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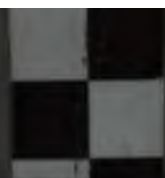
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A HISTORY
OF
CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

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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.

[Frontispiece to Vol. II.]



A HISTORY
OF
CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

VOL. II

*FROM THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING
TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
(IN ITALY, FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND THE
NETHERLANDS)*

BY

JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, LITT.D.,

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,
AND PUBLIC ORATOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
HON. LITT.D. DUBLIN

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1908

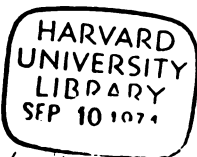
lass 39.03

B

~~C.F. 39.03 (2)~~
~~13~~

A just story of learning, containing the antiquities and originals of knowledges and their sects, their inventions, their traditions, their diverse administrations and managings, their flourishing, their oppositions, decays, depressions, oblivions, removes, with the causes and occasions of them, and all other events concerning learning, throughout the ages of the world, I may truly affirm to be wanting.

BACON'S *Advancement of Learning*, 1605, Book II, i 2.



11451



PREFACE.

THE publication of the second and third volumes of the present *History of Classical Scholarship* brings to a close a work that was begun on New Year's day in 1900. The first volume, extending from the sixth century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages, had only recently appeared, in October, 1903, when I had the honour of being invited to deliver the Lane lectures at Harvard in the spring of 1905, and the result was published in the same year under the title of *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*. The kindly reception accorded to the first volume of the *History* in the United States of America, as well as in England and on the continent of Europe, led to the publication of a second edition in October, 1906.

The volumes now published begin with the Revival of Learning and end with the present day. They include a survey of the lives and works of the leading scholars from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. Each of the periods embraced in these volumes opens with a chronological conspectus of the scholars of that period, giving the dates of their births and deaths, and, in the last four centuries, grouping them under the nations to which they belong. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the nations are arranged in the following order,—Italy, France, the Netherlands, England, and Germany. This order has, however, been abandoned in the eighteenth, in which the influence of Bentley on Greek scholarship in Holland makes it historically necessary to place England immediately before the Netherlands. It has also, for still more obvious reasons, been abandoned in the nineteenth century in the case of Germany. Hence, in the first part of the third volume, the history of the eighteenth century in Germany is immediately followed by that of the nineteenth in the same country. There is good precedent for treating German

Switzerland in connexion with Germany, and French Switzerland in connexion with France. Spain and Portugal concern us mainly in the sixteenth century; Belgium and Holland are treated separately after the establishment of the Belgian kingdom in 1830. Under the same century, room has been found for a retrospect of the history of classical learning in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, in Greece and in Russia, and also for a brief notice of its recent fortunes in Hungary. The history of the nineteenth century in England is immediately followed by that of the United States in the last chapter of the work.

The bibliography prefixed to the second volume indicates most of the sources of information used in preparing the second and third volumes. It may possibly give the impression that the present work has had more precursors than is actually the case. At Göttingen, Ernst Curtius attempted in vain to induce Sauppe, and, failing him, Dittenberger, to write a general history of classical philology. Brief and suggestive outlines of the subject have appeared from time to time, but the present is the sole attempt to cover the whole ground with any fulness of detail. It is only the first century of the Revival of Learning in Italy that has been treated in the admirable work of Voigt. Bursian's valuable 'History of Classical Philology in Germany' is almost exclusively confined to that country; a handy volume on classical learning in Holland was written by Lucian Müller; and a very brief sketch of its fortunes in Belgium was buried by Roersch in a Belgian encyclopaedia. In the case of all the other countries of Europe, and in that of the United States of America, there has been no separate history; so that, in the present volumes, the work has been done for the first time, not for England alone, but also for Italy, France, Scandinavia, Greece and Russia, and for the United States, while the history of scholarship in Holland, Belgium, and Germany has been studied anew, and has been brought down to the present date. The scholars whose lives and works are reviewed in the present volumes are almost exclusively those who have already passed away. It is only in a very few cases, where complete silence would have been unnatural, that I have mentioned the names of living scholars, such as Weil and Comparetti.

In endeavouring to sketch the leading characteristics of a long series of representatives of classical studies from the age of Petrarch to the present time, I have repeatedly been reminded of a custom of the ancient Romans, who placed in the niches of the *atrium* the painted masks of their ancestors and connected their portraits by means of the lines of the family tree. Those portraits were regarded as the chief adornment of the home, and were never removed except on the occasion of a death in the family, when each of the masks was assumed by a living representative, who was robed in the semblance of the departed, and took his place in the funeral procession that ended at the Rostra in the Forum. There the 'ancestors' descended from their chariots, and seated themselves in their curule chairs, while the next of kin arose and rehearsed the names and deeds of the men enthroned around, and finally those of him who had been the last to die¹. To the scholars of the present day these pages present a series of their own *imagines maiorum*, each set apart in his several niche, and grouped in order of time and place according to the centuries and the nations to which they belong. They pass before us in a long procession, and it is the author's privilege to come into the mart of the world and to announce the names and the achievements of each to all who care to listen.

Portraits of nearly sixty scholars have been selected for reproduction in the present volumes. For the original engravings or lithographs of seventeen of these² I am indebted to Professor Gudeman, formerly of Cornell and now of Munich, who generously placed the whole of his collection at my disposal. M. Pierre de Nolhac has kindly permitted me to copy the portrait of Petrarch which forms the frontispiece of his classic work on 'Petrarch and Humanism'. M. Henri Omont has readily allowed me to reproduce the portrait of Guarino, first published by himself from a MS in England. Mr G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, has supplied

¹ Polybius, vi 53; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv 6; Mommsen's *History of Rome*, book III, chap. xiii *init.*

² Burman, Ernesti, Fabricius, Gronovius, Hemsterhuys, Heyne, Lachmann, Lambinus, Meineke, Montfaucon, K. O. Müller, Muretus, Niebuhr, Ritschl, Ruhken, Salmasius, Vossius. The sources, from which these and all the other portraits are ultimately derived, are indicated in the *List of Illustrations*.

