, in which Suetonius with all his varied learning must be regarded as little more than a minor counterpart of Varro, was in matters of Scholarship an age of epitomes and compilations. Learning became fashionable, but erudition often lapsed into triviality, and the ancient classics were ransacked for phrases which ill assorted with the style of the time.

In the third century the only scholar worthy of consideration was Censorinus, the author of the brief chronological treatise *De die natali* (238 A.D.), yet even he owes his learning mainly to Suetonius, the inheritor of the traditions of Varro.

¹ Nettleship, ii 171.

CHAPTER VIII

LATIN SCHOLARSHIP FROM 300 TO 530 A.D.

IN the history of Scholarship the fourth century opens with the name of Nonius Marcellus of Thubursicum in Numidia (*fl.* 323 A.D.), the author of an encyclo-
paedic work compiled for the benefit of his son, and entitled *De Compendiosa Doctrina*. It is divided into three parts, lexicographical, grammatical, and antiquarian. In the grammatical portion the compiler is largely indebted to Probus, Caper and Pliny; and, in the lexicographical, to the scholars and antiquarians from the reigns of Nero and Vespasian to those of Trajan and Hadrian, and especially to Verrius Flaccus. Nonius frequently copies Gellius, but never mentions his name. The value of his work lies mainly in its numerous quotations from early Latin literature.

Nonius

The interest in Livy inspired by Q. Aurelius Symmachus (*c.* 345—405), consul in 391, and by his family, is still attested by the subscriptions to all the books
of the first decade. Three of them bear the further subscription of one of the Nicomachi, and three that of the other, both of these revisers of the text being connexions of Symmachus by marriage. About the same time, and inspired perhaps by his example, other aristocratic Romans interested themselves in the revision of Latin MSS. In 401 Torquatus Gennadius revised the text of Martial; in 402 Fl. Julius Tryfonianus Sabinus, that of Persius at Barcelona, and even that of Nonius Marcellus at Toulouse.

Symmachus

The middle of the fourth century marks the date of a grammarian and rhetorician of African origin, C. Marius Victorinus, the author of several philosophical and rhetorical works (including a prolix commentary on Cicero *De*

Victorinus

Inventione), and also of a treatise on metre in four books, founded mainly on the Greek of Aphthonius.

Among his distinguished contemporaries was the grammarian and rhetorician Aelius Donatus, the author of a Grammar, which has come down to us in a shorter and in a longer form; also of a valuable commentary on Terence, which has been combined with one or two others in the extant *scholia* on Terence, and of a commentary on Virgil, frequently cited by Servius. Two other grammarians, who were contemporaries with one another, and had much in common, are Charisius

and Diomedes, the former of whom transcribed large portions of the works of Julius Romanus, Cominianus, and Palaemon, and thus preserved for us much of the earlier grammatical teaching, while the latter borrowed largely from the lost work of Suetonius, *de poëtis*. Passages from the grammatical treatises of Varro are included in the works of both.

In the latter half of the fourth century Maurus (or Marius) Servius Honoratus (born *c.* 355) was famous as a Virgilian commentator, whose work owes much of its value to its wealth of mythological, geographical and historical learning. It has come down to us in two forms, a longer and a shorter. It is a vast treasure-house of traditional lore. The author displays great erudition, as well as a certain aptitude for verbal exposition, and perhaps an over-fondness for pointing out the rhetorical figures used by the poet; but he supplies practically nothing that is worth calling literary criticism.

In the same century the most scholarly representative of Christianity was Hieronymus, commonly called St Jerome (331—420 A.D.), who is celebrated as the unwearied translator and expositor of the Old and New Testaments. As a youth he was sent to Rome, where he became a pupil of Donatus. One of the most important fruits of his study in Constantinople (380 f) was his translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which, in its original Greek, now survives in fragments alone. In Rome, at the instance of Pope Damasus (382—5), he began his revision of the Latin Bible, and in due time completed his rendering of the Gospels and the Psalms. In 385 he left for Palestine, where he founded a monastery at Bethlehem (386).

He there resumed his study of Hebrew and worked at his Latin rendering of the Old Testament, and his treatise *de viris illustribus* (in imitation of that of Suetonius). In sacred literature his most famous achievement is the Latin *Vulgate*. In the Middle Ages an interest in textual criticism was stimulated by the existence of his three successive versions of the Psalter:—(1) his revision of the *Itala*, called the *Psalterium Romanum*, (2) the version founded on Origen's *Hexapla*, known as the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, and (3) his rendering of the Hebrew original. In general scholarship his most celebrated work was his translation and continuation of the Chronological Canons of Eusebius, with large additions from Suetonius, *de viris illustribus*, and his successors down to 325, and from his own researches down to 378 A.D.

To the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century belongs Macrobius, the author of an extant commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* (in the sixth Macrobius book of the *De Republica*), and of a miscellaneous work in seven books under the name of *Saturnalia*. The latter is in the form of a dialogue dealing with a vast number of topics connected with the earlier Roman literature and religion. Among the interlocutors are the scholar and statesman Symmachus, and Servius, here represented as a modest student of Virgil, who naturally takes an important part in the lengthy discussions on that poet. The work deals largely with matters of mythology and grammar, including etymology (naturally of a praescientific type); but the discussion turns mainly on the varied and comprehensive merits of Virgil. The author borrows frequently from Gellius and Suetonius, and certain ancient commentators on Virgil.

In northern Africa, before its conquest by the Vandals, Martianus Capella produced (c. 410—427) an Martianus
Capella encyclopaedia of the seven liberal arts in the form of an allegory representing the marriage of Mercury and Philologia, who is attended by seven bridesmaids personifying the liberal arts. The work is chiefly founded on Varro's *Disciplinae*; the book on Rhetoric (v) is mainly taken from Aquila Romanus; that on Geometry and Geography (vi), from Solinus and Pliny; and that on Music (ix), from Aristides Quintilianus.

As in Varro's *Satura Menippea*, the prose is often varied with verse. The story of the allegory is introduced in the first two books. The seven following books are devoted to a description of the persons and attributes of the seven bridesmaids, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Music. The order is the same as in Varro, and the number of the books is also the same, the only difference being that, whereas Varro devotes two further books to Medicine and Architecture, Martianus Capella omits these and uses the first two books to introduce his allegory. The Arts in general, and Grammar in particular, are allowed to talk undiluted and unmitigated text-book, and the dramatic form of the work as a whole is often lost in dull and dry detail. In the earlier Middle Ages it was the principal, often the only, text-book used in schools, and it exercised a considerable influence on education and on literary taste.

The year 450 marks the death of Theodosius the younger, the emperor of the East who condescended to be a copyist and was celebrated for his calligraphy. Even while he was presiding over the races of the Circus, he passed the time in producing specimens of beautiful handwriting. The record of his having copied a MS of Solinus is still preserved in transcripts of that copy bearing the subscription:—*opera et studio* (or *studio et diligentia*) *Theodosii invictissimi principis*. In the same year, in Constantinople, we have a recension of Vegetius by one Eutropius, while, in the subsequent half-century, in Ravenna, we have recensions of Pomponius Mela and of abridgements of Valerius Maximus. In 494 we find the consul of that year, Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, revising a text of Virgil in Rome, as is proved by a 'subscription' in the Medicean MS at the end of the *Eclogues*.

In the first quarter of the sixth century, which is the close of the Roman period and the prelude of the Middle Ages in the West, no name is more eminent in Latin literature than that of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boëthius (c. 480—524). The crowning work of his life, the *Philosophiae Consolatio*, was composed in prison shortly before his death. His philosophical works on Aristotle gave the first impulse to a problem which

continued to exercise the keenest intellects among the schoolmen down to the end of the Middle Ages. The first signal for the long-continued battle between the Nominalists and the Realists was given by Boëthius. Porphyry, in his 'Introduction to the Categories', had propounded three questions: (1) 'Do *genera* and *species* subsist', *i.e.* really exist, 'or do they consist in the simple conception of the subject?' (2) 'If they subsist, are they corporeal or incorporeal?' (3) In either case, 'are they separate from sensible objects, or do they reside in these objects, forming something coexistent with them?' These questions Porphyry had set aside as requiring deeper investigation. Boëthius, in his first commentary on Porphyry, in which he had accepted the translation by Victorinus, stated that it was impossible to doubt the real existence of *genera* and *species*; but, towards the close of the first book of his second commentary, founded on his own translation of Porphyry, we find him weighing and comparing the opinions of Plato and Aristotle:—'according to Plato, *genera* and *species* are not merely conceptions, in so far as they are universals; they are real things existing apart from bodies; according to Aristotle, they are conceived as incorporeal, in so far as they are universals, but they have no real existence apart from the sensible world'. He now inclines towards the opinion of Aristotle, whereas formerly he had preferred that of Plato; but, like Porphyry himself, he leaves the question undetermined, deeming it unbecoming to decide between Plato and Aristotle.

While the life of Boëthius was prematurely cut short by a violent death, that of his contemporary Cassiodorus, the skilful and subservient Minister of the Ostro-Cassiodorus gothic dynasty, was prolonged beyond the age of ninety (*c.* 480—*c.* 575). He was sole consul in 514, published his *Chronicon* in 519, and, between 526 and 533, wrote his *History of the Goths*. At the end of 537 he published, under the title of *Variae*, the vast collection of his official Letters. In the evening of his days he withdrew from the world and founded two Monasteries at Scyllacium in Southern Italy. His later works included an educational treatise entitled the *Institutiones Divinarum et Humanarum Lectionum*. In the 93rd year of his age his monks

surprised him by asking for a treatise on spelling: he accordingly produced a compilation *De Orthographia*, borrowed from the works of twelve grammarians, beginning with Donatus and ending with Priscian.

The *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus, which closes its abstract of the history of the world with 519 A.D., is mainly an inaccurate copy of Eusebius and Prosper, while towards its close it is unduly partial to the Goths. In the vast collection of his official Letters we find one enacting an increase in the salaries of grammarians :—

‘Grammar is the noble foundation of all literature, the glorious mother of eloquence.....The grammatical art is not used by barbarous kings: it abides peculiarly with legitimate sovereigns. Other nations have arms: the lords of the Romans alone have eloquence...The Grammarian is a man to whom every hour unemployed is misery, and it is a shame that such a man should have to wait the caprice of a public functionary before he gets his pay’...Such men ‘are the moulders of the style and character of our youth. Let them..., with their mind at ease about their subsistence, devote themselves with all their vigour to the teaching of liberal arts’¹.

In the first part of his *Institutiones* he warns his monks against impairing the purity of the sacred text by merely plausible emendations; only those who have attained the highest learning in sacred and secular literature could be allowed to correct the sacred texts. Revisers of other texts must study the works of the ancients, *libros priscorum*, and correct those texts with the aid of those who are masters in secular literature². To avoid mistakes the copyist must read the works of ancient authors on orthography, Velius Longus, Curtius Valerianus, Papyrianus, ‘Adamantius Martyrius’ on V and B, Eutyches on the rough breathing, and Phocas on genders. These works he had himself collected to the best of his ability³. By his careful attention to the training of copyists he did much towards preventing the earlier Latin literature from perishing. The treatise *De Orthographia* gives rules of spelling to enable the copyist to avoid certain common mistakes. The four chapters extracted from the above-mentioned treatise on V and B show that those letters must have been constantly confounded in the pronunciation of

¹ ix 21, p. 406 Hodgkin.

² Migne, lxiix 1130 B.

³ i 30.

imperfectly educated persons, who drew little (if any) distinction between *vivere* and *bibere*.

St Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem had set the first great example of isolated literary labour. Cassiodorus appears to have been the first to have applied this principle in a wider and more systematic manner to the organisation of the convent. The civilisation of subsequent centuries, and, in particular, the institution of monastic libraries and monastic schools, where the light of learning continued to shine in the 'Dark Ages', owed much to the prescience of Cassiodorus. It is not improbable that some of his own MSS ultimately found their way to Bobbio, in Northern Italy, which was certainly the place where the early MS of his Speeches was preserved¹. The Benedictine monastery on Monte Cassino was founded in 529, more than ten years before that of Cassiodorus on the bay of Squillace; but it was the latter which set the first example of that devotion to literary labour which afterwards became one of the highest distinctions of the Benedictine order.

Almost all that is known of the date of Priscian is that he flourished in Constantinople in 512, and that a transcript of his great work on grammar was there completed in 526-7 by one of his pupils. His *Grammar* is divided into XVIII books; I—XVI on Accidence; XVII and XVIII on Syntax. In the dedication he states that he proposes to translate from the Greek of Apollonius (Dyscolus) and Herodian. He follows Apollonius very closely, as may be seen from those portions of his work in which the corresponding books of Apollonius are almost completely preserved, viz. the parts on the Pronoun, Adverb, and Conjunction, and on Syntax. Most of Priscian's Latin learning comes from Flavius Caper; much is also due to Charisius, Diomedes, Donatus (with Servius on Donatus), and Probus; and to an earlier list of grammatical examples from Cicero. The work is remarkably rich in quotations from Cicero and Sallust; also from Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Persius, Statius and Juvenal. There are fewer from Cato, and from Accius, Ennius and Lucretius; very few from Catullus and Propertius, Caesar, and the elder Pliny; and none from

Priscian

¹ R. Beer, *S. Ber.* Vienna Acad. 1911, 78—104.

Tibullus and Tacitus. The Greek examples are mainly from Homer, Plato, Isocrates and Demosthenes. This grammar was one of the great text-books of the Middle Ages and is accordingly still represented by more than 1000 MSS.

The fact that the great work of Priscian was copied by his pupil, not in Rome, but in Constantinople, foreshadows the beginning of the Byzantine age of scholarship. Two years after the archetype of Priscian had been transcribed, the Schools of Athens were closed in the early part of the reign of Justinian, probably at the very time when in the West the monastery of Monte Cassino was rising above the ruins of the altar of Apollo.

BOOK IV

GREEK SCHOLARSHIP IN THE ROMAN AGE

CHAPTER IX

GREEK LITERARY CRITICISM IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE

IN the Augustan age Rome was in a preeminent degree a centre of attraction to the leading representatives of Greek literature. One of these, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dionysius of
Halicarnassus lived in Rome from 30 to 8 B.C., producing in the latter year his extant work on Early Roman History. His rhetorical writings, with which alone we are now concerned, contributed much towards the revival and the maintenance of a true standard of Attic prose. They may here be briefly noticed in an approximate chronological order.

(1) *The First Letter to Ammaeus*. The aim of this short treatise is to disprove, on chronological grounds, the opinion that Demosthenes owed his success as an orator to the precepts laid down in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

(2) The treatise *On the Arrangement of Words* (περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, *De Compositione Verborum*), includes a brief review of the history of the 'parts of speech'. Nouns, verbs and connecting-particles (σύνδεσμοι) were recognised by 'Theodectes and Aristotle'. The article (ἄρθρον) was added by the Stoics. Later writers successively separated the adjective (τὸ προσηγορικόν) and the pronoun (ἀντωνυμία) from the noun; the adverb (ἐπίρρημα) from the verb; the preposition (πρόθεσις) from the connecting-particle; the participle (μετοχή) from the adjective, and so on. The proper combination of these parts of speech makes a κῶλον, and the proper combination of κῶλα makes a 'period' (c. 2). Euphony (as an element of 'melody') is subsequently illustrated by the sounds of the letters of the alphabet, here divided into vowels (φωνήεντα, φωναί) and consonants (ψόφοι); and the latter into semi-

vowels (*ῥήμιφωνα*) and mutes (*ἄφωνα*). Long vowels are more euphonious than short vowels. The descending order of euphony is for the vowels, *ā, η, ω, υ, ι, ο, ε*; and for the semivowels, *λ* and *ρ*, next *μ* and *ν*, and lastly *ς*, which is denounced as a disagreeable letter. The nine mutes are next classified firstly as *ψιλὰ* (*tenues*) *κ, π, τ*; *δασέα* (*aspiratae*) *χ, φ, θ*; and *μέσα* (*mediae*) *γ, β, δ*; and secondly as gutturals (*κ, χ, γ*), labials (*π, φ, β*) and dentals (*τ, θ, δ*); and in the former classification the aspirates are regarded as superior to the *mediae*, and the *mediae* as superior to the *tenues* (c. 14). The *sense* of the word must be suggested by the *sound*, as in Homer's descriptions of the scream of the eagle, the rush of arrows, and the breaking of waves on the shore. The various metrical feet are enumerated and distinguished (c. 17); and metrical effects illustrated from masters of style, such as Homer, Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes, as contrasted with the Asiatic orator, Hegesias (c. 18). In the sequel, the charm of variety is exemplified by the metres of Stesichorus and Pindar, and by the periods of Herodotus, Plato and Demosthenes (c. 19); apt propriety by Homer's effective description of the stone of Sisyphus, where the sound is an echo to the sense (*Od.* xi 593—8). The three *ἁρμονίαι*, or modes of composition, are next distinguished as (1) the 'austere' (*αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία* or *σύνθεσις*), represented by Antimachus and Empedocles in epic poetry, Pindar in lyric, Aeschylus in tragic; Thucydides in history, and Antiphon in oratory (c. 22); (2) the 'smooth or florid' (*γλαφυρά, ἀνθηρά*), by Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon, Simonides, Euripides, Ephorus, Theopompus and Isocrates (c. 23); and (3) the 'intermediate' (*κωινή*), by Homer, Stesichorus, Alcaeus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle and Demosthenes (c. 24).

(3) *On the Ancient Orators* (*περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων ὑπομνηματισμοί*). This treatise was originally in two parts, comprising (1) three earlier orators, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, (2) three later orators, Demosthenes, Hypereides, Aeschines, the first three being distinguished as having invented eloquence, and the second three as having brought it to perfection. (1) alone is extant; the account of Demosthenes in (2) may possibly survive in an expanded form in the special treatise on that orator (No. 4).

(4) *On the Eloquence of Demosthenes*. Demosthenes is here described as having formed his style on a happy combination of all that was best in the three typical varieties of diction, (1) the *elevated and elaborate* (*λέξις, ὑψηλή, περιττή, ἐξηλλαγμένη*), represented by Thucydides; (2) the *smooth and plain* (*λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελής*), by Lysias; (3) the *mixed and composite* (*μικτὴ καὶ σύνθετος*), by Isocrates (c. 1—3, 33, 34, 36). The distinction between these three types is probably due to Theophrastus (c. 3). In the latter part of the treatise the three *modes of composition* (as contrasted with the three *varieties of diction* above mentioned) are (as in *De Comp.* 22—24) carefully discriminated, (1) the *austere*, represented by Aeschylus, Pindar and Thucydides; (2) the *smooth*, by Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon and Isocrates; and (3) the *mixed*, by Homer, Herodotus, Plato and Demosthenes (c. 36—42).

(5) *The Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius* (possibly a Greek freedman of Pompey) is his reply to a correspondent who is dissatisfied with the writer's criticisms on

Plato. He quotes from his *Ancient Orators* a passage on Plato describing him as combining the *elevated* style with the *plain*, and as being less successful in the former, whereas the *plain* style in Plato is 'mellowed by the tinge of antiquity', it 'remains radiant in beauty', and is 'like a balmy breeze blowing from meadows of surpassing fragrance'. He has also been asked for his views on Herodotus and Xenophon. In reply he quotes, from the Second Book of his lost treatise *On Imitation* (περὶ μιμήσεως), a long passage on these historians, and also on Thucydides, Philistus and Theopompus. This is almost all that survives of the treatise in question.

(6) *On Deinarchus*. Dionysius here deals with the life and style of Deinarchus, but his main object is to draw up a critical list of that orator's speeches.

(7) *On Thucydides*. This is a critique on the historian's treatment of his subject-matter, and on his style.

(8) *The Second Letter to Ammaeus* deals more minutely with the *style* of Thucydides. It begins with a summary of the characteristics of that style. It exemplifies each of those characteristics in turn, viz. his use of obscure, archaic and poetic words, of periphrasis and brachylogy, of noun for verb and verb for noun, of active for passive and passive for active, of singular for plural and plural for singular; of persons for things and things for persons; also his confusion of genders, his peculiar uses of cases and tenses, his use of parenthesis, his involved expressions, and his affected figures of speech. In the criticism of historians in general Dionysius is unsatisfactory; like other ancient writers, he regards history as a branch of rhetoric, and he is far less conscious of the intellectual greatness than of the stylistic obscurity of Thucydides.

In the minute and technical criticism of the art and craft of Greek literature, these works stand alone in all the centuries that elapsed between the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and the treatise *On the Sublime*.

With Dionysius of Halicarnassus we naturally associate his friend Caecilius of Calacte, the author of a lost Caecilius of
Calacte work on the characteristics of the Ten Orators, the title of which shows that the canon of the Orators was already recognised and was not invented by Caecilius. His lost treatise περὶ ὕψους ('on elevation of style') is described by the author of the extant treatise bearing the same title, as falling short of the dignity of the subject.

The treatise περὶ ὕψους was regarded as the work of 'Dionysius Longinus' by all editors until it was observed, in Anonymus 1808, that in a Vatican MS it was ascribed to περὶ ὕψους 'Dionysius or Longinus'. The same alternative is offered in the

index to two Paris MSS; but, in the *superscription* of this treatise in both, the two names are set side by side, with a considerable space between them. Lastly, a Florence MS of the treatise bears the inscription *ἀνωνύμου περὶ ὕψους*. But there are grave difficulties in ascribing the treatise either to Dionysius of Halicarnassus or to Cassius Longinus (d. 273), or to any other known author. It may very well be assigned to the first century of our era. Its general aim is to point out the essential elements of an impressive style, which, avoiding all tumidity, puerility, affectation and bad taste, finds its inspiration in grandeur of thought and intensity of feeling, and its expression in nobility of diction and in skillfully ordered composition. It deals not merely with 'the Sublime'; it is a survey of literary criticism in general, with special reference to the elements which invest style with a certain elevation or distinction.

The treatise of Demetrius on Verbal Expression, wrongly attributed to Demetrius of Phaleron, certainly belongs to the Roman age, and probably to the first century of our era. The author frequently quotes from the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, and has many interesting remarks on oratorical style and rhythm. Thus he happily compares the 'disjointed' style to a number of stones lying near one another, loose, scattered and uncombined, and the 'periodic' style to the same stones when bound compactly in the self-supporting cohesion of a vaulted dome. His main subject is the 'Art of Prose Composition'.

CHAPTER X

VERBAL SCHOLARSHIP TO 300 A.D.

JUBA II, king of Mauretania, who died under Tiberius about 20 A.D., is praised for his historical research by Plutarch, who calls him the most accomplished of kings¹. He wrote on the history of Rome, and on Assyria, Arabia, and Libya, besides works on the Art of Painting, and on the History of the Theatre. The latter dealt with the instruments of music used in the Drama, with choral songs and dances, and the distribution of the several parts among the actors. It is quoted by Athenaeus and Photius, and large parts of it have probably passed without the author's name into our *scholia* on the dramatists, and especially into the *Onomasticon* of Pollux.

Pamphilus of Alexandria (fl. 50 A.D.) was the compiler of a vast work on rare or difficult words, which was superseded by abridgements and ultimately lost. Among these was the 'poor students' lexicon' of Diogenianus, one of the authorities followed by the lexicographer Hesychius.

The extant works of Plutarch (c. 46—c. 125) have hardly any connexion with the history of scholarship. The sources of his *Lives*, e.g. those of Demosthenes and Cicero, have been the theme of scholarly discussion; his treatise *De Placitis Philosophorum* is held to have been compiled from Aëtius; and his *Quaestiones Romanae* from Juba, whose own authority was Varro. His 'Comparison between Aristophanes and Menander' is very unfavourable to the former; while his treatise 'On the Malignity of Herodotus' begins and ends with the praises of his style, but is mainly concerned with the supposed proofs of his spite and uncharitableness. In the nine

¹ *Sertor.* 9 and *Anton.* 87.

books of his *Convivial Questions* the literary element is but slightly apparent. In arranging your guests at table, he would have you place 'the eager learner beside the distinguished scholar'. He discusses the number of the Muses, and inquires why A is the first letter of the alphabet. In connexion with Homer, he inquires what was the exact meaning of ζωρότερον and ἀγλαόκαρπος. In the letter of consolation addressed to his wife, he finds fault with critics who 'collect all the lame and defective verses of Homer, which are but few in number, and pass over an infinite sort of others, which were by him most excellently made'. In the introduction to the dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum* points of grammar, such as the question whether βάλλω loses a λ in the future, and what is the positive of χεῖρον and βέλτιον, are described as causing the disputants to contract their brows and contort their features; while other topics can be discussed with a calm and unruffled mien. Plutarch's comments on Homer ('Ομηρικαὶ μελέται), the possible source of the pamphlet 'on the life and poetry of Homer', survive in fragments only; those on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, partly preserved by Proclus and Tzetzes, were apparently a medley of minute observation and moral disquisition. His 'Life of Pindar' is quoted by Eustathius; and his notes on Aratus and Nicander are reproduced in the *scholia* on those authors, but they are solely on matters of natural science. The pseudo-Plutarchic 'Lives of the Ten Orators' were mainly founded on a lost work by Caecilius of Calacte.

Among the friends of Plutarch was Favorinus of Arles (born
c. 75 A.D., one of the most learned men of the
Favorinus age of Hadrian. He vied with Plutarch in the number and variety of his writings, which included philosophy, history, philology and rhetoric. Besides several semi-philosophical works, he wrote at least five books of *Memoirs*, and twenty-four of *Miscellanies*. The latter is described by Photius as a store-house of erudition, and both are among the authorities followed by Diogenes Laërtius.

A history of Scholarship is only concerned with a few of the
four-score writings that bear the name of Lucian
Lucian (c. 125—c. 192). His *Judgement of the Vowels* (δίκη φωνηέντων), which throws some light on the Attic Greek of his

day, describes a lawsuit brought before the court of the vowels by the letter Sigma against the letter Tau, complaining of violent ejection from various words such as *σήμερον*, *θάλασσα* and *Θεσσαλία*, which the Atticists of the time pronounced *τήμερον*, *θάλαττα* and *Θετταλία*. In his *Lexiphanes* we have a playful satire on the Atticists of the day, and on their fancy for interspersing their compositions with obsolete phrases borrowed from the old Attic authors. A specimen of this kind of patch-work is produced by Lexiphanes himself, who is severely criticised, and is solemnly admonished to reject the miserable inventions of modern rhetoricians, to emulate the great classical writers such as Thucydides and Plato, and the ancient masters of tragedy and comedy, and, above all, to sacrifice to the Graces and to perspicuity.

To the age of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius we may assign the eminent grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus, who lived and died in poverty in what was once the royal quarter of Alexandria. His name of Dyscolus ('crabbed') is said to have been due to a sourness of temper, caused by extreme poverty; but it is far more probable that it was suggested by the difficulty of his style. Apollonius and his son, Herodian, are the most important grammarians of the imperial age. He was the founder of scientific grammar, and the creator of Greek Syntax. The subjects of his principal works were, the parts of speech in general, also nouns and verbs in particular, and syntax. The parts of speech, in his view, were eight in number, arranged in the following order:—noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb and conjunction. His works on nouns and verbs were extensively quoted, not only by Priscian, but also by Georgius Choeroboscus (c. 600) and the scholiasts on Dionysius Thrax. But only four of his writings have survived—those on the pronoun, adverbs, conjunctions, and syntax. This last is in four books, the first of which determines the number and order of the parts of speech (assigning precedence to the noun and verb), and next discusses the syntax of the article; the second deals with the syntax of the pronoun; the third begins with the rules of 'concord' (*καταλληλότης*) and their exceptions, followed

Grammarians

Apollonius
Dyscolus

by the general syntax of the verb ; the fourth includes the syntax of prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions, but only a small portion of this is still extant.

While Dionysius Thrax was, as we have seen¹, the first to make a special study of grammar, it was Apollonius who placed that study on a scientific basis. He analysed the true nature of language and of its component parts ; set aside certain fantastic theories current in his day, and introduced scientific explanations in their place. The characteristic of the article is 'the retrospective reference to a person already mentioned'; such a retrospect takes place, when we speak either of a known person, or of a definitely recognised class. He was the only ancient grammarian who wrote a complete and independent work on Syntax, and his opinions continued to be recognised as authoritative throughout the Middle Ages, and down to the time of Theodorus Gaza and Constantinus Lascaris inclusive. His definitions of the parts of speech show a marked advance on those of his predecessors, and are adopted by Priscian and by subsequent grammarians.

Aelius Herodianus, the son of Apollonius Dyscolus, lived at
Herodian Rome under M. Aurelius. His principal work, entitled *καθολικὴ προσφῶδια*, was in 21 books, the first 19 treating of accentuation in general, book 20 on quantities (*χρόνοι*) and breathings (*πνεύματα*), and book 21 on enclitics, *diastolê* and *synaloephê*. It was mainly founded on Aristarchus and Tryphon, and the nature of its subject left little (if any) room for originality. It is now represented only by excerpts preserved by Theodosius and 'Arcadius'. Herodian also wrote on orthography ; on barbarisms and monosyllabic words ; on nouns and verbs ; on inflexions, declensions and conjugations. Our knowledge of these works depends entirely on extracts in later grammarians; e.g. in the Homeric *scholia*, and in Stephanus of Byzantium. His only extant work is a treatise 'on peculiar diction' (*περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*), consisting of a series of articles on exceptional or anomalous words. We have also an abstract of his teaching on syllables 'common' in quantity (*περὶ διχρόνων*),

¹ p. 44, *supra*.

and numerous excerpts from his work on the accentuation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Another of the sources of the above *scholia* was the work of Nicanor (περὶ στιγμῆς), written by an Alexandrian Nicanor grammarian rather earlier than Herodian, probably in the reign of Hadrian. Nicanor distinguished eight varieties of punctuation, viz. three forms of the full stop; two of the colon; and three of the comma. His interest in punctuation led to his being known as 'the punctuator' (ὁ στιγματίας).

In the second century lexicography received a new impulse from the prevailing fancy for imitating the great Lexico-
graphers Attic models of the past.

The chief representative of lexicography is the 'Atticist', Aelius Dionysius. He compiled a lexicon of Attic Aelius
Dionysius words in five books with a supplement in five more, both parts including many examples of each word. Photius describes it as equally useful to imitators of Attic style and students of Attic writers. His own copy included a similar lexicon, of equal bulk, but containing fewer examples, compiled by another 'Atticist', Pausanias, who lived under Pausanias
the 'Atticist' Antoninus Pius and possibly also under M. Aurelius. Photius suggests the desirability of recasting and combining the lexicons of both of these 'Atticists' in a single work with all the items in a single alphabetical order. For most of our knowledge of both, we are indebted to Eustathius.

Of the 'Atticists' the most interesting to ourselves are Phrynichus and Moeris, some of whose works are Phrynichus still extant. Phrynichus (fl. 180) appears to have taught Rhetoric in Bithynia under M. Aurelius and Commodus. He was a passionate purist, and, in spite of feeble health, composed a vast lexicon of Attic terms in 37 books, under the title of σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή, 'the rhetorical magazine'. As authorities Phrynichus recognised, in prose, Plato and the ten Attic orators, also Thucydides, Xenophon, Aeschines Socraticus, Critias, and Antisthenes (with a special preference for Plato, Demosthenes, and Aeschines Socraticus); and, in verse, Aeschylus. Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes. He composed (probably in his youth) a far shorter work which has come down to us,

known to Suīdas as the Ἀττικιστής, with an alternative title ἐκλογὴ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν. It consists of a long list of rules and prohibitions, telling the student what expressions to avoid, and what to use instead. Of the life of
 Moeris Aelius Moeris we know nothing; but we possess his collection of Attic terms (λέξεις Ἀττικάι), which, like one of the works of Phrynichus, is sometimes called the Ἀττικιστής.

The date of Valerius Harpocraton, the author of an important
 Harpocraton lexicon to the Attic orators (λέξεις τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων), is uncertain. It is perhaps best to place him in the second century. His lexicon has come down to us in two forms, the complete work and an abridgement; but the mss of the former are far inferior to those of the latter. One of the mss of the complete work (P) is in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: another (Q) in that of the University (Dd 4, 63). In the margin of the second is a series of articles (including a passage from Philochorus on the subject of ostracism), first published by Dobree (1822) under the name of *Lexicon rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*. The work of Harpocraton himself is of special value in connexion with the language of the Attic orators and the institutions of Athens. Besides quotations from the tragic and comic poets, it preserves for us a number of passages from the Atthidographers Hellanicus, Androtion, Phanodemus, Philochorus, and Istrus, from the *Constitutions* of Aristotle, from the *Laws* of Theophrastus, from historians such as Hecataeus, Ephorus and Theopompus, Anaximenes and Marsyas, also from Craterus, the collector of Attic decrees, from travellers such as Polemon and Diodorus (*On Demes*), and from scholars such as Callimachus, Eratosthenes and Didymus of Alexandria, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his namesake, the son of Tryphon. These two last are apparently his latest authorities.

Another lexicographer, Julius Pollux (Πολυδεύκης) of Naucratis
 Pollux (Æ. 180 A.D.), is the author of an *Onomasticon* of Attic words and phrases in ten Books, dedicated to his imperial pupil, Commodus, who appointed him to a professorship at Athens, which he held until his death at the age of 58. The arrangement is according to subjects. Among the most valuable portions are Book iv, on music, dancing and the Greek

theatre, probably partially borrowed from Juba; Book VIII, on the Athenian tribunals and officers of State, founded partly on Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*; and Book IX, § 51 f, on coins. His primary authorities are the lexicons of Didymus, Tryphon, and Pamphilus; in Book II he partly relies on a medical writer named Rufus; and, from Book IX onwards (as he himself tells us), he has made use of the *Onomasticon* of Gorgias the younger.

In this age the leading authority on metre was Hephæstion of Alexandria. His work (originally in no less than 48 books) has only survived in the epitomised form of his own *Encheiridion*. Hephæstion

Galen (131—201), besides being a prolific writer on medical and philosophical subjects (including ethics and logic), wrote on matters connected with grammar and literary criticism. Galen Of ten such works that he names in the list of his own writings, five were on Ancient Comedy. Some of the rest dealt with questions of Atticism, including a lexicon in 48 books comprising words used by the early Attic writers. The aim of his lexicon was simply to determine the exact sense of the words used by ancient writers, which, as he found, were often misunderstood by his contemporaries. He wrote commentaries on Plato's *Timæus* and *Philebus*, on Aristotle's *Categories* and *Analytics*, and on Theophrastus and Chrysippus; but, with the exception of fragments of the first, they have not survived.

A vast variety of erudition has been preserved by Athenæus of Naucratis, who lived at Rome under Commodus and his successors. Athenæus His comprehensive work, entitled *Δειπνοσοφισταί* or 'Doctors at dinner', originally consisted of thirty books. It was abridged into fifteen; and it is this abridgement that has survived in an incomplete form in a single MS. The scene is laid at the house of the Roman pontiff Larentius; and all kinds of accomplishments,—grammar, poetry, rhetoric, music, philosophy and medicine,—are represented among the many interlocutors, some of whom bear famous names, such as Plutarch, Arrian, Galen and Ulpian. It is an encyclopaedia under the disguise of a dialogue. Food and drink, cups and cookery, stories of famous banquets, scandalous anecdotes, speci-

mens of ancient riddles and drinking songs, and disquisitions on instruments of music, are only part of the miscellaneous fare which is here provided. To the quotations in Athenaeus we are indebted for our knowledge of passages from about 700 ancient writers who would otherwise be unknown to us, and, in particular, for the preservation of a large part of the extant remains of the Middle and New Attic Comedy.

The most eminent rhetorician of the third century was Cassius Longinus (c. 220—273). He studied at Alexandria, taught for thirty years at Athens, and ended his days at Palmyra as the counsellor of Zenobia, whom he nobly supported in her resistance to Aurelian, who put him to death in 273. We still possess part of his treatise on *Rhetoric* imbedded in that of Apsines, and first identified by Ruhnken as the work of Longinus. It is little more than a collection of practical observations on 'invention', arrangement, style, delivery, and the art of memory. The studies of Longinus ranged over philosophy, rhetoric and criticism. He produced two editions of a treatise on Attic phrases, and several works on Homer; and his Homeric problems had their influence on a similar work by his pupil, Porphyry. It was his high renown as a critic that led to the conjecture of the copyists that he was the author of the treatise *On the Sublime*; and there are some points of coincidence with that treatise in the fragments of his *Philological Discourses*.

An uncritical account of the 'Lives and Opinions of Philosophers' is supplied by Diogenes Laërtius (of Laërte in Cilicia), who may be placed early in the third century. It aims at enumerating the chief representatives of each school, with brief biographical sketches of an anecdotic character, a list of their works and a popular statement of their views. The first two books include the 'Seven Wise Men of Greece', the earliest philosophers down to Anaxagoras and Archelaus, and Socrates and his pupils with the exception of Plato, who is reserved for book iii. Book iv is on the Academics, v on Aristotle and the Peripatetics, vi on the Cynics, and vii on the Stoics from Zeno to Chrysippus. In viii we return to the earlier age, to the school of Pythagoras, with Empedocles and Eudoxus; in ix we have a confused jumble including Heracleitus, the Eleatics, the Atomists and the Sceptics,

while x is entirely on the School of Epicurus, to which the compiler himself appears occasionally to incline.

Late in the second and early in the third century is the age of the most important of the ancient commentators Alexander
of Aphrodisias on Aristotle, Alexander of the Carian town of Aphrodisias. His extant commentaries deal with the First Book of the *Analytics*, the *Topica*, the *De Sensu* and the *Metaphysics*.

In the domain of Scholarship Porphyry (233—c. 305), the pupil of the Neoplatonist Plotinus, produced a Porphyry treatise on 'philological research' (φιλόλογος ἱστορία), and on 'grammatical questions' (γραμματικαὶ ἀπορίαι), as well as an 'introduction' to Thucydides, and to the *Categories* of Aristotle. His *Eisagoge*, or introduction to the latter, as translated by Boëthius, had an important influence on the thought of the Middle Ages¹; his commentary on the *Categories* exists in fragments only. His interest in Homer is now represented only by some fragments of his *Homeric Questions* (Ὅμηρικὰ ζητήματα), which have several points of contact with Aristotle's *Homeric Problems*, and by his work *On the Cave of the Nymphs* (Od. xiii 102—112), which is treated as an allegory of the universe.

¹ Cp. p. 69, *supra*.

CHAPTER XI

GREEK SCHOLARSHIP FROM 300 TO 530 A.D.

IN the time of transition from paganism to Christianity, one of the Greek authors on the Christian side was
Eusebius Eusebius (265—340), the historian and chronologer. In the previous century a sketch of the comparative chronology of the history of the Jews and Gentiles had been drawn up by Sextus Julius Africanus, ending with 221 A.D. This was one of the principal works incorporated by Eusebius in his *Chronicle*. The latter was in two parts, (1) an epitome of universal history, and (2) chronological tables, the whole constituting the greatest chronological work produced by the ancient world. It is the foundation of most of our knowledge of the dates of Greek and Roman history, down to 325 A.D. The Greek of Eusebius survives in excerpts only; for our knowledge of the rest we have to rely on the Latin version by Jerome, and the Armenian translation, first published in 1818.

On the pagan side the leading teacher of the fourth century
Libanius was Libanius of Antioch (314—c. 393). He was a prolific writer. Among his purely scholastic works are his *Declamations* (μελέται), and his *Rhetorical Exercises* (προγυμνασμάτων παραγγέλματα), the latter including speeches composed in the characters of Achilles and Medea, and a somewhat dull and formal comparison between Demosthenes and Aeschines. He is also the author of certain critical works on Demosthenes, including a *Life* of that orator and *Arguments* to his speeches. These are preserved in the mss, and printed in most of the editions, of Demosthenes; he rightly declines to accept the Speech on Halonnesus as the work of Demosthenes,

and is inclined to ascribe to Hypereides the Speech on the treaty with Alexander. In one of his discourses he complains of the inattentiveness of his class: 'some of them stand like statues, with their arms folded; others vacantly count the numbers of those who come in late, or stare at the trees outside...; they forget all about Demosthenes, the latest comments as completely as the first'¹. In the most recent criticism of Demosthenes, his reminiscences of the orator's language supply part of the materials for determining the original text.

Some of the extant *scholia* on Demosthenes bear the name of Ulpian. They are of little value, and probably belong in part alone to this eminent Sophist, the Ulpian author of a number of lost rhetorical treatises and declamations, who taught rhetoric at Emesa and Antioch, under Constantine.

The grammarian Theodosius of Alexandria may be placed about the end of the fourth century. His name is wrongly assigned to a collection of commentaries on Theodosius the Grammar of Dionysius Thrax. He is probably the author of the epitome of Herodian's work on accentuation (*κανόνες τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας*) attributed to Arcadius, a celebrated grammarian of Antioch (before 600 A.D.). He is undoubtedly the author of certain 'introductory rules on the inflexions of nouns and verbs'. This work was often appended to that of Dionysius Thrax and was formerly ascribed to the latter. But there is a marked difference between them. Thus, while Dionysius Thrax confines himself to quoting only those tenses of *τύπτω* which were in actual use, Theodosius sets forth all the imaginary aorists and futures of that verb, regardless of ancient usage.

Among the extant works of the Neoplatonist, Proclus (410—485), are commentaries on the *Republic*, *Timaeus* and Proclus *Parmenides*, and a treatise on Plato's 'theology'.

In the course of his commentary on the *Republic* he defends Homer against the attacks of Plato. Proclus (says Zeller) is really a 'scholastic': all his genius is devoted to the interpretation of texts, which he accepts unreservedly without caring to criticise them.

¹ *Or.* 3 § 13, i 200—2 Reiske.

After Proclus, Neo-Platonism lived on for about a century. Among its representatives were Hermeias (end of cent. v), who taught at Alexandria, and whose diffuse *scholia* on the *Phaedrus* are still extant; many extracts from them are quoted in the edition of Dr Thompson, who observes that, 'amidst a heap of Neoplatonic rubbish, they contain occasional learned and even sensible remarks'¹. He agrees with Synesius in supposing that beauty of every kind is the theme of this dialogue. He was succeeded at Alexandria (early in cent. vi) by his son Ammonius, who is still represented by his commentaries on the logical treatises of Aristotle, and is the earliest of the extant expounders of the *Eisagoge* of Porphyry. Among the pupils of Ammonius were Simplicius, Asclepius, Olympiodorus the younger, and Joannes Philoponus. The last of these wrote (among other works) a commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*. His commentary on Porphyry's *Introduction* to the *Categories* was much studied by the Syrians.

After languishing under the successors of Proclus, the School of Athens revived for the last time under Damascius, who was the head of the School in 529, when the 'golden chain' of the Platonic succession was broken by the edict of Justinian, which put an end to the teaching of Neo-Platonism at Athens. Its teachers lingered for a short time in their Athenian home, and, in 532, seven of them, namely Diogenes and Hermeias, Eulalius and Priscianus, Damascius, Isidorus and Simplicius, left for the court of Chosroes, the enlightened monarch who had recently ascended the Persian throne and who proved his interest in Greek philosophy by promoting the translation of certain Platonic and Aristotelian writings. Their high expectations were bitterly disappointed and they soon entreated permission to return. In 533 Chosroes concluded a treaty with Justinian, which ensured the protection of the philosophers from persecution for their opinions. They returned to the dominions of the empire, to settle, not at Athens, but at Alexandria. Among those who had left Athens for Persia was a pupil of Damascius and Hermeias, Simplicius of Cilicia, whose

¹ Thompson's *Phaedrus*, pp. ix, 92, 136.

commentaries on the *Categories*, *Physics*, *De Caelo* and *De Anima* of Aristotle are still extant; and whose ‘moral interpretation of Epictetus is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book’. This last is popular in style, while the main value of the rest lies, not in their exegesis, but in their citations from early Greek philosophers. After 564 we find at Alexandria the younger Olympiodorus, who has left us a life of Plato and commentaries on the *First Alcibiades*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, *Philebus*, and Aristotle’s *Meteorologica*. They unfortunately exhibit no originality, either literary or philosophic. David the Armenian, probably a pupil of Olympiodorus, produced a commentary on the *Organon* and on Porphyry’s *Introduction* to the *Categories*. The Neo-Platonic School, and, with it, the study of Greek philosophy, practically ceased towards the end of the sixth century.

Simplicius

Olympiodorus
the younger

While Plato and Aristotle were being expounded at Athens and Alexandria, grammar and lexicography were not neglected. With the grammarians the main source of inspiration was Herodian. In lexicography the labours of the Atticists of the second century were continued in a series of mechanical compilations. A treatise on Synonyms, attributed in the MSS to ‘Ammonius’, who left Alexandria for Constantinople in 391, appears to be only a revised edition of that of Herennius Philon on the same subject. A more important work is that of Orion, who was born at the Egyptian Thebes. This was an Etymological Lexicon, the extant portions of which prove that it was founded on the researches of Heracleides Ponticus, Apollodorus, Philoxenus, Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian, and Orus of Miletus, who has often been confounded with Orion. The work of Orion in its original form was one of the sources of the etymological compilations of the Byzantine age.

Grammarians

Lexico-
graphers.
‘Ammonius’

Orion

Hesychius of Alexandria, who probably belongs to the fifth century, is the compiler of the most extensive of our ancient Greek lexicons. It is not so much a ‘lexicon’ as a glossary. In the preface it is described as a new edition of the work of Diogenianus, with additions from the Homeric lexicons of Apion and Apollonius (the son of Archibius).

Hesychius
of Alexandria

Hesychius is of special value in connexion with the emendation of classical authors. His work has often enabled Ruhnken and later critics to restore the original word in ancient texts where its place has been taken by an explanatory synonym. The existing lexicon, large as it is, is an abridgement only; in its original form, it apparently included the names of the authorities for each statement.

In the next century another scholar of the same name, Hesychius of Miletus Hesychius of Miletus, who lived under Justinian, was the author of a lexicon of special importance in connexion with the history of Greek literature. He owed much to Aelius Dionysius and Herennius Philon. Our knowledge of his lexicon is solely due to the citations of Suïdas, who describes his own work as an epitome of that of Hesychius of Miletus.

The reign of Justinian saw an abridgement of the great Stephanus of Byzantium geographical lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium. In grammar Stephanus follows Herodian; and, in geography, Hecataeus, Ephorus, Eratosthenes, Artemidorus (*fl.* 100 B.C.), Strabo, Pausanias, and especially Herennius Philon.

Among the earliest of compilers of chrestomathies was Proclus, Chrestomathies. Proclus who is regarded by Gregory of Nazianzus and by Suïdas as identical with Proclus the Neo-Platonist. For almost all our knowledge of the 'grammatical (*i.e.* literary) chrestomathy' of Proclus we are indebted to Photius, who states that, in the first two books, the author, after distinguishing between poetry and prose, dealt with epic, elegiac, iambic and melic poetry, naming the leading representatives of each; and that he described the epic cycle in particular as a consecutive series of poems by various authors. This account is confirmed by the fragments of Proclus preserved in the *codex Venetus* of the *Iliad* and in some other mss. They include a short life of Homer, and a list of the authors of the Trojan part of the cycle, viz. the *Cypria*, the *Iliad*, the *Aethiopis* (Arctînus), the *Little Iliad* (Lesches), the *Iliupersis* (Arctînus), the *Nosti* (Agias), the *Odyssey*, and the *Telegonia* (Eugammon), with an abstract of the contents of all except the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Our knowledge of the contents of the lost epics of Greece comes almost entirely from this source.

The only chrestomathy which has come down to us in an approximately complete form is that of Joannes Stobaeus (of Stobi in Macedonia), who is probably Stobaeus not much later than Hierocles (c. 450), the latest author whom he cites. In its original form it was in four books, (1) on philosophy, theology and physics, (2) on dialectic, rhetoric, poetry and ethics, (3) on virtues and vices, (4) on politics and domestic economy. The work is divided into 206 sections, each denoted by a short motto under which all the extracts are grouped, first those in verse, and then those in prose. The number of writers thus represented is no less than 500. In the Middle Ages the four books were treated by copyists as belonging to two separate works, (1) and (2) being entitled 'Extracts on Physics and Ethics' (ἐκλογαί), and (3) and (4) the 'Anthology', a name that really belongs to the whole work.

All the commentators, lexicographers and grammarians, whom we have now passed in review, belong to the age that ended with 529 A.D., the eventful year in which the School of Athens was closed in the East, and the Monastery of Monte Cassino founded in the West.

BOOK V

THE BYZANTINE AGE

CHAPTER XII

BYZANTINE SCHOLARSHIP FROM 529 TO 1000 A.D.

IN the history of Greek Literature the Byzantine age, in the broadest sense of the term, may be said to begin with the founding of Constantinople in 330 and to end with its fall in 1453. It may be divided into three parts: (1) the *early* Byzantine period, of about three centuries, from 330 to the death of Heraclius in 641; (2) the *intervening* period of two centuries, which, so far as secular learning at Constantinople is concerned, may be described as a dark age extending from about 641 to about 850; (3) the *later* Byzantine period of six centuries from 850 to 1453. In the history of Scholarship this third period extends over five centuries only, beginning in 850 with the great revival of Byzantine learning heralded by the auspicious name of Photius, and ending about 1350, when, a full century before the fall of Constantinople, the interest in Scholarship passes westward to the cities of Northern Italy which caught the first rays of the new light that came to them from the East.

In our survey of the history of Scholarship, we have found it convenient to treat the first two centuries (330—529) of the first of the above periods as the last two centuries of the Roman age, leaving a period of little more than a century (529—641) for the opening pages of the present Book. In this century antiquarian research is the province of Joannes Laurentius Lydus (c. 490—570), who studied Aristotle

and Plato under a pupil of Proclus, and in his work *On Offices* gave a full account of the Roman civil service and the causes of its decline. Late in the sixth century is the earliest date that can be assigned to Georgius Choeroboscus, who played an important part in Byzantine education by his lectures on Grammar at the university of Constantinople. The chronological order of his principal works was: (1) a treatise on prosody, followed by lectures on (2) Dionysius Thrax, (3) Theodosius, (4) orthography, (5) Hephaestion, and (6) Apollonius and Herodian. His prolix lectures on the rules of Theodosius of Alexandria on nouns and verbs have come down to us in a complete form, part of them having been taken down by dictation. He appears to have had comparatively little influence on the later Byzantine grammarians, who preferred to study the great original writers on grammar, but in the age of the Renaissance he is closely followed in the text-books of Constantine Lascaris (Milan, 1476) and Urbanus of Belluno (Venice, 1497).

Early in the seventh century (610) Aristotle was being expounded by Stephanus of Alexandria, the author of commentaries on the *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, *De Caelo*, *De Anima*, *Analytics*, *Sophistici Elenchi*, and *Rhetoric*.

The ecclesiastical writers of this age include Maximus Confessor (580—662), the private secretary of Heraclius. He is among the persons conjectured as possible authors of the anonymous *Chronicon Paschale*, an epitome of the history of the world from the Creation to 630 A.D., containing lists of consuls first published by Sigónius (1556), and many other chronological details first communicated by Casaubon to Scaliger and published by the latter in his edition of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (1606). Among the authorities on which it is founded are Sextus Julius Africanus and Eusebius, the Consular *Fasti*, and the Chronicle of John Malalas. This last in its present form ends with the year 563; its author was a native of Antioch, who aimed at supplying the public of his day with a handbook of chronology written in the language of ordinary life. The only MS is in the Bodleian; the name of the author was identified by John Gregory (d. 1646), and the work published by John Mill (1691), with an appendix consisting of

the famous 'Letter to Mill', which revealed to Europe the critical skill and the scholarship of Bentley.

In our second period of two centuries (641—850) Theodore of Studion (759—826) was famous for his calligraphy and for his services in promoting the preservation and multiplication of mss. Under Leo the Armenian (813—820) the grammarian Theognostus compiled a work on orthography comprising more than a thousand rules, mainly founded on Herodian's great work on accentuation. The vowels and the diphthongs which, in Byzantine Greek, have the same pronunciation as those vowels, are here grouped together, ϵ with α , and υ with α , the vowel being called ϵ $\psi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\nu$, or υ $\psi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\nu$, to distinguish it from the diphthong.

During the two centuries described as the dark age of secular literature at Constantinople the light of Greek learning spread eastwards to Syria and Arabia. The philosophy of Aristotle had already found acceptance, in the fifth century, among the Syrians of Edessa, and, about the middle of that century, Syriac commentaries on the *De Interpretatione*, the *Analytica Priora* and the *Sophistici Elenchi* had been produced by Probus. The School of Edessa, closed by Zeno in 489 owing to its sympathy with Nestorianism, was succeeded by that at Nisibis, which attracted the notice of Cassiodorus, and that at Gandisapora (between Susa and Ecbatana), which sent forth Syrian students to instruct the Arabians in philosophy and medicine respectively. In the sixth century works of Aristotle had been translated into Syriac by Sergius of Resaina; and, in the seventh, the *De Interpretatione*, *Categories* and *Analytics* were produced in the same language, together with a *Life* of Aristotle, by Jacob, bishop of Edessa (fl. 651—719). Under the rule of the Abbāsidae (which lasted from 750 to 1258, and whose capital of Bagdad was founded in 762), the medical science of the Greeks became known to the Arabs through the medium of the Syrians; and, in the reign of the son of Harun-al-Raschid, the calif Almamun (813—833), whose request for the temporary use of the services of Leo the mathematician was resolutely refused by the emperor Theophilus (c. 830), philosophical works were trans-

lated by Syrian Christians from Greek into Syriac, and from Syriac into Arabic. It was under Almamun that Aristotle was first translated into Arabic under the direction of Ibn al Batrik ('Son of the Patriarch'). The Nestorian Honein Ibn Ishak, or Johannitius (d. 876), who was familiar with Syriac, Arabic and Greek, presided over an important school of interpreters at Bagdad; and (besides versions of Plato, Hippocrates and Galen) Greek commentaries on Aristotle were, in his name, translated by his sons and his disciples into Syriac and Arabic. In the tenth century new translations of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Syrianus, Ammonius etc. were produced by the Nestorian Syrians. Of the Arabian philosophers in the East the most important were Alkendi of Basra (d. *c.* 870), who commented on the logical writings of Aristotle; Alfarabi of Bagdad (d. 950), who in logic followed Aristotle unreservedly, and accepted the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation; Avicenna (980—1037), who taught in Ispahan, combining instruction in medicine with the exposition of Aristotle, analysing the *Organon* and writing commentaries on the *De Anima* and *De Caelo*, and on the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*; and Algazel (1059—1111), who began his teaching at Bagdad and opposed (on religious grounds) the doctrines of Aristotle. The Arabic translations of Aristotle passed from the East to the Arabian dominions in the West, Spain having been conquered by the Arabs early in the eighth century. The study of Aristotle in Spain in the twelfth century, and the influence of the Latin translations of the Arabic versions of Aristotle, is reserved for our review of the Middle Ages in the West.

The two works of Photius (*c.* 820—891), the Patriarch of Constantinople, which are of special importance in the history of Scholarship, are (1) his *Bibliotheca* and (2) his *Lexicon*. The *Bibliotheca*, which must have been finished before 857 B.C., while the author was still a layman, consists of 280 chapters, corresponding to the number of separate volumes (*codices*) read and reviewed, and it fills altogether 545 quarto pages in double columns in Bekker's edition. Some of these reviews contain lengthy extracts, with criticisms on the

Period III,
850—1350
Photius

style or subject-matter. Among the prose writings are the works of theologians, historians, orators and rhetoricians, philosophers, grammarians and lexicographers, physicists and physicians, and even romances, acts of councils, and lives of saints and martyrs. Next to the theologians, the historians fill the largest space; and, among the historical writings here preserved for posterity, are important notices of, or extracts from, Hecataeus, Ctesias, Theopompus, Diodorus Siculus, Memnon of Heraclea, Arrian, Phlegon of Tralles, and the chronologist Sextus Julius Africanus, besides later historians such as Olympiodorus of Thebes, Nonnösus of Byzantium, and Candidus the Isaurian. We are also supplied with excerpts from the chrestomathies of Proclus and Helladius, and brief reviews of the lexicon of the latter, as well as similar works by Diogenianus, and the Atticists Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, and Phrynichus. The work, as a whole, is such as to prove, in the language of Gibbon, that 'no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction'.

In his *Lexicon* (λέξεων συναγωγή), which belongs to a later date than the *Bibliotheca*, he makes use of excerpts from the vocabularies of Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias, both of them partly founded on Diogenianus; he also uses the abridged Harpocration, with the Platonic lexicons of Timaeus and Boëthus. For Homeric words he depends on Pseudo-Apion, Heliodorus and Apollonius. This *Lexicon* has been preserved solely in the *codex Galeanus* (c. 1200), formerly in the possession of Dr Thomas Gale (d. 1702), and now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It was twice transcribed by Porson, and published from his second transcript by Dobree (1822).

The above was not the only *Lexicon* executed under the superintendence of Photius. In the *Etymologicum Florentinum*, preserved in a MS of cent. x, and now called the *Etymologicum genuinum*, Photius is cited in five passages, once in the form οὕτως ἐγώ, Φώτιος ὁ πατριάρχης. But (curiously enough) he is not named in the numerous extracts derived from his earlier *Lexicon* and described as taken ἐκ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ. The authorities here quoted include Methodius, Orus and Orion, Zenobius (the commentator on Apollonius), Herodian, Choeroboscus, Theog-

nostus (*fl.* 820), and many *scholia* on the ancient poets. It would appear that the explanations of Homeric words current early in the sixth century were supplemented from Choeroboscus and reduced to a lexicographical form; that interpolations were then introduced, and that, in this last stage, the work was taken up by Photius, who thus became the founder of the Greek Etymological Lexicons. The *Etymologicum genuinum* was followed by the *Etymologicum parvum*, which was also drawn up under the orders of Photius, and completed in 882.

The absence of all notice of the classical Greek Poets in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius has often been observed. But his omission of poetry in a work professing to record only a portion of his reading in his maturer years is quite consistent with his having studied the usual classical poets in the days of his youth. In the ninth century the authors studied at school, and familiar to the general public in Constantinople, Study of
the Classics included Homer, Hesiod, Pindar; certain select plays of Aeschylus (*Prometheus, Septem, Persae*), Sophocles (*Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Tyrannus*), and Euripides (*Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenissae*, and, in the second degree, *Alcestitis, Andromache, Hippolytus, Medea, Rhesus, Troades*); also Aristophanes (beginning with the *Plutus*), Theocritus, Lycophron, and Dionysius Periegetes. The prose authors principally studied were Thucydides, parts of Plato and Demosthenes, also Aristotle, Plutarch's *Lives*, and especially Lucian, who is often imitated in the Byzantine age. Among rhetoricians, the favourite authors were Dion Chrysostom, Aristides, Themistius and Libanius; among novelists, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. The geographer Strabo is hardly noticed before the Byzantine age. In sacred literature, the books chiefly read were, apart from the Scriptures, certain of the Greek Fathers, such as Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus and of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Johannes Climax, and John of Damascus, together with lives of saints and martyrs. The predominance of sacred literature is obvious in the catalogues of the great Greek libraries, such as those on Mount Athos. But the fact that so large a body of secular literature has been preserved at all is mainly due to the learning and enlightenment of eminent ecclesiastics such as Photius and Arethas.

Arethas (c. 860—c. 932) was one of the many distinguished pupils of Photius. He was Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in or before 907. Although his residence in Cappadocia kept him far removed from the chief centres of learning, he devoted himself with remarkable energy to the collection of classical as well as ecclesiastical writings, and to commenting on the same. Certain of his annotations on Plato, Dion Chrysostom, Pausanias, Lucian, Tatian, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius are still extant. His interest in classical literature is attested by important mss copied under his orders and at his own expense. Among these are mss of Euclid (888); the Apologists, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius (914); Aristides (917); possibly also of Dion Chrysostom, and certainly of Plato (895). This famous ms was brought from Patmos to Cambridge by the traveller, Dr Edward Daniel Clarke, afterwards Professor of Mineralogy in that University. It is now in the Bodleian at Oxford, and is known as the *codex Bodleianus Clarkianus* 39. At the end of the volume it bears an inscription stating that it was 'written by John the calligraphist, for Arethas, Deacon of Patrae, in the month of November 895'. Its value was fully appreciated by Porson at Cambridge (in 1802) and by Gaisford at Oxford (1812). Its readings were published by the latter in 1820, and it has since been reproduced in facsimile (1898 f). It was acquired by Arethas when he was already a deacon. The Oxford ms of Euclid (888), which was acquired before he held any ecclesiastical office, is almost the earliest dated example of the Greek minuscule writing of the Middle Ages.

The son and the grandson of Basil the Macedonian, Leo the Wise and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, were chiefly distinguished for their literary productions. Leo (886—911) was the author of certain homilies and epigrams, with a book of oracles which gained him the name of 'the Wise'. The treatise on 'Tactics' bearing his name was probably written by Leo the 'Isaurian'. The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (912—959) rendered considerable service to Greek literature by organising the compilation of a series of encyclopaedias of History, as well as Agriculture and Medicine. The encyclopaedia of History

was drawn up under 53 headings, such as On Embassies, Virtues and Vices, Conspiracies, Stratagems, and Military Harangues. It included numerous extracts from earlier historians, beginning with Herodotus and ending with Theophylact Simocattes. The most important of these extracts are those from Polybius.

To the third quarter of the tenth century (950—76) we may assign the great Lexicon of Suïdas (Σουΐδας), which is a combination of a Lexicon and an encyclopaedia, the best articles being those on the history of literature. It is founded (1) on earlier lexicons, such as the abridged Harpocration, Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, and Helladius; (2) on *scholia* on Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes and Thucydides, and on commentaries on Aristotle; (3) on histories, especially those included in the Excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; (4) on biographical materials collected by Hesychius of Miletus, and by Athenaeus; and (5) on other writers especially popular at Constantinople in the tenth century, such as Aelian, Philostratus, and Babrius. Its numerous coincidences with the lexicon of Photius are best explained by regarding both as having borrowed from the same originals. The earliest extant reference to the lexicon is found in Eustathius (latter part of cent. xii).

The most notable personage in the Byzantine literature of the eleventh century was Psellus (1018—1078). He informs us that in his time learning flourished no longer at Athens or Nicomedeia, at Alexandria or in Phoenicia, or in either Rome, the Old or the New. In or after 1042 he became Professor of Philosophy in the newly founded Academy of law, philosophy and philology at Constantinople (1047 f). As a public teacher, he did much for the revival of Greek literature, and particularly for the study of Plato. His voluminous writings include an iambic poem on Greek dialects and on rules of grammar, and a brief description of the surroundings of Athens. In his list of the forensic phrases of Athens we find a passage on the reforms of Cleisthenes, with regard to the distribution of the demes among the new tribes, which we now know to have been ultimately derived from Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (21 § 4).

The successor of Psellus as Professor of Philosophy was John

Italus, a keen student of dialectic, who (without neglecting Plato and the Neo-Platonists) mainly devoted himself to the exposition of Aristotle, and especially to the *De Interpretatione* and Books II—IV of the *Topica*. A pupil of Psellus, Michael of Ephesus, commented on part of the *Organon* (adding excerpts from Alexander of Aphrodisias) and also on the *Ethics*; while Eustratius of Nicaea (c. 1050—c. 1120) expounded the *Ethics* as well as the Second Book of the *Later Analytics*.

Joannes Maurōpus, the predecessor of Psellus as Professor in Constantinople, deserves mention as the author of an etymological work in iambic verse. The words selected are suggested by the Greek text of the Scriptures and they are arranged in order of subjects, beginning with words such as Θεός, ἄγγελος, οὐρανός, ἀστήρ, ἥλιος, σελήνη, and with the names of the winds and the four elements. The authority followed was apparently Jacob, bishop of Edessa (701), who produced a Christian version of an earlier work on 'etymology' or 'Hellenism', ultimately founded either on Seleucus or some contemporary grammarian in the age of Augustus and Tiberius.

We have already noticed the *Etymologicum genuinum* and the *Etymologicum parvum* as having been prepared under the direction of Photius. Next in date to these works is the *Etymologicum* (c. 1100) deriving the epithet of *Gudianum* from the former owner of an inferior MS of the same (1293), the Dane Marquard Gude (d. 1689), whose collection was presented by Peter Burman to the Library of Wolfenbüttel. Many items in this *Etymologicum* are borrowed from the *Et. genuinum* and the *Et. parvum*, and their source is denoted in the best MS, the *codex Barberinus* I 70 (hardly later than cent. xi), by a monogram for Φώτιος. Some of the items so marked are not to be found in our MSS of the two *Etymologica* edited by Photius, but all of them were probably taken from less imperfect copies of the same works. For the preservation of the old lexicons the ninth and tenth centuries were as fatal as they were fruitful. Photius and his circle diffused a wider interest in lexicography, but the value of the works produced was constantly deteriorating, the originals being abridged or expanded at the

copyist's caprice. In the twelfth century industrious scholars appear to have gone back to the works of the age of Photius. Hence arose the so-called *Etymologicum magnum*, which was founded mainly on the *Et. genuinum* with additions from the *Et. Gudianum*, while it dealt very freely with the former by altering the headings and the phraseology, suppressing quotations, adding passages from Homer, and in general aiming at something more than an expanded recension of its original. It was compiled between 1100 and 1250. It was first printed (with many interpolations) by Callierges (1499) who was the first to give the work the name of *Et. magnum*.

The *Lexica Segueriana* are so called because they are preserved in a MS of cent. xi formerly belonging to Pierre Séguier (1588—1672, President of the French Academy), now in the Paris Library (*Coislinianus* 345). This MS, which contains a number of minor lexicons and treatises on syntax, presents us with a vivid picture of the general range of grammatical studies in Constantinople during the tenth and eleventh centuries. It includes lexicons to Homer (that of Apollonius), Herodotus and Plato (that of Timaeus), the lexicons of Moeris and Phrynichus, and five anonymous lexicons, generally called the *Lexica Segueriana*, (1) an anti-atticist work directed against Phrynichus; (2) a lexicon on syntax with examples going down as far as Procopius (*fl.* 527—562) and Petrus Patricius (*c.* 500—562); (3) a list of forensic terms; (4) rhetorical terms with notes on Greek antiquities, derived from a lexicon to the Orators; (5) a συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων, in which the treatment of words beginning with A is very lengthy owing to numerous additions from Phrynichus, Aelius Dionysius and others.

The twelfth century is marked by the name of Tzetzes (*c.* 1110—*c.* 1180), the author of a didactic poem on literary and historical topics extending over no less than 12,674 lines of accentual verse, and displaying a vast amount of miscellaneous reading. The name of *Chiliades* is due to its first editor, the author's own name for it being simply βίβλος ιστορική. The work is in the form of a versified commentary on his own *Letters*, which are full of mythological,

Lexica
Segueriana

Tzetzes

literary and historical learning. The following lines on the seven liberal arts, founded on a passage in Porphyry, are a very favourable example of his style:

δευτέρως δὲ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα καλοῦνται
ὁ κύκλος, τὸ συμπέρασμα πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων,
γραμματικῆς, ῥητορικῆς, αὐτῆς φιλοσοφίας,
καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων δὲ τεχνῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν κειμένων,
τῆς ἀριθμώσεως, μουσικῆς, καὶ τῆς γεωμετρίας,
καὶ τῆς οὐρανοβάμονος αὐτῆς ἀστρονομίας¹.

The contents of this prodigious work show that its author's reading included, in verse, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, the tragic poets, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Lycophron, Nicander, Dionysius Periegetes, Oppian, the Orphica, Quintus Smyrnaeus and the Greek Anthology. In prose, he was familiar with historians, such as Herodotus, Diodorus, Josephus, Plutarch, Arrian, Dion Cassius and Procopius; with orators, such as Lysias, Demosthenes and Aeschines; with philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle; with geographers, such as Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium; and, lastly, with the satirist Lucian. The total number of authors quoted exceeds 400. His other works include *Allegories* on the Iliad and the Odyssey in 10,000 lines (c. 1145—58); a Commentary on the Iliad (c. 1143); hexameter poems on *Antehomerica*, *Homerica* and *Posthomerica*; *scholia* on Hesiod (before 1138) and on Aristophanes, with important *prolegomena* giving valuable information on the Alexandrian Libraries; *scholia* on Lycophron, Oppian, and probably Nicander; a versified epitome of the *Rhetoric* of Hermogenes; and, lastly, a poem on Prosody (after 1138). He is proud of his rapid pen and his remarkable memory; but his memory often plays him false, and he is, for the most part, dull as a writer and untrustworthy as an authority.

The most memorable name among the scholars of the twelfth century is that of Eustathius, whose philological studies at Constantinople preceded his tenure of the archbishopric of Thessalonica from 1175 to c. 1192. Of his *Commentary on Pindar*, written while he was still a deacon, the only part preserved is a valuable preface on lyrical and Pindaric

Eustathius

poetry, on the poet's life, and on the Olympic games and the pentathlon. His next work is the *Paraphrase and scholia to Dionysius Periegetes*, followed by an important *Commentary on the Iliad and Odyssey*¹. That on the Iliad is twice as long as that on the Odyssey; both are preceded by literary introductions in which the commentator dwells with enthusiasm on the abiding influence of Homer on the literature of Greece². Both of them comprise many excerpts from earlier writers, including Herodian's work on accentuation. Eustathius makes much use of the Homeric glossary of Apion and Herodorus, which is partly founded on the same materials as the *scholia* to the Venice MS of Homer and has thus preserved some of the criticisms of Aristarchus. Among his other authorities are Athenaeus, Strabo, and Stephanus of Byzantium; also Heracleides of Miletus and two Greek works of Suetonius, together with the lexicons of Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias, the original *Etymologicum magnum* (i.e. the complete text of the imperfectly preserved *Et. genuinum*), and Suīdas, who is not quoted by any earlier commentator. These are only a few of his text-books: 'from his horn of plenty' (in the phrase of Gibbon) he 'has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers'³.

His great commentary on Homer has led modern scholars to regard him as one of the most instructive of the Byzantines. But he is much more than a mere scholiast; while in learning he stands high among all his contemporaries he is also a man of political insight, and a bold and far-seeing reformer. As archbishop of Thessalonica, he did much towards raising the general intellectual and moral standard among the Greek monks of his diocese. He protests against their reducing their monastic libraries to the level of their own ignorance by parting with their books, and implores them to allow those libraries to retain their precious stores for the sake of those who at some future time might be inspired with a greater love of learning than themselves.

¹ ed. Stallbaum, 7 vols. 1825-30.

² In another work he refers to dramatic representations of Homeric scenes at Thessalonica; *Opuscula*, p. 81, Tafel.

³ c. 53.

Another learned ecclesiastic of this age is Gregorius, arch-
 bishop of Corinth (c. 1200), author of an extant
 work on *Greek Dialects*. This is founded partly
 on Tryphon (cent. i B.C.) and Joannes Philoponus (cent. vi A.D.),
 on *scholia* and glossaries to Pindar, Aristophanes and especially
 Theocritus, and probably also on the author's independent read-
 ing of Herodotus, as well as Pindar and Theocritus. It aims
 at completeness but is defective in arrangement; its popularity
 is, however, abundantly proved by its preservation in numerous
 manuscripts.

The Byzantine age ends with the Palaeologi, who held sway
 between the recovery of Constantinople from the
 Franks in 1261 and its capture by the Turks in
 1453. The scholars who lived under that dynasty
 are the precursors of a new era. They differ widely from those
 who lived under the Macedonian (867—1057) and Comnenian
 (1057—1185) dynasties, in their treatment of classical texts.
 While most of the MSS from the ninth to the twelfth centuries
 (such as the Laurentian MS of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Apol-
 lonius Rhodius, and the Ravenna MS of Aristophanes) maintain
 the tradition of the Alexandrian and the Roman ages, those of
 the thirteenth and following centuries show that Byzantine scholars
 were beginning to deal with old Greek texts in a capricious
 manner, and to tamper with the metres of ancient poets with
 a view to bringing them into conformity with metrical systems
 of their own invention. The scholars of these centuries have
 less in common with Photius, Arethas and Eustathius than with
 the earliest representatives of the revival of learning in the West,
 who are the inheritors of the latest traditions of the Byzantine age.

Among the late Byzantine scholars who had much in common
 with the precursors of the Renaissance the first
 in order of time is the monk Maximus Planudes
 (c. 1260—1310). He had an exceptionally good knowledge of
 Latin. Among the many Latin works, which he introduced to
 his countrymen by translating them into Greek, were Caesar's
Bellum Gallicum, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Ovid's *Metamor-
 phoses* and *Heroides*, the smaller grammar of Donatus, and Boëthius,
De Consolatione Philosophiae, where even the poetical passages are

skilfully rendered in the corresponding Greek metres. His translation of the *Heroides* was founded on a MS now lost, which must have been superior to our existing MSS. His independent works included a dialogue on Grammar with a treatise on Syntax; a life of Aesop, with a prose paraphrase of the 'Fables'; and *scholia* on Theocritus and Hermogenes. Among his compilations were historical and geographical excerpts from Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, Synesius, Dion Chrysostom and Joannes Lydus, some of them important in connexion with textual criticism. He also abridged and rearranged (with a few additions) the Anthology of Constantine Cephalas (c. 917), thus forming the collection of Greek epigrams called the *Anthologia Planudea*, the only Greek Anthology known to scholars before the recovery of the Anthology of Cephalas in 1607. The Planudean Anthology, still preserved in the library of St Mark's at Venice, is in the hand of Planudes himself. It ends with his name, and with the date, Sept. 1302 (*i.e.* 1301 A.D.).

Planudes counted among his pupils and friends Manuel Moschopulus (*fl.* 1300), the nephew of an arch-Moschopulus bishop of Crete. The reputation of Moschopulus is largely due to his having extracted from the two volumes of an anonymous grammatical work a catechism of Greek Grammar, which had a considerable influence during the early Renaissance. He also compiled a school-lexicon of Attic Greek, besides brief notes on the first two books of the *Iliad*, as well as on Hesiod, Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, Euripides and Theocritus. His influence on the Byzantine text of Pindar was unsatisfactory. Among the MSS of Pindar a 'family' of forty-three, most of them containing the *Olympian Odes* alone, is regarded as representing the 'badly interpolated edition of Moschopulus'.

Among his contemporaries was Thomas Magister, secretary to Andronicus II (1282—1328). He was the Thomas
Magister author of several school-books, the chief of which is a 'selection of Attic nouns and verbs' founded on Phrynichus, Ammonius, Herodian, Moeris and others, with many additions from his own reading, especially in Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristides and Synesius. He also wrote *scholia* on Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and on three plays of Aristophanes

(*Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*). The *scholia* on Pindar, which bear his name, are ascribed to Triclinius.

The foremost textual critic of the age of the Palaeologi was
 Triclinius Demetrius Triclinius (early in cent. xiv). He expounded and emended (and not unfrequently corrupted) the texts of Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*), and Theocritus. His *scholia* on Aeschylus and Hesiod (c. 1316-20) still exist in his own handwriting in Naples and Venice respectively. His transcript of Hesiod bears the date 1316; that of Aphthonius (at New College, Oxford) is dated 1298. His MS of Aeschylus was allied to a Venice MS of cent. xv, while that of Pindar was copied from the Florentine MS D (cent. xiii-xiv). He acquired a considerable knowledge of metre, but was misled to some extent by the changes of pronunciation which had come over the Greek language in the course of the Byzantine age. His textual emendations differ widely in value. In the case of Pindar in particular, 'he altered the text to conform to his crude rules of grammar and metric. His notes are full of conceit and self-assertion. Their value has been said to be chiefly negative; any text is suspicious which contains the readings recommended by him'¹. His edition is now represented in a family of twenty-eight MSS.

Our list of late Byzantine scholars may here close with the
 Manuel name of Manuel Chrysoloras, who was born a
 Chrysoloras century before the fall of Constantinople, and died forty years before that event, having meanwhile played a leading part in the revival of Greek learning in Italy.

Of the extant remains of Byzantine literature, apart from
 Byzantine theological works, nearly half belong to the domain
 Scholarship of Scholarship in the widest sense of the term. The scholars of the Byzantine, and of the latter part of the Roman age, are unsystematic and diffuse, are deficient in originality of thought and independence of character, and are only too ready to rest satisfied with a merely mechanical reproduction of the learning of the past. In matters of Scholarship they seldom show a real advance, or even display a sound and

¹ Seymour's *Selected Odes*, p. xxii.

impartial judgement. But, if they are themselves to be judged in a spirit of fairness and candour, they cannot be compared with the great Alexandrian critics, from whom they are parted by a thousand years, in the course of which the cultivation of Scholarship was attended with ever increasing difficulty and discouragement. A Planudes or a Triclinius cannot reasonably be judged by the same standard as an Aristophanes or an Aristarchus; and a Moschopulus has as little as a Melanchthon in common with the great Alexandrians. Even the Byzantine scholars of the ninth and eleventh centuries did not enjoy the advantages of the Alexandrian age, or of our own; but they served to maintain a continuity of tradition by which the learning of Alexandria has been transmitted to Europe. They must be tried by the standard of their own contemporaries in other lands: a Photius must be compared with an Alcuin; a Psellus with an Anselm. The erudite Byzantines who lived under the dynasty of the Palaeologi will be seen in their true light, if they are regarded as among the earliest precursors of the Renaissance. For it must be remembered that, for the revival of Greek learning, we are indebted not only to the Greek refugees who in the middle of the fifteenth century were driven from Constantinople to the hospitable shores of Italy, or even to the wandering Greeks of the previous century. The spirit of the Renaissance was at work in Constantinople at a still earlier time. In the ninth century, that spirit is embodied in the brilliant personality of Photius, which illuminates an age of darkness and barbarism. In the tenth, the intelligent knowledge of antiquity and the aspiration after its continued preservation appear to decline, while the despotic will of Constantine Porphyrogenitus threatens to bury the remains of earlier Greek literature under a mass of encyclopaedic works projected on a magnificent scale, but executed in a most mechanical manner. But, in the same age, we may gratefully acknowledge the efforts made by intelligent custodians and expositors of the treasures of the past, such as Arethas the *bibliophile*, and Suïdas the lexicographer. In the eleventh century the comprehensive intellect of a Psellus is attracted to the study of antiquity as a whole, in a way that was afterwards characteristic of the foremost humanists of the Renaissance; while, under

the Comneni (1057—1185) and the Palaeologi (1261—1453), the humanistic spirit is unmistakably prominent. It has accordingly been well observed, that historians of the Renaissance must in the future go back as far as Moschopulus and Planudes, and, even further still, to a Eustathius and a Psellus, an Arethas and a Photius. To obtain a continuous view of the course of grammatical tradition, we must remember that the works, which enabled Theodorus Gaza, Constantine Lascaris and Manuel Chrysoloras to promote the study of the Greek language and literature in Italy, were directly derived from Greek and Byzantine sources, from the canons of Theodosius, and the catechism of Moschopulus, while the ultimate originals of both of the latter were the works of Dionysius Thrax in the Alexandrian, and Apollonius and Herodian in the Roman age.

Although it was mainly by the preservation and transmission of ancient literature that Byzantine scholarship had an important influence on the learning of the West, there was no lack of original and independent scholars who applied their powers to the emendation and interpretation of the old Greek Classics, and even to the elaboration of new metrical systems. Their weakest side was Grammar. They laid little stress on Syntax and not much more on Accidence, while they paid special attention to Accentuation and Orthography, the latter subject deriving a peculiar importance from the changes which had affected the pronunciation of the Greek language. But the scientific study of Grammar was set aside for the preparation of mere manuals for the use of beginners. The innumerable treatises on Accidence, Syntax, Prosody, and Metre, which abound in most collections of mediaeval mss, cannot be regarded as works of Scholarship, but merely as commonplace text-books and exercise-books for use in the schools of Constantinople. These treatises seldom agree with one another, every teacher and transcriber having in turn applied the processes of combination or interpolation to altering his copy at his own caprice.

It would be interesting to ascertain what portions of ancient literature were in the actual possession of the Byzantines, and which were their favourite works. In and after the ninth century they possessed little

more than ourselves of the remains of classical Greek literature, such as Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, the Attic dramatists, the prae-Alexandrian historians and orators, and Plato and Aristotle¹. But they were better provided with the works of the learned specialists and of the later historians. The compilers of excerpts in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (912-59) had before them complete copies of many of the latter (such as Dexippus, Eunapius, Priscus, Malchus, Petrus Patricius, Menander Protector and John of Antioch), now surviving in fragments only. Considerable portions of Polybius were unknown to them, but many fragments of that historian have been preserved to us through these excerpts alone.

The loss of a large part of Greek literature may be ascribed to the general cessation of literary activity from the middle of the seventh (the age of Theophylact Simocattes) to the middle of the ninth century (the age of Photius). In the tenth, many prose works may have perished owing to the compilation of excerpts under Constantine Porphyrogenitus. There was probably a considerable destruction of ancient literature in the three fires of Constantinople which attended its capture by the Franks in 1204. But its capture by the Turks in 1453 probably did comparatively little damage to the surviving remains of ancient libraries.

The debt of modern Scholarship to the Byzantine age cannot be better summed up than in the following extract from Mr Frederic Harrison's Rede Lecture of 1900:

'The peculiar, indispensable service of Byzantine literature was the preservation of the language, philology, and archaeology of Greece. It is impossible to see how our knowledge of ancient literature or civilisation could have been recovered if Constantinople had not nursed through the early Middle Ages the vast accumulations of Greek learning in the schools of Alexandria, Athens, and Asia Minor; if Photius, Suidas, Eustathius, Tzetzes, and the Scholiasts had not poured out their lexicons, anecdotes, and commentaries; if the *Corpus Scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* had never been compiled; if indefatigable copyists had not toiled in multiplying the texts of ancient Greece. Pedantic, dull, blundering as they are too often, they are indispensable. We pick precious truths and knowledge out of their garrulities and stupidities, for they preserve what otherwise would have been lost for

¹ p. 97 *supra*.

ever. It is no paradox that their very merit to us is that they were never either original or brilliant. Their genius, indeed, would have been our loss. Dunces and pedants as they were, they servilely repeated the words of the immortals. Had they not done so, the immortals would have died long ago'.