me with the cast of the medallion of Boccaccio. M. Salomon Reinach has been good enough to select the engravings of Robert Estienne, Casaubon, Du Cange, and Mabillon, photographed on my behalf in the National Library of France, and also to facilitate the reproduction of the portrait of Boissonade. The Rev. E. S. Roberts, Master of Gonville and Caius College, now Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, has lent me an excellent photograph of the Heidelberg portrait of Janus Gruter. Professor Hartman, now Rector of the University of Leyden, has entrusted to me his own lithographed copy of the presentation portrait of Cobet. Messrs Teubner of Leipzig have readily permitted the reproduction of the particular portrait of Boeckh which, his son assured me, was, in his judgement, the best. Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, the distinguished son-in-law of Mommsen, has lent me an admirable portrait of his father-in-law, drawn by Sir William Richmond. Mr John Murray has given me a fine engraving of the portrait of Grote, now in his own possession, and has allowed me to reprint the copy of that portrait which is prefixed to the *Life* of the historian. Messrs Alinari of Florence have permitted the reproduction of Ghirlandaio's group of portraits of Ficino, Landino, Politian and Chalcondyles; photographers in London have given similar leave in the case of the portraits of Erasmus and of the late Sir Richard Jebb, while Messrs Ryman of Oxford have enabled me to include in my list a portrait of Gaisford. Lastly, Professor J. R. Wheeler of New York has sent me the medallion of the American School at Athens for reproduction at the close of the present work.

Among those who have kindly supplied me with items of biographical or bibliographical information I may mention, in addition to M. Salomon Reinach, Mr John Gennadios, formerly Greek Minister in London; Professor Zielinski of St Petersburg, who prompted his colleague Professor Maleyn to write on my behalf a brief memoir on the native scholarship of Russia; Professor Sabbadini of Milan; Professor Gertz of Copenhagen; Professors Schüch and Wide of Upsala and Dr Bygdén, Librarian of that University; Dr V. van der Haeghen, Librarian of Ghent, and J. Wits, assistant Librarian of Louvain, who presented me with several memoirs of his fellow-countrymen; Professors J. W.

White and M. H. Morgan of Harvard, Professor E. G. Sihler of New York, Professor Mustard of Baltimore, and the late Professor Seymour of Yale; Mr P. S. Allen, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; Dr Karl Hermann Breul, of King's College, and Mr Giles, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In the transliteration of Russian names, I have followed the advice of Professor Bury. My study of the original Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish authorities on the lives of Scandinavian scholars has been facilitated by Mr Magnússon, of the University Library, while, in revising part of my chronological conspectus of *editiones principes*, I have had the benefit of some suggestions from Mr Charles Sayle, M.A., of St John's College. Mr W. F. Smith, Fellow of St John's, and translator of Rabelais, has supplied me with a notice of that humanist. I have not invited criticisms from my friends, but, when Mr Arthur Tilley, Fellow of King's, offered to glance at that part of my pages which falls within the province of his *Literature of the French Renaissance*, I gladly accepted his offer. The few mistakes in other parts of the work that had escaped my notice, and that of the careful readers at the University Press, have been recorded in the *Corrigenda*. The INDEX at the end of each volume is not confined to the contents of the volume. In the case of the third volume, in particular, it includes references to selected portions of the general literature of the subject.

J. E. SANDYS.

MERTON HOUSE,
CAMBRIDGE,
July, 1908.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xii
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	xv
OUTLINE OF PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF PP. 1—466	xxiv
INDEX	467

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

	page
<i>History of Scholarship in Italy, 1321—1527</i>	-facing p. 1
<i>Editiones Principes of Latin Authors</i>	103
<i>Editiones Principes of Greek Authors</i>	104, 105
<i>History of Scholarship, 1500—1600</i>	124
" " 1600—1700	278
" " 1700—1800	372

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

- (1) FRANCESCO PETRARCA. From a MS of Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, completed in January, 1379, for Francesco of Carrara, Duke of Padua, to whom the volume is dedicated (*Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 6069 F). Reproduced (by permission) from the frontispiece of M. Pierre de Nolhac's *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 1892. See M. de Nolhac's Excursus on the Iconography of Petrarch, in vol. ii 245—257, ed. 1907 . . . *Frontispiece*
- (2) GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO. From a medallion in the British Museum, inscribed IOHES · BOGATIVS · FLORE(NTINVS). Cp. Alois Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance* (1891), i 140 16
- (3) VALKRIUS FLACCUS, iv 307—317, with colophon and with Poggio's signature. *Facsimile* from *Codex Matritensis*, x 81, Poggio's autograph copy of the MS discovered by him at St Gallen in 1416. From a photograph supplied by Mr A. C. Clark, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford 24
- (4) GUARINO DA VERONA. Reduced (by permission) from M. Henri Omont's *Portrait de Guarino de Vérone* (1903), the frontispiece of which is derived from a photograph of the portrait painted in life-size at the end of the MS of Guarino's translation of Strabo in the Phillipps library at Cheltenham 52
- (5) VITTORINO DA FELTRE. From a medallion by Pisanello in the British Museum, inscribed VICTORINVS · FELTRENIS · SVMMVS · MATHEMATICS · ET · OMNIS · HVMANITATIS · PATER · OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS. Reproduced from the block prepared for the frontispiece to Woodward's *Vittorino* (Cambridge, 1897); cp. G. F. Hill's *Pisanello*, pl. 54 54
- (6) MARSILIO FICINO, CRISTOFORO LANDINO, ANGELO POIZIANO, and DEMETRIUS CHALCONDYLES. Reproduced (by permission) from part of Alinari's photograph of Ghirlandaio's fresco on the south wall of the choir in Santa Maria Novella, Florence (cp. p. 64 n. 6) 58
- (7) ALDUS MANUTIUS. From a contemporary print in the Library of San Marco, Venice, reproduced as frontispiece to Didot's *Alde Manuce* 94
- (8) PIETRO BEMBO. From Bartolozzi's engraving (in the Print Room, British Museum) of a portrait by Titian (1539) 106

- (9) ERASMUS (1523). From the portrait by Holbein in the Louvre; reproduced (by permission) from a photograph by Messrs Mansell. Cp. p. 132, n. 1 114
- (10) VICTORIUS. From the portrait by Titian, engraved by Ant. Zaballi for the *Ritratti Toscani*, vol. 1, no. xxxix (Allegrini, Firenze, 1766) . . . 136
- (11) MURETUS. From Joannes Imperialis, *Museum Historicum* (Venice, 1640), p. 110 148
- (12) BUDAËUS. From the engraving in André Thevet, *Portraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584), p. 551 164
- (13) CONCLUSION OF THE EPISTOLÆ GASPARINI, the first book printed in France (1470). From part of the *facsimile* in the *British Museum Guide to the King's Library* (1901), p. 40 168
- (14) ROBERT ESTIENNE. From a photograph taken in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from one of Croler's reproductions of the original engraving by Léonard Gaultier (copied in Renouard's *Annales*, p. 24) 174
- (15) TURNÆUS. From no. 127 of De Leu's *Pourtraicts* (c. 1600), in the Print Room of the British Museum 185
- (16) DORAT. From no. 108 of De Leu's *Pourtraicts* (c. 1600), in the Print Room of the British Museum 187
- (17) LAMBINUS. From no. 2 in the first row of the frontispiece to Part ii of Adolphus Clarmundus, *Vitæ clarissimorum in re literaria virorum* (Wittenberg, 1704) 188
- (18) JOSEPHI JUSTUS SCALIGER. From the frontispiece of the monograph by Bernays; portrait copied from the oil-painting in the Senate-House, Leyden; autograph signature from *Appendix ad Cyclometrica* in the Royal Library, Berlin 200
- (19) CASAUBON. From a photograph of an engraving in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 206
- (20) LINACRE. From a drawing in the Cracherode collection, in the Print Room of the British Museum. Cp. p. 228 n. 3 224
- (21) BUCHANAN. From Boissard's *Icones*, III iv 22 (Frankfurt, 1598) 244
- (22) MELANCHTHON. From a print of Albert Dürer's engraving of 1526 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Cp. p. 266 n. 2 264
- (23) SALMASIUS. From the engraving by Boulonnois in Bullart's *Académie* (1682), ii 226 284
- (24) DU CANGE. From a print in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 288
- (25) MABILLON. From an engraving by Simonneau in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 295
- (26) LIPSIUS. From the portrait by Abraham Janssens (1605), engraved for Jan van der Wouwer by Pierre de Jode. Reduced from the large copy in Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin* (1882), p. 342 f. Cp. p. 306 and p. 304 n. 7 302

- (27) G. J. VOSSIUS. From Bloteling's engraving of the portrait by Sandrart 308
- (28) MEURSIUS. From the engraving in Meursius, *Athenae Batavae* (1625), p. 191 310
- (29) DANIEL HEINSIUS. From a photograph taken in the Print Room of the British Museum from Snyderhuis' engraving of the portrait by S. Merck 312
- (30) J. F. GRONOVIVS. From an engraving by J. Munnickhuysen 321
(He is represented with 25 unnamed contemporaries in the frontispiece of his work *De Sestertiis*, L. B. 1691.)
- (31) N. HEINSIUS. From the frontispiece of the posthumous edition of his *Adversaria* (1742) 324
- (32) JANUS GRUTER. From a photograph in the possession of the Rev. E. S. Roberts, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, taken for Dr A. S. Lea from the portrait in the University Library, Heidelberg . 360
- (33) FORCELLINI. From part of the frontispiece to the London edition of 1825 377
- (34) MONTFAUCON. From a portrait by 'Paulus Abbas Genbacensis' (1739), engraved by Tardieu fils, and reproduced by Odieuvre in Dreux du Radier's *L'Europe Illustre* (1777), vol. v 386
- (35) 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) 400
- (36) RICHARD PORSON. Reduced from Sharpe's engraving of the portrait by Hoppner in the University Library, Cambridge 426
- (37) PIETER BURMAN I. From an engraving 445
- (38) HEMSTERHUY. From an engraving by Schellhorn, published by Schumann, Zwickau 448
- (39) RUHNKEN. From a portrait by H. Pothoven (1791), engraved by P. H. Jonxis (1792), and lithographed by Oehme and Müller (Brunsv. 1827) 458
- (40) WYTTENBAC.I. From a photograph of the portrait in the *Aula* of the University of Leyden 462

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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 See portrait of Budaeus, p. 164 *infra*.
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 eruditione praestantium*, in four parts with 50 portraits in each part, 4to,
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 T. A. Lonicerus. Half-a-century later the series was continued in the *Biblio-
 theca Chalcographica* (1645—52),—part v reproducing the portraits in parts i—iv,
 with about 40 new portraits; part vi containing 50 portraits by Seb. Furck, and
 parts vii, viii, ix, 50 each by Clemens Ammonius. See portrait of Buchanan,
 p. 244 *infra*.
 DE LEU (1562—1620). *Pourtraicts de plusieurs hommes illustres*; broad-
 sheet containing 144 portraits, Paris, c. 1600. See portraits of Turnebus and
 Dorat, pp. 185, 187 *infra*.
 MEURSIUS. *Athnae Batavae*, small 4to, Leyden, 1625. See portrait of
 Meursius, p. 310 *infra*.
 IOANNES IMPERIALIS (Giovanni Imperiale). *Museum Historicum*, Venice,
 1640. See portrait of Muretus, p. 148 *infra*.
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 elles and Amsterdam, 1682. See portrait of Salmasius, p. 284 *infra*.

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OUTLINE OF PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

BOOK I. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING IN ITALY,

c. 1321—c. 1527 A.D. 1—123

Chronological Table, 1321—1527 A.D. facing p. 1

CHAPTER I. Introduction. The four principal periods in the modern History of Scholarship, (1) Italian, (2) French, (3) English and Dutch, (4) German. The Renaissance. Petrarch and Boccaccio 1—16

CHAPTER II. The Villa Paradiso and San Spirito. Coluccio Salutati. Chrysoloras. Giovanni di Conversino. Giovanni Malpaghini. Gasparino da Barzizza 17—23

CHAPTER III. The Recovery of the Latin Classics by Poggio, Landriani, Francesco Pizzolpasso, Enoch of Ascoli, Sannazaro, Politian, Giorgio Galbiate, Parrasio, and Fra Giocondo; and of the Greek Classics by Guarino, Aurispa and Filelfo, Bessarion, Constantine and Janus Lascaris. The study of classical archaeology by Poggio, Ciriaco, Flavio Biondo, Andrea Mantegna, Felix Felicianus, Giuliano da San Gallo, and Fra Giocondo 24—42

CHAPTER IV. The early Medicean age in Florence. Roberto de' Rossi. Palla Strozzi. Cosimo dei Medici. Niccolò de' Niccoli. Traversari. Manetti. Leonardo Bruni. Marsuppini. Vergerio. Guarino. Vittorino. Filelfo 43—57