When the Byzantine age, in the fullest sense of the term, ended in 1453 with the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the attention of the youthful conqueror, Mohammed II, was arrested, as he rode through the hippodrome, by the brazen column composed of three serpents intertwined, which is still to be seen on the *Atmeidan*. More than nineteen centuries had passed since the heads of those serpents had first supported the historic tripod which the Greeks had dedicated at Delphi in memory of their victory over the barbarians at Plataea. A blow from the conqueror's mace shattered part of one of the serpents' heads, and that shattered head was an expressive emblem of the fact that the power of the Greeks to resist the barbarians was now at an end. But we may gratefully remember that the capital of the Eastern Empire had, with all its elements of weakness, proved strong enough to stand for centuries as the bulwark of Europe against the barbarians of the East, thus sheltering the nascent nations of the West, while they slowly attained the fulness of their maturity, and, at the same time, keeping the treasures of the old Greek literature in a place of safety, until those nations were sufficiently civilised to receive them.

BOOK VI

THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE WEST

CHAPTER XIII

FROM GREGORY THE GREAT (c. 540—604)
TO BONIFACE (675—754)

THE history of Scholarship during the Middle Ages in the West covers a period of rather more than eight centuries, extending from about 530 to about 1350 A.D. Towards the close of a long letter prefixed to the *Moralia*, Gregory the Great (c. 540—604), who became Pope in 589, confesses his contempt for the art of speech, and admits that he is not over-careful in the avoidance of barbarisms or inaccurate uses of prepositions, deeming it 'utterly unworthy to keep the language of the Divine Oracles in subjection to the rules of Donatus'. Elsewhere, he is almost ashamed to mention the rumour that has reached him, to the effect that the bishop of Vienne was in the habit of instructing certain persons in grammatical learning¹.

In the same century the prevailing decline in grammatical knowledge is illustrated by Iordanes, the author of a universal chronicle, who, in the course of his abridgement (551) of the *History of the Goths* by Cassiodorus, makes *dolus* and *fluvius* neuter, and *flumen*, *gaudium* and *regnum* masculine; and abounds in errors of declension and conjugation.

¹ *Epp.* v 53; xi 34.

The same decline is illustrated by Gildas of Bath (516—573), the first native historian of Britain. The learning he had derived from St Illtyd, the ‘teacher of the Britons’, was enlarged by a visit to Ireland. His ‘lament on the ruin of Britain’ is written in a verbose, florid, fantastic and exaggerated form of monastic Latin, and its prolix periods often tend to obscurity.

Gregory of Tours (*c.* 538—594), in the preface to his *History of the Franks*, refers to the decay of literature in Gaul. He repeatedly apologises for his imperfect knowledge of grammar. He combines the plurals *haec* and *quae* with a singular verb; he writes *antedictus cives* for *antedictos*, and *percolibantur* (i.e. *perculebantur*) for *percellebantur*; and one of his favourite constructions is the accusative absolute. The study of his works shows that, in his day, the pronunciation of Latin differed from the spelling; *e* was confounded with *i*, and *o* with *u*; many of the consonants were pronounced feebly or suppressed altogether; aspiration was little observed, and a sibilant sound was introduced into *ci* and *ti*. The departure from classical usage is most striking in matters of syntax, while there is comparatively little change in the inflexions.

The Irish monk, Columban (*c.* 543—615), studied ‘the liberal arts’ on one of the islands of Lough Erne before entering the monastery of Bangor on the eastern coast of Ulster. In his letters he uses a few Greek words, and recommends the reading of the Latin poets as well as the fathers. About 585 he went abroad with twelve companions, and founded in the woodland solitudes of the Vosges the three monasteries of Anegray, Luxeuil (*c.* 590) and Fontaines. He also founded (*c.* 613) on the stream of the Trebbia, the monastery of Bobbio, which became a home of learning in northern Italy. In course of time its library received gifts of MSS of the fourth and fifth centuries, originally transcribed for men of letters in Rome, and others of later date, presented by wandering countrymen of the founder, such as Dungal, the Irish monk who presided over the school at Pavia in 823. The first catalogue, which contained 666 MSS, including Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Persius, Martial, Juvenal and Claudian, with Cicero, Seneca and

the elder Pliny, was drawn up in the tenth century. The second included 280 volumes. The greater part have been dispersed through the libraries of Rome, Milan and Turin, while some have found their way to Naples and Vienna. It is practically certain that the Ambrosian palimpsest of Plautus and those of several of Cicero's Speeches (cent. iv) and of the Letters of Fronto, discovered in the Ambrosian Library early in the 19th century, all came from the monastery founded by the Irish monk at Bobbio. Among other MSS, which once belonged to Bobbio, may be mentioned fragments of Lucan (Vienna and Naples), Persius and Juvenal (Milan and Rome), Symmachus (Milan) and the Theodosian Code (formerly in Turin); and *scholia* on Cicero (cent. v, Milan and Rome). The Medicean Virgil (cent. v), the *Fasti Consulares* at Verona, and the speeches of Cassiodorus, in Milan and Turin, also came from Bobbio. There are even good grounds for believing that the MSS earlier than the time of Columban, which subsequently found their way to Bobbio, came originally from the Vivarium of Cassiodorus in the extreme South of Italy¹.

When the founder of Bobbio left for Italy, one at least of his companions, Gallus by name, remained on the shore of the Lake of Constance, and founded on a lofty Gallus and
St Gallen site in the neighbourhood (614) the monastery which has given the name of St Gallen to the town which surrounds it. The monastery of St Gallen has proved no less important than that of Bobbio as a treasure-house of Latin as well as Irish literature.

Within less than 25 years after the Irish monks had founded Bobbio and St Gallen, and thus unconsciously Isidore of
Seville promoted the preservation of some of the most important remains of Latin literature, Isidore, bishop of Seville (c. 570—636), produced an encyclopaedic work which gathered up for the Middle Ages much of the learning of the ancient world. The work is known as the *Origines*, and is remarkable for the great variety of its contents and for its numerous citations from earlier authorities. The friend, for whom it was composed, divided it into 20 Books, describing the whole as a vast volume of 'etymologies' including everything that ought to be known.

¹ R. Beer, quoted on p. 71 *supra*.

Books I—III are on the liberal arts, grammar (including metre) filling a whole Book; IV, on medicine and on libraries; V, on law and chronology; VI, on the books of the Bible; VII, on the heavenly and the earthly hierarchy; VIII, on the Church and on sects (no less than 68 in number); IX, on language, on peoples, and on official titles; X, on etymology; XI, on man; XII, on beasts and birds; XIII, the world and its parts; XIV, physical geography; XV, political geography, public buildings, land-surveying and road-making; XVI, stones and metals; XVII, agriculture and horticulture; XVIII, the vocabulary of war, litigation and public games; XIX, ships and houses, dress and personal adornment; and XX, meats and drinks, tools and furniture. The work is mainly founded on earlier compilations, Book II being chiefly taken from the Greek texts translated by Boëthius; the first part of IV from Caelius Aurelianus; XI from Lactantius; and XII—XIV, XV etc., from Pliny and Solinus; while its plan, as a whole, and many of its details, appear to have been borrowed from the lost *Prata* of Suetonius. The work was so highly esteemed as an encyclopaedia of classical learning that, to a large extent, it unfortunately superseded the study of the classical authors.

We may here mention an eccentric grammarian, who assumes 'Virgil', the name of 'Virgilius Maro', and assures us that his master, 'Aeneas', gave him the name of Maro, 'quia in eo antiqui Maronis spiritus redivivit'. He gives his own contemporaries notable names derived from Latin literature—names such as 'Terrentius' (*sic*) and 'Donatus'. In his fifteen 'Epitomae' and eight 'Epistolae' he discusses many points of grammar with an ignorance which is happily relieved by a certain sense of humour. Thus he describes one pair of grammarians as wrangling for a fortnight over the vocative of *ego*, and another as drawing their swords after an equally long discussion on inchoative verbs. He mentions a (probably imaginary) work on twelve kinds of Latin, and coins new words with the help of Greek, *scribere*, for example, becoming *charaxare* (from *χαράσσω*). He pretends to have read the Bible in Greek, and professes to quote a translation beginning with the words, 'In principio celum terramque mare omniaque astra spiritus intus fovet', which are obviously inspired by a well-known passage in the *Aeneid* (vi

724-6). His poetic quotations illustrate the transition from quantitative to rhythmical forms of verse, while his Latinity has several points of contact with that of Gregory of Tours. He is himself described as belonging to Toulouse, and he once refers to the dialect of Bigorre, N. of the Pyrenees. He has even been called a *presbyter Hispanus*. Many of his etymologies are, to all appearance, derived from the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville (630), and he is quoted by Aldhelm, *c.* 668-690. This would make his date the middle of the seventh century¹.

A cryptic form of Latinity is exemplified by the strange poems known as *Hisperica Famina*. Their earliest editor, Cardinal Mai (1833), 'says little about them, except that they are alluded to by the grammarian Virgilius, and that any lover of classical Latin would devote them to the Furies'². Mai printed them as prose, but it has since been observed that they fall into rhythmical lines, and that each line has an adjective at the end of the first half forming an assonance with the substantive at the end of the second, *e.g.* 'rhetorum florigera: flectit habenas caterva'. 'The scene is laid in a country where the language of the inhabitants is Irish. The work is therefore presumably written in Ireland'³. In this work, amid much that is singularly obscure, it is a relief to find so clear a phrase as: '*pantes solitum elaborant agrestes orgium*'. It is characteristic of the possibly Irish origin of this strange composition that we here find two words borrowed from Greek.

During the sixth and seventh centuries in Ireland we find a few traces of Greek. Thus we find *antropi* (for *ἄνθρωποι*) in Muirchu's *Life of St Patrick* (written Greek in
Ireland

¹ Cf. Roger, *l'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, 1905, pp. 238-256; and Manitius, *Lat. Lit. des MAs*, 1911, pp. 119-127. Zimmer, however, who traces his influence in Ireland, makes him flourish *c.* 460 A.D., *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Acad. 1910, p. 1067; and Kuno Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the fifth century* (1913), p. 22 n. 7, declines to admit Virgil's indebtedness to Isidore.

² Prothero's *Life of Bradshaw*, p. 340.

³ Ed. Jenkinson, p. xi. It has, however, been assigned to S.W. Britain in the first half of the sixth century. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 309.

before 698), *anthleta* (for *athleta*) in the 'Antiphony of Bangor' (c. 680—691), and *onomata* in codex A of the 'Life of St Columba' by Adamnan (d. 704)¹.

The Hellenisms which have been discovered in the Irish, as well as the British, writers of the sixth and seventh centuries supply no proof of any real knowledge of the language, many of them being simply Greek terms that had already been borrowed in ordinary ecclesiastical Latin, while the rest were probably derived mainly from glossaries. Among these was probably the Greek and Latin glossary and conversation-book known as the *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana*².

In and after the ninth century, the classical culture exhibited by a few Irish scholars such as Sedulius and John the Scot, was due to their residence abroad, in lands that came under the influence of the Caroline revival of learning³.

While Ireland sent forth Columban to found monasteries in Eastern France and Northern Italy in 585 and 612 respectively, Rome, in the person of Gregory, sent Augustine to Britain in the interval between the above dates. Augustine arrived in Kent in 597 and died archbishop of Canterbury in 605. Some sixty years later, the archbishopric was offered by Pope Vitalian first to Hadrian, who is described as 'most skilful in both the Greek and Latin tongues'⁴, and finally to Theodore, who was born at Tarsus and educated at Athens, and therefore familiar with Greek. This Greek archbishop (668—690) founded a school at Canterbury for the study of Greek, and bestowed upon his foundation a number of books in his native language. With the help of Hadrian, who had declined the archbishopric, Theodore made many of the monasteries of England schools of Greek and Latin learning, so that, in the time of Bede (673—735), some of the scholars who still survived, such as Tobias, bishop of Rochester (d. 726), were as familiar with Latin and Greek as with their mother-tongue.

Theodore
of Tarsus

¹ Roger, *l.c.*, 268—273.

² Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Lat.* iii (1892).

³ Cp. M. Esposito, *The knowledge of Greek in Ireland during the Middle Ages* in 'Studies', Dublin, 1912, i pp. 665—683.

⁴ Bede, *H. E.* iv 1.

Among the pupils of the school at Canterbury in 670 was Aldhelm (c. 650—709), afterwards abbot of Malmesbury, and bishop of Sherborne from 705 to his death.

Aldhelm.

‘King Ina had hired the services of two most skilful teachers of Greek from Athens’¹; and under Hadrian², abbot of St Augustine’s, Canterbury, Ina’s kinsman, Aldhelm, ‘made such rapid strides in learning that ere long he was thought a better scholar than either his Greek or Latin teachers’³. He often introduces Greek words into his Latin letters, and employs Greek terms in defining Greek metres. In writing on Latin metres, he naturally quotes Latin poets, such as Terence, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal and Persius. His Latin prose is unduly florid. His prose and verse alike are marked by a love of Greek idioms and of alliteration. His main claim to distinction is that ‘he was the first Englishman who cultivated classical learning with any success, and the first of whom any literary remains are preserved’⁴.

While Aldhelm has been justly called the father of Anglo-Latin verse, his younger and far more famous contemporary, Bede (673—735), has left his mark in literary history almost exclusively in the field of prose. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731) we have interesting references to the generosity with which Irish professors received English pupils (in 614) and furnished them gratis with books and teaching, the diffusion of learning by Theodore and Hadrian and their pupils, the studies of the English in Rome, and the collection and circulation of books in England. The author appears throughout as a master of the learning of his times, as (in Fuller’s phrase) ‘the most general scholar of his age’.

Bede

It was not until long after the death of Bede that his *Historia Ecclesiastica* became known to his contemporary Boniface, or Winfrid (675—754). A native of Crediton, he was educated at Exeter and Nursling. With the sanction of Gregory II (719) he preached in Thuringia and Friesland, converted the Saxons and Hessians, became a bishop in 723 and archbishop of Maintz in 745, resigning that dignity to

Boniface
and Fulda

¹ Migne, lxxxix 66.

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, v § 189.

³ *ib.* 85.

⁴ Stubbs in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*

return to Friesland in 753 and to die a martyr's death in the following year. He is best known as 'the apostle of Germany'. In literature his works are of slight importance. They include two text-books on metre and on grammar (founded on Donatus, Charisius and Diomedes). His devoted follower, Sturmi of Noricum, founded the monastery of Fulda, which adopted the Benedictine Rule, and soon rivalled St Gallen as a school of learning, numbering among its inmates Einhard, the future biographer of Charles the Great, and Rabanus Maurus, the earliest *praeceptor Germaniae*.

CHAPTER XIV

FROM ALCUIN TO ALFRED

AMONG the pupils of Bede was Egbert, archbishop of York, and among the pupils of Egbert in the cathedral school of that city was Alcuin (c. 735—804), who Alcuin was probably born in the year of Bede's death. In 778 Alcuin was himself placed at the head of the School and Library of York. We still possess the Latin hexameters, in which he gives us an enthusiastic description of the Library and a list of the authors which it contained¹. Among prose authors he mentions Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Orosius; Victorinus and Boëthius; Gregory and Leo; Basil and Chrysostom; Cassiodorus and Fulgentius; Aldhelm and Bede; among earlier writers, in prose or verse, Pompeius (Trogus) and Pliny; Aristotle (doubtless in Latin) and Cicero; Virgil, Lucan and Statius; among later poets, Sedulius and Juvenius, and, among grammarians, Donatus and Priscian. Alcuin himself had copied text-books at York in his youth, and scribes were afterwards sent there to copy MSS for his monastery at Tours.

In 782—790 he presided over a school attached to the court of Charles the Great. The school is best regarded as a migratory institution attached to the court, whether at Aachen or elsewhere. Greek was taught at the court (782—6) by Paulus Diaconus (c. 725—797), a Benedictine monk, who shows his knowledge of Greek in his *History of the Lombards*, and in his summary of the abridgement of Verrius Flaccus by Pompeius Festus.

In 796 Alcuin was made abbot of St Martin's at Tours, which he soon restored to a commanding position among the schools of

¹ *Poëtae Lat. Aevi Car.* i 203 f; well rendered in West's *Alcuin*, p. 34.

the land. Among his prose works a prominent place is here due to his dialogues on Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic. He is mainly a grammarian. In his first dialogue *On Grammar*, the seven liberal arts are compared to the seven pillars of the house of Wisdom. The substance of his second dialogue is taken from earlier grammarians, among whom Donatus and Priscian are mentioned, while the definitions are borrowed from Isidore. In the dialogues *On Rhetoric* and *Dialectic* the persons concerned are Charles and Alcuin, and the principal authorities followed in the former are Cicero *De Inventione* and Julius Victor, and, in the latter, Boëthius, Isidore and the Pseudo-Augustinian *Categories*. The tract *On Orthography* discusses in alphabetical order a number of Latin words which were apt to be wrongly spelt, and is useful in connexion with the pronunciation of Latin and the criticism of the texts of the time. The library at Bern possesses a MS of Virgil in Caroline minuscules (cent. ix), which certainly once belonged to Alcuin's monastery at Tours.

The tradition of learning had descended from Benedict Biscop, Bede and Egbert to Alcuin; and the influence of Alcuin, which passed from York to Tours, was transmitted through Rabanus to Fulda and thence to Auxerre and Ferrières, to Old and New Corbie, and Reichenau, St Gallen and Rheims, while part of that influence finally reached Paris. Alcuin marks the beginning of the period in the history of European education which is described as the Benedictine Age, the age extending from the brief revival of learning under Charles the Great to the rise of the University of Paris (c. 1170).

The life of Charles the Great was written in admirable Latin by Einhard (c. 770—840), a layman educated at Fulda. Einhard's model in Latin style is the *Life of Augustus* by Suetonius, and he also gives proof of a careful study of Caesar and Livy. In his preface he quotes the *Tusculan Disputations*, and he also imitates the rhetorical works of Cicero and certain of his speeches,—the *Second Verrine*, the *First Catilinarian*, and the *Pro Milone*. It was probably owing to the architectural tastes of Einhard that the work of Vitruvius became first known in Germany and was preserved for other lands and later ages.

The ancient and important school of Fulda, which had been founded under the sanction of Boniface, was also the scene of the learned labours of Alcuin's pupil, Rabanus Maurus Rabanus Maurus (776—856). Apart from extensive biblical commentaries, he wrote several educational works. In one of these he was the first to introduce Priscian into the schools of Germany. At Fulda twelve monks were regularly employed as copyists, and down to the seventeenth century there was a large collection of MSS, most of which were unfortunately scattered during the Thirty Years' War. The library of the Westphalian monastery of Corvey (founded 822) is mentioned in the ninth century, and learning also flourished at Regensburg (852) on the Danube, and at Reichenau (724) on an island of the Untersee, west of the Lake of Constance.

Among the pupils of Rabanus was the future abbot of Reichenau, Walafrid Strabo (*c.* 809—849), who Walafrid Strabo studied Christian and pagan poets, and wrote on sacred as well as secular themes. His *Hortulus*, a description of the plants in the monastic garden of Reichenau, was widely read during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Another important pupil of Rabanus was Servatus Lupus (805—862), abbot of Ferrières for the last twenty Servatus Lupus years of his life. At Fulda he had obtained literary advice and instruction from Einhard, the ablest scholar of the time. In his literary spirit he is a precursor of the humanists of the Renaissance. He asks one of his relations to send a capable monk to Fulda and borrow from the abbot a copy of Suetonius. He begs the archbishop of Tours to send him a copy of the commentary of Boëthius on the *Topica* of Cicero. He writes to the abbot of York to ask for the loan of the twelve books of the *Institutions* of Quintilian. He applies to pope Benedict III for certain MSS of Cicero *de Oratore*, and of Quintilian, which he had seen in Rome (849), the latter being 'in a single volume of moderate size'. He adds that his monastery already possessed parts of the last two works, and concludes by begging for the loan of the commentary on Terence by Donatus. He answers a number of minor questions on points of spelling and prosody by appealing to the grammarian Caper, and by quoting thrice from

Virgil, twice from Martial, and once from Prudentius, Alcuin and Theodulfus. He informs the bishop of Auxerre that Caesar had not really written a *History of Rome*, but only the *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, of which the bishop had doubtless heard, and a copy of which would be sent as soon as possible, adding that the continuation was the work of Caesar's secretary, Hirtius. With a view to correcting his own texts, he borrows extra copies of works already in his possession. He thanks a friend for revising his copy of Macrobius and for sending a MS of the commentary of Boëthius; he inquires about a MS of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, and, in the same letter, answers questions on prosody by quoting Virgil and Juvenecus as well as Servius and Priscian. He informs a monk of the Benedictine monastery at Prüm that he intends to compare his own copy of Cicero's *Letters* with the text which he has just received, and thus arrive at the truth; he also asks for his friend's copy of Cicero's translation of Aratus, with a view to filling up some *lacunae* in his own.

The importance of the age of Servatus Lupus, in regard to the preservation and transmission of MSS, may be inferred from the large number of MSS of the ninth century and the first half of the tenth, which are recorded as having belonged to the monastic libraries of France. It was also about this time that classical MSS first found their way into Germany, the writers of the golden age being scantily represented by Virgil, Lucan, Livy and portions of Cicero, while later authors were more frequent, especially Macrobius, Martianus Capella and Isidore.

In the reign of Charles the Bald (840—877), whom Lupus describes as 'doctrinae studiosissimus', there is a certain revival of interest in literature. The chief representative of Ireland and

Joannes
Scotus
(Erigena)

philosophy at his court was Joannes Scotus, or John the Scot (c. 810—5—c. 875), who, from about 845, was the head of the palace school and thus took part in a temporary revival of learning. While his Latin style is recognised as correct and even elegant, he is fully conscious of the inadequacy of his Greek scholarship. He is familiar with Plato's *Timaeus*, and it has been supposed that he knew the original text; at any rate, his Latin quotations from the *Timaeus* are independent of the translation by Chalcidius. His

general familiarity with Greek is fully proved by the fact that he was chosen to execute a Latin translation of 'Dionysius the Areopagite'.

Two of the contemporaries of John the Scot may here be briefly mentioned, both of them natives of Auxerre.

The elder of these, Eric (841—877?), was educated under Servatus Lupus at Ferrières. He is also the author of a number of notes on the translation of Aristotle *De Interpretatione* by Boëthius, the *Eisagoge* of Porphyry, and the *Categories* of Aristotle, as 'translated from Greek into Latin by St Augustine'. This last, however, is not really a translation from Aristotle, and it must therefore be inferred that in the tenth century the text of the *Categories* was still unknown. Eric's distinguished pupil, Remi of Auxerre, taught at Rheims (c. 893), and was the first to open a school in Paris (900; d. 908). His commentaries on Donatus and Martianus Capella are still extant. In the former, which remained in use to the times of the Renaissance, his chief Latin authority is Virgil.

Eric and
Remi of
Auxerre

The ninth century closes in England with the name of Alfred (849—c. 900). He was taken to see Rome at the age of five, and again at the age of seven. Notwithstanding the general decay of learning, and the disquiet caused by the Danish invasions, he led a studious life in his youth, and, after succeeding to the throne in 871, began a series of translations from Latin authors with the aid of the Welsh monk, Asser. In English literature Alfred is 'our first translator'. In his rendering of Boëthius (c. 888) he does not hesitate, in the interests of his people, to add to the original whenever he thinks fit. He also translated the *Universal History* of Orosius, adding or omitting, as he deemed best. A third translation (in which his own name does not appear) is that of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; and a fourth, that of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*. It is only in this last that the king states his general design as a translator. He laments that there were but few south of the Humber, and none south of the Thames, who could understand the Divine Service, or even explain a Latin epistle in English. He had therefore thought it good to translate into English the books that were most necessary to be known.

Alfred

CHAPTER XV

THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

THE TENTH CENTURY

IN the tenth century the monastery of Gandersheim, south of
Hroswitha Hanover, was famous as the retreat of the learned
nun, Hroswitha, who flourished in 984. With a view
to providing the age with a purer literature than that of Latin
Comedy, she composed six moral and religious plays, in which
she imitates Boëthius as well as Terence. But, as the mediaeval
copyists of Terence were unconscious that his plays were written
in verse, the plays of Hroswitha are written in actual prose.
They survive in a single ms at Munich, the discovery of which
was welcomed with enthusiasm by the early humanists in Germany.
An exceptional number of recent editions attests her enduring
popularity.

One of the most prominent personages of the century was
Gerbert of Aurillac in the Auvergne (c. 950—1003),
(Silvester II) who taught at Tours, Fleury, Sens and Rheims, was
successively abbot of Bobbio and archbishop of Rheims, and
became archbishop of Ravenna, and finally pope of Rome (as
Silvester II) at the close of the century. He probably owed all his
knowledge of Plato to the Latin translation of part of the *Timaeus*,
though he quotes Greek words in his *Geometry* and elsewhere.
Among the authors which he expounded at Rheims were Terence,
Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Juvenal and Statius. He is eager
to obtain mss of Caesar, Pliny, Suetonius, Symmachus, and the
Achilleis of Statius. He is familiar with Sallust, and (above all)
with Cicero. He advises one of his friends to bring with
him on his journey Cicero's *Speeches* and the *De Rēpublica*, prob-
ably meaning by the latter the *Somnium Scipionis*, the sole
surviving portion of the Sixth Book. He also writes for a com-
plete copy of Cicero *pro rege Deiotaro*. It has even been surmised

that the preservation of Cicero's *Speeches*, which he frequently quotes, may have been largely due to Gerbert.

The most original hellenist of this age is doubtless Luitprand (*c.* 920—972), bishop of Cremona. A Lombard by birth, he repeatedly represented Berengar II and Otho I as envoy at Constantinople. His reports on his missions of 950 and 968 abound in Greek words, phrases and idioms, and snatches of odd stories, which attain a new interest owing to the fact that the author always takes pains to set down the Latin pronunciation of the Greek, *e.g.* ἄθεοι καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, *atheî ke asevis*. Luitprand

Meanwhile, in England, in the second half of the tenth century, Oswald, archbishop of York (d. 992), who had himself been educated at Fleury on the Loire, invited Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004) to become the instructor of the monks of the abbey which the archbishop had caused to be founded in 969 at Ramsey near Huntingdon. Abbo wrote for his pupils at Ramsey a scholarly work known as the *Quaestiones Grammaticales*. He here deals with their difficulties in matters of prosody and pronunciation, showing in his treatment of the same an accurate knowledge of Virgil and Horace, and even an interest in textual criticism. In the same half-century, Ælfric (*c.* 955—*c.* 1030), the abbot of Eynsham in Oxfordshire, who must be distinguished from both of his eminent namesakes, the archbishops of Canterbury (d. 1006) and York (d. 1051), was the chief helper of bishop Ethelwold (d. 984) in making Winchester famous as a place of education. It was there that he began, and it was at Eynsham that he continued and completed, the preparation of those school-books which did so much for the early study of the Latin language in England. They included a *Latin Grammar*, with extracts translated from Priscian, followed by a *Glossary* of some 3000 words in Latin and English, arranged (more or less) in order of subjects. This *Glossary* is the oldest Latin-English Dictionary in existence¹. The third of these educational works was the *Colloquium*, in which Latin, being still a living language, is taught in a conversational manner; the Latin words of the dialogue are explained by an interlinear translation; the pupil is made to answer questions as

¹ ed. Zupitza (1880), including the *Grammar*.

to his own occupations and those of his companions ; and the use of the rod is not forgotten.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

In France, the most notable teacher in the first quarter of the eleventh century is Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (d. 1029). In the middle of the century, Saint-Évroult, S. of Lisieux in Normandy, was celebrated as a school of copyists ; while the Norman monastery of Bec flourished under the rule of Lanfranc (1045) and Anselm (1066), both of whom came from Northern Italy to Normandy, and were thence called to England to become archbishops of Canterbury.

In England, the influence of the Norman Conquest of 1066-71 on the intellectual life of the country did not take effect until after the close of the century.

In Germany, this century saw the foundation of the bishopric, library and school of Bamberg (1017) and a revival of learning in the school of Paderborn, where the authors studied in 1052-76 included Virgil, Horace, Statius, and Sallust. About the middle of the century, the styles of Sallust and Livy were admirably combined in the *Annals* of Lambert of Hersfeld (d. 1077). This century was part of the golden age of St Gallen, where Notker Labeo (d. 1022) took part in translating into German the *Andria* of Terence, the *Eclogues* of Virgil, and the *Distichs* of Cato, together with Martianus Capella, and several treatises of Boëthius. He also produced a Latin version of Aristotle's *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*.

Meanwhile in Italy, one of the homes of classical learning was Monte Cassino, where the abbot Desiderius caused his monks to make copies of Ovid's *Fasti* and Horace, as well as Seneca and several treatises of Cicero, while Latin verse was successfully cultivated by Alfano, the future archbishop of Salerno, and Virgil, as well as Cicero and Sallust, was familiar to the able chronicler of the abbey, Leo Marsicanus. In 1053-63, a Latin dictionary was compiled by Papias the Lombard, who marks the quantity and gives the gender and the inflexions of the words, but draws no distinction between the ancient classical forms and the barbarous forms in modern use. His work lived on into the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.—THE SCHOOLMEN AND THE CLASSICS

WE must here say something of the history of Scholasticism, so far as it has points of contact with the study of Greek or Latin texts. Scholasticism may be described as a reproduction of ancient philosophy under the control of ecclesiastical doctrine. Its history (including that of its precursors) falls into two main divisions, (1) the accommodation of Aristotelian logic and Neo-Platonic philosophy to the doctrine of the Church, from the time of Joannes Scotus (d. 875) to that of Amalrich (d. 1207) and his followers, *i.e.* from century ix to the beginning of century xiii; (2) the accommodation of the Aristotelian philosophy, *which had now become fully known*, to the dogmas of the Church, from the time of Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) to the end of the Middle Ages.

John the Scot had affirmed the identity of true religion with true philosophy, but he interpreted the teaching of the Church in the light of 'Dionysius the Areopagite', whose doctrines he wrongly supposed to be those of the early Christians, whereas they were really those of the Neo-Platonists of the latter part of the fifth century. Believing that the 'general' existed before the 'particular', he practically held the Platonic doctrine of ideas in the form afterwards expressed by the phrase, *universalia ante rem*. On the other hand, those whom he describes as *dialectici* held that individual objects were substances in a primary sense, while *species* and *genera* were substances only in a secondary way. This doctrine was derived partly from the dialectical works of Aristotle, and from Porphyry's *Introduction*, as translated and expounded by Boëthius; and partly from works attributed to St Augustine.

Porphyry's *Introduction*, as translated by Boëthius, mentions the five predicables, *i.e.* the notions of genus, species, difference, property, and accident. It also touches on the question whether *genera* and *species* have a substantial existence, or whether they exist merely as mental conceptions. This question, and others arising out of it, had been suggested to Porphyry by the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, by the *Parmenides* of Plato, and by the teaching of his own master, Plotinus. Porphyry, however, declined to discuss them, but this passage of Porphyry, as translated by Boëthius¹, gave the first impulse to the long controversy between Realism and Nominalism, which continued until the revival of learning. 'A single ray borrowed from the literature of the ancient world called Scholasticism into being; the complete revelation of that literature extinguished it'².

Plato's doctrine (as stated by Aristotle) that 'universals' have an independent existence and are 'before' individual objects (whether in point of rank alone, or in point of time as well) is extreme Realism. Its formula is *universalia sunt realia ante rem*. The Aristotelian view that 'universals', while possessing a real existence, exist only *in* individual objects, is moderate Realism. Its formula is *universalia sunt realia in re*. Nominalism, on the other hand, implies that individuals alone have a real existence, that *genera* and *species* are only subjective combinations of similar elements, united by the aid of the same concept, which we express by one and the same word (*vox* or *nomen*). Nominalism has two varieties, stress being laid in (1) on the subjective nature of the concept, and in (2) on the identity of the word employed to denote the objects comprehended under the concept. (1) is Conceptualism, and (2) is extreme Nominalism; and the formula of both is *universalia sunt nomina post rem*. All these views appear in different degrees of developement in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The first period of Scholasticism began in Platonic Realism and ended in Conceptualism; while the second began in Aristotelian Realism and ended in Nominalism. Thus, in the first period, the Realism of Joannes Scotus (d. 875), and that of

¹ p. 128 *supra*.

² Cousin, *Ouvrages Inédits d'Abélard*, p. lx (1836).

Anselm (d. 1109), which stands in contrast with the early Nominalism of Roscellinus (d. 1106), are followed by the Realism of William of Champeaux (d. 1121) and the Conceptualism of Abelard (d. 1142). In the second, the Aristotelian Realism of the Franciscans, Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) and Bonaventura (d. 1274), and of the Dominicans, Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), is criticised by Roger Bacon (d. 1294) and Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who are succeeded by the great Nominalist, William of Ockham (d. 1347).

In the twelfth century Plato was represented by the Latin rendering of part of the *Timæus* executed by Plato Chalcidius (cent. iv), which included some account of the theory of Ideas; by the statement of Plato's opinions in Aristotle; by the passages quoted in Cicero, Augustine and Macrobius; and by the account of Plato's tenets given by Apuleius, *De Dogmate Platonis*. The *Phædo* and the *Meno* were translated in Sicily about 1160 by King William I's minister, Henricus Aristippus, but were little known.

Until the fourth decade of the century the only works of Aristotle known in the Middle Ages were the Aristotle *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*, as translated into Latin by Boëthius. The rest of the *Organon*, namely the *Topics*, *Analytics* and *Sophistici Elenchi*, became known after 1128, when they were translated by Jacobus Clericus of Venice. All the treatises of the *Organon*, except the *Later Analytics*, were known to Theodoric of Chartres, who was one of the first of the mediæval writers to popularise their contents (c. 1141). The whole of the *Organon* was known to his pupil, John of Salisbury, in 1159.

The first acquaintance of Western Europe with any of the other works of Aristotle was due to the Arabs of Spain. Aristotle had long been studied in Syria and Arabia; and the knowledge of his writings, which had passed from Constantinople to the East, had subsequently followed the course of Arab conquest along the Northern coast of Africa, till it reached the West in Spain, and thence found its way into France; but the Arabic translations executed at Bagdad in the first half of the ninth century did not reach Paris in their Latin form until after the middle of the twelfth.

From about 1150 to 1250 the great centre of activity in the production of Latin renderings from the Arabic was Toledo. Before 1150 Avicenna's commentaries on Aristotle *De Anima*, and on other physical and metaphysical writings of Arabian philosophers, were there translated from Arabic through Castilian into Latin by Dominic Gondisalvi with the aid of the Jewish interpreter, Joannes ben David of Seville, and by the command of Raymund, archbishop of Toledo (c. 1130—1150). Gerard of Cremona, the elder (d. 1187), was attracted to Toledo by his interest in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which he translated from the Arabic version in 1175, being unaware that it had already been translated from the original Greek, in Sicily, about 1160¹. Among the 70 other works, which he rendered from Arabic into Latin, were Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora*, *Physics*, *De Caelo et Mundo*, *De Generatione et Corruptione* and the first three books of the *Meteorologica*. The fourth book had already been translated by Henricus Aristippus. Michael Scot, who probably learnt Arabic at the brilliant court of Frederic II in Palermo, left for Toledo. In or after 1215 he there completed a rendering of two Arabic abstracts of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. He visited Bologna in 1221, and, before returning to Palermo in 1223, he had translated the commentaries of Averroës on the *De Caelo* and the *De Anima*. We may also assign to him the translation of Averroës' commentaries on the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*. Roger Bacon describes him as bringing with him certain of the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle, with the commentators on the same, after 1230. In 1232 the emperor permitted the transcription of the second of the two works in which Scot had dealt with the *Historia Animalium*, and, apparently not long afterwards, sent to the Universities of Bologna and Paris the translations he had caused to be made from the Greek and Arabic mss of the works of Aristotle and other philosophers, relating to Mathematics and Logic, which were contained in the imperial library². Hermann the German translated at Toledo the intermediate commentary of Averroës

¹ Haskins and Lockwood, in *Harvard Studies* xxi (1910) 78.

² Prantl (*Logik*, iii 5) places this event before 1224 (viz. in 1220); if so, the date may have been 1221 (when Scot, to whose hands the emperor's letters were probably entrusted, was actually in Bologna).

on the *Ethics* (1240), and an Arabic abridgement of the original; also some Arabic glosses on the *Rhetoric*, and Averroës' abridgement of the *Poetic* (1256). It was only in this meagre form that Aristotle's treatise on Poetry was known to the Middle Ages. The last of these translators from the Arabic was Alfred the Englishman (*fl.* 1215-70), who produced a Latin translation of the Arabic version of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De Plantis*, and revised and interpolated the earliest translation of the *Meteorologica*, presumably that of Gerard of Cremona. He has been identified with Alfred de Sereshel, who, in his work *De Motu Cordis*, names nearly all the works of Aristotle which had lately been translated from Arabic into Latin.

While the knowledge of Aristotle has thus been reaching the scholars of the West through the circuitous route of translations from the Arabic, the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 had opened to those scholars the prospect of a direct access to the stores of Greek learning. The conquerors themselves regarded that learning with contempt, but the natural result of their conquest was the dispersion of Greek MSS, some of which found their way to the West. The only evidence as to any MSS of Aristotle having been brought from Constantinople refers to the *Metaphysics*, but the *Physics* is probably meant. In Paris, in 1209, according to the Chronicle of Guillaume le Breton, certain 'libelli' on *Metaphysics*, composed (it was said) by Aristotle, had recently been brought from Constantinople and translated into Latin, but they were ordered to be burnt as likely to foster heresy. Two other chroniclers, however, use phrases which must refer to the *Physics*¹, and this is confirmed by the terms of the sentence passed by the provincial Council, really held in 1210, which ordered that 'neither the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy, nor the Comments, should be read in Paris either publicly or privately'². By the 'books of Aristotle on natural philosophy' were probably meant a Latin translation of the Arabic rendering of the *Physics*, viz. that executed by Gerard of Cremona before his death in 1187; and, by the Comments, the commentaries on the *Physics* by Avicenna which, together with those on the

¹ Jourdain, *Recherches*, 1843, pp. 187-8.

² Denifle, *Chartularium Univ. Paris*, i p. 70.

Metaphysics and *De Caelo*, were translated at Toledo before 1150. The heretical opinions of Amalrich of Bena and of David of Dinant were condemned by the same Council, and, whatever may have been the true source of those opinions, they brought suspicion and condemnation on the Latin renderings from the Arabic versions of Aristotle and his commentators. In 1215 the Statutes drawn up by the papal legate ordered the study of the *dialectical* works of Aristotle, but forbade that of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*; and the prohibition of the study of the *Physics* originally announced in 1210 was renewed in 1231 by Gregory IX, who directed that 'the *libri naturales*...should not be used until they had been examined and revised'¹. This implied a considerable mitigation of the severe sentences passed on the study of Aristotle in 1210 and 1215. William of Auvergne, who became bishop of Paris in 1228 and was still alive in 1248, made free use of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, and at the same time denounced certain heresies of 'Aristotélè and his followers'. All his works began to be expounded in Paris by the most eminent doctors of the Church, such as Albertus Magnus (1245) and Thomas Aquinas (1257); and, in 1255, even the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* were included among the subjects prescribed in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris.

The Order of the Franciscans was founded at Assisi in 1210, and that of the Dominicans at Toulouse in 1215; and thenceforth all the great Schoolmen were either Franciscans or Dominicans. The first of the Schoolmen who was familiar with the whole range of Aristotle's philosophy and with his Arabic commentators,

Alexander
of Hales and who employed the same in the service of
theology, was Alexander of Hales, a native of
Gloucestershire who joined the Franciscans in Paris in 1231.

Edmund Rich Another Englishman, Edmund Rich of Abingdon,
afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the first
to expound the *Sophistici Elenchi* at Oxford. Platonic and Aris-

Grosseteste totelian doctrines were combined by Robert Grosse-
teste (c. 1175—1253), who was appointed lecturer
to the Franciscans shortly after their establishment in Oxford in
1224. It was probably during his life at Oxford that he prepared

¹ Jourdain, p. 191.

his commentaries on the *Categories*, *Analytics*, and *Sophistici Elenchi*. He drew up a summary of the *Physics*, with a commentary on the same. A Latin translation of the Greek text of the *Ethics*, which was known under the name of Grosseteste, was probably executed under his direction by one of the Greek monks whom he had invited to England. He was bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, and, apart from his important services as a reformer and a statesman, he deserves to be remembered as one of the earliest leaders of thought at Oxford, as a promoter of Greek learning, and as an interpreter of Aristotle, who went far beyond his master in the *experimental* knowledge of physical science.

In the Dominican Order the most learned scholar of this age was Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264), best known Vincent of Beauvais in connexion with the *Speculum Mundi*, a vast encyclopaedia divided into four parts distinguished by the epithets *Naturale*, *Doctrinale*, *Historiale*, and *Morale* (added by a later writer). He knew no Greek, but he supplies us with valuable evidence as to the successive stages that marked the translation of the 'Aristotelian' writings into the Latin language. Thus, for the *Organon*, he uses the old rendering from the Greek, by Boëthius; that from the Arabic for the *Historia Animalium*, *De Plantis*, *De Caelo*, and for the first three books of the *Meteorologica*; and the recent rendering from the Greek in the *Parva Naturalis*, the *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *De Anima* and *Ethics*, while he never quotes the *Politics*.

In this age the great exponents of Aristotle among the Schoolmen were the two Dominicans, Albertus Albertus Magnus (1193—1280) and his famous pupil Thomas Magnus Aquinas. The former, who was a widely influential teacher in Paris and Cologne, paid special attention to Aristotle, all of whose works were accessible to him in Latin translations either from the Arabic or the Greek or both. He was the first to state the philosophy of Aristotle in a systematic form, with constant reference to the Arabic commentators. He has been denounced as an indefatigable compiler, but he was also a man of rich and varied endowments who deserves full credit as the restorer of the study of Aristotle.



Christ in Glory

St Luke St Matthew St Paul

Moses St John St Mark

St Thomas Aquinas

Aristotle

Averroes

Plato

ALTAR-PIECE BY TRAINI (1345), IN THE CHURCH OF S. CATERINA, PISA.
Reduced from Rosini's *Pittura Italiana*, tav. xx.

Thomas Aquinas (1225-7—1274), who was born at a castle near the ancient Aquinum, studied at Cologne and Paris under Albertus Magnus, taught philosophy at Cologne, Paris, Bologna, Naples and elsewhere; lived at the papal court in Rome from 1260 to 1269, and was less than 50 years of age when he died in 1274. He brought Scholasticism to its highest development by harmonising Aristotelianism with the doctrines of the Church. For his logical and metaphysical principles he is indebted to Aristotle, while certain elements are derived from Platonism and from Christian theology. All these sources of illumination are indicated by the convergent rays in the upper part of the altar-piece by Francesco Traini in the Church of Santa Caterina, Pisa (1345).

From the 'Christ in Glory' a single ray of light falls on each of the six figures of Moses and St Paul and the four Evangelists, here represented as bending forward from the sky, and holding tablets inscribed with passages from the books of the Scriptures which bear their names. In addition to the rays that proceed from each of these figures, three from the 'Christ in Glory' may be seen descending on the head of the seated form of St Thomas Aquinas, who displays an open book with the first words of his *Summa contra Gentiles*:—*Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum, et labia mea detestabuntur impium* (Proverbs, viii 7), while some of his other works are lying on his lap. Two other rays proceed from the open books displayed by Aristotle on the left and Plato on the right, probably representing the *Ethics* and *Timaeus* respectively. Another ray, not a beam of illumination, but a lightning-flash of refutation, falls from the *Summa contra Gentiles*, striking the edge of a book lying on the ground beside the writhing form of its author, Averroës. Many other rays may be seen descending from the several works of St Thomas on the two crowds of admiring and adoring Dominicans below. In the original, among the rays on the left, may be read the text, *hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinæ* (Baruch, iii 32), and, among those on the right, *doctor gentium in fide et veritate* (1 Tim. ii 7).

While Albertus had composed *paraphrases* of Aristotle after the manner of his eastern exponent Avicenna, Aquinas produced *commentaries* after that of his western interpreter Averroës. He thus comments on the *De Interpretatione*, *Analytica Posteriora*, *Physics*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Metaphysics*, *De Anima*, *Ethics*, *Politics*, *Meteorologica*, *De Caelo et Mundo* and *De Generatione et Corruptione* (c. 1260-9). In quoting Aristotle he uses translations from the Greek alone, and not from the Arabic. It was at his own instance that William of Moerbeke, who was educated at

Louvain, and was probably one of the young Dominicans annually sent to Greece to learn the language, produced literal Latin translations of several of Aristotle's works, which superseded the old renderings from the Arabic. The most important of these were his translation of the *Politics* (1274), finished before the death of Thomas Aquinas, who quotes it twice in the *Summa contra Gentiles*, and the translation of the *Rhetoric* (1281). In both cases the literalness of his rendering adds to its value as evidence of the text of the lost MS from which it was translated, a MS better than the best of those that have survived. A *Nova Translatio* of the *Ethics* (probably by Henry Kosbein of Brabant) was used by Thomas before 1262.

Thus, in the course of about 130 years, from the date of the early translations at Toledo in 1150 to the death of William of Moerbeke in 1281, the knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy had passed in Europe from a phase of almost total darkness to one of nearly perfect light. The whole of the *Organon* had become known. The earliest complete versions of the *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics* had reached Europe through translations from the Arabic, and the *De Anima*, the *Politics* and *Rhetoric* through translations from the Greek.

CHAPTER XVII

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

ROGER BACON (1214-94) TO DANTE (1265-1321)

AMONG the keenest critics of the Schoolmen, and also of the recent translators of Aristotle, was Roger Bacon (c. 1214-1294), a pupil of Grosseteste at Oxford¹. Roger Bacon

It was probably under the influence of Grosseteste, or of Adam Marsh, that he entered the Franciscan Order. At the invitation of Clement IV (d. 1268), he wrote, in the wonderfully brief space of 15 months, his three great works, the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus* and the *Opus Tertium* (1267). These were followed by his *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* (1271-2). In 1277 Jerome of Ascoli, General of the Franciscan Order, condemned his teaching, as containing 'some suspected novelties,' on account of which he was imprisoned in Paris for 15 years. On his release, he returned to Oxford, where he wrote in 1292 his *Compendium Studii Theologiae* and where he probably died in 1294. The following is the purport of a passage from his latest work:—

'Slowly has any portion of the philosophy of Aristotle come into use among the Latins. His *Natural Philosophy*, and his *Metaphysics*, with the commentaries of Averroës and others, were translated in my time, and interdicted at Paris before the year A.D. 1237. Even his Logic was slowly received and lectured on. For St Edmund, the archbishop of Canterbury [Edmund Rich], was the first who in my time read the *Sophistici Elenchi* at Oxford. And I have seen Master Hugo, who first read the book of *Posterior (Analytics)*, and have also seen his writing (*verbum*). So there have been few, considering the multitude of the Latins, who are of any account in the philosophy of Aristotle; nay, very

¹ He probably went to Paris before 1236; he was certainly there before 1245. In Paris he chose as his master one of the most modest and most learned men of the time, Peter de Maricourt, 'the Master of Experiments', the author of a treatise on the Magnet dated 1269. For ten years (c. 1256-66), 'owing to many infirmities', he was compelled to withdraw from University affairs.

few indeed, and scarcely any up to this year of grace 1292...The *Ethics* has but slowly become known, having been only lately, and that seldom, expounded by our masters...Thus far, there have only been three persons who could form a true judgement of the small portion of the whole of Aristotle that has been translated'.

In the *Opus Majus* he notices the expansion in the knowledge of Aristotle's writings dating from the time of Michael Scot, *i.e.* from after 1230; and denounces the inadequacy of the current translations, and especially the ignorance which had led the translators to leave foreign words standing in their text. In the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, he thus pleads for the study of Greek as well as Hebrew:—'we are the heirs of the scholars of the past, and (even in our own interests) are bound to maintain the traditions of learning, on pain of being charged with infinite folly'¹. His own knowledge of Greek was mainly derived from the Greeks of his day, and it is their pronunciation that he invariably adopts. His *Greek Grammar*, preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and first published at Cambridge in 1902, includes a short Greek Accidence and ends with the paradigm of *τίπτω*. He naturally follows the Byzantine tradition.

In Latin his favourite authors are Cicero and Seneca. In history he knows Sallust, Livy and 'Trogus Pompeius'; he is also familiar with Pliny and Solinus, and with Donatus, Servius, Apuleius, Gellius, Censorinus, Boëthius, Cassiodorus and Priscian. In verse he quotes freely from Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Lucan, Statius and the later poets. He urges that boys should not be taught the 'foolish fables' of poets such as Ovid; but, when he needs a new argument for the study of Greek, he tacitly borrows a line from the *Epistolae ex Ponto*:—'gratius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae'. He knew Arabic and Hebrew, as well as Greek, and the same keenness of spirit, that prompted him to insist on the importance of the study of Greek, impelled him to extend the bounds of science².

¹ p. 435.

² Cp. E. Charles, *Roger Bacon* (Paris, 1861), 'Commemoration Essays' ed. A. G. Little (Oxford, 1914), and the present writer's paper in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1914; also J. H. Bridges, *The Life and Work of Roger Bacon* (1897), reprinted 1914.

In Roger Bacon's day, notwithstanding his eagerness for promoting the study of Aristotle in the original Greek, it was the *Latin* Aristotle alone that was studied in the schools. In the very year in which he was writing his three great works in Paris (1267), Oxford was prescribing for the course in Arts the whole of the Latin *Organon*, and, as an alternative, the *De Anima* and the *Physics*. The study of the *Physics* in England during this century may be illustrated by the MS of the Latin translation of that work, written in England and illuminated with a representation of a mediaeval lecture-room, in which a closely packed group of nine tonsured students, with their books resting on their knees, is listening to a scholar, who is lecturing with uplifted hand, robed in an academic gown and enthroned on a professorial chair¹.

The famous Franciscan, Joannes Duns Scotus, who was possibly born at Dunstan (near Dunstanburgh Castle) in Northumberland, opposed the teaching of Thomas Aquinas at Oxford, Paris and Cologne, where he died in 1308. He has a less high regard than Thomas for the teaching of Aristotle, and he adopts many Platonic and Neo-Platonic opinions. His works include *Quaestiones* on Aristotle *De Anima* and *Meteorologica*, and an exposition and summaries and conclusions, as well as *Quaestiones*, on the *Metaphysics*. In the domain of pure Scholarship he is represented by the *Grammatica Speculativa*, which is also described as a treatise *De Modis Significandi* (on Moods).

The extreme philosophical opinions of Duns Scotus were followed by a reaction led by Wycliffe (1324-84), who (for England at least) is at once 'the last of the Schoolmen' and 'the first of the Reformers'. Humanists were agreed with later Reformers, such as Tyndale (1530), in opposing the subtleties of Scotus. In 1535 (a date which marks the close of the influence of Scholasticism in England) the idol of the Schools was dragged from his pedestal at Oxford and Cambridge; and one of Thomas Cromwell's commissioners at Oxford writes:—'We have set Dunc in *Bocardo*, and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blynd glosses . . . (At New College) wee fownd all the

¹ British Museum, Royal 12. G. v. (reproduced in *Social England*, ill. ed., i 623).

great Quadrant Court full of the Leaves of Dunce, the wind blowing them into every corner'¹.

In the thirteenth century the extension of the knowledge of Aristotle beyond the narrow limits of the *Organon* widened the intellectual horizon by stimulating the study of Psychology and Metaphysics. Aristotle was now recognised as the supreme and infallible authority, not in Logic alone, but also in Metaphysics, in Morals, and (unhappily) in Physiology and Natural Science in general. He was associated in Northern Europe with the study of speculative philosophy and theology, and in Italy with that of medicine, thus incidentally leading to an alliance between the Faculties of Medicine and Arts in the Italian universities. Under the wing of Aristotle, room was found even for Averroës. About the middle of the fourteenth century the Inceptor in Arts at the university of Paris was compelled to swear that he would teach nothing that was inconsistent with 'Aristotle and his commentator Averroës'². But the mediaeval dependence on the authority of Aristotle gradually gave way. The change was in part occasioned by the recovery of some of the lost works of ancient literature, and the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance was attended by a general widening of the range of classical studies, and by a renewed interest in Plato.

In 1325 there were lectures on Greek, as well as Arabic, Chaldee and Hebrew, in the university of Paris, but the papal legate was instructed to take care that these strange tongues were not made the means of introducing outlandish doctrines. The suspicion of heresy clung to the Greek language in particular, and bishops gave up the traditional custom of signing their names in Greek. There were hardly any hellenists except among the Dominicans, who, as they had early secured complete control of the Inquisition, could with perfect impunity learn as much Greek as they pleased. After many decrees to the contrary, the study of Aristotle was restored with hardly any restrictions by the Papal Legates of 1366. For

¹ Layton in Strype's *Eccl. Memorials*, i 324.

² *Chartul.* ii. 680, with the important addition, *nisi in casibus qui sunt contra fidem.*

the B.A. degree it was necessary to take up Grammar, Logic and Psychology, the first of these including the 'Doctrinale' of Alexander of Villedieu; the second, the *Organon* of Aristotle and the *Topics* of Boëthius; and the third, the *De Anima*. For the Licence in Arts, the subjects comprised the *Physics* and the *Parva Naturalia*, and, for the M.A. degree, the greater part of the *Ethics* and at least three books of the *Meteorologica*. But Aristotle was not studied in the original. The vast number of lucubrations on Aristotle included in the two oldest catalogues of the library of the Sorbonne (1290 and 1338) supply no proof of any direct acquaintance with the Greek text.

The university of Paris was too closely bound up with the study of Aristotle and too strictly subservient to his supreme authority, to be able to take the lead in that general revival of Classical interests which we associate with the age of the Renaissance. Yet the Western

Earlier
revivals of
learning

lands of Europe, France as well as England, had seen more than one revival of learning in the course of the early Middle Ages. The first two revivals are associated with the names of Aldhelm and Bede, and of Alcuin and Charles the Great. Even under the successors of Charles the Great, Greek prose found an interpreter in the person of Joannes Scotus. In the tenth century Gerbert had been conspicuous in the study of Cicero. In the province of education, the changes which began to pass over the schools of France in the eleventh century had culminated in a great intellectual renaissance in the early part of the twelfth, during the age of Abelard. Throughout the Middle Ages the region of France which lay north of the Loire had taken the lead in the education of Europe, but that region had been too completely permeated and possessed by the mediaeval spirit to become the native land of the Renaissance¹. That honour was reserved for the classic soil of Italy, where the Renaissance was slowly called into life by a variety of causes², by the prevailing spirit of intellectual freedom, by the social and political condition of the country, by

Causes of the
Renaissance
in Italy

¹ Körting, *Litt. It.* iii 93.

² Cp. Gebhart's *Origines de la Renaissance en Italie* (1879), esp. pp. 51—146.

the continuous tradition of the Latin language, by the constant witness to the existence of Greek in the region once known as *Magna Graecia*, by the survival of the remains of antique sculpture, such as the marble reliefs which inspired the art of Niccola Pisano, and by the abiding presence of the ruins of ancient Rome, which aroused the enthusiasm, not only of unnamed pilgrims of the tenth and twelfth centuries, but also of men of mark such as Giovanni Villani, and Rienzi, and Petrarch, in the first third of the fourteenth¹. 'During the gloomy and disastrous centuries which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, Italy had preserved, in a far greater degree than any other part of Western Europe, the traces of ancient civilisation. The night which descended upon her was the night of an Arctic summer. The dawn began to reappear before the last reflection of the preceding sunset had faded from the horizon'². But, although the night was luminous, the sun was absent, and Petrarch was the morning-star of a new day; yet there were other stars in the sky before the star of Petrarch.

Dante (1265—1321) is a precursor of the Renaissance in a limited sense alone,—in his breaking loose from the mediaeval tradition by writing his great poem not in the Latin but in the Tuscan tongue; in his delight in minutely realistic descriptions, in his proud self-consciousness as a poet; and in his personal longing for immortal fame. He is true to the strictest theology of the Middle Ages, but at the same time he is as learned a layman as any that we shall meet in the coming age of the Renaissance.

The speculative basis of his great poem is furnished by the scholastic combination of Christian theology with the Aristotelian philosophy. For Aristotle himself he has the highest regard. In the Limbo of the unbaptized, in a green meadow surrounded by the sevenfold walls of a noble castle, the poet sees 'the Master of them that know', with Plato and Socrates hard by; and, amongst others, Cicero and Livy and the 'moralist Seneca', with Avicenna, and Averroës 'who the great Comment made'³. In his works in general he frequently refers to the Latin Classics.

¹ Petrarch, *De Rebus Fam.* vi 2 p. 314 Fracassetti.

² Macaulay, *Machiavelli* (1827), p. 30 of *Essays* (1861). ³ *Inf.* iv 130—144.

His references to ancient literature have been collected and classified, and the following list shows approximately the number of times he quotes each of the works mentioned :—the Vulgate (500 +), Aristotle (300 +)¹, Virgil (c. 200), Ovid (c. 100), Cicero (c. 50)², Statius and Boëthius (30—40), Horace (7)³, Livy and Orosius (10—20); the *Timæus* of Plato in the translation by Chalcidius, with Homer, Juvenal, Seneca, Ptolemy, Aesop, Valerius Maximus and St Augustine (less than 10 each)⁴. The above list does not include the references to the Schoolmen such as Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, whose greatest disciple is Dante. Sometimes, when he appears to be quoting Aristotle, his real authority is Albertus Magnus. In the *Convito*⁵ he compares the Old translation with the New, meaning by the 'Old' one of the renderings from the Arabic, and by the 'New' one of those from the Greek. His five great pagan poets are Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan⁶. Statius is not found in the *Inferno*, his place, as a 'Christian', converted by Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, being in the *Purgatorio*⁷. Elsewhere, Dante names Virgil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius alone as the 'regular' Latin poets⁸, his omission of Horace being possibly due to a mere accident⁹, especially as he has previously quoted the *Ars Poëtica* with respect, as the work of *magister noster Horatius*¹⁰. His standard authors in Latin prose are Cicero, Livy, Pliny, Frontinus and Orosius.

His knowledge of Greek appears to have been practically *nil*. He describes Aristotle as most 'worthy of trust', and his teaching as of the 'highest authority'¹¹. But Dante's Aristotle was only the Latin Aristotle, and of the treatise on Poetry he unfortunately knew nothing. Like the mediaeval scholars in general, he lay in bondage to the Latin versions of the *Timæus* and of Aristotle, and it was high time for a revival of learning to restore a knowledge of the Greek texts, and to extend the range of study, and inspire it with a new interest, even in the case of Latin literature.

¹ Mainly the *Ethics*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and *De Anima*.

² *De Off.*, *Sen.*, *Am.*; also *De Finibus*.

³ Six from *Ars Poetica*, and one from *Ep.* i 14, 43.

⁴ E. Moore, *Studies*, i 4 f.

⁵ ii 15.

⁶ *Inf.* iv. 88.

⁷ xxi f.

⁸ *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ii 6.

⁹ *Horatium* might easily have fallen out before *Statium*.

¹⁰ *De Vulg. El.* ii 4.

¹¹ *Conv.* iv 6.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SURVIVAL OF THE LATIN CLASSICS

WHILE the Greek Classics owed their safe preservation to the libraries of Constantinople and to the monasteries of the East, it is primarily to the monasteries of the West that we are indebted for the survival of the Latin Classics. A certain prejudice against

Prejudice
against the
Classics

pagan learning, and especially against pagan poetry, had doubtless been traditional in the Christian community. The philosophical works of Cicero had supplied a model for the Latin prose of the Fathers and of their successors in the Middle Ages; but even Cicero, it was sometimes felt, might be studied with an undue devotion. Poets (unless their writings were of highly moral purport, or capable of being 'moralised' by means of allegorical interpretation) were regarded with far less favour than philosophers. One of the celebrated illustrations in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, the pictorial encyclopaedia composed, or compiled, by the abbess Herrad of Landsberg for the nuns of Mont St Odile in Alsace (1167-95), represents two large concentric circles filled with the following figures. In the upper half of the inner circle, Philosophy, a queenly form whose crown is parted into the semblance of three human heads identified as 'Ethics', 'Logic' and 'Physics', may be seen enthroned in majesty, while, in the lower half of the same circle, we have Socrates and Plato seated at desks with books open before them. The outer circle is filled with a series of seven arches, and, under each of these, we have a personification of one of the Seven Liberal Arts, with her emblems in her hands, Grammar with a book and a birch, Rhetoric with a tablet and stylus, and similarly with the rest. Below and *outside* this outer circle are four 'poets or magicians', each of them writing at a desk,

with an evil spirit prompting him, in the form of a raven hovering near his ear. The whole design is further embellished with many mottoes in appropriate places.

While the reading of pagan authors was discouraged by the founders of the monastic Orders, no restriction was placed on the copying of MSS. The Benedictine Rule is vague, but it assumes the existence of a monastic library, naturally consisting of ecclesiastical books, while the work of the monastic schools would no less naturally involve the acquisition of a number of classical texts. The monks of centuries x, xi, and xii are credited with having been keener copyists than their successors; but the love of learning, which had received its first impulse from Cassiodorus, never entirely died out. It left its results in the MSS of Monte Cassino and Bobbio; of Corbie and Cluni; of Moissac on the upper Garonne, and Tours and Fleury on the Loire; of St Gallen and Reichenau; of Lorsch, Hersfeld and Fulda. Thus it is that the monasteries of the Middle Ages may justly be regarded not only as 'repositories of the learning that then was', but also as 'well-springs of the learning which was to be'¹.

The survival of certain of the Latin Classics was due to their local interest. Catullus survived in his birthplace, Verona; Caesar's *Gallic War*, in France; the *Germania* and the early books of the *Annals* of Tacitus, with all that remains of Ammianus Marcellinus, in Germany; and Frontinus, *On Aqueducts*, at Monte Cassino, S.E. of the Roman Campagna, where this unique MS is still preserved. The interests of education prompted the preservation of authors on Grammar, with Terence and Virgil, and (in a less degree) Lucan and Statius, Persius and Juvenal. Sallust, Livy and Suetonius were retained as models for historical, Cicero's *Speeches* for rhetorical, and Ovid for poetical composition. The ethical interest prolonged the existence of the philosophical writings of Cicero and Seneca, and of the historical anecdotes of Valerius Maximus. Germany seems to have been mainly interested in subject-matter; France, in style and form. Catullus was preserved in France, as well as in Italy; Horace, chiefly in France; Propertius, probably in France alone. The two earliest notices of Tibullus come from France. Cicero's

¹ Maitland's *Dark Ages*, Pref.

Speeches survived at Cluni, Langres and Liège. The first to translate any of the *Speeches* was an Italian, Brunetto Latini (d. 1294); the *Brutus* survived solely in Italy; the *De Oratore* and *Orator*, in Italy and France. The historians (with the exception of the author of the *Gallic War*) were diligently read and copied in Germany; and Pliny the elder in Germany and England.

A few of the indications of the relative importance attached to the principal Latin authors in the Middle Ages may here be noticed. Plautus was little read²; he is only quoted second-

Plautus

hand by Rabanus Maurus, who clearly derives his knowledge from Priscian and Isidore; but many isolated lines are cited in the *Glossarium Osberni*, a work of English origin. In the mediaeval catalogues, he is found at Bury

Terence

and at Bamberg only. Terence was far more familiar. He was closely imitated by Hroswitha, and not unfrequently cited by others; but, although his metres had been expounded by Priscian, he was regarded as a prose-author, not only by the learned abbess of Gandersheim, but also by the well-informed schoolmaster of Bamberg, Hugo of Trimberg¹.

Lucretius, who, in the Roman Age, had been imitated by Horace and Virgil, had been familiar to Arnobius, Lactantius and Jerome, and had been occasionally copied by Commodianus and frequently quoted by Isidore, was little read in the Middle Ages. Through the medium of the grammarians, he became known to Bede, one of whose quotations enabled Lachmann to emend the poet's text (vi 868). Probably all the other mediaeval quotations are borrowed from earlier authors such as Macrobius, Priscian, and Isidore.

Verona's poet Catullus is quoted by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, but is not even named again until the time of Ratherius, bishop of Verona (965). The MS at Verona, lost for a time but recovered shortly before 1323, was known to Petrarch (1347) and Coluccio Salutati (1374), but had vanished again before Traversari's visit (July 1433). It is (directly or indirectly) the source of all the extant MSS.

¹ *Registrum Multorum Auctorum* (1280), ed. Hümer.

Of all the poets by far the most popular in the Middle Ages was Virgil. The allegorical interpretation of the *Aeneid*, as an image of human life, as a story of the triumph of wisdom and virtue over folly and passion, first put forward by Fulgentius (c. 520), was accepted by John of Salisbury, as well as by Dante, and by scholars in the Renaissance, such as Alberti and Landini. Virgil was of course the constant model of the mediaeval epics. His general popularity in the Christian community was partly due to his *Fourth Eclogue*, which had been regarded by Lactantius, Eusebius, St Augustine and Prudentius as a prophecy of the coming of Christ. It was also a pious belief in Italy that St Paul had visited the poet's tomb when he passed through Naples, and had shed tears of regret at the thought that the poet had not lived at a time when he might have been converted by the Apostle. A hymn in honour of St Paul, which continued to be sung at Mantua down to the fifteenth century, included the following stanza :—

‘Ad Maronis mausoleum
Ductus fudit super eum
Piae rorem lacrymae;
Quem te, inquit, reddidissem,
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poëtarum maxime!’

To Dante (as is well known) Virgil is ‘the glory of the Latin race’¹, ‘the honour of all science and all wit’², ‘the sea of all wisdom’³, ‘the gentile sage, who all things knew’⁴, the poet who, as the symbol of human wisdom and philosophy, is his ‘leader, lord and master’⁵ in his journey through the *Inferno* and the greater part of the *Purgatorio*⁶.

The study of Horace in the Caroline age is represented mainly by Alcuin, who assumes the name of Flaccus, and displays a knowledge of the *Odes* and *Epodes*, as well as the *Satires* and *Epistles*, which may also be traced in the poems of Theodulfus, bishop of Orleans (d. 821). In 1280 his

¹ *Purg.* vii 16.

² *Inf.* iv 73.

³ *Inf.* viii 7.

⁴ *Inf.* vii 3.

⁵ *Inf.* ii 140. *De Monarchia*, ii 3, divinus poëta noster Virgilius.

⁶ See, in general, Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (1872 and 1896), E.T. 1895.

hexameter poems are regarded by Hugo of Trimberg as more important than the lyrics: the former are the *libri principales*, the latter are *minus usuales*. Out of 1289 scattered quotations from Horace in the Middle Ages, exactly 250 (or less than $\frac{1}{5}$) are from the lyrics and as many as 1039 from the hexameters¹. The total number of quotations from the lyrics in Italy is only 19, distributed over several centuries, and gradually diminishing till they reach the age of Dante, when they entirely disappear. Horace was, in fact, little known in Italy before the Renaissance, while he was far more familiar in France and Germany. Most of the 250 extant MSS come from France. The oldest, known as the *codex Bernensis* now at Berne, came from Fleury on the Loire. It is written in an Irish hand (cent. ix) with Celtic glosses here and there in the margin, and is one of a group of MSS now ascribed to Irish contemporaries of Sedulius of Liège.

A popularity intermediate between that of Virgil and Horace was attained by Ovid, especially in his *Metamorphoses*, his *Fasti*, his *Ars Amatoria* and his *Remedia Amoris*. He was imitated by the scholars at the court of Charles the Great, one of whom assumed the name of Naso, while another believed that profound truths were contained in his poems, if properly (*i.e.* allegorically) understood. All his works were known and quoted, and most of them imitated and translated, during the Middle Ages. Dante regards the *Metamorphoses* as a model of style², and as a work requiring allegorical interpretation³. Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* proves his familiarity with the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*; and there is no Latin poet that he cites more frequently.

Lucan owed his popularity largely to his learned allusions to matters of geography, mythology and natural history, as well as to his rhetorical style and his pointed sayings. He was regarded as a historical authority, being the main source of the mediaeval romances on Julius Caesar. He is mentioned by Dante as the last of the four great Latin poets in the fourth

¹ Moore's *Studies in Dante*, i 201.

² *De Vulg. El.* ii 6.

³ *Conv.* ii 1; iv. 25, 27, 28.

canto of the *Inferno*; and is placed by Chaucer on the summit of an iron column in the *House of Fame*;

‘And by him stoden all these clerkes,
That write of Romes mighty werkes’.

On certain other columns in the same building the poet places Homer, Virgil, Ovid and Statius.

Statius was no less famous than Lucan. The *Thebais* and *Achilleis* are often quoted, while the *Silvae*, familiar to Ausonius, Claudian, and Apollinaris Sidonius, but imitated only once in the Caroline age by Paulus Diaconus¹, remained practically unknown till its discovery by Poggio at St Gallen (1417). In an ancient Norman poem he is called *Estate le Grand*, though Virgil (in the same line) has no epithet whatsoever.

The quotations from Martial preserved by the grammarians from the time of Victorinus, Charisius and Servius, to that of Priscian and Isidore, prove that he was well known from the fourth to the sixth centuries. There are many reminiscences of his epigrams in Ausonius and in Apollinaris Sidonius. The curious name of *Coquus* is sometimes given him by John of Salisbury (amongst others), and always by Vincent of Beauvais, who reserves the name of Martial for the horticultural poet Gargilius Martialis.

The moral earnestness of Juvenal led to his being highly esteemed in the Middle Ages. According to the monastic catalogues, his Satires were preserved in three copies at Bobbio, St Bertin and Rouen, and in two at Corbie, Bamberg and Durham. Abbot Marleberge (1218) brought to the monastic library at Evesham a Juvenal, as well as a Lucan and a Cicero. He is often quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, John of Salisbury, Vincent of Beauvais, and others. A reminiscence of the Tenth Satire may be noticed in Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseide* (iv 197):—

‘O Juvenal lord, true is thy sentence,
That little wenen folk what is to yerne’.

¹ *Carmen* 35, *Curre per Ausoniae non segnis epistola campos* (*Silv.* iv 4).

The popularity of Persius is attested by many quotations.

Persius His name appears often in mediaeval catalogues of centuries ix—xii.

The only MS of Propertius mentioned in the Middle Ages belonged to France. The only complete MS earlier than century xv is that of Wolfenbüttel (xii), formerly in Naples, a MS known to Politian. Little more than the first book is contained in a Leyden MS (xiv). The earliest evidence for the text of Tibullus is contained in certain *Excerpta Parisina* (ix—x) known to Vincent of Beauvais; later than these are the *Excerpta Frisingensia* (xi) now at Munich; the earliest complete MS, that in Milan (xiv), was once in the possession of Coluccio Salutati. The text of Valerius Flaccus rests on the Vatican MS (ix—x) and the MS found by Poggio at St Gallen (1416) and now known only through copies, especially Poggio's copy in Madrid and an independent copy at Queen's College, Oxford. A MS of Silius Italicus is entered in a catalogue of St Gallen in the ninth century, but otherwise he has left no trace of his existence from the time of Apollinaris Sidonius to that of Poggio (1417). The only complete MS of Phaedrus is the *codex Pithoeanus*, now at Du Mesnil near Mantes (ix—x). We have to be content with secondary evidence of the text of its twin-brother, the MS formerly at Rheims, which perished by fire in 1774.

The fame of Boëthius, the 'last of the Romans', was perpetuated throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. He was known not only as the first inspirer of the great scholastic problem¹ and the translator of certain of the logical treatises of Aristotle, but also as the author of the *Consolatio*, which is preserved in many MSS (ix—x), was repeatedly translated, and was specially familiar to Dante and to Chaucer. The blended prose and poetry of that work was not unfrequently imitated.

Turning from verse to prose, we find Cicero revered throughout the Middle Ages as the great representative of the 'liberal art' of Rhetoric. His famous sayings were collected by Bede; his *De Inventione* was the source of a

¹ p. 68 *supra*.

short treatise on rhetoric by Alcuin; the *Tusculan Disputations* were quoted, and the *pro Milone*, the first *Catilinarian* and the second *Verrine* imitated, by Einhard; while the text of his *Epistles* was carefully studied by Servatus Lupus. An exceptionally wide knowledge of Cicero is exhibited by the presbyter Hadoardus, the *custos* of an unidentified library in Western Frankland, whose excerpts in a Vatican MS of century ix include many passages from the *De Oratore*, and more than 600 from the philosophical works¹. In the tenth century Gerbert is specially interested not only in the rhetorical and philosophical works but also in the speeches, and the preservation of these last in France is possibly due to his influence. In the twelfth century Abelard cites only four of his works, the *De Inventione* and *Topica*, and the *De Officiis* and *Paradoxa*. Abelard's pupil, John of Salisbury, knew many more, and (besides being acquainted with the *Letters*) was specially familiar with the philosophical treatises. Dante's references to Cicero are primarily to the *De Officiis* and *Cato*, secondarily to the *Laelius* and *De Finibus*, with one or two notices of the *De Inventione* and *Paradoxa*. The *Laelius* is one of the two books in which he finds consolation on the death of Beatrice.

Cato enjoyed the reputation of being the writer of the widely popular *Distichs*, which, with 'Aesop' and Avianus, were studied by beginners in the mediaeval schools. Avianus, and a prose version of Phaedrus called *Romulus*, were the sources of many mediaeval fables.

Seneca was famous as the author of the *Naturales Quaestiones*, and still more as a moralist. He is called *Seneca morale* by Dante². He was believed to be a Christian, his 'correspondence with St Paul'³ being first mentioned by Jerome, who accepts it as genuine and includes its supposed author among his *scriptores ecclesiastici*. Jerome's opinion was followed by John of Salisbury, Vincent of Beauvais and many others.

Pliny the elder, whose 'Natural History' exactly suited the encyclopaedic tastes of the Middle Ages, was widely read in the original, and also in the excerpts of Solinus. In the mediaeval catalogues he is named nine times in

¹ P. Schwenke, *Philologus*, Suppl. v (1889).

² *Inf.* iv 141.

³ Haase's *Seneca*, iii 476—481.

France and in Germany, and only twice in Italy and England. But this gives a very imperfect impression of the care with which he was studied in England. A more convincing proof of the thoroughness of that study may be found in the Northumbrian excerpts now in Bern (viii)¹, and in the fact that Robert of Cricklade, prior of St Frideswide at Oxford, dedicated to Henry II (1154-89) a *Defloratio* consisting of nine books of selections taken from one of the older class of MSS, which has been recently recognised as sometimes supplying us with the only evidence for the true text².

The younger Pliny was little known, being mentioned only twice in the mediaeval catalogues of Germany, and only thrice in those of France, but his *Letters* are quoted once by Ratherius of Verona³.

The *Declamations* (or *Causae*) ascribed to Quintilian are alone mentioned by Trebellius Pollio and by Lactantius, and their study lasted through the Middle Ages down to the time of Petrarch (1350). His genuine *Institutio Oratoria* was known to Servatus Lupus, to Bernard of Chartres, and to John of Salisbury in the twelfth century, and, in the thirteenth, to Vincent of Beauvais.

Cornelius Nepos, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Suetonius, Justin and Florus were much studied in the Middle Ages, and a special popularity attended the historical anecdotes of Valerius Maximus.

During the Middle Ages, and even in the pages of Petrarch, the author of the *Gallic War* is constantly called Julius Celsus, the name of a reviser of the text mentioned in the *subscriptions* to the MSS of that work. In the mediaeval catalogues (except in those of France) he is one of the rarer authors.

Sallust was imitated by Sulpicius Severus, and by Ambrose; and the *Bellum Catilinae*⁴ was even quoted by Leo the Great⁵. His *Jugurtha* was known to the com-

¹ K. Rück, *Auszüge* (München, 1888).

² K. Rück in *S. Ber.* Munich Acad. 3 Mai 1902, p. 195 f.

³ Migne, cxxxvi 391 (*Ep.* i 5, 16).

⁴ 37, 5, sicut in sentinam confluerant.

⁵ *Sermo*, xvi 4.

piler of the Annals of Fulda (875). Sallust was a favourite model with African writers of centuries ii—v. Only fragments of his *Histories* have survived. The last to study this work at first-hand was Augustine (d. 425); later writers borrowed their quotations from Priscian and Isidore.

The great work of Livy was originally in 142 books, of which only 35 (viz. books 1—10 and 21—45) have survived. Livy.
Florus An abridgement is mentioned by Martial¹. Part of an abstract of books 48—55 has been found at Oxyrhynchus². An epitome was the source of the collection of prodigies made by Julius Obsequens (vii). A summary of the contents of the lost books is preserved in the *Periochae*, best represented by a MS at Heidelberg (ix), and we have direct quotations from or vague references to the lost books in Asconius, Tacitus, Frontinus; in Plutarch and Dion Cassius; in Servius and Censorinus; and in Priscian and Cassiodorus; also in the Bernese *scholia* on Lucan. Thus the whole of Livy appears to have survived to the end of the Roman Age, but the books known to the Middle Ages were the same as those known to ourselves, and the rumours of the survival of a complete Livy, which were rife in the times of the Renaissance, remained unconfirmed. The style of Livy was imitated by Einhard, and, with greater freedom, by Lambert of Hersfeld.

Suetonius was successfully imitated by Einhard (830), who was educated at Fulda. Servatus Lupus, who could find no MS of Suetonius in France, borrowed the Fulda MS (c. 850), and at the close of the same century a MS of Suetonius was copied at Tours. This copy still exists in Paris under the name of the *codex Memmianus* (ix), the best that has come down to us. While Eric of Auxerre made extracts from Suetonius and Valerius Maximus at the suggestion of Servatus Lupus, Sedulius of Liège had already been culling excerpts from Valerius and Vegetius, whose work, *De re militari*, was much studied during the wars of the ninth century. Justin.
Q. Curtius Justin was a favourite model for historical composition. Quintus Curtius, the imitator of Livy and Seneca,

¹ xiv 190.

² *Oxyr. Papyri*, iv (1904) 90—116.

was studied by Einhard and Servatus Lupus and others in the Middle Ages.

In the mediaeval catalogues there is no certain trace of Tacitus.

Tacitus

Reminiscences of the *Germania* and the *Histories* have been detected in Einhard, and of the *Annals* in a single passage of Rudolf's annals of Fulda (852)¹, while the *Germania* is the source of the same writer's description of the Saxons², and of the epigram in Guibert of Nogent (d. 1124):—*modernum hoc saeculum corrumpitur et corrumpit*³. Books i—vi of the *Annals* have survived only in the Medicean MS (ix), found in 1509 and supposed to have come from one of the monasteries of Northern Germany, most probably Corvey; *Annals* xi—xvi and *Histories* i—v, solely in another Medicean MS (xi), 'found' in 1427, which is written in 'Lombard' characters and was possibly copied at Monte Cassino. The extant MSS of the *Dialogus*, *Germania*, and *Agricola* are all of century xv, with the exception of a MS of the *Agricola* and *Germania* discovered in 1902 in a private library at Jesi near Ancona, which includes eight leaves of the *Agricola* from the Hersfeld MS (x) first discovered in 1455.

A favourable impression of the extent to which the ancient historians were sometimes studied is conveyed by Radulfus de Diceto, dean of St Paul's (d. 1202), who gives a dated list of the historical authorities followed in his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, beginning with 'Trogus Pompeius' and Valerius Maximus, while he quotes, in his own work, authors such as Caesar, Suetonius, Solinus, Florus, Apuleius, Virgil, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Claudian and Vegetius. But, in the Middle Ages as a whole, we find an ignorance of ancient history in general, and even of the history of philosophy and literature. Historical studies were entangled with strange versions of the tale of Troy and fabulous stories of Alexander the Great, while the wildest legends gathered round the names of Aristotle and of Virgil. The fables of mythology,

¹ Pertz, *Mon.* i 368, super amnem quem Cornelius Tacitus [*Ann.* ii 9—17] scriptor rerum a Romanis in ea gente gestarum Visurgim, moderni vero Wisahara vocant.

² *Mon.* ii 675 f [*Germ.* 4, 5, 10, 11].

³ Migne, clvi 858; Tac. *Germ.* 19, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur.

again, were either denounced as diabolical inventions or forced to minister to edification with the aid of allegory.

The classical learning of the Middle Ages was largely derived second-hand, not only from comprehensive encyclopaedias, but also from books of elegant Grammar extracts or *florilegia*; and, even if the student never attained to the reading of the authors themselves, he at least went through a protracted course of Latin Grammar. Early in the Middle Ages the vast compilation of Priscian was succeeded by the minor manuals of Cassiodorus and Isidore, of Aldhelm and Bede. After the eighth century the history of Grammar falls into two periods, (1) from the age of Alcuin to that of Abelard (centuries ix—xi), and (2) from the age of Abelard to the Renaissance (centuries xii—xiv). In the first period the authorities mainly followed are Donatus and Priscian. The few examples of texts quoted in illustration of grammatical rules are all borrowed from earlier grammars. Donatus has in the meantime been converted into a catechism (*Donatus minor*), and the most popular text-book is the commentary on that catechism by Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908). A superstitious respect for a standard grammatical text, an ignorance of Greek and of classical antiquity in general, a disposition to reason *about* grammatical facts instead of studying the facts themselves, a preference for ecclesiastical as compared with classical usage, are among the main characteristics of the first period. All these reappear in an exaggerated form in the second; but, in the latter, we find Logic intruding into the sphere of Grammar, asserting itself first in the early part of the twelfth century and still more strongly in the thirteenth. Although the study of Logic spread over all Europe, the general trend of grammatical studies in France, south of the Loire, is different from that north of that river and in lands under the educational influence of Northern France, such as England, Flanders and Germany. In Italy and in Southern France the study of Logic, combined with that of Grammar, is subordinate to that of Law; and Grammar is cultivated solely for the practical purpose of enabling the student to speak and write Latin with correctness. The most popular lexicons of the Middle Ages were produced by Italians, namely Papias of Lombardy (1053), Hugutio of Pisa (d. 1212), and Balbi of Genoa (1286).

In the second period the chief authorities on Grammar are men of Northern Europe who have studied in Paris. Petrus Helias, the author of a commentary on Priscian, is a Frenchman who taught in Paris (c. 1142). Alexander of Villedieu, the composer of a hexameter poem, in 2645 lines, on (1) Accidence, (2) Syntax, and (3) Prosody, Accentuation and Figures of Speech, compiled from Priscian, Donatus, Petrus Riga, and possibly also from unknown grammarians of the twelfth century, is a native of Normandy (1200). Flanders is the native land of his contemporary, Eberhard of Bethune (1212), the author of a poem on Grammar, written in hexameters interspersed with elegiacs, which owes its name of *Graecismus* to the fact that it includes a chapter on derivations from the Greek. Flanders also claims Michael 'Modista' of Marbais (cent. xiii), the writer of a treatise on Moods, who actually invokes the authority of Aristotle for the simple statement that one cannot give to another that which one has not got oneself. Lastly, we find two Englishmen, the first of whom is Joannes de Garlandia (fl. 1204-52), who left behind him about fourteen works on Latin Grammar and cognate subjects. The second is Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury (1272-9), who was a Master of Arts of Paris and famous as a commentator on Priscian. In the thirteenth century Priscian was compelled to share the place of honour with his commentators Helias and Kilwardby, while in the fourteenth he was practically superseded by the modern compilations of Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune. These last owed much of their popularity to the fact that they were written in Latin verse. Latin Grammar now ceases to be cultivated as the art of speaking and writing Latin with correctness. It has now become a purely speculative science.