CHAPTER V. The earlier Greek Immigrants. Gemistos Plethon. Bessarion. Theodorus Gaza. Georgius Trapezuntius. Joannes Argyropulos. Demetrius Chalcondyles. Nicolas V and the translations of the Greek Classics. Valla, Decembrio and Perotti. Pius II, and Campano 59—73

CHAPTER VI. The later Greek immigrants. Michael Apostolius. Andronicus Callistus. Constantine Lascaris. Janus Lascaris. Marcus Musurus. Zacharias Callierges 74—80

CHAPTER VII. The Academy of *Florence*; Landino, Ficino, Pico, Politian. Marullus. Savonarola. Machiavelli. The Academy of *Naples*; Beccadelli, Pontano, Sannazaro. The Academy of *Rome*; Pomponius Laetus, Platina and Sabellicus, Bembo and Sadoletto, Paolo Giovio and Castiglione 81—93

CHAPTER VIII. The Printing of the Classics in Italy. Sweynheym and Pannartz. Philip de Lignamine. Ulrich Hahn. Georg Lauer. John of Spires. Bernardo Cennini. Aldus and Paulus Manutius; Aldus II 95—101

<i>Chronological Conspectus of Editiones Principes</i>	102—105
CHAPTER IX. Leo X and his patronage of learning: Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus; Guarino of Favera; Filippo Beroaldo the younger. The study of Aristotle; Pietro Pomponazzi, Leonico Tomeo, Alessandro Achillini. Poets:—Bembo, Sadoletto, Calcagnini, Vida, Navagero, Fracastoro, Flaminio. Archaeologists:—Fra Giocondo, Francesco Albertini, Andrea Fulvio, Fabio Calvi and Raphael. Piero Valeriano, Clement VII and the Sack of Rome (1527)	107—123

BOOK II. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. 124—276

<i>Chronological Table, 1500—1600 A.D.</i>	124
CHAPTER X. Erasmus	127—132
CHAPTER XI. Italy from 1527 to 1600. Literary Criticism, Vida; influence of Aristotle's treatise <i>On the Art of Poetry</i> . Victorius. Robortelli. Sigonius. Pantagato. Panvinio. Nizolius. Majoragius. Faërnus. Muretus. Francesco Patrizzi. Fulvio Orsini. Archaeologists:—Marliani, Ligorio, Panciroli, Aldrovandi, J. B. de Cavalieriis, Lafreri, Flaminio Vacca. Aonio Paleario. Classical influence in Italian literature	133—156
CHAPTER XII. Spain. Nugno Gusmano, Arias Barbosa, Antonio de Lebrixa, Cardinal Ximenes, Sepúlveda, Andrea Laguna, Nonius Pincianus, Clenardus, Vergara, Sanctius, Nunnesius, Agostino, Ciacconius, Cerda. Madrid, and the Escorial	
Portugal. Resende, Achilles Stadius, Osorio, Alvarez	157—163
CHAPTER XIII. France from 1360 to 1600. Bersuire, Oresme, Jean de Montreuil. The printers of the Sorbonne. Teachers of Greek:—Gregorio Tifernas, Hieronymus of Sparta, Aleander. Gourmont and the first Greek press in Paris. Budæus. Corderius. Robert and Henri Estienne. The elder Scaliger. Étienne Dolet. The Collège de France; Danès and Tous-sain; Rabelais; Ramus, Turnebus, Dorat. Translators and literary critics. Lambinus. Passerat. Daniel, Pierre Pithou, and Bongars. Jurists:—De Grouchy, Cujas, Hotman, Doneau, Brisson, Godefroy. Translators:—Amyot and Le Roy. Montaigne, La Boétie, Pasquier, Sainte-Marthe. Scaliger. Casaubon. Mercier	165—210
CHAPTER XIV. The Netherlands from 1400 to the foundation of the university of Leyden, 1575. The Schools of the Brethren of the Common Life. Nicolaus Cusanus and Johann Wessel. Erasmus. Despauterius. Busleiden. Printers:—John of Westphalia, Martens, Plantin. Vivès. Goclenius, Nannius. Torrentius, Pulmannus, Joannes Secundus, Hadrianus Junius, W. Canter (Pighius, Modius, Delrio, Cruquius)	211—218
CHAPTER XV. England from 1370 to 1600. Chaucer, Lydgate, 'Thomas of England'. Visits of Poggio and Aeneas Sylvius. Adam de Molyneux; Humphrey duke of Gloucester. John Tiptoft, Andrew Holes, William Grey, John Free, Robert Flemming and John Gunthorpe.	

xxvi OUTLINE OF PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

The Study of Greek. Selling, Linacre, Grocyn, W. Latimer, Lily, Colet, More. Greek at Oxford. Greek at Cambridge:—Bullock, Croke, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke. Pronunciation of Greek and Latin. Ascham. Sir Thomas Wilson. Classical metres. Gabriel Harvey. Colleges and Schools. Translators. Latin poets of Italy studied in England.

Scotland:—Buchanan, Volusenus, Melville, Johnston, Drummond.—
Wales:—John Owen 219—250

CHAPTER XVI. Germany from 1350 to 1616. Petrarch and Charles IV. Vergerio and Sigismund. Aeneas Sylvius in Vienna. Peuerbach and Regiomontanus. Peter Luder and Hartman Schedel. Agricola. Hegius. Langen. Wimpfeling. Brant. Reuchlin. Mutianus. Celtes. Trithemius and Pirkeheimer. Peutinger. Cuspinianus. Vadianus. Busche. Bebel. Eobanus Hessus. The printers of Basel. Beatus Rhenanus. Glareanus, Grynaeus, Gelenius, Petrus Mosellanus. Melanchthon. Camerarius. Micyllus. Sturm. Rivius. F. Fabricius. H. Wolf. M. Neander. B. Faber. C. Gesner. M. Crusius. Frischlin. Xylander. Sylburg. Aem. Portus. Rhodolmann. Hoeschel. Erasmus Schmiecl. Janus Guilielmus. Acidalius. Taubmann.

Hungary:—Aeneas Sylvius and Ladislas. Vitéz and Janus Pannonius. Matthias Corvinus.