Modern Syntax owes much to the grammarians of the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century a complete system of philosophical grammar was composed, which was destined to hold its ground in the schools for two centuries. The work in which this philosophy of grammar was first laid down was entitled *De Modis Significandi*, and its teachers were called *Modistae*. It has been variously attributed to Thomas Aquinas or Thomas of Erfurt or Duns Scotus in century xiii, and even to Albert the Saxon in the following century. It was the theme of several commentaries,

and of elementary manuals, which were denounced by the early humanists because of the barbarous character of their Latinity, the inordinate number of their definitions, and the extreme subtlety of their distinctions.

The grammarians of the Middle Ages dealt with Latin as the living language of the Church and the Schools, and it was precisely because it was a living language that it departed further and further from the classical standard. Founded on the Vulgate and the Fathers, it enlarged its vocabulary by incorporating names of things unknown to the ancients, together with technical terms of the Schools, whether invented by the Schoolmen or the Grammarians. We owe 'instance' to the former¹, and 'substantive' to the latter. It is open to Seneca² to complain that he cannot translate τὸ ὄν except by *quod est*, but Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus would have felt no such difficulty, and Quintilian³ would not have condemned them for using *ens* or *essentia*. 'If fear' (says Priscian⁴) 'had prevented authors from using any new words, which were necessarily demanded either by the nature of things or by the desire of expressing a certain meaning, *perpetuis Latinitas angustiis damnata mansisset*'. Among changes of Syntax, the commonest are the use of *quod* or *quia*, instead of the Accusative with the Infinitive; *fore*, for *esse*, with the Future Participle; the Accusative for the Ablative Absolute; and *quatenus* in the 'final' sense of *ut*. The scholastic Latin of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries degenerates in the fourteenth; and this degeneracy was doubtless accelerated by the uncouth style of the renderings of Aristotle which began to be common in the thirteenth century.

Grammar was the portal of all the Liberal Arts; the latter could only be approached through the study of the 'parts of speech':—*qui nescit partes, in vanum tendit ad artes*. But it was only one of the Seven Arts constituting the normal course of mediaeval

The conflict
between the
Arts and the
Authors

¹ 'instance', *instantia* a rendering of ἐνστάσις, primarily 'an objection' to one of the premisses; in the secondary sense of 'example', not found in English earlier than 1586.

² *Ep.* 58 § 7.

³ viii 3, 33.

⁴ viii 92; cp. Paulsen, *Gesch. des gelehrten Unterrichts*, i 42²; Reichling's ed. of Alexander of Villedieu, iv—vi.

study. Combined with Logic and Rhetoric, it formed the *trivium*, with which ordinary students were generally content. In the case of the more advanced, the study of these three Arts was followed by that of the *quadrivium*, consisting of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. The late Latin couplet summing up the Seven Arts in two memorial lines corresponding to these divisions is well known :—

‘GRAM loquitur ; DIA vera docet ; RHET verba colorat ;
MUS canit ; AR numerat ; GE ponderat ; AST colit astra’.

The Middle Ages were the battle-ground of a struggle between the study of the Liberal Arts, as represented in meagre manuals like that of Martianus Capella, and the study of the classical authors themselves. The study of the Arts was regarded as subservient not only to the study of the Scriptures, but also to that of theoretic Theology. But the study of the Arts, though subordinate to that of the Scriptures, was deemed far more important than that of the Authors. In comparison with the latter, the text-books of the Arts in general, and of Logic in particular, were considered safer reading : a syllogism might possibly involve a fallacy, but it was at any rate free from the taint of paganism. From the first part of the eleventh century, the influence of the Schoolmen made the *schools* of Paris the stronghold of the study of Logic ; and, at the beginning of the thirteenth, we find the earliest statute of the *university* of Paris insisting on the study of Plato and Aristotle alone, to the neglect of a general classical education. Meanwhile, in the twelfth, an interest in the Classics still survived at Chartres during the three years (1137-40) in which John of Salisbury was studying there, under one of Bernard’s pupils, and also under Bernard’s brother Theodoric, who composed (c. 1141) a great work on the Seven Liberal Arts, treating each of them in connexion with ancient or modern text-books. For Grammar he quotes Donatus and Priscian ; for Dialectic, Aristotle and Boëthius ; for Rhetoric, Cicero ; for Music and Arithmetic, Boëthius ; for Geometry, Adelard of Bath (the translator of Euclid), with Frontinus and Isidore ; for Astronomy, Hyginus and Ptolemy. In this connexion it is interesting to point out that it was between 1134 and 1150, at a time when the influence of Bernard was still strong in Chartres, when his im-

mediate pupils were actually teaching in its famous school, and while his brother Theodoric was successively 'master of the school' and 'chancellor', that the right-hand door-way of the West Front of the cathedral was adorned with figures of the Seven Arts, each of them associated with an ancient personage, Grammar with Priscian, Dialectic with Aristotle, Rhetoric with Cicero, Music with Pythagoras, Arithmetic with Nicomachus, Geometry with Euclid, and Astronomy with Ptolemy.

In the history of classical studies in the Middle Ages an important place must be assigned to the struggle between the schools of Paris and Orleans. Even Orleans when the school of Chartres, overshadowed by Paris, began to decline, the classical tradition lived on at Orleans till at least the middle of the thirteenth century. In that century the school acquired a new interest through its struggle with the Sorbonne. Orleans had neglected the study of philosophy and had insisted solely on the attainment of purity of style through the direct study of classical authors, especially Virgil and Lucan. The *Authors* were supreme at Orleans, the *Arts* in Paris¹. This contrast is clearly shown in certain Latin poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is still more vividly represented in the contemporary poem of Henri d'Andely on the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, the author of which was a *magister* and a *clericus* of Rouen in 1259. The conflict between the study of philosophy in Paris and the cultivation of literature, especially poetic literature, at Orleans, is here represented as a battle between the forces of Logic and of Grammar. The piece is not without interest as a precursor of a far better known production, Swift's *Battle of the Books* (1697). The following may serve as a brief summary :—

Grammar unfurls her banner before the walls of Orleans, and summons all her forces to the fray. Around that banner gather 'Homer' and Claudian, Persius, Donatus and Priscian, with many another knight and squire. They are soon reinforced by the chieftains of Orleans itself, when they all combine in a march on Paris. Logic trembles at their approach; she summons aid from Tournai and elsewhere, and places in a chariot three of her champions who are skilled in all the Liberal Arts. Rhetoric has meanwhile taken up her

¹ The Statute of 1254 prescribes certain parts of Aristotle, with Donatus, Boëthius and Priscian, but none of the Latin Classics.

stand with the Lombard knights at a fort six leagues distant from Paris, where her forces are joined by those of certain other Arts:—Physic, Surgery, Music, Astronomy, Arithmetic and Geometry, while Theology remains apart in Paris. Among the champions of that city are Plato and Aristotle. Donatus begins the battle by attacking Plato; Aristotle meanwhile attacks Priscian, but is thrown from his steed and continues to fight on foot against Grammar, *i.e.* Priscian (who is aided by his modern ‘nephews’, Alexander and Eberhard), when he is himself attacked, not by Priscian only, but by Virgil and Horace, Lucan and Statius, Persius and Juvenal, Propertius, Sedulius, Arator, Terence and ‘Homer’; and would certainly have surrendered, but for the aid of Logic and the several impersonations of the *Organon*, *Physics* and *Ethics*, with Porphyry, Macrobius and Boëthius. Dan Barbarime, though a vassal of Grammar, takes up arms against her, because he also holds lands in the domain of Logic. While the battle goes on raging, the Authors find it hard to hold their own, although Ovid and Seneca hasten to their aid, together with certain modern poets, including Jean de Hauteville and Alain de Lille. Logic, however, is obliged to withdraw to the fort held by Rhetoric and Astronomy, and is there beleaguered by the forces of Grammar, till she sends down an envoy who unfortunately knows so little of the rules of speech that he cannot even deliver his message clearly and is accordingly compelled to return without result. Meanwhile Astronomy flings her lightning on her foes, burns their tents and scatters their forces; and, since that day, the Muse of Poetry has buried herself out of sight, somewhere between Orleans and Blois, never daring to show herself in the land where her rival, Logic, is holding sway. But she is honoured still by the Britons and the Germans, although the Lombards hate her¹. ‘This will last’ (adds the poet) ‘for thirty years; but the next generation will once more give heed to Grammar. Meanwhile, I declare that any scholar who cannot construe his text is a contemptible person, since, in every science, whoever is not perfect in his parts of speech, must be deemed the merest boy’².

Before the year 1300 the literary school of Orleans had been thrown into the shade by the schools of the Seven Arts in Paris, and the study of Law alone survived. But the fourteenth century saw the fulfilment of the poet’s prophecy of a revival of learning, which began, not in France or Germany or England, but in Northern Italy, where, in the early years of that century, the morning-star of the Renaissance arose in the person of Petrarch.

¹ A reference to the Lombard usurers in France, who are represented as hating the Muse of Poetry, only because they dun poets for their dues.

²

*Quar en toute Science est gars,
Mestres, qui n’entent bien ses pars.*

Text in Appendix to Jubinal’s ed. of Rutebeuf, iii (1875) 325—347.



FRANCESCO PETRARCA.

From a MS of Petrarch, *De viris illustribus* (1379), in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. Reproduced (by permission) from M. Pierre de Nolhac's *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 1892; ed. 2, 1907.

BOOK VII

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

CHAPTER XIX

THE QUEST OF THE CLASSICS

THE History of Scholarship during the six centuries that have elapsed since the birth of Petrarch falls into four principal periods, which may be distinguished by the names of the nations that have been most prominent in each;—(1) the Italian, (2) the French, (3) the English and Dutch; and (4) the German.

The first is the age of the Revival of Learning in *Italy*, including the two centuries between the death of Dante in 1321 and the death of Leo X in 1521, and ending with the Sack of Rome in 1527. It begins with Petrarch (1304—1374) and it ends with the contemporaries of Erasmus (1466—1536). It is the age of the Humanists, and its principal aim is the *imitation* and reproduction of classical models of style and of life.

The second, or *French*, period is mainly marked by a many-sided knowledge of the subject-matter of the Classics, by industrious erudition rather than by any special cult of the form of the classical languages. It begins with the foundation of the Collège de France by Francis I at the prompting of Budaeus in 1530, and it ends with the close of the seventeenth century. It is the period of the great *Polyhistor*s of France and of the Netherlands. Its foremost names are those of Scaliger (1540—1609) and Casaubon (1559—1614), and Lipsius (1547—1606) and Salmasius (1588—1653). Of these, Casaubon ended his days in England, while Scaliger passed the last sixteen years of

his life at Leyden, which was also one of the principal scenes of the learned labours of Lipsius and Salmasius.

The third, or *English and Dutch*, period begins towards the end of the seventeenth century with Bentley (1662—1742). It is represented in Holland by Bentley's younger contemporary and correspondent, Hemsterhuys (1685—1766), and Hemsterhuys' famous pupil, Ruhnken (1723—1798). It is the age of historical and literary, as well as verbal, *criticism*. Both were represented by Bentley during the half century of his literary activity from 1691 to 1742, while, in the twenty years between 1782 and 1803, verbal criticism was the peculiar province of Porson (1759—1808), who was born in the same year as Friedrich Augustus Wolf.

The fourth, or *German*, period begins with Wolf (1759—1824), whose celebrated *Prolegomena* appeared in 1795. Wolf is the founder of the systematic or *encyclopaedic* type of scholarship, embodied in the comprehensive term *Alterthumswissenschaft*. The tradition of Wolf was ably represented by his great pupil, Boeckh (1785—1867), one of the leaders of the historical and antiquarian school, as contrasted with the critical and grammatical school of Hermann (1772—1848). During this last period, while Germany remains the most productive of the nations, scholarship has become more and more international and cosmopolitan in its character. In the torch-race of the nations, the light of learning has been transmitted from Italy to France and England, to the Netherlands and Germany, to Scandinavia, and to the lands across the seas.

Born in exile at Arezzo, Petrarch was taken at the age of eight to Avignon,—the seat of the Papacy during the more than seventy years of the 'Babylonian Captivity', which closely corresponded to the seventy years of his life (1304—1374). Educated mainly at Montpellier and Bologna, he spent sixteen years in the seclusion of Vacluse. His early travels in France and Germany were followed by repeated visits to Rome, where, in recognition of his powers as a Latin rather than as an Italian poet, he was crowned with the laurel on the Capitol in 1341. While he was familiar with Parma, and Verona, and Vicenza, he hardly ever saw his ancestral city of Florence.

He spent eight years in Milan, stayed for a time at Venice and Padua, and, twelve miles south of that place, passed the last four years of his life at the quiet village of Arquà. Of his numerous portraits, probably the most authentic is that in a Paris manuscript of his own *Lives of Illustrious Men*, a portrait executed for an intimate friend in Padua less than five years after his death¹.

The lost writings of Cicero were the constant theme of his eager quest. Whenever, in his travels in foreign lands, he caught a distant glimpse of some secluded monastery, he hastened to the spot in the hope of finding the object of his search. In 1333 he had his first experience of the joys of discovery, when he found two Speeches of Cicero at Liège. One of them was copied promptly by his companion, and the other by himself². The second of these was certainly the Speech *pro Archia*³. A far greater joy was awaiting him. The *Letters* of Cicero had for ages been lost to view; but at Verona, in 1345, he found a manuscript containing all the Letters to Atticus and Quintus, and the correspondence with Brutus. He immediately transcribed the whole, but his transcript has been unhappily lost. The copy in the Laurentian Library at Florence⁴, long supposed to be Petrarch's, was really transcribed, eighteen years after Petrarch's death, for a Latin Secretary of Florence, Coluccio Salutati, who was the first in modern times to possess copies of both of the great collections of Cicero's *Letters*. The *Epistolae ad Familiares* were completely unknown to Petrarch.

It was owing to the influence of Petrarch that his great contemporary, Boccaccio (1313—1375), began in early life to study the Latin Classics. Boccaccio was the link between Petrarch and Florence the city of Petrarch's ancestors. It was at Petrarch's prompting that Boccaccio learnt Greek, and thus became the earliest of the Greek scholars of the modern world. Boccaccio's principal Latin work is a small folio on Mythology, claiming to be founded on ancient authorities alone. It is the earliest modern handbook of the subject, and its allegorical treatment of the old legends must have given it a peculiar interest

¹ See p. 162.

² *Epp. Rerum Senilium*, xv 1, p. 948.

³ *Fam.* xiii 6 (11 238 Fracassetti).

⁴ xlix 18.

in the eyes of the author's contemporaries. In this work he assumes that he will be charged with ostentation for quoting lines of Greek from Homer. In reply, he glories in the fact that, alone of all the Tuscans, he has Greek poems at his disposal, and proudly claims to have been the first to offer hospitality to a teacher of Greek in Italy¹, the first to introduce the poems of Homer into Tuscany, the first of all Italians to resume the reading of Homer. His less important work on 'Mountains, Woods and Waters', written to aid the study of the Latin poets, is simply an alphabetical dictionary of ancient geography, founded on Vibius Sequester. Both of these works, however, deserve recognition as the precursors of our modern Dictionaries of Ancient Mythology and of Geography.

Boccaccio had a wide knowledge of the Latin poets, and with his own hand he made himself a complete copy of Terence, which is still preserved in the Laurentian Library². He sees the importance of comparing the texts of ancient mss, but beyond that stage he does not advance. He differs from Petrarch in being uncritical. He is specially attracted to the two Latin historians, Livy and Tacitus. He discovered the *Ibis* of Ovid, besides Martial, Ausonius, the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and the *Priapeia*, the earliest copy of which is written in his own hand³. He was the first humanist to quote Varro, and he may have obtained from Monte Cassino the extant archetype of all our mss of that writer⁴. The well-known manuscript of the *Histories* and the latter part of the *Annals* of Tacitus, was perhaps originally obtained by Boccaccio from Monte Cassino. He is undoubtedly the first of the humanists who is at all familiar with that historian.

Salutati (1330—1406), who was educated at Bologna and
Coluccio
Salutati corresponded with Petrarch in his youth, was Latin secretary of Florence from 1375 to his death. Like Petrarch, he was a great collector of Latin mss. He eagerly sought for the lost books of Livy, for Pompeius Trogus, and for a complete copy of Curtius and of Quintilian. He obtained a transcript (1375) of the Verona ms of Catullus, and of Petrarch's Propertius, together with a Tibullus, which is still in existence.

¹ Leontius Pilatus, 1360.

² xxxviii 17.

³ Laur. xxxiii 31.

⁴ Laur. l 10.

He was the first to possess a copy of Cato, *De Agricultura*, the elegies of Maximianus, the *Aratea* of Germanicus and the commentary of Pompeius on the *Ars maior* of Donatus. On learning in 1389 that the two MSS of Cicero's Letters, from Verona and Vercelli, were in Milan, he caused a copy to be made from the Vercelli MS, which he found, to his joy, contained the Letters *Ad Familiares*, unknown to Petrarch. In 1392 he received from Milan a copy of the Verona MS of the Letters *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, and the Correspondence with Brutus, the only MS of Cicero's Letters which Petrarch had himself discovered and transcribed. Thus, after the lapse of centuries, the two volumes of Cicero's Letters stood side by side at last in the two ancient MSS in Milan, and in the two modern transcripts in the possession of Salutati in Florence. Both of the latter are now in the Laurentian Library¹, together with the original of the *Ad Familiares*, the MS from Vercelli².

The quest for classical manuscripts, begun by Petrarch and continued by Boccaccio and Salutati, was extended beyond the borders of Italy during the Council of Constance (1414—1418). That famous Council witnessed not only the death of Chrysoloras (c. 1350—1415), the first great teacher of Greek in Italy, but also the discovery of not a few of the old Latin Classics. Foremost in the quest was Poggio Bracciolini (1380—Poggio 1459). He had been a papal secretary since 1403, and attended the Council in that capacity. During the vacancy in the 'Apostolic See', from 24 May 1415 to 11 November 1417, the papal secretary had no official duties to perform, and it was during this interval that his principal discoveries were made. These discoveries are connected with four distinct expeditions:—(1) to Cluni in the summer of 1415, (2) to St Gallen in the summer of 1416, (3) to St Gallen and other monasteries early in 1417, and (4) to Langres and other places in France and in Germany in the summer of the same year.

(1) At Cluni, north of Mâcon, Poggio found an ancient MS of Cicero's Speeches, including the *pro Cluentio*, *pro Sexto Roscio*, and *pro Murena*. Recent researches have proved that it also

¹ xlix 7 (*Ad Familiares*) and 18 (*Ad Atticum*).

² xlix 9.

included the *pro Milone* and *pro Caelio*. Poggio rescued the ms from the risk of destruction and sent it to his friends in Florence. The earliest known copy was completed for Cosimo de' Medici in February, 1416.

(2) In Poggio's expedition to St Gallen in the summer of 1416, his comrades were Bartolomeo da Montepulciano, who soon took a prominent part in the transcription of the newly discovered Latin mss; Cencio Rustici, who like Poggio and Bartolomeo, was a pupil of Chrysoloras, and was engaged in translations from the Greek; and Zomino (Sozomeno) of Pistoia, whose knowledge of Greek, combined with an interest in Grammar and Rhetoric, prompted him to collect 116 Latin and Greek mss in Constance and elsewhere, which he ultimately bequeathed to his native city (d. 1458). So eager was the quest that even the wretched condition of the roads did not prevent Poggio and Bartolomeo and Cencio from sallying forth from Constance, and climbing the steep slopes that led to St Gallen some twenty miles distant. In that ancient home of learning they found the abbot and the monks absolutely uninterested in literature, and many a precious ms lying amid the dust and damp and darkness of one of the towers of the abbey-church. Among Poggio's first discoveries was a complete copy of the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, a work which Petrarch had never known except in an imperfect and mutilated form. Poggio hastened to send the good news to Niccoli and Bruni in Florence, carried off the ms to Constance, and copied it himself in 53 days. His transcript was apparently still in the Medicean Library in 1495.

At the same time Poggio discovered a ms of the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, containing books I—IV 317. He made a copy, which became the source of other transcripts, and has itself been identified with a ms now in Madrid. Another copy, probably made for Bartolomeo by some ignorant German scribe, is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. A complete ms found its way into Italy at a later date (c. 1481)¹.

Another of Poggio's finds was a ms containing the commentary of Asconius on five Speeches of Cicero, and that of an unknown scholiast on a large part of the Verrine Orations. This ms was

¹ Vat. 3277 (cent. ix).

faithfully copied at Constance by Bartolomeo¹ and by Zomino². Bartolomeo's transcript is now in the Laurentian Library³; that of Zomino, at Pistoia. It was also copied, with greater freedom in conjectural emendation, by Poggio, whose transcript is still preserved in Madrid, in the same volume as the Valerius Flaccus already mentioned. A fair copy of Poggio's hasty transcript became the archetype of mss in the Laurentian Library⁴ and at Leyden. Poggio's free recension was followed in all editions of Asconius previous to that of Kiessling and Schöll, which is founded on the faithful transcripts of Bartolomeo and Zomino.

Cencio, after stating that all the three mss above-mentioned had been transcribed, notes the discovery of a Comment of Priscian on a few lines of Virgil, and a copy of Vitruvius. The latter was not unique, as we hear of a ms at Reichenau (still nearer to Constance), and of another in the papal library at Avignon.

(3) A second expedition to St Gallen was made amid the wintry snows of January, 1417. St Gallen was not the only monastery visited. Bartolomeo alludes to one as 'in the heart of the Alps', probably Einsiedeln, and three others, doubtless including the celebrated Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, founded in 724 on an island in the Untersee, and the later abbey of Weingarten less than 16 miles from the northern shore of the Lake of Constance. At St Gallen they found a Vegetius and a Pompeius Festus (*i.e.* the compendium by Paulus Diaconus), both of which were transcribed by Bartolomeo. Vegetius was in the library of Petrarch, but 'Pompeius Festus' was practically unknown. The rest of the new finds were Lucretius, Manilius, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the grammarians Caper, Eutyches, and Probus. The Lucretius was discovered in a 'distant' monastery where a copy was made on Poggio's behalf. It was probably in the summer of 1418 that this copy was sent to Niccoli, who apparently kept it until 1434, making in the meantime the beautifully written transcript, now in the Laurentian Library, which is the ancestor of a whole family of Lucretian mss. The Manilius is now represented by a transcript at Madrid con-

¹ 25 July, 1416.

² 23 July, 1417.

³ liv 5.

⁴ liv 4.

taining a number of readings not found in the earliest and best MS, that from Gembloux. Of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, a work unknown in the Middle Ages, copies were made for Bartolomeo and for Poggio, and of the four MSS, on which the text now rests, the two in Florence¹ probably represent the copy made for Poggio, and the two others² that made for Bartolomeo. Fulda was the unnamed source of the MS of books XIV to XXXI of Ammianus Marcellinus, which was possibly brought to Constance by the abbot himself. It ultimately found its way into the Vatican Library³. Poggio afterwards essayed in vain to obtain another MS of the same historian from Hersfeld⁴. By Probus (who is mentioned with the two other grammarians) is meant the *Ars minor* or *Institutio Artium* that bears his name.

(4) In the summer of 1417 Poggio discovered, probably at Langres on the Marne, the *pro Caecina*; and, in unnamed monasteries of France or Germany, seven other speeches, namely the three *de lege agraria*, the two entitled *pro Rabirio*, with the *pro Roscio Comoedo*, and the speech *in Pisonem*. At Constance, early in 1418, Poggio was still in possession of his transcript of these speeches, but he afterwards sent it to Venice, where it was kept by Francesco Barbaro until 1436. It is only through this transcript, and its copies, that the text of the speech *pro Roscio Comoedo* and the two speeches *pro Rabirio* has descended to posterity, while the transcripts of the Cluni MS, discovered by Poggio in his first expedition, are the sole authority for the *pro Murena* and the *pro Sexto Roscio*. It was probably on the fourth expedition that he discovered the *Silvae* of Statius, and also a copy of Columella⁵.

In the latter half of 1421 (while Poggio was in England) an important discovery was made near Milan. In the cathedral

¹ L (*Laur.* xxxvii 16) and F.

² O (*Oxon. Coll. Regin.*) and V (*Vat.* 1652).

³ No. 1873, cent. x.

⁴ The text of the Hersfeld MS was published in 1533, and the MS lost, with the exception of six leaves found at Marburg in 1876.

⁵ Cp. in general Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' secoli xiv e xv* (Firenze, 1905); A. C. Clark, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, parts x and xi (Oxford, 1905-9); and Ernst Walser, *Poggius Florentinus, Leben und Werke* (Berlin, 1914).

church of Lodi, the bishop, Gerardo Landriani, was engaged in searching for some ancient charters in a chest that had long remained unopened, when he lighted on a MS of Cicero, written in old 'Lombardic' characters, including a complete copy of the *De Oratore*, the *Brutus*, and the *Orator*. The *Brutus* was absolutely new, while the *De Oratore* and the *Orator* had hitherto been known only through imperfect and mutilated MSS. The MS was sent to Gasparino Barzizza, then in Milan, who appropriated it, and sent in return a transcript of the *De Oratore* made by Cosimo Raimondi of Cremona. Subsequently, Gasparino combined the newly discovered portions with those already known, and his recension of the whole was soon copied in many parts of Italy. In 1422, the *Brutus* was transcribed with wonderful rapidity by Flavio Biondo of Forli, who happened to be in Milan at the time, and this copy, which is preserved in the Vatican, was sent successively to Verona and Venice, and transcribed in various parts of Italy. A readable recension of the *Brutus* was meanwhile produced at Verona by Guarino. A transcript of the *Brutus* and *Orator* was forwarded to Niccoli from Milan in 1422, and is still in Florence. Further, a MS of the *De Oratore* and *Orator*, revised by Gasparino, found its way to Heidelberg and is now in the Vatican, together with a copy of all three treatises transcribed in 1422 and corrected from the original at Pavia in April 1425. The original was lost to view after 1428. In the meantime Poggio, while he was returning from England, where he failed to find any classical MSS, had lighted on an imperfect Petronius at Cologne and sent a copy to Niccoli, who kept it for seven years. From Paris he sent Niccoli a transcript of the Lexicon of Nonius Marcellus. From time to time there were rumours of a complete Livy in some distant library, but these rumours led to no result.

We have already seen that the first of the humanists, who had any knowledge of Tacitus, was Boccaccio, who may possibly have discovered at Monte Cassino the Medicean MS of the *Histories* and the later books of the *Annals*. The other Medicean MS, that of *Annals* 1-vi, which probably came from Corvey, did not reach Italy until shortly before 1509. In 1455, Enoch of Ascoli, the emissary of Leo X, acquired the Hersfeld MS of the *Agricola*, *Germania*, and *Dialogus*, and eight leaves of this MS have been

happily identified in the MS of the *Agricola* found at Jesi near Ancona in 1902. At the same time he acquired all that remains of Suetonius *de grammaticis et rhetoribus*, with Apicius, and the tragedy of *Orestes*, and Porphyrio's commentary on Horace.

In 1427, Lamola found at Milan a famous MS of Celsus¹. In 1429, Nicolaus of Trier, better known as Nicolaus Cusanus, sent Poggio a list of MSS, including not only a complete Gellius and Curtius, but also the titles of twenty plays of Plautus, most of which were then unknown. Poggio urged the Cardinal Orsini to lose no time in securing the Plautus, and, by the end of the year, Nicolaus had arrived in Rome bringing with him the MS of four² of the eight known plays and of twelve that were new, which is still one of the treasures of the Vatican Library³.

In 1429 the work of Frontinus on the Roman aqueducts was found by Poggio at Monte Cassino; it was carried off to Rome, copied and returned⁴. In the quest of MSS others (such as Ambrogio Traversari), who had equal or greater advantages, were less successful than Poggio. The only Classic discovered by Traversari was Cornelius Nepos, found in 1434 in the library of Hermolaus Barbarus at Padua.

During the Council of Basel, the Sicilian Aurispa discovered at Mainz in 1433 the Commentary of Donatus on Terence, as well as the Latin *Panegyrici*, beginning with Pliny's *Panegyric* on Trajan. In the century that elapsed between Petrarch's discovery of Cicero *pro Archia* (1333), and Aurispa's discovery of Pliny's *Panegyric* (1433), the principal accessions to the Latin Classics had been made.

In France, in 1501-4, the exiled Latin poet Sannazaro of Naples discovered new poems of the Latin Anthology, as well as the *Halieuticon* of Ovid, and the *Cynegeticon* of Grattius and of Nemesianus.

For the thirty years from 1434 to 1464 Cosimo de' Medici

¹ *Laur.* lxxiii 1.

² *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, and half of the *Captivi*. The other four known plays were, *Casina*, *Curculio*, *Cistellaria* and *Epidicus*. These survive in the Palatine MSS B and C, and the Ambrosian E.

³ Ritschl's D (c. xii).

⁴ Complete *facsimile*, ed. C. Herschel (Boston, 1899).

was the great patron of copyists and scholars of every grade, the inspirer of an important translation of Plato, and the founder of the Library of San Marco. The circle of Cosimo included Niccolò de' Niccoli (1363—1437), the copyist whose 800 mss finally found a home in the Medicean Library. The most important of those copied by himself were his Lucretius and his Plautus. He was much more than a copyist. He collated mss, revised and corrected the text, divided it into paragraphs, added headlines, and laid the foundations of textual criticism. He visited Verona and Venice in quest of mss, directed the agents of the Medici in acquiring mss in foreign lands, was the valued correspondent of the most eager scholars in Italy, and the centre of an enthusiastic literary circle in Florence.

Niccoli

Leonardo Bruni (1369—1444), the Latin secretary of Florence from 1427 to his death, confessed that, as a student, he owed everything to Niccoli. His reputation rests on his translations from the Greek. Beginning with the work of Basil on the profit to be derived from pagan literature (1405), he subsequently translated the Speech of Demosthenes *On the Chersonesus* (1406), that of Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* and Demosthenes *De Corona*, with the *Third Olynthiac*; a selection from Plutarch's *Lives*, with Xenophon's *Hieron*. These were followed by renderings of the *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, *Crito*, *Apology*, *Phaedrus* (1423) and *Letters* of Plato, which were less highly appreciated than his translations of the *Oeconomics*, *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle. His other works included versions of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Polybius and Procopius.

Bruni

Bruni's successor as Latin secretary, Carlo Marsuppini (c. 1399—1453) was considered nearly equal to Bruni in his mastery of Latin prose, and superior to him in verse. It was in verse that he produced his rendering of the *Batrachomyomachia*, and of the first book of the *Iliad*.

Marsuppini

Politian (1454—1494) was a keen investigator of all the ancient mss that came within his reach in Florence or elsewhere¹. It was under the auspices of his rival Merula at Milan that Merula's secretary discovered the mss at Bobbio in 1493. He probably brought to Milan, for the purposes of his proposed

¹ p. 190 *infra*.

editions, the treatise of Terentianus Maurus on the metres, and that of Fortunatianus on the Odes of Horace; the works of Velius Longus and Adamantius, on orthography, with the *Catholica* of Probus, and the *Elegantiae* of Fronto. The Terentianus alone was actually published. The satire of Sulpicia, first printed in 1498, came from Bobbio. Among the mss which Inghirami, the librarian of the Vatican, removed to Rome (1496), was that of the *Auctores Gromatici*, now at Wolfenbüttel. Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470—1534), one of the best scholars of his time, during his stay in Milan (1499—1506) obtained from Bobbio the ms of Charisius, and transcripts of the poems of Dracontius, besides discovering, probably in one of the monasteries of Milan, the hymns of Sedulius and Prudentius.

About 1500, Fra Giocondo of Verona discovered in Paris the Correspondence of Trajan and the younger Pliny. In 1515, Velleius Paterculus was found by Beatus Rhenanus at the abbey of Murbach; and, in 1527, the first five books of the fifth decade of Livy were brought to light by Grynaeus from the abbey of Lorsch.

The Greek mss, which had found their way into Italy before the coming of Chrysoloras, had been few indeed:—one or two copies of Homer, parts of Plato and Aristotle, and a few of the Greek Fathers. It was a pupil of Chrysoloras, Guarino of Verona, who, in 1408, returned to Italy from the East with more than 50 mss. Foremost among the discoverers of Greek literature was the Sicilian Aurispa, who became for Greek literature what Poggio was for Latin. In 1417 he brought from the East a few good mss, a Sophocles, a Euripides, and a Thucydides. Among those that he possessed in 1421, was the *Commentum Aristarchi in Homerum*, which has been identified as the celebrated *codex Venetus A* of the *Iliad*. In 1422–3 he was in Constantinople, where he gathered from various parts of the Greek world a vast number of mss. When he reached Venice, late in 1423, he brought with him a whole library of no less than 238 mss, almost entirely consisting of the Greek classics. Florence was the goal of his hopes, and his most valued correspondents in Florence were Niccoli and Traversari. The solitary ms which he sent to Niccoli from Constantinople was one of the tenth century

containing seven plays of Sophocles, six of Aeschylus, and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, now famous as the Laurentian MS of those authors. For his friends in Florence he wrote out from memory a short list of his MSS which included the *Homeric Hymns* and Pindar and Aristophanes, nearly all Demosthenes, the whole of Plato and Xenophon, with Diodorus, Strabo, Arrian, Lucian, Athenaeus, Dion Cassius, and Plutarch.

In 1427 a smaller number of valuable Greek MSS (including at least forty authors, such as Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides and Theocritus, as well as Herodotus, Filelfo Thucydides and Xenophon) was brought to Venice by Francesco Filelfo (1398—1481) who had spent seven years as secretary to the Venetian Legation at Constantinople. On his return to Italy, he taught in Venice and Bologna, and in Florence, Milan, and Rome. His translations included Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, *Agésilas*, and *Lacedaemoniorum Respublica*, the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, two Speeches of Lysias, and four of Plutarch's *Lives*. Of the Greek immigrants four were specially famous as collectors of MSS. In 1468, Bessarion, the discoverer of Quintus Smyrnaeus, presented his collection to the republic of Venice. Andronicus Callistus sold as many as six cases of MSS at Milan in 1476. Constantine Lascaris bequeathed 76 MSS to Messina, which are now in Madrid. Lastly, Janus Lascaris paid two visits to the East in quest of Greek MSS on behalf of Lorenzo de' Medici, returning on the second occasion with as many as 200 MSS from Mount Athos (1492).

The age of discovery saw the awakening of a new interest in the intelligent study of classical archaeology. The leading representative of archaeological research was Ciriaco de' Pizzicolti of Ancona (c. 1391—c. 1450). He was the Schliemann of his time. A self-taught student, he spent all his life in travelling, not only for the purposes of trade, but also for the collection of objects of archaeological interest. At his birthplace of Ancona, he began his archaeological career by making a careful copy of the inscription on the triumphal arch of Trajan. He continued that work in Rome (1424), where he first became conscious of the historic value of the evidence from inscriptions. In the next year he learnt Greek at Constantinople,

studied Homer and Hesiod, purchased a fine copy of Ptolemy at Adrianople, and MSS of Homer and Euripides in Cyprus, and even journeyed as far as Damascus. After returning to Rome (c. 1433), he visited Florence for the first time, taking a peculiar pleasure in the MSS and antiquities collected by his friend, Niccoli. Between 1435 and 1447 he travelled in many parts of Greece, including the islands. In Thasos he bought a MS of Plutarch's *Moralia*. He also obtained *scholia* on the *Iliad*, and MSS of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen. The latest incidents in his foreign travels were his visit to the ruins at Ephesus (1447). A few years later we find him at Cremona, where he died about 1450. His name is now known mainly in connexion with his collections of inscriptions. They originally formed three vast volumes, but only fragmentary portions have been preserved. He is wanting in critical faculty, and much of his learning is ill digested. But he was an honest man, and the doubts once cast on the accuracy of his transcripts have been triumphantly dispelled.

Among his contemporaries was Flavio Biondo of Forlì
 Flavio Biondo (1388—1463), who, in 1422, was the first to make a copy of the newly discovered *Brutus* of Cicero. He also deserves a place among the founders of Classical Archaeology. He was the author of four great works on the Antiquities and the History of Rome and Italy. His *Roma Triumphans* gives a full account of the religious, constitutional, and military Antiquities of Rome; his *Roma Instaurata* describes the city of Rome, and aims at the restoration of its ancient monuments; his *Italia Illustrata* deals with the topography and antiquities of the whole of Italy; and, lastly, the title of the *Historiarum ab Inclinatione Romani Imperii Decades* obviously anticipates that of the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Ciriaco's example was happily followed by the versatile and accomplished Felix Felicianus of Verona, whose collection of inscriptions was appropriately dedicated in 1463 to the most antiquarian of artists, Mantegna. The influence of Ciriaco may also be traced in the sketchbooks of Giuliano da San Gallo, and in the manuscript collections of Fra Giovanni del Giocondo of Verona. His collection of Roman inscriptions was published in

Rome by Mazocchi in 1521. The villas of the ancients were elucidated in his edition of Pliny's *Letters* (1508), the first modern plan of a Roman house appeared in his *Vitruvius* (1511), and the earliest of modern drawings of Caesar's bridge across the Rhine in his *Caesar* (1513). In the same year Andrea Fulvio presented to Leo X a description of the antiquities of Rome in Latin verse. This archaeological poet was the learned adviser of Raphael, who studied an Italian translation of Vitruvius specially made for his own use by Marco Fabio Calvi of Ravenna, and in 1518-9, shortly before his death, proposed to Leo X a scheme for an illustrated plan of Rome divided into the ancient 'regions'. The scheme bore fruit in the prose version of the *Antiquitates* of Fulvio, and in the Plan of Rome by Calvi, both published in the year of the ruin of Rome, the fatal 1527.

Guarino of Verona (1374—1460) spent the last thirty years of his long life as a teacher at Ferrara. His translations included three of the minor works of Lucian, Guarino the *Evagoras* and *Nicoles* of Isocrates, the whole of Strabo, and some fifteen of Plutarch's *Lives*. He was an eager collector of Latin MSS. At Venice in 1419 he discovered a MS of Pliny's *Epistles* containing about 124 Letters in addition to the 100 already known, and several copies of this MS were made before it was lost. When the complete text of the *De Oratore*, *Brutus* and *Orator* of Cicero was discovered at Lodi (1422), he promptly obtained a transcript of all three treatises. A MS of Celsus reached him at Bologna in 1426, and another was discovered by his friend Lamola at Milan in the following year. At Ferrara in 1432 he made himself an amended copy of the famous *codex Ursinianus* of Plautus. He was also concerned in the recension of Cicero's *Speeches*, and of Caesar, as well as both the Plinies, and Gellius and Servius. His Italian pupils included a precocious translator from the Greek, Francesco Barbaro (1398—1454), who collected, collated, and emended Greek MSS, obtaining an *Iliad* from Crete, as well as an *Odyssey* and the *Batrachomyomachia*.

Vittorino da Feltre (1378—1446), a student of Padua, and a teacher in Padua and Venice, spent the last twenty- Vittorino two years of his life at Mantua. He there estab-

lished 'the first great school of the Renaissance', 'the great typical school of the Humanities'. The impetus given to the enthusiasm and to the educational method of the humanists by the production of Guarino's rendering of Plutarch's treatise *On Education* in 1411, and by the discovery of the complete Quintilian in 1416, and the *De Oratore*, *Brutus* and *Orator* in 1422, was fully felt by Vittorino, in whom a familiarity with the 'educational apparatus of classical literature' was combined with 'the spirit of the Christian life' and 'the Greek passion for bodily culture'. His famous pupils included Federigo, the soldier and scholar, who founded the celebrated library in his ducal palace at Urbino; a papal legate, Perotti, the author of the first large Latin Grammar; Ognibene da Lonigo (*Leonicenus*), an able teacher at Vicenza, whose smaller Grammar was widely used; and Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi, the future bishop of Aleria, who had the unique distinction of having been, in 1465 to 1471, the editor of the first printed editions of as many as eight works of the Latin Classics:—Caesar, Gellius, Livy, Lucan, Virgil, Silius, and the *Letters* and *Speeches* of Cicero¹.

¹ Cp. in general W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, Cambridge, 1897, and Creighton's *Historical Essays and Reviews*, 107—134.



MARSILIO FICINO

CRISTOFORO LANDINO

ANGELO POLIZIANO

DEMETRIUS CHALCONDYLES.

From part of Alinari's photograph of Ghirlandaio's fresco on the south wall of the choir in Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

CHAPTER XX

THE EARLIER GREEK IMMIGRANTS

THE Council of Florence (1439) failed in its avowed purpose of uniting the Greek and Latin Churches, but it succeeded in the unintended result of drawing the scholars of the East and the West nearer to one another. The attention of the leading spirits in Florence was called to a certain form of Neo-Platonism by the singular personality of an aged representative of the Greeks, Georgios Gemistos, a native of Constanti-
nople (c. 1356—1450). Estranged from Christianity in his youth, he had spent a large part of his life near the site of the ancient Sparta, where he elaborated a singular philosophic system of a Neo-Platonic type. He had already attained the age of eighty-three, when, in spite of his pagan proclivities, he found himself in the peculiar position of having been selected, on patriotic grounds, as one of the six champions of the Greek Church at the Council of Florence. But ‘instead of attending the Council, he poured forth his Platonic lore, and uttered dark sentences to a circle of eager Florentines. Cosimo de’ Medici was delighted with him, and hailed him as a second Plato. Gemistos modestly refused the title, but playfully added to his name, Gemistos, the equivalent, Plethon, which approached more nearly to his master’s name’¹. ‘The lively style of Plethon inspired Cosimo with such enthusiasm that his lofty mind immediately conceived the thought of forming an Academy, as soon as a favourable moment should be found’. Such is the language used many years later by Marsilio Ficino², who was only six years of age when he was selected by Cosimo to be the future translator

Gemistos
Plethon

¹ Creighton’s *History of the Papacy*, iv 41 f, ed. 1901.

² Preface to *Plotinus* (1492).

and expounder of Plato. Before leaving Florence, Plethon produced a treatise on the points of difference between Plato and Aristotle, and thus stimulated the Italian humanists to a closer study of both. The general result was an increased appreciation of the importance of Plato, and a material diminution of the authority of Aristotle, which had remained unchallenged in Western Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

Among the Greeks assembled at the Council was Plethon's
 Bessarion former pupil, Bessarion (1395 or 1403—1472). He afterwards translated into Latin the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle. As a Cardinal resident in Rome, he was conspicuous as the great patron of all the learned Greeks, who flocked to Italy, both before the fall of Constantinople, and after that event.

Of the Greeks who arrived before its fall, the foremost (apart from Bessarion) were Theodorus Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius, Joannes Argyropulos, and Demetrius Chalcondyles.
 Theodorus The first of these, Theodorus Gaza (c. 1400—1475),
 Gaza fled from his native city of Thessalonica before its capture by the Turks in 1430. He ranged himself on the side of Aristotle in the controversy raised by Plethon during the Council of Florence. He became the first professor of Greek at Ferrara, where he lectured on Demosthenes in 1448, counting among his pupils the German humanist, Rudolphus Agricola. In 1451 he was invited by Nicolas V to take part in the papal scheme for translating the principal Greek Classics. His numerous translations included the *Mechanical Problems* and *De Animalibus* of Aristotle, and the *De Plantis* of Theophrastus as well as Aelian's *Tactics*. He produced a Greek rendering of Cicero *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*. He also took part in the *editio princeps* of Gellius (1469). His Greek Grammar, the first of modern manuals to include Syntax, was used as a text-book by Budaeus in Paris, and by Erasmus in Cambridge.

The second of the early immigrants, Georgius Trapezuntius
 Georgius (1395—1484), a native of Crete, who finally reached
 Trapezuntius Venice about 1430, became one of the papal secretaries, and died at the age of nearly ninety. Like Theodorus Gaza, he took the side of Aristotle in the controversy

raised by Plethon. His numerous translations included the *Rhetoric* and *Problems* of Aristotle, and the *Laws* and *Parmenides* of Plato, but they are more verbose and less felicitous than those of Theodorus Gaza.

The third, Argyropulos of Constantinople (1416—1486), was in Padua as early as 1441. At Florence he taught Greek under the patronage of the Medici for fifteen years, leaving in 1471 for Rome, where he died in 1486. He was highly esteemed as a translator of Aristotle, and his versions of the *Ethics*, *Politics*, *Oeconomics*, *De Anima* and *De Caelo* have all been printed. At Florence, his Greek lectures were attended by Politian. At Rome, in 1482, his lectures on Thucydides were heard by Reuchlin, afterwards eminent among the humanists of Germany.

Joannes
Argyropulos

Lastly, Demetrius Chalcondyles of Athens (1424—1511) reached Rome in 1447, and taught Greek at Perugia, Padua, Florence, and Milan. At Padua (1463—71) he was the first teacher of Greek who received a fixed stipend in any of the universities of Europe. The most important event of his life as lecturer for twenty years in Florence (1471—91) was his preparation of the *editio princeps* of Homer, printed at Florence in 1488 for Bernardo and Neri Nerli, the first great work that was printed in Greek. After the death of Lorenzo in 1492, Demetrius withdrew to Milan for the last nineteen years of his life. It was there that, about 1493, he printed his *Erotemata*, a catechism of grammar aiming at a greater simplicity than that of Theodorus, which is, however, preferred by Erasmus. It was there also that he produced the *editio princeps* of Isocrates (1493), and of Suidas (1499).

Demetrius
Chalcondyles

Of the five Greeks already mentioned, three, namely Georgius Trapezuntius, Theodorus Gaza, and Bessarion, took part in the great scheme of Pope Nicolas V for the translation of the principal Greek prose authors into Latin. The future Pope, Tommaso Parentucelli of Sarzana (1397—1455), who was born at Pisa, was a student at Bologna, and, in the literary circle that surrounded Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, distinguished himself by his skill as a copyist, and by his wide knowledge of mss. As Pope from 1447 to 1455, he gathered mss from all lands,

Nicolas V

and became famous for ever as the founder of the collection of classical MSS now preserved in the Vatican Library. In his scheme for translating the Greek Classics into Latin, the author entrusted to the Greeks was Aristotle. The *Rhetoric* and *De Animalibus* were translated by Georgius Trapezuntius, who also undertook the *Laws* of Plato. An improved version of the *De Animalibus* was produced by Theodorus Gaza, who also rendered the *Mechanical Problems*, while the *Metaphysics* was assigned to Bessarion. The *Nicomachean* and *Eudemian Ethics* were undertaken by Gregorio of Città di Castello, and Theophrastus, *De Plantis*, by Gaza.

Turning to the Italian translators, we find Thucydides and nearly the whole of Herodotus, as well as Demosthenes *De Corona*, rendered by Valla; Xenophon's *Oeconomics* by Lapoda Castiglionchio; the five extant books of Polybius (with Epictetus) by Perotti; the first five books of Diodorus Siculus by Poggio; the whole of Strabo by Guarino; and Appian by Piero Candido Decembrio. The translation of the *Iliad* into Latin verse was assigned to Marsuppini, who finished the first book only. The scheme, as a whole, was concerned with writers of prose alone. Most of the scholars, who are here enumerated, are mentioned elsewhere, but three of them, Valla, Decembrio, and Perotti, may be appropriately noticed at the present point. The first of these was the only one of the translators who was born and died in Rome; the second was one of the papal secretaries; and the third was associated with Bologna and Rome more than with any other seat of learning.

Laurentius Valla (1407—1457) learnt his Greek from Aurispa
 Valla and from the papal secretary, Rinucci, while he owed
 his proficiency in Latin prose to Leonardo Bruni.

Leaving Rome at the age of 24, he visited various places in the north of Italy, and subsequently entered the service of Alfonso, king of Aragon and Sicily. In 1450 he became professor of Rhetoric in Rome, where he died in 1457. In early life Valla had been attracted to the study of Quintilian, whom he deliberately preferred to Cicero. In his treatise on Dialectic, he denounces the mediaeval Aristotelians, Avicenna and Averroës, and attacks the philosophers of his time for their belief in the infallibility of Aristotle. He is also one of the founders of historical criticism.

His investigation of the sources of Canon Law had drawn his attention to the 'decree of Gratian', and in particular to the interpolated passage alleging that the emperor Constantine had presented Pope Sylvester I with his own diadem, and had assigned to the Pope and his successors, not only the Lateran palace, but also Rome itself and all the provinces of Italy and of the West. Valla attacks this decree on legal, linguistic, political, and historical grounds, showing *inter alia* that its style and contents are inconsistent with the date to which it purports to belong, and that the ancient MSS of the legend of St Sylvester, on which the decree professes to rely, say nothing of the alleged 'Donation.' In the domain of pure scholarship Valla's reputation mainly rests on his widely diffused work, 'On the Elegancies of the Latin language', the result of many years of labour. It was printed at Venice in 1471, passed through 59 editions between that year and 1536, and, even at the present day, the greater part of its contents is by no means out of date.

The translation of Appian had been entrusted to Pier Candido Decembrio (1399—1477), who lived in Rome, Milan
Decembrio
and in Ferrara and Naples. His father's rendering of Plato's *Republic* was completed by himself in 1440. In the same year he produced a literal translation of *Iliad* 1—IV, x.

The free and flowing, though far from faithful rendering of Polybius, executed by Perotti (1430—1480), was
Perotti
highly appreciated by Nicolas. At Bologna he produced, in his *Metrica*, the first modern treatise on Latin Prosody (1453). His *Rudimenta Grammatices*, the first modern Latin Grammar (1468), printed as a magnificent folio in 1473, is described by Erasmus as 'the most complete manual extant in his day'. His learned and discursive commentary on the *Spectacula* and the first book of Martial was published by his nephew nine years after his death², including (in the later issues of 1513—26) his editions of Varro, Festus, and Nonius Marcellus. As a Greek scholar and a pupil of Bessarion, Perotti took the side

¹ i 521 C.

² *Cornucopiae sive Latinae linguae commentariorum opus*, folio, 1396 pp., Ven. 1489, and at least five later edd. The commentary on Martial fills 1000 folio pages, but is not named in the title.

of Plato in one of the latest phases of the long controversy respecting Plato and Aristotle.

Campano (*c.* 1427—1477), the Campanian shepherd boy, became a pupil of Valla in Naples. In or about the year 1470, he printed a series of seven folio volumes, including the whole of Livy, Quintilian and Suetonius, with the *Philippics* of Cicero, and a Latin translation of all the *Lives* of Plutarch.

THE LATER GREEK IMMIGRANTS

THE fall of Constantinople was once regarded as the cause of the Revival of Greek Learning in Italy. But, exactly a century before that event, Petrarch possessed a MS of Homer and of Plato; the whole of Homer was translated into Latin for the use of Petrarch and Boccaccio; and Boccaccio learnt Greek. Half a century before the fall, Greek was being taught in Florence by Chrysoloras; and the principal Greek prose authors had been translated, and at least five of the foremost of the Greek refugees had reached Italy, before the overthrow of the doomed city.

The most prominent of the Greeks, who found their way to Italy after the fall of Constantinople, were Michael Apostolius, Andronicus Callistus, Constantine and Janus Lascaris, Marcus Musurus, and Zacharias Callierges.

The Greeks in Rome continued the controversy as to the respective merits of Plato and Aristotle, begun at Florence by Plethon in 1439. Gaza's preference for Aristotle brought down upon him (in 1460—1) an ill-mannered and ill-tempered attack on the part of one of Bessarion's protégés, Michael Apostolius, who had reached Rome in 1445. Aristotle was defended, and Apostolius refuted, in a sensible and moderate manner by a Greek of better breeding named Andronicus Callistus (1462).

A more notable name is that of Constantine Lascaris of Constantinople (1434—1501), a pupil of Argyropulos. He was nineteen years of age when he was made a prisoner by the Turks on the fall of his native city. During the greater part of the next seven years he probably stayed

at Corfu, but he found time for a visit to Rhodes, where he copied or acquired certain MSS now at Madrid. From 1460 to 1465 he was transcribing MSS and teaching Greek in Milan. For the last thirty-five years of his life he lived at Messina. He left his MSS to Messina, then under the rule of Castile. In 1712 they were placed in the National Library founded in that year in Madrid. Among them (dated Messina, 1496) is his own copy of Quintus Smyrnaeus—the poet once known as ‘Quintus Calaber’, simply because the manuscript of his epic was first found, by Bessarion, in ‘Calabria’. The small Greek Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, published at Milan in 1476, is the first book printed in Greek.

The same famous surname was borne by Janus Lascaris (1445—1535), who, on the fall of Constantinople, was taken to the Peloponnesus and to Crete. On ^{Janus} Lascaris his subsequent arrival in Venice, he was sent, at the charges of Bessarion, to learn Latin at Padua. On the death of his Greek patron, he was welcomed by Lorenzo in Florence, where he lectured on Thucydides and Demosthenes, and on Sophocles and the Greek Anthology. As the emissary of Lorenzo, he went twice to the East in quest of MSS. He recovered as many as 200, but, before his second return, his great Florentine patron had passed away (1492). On the fall of the Medici, he entered the service of France, and was the French envoy at Venice from 1503 to 1508. When the second son of Lorenzo became Pope as Leo X, Janus Lascaris was at once invited to Rome and set over a Greek College. One of his colleagues was Musurus, and among his pupils was Matthaeus Devarius of Corfu (c. 1500—1570), the future editor of the *editio princeps* of Eustathius (1542—50). In 1518 Lascaris returned to France, where he aided Francis I in founding the Royal Library at Fontainebleau. Lascaris returned to Rome on the accession of the second Medicean Pope, in 1523, and again in 1534. His reputation rests on his five *editiones principes*, all of them printed in Florence, in Greek capitals with accents: namely, four plays of Euripides, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, the Greek Anthology, and Lucian (1494—6). In Rome he produced at the Greek press on the Quirinal the ancient *scholia* on the *Iliad* and on Sophocles (1517—8).

Among his pupils in Florence was the Cretan Musurus (c. 1470—1517). In Venice, from 1498 to 1515, he aided Aldus Manutius in the preparation of the earliest printed editions of Aristophanes, Euripides, Plato, Athenaeus, Hesychius, and Pausanias. He was the editor of the '*Etymologicum Magnum*', published at Venice in 1499, while the printer was Zacharias Callierges (fl. 1499—1523), who, in the same year, printed the commentary of Simplicius on the *Categories*, and afterwards produced in Rome the second edition of Pindar (1515), and an early edition of Theocritus, the first to contain several of the later idylls (1516), followed by his Thomas Magister (1517). Callierges was noted for his calligraphy, and his Greek type is as beautiful, in its kind, as that of Aldus Manutius.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ACADEMIES OF FLORENCE, NAPLES, AND ROME

FICINO had translated ten of Plato's dialogues before the death of Cosimo dei Medici; ten more had been translated before the accession of Lorenzo; the work was completed in 1477 and printed in 1482. The Introduction to the *Symposium* is one of the few primary authorities on the Platonic Academy of Florence. Of the nine that discussed the *Symposium* at Lorenzo's villa at Careggi, the only one now known to fame, apart from Ficino himself, is Cristoforo Landino (1424—1504). He had already lectured on Petrarch (1460), and, at a later time, he was to expound Dante (1481), to annotate Horace (1482) and Virgil (1487), to translate the elder Pliny (1501), and to imitate the *Tusculan Disputations* of Cicero in a celebrated dialogue, whose scene is laid at Camaldoli, near the source of the Arno.

Ficino (1433—1499), the true centre of the Academy, received holy orders at the age of forty, and spent the rest of his days in the honest and reverent endeavour to reconcile Platonism and Christianity. In the latter part of his life he translated and expounded Plotinus (ed. 1492).

Among other members of the Academy was that paragon of beauty and genius, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463—1494), who first flashed upon Florence shortly before the publication of Ficino's *Plato*. He was possessed by the great thought of the unity of all knowledge, and, while he was still absorbed in planning a vast work, which was to form a complete system of Platonic, Christian, and Cabbalistic lore, he passed away at the early age of thirty-one.

Pico's friend and correspondent, Hermolaus Barbarus (1454—1493), died only a year before him. A grandson of Hermolaus Barbarus Francesco Barbaro, the Venetian friend of Poggio, he had been educated at Verona, Rome, and Padua. He translated Themistius and Dioscorides, as well as the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle. He claimed to have corrected 5000 errors in the text of the elder Pliny.

In 1494, at the age of forty, died a notable member of the Florentine Academy, Angelo Poliziano, familiarly known as Politian (1454—1494). By the age of thirty, he was tutor to Lorenzo's children, and professor of Greek and Latin Literature in Florence. Among those from England, who attended his lectures, were Grocyn and Linacre. The authors professorially expounded by him included Homer and Virgil, Persius and Statius, Quintilian and Suetonius. He was one of the first to pay attention to the Silver Age of Latinity; and he justified his choice partly on the ground that that Age had been unduly neglected, and partly because it supplied an easy introduction to the authors of the Golden Age. A singular interest was lent to his lectures on Latin and Greek authors by his impassioned declamation of Latin poems composed by himself in connexion with the general subject of his course. The four extant poems of this type are known by the name of the *Sylvae*. The first in order of time is connected with the *Eclogues* of Virgil (1482); the next, with the *Georgics* and with Hesiod; the third, with Homer; and the last, apparently, with a general course of lectures on the ancient poets (1486). Among the authors, in whose textual criticism he was interested, are Terence, Lucretius, Propertius, Ovid, Statius, and Ausonius, as well as Celsus, Quintilian, Festus, and the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*. His copy of the *editio princeps* of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Statius, published in 1472, formerly in the Laurentian Library, is now in the Corsini palace in Rome. He made a special study of the Pandects of Justinian, the celebrated ms of which was removed from Pisa to Florence in 1411. The most learned of his extant productions is his *Miscellanea* (1489). Among the many topics discussed in its pages are the use of the aspirate in Latin and Greek, the chronology of Cicero's 'Familiar Letters', the evidence

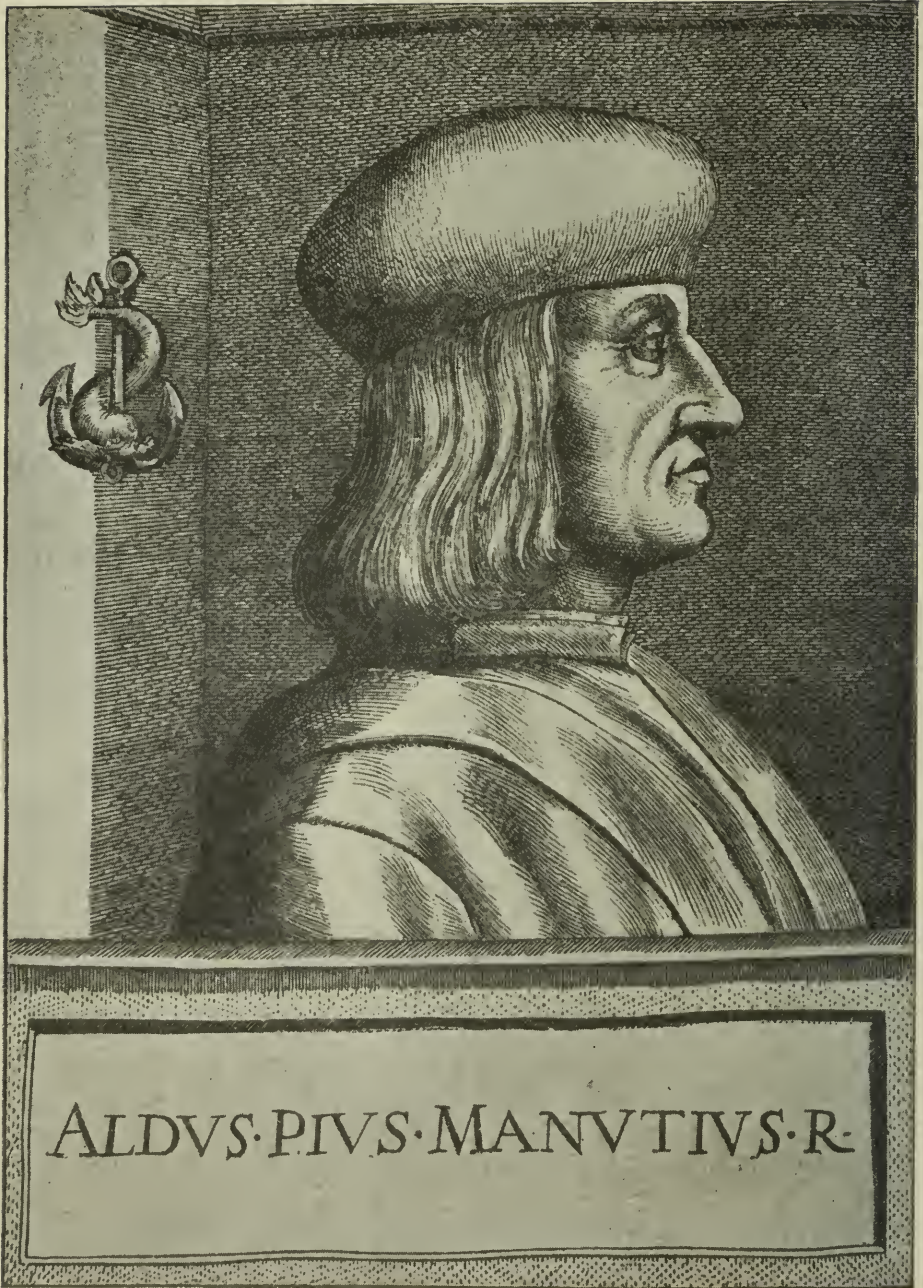
in favour of the spelling *Vergilius* in preference to *Virgilius*, the details of the discovery of purple dye, and the differences between the aorist and the imperfect in the signatures of Greek sculptors. In his Latin prose, Politian was an eclectic, with an eccentric fondness for rare and archaic words. In his history of the Pazzi conspiracy, the model he selects is Sallust. He wrote Greek poems at the age of seventeen, and, by his verse translation of four books of the *Iliad*, gained the proud title of *Homericus juvenis*. His other translations include poems from Moschus and Callimachus and the Greek Anthology, with part of Plato's *Charmides*, and Epictetus, and a flowing rendering of the historian Herodian. In Latin, as well as Italian, verse, Politian was a born poet.

The Academy of Naples came into being during the reign of Alfonso of Aragon (1442–58). The centre of this The Academy of Naples Academy was the poet and courtier, Antonio of Palermo, better known as Beccadelli (1394–1471). On the death of Alfonso, it was organised as a club under Pontano the influence of the poet Pontano (1426–1503), who was distinguished for the purity of his Latin prose and the graceful elegance of his Latin verse. His poems Sannazaro are the theme of one of the elegies of Sannazaro (1458–1530), one of the ablest members of the Academy, the author of Latin idylls on the Bay of Naples, and a Virgilian poem on the Birth of Christ, in which the work of twenty years is marred by an incongruous imitation of classical models. Most of the prominent members of this Academy were poets. One of the exceptions is Valla, who has already been noticed in another connexion¹.

The Roman Academy owed its origin to Pomponius Laetus (1425–1498), a pupil of Valla, whom he succeeded The Roman Academy as the leading spirit among the Roman humanists. Greek he declined to learn for the curious reason, that he was afraid that it might spoil his Latin style. The members of the Academy assumed Latin names, and celebrated the foundation

¹ p. 184 *supra*.

of Rome on the annual return of the festival of the *Palilia*. They also revived the performance of the plays of Plautus. In 1468 the Academy was suppressed for a time, on the ground of its political aims and its pagan spirit; Pomponius was imprisoned in the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Between Pomponius' release from prison and his death, he produced editions of Curtius and Varro (c. 1470), commentaries on the whole of Virgil, including the minor works (1487-90), and editions of Pliny's *Letters* and of Sallust (1490); he also annotated Columella and Quintilian, and paid special attention to Festus and Nonius Marcellus. The Academy which he founded flourished once more under Julius II. Its palmy days were in the pontificate of Leo X, when it included the most brilliant members of the literary society of Rome.



ALDUS MANUTIVS.

From a contemporary print in the Library of San Marco, Venice,
reproduced as *Frontispiece* to Didot's *Alde Manuce*; p. 196 *infra*.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PRINTING OF THE CLASSICS IN ITALY

WHILE we gratefully recall the preservation of Latin manuscripts in the mediaeval monasteries of the West, as well as the recovery of lost Classics by the humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the transference to Italy of the treasures of Greek literature from the libraries of the East, we are bound to remember that all this would have proved of little permanent avail, but for the invention of the art of printing.

Printing had been introduced into Italy by two Germans, Sweynheym and Pannartz, who had worked under Fust at Maintz. They set up their press first at the German monastery of Subiaco in the Sabine mountains (1465) and next at the palace of the Massimi in Rome itself (1467). At Subiaco they produced the *editio princeps* of the *De Oratore* of Cicero. At Rome they reprinted that work, and added the earliest edition of the *Brutus* and *Orator* (1469); moreover, they produced the *editiones principes* of Cicero's *Letters* and *Speeches*, Caesar, Livy, Gellius, Apuleius, Virgil, Lucan, and Silius (1469-71), the prefaces being generally written by Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi, bishop of the Corsican see of Aleria, who also saw through the press their Ovid of 1471. Cardinal Campano edited Quintilian and Suetonius for Philip de Lignamine, and Cicero's *Philippics* for Ulrich Hahn (1470). Pomponius Laetus edited for Georg Lauer the first edition of Varro *De Lingua Latina* (1471), and the second of Nonius Marcellus (1476). In Venice, the first edition of the elder Pliny was produced by John of Spires in 1469¹. At Florence, Bernardo Cennini printed the commentary of Servius on the whole of Virgil (1471-72). By the year 1500 about 5,000 books had been produced in Italy, of which about 300 belong to Florence and

¹ See list of Latin *Editiones Principes* on p. 198 *infra*.

Bologna, more than 600 to Milan, more than 900 to Rome, and 2,835 to Venice, while presses were set up for a short time in fifty places of less importance.

Before the year 1495 only a dozen Greek books had been printed in Italy, viz. the Greek grammars of Lascaris¹ and Chrysoloras²; two Psalters³; Aesop⁴ and Theocritus⁵, the 'Battle of the Frogs and Mice'⁶, and Homer⁷, with Isocrates⁸, and the Greek Anthology⁹. This last was in capital letters, and was succeeded in Florence by similar editions of Euripides, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Lucian. The latter were, however, preceded by the earliest of the Greek texts printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius.

Aldus Manutius (1449—1515) is the Latin form of Aldo Manuzio, whose original name was Teobaldo Manucci. At the press which he founded in Venice, the model for the Greek type was supplied by the Cretan Marcus Musurus and most of the compositors were natives of Crete. The Greek books published by Aldus between 1494 and 1504 included Musaeus, Theocritus and Hesiod, Aristotle, Sophocles, nine plays of Aristophanes, eighteen plays of Euripides, Herodotus and Thucydides, with Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and, lastly, Demosthenes. After an interval caused by the troubles of war, we have first the Greek rhetoricians, including the first edition of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poëtic*, and next, the *Moralia* of Plutarch. Another interval, due to the same cause, was followed by the publication of Pindar, with the minor Attic Orators, and Plato, and Athenaeus. As a printer of Latin Classics Aldus had been preceded in Venice by John of Spires (1469), Nicolas Jenson, and Cristopher Valdarfer (1470). In 1501 Aldus began that series of pocket editions of Latin, Greek, and Italian Classics in small 8vo, which did more than anything else towards popularising the Classics in Italy. The slanting type then first adopted for printing the Latin and Italian Classics, and since known as the 'Aldine' or 'Italic' type, was first used in 1501 in the Aldine editions of Virgil, Horace,

¹ Milan, 1476; Vicenza, 1488.

³ Milan, 1481-6.

⁵ Milan, c. 1493.

⁷ Florence 1488.

⁹ Florence, 1494.

² Venice, 1484; Vicenza, 1490.

⁴ Milan, c. 1479.

⁶ Venice, 1486.

⁸ Milan, 1493.

Juvenal and Persius. The later Latin texts included Valerius Maximus (1502), Pliny's *Letters* (1508), and Quintilian (1514). In 1499 Aldus had married the daughter of Andrea Torresano d'Asola, who had, twenty years previously, bought up the printing business of Nicolas Jenson. In course of time Aldus and his father-in-law, Andrea, went into partnership, and the above edition of Pliny's *Letters*, printed *in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri*, supplies us with the first public record of the fact. In the twenty-one years between 1494 and 1515, Aldus produced no less than twenty-seven *editiones principes* of Greek authors and of Greek works of reference¹. By the date of his death in 1515, all the principal Greek Classics had been printed. Before 1525 the study of Greek had begun to decline in Italy, but meanwhile an interest in that language had happily been transmitted to the lands beyond the Alps.

Paolo Manuzio (1512—1574), the youngest son of Aldo, published a series of Ciceronian works, beginning with the complete edition of 1540-6, and including Paulus
Manutius commentaries on the *Letters to Atticus* (1547), and *to Brutus* and *Quintus* (1557), and on the *Pro Sextio* (1556). One of the daintiest products of his press is the text of Cicero's *De Oratore*, *Brutus* and *Orator*, printed in Italic type, with his own corrections, in 1559. He had a branch house in Rome, on the Capitol, and it was mainly in Rome that he lived from 1561 till his death in 1574, producing *scholia* on the Letters *Ad Familiares* (1571) and on the *Pro Archia* (1572). His comments on Cicero's *Speeches* were posthumously printed in 1578-9, and his celebrated *commentarius* on the Letters *Ad Familiares* in 1592.

Paolo bequeathed his business to his son Aldo Manuzio the younger (1547—1597), the second edition of Aldus
Manutius II whose work on Orthography (1566) contains the earliest copy of an ancient Roman calendar of B.C. 8—A.D. 3 discovered by his father in the Palace of the Maffei and now known as the *Fasti Maffeiiani*. After little more than a century of beneficent labour in the cause of classical literature the great house of printers came to an end when the younger Aldus died in Rome without issue in 1597.

¹ Nine of these 27 'editions' included two or more works, 69 in all besides the 27, making a total of 96.

Editiones Principes of Latin Authors.

Date	Author	Editor	Printer	Place
1465	Cicero, <i>De Officiis, Paradoxa</i>		Fust and Schoeffer	Maintz
c. 1466	Cicero, <i>De Officiis</i>		Ulrich Zell	Cologne
1465	Cicero, <i>De Oratore</i>		Sweynheym and Pannartz	Subiaco
	Lactantius; 1467 Aug. <i>Civ. Dei</i>		..	..
1467	Cicero, <i>ad Familiares</i>		..	Rome
1469	Cicero, <i>De Or., Brutus, Orator</i>		..	..
	Apuleius	Jo. Andreas de Buxis	..	..
	Gellius	..	..	..
	Caesar	..	..	..
	Lucan	..	..	..
	Pliny, <i>Hist. Nat.</i>		J. de Spira	Venice
c. 1469	*Virgil	..	Sweynheym and Pannartz	Rome
	Livy	..	..	..
1470	Cicero, <i>ad Atticum</i>	..	..	..
	Sallust		Vindelin de Spira	Venice
	*Juvenal and Persius		..	..
	Priscian		..	..
	Cicero, <i>Rhetorica</i>		N. Jenson	..
	Justin		..	..
	Quintilian, <i>Inst. Or.</i>	Campanus	(Phil. de Lignamine)	Rome
	Suetonius	..	..	..
c. 1470	Cicero, <i>Philippicae</i>	..	Ulrich Hahn	..
	Terence		(Mentel)	(Strassburg)
	Valerius Maximus		..	..
	Boethius, <i>De Phil. Cons.</i>		Hans Glim	Savigliano
	Tacitus, <i>Ann. 11—16, Hist., Germ., Dial.</i>		Vindelin de Spira	Venice
1471	Ovid	Franc. Puteolanus	Azzoguidi	Bologna
	Silius Italicus	Jo. Andreas de Buxis	Sweynheym and Pannartz	Rome
	Cicero, <i>Orationes</i>		..	..
	Pliny, <i>Epp. libri viii</i>	Ludovicus Carbo	(Chr. Valdarfer)	(Venice)
	Pomponius Mela	Zarotus	Zarotus	Milan
	Nonius		..	(Italy)
	Florus		Gering, Crantz, Friburger	Paris
	Varro, <i>L.L.</i> ; c. 1471 *Curtius	Pomponius Laetus	Georg Lauer	Rome
	Eutropius		..	..
	Aem. Probus, <i>i.e. Nepos</i>		N. Jenson	Venice
c. 1471	Horace		..	(Venice)
	*Martial	G. Merula	Vindelin de Spira	Venice
1472	Plautus	..	..	..
	Tib., Prop., Cat., Stat. <i>Silv.</i>		..	..
	Macrobius		N. Jenson	..
	Ausonius and Calpurnius	Bart. Girardinus	Bart. Girardinus	..
	Scriptores de Re Rustica	Merula and Colucia	N. Jenson	..
	Manilius	Regiomontanus	Regiomontanus	Nuremberg
c. 1473	Lucretius		Ferrandus	Brescia
1474	Valerius Flaccus		Rugerus and Bertochus	Bologna
	Amm. Marcellinus, libri 13	Sabinus	Sachscl and Golsch	Rome
c. 1474-84	Seneca, <i>Tragoediae</i>		Andreas Gallicus	Ferrara
1475	Quintilian, <i>Decl. 3</i>	Dom. Calderinus	Schurerer	Rome
1475-83	Statius	..	Octavianus Scotus	Venice
1475	Hist. Aug. Scriptores	Bonus Accursius	Philippus de Lavagna	Milan
	Seneca, <i>Moralia et Epp</i>		Moravus	Naples
1477	Dictys Cretensis	Masellus Beneventanus	(Philippus de Lavagna)	Milan
1478	Celsus	Bart. Fontius	Nicolaus Alemannus	Florence
1481	Quintilian, <i>Decl. 19</i>	Jac. Grasolarius	Lucas Venetus	Venice
1482	Claudian	Barn. Celsanus	Jac. Dusensis	Vicenza
c. 1482	Plin. <i>Pan.</i> , Tac. <i>Agr.</i> , Petron.	Puteolanus, Lanterius	(Zarotus)	(Milan)
1486	Probus	Franc. Michael	Boninus	Brescia
c. 1486	Vitruvius	Joan. Sulpitius	G. Herolt	Rome
	Frontinus, <i>De aqueductibus</i>	..	..	..
1487	Vegetius, Aelian, Frontinus		Eucharius Silber	..
1494	Quintilian, <i>Decl. 138</i>	Thad. Ugoletus	Ang. Ugoletus	Parma
1498	Apicius	Ant. Motta	Guil. Signerre	Milan
1498-9	Cicero, 4 vols. folio	Alex. Minutianus	.. Guilelmi fratres	..
1502	Prosper, Sedulius	Aldus Manutius	Aldus Manutius	Venice
c. 1508-13	Symmachus	Bart. Cyniscus	Bern. de Vitalibus	..
1515	Tacitus, <i>Annal. 1—5 etc.</i>	Beroaldus II	Steph. Guilleroti	Rome
1520	Velleius Paterculus	Beatus Rhenanus	Jo. Froben	Basel
1533	Amm. Marcellinus, libri 18	M. Accursius	Silvanus Otmar	Augsburg
1596	Phaedrus	Pierre Pithou	J. Odot	Troyes

* The Virgil of c. 1469 (Mentelin, Strassburg), the Juvenal of c. 1470 (Ulrich Hahn, Rome), and the Martial of c. 1471 (Rome), are possibly earlier than the above editions.

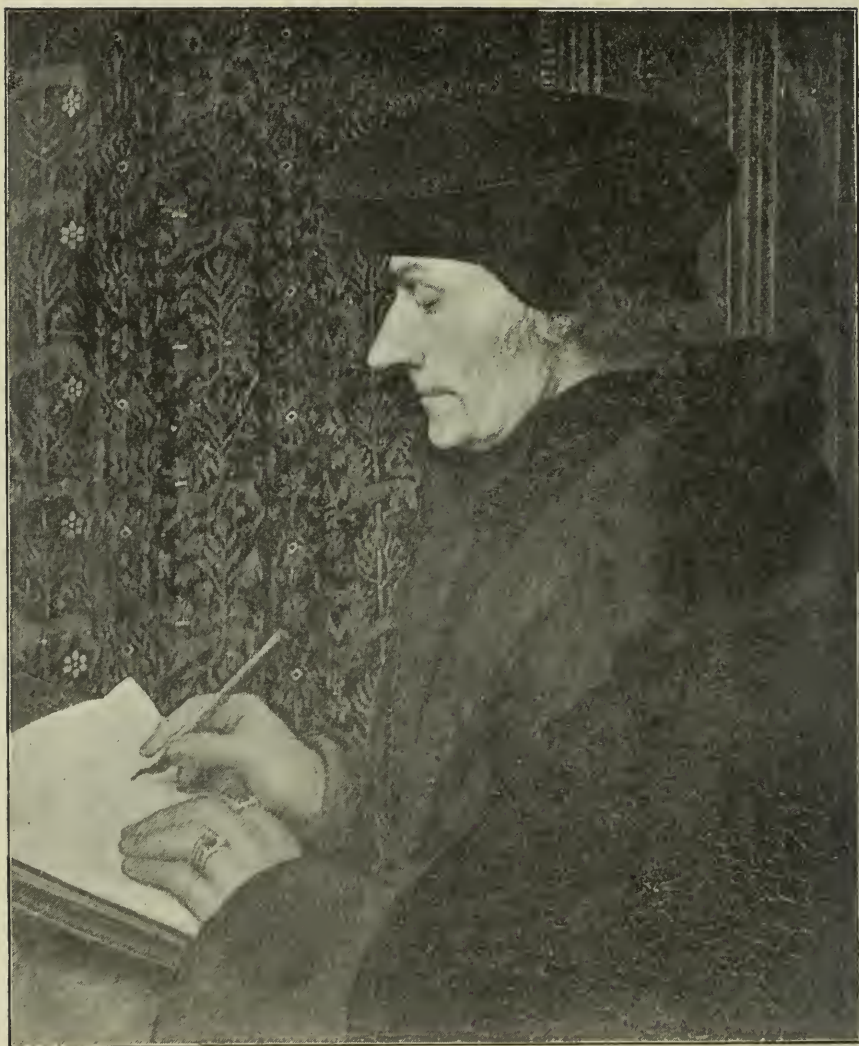
Editiones Principes of Greek Authors.

Date	Author	Editor	Printer	Place
c. 1478	Aesop	Lat. trans. Rinutius	(Bonus Accursius)	(Milan)
1486	* <i>Batrachomyomachia</i>		Leonicus Cretensis	Venice
1488	Homer	Dem. Chalcondyles	Bart. di Libri for Bern. Nerli	Florence
1493	Isocrates	..	(Uderic Scinzenzeller)	..
c. 1493	Theocritus, 1—18, and Hesiod, <i>Opera et Dies</i>	..	(Bonus Accursius)	Milan
1494	<i>Anthologia Graeca</i>	J. Lascaris	Laur. de Alopa	Florence
c. 1495	Euripides, <i>Med. Hipp. Alc. Andr.</i>	..	..	..
	Callimachus, 1—6	..	..	..
c. 1494—5	Musaeus	Lat. trans. Musurus	Aldus Manutius	Venice
1495 8	Aristotle, 5 vols. folio and Theophrastus, <i>Hist. Plant.</i>	Aldus Manutius	..	..
1496 N.S.	Theocritus, 1—30. Bion, Moschus, Hesiod, Theognis	..	..	..
1496	Scriptores Grammatici	Guarino, Politian etc.	..	..
	Apollonius Rhodius	J. Lascaris	Laur. de Alopa	Florence
	Lucian	..	..	..
1497	Zenobius	Bened. Ricciardini	Phil. de Junta	Florence
1498	'Phalaris'	Bart. Capo d' Istria	Printers from Carpi	Venice
	Aristophanes, 9 plays	Aldus et Musurus	Aldus Manutius	..
1499	<i>Epp. Graecae</i>	..	..	..
	<i>Astronomici veteres</i>	Aldus Manutius	..	..
	Dioscorides and Nicander	..	..	..
	'Etymologicum Magnum'	Musurus	Zach. Callierges	..
	Simplicius in Ar. <i>Categ.</i>	..	Z. Callierges	..
	Suidas	Dem. Chalcondyles	Printers from Carpi	Milan
1500	Ammonius in <i>v voces</i>	..	Z. Callierges	Venice
	Orpheus	..	Phil. Junta	Florence
1502	Stephanus Byz.	Aldus Manutius	Aldus Manutius	Venice
	Pollux	..	..	..
	Thucydides	..	..	..
	Sophocles	..	..	..
	Herodotus	..	..	..
1503	Euripides, 18 plays	..	..	..
	Ammonius in Ar. <i>Interp.</i>	..	..	..
	Ulpian and Harpocration	..	..	..
	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>	..	..	..
1504	Philostratus, <i>vita Apoll.</i>	..	..	..
	Philoponus in Ar.	..	..	..
	Demosthenes	Aldus et Carteromachus	..	..
1508-9	<i>Rhetores Graeci</i> (incl. Ar. <i>Rhet. Poet.</i>)	Aldus Manutius	..	..
1509	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>	Aldus et Demetrius Ducas	Aldus et Andreas Asul.	..
1512	Dionysius Periegetes	Bondenus, & printer	J. Maciochus	Ferrara
1513	Pindar, Lycophron etc.	Aldus Manutius	Aldus et Andreas Asul.	Venice
	<i>Orationes Rhet. Gr.</i>	..	..	..
	Plato	Aldus et Musurus	..	..
1514	Alex. Aphrod. in Ar. <i>Top.</i>	Aldus Manutius	..	..
	Athenaeus	Aldus et Musurus	..	..
	Hesychius	..	..	..
1515	Oppian, <i>Halieutica</i>	Bern. Junta	Phil. Junta	Florence
1516 N.S.	Aristoph. <i>Thesm. Lys.</i>	..	..	..
1516	<i>Testamentum Novum</i>	Erasmus	Jo. Froben	Basel
	Xenophon	Euphrosynus Boninus	Phil. Junta	Florence
	Pausanias	Musurus	Aldus et Andreas Asul.	Venice
	Strabo	Ben. Tyrhenus	..	..