Poland:—Olesnicky. Dlugosz. Gregor of Sanok 251—276

BOOK III. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. 277—370

Chronological Table, 1600—1700 A.D. 278

CHAPTER XVII. Italy in the Seventeenth Century. Archaeologists:—Cassiano del Pozzo, Donati, Nardini, Doni, Bellori and Bartoli, Raphael Fabretti. Composers of Latin verse:—Strada, Ceva, Sergardi. Imitators of Pindar and Horace 279—282

CHAPTER XVIII. France in the Seventeenth Century. Sirmond, Petavius, Guyet, Peiresc. Salmasius. Heraldus, Palmerius, Séguier, Vigerus, Maussac, Valesius; C. and P. Labbe. Du Cange. The Jesuits and Port-Royal. Ménage. The French Academy and the 'Three Unities'. Tanaquil Faber, André and Anne Dacier. Huet and the Delphin Classics. Mabillon. Hardouin. Spon 283—299

CHAPTER XIX. The Netherlands from the foundation of the university of Leyden (1575) to 1700. Janus Dousa and his sons. Petreius Tiara, Vulcanius. Lipsius. Andreas Schott. Puteanus. Scaliger. Wowerius. P. Merula. Baudius. Scriverius. G. J. Vossius. Franciscus Junius. Salmasius. Meursius. Putschius. Cluverius. Daniel Heinsius. Grotius. J. F. Gronovius. Isaac Vossius. N. Heinsius. Meibomius. (Spanheim.) Graevius. Rycke. J. and A. Gronovius. Broukhusius. Francius. Perizonius. Cuppers. The Elzeviers 300—332

CHAPTER XX. England in the Seventeenth Century. Savile. Downes. Bacon. Robert Burton. Dempster. Barclay. Gataker. Selden. Milton. May. Cowley. Duport. Barrow. Pearson. Stanley. Falkland, Hailes, Jeremy Taylor. The Cambridge Platonists:—More and Cudworth. Theophilus and Thomas Gale. Translators of Lucretius:—Evelyn, Lucy Hutchinson, and Creech. Baxter. Hudson. Potter. Dryden. Dodwell. Barnes 332—358

CHAPTER XXI. Germany in the Seventeenth Century. Gruter. Pareüs. Sciooppius, Barth, and Reinesius. Seber and Weller. Lindenbrog; Holstenius and Kircher. Vorst, Jönsen, Lambeck. Morhof. Gude. Bernegger, Freinsheim, Boekler, Obrecht, Scheffer. Conring. Spanheim. Beger. Cellarius 358—369

BOOK IV. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. 371—466

Chronological Table, 1700—1800 A.D. 372

CHAPTER XXII. Italy in the Eighteenth Century. Facciolati, Forcellini. Ferracci, Lagomarsini. Garatoni. Rezzonico. Corsini. Bandini, Mingarelli, Morelli. Archaeologists:—Ficoroni, Piranesi, Gori. Muratori, Maffei. Paciaudi, Morcelli, Marini. E. Q. Visconti. Fea 373—384

CHAPTER XXIII. France in the Eighteenth Century. Montfaucon. Capperonnier. Bouhier. Sanadon. Olivetus. Archaeologists:—Banduri, Fourmont, Burette, Fréret, Comte de Caylus, Patin, Vaillant, Pellerin, Mariette, D'Anville. Barthélemy, Seroux d'Agincourt, Guys, Choiseul-Gouffier, Brotier, Larcher. Alsace (Brunck, Oberlin, Schweighäuser, Bast) and the *Editiones Bipontinae*. Levesque, and Sainte-Croix. Villoison 385—398

CHAPTER XXIV. England in the Eighteenth Century. Bentley. Addison. Pope. Spence. Maittaire. Ruddiman. Wasse, Davics, Whiston, Middleton, S. Clarke, Needham. Markland, John Taylor, Dawes. Chr. Pitt, Vincent Bourne, Gray, Sydenham. Heath, Toup and Musgrave. Shaw, Joddrell. Tyrwhitt and Twining. Parr and H. Homer. Porson. Wakefield, Horne Tooke, Burgess. The Dilettanti Society; Stuart and Revett, R. Wood. Scholarly Statesmen:—Chatham, Burke, Fox, Pitt. Archaeologists:—Sir Wm Hamilton, Townley, R. Chandler, Payne Knight. A. Adam. Gibbon. Mitford. Sir Wm Jones 400—439

CHAPTER XXV. The Netherlands in the Eighteenth Century. Le Clerc. Burman. Küster. Bos. Duker and Drakenborch. Havercamp. Hemsterhuys. J. F. Reitz. Wesseling. D'Orville. Oudendorp. Burman II. Schrader. Valckenaer. Ruhnken. Pierson, Koen, Santen, Luzac. Wyttenlach 441—466

CORRIGENDA.

- p. 35 l. 3; for Pizzopasso, read Pizzolpasso.
- p. 105; Stobaeus (1535), add *Florilegium*; (1575) add *Eclogae*.
Aretaeus (1554), for Andr. read Adr. Turnebus.
Polyaenus (1589), for Leyden, read Lyon.
- p. 118 l. 8; for 1514 (Didot's date for the *editio princeps* of Pindar), read (as on p. 104) 1513 (with Christie's *Essays*, p. 243).
- p. 124; Italy, Pomponazzi; for 1462—1565, read 1462—1525.
- p. 126; for *salon carre*, read *salon carré*.
- p. 158 n. 1; for *des fonds grecs*, read *du fonds grec*.
- p. 161 l. 2; for Constantius, read Constantinus.
- p. 196 l. 16; for Florio, read North.
- p. 201 l. 27; for Festus (1575), read (with Bernays, *Scaliger*, 275) 1576.
- p. 243 l. 28; for 1559, read (with Hume Brown's *Buchanan*, 160) 1561.
- p. 271 l. 33; for 1608, read at Leipzig (1577) and at Hanover (1604).
- p. 285 l. 6; for Saville, read Savile.
- p. 287 l. 26; for Labbé (*Labbaeus*), read Labbe.
- p. 301 n. 5; for 332 f, read 362 f.
- p. 368 ll. 12, 15; for Helmstadt, read Helmstädt or Helmstedt.
- p. 372; England, after Spence (1699—1768), add Martyn (1699—1768).
- p. 378 l. 9 (inset); for Ferrati (*Ferratius*), read Ferracci.
- p. 391 l. 28; for Vaillant, 1655, read 1665.

BOOK I.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING AND THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP IN ITALY.

Le moyen âge, si profond, si original, si poétique dans l'élan de son enthousiasme religieux, n'est, sous le rapport de la culture intellectuelle, qu'un long tâtonnement pour revenir à la grande école de la noble pensée, c'est-à-dire à l'antiquité. La renaissance, loin d'être, comme on l'a dit, un égarement de l'esprit moderne, fourvoyé après un idéal étranger, n'est que le retour à la vraie tradition de l'humanité civilisée.

RENAN, *Averroès* (1852), Préf. p. viii, ed. 4, 1882.

Dall' Italia soltanto il classicismo poteva sperare il suo rinascimento, dall' unica terra dove il vecchio mondo classico in rovine, superava in grandezza e maestà il giovane medio evo.

HORTIS, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*,
p. 210, Trieste, 1879.

History of Scholarship in Italy between 1321 and 1527.

BORN DIED		
1304-1374	Petrarch discovers Cicero, <i>pro Archia</i> , 1333, and <i>ad Atticum</i>	1345
1313-1375	Boccaccio discovers Martial, Ausonius etc., and studies Greek	1360-63
1330-1406	Salutati discovers Cicero, <i>ad Familiares</i>	1392
1350-1415	Chrysoloras teaches Greek in Florence	1396-1400
1356-1450	Plethion disputes on Plato and Aristotle	1439
1363-1437	Niccoli leaves 800 mss to Medicean Library	1437
1369-1444	Leonardo Bruni translates Aristotle's <i>Ethics</i> , 1414, and <i>Politics</i>	1437
1370-1431	Barzizza, <i>Epistolarum Liber</i> , printed, Paris	1470
1370-1459	Aurispa brings 238 mss from Constantinople	1423
1374-1460	Guarino da Verona teaches at Ferrara	1420-60
1378-1446	Vittorino da Feltre teaches at Mantua	1423-46
1380-1459	Poggio discovers Latin mss at Cluni, St Gallen, Langres etc.	1415-17
1385-1458	Alfonso I, king of Naples	1442-58
1386-1439	Traversari discovers Cornelius Nepos	1434
1388-1463	Flavio Biondo, <i>Italia Illustrata</i>	1453
1389-1464	Cosimo de' Medici in power in Florence	1434-64
1391-1450	Ciriaco d' Ancona, collector of inscriptions	1424, 1433, 1435-47
1395-1484	Georg. Trapezuntius tr. Ar. <i>Rhet.</i> , <i>Hist. An.</i> , 1450; Plato, <i>Laws</i>	1451
1396-1459	Manetti translates Aristotle's <i>Ethics</i> etc.	1456-9
1397-1455	Tommaseo Parentucelli, Pope Nicolas V	1447-55
1398-1481	Filelfo brings 40 mss from Constantinople	1427
1399-1477	Decembrio translates Plato's <i>Republic</i>	1440
1400-1475	Theolorus Gaza, professor of philosophy in Rome	1451
1403-1472	Bessarion presents his Greek mss to Venice	1468
1405-1464	Aeneas Sylvius, <i>De Lib. Educ.</i> , 1450. Pope Pius II	1458-64
1407-1457	Laurentius Valla, <i>Elegantiae Latini Sermonis</i>	1440-50
1416-1486	Argyropulos lectures in Florence, 1456-71, and Rome	1471-86
1417-1475	Giov. Andrea de' Hussi, Bp of Aleria, 8 <i>editiones principes</i>	1469-71
1421-1498	Vespasiano, <i>Vite di Uomini Illustri</i>	c. 1493
1422-1482	Federigo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino	1474-82
1424-1504	Cristoforo Landino, <i>Quaestiones Camaldulenses</i>	1480
1424-1511	Chalcondyles, ed. pr. Homer, 1488; Isocrates, 1493; Suidas	1499
1425-1498	Pomponius Laetus, ed. Curtius, Virgil, Pliny, Sallust	1470-90
1426-1503	Pontano and Marullus (d. 1500) correct text of Lucretius, ed. Flor.	1512
1427-1477	Campano translates Plutarch's <i>Lives</i>	1470
1430-1480	Perotti, <i>Rudimenta Grammatices</i>	1468
1433-1499	Ficino translates Plato, 1482, and Plotinus	1492
1434-1501	Constantine Lascaris, <i>Grammatica Graeca</i>	1476
1445-1535	Janus Lascaris, 5 <i>editiones principes</i>	1494-6
1448-1492	Lorenzo de' Medici in power in Florence	1469-92
1449-1515	Aldus Manutius, 27 Greek <i>editiones principes</i>	1494-1515
1453-1505	Beroaldus editis Propertius, 1487, and Plautus	1500
1454-1494	Politian, <i>Sylvae</i> , 1482-6; <i>Miscellanea</i>	1489
1458-1530	Sannazaro discovers Ovid, <i>Halient.</i> , Grattius and Nemesianus	1501-4
1461-1510	Paolo Cortesi, <i>De Hominibus Doctis</i>	1490
1462-1525	Pomponazzi, <i>De Immortalitate Animae</i>	1516
1463-1494	Pico della Mirandola, <i>Apologia</i> , 1484; <i>Adv. Astrologium</i>	1495
1466-1527	Machiavelli, <i>Discorsi</i> on Livy 1-10	1516-9
1470-1517	Musurus editis 7 <i>editiones principes</i>	1498-1516
1470-1547	Bembo, On Terence, 1530; <i>Epistolae Leonis X</i>	1535
1475-1521	Giovanni de' Medici, Pope Leo X	1513-21
1477-1547	Sadoletto, <i>Laocoon</i> , 1506; <i>De Liberis Recte Instituendis</i>	1534
1477-1558	Valeriano, <i>De Literatorum Infelicitate</i> , written after	1527
1478-1529	Maldassare Castiglione, <i>Il Cortegiano</i>	1528
1479-1552	Lilio Giraldi, <i>De Poetis Nostri um Temporum</i>	1551
1482-1529	Navagero ed. Quint., Virg., Lucretius, Ovid., Ter., Hor., Cic. <i>Speeches</i>	1514-9
1485-1552	Paolo Giovio, <i>Elogia Doctorum Virorum</i>	1550
1488-1522	Longolius, <i>Orationes et Epistolae</i> , Florence	1524
1499-1566	Vida, <i>De Arte Poetica</i> , 1527; <i>Christius</i>	1535

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. PETRARCH AND BOCCACCIO.

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 *Allerthumswissenschaft*. 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.