* Possibly preceded by the unique *Batrachomyomachia*, c. 1474 (Ferrandus?, Brescia), in the Rylands Library, Manchester.

Editiones Principes of Greek Authors (*continued*).

Date	Author	Editor	Printer	Place
1517	Libanius Didymus, <i>Homericæ</i> Aristides Plutarch, <i>Vitæ</i>	Coelius Calcagninus J. Lascaris Euphrosynus Boninus Phil. Junta	Jo. Maciochus Ang. Colloittius Phil. Junta	Ferrara Rome Florence
1514-7 1518	Complutensian Polyglott Biblia Sacra Graeca Aeschylus, 6 plays Porphyrius, <i>Homericæ</i>	Cardinal Ximenes Andreas Asulanus Fr. Asulanus J. Lascaris Asulani fratres	Arnold Gul. de Brocario Aldus et Andreas socer 'Monte Caballo'	Alcalá Venice Rome Venice
1525	Galen, in 5 parts Xenophon, <i>Opera</i>		Aldus et Andreas Asul. Aldi in aedibus	Venice ..
1526	Hippocrates	Fr. Asulanus	Aldus et Andreas Asul. J. Anton. et fr. de Sabio	
1528	Epictetus and Simplicius			..
1530	Polybius	Vinc. Opsopoeus	Jo. Secerius	Hagenau
1532	Aristophanes, 11 plays	Simon Grynaeus	Cratander	Basel
1533	Diogenes Laërtius	Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopus Simon Grynaeus Erasmus	Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopus Jo. Hervagius Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopus J. F. Trincavelli	 Venice
1535	Arrian Stobaeus	Jo. Bapt. Egnatius Victor Trincavelli		Basel
1539	Diodorus, 16-20	Vinc. Opsopoeus	Jo. Oporinus	Basel
1544	Josephus Archimedes	Arnoldus Arlenius Thomas Gechauff Camillus Peruscius	Hieron. Froben Jo. Hervagius	 Rome
1545	Aelian, <i>Var. Hist.</i> , etc.	Rob. Stephanus		Paris
1546	Dionysius Halic.			..
1548	Dion Cassius, 36-58			..
1542-50	Eustathius, 4 vols.	Majoranus & Devarius	Ant. Bladus	Rome
1551	Dion Chrys. Appian	F. Turrisanus	F. Turrisanus Car. Stephanus Spinelli	Venice Paris Venice
1552	Aelian, <i>Tactica</i> Aeschylus, 7 plays	Robortelli		..
1553	Menander, <i>Frag.</i>	..	F. Morel I	Paris
1554	'Longinus' Anacreon Aretaeus	Robortelli Putschius, & printer Jac. Goupyl Ben. Aegius	Jo. Oporinus H. Stephanus Andr. Turnebus	Basel Paris ..
1555	Apollodorus, <i>Bibl.</i>	C. Gesner, Robortelli, Gillius	Ant. Bladus Gesneri fratres	Rome Zürich
1557	Claudius Aelian, <i>Opera</i>			..
1557	Aeschylus, <i>c. Ag.</i> 323-1050	Victorius	H. Stephanus	Paris
1558	Maximus Tyrius	H. Stephanus		..
1559	Marcus Aurelius	Xylander et C. Gesner	And. Gesner	Zürich
1559	Diodorus, 1-20	H. Stephanus	H. Stephanus	Geneva
1565	Bion, Moschus	Adolf Mekerch	Goltzius	Bruges
1566	Poëtae Gr. Principes Aristaenetus	H. Stephanus J. Sambucus Xylander	H. Stephanus Plantin Thomas Guarinus	Paris Antwerp Basel
1568	Antonius Liberalis, Phlegon, Apollonius			..
1569	Nonnus, <i>Dionysiaca</i>	Falkenburg	Plantin	Antwerp
1572	Plutarch, <i>Opera</i>	H. Stephanus	H. Stephanus	Paris
1575	Stobaeus	Guil. Canter	Plantin	Antwerp
1580	Plotinus	Lat. trans. Ficinus	Petrus Perna	Basel
1583	Hierocles	Jo. Curterius	Nic. Nivellius	Paris
1587	'Empedocles,' <i>Sphaera</i>	Florent Chrestien	F. Morel II	..
1589	Polyaenus	Casaubon	J. Toinaesius	Leyden
1594	Andronicus Rhodius	Hoescheli	M. Manger	Augsburg
1598	Iamblichus	Jo. Arcerius Theo- doretus Hoescheli	Aegid. Radaeus	Franker
1601	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>	Cl. G. Bachetus	Jo. Praetorius	Augsburg
1621	Diophantus		Seb. Cramoisy	Paris



ERASMUS (1523).

From the portrait by Holbein in the *salon carré* of the Louvre.
(Photographed by Messrs Mansell.)

BOOK VIII

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXIII

ERASMUS

OUR survey of the early history of scholarship beyond the bounds of Italy will here be preceded by some account of Erasmus, so far as his remarkable career was connected with Classical Scholarship.

Erasmus was born at Rotterdam in 1466. In his ninth year he was sent to school at Deventer, where the mediaeval text-books of Grammar were still in use. In 1484 he was removed to a school at Bois-le-Duc, distinctly inferior to that at Deventer; in 1487 he entered an Augustinian monastery near Gouda; and in 1492 was ordained priest. The ten years spent in that monastery happily left him much leisure for study, and among the works that he there wrote was an abridgement of the *Elegantiae* of Laurentius Valla. In Paris he learnt a little Greek, but made his living mainly as a teacher of Latin, counting among his pupils one of his future patrons, the youthful Lord Mountjoy, whom he accompanied to England in 1499. He was welcomed by Colet at Oxford, and by More and Warham in London. Early in the following year he returned to Paris, there to resume the work which he describes in the pathetic words:—‘my Greek studies are almost too much for my courage, while I have not the means of procuring books, or the help of a master’¹. He is conscious that

¹ *Ep.* 123, i 285 Allen.

'without Greek the amplest erudition in Latin is imperfect'¹. In 1500 he produced his *Adagia*, and, in the following year, an edition of Cicero *De Officiis*, besides working at Euripides and Isocrates. For part of 1502-3 he resided at Louvain, where he studied Lucian in the newly published Aldine text of 1503. His return to Paris was followed by a visit to London, where (early in 1506) he presented Warham with a translation of the *Hecuba*, and Fox with a rendering from Lucian. In June he left for Italy, visiting Turin, where he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity; Florence, which appears to have attracted him but little; Bologna, where he worked quietly at Greek; Venice, where (as a guest of Aldus) he prepared a second edition of his *Adagia*; and Padua, where he attended the lectures of Musurus. He then passed through Florence and Siena to Rome, where he was far less interested in its old associations, its 'ruins and remains', its 'monuments of disaster and decay', than in the libraries and in the social life of the papal city. Returning to England in 1509, he published his famous satire, the *Moriae Encomium*. Soon afterwards he found a home in Cambridge², where, under the influence of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, he became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. His rooms were near the south-east corner of the inner cloistered court of Queens'. It was there that in October, 1511, he taught Greek to a little band of Cambridge students, using for his text-book the Grammar of Chrysoloras, and hoping to begin that of Theodorus Gaza, if he could obtain a larger audience³. Meanwhile, he was aiding Colet in his great design for the school of St Paul's by writing his treatise *De Ratione Studii* (1511), as well as a work on Latin composition, *De Copia Rerum et Verborum* (1512), and a text-book of Latin Syntax, founded on Donatus (1513). He was also beginning to prepare his edition of St Jerome, and his text of the Greek Testament. Early in 1514 he left Cambridge with a view to the publication of these works at Basel in 1516. 1516 was also the date of the first edition of his famous *Colloquies*. The years between 1515 and 1521 were spent mainly at Basel and

¹ *Ep.* 129, i 301 Allen.

² Aug. 1511—Jan. 1514. He had paid a brief visit in 1506 (Allen, i 590 f).

³ *Ep.* 233, i 473 Allen.

Louvain, where he aided in organising the *Collegium Trilingue* for the study of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. In the spring of 1522 he returned to Basel, making it his home for the next seven years. He there published his *Ciceronianus* (1528), a celebrated dialogue on Latin style, in which he vigorously protests against limiting the modern cultivation of Latin prose to a slavish and pedantic imitation of the vocabulary and phraseology and even the very inflexions of Cicero. In the same year he also produced his treatise *De Recta Latini Graecique Sermonis Pronuntiatione*, which, in process of time, led the northern nations of Europe to adopt the 'Erasmian' pronunciation of Greek in preference to that which Reuchlin had derived from the modern Greeks and had introduced into Germany. In 1529 he gave to the world the maturest of his educational treatises in a work *De Pueris statim ac liberaliter Erudiendis*. In the same year he left Basel for Freiburg on the verge of the Black Forest, where he was still living when his edition of Terence, the most important of his classical recensions, was published in 1532. In 1534 he returned to Basel, and worked at his edition of Origen. He was engaged on a new edition of his *Letters*, and on other work, when he died in the summer of 1563.

Erasmus is a representative not so much of Greek as of Latin scholarship, and of Latin verse far less than of Latin prose. The strength as well as the occasional weakness of his character, and the wide extent of his influence, are amply attested in his *Letters*. His varied learning is best seen in his *Adagia*, where his erudite illustrations of the meaning of ancient proverbial phrases are often curiously diversified by pungent criticisms on modern priests and princes; and the same satirical element is constantly recurring in his *Colloquies*. He has rendered service to the cause of education not only by his general treatises on the subject, but also by the lucid text-books on syntax and style that soon superseded the dull mediaeval manuals. He translated into Latin the Greek Grammar of Theodorus Gaza, and supplied a Latin Syntax founded on Donatus. He represents scholarship on its formal side, grammar, style and rhetoric. He promoted the study of models of pure Latinity, such as Terence and Cicero. His own editions of Latin authors comprise Seneca (1515; ed. 2, 1529), Suetonius (1518),

certain works of Cicero (1518-32), with Pliny (1525), Livy (1531), and Terence (1532). His Greek texts belong to the last five years of his life and include Aristotle (1531) and Ptolemy (1533). He also produced recensions of St Ambrose, St Augustine and St Chrysostom, with three editions of St Jerome. Lastly, we cannot forget his *editio princeps* of the Greek Testament (1516)¹.

Even as Petrarch marks the transition from the Middle Ages to the Revival of Learning, so, in the early history of learning, Erasmus marks the transition from Italy to the northern nations of Europe. Before turning to those northern nations, we propose to notice the foremost Scholars of Italy in the age that immediately succeeded the Revival of Learning.

¹ See, *inter alia*, Jebb's *Erasmus*, Cambridge, 1890, Woodward's *Erasmus on Education*, Cambridge, 1904, and P. S. Allen's *Erasmi Epistolae*, vols. i—iii (1484—1519), Oxford, 1906 ff.

CHAPTER XXIV

ITALY FROM 1527 TO 1600

THE Sack of Rome in the month of May, 1527, marks the end of the Revival of Learning in Italy, but not the end of the History of Scholarship in that country. Vida's didactic poem *De Arte Poëtica* (1527), the first of a long series of volumes on the theory of poetry published in Italy during the sixteenth century, accepts as the text-book of literary criticism the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace, while it finds the true model of epic verse in the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Meanwhile, in 1498, the treatise of Aristotle *On the Art of Poetry* had been imperfectly translated into Latin by Giorgio Valla of Piacenza (c. 1430-99); and it was in this form that Aristotle's treatise was first known in the Revival of Learning. The Greek text was afterwards printed for the first time in the Aldine edition of the *Rhetores Graeci* (1508); but the modern influence of this famous work dates from 1536, and by 1550 the critics and poets of Italy had assimilated its teaching.

Literary
Criticism.
Vida

Influence of
Aristotle's
Poetic

The foremost representative of Classical Scholarship in Italy in this century is Petrus Victorius (1499-1585).

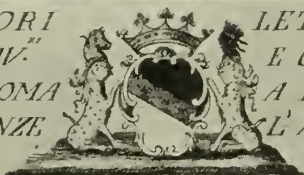
In 1536-7 he produced in three volumes an edition of the *Letters* and the *philosophical and rhetorical works* of Cicero. In Florence he was successively professor of Latin, Greek, and Moral Philosophy. In Latin scholarship he paid special attention to Cicero's *Letters*; he also edited Cato and Varro, *De Re Rustica* (1541), and Terence (1565) and Sallust (1576). In Greek his greatest works are his Commentaries on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1548), *Poetic* (1560), *Politics* (1576) and *Nicomachean Ethics* (1584). For the second Juntine edition of Sophocles (1547) he collated certain ancient mss in Florence (doubtless including the *codex Laurentianus*) so far as regarded

Victorius



PIERO VETTORI
 SENATORE CAV.
 AMBASCIAT. IN ROMA
 NACQUE IN FIRENZE
 MORI L'AN.

LETTERATO INSIGNE
 E CONTE PALATINO
 A PAPA GIULIO III.
 L'ANNO MCCCCXCIX.
 MDLXXXV.



*Cavato da un Quadro dipinto in Tavola da Tiziano
 esistente detto Quadro in Roma nell' Ill^{ma} Casa Vettori*

Ant. Zaballi del.

Ant. Zaballi del. anno 1766

VICTORIUS.

From the portrait by Titian, engraved by Ant. Zaballi for the *Ritratti Toscani*, vol. I, no. xxxix (Allegrini, Firenze, 1766).

the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*, and *Trachiniae*. He produced editions of Plato's *Lysis*, and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (1551), Porphyry, *De Abstinencia* (1548), Clemens Alexandrinus (1550), Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Isaeus and Dinarchus (1581), and Demetrius, *De Elocutione* (1562). In Greek verse, he published the *editio princeps* of the *Electra* of Euripides (1545), a play discovered in that year by two of his pupils, and the first edition of Aeschylus which contained the complete *Agamemnon* (1557). Twenty-five books of *Variae Lectiones*, or Miscellaneous Criticisms, published in 1553, were followed by thirteen more in 1569, and re-issued in the complete folio edition of thirty-eight books in 1582. None of the attempts to attract Victorius to Rome or Bologna had any permanent result; to the last he remained true to Florence, where, after a hale old age, he died at the age of 86. Among his editions of Greek authors, the highest place for wide and varied learning was generally awarded to his commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, while his contemporary Robortelli lauded him as the only scholar who had really thrown light on the text of Cicero.

Francesco Robortelli (1516—1567) held professorships at Lucca, Pisa, Venice, Padua, and Bologna. In 1548 he produced his important edition of Aristotle's Robortelli treatise on the Art of Poetry, a thin folio volume including a critical revision of the text, a Latin translation, and a learned and suggestive commentary. In the course of the latter he reviews the question of aesthetic imitation, discusses the reason why tragedy deals only with persons of importance, and, in his interpretation of Aristotle's famous definition of tragedy, describes terror and pity as 'purging' the mind of those emotions, and diminishing their effect in real life, by familiarising the spectator with their representation on the stage. His next important work was an edition of Aeschylus, including the *scholia* (1552), in which he revised the text, and did much towards restoring the metre. In the same year he published Aelian's *Tactics* with a Latin translation, and with illustrations copied from ancient MSS. He was the first to print the celebrated treatise *On the Sublime*, which here appears as the work of 'Dionysius Longinus', an attribution which remained unchallenged until 1808. The only

other work that need here be noticed is the folio volume of 1557 including a treatise on the Art of Criticism, two books of emendations, and a comparison of the chronology of Livy with the dates in the extant Roman *Fasti*. The short treatise On the Art of Textual Criticism claims to be the first of its kind. It still deserves respectful remembrance, for it really broke new ground. The author here notes the general characteristics of Latin mss, and the different kinds of handwriting, indicates some of the principal causes of corruption and the corresponding means of restoration, and lays down certain rules for conjectural emendation. The chronological work published at the same time, and the earlier *Fasti Capitolini* of 1555, are connected with his memorable quarrel with his learned fellow-countryman, Sigonius.

Sigonius (c. 1524—1584) was born at Modena, and at Modena he died, after having held professorships at Venice,
Sigonius Padua, and Bologna. All his important productions are connected with the history and antiquities of Rome. In 1555, while still at Venice, he published his folio edition of Livy and his *Fasti Consulares*, with an ample commentary on the latter in the following year. The last two works were the first in which accurate criticism was applied to the chronology of Roman history. Their author also broke new ground in his treatises on the legal rights of the citizens of Rome and the inhabitants of Italy and the Provinces (1560—7). Roman Antiquities are further represented in his treatises on Roman names, and Roman law-courts (1574), the latter work being lauded by Gibbon as written 'with much learning and in a classic style'¹. Moreover, he traced the fortunes of Rome from the days of Diocletian to the end of the Western Empire in a folio volume consisting of twenty books, the first modern work that fully deserves the name of a history (1578). In 1583 a printer in Venice produced a volume purporting to be the *Consolatio* of Cicero, *liber...nunc primum repertus et in lucem editus*. Sigonius maintained in two 'Orations' that it was the work of Cicero, while others suspected that it was the work of Sigonius himself. The evidence of the *clausulae* proves that it was not written by Cicero².

¹ c. 45 (iv 506 Bury).

² Cp. E. T. Sage, *The Pseudo-Ciceronian Consolatio*, Chicago, 1910.

During the life-time of Sigonius, the study of Cicero, but not of Cicero alone, was well represented by scholars bearing the Latin names of Nizolius, Majoragius, and Faërnus. The first of these, whose name was Mario Nizzoli (1498—Nizolius 1566), published the first edition of his *Observationes in Ciceronem*, in two folio volumes (1535), with references to the *pages* of the Aldine text. This important work of reference was republished under the more intelligible title *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* (Basel, 1568); it was revised by Alexander Scot under the title of *Apparatus Latinae locutionis*, with references to the *sections* of his edition of the whole of Cicero (Lyons, 1588); *Lexicon Ciceronianum* was the title adopted by Facciolati (1734), and later editions of this valuable work are still in use. From 1547 to 1562 he was a professor at Parma, and was brought into controversy with the Milanese professor, Majoragius (1514—1555). The latter had attacked the *Paradoxes* of Cicero (1546); and the controversy that arose was only concluded by the early death of Majoragius. Nizolius, in one of his contributions to this controversy, popularly called the *Antibarbarus Philosophicus* (1553)¹, attacks the scholastic terminology, which was still predominant in the study of the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, and pleads for a wider recognition of the best authors of Greece and Rome. The treatise was reprinted by Leibnitz in 1670, with a notable preface recommending the work as a model of philosophical language that was free from barbarism.

It was not until after the death of Faërnus in 1561 that the classical world of Rome welcomed the publication of his edition of Cicero's *Philippics*, with the *pro* Faërnus *Fonteio*, *pro Flacco* and *in Pisonem* (1563), and his recension of Terence (1565), both of which works were highly commended by Victorius. His celebrated rendering of a hundred Aesopian fables into Latin verse was similarly published by command of the Pope (1564).

In 1560 Muretus arrived in Rome. From 1546 to 1560 Marc-Antoine Muret (1526—1585) lectured at Poitiers, Muretus Bordeaux, and Paris. Mysterious charges of heresy

¹ *De veris principiis et de vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudo-philosophos.*

and immorality led to his suddenly leaving Paris for Toulouse, and thence for Venice, where he held a professorship of humanity for four years (1555-8). After living in Padua and Ferrara, he was finally a professor in Rome for more than twenty years (1563-84).

At Venice, his friendship with Paulus Manutius led to his publishing at the Aldine Press his editions of Catullus, Horace and Terence, Tibullus and Propertius, the *Catilinarian Orations* of Cicero, and a commentary on the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*. In 1563, during a visit to Paris, he published an edition of Cicero's *Philippics*. During his early time in Rome he lectured on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and on Roman Law. Forbidden to lecture on Law, he discoursed on Cicero, *De Finibus*, and on Plato's *Republic*. Forbidden to lecture on Plato, he took refuge in expounding Juvenal and Tacitus, the *De Officiis* and the *Letters* of Cicero, the *De Providentia* of Seneca, and the *Rhetoric* and *Politics* of Aristotle. His translation of the first two books of the *Rhetoric*, and his commentaries on the *Ethics*, *Oeconomics*, *Topics*, Plato's *Republic* I, II, and his notes on Tacitus and Sallust, were afterwards printed. Most of his published works were closely connected with his lectures. Far more interesting than any of these were the *Variae Lectiones*, which appeared in three instalments, the first eight books in 1559, the next seven in 1580, and the last four in 1585. Scaliger says more than once that Muretus thoroughly understood Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; he adds that Muretus was a very great man, that he satirised the Ciceronians and at the same time expressed himself in a thoroughly Ciceronian style, without confining himself to that style, like the rest. He was long regarded as a classic model for modern Latin prose. But he was himself fully conscious of the importance of Greek. 'All that was lofty in thought' (he declared) 'was enshrined in the literature of Greece'¹. During the twenty years, in which he lectured under no small difficulties and restrictions in Rome, he foresaw the decline of learning in Italy and made every effort to arrest it.

¹ *Or.* II iv (1 236 Ruhnken).



RUDAEUS.

From the engraving in André Thevet, *Portraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584), p. 551.

CHAPTER XXV

FRANCE FROM 1470 TO 1600

IN France, where the early stages in the Revival of Learning were mainly marked by Italian influence, the chief centres of intellectual life were the Royal Court, and the University of Paris. The Revival of Learning was promoted by the introduction of printing. In 1470 Michael Freyburger of Colmar, Ulrich Gering of Constance, and Martin Crantz, were invited to set up a press in the precincts of the Sorbonne. The first book printed in France by these German printers was the work of an Italian humanist,—the model Letters of Gasparino da Barzizza (1470). In the next year the *editio princeps* of Florus was produced by the same printers; their Sallust (1471) was soon followed by Terence, and by Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, Juvenal and Persius, Cicero, *De Oratore*, *Tusculan Disputations* and *De Officiis* (1472), and Valerius Maximus.

The study of Greek was slow in making its way in France. In 1509 the text of three treatises from Plutarch's *Moralia* was printed in Paris by Gourmont, who had established the first Greek press in Paris, producing in 1507 a little volume of extracts from the gnomic poets called the *liber gnomagyricus*, the first Greek book printed in France. In the same year, he printed the *Frogs and Mice* of 'Homer', the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, and the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras. He also printed Musaeus and Theocritus, and (in 1528) the *Ecclesiazusae* of Aristophanes, and Demosthenes and Lucian. The text of the whole of Sophocles was completed by Simon Colinaeus on Dec. 16th, 1528.

The following year was the date of the publication of the celebrated *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* of Budaeus. Guillaume Budé (1467—1540), who was born in Paris, was the son of a wealthy civilian who had a considerable

Budaeus

collection of books. It was not until the age of 24 that he became a serious student and began to form his Latin style on the study of Cicero. Under Francis I and Henry II his fame as a Greek scholar was one of the glories of his country. In 1502-5 he produced a Latin rendering of three treatises of Plutarch; in his 'Annotations' on the *Pandects* (1508) he opened a new era in the study of Roman law; and, in 1515 (N.S.), he broke fresh ground as the first serious student of the Roman coinage in his treatise *De Asse*. It was the ripe result of no less than nine years of research, and in twenty years passed through ten editions. The original aim of his *Commentarii* (1529) was the elucidation of the legal terminology of Greece and Rome, and, amid all the miscellaneous information here accumulated, that aim remains prominent. The material stored in his pages was incorporated in the Greek *Thesaurus* of Henri Estienne. The little volume *De Philologia* (1530) is a plea for the public recognition of classical scholarship, in the form of a dialogue between Budaeus and Francis I. In his extensive treatise *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (1534) he describes the philosophy of Greece as a preparation for Christianity, and defends the study of Greek from the current imputation of 'heresy'. His French treatise, *De l'Institution du Prince*, written in 1516, was not printed until 1547. He here declares that 'every man, even if he be a king, should be devoted to philology', which is interpreted as 'the love of letters and of all liberal learning'. Such learning, he adds, can only be attained through Greek and Latin, and of these Greek is the more important.

Perhaps his most important, certainly his most permanent, service to the cause of scholarship was his prompting Francis I to found in 1530 the Corporation of the Royal Readers. It had no official residences, or even public lecture-rooms. It was many years before it attained the dignity of a local habitation and the name of the *Collège de France*.

The year 1527 was memorable as that in which the famous printer and scholar, Robert Estienne, or Stephanus (1503—1559), first assumed an independent position as a publisher. His *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, published in a single volume in 1532, as a reprint of 'Calepinus' (1502),

Robert
Estienne

became in its final form an entirely new work in three folio volumes (1543). It was not until 1544 that he turned his attention to Greek, and produced a series of eight *editiones principes*, beginning with Eusebius (1544-6) and going on with Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1546-7), Dio Cassius (1548), and Appian (1551). These books were printed in a magnificent type designed in 1541 by the last of the professional calligraphers, Angelo Vergecio. The first book in which all the three alphabets of the new type were used was the folio edition of the Greek Testament (1550). This Testament had already been printed in duodecimo in 1546 and 1549, and long remained the standard text, being ultimately even described as the *textus receptus* in the Elzevir edition of 1633.

As a printer and a scholar he was even surpassed by his son, Henri Estienne (1531-1598), whose editions of ancient authors amounted to no less than 58 H. Estienne in Latin and 74 in Greek, 18 of the latter being *editiones principes*. He was specially attracted to the Greek historians. In Italy he discovered ten new books of Diodorus (ed. 1559). He ruined himself over the publication of his *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (1572) and his Plato (1578). The former, in five folio volumes, is his greatest work. It has been twice re-edited in modern times, and, as a Greek lexicon on a large scale, is still unsurpassed. The text of Plato held its ground for two centuries until the Bipontine edition of 1781-7, and it is a familiar fact that all modern references to Plato recognise the pages of 'Stephanus'. His first publication was the *editio princeps* of 'Anacreon' (1554), and the text of that edition was not superseded for three centuries. His Aeschylus, edited by Victorius (1557), was the first to include the complete *Agamemnon*.

The *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus had appeared in 1528. The French were not unnaturally offended by the way in which their great Greek scholar, Budaeus, had been rather unceremoniously mentioned in the same breath as the Parisian printer, Badius. A reply was prepared in the very next year by Julius Julius Caesar Scaliger Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), a scholar of Italian origin, who, after spending 42 years in Italy, had betaken himself to the French town of Agen on the Garonne. In 1531 he

published an oration defending Cicero from the attacks of Erasmus, and maintaining that Cicero was absolutely perfect. Erasmus treated this abusive tirade with silent contempt; whereupon Scaliger prepared a still more violent and vain-glorious harangue, which was not published until late in 1536, a few months after the death of Erasmus. A more creditable production of Scaliger's is his treatise *De Causis Latinae linguae* (1544), an acute and judicious work on the leading principles of the language. A far more comprehensive work is his *Poétique* (1561), one of the earliest modern attempts to treat the art of poetry in a systematic manner. He here deals with the different kinds of poems, and the various metres, together with figures of speech and turns of phrase, criticises all the Latin poets ancient and modern, and institutes a detailed comparison between Homer and Virgil to the distinct advantage of Virgil, while the epics of Homer are regarded as inferior to the *Hero and Leander* of 'Musaeus'.

During the controversy raised by the *Ciceronianus*, Scaliger was not alone in his championship of Cicero. He
Dolet
 was supported by Étienne Dolet (1506—1546), whose 'Dialogue on the imitation of Cicero' (1535) was less violent than Scaliger's first oration, but it was treated by Erasmus with the same silent contempt. The two folio volumes of his *Commentarii Linguae Latinae* were published by Gryphius in 1536–8. The work has been justly described as 'one of the most important contributions to Latin scholarship produced by the sixteenth century'¹, and its almost simultaneous appearance with the second edition of the Latin *Thesaurus* of Robert Estienne marks an epoch in the history of Scholarship. The *Thesaurus*, aiming at practical utility, naturally follows the order of the alphabet; the 'Commentaries', 'more scientific and critical' in their method, follow the sequence of meaning, and are mainly concerned with Ciceronian usage. Dolet was the first to translate any part of Plato, or the 'Platonic' writings, into French. His rendering of the *Axiochus* and *Hipparchus*, probably made with the help of a Latin version, was published in 1544. A redundant phrase in a single passage of his rendering of the

¹ Christie, *Étienne Dolet*, 242 f, ed. 1899.

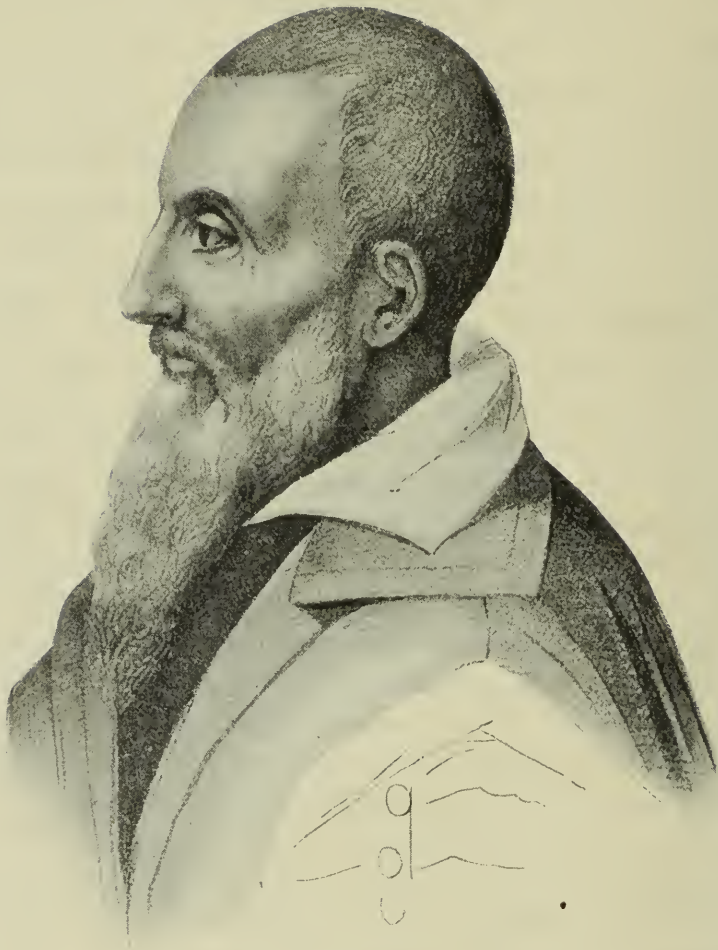
former dialogue laid him open to the imputation of attributing to 'Plato' a disbelief in the immortality of the soul¹, and, strange to say, this charge contributed in no small degree to his execution in 1546.

The eloquent appeal addressed in 1529 to Francis in the preface of the 'Commentaries' of Budaeus, together with the enlightened cooperation of Lascaris, led in 1530 to the foundation of the 'Corporation of the Royal Readers' with teachers of Greek, Hebrew and Mathematics, who were in the first instance five in number. The Royal Readers in Greek included Turnebus (from 1547 to 1565), Dorat (1559 to 1588) and Lambinus (1561 to 1572). The first of these, 'Adrianus Turnebus' of Andelys in Normandy (1512—1565), was a specialist in Greek textual criticism. As Director of the Royal Press in 1552—6, he published a series of Greek texts, including Aeschylus (1552), and Sophocles with the *scholia* of Triclinius (1553). He also edited Cicero's *Laws*, and Philo and Oppian; and commented on Varro and the elder Pliny. Late in life he completed his most important work, the thirty books of his *Adversaria*, in which a large number of passages in ancient authors are boldly emended or judiciously explained.

Jean Dorat (c. 1502—1588) published his edition of the *Prometheus Vincitus* (1549) ten years before his appointment as one of the Royal Readers. He left behind him conjectural emendations on other plays of Aeschylus, which give proof of learning, acumen, and poetic taste. Hermann preferred him to all the critics on Aeschylus.

Denys Lambin, or Dionysius Lambinus (1520—1572), won a wide reputation by his great editions of Latin authors. The first of these was his Horace (1561). He had gathered illustrations of his author from every source; and he had collated ten MSS, mainly in Italy. The text was much improved, while the notes were enriched by the quotation of many parallel passages, and by the tasteful presentment of the spirit and feeling of the Roman poet. Within the next two years he had completed, in November 1563, his masterly edition of Lucretius (1564). He had founded his text on five MSS; three

¹ σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσει, 'tu ne seras pas *rien du tout*', Christic, 461².



Josephus Scaliger Ind. Cas. F.

JOSEPH JUSTUS SCALIGER.

From the frontispiece of the monograph by Bernays; portrait copied from the oil-painting in the Senate-House, Leyden; autograph from *Appendix ad Cyclometrica* in the Royal Library, Berlin.

of these he had collated in Rome, a fourth was lent by his friend, Erricus Memmius, and the fifth, collated on his behalf by Turnebus, was that in the monastery of St Bertin in Saint-Omer, and is now known as the 'Leyden quarto'. He had also examined the earlier editions, and had studied the old Latin grammarians; while, with a view to his commentary, he had ransacked the Greek and Latin Classics. He claims to have restored the true reading in 800 passages, and the superiority of his text over those of all his predecessors 'can scarcely be exaggerated'¹. To the preparation of his brilliant edition of the whole of Cicero, which appeared in 1566, he only gave two years and a half, and some of his alterations of the text are regarded as unduly bold. In 1569 he edited Cornelius Nepos. He had already completed his commentary on twelve of the plays of Plautus, and was beginning the thirteenth, when his life came to an end. 'His knowledge of Cicero and the older Latin writers, as well as the Augustan poets, has never been surpassed and rarely equalled'².

The excellence of the Latin style of Lambinus was admired by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540—1609). He was
Scaliger
the constant companion of his father, Julius Caesar Scaliger, during the last four years of that father's life. Between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, he was required to produce daily a short Latin declamation, and also to keep a written record of the perennial flow of his father's Latin Verse. It was thus that he acquired his early mastery of Latin. But he was already conscious that 'not to know Greek, was to know nothing'³. Hence, on his father's death, he went to Paris to attend the lectures of Turnebus; but, finding these too advanced for his purpose, he was compelled to be his own teacher. With the aid of a Latin translation, he worked through the whole of Homer in twenty-one days; and, in four months, he perused all the Greek poets. During his four years in Paris, he became intimate with Canter, and with Dorat, who introduced him to a nobleman of Poitou, Louis Chasteigner, Lord of La Roche-Pozay. With this nobleman Scaliger travelled for four years in Italy, giving his

¹ Munro's *Lucretius*, pp. 14—16³.

² Munro, *u.s.*

³ Scaliger, *Epp.* p. 51 (L.B. 1627).

main attention to inscriptions, and devoting a whole winter to Thucydides. In his patron's family he lived from time to time for thirty years (1563-93), moving from castle to castle in Poitou and Limousin.

He gave early proof of his study of Varro (1565), and edited the *Catalecta* of Virgil (1573). These were followed by his editions of Ausonius (1574), of Festus (1575), and of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (1577). He regarded the Italian type of Scholarship, with its fancy for the *imitation* of the ancients, as a frivolous pursuit, and he had no sympathy with Italian scholars in their hap-hazard alterations of classical texts. He was the first to point the way to a sounder method of emendation founded on the genuine tradition of the MSS; but, when he had made his mark as a textual critic by his editions of Festus and the Latin poets above mentioned, he left the path, that he had struck out, for a profound and protracted study of ancient history and the subject-matter of the Classics. The transition is marked by his Manilius (1579), where his interest in textual criticism is thrown into the shade by his study of the astronomy of the ancients. His Manilius thus serves as an introduction to the comprehensive system of chronology set forth in his folio volume *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583). The publication of this work placed him at the head of all the living representatives of ancient learning. In 1590, Justus Lipsius, who had for the last twelve years been the leading professor at Leyden, applied for leave of absence, and, during that absence, became a Catholic. After some delay, Scaliger consented to fill the vacant place, and the stores of learning, that he had accumulated for thirty years as a native of France, were, for the last fifteen and a half years of his life, surrendered to the service of the Northern Netherlands. His disinclination to lecture was duly respected; all that the authorities at Leyden desired was his living and inspiring presence in that seat of Protestant learning. His laborious study of ancient chronology and history was no longer broken, as of old, by constant changes of residence, or by alarms arising from religious wars in the provinces of France. As a groundwork for the study of primitive tradition, he selected Jerome's translation of the *Chronicle of Eusebius*.

From the fragments of the Eusebian text, he divined that the Chronicle, in its original form, must have consisted of two books; that the second alone, with its chronological tables, was represented in Jerome's translation, while the first had comprised extracts from the Greek authorities on the ancient history of the East. With the aid of a manuscript chronicle by a Greek monk, Georgius Syncellus, and a chronological list of all the Olympic victors down to the 249th Olympiad and other evidence, he was enabled to restore the Greek Eusebius, which he printed as part of his great *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606). His conjecture as to the character and contents of the first book of Eusebius was confirmed long afterwards by the discovery of an Armenian version (1818), which also included the Olympic lists.

During his residence at Leyden, apart from his great *Thesaurus Temporum* he produced editions of Apuleius (1600) and Caesar (1606), and went on correcting the text of Polybius to the very end of his life. Of his productions in Latin verse, two thirds are translations, including a Latin rendering of the whole of the *Ajax* of Sophocles, and the *Cassandra* of Lycophron, and many Greek versions from Catullus and Martial. He not only supplied a large part of the materials, but also devoted no less than ten months to the construction of 24 admirably methodical Indices to Gruter's Latin Inscriptions (1602), thus laying the foundations of the science of Epigraphy. He had no sympathy with the fashion of publishing *Miscellanea* or *Adversaria*, he preferred to deal with the exposition and criticism of each author as an undivided whole. He not only exhibits a remarkable aptitude for the soundest type of textual emendation; but he is also the founder of historical criticism. His main strength lay in a clear conception of antiquity as a whole, and in the concentration of vast and varied learning on distinctly important works¹.

Isaac Casaubon (1559—1614), who was eighteen years younger than Scaliger, was born at Geneva of Huguenot parents. He was learning Greek from his father, with Isocrates, *ad Demonicum*, as his text-book, when the news of the massacre of St Bartholomew's drove them to the hills, where the lessons in Greek were continued in a cave in Dauphiné. He hardly began any consecutive study until the age of twenty, when he was sent to Geneva, there to remain for the next eighteen

Casaubon

¹ On Scaliger, see especially the learned monograph of Bernays (1855), and Mark Pattison's *Essays*, i 132—243.

years (1578-96). He there read all the Greek texts that he could find, besides buying transcripts of unpublished mss. In an exhaustive course of reading he made a complete survey of the ancient world. In 1596 he left Geneva for Montpellier, where there was a greater interest in the Classics, the medical course including Hippocrates and Galen. For three years he lectured to students of mature years on Roman law and history, on Plautus and on Persius, on Homer and Pindar, and on Aristotle's *Ethics*. Though Latin was the theme of most of his public lectures, his private reading was mainly Greek. Early in 1599 he was invited to Paris by the king, who desired his aid in a proposed 'restoration' of the university. He waited on the way for more than a year at Lyons, while he superintended the printing of his 'Animadversions' on Athenaeus. In 1604 he was appointed sub-librarian to De Thou in the Royal Library, where he eagerly ransacked the mss in his charge, besides supplying materials from their stores to scholars abroad. His ten years in Paris were the happiest period of his life. After the assassination of Henry IV (1610), Casaubon was urgently pressed to become a Catholic, but his own feelings were in favour of the *via media* of the Anglican Church, and he accepted an invitation to England, where he was welcomed by James I, and was assigned a prebendal stall in Canterbury with a pension of £300 a year. He paid visits to Cambridge and Oxford, and was delighted with both. His stay in England lasted only for three years and eight months; and, in his strenuous labours in the refutation of Baronius, he sometimes sighed over his unfinished Polybius. He looked upon England as 'the island of the blest'¹, but it was in that island that his life of long-continued labour and of late vigils came to a premature end at the age of 55.

His earliest work was concerned with Diogenes Laërtius (1583). His father had recommended him to read Strabo, and the son produced a commentary on that author in 1587, which is still unsuperseded. This was followed by the *editio princeps* of Polyænus (1589), and by an ordinary edition of the whole of Aristotle (1590). It is not until we reach his commentary on the *Characters* of Theophrastus (1592), that we find a work that is

¹ *Ep.* 703.

marked by his distinctive merit, an interpretation of a text of the most varied interest founded on wide reading and consummate learning. The number of *Characters* in this edition is raised from 23 to 28 by the addition of five from the Heidelberg Library. His notes on Suetonius (1595) continued to be printed *in extenso* down to 1736. One of his greatest works was his *Athenaeus*; his text of 1597 was followed by his 'Animadversions' of 1600, the whole of which were reproduced by Schweighäuser in 1801. But the absence of ethical motive led to the editor feeling a lack of interest in this author, and he was more strongly attracted to biography and to history. In the preface to the *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* (1603) he holds that 'political philosophy may be learned from history, and ethical from biography'. The ethical interest is strong in his *Persius* (1605), on which he had lectured at Geneva and Montpellier, and his commentary on the Stoic satirist, of which Scaliger said that the sauce was better than the meat, was reprinted in Germany as late as 1833, and has been ultimately merged in Conington's edition. In 1605 he also published a masterly monograph, in which a clear distinction was once for all drawn between the satyric drama of the Greeks and the satiric poetry of the Romans¹. The former, derived from *σάτυροι*, Satyrs, is exemplified by the *Cyclops* of Euripides; the latter, from *satūra*, that is, *lanx satura*, a 'medley', by the Satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. He was interested in the practical wisdom of Polybius, and his edition of that author, promised in 1595, was published in 1609, with a preface of 36 folio pages of masterly Latin prose urging the importance of classical history as a subject of study for statesmen. The four years spent on this work were mainly devoted to the Latin translation; a small volume of notes was posthumously published in 1617. Casaubon lives in his *Letters* and in his *Ephemerides*, a Latin journal largely interspersed with Greek, recording his daily reading and his reflexions for the last seventeen years of his life. Here and in his *Letters*, the Latin is that of a perfect master of the language, though it fails to attain 'the verve and pungency' of the style of Scaliger².

¹ *De satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satira*, ed. Rambach, Halle, 1774.

² On Casaubon, see the *Life* by Mark Pattison, 2nd ed. 1892.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NETHERLANDS FROM 1400 TO 1575

DURING the fourteenth century the Brotherhood of the Common Life was founded in the Netherlands. Among its chief aims were the transcription of MSS and the promotion of education in a religious spirit. In and after 1400 many schools were founded by them in the Netherlands and in Northern Germany. In these schools the moral and religious education was based on the study of Latin, thus preparing the way for the humanists in Northern Europe. Among the precursors of humanism trained in these schools, as well as in Italy, were Nicolaus Cusanus (1401—1464), who bequeathed to his birthplace of Cues on the Mosel a valuable collection of Greek and Latin MSS; and Johann Wessel of Groningen (1420—1489), the *lux mundi* of his age, who learnt Greek in Italy and counted Rudolf Agricola and Johann Reuchlin among his pupils in Paris¹.

The School at Deventer was revived, and that of Bois-le-Duc founded by the Brotherhood. Deventer was the first, and Bois-le-Duc the second of the schools of Erasmus. That eminent humanist, who belongs to the Netherlands by virtue of his birth, is so cosmopolitan in his character and in the varied regions of his activity, that his career has already been reviewed at an earlier point². The *Collegium Trilingue* for the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was founded at Louvain in 1517 by Jerome Busleiden. After the death of the founder, no one did more than Erasmus to ensure the realisation of his friend's design, and, but for Erasmus, the

¹ On Wessel, see P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, 1914, pp. 9—13, 29—32.

² p. 203 *supra*.

Collegium Trilingue could hardly have survived the first ten years of its existence.

Willem Canter of Utrecht (1542—1575), who studied under Dorat in Paris, afterwards lived as an independent scholar at Louvain. He opens a new era as an editor of the Tragic Poets of Greece. His Euripides, a sextodecimo volume of more than 800 pages (1571), is the first in which the metrical responsions between *strophe* and *antistrophe* are clearly marked by means of Arabic numerals in the margin, and the text repeatedly corrected under the guidance of these responsions. His editions of Sophocles (1579) and Aeschylus (1580) were posthumously published. The former remained in common use for more than two centuries.

Another notable name is that of Jacob Cruquius, the professor of Bruges, whose edition of Horace, begun in 1565 and completed in 1578, supplies us with our only information as to the *codex antiquissimus Blandinius*, borrowed from the library of a Benedictine monastery in Ghent, and burnt with the monastery after it had been returned to the library.

During the progress of the Horatian labours of Cruquius, an event took place that marks an epoch in the history of scholarship in the Netherlands, the foundation of the university of Leyden, in memory of the heroism displayed by its inhabitants during its famous siege in 1575. While Louvain continued to be the leading university of the Southern (or Spanish) Netherlands, Leyden became the foremost seat of learning in those Northern Netherlands, which threw off the Spanish yoke and formed themselves into the 'United Provinces' in 1579. The first period in the history of scholarship in the Netherlands has now ended: the foundation of Leyden marks the beginning of the second.

CHAPTER XXVII

ENGLAND FROM C. 1460 TO C. 1600

IN the Revival of Learning the first Englishman who studied Greek was a Benedictine monk, William of Selling, or Celling, near Canterbury (d. 1494). He went to Italy in 1464 and studied for three years at Padua, Bologna, and Rome. On his return, he brought back many mss, and endeavoured to make a home of learning in the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, of which he was Prior from 1472 to 1494. He also visited Rome in 1469 and 1485.

In the school of Christ Church, Selling inspired with his love of classical learning his pupil and nephew, Thomas Linacre (c. 1460—1524), who went to Oxford about 1480, was elected Fellow of All Souls in 1484, and accompanied Selling on his embassy to the Pope in 1485–6. It was during this visit to Italy that Selling introduced Linacre to Politian in Florence. In Florence Linacre studied Latin and Greek under Politian and Chalcondyles. A year later he went to Rome. After leaving Rome for Venice, he made the acquaintance of Aldus Manutius, and was enrolled as an honorary member of his Greek Academy. On his return to England he translated the commentary of Simplicius on the *Physics* and of Alexander on the *Meteorologica* of Aristotle. His translation remained unpublished, but his renderings of several treatises of Galen saw the light, *De Sanitate Tuenda* and *Methodus Medendi* in Paris (1517 and 1519), and *De Temperamentis* at Cambridge (1521). In 1509 he had been appointed physician to Henry VIII. His appointment as tutor to the princess Mary led to his preparing a Latin Grammar, which was composed in English, though it

bore the Latin title, *Rudimenta Grammatices* (c. 1523): it was afterwards translated into Latin by Buchanan. A far more important work was Linacre's treatise *De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis* (1524), which was reprinted abroad with a letter from Melanchthon recommending its use in the schools of Germany¹.

Modern English Scholarship begins with Linacre and his friend William Grocyn (c. 1446—1519), elected Grocyn Fellow of New College in 1467. He was over forty when he joined Linacre in Italy, where he attended the lectures of Politian and Chalcondyles between 1488 and 1490. It was probably not until his return from Italy in 1491, that the teaching of Greek began to be effective in Oxford. In 1496 he left for London, where More became his pupil.

During the short time spent by Erasmus in Cambridge (Aug. 1511—Jan. 1514), he gave unofficial instruction in Erasmus Greek, beginning with the catechism of Chrysoloras, and going on to the larger grammar of Theodorus Gaza.

When in 1516 Bishop Fox, who had been Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, founded Corpus Christi Greek at
Oxford and
Cambridge College, Oxford, he made provision for lecturers who were to give instruction in the Greek and Latin Classics. This was the first permanent establishment of a teacher of Greek in England.

Among the pupils of Erasmus in Cambridge was Henry Bullock, Fellow of Queens' (1506), who kept Greek alive in Cambridge, till it was taken up in 1518 by Richard Croke Bullock
Croke (c. 1489—1558), the *minister* and *discipulus* of Grocyn (probably in London). Croke became Scholar of King's, and afterwards Fellow of St John's. After studying at Cambridge in 1506—10, he worked in Paris 1511—2 under Erasmus and Aleander, and, in 1515—7, taught Greek with signal success at Cologne, Louvain, and Leipzig, where he counted Camerarius among his pupils. After eight years' absence abroad, he returned from Dresden to Cambridge in 1518, and,

¹ See J. F. Payne's Introduction to Linacre's *Galen* (1811), and William Osler's *Linacre Lecture* (Cambridge), 1908.

having been formally appointed Reader in Greek, delivered two orations on the importance and utility of that language (1520). The Regius Professorship of Greek, founded in 1540, was conferred on John Cheke (1514–57), ‘who taught Cambridge and king Edward Greek.’ Within two years of Cheke’s appointment, we find Roger Ascham (1515–1568), Fellow of St John’s, writing to another member of the same society on the flourishing state of classical studies in Cambridge. In the course of his *Scholemaster* the Latin books that he recommends are the *Letters* and *Speeches* of Cicero, with Terence, Plautus, Caesar, and Livy. He also maintains that the best method of learning Latin is that of translation and retranslation. His place in the History of Scholarship cannot be better summed up than in the language of Fuller:—‘Ascham came to Cambridge just at the dawning of learning, and staid therein till the bright-day thereof, his own endeavours contributing much light thereunto’¹.

Meanwhile, Latin scholarship was well represented in Scotland by a humanist who was born before Cheke and Ascham, and survived them both. George Buchanan (1506–1582) studied in Paris in 1520–2 and at St Andrew’s in 1524. He taught Latin in Paris 1526–34, and Bordeaux 1540–3, and again in Paris 1544–7. Invited to teach at Coimbra in 1547, he was imprisoned by the Inquisition from 1549 to 1551. After returning to Paris in 1553, he was a travelling tutor in France and Italy in 1554–9, and finally returned to Scotland early in 1562. His earliest work was his Latin translation (1533) of Linacre’s English *Rudimenta Grammatices*. His scholarship is best represented by his Latin version of the Psalms in various metres, mainly produced during his imprisonment in Portugal. Henry and Robert Stephens, in all their editions (1566 etc.), describe the translator as *poëtarum nostri saeculi facile princeps*. Even in his lifetime his Latin Psalms were studied in the schools of Germany, and they remained long in use in the schools of Scotland. His *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, a

¹ Fuller’s *Worthies* (1662) in *Yorkshire*, 209. Cp. in general Mayor’s ed. of the *Scholemaster*, 1863.

folio volume in twenty books, was published in the year of his death (1582). His instincts as a humanist prompted him to select Latin as the language of this work, which was read with interest by the scholars of Europe for two centuries¹.

¹ On Buchanan, cp. P. Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer* (1890); also *Life* by D. Macmillan (1906); and *Essay* by T. D. Robb, included in *Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, 1907.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GERMANY FROM 1460 TO 1616

IN 1461 the astronomer Johann Müller of Königsberg, near Coburg, who is best known as Regiomontanus (1436—1476), accompanied Bessarion to Italy, where he made a complete copy of the tragedies of Seneca, learnt Greek, and produced Latin translations of the works of Ptolemy, and the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius of Perga. He finally settled at Nuremberg, where he published the first edition of the astronomical poem of Manilius (1472).

A place of honour among the early humanists of Germany is justly assigned to the famous Frisian, Roelof Agricola Huysman, or Rodolphus Agricola (1444—1485), who was born near Groningen. He studied law and rhetoric at Pavia between 1469 and 1474. In 1475 he went to Ferrara, and studied Greek under Theodorus Gaza. In 1479—1484 he lived mainly at Groningen. In 1484 he went to teach at Heidelberg on the invitation of Dalberg, bishop of Worms, whom he accompanied to Rome in the following year. Shortly after his return he died. At Heidelberg he was apparently more effective in his private and personal influence than in his professorial teaching. The highest praise must be bestowed on his renderings from Lucian. He also translated the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, and Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*, and edited the declamations of the elder Seneca. His principal work, *De inventione dialectica* (1515), was a notable treatise on rhetoric. His slight treatise on education (1484) was welcomed as a *libellus vere aureus* when it appeared in the same volume as the corresponding works of Erasmus and Melanchthon. He is remembered as an earnest opponent of mediaeval scholas-

ticism, and he certainly did much towards making the study of the Classics a vital force in Germany¹.

His younger contemporary, Johann Reuchlin (1455—1522), studied Greek at Paris in 1473 and in 1478, and in the interim, at Basel in and after 1474. His Reuchlin *Vocabularius Breviloquus*, a Latin dictionary founded mainly on mediaeval manuals, was there published anonymously in 1475, and, in less than thirty years, passed through twenty editions. He taught Greek, as well as Latin, at Basel, Orleans and Poitiers. He describes the results of his learning and teaching Greek as follows: 'To Latin was then added Greek, the knowledge of which is necessary for a liberal education. We are thus led back to the philosophy of Aristotle, which cannot be really comprehended until its language is understood'². In 1482, and again in 1490, he went to Italy. In Rome he won the admiration of Argyropulos by his mastery of Greek. On a subsequent visit in 1498 he learnt Hebrew, which was thenceforward the main interest of his life. He spent twenty years at Stuttgart, and two at Ingoldstadt, and for the last year of his life was professor of Greek and Hebrew at Tübingen. In the study of Hebrew he came into conflict with the obscurantists of the day, but his cause was supported by the enlightened humanists of Germany. It was in defence of Reuchlin that the barbarous Latinity and the mediaeval scholasticism of his opponents were admirably parodied in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1516—7).

Melanchthon (1497—1560), who was educated at Tübingen, left his mark on the history of education in Germany, not only as a lecturer on Virgil, Terence, and the Melanchthon rhetorical works of Cicero, and as Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, but also as a keen advocate for a thorough training in grammar and style. He produced works on Greek (1518) and Latin Grammar (1525—6), and many editions of the Classics, besides text-books of all kinds, which remained long in use. In conjunction with colleagues inspired by the same spirit, he published a series of commentaries on Cicero's rhetorical works, on Terence and Sallust, on the *Fasti* of Ovid, the *Germania* of

¹ Cp. P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, 14—21, 25—32.

² *Ep.* 250.

Tacitus, and the tenth book of Quintilian, as well as on selections from Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*. The series included editions of Hesiod and Theognis, and the *Clouds* and *Plutus* of Aristophanes, with translations of Pindar and Euripides, and of speeches of Thucydides and Demosthenes. Of his numerous 'Declamations' the most celebrated is that on the study of the classical languages, and especially on the study of Greek, delivered as his inaugural lecture at Wittenberg (1518). He had no sympathy with the paganising spirit of many of the Italian humanists: the principles of Christianity were part of the very life-blood of the *praeceptor Germaniae*.

Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg (1500—1574), after becoming
Camerarius
the intimate friend of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, held classical professorships at Nuremberg (1526), Tübingen (1535), and Leipzig (1541—74). His numerous editions of the Classics, without attaining the highest rank, are characterised by acumen and good taste. They include Homer, the Greek Elegiac poets, Theocritus, Sophocles, Thucydides and Herodotus, Theophrastus, Ptolemy and Galen, as well as posthumous editions of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics*. He also produced an extensive series of Latin translations of the Greek Classics. Among his editions of Latin authors (which included Quintilian and Macrobius) a place of honour must be assigned to his Plautus (1552), the text of which was founded on the *codex vetus Camerarii* (cent. xi), containing all the extant plays, and on the *codex decurtatus* (xii), formerly at Freising, containing the last twelve plays alone. Both of these belonged to the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, but were removed to the Vatican in 1623; the former is still in the Vatican, while the latter has been restored to Heidelberg. They are now known by the symbols B and C respectively. In critical acumen, Camerarius holds one of the foremost places among the German scholars of the sixteenth century.

Melanchthon's pupil, Hieronymus Wolf (1516—1580), who
H. Wolf
lived at Augsburg, made his mark by his repeated editions of Isocrates (1570 etc.), and Demosthenes (1572 etc.), with Latin translations and explanatory notes. For his Demosthenes, which was published in five folio volumes, he

used a valuable MS in the Augsburg Library, the *codex Augustanus primus*, now at Munich. He also edited Suidas (1564), and three folio volumes of Byzantine historians.

Wilhelm Xylander of Augsburg (1532—1576), who was professor of Greek at Heidelberg, produced the *editio princeps* of Marcus Aurelius (1558), and important editions of Plutarch (1560—70), Strabo (1571), and Stephanus of Byzantium (1568). He made good use of the MSS accessible to him, and also gave proof of a singular acumen in the emendation of texts. His edition of Pausanias was completed by Sylburg (1536—1596), who edited at Frankfurt the whole of Aristotle, and of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the three volumes of the *Scriptores historiae Romanae*, and the grammatical work of Apollonius περὶ συντάξεως, and, at Heidelberg, the Latin writers *De Re Rustica*, and the Greek Fathers, Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr. His main characteristics were a thorough knowledge of Greek, critical acumen, and an intelligent application of great powers of work.

BOOK IX

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXIX

ITALY AND FRANCE

IN Latin scholarship the most pleasing product of the seventeenth century in Italy is to be found in the *Prolusiones Academicæ* of the Roman Jesuit, Famianus Strada (1572—1649), first published in 1617. In the varied pages of this compact and compendious volume the author shows considerable taste in dealing with large questions of historical, oratorical and political style. He also presents us with six short poems skilfully composed by himself in the style of Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, and Claudian.

In the same century Pindar and Horace were imitated by Italian poets, but classical learning was mainly limited to archaeology and especially to the collection of Latin inscriptions and the reproduction of the coins and gems, the paintings and sculptures, of ancient Rome.

We have seen that, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the two greatest representatives of classical learning in France, Scaliger and Casaubon, were Protestants, who, in 1593 and 1610, were compelled to leave their native land for the Netherlands and England. The Chair of Scaliger, which had long been left vacant at Leyden, was filled in 1632 by the call of Salmasius 'Salmasius'. Claude de Saumaise (1588—1653) was a native of Saumur. In 1607 his early promise had been recognised by Casaubon. In that year, at the age of 19, he had

already discovered at Heidelberg the celebrated MS of the *Anthologia Palatina* of Constantine Cephalas, and was receiving letters from the aged Scaliger, to whom he sent transcripts of many of the epigrams, and by whom he was strongly urged to edit the work. The edition was repeatedly promised, but was never produced. At Heidelberg Salmasius was under the influence of Gruter, who contributed the notes to his early edition of Florus (1609). In his edition of the *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* (1620) he distinguished himself less as a sound textual critic than as an erudite commentator. His most remarkable work is that entitled *Plinianae Exercitationes*, in which more than 900 pages are devoted to the elucidation of the portions of Pliny included in the geographical compendium of Solinus (1629). At Leyden he edited authors of minor importance only; he also produced a learned treatise *De Usuris* (1638), which includes a historical survey of the subject, and insists on the legitimacy of usury for clergy and laity alike. In his *Funus linguae Hellenisticae* (1643) he contends that the language of the Greek Scriptures is not a separate dialect but the ordinary Greek of the time. In 1649, at the request of the exiled king, Charles II, he prepared his *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I* (1649). The reply was entrusted to Milton, whose pamphlet, entitled *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1651), teems with personalities, and the same is true of the rejoinder by Salmasius, which was his latest work. He left behind him a vast reputation for learning.

Meanwhile, in the native land of Salmasius, Harpocraton had been edited in 1614 by Philippe Jacques de Maussac (1590—1650), president in Montpellier. That lexicographer was further expounded in 1682 by the disputatious pedant, Henri de Valois, or Valesius (1603—1676), who had been educated by the Jesuits at Verdun and Paris, and is known as the editor of Ammianus Marcellinus (1636) and of the *Excerpta (Peiresciana)* from Polybius (1634).

The erudite scholar and historian, Charles du Fresne, sieur Du Cange (1610—1688), who was born at Amiens, was called to the parliamentary bar, but devoted himself mainly to historical studies at Amiens (1638—68) and Paris (1668—88). He is best known for his great Glossary of

Maussac
Valesius

Du Cange

mediaeval Latin, originally published in three folio volumes (1678), and a corresponding Glossary of mediaeval Greek in two (1688). The lexicographer of the latest Latinity was himself an accomplished writer, and the range of his learning not only included a variety of languages, but also extended over history and geography, law and heraldry, numismatics and epigraphy, and Greek and Latin palaeography. His lexicographical works were directly founded on the study of an infinite number of MSS. His work on Byzantine History was illustrated by a two-fold commentary, including an account of the families, as well as the coins and topography, of Constantinople (1680). He is one of the greatest lexicographers of France, and his work in this department still remains unsurpassed.

Tanaquil Faber of Caen (1615—1672), who taught at Saumur, was a diligent editor of Greek and Latin texts.

T. Faber

Among the former were Anacreon and Sappho, Dionysius Periegetes, Agathemerus, Apollodorus, 'Longinus', and Aelian; while the latter included Florus, Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and Phaedrus. Faber's daughter,

André and
Anne Dacier

Anne, was married to André Dacier (1651—1722), a member of the Academy, and Librarian in Paris. Dacier, besides producing new editions of Faber's Anacreon and Sappho, edited 'Festus and Verrius Flaccus' (1681). His translations included Aristotle's treatise on Poetry. He edited Horace, while the honour of producing a French translation of that poet was shared by his learned wife. Madame Dacier (1654—1720) was also the translator of Terence, and of three plays of Plautus, together with the *Plutus* and *Clouds* of Aristophanes, Anacreon and Sappho, and the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Her rendering of Homer is her masterpiece. As an editor of the Classics, she is represented in Greek by her Callimachus; and in Latin by Florus, Dictys and Dares, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius. All these Latin works formed part of the celebrated series of the Delphin Classics. The general

Huet

editor and organiser of the series was Pierre Daniel Huet of Caen (1630—1721), who from 1670 to 1680 was the coadjutor of Bossuet in the tuition of the Grand Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV. Nearly sixty volumes were

produced in less than twelve years by thirty-nine editors at a cost equivalent to about £15,000. The project marks an epoch in the history of classical literature in France. In addition to a Latin commentary, each of these editions had an *ordo verborum* below the text, and a complete verbal index.

Huet survived for fourteen years his learned contemporary, Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), one of the greatest ornaments of the Benedictine Order. He was a Mabillon member of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the south of Paris for 43 years from the date of his entering it at the age of thirty-two to his death at the age of seventy-five. The general object of his great work *De Re Diplomatica* (1681) is to set forth the proper method of determining the date and genuineness of ancient documents. During his tour in Germany in 1683 he took note of Greek MSS at Augsburg, and MSS of Virgil at Reichenau; and discovered a collection of Roman inscriptions, unknown to Gruter.

Among the numerous MSS acquired during a similar journey in Italy in 1685–6, was a fine copy of Ammianus Marcellinus. In 1701 the ‘Academy of Inscriptions’ was founded by Colbert, not with a view to the study of ancient inscriptions, but primarily for the composition of appropriate mottoes for the medals struck in honour of the exploits of Louis XIV. This Academy soon became the centre of the study of language and history in France. By the royal command Mabillon was nominated one of the original members. The guiding principle of his life may be found in the motto prefixed to the *De Re Diplomatica* which, among all his learned works, has the closest connexion with scholarship: *scientia veri justique vindex*.



LIPSIVS.

IVSTO LIPPIO LITTERARVM STVDIIS FLORENTISSIMO SAPIENTIAE ARTIBVS
IMMORTALI VIRO IOANNES WOVERIVS ANTVERPIENSIS HANC DIGNISSIMAM
VULTVS VERITATEM PERENNI AERE SVO AERE ET AMORE INSCRIPTAM
CVLTVS ET OBSERVANTIAE AETERNVM SYMBOLVM L. M. CURABAT ANT-
VERPIAE M. IOCV.

From Pierre de Jode's engraving of portrait by Abraham Janssens (1605).
Reduced from large copy in Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin* (1882), p. 342 f.

CHAPTER XXX

THE NETHERLANDS FROM 1575 TO 1700

A NEW era in the History of Scholarship in the Northern Netherlands is marked by the foundation of the university of Leyden in 1575. One of the two greatest services rendered to Leyden by its first curator, Janus Dousa, was his happily inducing the great Latin scholar, Justus Lipsius (1547—1606), to take up his residence at Leyden in 1579. At Louvain, he had specially devoted himself to Roman Law. He had spent two years in Italy (1567—8), examining inscriptions, and collating transcripts of Tacitus, without ascertaining the existence of either of the two Medicean MSS. In 1572—3 he held a professorship at Jena, where he became a Protestant. In 1574 he spent nine months in Cologne, and in the same year his great edition of Tacitus was published at Antwerp. In 1576 he was lecturing at Louvain on the first book of Livy. At Leyden he was honorary Professor of History, from 1579 to 1591. In the latter year, when a controversy arose on the punishment of heretics, he asked for leave of absence, and quietly went to Mainz, where he was re-admitted into the Roman Church. He was succeeded at Leyden by Scaliger. In 1592 Lipsius accepted a call to his first university of Louvain, where, as professor of History, he lectured to large classes on the Roman historians and on the moral treatises of Seneca. His main strength lay in textual criticism and in exegesis. His masterpiece in this respect was his Tacitus, of which two editions appeared in his life-time (1574, 1600), and two after his death, the latest and best, that of 1648, including Velleius. It was not until 1600 that the readings of the two Medicean MSS were published (by Pichena), when one of the earliest of his emendations, *gnarum* (for *G. navum*) *id Caesar*¹.

¹ *Ann.* i 5.

was confirmed. The exegesis of his edition rests on a profound and accurate knowledge of Roman history and antiquities. It is a work that places him in the front rank of Latin scholars, but it must not be forgotten that he also produced editions of Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus, and of Seneca and the Panegyric of the younger Pliny. He is the model followed in the seventeenth century by members of the historical school of Strassburg in their editions of the Roman historians. His thorough acquaintance with Latin literature and Roman history is conspicuous in his numerous antiquarian treatises, especially in those entitled *De Militia Romana* and *Poliorcetica*. His study of the authors of the Silver Age led to his abandoning the moderate Ciceronianism of his earlier Letters and of his *Variae Lectiones* (1569) for a style founded on Tacitus and Seneca, and even on Gellius and Apuleius. Though he was fond of quoting Greek, his strength did not lie in that branch of scholarship.

In the next generation a wide field of learning was covered by Gerard John Vossius (1577—1649), who, in
 G. J. Vossius 1622, was appointed professor of Eloquence at Leyden, and, after holding that office for ten years, accepted the professorship of History at Amsterdam in 1631, when Salmasius was appointed to fill the Chair of History at Leyden. The subjects of the most important works of Vossius were Grammar, Rhetoric, and the History of Literature. His earliest literary distinction was won at Leyden in 1606, when he published a comprehensive treatise on *Rhetoric*, which, in the edition printed thirty years later, fills 1000 quarto pages. His text-book of Latin Grammar (1607) was repeatedly reprinted in Holland and Germany, while his learned and scholarly work on the same general subject, published in four volumes in 1635, under the title of *Aristarchus, sive de Arte Grammatica*, went through several editions, the latest of which appeared at Halle after the lapse of two centuries. He also wrote a treatise *De Vitiis Sermonis* (1645). In the interval between these two works on Grammar, he published two important treatises on the History of Literature, entitled *De Historicis Graecis* (1623-4) and *Latinis* (1627), and a new edition of the former appeared at Leipzig as late as 1833. His treatise on *Poetry* (1647) was a work of wide

influence. His interest in Art is attested by his brief treatise *De Graphice*, while he is also the author of one of the earliest works on Mythology. He was a diligent collector of MSS. These were inherited by his son, Isaac (1618—1689), on whose death in England they were bought by Leyden. The *codices* include the two famous MSS of Lucretius.

The learned antiquarian, Joannes Meursius (1579—1639), edited Lycophron (1597) and Cato *De agri cultura* (1598), and became professor of History and of Meursius Greek at Leyden in 1610. During the fourteen years of his professorial activity, he produced a standard edition of Hesychius of Miletus (1613), and the *editio princeps* of the *Elementa Harmonica* of Aristoxenus (1616); he also edited the *Timaëus* of Plato with the commentary and translation of Chalcidius (1617). He wrote much on the Antiquities of Athens and Attica, and the vast amount of rather confused learning that he has thus collected has been largely utilised by later writers on the same subject. He commemorated the first jubilee of Leyden by producing, under the name of *Athenae Batavae*, a small quarto volume in two books, (1) a history of the Town and University, and (2) a series of biographies of the principal professors (1625). In the same year he accepted the professorship of History at the Danish university of Soroë, where he passed the last fourteen years of his life. His *Opera omnia* were published in 12 folio volumes at Florence in 1741-63.

His contemporary, Daniel Heinsius of Ghent (1580-1—1655), found a friend in Scaliger at Leyden, where he was D. Heinsius appointed Professor and Librarian in 1605. His work on Greek authors, such as Hesiod and Aristotle's treatise on Poetry (1611), was (except in the case of Theocritus) better than his work on Latin authors. In his pamphlet *De Tragoediae Constitutione* (1611), he deals with all the essential points in Aristotle's treatise, giving proof that he has thoroughly imbibed the author's spirit, and adding illustrations from the Greek tragic poets, and from Horace and Seneca. It was through this work that he became a centre of Aristotelian influence in Holland, France, Germany, and England. His transpositions in the text of the *Ars Poëtica* and his verbal conjectures in the other works

of Horace (2nd ed., 1612) have been disapproved by Bentley and other critics; and his critical notes on Silius (1600), on the tragedies of Seneca (1611), and on Terence (1616) and Ovid (1629), are not much more valuable than those on Horace. His Ovid is his most important work in Latin scholarship; he also edited Livy (1634) and Virgil (1636). His criticisms on the Latin poets, and his Latin orations and elegiac poems, were highly praised by his contemporaries.

His many-sided contemporary Hugo Grotius (1583—1645), who was educated at Leyden, was eminent as a statesman, a diplomatist, a theologian and a scholar. At the age of fifteen, under the influence of Scaliger, he began to prepare an edition of the mediaeval text-book of the liberal arts by Martianus Capella (published in 1599). The work was welcomed by Scaliger, who divined the editor's future greatness. In the year of its publication his father, fearing he might be unduly attracted to the pursuit of literature, removed him from Leyden as soon as he had taken the degree of Doctor in Law, and entered him as an advocate at the Hague. The early part of his public career was an unbroken series of distinctions. He was successively historiographer of the Netherlands, advocate-general of Holland and Zealand, a member of the States-general, and envoy to England. His earliest work on international law was the *Mare Liberum* (1609), and he was well content with the terms of the answer to that work in the *Mare Clausum* of the learned Selden (1636). In 1619 the Arminian (or anti-Calvinistic) opinions of Olden-Barneveldt led to his being sentenced to death with the approval of the Synod of Dort, and Grotius, who sympathised with him, was condemned to imprisonment for life, but, after the lapse of a year and ten months, the prisoner made his escape. In March, 1622, he fled to Paris. In the following year he produced his edition and translation of the poetic passages in Stobaeus, accompanied by the treatises of Plutarch and Basil on the study of the poets, and followed, three years later, by excerpts from the tragic and comic poets of Greece. In the three short years between the publication of his Stobaeus and 1625 he composed his classic work *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. In the same year he completed the Latin version of the *De Veritate Religionis*

Christianæ. His translation of Procopius was not published until ten years after his death. In 1635 he began his career as envoy of the queen Christina of Sweden at the court of France; and, ten years later, he died at Rostock, on his way from Sweden to his native land.

Apart from his important works in the domain of theology, law, and history, his productions as a scholar alone would be enough to lend distinction to his name. In his early youth he had commented on Martianus Capella; in 1601 and 1608 respectively, he had written two Latin tragedies, on the Exile of Adam and the death of Christ. He had translated the *Phoenissæ* of Euripides, and the poetic extracts in Stobæus; he had edited Lucan (1614), and Silius (1636); and had corrected the text of Seneca's Tragedies and of Tacitus. At Paris in 1630 he began his admirable renderings of the Planudean Anthology, which did not see the light until 150 years after the translator's death. His Latin poems give abundant proof of his poetic taste; their author surpasses all the Latin poets of his age in the success with which he reproduces the spirit of classical poetry, and clothes modern thoughts in ancient forms.

The next generation to that of Grotius is represented by Johann Friedrich Gronov (1611—1671). He was Gronovius born at Hamburg and studied at Leipzig and Jena, entered Leyden in 1634, and completed his academic education at Groningen. Thereupon he travelled in France, Italy and England; and the MSS examined in the course of his travels supplied him with materials for his future editions of the Latin Classics. He owed his interest in scholarship to the influence of Vossius, Grotius, Daniel Heinsius, and Scriverius, and to the teaching of Salmasius. He was a Professor at Deventer in 1642, and, in 1659, he succeeded Daniel Heinsius at Leyden, while the younger Heinsius was one of his most intimate friends. His miscellaneous *Observationes* were warmly welcomed by Grotius (1639), and his commentary *De Sestertiis* was received with equal enthusiasm by Vossius (1643). As an editor, he devoted himself mainly to the classical writers of Latin prose, sharing with Lipsius a preference for the authors of the first century, and especially for those that gave peculiar scope for the elucidation of their subject-matter.

His editions mark an epoch in the study of Livy, of both the Senecas, and Gellius and Tacitus. He also edited the great work of the elder Pliny. This preference for prose had possibly been inspired at Leyden by the example of Salmasius. The extension of his interest to the textual criticism of Latin poetry was due to the discovery of the Florentine ms of the tragedies of Seneca. His diatribe on the *Silvae* of Statius is an immature work, but, in his riper years, the acumen exhibited in his handling of prose is also exemplified in his treatment of the text of poets such as Statius, Seneca, Martial, and Phaedrus. His edition of Plautus is marred by an imperfect knowledge of metre, which has been noticed by Bentley. Markland, the editor of Statius' *Silvae*, has declared 'nunquam interituram esse veram eruditionem, donec Gronovii opera legentur'.

The Latin poets were specially studied by Nicolaus Heinsius (1620—1681), the only son of Daniel. He travelled
N. Heinsius in England, France, Italy, and Sweden. In 1651 he resided in Italy as the envoy of queen Christina, represented the Netherlands at the Swedish court in 1654, was Secretary of State at Amsterdam in 1656, and was once more in Sweden in 1659. In 1671 he visited Moscow; he afterwards lived in retirement S. of Utrecht, and he died at the Hague. For a large part of his career he was engaged in diplomatic and political work; he never held any academic appointment; and it was only the leisure hours of his public life that he could devote to the pursuits of scholarship. His natural tastes inclined him to poetry. Of his three volumes of Latin verse, two had been published before he had edited a single Latin author. His practice in versification, his wide reading in classical and post-classical Latin, and his knowledge of Greek literature, made him an accomplished scholar, and a well-equipped editor of classical texts. As a textual critic, he had acquired an extensive knowledge of various readings by his study of mss during his residence abroad. Few scholars have examined so many Latin mss, and his careful collations of such mss compare favourably with those prepared by others on his behalf. While Gronovius had devoted himself mainly to the writers of Latin prose, his friend, the younger Heinsius, was almost exclusively an editor of Latin poets.

He produced editions of Claudian, Ovid, Virgil, Prudentius, and Valerius Flaccus, besides leaving *Adversaria* on Catullus, Propertius, Phaedrus and Silius Italicus, published in 1742, long after his death. In Latin prose he only edited Velleius Paterculus, but he left behind him notes on Curtius, Tacitus, and Petronius. His editions of the Latin poets above-mentioned laid the foundation of the textual criticism of those authors, and he has thus obtained the title of *sospitator poetarum Latinorum*. He had a singular aptitude for conjectural emendation, while his vast reading enabled him to support his conjectures by parallel passages that were exactly to the point. His experience of public life preserved him from the perils of pedantry, and contributed to the formation of a sound and sober judgement, a practical sense of proportion, and an aptitude for clear and lucid expression.

Johann Georg Graevius (1632—1703), educated at Schulpforta, and at the universities of Leipzig, Deventer and Graevius Leyden, was professor of Eloquence at Duisburg and Deventer, and at Utrecht, where he lived and worked for the last forty years of his strenuous life. His Hesiod (1667) is almost his only edition of a Greek Classic; his Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (1680), his only recension of any of the Latin poets. As a pupil of Gronovius, he limited his attention mainly to writers of Latin prose. He edited Cicero's *Letters* (1672—84), *De Officiis*, *Cato*, *Laelius*, *Paradoxa* and *Somnium Scipionis* (1688) and the *Speeches* (1695—9), and also the *Opera cum notis variorum*, which extended to eleven volumes and then remained unfinished (1684—99). It is in his recension of Cicero's *Letters* that we may most clearly trace the salutary influence of Gronovius. He further edited the Latin historians, Justin, Suetonius, Florus, and Caesar. Finally he collected and reprinted the works of earlier scholars in his *Thesauri antiquitatum Romanarum*, in twelve folio volumes (1694—9); and his *antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, in nine (1704), continued by Burman (1725). Bentley supplied Graevius with a collection of more than 400 fragments of Callimachus as his contribution to an edition of that poet begun by his correspondent's short-lived son (ed. 1697).

The learned Perizonius (1651—1715), whose vernacular name was Voorbroek, was called to Leyden in 1693. Perizonius His best work as an editor is his recension of Aelian's *Varia Historia* (1701). In his *Origines Babylonicae et Aegyptiacae* (1711), he was the first to suggest the spuriousness of the royal lists of Manetho. His *Animadversiones Historicae* (1685) are recognised as a masterpiece of historical criticism, and as an anticipation of Niebuhr's method of dealing with the early history of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXI

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IN the reign of queen Elizabeth one of the most learned representatives of classical scholarship in England was Sir Henry Savile (1549—1622), who became Savile Fellow and mathematical Lecturer of Brasenose, and (from 1585 to 1622) Warden of Merton, and (from 1595 to 1622) Provost of Eton. In 1591 he translated four books of the *Histories*, and the *Agricola* of Tacitus. In the *Agricola* (c. 8), the correction *Intemelio* for *in templo* is due to Savile. He collected mss, and secured the aid of scholars at home and abroad, for a great edition of Chrysostom, completed in eight folio volumes in 1613 at a total cost of £8000, the paper alone costing a quarter of that sum. In splendour of execution, and in breadth of erudition, it far surpassed all the previous productions of English scholarship. The proofs were partly read by Casaubon. On the completion of this work Savile had the satisfaction of driving Casaubon in his coach from Eton to Oxford and showing him the Library and all the other sights of the University.

Among those who aided Savile by their learning was Andrew Downes (c. 1549—1628), Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, who, after migrating to Trinity in 1586, held the professorship of Greek for nearly forty years (1586—1625). Downes was one of the six final revisers of the authorised version of the Bible. He published his lectures on Lysias, *De caede Eratosthenis* (1593), and on Demosthenes, *De Pace* (1621).

A far wider range of study is represented by Francis Bacon (1561—1629), who 'had taken all knowledge to be his province'¹.

¹ Letter to Burleigh.

In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605), the principal classical authors quoted are Cicero and Seneca, Livy and Tacitus; Xenophon and Plato, Demosthenes and Aristotle. In the same work the absence of any adequate history of learning is noticed¹. We have, however, a 'survey' or 'general and faithful perambulation of learning'²; and indications of the author's familiarity with certain stages in its history.

In 1652 the puritan divine and critic, Thomas Gataker (1574—1654), Scholar of St John's, and Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, published in a large folio a Greek text of the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, with a Latin version and a copious commentary,—'the earliest edition of any classical writer published in England with original annotations'³. The Stoic philosophy is reviewed in the Introduction and many parallel passages from Greek and Latin philosophical writings are cited in the notes. His *Adversaria Miscellanea* (1651) and *Posthuma*, with an autobiography (1659), include many observations relating to classical antiquity.

Gataker's slightly younger contemporary, the learned jurist, John Selden (1584—1654), M.P. for the university of Oxford in the Long Parliament, produced in 1617 two works of profound learning, his 'History of Tythes' in English, and his treatise *De Diis Syris* in Latin. As the author of the latter he earned from Gataker the epithet of *πολυμαθέστατος*. A more immediate service to scholarship was rendered in 1628–9 by his publication of the *Marmora Arundelliana*, a description of the marbles brought from Asia Minor by the agent of Thomas Howard, the second Earl of Arundel (1586—1646). The greatest interest was excited by the two large fragments of a chronological table which, from the place of its original discovery, became known as the *Marmor Parium*. The table begins with Cecrops and goes down to 354 B.C., the latter part, ending with 263–2 B.C. (the year of its composition), having been lost⁴. The deciphering and interpretation were undertaken by Selden. In 1669, under

¹ II i 2.² II Ded. 15.³ Hallam, iii 250⁴.⁴ A fragment covering 336—299 B.C. has since been found (*Ath. Mitt.* 1897, 183).

the influence of Evelyn, the marbles were presented to the university of Oxford.

In 1655-62 Thomas Stanley (1625-1678), of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, published in four volumes a Stanley
History of Philosophy, mainly derived from
 Diogenes Laërtius. At the time of its publication, the field
 which it covered was almost untrodden ground. In the following
 year he produced his celebrated edition of Aeschylus (1663).
 It was far superior to all its predecessors, but at least 300 of
 the emendations that appear in the text were appropriated, with-
 out acknowledgement, from the partly unpublished proposals of
 Dorat, Scaliger, and Casaubon. It has served in its turn as
 the great source of illustrations for all subsequent editions of
 Aeschylus. It was described by Bentley as a 'noble edition';
 it was republished in 1745, and afterwards revised by Porson and
 reprinted by Samuel Butler.

In the same century the 'Cambridge Platonists,' best repre-
 sented by Henry More (1614-1687), Fellow of Cambridge
Platonists
 Christ's, and Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), Fellow More
Cudworth
 of Emmanuel and Master of Christ's from 1654 to
 his death, are apt to show a lack of critical judgement in their
 confusion of Platonism and Neo-Platonism. The dialogues of
 Plato that chiefly interest them are the *Theaetetus*, *Sophistes*,
Parmenides, and, above all, the *Timaeus*. Nearly half the second
 book of Cudworth's 'Immutable Morality' consists of quotations
 from the *Theaetetus*, and the discussion of the Platonic Trinity
 in his 'Intellectual System' mainly rests on the *Timaeus* and on
 the Neo-Platonists. Their favourite writers are Plotinus, and, in a
 less degree, Proclus and Hierocles, Themistius, Damascius, and
 Simplicius. 'They are,' as Coleridge says, 'Plotinists rather than
 Platonists.'

Our present period ends in England with the names of Henry
 Dodwell and Joshua Barnes. Dodwell (1641-
 1711), Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and H. Dodwell
 Camden Professor of History in Oxford from 1688 to 1691,
 is best known for his chronological works. On ceasing to
 hold office, he produced his treatise *De Cyclis Veterum* (1692
 and 1701). This was followed by his 'Annals' of Velleius,

Quintilian, and Statius (1698), and of Thucydides and Xenophon (1702).

Joshua Barnes (1654—1712), Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, became Professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1695. In the previous year he had edited the whole of Euripides in a single folio volume, an edition reprinted at Leipzig and Oxford. This was followed by his Anacreon (1705), which attained a second edition, and by his Homer (1710—1), which, with all its imperfections, was a work of greater utility than any of its predecessors, and was not distinctly surpassed for ninety years. Barnes, in his edition of Euripides, had accepted the ‘Epistles of Euripides’ as the genuine writings of the poet; Dodwell, in his treatise *De Cyclis Veterum*, had followed the data presented by the ‘Epistles of Phalaris’ in determining certain points of chronology. The errors of both were happily corrected when the spuriousness of the Epistles of Phalaris and of Euripides was conclusively proved by Bentley, who is the foremost representative of the next period of Scholarship.

CHAPTER XXXII

GERMANY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

GERMANY, as well as England and the Netherlands, may claim a part in the career of Janus Gruter (1560—1627).

His father was burgomaster of Antwerp. His mother was a learned and accomplished Englishwoman. He was educated at Norwich Grammar School, and in 1577 entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He continued his academic studies at Leyden, and subsequently held professorships at Rostock and Wittenberg. In 1592 he left for Heidelberg, where he spent the remaining thirty-five years of his life. In 1602 he was appointed Librarian. In the same year he published his most important work, a *Corpus* of ancient Inscriptions, begun at the suggestion, and completed with the aid, of Scaliger. He produced editions of at least seventeen Latin authors, including Tacitus, with the notes of nine previous commentators, Livy, and Cicero. The merit of dividing the books of Livy into the chapters now in use belongs to Gruter, who, in the preface to his last edition of that historian (1627), states that he had done the same for other authors, and that future editors were welcome to adopt the divisions which he had suggested.

On the foundation of the university of Halle, in 1694, the professorship of Eloquence and History, and the office of University Librarian, were assigned to the many-sided scholar, Christoph Cellarius (1638—1707), the author of numerous works on Grammar and Style, and on Ancient History and Geography. His most important work is his *Notitia Orbis Antiqui*, in two quarto volumes (1701—6), with numerous maps. Seven of his fifteen editions of Latin historians and other authors were accompanied by maps, which were then a novelty in classical works.

In the early part of the century surveyed in the three preceding chapters, the first enthusiasm aroused by the Revival of Learning had already begun to languish in Italy and in other parts of Europe. During the seventeenth century the learning of Italy was almost exclusively concentrated on local and general archaeology. It was partly in consequence of the predominating influence of the Roman Church that Italy had been diverted from the study of the pagan Classics, and that France had been deserted by Scaliger in 1593, by Casaubon in 1610, and by Salmasius in 1631. In the land which they had left, those three great protestant scholars were succeeded by Jesuits, and by jurists, most of whom were surpassed in erudition, on the catholic side, by the great lexicographer, Du Cange, and the learned palaeographer, Mabillon. The age of Louis XIV, the founder of the Academy of Inscriptions (1663), was glorified in 1687-92 by Perrault, who, after a superficial survey of ancient and modern learning, assigned the palm to the latter, and thus gave the signal for a controversy which broke out once more in the days of Bentley. Meanwhile, in the Netherlands, classical learning was ably represented by men like G. J. Vossius and Grotius, by Daniel Heinsius and his distinguished son, by J. F. Gronovius, Graevius, and Perizonius. In England the century was adorned by the names of Savile and Bacon, Gataker and Selden, More and Cudworth, while, towards its close, the errors in historical or literary criticism which had marred the meritorious labours of Dodwell and of Barnes were destined to be triumphantly refuted in the *Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and of Euripides*. Lastly, in Germany, the age of the Thirty Years War (like that of the Civil War in England) was unfavourable to the peaceful pursuits of learning. On the whole, it was a century of multifarious erudition rather than minute and accurate scholarship, a century largely concerned with the exploration of Latin rather than Greek literature; but a new age of historical and literary criticism, founded on a more intelligent study of Greek, was close at hand with Bentley for its hero. We cannot, however, forget that it was in this century that the principles independently applied by Niebuhr to the critical study of early Roman History were in part anticipated by the acumen of Perizonius.

BOOK X

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXXIII

ITALY

IN the eighteenth century some of the greatest achievements of Italian scholarship were connected with Latin lexicography and the study of Cicero. Before the publication of Forcellini's great lexicon in 1771, all the Latin dictionaries in general use in Italy and elsewhere were founded more or less on a work first published in 1502 by Ambrosius Calepinus (*c.* 1440—1511), who dedicated his work to the Senate and People of Bergamo. It was edited again and again, and overlaid with many additions. In France, Robert Estienne had been urged to reprint it in its original form, but the proposal ended in his producing a *Thesaurus* of his own, with the aid of Budaeus and others (1543). This was followed by Faber's *Thesaurus* (1571), in which all the derivatives were arranged under the words from which they were derived. A series of revisions of Calepinus, Estienne, and Faber, appeared in Germany, culminating in J. M. Gesner's *Novus Thesaurus* (1749).

In 1680 a library and a well-equipped printing press were established at Padua by Cardinal Gregorius Barbadicus, who in 1663 had been promoted from the bishopric of Bergamo, the former home of Calepinus, to that of Padua, the future home of Forcellini, whose fame was long unjustly obscured by that of Facciolati. Jacopo Facciolati (1682—1769) was born at Torreggia in the Euganean hills, and Aegidio Forcellini

Facciolati

(1688—1768) at Campo Sampiero, near Treviso.

From their village-homes in the S.W. and the N.E. of Padua,

they came to the seminary of that place, Facciolati at the age of twelve, in 1694, and Forcellini at that of sixteen, in 1704, the year in which Facciolati took his first degree in theology. Facciolati was in due time invited to superintend the studies of the seminary, and the preparation of Greek, Latin and Italian lexicons for the use of the students. In the preparation of the *Greek* lexicon, which was a new edition of that of Schrevelius (1670), he had the aid of Forcellini and others, but the name of Facciolati alone appears on the title-page (1715). Again, the *Italian* lexicon was similarly prepared by Forcellini (1718),

but it was not until after a protest on the part of Forcellini Forcellini's brother, that Forcellini's name was mentioned in the preface to the eighth edition (1741). Thirdly, at the revision of the *Latin* lexicon of Calepinus, Forcellini worked, under Facciolati, for three years, and the result appeared in 1718. Facciolati, who seems to have really done a large part of the work, wrote the preface, but made no mention of Forcellini's name, merely referring to him as *strenuissimus adolescens*.

Forcellini's experience in helping to edit 'Calepinus' had convinced him that an entirely new work was necessary. Late in 1718, by the command of the bishop and under the leadership of Facciolati, the *Studiorum Praefectus*, Forcellini began the *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, and, after many interruptions reached the last word in the lexicon in 1753. After spending two more years in revising his manuscript, he handed it over to Ludovico Violato for transcription. In his preface he modestly states that his master, Facciolati, 'a name illustrious in the commonwealth of letters', had selected him to make the Latin Lexicon, not because of any special ability on his part, but because he was regarded as a person of sound health and capable of enduring even the most protracted labour. Thus, with his own hand, and under the advice and aid of his master, the almost interminable toil of nearly forty years had been brought to a close. He had added many gleanings from unfamiliar authors, and from inscriptions and coins; he had paid special attention to orthography, to the proper arrangement of the several meanings of each word, and to copious citation of examples, making a point of never quoting any passage that he had not himself seen in its original context.

When the vast undertaking was finished, Forcellini lived on for some years in the seminary ; but, meanwhile, no one took any steps for the printing and publication of his work. On May-day in 1765 he was permitted to leave Padua for his old home at Campo Sampiero ; and there he passed away early in April, 1768, in the 80th year of his age. The original manuscript and the transcript of his great lexicon were still in the library at Padua, when Cardinal Prioli became bishop. By his prompt command it was sent to press early in 1769. The title, as it left the hands of the transcriber, ran as follows :—

Latinitatis totius Lexicon in Patavino Seminario cura et opera Aegidii Forcellini elucubratum, iussu et auspiciis Antonii Marini Card. Prioli episcopi editum.

But Facciolati, who was still alive (being now in the 88th year of his age), felt annoyed at finding no mention of his own name. Accordingly, he caused the title to be recast as follows :—

Totius Latinitatis Lexicon consilio et cura Jacobi Facciolati, opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini, alumni Seminarii Patavini, lucubratum.

This title, which has unfortunately led many to believe that the lexicon was, in a large measure, the work of Facciolati, was retained until the publication of De-Vit's edition (1858 f). Facciolati himself had, in 1756, written to the librarian of St Mark's in Venice :—*princeps huius operis conditor atque adeo unus Forcellinus est* ; but, in publishing this letter in 1759 and 1765, he omitted this sentence¹. Facciolati died in August, 1769. The printing of Forcellini's lexicon was completed in four folio volumes in 1771. A new edition appeared in 1805, followed by those of James Bailey (1825), Furnaletto (1823-31), Schneeberg (1829-35), De-Vit (Prato, 1858-79), and Corradini (Padua, 1864-90).

Inscriptions continued to be collected and studied in many parts of Italy, but many of them were forgeries. The latter are not excluded with sufficient strictness even from the *Thesaurus* compiled by the great historian Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672—1750), librarian at Milan and Modena, the most industrious and the most widely learned Italian scholar of his time. He produced six folio volumes of *Antiquitates*;

Muratori

¹ De-Vit's *Praef.* p. xxxii.

Italicæ Medii Aevi, in addition to the twenty-seven folio volumes of his *Scriptores*, the eighteen quarto volumes of his *Annali*, and the eight of his *Anecdota Latina* and *Graeca*. Even these are not all, as his total output amounted to forty-six volumes folio and thirty-four volumes quarto. By his calm and sober judgement, by his vast capacity for literary research, and by his unfailing championship of good sense in matters of scholarship, he exercised a most healthy influence on historical and antiquarian studies in Italy.

To the school of Muratori belongs his contemporary and friend
 Maffei Scipione Maffei of Verona (1675—1755), a dramatist
 and a scholar of the most varied accomplishments.

In 1713 he discovered the long-lost MSS of the capitular library of Verona, and the results of his study of those MSS marked an epoch in the history of Latin palaeography¹. His local patriotism prompted him to record the history of his native place in his *Verona Illustrata* (1732), and to describe its antiquities in his *Museum Veronense* (1749). In the latter the extant inscriptions are carefully and correctly copied. His treatise *De arte critica lapidaria*, published after his decease in the supplement to Muratori's *Novus Thesaurus*, gives proof of his keen and unsparing criticism of the inadequate work of other archaeologists.

The study of Cicero is represented in the same century by the
 Lagomarsini learned Jesuit, Girolamo Lagomarsini (1698—1773),
 who collated all the MSS of Cicero accessible to him in Florence and elsewhere. These collations first became known to the world through Niebuhr. They have since been used for the *Verrine Orations* by K. G. Zumpt, the *pro Murena* by A. W. Zumpt, the *pro Cluentio* by Classen, the *pro Milone* by Peyron, the *Brutus* and *De Oratore* by Ellendt, and similarly by Baiter and Halm in the second edition of Orelli. But not a single work of Cicero was edited by the industrious collator himself.

During this age Greek occupies a subordinate position. In
 Corsini the first half of the century Greek studies are well
 represented by Corsini (1702—1765), whose *Fasti Attici*, published in four quarto volumes in Florence (1744—56), laid the foundation for the chronology of the Attic Archons,

¹ Traube, *Vorlesungen*, i 44—47.

while his Dissertations of 1747 dealt with the chronological and other problems connected with the panhellenic games. He also published two folio volumes on the Greek abbreviations for words and numerals (1749). His great work on Greek chronology was not followed up by any exactly similar work in Italy.

During the next fifty years the eminent archaeologist, Gaetano Marini (1742—1815), published the inscriptions of the Albani Villa and Palace in 1785, and the great expectations thereby aroused were completely fulfilled in the two quarto volumes of the *Inscriptions of the Fratres Arvales* (1795), in which those inscriptions (which were previously known) were explained and emended, and no less than a thousand others published for the first time.

The most famous member of the archaeological family of the Visconti, was Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751—1818), who succeeded his father in the production of the celebrated work on the *Museum Pio-Clementinum*, with illustrations and descriptions of that important part of the Vatican Museum. Volumes II to VII (1784—1807) are entirely his work. In 1799, when some of the finest works of art were carried off by Napoleon, he accompanied them to Paris, where he produced an admirable account of the works of ancient sculpture entrusted to his charge, besides completing three important volumes on Greek Iconography. In 1814 he was one of the first to recognise the transcendent importance of the Elgin marbles. He is the embodiment of the intelligent appreciation of the works of ancient sculpture awakened in Italy by the influence of Winckelmann.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IN France, our first important name is that of Bernard de
Montfaucon (1655—1741), who entered the Benedictine Order at Toulouse in 1675. He entered the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1687. He afterwards spent three years in Italy (1698—1701), exploring the great collections of MSS, and devoting special attention to the Laurentian Library. While Latin alone had been the theme of Mabillon's treatise *De Re Diplomatica*, the foundations of Greek palaeography were laid in the *Palaeographica Graeca* produced by Montfaucon in 1708, which, besides establishing the principles of a new science, comprised a list of no less than 11,630 MSS. In 1715 he completed the Catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, a library belonging to the Duc de Coislin, the prince-bishop of Metz, and including that of his grandfather, Séguier, the whole of which was afterwards bequeathed to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and was ultimately incorporated in the Paris Library. His next great work, the *Antiquité Expliquée*, a vast treasury of classical antiquities, was published by subscription in ten folio volumes in 1719. It supplied a comprehensive conspectus of all the antiquarian learning of the age, and it was long before it was in any way superseded. In the following year he produced in two folio volumes his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, including all the catalogues of Europe, which the author had collected in the space of forty years. In learning, and in powers of work, he rivalled Mabillon, whom he excelled in his wider interest in classical antiquities, as well as in greater animation of manner.

Among the literary enterprises of the Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint-Maur, those connected in different degrees with classical scholarship are the earlier volumes of the twelve

on the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (1733-63), a great work resumed by the Institut de France in 1814; the *Art de vérifier les dates* in three folio volumes (1783-87); and Toustain and Tassin's *Nouveau Traité de diplomatique* in six quartos (1750-65).

Classical archaeology was ably promoted by the Comte de Caylus (1692-1765), who travelled widely in the East, and spent four-fifths of his large income on the patronage of archaeology. He published a large number of monuments of ancient sculpture in the seven volumes of his *Recueil d'Antiquités* (1752-67). He here includes nothing that he has not seen with his own eyes; he tests the genuineness of every item, and gives proof of an artistic discrimination superior to that of Montfaucon.

A popular type of Archaeology was represented by the antiquary, Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795), who enjoyed the patronage of the Duc and the Duchesse de Choiseul. He became keeper of the royal cabinet of medals in Paris, was familiar with several oriental languages, and was the founder of the scientific knowledge of Phœnician, and of numismatic palaeography. He is still more widely known as the author of the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1789), a work that, for thirty years, occupied all the author's leisure hours, and has long been held in high esteem as a popular account of the manners and customs of ancient Greece.

The Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817), the nephew of Barthélemy's great patron, travelled in Greece and Asia Minor from 1776 to 1782. Of the two folio volumes of his *Voyage Pittoresque en Grèce*, the first alone (1782) appeared before the outbreak of the Revolution. It was not until 1822 that the second volume of his *Voyage* was published, a work that aroused and maintained in France an increasing interest in the glorious scenery and the memorable associations of Greece.

The Jesuit Academician, Gabriel Brotier (1723-1789), is best known in connexion with his edition of Tacitus (1771). Pierre Henri Larcher of Dijon (1726-1812) was an Academician and a Professor in Paris. His most important work was his translation of Herodotus,

accompanied with historical notes, in seven volumes (1786), which has been repeatedly republished.

ALSACE

We may here make separate mention of a group of four Alsatian scholars:—Brunck, Oberlin, Schweighäuser, and Bast. Their surnames suggest German descent, but the first three were subjects of France, for Strassburg had been captured by the French in 1681 and the rest of Alsace had already been annexed

in the course of the Thirty Years' War. Richard

Brunck

François Philippe Brunck (1729—1803), born at Strassburg, was educated by the Jesuits in Paris, and served in the commissariat department during part of the Seven Years' War. On his return from Germany in 1760, he devoted himself to classical studies in Strassburg. His enthusiasm for the Greek poets led to his devoting his leisure to the critical revision of their texts. He had collations of MSS at his disposal, and ample means for the editing of their works. Under the title of *Analecta* from the Greek Poets, he published in three volumes a large number of Epigrams from the Greek Anthology (classified under the names of their authors), together with the Bucolic Poets and Callimachus (1772—6). He also edited Anacreon and Apollonius Rhodius. He was specially successful as a critic of the Greek drama. Thus he edited three plays of Aeschylus, seven of Euripides, and the whole of Aristophanes (1783) and Sophocles (1786—9). In his recension of Sophocles he opened a new era by removing from the text the interpolations of Triclinius, and by reverting to the Aldine edition and especially to the Paris MS A (cent. xiii), with which that edition generally agrees. The Laurentian MS was then practically unknown to scholars; it was not collated by Elmsley until 1820.

Jeremias Jacob Oberlin (1735—1806), of Strassburg, edited

Oberlin

Vibius Sequester, as well as Ovid's *Tristia* and *Ibis*, Horace, Tacitus, and Caesar; and was interested in archaeology, and palaeography, and in the history of literature.

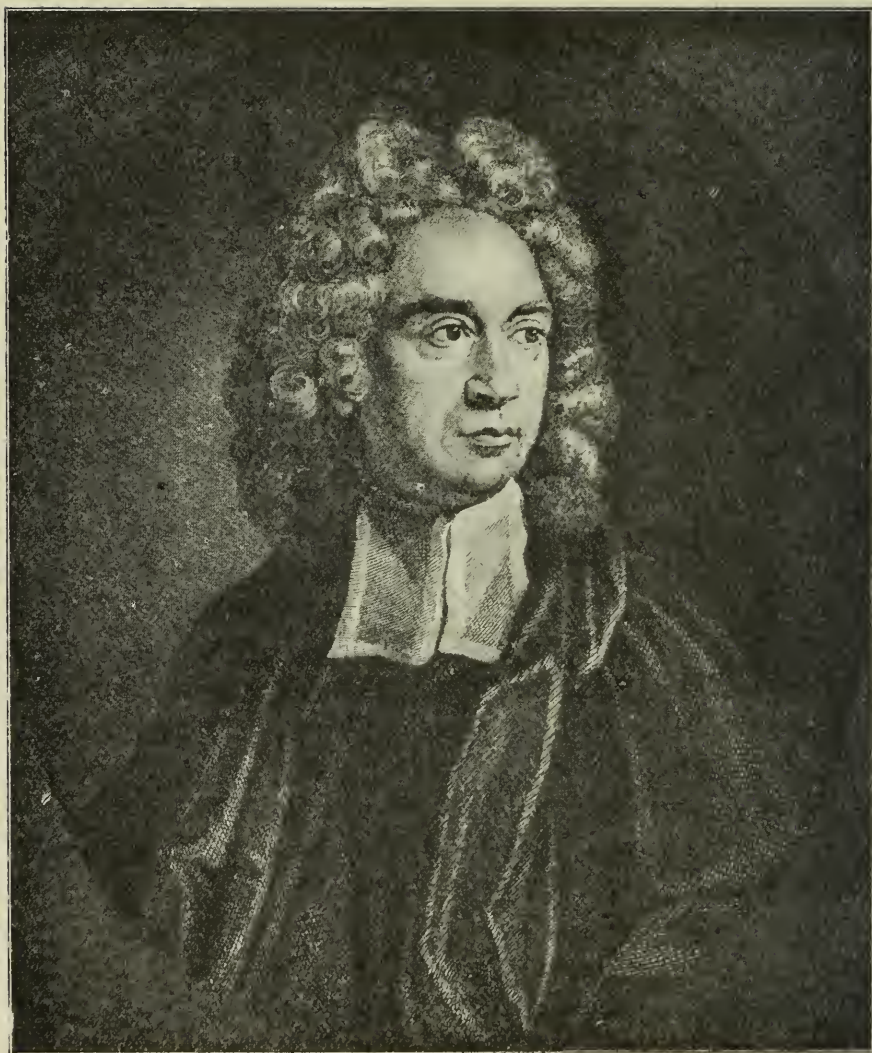
Strassburg was also the place of the birth and education of

Johann Schweighäuser (1742—1830), whose studies were mainly confined to the classical writers of Greek prose.

Thus he edited Appian, Polybius, Epictetus and Cebes, Athenaeus, and Herodotus. He also produced excellent lexicons to Herodotus and Polybius; his Athenaeus (which included the whole of Casaubon's commentary) extended to fourteen volumes. His own notes invariably give proof of extensive reading, and are characterised by the minutest accuracy.

Our group of scholarly Alsatians closes with the name of Friedrich Jacob Bast (1771—1811), who is best known in connexion with the useful *Commentatio Palaeographica*, which he contributed to Schaefer's edition of Gregorius Corinthius towards the close of his brief life of forty years.

Homer was the theme of the most fruitful labours of Jean Baptiste Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison (1753—1805). His earliest work was the Homeric Lexicon of Apollonius (1773-4), followed by an edition of the *Pastoralia* of Longus (1778). In 1781 he drew attention to the importance of a MS of Homer in the Library of St Mark's in Venice. He was accordingly sent to Venice at the public expense to transcribe the *scholia* of this MS, which he published with ample *prolegomena* in 1788. His publication of the Venetian *scholia* on Homer supplied Wolf with arguments for his view that the current text of Homer differed from that of the Alexandrian critics. It is said that Villoison, who had hardly been conscious of the supreme significance of these *scholia*, was alarmed at the use to which they were put by Wolf in his attack on the traditional opinions on Homer. The last scholar of the old school had unconsciously forged the weapons for the first scholar of the new.



RICHARD BENTLEY.

From Dean's engraving of the portrait by Thornhill (1710) in the Master's Lodge, Trinity College, Cambridge (frontispiece of Monk's *Life of Bentley*, ed. 2, 1833).

CHAPTER XXXV

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IN the first half of the eighteenth century the greatest name among the classical scholars of Europe is that of Richard Bentley (1662—1742). He was educated at Wakefield Grammar School, and at St John's College, Cambridge. He took his degree as a high Wrangler at the age of eighteen, but, as there was no vacancy in the only two fellowships then open to natives of Yorkshire, Bentley was never a Fellow of his College. The College, however, made him headmaster of Spalding; a former Fellow, Stillingfleet, Dean of St Paul's, appointed him tutor to his son; and, in the library of Stillingfleet, one of the largest private libraries of the time, Bentley laid the foundation of his profound and multifarious learning. He accompanied his pupil to Oxford, thus obtaining constant access to the treasures of the Bodleian. At Oxford he published, as an appendix to an edition of the Chronicle of John Malalas of Antioch, his celebrated *Letter to Mill* (1691). In that *Letter* he gave the learned world the first-fruits of his profound study of the Attic Drama. He also announced his discovery of the metrical continuity (or *Synapheia*) of the anapaestic system. In less than a hundred pages, he corrected and explained more than sixty Greek and Latin authors. In 1697, his learned correspondent, Graevius, published an edition of the text of Callimachus, which had been prepared by his short-lived son. It was accompanied by a remarkable series of some 420 fragments collected by the industry and elucidated by the genius of Bentley.

Meanwhile, a controversy on the literary merits of the ancients and the moderns, that had arisen in France, had found its way

to England. Sir William Temple, in his *Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, entered the lists as the champion of the ancients. His challenge to a further conflict is given in the following terms :

‘It may perhaps be further affirmed, in favour of the Ancients, that the oldest books we have are still in their kind the best. The two most ancient that I know of in prose, among those we call profane authors, are Æsop’s Fables and Phalaris’s Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed by all ages since for the greatest master in his kind, and all others of that sort have been but imitators of his original; so I think the Epistles of Phalaris to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern’¹.

The challenge was partly taken up by Bentley’s friend, William Wotton, of St Catharine’s, who had migrated to St John’s in 1682. In 1694, Wotton published, in his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, a calm and judicious examination of Temple’s essay. On its appearance, Bentley assured his friend that the two books, which Temple had termed the ‘oldest’ and ‘best’ in the world, were in truth neither old nor good; that the ‘Æsopian’ Fables were not the work of Æsop, and that the Letters of Phalaris were a forgery of a later age. Meanwhile, a sudden and unwonted demand for the Letters had been aroused by Temple’s splendid advertisement, and accordingly an edition was promptly prepared in 1695 by a youthful scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, the Hon. Charles Boyle. A new edition of Wotton’s *Reflections* was soon called for, and in 1697 Bentley contributed his promised *Dissertation* on Æsop and Phalaris.

Bentley begins by attacking the *chronology*. Taking 550 B.C. as the latest possible date for the age of Phalaris, he shows that, of the Sicilian cities mentioned in the Letters, Phintia was not founded till nearly three centuries, or Alaesa till more than 140 years, afterwards; and that the potter of Corinth, who gave his name to the ‘Thericlean cups’ presented by Phalaris to his physician, lived more than 120 years later. Again, the Letters ring the changes on the names of Zancle and Messana, whereas Zancle was not known as Messana until more than 60 years after the death of Phalaris. Similarly, they mention Tauromenium, though it was many generations before that name was given to the Sicilian city of Naxos. The phrase, ‘to extirpate like a

¹ *Miscellanea*, part ii (1690); *Works*, i 166, ed. 1750.

pine-tree', which is used by the author, originated with Croesus, who began his reign after the death of Phalaris; another of his phrases, 'words are the shadow of deeds', was due to Democritus, more than a century later. The author was familiar with later poets, Pindar, Euripides, and Callimachus; he even mentions 'tragedies', a form of literature that came into being some years after the tyrant's death.

Bentley next attacks the language, which is Attic Greek, whereas the King of the Dorian colony of Agrigentum would naturally have written in the Doric dialect. Even the coinage is of the Attic and not the Sicilian standard¹.

Bentley also examines the Letters of Themistocles, Socrates, and Euripides, and proves that they were forged many centuries after the death of their reputed authors. The 'Aesopian Fables' are ascribed by Bentley to a prose paraphrase of the choliambics of Babrius executed by Maximus Planudes, the Byzantine monk of the fourteenth century.

The attack on 'Phalaris' was answered by a confederacy of the friends of Boyle. A second edition of the reply appeared in a few months; a third, in the following year. At first, and, indeed, for long afterwards, popular opinion was against Bentley. Early in 1699, Bentley answered Boyle and his friends by producing an enlarged edition of his *Dissertation*. It is a work that marks an epoch in the History of Scholarship. It is an example of critical method, heralding a new era; yet it was long before its mastery was recognised.

Bentley was Master of Trinity from 1700 to his death in 1742. During those forty-two years his many contributions to classical learning included an appendix to the edition of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* by John Davies, Fellow of Queens' (1709), in which Bentley gives proof of his familiarity with the philosophical works of Cicero and with the metres of the Latin Dramatists. In the following year he produced under an assumed name his emendations of 323 fragments of Philemon and Menander. The next year saw the publication of his memorable edition of Horace (1711), in which the traditional text is altered in more than 700 passages, a masterly work, which, however, does more credit to the logical force of his intellect than to his poetic taste. It is here that we find his celebrated *dictum*:—'nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt'². Bentley's skill in the restoration of Greek inscriptions was exemplified in the case of

¹ *First Dissertation*, p. 62, ed. 1697.

² On *Carm.* iii 27, 15.

inscriptions from Delos (1721) and Chalcedon (1728). In the latter, his corrections of the faulty copies were completely confirmed by the original. Early in 1726 he published an edition of Terence, in which the text is corrected in about a thousand passages, mainly on grounds of metre. The same volume includes an edition of Phaedrus and of the 'Sentences' of 'Publius Syrus'. The preface is followed by a *Schediasma* on the metres of Terence, which is the foundation of the scholarly treatment of that subject. Bentley has left his mark on the textual criticism of Plautus, Lucretius, and Lucan. In 1732-4 he was busy with an edition of Homer, in which the text was to be restored with the aid of MSS and *scholia*, and the quotations in ancient authors, and by the introduction of the lost letter, the *digamma*. The discovery of the connexion of this lost letter with certain metrical peculiarities in Homer had been made by Bentley as early as 1713. Bentley's latest work was his recension of the astronomical poet, Manilius (1739). His relations to his scholarly contemporaries in the Netherlands are exemplified by his correspondence with the aged Graevius, who was one of the first to hail the dawn of Bentley's fame (1697). The criticisms on Aristophanes, which he sent to Küster in 1708, clearly prove how much might have been achieved by Bentley in a complete edition of that author. In the same year he prompted the youthful Hemsterhuys to strengthen the weak points in his knowledge of Greek metre.

The two centuries that elapsed between the call of Scaliger to the university of Leyden (1593) and the publication of Wolf's 'Prolegomena to Homer' (1795) were an age of high distinction in Dutch Scholarship, and during the first half of the seventeenth century that Scholarship owed an incalculable debt to the healthy and invigorating influence of Bentley. As a scholar, Bentley was distinguished by wide and independent reading. He absorbed all the classical literature that was accessible to him, either in print or in manuscript; but, unlike the humanists of Italy, he was not a minute and scrupulous imitator of the style of the Latin Classics. In textual as well as historic criticism, he had a close affinity with the great Scaliger. His intellectual character was marked by a singular sagacity. Swift and keen to detect

imposture, he was resolute and unflinching in exposing it. His manner was, in general, apt to be haughty and overbearing, and his temper sarcastic and insolent. He had a strong and masterful personality, but his predominant passion was an unswerving devotion to truth¹.

Bentley was on friendly terms with Jeremiah Markland (1693—1776), Fellow of Peterhouse. Markland produced an important edition of the *Sylvæ* of Statius (1728). In his *Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus* (1745), he recorded his entire agreement with the doubts as to the genuineness of those Epistles, and of the Speeches *post Reditum*, which had been expressed by James Tunstall (1708—1762), Fellow and Tutor of St John's, and Public Orator. Markland (besides contributing to Taylor's *Lysias*) edited the *Supplices* of Euripides (1763) and the two *Iphigeneias* (1768). His best work as a Scholar was characterised by a peculiar combination of caution and boldness.

Markland's Cambridge friend, John Taylor (1704—1766), was Fellow of St John's and successively Librarian (1731—4) and Registry (1734—51) of the university. He is best known as an editor of *Lysias* (1739), and of part of Demosthenes. He was the first to publish and expound (in 1743) the important inscription recording the accounts of the Delian Temple in 377—4 B.C.²

Richard Dawes (1709—1766), Fellow of Emmanuel, became master of the grammar-school at Newcastle upon Tyne in 1738. In 1745 he had the satisfaction of seeing his *Miscellanea Critica* published by the Cambridge Press:—

The work is in five parts:—(1) corrections of Terentianus Maurus; (2) criticisms on Oxford editors of Pindar; (3) Greek pronunciation; differences between Attic and Ionic futures, and between the subj. and opt.; and corrections of Callimachus; (4) the *digamma*; (5) *ictus* in Attic poets, and emendations of the Dramatists.

It is on this work that his reputation rests. His conjectures on Aristophanes have left their mark on Brunck's edition, and many

¹ On Bentley, cp. *Life* by J. H. Monk, 2nd ed. 1833; *Correspondence*, ed. C. Wordsworth, 1842; Jebb's *Bentley*, 1882; A. T. Bartholomew and J. W. Clark, *Bibliography*, 1908.

² Hicks, *Gk Hist. Inscr.* no. 82.

of them have been confirmed by the Ravenna MS. He is best known in connexion with 'Dawes's Canon', which declared that the first aorist subjunctive, active and middle, was a solecism after $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \mu\eta^1$ and $\omicron\upsilon \mu\eta^2$. In all such cases he insisted on altering the first aorist subjunctive into the future indicative. The fact is that, owing to the similarity in form between these subjunctive aorists and the future indicative, the second aorist was preferred to the first, if both were in use³. Dawes is honourably mentioned by Cobet, together with Bentley and Porson, Elmsley and Dobree, as one of those Englishmen, from whose writings, 'non tantum locis corruptis clara lux affulget sed paulatim addiscitur ars quaedam, qua verum cernere et eruere et ipse possis'⁴.

Three years after the death of Dawes a work of far-reaching influence was privately printed by the eminent
 R. Wood traveller and politician, Robert Wood (c. 1717—1771), whose travels in distant Syria had resulted in the publication of his important works on the ruins of Palmyra (1753) and Heliopolis (1757). In 1769 the ancient associations of the Troad prompted him to print his *Essay on the original genius and writings of Homer*. His views were made known abroad in a review by Heyne, and the incidental opinion that the art of writing was not introduced into Greece until about 554 B.C. was partially accepted in 1795 in Wolf's *Prolegomena*.

We may next notice a group of three Greek Scholars, all of them associated in various ways with Exeter. Ben-
 Heath jamin Heath (1704—1766), town-clerk of Exeter, published notes on Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in 1762. He has been recognised as one of the ablest of English editors of Aeschylus⁵, and the latest English editor of Sophocles has described him as 'a critic of fine insight and delicate taste'⁶.

Jonathan Toup (1713—1785) of Exeter College,
 Toup Oxford, did much for the criticism of Suidas, and produced an edition of the treatise *On the Sublime* (1778), which

¹ *Misc. Crit.* ed. Oxon. p. 227 (Ar. Nub. 822). ² *ib.* p. 221 (Nub. 366).

³ Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 363 f.

⁴ *Or. de Arte Interpretandi* (1847), 136.

⁵ *Eum.* ed. J. F. Davies, p. 32.

⁶ Jebb's *Introduction* to text of Soph. (1897), xli.

gave Porson the first impulse to classical criticism. As a prebendary of Exeter for the last eleven years of his life, he survived his younger contemporary, a physician of Exeter, Samuel Musgrave (1732—1780), who edited the whole of Euripides in 1778.

Musgrave

Oxford was ably represented in this age by the widely accomplished scholar, Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730—1786), Fellow of Merton (1755–62), and Clerk to the House of Commons (1762–8). He is celebrated as an editor of Chaucer, a critic of Shakespeare, and as the principal detector of the forgeries of Chatterton. All his works are characterised by wide reading, and by critical acumen. In 1776, following in the track of Bentley, he detected further traces of Babrius in the ‘Fables of Aesop’. He was the first to publish, from a MS in Florence, the Speech of Isaeus ‘on the Inheritance of Menecles’ (1785). He also prepared an able edition of Aristotle’s Treatise on Poetry, with critical notes and Latin translation, which was first published eight years after his death.

Tyrwhitt

Between Tyrwhitt’s death in 1786 and the publication, in 1794, of his edition of Aristotle’s treatise, an important *English* translation of the same work with ‘notes on the translation and on the original’, and ‘two dissertations on poetical, and musical, imitation’, was produced in 1789 by the Rev. Thomas Twining (1735—1804), late Fellow of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge.

Twining

The greatest representative of Ancient History in the same age is Edward Gibbon (1737—1794), who, after spending fourteen ‘unprofitable’ months at Magdalen College, Oxford, embarked on an extensive course of reading at Lausanne, including the whole of Cicero, and the Latin Classics in general, from the time of Plautus ‘to the decline of the language and empire of Rome’. After regretting that he had not begun with Greek, he worked through half the *Iliad* and a large part of Xenophon and Herodotus. On returning to England in 1758 he served for two years and a half in the Hampshire militia, and it is in this connexion that he writes:—‘The discipline and evolution of a modern battalion

Gibbon

gave me a clearer notion of the phalanx and the legion; and the captain of the Hampshire grenadiers...has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire'¹. He also studied Homer, 'Longinus', and Horace. After a short stay in Paris he began the study of the great palaeographical works of Mabillon and Montfaucon. At Lausanne he spent a year (1763-4) on the topography of old Rome, the ancient geography of Italy, and the 'science of medals'. All this was in preparation for his visit to Italy, in the course of which he formed the design of the great work of his life. In the fifteen years that elapsed between his earliest work, a French Essay on the Study of Literature (1761) and the publication of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall* (1776), he continued to read the Latin Classics and the original authorities on Roman History from Dion Cassius to Ammianus Marcellinus, and to study coins and inscriptions, as well as the great historical collections of Muratori. After his return to London, and on the death of his father (1770), he began the composition of his History. The first impression of the first volume (1776) was exhausted in a few days. On the publication of the second and third volumes (1781), ending with the fall of the Western empire, he hesitated for nearly a year as to continuing the work, returning meanwhile to the reading of Homer and Plato, and the Greek Historians and Dramatists. Resuming his study of the age of Justinian, he had nearly finished his fourth volume, when he left London for Lausanne (1783). Four years later the composition of the last two volumes was finished. 'It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764', as he 'sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed fryars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to' his mind; and 'it was on the...night of the 27th of June, 1787',...that he 'wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house' in his garden at Lausanne, near the 'covered walk of acacias', commanding 'a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains'². The fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the original quarto edition were published in 1788. Later historians have traversed portions of the same vast field, and

¹ *Autob.* 61.

² *ib.* 79, 103 f.

have treated those portions with greater fulness and minuter detail; but the work, as a whole, has never been superseded. The survey of the Roman Civil Law in the 44th chapter is well known as a masterly monograph, while the account of the Revival of Greek Learning in Italy which closes the 66th is a splendid and eloquent page in the History of Classical Scholarship.

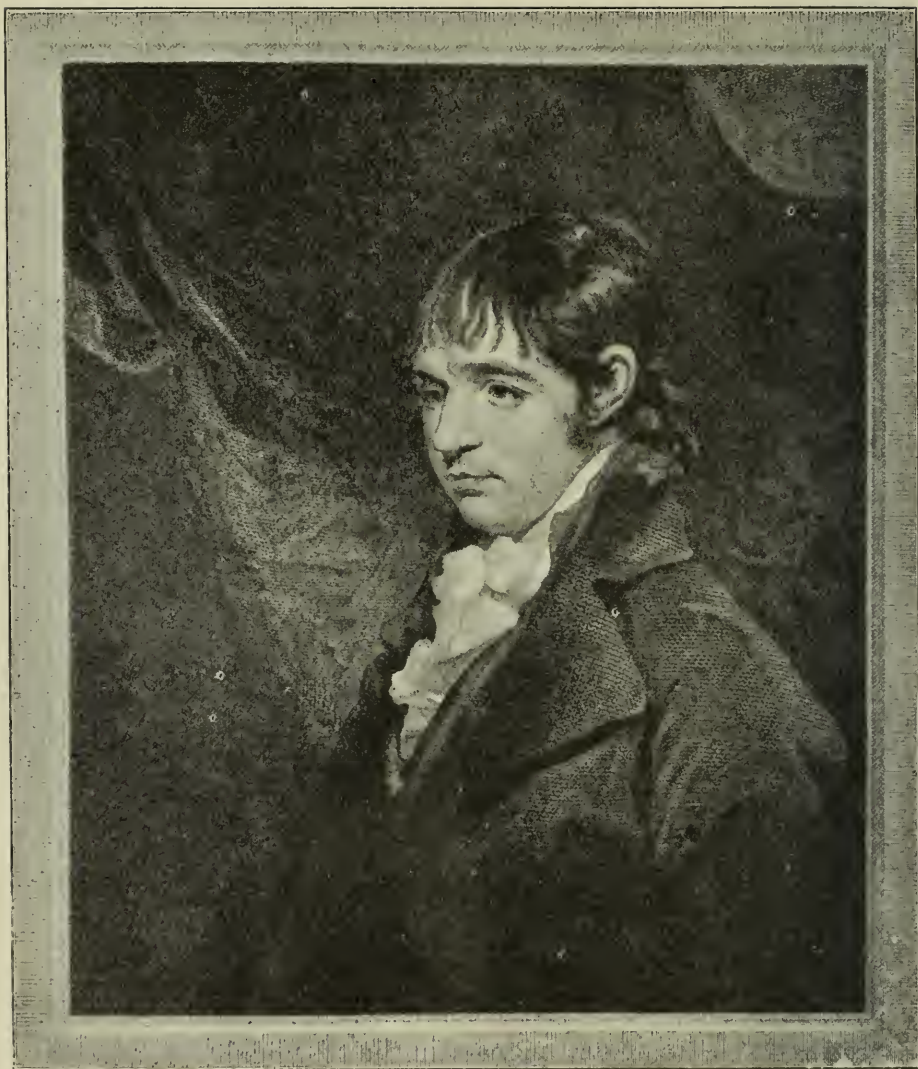
Two years before the completion of the great work of Gibbon, is the date that marks the birth of the Sir William Jones
study of Comparative Philology. William Jones Jones
(1746—1794), who was educated at Harrow, and became a Fellow of University College, Oxford, studied the grammar and the poetry of Persia, and in 1779 published an English translation of the Speeches of Isaeus. In 1783 he was knighted as Judge of the High Court at Calcutta, and in the following year he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He had passed from English and Attic law to the law of India, and from the study of Indian law to that of Sanskrit. In 1786, after the first glance at that language, he made the memorable declaration:—

‘The Sanscrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident; so strong that no philologer could examine the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, without believing them to have been sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic had the same origin with the Sanscrit. The old Persian may be added to the same family’¹.

In 1789 he pointed out the connexion between Sanskrit and Zend. As the far-sighted pioneer in the new field of comparative philology, he belongs to a century adorned in England by the names of those who had triumphantly extended the boundaries of the ancient empire of classical learning,—Bentley and Gibbon and Porson.

At the close of the eighteenth century the greatest name among English scholars was that of Richard Porson Porson
(1759—1808). The son of the parish clerk at East

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, i 422 (1786), *Works*, iii 34 (1807).



RICHARD PORSON.

From Sharpe's engraving of the portrait by Hoppner in the University Library, Cambridge.

Ruston, in Norfolk, he gave early proof of the most remarkable powers of memory. Generous benefactors sent him to Eton, and to Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected Fellow of Trinity in 1782, he lost his Fellowship ten years later, solely because of his resolve to remain a layman. But the generosity of his friends immediately provided him with an annual income of £100, and, in the same year, he was unanimously elected Professor of Greek, the stipend at that time being only £40. He lived mainly in London, where his society was much sought by men of letters. In 1806 he was appointed librarian of the London Institution, and in 1808 he died. He was buried in the ante-chapel of Trinity College.

His literary activity is mainly limited to the twenty years between his reviews of certain editions of Aeschylus and Aristophanes, and his restoration of the Greek inscription on the Rosetta Stone (1783—1803). The first work that made him widely known was his *Letters to Travis* (1788-9), in which he proved the spuriousness of the text on the 'three that bear witness in heaven'¹, thus supporting an opinion which had long been held by critics from Erasmus to Bentley, and had recently been affirmed afresh by Gibbon, who regarded the work as 'the most acute and accurate piece of criticism since the days of Bentley'². This was immediately followed by his preface and notes to a new edition of Toup's *Emendations on Suidas* (1790). Some corrections intended for an octavo edition of Aeschylus were published in the Glasgow folio of 1795³. His masterly edition of four plays of Euripides began in 1797 with the *Hecuba*; it was continued in the *Orestes* (1798), *Phoenissae* (1799), and *Medea* (1801), where the editor's name appears for the first time. In 1796 Hermann, at the age of twenty-four, had produced a treatise *De Metris Poëtarum*. In the next year Porson published his *Hecuba*, in the preface of which he settled certain points connected with Greek metre in a sense contrary to that of Hermann, but without complete proof. In 1800 Hermann brought out a rival edition, attacking Porson's opinions; Porson replied in his second edition (1802). The supplement to the preface has been

¹ 1 St John, v 7.

² Gibbon, *Miscell.* i 159.

³ Dr David Murray's *R. and A. Fœulis* (Glasgow, 1913), 121 f.

justly regarded as 'his finest single piece of criticism'¹. He there states and illustrates the rules of iambic and trochaic metre, lays down the law that determines the length of the fourth syllable from the end of the normal iambic or trochaic line, tacitly correcting Hermann's mistakes, but never mentioning his name, though, in the previous year, in a famous note on *Medea*, 675, he had made effective mention of that name five times over in the phrase:—*quis praeter Hermannum*. After Porson's death, Hermann, in a work published in 1816, honoured his memory by describing him as *vir magnae accurataeque doctrinae*². Porson's transcript of the *Codex Galeanus* of the lexicon of Photius in the Library of Trinity College, was published by Dobree in 1822, fourteen years after Porson's death.

His services to scholarship were chiefly in the domain of textual criticism. In the study of Attic Greek, he elucidated many points of idiom and usage, and established the laws of tragic metre. He was singularly successful in conjectural emendation; his emendations were the fruit of an innate acumen, exercised on an extraordinarily wide range of reading, and aided by the resources of a marvellous memory. Monk and Blomfield published his *Adversaria* (1812); Kidd, his *Tracts* (1815); Dobree, his *Aristophanica* (1820) and his transcript of *Photius* (1822); and Gaisford, his notes on Pausanias (1820) and *Suïdas* (1834). His memory was also perpetuated by the establishment of the Porson Prize and the Porson Scholarship in Cambridge. Of himself the great critic modestly said:—'I am quite satisfied if, three hundred years hence, it shall be said that one Porson lived towards the close of the eighteenth century, who did a good deal for the text of Euripides'³. 'For Cambridge and for England he became in a large measure the creator of that ideal of finished and exact verbal scholarship, which prevailed for more than fifty years after his death'⁴. It was Porson's friend Burney who happily described Bentley, Taylor and Markland, with Dawes, Toup, Tyrwhitt, and Porson, as forming the con-

¹ Jebb, in *D. N. B.*

² *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae*, p. xiii, ed. 1817; cp. *Opusc.* vi 93 f.

³ Rogers, *Table Talk*, 'Porsoniana', 334.

⁴ Jebb in *D. N. B.* 163.

stellation of the *Pleiades* among the English scholars of the eighteenth century¹.

THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands the age that corresponds to that of Bentley in England opens with the name of one whose pretensions to scholarship brought him into conflict with the great English critic.

In 1709 Jean le Clerc of Amsterdam (1657—1736), the author of an *Ars Critica* on the study, interpretation and criticism of the Classics, produced an edition of the fragments of Menander and Philemon. In the course of his work he had given abundant proof of his ignorance of Greek metre, even printing passages of prose in lines outwardly resembling those of verse. Thereupon Bentley immediately wrote out his own corrections of 323 of the fragments, restoring the metre and exposing the many metrical mistakes committed by Le Clerc. The MS, under the assumed name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, was sent to a Dutch scholar at Utrecht, Pieter Burman, who had a feud with Le Clerc, and was only too glad to publish the MS.

Pieter Burman (1668—1741), Bentley's ally in this feud, was a pupil of Graevius at Utrecht and of Jacob Gronovius at Leyden, and was appointed professor at Utrecht in 1696, and at Leyden in 1715. As an editor he confined himself to the Latin Classics. Of the poets, he edited Phaedrus, Horace, Claudian, Ovid, Lucan, and the *Poetae Latini Minores*, besides producing a new edition of the Valerius Flaccus of N. Heinsius, and leaving materials for an edition of Virgil posthumously published by his nephew. As an editor of Latin poets, he was regarded by Ruhnken as equal to N. Heinsius in learning, but inferior in acumen and in emendatory skill. He had access to the unpublished notes of his predecessor, but he is careless in his use of them; he is less widely read in Greek; and his editions are overloaded by a mass of ill-digested variants.

¹ Preface to Burney's *Tentamen. Life of Porson in Cambridge Essays*, 1857, by H. R. Luard, who edited his *Correspondence* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1867); also by J. S. Watson, 1861; and by Jebb in *D. N. B.*



HEMSTERHUYS.

From a photograph of the portrait painted by J. Palthe, in 1766.

Of the writers of prose, he edited Petronius, Velleius Paterculus, Justin, Quintilian, Suetonius.

As an industrious manufacturer of Variorum Editions (which were not invented by him, but brought into vogue by his example), he is naturally held in high esteem by his nephew, Burman II, and by the other unwearied compilers who follow in his wake. His great powers of endurance and his laborious patience have led to his being described as the 'beast of burden' of classical learning. The five quarto volumes of his great *Sylloge Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum* are of permanent value in connexion with the History of Scholarship in the Netherlands.

The last of the great Latinists of the third age of scholarship in the Netherlands is Franz van Oudendorp (1696—Oudendorp 1761), for the last twenty-one years of his life Latin professor at Leyden. He produced in 1728 a quarto edition of Lucan, with variorum notes, and with the modern supplement by May, and this edition is generally preferred to that of Burman (1740). He also edited Frontinus, Caesar, and Suetonius. His Apuleius was published with a preface by Ruhnken in 1761.

Burman II (1714—1778), the nephew of the elder Burman, was born at Amsterdam, and studied at Leyden, Burman II and was a professor at Franeker in 1736-42 and at Amsterdam from 1742 until near the end of his life. His most important work was his annotated edition of the Latin Anthology (1759-73). He also edited Aristophanes with the notes of Bergler, and Claudian with those of the elder Burman, to whom he was superior in his intellectual attainments, and especially in his knowledge of Greek.

The honour of reviving the study of Greek in the Netherlands belongs to Tiberius Hemsterhuys (1685—Hemsterhuys 1766), who was educated at Groningen, and at Leyden (under Perizonius). He was successively a professor at Amsterdam (1704), Harderwyk (1705), Franeker (1717), and ultimately at Leyden (1740), where for a quarter of a century he kept the flag of Greek flying in the foremost of Dutch universities.

In 1703, an edition of the *Onomasticon* of Pollux, which had been begun and abandoned by Lederlin, was transferred to the youthful Hemsterhuys.

Lederlin had prepared for the press the first seven books, and Hemsterhuys had already spent two and a half years on the last three books when he wrote his first letter to Bentley in July, 1705. At the suggestion of Küster, he asked for Bentley's opinion on ten passages in the last two books. Bentley, who was busy with his *Horace* when the letter arrived, immediately laid aside his work, seized his copy of Pollux, and promptly stated his opinion on most of the passages in a vigorous reply that fills six pages of print¹. In March, 1708, Hemsterhuys writes to express his regret that the edition of Pollux, published in 1706, had been printed too soon to allow of Bentley's suggestions being inserted. He promises to add them, with any further criticisms, at some future opportunity². Early in June, Bentley replied in a letter filling twenty-four pages of print, in which he examines all the Comic fragments in the tenth book, corrects the original text and the errors of the editor, and restores the true reading by means of his mastery of Greek metre and Attic usage. He incidentally states that he had bought the new edition of Pollux as soon as it appeared, and he congratulates the youthful editor on his industry, learning, judgement, acumen and accuracy; his only regret is that, in dealing with the quotations from the poets, the editor had not shown a sufficient knowledge of metre, and this knowledge he strongly urged him to acquire³. Hemsterhuys had been fully aware of the importance of these poetical passages, and had spent considerable pains upon them. Bentley's success in correcting them was the measure of his own failure. So deep was his distress that he determined to abandon Greek for ever, and for two months did not dare to open a Greek book. On reflexion, however, it occurred to him that he had not been justified in comparing a young scholar like himself with a veteran, who was the prince of critics; he was soon reconciled to himself and to the literature of Greece, and he resolved never to attempt the criticism of the Comic poets, until he had mastered all their metres. He made Bentley his great example, placing him above all the critics of his time, and never concealing his disapproval of any who enviously depreciated the intellectual grandeur of one whom they could not possibly rival⁴.

Two years after completing Pollux, Hemsterhuys edited some select dialogues of Lucian, with the *Tabula* of Cebes and moral maxims from Menander (1708). In 1720 he undertook an edition of the whole of Lucian, but only translated and expounded a sixth part of the text. The work was completed by J. F. Reitz, a schoolmaster at Utrecht (ed. 1743-6). In connexion with Aristophanes, Hemsterhuys contributed to Küster's edition a version of the *Birds* (1710), besides producing a masterly edition of the *Plutus* (1744).

¹ *Correspondence*, 219 f.

² *ib.* 263 f.

³ *ib.* 270—293.

⁴ Ruhnken, *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, 24—27.

Hemsterhuys has had the supreme felicity of being immortalised by a *laudator eloquentissimus*. The *Elogium* delivered in 1768 by his devoted pupil Ruhnken, on resigning the office of Rector, is one of the Classics in the History of Scholarship. It presents us with the living picture of the perfect critic.

The sagacity of the true critic is the rare and singular gift of nature. He must also be endowed with a wide erudition, a keen intellectual faculty, a vivid imagination, and a capacity for prompt and judicious decision. The knowledge and the natural powers required of a critic were so singularly united in Hemsterhuys that one felt that Nature had aimed in producing in him the perfect type. All the world wondered at the singular keenness of his eyesight, which resembled that of the lynx or the eagle; but the keenness of his mental vision was far more wonderful. His intellectual vigour remained unimpaired to the eighty-second year of his age, which was also the last year of his life. He regarded a perfect familiarity with the classical languages, and especially with Greek, as the portal of all knowledge. He held that Latin was so closely connected with Greek, that to separate Greek from Latin was like parting the mind from the body. Muretus had not hesitated to say that those who were ignorant of Greek could not possibly have a perfect knowledge of Latin¹. Hemsterhuys derived from his knowledge of Greek so much assistance in the interpretation of the Latin poets, that he sometimes declared that students ignorant of Greek could not appreciate Latin poets such as Propertius or Horace. Even the gentle Casaubon² had been roused to indignation by the saying of Lipsius³ that Greek was an *ornament* to a scholar, but not a *necessity*. Happily that opinion had not prevailed. Scaliger had founded in Holland the study of Latin *combined* with Greek, and that tradition had been maintained by a Grotius, a Heinsius, a Gronovius, and a Graevius. Subsequently, scholars who had neglected Greek, had once more begun to confine themselves to Latin. The need had arisen for another Scaliger, and that need had been supplied by Hemsterhuys⁴.

Among those who came under the immediate influence of Hemsterhuys at Franeker was the Westphalian, Peter Wesseling (1692—1764), who learnt from Hemsterhuys that no erudition, however varied and copious, was of any real avail without criticism. He is best known as the learned editor of Diodorus (1746) and Herodotus (1763). His edition of Herodotus owed much to the grammatical and critical element supplied by Valckenaer.

¹ *Var. Lect.* ii 20.

² *Epp.* 291, 294.

³ *Epp.* 336, in Burman's *Sylloge*, i 376.

⁴ Ruhnken's *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, ed. 1768, 1789; ed. Frey, Teubner, 1875.

It was at Franeker that Valckenaer (1715—1785) became a pupil of Hemsterhuys, whom he twice succeeded
 Valckenaer as professor of Greek, first at Franeker (1741–66), and afterwards at Leyden (1766–85). As professor at Franeker, he edited *Iliad* xxii, with *scholia* (1747). His masterly work on Euripides, begun at Franeker in his edition of the *Phoenissae* (1755), was continued at Leyden in his *Hippolytus*, and in his *Diatribes* on the Fragments (1768). This was followed by his able edition of *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus* (1781). His *Fragments of Callimachus*, and his learned and brilliant treatise on the Alexandrian impostor, the Jew Aristobulus, were published after his death by Luzac. In erudition he surpassed all his contemporaries; but he was mainly devoted to the study of the Greek poets, and was specially familiar with hellenistic Greek.

The 'Greek triumvirate' of the Netherlands comprises the names of Hemsterhuys, Valckenaer, and Ruhnken.
 Ruhnken David Ruhnken (1723–98) was a native of Northern Pomerania, who, finding from his professors at Wittenberg that an accurate knowledge of Greek hardly existed except in the Netherlands, followed the advice of Ernesti, who urged him to betake himself to Hemsterhuys at Leyden. He was delighted with the dignity and courtesy with which he was received by Hemsterhuys¹, who thenceforth became his sole model and example. Ruhnken began with Greek, and read through all the Greek and Latin Classics in chronological order. The first-fruits of at least five years of study were his two *Epistolae Criticae*, (1) on Homer and Hesiod, dedicated to Valckenaer (1749), and (2) on Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius, dedicated to Ernesti (1751). Meanwhile, he had begun to help Alberti in his edition of Hesychius. In 1754 he edited the *Platonic Lexicon of Timaeus*, from a transcript of a MS in the Coislin library, a specimen of which had been printed by Montfaucon. Its publication, with the learned notes of Ruhnken, drew the attention of scholars to the *literary* interest of Plato.

In 1755 he went for a year to Paris, where he devoted a large part of his time to making transcripts and extracts from MSS, besides becoming acquainted with scholars such as Musgrave,

¹ Wytttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkenii*.

Tyrwhitt, and Villoison. After his return, he was appointed, in 1757, to assist Hemsterhuys as Reader in Greek, and, four years later, succeeded to the Latin Chair vacated by Oudendorp. He went once more through the Latin Classics, and entered with vigour on his three courses of customary lectures, (1) on Universal History, (2) on Roman Antiquities, and (3) on 'Eloquentia', *i.e.* the public exposition of a Latin author. In this last his favourite subjects were Terence, Suetonius, Cicero, *ad Familiares*, and Ovid's *Heroides*. By 1765 he had completed Alberti's *Hesychius*. The numerous renderings of extracts from the Greek Orators in Rutilius Lupus led to his prefixing to his edition of that work an elaborate *Historia Critica Oratorum Graecorum* (1768). While reading the Greek rhetoricians in connexion with Rutilius Lupus, he noticed a sudden change of style in the *Rhetoric* of Apsines, and thus discovered that the work of Apsines had been interpolated with passages from another *Rhetoric*, which he identified as that of Cassius Longinus. In this connexion he wrote a treatise *De Vita et Scriptis Longini* (1776), which Wytttenbach does not hesitate to pronounce 'immortal'. 'Hic ejus libellus apud intelligentissimos judices, triplicis artis, Historiae, Criticae, Eloquentiae, palmam tulit'. Shortly afterwards, C. F. Matthaei sent him from Moscow a transcript of the lately discovered *Homeric Hymns to Dionysus and Demeter*, and, within the space of two years, two editions of the same were published by Ruhnken (1780-2). Meanwhile, he had edited Velleius Paterculus (1779). In 1784 he began his complete edition of *Muretus*, whom he regarded as an admirable model of modern Latin. In 1795 F. A. Wolf's 'Prolegomena to Homer' was dedicated *Davidi Ruhnkenio Principi Criticorum*. For the author he had the highest esteem, and it was with a peculiar pleasure that he read this work, even when he differed from its conclusions. Three years later, in the land of his adoption, the German student who had left his home to learn Greek at Leyden, passed away at the time when a new age of criticism was beginning to dawn in the land of his fathers.

Ruhnken's portrait was drawn on an ample scale by his favourite pupil, Wytttenbach, who describes his master as endowed with every grace of mind and body, a well-built frame,

a dignified bearing, a cheerful countenance, skill in music and drawing, in riding and leaping, and in the pursuits of the chase¹.

Daniel Wytttenbach (1746—1820), who was born at Bern, studied for a time at the universities of Marburg and Göttingen. Just as Ruhnken had left Wittenberg and had neglected Göttingen, to become a pupil of Hemsterhuys at Leyden, so Wytttenbach abandoned Göttingen in 1770 to live at Leyden for one memorable year under the tuition of Ruhnken. In the next twenty-eight years, he held professorships at Amsterdam (1771—99), and then returned to Leyden as Ruhnken's successor for seventeen years (1799—1816).

As a student at Leyden, Wytttenbach worked mainly under Ruhnken, but he also attended, and fully appreciated, the lectures of Valckenaer. The first-fruits of the year at Leyden were his edition of Plutarch, *De sera Numinis vindicta* (1772). More than twenty years later this led to his undertaking a complete edition of Plutarch's *Moralia* for the Oxford Press. Six quarto volumes of Greek Text and Latin Translation (1795—1806) were followed by two volumes of Animadversions (1800—21) and completed by an Index in two volumes of more than 1700 pages, published under Gaisford's superintendence in 1830.

On the death of Ruhnken, Wytttenbach became the most influential scholar in the Netherlands. While he was still at Amsterdam, he had proved his aptitude for attracting promising students. At Leyden his influence was still greater. But almost all his pupils were formed on his own model, and, in their devotion to Greek Philosophy and to Cicero, became 'miniature Wytttenbachs'. Wytttenbach himself, who began with an unbounded admiration for the critical works of Ruhnken and Valckenaer, found himself intellectually further and further removed from them, the nearer he came under their immediate and personal influence. Thus, his edition of the *Phaedo* (1810), which has been far too highly praised, reflects the influence of Heyne rather than that of Ruhnken. The grammatical and critical method here gives place to an aesthetic type of com-

¹ *Vita* (L. B. 1799; ed. Bergman, *ib.* 1824; ed. Frotscher, Friberg, 1846).

mentary, full of charm and elegance, but only too apt to ignore real difficulties, and not always distinguished by clearness and simplicity of expression. His monographs on leading representatives of Greek literature are far less elaborate in their method, far less rich in their results, than the works of Ruhnken and Valckenaer on similar subjects. He was more interested in the Greek than the Latin poets, but, strange to say, he does not apply that interest to the numerous poetic passages imbedded in the prose of Plutarch. Nevertheless, a permanent value attaches to his edition of the *Moralia*, and to the efforts aroused by himself and his pupils for the understanding of the old philosophy, especially that of Plato and the Platonists. The highest praise must be assigned to his Life of Ruhnken, a work of absorbing interest to his scholarly contemporaries, which still retains its importance as a comprehensive picture of the Scholarship of the Netherlands, and not the Netherlands alone, in the age of Ruhnken. Like Ruhnken himself, he represents the close of the old order; he had no sympathy with the new direction that was being given to classical studies by Wolf.

Thus far we have surveyed the progress of scholarship during the eighteenth century in Italy and France, in England and the Netherlands. We have seen that, in the two Latin nations, the study of Latin continued to flourish by the side of the study of archaeology. In Italy, Greek was in a subordinate position, Corsini's *Fasti Attici* being the only important product of Greek learning, as contrasted with numerous publications connected with the study of Latin, culminating in the great lexicon of Forcellini. In France, the study of Greek was well represented, in the early part of the century, by Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*, and, towards its close, by Villoison's *Venetian Scholia*—the armoury from which Wolf drew some of the weapons for his famous *Prolegomena*. In England, Bentley's immortal *Dissertation*, originally written to correct an indiscriminate admiration for all the reputed works of the 'ancients', placed the sequence of ancient literature in a proper historical perspective; it also set an effective example of critical method, while it incidentally proved that, for the discussion of a complicated problem in Greek lite-

rature, the artificial Latin hitherto in fashion was a less adequate medium than the vigorous use of the mother-tongue. Bentley's influence as a Greek scholar had also a direct effect on Holland, and, through Holland, on Germany. It was owing to Bentley's encouragement that Hemsterhuys resolved on mastering the defects in his knowledge of Greek, and thus ultimately achieved so great a reputation that Ruhnken left Germany to learn Greek at Leyden, just as, in the next generation, Wyttenbach went to learn Greek from Ruhnken. Lastly, we may recall the influence exerted in Germany by Robert Wood's *Essay*, which inspired Heyne with a new interest in Homer, and supplied Wolf with part of the materials for his *Prolegomena*.

CHAPTER XXXVI

GERMANY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IN the year 1700 the earliest of German Academies was founded in Berlin. The intellectual originator of that Academy was the many-sided man of genius, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646—1716). A celebrated theologian of Augsburg, J. J. Brucker (1696—1770), author of the *Historia Critica Philosophiae*, was elected a member of the Berlin Academy in 1731, but, in the first half of the century, the interests of classical learning were far less promoted by the Academy than by masters of German schools, who studied the Classics in connexion with the general history of literature.

Foremost among these was Johann Albert Fabricius (1668—1736), who, from 1699 to 1711, was a master at Hamburg. He had already produced, in the three small volumes of his *Bibliotheca Latina*, a comprehensive biographical and bibliographical work on the Latin literature of the classical period (1697)¹. He was still holding a scholastic appointment when he began his far more extensive *Bibliotheca Graeca*, a work that, in the course of fourteen quarto volumes, traverses the whole range of Greek literature down to the fall of Constantinople (1705–28)². The earlier work on Latin literature was subsequently continued in the five volumes of the *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis* (1734). The varied learning and indomitable industry displayed in these and other works may fairly entitle their author to be regarded as the modern Didymus. In the compilation of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* he was largely aided

J. A. Fabricius

¹ Finally revised ed. 1721; also in two vols. quarto, Venice, 1728 (better than Ernesti's ed. of 1773 f), and in six vols. Florence, 1858.

² Ed. Harless in 12 vols. 1790—1809 (incomplete); index, 1838.

by Stephan Bergler (c. 1680—c. 1746), the editor of Alciphron and Aristophanes.

One of the greatest scholars in the eighteenth century was
 J. M. Gesner Johann Matthias Gesner (1691—1761), for twenty
 years a school-master at Weimar, Ansbach, and
 Leipzig, and, for the last twenty-seven years of his life, professor
 at Göttingen.

As a head-master at Leipzig, he published a *Chrestomathia Graeca* (1731), which promoted the introduction of the best Greek Classics into the schools of Germany. In the province of Latin literature, he did similar service by his selections from Cicero and the elder Pliny. In 1735 he edited the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, which were soon followed by the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, the *Letters* and *Panegyric* of the younger Pliny, and ultimately by Horace, and Claudian (1759). The preface to the latter proves that Gesner anticipated Heyne in introducing the principles of taste into the interpretation of the Classics. The whole range of classical Latin literature is traversed in the four folio volumes of his greatest work, the *Novus Linguae et Eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus* (1749).

Gesner was one of the foremost leaders of the movement known as the New Humanism. The Old Humanism had aimed at the verbal imitation of the style of the Latin Classics, and at the artificial prolongation of the modern life of the ancient Latin literature. This aim was gradually found to be impracticable, and, about 1650, it was abandoned. Latin was still taught in schools; it also survived as the medium of university instruction and as the language of the learned world. But the ancient literature came to be considered as a superfluity; neglected at school, it was regarded simply as a waste and barren field, where the learned might burrow in quest of the facts required for building up the fabric of an encyclopaedic erudition. Such was practically the view of the School of Halle.

The School of Göttingen, as represented by Gesner, found a new use for the old literature. The study of that literature was soon attended with a fresh interest. Thenceforth, in learning Greek (as well as Latin) the aim was not to imitate the style, but to assimilate the substance, to form the mind and to cultivate

the taste, and to lead up to the production of a modern literature that was not to be a mere echo of a bygone age, but was to have a voice of its own whether in philosophy, or in learning, or in art and poetry. The age of Winckelmann, Lessing and Goethe, was approaching, and Gesner was its prophet and precursor.

He set a high value on the study of Greek literature :—Latin itself (he held) could not be thoroughly understood without Greek. Boys at school (he added) should not be allowed to give up Greek. After learning the elements of the Grammar, they should go on to easy reading, such as Aesop, Lucian and the Greek Testament, and afterwards take up Homer. The interest in Homer is a note of the New Humanism.

In connexion with Gesner we may here notice some of the other lexicographers of the same century. Christian Tobias Damm (1699—1778), the head of the Damm oldest *gymnasium* of Berlin, in 1765, made his mark with his great lexicon to Homer and Pindar. His prose translation of both was completed in 1771. In his work in general he was prompted by a conviction that the Greek language and literature were superior to the Latin. He held that the imitation of Greek models was necessary to raise the level of German culture, and, in the increasing interest in Greek literature, he saw the sign of a new Renaissance. A very few years later, the 'imitation of Greek models' in the world of Art was to be the theme of the earliest work of his most famous pupil, Winckelmann, who was an enthusiastic student of Homer.

As a Latin lexicographer, Gesner had in the next generation a worthy successor in Immanuel Johann Gerhard Scheller Scheller (1735—1803), whose Latin-German Dictionary¹ was founded on an independent study of the authors, and on a careful and intelligent use of the best commentaries and lexicons. It was enlarged and improved in two later editions, and subsequently abridged by the lexicographer himself, who added a German-Latin Dictionary in 1792. He was charged with borrowing from Forcellini (1771) without mentioning his name. It was also alleged that his reading was mainly limited to Caesar, Cicero, and other classical authors. But his independ-

¹ 2 vols. 1783; ed. 2, in 3 vols. 1788; ed. 3, in 5 vols. 1804-5.

ence has been vindicated, his wide reading and his other merits have since been fully recognised¹.

Scheller's counterpart among Greek Lexicographers is Johann J. G. Schneider Gottlob Schneider (1750—1822), whose Greek lexicon was the first comprehensive and independent work that had appeared in this department since the lexicon of H. Stephanus (1572)². Schneider did much in the way of collecting and explaining technical and scientific terms. His knowledge of natural science, in combination with classical literature, is exemplified in his editions of the zoological works of Aelian and Aristotle. He also edited the *Politics* and the second book of the *Oeconomics*, and the whole of Theophrastus, Nicander, and Oppian, as well as the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, and Vitruvius.

Gesner's efforts as an educational reformer were ably seconded by Johann August Ernesti (1707—1781). In J. A. Ernesti Leipzig, where he lived for half a century, he was for three years the colleague, and, for a quarter of a century, the successor of Gesner as head of the great local school. For the last seventeen of those years he was also professor of Eloquence in the university, and, on resigning both of those positions, in 1759, became professor of Theology for the last twenty-two years of his life. His reputation as a scholar depends mainly on the edition of the whole of Cicero, completed in six volumes in 1739, and supplemented in its third edition by historical introductions and critical notes (1777). The most permanently valuable part of the original work is the *Clavis Ciceroniana*³, an excellent dictionary of Cicero's vocabulary and phraseology, preceded by an index of Roman laws, and of geography and history. He also deserves the credit of having contributed much towards the wider diffusion of classical education in Germany.

¹ Prof. Mayor in *Journal of Cl. and Sacred Philology*, ii 283—290 (1855).

² In two vols. 1797 f; ed. 2, 1805—6; ed. 3, 1819; *Suppl.* 1821; abridged by F. W. Riemer, 1802—4. It has supplied the basis for the lexicons of Passow (1819—24 etc.), and Passow's for that of Rost and Palm (1841—57) and that of Liddell and Scott (1843 etc.).

³ Ed. Rein, 1831.

When Gesner died at Göttingen in 1761, his vacant Chair was offered first to Ernesti, who, twenty-seven years before, had succeeded Gesner as a head-master in Leipzig. Ernesti declined the offer, and suggested the name of Ruhnken. Ruhnken also declined, and suggested Ernesti's former pupil, Heyne, whose distinguished career at Göttingen will be noticed in the sequel¹. Ernesti appears to have deliberately ignored the claims of Reiske, who had been living for the last fifteen years in Leipzig and had already given proof of being among the foremost Greek scholars of the day.

Johann Jacob Reiske (1716—1774) entered the university of Leipzig in 1732. He attended no lectures what-Reiske
soever; indeed, on Greek, there were none to attend. He worked by himself at a few Greek authors, but found Demosthenes and Theocritus too difficult at that stage of his reading. He also studied Arabic until 1738. In 1748 he attained the barren honour of being appointed 'extraordinary professor of Arabic' at an almost nominal stipend, and even this was irregularly paid. But his knowledge of the language brought him into notice, and incidentally led to his appointment as Rector of the *Nicolai-Schule* in Leipzig for the last sixteen years of his life. He thus obtained some of the leisure needed for the completion of a number of important editions of Greek authors.

The earliest proof of Reiske's profound knowledge of Greek was his *editio princeps* of the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the customs of the Byzantine court (1751-4). His 'Animadversions' on Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes (1753-4), and his further 'Animadversions' on Greek prose authors (1757-66), included some excellent emendations. The first-fruits of his study of the Greek Orators appeared in the form of a vigorous German translation of the Speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines, with explanatory notes (1764). His edition of the Orators involved ten years of arduous labour. It extended to eight volumes (1770-3), followed by the 'Apparatus Criticus' and 'Indices' to Demosthenes, in four. The last three of these were edited by his widow.

He lived to see the publication of the first two of the six

¹ p. 299 *infra*.

volumes of his Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the first of the twelve of his Plutarch. His important edition of Libanius was published by his widow, who also produced his Dion Chrysostom. Lastly, she added to the pathetic pages of his autobiography a brief sketch of his character, dwelling on his generosity, his transparent honesty, and his enthusiasm in the cause of learning.

In the eighteenth century the study of Classical Archaeology received an important impulse from the teaching of J. F. Christ Johann Friedrich Christ (1700—1756). In 1734 he became professor of History and Poetry at Leipzig, and in a memorable course of lectures urged his audience to become familiar, not only with the literature, the inscriptions, and the coins of the ancients, but also with their architecture and sculpture, their gems and their vases. These lectures marked the beginning of archaeological teaching in Germany, and it was from this source that Lessing and Heyne derived their earliest interest in ancient art.

While an interest in the artistic side of ancient life had been thus awakened by J. F. Christ, the permanent Winckelmann recognition of its importance was due to the genius of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717—1768). The son of a cobbler at Stendal (about sixty miles W. of Berlin), he succeeded in learning Latin at the local school. In 1735 he went to Berlin, to spend a year in learning Greek under Damm, and, after passing through the universities of Halle and Jena, soon found his early interest in miscellaneous learning merged in a keen admiration for Greek literature. During five years of hardship as a school-master, he devoted the greater part of his nights to the study of Homer and Sophocles, and Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato. The six years that he subsequently spent near Dresden brought him within reach of the finest collection of works of sculpture and painting then to be found in all Germany. It soon became clear to Winckelmann that the study of art was henceforth to be the main purpose of his life, and that he could not continue that study, to any serious purpose, without living in Italy; and, as the only means for carrying out this design, he finally resolved on joining the Church of Rome. Before starting for the South he composed his earliest work, 'Thoughts on the

Imitation of Greek works in Painting and Sculpture' (1755), where, in words that soon became memorable, he described Greek art as characterised by 'a noble simplicity and a calm grandeur'. The first two years of his residence in Rome were devoted to studying the great galleries of Sculpture and describing some of the finest works of ancient art in the Vatican Museum. He afterwards spent three months in Naples, examining the results of the recent excavation of Herculaneum and Pompeii. He also visited the great Greek temples at Paestum and Girgenti, besides studying the descriptions of works of Greek art in Pausanias, and the Greek conception of the Beautiful in Plato. All these studies culminated in the two quarto volumes of his classic 'History of Ancient Art' (1764), the earliest book in which the developement of the art of Egypt, of Phoenicia and Persia, of Etruria, and of Greece and Rome, is set forth in connexion with the general developement of political life and civilisation. The work was received with enthusiasm, and a second edition appeared in 1776. Meanwhile, in 1767-8, he had produced the two volumes of his *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, describing more than two hundred works of ancient art, mainly reliefs from Roman sarcophagi. In the following April, he left Rome for the North. He was bound for Berlin, where he proposed to see through the press a French edition of his great History. On his return to Triest, he was treacherously murdered by an Italian adventurer to whom he had shown some of the large gold medals he had recently received at Vienna¹. The date of his birth, the 9th of December, has since been repeatedly commemorated by the publication of papers on classical art and archaeology in Rome, as well as in Berlin and in many other homes of learning in Germany.

The services rendered by Winckelmann, in bringing the old Greek world into connexion with modern life, were continued in a still larger measure by Gotthold Lessing Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781). He was only seventeen when he entered the university of Leipzig, where J. F. Christ was already lecturing on ancient art, and on Plautus and Horace.

¹ Justi, *Winckelmann, sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Zeitgenossen*, 3 vols., 1866-72.

Early in 1749 he went to Berlin, and, besides making his mark as a dramatic critic, produced three plays, one of them founded on the *Trinummus*. He afterwards stayed at Wittenberg for less than a year, spending most of his time in the university library. After his return to Berlin, his interest in the drama led to his writing a treatise on the life and works of Plautus, a translation and examination of the *Captivi*, and an essay on the tragedies of Seneca. A still more important influence on his career as a critic may be traced to his study of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetic*, and of the masterpieces of Greek tragedy, especially the plays of Sophocles. After nearly three years at Leipzig, he published at Berlin his 'Prose Fables' and his 'Treatises on the Fable', the latter being among the best of his essays in criticism (1759). It was during his five years at Breslau (1760-5), that he began the best known of his critical works, his *Laokoön*, or, 'on the limits of Poetry and Painting', completed and published at Berlin in 1766.

Simonides had vividly described 'Poetry as a speaking Picture and Painting as a silent Poem', but Plutarch himself, in quoting this epigram, had observed that Poetry and Painting '*differ* in their matter, and in their means of imitation'. Nevertheless, the limits of the two arts had been left undefined. Winckelmann himself 'saw no reason why Painting should not have as wide boundaries as Poetry', and inferred that 'it ought to be possible for the painter to imitate the poet'. He had also illustrated the 'noble simplicity and calm grandeur' of Greek art by the subdued expression of pain in the sculptured form of Laocoon, who, in contrast to the Laocoon of Virgil, bravely endures his pain, 'like the Philoctetes of Sophocles'.

Lessing, however, at the very outset of his Essay, shows that Philoctetes in the play, so far from suppressing his groans, fills the stage with loud laments, and, instead of supplying a *contrast* to Virgil's Laocoon, really *resembles* him. Winckelmann (he continues) had overlooked the essential difference between Sculpture and Poetry. The poet and the artist were equally right, both followed the principles of their respective arts. The sculptor did not 'aim at expressing a higher moral character in making his Laocoon suppress the cry of agony; he only obeyed the highest law of ancient art,—the law of beauty'. The artist is limited to a *moment* of time; the poet is not. 'The artist represents *coexistence in space*, the poet *succession in time*'. This point is illustrated from Homer, and in particular from his vivid story of the making of the Shield of Achilles, which is far more life-like, far more truly poetic than Virgil's dead description of the Shield of Aeneas. In Homer the great work grows under our very eyes; scene after scene starts into life; while Virgil toils

in vain by tediously drawing our attention to a series of coexistent images. Thus Lessing condemns dead description in poetry, as contrasted with life-like action and movement.

Lessing's *Laokoön* is the most perfect specimen of his terse and transparent style, and it owes part of its perspicuity to the avoidance of parenthesis. It was hailed on all sides with enthusiasm. Goethe, then a student at Leipzig, afterwards said:—'One must be a youth to realise the effect produced upon us by Lessing's *Laokoon*...The phrase *ut pictura poësis*, which had so long been misunderstood, was at once set aside; the difference between art and poetry was now made clear'¹. Long afterwards, Macaulay read the *Laokoön*, 'sometimes dissenting, but always admiring and learning'; it was one of the books that filled him 'with wonder and despair'².

The *Laokoön* remained a torso. Instead of completing it, the author left Berlin for Hamburg, where, as 'critic of the plays and actors', he produced more than a hundred chapters of brilliant dramatic criticism (1767-9). That criticism is mainly founded on Aristotle's treatise on Poetry.

For the last eleven years of his life he was librarian at Wolfenbüttel. It was during this period that, in 1775, he spent nine months in Italy with a prince of Brunswick. On a day in Rome he was missed by the prince's attendants, who at last found him in the Vatican Museum gazing with rapture on the group of Laocoon.

Lessing was the most versatile of men, a writer on theology and on aesthetics, as well as a poet, a critic, and a scholar. By his influence on his contemporaries he undoubtedly opened a new era in the appreciation of Homer and Sophocles; he also promoted the intelligent study of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry, and threw a clearer light on the aims of Plautus and Terence, and on the merits of Horace and Martial. His writings have a never-failing charm that is mainly due to their clearness and precision, and to their classic purity of style³.

One of Lessing's most important allies in promoting an interest in Greek literature in Germany was Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). Humbly born at Mohrunen, amid the marshes near Königsberg, he was

¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, I c. viii.

² *Life*, ii 8 (ed. 1878). Editions of Lessing's *Laokoon* by Blümner, 1876, and (with English notes) by Hamann, 1878; E. T. by E. C. Beasley, 1879, etc.

³ *Life*, in English, by J. Sime, 1877, and by H. Zimmern, 1878.

grounded in Latin by an awe-inspiring master named Grimm. He regarded the Grammar of Donatus as a 'book of martyrdom', and Cornelius Nepos as the 'author of torment'; but he rejoiced in wandering in solitude beside the local lake and through the 'Wood of Paradise', where, on a day in autumn, he burst into tears over the lines in which Homer compares the passing generations of man to the fading and falling leaves of the forest¹. As a student at Königsberg he was specially interested in Hebrew poetry, and in Pindar and Plato. In his maturer years we note three main periods:—first, the time at Riga (1765–9); next, the tour in France (1769), the visit to Strassburg (where he made a profound impression on the youthful Goethe), and the years spent as court preacher at Bückeberg (1771–6); and lastly, his residence in a similar position at Weimar (1776–1803).

It was at Riga that he published his three collections of *Fragments* on modern German literature (1766–7).

The second of these includes a discourse on the study of Greek literature in Germany, emphasising the connexion between the taste of each people and its material environment in successive ages. In connexion with the inquiry, 'how far have we *imitated* the Greeks?', he characterises the several branches of Greek poetry, and the foremost poets of Greece. He also urges that Homer should be *translated*, Homer the true poet of Nature, whose song has a very different ring from that of Virgil and the artificial poets of modern times.

In his second great work he imagines himself roaming through the 'woodlands of criticism'. He has a high appreciation of Lessing's *Laokoön*, but he does still more justice to Winckelmann.

Opposing Lessing's theory as to the Greek expression of the emotions, he maintains that Philoctetes does not shriek without restraint, while he demurs to the dogma that all poetry must represent *action*, a dogma limiting poetry to the epic and dramatic, to the exclusion of the lyric and the song. At a later point he insists that every work of Art or Poetry must be interpreted in the light of the people and the period, in which it came into being.

It was on the deck at night, during his voyage from Riga, that he first formed his theory of the genesis of primitive poetry and of the gradual evolution of humanity. In France he drew up a scheme of educational reform, beginning by overthrowing the

¹ *II.* vi 146 f.