The age of the Renaissance was the time of transition from the ancient to the modern world. The Renaissance has been described by one eloquent writer as 'the discovery of the world and of man'¹; by another, as producing a 'love of the things of the intellect and the imagination for their own sake'²; and by a third, as the movement by which the nations of Western Europe passed from the mediaeval to modern modes of thought and life³. The metaphor of a new birth was first associated with a revival of learning by an Englishman, Modoin, bishop of Autun, who hailed the revival under Charles the Great in a line that recalls the poets of Rome:—

¹ Michelet, *Histoire de la France*, vii p. ii, *la découverte du monde, la découverte de l'homme*; cp. Burckhardt, *Renaissance*, part iv.

² W. Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 2.

³ Cp., in general, J. A. Symonds, s.v. *Renaissance* in *Enc. Brit.* ed. 9; and *Renaissance in Italy*, i 1—28.

'aurea Roma iterum renovata *renascitur* orbi'¹. The old Italian *rinascita* was probably first applied to the arts by Vasari². The modern Italian *Rinascimento* is simply a translation of the French *Renaissance*, found as early as 1708 in the French Dictionary of Furetière³, but not recognised by the Academy until 1762⁴. Among our own countrymen, William Collins (d. 1759)⁵ and Thomas Warton (d. 1800)⁶ proposed to write a history of the 'Revival of Learning', or of 'Letters', but the proposal remained unfulfilled. Both of these designs owed their inspiration to the age of Leo X. Similarly, in France, the Abbé Barthélemy, travelling in Italy in 1755, describes the age of Leo as *la naissance d'un nouveau genre humain*⁷. But it has since been recognised that for the beginning of the Renaissance we must go back at least as far as Petrarch, who died in 1374,—a full century before the birth of Leo.

The Revival of Learning in Italy was practically completed within the period of exactly two centuries which separates the death of Dante from the death of Leo X. At the death of the first Pope of the Medicean house, humanism had well nigh run its course in Italy; and, when the exiled poet of Florence died at Ravenna, Petrarch, the first of the humanists, was still a young student at Montpellier. But he was already enraptured with the style of Cicero and of Virgil. From his father, Petrarch Pietro or Petracco, a notary of Florence, he had derived the name of Francesco di Petracco, which his sense of euphony, or his fancy for a name of Latin form, afterwards changed into Francesco or Franciscus Petrarca. Born in exile at Arezzo, he was taken at the age of eight to Avignon,—the seat of the Papacy during the more than seventy years of the

¹ Dümmler, *Pottas Lat. Aevi Car.* i 385.

² *Vite*, Parte II, par. 3, *rinascita di queste arti*.

³ Noticed as used in a figurative sense alone, e.g. '*la renaissance des beaux-arts*.'

⁴ e.g. '*la renaissance des lettres*'.

⁵ Johnson's *Lives*, iii 282.

⁶ Roscoe's *Leo X*, p. x, ed. 1846.

⁷ A. Holm, *Il Rinascimento Italiano e la Grecia Antica* (Palermo, 1880), excursus on pp. 35—40. Matthew Arnold, in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), c. iv, introduced the form *Renascence*.

'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 Vaucluse. 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. His Letter to Posterity tells us that he had a clear complexion, between light and dark, lively eyes and, for many years, a keenness of sight that did not require the aid of glasses¹. 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 death².

Petrarch was fully conscious of belonging in a peculiar sense to a transitional time³. He gives proof of his modern spirit when he resolves on making the ascent of Mont Ventoux, but he no sooner reaches the summit than he reverts to the mediaeval mood inspired by his copy of the *Confessions* of St Augustine⁴. Yet he has rightly been regarded as the 'first modern man'⁵. In a new age he was the first to recognise the supreme importance of the old classical literature, to regard that literature with a fresh and intelligent and critical interest, to appreciate its value as a means of self-culture, and as an exercise for some of the highest of human faculties. In his Latin style he is no slavish imitator of ancient models. In prose he is mainly inspired by the philosophical works of Cicero, and by the moral letters of Seneca. In

¹ *Epp. Fam.* i 11, ed. Fracassetti.

² See *Frontispiece*, and cp. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme* (1892), Appendix pp. 375—384, *l'iconographie de Pétrarque*.

³ *Rerum Memorandarum*, Liber i 2, p. 398, ed. 1581, 'velut in confinio duorum populorum constitutus, ac simul ante retroque prospiciens'.

⁴ Cp. author's *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning* (1905), p. 9 f.

⁵ Renan, *Averroës*, p. 328, ed. 1882.

verse his model is Virgil, but he keenly realises the importance of catching the spirit of the ancient poet without appropriating his actual language¹. He collects classical manuscripts, as well as coins and inscriptions; he is inspired with an interest in history and archaeology by the sight of the ruins of Rome. As a loyal Churchman, he regards the study of the Classics as the handmaid of Christianity, and not as hostile to its teaching.

His mind was mainly moulded by the study of the Latin Classics, to which he was attracted by their perfection of form. Even in his earliest youth, he had a keen ear for the melodies of Latin verse and rhetorical prose. As a student at Montpellier, he was spending on the perusal of his favourite Latin authors the time that he was supposed to be devoting to the study of law, when his father suddenly appeared on the scene, tore his son's treasures from their place of concealment, and flung them into the fire. When the son burst into tears at the grievous sight, the father relented so far as to snatch from the flames two volumes only; the one was a copy of Virgil; the other was the 'Rhetoric' of Cicero². Cicero and Virgil became the principal text-books of the Revival of Learning. Petrarch describes them in one of his poems as the 'two eyes' of his discourse³. Even in his old age, he was still haunted by the mediaeval tradition of the allegorical significance of the *Aeneid*; but, unlike the mediaeval admirers of Virgil, he does not regard the Latin poet as a mysteriously distant and supernatural being; he finds in him a friend, and he is even candid enough to criticise him. In his 'Familiar Letters' he quotes Virgil about 120 times; his carefully annotated copy is preserved in the Ambrosian Library⁴; and, under his influence, the *Aeneid* was accepted as the sole model for the epic poetry of the succeeding age. It is the model of his own *Africa*.

In his appreciation of the lyrics of Horace, he marks a distinct advance on the mediaeval view. Of the quotations from Horace in the Middle Ages, less than one-fifth are from the lyrics and

¹ *Epp. Fam.* xxiii 19 (cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 11 f.).

² *Epp. Rerum Senilium*, xv 1, p. 947.

³ *Trionfo della Fama*, iii 21.