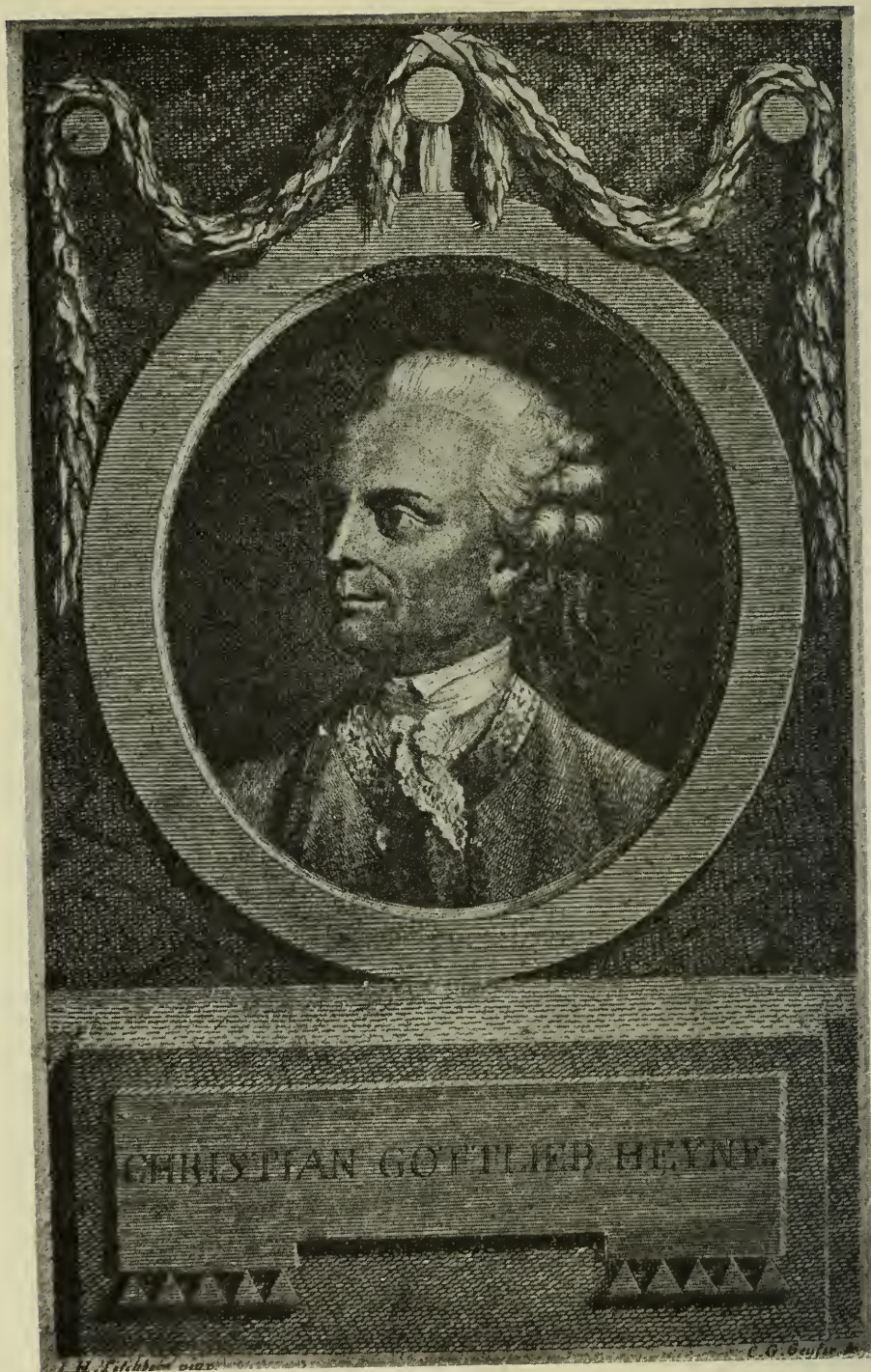
predominance of his old enemy, the Latin grammar, and insisting that, in education, variety was absolutely essential.

As to languages, the mother-tongue must be thoroughly studied, French must be taught in conversation, Latin should be learnt for the sake of its literature, but even Latin is best taught by conversation. Greek and Hebrew follow in their turn, and the course is complete.

At Strassburg in 1770 he wrote the Essay on the Origin of Language that was crowned by the Berlin Academy. The Academy had proposed the question:—‘Was man capable of inventing language, if left to his own resources, and, if so, by what means could he have invented it?’ Herder answers the first part of this question in the affirmative; and, in reply to the second, lays down four ‘natural laws’ governing the invention and developement of language, and its division into various tongues. The essay was written in less than a month, but the subject had been long in his mind, and, fortunately (perhaps) for himself, he had no books to hamper him. The result has been recognised as an important part of the first foundations of Comparative Philology.

He was still at Bückeberg when he published ‘A New Philosophy of History’, beginning with a sketch of the progress of man from his childhood in the East, through his boyhood in Egypt and Phoenicia and his youth in Greece, till in Rome he reached man’s estate, and attained his still maturer years in the Middle Ages and in modern times. Similar opinions recur in his ‘Thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind’ (1784–91). Near the middle he dwells on the ‘Education of the Human Race’, and, in the latter half, surveys the growth of civilisation in ancient times and in the Middle Ages, devoting two most suggestive books to Greece and Italy. ‘*With Greece the morning breaks*’,—such are the opening words of the enthusiastic passage on Greek life and history that was specially admired by Heyne and Goethe. He is peculiarly interested in Homer. He was in fact one of the first to elucidate the general character of the Homeric poems. He finds in them the fullest illustration of the idiosyncrasy of national poetry.

His interest in ancient art is specially displayed in two treatises. In his work on Sculpture he observes with surprise



HEYNE.

From C. G. Geyser's engraving of the early portrait by Tischbein.

that Lessing had not cared to distinguish between Sculpture and Painting. His short treatise 'on the Representation of Death by the Ancients' suggests that the 'Genius with the inverted torch' on Greek tombs is not (as Lessing held) Death, the brother of Sleep, but Sleep, the brother of Death, or possibly a mourning Cupid. Elsewhere, he insists on the importance, and indeed the necessity, of the study of ancient Art for the study of classical literature¹.

Among professional scholars, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729—1812) has been justly praised for the new interest in ancient literature and ancient art, which he Heyne awakened both by his teaching and by his published works. He was the eldest son of a poor weaver in Upper Saxony. Having no text-books of his own, he was compelled to borrow those of his school-fellows, and to copy out the portion required for each lesson. He complains that (like others since his time) he was compelled to make Latin verses before he had read any authors, or acquired any store of words. At the age of nineteen he went to Leipzig, there to endure all the miseries of a poor student's life. But he succeeded in gaining admission to the lectures of Ernesti, and it was thus that he first learnt what was meant by 'the interpretation' of the Classics. On the death of Gesner at Göttingen, Ernesti at Leipzig was consulted as to the choice of a successor. Ernesti suggested Ruhnken, and Ruhnken suggested Heyne, who had recently shown how much he knew of Latin literature by his Tibullus; of Greek, by his Epictetus. In June, 1763, Heyne settled at Göttingen, where he lived for forty-nine years, loyally devoting himself to his duties as professor of Eloquence, as director of the philological *Seminar*, as university librarian, as secretary of the local Academy, as editor of the local Review, and as an active administrator in business affairs connected with the University and with education in general.

During a brief journey to Hanover, he perused Lessing's *Laokoön* (which had just been published), admiring the author's taste, which he considered superior even to that of Winckelmann, and agreeing with Lessing in his depreciation of Virgil in comparison with Homer. The immediate influence of Winckelmann

¹ Cp. H. Nevinson's *Herder and his Times*, 1884.

and Lessing is manifest in the fact that, in the very next year, Heyne announced for the first time a course of lectures on archaeology (1767). Much of his reputation rested on the excellent manner in which he trained the future school-masters of Germany in his small and select *Seminar*.

Heyne was not an original genius. He was a many-sided scholar, who studied and expounded ancient life in all its successive phases, and became the founder of that branch of classical teaching that deals with the study of *Realien*, the science of 'things' as contrasted with that of 'words', archaeology (in its widest sense) as contrasted with language and literature. He was 'the first who with any decisiveness attempted'... 'to read in the writings of the Ancients, not their language alone, or even their detached opinions and records, but their spirit and character, their way of life and thought'¹.

The criticism and exposition of ancient poetry is represented in his editions of Tibullus, Virgil, Pindar, and the *Iliad*. Of these editions the most important, as a whole, is the Virgil, the least successful part being the treatment of the subject-matter of the *Georgics*. His edition of the *Iliad*, which cost him fifteen years of labour, has far less permanent value. His interest in the subject was mainly aroused by the publication of Robert Wood's *Essay on the original Genius of Homer* (1769). The work, as a whole, was practically a compilation, and the date of its appearance (1802) inevitably suggested a comparison with Wolf's *Prolegomena* (1795), a comparison which was bound to be to the disadvantage of Heyne.

Heyne is the founder of the scientific treatment of Greek mythology. He also wrote much on ancient history. In the domain of art he followed the lines laid down by Winckelmann. He had neither the enthusiasm and the artistic penetration of Winckelmann, nor the critical and philosophical acumen of Lessing; but he surpassed both, in a full and accurate knowledge of antiquarian details, and in a trained aptitude for methodical historical investigation.

'On the whole' (says Carlyle), 'the Germans have some reason to be proud of Heyne: who shall deny that they have here once more produced

¹ Carlyle, *Heyne*, in *Misc. Essays*, ii 111 (ed. 1869).

a scholar of the right old stock; a man to be ranked, for honesty of study and of life, with the Scaligers, the Bentleys, and old illustrious men, who...fought like giants...for the good cause?' Pointing to the example of the 'son of the Chemnitz weaver,' he adds:—'Let no lonely unfriended son of genius despair!'¹

While the study of coins was one of the many departments of learning that attracted the notice of Heyne, it was the life-work of his contemporary, Joseph Eckhel (1737—1798), the founder of the scientific study of Numismatics. Early in life he had begun that study as a teacher at various schools in Vienna. To extend his knowledge, he left in 1772 for Italy, where he was invited to rearrange the collection of coins belonging to Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the second son of the Empress Maria Theresa. On his return, the Empress appointed him professor of Antiquities in the university of Vienna, and director of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiques (1775-6). He arranged the coins according to his own system, and published in two folio volumes a complete catalogue, which is a model of its kind (1779). The same system was applied to all the extant ancient coins in the eight volumes of his classic work, the *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*². The general Introduction deals with the history of Greek coinage, the technique, weight, value and size of coins, the right of mintage, the officials of the mint, inscriptions, types of coins, etc., etc. The fourth volume closes with general observations. The remaining four begin similarly with an Introduction and end with general observations on Roman coinage. A modern expert, who dedicates his work to the memory of Eckhel, characterises the *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* as 'a marvellous compendium of wide research and profound erudition, a work which can never be altogether superseded'.³

Our survey of the eighteenth century in Germany must close with the name of Christian Gottfried Schütz, who lived far into the nineteenth (1747—1832). He was

Schütz

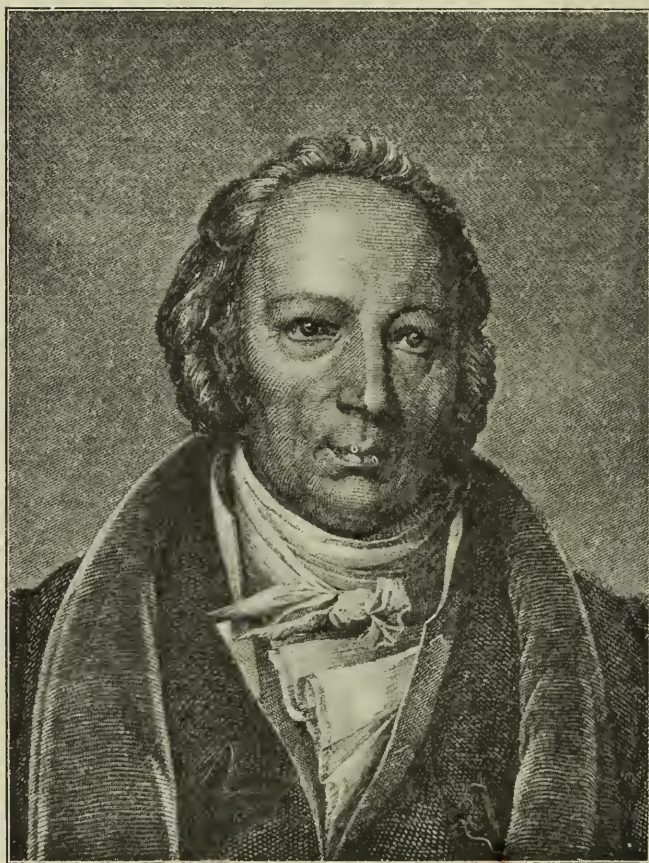
¹ *Misc. Essays*, ii 113. Cp. F. Leo, in Göttingen *Festschrift* (Berlin, 1901), 155—234.

² Vienna, 1792-8; also Addenda and portrait, 1826; ed. 4, 1841.

³ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 1887, Preface.

for many years professor at Jena and at Halle. A man of wide attainments, and remarkable freshness and force of intellect, he is well known as an editor of Aeschylus. He is perhaps better known as an editor of Cicero. After commenting on the Rhetorical works, and on all the Letters in chronological order, he produced a complete edition in twenty volumes, ending with a lexicon and with various indices.

We have seen that, early in the eighteenth century, the whole range of Greek and Latin literature was traversed by the erudite Fabricius. The Latin scholars, Gesner (1731) and Ernesti (1773), promoted the study of the Greek Classics in the schools of Germany. Reiske taught himself Greek at Halle (1732), while, in 1743 and 1770, Ruhnken and Wytttenbach learnt their Greek at Leyden. But, between those dates, the land which they deserted was awakened by Winckelmann to a new sense of the beauty of Greek art (1755), and learnt from Lessing the principles of literary and artistic criticism (1766). Winckelmann and Lessing had an immediate influence on Heyne's teaching at Göttingen (1767). Germany was next impelled by Herder to appreciate Homer as the national poet of a primitive people (1773); the popular ear was won for Homer by the poetic version of Voss (1781-93); and the close of the century saw the triumph of the New Humanism with Homer for its hero. In and after 1790 we find its foremost representatives in the literary circle of Weimar and Jena, in Herder, in Goethe and Schiller, and in Wilhelm von Humboldt. The last of these was the earliest link between that circle and F. A. Wolf, who, in the time of transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, was destined, by his published work and by his professorial teaching at Halle, to do two eventful things:—to raise the Homeric question by the publication of his *Prolegomena* (1795), and to map out the vast province of classical learning, and find in a perfect knowledge of the many-sided life of the ancient Greeks and Romans the final goal of the modern study of the ancient world.



F. A. WOLF.

From Wagner's engraving of the portrait by Jo. Wolff (1823). Frontispiece to S. F. W. Hoffmann's ed. of Wolf's *Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, 1833.

CHAPTER XXXVII

F. A. WOLF AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

FRIEDRICH AUGUST WOLF (1759—1824) has long been regarded as marking the beginning of a new era. His father was the schoolmaster and organist of a little village south of the Harz, and it was to his mother that he owed the awakening of his intellectual life. His memory was as remarkable as that of Porson, who was born in the same year. His parents soon removed to Nordhausen, where, by the age of twelve, he had learned all that his instructors could teach him. Towards the end of his school-days he became his own teacher. Starting once more with the declensions, he ‘read with new eyes the Latin and Greek Classics, some carefully, others more cursorily; learnt by heart several books of Homer, and large portions of the Tragedians and Cicero, and went through Scapula’s *Lexicon* and Faber’s *Thesaurus*’¹.

F. A. Wolf

On the 8th of April, 1777, he entered his name in the matriculation-book of the university of Göttingen as *Studiosus Philologiae*. The Pro-Rector, a professor of Medicine, protested:—“Philology was not one of the four *Faculties*; if he wanted to become a school-master, he ought to enter himself as a ‘student of *Theology*’”. Wolf insisted that he proposed to study, not Theology, but Philology. He carried his point, and was the first student who was so entered in that university². The date of his matriculation has been deemed an epoch in the History of German Education, and also in the History of Scholarship. He next waited on the Rector, Heyne, to whom he had presented a

¹ Pattison’s *Essays*, i 342 f.

² There had been isolated entries of *philologiae studiosi* at Erlangen in 1749–74 (Gudeman’s *Grundriss*, 221²).

letter of introduction a year before. Hastily glancing at this letter, Heyne had then asked him, who had been stupid enough to advise him to study 'what he called philology'. Wolf replied that he preferred 'the greater intellectual freedom' of that study. Heyne assured him that 'freedom' could nowhere be found, that the study of the Classics was 'the straight road to starvation,' and that there were hardly six good chairs of philology in all Germany. Wolf modestly suggested that he aspired to fill one of the six; Heyne could only laugh and bid farewell to the future 'professor of philology', adding that, when he entered at Göttingen, he would be welcome to attend Heyne's lectures gratis. At Göttingen he worked mainly by himself; to save time, he spent only three minutes in dressing, and cut off every form of recreation. At the end of the first year, he had nearly killed himself, and, after a brief change of air, resolved never to work beyond midnight. By the end of the second, he had begun to give lectures on his own account, and, half a year later, was appointed, on Heyne's recommendation, to a mastership at Ilfeld. There he remained for two years and a half, married, and, for little more than a year, was head-master of Osterode. At both places he made his mark. At Ilfeld he began to brood over the Homeric question, and also to work at Plato. In 1782 he produced an edition of the *Symposium*, in which he followed a recent innovation by writing the notes in German. His aim throughout was to interest young students in the study of Plato. In the preface he introduced an adroit reference to Frederick the Great, 'the philosopher on the throne', and to his 'enlightened minister'. This preface, and the proof of his success as a school-master, led to his being invited by the minister to fill a chair of 'Philosophy and *Pädagogik*' at the university of Halle. He had been commissioned to remove from Halle the only reproach to which it was then open,—that of not being a 'school of philology'. In a few years he entirely changed the spirit of the university, and, 'through it, of all the higher education in Germany, waking in schools and universities an enthusiasm for ancient literature second only to that of the Revival in the sixteenth century'¹. One of the means whereby he raised the level of classical studies

¹ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* 1805.

was the institution in 1786 of a philological *Seminarium* for the training of classical teachers. The other was his work as a public lecturer. During his twenty-three years at Halle, lecturing on the average for rather more than two hours a day, he gave at least fifty courses on classical authors. His lectures were fully prepared beforehand, but were delivered with the aid of only a few notes. Goethe, who, in 1805, more than once prevailed on one of the professor's daughters to conceal him behind a curtain in the lecture-room, tells us that the language impressed him as 'the spontaneous utterance of a full mind, a revelation springing from thorough knowledge, and diffusing itself over the audience'¹. His aim was, not to communicate knowledge, but to stimulate and suggest. The spirit of critical inquiry that breathed through all his lectures was symbolised by the fact that the sole ornament of his lecture-room was a bust of Lessing.

Everything that he wrote arose out of his public teaching. Early in his career he had produced an edition of Hesiod's *Theogonia* (1783), of all the Homeric poems (1784-5), and of four Greek plays (1787)¹. His reading of Demosthenes in connexion with Attic Law bore fruit in his edition of the *Leptines* (1789), which was welcomed by scholars, not excluding Heyne, while the way in which Greek Antiquities were treated in the *Prolegomena* inspired one of Wolf's greatest pupils, Boeckh, with the design of writing his 'Public Economy of Athens'.

Even Wolf's famous *Prolegomena to Homer* (1795) had a purely casual origin. His text of 1784-5 being out of print, he was asked to prepare a new edition, and, as there were to be no notes whatsoever, he proposed to write a preface explaining the principles on which he had dealt with the text. He did far more than this, for he roused into life the great controversy known as the Homeric question. Some of the points connected with the earlier stages of this controversy may here be noticed.

Josephus², writing about 90 A.D., had held that the art of writing 'could not have been known to the Greeks of the Trojan war', and 'they say' (he added) 'that even Homer did not leave his poetry in writing, but that it was transmitted by memory, and afterwards put together from the separate songs;

¹ Aesch. *Ag.*, Soph. *O. T.*, Eur. *Phoen.*, Arist. *Eccl.*

² *Contra Apionem*, i 2.

hence the number of discrepancies'. This passage had been noticed in 1583 by Casaubon, who remarked that 'we could hardly hope for a sound text of Homer, however old our MSS might be'. Bentley, in 1713, had supposed that a poet named Homer lived about 1050 B.C. and 'wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies... These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem till Pisistratus' time, above 500 years after'. In 1730, the Italian scholar, Vico, had maintained that 'Homer' was a collective name for the work of many successive poets; but Vico's views were at this time unknown to Wolf. He was, however, familiar with Robert Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* (1769). Only seven copies had then been printed, but one of them had been sent to Göttingen, and was reviewed by Heyne in 1770. It was soon translated into German. In the course of some pages on the learning of Homer, Wood had argued that the art of writing was unknown to the poet. Wolf refers to this passage, and builds his theory upon it¹. The *scholia* of the *codex Venetus* of the *Iliad*, published by Villoison in 1788, supplied evidence as to divergencies between the ancient texts. Wolf maintained that these divergencies were due to the Homeric poems having long been transmitted by memory alone. He contended that it was impossible to arrive at the original text, and that an editor could aim at nothing more than a reconstruction of the text of the Alexandrian age.

The *Prolegomena*, written in great haste, formed a narrow octavo volume of 280 pages. The author begins by discussing the defects in the existing editions, due to an imperfect use of Eustathius and the *scholia*. He next reviews the history of the poems from about 950 to 550 B.C., and endeavours to prove the four following points:—

'(1) The Homeric poems were composed without the aid of writing, which in 950 B.C. was either wholly unknown to the Greeks, or not yet employed by them for literary purposes. The poems were handed down by oral recitation, and in the course of that process suffered many alterations, deliberate or accidental, by the rhapsodes. (2) After the poems had been written down *circa* 550 B.C., they suffered still further changes. These were deliberately made by 'revisers' (*διασκευασται*), or by learned critics who aimed at polishing the work, and bringing it into harmony with certain forms of idiom or canons of art. (3) The *Iliad* has artistic unity; so, in a still higher degree, has the *Odyssey*. But this unity is not mainly due to the original poems; rather it has been superinduced by their artificial treatment in a later age. (4) The original poems, from which our *Iliad* and our *Odyssey* have been put together, were not all by the same author'.²

In the *Prolegomena* Wolf supposes that Homer 'began the weaving of the web' and 'carried it down to a certain point',³ and, further, that Homer wrote the *greater part* of the songs afterwards united in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In

¹ *Proleg.* c. 12, n. 8.

² Jebb's *Homer*, 108 f; cp. Volkmann's *Geschichte und Kritik der Wolf'schen Prolegomena*, 1874, 48—67.

³ c. 28 *ad finem*, and c. 31.

the preface to the text, dated March 1795, he adds, 'it is certain that, alike in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, the web was begun, and the threads were carried to a certain point, by the poet who had first taken up the theme...Perhaps it will never be possible to show, even with probability, the precise points at which new filaments or dependencies of the texture begin: but...we must assign to Homer *only the greater part* of the songs, and the remainder to the Homeridae, who were following out the lines traced by him.'¹

'He has himself told us, in memorable words, how he felt on turning from his own theory to a renewed perusal of the poems. As he steeped himself in that stream of epic story which glides like a clear river, his own arguments vanish from his mind; the pervading harmony and consistency of the poems assert themselves with irresistible power; and he is angry with the scepticism which has robbed him of belief in one Homer.'²

At first, not a single authoritative voice was raised in favour of Wolf's views in Holland, England, or France. In Germany they were welcomed by Wilhelm von Humboldt, and by the brothers Schlegel; but they were disapproved by the poets, by Klopstock and Schiller and Wieland, and by Voss, the translator of Homer. Goethe was at first in favour of Wolf, but, writing to Schiller in 1798, he was more than ever convinced of the unity of the *Iliad*. It was not until the next generation that the *Prolegomena* bore fruit in the continued study of the Homeric question.

Wolf was still at Halle when he edited Cicero's four orations *post reditum* (1801). Their spuriousness had been suspected by Markland (1745); their genuineness had been maintained by Gesner (1753). Markland's suspicions were approved by Wolf, who in the following year even denied the genuineness of the *pro Marcello*. Not a few of the faults criticised by Wolf have since been removed with the aid of better mss. Wolf's opinion was approved at the time by Boissonade in France, but the investigations have been characterised by Madvig as 'superficial and misleading'.

The twenty-three years of Wolf's memorable career at Halle were brought to a sudden end in October, 1806, when the French troops took possession of Halle, and the French general closed the university. Under the advice of Goethe, Wolf spent part of his enforced leisure in revising his survey of the domain of classical learning, which was to be the opening article of the 'Museum' of *Alterthums-Wissenschaft* founded by Wolf and his pupil Buttmann in 1807. He lived at Berlin for the remaining

¹ *Praefat.* p. xxviii (Jebb, 109).

² *ib.* xxi f (Jebb, 110).

seventeen years of his life, but it proved impossible for the State to utilise his abilities either at the Board of Education or in the newly-founded University (1810). Thenceforth he produced little, and that little not of the best quality. A serious illness in 1822 was followed two years later by his being ordered to Nice; on his way, he died at Marseilles, where a Latin epitaph marks the approximate site of his grave. His greatest work is to be found, not in the books that he produced, but in the pupils that he stimulated to be the future leaders of classical learning in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century. He himself claimed to be a teacher rather than a writer, and his published works were only *parerga*. But in the broad survey of the whole range of classical learning, which formed part of his teaching, he was the first to present a systematic description of the vast fabric that he called by the name of *Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, to arrange and review its component parts, and to point to a perfect knowledge of the many-sided life of the ancient Greeks and Romans as the final goal of the modern study of the ancient world. Like Bentley, to whom he was drawn by the admiring sympathy of a kindred genius, he was one of the founders of a right method in the historic criticism of ancient literature. Like Herder, he regarded the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as part of the popular poetry of a primitive age, but it was not until the next generation that his theory as to the origin of those poems was widely discussed by scholars.

While Wolf, with his views as to the divided authorship of the
Voss
songs composing the Homeric poems, appealed to
scholars alone, and received little recognition even
from scholars in his own age, the ear of the German people had happily been won for Homer by Johann Heinrich Voss (1751—1826), whose most important work was his admirable translation of Homer into German hexameters. His *Odyssey* (1781) surpassed all previous attempts to render the original in German verse. It was followed twelve years later by his *Iliad* (1793), and by a closer rendering of the *Odyssey*, which, in the opinion of competent critics, is not an improvement on his earlier version. He applied the same principles of rigidly literal translation to his subsequent rendering of the whole of Virgil, and the *Metamorphoses*

of Ovid, as well as Tibullus, Propertius, and Aristophanes; but his method had by that time become unduly mechanical, and he failed to represent either the variety of Aristophanes or the charm of Ovid.

Among the contemporaries of Wolf there were several men of mark, who, without being professional scholars, W. v. Hum-
boldt had, in different degrees, a close connexion with the scholarship of that age. Wolf had a loyal friend in Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767—1835), then a leading Prussian statesman, the elder brother of Alexander, the celebrated naturalist and traveller. During the year and a half (1809—10), in which Humboldt was at the head of the educational section of the Prussian Home Office, the university of Berlin was founded (1810), and the general system of education received the direction which it followed (with slight exceptions) throughout the whole century. A visit to Spain, in 1799 f, during the four years of his residence in Paris, had meanwhile led to his taking an interest in the general history of language. His greatest work in this department, that on the ancient Kawi language of Java, posthumously published in 1836—9, begins with a remarkable introduction on ‘Diversity of Language, and its Influence on the Intellectual Developement of Mankind’. It may be added that, after all his linguistic studies, he came to the conclusion that the Greek language and the old Greek culture still remained the finest product of the human intellect.

As a student at Leipzig, Goethe (1749—1832) had been profoundly impressed by Lessing’s *Laokoön*, and by Goethe the writings of Winckelmann; at Strassburg, he had been prompted by Herder to study Homer. Under the influence of the Homeric translations of Voss, he meditated the composition of an *Achilleis*; and, at the suggestion of Wilhelm von Humboldt, studied Wolf’s *Prolegomena*, and once more read the *Iliad*. ‘The theory of a *collective Homer*’ (he writes) ‘is favourable to my present scheme, as lending a modern bard a title to claim for himself a place among the *Homeridae*’. In the spring of 1796, he thanks Wolf for that theory; in December, he ‘drinks to the health’ of the scholar, ‘who at last has boldly freed us from the name of Homer, and is even bidding

us enter on a broader road'; and he writes in the same spirit on sending Wolf a copy of *Wilhelm Meister*. But, after abandoning his proposed *Achilleis*, he returns to the old faith, and sings his palinode in *Homer wieder Homer*.

Schiller (1759—1805) had been well grounded in Latin, but, in the study of the Greek masterpieces, he had to
 Schiller rely on translations. Yet his conception of the old classical world and of the difference between the ancient and the modern spirit had a great effect on his countrymen. In his Essay 'On naive and sentimental poetry' he is peculiarly felicitous in comparing the merits of several of the ancient poets.

It was under the influence of Schiller that the characteristics of the ancient drama were fruitfully studied by
 August Wilhelm von Schlegel A. W. von Schlegel (1767—1845), who had attended Heyne's lectures at Göttingen, and in 1796 was appointed professor at Jena, where he made the acquaintance of Goethe and Schiller. After studying Sanskrit in Paris, first under the Indian civilian, Alexander Hamilton (1762—1824), and next under Bopp, he became professor at Bonn in 1818 and held that position for the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. He is best known as the author of the 'Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature,' delivered in 1808 before a brilliant audience in Vienna. Nearly half of the thirty Lectures deal with the Ancient Drama, and of these few, if any, are more familiar than the Lecture comparing Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in their treatment of the theme of Electra.

While the Greek Drama was reviewed in a critical spirit by
 Friedrich von Schlegel A. W. von Schlegel, the Epic poetry of Greece attracted the attention of his younger brother, Friedrich (1772—1829). Early in life, in 1797, he had produced the first volume of his historical and critical inquiries on the Greeks and Romans, including an extensive treatise on the study of Greek poetry. Instead of completing the work, he began another, on the History of Greek and Roman Poetry. Among his later works the most important is the short treatise 'On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians' (1808), the fruit of his study of Sanskrit under Alexander Hamilton. An important impulse was thus given to the comparative study of language in

Europe. The elder brother's example, as a lecturer in Vienna, was ably followed by Friedrich in 1812, in a course of Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern (1815).

Among the pupils of Heyne at Göttingen was August Matthiae (1769—1835), a son of the *custos* of the University Library, who had adopted the Latinised name of A. Matthiae Matthiae instead of the German name of Matthiesen. For the last thirty-three years of his life, he was Director of the *gymnasium* at Altenburg. The most important of his works was his larger Greek Grammar¹. He also published an extensive edition of Euripides in nine volumes, with the Fragments and the *scholia* (1813—29); a tenth volume includes *addenda* to the *scholia*, and *Indices* (1837).

The study of History was well represented at Göttingen by Heyne's pupil, son-in-law, and biographer, Arnold Heeren Hermann Ludwig Heeren (1760—1842). He produced, in 1793, the first volume of his well-known work on the Politics and Trade of the foremost peoples of the ancient world; and, in 1799, his Handbook of the History of Ancient States, with special reference to their constitution, their commerce, and their colonies. He also published, in 1797—1801, a History of the Study of Classical Literature from the Revival of Learning, with an Introduction on the History of the works of the Classical authors in the Middle Ages. In the second edition of 1822 this work is entitled a History of Classical Literature in the Middle Ages, the first part going down to the end of the fourteenth century, and the second including the Humanists of the fifteenth.

A shorter life was the lot of another historian, the historian of ancient Rome, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776—Niebuhr 1831). After holding civil appointments at his birth-place, Copenhagen, he entered the service of Prussia, and in 1810 was appointed professor in the newly-founded university of Berlin. His lectures on Roman history were attended by a distinguished audience, and thenceforth he regarded the history of Rome as the main interest of his life. He completed the first two volumes of his History in 1812. He was Prussian ambassador at Rome in 1816—23. For the rest of his life he settled at Bonn,

¹ 1807; ed. 3, 1835.

where he delivered lectures on ancient history, ethnography and geography, and on the French Revolution.

In his *History of Rome* he describes 'the poems, out of which' (in his view) 'the history of the Roman kings was resolved into a prose narrative', as 'knowing nothing of *the unity which characterizes the most perfect of Greek poems*', thus ignoring the results of Wolf's *Prolegomena*. But the critical spirit, which inspired Wolf, was in the air, and its influence affected Niebuhr. His theory that the early legends of Rome had been transmitted from generation to generation in the form of poetic lays was not new. It had been anticipated by the Dutch scholar, Perizonius¹, but Niebuhr was not aware of this fact until a later date.

Niebuhr's work marks an epoch in the study of the subject. His main results, such as his views on the ancient population of Rome, the origin of the *plebs*, the relation between the patricians and the plebeians, the real nature of the *ager publicus*, and many other points of interest, have been acknowledged by all his successors. He was the first to deal with the history of Rome in a critical and scientific spirit. His *History of Rome* grew out of his lectures at Berlin. The same theme was predominant in certain courses of lectures delivered at Bonn, which were not published until after his death. The main interest of his greatest work, the *History of Rome*, has been found in its 'freshness, its elation of real or supposed discovery, the impression it conveys of actual contact with a great body of new and unsuspected truths'². His theory of the derivation of ancient Roman history from popular lays was refuted by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in his *Essay on the Credibility of Early Roman History*; and archaeological discoveries have corrected his attitude of general scepticism as to early traditions, but the main pillars of his grand structure are still unshaken.

Niebuhr's work as a scholar was far from being confined to the domain of History. In 1816, with the aid of Buttmann and Heindorf, he published in Berlin an improved edition of the remains of Fronto (which had been printed for the first time in the previous year from the Bobbio MS found by Angelo Mai in Milan). Late in the summer of 1816, on his way to Rome,

¹ *Animadversiones Historicae* (1685), c. 6.

² Garnett in *Enc. Brit.*

he discovered, in a palimpsest of the Capitular Library at Verona, the 'Institutions' of the Roman jurist, Gaius; he immediately informed Savigny, and an edition of the work was accordingly published by the Berlin Academy. In Rome he discovered in a Vatican MS certain fragments of Cicero's Speeches *pro M. Fonteio* and *pro C. Rabirio* (ed. 1820). In 1822 he addressed, to a young friend, a memorable letter, in which he sets forth a high ideal of a scholar's life. The authors specially recommended for study are Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Pindar, with Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes and Plutarch, and Cicero, Livy, Caesar, Sallust and Tacitus. All these were to be read with reverence, not with a view to making them the themes of aesthetic criticism, but with a resolve to assimilate their spirit. This (he declares) is the true 'Philology' that brings health to the soul, while learned investigations (in the case of such as attain to them) belong to a lower level¹.

Among Niebuhr's friends in Berlin was Georg Ludwig Spalding (1762—1811), who produced the first three volumes of a memorable edition of the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian (1798 f). Spalding

The popularisation of Plato was an important part of the work of Schleiermacher (1768—1834), who, as a professor, Schleiermacher and as a university-preacher at Halle in 1804, had been familiar with Wolf, and had been stimulated by that scholar in his Platonic studies. When Halle became part of the new Napoleonic kingdom of Westphalia, both of them fled to Berlin. Schleiermacher's translation of Plato included all the dialogues except the *Laws*, *Epinomis*, *Timaeus* and *Critias* (1804-10). It was the earliest successful attempt to render a great writer of Greek prose in German of an artistic and literary type. His Introduction presented a complete survey of Plato's works in their relation to one another. The dialogues were there divided into three groups:—(1) preparatory or elementary dialogues; (2) dialogues of indirect investigation; (3) expository or constructive dialogues,—a division taking inadequate account of chronological sequence.

¹ *Brief an einen jungen Philologen*, translated by Julius Hare, *On a Young Man's Studies*, in the *Educational Magazine*, 1840.

The circle of scholars at Berlin included Ludwig Friedrich Heindorf (1774—1816). Born in Berlin, he was a pupil of Wolf at Halle. After teaching for a time in the city of his birth, he was appointed to a professorship at Breslau (1811-6), and died soon after his acceptance of a call to Halle. He is well known in connexion with an edition of twelve dialogues of Plato (1802-10). His editions of Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, and of the *Satires* of Horace, both published in 1815, are specially useful for their explanatory notes.

Berlin was the scene of the active life of the distinguished grammarian, Philipp Karl Buttmann (1764—1829). His best-known work was his Greek Grammar, first published as a brief outline in 1792, and constantly expanded and rearranged and improved in many subsequent editions. In its expanded form, it was known as the 'intermediate Grammar'¹, to distinguish it from the new School Grammar of 1812; and from the 'Complete Grammar' of 1819-27, to which additions were made by Lobeck. The success of his 'Intermediate Grammar' was due to its remarkable clearness, and the introduction of this Grammar led to a marked improvement in the Greek scholarship of the schools of Germany. In his *Lexilogus*² he proves himself an acute investigator of the meanings of Homeric words, and displays a keen sense of the historic developement of language, but is obviously unconscious of the importance of the principles of comparative philology.

The textual criticism of the Greek Classics was ably represented by Immanuel Bekker (1785—1871), who was born and died in Berlin. He studied at Halle under Wolf, who made him inspector of his 'philological seminary'. He gave early proof of his familiarity with the Homeric poems in his reviews of Heyne's *Iliad* and of Wolf's *Homer*. On the foundation of the university of Berlin in 1810, he was appointed to a professorship, which he held for sixty-two years without making any considerable mark as an academic teacher. But he set a brilliant example to all the younger generations of scholars by the industry and the ability that he lavished on the collation

¹ E. T. 1840; ed. 3, 1848.

² 1818-25; ed. 4, 1865; also E. T.

of MSS and the preparation of improved texts of important authors. The number of MSS that he collated, either in whole or in part, exceeded four hundred. In 1810-12 he was sent by the Berlin Academy to work in the Paris Library. The firstfruits of his labours in France appeared in the *editio princeps* of Apollonius Dyscolus, *On the Pronoun* (1811). In 1817-19 he was collating the MSS of Aristotle in the libraries of Italy. On his return he revisited Paris. Part of 1820 was spent in Oxford, and, after a few further visits to England, he returned to Italy in 1839. With the exception of the lyric and the tragic poets, there is hardly any class of Greek authors whose text has not been definitely improved by his labours. He produced two editions of Homer; the first, published in Berlin in 1843, was founded on the principles of Wolf, and aimed at restoring (so far as practicable) the recension of Aristarchus; the second, published at Bonn in 1858, was an attempt to attain an earlier text than that of the Alexandrian critics. The principles, on which this edition was founded, were mainly set forth in a series of papers, which were presented to the Berlin Academy and afterwards published in a collected form¹. For the two volumes of the text of Aristophanes, published in London with the ancient *scholia* in 1828, he collated afresh the Venice MS, and the Ravenna MS. On the basis of a careful collation of MSS, he edited Thucydides with the *scholia*, as well as Pausanias and Herodian. He also prepared new editions of Herodotus, Polybius, Dion Cassius, Diodorus, Appian, Josephus, and the *Lives* of Plutarch, as well as the 'Bibliotheca' of Apollodorus, together with Heliodorus and Lucian. There is less originality in his work on the twenty-five volumes which he contributed to the *Corpus* of the Byzantine Historians. A marked advance is, however, shown in his editions of the whole of Plato (with the *scholia* and a full critical commentary)², and the whole of Aristotle³. His edition of all the Attic Orators was published first at Oxford (1822), and in the following year at Berlin. New materials for the history of Greek Grammar and Rhetoric were provided in the three volumes of his *Anecdota Graeca*, and new texts of grammatical works in his editions of the *Syntax*

¹ *Homerische Blätter*, 1863-72.

² 8 vols., 1816-23.

³ 4 vols., 1831-36.

of Apollonius, the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, the lexicons of Harpocration and Moeris and Suidas, the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius, and the *Onomasticon* of Pollux. His extraordinary activity as an editor seems to have left him little energy for anything else; he was held in the highest esteem by scholars, but he did not shine in ordinary conversation. It was said of the editor of some sixty volumes of Greek texts, and the collator of more than four hundred mss, that he could be silent in seven languages.



Gottfried Hermann.

GOTTFRIED HERMANN.

From Weger's engraving of the portrait by C. Vogel (1841); frontispiece to
Köchly's *Gottfried Hermann* (1874).

CHAPTER XXXVIII

HERMANN AND BOECKH

IN the generation next to that of Wolf, the two great scholars, Gottfried Hermann and August Boeckh, were conspicuous as the heads of two rival schools of classical learning. The first was the *grammatical and critical* school, which made the text of the Classics, with questions of grammar and metre and style, the main object of study. The second (already represented by Niebuhr) was the *historical and antiquarian* school, which investigated all the manifestations of the spirit of the old classical world. The precursors of the first school were to be mainly found among the scholars of England and Holland; those of the second, among the scholars of France. The first was concerned with words, the second with things; the first with language and literature; the second with institutions, and with art and archaeology. The adherents of the first were twitted by their opponents with a narrow devotion to notes on classical texts; those of the second were denounced as *dilettanti*. It is now, however, generally agreed that, while, in theory, the comprehensive conception of the wide field of classical learning formed by Boeckh is undoubtedly correct, in practice a thorough knowledge of the languages is the indispensable foundation for the superstructure.

Hermann (1772—1848) was born at Leipzig. Matriculating at the early age of fourteen, he there attended the lectures of F. W. Reiz, who pointed out the importance of the study of metre, and set before him the example of Bentley. From Reiz, whom he always remembered with gratitude, he learnt three things in particular, (1) never to study more than one writer, or one subject, at a time, (2) never to take any statement on trust, and (3) always to be able to give a good

reason for holding any opinion which he deemed to be true. Passing rapidly through the preliminary stages at Leipzig, he became professor of Eloquence in 1803 and of Poetry in 1809. His lectures, which were usually delivered in Latin, were simple and clear in style, and free from all striving for rhetorical effect; but they were inspired with a keen enthusiasm for the old classical world. His main interest, however, was in the study of the ancient *languages*, and he always insisted on the supreme importance of a first-hand acquaintance with the *writings* of the ancients. In an early work he urged that a strictly logical and rational method should be applied to the study of Greek Grammar (1801), and he was also the founder of metaphysical Syntax¹. In his writings on ancient metre he had no important modern precursors except Bentley and Porson. Bentley's only separate treatise on the subject was his brief *Schediasma* on the metres of Terence, while Porson had been led by a careful observation of facts to formulate rules for the ordinary iambic and trochaic metres of the Greek drama. Hermann began by studying the ancient authorities, above all Hephaestion, expounding and correcting them by the light of his own study of the Greek poets. The results were mainly embodied in his *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae* (1816). He also elucidated the rhythms of Greek poetry by the effective recitation of passages from the poets, and for this purpose he abandoned the customary Reuchlinian method of pronunciation for one which was closely akin to that of Erasmus.

Among his published works a foremost place must be assigned to his editions of the Greek tragic poets. As a specimen of his Aeschylus, he put forth the *Eumenides* in 1799, but more than fifty years elapsed before the appearance of his posthumous edition of the whole (1852). His work on Sophocles was connected with that of his pupil, Erfurdt, who besides nearly completing a critical edition, began with the *Antigone* a smaller edition for the use of students; the series was completed by Hermann in 1811-25. Between 1810 and 1841 Hermann produced separate editions of thirteen plays of Euripides. The only play of Aristophanes that he edited was the *Clouds*.

¹ Cp. W. G. Hale's *Century of Metaphysical Syntax*, in the *Proceedings of the St Louis Congress*, 1904, vol. iii.

His mature opinions on the Homeric question are presented in his papers of 1831-2.

Wolf had held that the weaving of the Homeric web had been *carried down to a certain point* by the first and chief author of the poem, and had been continued by others. Hermann, improving on this opinion, suggested that the original sketch of our *Iliad* and our *Odyssey* had been produced by the first poet, and that the later poets did not *carry on the texture*, but completed the design *within* the outline that was already drawn¹.

Hermann made many valuable contributions to the criticism and exposition of the *Homeric Hymns*, and of Hesiod. The appendix to his edition of the *Orphica* (1805), showing, on metrical and linguistic grounds, that the date of these poems falls between that of Quintus Smyrnaeus and Nonnus, has been regarded as worthy of the genius of Bentley.

Pindar was the theme of his life-long study. As early as 1798 he had contributed to Heyne's *Pindar* a treatise on the poet's metres. In a later paper he showed that the language of the different odes had an Aeolic or a Doric colouring which varied with the rhythm in which they were composed.

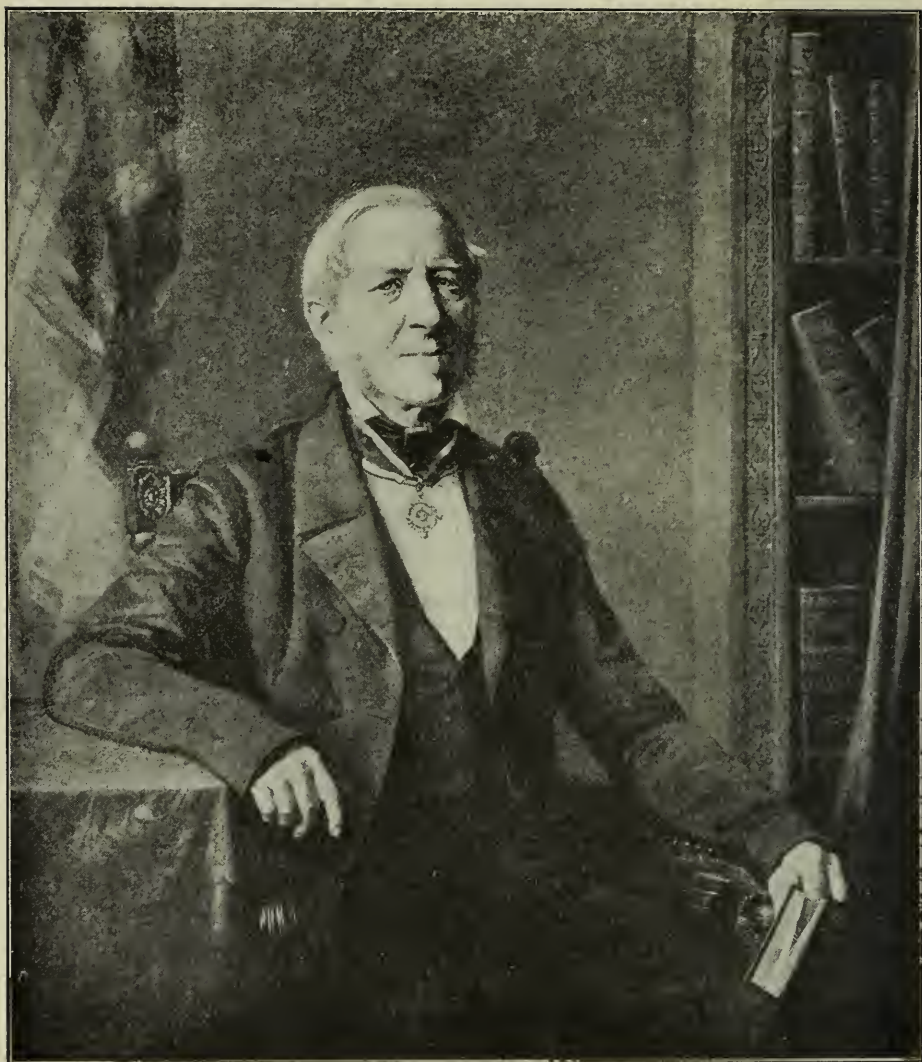
His work was mainly limited to the Greek poets. In his papers on Greek Inscriptions (mainly on those in metre), he severely criticises the way in which they had been handled by archaeologists such as Boeckh and Welcker².

The Greek Society, which he founded at Leipzig, numbered nearly 200 members during the half-century of its existence. It is these who in a special sense founded the school of Hermann, and they included scholars of such note as Passow, Thiersch, Meineke, K. F. Hermann, Trendelenburg, Spengel, Classen, Ritschl, Sauppe, Haupt, Bergk, Koechly, Bonitz, and Arnold Schaefer.

While Hermann, the representative of pure scholarship, concentrated his attention on the language, and especially on the poetry, of the old Greek Classics, it was the historic interest that predominated in the case of his great contemporary, August Boeckh (1785-1867). At Halle the influence of Wolf led to his

¹ Jebb's *Homer*, 119 f.

² *Ueber Herrn Professor Boeckh's Behandlung der griechischen Inschriften* (1826); also *Opusc.* iv 303-332, v 164-181, vii 174-189.



Γηράσκω αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος .
Αὐτόγῃ.

Aug. Böckh.

BOECKH.

From the frontispiece to Max Hoffmann's *August Böckh* (1901).

concentrating himself on the Greek Classics, while the lectures of Schleiermacher guided him to the special study of Plato. In 1807 he became a professor at Heidelberg. The greater part of his important edition of Pindar must have been practically finished while he was still at Heidelberg, at a time when he was more interested in the literary than the historical and antiquarian aspects of classical learning. The first volume was published in 1811, and it was completed in 1821 with the aid of his friend, Ludolph Dissen, who wrote the commentary on the Nemean and Isthmian Odes. In the spring of 1811 he left Heidelberg for the position of professor of Eloquence and of Classical Literature in the newly founded university of Berlin, and for 56 years he continued to be one of the chief ornaments of that seat of learning.

In the historical and antiquarian province of classical learning Boeckh is represented by two important works, which have laid the foundation for all later research in the departments with which they are concerned. The first of these is the *Public Economy of Athens*, which supplies us with a full and systematic statement of the economic side of the Athenian constitution in its actual working¹. The second is the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. The first two folio volumes of the *Corpus* (1825-43) were edited by Boeckh, the third (1845-53) by Franz, the fourth was begun by Ernst Curtius and continued by Adolf Kirchhoff (1826-1908), and the whole was completed when Roehl's *Indices* were published in 1877, more than fifty years after the work had been begun by Boeckh. Kirchhoff also edited the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* (1873). The volume on the Attic Inscriptions of the Roman Age (1878-82) was edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger (1840-1906), who also edited in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* part of the inscriptions of Northern Greece (1892-7), and published a comprehensive *Sylloge* of Select Inscriptions (1883; 2nd ed. 1898-1901).

In editing the inscriptions of Greece, Boeckh applied his mathematical and astronomical knowledge to the investigation of important points of chronology. His mathematical skill is also

¹ 1817 (E. T. 1828 and 1842); ed. 2, 1851 (E. T. Boston, 1857); ed. 3, 1886.

shown in his examination of the weights, the coinage-standards, and the measures of the ancients (1838), a work that gave the first impulse to all subsequent investigations. His wide and comprehensive view of the various branches of classical learning was attested in the course of lectures repeatedly given by him at Berlin and since published by one of his pupils¹.

The list of his pupils includes not a few distinguished names. He was keenly interested in the subsequent career of K. O. Müller at Göttingen, and of Edward Meier at Greifswald and Halle, and in the later work of Gerhard in Berlin. Among his other pupils were Götting and Döderlein, Trendelenburg and Spengel, Droysen and Preller, Lepsius and Dünker, Otto Jahn and Bonitz, and Ernst and Georg Curtius. Some of them, such as Trendelenburg and Spengel, had already been pupils of Hermann, and several of the foremost of Hermann's pupils, such as Ritschl, Köchly, and Arnold Schaefer, were among the warmest admirers of Boeckh. Hermann and Boeckh, as the great representatives of pure and applied scholarship respectively, are men of whom all the votaries of classical learning may well be proud. At a later point we shall return to Boeckh's devoted pupil and friend, K. O. Müller. Meanwhile we must briefly trace the careers of some of the scholars who belonged to the school of Hermann.

¹ *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften*, ed. Bratuscheck (1877), 824 pp.; ed. 2 (1886).

CHAPTER XXXIX

GRAMMARIANS AND TEXTUAL CRITICS

FROM LOBECK TO RITSCHL

ONE of the earliest and most distinguished of the pupils of Hermann was Christian August Lobeck (1781—1860), who taught at Wittenberg in 1802-14, and was professor at Königsberg for the remaining 46 years of his life. Hermann himself has dwelt in glowing terms on the profound learning that pervades every page of his pupil's edition of the *Ajax*. The same learning, combined with a singular faculty for grouping large masses of facts under general laws of language, is manifest in his second great work, his edition of the Atticist, *Phrynichus* (1820), where the last 300 pages are mainly devoted to the laws of word-formation in Greek. Similar subjects are treated in his *Paralipomena Grammaticae Graecae* (1837) and his *Pathologia Sermonis Graeci* (1843-62). All of these works are marked by a singularly comprehensive knowledge of the whole range of Greek literature, by an acute perception of real or apparent analogies, and a fine sense of the life of the language. His clear insight and wide erudition enable him to deduce definite laws and rules of usage from an almost overwhelming multitude of details. His interest in the history of Greek religion is mainly exemplified by his *Aglaophamus* (1829), a masterly work of astounding learning, comprising all that was then known as to the Eleusinian, Orphic, and Samothracian mysteries.

One of the pupils of Lobeck, Gregor Wilhelm Nitzsch (1790—1861), is best known as an early and an effective opponent of Wolf's theory on the Homeric question. While Wolf regards Homer as a primitive bard, who

Lobeck

Nitzsch

began to weave the web of the Homeric poems, and only carried it down to a certain point, Nitzsch looks upon him as 'a great poetical artist who, coming after the age of the short lays, framed an epic on a larger plan'¹. Thus Wolf places Homer at the *beginning* of the growth of the poems, Nitzsch nearer to the *end*. Nitzsch regards the *Iliad* as *mainly* the work of Homer, but this view does not exclude the introduction of minor interpolations and changes at a later date. The *Odyssey* he considers to be the work of perhaps the same poet, who (he holds) was more original here than in the *Iliad*. He also observes that some of the 'Cyclic' poems of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. presupposed our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in something like their present form.

Among the correspondents of Nitzsch none, perhaps, agreed more completely with his views on Homer than
 Nägelsbach Karl Friedrich Nägelsbach (1806—1859). His published works include two important volumes on *Homeric* and *Posthomeric Theology* (1840—57), and a widely appreciated treatise on 'Latin Style', with special regard to the differences of idiom between Latin and German prose².

The foremost of Lobeck's pupils at Königsberg was Karl
 Lehrs (1802—1878), who was one of his master's colleagues for the last 29 years of that master's life, and was himself the head of the Königsberg School for 18 years after. Under Lobeck and Lehrs the School was distinguished by a special interest (1) in the history of grammatical studies among the Greeks from the beginning of the Alexandrian to the end of the Byzantine age, (2) in the study of the language, metre and composition of the Greek Epics, from Homer down to Nonnus and his imitators, and (3) in the investigation of the religious opinions of the Greeks, with special reference to the *ethical* content of the myths, excluding all attempts to interpret those myths by means of the phenomena of *Nature*. Lehrs made his mark in all three lines of research. The first is well represented by his 'Homeric Studies of Aristarchus'³, and by his volume on

¹ Jebb's *Homer*, 121.

² *Lateinische Stilistik*, 1846; ed. 9 (Iwan Müller, with full Index), 1905.

³ *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*, 1833, 1865², 1882³ (506 pp.).

the *Scholia* to Pindar (1873); the second by his *Quaestiones Epicae*; and the third by his 'Popular Essays'. His researches on the Greek Grammarians have won a far wider approval than his criticisms on Ovid's *Heroides*, and on Horace, many of whose *Odes* he rejected (1869).

Among the earliest and most important of the pupils of Hermann was Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch (1784—Thiersch 1860). In 1807 he was drawn to Göttingen by Heyne; two years later he left for Munich, where his success as a school-master led to his being entrusted with the direction of a philological *Seminar*, which was incorporated in the Bavarian university in 1826. He also lectured on Greek Art, after studying the sculptures in the Louvre and the British Museum (1813–15), as well as the Aeginetan marbles, which the Crown Prince Ludwig had acquired in 1812 for the Munich *Glyptothek* finally opened by Ludwig, as King, in 1830. Thiersch's interests in art were still further extended by half a year's absence in Italy (1822–3). Thiersch took an important part in reviving an interest in classical studies at Munich, and also in the organisation of the schools and universities of Bavaria. His contributions to classical learning fall under three heads:—(1) Greek Grammar; (2) criticism and interpretation of Greek poetry; (3) archaeology, including topography and epigraphy. He was also interested in the language and the history of modern Greece.

Among other professors in the Bavarian university, may be mentioned Georg Anton Friedrich Ast (1778—Ast 1841), who, besides editing the *Characters* of Theophrastus, made his mark as an expositor of Plato, crowning all his Platonic labours by the publication of his celebrated *Index*; Leonhard Spengel (1803—1880), the editor of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; and Carl Prantl (1820—1888) the Platonic and Aristotelian scholar, whose best known work is his 'History of the Study of Logic in the West'.

Classical education in Bavaria was also ably promoted by Ludwig Doederlein (1791—1863), who began his Doederlein university career at Munich under Thiersch, and was a professor at Erlangen and for more than 40 years head-

master of the local school. Interesting and stimulating as a lecturer, and impressive and eloquent as a head-master, he was apt to be unduly subtle as a writer of works on Latin Synonymns, and on Greek and Latin Etymology¹.

Turning to Greek lexicographers, we note that Franz Passow (1786—1833), for the last 18 years of his life professor at Breslau, devoted himself to the laborious task of producing in 1819–23 a greatly enlarged and improved edition of the Greek lexicon of J. G. Schneider (1750—1822), then one of the senior professors at Breslau. The work was so largely altered that, in the fourth edition, Passow's name alone appeared on the title-page (1831)².

Among modern Latin lexicographers a place of honour is due to Karl Ernst Georges (1806—1895), who spent nearly the whole of his life at Gotha. His German-Latin lexicon was completed in 1833³ and accepted at Jena in lieu of a dissertation for his degree. The series of excellent Latin-German lexicons had been begun by that of Scheller (1783). On the death of Luenemann in 1830, the preparation of a new edition of Scheller was taken over by Georges, whose name appears on the title-page of the edition of 1837. Of the seventh edition in two volumes, filling 6,088 columns, 15,000 copies were printed in and after 1879. This work was confessedly founded on those of Gesner, Forcellini, and Scheller, as well as on his own extensive collections. It was warmly eulogised by Wölfflin, the organiser of the new *Thesaurus*, now in course of publication. Georges himself began a *Thesaurus*, continued by Mühlmann down to the letter K. In his later years, when his sight began to fail, he prepared a useful lexicon of Latin Word-forms (1890). By 1891 six editions of his small Latin-German and German-Latin *Handwörterbuch*, and five of the corresponding *Schulwörterbuch*, had been published. His German-Latin lexicon was the foundation of the English-Latin work of Riddle and Arnold.

The Greek Comic Poets were the principal theme of the literary labours of August Meineke (1790—1870), who came under the immediate influence of

¹ *Lat. Synonymen und Etymologien*, 6 vols. (1826–38); *Lat. Synonymik* (1839, 1849²); *Lat. Etym.* (1841); *Hom. Glossarium*, 3 vols. (1850–8).

² It was subsequently made the foundation of a large lexicon prepared by V. C. F. Rost, in conjunction with Friedrich Palm and other scholars (1841–57). Meanwhile, Wilhelm Pape (1807—1854) had added to his *Lexicon* of 1842 a lexicon of proper names, which, in Benseler's improved edition of 1863–70, became an admirable work of reference.

³ Ed. 7, 1882.

Hermann at Leipzig and was for 31 years a head-master in Berlin, where, as a scholar, he was the peer of the leading professors:—Boeckh and Bekker, Buttmann and Lachmann. As an editor of important classical works, he was the first since Bentley to make his mark on the criticism of Menander and Philemon (1823). His 'Critical History of the Greek Comic Poets' appeared as an introduction to his 'Fragments of the Comic Poets', which filled three further volumes (1839-41). The fifth volume was published in two parts, including an excellent index (1857). Meanwhile, a new edition of the Fragments had appeared in two volumes (1847). Meineke's work on Attic Comedy was completed by his text of Aristophanes, with a preface *Adnotatio Critica* (1860).

In Meineke's 'Fragments of the Comic Poets', the fragments of Aristophanes were collected by Meineke's assistant-master and future son-in-law, Theodor Bergk (1812—1881), who afterwards published several editions of the plays. He is best known as the editor of the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, a work remarkable for the felicity of the editor's emendations. The first edition, that of 1843, was followed by improved editions in 1853, 1866, and 1878-82.

The text of the Greek dramatists is associated with the name of Karl Wilhelm Dindorf (1802—1883), who passed nearly the whole of his life in Leipzig. He began his career as an editor by completing in seven volumes (1819-26) an edition of Aristophanes begun by two other scholars. Among his earliest works were editions of Pollux and Harpocration. For the Teubner series of Greek texts with critical notes, begun in 1824, he edited Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, as well as Aeschines, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon. For the Clarendon Press at Oxford he edited all the Greek dramatists, together with notes and *scholia* (1832-63). The text of the whole was first printed in a single volume in 1830, the well-known *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, which attained a fifth edition in 1869. He edited, for the Didot series, Sophocles and Aristophanes, with Herodotus, Lucian, and part of Josephus; and, for the Clarendon Press (besides the dramatists), Homer and Demosthenes with the

scholia; also the *scholia* to Aeschines and Isocrates, the lexicon of Harpocration, and the works of Clement of Alexandria. Among the texts prepared by him for other publishers were Lucian, Athenaeus, Aristides, and Themistius. From 1833 to 1864 the main part of the revision of Didot's Paris edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus Graecitatis* was done by the brothers Dindorf, who had begun to help as early as 1831. The younger brother, Ludwig (1805—1871), produced editions of Hesiod, Euripides, Dion Chrysostom, and the Greek Historians, including Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus, Dio Cassius, Polybius, the *Historici Graeci Minores*, with Zonaras, and the Didot edition of Pausanias.

GRAMMARIANS AND LEXICOGRAPHERS.

A 'Greek Grammar, with special reference to the Homeric dialect', first published in 1812 by F. W. Thiersch, Thiersch led to a controversy on Homeric moods with Hermann. His shorter Grammar (1815) was much enlarged in its fourth edition (1855).

His younger contemporary, Karl Wilhelm Krüger (1796—1874), produced Krüger a well-known Greek Grammar for Schools¹, which is divided into two parts, (1) on the Attic, and (2) on the other Dialects. This arrangement is convenient for educational purposes, but it conveys a false impression as to the historic development of the language. The rules are, however, stated with clearness and precision, and are illustrated by excellently chosen examples. Krüger declined to recognise in his Grammar any of the results of Comparative Philology.

As a Greek Grammarian, Krüger found an able rival in Raphael Kühner Kühner (1802—1878), whose large Greek Grammar in two volumes (1834-5)² is a vast repertory of grammatical lore, which has attained a third edition in four volumes under the editorial care of Blass and Gerth (1890—1904). He also produced a Greek Grammar for Schools (1836), and a still more elementary work on the same subject (1837), which has gone through many editions, together with corresponding works on Latin Grammar (1841 etc.). On retiring from his mastership, he published a large Latin Grammar (1877-9), which is a monument of learning and industry.

¹ *Griechische Sprachlehre*, Berlin, 1843; ed. 5, 1873-9.

² Transl. by W. E. Jelf, 1842-5.

The study of Greek Dialects was advanced by Heinrich Ludolf Ahrens (1809—1881). He also published a Grammar of the Homeric and Attic Dialects¹, and an important critical edition of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. Ahrens

While 'Scientific Greek Syntax' had been ably treated by Bernhardy in 1829, Syntax was well represented in the elementary Greek Grammars produced in South Germany (1856 etc.) by Meisterhans Bäumlein (1797—1865), and in North Germany (1868) by Aken (1816—1870). The Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions was successfully handled by Konrad Meisterhans (1858—1894)².

The first to set a distinctly higher standard in the History of Classical Literature was Gottfried Bernhardy (1800—1875), professor at Halle for the last 46 years of his life. His *History of Roman Literature* (1830)³ was followed by a *History of Greek Literature* (1836—45)⁴. In both the subject is divided into two parts, (1) a general account of the historical developement of literature in chronological order; and (2) a special account of its several departments, with biographical and bibliographical details on each author. This division involves the frequent repetition, in the *special* portion, of points already mentioned in the *general* survey; and, although three volumes are devoted to Greek literature, the *special* history of Greek Prose is never reached. In 1832 he published a System of Classical Learning, in which Grammar is treated as the *instrument* of that Learning, and Criticism and Interpretation as its *elements*, while a subordinate place is assigned to the History of Art, with Numismatics and Epigraphy⁵. He also published a large volume on the 'Scientific Syntax of the Greek Language', in which Syntax is treated in relation to the History of Literature (1829). His interest in the History of Greek Literature prompted his important edition of Suïdas, which was not completed until 1853.

Bernhardy's work on Roman Literature found a rival in that

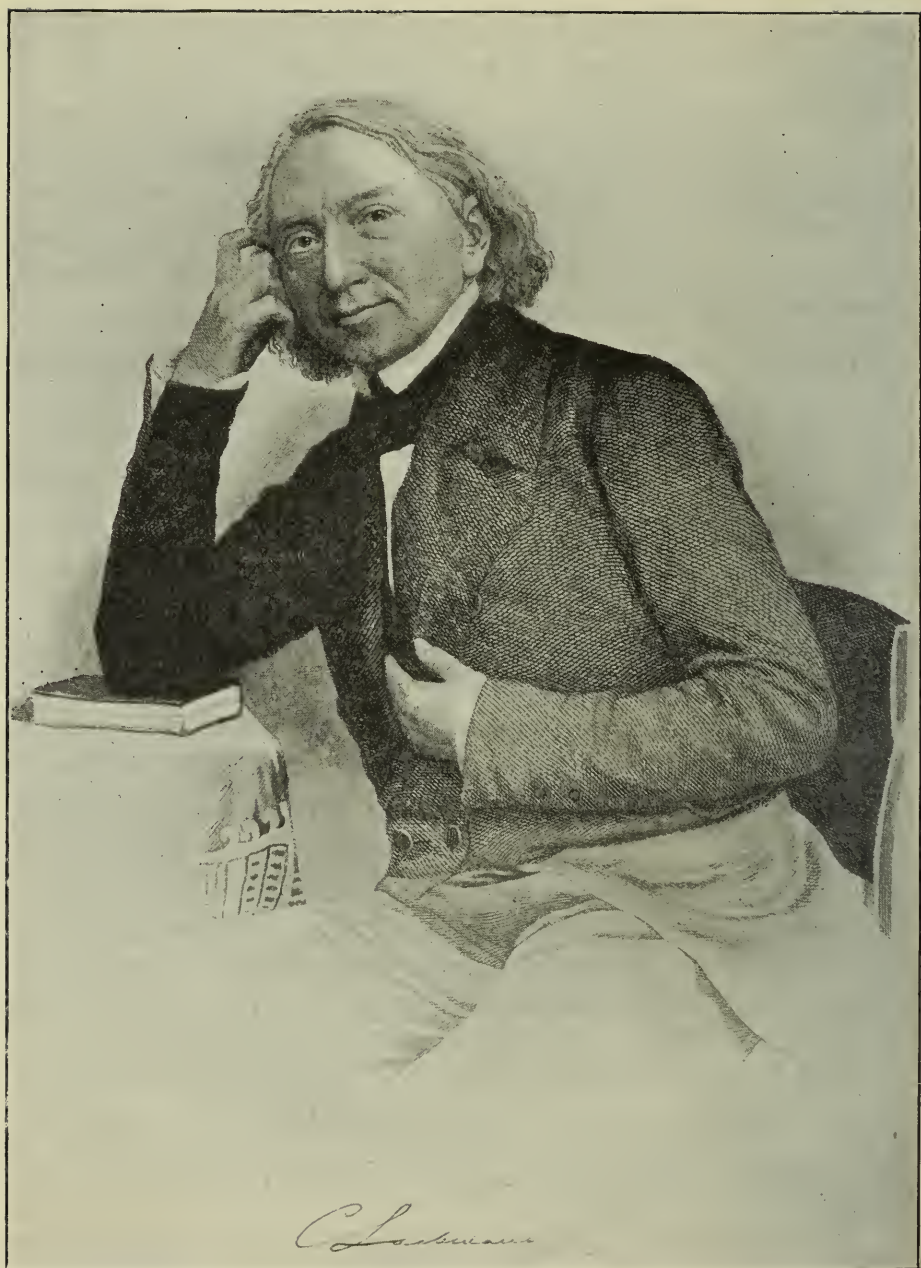
¹ 1853; ed. 2, 1869.

² *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* 1885; ed. 3, 1900.

³ *Grundriss der römischen Litteratur*, ed. 5, 1872.

⁴ *Grundriss der griechischen Litteratur*, ed. 4 in 3 vols. (1876—80); ed. 5 of vol. i, 844 pp. (ed. Volkmann, 1892).

⁵ *Grundlinien zur Encyklopädie der Philologie*, 420 pp. (1832).



LACHMANN.

Reduced from A. Teichel's engraving of the photograph by H. Biow.

of Wilhelm Sigismund Teuffel (1820—1878), who taught at Tübingen during the last 34 years of his comparatively short life. His work on Roman Literature Teuffel (1870), the fourth edition of which was supplemented by L. Schwabe (1882) and translated by G. C. W. Warr (1900), though not characterised by the profundity and the originality of Bernhardt, excelled in clearness of style and arrangement. A fifth edition is in course of publication.

The large Latin Grammar of Karl Gottlob Zumpt (1792—1849), who passed most of his life in Berlin, was Zumpt limited to classical prose. First published in 1818, it passed through many editions and was translated into English. It held its own in Germany until it was superseded in 1884 by that of Madvig.

Latin Grammar and Lexicography were the main interests of Reinhold Klotz (1807—1870), whose admirable ‘Handbook of Latin R. Klotz Style’ owed its excellence to the author’s constant study of Cicero. His intermediate Latin Dictionary (1853–7) was to have been founded throughout on the direct study of the Latin Classics, but pressure on the part of the publishers led to a certain unevenness in the execution, and also to the introduction of errors arising from unverified references borrowed from the Dictionary of Freund (1834–45)¹, which is little more than a compilation from Forcellini.

Karl Lachmann (1793—1851) studied for a short time at Leipzig under Hermann, and for six years at Lachmann Göttingen. Meanwhile he had taken his degree at Halle on the strength of a dissertation on Tibullus (1811). In 1818–24 he was a professor at Königsberg, and, for the remaining 26 years of his life, he was one of the foremost professors in Berlin. As a Latin scholar he produced, besides his early edition of Propertius (1816), a second edition of that poet, together with Catullus and Tibullus (1829). Late in life he produced his masterly edition of Lucretius (1850). As to the merits of this work, it will be enough to quote the generous eulogy written by another great editor, Munro:—

‘This illustrious scholar, great in so many departments of philology, sacred, classical and Teutonic, seems to have looked upon Latin poetry as his peculiar

¹ b. (of Jewish parents) 1806, d. 1894 (at Breslau).

province. Lucretius, his greatest work, was the main occupation of the last five years of his life, from the autumn of 1845 to November 1850. Fortunately, he had the full use for many months of the two Leyden MSS. His native sagacity, guided and sharpened by long and varied experience, saw at a glance their relations to each other and to the original from which they were derived, and made clear the arbitrary way in which the common texts had been constructed. His zeal warming as he advanced, one truth after another revealed itself to him, so that at length he obtained by successive steps a clear insight into the condition in which the poem left the hands of its author in the most essential points.'... 'Hardly any work of merit has appeared in Germany since Lachmann's *Lucretius*, in any branch of Latin literature, without bearing on every page the impress of his example'¹.

Lachmann's study of Wolf's *Prolegomena* led him to apply the principles of that work to the great German epic of the *Nibelungen-noth*, and to show that the latter could be resolved into a series of twenty primitive lays (1816). More than twenty years afterwards he applied the same principles to the Homeric poems themselves.

He 'dissected the *Iliad* into eighteen separate lays. He leaves it doubtful whether they are to be ascribed to eighteen distinct authors. But at any rate, he maintains, each lay was originally more or less independent of all the rest. His main test is the inconsistency of detail. A primitive poet, he argued, would have a vivid picture before his mind, and would reproduce it with close consistency. He also affirms that many of the lays are utterly distinct in general spirit'².

Lachmann was also the true founder of a strict and methodical system of textual criticism. He has laid down his principles most clearly in the preface to his edition of the Greek Testament. These principles were applied by Lachmann in all his editions of Latin or Greek or German texts. His aim in all was, firstly, the *determination* of the *earliest* form of the text, so far as it could be ascertained with the aid of MSS, or quotations; and, secondly, the *restoration* of the *original* form by means of careful emendation. Here and elsewhere his great example is Bentley. His own influence 'on the general course of philological study' was 'probably greater', says Nettleship³, 'than that of any single man' during the nineteenth century. 'Many scholars who never saw him, and to whom he is only known by his books, have been

¹ Munro's *Lucretius*, i p. 20³ f.

² Jebb's *Homer*, 118 f.

³ *Essays*, i 9.

inspired by the extraordinary impulse which he gave to critical method; Greek, Latin, and German philology have alike felt the touch of the magician.'

The Berlin professorship vacated by the death of Lachmann was filled for the next 21 years by his friend Moritz Haupt (1808—1874), the pupil and the son-in-law of Hermann. Lachmann and Haupt had much in common. Both of them were inspired with a keen interest in German as well as Classical Scholarship, and both of them devoted their main energies to the criticism of the Latin poets. Haupt's *Quaestiones Catullianae* (1837), a work of special importance in connexion with the textual criticism of Catullus, was succeeded by his critical editions of the *Halieutica* of Ovid, the *Cynegetica* of Gratius and Nemesianus, and the Pseudo-Ovidian *Epicedion Drusi*. His entry on his professorship in Berlin was marked by his treatise on the Eclogues of Calpurnius and Nemesianus. He also published a school-edition of the first seven books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and elegant editions of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, and of Horace and Virgil. Haupt, like Lachmann, perpetuated in an intense form the polemical spirit of his master, Hermann. His lectures on the *Epistles* of Horace at Berlin, which began with an exposition of the principles to be followed in constituting the text, and included a running fire of criticisms on Orelli, were attended by Nettleship, who then learnt for the first time to appreciate the true greatness of Bentley.

Haupt was born two years later and died two years earlier than a still greater scholar, Friedrich Ritschl (1806—1876). At Leipzig and Halle his early interest was directed towards the Greek poets. His four years of university teaching at Halle (1829—33) were followed by a call to Breslau. The rest of his life falls into three periods during which he was professor first at Breslau (1833—9), next at Bonn (1839—65), and finally at Leipzig (1865—76).

His interest in Plautus was first displayed at Breslau. In 1836—7 he visited Italy and spent several months in deciphering the Ambrosian palimpsest of Plautus at Milan. In 1841 he started a series of papers on Plautus, which were published with additions in 1845 under the title of *Parerga*, and won for him

Haupt

Ritschl



RITSCHL.

From a lithograph of the drawing by A. Hohneck (1844), published by Henry and Cohen, Bonn, with autograph and motto, *nihil tam difficilest quin quærendo investigari possiet* (Ter. Haul. 675).

the name of *sospitator Plauti*. In 1848 he began his edition of Plautus, and, by the end of 1854, had published nine plays¹. He produced new editions of these nine, and entrusted the preparation of the rest to three of his ablest pupils:—Gustav Löwe, Georg Götz, and Friedrich Schöll. Ritschl's papers on Plautus, and his edition of the text, mark an epoch in the study of that author. It is to be regretted that he did not begin his work on Plautus at an earlier date, and that he was diverted from the completion of his edition by taking up a number of points incidentally suggested by his Plautine studies. He was thus prompted to investigate the history of the Latin language. But the most important monument of his labours in this department is his great collection of Ancient Latin Inscriptions². Many points of early Latin Grammar are here illustrated, either in the descriptive letter-press or in the elaborate *indices*. It was followed by an important paper on the History of the Latin Alphabet³. Again, his examination of the early fortunes of the plays of Plautus led him to inquire into the literary activity of Varro⁴. He also wrote an important paper on the survey of the Roman Empire under Augustus⁵.

At Bonn he was a most successful teacher for 26 years, but, owing to unfortunate differences with one of his colleagues, he resigned his professorship and withdrew entirely from Prussia, to spend the rest of his life at the Saxon university of Leipzig.

¹ *Trinummus*, *Miles*, *Bacchides* (1849); *Stichus*, *Pseudolus* (1850); *Menaechmi* (1851); *Mostellaria* (1852); *Persa*, *Mercator* (1854).

² *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica* (1862).

³ *Kleine Schriften*, iv. 691—726.

⁴ *ib.* iii 352—592.

⁵ iii 743 f.

CHAPTER XL

EDITORS OF GREEK CLASSICS

THE text of the Greek tragic poets is associated with the name of August Nauck (1822—1892), who in 1841–6 studied at Halle, mainly under Bernhardy. After holding scholastic appointments in Berlin, he was in 1859 elected a Member of the Academy of St Petersburg, where he was also professor of Greek Literature in 1869–83. His first important work was an edition of the Fragments of Aristophanes of Byzantium (1848), suggested by Bernhardy. His text of Euripides (1854) was succeeded by an excellent edition of the Fragments of the Greek Tragic Poets (1856), the final edition of which appeared in 1889, and was followed by a complete index in 1891. The second edition of his Euripides included *Prolegomena* on the life, style, and genius of the poet, in which the subject is tersely and succinctly treated, while the original authorities are added in the notes. Like Porson and Elmsley, for both of whom he had a high admiration, he was specially strong in his knowledge of metre. From 1856 onwards he was repeatedly engaged in the critical study of Sophocles. Every few years he produced a new revision of Schneidewin's school-editions of the several plays. He also published texts of the *Odyssey* (1874) and the *Iliad* (1877). While his first decade at St Petersburg had been mainly devoted to Sophocles, and his second to Homer, the third was assigned to Porphyry and his circle. Here, as in his earlier work, the first impulse had come from Bernhardy.

Homer and Pindar formed a principal part of the wide province of Greek literature which was illustrated by the life-long labours of Wilhelm Christ (1831—1906), for forty-five years a professor in the university of Munich.

Under the influence of Boeckh, he ultimately edited a text of Pindar, followed by a commentary (1896). His comprehensive hand-book of Greek Literature has passed through several editions. He was one of the most versatile of scholars. He was capable of examining in archaeology, and of lecturing on ancient philosophy, besides taking an interest in astronomy.

A commentary on the *Electra* of Sophocles (1896) was one of the finest of the works produced by Georg Kaibel (1849—1901), for the last five years of his life professor at Göttingen. His principal works, beside the edition of the *Electra*, were his critical text of Athenaeus (1886—90), his *Epigrammata Græca ex lapidibus collecta* (1878), his collections of the Greek Inscriptions of Italy and Sicily and the West of Europe (1890), the edition of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, in which he was associated with his life-long friend, Wilamowitz (1891), and his independent work on the 'Style and Text' of the treatise (1893). He had only published the first part of his proposed edition of the 'Fragments of the Greek Comic Poets' (1889), when his brief life came to an end.

Turning from editors of Greek poets to those whose work lay in the field of Greek prose, we note that an excellent edition of the text of Plato was produced at Zürich by Baiter, Orelli, and Winckelmann (1839—42). Of these Johann Caspar Orelli (1787—1849) also prepared an important critical text of the whole of Cicero (1826—38), the second edition of which was completed by Baiter and Halm (1846—62). Of his many other works the best known are his annotated editions of Horace (1837—8) and of Tacitus (1846—8).

Orelli's principal partner in the edition of Plato, and his successor in that of Cicero, was Johann Georg Baiter (1801—1877), who was associated with Sauppe in an important edition of the *Oratores Attici*.

Baiter's colleague as editor of the *Oratores Attici*, Hermann Sauppe (1809—1893), studied under Hermann at Leipzig, held appointments for twelve years at Zürich, and was subsequently director of the *gymnasium* at Weimar (1845—56), and classical professor for many years at Göttingen (1856—93). It was at Zürich that he was associated

with Baiter in the comprehensive edition of the Attic Orators in two large quarto volumes (1839-50), the first containing the text founded on the best MSS, and the second the *scholia*, with Sauppe's edition of the Fragments, and a full Index of Names. He was the first to improve the text of Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes, by closely following the best MS of each.

An able and comprehensive edition of Isaeus was published in 1831 by Georg Friedrich Schömann (1793—1879), who, for nearly the whole of his long life, held scholastic or academic appointments at Greifswald. His love of concrete facts attracted him to the difficult and almost unexplored province of the constitutional system and legal procedure of Athens. In conjunction with Boeckh's favourite pupil, Meier, he produced in 1824 an important work on Attic Procedure¹. His interest in Attic law led to his producing his translation (1830) and his annotated edition of Isaeus (1831). In 1838 he produced his systematic Latin work on the Public Antiquities of Greece², followed in 1855 by his German 'Handbook' on the same subject³. In 1854 he published his able critique on Grote's treatment of the Constitutional History of Athens⁴.

The History of Attic Eloquence was made the theme of an admirable historic survey by Friedrich Blass (1843—1907), who studied at Göttingen under Sauppe, and distinguished himself as a classical professor at Kiel in 1876-92, and at Halle for the remaining fifteen years of his life. His history of Greek oratory from the age of Alexander to that of Augustus (1865) was followed by the greatest of his works, the four volumes of *Die Attische Beredsamkeit* (1868-80), which attained a second edition in 1887-98. For the Teubner series he edited texts of all the Attic Orators except Lysias and Isaeus. His critical texts of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* (1892) and of Bacchylides (1898) passed through several editions. His treatise on

¹ *Der attische Process*, 1824; ed. Lipsius, 1883-7.

² *Antiquitates juris publici Graecorum*, 1838.

³ *Handbuch der griechischen Alterthümer*, 1855-9 (E. T. vol. i, 1880); ed. 4 Lipsius, 1897-1902.

⁴ E. T. by Bernard Bosanquet, 1878.

the pronunciation of Ancient Greek¹ and his Grammar of New Testament Greek were translated into English. His published works frequently brought him into friendly relations with English scholars.

From the scholars who studied the Attic Orators we turn to the exponents of Greek philosophy. Histories of Greek and Roman Philosophy (1835-66), and of the influence of Greek Philosophy under the Roman Empire (1862-4), were published by one of the editors of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Christian August Brandis (1790-1867), who was professor at Bonn from 1821 to his death in 1867.

Eduard Zeller (1814-1908), for 35 years professor in the university of Berlin, was the author of a well-known History of Greek Philosophy in three large octavo volumes (first ed. 1844-52).

The able Aristotelian, Hermann Bonitz (1814-1888), was for thirteen years a schoolmaster at Dresden, Berlin, and Stettin, and for eighteen a professor in Vienna, where he helped to reorganise the schools and universities of Austria (1849-67), after which he returned to Berlin as Director of the School 'am Grauen Kloster', where he completed in 1870 his great *Index Aristotelicus*, which had been preceded by important works on Plato and Aristotle. He was a perfect master of that province of classical learning, which includes Greek philology and Greek philosophy.

Theodor Gomperz (1832-1912), who spent the larger part of his life in Vienna, was well known as the decipherer and interpreter of the Herculanean fragments of Epicurus and Philodemus, and also as the author of an able work on the Greek philosophers².

The Religion, Philosophy, and Rhetoric of the Greeks were only a part of the wide field of learning traversed by Hermann Usener (1834-1905), who was professor at Bonn for the last thirty-nine years of his life. The breadth of his erudition is attested by writings on the most varied themes. He published editions of important *scholia* on Aristotle,

¹ 1870 etc.; E. T. of ed. 3 by W. J. Purton (Cambridge, 1890).

² *Griechische Denker*, ed. 3, 1911 f; E. T. 1900 f.

and of the rhetorical works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. His *Epicurea* is a critical collection of all the ancient authorities on Epicurus, with an elaborate introduction and excellent *indices*. He also wrote on the history of Greek and Roman Grammar, on ancient Greek metre, and applied the comparative method to the History of Religion.

The History of the Greek Novel was the theme of a brilliant and masterly work published in 1876 by Erwin Rohde (1845—1898)¹. Next Rohde to the History of the Greek Novel, he attacked the problem connected with the growth of the ancient history of Greek literature. The third of his three main interests as a scholar, his interest in Greek Religion, reached its culminating point in his *Psyche* (1891-4)². His main thesis was that the cult of souls was the most primitive stage of religious worship throughout the world, and that there was no reason for excepting the Greeks from this general rule. The apparent inconsistency of this cult with the Homeric theology was solved by an analysis of the earliest epics, showing in Homer, and still more in Hesiod, the existence of rudimentary survivals of a more ancient cult. The religion of the old Epics was thus put in a new light; and the Homeric theology stood out against the dark background of an earlier type of religion.

¹ *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 1876; ed. 2, 1900.

² Ed. 2, 1897.

CHAPTER XLI

EDITORS OF LATIN CLASSICS

RITSCHL was succeeded at Leipzig by one of the earliest of his pupils, his able biographer, Otto Ribbeck (1827—Ribbeck 1898), who held office for the remaining 21 years of his life. His work was mainly limited to the history and the criticism of the earlier Latin poets. He published an important collection of the Fragments of the Latin Dramatists¹, a work on Roman Tragedy in the age of the Republic², and a valuable History of Roman Poetry in three volumes³. He also published a comprehensive critical edition of Virgil, in five volumes⁴, as well as a smaller edition of the text. His work on Virgil had been preceded by his text of Juvenal⁵, and was succeeded by his *Epistles* and *Ars Poëtica* of Horace, in both of which he evinced an inordinate suspicion of textual interpolations.

Latin and Greek Scholarship were alike represented by Johannes Vahlen (1830—1912), a pupil of Ritschl Vahlen at Bonn. His earliest fame was won by his work on Ennius⁶, and by his edition of the epic fragments of Naevius⁷. In Vienna, during the middle period of his life (1858–74), he produced important papers on Aristotle, on the Greek rhetorician Alkidamas, and on the Italian critic Lorenzo Valla, as well as able editions of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry⁸, and of Cicero *De*

¹ 1852–5; ed. 2, 1871–3; ed. 3, 1897–8.

² 1875. ³ 1892, 1894².

⁴ 1859–68, abridged ed. 1895.

⁵ 1859. Cp. *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal* (1865).

⁶ *Quaestiones Criticae*, 1852; *Reliquiae*, 1854.

⁷ *Naevi de bello Punico reliquiae*, 1854.

⁸ 1868, 1874, 1885.

Legibus. In Berlin, during the rest of his life (1874—1912), he carried on the high traditions of Lachmann and Haupt, and, towards the close of his long career, published the final edition of his early work on Ennius (1903).

The Latin poets were specially studied by Lucian Müller (1836—1898) who, after living for five years in Holland (mainly at Leyden), and for three at Bonn, was appointed professor of Latin Literature at St Petersburg, where he worked for the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. In 1861 he published his treatise *De re metrica*, on the prosody of all the Latin poets except Plautus and Terence. A compendium of the same appeared in 1878, together with a summary of Latin orthography and prosody, followed by a textbook of Greek and Latin Metres¹. His critical acumen was attested in his edition of Lucilius (1872), which was followed by a sketch of the life and work of that poet, ending with a restoration of a number of scenes from his *Satires* (1876). In 1884 he wrote a work on Ennius, and published the remains of that poet, and the fragments of Naevius' epic on the first Punic War. In the following year he edited the fragments of the plays of Livius Andronicus and of Naevius, and published a work on the 'Saturnian Verse'. The fragments of the old Roman poets led him to Nonius, and he accordingly produced in 1888 an edition of that grammarian and lexicographer, extending over 1127 pages, the index alone filling 55. This led him to write a treatise on Pacuvius and Accius (1889 f), followed by two works of general interest on the artistic and the popular poetry of the Romans (1890). After that date he prepared three important works: (1) an enlarged edition of his *De re metrica* (1894); (2) an annotated edition of the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace for the use of scholars (1891—3); and (3) a similar edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes*, posthumously published in 1900. He held that, for a great scholar, it was essential that he should have, not only wide learning and clear judgement, but also a strong power of concentration on a definite field of labour. It was this that led to his own success in the province of Latin poetry. But he was far from neglecting Greek, for he also held

¹ 1880; ed. 2, 1885; transl. into French, Italian, Dutch, and English.

that, without Greek, a fruitful study of Latin was impossible. He was a skilful writer of Latin verse, and insisted on the practice of verse composition as a valuable aid towards the appreciation of the Latin poets.

One of Lucian Müller's rivals as an editor of Latin poets was his former pupil at Bonn, Emil Baehrens (1848—1888), who for the last eleven years of his life was Latin professor at the Dutch University of Groningen. His principal work was his edition of the *Poëtae Latini Minores* in five volumes (1879—1883). In the laborious preparation of this work he examined more than 1000 MSS. It was supplemented by his *Fragmenta Poëtarum Romanorum* (1886).

Baehrens

Latin scholarship was ably represented by Franz Bücheler (1837—1908), professor at Bonn for the last 38 years of his life. His editions of Frontinus, *On Aqueducts*, and of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, were followed in 1862 by the first of his critical editions of Petronius. His brief monograph on the Latin Declensions and Conjugations (1862), expanded by Havet in French (1875), was thence re-edited in German (1879). In 1886 and 1893 he produced the second and third editions of Jahn's Persius, Juvenal and Sulpicia; in 1895 the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. He was also a specialist in the dialects of ancient Italy. His scattered researches on the Iguvine inscriptions were collected and completed in his *Umbrica* (1883), and Oscan and Pelignian inscriptions were repeatedly elucidated by his skill.

Bücheler

Latin scholarship was no less ably represented, at Göttingen, by Friedrich Leo (1851—1914), who produced editions of Plautus, of Virgil's *Culex*, of Seneca's

Leo

Tragedies, of Juvenal and Persius, and of Venantius Fortunatus. He also made his mark by his exhaustive treatment of Saturnian Verse, of Plautine Metre, and of monologue in the Greek and Latin drama. His Plautine Researches include a complete history of Roman Comedy. His mature opinions on the studies of a life-time are partly preserved in his latest work, the brilliant first volume of his *History of Latin Literature*, which traces the progress of Latin verse and prose from Livius Andronicus to Lucilius. He here maintains that Latin literature, though deeply

indebted to that of Greece, was a continuation of that literature on lines determined by the genius of the Roman people¹.

From verse we turn to prose. On an earlier page Orelli has been mentioned as an editor not only of Horace, but also of Tacitus and of Cicero. On Orelli's death in 1849, the second edition of his Cicero was continued and completed in 1862 by Baiter and Halm.

Karl Felix Halm (1809—1882) was a native of Munich; he was appointed Rector of the newly founded *gymnasium* in 1849, and in 1856 director of the public library and professor in the university. His editorial labours were mainly limited to the field of Latin prose. His first edition of Cicero's seven Select Speeches with German notes (1850-66) was followed by a text of eighteen (1868). He also published a critical edition of the *Rhetores Latini Minores* and of the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian. He further edited Tacitus and Florus, Valerius Maximus, Cornelius Nepos and Velleius Paterculus, besides contributing to the Vienna *Corpus* of the Latin Fathers, and to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

In the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* the third volume of the *Poëtae Latini aevi Carolini* was ably edited in 1886-96 by Ludwig Traube (1861—1907), who was connected, for practically the whole of his academic career, with the university of Munich, where he was professor of the Latin Philology of the Middle Ages for the last five years of his life. He was an eager and able pioneer in an obscure and intricate region of classical learning, and by his independent research he acquired a profound knowledge of mediaeval palaeography, and of the history of the survival of the Latin Classics. In connexion with the literature of the early Middle Ages, he edited the Orations of Cassiodorus, and elaborately investigated the successive changes in the text of the Rule of St Benedict.

¹ Cp. W. M. Lindsay in *Classical Review*, 1914, 30 f, and E. A. Sonnenschein, *ib.* 206 f.

CHAPTER XLII

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGISTS

THE founder of the comparative study of language in Germany was Franz Bopp (1791—1867), who lived in Paris from 1812 to 1815, studying Arabic and Persian under Silvestre de Sacy, and teaching himself Sanskrit with the help of the Grammars of Carey (1806) and Wilkins (1808). He was a professor in Berlin for the last forty-six years of his life. From the publication of his earliest work on the comparison of the conjugational system of Sanskrit with that of Greek, Latin, Persian, and German (1816) to the very end of his career, he was engaged in the unremitting endeavour to explain the origin of the grammatical forms of the Indo-Germanic languages. This was the main object of his 'Comparative Grammar' (1833). The science created by Bopp has been since applied to Greek and Latin, and a sure foundation has thus been laid for the Etymology of those languages¹.

Bopp

Foremost among the labourers in this field was Theodor Benfey (1809—1881), who lived at Göttingen for the greatest part of his life. In the introduction to his 'lexicon of Greek roots', which was the first scientific treatment of Greek Etymology (1839-42), he drew up a scheme for a series of works treating of Greek Grammar in the light of Comparative Philology. Most of his subsequent publications were directly connected with Sanskrit. In 1869 he produced his able History of the study of language and of oriental philology in Germany.

Benfey

¹ Cp., in general, P. Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology* (1895) §§ 39—44, and the brief sketch in J. M. Edmonds' *Comparative Philology* (Cambridge, 1906), 189—200.

Benfey's pupil, Leo Meyer (1830—1910), completed in 1865 the second volume of his Comparative Grammar of L. Meyer Greek and Latin¹, dealing only with the doctrine of sounds and the formation of words. Meanwhile, he had published a brief comparison between the Greek and Latin declensions (1862). His Grammar remained unfinished, but he investigated the Greek aorist (1879), and finally published in 1901—2 a Handbook of Greek Etymology.

The recognition of the comparative method among Greek and Latin scholars and school-masters was mainly due G. Curtius to Georg Curtius (1820—1885), the younger brother of the historian of Greece. For the last twenty-four years of his life he was a professor at Leipzig. In his inaugural lecture he stated that it was his purpose, as professor, to bring Classical Philology and the Science of Language into closer relation with each other². His principal works were his 'Greek Grammar for Schools' (1852), his 'Principles of Greek Etymology' (1858—62), and his treatise on the 'Greek Verb' (1873—6). His 'Principles of Greek Etymology' reached a fifth edition in 1879³. The first Book contains an introductory statement on the principles, and the main questions, of Greek Etymology; the second deals with the *regular* representation of Indo-Germanic sounds in Greek, exemplified by a conspectus of words or groups of words arranged according to their sounds; and the third investigates the *irregular* or sporadic changes.

Following in the track of the Swede, J. Ihre⁴, the Dane Rasmus Cristian Rask (1787—1832) made a partial discovery of the law underlying the relations between the mute consonants (more especially the dentals) in Gothic, Scandinavian, and German. This discovery had an important influence on Jacob Grimm (1785—1863), who, in the second edition of his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1822),

¹ 2 vols., 1861—5; ed. 2 of vol. i, in two parts, 1270 pp., 1882—4; Benfey, 591.

² *Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1861 (also in *Kl. Schr.* i); cp. *Die Sprachvergleichung in ihrem Verhältniss zur cl. Philologie* (1848²), E. T. Oxford, 1851.

³ E. T., Wilkins and England, 1875—6; ed. 2, 1886.

⁴ *Enc. Brit.* (1910 f) s.v. Grimm.

fully and scientifically enunciated the law as to the consonantal relations between (1) Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, (2) High German, and (3) Low German (including English), which is known as 'Grimm's law'¹.

But this law has its exceptions. The discovery that these exceptions were due to the original accentuation of the Indo-Germanic languages was made by the Dane, K. A.

Verner (1846—1896). He was not a classical scholar, and, even in his own province of Comparative Philology, he only published three papers; but the name of the author of 'Verner's law' (1877) will be long remembered in the history of the science of language². Verner

The changes of the Latin consonants and vowels were ably investigated by Wilhelm Corssen (1820—1875), who, in his work on the 'Pronunciation, Vocalisation, and Accentuation of the Latin language'³, dealt with the orthography, pronunciation, and prosody of Latin in connexion with the old Italic dialects, and in the light of comparative philology. Corssen

The results of the various investigations on vocal changes were summed up in a series of 'laws of sound' by August Schleicher (1821—1868), in his 'Compendium of the Grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages'⁴. But the theory of the original vowels was revolutionised in 1876 by the discoveries of Karl Brugmann⁵ as to the nasal sonants (*ṃ* and *ṇ*) in the Indo-Germanic languages, showing that various apparent inconsistencies 'depended on a law pervading the whole group'⁶. In the same year the principle that phonetic laws have no exceptions was laid down by Leskien of Leipzig. This was accepted two years later by Osthoff of Heidelberg and Brugmann of Leipzig, who, with Hermann Paul of Munich, are the most pronounced of the 'New Grammarians'. They have also laid special stress Schleicher Brugmann The New Grammarians

¹ Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Ser. II, Lect. v; Giles' *Manual of Comp. Phil.*, §§ 39, 100.

² Giles, §§ 42, 104.

³ 1858-9; ed. 2, 1868-70.

⁴ 1861; ed. 2, 1866; E. T.

⁵ Now of Leipzig, b. 1849.

⁶ Giles, § 42.

on the fact that phonetic laws are liable to be counteracted by 'False Analogy'¹. They have further insisted on the importance of the study of the *psychology* of language.

The leading representative of that study had been H. Steinthal
Steinthal (1823—1899), professor in Berlin from 1863 to his death. Among his works may be mentioned his Essay on assimilation and attraction in their psychological aspects (1860), his Introduction to the Psychology of the Science of Language (1871), and his History of that Science among the Greeks and Romans (ed. 2, 1890 f).

¹ Cp. Paul's 'Principles of the History of Language' (E. T. 1888), and Brugmann's *Grundriss* (E. T. 1888 f), and 'Short Comparative Grammar' (1904).

CHAPTER XLIII

ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND HISTORIANS

DOWN to the time of Winckelmann and Heyne the investigation of the political, social, religious, and artistic life of the ancients had occupied a subordinate position in comparison with the study of the Greek and Latin languages. The new impulse then given had been carried forward by Niebuhr and by Boeckh, while, among their immediate successors, the most brilliant and versatile, and the most widely influential, was Karl Otfried Müller (1797—1840). In Berlin, under the influence of Boeckh (1816—7), he acquired a new interest in the history of Greece. He began by publishing in 1817 a monograph on the ancient and modern history of Aegina. Part of this work was on the Aeginetan Marbles, which had been discovered in 1811, and had been acquired for Munich in 1812. In 1819 he was appointed professor of *Alterthumswissenschaft* at Göttingen; in the following year he gave a course of lectures on Archaeology and the History of Art; and he continued lecturing on these and on other subjects with ever increasing success until the end of the summer-term of 1839. In September of that year he left for Italy and Greece, and on the first day of August, 1840, he died at Athens of a fever contracted while he was copying the inscriptions on the wall of the *Peribolos* at Delphi.

Karl Otfried
Müller

His early work on Aegina was followed, three years later, by that on 'Orchomenos and the Minyae'; in 1824, by the two volumes of the 'Dorians'; and, in 1828, by his 'Etruscans'. Five years later, he published his edition of the *Eumenides*, with a German rendering and with two Dissertations, (1) on the representation of the play, (2) on its purport and composition, a work

which brought him into conflict with Hermann. In the same year he produced a critical edition of Varro, *De Lingua Latina*. He also emended and annotated the remains of Festus, together with the epitome of the same by Paulus.

In the domain of classical archaeology, he produced a considerable number of separate treatises, as well as a comprehensive conspectus of the whole field. The latter is embodied in his well-known 'Handbook of the Archaeology of Art' (1830, etc.). The 'History of Greek Literature', which he began in 1836, was left unfinished on his departure for Greece. The work was completed by Donaldson, who wrote chapters 38—60 for the edition published in three volumes in 1858.

'As a classical scholar, we are inclined (says Donaldson) to prefer K. O. Müller, on the whole, to all the German philologists of the nineteenth century. He had not Niebuhr's grasp of original combination; he was hardly equal to his teacher, Böckh, in some branches of Greek...antiquities; he was inferior to Hermann in Greek verbal criticism; he was not a comparative philologist, like Grimm and Bopp and A. W. Schlegel, nor a collector of facts and forms like Lobeck. But in all the distinctive characteristics of these eminent men, he approached them more nearly than most of his contemporaries, and he had some qualifications to which none of them attained. In liveliness of fancy, in power of style, in elegance of taste, in artistic knowledge, he far surpassed most, if not all, of them.'¹

While K. O. Müller, even in his study of ancient mythology and art, mainly followed the *historical* method of research, the *poetic and artistic* side of the old Greek world had won the interest of his predecessor at Göttingen, Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784—1868), who was born thirteen years before him, and survived him by no less than twenty-eight. During his stay in Rome in 1806—8 he came under the influence of the able Danish archaeologist, Zoëga, subsequently writing his life, and translating and publishing his works. In 1819, after holding professorships at Giessen and Göttingen, he was appointed professor at Bonn, where he was also librarian and director of the Museum of ancient Art, the earliest institution of the kind. At Bonn he remained for nearly fifty years; late in life he spent two years travelling in Greece, Asia Minor, Italy and Sicily.

¹ *On the Life and Writings of K. O. Müller*, p. xxxi, in *Hist. of the Lit. of ancient Greece*, I xv—xxx (with portrait).

His general aim was to realise and to represent the old Greek world under the three aspects of Religion, Poetry, and Art. His researches in Greek mythology were embodied in the three volumes of his *Griechische Götterlehre* (1857-62). In the earlier part of his career he had been attracted by the Greek lyric poets and Aristophanes. In an edition of Theognis, he arranged the poems according to his own views, adding critical and explanatory notes and full prolegomena. Of his works on the drama, the most extensive was that on the 'Greek Tragedies in relation to the Epic Cycle'. As a preliminary to this he had produced a work on the Epic Cycle itself.

His main strength as an archaeologist lay less in the *history* of art than in its *interpretation*. He was a member of the 'Roman Institute for Archaeological Correspondence' from its foundation in 1829, and frequently contributed to its publications, and to other archaeological periodicals. The most important of his papers were collected in the five parts of his *Alte Denkmäler* (1849-64), which had been partly preceded by the five volumes of his *Kleine Schriften* (1844-67).

While Welcker's interests traversed the literary as well as the artistic sides of the old Greek world, a narrower field was covered by his friend and fellow-labourer, Gerhard Eduard Gerhard (1795-1867), who regarded archaeology as 'that part of the general science of the old classical world which is founded on the knowledge of monuments', and claimed for it an independent place by the side of 'philology' in the narrower sense of that term. He visited Italy in 1819-20 and 1822-6, and again in 1828-32, and in 1833 and 1836. In 1837 he became director of the Archaeological Museum in Berlin, and was a full professor from 1844 to his death in 1867.

His best known works are his four volumes on Greek vase-paintings, his descriptions of Etruscan mirrors, and his numerous papers on the mythology and cult of the Greeks. During his third stay in Rome (1828-32), he took in hand the foundation of the 'International Institute for Archaeological Correspondence'. On the anniversary of the birth of Winckelmann, the 9th of December, Gerhard, Kestner, Fea, and Thorwaldsen met at Bunsen's official residence and drew up a scheme for the new

Institute, which was founded in 1829, on April 21, the traditional date of the founding of Rome.

Gerhard's biographer was the able and scholarly archaeologist, Otto Jahn (1813—1869), for the last fourteen years of his life professor at Bonn. His earliest interest in archaeology was aroused by his visits to Paris in 1837 and Rome in 1838, when he came under the influence of Emil Braun. His work in archaeology, apart from an Introduction to the study of Greek Vases (1854), comprises a large number of masterly monographs. His text-books for university lectures included the *Story of Cupid and Psyche* from Apuleius, the *Description of the Athenian Acropolis* in Pausanias, the *Electra* of Sophocles, the *Symposium* of Plato, and the treatise on the Sublime. All except the last were embellished with illustrations from works of ancient art. His annotated school-editions included the *Brutus* and the *Orator* of Cicero. His critical recensions comprised Persius (1843) and Juvenal (1851), followed by a new edition of both (1868). His latest work, that on the Greek inscribed reliefs of mythological and historical scenes, was edited after his death by his nephew and pupil, Adolf Michaelis (1835—1910), professor of Classical Archaeology in the university of Strassburg from 1872 to 1907, the able author of a standard work on the Parthenon (1871), as well as an interesting *History of the German Archaeological Institute* (1879), a full description of the 'Ancient Marbles in Great Britain' (1882), and a brilliant survey of the 'Archaeological Discoveries of the Nineteenth Century' (2nd ed. 1908)¹.

Archaeological research in many lands was promoted by the excavations initiated by Heinrich Schliemann (1822—1890). At the age of eight, he resolved on excavating the site of Troy; at the age of fourteen, he heard a miller's man, who had known better days, recite a hundred lines of Homer, and he then prayed that he might some day have the happiness of learning Greek. At the age of twenty-five, he founded an indigo business at St Petersburg, and by the age of thirty-six had acquired a sufficient fortune to be able to devote

¹ *Adolf Michaelis zum Gedächtnis* (Trübner, Strassburg), 1913, with portrait, biography, and complete bibliography.

himself entirely to archaeology. His memorable exploration of Mycenae was fully described in 1877; that of 'Troy', on the hill of Hissarlik, in 1880 and 1884, and that of 'Tiryns' in 1885. When the archaeological world was looking forward to his proposed exploration of Crete, he died suddenly in Naples. He was buried at Athens. His desire that his body should there rest in the land of his adoption was carried out by Dörpfeld, who had taken a leading part in the excavations at Tiryns, and who afterwards published an important work summing up the results of the exploration of Troy, which was finally completed by Dörpfeld alone (1902).

In Rome, a new life was given to the Archaeological Institute by Heinrich Brunn (1822—1894), who resided there from 1843 to 1853, the year of the publica-
Brunn
tion of the first volume of his well-known 'History of the Greek Artists'. After a brief interval at Bonn, he lived once more in Rome from 1856 to 1865, when he became professor at Munich, holding that position with conspicuous ability for nearly thirty years. Many of his published papers were preparatory to a comprehensive 'History of Greek and Roman Art', the early portions of which were printed in 1893-7. A volume of Essays entitled *Griechische Götterideale* was published by himself in 1893; his minor works have since been collected in three volumes; and a series of fine reproductions of 'Monuments of Greek and Roman Sculpture', begun in his life-time, has been continued since his death. The discovery in modern times of many works of ancient art unrecognised by Pliny or Pausanias has led to a closer attention to the *analysis of artistic style*. The pioneer in this new movement was Heinrich Brunn.

An important history of ancient sculpture¹ was published by Joannes Overbeck (1826—1895), a native of Ant-
Overbeck
werp, who was Professor of Classical Archaeology in Leipzig from 1858 to his death. All the Greek and Latin texts on ancient art are collected in his *Schriftquellen*. Mythology in art is the sphere of his great series of illustrations connected with the heroes of the Theban and the Trojan cycle, and with the gods of Greece. He also wrote a standard work on Pompeii.

¹ Ed. 4, 1894.

The Chair vacated by Brunn in 1891 was filled by his famous pupil, Adolf Furtwängler (1853—1907). As an enthusiastic and stimulating lecturer he attracted students from every quarter of the civilised world. He had the mastery of an expert in the departments of vases, gems and works of sculpture; he was an original discoverer in the domain of numismatics; and a constructor of catalogues that bore the stamp of his own genius. His 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture' (1893) was promptly translated into English. The modern knowledge of ancient gems rests mainly on the three vast volumes of his great work on the subject (1900). In Greece he explored Aegina, Orchomenos and Amyclae. At Aegina, as the result of excavations begun in 1901, he discovered inscriptions which led him to identify the so-called temple of Zeus or Athena as the shrine of Aphaia, a local counterpart of Artemis. His exploration of Aegina was the theme of his latest work, and it was soon after his last visit to that island that he met his end in Athens, falling on Greek soil as a martyr to the cause of classical archaeology.

Conrad Bursian (1830—1883), who has done due honour to archaeology in connexion with the history of classical philology, was for the last nine years of his life a professor at Munich. He travelled in Greece in 1852-5, and published an important work on its Geography in 1867-72. In 1877 he founded an important periodical for the annual survey of the progress of classical learning¹. He spent his last ten years on the crowning work of his life, his 'History of Classical Philology in Germany'².

Otto Benndorf (1838—1907), a pupil of Otto Jahn, published an important work on Greek and Sicilian vases, and a monograph on the metopes of Selinus. He took part in the exploration of Samothrace, of Lycia, and of Ephesus; and was placed at the head of the Austrian Archaeological Institute on its foundation in 1898.

The whole of the *Orbis Veteribus Notus* was traversed in the course of the life-long labours of Heinrich Kiepert (1818—1899), who began his travels in Asia Minor

¹ *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft.*

² 1271 pp. (1883).

in 1841, and was afterwards professor of Geography in Berlin. Apart from many separate maps of the highest degree of excellence, the publications by which he is best known are his comprehensive and lucid text-book of Ancient Geography (1878), his *Atlas Antiquus* (1859) and his *Atlas von Hellas* (1872). His *Atlas Antiquus* has attained a twelfth edition, and the publication of his *Formae Orbis Antiqui* has been continued since his death.

Greek topography and Greek history were illuminated by the genius of Ernst Curtius (1814—1896), a native of

Lübeck, who had no sooner come to the end of his *Lehrjahre* at Bonn and Göttingen and Berlin than

Historians:
E. Curtius

he began his four years of *Wanderjahre* in Greece (1836—40). His travels and researches bore fruit in an admirable work on the *Peloponnesos* (1851—2). He was a professor in Berlin from 1843 to 1856, and at Göttingen from 1856 to 1868, when he returned to Berlin, and was one of the ornaments of that university for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. His History of Greece was published in 1857—67¹, while he was still at Göttingen. It has justly been regarded as a brilliant achievement. The author's travels had enabled him to give a vivid impression of the geographical characteristics of the country. The narrative was lucid and interesting, and literature and art found due recognition in its pages. The successful completion of the archaeological exploration of Olympia in 1875—81 was largely due to his influence. Apart from his early work on the *Peloponnesos*, and the 'History' of his maturer years, we have the fruit of his old age in a comprehensive and well-ordered 'History of the City of Athens' (1891).

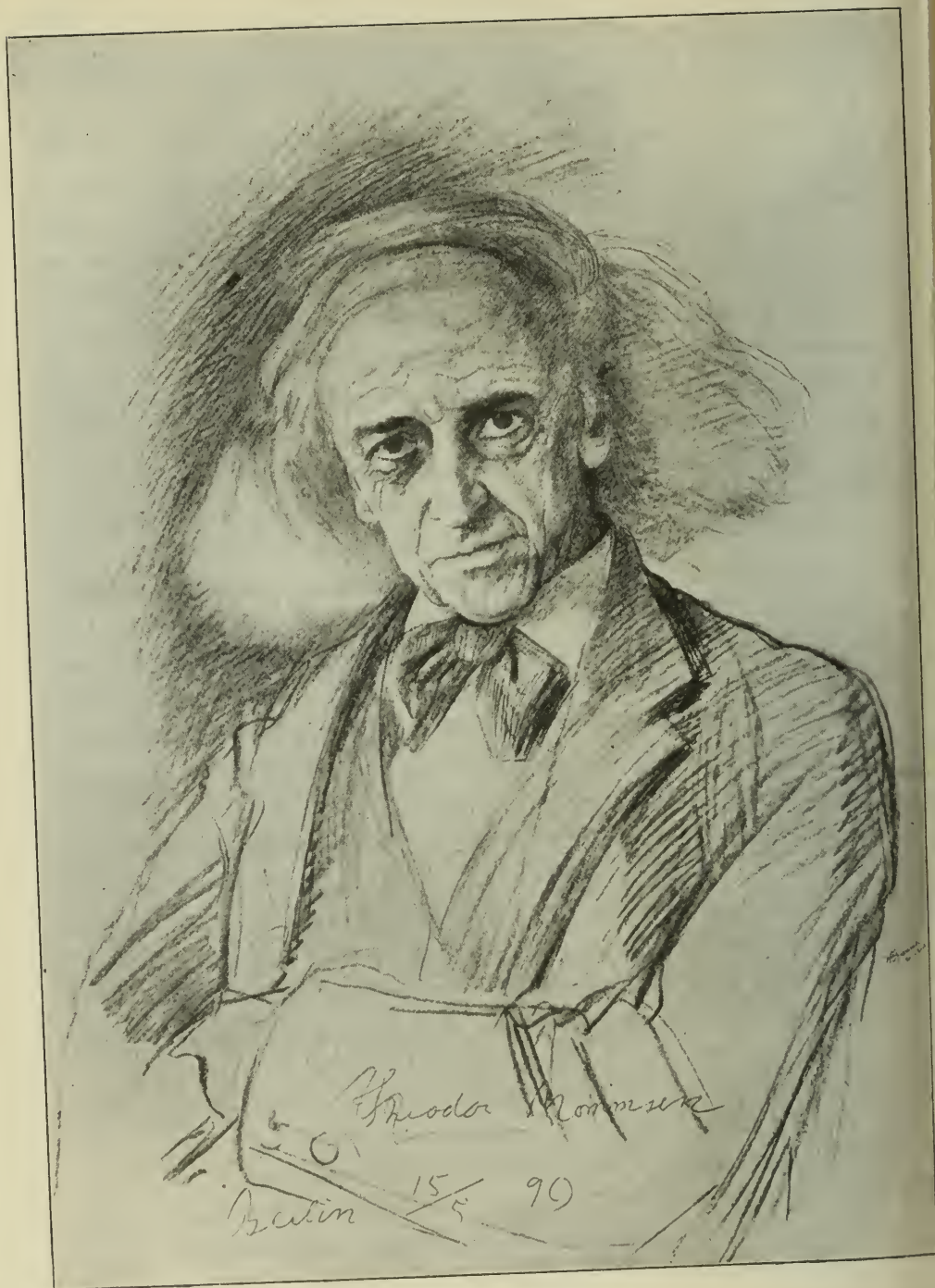
The earlier and the later ages of Greek culture, the Hellenic as well as the Hellenistic, are ably represented in

the brilliant works of Johann Gustav Droysen

Droysen

(1808—1884), professor of History in Berlin for the last twenty-five years of his life. The Hellenic age is represented in his admirable renderings of Aeschylus and Aristophanes, and in his proof of the spuriousness of the documents in the *De Corona*; the Hellenistic, in his earliest historical work, that on Alexander the Great (1833), followed in 1836—42 by his well-known history

¹ Ed. 6, 1888; E. T. by A. W. Ward, 1868—73.



THEODOR MOMMSEN.

From the original drawing by Sir William Richmond (1890), now in the possession of Prof. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

of the successors of Alexander. In their second edition, these works were fused into the three volumes of his great 'History of Hellenism' (1877-8).

The Life and Times of Demosthenes were elucidated in 1856-8 in an admirable historical work by Arnold Schaefer (1819-1883); second edition, 1885-7. A. Schaefer

The able historian of Sicily and Greece, Adolf Holm (1830-1900), was, like Ernst Curtius, born at Lübeck. Holm
The year 1870 saw the result of the labour of fifteen years in the publication of the first volume of his 'History of Sicily'. The second volume (1874) brought the history down to the eve of the first Punic War. From 1877 to 1883 he was professor of History at Palermo. In 1883 he produced, in conjunction with Cavallari, a great archaeological work on the topography of Syracuse. In 1883-96 he held a professorship at Naples, spending most of his time on his 'History of Greece', which he finally brought down to the Battle of Actium. Freeman has spoken of 'the sound judgement of Holm' as a historian of Sicily, and an English review of his History of Greece justly commends its 'conciseness', its 'sound scholarship', and its 'conscientious impartiality'. In the spring of 1897 he left Italy for Freiburg in Baden, where, at the close of the year, he wrote the preface to the third and last volume of his 'History of Sicily', published four and twenty years after the second. It includes no less than 200 pages (with plates) on the coinage alone, and it gives us an instructive comparison between Cicero's accusation of Verres and the modern impeachment of Warren Hastings.

Roman History and Roman Antiquities, as well as Latin Inscriptions and the criticism of Latin authors, MommSEN
formed part of the wide field of learning traversed by Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903), Professor of Ancient History and a member of the Academy in Berlin for the last forty-five years of his life. He had begun by making his mark in the study of Roman Law. He next produced his two linguistic works, his 'Oscan Studies' (1845-6), and his 'Dialects of lower Italy' (1850). During his absence in Italy (1845-7)

¹ 4 vols., 1886-94; E. T. (with *Index*) 1894-8.

he had studied inscriptions with the aid of Borghesi and Henzen, and he subsequently published his 'Inscriptions of the Kingdom of Naples' (1852). In that work he showed a consummate skill in applying the results of epigraphical research to the elucidation of the constitutional history and the law of the Italian communities. He also published in 1850 a valuable treatise on Roman Coinage, which, in its expanded form, became an authoritative history of that subject¹.

Such were the preliminary studies that paved the way for his 'Roman History', a work in three volumes (1854-6)², ending with the battle of Thapsus. It was a history, not of Rome alone, but also of Italy, from the earliest immigrations to the end of the Roman Republic. The plan of the series unfortunately precluded the quotation of authorities, and points of detail were attacked by critics who desired to revert to the view of Roman History that had been held before the time of Niebuhr, and to accept the tradition of the Roman annalists, and of the other writers who uncritically transcribed, or rhetorically adorned, the work of their predecessors. Mommsen afterwards took up the History of Rome at a later point, by publishing a work on the Roman rule of the Provinces from Caesar to Diocletian³. In connexion with his Roman History he had meanwhile produced a work on Roman Chronology⁴. The controversy excited by this work served to stimulate a renewed activity in the field of chronological investigation.

Many of Mommsen's papers on Roman history and chronology and public antiquities, and on the criticism of historical authorities, were collected in the two volumes of his 'Roman Researches'⁵. While the absence of quotations from authorities was one of the characteristics of the widely popular 'History of Rome', students and specialists found an abundance of learned details in the work on 'Roman Public Law'⁶, which takes the place of the corresponding portion of the Handbook of Roman

¹ 1860; Fr. T. 1865-75.

² Ed. 9, 1903-4; E. T. 1862, new ed. 1894-5.

³ 1885 (with 8 maps); ed. 5, 1894; E. T. 1886; ed. 2, 1909.

⁴ 1858; ed. 2, 1859.

⁵ *Römische Forschungen* (1863-79).

⁶ *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1871-88; Fr. T. 1887-96; *Abriß*, 1893.

Antiquities begun by W. A. Becker and continued by Joachim Marquardt (1812—1882). The revision of this Handbook by Marquardt and Mommsen made it practically a new work¹.

The early preparations for a *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are associated with the name of August Wilhelm Zumpt (1815—1877), who aimed at little more than extracting and rearranging the inscriptions that had been already published. His papers on inscriptions brought him into frequent conflict with Mommsen, who laid his own scheme before the Academy in 1847. This scheme, which ensured a strictly scientific exploration of the whole field, was approved, and its execution was entrusted to Mommsen, whose great powers of work and capacity for organisation ensured its complete success². Mommsen's edition of the *Digest* (1868—70) formed the larger part of the subsequent edition of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (1872, etc.)³. He also edited the *Monumentum Ancyranum*⁴, the Edict of Diocletian (1893), and the *Codex Theodosianus* (1904—5)⁵. His edition of Solinus appeared in 1864⁶. To the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, he contributed editions of the Chronicle and the Official Letters (*Variae*) of Cassiodorus, of the *Romana* and the *Getica* of Iordanes (the latter being an abridgement of a lost work of Cassiodorus), and of the *Chronica Minora* of centuries IV to VII. A volume of his Speeches and Essays was published in 1905; the series of his Collected Writings, beginning with three volumes on Roman Law (1905—7), is followed by those on Roman History, and on Philology.

Mommsen was the greatest of German scholars since the time of Boeckh. Beginning with Roman jurisprudence, he applied to the investigation of Roman History the strict intellectual training

¹ Vols. i—iii were prepared by Mommsen; iv—vi (on Roman administration) and vii (on private life) by Marquardt.

² The volumes containing the early Latin (i), oriental (iii), and central and southern Italian (ix, x) inscriptions were edited by Mommsen; the inscr. of Spain (ii) and Britain (vii) by Hübner; those of S. Gaul by O. Hirschfeld; of Pompeii etc. (iv) by Zangemeister; of N. Italy (xi) and Rome (vi) by Bormann, Henzen and Huelsen.

³ Including *Institutiones*, ed. P. Krüger.

⁴ 1865; ed. 3, 1883; Fr. T., 1885.

⁵ In conjunction with P. M. Meyer.

⁶ Ed. 2, 1895.

that he had derived from the study of Roman Law. Equally skilful in negative criticism, and in the art of the historic reconstruction of the past, he brought to bear on the science of history a singular mastery of the science of language. He combined breadth of learning with a lucid and a lively style, and vast powers of work with a genius for scientific organisation¹.

Latin Epigraphy and Archaeology were the special province of Emil Hübner (1834—1901), professor in Berlin
 Hübner for the last thirty-one years of his life. His travels in Spain resulted in his volumes on the ‘ancient works of art at Madrid’, on the Inscriptions of Spain², and on the ‘*Monumenta linguae Ibericae*’. His travels in England were undertaken with a view to the Latin Inscriptions of that country³. Among his most useful works were his elaborate and comprehensive Outlines of the History of Roman Literature, of Latin and Greek Grammar, and of the History of Classical Philology⁴.

Researches on the constitutional customs of Athens were summed up in an important series of *Studien*
 Hartel published in 1887 f by Wilhelm von Hartel of Vienna (1839—1907).

We have lingered long in the lands united by the common tie of the German language, but we have seen far less of Austria and of German Switzerland than of Northern and Southern Germany. No part of those lands has been so prolific in classical scholars as the protestant North. It is true that the birthplace of Boeckh was in Baden, but the principal scene of his learned labours was Berlin. Classical education was reorganised in Bavaria by Thiersch, in Austria by Bonitz, both of them North Germans born beside the same stream in Saxony. German Switzerland has been represented partly by Baiter and Orelli; Austria by the cosmopolitan Otto Benndorf, and by Theodor Gomperz and Wilhelm von Hartel. From our survey of ‘Germany’, in the widest sense of the word, we now turn to the latest fortunes of the land which was the earliest home of the Revival of Learning.

¹ Bibliography in Zangemeister, *T. M. als Schriftsteller* (1887), completed by E. Jacobs. 188 pp. (1905).

² *C. I. L.* vol. ii.

³ *C. I. L.* vol. vii.

⁴ 1876; ed. 2, 1889.

CHAPTER XLIV

ITALY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

EARLY in the nineteenth century one of the foremost scholars in Italy was the learned Jesuit, Angelo Mai (1782—1854).

Mai

As Librarian of the Ambrosian Library in Milan (1811-9), he published, from MSS formerly at Bobbio, fragments of six Speeches of Cicero¹, the correspondence of M. Aurelius and Fronto, portions of eight Speeches of Symmachus, fragments of the *Vidularia* of Plautus, as well as *scholia* and pictorial illustrations from the Ambrosian MS of Terence (1814-5). During the rest of his life, as Librarian of the Vatican Library in Rome, he published from a Vatican palimpsest large portions of Cicero's lost treatise *De Republica* (1822), collected the remains of the prae-Justinian Civil Law (1823), and summed up his wonderful work as an editor of hitherto unknown texts by producing from the MSS of the Vatican three great series, of ten volumes each, the *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (1825-38), the *Classici auctores* (1828-38) and the *Spicilegium Romanum* (1839-44). He was made a Cardinal in 1838.

Comparative Philology has been well represented by Domenico Pezzi of Turin (1844—1906), whose principal work, *La lingua greca antica* (1888), begins with a historical sketch of the study of Greek, followed by a systematic account (1) of the phonology and morphology of the language, and (2) of the Greek dialects; and by Graziadio Ascoli of Milan (1829—1907), whose Critical Studies, and lectures on Comparative Phonology, have been

Pezzi

Ascoli

¹ *Pro Scauro, Tullio, Flacco, in Clodium et Curionem, de aere alieno Milonis, and de rege Alexandrino* (1814; ed. 2, 1817).

translated into German, while his edition of the 'Codice Irlandese' of the Ambrosian Library is an important aid to the study of Celtic¹.

Among Latin scholars, a place of honour is due to Vincenzo De-Vit (1810—1892), whose revised and enlarged edition of Forcellini, begun before 1857, was completed in 1879. This was supplemented by his *Onomasticon*, extending from A to O (1869—92). Forcellini has also been edited anew in 1864—90 by Fr. Corradini (1820—1888). This edition was completed by Perin, who (like Corradini and De-Vit, and Forcellini himself) was an *alumnus* of the Seminary of Padua.

Domenico Comparetti, who was born in Rome (1835) and became professor of Greek at Pisa and Florence, produced a critical text of Hypereides, *pro Euxenippo*, and of the *Funeral Oration* (1861—4). He is widely known as the author of the standard work on 'Virgil in the Middle Ages'². He subsequently published an important edition of the 'Laws of Gortyn' (1893), and a text and translation of Procopius.

Classical Archaeology has been studied in Italy with ever increasing success. In the first half of the century one of the foremost authorities on ancient architecture was Luigi Canina (1795—1856), who published in Rome in 1844 the second edition of his classic work in twelve volumes, entitled *L'architettura antica*. The most distinguished archaeologist in all Italy was Bartolommeo Borghesi (1781—1860), who spent the last thirty-nine years of his life in the Italian Republic of San Marino. His activity was mainly devoted to the study of coins and inscriptions. He produced two volumes on the new fragments of the *Fasti Consulares* (1818—20), and his collected works filled nine volumes (Paris, 1862—84). The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* owed much to his friendly aid.

One of the most important achievements of Giovanni Battista

¹ Giles, *Comp. Phil.* § 41.

² 1873; ed. 2, 1896 (E. T. 1895).

de Rossi (1822—1894) was the publication of all the early collections of Roman inscriptions¹. He took part in collecting the inscriptions of Rome for vol. vi of the *Corpus*. He also did much for the study of Roman topography, including the ancient lists of the Regions of the City. As the author of *Roma Sotterranea* (1864–77) he is justly regarded as the founder of the recent study of Christian Archaeology in Rome.

¹ *Sylloge Einsidlensis* etc. in *Inscr. Christianae*, vol. ii, pars 1 (1888), and in *C. I. L.* vi *init.* (1876–85).

CHAPTER XLV

FRANCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN the first half of the nineteenth century one of the most eminent scholars in France was Jean François Boissonade (1774—1857), who, in the course of nine years (1823—32), produced the twenty-four volumes of his annotated series of Greek poets. A greater novelty characterises his publication of the first edition of the Greek translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Maximus Planudes (1822), the *editio princeps* of Babrius (1844), the five volumes of his *Anecdota Graeca*, and his *Anecdota Nova*. The larger part of his editorial work was connected with the later writers of Greek prose, such as Aristaenetus and Philostratus.

Latin lexicography is represented by Louis Marius Quicherat (1799—1884). For his *Thesaurus Poëticus Linguae Latinae*, first published in 1836, he worked through all the Latin poets. This was followed in 1844 by his Latin and French Dictionary. His Dictionary of Latin Proper Names (1846) included about 19,000 items, while his *Addenda Lexicis Latinis* (1862—80) supplemented the existing lexicons with more than 2000 words. His French and Latin Dictionary of 1858 filled as many as 1600 pages of three columns each, and passed through 26 editions. To these three Dictionaries he devoted thirty years of his life. The same department of learning was represented in his edition of the Latin lexicographer and grammarian, Nonius (1872).

An excellent Greek and French lexicon was produced by his contemporary Charles Alexandre (1797—1870). The eminent French lexicographer, Maximilien Littré (1801—1881), began his brilliant and varied career as a student of medicine. In 1839 he com-

menced his celebrated edition and translation of Hippocrates, which was completed in ten volumes in 1861, and laid the foundation of the modern criticism of the author.

Mediaeval Greek was the field of labour mainly cultivated by Bénigne Emmanuel Clément Miller (1812—1886),
 who, in the course of his researches in the Paris
 Library and elsewhere, became one of the most expert palaeographers in Europe. He also worked in the libraries of Italy and Spain. Among the MSS brought to Paris from Mount Athos in 1840, he fortunately identified part of the *Philosophumena* of Origen, and edited it for the Clarendon Press (1851). In his *Mélanges de littérature grecque* he published, among many inedited texts, the *Etymologicum Florentinum* and the *Et. parvum*, with certain works of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Didymus of Alexandria.

Miller

The eminent scholar, Émile Egger (1813—1885), began his literary career by editing 'Longinus' *On the Sub-*
lime, and Varro *De Lingua Latina* (1837). These
 were followed by the fragments of Festus and of Verrius Flaccus (1839), and by an edition of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry¹. This last was originally appended to his excellent essay on the 'History of Criticism among the Greeks' (1850), which was republished separately after the author's death. His 'elementary notions of comparative grammar' (1852) was the earliest work of its kind in Europe; and, under the title of 'Apollonius Dyscolus' (1854), he published an essay on the history of grammatical theories in antiquity. Apart from his essay on the History of Criticism, his most important and most popular work was his 'History of Hellenism in France' (1869). He was himself one of the first in France to assimilate the strict and scientific methods of German scholarship, and to clothe its results in the lucid and elegant style characteristic of his countrymen.

Egger

Thomas Henri Martin (1813—1884) began his career as a scholar with a critical analysis of Aristotle's treatise
 on Poetry. The two volumes of his studies on
 Plato's *Timaeus* (1841) included the text and explanatory translation, analysis and commentary, and a series of treatises showing

Martin

¹ 1849; ed. 2, 1874.

a wide knowledge of ancient Music, Astronomy, Cosmography, Physics, Geometry and Anatomy.

His second great work, the *Philosophie Spiritualiste de la Nature* in two volumes (1849), was an introduction to the ancient history of the physical sciences, with an admirable survey of the study of the natural sciences among the Greeks down to 529 A.D.

The able Aristotelian, Charles Thurot (1823—1882), published valuable papers on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Poetic*, and *Politics*, and on the *Animalium Historia* and the *Meteorologica*. As a Latin scholar, he was mainly interested in the History of Education and in the Grammatical Studies of the Middle Ages. He did much towards making France familiar with the results of foreign scholarship; he was a great admirer of Madvig, and, in his lectures, drew special attention to the value of the first volume of the *Adversaria Critica*.

Brilliancy of style, combined with a sympathetic insight into Latin literature and a genuine interest in Roman archaeology, was the leading characteristic of Gaston Boissier (1823—1908), professor of Latin literature at the Collège de France (1865), and Member of the French Academy. He is best remembered as the author of an admirable work on 'Cicero and his friends,' of 'Roman religion from Augustus to the Antonines,' and of the no less admirable volumes entitled *La Fin du Paganisme*. As a felicitous restorer of the old Roman world, he attained the highest degree of success in his *Promenades archéologiques* on Rome and Pompeii, followed by 'Horace and Virgil' and *L'Afrique Romaine*.

Seven plays of Euripides (1868) and the principal speeches of Demosthenes (1873-7) were ably edited by Henri Weil (1818—1909), who also published a critical text of Aeschylus¹.

The Latin Classics were the field of labour chosen by Louis Eugène Benoist (1831—1887), whose main attention was devoted to Lucretius and Virgil. In conjunction with his able pupil, O. Riemann, he produced an edition of Livy, XXI—XXV (1881-3). He was thoroughly familiar with the work

¹ Aeschylus, 1884, 1907²; *Études*, 1897—1900; cp. *Mélanges H. Weil*, 1892.

of the Latin scholars of Germany, and his editions were distinctly superior to those that had hitherto held the field in France.

Benoist's pupil, Othon Riemann (1853—1891), published an admirable work on the language and grammar of Livy, and two editions of an excellent Latin Syntax (1886—90)¹. Riemann

The highest distinction in Greek palaeography was attained by Charles Graux (1852—1882), who was repeatedly sent to explore the MSS of foreign libraries. In 1879 Graux he published a catalogue of the Greek MSS of Copenhagen; and, during his journeys in Spain, he examined the contents of no less than sixty libraries, and found the materials for his Essay on the origins of the department of Greek MSS in the Escorial, which includes a sketch of the Revival of Learning in Spain². After his early death in the thirtieth year of his age, his memory was honoured by the publication of a volume of papers contributed by seventy-eight of the leading scholars of Europe; while his literary remains were collected in memorial volumes including an edition of Plutarch's *Lives of Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, founded on the Madrid MS, a revised text of part of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and the treatise on fortifications by Philon of Byzantium.

Aristotle was expounded, as well as translated, by Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire (1805—1895), whose translation of Aristotle, begun in 1832, was completed in 1891. Barthélemy
Saint-Hilaire

The 'physiology' of Aristotle was the subject of a thesis by Charles Waddington (1819—1914) a member of an English family which settled in France in 1780. C. Waddington He also wrote on the authority of Aristotle in the Middle Ages (1877).

The study of epigraphy and numismatics was ably represented by his cousin William Henry Waddington (1826—1894), who was educated at Rugby and at Cambridge, where he was a Chancellor's Medallist in 1849. He was the ambassador of France to England in 1883—93. His early travels in Greece and Asia Minor resulted in a series of works connected with the coinage and inscriptions of Asia Minor. He also published the *Fasti* of the Asiatic provinces of the Roman Empire' (ed. 2, W. H. Wad-
dington

¹ Since enlarged in Riemann and Goelzer, *Gram. Comparée du Grec et du Latin*, 2 vols. (1899—1901).

² *Bibl. de l'Ecole des hautes études*, XLVI (1880).

1872). Attracted mainly towards the solution of difficult problems of chronology, he regarded the sciences of epigraphy and numismatics solely as aids to the attainment of historic truth.

Among the distinguished representatives of Classical Archaeology in Archaeologists France was Millin (1759—1818), who introduced into classical

Millin archaeology the terms *monuments antiques* and *antiquité figurée*; Quatremère de Quincy (1755—1849), who, in his illustrated volume,

Quatremère *Le Jupiter Olympien* (1814), was the first to enable archaeologists to form a clear conception of the chryselephantine

Clarac work of the ancients; Clarac (1777—1847), whose vast collection of outlines published in the *Musée de sculpture antique*... was the foundation of all subsequent works on ancient sculpture;

Letronne Letronne (1787—1848), the author of works on ancient geography, astronomy, and on Greek and Roman coinage,

Le Bas and the Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Egypt; Philippe Le Bas (1794—1860), part of whose *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* was published in 1847-8, and was continued in

1861-2 by W. H. Waddington and by P. Foucart;

Texier Texier (1794—1860), the explorer of Asia Minor whose

Duc de Luynes results were published in 1849; the Duc de Luynes (1803—1867), who played an important part in the early history of

the Archaeological Institute, was the liberal patron of archaeological work at home and abroad, and left all his vast collections of works

C. Lenormant of ancient art to the Museum in the Paris Library; Charles Lenormant (1802—1859), the discoverer of the fine relief of

F. Lenormant the divinities of Eleusis, and his son François (1837—1883), a versatile explorer in the most varied fields of archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics.

The School of Athens was founded in 1846. It has explored and excavated in Asia Minor, in Cyprus, Syria, North Africa and even in Spain, as well as in Greece, in Thrace and Macedonia, and in the islands of the Aegean. It has won fresh laurels at both of the ancient shrines of Apollo, at Delos and at Delphi. Among its early members,

Fustel de Coulanges (1830—1889) is best known as the author of *La Cité Antique* (1864). Among other eminent archaeologists trained in this school are L. A. Heuzey (1831), the explorer of Acarnania and Macedonia;

Georges Perrot (1832—1914), the explorer of Galatia and Bithynia, and joint-author of an important History of Ancient Art; Paul Foucart (b. 1836), an expert in Greek Epigraphy;

Théophile Homolle (b. 1848), the explorer of Delos and Delphi; and Salomon Reinach (b. 1858), author of a Manual of Classical Philology, a treatise on Greek Epigraphy, and many other works¹.

During the nineteenth century in France classical learning had no darker days than those of the First Empire. The first

¹ G. Radet, *L'Histoire et l'Œuvre de l'École Française d'Athènes*, 1901.

Napoleon studied Caesar for his own purposes¹, and the third followed his example². Under the Restoration, Latin was recognised anew in 1821 as the proper medium of instruction in philosophy, but this recognition was withdrawn after the Revolution of July, 1830. A literary reaction, however, ensued, a reaction connected with the notable names of Abel François Villemain and Victor Cousin. Cousin, who had studied philosophy and educational organisation in Germany, and had written *inter alia* on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, was Minister of Public Instruction in 1840. Villemain (1790—1870), the Minister of 1839, had published a romance on the Greeks of the fifteenth century, and a popular treatise on Roman Polytheism. He is a representative of the rhetorical side of classical scholarship.

Villemain

A more solid type of erudition was represented by the Minister of 1875, Henri Alexandre Wallon (1812—1905), for many years 'perpetual secretary' of the Academy of Inscriptions, who, in the early part of his career, had produced a learned history of ancient slavery. His able contemporary, Jean Victor Duruy (1811—1894), the author of well-known Histories of Rome and Greece, crowned his many services as Minister by the establishment of the *École pratique des hautes études* in 1866. The date has been recognised as marking a renaissance of classical studies in France. The characteristic of this renaissance has been described by the author of the *Manuel de Philologie* as an alliance between the French qualities of clearness and method, and the solid learning of other nations³.

Wallon

Duruy

¹ *Précis des guerres de César*, ed. Marchand, 260 pp. (1830).

² *Hist. de Jules César* (1865-6).

³ S. Reinach, *Manuel de Philologie*, i 13.



COBET.

Reproduced from a copy of the presentation portrait drawn
by J. H. Hoffmeister and lithographed by Spamer.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE NETHERLANDS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(i) HOLLAND

AT Leyden the principal professorship in Classics was filled in 1822-48 by Peerlkamp (1786-1865), the author of an excellent account of the lives and works of the modern Latin poets of the Netherlands¹, and also of a celebrated edition of the *Odes* of Horace (1834), which gave rise to a considerable controversy. He devoted his undoubted critical acumen to the detection of interpolations in the *Odes*, with the result that only about one-fourth of the whole was left unchallenged. His method of criticism found favour with a few eminent scholars in Germany, but was rightly repudiated by Munro². Near the beginning of the *Aeneid*, which he edited in 1843, 'he rejects a passage closely imitated by Ovid.' He subsequently edited the *Ars Poëtica* in 1845 and the *Satires* in 1863, but his reconstruction of the former is infelicitous, and hardly one of his conjectures on the latter can be accepted, though his wide reading in the Latin poets has enabled him to contribute much towards the interpretation of the text. In Peerlkamp a hypercritical spirit was combined with undoubted learning and acumen, and his editions of Horace had at least the merit of adding a new stimulus to the study of that poet.

As Professor at Leyden, Peerlkamp was succeeded in 1848 by the greatest of the modern Greek scholars of the Netherlands, Carolus Gabriel Cobet (1813-1889).

The high promise of his *Prosopographia Xenophontea*, produced

¹ *De vita, doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina latina composuerunt* (1838).

² King and Munro's *Horace*, xviii.

when its author was only twenty-three, aroused among the foremost scholars of Holland the expectation that its author would rival the fame of a Ruhnken or a Valckenaer. In 1840 he was sent by the Royal Institute of Amsterdam on a mission to the Italian libraries. His term of absence was extended to five years in all, and by the end of that time he had become an experienced and accomplished palaeographer. He had also incidentally won the friendship of a congenial English scholar, Badham.

On his return, he was appointed to an 'extraordinary' professorship at Leyden, and delivered an inaugural address which is one of the landmarks of his career (1846)¹. As has been well said, we here have 'Cobet himself—strong, masculine writing, a style clear and bracing...Every sentence has its work to do, and there is a moral force behind it all, an intense enthusiasm for truth, a quality that marks the whole of Cobet's critical work'². Of the works published after his appointment as full professor in 1848 the best known were the *Variae Lectiones* (1854)³ and the *Novae Lectiones* (1858), followed, twenty years later, by others of the same general type, the *Miscellanea Critica* (1876) mainly on Homer and Demosthenes, the *Collectanea Critica* (1878), and the critical and palaeographical observations on the 'Roman Antiquities' of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1877). He reluctantly edited Diogenes Laërtius for Didot, without any prolegomena (1850). He also published excellent texts of two speeches of Hypereides (1858–77), and of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica* (1859–62) and of Lysias (1863). He was long the mainstay of the classical periodical *Mnemosyne*, which derived a new life from his vigorous contributions.

While Cobet shared with his fellow-countrymen their aptitude for conjectural criticism, he rose superior to them in the strict severity of his scientific method. With Cobet, the *ars grammatica* (or the intimate knowledge of the language, and its historical developement, attained in the course of constant reading) was

¹ *Oratio de arte interpretandi grammatices et critices fundamentis innixa*, 36 pp. + 123 pp. of notes, 1847.

² W. G. Rutherford, in *Cl. Rev.* iii 472.

³ 399 pp.; ed. 2, + *Supplementum* (399–400) + *Epimetrum* (401–681), 1873.

combined with an intelligent use of the best MSS, as the preliminary condition for the *ars critica*, *i.e.* the detection and the correction of corruptions of the text. On these principles he proposed in the pages of *Mnemosyne*, and of his *Variae* and *Novae Lectiones*, a large number of emendations on Greek authors. The merits and the defects of his method are there made manifest. His marvellous familiarity with Greek, his wide reading, the skill derived from the study of many MSS, enabled him to detect the source of a corruption, and to divine the appropriate remedy. On the other hand, his excessive confidence in the rules founded on observations made in the course of his reading, is open to criticism. No sooner has he ascertained what he regards as a fixed rule of Greek usage, than he remorselessly emends all the exceptions. But it cannot be questioned that he supplies the student of textual criticism with golden rules for his instruction, and the advanced scholar with rich stores of interesting and stimulating information.

Reiske was more highly appreciated by Cobet than by the Germans of his own day. He had a high regard for the Dindorfs, for Bergk, Meineke and Lehrs, and for the best points in the work of Nauck. He was ever eager in confessing his debt to 'the three great Richards', Bentley, Dawes, and Porson, and the later representatives of the Porsonian school, Elmsley and Dobree. It was through Cobet that the traditional English method, which was in danger of being forgotten in England itself, became dominant in Holland and attained a still wider range. It would be difficult to compare Cobet with any other scholar than Scaliger or Bentley. He himself regards Scaliger as an 'almost perfect critic'¹, while he resembles Bentley in his 'high-handed, hard-hitting criticism,' and in his 'consciousness of power'².

In the Northern Netherlands, during the whole of the century, the staff of classical professors in each university continued to be small; and those professors, besides being responsible for elementary and advanced courses on Latin and Greek, were compelled to give more or less popular instruction on Greek and Roman History and Antiquities. In their published works,

¹ *De arte interpretandi*, 25.

² W. G. Rutherford, in *Cl. Rev.* iii 470-4.

as contrasted with their oral teaching, the dominant note was textual criticism.

As a *Latin* scholar and as the editor of Terence and Horace, Bentley had had little influence on Dutch scholarship. Editions of the Latin Classics, modelled on those of Burman, with a confused mass of prolix variorum notes, remained long in vogue. The acquisitive instinct of Holland seemed to delight in constantly adding to the accumulating pile of erudite annotation. Happily, however, in the latest Dutch edition of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*¹, the notes are never over-loaded with unnecessary detail, but are always brief and terse and clear; and the same is true of a still more recent edition of Aristophanes². The influence of Bentley, as a *Greek* scholar, had been effectively transmitted through Hemsterhuys to Valckenaer and Ruhnken, and ultimately through Ruhnken to Wytttenbach. But the attention of those scholars had not been concentrated on the Greek authors of the golden age. Lucian, even more than Aristophanes, had been studied by Hemsterhuys, who bestowed on Xenophon of Ephesus the time that he might well have reserved for Xenophon of Athens; the Alexandrian and Hellenistic writers, no less than Herodotus, had been explored by Valckenaer; the researches of Ruhnken ranged over a wide field of literature extending from the Homeric Hymns to Longinus, and from the early Greek Orators to the late Greek Lexicographers; while Wytttenbach, who edited only one dialogue of Plato, devoted the largest part of his life to Plutarch. The time that Hemsterhuys and his followers thus lavished on the 'Graeculi', on late writers like Lucian and other artificial imitators of the genuine Attic authors, was repeatedly lamented by Cobet, who found his main occupation in studying the great originals themselves, and in ascertaining and enforcing a fixed standard of Attic usage. The love of reducing classical texts to the dead level of a smooth uniformity had already been exemplified by Latin scholars, such as N. Heinsius and Broukhusius, who had attempted to assimilate the vigorous and varied style of a Catullus or a Propertius to the monotonous uniformity of an Ovid. The same

¹ Ed. Boot, Amst. 1865 f; ed. 2, 1886.

² Ed. van Leeuwen, Leyden, 1896 f.

love of uniformity was exemplified (as we have seen), in the case of Attic Greek, by Cobet and his immediate followers. Such a tendency may even perhaps be regarded as a national characteristic of the clear-headed and methodical scholars, who dwell in a land of straight canals rather than winding rivers, a land of level plains varied only by a fringe of sand-dunes, a land saved from devastation by dikes that restrain the free waters of the sea. But, as we look back over the three centuries and more which have elapsed since the foundation of the university of Leyden, we remember that it was the breaking of those dikes by the orders of William the Silent that brought deliverance to the beleaguered city, and that the heroism of its inhabitants was then fitly commemorated by the founding of its far-famed university.

Leyden, founded in 1575, and Utrecht, in 1636, have long been the principal seats of classical learning in the Northern Netherlands.

(ii) BELGIUM

While textual criticism is a prominent characteristic of Dutch scholarship, the study of classical archaeology and of constitutional antiquities has been admirably represented among natives of Belgium. Among the most recent and the most important of these is Jean Joseph Thonissen (1816—1891), an Thonissen eminent jurist and politician, who was for 36 years professor of Criminal Law at Louvain, and, in 1884-7, Home Secretary and Minister of Public Instruction. He included in the long series of his historical and legal writings a luminous work on Criminal Law in primitive Greece and at Athens. His study of modern socialism was preceded by an examination of the Laws of Crete, Sparta and Rome, as well as the institutions of Pythagoras and the *Republic* of Plato. His papers on the criminal law of India, Egypt, and Judaea, and his two large volumes on the same subject (1869), were succeeded by his work on the Criminal Law of Legendary Greece and on that of Athens under the democracy, the evidence as to the former being directly derived from Homer and Hesiod. For Athenian Law he relies on the Attic orators and other ancient texts.

He begins with a brief review of the sources of our information. In the second book, he deals with the different kinds of penalties; in the third, he classifies the offences against the state, against the person etc.; in the fourth, after some general considerations, he examines Plato's and Aristotle's opinions on punishments. He closes with reflexions on the general character of the Athenian system of penalties, its merits and its defects¹.

While the Criminal Law of Athens was one of the many subjects that attracted the attention of Thonissen, the Political Institutions of Rome were the principal theme of the life-long

P. Willems

labours of Pierre Willems (1840—1898), professor at Louvain for the last 33 years of his life. He is best known as the author of standard works on the Political Institutions of ancient Rome. In 1870 he published his comprehensive treatise on 'Roman Antiquities'², which in all subsequent editions bore the title of *Le droit public romain*³. His treatment of a somewhat dry subject is characterised by a remarkable clearness of style. It was the first complete work of the kind that had been written in French. It passed through six editions, and was ultimately translated into Russian. An even higher degree of success attended the publication of his great work on the Senate under the Roman Republic⁴. The work was carefully discussed, and elaborately reviewed in Germany and elsewhere. Mommsen, who was not lavish of citations from the works of other investigators, made an exception in the case of Willems⁵. Willems showed in general a greater affinity with the German and Dutch than with the French type of classical learning. He was more interested in the pursuit of positive facts than in the elegant literary analysis of the Classics. His courses of lectures dealt with a considerable variety of classical authors, together with Latin inscriptions. They also included a general outline of the whole province of

¹ *Le Droit pénal de la République athénienne, précédé d'une étude sur le droit criminel de la Grèce légendaire*, 490 pp., 1875.

² *Les antiquités romaines envisagées au point de vue des institutions politiques*, 332 pp. (Louvain. 1870).

³ *Jusqu'à Constantin* in ed. 1872, '74; *jusqu'à Justinien* in ed. 1880, '83, '88 (nearly 700 pp.).

⁴ *Le Sénat de la république romaine*; i (*La composition*), ii (*Les attributions du Sénat*), iii (*Registres*), 1878—1885; 638 (724²) + 784 + 115 pp.

⁵ Pref. to *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III ii (1888) p. vi.

‘classical philology’, which he defined as ‘the science of the civilisation of Greece and Rome’. He was profoundly impressed with the importance of maintaining classical studies in intermediate and in higher education.

SCANDINAVIA

Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the three constituent parts of the ancient Scandinavia, formed a single kingdom until 1523. At that date Sweden became independent, while Denmark remained united with Norway. In 1814 Norway was separated from Denmark and was united to Sweden until 1905, when Norway seceded from Sweden. Thus Scandinavia now consists of three separate kingdoms.

The university of Denmark has its seat at Copenhagen, having been founded under papal sanction in 1479, and re-founded on protestant principles in 1539, and having since been rebuilt in 1732 and finally reorganised in 1788.

The desire of the Norwegians for a university of their own remained unsatisfied until the foundation of the university of Christiania in 1811. Meanwhile, in Sweden, the university of Upsala had been founded in 1477, and that of Lund in 1668.

DENMARK

In Denmark the preparation of text-books of Latin Grammar was a prominent part of the work of her classical scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of those scholars were men of a highly interesting type, but of little more than local reputation. A wider recognition was won by the representatives of classical archaeology, whose studies were largely pursued in Italy. Among those were Zoëga (1755—1809), the author of important works on Egyptian obelisks and on Roman bas-reliefs; Bröndsted (1780—1841), who wrote on Panathenaic vases and on the ‘Bronzes of Siris’; F. C. Petersen (1786—1859), the author of an ‘Introduction to Archaeology’; and Kellermann (1805—1837), who gave proof of high promise in Latin Epigraphy.

Zoëga
Bröndsted

Petersen
Kellermann



J. P. Madvig.

MADVIG.

From a photograph reproduced in the *Opuscula Academica* (ed. 1887).

The foremost representative of scholarship in Denmark was Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804—1886), who was professor of Latin at Copenhagen from 1829 to 1880. Madvig

In and after 1848 he was a member of the Danish Diet, Inspector of all the Schools of Denmark, and for three years Minister of Education. He was President of the Council from 1856 to 1863, and continued to take part in politics until he reached the age of seventy. Throughout the whole of his long life of more than 80 years, he was never seriously ill, and his mental powers remained unimpaired to the very end.

His best work was devoted to the study of the Latin language and to the textual criticism of Cicero and Livy. His duties as professor involved the preparation of the Latin programs of the university, afterwards published in his *Opuscula Academica* (1834—42)¹. He attained a European reputation by his masterly edition of Cicero, *De Finibus* (1839)², one of those standard works which instruct and stimulate the student, not only by the knowledge they impart, but also by the way in which they impart it. His *Latin Grammar* (1841), followed by a volume of 'Observations' (1844), was translated into all the languages of Europe. 'The great merits of the book are its clearness, and grasp of the subject, within the limits which the writer sets himself; its power of analysis, and its command of classical usage'³. Meanwhile, he was pursuing those wider studies of the text of the Greek as well as the Latin Classics, which bore fruit in his *Adversaria Critica*. In 1846 he produced his *Greek Syntax*.

When he resumed his professorship in 1851, on ceasing to be Minister of Education, his study of Roman Constitutional History led to his devoting his main attention to Livy. He produced his well-known *Emendationes Livianae* in 1860⁴, and his edition of the text, in conjunction with Ussing, in 1861—6. In 1871—3 he published the two volumes of his *Adversaria Critica*, with an admirable introduction on the general principles of textual criticism, illustrated by examples, and followed by an Appendix in 1884. Meanwhile, he had produced an important work in two

¹ Ed. 2, 1887.

² Ed. 3, 1876.

³ Nettleship, ii 10 f.

⁴ Enlarged ed. 1877.

volumes on the Constitution and Administration of the Roman State (1881-2).

From the outset of his career as a scholar, his special field had been verbal criticism. He had a remarkable aptitude for conjectural emendation. In Cicero, *pro Caelio*, no less than six of his corrections were subsequently confirmed by the MS formerly in the abbey of St Victor. But his conjectures were not all of equal value; he was certainly less successful with the text of Plato than with that of Cicero; and he himself regretted that he was not more familiar with the style of the Greek Tragic Poets. Verbal criticism he regarded, however, as a means to an end, and that end was the vivid realisation and the perfect presentation of the civilisation of Greece and Rome, whether in literature, or in public or private life.

All the classical scholars of modern Denmark were trained by Madvig during the half century of his tenure of the Latin Professorship. His general character was marked by a hatred of empty talk and exaggerated phrases, a strong sense of justice and an unswerving integrity. He had a singular grace and ease of manner. In carrying out, however, the principle of his favourite motto, 'speaking the truth in love', he often appeared to emphasise the first part of that motto even more than the second¹.

The scholar associated with Madvig in his edition of the text of Livy was Johan Louis Ussing (1820-1905), for 55 years professor at Copenhagen. Madvig had inspired him with a keenly critical temper, without succeeding in interesting him either in Roman Institutions or in Latin Syntax. His own masterpiece was an annotated edition of Plautus (1875-87), in which his sobriety as a textual critic is suggestive of the influence of Madvig. He also published a commentary on the *Characters* of Theophrastus, and on Philodemus *De Vitiis* (1868), and a brief sketch of Greek and Roman Education². Early in his career, on the prompting of Madvig, he had applied himself to the study of archaeology, and this was also one of his latest interests. He was the founder of the Museum of Classical

¹ Cp. John Mayor in *Cl. Rev.* i 123 f, and Nettleship's *Essays*, ii 1-23.

² 1863-5; Germ. trans. 1874, 1885².

Archaeology at Copenhagen, and bequeathed to the Museum his collection of archaeological books.

Denmark also produced two notable Comparative Philologists, Rask and Verner. The discovery of 'Grimm's law' was partially anticipated by Rask; and it was Verner who happily explained its apparent exceptions¹.

NORWAY AND ICELAND

'Verner's law' was further investigated by a native of Norway, Sophus Bugge (1833—1907), a versatile representa-
Bugge
 tive of Scandinavian scholarship, who was for more than 40 years professor of Comparative Philology in the Norwegian university of Christiania.

Among natives of Iceland may be mentioned Paul Arnesen (1776—1851), whose Greek and Latin Dictionary
Iceland
 was the first of its kind in Denmark (1830); and Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791—1852), who produced, in verse as well as prose, a magnificent translation of the whole of Homer.

SWEDEN

During the Revival of Learning it was the school of Law at Perugia which supplied a link between the Italian
Sweden :
Rogge
 humanists and certain scholars of Sweden. Thus Conrad Rogge, a Swede of Westphalian origin, who graduated at Leipzig, resumed his studies by spending five years at Perugia (1455—60). During his stay in Italy he bought a copy of Lactantius still preserved at Strengnäs, where he was bishop from 1479 to his death in 1501. He was the earliest of the humanists of Sweden.

The spirit of the Revival was still more strongly represented by the brothers Johannes and Olaus Magni. The
The brothers
Magni
 elder of these, Johannes Magni (1488—1544), studied at the Catholic universities of Louvain and Cologne, and received a degree in Theology at Perugia. As the last of the Catholic bishops of Sweden, he wrote a Latin history of all his

¹ See p. 350 f, *supra*.

predecessors, and also a history of 'all the kings of the Goths and Swedes', which is a still more uncritical performance than the illustrated 'history of the northern nations' published in Rome in 1555 by his younger brother, 'Olaus Magnus' (1490—1557).

In Sweden the Reformation of 1527 was followed by a pale reflexion of the Italian Renaissance. By the orders of 1571 and 1611, the boys in the highest class of the public schools were required to write a set of Latin verses once a week. The model was Virgil; and, even in the case of versifiers of maturer years, the poem which was a perfect cento of Virgilian phraseology was invariably deemed the best.

The university of Upsala, formally founded by a Swedish archbishop in 1477, was splendidly endowed by Gustavus Adolphus (1611—32). In his reign a professorship was accepted by Johannes Loccenius (1589—1677), a native of Holstein, the first foreign scholar who made his permanent abode in Sweden. He did something for the sound and scientific study of the Classics. His *Curtius* went through 20 editions, but only one of them was printed in the North.

In 1630 Gustavus Adolphus founded in Livonia the university of Dorpat; and, during the minority of his daughter, Christina, a university was founded for Finland at Åbo, to be ultimately transferred in 1827 to Helsingfors.

Queen Christina, the successor of Gustavus Adolphus, is connected with the history of scholarship by her patronage of learning during the ten years of her reign (1644—54), and during the 35 years of her exile (1654—89). Scholars were invited from the Netherlands and France. Strassburg sent three of the representatives of her flourishing school of Roman history. But the only one of these scholars who made Sweden his permanent abode was J. G. Scheffer (1621—1679), who was a professor at Upsala for the last 31 years of his life, and became the true founder of classical philology in Sweden. After resigning the throne in 1654, the daughter of the great champion of the Protestant cause in Europe joined the

Church of Rome, and, for the rest of her life, lived mainly in Rome, where she permitted Spanheim to reproduce her coins and medals in his great work on Numismatics.

Of the 13 Greek professors at Upsala down to 1700, not a few were in the habit of writing original Greek verse, but they rarely edited Greek authors, and such authors were seldom of special importance. But they deserve credit for continuing to cultivate the exotic plant of Greek learning, which had flourished for a time at the court of Queen Christina.

The further fortunes of classical learning at Upsala need not be pursued in the present work. Lund was the university of a versatile professor of Greek, Esaias Tegnér (1782—1846), whose dithyrambic war-song made him in 1808 the Tyrtaeus of Sweden. Famous as the most popular of Swedish poets, he was a Greek professor from 1812 to 1824, and, for the rest of his life, a bishop. In two of his letters he strongly approves of Latin verse composition as an indispensable part of a classical education. The Greek professorship was subsequently held by K. V. Linder and K. A. Walberg, the joint authors of a Swedish-Greek lexicon (1862), and by Christian Cavallin, who produced a Greek Syntax as well as a Latin Dictionary. Of works on Latin literature by Swedish scholars one of the most useful is the comprehensive Latin treatise on the Life and Style of the younger Pliny published in 1872 by J. P. Lagergren, afterwards rector of the school at Jönköping.

Not a few of the foremost scholars in Scandinavia have derived considerable benefit from studying in foreign universities, and from travelling (or residing) in Italy and Greece. It is the lands last mentioned that have naturally supplied the best training to her archaeologists, from the time of Zoëga down to the present day. Again, an intimate knowledge of the Scandinavian languages has been the starting-point from which men like Rask and Verner and Sophus Bugge have attained a notable position among the Comparative Philologists of Europe; and, lastly, in the province of the language and institutions of ancient Rome, any country might well be proud of a Latin scholar like Madvig.

CHAPTER XLVII

GREECE, RUSSIA, AND HUNGARY

(i) GREECE

THE first step towards the recovery of Greek independence was a literary revival of the Greek language. Among the scholars who applied their knowledge of ancient Greek to giving a literary character to the language of the modern Greeks, the earliest name of note is that of Eugénios Búlgaris (1716—1806), the first reformer of the traditional ecclesiastical type of Greek education. He was director of schools at Ioánnina, Mount Athos and Constantinople. He subsequently spent ten years in Leipzig, writing works in ancient as well as modern Greek (1765—75), and was placed at the head of a school for young Russian noblemen in St Petersburg. His masterpiece in ancient Greek was his rendering of the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* in Homeric verse; ancient Greek was also the language of all his strictly philosophical writings, while modern Greek was the medium used in his more popular publications.

Modern Greek was still more effectively moulded into a literary form by the far-reaching influence of Adamantios Koraës (1748—1833). A native of Smyrna, he was allowed by his father to abandon a business career and to enter the medical school of Montpellier, where he distinguished himself as a student of medicine (1782—8). He removed to Paris in 1788, and there devoted himself to literary labours for the remaining forty-five years of his life.

Patriotism and a passion for learning were the two guiding principles of his whole career. The most important of his literary undertakings, the 'Library of Greek literature', was inspired by a distinctly patriotic motive. Long before the outbreak of the Greek revolution, four brothers of the wealthy house of

Zosimades consulted Koraës as to the best means for accelerating the regeneration that had already begun in Greece. Koraës advised the publication of the old Greek Classics with notes in ancient and introductions in modern Greek. Such was the origin of the celebrated 'Greek Library', a series of seventeen volumes edited by Koraës in 1805-26. The *prodromos* (containing Aelian's *Varia Historia*, Heracleides Ponticus, and Nicolaus Damascenus) was followed by two volumes of Isocrates, six volumes of Plutarch's *Lives*, four of Strabo, the *Politics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle, the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon with the *Gorgias* of Plato, and lastly the *Leocrates* of the Attic orator Lycurgus. All these were printed by Didot in an exquisitely neat type specially designed for the series, the whole cost of publication was met by the munificence of the brothers Zosimades, and many copies were gratuitously distributed among deserving Greek students in Hellenic lands. Meanwhile, Koraës was producing a series of 'parerga' in nine volumes, including (*inter alia*) the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, five political treatises of Plutarch, Cebes and Cleanthes, with the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the two volumes of Arrian's version of his discourses (1809-27). He also produced an edition of *Iliad* i-iv (1811-20) and translated Herodotus into modern Greek. The five volumes of his *Atakta* (1828-35) were largely concerned with Greek lexicography. In his writings in general he aimed at assimilating the language of literature with the living language of modern Greece, and, even in his most scholarly works, he showed his interest in the idiom of the people, while others abandoned this intermediate position and went to the extreme of ignoring the living language and urging the adoption of an artificial style founded on the grammar and the literature of ancient Greece. His character is thus summed up by Finlay:—

'Koraës...was the great popular reformer of the Greek system of instruction, the legislator of the modern Greek language, and the most distinguished apostle of religious toleration and national freedom...He was indifferent to wealth, honest and independent, a sincere patriot, and a profound scholar... He passed his life in independent poverty, in order that he might consecrate his whole time, and the undivided strength of his mind, to improve the moral and political feelings of the Greeks. His efforts have not been fruitless. He methodized the literary language of his countrymen, while he infused into their minds principles of true liberty and pure morality'¹.

Among the leading scholars of the Greek Revolution was Geórgios Gennádios (1786—1854), who in 1820 became the head of the Greek School in Bucharest. G. Gennádios

The study of Demosthenes and Plutarch had inspired him with the love of liberty, and, under his enthusiastic teaching, his pupils were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of patriotism.

¹ Finlay, *History of Greece*, v 285 Tozer. See esp. D. Thereianos, *Adamantios Koraës*, 3 vols. (Trieste, 1889-90).

While Koraës remained abroad, editing the Greek Classics in a patriotic spirit and arousing the martial ardour of his countrymen by a new edition of his *σάλπισμα πολεμιστήριον*, Gennádios actually fought in the war. While Koraës was a great writer, Gennádios was a great teacher. It is from his Greek Grammar of 1832 that the modern Greeks learnt their own ancient language for at least three generations.

In 1824 the first university of modern Greece was founded at Corfu. The founder was the famous philhellene, Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guildford (1766—1827), who was then Governor of the Ionian Islands. Under the name of the 'Ionian Academy' this university lasted for forty years, that is until 1864, when the Ionian Islands were ceded by England to Greece. Meanwhile the university of Athens had been opened in 1837. As the 'national university of Greece', it has since celebrated in 1912 the completion of the seventy-fifth year of its existence.

The controversy as to the best literary language for the modern Greeks turns mainly on the question whether the literary language should be founded on the language of the people or on the language of the purists. Of the purists a majority have followed in the general lines of the compromise between colloquial and classical Greek advocated by Koraës, while some have urged a return to a more strictly classical standard. This apparently interminable controversy is preeminently one that must be settled by the Greeks themselves.

Another important controversy, that on the pronunciation of Greek, must here be very briefly noticed. The earlier stages of this controversy have been duly set forth by Blass¹. The 'Erasmian' method, dating from 1528, prevails in various forms throughout Europe, and has even been accepted in Russia. The modern Greeks in general hold that their own pronunciation has descended to them by an unbroken tradition from the Greeks of the classical age. This view has, however, been refuted by their foremost living scholar, G. N. Hatzidákis, who has shown that neither the 'Erasmian' nor the modern Greek pronunciation can be identical with any single ancient pronunciation of the language, although he admits that, in many points, and especially with regard to the vowels, the 'Erasmian' method comes theoretically nearer to the truth².

¹ *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek* (E. T. 1890), 2—6.

² *Ἀκαδημικὰ ἀναγνώσματα* (1904), 284 f (Krumbacher's *Festrede*, 1903, p. 91).

(ii) RUSSIA

In Russia, the systematic study of the classical languages goes back to the seventeenth century. In the ecclesiastical 'Academy' of Kiev, founded in 1620, Russia Latin was thoroughly studied from 1631 to the end of the century. From Kiev the study of the Classics was transmitted to Moscow. The printing-school, founded at Moscow in 1679, was the first institution involving the study of Greek, that was subsidised by the government. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy (founded in 1685) was the principal source of classical learning.

The university of Moscow was founded in 1755; those of Kazan and of Kharkov in 1804; St Petersburg in 1819, and Odessa in 1865. The university of Universities Vilna, founded in 1803, was superseded in 1833 by those of Kiev, which was placed on the same level as the other universities in 1863-84. At these universities some of the professors of Russian birth owed part of their education to Germany. Thus, in Moscow, Timkovski (1785-1820) studied at Göttingen, and Kriukov (1809-1845) in Berlin; in St Petersburg, Blagoviestschenski (1821-1891) at Leipzig and Heidelberg. Others, again, were of German parentage, such as Kroneberg (1788-1838), whose Latin-Russian Dictionary passed through six editions; and Karl Joachim Lugebil (1830-1888), a student at St Petersburg, whose best-known works were connected with Athens:—(1) On Ostracism, and (2) On the History of the Athenian Constitution¹.

The university of Dorpat, founded in Livonia by Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, was reconstituted by Alexander I in 1802. Four years previously, all Russian subjects had been recalled from the universities of Germany, but Dorpat remained a centre of German influence from 1802 to 1895; thenceforward the Russian language alone was allowed to be used in the lecture-rooms.

The earliest of the German scholars, who resided in Russia

¹ *Jahrb. f. d. Phil.* Suppl. iv-v (1861-71).

for a large part of their lives, was Christian Friedrich Matthaei (1744—1811), best known for having discovered
 Germans in Russia: at Moscow in 1780 a MS of the Homeric Hymns,
 C. F. Matthaei including the *Hymn to Demeter* (first published by Ruhnken) and twelve lines of a *Hymn to Dionysus*. One
 of Hermann's pupils, Christian Friedrich Graefe
 Graefe (1780—1851), who became professor, librarian, and
 keeper of Antiquities at St Petersburg, studied Meleager and
 the Bucolic poets, and edited Nonnus (1819—20).
 F. Vater Friedrich Vater (1810—1866) studied in Berlin,
 where he died. Of his earlier works, the best known is his edition
 of the *Rhesus* (1837). His papers on Andocides, begun in Berlin,
 were continued at Kazan, and he also published in Moscow an
 edition of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* (1845). During the forties,
 classical studies in Russia were much influenced by German
 scholarship, as represented by Boeckh and K. O. Müller on the
 one hand, and by Ritschl on the other. The last 33 years of
 the life of Nauck (1822—92), and the greater part
 Nauck of the last 28 years of that of Lucian Müller
 L. Müller (1836—98), were devoted to the teaching of Greek and Latin
 respectively at St Petersburg¹.

Among Russian representatives of classical archaeology may be mentioned
 Archaeologists Von Stackelberg (1787—1834), who studied at Göttingen,
 Stackelberg and spent many years in Dresden and in Greece and Italy
 in the study of archaeology, but did not return to Russia until the last year of
 his life; and Stephani (1816—1887), who studied at Leipzig,
 Stephani was professor at Dorpat (1846—50), keeper of the Antiquities
 of the Hermitage at St Petersburg for the last 37 years of his life, and the
 author of many important monographs on the archaeological discoveries in
 South Russia.

(iii) HUNGARY

Hungary was among the homes of humanism in 1464—90,
 during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, whose library
 Hungary was scattered on the occasion of the capture of the
 capital by the Turks in 1526. Latin long remained in use as a
 living language in Hungary; the debates of the Diet were con-
 ducted in Latin until 1825; but there was little interest in

¹ See pp. 340, 346, *supra*.

classical literature until the middle of the nineteenth century, when there was a revival of learning attested by numerous translations of the Classics, as well as the publication of classical text-books. Among those who aimed at producing works of more permanent value was Ivan Télyf (1816—1898), Greek Professor at Budapest, the compiler of the *Corpus Juris Attici* (1868), and his successor, Eugen Abel (1858—1889). At Budapest Abel attracted the attention of the restorer of classical learning in Hungary, Emil Thewrewk de Ponor¹. In 1877 he laid the foundation of his knowledge of palaeography, and of the history of humanism in Hungary, in the study of certain mss from the library of Matthias Corvinus, which were then restored by the Turks. In 1886 he succeeded Télyf as professor of Greek, but held that position for three years only, dying at Constantinople on the eve of his examination of the ancient mss of that city.

His published works included critical editions of the *Homeric Hymns and Epigrams*, and the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. His Hungarian commentary on the *Odyssey* was preceded by a Homeric Grammar published in 1881, a year before that of Monro. He also edited two volumes of *scholia* on Pindar. Among his publications connected with the history of humanism in Hungary were his *Analecta* on the Hungarian humanists, and his article on the Hungarian universities in the Middle Ages. His work in this department is of special importance for the period between 1464 and 1526.

¹ Born 1838; editor of *Festus* (1889-93).

CHAPTER XLVIII

ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE Porsonian tradition passed for a time from Cambridge to Oxford in the person of Peter Elmsley (1773—1825) of Winchester and Christ Church, for the last two years of his life principal of St Alban Hall and Camden professor of Ancient History at Oxford. He spent the winter of 1818 in Florence, studying the Laurentian MS of Sophocles. He collated the MS in 1820, and the earliest recognition of its superiority is to be found in the preface to his edition of the *Oedipus Coloneus* (1823). In 1819 he aided Sir Humphry Davy in examining the Herculanean *papyri* in the Museum of Naples.

His most important works were his editions of Greek plays, all of them published at Oxford, namely the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, and the *Heraclidae*, *Medea*, and *Bacchae* of Euripides. In his *Medea* he observed that an editor's duty consisted in two things:—correcting the author's text, and explaining his meaning; the former duty had been discharged by Porson, while the latter had been neglected. In all his editions of Greek plays, Elmsley devoted himself mainly to the illustration of the purport of the text, and to the elucidation of the laws of Attic usage. His merits as a scholar were highly esteemed by Hermann, whose edition of the *Bacchae* was published solely as a supplement to that of Elmsley.

Among the merits of Elmsley was a high appreciation of the value of the Laurentian MS of Sophocles. His careful edition of the *scholia* in that MS was brought out by Thomas Gaisford (1779—1855), who was appointed Regius professor of Greek at Oxford in 1812, and was also dean of Christ Church for the last twenty-four years of his life.

In 1810 he first made his mark by his edition of Hephaestion's *Manual on Metres*. Of his subsequent publications the most important are his *Poetae*

Minores Graeci and his editions of Herodotus, Stobaeus, Suidas, and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. It was in allusion to the last two ponderous tomes that the future lexicographer, Robert Scott, in his Homeric verses, described Gaisford as *δύω δολιχόσκια πάλλων | λεξικά δυσβάστακτα*. With a view to his editions of the Greek poets, and of Stobaeus and Suidas, he spent four months at Leyden studying the MSS in the Library, and the learning and industry which he bestowed on the Greek Poets were highly eulogised by Hermann¹.

A certain deflexion from the critical Porsonian tradition is exemplified by Samuel Butler (1774—1839), head-S. Butlermaster of Shrewsbury from 1798 to 1836, in his edition of Aeschylus, in four quarto volumes (1809—15) with Stanley's text of 1663, the Greek *scholia*, all the notes of Stanley and his predecessors, and selections from those of subsequent editions. It was ably reviewed by C. J. Blomfield², who denounced it as 'an indiscriminate coacervation' of all that had been 'expressly written on Aeschylus'. Butler, in the course of his reply, remarks that 'probably no man ever undertook a work of this nature with so little assistance. Of the many thousand passages' from ancient authors 'not one has been pointed out to me by any learned friend'. He honestly confesses to certain mistakes, but 'continually betrays the jealousy which Parr's circle entertained towards the Porsonians'³.

The Porsonian type of scholarship, represented at Oxford by Elmsley, was maintained at Cambridge by Dobree,Dobree Monk, and C. J. Blomfield. The first of these, Peter Paul Dobree (1782—1825), Fellow of Trinity, edited (with many additions of his own and in particular with his own commentary on the *Plutus*) Porson's *Aristophanica* (1820), which was followed by Porson's transcript of the lexicon of Photius (1822). When Monk vacated the Regius Professorship of Greek, Dobree was elected in his place and held that position for the two remaining years of his life. His *Adversaria* on the Greek Poets, Historians, and Orators, were posthumously published in four

¹ *Opusc.* vi 98 'der fleissige und gelehrte Gaisford'.

² *Edin. Rev.*, Oct. 1809, and Jan. 1810; Feb. 1812 (full extracts in J. E. B. Mayor's ed. of Baker's *Hist. of St John's Coll.* ii 908—921).

³ *Letter to the Rev. C. J. Blomfield*, 1810 (J. E. B. Mayor, 911—915).

volumes (1831-3) by his successor, Scholefield¹, and his transcript of the *Lexicon rhetoricum Cantabrigiense* was printed in 1834. While Dobree was a follower of Porson in the textual criticism of Aristophanes, he broke new ground as a critic of the Attic Orators, and of Demosthenes and Lysias in particular.

Following in the footsteps of Porson and Elmsley, James Monk Henry Monk (1784-1856), Fellow of Trinity, and professor of Greek from 1809 to 1823, edited four plays of Euripides, the *Hippolytus* and the *Alcestis*, while he was still professor, and the two *Iphigeneias*, when he was already bishop of Gloucester. The year of his consecration as bishop was that of the publication of his admirable *Life of Bentley* (1830).

Monk's fellow-editor of Porson's *Adversaria* in 1812 was C. J. Blomfield Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857), Fellow of Trinity, who edited with notes and glossaries the *Prometheus*, *Septem*, *Persae*, *Agamemnon* and *Choëphoroe* (1810-24), and would doubtless have edited the *Eumenides*, had he not been made a bishop in 1824. The best part of his edition of Aeschylus was the glossary. He also edited Callimachus (1815), and contributed to the *Museum Criticum* (1814-26) editions of the fragments of Sappho, Alcaeus, Stesichorus and Sophron. His younger brother, Edward Valentine Blomfield (1788-1816), Scholar of Caius and Fellow of Emmanuel, translated Matthiae's Greek Grammar.

In 1825 a contemporary of Blomfield and Burges, James Scholefield, Fellow of Trinity (1789-1853), was elected over the heads of Julius Charles Hare and Hugh James Rose to the Greek professorship vacated by Monk's successor, Dobree. His edition of Aeschylus (1828, 2nd ed. 1830) was the earliest English attempt to embrace in a single volume the results of modern criticism on that poet. Scholefield was not endued with the acumen of a Bentley or a Porson, but he fully appreciated their skill and readily accepted the results of their able contributions to the criticism of the text. Dr Kennedy was 'accustomed to regard him as a strong, sound,

¹ Ed. Wagner in 2 vols. 1874, with the *Observationes Aristophaneae* of 1820.

Greek scholar, with fair critical acumen, but not endowed with that brilliant imagination, and exquisite taste, which are the scholar's *vis divinator*'¹.

Among the ablest of Samuel Butler's pupils at Shrewsbury was Benjamin Hall Kennedy (1804—1889), Fellow of St John's, head-master of Shrewsbury from 1836 to 1866, and professor of Greek from 1867 to 1889.

B. H. Kennedy

His best-known works are his 'Latin Primer' and his 'Public School Latin Grammar'. He also published, with translations and notes, the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles and the *Birds* of Aristophanes, as well as the *Theaetetus* of Plato. His school-edition of Virgil was followed by an edition of the text. His name is associated with a large number of admirable renderings in Greek and Latin Verse; he was the principal contributor to the *Sabrinae Corolla*, and the sole author of *Between Whiles*.

Dr Kennedy's younger brother, Charles Rann Kennedy (1808—1867), Senior Classic in 1831, was called to the bar, and is best known as the translator of Demosthenes.

C. R. Kennedy

Intermediate in age between the two Kennedys was Thomas Williamson Peile (1806—1882), head-master of Repton, a pupil of Samuel Butler, whom he gratefully remembers in his elaborate editions of the *Agamemnon* and *Choëphoroe* (1839). Christopher Wordsworth (1807—1885), nephew of the poet, son of the Master of Trinity, and Senior Classic in 1832, travelled in Greece

T. W. Peile

Wordsworth

and discovered the site of Dodona²; he was afterwards head-master of Harrow, and ultimately bishop of Lincoln. As a classical scholar he is well represented by his *Athens and Attica* (1836), by his 'pictorial, descriptive, and historical' work on *Greece* (1839 etc.), and by his edition of 'Theocritus'. Among the contemporaries of the younger Kennedy was Joseph William Blakesley (1808—1885), Fellow of Trinity, and ultimately dean of Lincoln. Breadth of geographic and historic interest, rather than minute scholarship, was the main characteristic of his able edition of Herodotus (1852-4).

Blakesley

¹ *Memoir*, 358.

² *Greece*, p. 247, ed. 1839.

³ 1844 and 1877.

In the Cambridge Classical Tripos of 1832 the first place was assigned to Edmund Law Lushington (1811—1893), of Charterhouse and Trinity. He had the highest reputation as professor of Greek for many years at Glasgow¹, and one of his ablest pupils has recalled his ‘certainty of touch’ and ‘unfailing strength of presentation’². In the epilogue to *In Memoriam*, Tennyson told of his ‘wearing all that weight of learning lightly like a flower’.

The second place in the same Tripos was awarded to Richard Shilleto (1809—1876), of Trinity, for more than forty years famous as a private tutor in Classics. He was a great master of Greek idiom, and his skill, in Latin as well as Greek, is attested by the numerous compositions which have appeared in *Sabrinæ Corolla*, the *Arundines Cami*, and in a special volume of his collected versions (1901). His edition of Demosthenes *De Falsa Legatione*, a masterpiece of its kind, was written, printed, and published in the marvellously short interval of five months (1844). His long-expected edition of Thucydides might well have been brought to a successful completion, had it been begun while he was still in the prime of life. As it was, only two books were ever published (1872–80).

Shilleto’s distinguished contemporary, William Hepworth Thompson (1810—1886), was Regius Professor of Greek from 1853 to 1867, and, for the last twenty years of his life, Master of Trinity. Singularly effective as a professorial lecturer on Euripides, Plato, and Aristotle, he unhappily published little besides his excellent edition of Archer Butler’s *Lectures on the History of Greek Philosophy* (1855), and his admirable commentaries on the *Phaedrus* and *Gorgias* of Plato (1868–71).

Thompson had a high appreciation of that strikingly original and independent scholar, Charles Badham (1813—1884), who, after taking his degree at Wadham

¹ 1838–75; inaugural discourse *On the Study of Greek* (1839).

² Lewis Campbell, in *Cl. Rev.* vii 476, and *ib.* 425–8. Among his other pupils were W. Y. Sellar and D. B. Monro, whom he inspired with a life-long interest in Homer. In scholarship, his chief admiration was for Hermann and Boeckh.

College, Oxford, and travelling for seven years in Germany, France and Italy, proved his affinity with the Cambridge school of scholarship by becoming a member of Peterhouse. In 1854 he was appointed head-master of Edgbaston, and, from 1867 to his death in 1884, he was professor of Classics and Logic at the University of Sydney. He edited the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the *Helena*, and the *Ion* of Euripides, the *Phaedrus* and *Philebus*, the *Euthydemus* and *Laches*, and the *Symposium* of Plato. In scholarship he was especially attracted to the school of Porson, and of Cobet. He received an honorary degree at Leyden in 1860, in 1865 he dedicated to Cobet his edition of the *Euthydemus* and *Laches*, and it was on his deathbed that he dictated his latest letter to the great Dutch scholar.

One of the foremost candidates for the Greek Professorship vacated by Thompson in 1867 was Edward Meredith Cope (1818—1869), who was educated under Kennedy at Shrewsbury, and is best known as the author of an elaborate Introduction to the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (1867), the precursor of a comprehensive edition, which was posthumously published (1877). His translation of the *Gorgias* was printed in 1864; that of the *Phaedo*, after his death. He criticised the views of Grote on the Sophists in a series of papers in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, but it was to Grote that he dedicated his Introduction to the *Rhetoric*.

Among Thompson's ablest contemporaries was John William Donaldson (1811—1861), Fellow of Trinity, and head-master of the School at Bury St Edmund's (1841—55). In his *New Cratylus* he gave a considerable impulse to the study of Comparative Philology in England; in his *Varroonianus* he advanced a theory of the Gothic affinities of the Etruscans. He published a comprehensive treatise on the *Theatre of the Greeks*; he edited Pindar (1841), the *Antigone* of Sophocles (1848) and a text of Thucydides (1859); he also completed K. O. Müller's *History of Greek Literature* (1858), and wrote an interesting and suggestive work entitled *Classical Scholarship and Classical Learning* (1856). His *Complete Latin Grammar* was enlarged in 1860; his *Greek Grammar* attained a third edition in 1862.

A wider variety of interests was represented by Donaldson's younger contemporary Frederick Apthorp Paley (1816—1888), of Shrewsbury and St John's. He first made his mark by an edition of Aeschylus with Latin notes (1844-51), followed by an English edition (1855, etc.), which is widely recognised as his best work. He also edited Euripides, Hesiod, Theocritus, and the *Iliad*, as well as several plays of Sophocles, with Ovid's *Fasti*, and Propertius. In the preface to his 'Euripides' he protests against the purely textual notes that were the characteristic of the Porsonian school. An incidental remark of Donaldson's on certain resemblances between Quintus Smyrnaeus and the *Iliad* led him to produce a series of papers, maintaining that the Homeric poems in their present form were not earlier than the age of Alexander, and that it was mainly through oral tradition that they reached the age of Thucydides.

The same school sent to Cambridge an accomplished scholar in the person of William George Clark (1821—1878), who ably filled the office of Public Orator from 1867 to 1869, and was Fellow of Trinity for the last 34 years of his life. In 1858 he published in his *Peloponnesus* the results of his Greek tour in the company of Thompson. A critical edition of Shakespeare designed in 1860 was successfully completed by Clark and Aldis Wright in 1866. He also designed an edition of Aristophanes, devoted part of 1867 to examining the MSS at Ravenna and Venice, and began a commentary on the *Acharnians*¹, which his failing health compelled him to leave unfinished. His name has been commemorated by the establishment of the 'Clark Lectureship in the Literature of England'.

Clark's contemporary, Churchill Babington (1821—1889), Fellow of St John's, and Disney professor of Archaeology from 1865 to 1880, produced in 1851-8 the *editio princeps* of four of the speeches of Hypereides, beginning with the 'Speech against Demosthenes' and ending with the 'Funeral Oration'.

¹ Notes on *Ach.* 1—578 in *Journal of Philology*, viii 177 f, ix 1 f, 23 f.

Born a year later than Clark and Babington, Hubert Ashton Holden (1822—1896), Fellow of Trinity, and head-
 master of Ipswich School from 1858 to 1883,
 edited a text of Aristophanes with an *onomasticon*, and produced elaborate commentaries on the Seventh Book of Thucydides, the *Cyropaedia*, *Hieron*, and *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, eight of Plutarch's *Lives*, and the *Pro Plancio*, *Pro Sestio*, and *De Officiis* of Cicero.

H. A. Holden

Richard Claverhouse Jebb (1841—1905), of Charterhouse, Fellow of Trinity, took his degree as Senior Classic
 in 1862. He was elected Public Orator of Cam-
 bridge in 1869, was Professor of Greek at Glasgow from 1875 to 1889, and at Cambridge from 1889 to his death. For the last fourteen years of his life he was M.P. for his University, was knighted in 1900, and in the summer of 1905 attained the crowning distinction of the Order of Merit.

Jebb

He will long be remembered as the editor of Sophocles (1883—96) and of Bacchylides (1905), and as the author of the 'Attic Orators'¹. His other works included 'The *Characters* of Theophrastus', an 'Introduction to Homer', with lectures on Modern Greece, on Greek poetry, and on Humanism in Education², monographs on Erasmus and on Bentley, and a brief life of Porson³. In 1883 he took a leading part in founding the British School at Athens, and he was President of the Hellenic Society for the last sixteen years of his life. A humanist in the highest sense of the word, he had 'not only mastered the form of classical literature', but had 'assimilated its spirit, and applied it to the understanding and criticism of modern life'. His 'Attic Orators' revealed to the literary world the fact that one who was 'among the first of living Greek scholars' was himself 'an artist in English prose'⁴. His 'Sophocles' has been justly characterised as 'one of the most finished, comprehensive, and valuable works, in the sphere of literary exposition, which this age or any has produced'⁵. The same qualities were exhibited in his 'Bacchylides',

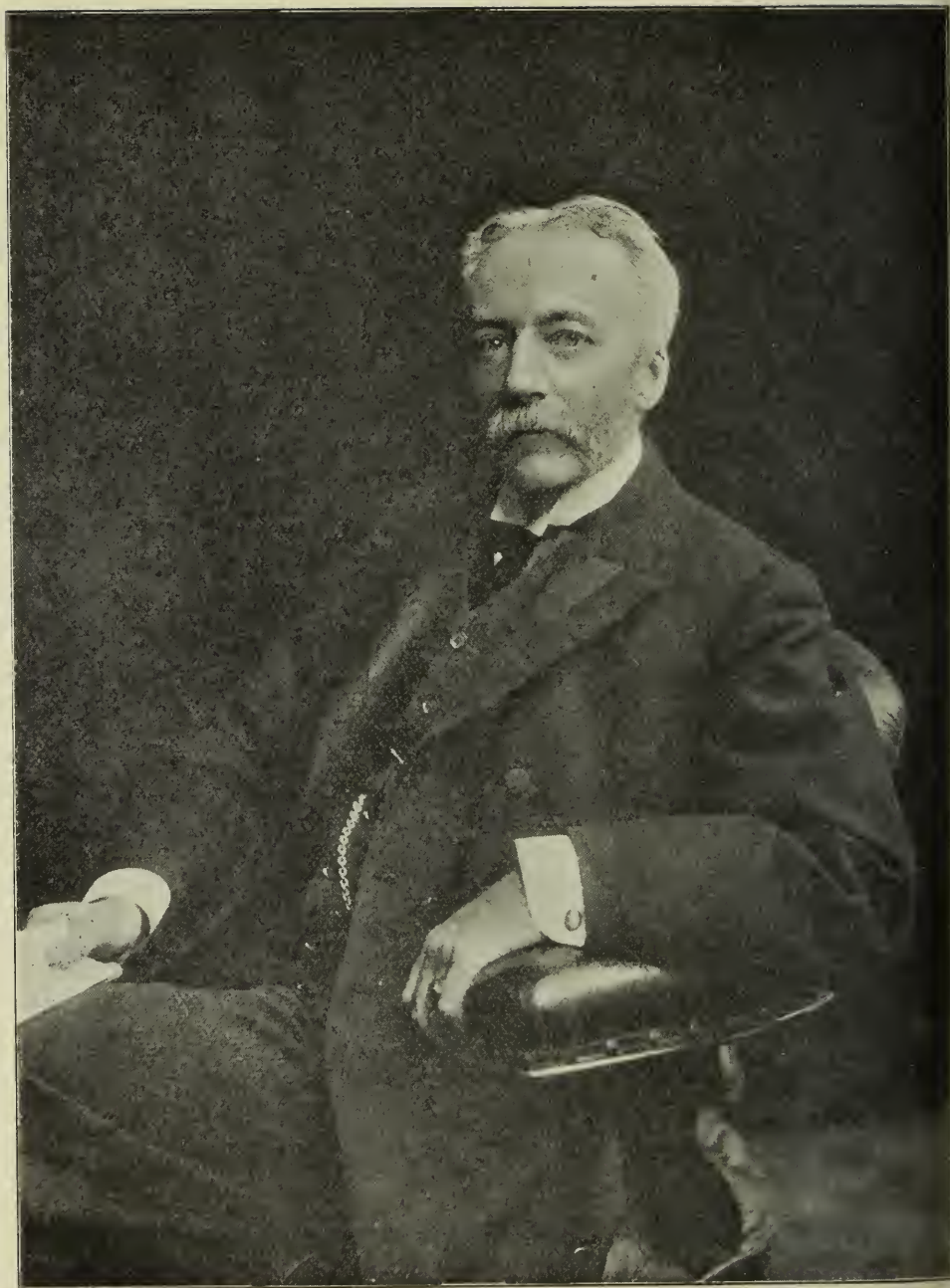
¹ 1876; ed. 2, 1893.

² Reprinted in *Essays and Addresses*, 506—544.

³ *D. N. B.*

⁴ *Quarterly Review*, 1881.

⁵ Verrall in *Biogr. Jahrb.* 1906, 77.



RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE JEBB.

Reproduced (by permission) from a photograph taken by
Messrs Window and Grove, London.

where the defects of the MS left still further scope for restorations worthy of a genuine Greek poet. His powers as a composer of Greek lyric verse had already been proved by his three Pindaric odes¹. His volume of *Translations* includes not a few fine renderings in Latin as well as Greek verse, while his mastery of a highly felicitous form of Latin prose was exemplified in the speeches delivered by him during his tenure of the office of Public Orator². He has been aptly described as 'one of the most brilliant scholars and one of the most accomplished men of letters of his time—a great humanist, who, in his combination of wide learning, consummate critical faculty, and exquisite taste, had few equals and perhaps no superiors, among his contemporaries'³. It has also been well said that he was unconsciously portraying his own gifts when he translated, in his memorable monograph on Bentley, the passage in which that great scholar says that wide reading and erudite knowledge of all Greek and Latin antiquity are not enough for the modern critic of a classical author:—

'A man should have all that at his fingers' ends.... But besides this there is need of the keenest judgment, of sagacity and quickness, of a certain divining tact and inspiration, as was said of Aristarchus—a faculty which can be acquired by no constancy of toil or length of life, but comes solely by the gift of nature and by the happy star'⁴.

The briefest mention must here suffice for other notable representatives of the Greek scholarship of Cambridge. Arthur Holmes (1837—1875), a brilliant
Holmes
composer, of Shrewsbury and St John's, edited the *Midias* and *De Corona* of Demosthenes. R. D. Archer-Hind
Archer-Hind
(1849—1910), of Shrewsbury and Trinity, produced

¹ Printed in the new ed. of the *Translations*, 1907.

² e.g. *Camb. Univ. Reporter*, 23 June, 1874, 481-6.

³ *The Times*, 11 Dec. 1905, p. 6.

⁴ *The Times*, u. s.; cp. S. H. Butcher in *Class. Rev.*, Feb. 1906, 71 f; A. W. Verrall in Appendix (427—487) to Lady Jebb's *Life and Letters of Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb*, with portrait, 1907, and J. D. Duff in *D. N. B.* The collected *Essays and Addresses* (1907) have among their subjects Sophocles and Pindar, the age of Pericles and the Speeches of Thucydides, ancient organs of public opinion, and the exploration of Delos, together with Caesar, Lucian, Erasmus and Samuel Johnson, 'Humanism in Education' and other kindred topics.

excellent editions of the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus* of Plato, as well as a volume of admirable *Translations into Greek Verse and Prose*.

Butcher

Samuel Henry Butcher (1850—1910), successively Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and University College, Oxford, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh from 1882 to 1903, President of the British Academy and M.P. for the University of Cambridge, was associated with Andrew Lang in a memorable translation of the *Odyssey*. He also published a compendious work on Demosthenes, with two volumes of a critical edition of the text. A critical text and translation of Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry were included in his repeatedly published work on *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Art*¹. He is also remembered as the author of two volumes of suggestive and inspiring lectures on 'Some Aspects of the Greek Genius', and 'On the Originality of Greece'².

Verrall

Arthur Woolgar Verrall (1851—1912), Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity, and, during the last year of his life, Professor of English Literature, produced able editions of the *Septem Contra Thebas*, and of all the three plays of the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus. He also wrote a masterly review of the merits of Sir Richard Jebb as a scholar and a critic, and especially as an editor of Sophocles³. Lastly, he rehabilitated the dramatic reputation of Euripides by his edition of the *Medea*, by his translation, etc., of the *Ion*, and by his three volumes of Essays (1) on 'Euripides the Rationalist'; (2) on 'Four Plays', namely the *Andromache*, *Helen*, *Heracles*, and *Orestes*; and (3) on 'the *Bacchants*'. In his editions of plays of Aeschylus and Euripides, he gave proof of a singular aptitude for verbal emendation, while in all his work on the tragic poets of Greece, he displayed the highest degree of literary insight⁴.

Neil

The sole memorial of the exact and varied scholarship of Robert Alexander Neil (1852—1901), Fellow and Tutor of Pembroke, is an able edition of the *Knights* of Aristophanes (1901).

¹ 1875, 1897, 1902, 1907.

² Harvard Lectures, 1904, new ed. 1911.

³ Appendix to *Life* by Lady Jebb, pp. 427—487.

⁴ Cp. M. A. B. in *Classical Review*, xxvi 172 f.

His friend, James Adam (1860—1907), Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel, left behind him, as his masterpiece in classical scholarship, an elaborately annotated edition of Plato's *Republic* (1902). At Aberdeen in 1904 he aroused the keenest interest by his Gifford Lectures on *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, published in 1908, and followed by his collected papers, entitled *The Vitality of Platonism and other Essays* (1911). Part of the brief life of Walter George Headlam (1866—1908), Fellow and Lecturer of King's, was devoted to emending and translating Aeschylus. His critical keenness is imperfectly represented by his incomplete edition of the *Agamemnon* (1910), but his *Book of Greek Verse* (1907) gives ample proof of his exquisite taste as an interpreter and an imitator of the Greek poets.

Adam

Headlam

In the generation succeeding that of Elmsley and Gaisford Greek scholarship was well represented at Oxford by Henry George Liddell (1811—1898) of Charterhouse, Dean of Christ Church, and by Robert Scott (1811—1887) of Shrewsbury, Master of Balliol and Dean of Rochester, the joint authors of the standard Greek and English Lexicon. Founded partly on that of Passow, the first edition appeared in 1843; the eighth in 1897.

Liddell
and
Scott

As Master of Balliol, Scott was succeeded in 1870 by Benjamin Jowett (1817—1893), who in 1855 had succeeded Gaisford as professor of Greek. In the domain of classical learning, the foremost of his plans was an Oxford edition of the principal dialogues of Plato. The *Philebus* was edited in 1860 by Edward Poste (1821—1902), the *Theaetetus* (1861) and the *Sophistes* and *Politicus* (1867) by Professor Lewis Campbell; and the *Apology* by Riddell (1867). Jowett's own part in the scheme was a long-delayed edition of the *Republic* with text, notes, and essays, in which he was associated with Professor Campbell (1894). Meanwhile, he had conceived the design of a complete translation of Plato, which was happily accomplished in 1871. This was followed by his translation of Thucydides (1881) and the *Politics* of Aristotle (1885), both of which were accompanied by a Commentary. All these three great works are justly recognised as

Jowett

masterpieces of English, and his rendering of Plato in particular, with its admirably written Introductions, has done much towards popularising the study of Plato in England and elsewhere.

Jowett's contemporary, Mark Pattison (1813—1884), Rector of
 Pattison Lincoln, was deeply read in the History of Scholarship, especially that of the Renaissance in France, as is proved in part by his *Life of Casaubon* and his *Essays on Scaliger*.

Intermediate in age between Pattison and Jowett was George
 G. Rawlinson Rawlinson (1815—1902), Fellow of Exeter, Camden professor of Ancient History, and Canon of Canterbury, who produced in 1858 a standard translation of Herodotus, with notes and essays.

Comparative Philology was ably represented at Oxford by
 Max Müller Friedrich Max Müller (1823—1900), who studied under Bopp and Schelling in Berlin and under Eugène Burnouf in Paris. Defeated in 1860 in his candidature for the Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford, he gave two admirable courses of *Lectures on the Science of Language* at the Royal Institution (1861—4), which made the general results of the study of Comparative Philology familiar to Englishmen, and led to his appointment to a professorship of that subject at Oxford in 1868. Comparative Philology was part of the wide province explored by Edward Byles
 Cowell Cowell (1826—1903), of Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1854), president of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and afterwards professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge for the last 36 years of his life.

An excellent edition of the *Ethics* with an English commentary
 Grant and illustrative essays (1857, 1884⁴) was the most important classical work published by Sir Alexander Grant (1826—1884), Scholar of Balliol and Fellow of Oriel, and ultimately Principal of the university of Edinburgh.

In 1854 two annotated editions of the *Politics* were simultaneously published at Oxford, that of J. R. T.
 Eaton and Congreve Eaton, Fellow of Merton, and that of Richard Congreve (1819—1899), Fellow of Wadham. Both editors are repeatedly mentioned in the comprehensive work of Mr W. L. Newman (1887—1902).

Among Oxford scholars who devoted special study to the Greek poets was William Linwood (1817—1878) of Christ Church, whose best-known works were a lexicon to Aeschylus, and an edition of Sophocles with brief Latin notes (1846). John Conington (1825—1869), in the early part of his career, edited the *Agamemnon* (1848) and *Choëphoroe* (1857) of Aeschylus, and afterwards completed the Spenserian rendering of the *Iliad* by P. S. Worsley (1835—1866), the translator of the *Odyssey* (1861). Among the most successful of Homeric translations was the rendering of the *Iliad* in blank verse, published in 1864 by the Earl of Derby (1799—1869). The Homeric poems were the central theme of the life-long labours of David Binning Monro (1836—1905), Provost of Oriel for the last twenty-three years of his life. His *Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* (1882) is a monument of sound and solid learning. His latest work was an edition of the second half of the *Odyssey* (1901), with valuable Appendices extending to more than 200 pages.

Greek scholarship had a singularly able and vigorous representative in the person of William Gunion Rutherford (1853—1907), who was under Lewis Campbell at St Andrews, and under Jowett at Balliol. His six years as a master of St Paul's, under the inspiring influence of Mr F. W. Walker, were followed by eighteen as headmaster at Westminster.

His *Elementary Accidence* of Attic Greek (1878) briefly embodying some of the results of his researches, has been incorporated in the admirably lucid *First Greek Grammar (Accidence and Syntax)* of 1891. He made his mark mainly by his *New Phrynichus* (1881), which, under the guise of a commentary on the grammatical rules of an Atticist of the second century, was really a comprehensive treatise on the history and on the distinctive characteristics of Attic Greek. It was the work of a loyal, but independent, follower of Cobet. The *New Phrynichus* was soon succeeded by an elaborate edition of Babrius (1883). His Fourth Book of Thucydides (1889) exemplified the theory that the text of that author had been corrupted by the addition of numerous 'adscripts'. The two volumes of the *Scholia Aristophanica* (1896), in which he 'arranged, emended, and translated' the *scholia* to the Ravenna MS, were followed by a third volume of commentary and criticism under the title of 'A chapter in the history of annotation' (1905).

Among the Greek scholars of Scotland we may here mention

Veitch William Veitch (1794—1885), a private tutor in Edinburgh, whose *Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective*, first produced in 1848, and afterwards thrice reprinted by the Clarendon Press, embraces ‘all the tenses used by Greek writers, with references to the passages in which they are found’.

Blackie John Stuart Blackie (1809—1895), was for thirty years professor of Greek at Edinburgh (1852–82). His principal classical work includes two volumes of a vigorous and flowing translation of the *Iliad* in a ballad measure of fourteen syllables, followed by a volume of ‘philological and archaeological’ notes, and preceded by another of ‘Dissertations’. In the course of these he arrives at the conclusion that there is ‘a soul of truth in the Wolfian theory, but its operation is to be recognised among the rude materials which Homer used and fused, not among the shapely fragments of the finished work which Pisistratus collected and arranged’. These Dissertations deserve an attentive perusal¹.

Geddes The Homeric question, ably discussed by Blackie, was more minutely studied by an admirable Greek scholar of northern Britain, William Duguid Geddes (1828—1900), professor of Greek at Aberdeen from 1856 to 1885. He produced an interesting edition of the *Phaedo* (1863).

In his *Problem of the Homeric Poems* (1878) he accepted Grote’s definition of the original Achilleid as consisting of *Iliad* i, viii, xi—xxii, and maintained that the rest was composed by a later poet, the author of the *Odyssey*, who ‘engrafted on a more ancient poem, the Achilleid, splendid and vigorous saplings of his own, transforming and enlarging it into an *Iliad*, but an *Iliad* in which the engrafting is not absolutely complete, where the “sutures” are still visible’. ‘The kinship between the *Odyssey* and the “non-Achillean” book of the *Iliad* is recognised especially (1) in the mode of presenting Odysseus, Hector, Helen, and some other persons; (2) in the aspects of the gods and their worship; (3) in ethical purpose; (4) in local marks of origin,—the traces of an Ionian origin being common to the *Odyssey* with the non-Achillean books of the *Iliad*, and with those alone’. The work ‘will always rank as a very able and original contribution to the question’².

Campbell Lewis Campbell (1830—1908), Greek Professor at St Andrews, 1863–92, edited Sophocles, and several dialogues of Plato, and was the able author of ‘Religion in Greek literature’.

¹ *Life* by A. M. Stoddart, new ed. 1896.

² Jebb’s *Homer*, 125 f.

Among Latin scholars in England we note the name of Thomas Hewitt Key (1799—1875), of St John's and Trinity, Cambridge, professor of Latin (1828—42) and of Comparative Grammar (1842—75) at University College, London, and also head-master of University College School (1828—75). His essays on Terentian Metres and other subjects were published in a collected form in 1844, his 'Philological Essays' in 1868, and his work on the 'origin and development' of language in 1874. His Latin Grammar had already been completed in 1846, while his Latin Dictionary was posthumously printed at Cambridge from his unfinished ms in 1888.

Key

A revised text of Horace, with illustrations from ancient gems, selected by the learned archaeologist, C. W. King, was produced in 1869 by Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro (1819—1885), educated at Shrewsbury, Fellow of Trinity, and first professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge. He held the professorship for three years only (1869—72), but, in those years, he gave the first impulse to a reform in the English pronunciation of Latin¹. In 1864 the fruit of many years of strenuous study appeared in his masterly edition of Lucretius, with critical notes and a full explanatory commentary, and a vigorous rendering in English prose. Of the editor it has been justly observed, that of Lachmann and Ritschl, 'though a sincere admirer, he was no slavish imitator; but rather an independent discoverer in regions which their labours made accessible to other explorers'². His later works include an edition of the *Aetna* of an unknown poet, 'Criticism and Elucidations of Catullus' and Emendations of the fragments of Lucilius³. He was hardly less masterly as a Greek critic. In 1855 he was the first to maintain the Eudemian origin of the fifth book of Aristotle's *Ethics*⁴, and late in life he paid special attention to the text of Euripides. His *Translations into Latin and Greek Verse*⁵ are justly held in high repute.

Munro

¹ Pamphlet, 1871; Palmer and Munro's *Syllabus*, 1872.

² W. H. Thompson in *Journ. of Philol.* xiv 107 f.

³ *Journ. of Philol.* vii 292 f, viii 201 f.

⁴ *Journal of Cl. and Sacred Philol.* ii 58—81.

⁵ Privately printed, 1884; published (with portrait), 1906.



HUGH ANDREW JOHNSTONE MUNRO.

From a photograph by Sir William Davidson Niven.

The Professorship of Latin vacated by Munro's resignation in 1872 was filled for the next 28 years by John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor (1825—1910), of Shrewsbury and St John's, whose erudite edition of 'Thirteen Satires of Juvenal' was first published in 1853 in a single volume with notes at the foot of the page. The later editions were in two volumes, ending with the fourth edition of vol. I (1886), and the third of vol. II (1881). Not a few of the comprehensive notes are recognised as remarkably complete collections of the literature of the subject concerned; for example, those on Roman recitations, on the worship of the Emperor, on astrology in Rome, and on ancient vegetarians. Among his other works may be mentioned his excellent *First Greek Reader*, his editions of Cicero's 'Second Philippic' and of the 'Third Book of Pliny's Letters', and his bibliography of Roman Literature, founded on that of Hübner.

A standard edition of Cicero, *De Oratore*, was prepared for the Clarendon Press in 1879—92 by Augustus Samuel Wilkins (1843—1905), of St John's College, Cambridge, for thirty-four years professor of Latin at Owens College, Manchester, who also edited Cicero's *Speeches against Catiline* and Horace's *Epistles*, contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the long and important articles on the Greek and Latin languages, and, in conjunction with Mr E. B. England, translated G. Curtius' *Principles of Greek Etymology*, and also his work on the *Greek Verb*. His fine scholarship and his wide literary knowledge gave real value to his editions of classical texts, and he also did good service in introducing to English readers the results of German research.

The first professor of Latin at Oxford was John Conington (1825—1869), who held the Latin Professorship for the last fifteen years of his short life. He is widely known as the editor of Virgil (1863—71) and of Persius (1872). Besides translating both of these poets into English prose, he rendered into English verse the whole of Horace, and the *Aeneid*. His rendering of Horace was regarded by Munro as 'on the whole perhaps the best and most successful translation of a Classic that exists in the English language', while, in the judgment of the same scholar, his edition of Virgil 'displays a minute diligence, as

well as a fine taste, a delicate discrimination, and a mastery of language, which it requires long study properly to appreciate'¹.

Sellar

William Young Sellar (1825—1890), a Fellow of Oriel, held the Professorship of Humanity at Edinburgh for the last twenty-seven years of his life². Immediately before his appointment (1863), he produced his 'Roman Poets of the Republic', a masterpiece of literary criticism, which was happily followed in due time by similar works on Virgil (1877), and on 'Horace and the Elegiac Poets' (1892)³.

Conington's work on Persius was edited by his successor in the Chair of Latin, Henry Nettleship (1839—1893).

Nettleship

He completed the latter half of his predecessor's edition of the *Aeneid*. In 1875 he planned a great Latin dictionary, but was only able to publish a tenth part of the proposed work, under the title of 'Contributions to Latin Lexicography' (1889)². He was familiar with the ancient Latin grammarians, and especially with the successive epitomes of Verrius Flaccus. Many of his most valuable papers have been collected in the two volumes of his *Essays* (1885—95).

The professorship vacated in 1893 by the death of Henry Nettleship was next held for twenty years by Robinson Ellis (1834—1913), who was best known as the learned editor of Catullus. The critical text was published in 1867, and the Commentary in 1878. He had himself discovered the Oxford manuscript of that poet, but he permitted another editor, Baehrens, to be the first to recognise its real importance. Yet his work on Catullus is marked by wide erudition, delicate scholarship, and critical acumen; while his separately published metrical version has many touches of true poetry. He was also known as the learned editor of the *Ibis* (1881), and of Velleius Paterculus, Avianus and Orientius, of the *Aetna*, the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*; and as the

¹ *Journal of Philology*, ii 334—6.

² He had previously been assistant to Professor W. Ramsay in Glasgow (1851—3) and assistant professor and professor of Greek at St Andrews (1853—63); he had also contributed to the *Oxford Essays* admirable papers on *Lucretius* (1855) and on *The Characteristics of Thucydides* (1857).

³ With *Memoir* by his nephew and pupil, Andrew Lang.

author of the *Noctes Manilianae*. From first to last, the leading characteristic of his work was an unswerving and unselfish love of Latin learning for its own sake¹.

Among Latin scholars in Ireland we note the name of James Henry (1796—1876) who produced in 1853 his
Henry
'Notes of a Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery in
the First Six Books of the Aeneis'. His personal knowledge of all the best mss and editions of Virgil is embodied in the four volumes of his larger work, the *Aeneidea* (1873-89), which includes many original and valuable contributions to the interpretation of the text. Textual criticism was the
Palmer
forte of Arthur Palmer (1841—1897), Professor
of Latin (1880) and Public Orator (1888) at Trinity College, Dublin. He was specially interested in the criticism of the Latin Elegiac poets and of Plautus. He edited the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, the *Satires* of Horace, and the *Heroides* of Ovid.

Palmer's able colleague, Robert Yelverton Tyrrell (1844—1914),
Tyrrell
held the Professorship of Latin in Trinity College,
Dublin, from 1871 to 1880, that of Greek from
1880 to 1898, and the office of Public Orator from 1899 to 1904. During his tenure of the Latin Professorship, he produced his first edition of the *Bacchae* of Euripides, and, while he held the Greek Professorship, he edited the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, and undertook (in 1879) an edition of the 'Correspondence of Cicero', which, with the erudite aid of Dr L. C. Purser, he brought to a successful conclusion in 1900. His singular skill as a writer of Greek and Latin verse is attested by his numerous contributions to the 'Dublin Translations' of 1882, and to the playful pages of the periodical which derived its name from the Greek game of Kottabos. He also published an Anthology of Latin Poetry, and Lectures on that subject, as well as a collection of 'Essays on Greek Literature', and an edition of Sophocles. His devotion to the modern as well as the ancient drama was combined with a keen wit and a felicitous style, and his appreciations

¹ Cp. obituary notices, by Gilbert Murray, in *Classical Review*, 1913, 286 f, and by his successor, A. C. Clark, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. vi.

of great writers gained a new value from his own delight in literary form¹.

From editors of Greek and Latin Classics we pass to the
Historians: historians. Connop Thirlwall (1797—1875) who
Thirlwall was a school-fellow of George Grote at Charterhouse, became a Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity, and afterwards Rector of Kirby Underdale, in Yorkshire (1834—40), and Bishop of St David's (1840—74). He produced the first volume of his *History of Greece* in 1835 and the last in 1844. His work as a historian was characterised by soundness of scholarship and refinement of style, by a judicial temper and a fine sense of proportion.

His school-fellow, George Grote (1794—1871), had embarked
Grote on his history as early as 1823, but did not publish his first volume until 1846, or his last until ten years later. Though Thirlwall and Grote not unfrequently met, the former knew so little of his school-fellow's plans, that he was heard to say, 'Grote is the man who ought to write the History of Greece'; and, when it appeared, he welcomed it with a generous enthusiasm. As a historian, Grote shows the keenest sympathy with the Athenian democracy, and even with the Athenian demagogue; but he is an intelligent interpreter of the ancient historians of Greece, and his opinions on the political and economic condition of Athens derive fresh weight from his experience as a banker and as a Member of Parliament. His great work on Plato, published in 1865, was a solid contribution to the intelligent study of that philosopher. Of his proposed sequel on Aristotle only two volumes were completed (1872)².

Historians of Greece and Rome alike are indebted to the
Clinton chronological researches of Henry Fynes Clinton (1781—1852), of Westminster, and Christ Church, Oxford, Member for Aldborough (1806—26), the learned author of the *Fasti Hellenici* (1824—32) and the *Fasti Romani* (1845—50).

¹ Cp. J. P. M(ahaffy) in *Athenaeum*, 26 Sept. 1914; see also *Hermathena*, no. XL, 1914. Latin Speeches by Palmer (1888—98), and by Tyrrell (1899—1904), in *Trinity College, Dublin, Speeches of Public Orators*, 1909.

² Cp. *Life* (with portrait) by Mrs Grote, and *Minor Works* (with sketch of *Life* by Bain), 1873.

Thomas Arnold (1795—1842), head-master of Rugby and professor of History at Oxford, did much for the historical and geographical elucidation of Thucydides (1850-5), and left behind him a splendid fragment of a *History of Rome* (1838-43), ending with the close of the second Punic War. Arnold's history was written under the influence of Niebuhr. Twelve years later an 'Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History' was published by Sir George Cornwall Lewis (1806—1863), of Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, who translated Boeckh's 'Public Economy of Athens', edited Babrius, and wrote on the 'Astronomy of the Ancients'. The 'History of the Decline of the Roman Republic' (1864-74), written with special reference to the evidence of ancient authorities, was the last work produced by George Long (1800—1879), Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, and Professor at University College, London, who also edited Cicero's *Orations* and translated thirteen of Plutarch's *Roman Lives*, as well as the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, and the *Manual* of Epictetus. The 'History of the Romans under the Empire' was written in 1850-62, at the College living of Lawford, by Charles Merivale (1808—1894) of Harrow and St John's, Cambridge, who was dean of Ely for the last twenty-five years of his life.

The comparative study of ancient institutions was successfully pursued by Henry James Sumner Maine (1882—1888), of Pembroke College, Cambridge, successively professor of Civil Law at that university, legal member of the supreme government of India, professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, and Master of Trinity Hall, and ultimately professor of International Law, at Cambridge. His best-known works are 'Ancient Law' (1861), 'Village Communities' (1871), 'Lectures on the Early History of Institutions' (1875) and 'Dissertations on Early Law and Custom' (1883). 'The impulse given by Maine' to the intelligent study of law 'in England and America cannot be overrated...At one master-stroke he forged a new and lasting bond between law, history, and anthropology'¹.

¹ Sir F. Pollock, *Oxford Lectures*, 1890, 158.

The 'Unity of History' was the theme of the memorable Rede Lecture delivered at Cambridge in 1872 by Edward
 Freeman Augustus Freeman (1823—1892), Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford for the last eight years of his life. Nine years had already passed since Polybius had been fruitfully studied by Freeman in the preparation of the volume in which he had 'traced the action of the federal principle in the Achaian league' of B.C. 281—146. A visit to Sicily in 1878, followed by three long sojourns in the island between 1886 and 1890, bore fruit in the single volume on Sicily in the 'Story of the Nations' (1892), and in the four volumes of the *History of Sicily from the earliest times* (1891-4) down to the death of Agathocles in 289 B.C.,—volumes founded on a thorough study of Pindar and Thucydides and other ancient authorities. The author's essays on 'Homer and the Homeric Age', on the 'Athenian democracy', on the 'Attic historians', on 'Ancient Greece and Mediaeval Italy', and on 'Mommson's History of Rome', have been reprinted in the second and third series of the *Historical Essays* (1873-9).

The teaching of Roman history at Oxford was greatly advanced
 Pelham by the inspiring influence of Henry Pelham (1846—1907), Fellow and Tutor of Exeter, who, in 1889, became professor of Ancient History and Fellow of Brasenose, and, in 1897, President of Trinity. His small volume of 'Outlines of Roman History' (1890) has been described as 'the most useful', and 'the most able, sketch of the subject that has yet been published'. He did not live to publish his proposed 'History of the Roman Empire'. His 'Collected Papers' were edited by his successor, Professor Haverfield, in 1911. 'Follower and personal friend of the great Mommson, he conceived the study of antiquity in its larger and severer sense'. He took a leading part in the foundation of the British School at Rome (1901), and was one of the original Fellows of the British Academy (1902).

One of the foremost of the Greek topographers of the nineteenth
 Leake century was William Martin Leake (1777—1860), who, on retiring from active military service in 1815,

devoted all his energies to the cause of classical learning. His reputation as a learned and scientific topographer rests on his 'Researches in Greece' (1814), his 'Topography of Athens and the Demi' (1821, 2nd ed. 1841), his 'Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor' (1824), his 'Travels in Northern Greece' (1835-41), his 'Morea' (1830), and his 'Peloponnesiaca' (1846). His work on Athens was the earliest scientific reconstruction of the ancient city with the aid of all the evidence supplied by Greek literature, inscriptions, and works of art. His collection of Greek marbles was presented by himself to the British Museum in 1839, while his library and the great collection of coins described in his 'Numismata Hellenica' (1839) were purchased by the University of Cambridge, which has placed his bust in the vestibule of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

The cause of classical archaeology was ably advanced by Charles Thomas Newton (1816—1894), of Shrews-
Newton
 bury and of Christ Church, Oxford. His work in the British Museum began in 1840 and ended with the twenty-four years of his tenure of the office of Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1861-85).

In 1846 his attention was arrested at the Museum by some fragments of reliefs from the Castle of the Knights of St John at Budrum, the ancient Halicarnassus. He divined that these reliefs must have once belonged to the great monument erected in memory of Mausolus. In 1856 he explored the site of the Mausoleum, and recovered a large part of the noble sculptures that adorned the tomb. From Didyma near Miletus he sent home a number of the seated archaic figures that lined the approach to the temple of Apollo at Branchidae. From Cnidos he brought away the colossal lion, probably set up by Conon in memory of his victory over the Spartan fleet in 394 B.C., as well as a famous statue of the seated Demeter, and an exquisite statuette of Persephone. The record of all these acquisitions is enshrined in his official *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidos, and Branchidae* (1862), and in his popular *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (1865).

Meanwhile, he had been appointed Consul at Rome, whence he was recalled two years later to fill the place of Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, an appointment that marked the dawn of a true interest in classical archaeology in England. In 1880 he collected his papers of 1850-79 in a single volume entitled *Essays in Art and Archaeology*, including his

excellent Essay on Greek Inscriptions. Even when he had retired from the office of Keeper in 1885, he continued to edit the great collection of the *Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*. His marble bust stands in the noble hall built under his direction for the sculptures he had discovered at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.

In the study of Greek Architecture an eminent position was attained by Francis Cranmer Penrose (1817—1903) of Winchester School and of Magdalene College, Cambridge. As 'travelling bachelor of the university' (1812-5), he studied architecture at Rome and Athens, where he was led by the theories of Pennethorne to determine the hyperbolic curve of the *entasis* of the columns of the Parthenon. He resumed his measurements in the following season under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti, and the results were published in *The Principles of Athenian Architecture*¹. An expert in Astronomy, he elaborately investigated the orientation of Greek Temples. He was the first director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, where his name is commemorated in the Penrose Memorial Library.

In the field of Roman Archaeology, Robert Burn (1829—1904), of Shrewsbury and of Trinity College, Cambridge, produced a comprehensive work on *Rome and the Campagna* (1871), which, at the time of its publication, was the best book on the subject in English, and bears ample evidence of careful study of the classical authors and the modern topographical literature. This work was succeeded by that of the Oxford bookseller, John Henry Parker (1806—1884), whose *Archaeology of Rome* appeared in 1874-6, and, ultimately, by the two volumes of the *Remains of Ancient Rome*, revised and enlarged in 1892 by John Henry Middleton (1846—1896) of Exeter College, Oxford, and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The study of classical archaeology has been fostered in England by the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1879), and by the institution of the British School of Archaeology at Athens (1883f) and at Rome (1901). Early in the nineteenth century the pure scholarship of the Porsonian school was

¹ 1851, enlarged ed. 1888.

still in the ascendant. At the end of its first quarter, in the fancy of a writer who failed to forecast the future, the 'last rays' of English scholarship 'were seen to linger on the deathbed of Dobree'¹. But, since that date, much has been done for the accurate study of Greek and Latin literature; the ancient Classics have also been popularised by means of admirable modern renderings of the great master-pieces; the Greek drama has been revived; new periodicals have been founded for promoting and for recording the advance of classical research. Late in 1903 we have seen the birth of the Classical Association, which aims at 'promoting the development and maintaining the well-being of classical studies', while a new interest in the Classics has also been aroused by the triumphant progress of classical archaeology.

Many of the charred rolls of Greek papyri discovered at Herculaneum in 1752, including fragments of Epicurus and Philodemus, were published, not only Literary
discoveries at Naples in and after 1793, but also at Oxford in 1824 and 1891. Private and public enterprise has since discovered a large variety of papyri from the sands of Egypt. The first of the literary papyri to come to light was the last book of the *Iliad*, acquired by W. J. Bankes in 1821, and fragments of many other portions of the Homeric poems were afterwards found; but a far keener interest was awakened by the recovery of lost Classics. The two parts of a large roll containing three of the speeches of Hypereides were independently obtained in 1847, and the same orator's *Funeral Oration* in 1856. About 1890 the British Museum acquired a remarkable series of literary papyri, including part of the *Philippides* of Hypereides, the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of Aristotle, and the *Mimes* of Herodas, followed in 1896-7 by the *Odes* of Bacchylides. Scholars awoke to find themselves living in a new age of *editiones principes*. Paeans of Pindar, plays of Menander, and a large part of a satyric drama by Sophocles, have since been discovered on the site of Oxyrhynchus.

¹ *Church of England Quarterly Review*, v (1839) 145.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE earliest centre of classical learning in the New World was
Colleges and Universities Harvard College, founded at Newtown near Boston in 1636, and deriving its name from John Harvard of Emmanuel (1607—1638). On May 2, 1638, four months before the death of John Harvard, Newtown assumed the name of Cambridge, in memory of the university with which many of the colonists were connected.

Next, in order of time, came the old 'College of William and Mary', founded in 1693 at Williamsburg, the ancient capital of Virginia. The College was burnt down in 1705, restored in 1711, destroyed in the Civil War, reopened in 1865, and made a state-institution in 1906. It now has only 240 students, but it has been the Alma Mater of statesmen, including four Presidents of the United States. Then followed the 'collegiate school of Connecticut', founded at Saybrook in 1701, and transferred to New Haven in 1716, which in 1718 took the name of 'Yale College' from its benefactor Elihu Yale. Princetown, founded elsewhere in 1746, was transferred to its present home in 1757. In Philadelphia, at the instance of Benjamin Franklin, an Academy was founded in 1751, and, forty years later, was merged into the 'University of Pennsylvania'. In 1754, George II founded in New York an institution known as King's College until 1787, when its name was changed into Columbia College, reorganised as a university in 1890. These were the six earliest centres of learning in the United States. The sixth was soon followed by the Brown university, now established at Providence, Rhode Island (originally founded elsewhere in 1764).

Among the universities founded in the nineteenth century may be mentioned those of Virginia at Charlottesville (1819), of Michigan at Ann Arbor (1837), of Wisconsin at Madison (1849), the Cornell university at Ithaca (1865), that of California at Berkeley (1868), the Johns Hopkins university in Baltimore (1876), the Leland Stanford at Palo Alto (1891), and, lastly, that of Chicago (1892). There are also between 400 and 500 universities or colleges of varying degrees of importance. The model for the old Colleges was mainly derived from England, that for the modern Universities mainly from Germany.

We may now mention a few of the more prominent classical scholars, with some notice of their published writings, so far as they come within the scope of the present work.

At Boston in 1836 a 'Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament' was produced by an able scholar, Edward Robinson (1794—1863), who in 1826—30 studied at Halle and also in Berlin, and, for the last twenty-six years of his life, was a professor of Biblical Literature in New York.

Robinson

Early in the century, as we are assured by a highly cultivated native of Boston, George Ticknor (1791—1871), 'a copy of Euripides in the original could not be bought at any bookseller's shop in New England'¹. In the course of his travels he met many eminent scholars, and, after four years of study in Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, delivered at Harvard, as professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures, an inaugural oration described as the 'utterance of the ripest scholarship America could then boast'².

Ticknor

Among Ticknor's fellow-students at Göttingen was his life-long friend, Edward Everett (1794—1865). As a young man of high promise, he had been appointed Eliot professor of Greek at Harvard in 1815, on the understanding that he spent some time studying in Europe before entering on his professorial duties. He remained at Göttingen for two years, and he also travelled in Greece. In 1819 he entered on his duties as a professor; and, in that capacity, produced a translation of

Everett

¹ Ticknor's *Life of Prescott*, p. 13, ed. 1904.

² G. S. Hillard's *Life of Ticknor*, i 320.

Buttmann's *Greek Grammar* (1822) and a new edition of Jacobs' *Greek Reader*. He resigned his professorship for a political career in 1826, represented the United States in London in 1841-5, and was Secretary of State in 1852. His reputation mainly rests on the stately eloquence of his orations.

Among the Greek professors at Harvard, Cornelius Conway Felton (1807-1862) held that position from 1834 to 1860, and was President of Harvard for the two remaining years of his life. He annotated Wolf's text of the *Iliad*, with Flaxman's illustrations (1833, etc.), and also edited the *Clouds* and *Birds* of Aristophanes, the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, and the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates. He produced in 1849 a volume on 'Classical Studies', including selections from the correspondence of several Dutch scholars. During his first visit to Europe (1853-4), he spent five months in Greece, and in 1856 he published his 'Selections from modern Greek Writers'. His popular lectures on 'Greece, Ancient and Modern', display his keen enthusiasm for the old Greek world. He was familiar with German literature and with the works of German scholars, but he refers more frequently to Heyne, Mitscherlich, and Wolf than to Hermann.

Felton's exact contemporary, Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles (1807-1883), emigrated to the New World in 1828. He taught Greek at Yale (1837 f) and for many years at Harvard (1840-1883), where he was appointed professor of Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek in 1860. Of his publications, the most successful was his *Greek Grammar* (1828 etc.), while the most important was his *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*¹.

As professor of Greek he was succeeded in 1860 by W. W. Goodwin (1831-1912), the well-known author of the 'Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb'², who held the professorship until 1901. His 'Greek Grammar' passed through several editions between 1870 and 1892. His admirable editions of the speeches of Demosthenes *De Corona* and *Against Midias* were published by the Syndics of

¹ 1870, and 1887.

² 1859 etc.; rewritten and enlarged, 1889.

the Cambridge University Press. He also published a valuable treatise on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. In 1882-3, as the first director of the American School at Athens, he prepared an important paper on the *Battle of Salamis*, and finally dealt with the same subject in the *Harvard Studies* for 1906¹.

John Henry Wright (1852-1908), who studied at Leipzig in 1876-78, and was professor of Greek at Harvard from 1887 to 1908, has been described by a veteran scholar as one 'whose life and work were an example to the younger generation'². In 1888 he argued in favour of placing Cylon's attempt to seize the tyranny at Athens before, instead of after, the legislation of Dracon (621 B.C.); and in 1891 this opinion was confirmed on the recovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*³.

The Latin professorship at Harvard was held from 1832 to 1851 by Carl Beck (1798-1866), who had lived in Germany for the first twenty-six years of his life.

In 1846, on the eve of a visit to Europe, that fine Petronian scholar declared that 'he had never before had a pupil who could write Latin as well as Lane'.

The pupil in question, George Martin Lane (1823-1897), took the professor's place for a single term 'with entire success'. In 1847, like Ticknor and Everett and Bancroft, he left for Germany, where he spent four years, attending the lectures of Schneidewin and K. F. Hermann at Göttingen, and those of Ritschl at Bonn, as well as courses at Berlin and Heidelberg. His review of an edition of Plautus in 1853 has been described by his biographer as 'probably the first recognition' in America 'of the results of Ritschl's studies'. He was Latin professor from 1851 to 1894. 'As a teacher', he 'had all that fine literary appreciation which characterizes the English school, combined, however, with the minute and exact knowledge of the Germans'. The chief work of his life was his excellent *Latin Grammar*, completed and published in 1898 by his former pupil, professor Morris H. Morgan; and

¹ Cp. H. W. Smyth in *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xxi, no. 81, pp. 22-30.

² *A. J. P.* xxix 498.

³ Cp. *Harvard Studies*, iii (1892) 1-74.

it was mainly owing to his pamphlet of 1871 that a reformed pronunciation of Latin was adopted in all the Colleges and Schools of the United States¹.

Lane's colleague as professor of Latin was James Bradstreet Greenough (1833—1901), who held one of the two professorships of Latin for nearly twenty years (1883—1901).

He was the first to lecture on Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Harvard (1872—80), and his services in fostering those studies 'the historian of American learning will not fail to recognise'². He embodied the main results of his studies and discoveries in his contributions to the text-books known as (J. H.) 'Allen and Greenough's Latin Series'. Among these were his independent editions of Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles*, and Livy I, II. His originality in the analysis of linguistic forms is exemplified in his essay on *Latin Stem Formation* in the tenth volume of those *Studies*, a series founded and in part edited by himself.

The first professor of Classical Philology at Harvard was Frederic de Forest Allen (1844—1897), who, in 1868—70, studied under Georg Curtius at Leipzig, where he obtained his degree by a thesis on the dialect of the Locrians. He was professor of Ancient Languages at Cincinnati in 1874—9, and, after a busy year at Yale, became professor at Harvard for the remaining seventeen years of his life. In 1885—6 he was in charge of the American School at Athens; in 1891—2 he studied the *scholia* of Plato at Oxford and Paris, with a view to an edition, which he did not live to complete.

It was during his time at Cincinnati that he prepared an excellent edition of the *Medea* (1876), and also a compact and comprehensive hand-book of *Remnants of Early Latin* (1880), the value of which has been recognised in England and Germany. He produced the music for the performance of the *Phormio* at Harvard in 1894, and it has been said of him by Professor Seymour that 'probably no other American scholar understood ancient Greek music so well as he'³.

Latin scholarship at Harvard lost much by the death of Minton Warren (1850—1907), who, after holding scholastic appointments

¹ *Memoir* (with portrait) by Morris H. Morgan, in *Harvard Studies*, ix 1—12.

² *Harvard Studies*, xiv 10.

³ *A. J. P.* xviii 375. Cp. *Memoir* by J. B. Greenough in *Harvard Studies*, ix 27—36.

for three years in the United States, pursued the advanced study of Comparative Philology and other subjects at Leipzig, Bonn and Strassburg, where the bent of the rest of his life was determined by the influence of the school of Ritschl. From 1879 to 1899 he presided over the advanced and graduate instruction in Latin at the Johns Hopkins university; in 1896-7 he was director of the American School in Rome; and in 1899 was appointed Latin professor at Harvard. From his College-days in Germany to his death he was mainly occupied in collecting materials for a critical edition of Terence, in which he was latterly associated with Prof. Hauler and Prof. Kauer of Vienna. 'No American Latinist can point to a larger number... of able and productive scholars in his own field, who, if not members of his school, at least owed to him their inspiration and their method'¹.

Minton
Warren

Morris H. Morgan (1859-1910) closed his career as a Greek and Latin scholar at Harvard by holding the professorship of Classical Philology from 1899 to 1910. He not only produced an excellent edition of Select Speeches of Lysias, and an admirable rendering of Xenophon's *Treatise on Horsemanship*, but he was also a specialist on the *Bibliography of Persius* and on the *Language of Vitruvius*.

M. H. Morgan

Harvard has taken a leading part in the modern revival of the Attic drama. It was there that in May, 1881, after seven months of preparation, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was admirably acted in the original Greek². Since then we have had the memorable performance of *Agamemnon* by members of the university of Oxford, the impressive and stimulating series of Greek plays at Cambridge, and the singularly interesting representations amid the idyllic surroundings of Bradfield; while, at Harvard itself, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of 1881 has been succeeded by the *Agamemnon* of 1906.

The Greek Professorship at Yale was held from 1831 to 1846 by Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801-1889), a graduate of Yale, who had studied for three years

Woolsey

¹ Cp. Prof. Wright in *A. J. P.* Dec. 1907, 489.

² Henry Norman's *Harvard Greek Play* (1882); cp. Jebb's *Introd. to Oed. Tyr.* p. 1 f.

in France, as well as in Germany, where he attended the lectures of Welcker, Hermann and Boeckh at Bonn, Leipzig and Berlin respectively. During his tenure of the professorship, he edited the *Antigone* and *Electra* of Sophocles, as well as the *Alcestis*, the *Prometheus*, and the *Gorgias*. As professor of Greek, he had an able successor in James Hadley (1821—1872), who

Hadley had also a genius for mathematics, and lectured with success on Roman Law. His best-known work was his *Greek Grammar*. His 'Essays Philological and Critical' (1873) were edited after his death by his distinguished colleague William Dwight Whitney, who generously described him as 'America's best and soundest philologist'.

Hadley was succeeded by Lewis Richard Packard (1836—1884), who studied in Berlin, and visited Greece

Packard (1857—8), and was a professor of Greek at Yale from 1863 to 1884. In conjunction with Prof. J. W. White of Harvard, he projected the 'College Series of Greek authors', afterwards edited by Professors White and Seymour. He produced a considerable variety of essays and lectures, which were posthumously collected under the title of 'Studies in Greek Thought'.

W. D. Whitney (1827—1894), a member of a family remarkable for scholarly attainments and achievements,

W. D. Whitney studied Sanskrit under Edward E. Salisbury at Yale in 1849. In 1850 he went to Germany, spending three winter semesters under Weber, Bopp and Lepsius in Berlin, and two summer semesters under Roth in Tübingen. Salisbury's foresight and generosity led to Whitney's being appointed professor of Sanskrit (1854) and of Comparative Philology at Yale. In course of time a graduate school of philology was organised, which, shortly after 1870, included some of the ablest of the future professors in the United States.

He published several important Sanskrit texts, and the value of his work was recognised by the award of the Bopp prize in 1870, followed by the crowning distinction of the Prussian Order of Merit. Meanwhile, he had produced his important Sanskrit Grammar. Among his best-known works were his Lectures on 'Language and the Study of Language' (1867), his 'Oriental and Linguistic Studies' (1872-4), and his volume on the 'Life and Growth of Language' (1875), which was translated into five of the languages of Europe.

Yale was the university of Martin Kellogg (1828—1903), who in 1859–93 was professor of Latin first at the College and afterwards at the newly founded university of California, of which he was president from 1893 to 1899. He is best known as the editor of an excellent edition of Cicero's *Brutus* (1889).

Kellogg

The teaching of Greek at Yale was for 27 years associated with the name of Thomas Day Seymour (1848—1907), who spent two years at the universities of Leipzig and Berlin, besides travelling in Italy and Greece. He held a professorship of Greek at Yale from 1880 to the end of his life. Apart from a useful volume of 'Selected Odes of Pindar' (1882), his published work was mainly concerned with Homer. His 'Life in the Homeric Age' was the ripe result of 35 years of Homeric study. He was also the historian of the first twenty-five years of the American School at Athens.

Seymour

Henry Drisler (1818—1897) held professorial appointments in Columbia College for more than fifty years, and, in his literary work, devoted himself almost exclusively to Greek lexicography, preparing American editions of Liddell and Scott (1851–2) and of Yonge's English-Greek Lexicon (1858). The esteem in which he was held is attested by the volume of 'Classical Studies' dedicated to him in 1894 by nearly twenty of his most prominent pupils.

Drisler

Charlton Thomas Lewis (1834—1904), a graduate of Yale, who was for a few years a professor of Greek at Troy near Albany, produced in 1879 a new and revised edition of the Latin dictionary (1850) of Dr E. A. Andrews (1787—1858), another graduate of Yale, who founded his work on Wilhelm Freund's abridgement (1834 f) of Forcellini. The part including all the words beginning with the letter A (216 pp.) was the work of Charles Lancaster Short (1821–86), professor of Latin in Columbia College, New York (1868 f). Charlton Lewis was a busy lawyer in New York, who was only able to devote his early mornings to the completion of his laborious task. 'Lewis and Short'¹ was recognised by Nettleship as 'a real advance on

C. T. Lewis

¹ 'Harper's Latin Dictionary' (1879); also published by Clarendon Press, Oxford (1880).

any previous Latin-English dictionary', without embodying 'much of the results of modern research'¹.

The professorship of Greek Archaeology and Epigraphy in
 Merriam Columbia College was held in 1889-94 by Augustus
 Chapman Merriam (1843-1895), who was on the
 staff for nearly twenty-seven years. He edited, with notes and
 illustrations, 'the Phaeacian episode in the *Odyssey*' (1880), and
 was director of the American School at Athens in 1887-8. He
 was the first scholar in the United States to devote himself mainly
 to classical archaeology.

New York was the scene of the last six years of the scholarly
 Earle life of Mortimer Lamson Earle (1864-1905),
 professor of Classical Philology at Columbia in
 1899-1905. He edited the *Alcestis* and *Medea* (1894, 1904)
 and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1901), while his latest work was an
 elaborate study of the composition of the first Book of Thucy-
 dides. His 'Classical Papers' were collected and published in
 1912.

Among the Classical Institutions of the United States may be
 Classical mentioned the 'American Philological Association',
 periodicals founded in New York in 1868, which publishes
Proceedings and *Transactions*. The *American Journal of Philology*,
 founded at Baltimore in 1880, has been ably edited ever since by
 Professor Gildersleeve (b. 1831), whose paper on *Oscillations and*
Nutations of Philological Studies is an interesting chapter in the
 History of Scholarship². The *Harvard Studies in Classical*
Philology have been published annually since 1890, and similar
 volumes have been published from time to time in connexion with
 Cornell and Columbia and the university of Pennsylvania. Two
 new periodicals, *The Classical Journal* and *Classical Philology*,
 were started at Chicago in 1906.

The Archaeological Institute of America (1879) has founded
 The Schools the American Schools of Classical Studies at
 at Athens Athens (1881) and at Rome (1895). Early in
 and Rome 1913 the latter became a part of the new American
 Academy in Rome.

¹ *Academy*, xvii 199.

² *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, no. 150, March, 1901, 13 pp.

The School at Athens has had a most salutary effect on the staff of all the American educational institutions that have contributed to its original existence and to its continued prosperity.



MEDALLION OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
AT ATHENS (1881).

Panathenaic Vase, with olive-wreath and inscription, *παρθένου φίλας φίλοι*,
Aesch. *Eum.* 1000.

The Panathenaic vase on the medallion of the American School at Athens marks the close of our survey of the two thousand five hundred years which began with the recitation of the Homeric poems at the festivals of the age of Solon. In the course of that survey we have briefly reviewed the history of the early study of poetry, the rise of rhetoric, and the beginnings of grammar and etymology, in the Athenian age. From Athens we have turned to Alexandria with its learned librarians, and its scholarly critics of Homer and of other ancient poets. From Alexandria we have passed to Pergamon, and have taken note of the grammar of the Stoics, and of the influence of Pergamon on the literary studies of Rome. In the Roman age we have followed the fortunes of Latin scholarship from 169 B.C. to 529 A.D. In Greek literature we have surveyed the literary criticism and the verbal scholarship of the first century of the Empire, the grammar and lexicography of the second century, and, in the third, the writings of Diogenes Laërtius, and of Porphyry. At the end of the first quarter of the fourth century we have seen Constantinople come into being as a new centre of Greek learning. We have witnessed the end of the Roman age

Retrospect

Panathenaic

Athenian age

Alexandrian
age

Roman age

in 529 A.D.,—the memorable year in which the school of Athens was closed by Justinian in the East, and the monastery of Monte Cassino founded by St Benedict in the West.

We have since traversed the eight centuries of the Middle Ages. Beginning with the East, we have noticed the important services rendered by Byzantine scholars in the careful preservation and the studious interpretation of the Greek Classics. Turning to the West, we have seen in the monks of Ireland the founders of the monasteries of Bobbio and St Gallen. We have watched the revival of classical learning in the age of Charles the Great; in the middle of the ninth century, we have marked the keen interest in the Latin Classics displayed by Servatus Lupus, the abbot of Ferrières, and, near its close, we have hailed 'our first translator' in the person of king Alfred. In the tenth century we have seen learning flourishing anew in the ancient capital of Aachen, and have elsewhere found in Gerbert of Aurillac the foremost scholar of his generation. We have identified the tenth and the eleventh centuries as the golden age of St Gallen. We have marked the rise of the age-long conflict between Realism and Nominalism in the twelfth century, the century in which the school of Paris was represented by Abelard and that of Chartres by the preceptors of John of Salisbury. The thirteenth century was (we may remember) made memorable by 'the new Aristotle', by the great schoolmen, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, by translators such as William of Moerbeke, by Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, and finally by Dante, the date of whose great poem marks the close of the century, while the date of his death may well be regarded as the end of the Middle Ages. Lastly, we have traced the survival of each of the Latin Classics in the age beginning with the close of the Roman age in 529 and ending with the death of Dante in 1321.

Revival of Learning	At the Revival of Learning we have found, in Petrarch 'the first of modern men', and the discoverer of Cicero's <i>Letters to Atticus</i> ; in Boccaccio, the first student of Greek, and in Chrysoloras, the first public professor of that language in Western Europe. We have watched the recovery of the Latin Classics by Poggio and his contemporaries, and that of the
The Italian period of classical scholarship	

Greek Classics by Italian travellers in the East and by Greeks who fled for refuge to Italy, even before the fall of Constantinople. We have recorded the rise of the study of classical archaeology, the foundation of the Academies of Florence, Naples, Rome and Venice, and the publication of the *editiones principes* of the Greek and Latin Classics by Aldus Manutius, and by other scholarly printers in Italy. We have seen the 'golden age' of Leo X followed, under another Medicean Pope, by the sack of Rome in 1527, an event which marks the close of the Revival of Learning in Italy. In the Italian age of scholarship the chief aim (as we have noticed) has been the *imitation* of classical models of style and of life.

An important link between the Revival of Learning in Italy and its diffusion in Europe has been found in the widely extended influence of the cosmopolitan scholar, Erasmus. The sixteenth century in Italy includes the names of Victorius and Robortelli, of Sigonius and Muretus ; it is marked by a special interest in Aristotle's treatise *On the Art of Poetry*, and also by the eager study of classical archaeology. The French period of classical learning, with its many-sided *erudition*, begins with Budaeus, the inspirer of the foundation of the Collège de France. Budaeus is soon followed by the printer-scholars Robert and Henri Estienne, the authors of the great *Thesauri* of Latin and of Greek. The elder Scaliger, an immigrant from Italy, is succeeded by Lambinus, by the younger and greater Scaliger, and by Casaubon.

In the Netherlands the influence of Erasmus is best seen in his fostering of the *Collegium Trilingue* of Louvain. In the period between 1400 and the foundation of the university of Leyden in 1575, the interests of Greek scholarship are represented by Canter who died in 1575, and those of Latin by Lipsius, who lived on to 1606. In England the study of Greek was begun in the fifteenth century by the Benedictine monk, William of Selling, and was continued by his nephew, Linacre, and by Grocyn, and, in the sixteenth century, by Sir John Cheke and his contemporaries. In

Erasmus
Century XVI,
Italy
France
The French
period
Netherlands
England

Scotland, during the same century, the foremost name in scholarship was that of Buchanan. The spread of learning in Germany is associated with the names of Agricola and Reuchlin, Germany followed by those of able and industrious preceptors such as Melanchthon and Camerarius, and of erudite editors such as Xylander and Sylburg.

The seventeenth century in Italy has proved to be mainly an age of archaeologists and of imitators of the Latin Century XVII, poets. In France its greatest names are Salmasius, Italy Du Cange, and Mabillon. In the Netherlands France Lipsius was succeeded in 1393 by Scaliger at Netherlands Leyden, which was also the principal scene of the labours of Salmasius. In the period between 1575 and 1700, the natives of the Netherlands included Gerard Vossius and Meursius, the elder and the younger Heinsius, with Gronovius, Graevius, and Perizonius. In the seventeenth century in England we have had Savile and Gataker and Selden, with the Cambridge Platonists. Towards the close we have seen the stars of Dodwell and of Barnes beginning to grow pale before the rising of the sun of Bentley. In the same century in Germany we have a link with England and the Netherlands in the name of Gruter. Improved text-books are associated with the name of Cellarius.

The eighteenth century in Italy is marked, in Latin lexicography, by the great name of Forcellini; in Greek Century XVIII, chronology, by Corsini, and, in Italian history, by Italy Muratori. In France the foundations of Greek France palaeography were laid down by Montfaucon, while a knowledge of the old Greek world was popularised by Barthélemy. Alsace was the home of able scholars, such as Brunck and Schweighäuser. The century closes with Villoison, whose publication of the Venetian Scholia to the *Iliad* led to the opening of a new era in Homeric controversy. In England, in the first half of the century, our greatest name is that of Bentley, and in the second that of Porson. It is the age of historical and literary, as well as verbal, *criticism*.

In the Netherlands, the native land of learned Latinists, it

was under the influence of Bentley that Hemsterhuys attained his mastery of Greek. Hemsterhuys handed on the tradition to Valckenaer and to Ruhnken, who in his turn was succeeded by Wyttenbach. The friendly relations between the English and Dutch scholars of this age have led to the eighteenth century being regarded as the English and Dutch period of scholarship.

Netherlands

Meanwhile, Germany is represented by the learned Fabricius, by the lexicographers Gesner, Scheller and J. G. Schneider, by the Latin scholar Ernesti, and the self-taught Greek scholar Reiske. An intelligent interest in the history and criticism of ancient art is awakened by Winckelmann and Lessing; Herder becomes one of the harbingers of the New Humanism; and a new enthusiasm for classical learning is aroused by Heyne at Göttingen.

Germany

Late in the eighteenth century the Homeric controversy is raised anew by F. A. Wolf, and is carried on with varying fortunes during the whole of the nineteenth century.

The whole of that century belongs to the German period, which is characterised by the systematic or *encyclopaedic* type of classical learning embodied in the term *Alterthumswissenschaft*.

The early part of the century is the age of Wolf's contemporaries, Humboldt and the Schlegels; of Heeren and Niebuhr, Schleiermacher and Heindorf, Buttmann and Bekker. After the death of Wolf two rival schools of classical learning confront one another in the grammatical and critical school of Hermann, and the historical and antiquarian school of Boeckh. The school and the traditions of Hermann are represented in part by Lobeck, Meineke, Lachmann, Ritschl and Ribbeck, Sauppe and Blass. The school of Boeckh, who had been preceded by Niebuhr and had Welcker for his great contemporary, is ably represented by his pupils K. O. Müller and Bernhardt. Among independent scholars with a certain affinity with this school are the archaeologists, Jahn (a pupil of Hermann, as well as of Boeckh), and Brunn and Furtwängler; the historians, Curtius and Mommsen; the geographers, Kiepert and Bursian; palaeographers such as Traube; investigators of ancient religions

Century XIX

Germany

The German period

such as Usener and Rohde. In the Science of Language the principal names include Bopp and Benfey, Corssen and G. Curtius, Schleicher and Steinthal, and the 'New Grammarians'

of the present generation. In France the foremost names have been those of Boissonade and Quicherat,

Egger and Thurot, Riemann and Graux, together with a long line of geographers, historians and archaeologists, whose work has been largely inspired by the French School of Athens. Classical archaeology has in fact proved the main strength, and the very

salvation of French scholarship. In Holland, the greatest name has been that of Cobet, while Belgium

is best represented by Thonissen and Willems, and

Scandinavia the Scandinavian nations by Madvig. In England

the beginning and the end of the century have

been marked at Cambridge by the names of Porson and Jebb, at Oxford by those of Elmsley and Monro, while the outer world

claims the great name of Grote. In the United States of America Greek was well represented at

Harvard by Goodwin and others, and at Yale by Seymour, whose latest publication dealt with the earliest possible theme of classical study, *Life in the Homeric Age*. The present work began with the study of Homer, and with the study of Homer it ends.

Addendum to p. 406, l. 4

As Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, Jowett was succeeded by Ingram Bywater (1840—1914), Fellow and Tutor of Exeter, Reader in Greek from 1883 to 1893, and Professor from 1893 to 1908. He attained an European reputation by his critical edition of the Fragments of Heraclitus (1873). He also produced an edition of the early Peripatetic, Priscianus Lydus (1886), and critical texts of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and *Poetics*, followed by a complete edition of the latter (1897). One of the most learned and scholarly of modern Hellenists, he was an eager and judicious collector of early printed and rare Greek books. His latest contribution to the *Journal of Philology* was an erudite article on 'The Latinizations of the modern surname', pleading for the retention of the Latin names by which the classical scholars of Europe were best known by their learned contemporaries.

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