⁴ De Nolhac, 118—135; *Facsimile* of frontispiece in Müntz, *Gazette Arch.* 1887, and *Pétrarque* (1902), opp. p. 12.

more than four-fifths from the hexameter poems¹; but the balance is happily redressed by Petrarch, who quotes with equal interest from both. His copy of Horace is in the Laurentian Library². Ovid is too frivolous for his taste³. With the epics of Lucan, Statius, and Claudian he is well acquainted; and the same is true of Persius, Juvenal, and Martial, with parts of Ausonius⁴. Of the plays of Plautus only eight were then known; Petrarch quotes from two of them⁵, and gives an outline of a third⁶ as a proof of the poet's skill in the delineation of character. He is familiar with the comedies of Terence, and the tragedies of Seneca; he rarely refers to Catullus⁷ or Propertius⁸; it is apparently only in excerpts that he knows Tibullus⁹. All his quotations from Lucretius are clearly derived second-hand from Macrobius¹⁰.

In his boyhood, he found himself impelled to study Cicero, and, although he was only imperfectly conscious of the sense, he was charmed by the marvellous harmonies of sound¹¹. In his old age he declared that the 'eloquence of this heavenly being was absolutely inimitable'¹². Virgil had been the favourite author of the Middle Ages; it was the influence of Petrarch that restored Cicero to a position of prominence in the Revival of Learning¹³. Petrarch was familiar with all the philosophical books of Cicero then extant, with the mutilated text of the principal rhetorical works, and with many of the Speeches¹⁴.

The lost writings of Cicero were the constant theme of his eager quest. Whenever, in his travels in foreign lands, he caught

¹ Moore's *Studies in Dante*, i 201.

² *Facs.* in Chatelain's *Pallographie*, pl. 87, 2; De Nolhac, 148—153.

³ *De Vita Sol.* ii 7, 2.

⁴ De Nolhac, 153, 160—7, 173.

⁵ *Curculio* and *Cistellaria*, in *Fam.* ix 4.

⁶ *Casina*, in *Fam.* v 14.

⁷ De Nolhac, 138—140.

⁸ iii 32, 49 f, apparently imitated in *Canzoni*, xii str. 7; De Nolhac, 142 f; for imitations of Propertius in Petrarch's *Africa*, see Prof. Phillimore in R. Ellis, *Catullus in the sixteenth century* (1905), 29.

⁹ De Nolhac, 145.

¹⁰ *ib.* 134.

¹¹ *Epp. Rerum Senilium*, xv 1, p. 946.

¹² *ib.* p. 948.

¹³ Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 1897, p. 26; *Harvard Lectures*, 149.

¹⁴ De Nolhac, 176—223.

a distant glimpse of some secluded monastery, he hastened to the spot in the hope of finding the object of his search¹. 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. No sooner had he discovered the manuscript of the *Letters to Atticus* than he at once indited a letter to Cicero himself apprising him of the fact⁵. This was the first of Petrarch's Letters to Dead Authors, the remainder (including a second letter to Cicero) being addressed to Homer, Virgil, and Horace, and to Livy, Seneca, and Quintilian.

Before discovering Cicero's *Letters* he had already formed his style on that of Cicero's philosophical works; after the discovery of the *Letters*, he makes them the model of his own, and, in the preface to his *Epistolae de Rebus Familiaribus*⁶, declares that he will follow Cicero rather than Seneca. Nevertheless, in those letters, he has as many as sixty citations from Seneca, and this is far from the only proof of his familiarity with that author⁷. His favourite Roman historian is Livy; he bitterly regrets the loss of the books of the second decade⁸, and, writing to the historian

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

² *ibid.*

³ *Fam.* xiii 6 (11 238 Fracassetti).

⁴ xliv 18.

⁵ *Fam.* xxiv 3; cp. xxi 10 (11 87 Fr.) and *Var.* 25 (11 367 Fr.). Cp. Viertel, *Die Wiederauffindung von Ciceros Briefen durch Petrarca*, Königsberg program, 1879.

⁶ p. 21 Fr.

⁷ De Nolhac, 308 f.

⁸ *Rer. Mem.* i 2.

himself, exclaims;—*O si mihi totus contingeres*¹. He is familiar with Caesar, Sallust, Justin, Suetonius, Florus, Curtius, the *Historia Augusta*, Valerius Maximus, Vegetius, Frontinus, and Orosius; but he knows nothing of Nepos or of Tacitus. He has only an imperfect copy of Quintilian². He is unhappily unacquainted with the Letters of the younger Pliny; but he is fortunate in possessing the encyclopaedia of Pliny the elder. His copy is now in the Paris Library³, and, in the margin of the passage describing the fountain of the Sorgue⁴, Petrarch has drawn from memory a dainty little sketch of the valley of Vaucluse⁵.

Under the influence of Cicero⁶, Petrarch had been led to believe that the Latin literature was far superior to the Greek⁷; but he was ignorant of the Greek language. The first opportunity for learning it presented itself in 1339, when Barlaam, the Calabrian monk of Seminara, arrived at Avignon as an envoy from Constantinople. He was sent once more to the West in 1342, and Petrarch's attempts to learn the language are best assigned to that date⁸. But he had barely learned to read and write the capital letters, when he unselfishly recommended his preceptor for a bishopric in S. Italy. Another envoy, Nicolaus Sigeros, who visited the West about 1350, sent Petrarch a ms of Homer about 1354. To Petrarch it was a sealed book, but, as he gazed on it, he was transported with delight. He even wrote an enthusiastic letter to Homer himself⁹, and also asked his friend in the East to send him copies of Hesiod and Euripides¹⁰. Besides possessing a translation of the first four books of the *Iliad*¹¹, he acquired in 1369 a transcript of the rendering of the whole of Homer by a pupil of Barlaam, named Leontius Pilatus,

¹ *Fam.* xxiv 8.

² *Fam.* xxiv 7; De Nolhac, 281 f.

³ ms 6802.

⁵ Reproduced in De Nolhac, 395.

⁴ xviii § 190.

⁶ *De Fin.* i 10, iii 5.

⁷ *Sen.* xii, p. 913, *Graecos et ingenio et stilo frequenter vicimus et frequenter aequavimus, imo, si quid credimus Ciceroni, semper vicimus, ubi adnisi sumus* (De Nolhac, 318).

⁸ De Nolhac, 324–6. Cp. G. Mandorli, *Fra Barlaamo Calabrese*, 1888.

⁹ *Fam.* xxiv 12.

¹⁰ *Fam.* xviii 2.

¹¹ De Nolhac, 353 f.

whom he had entertained in Venice for three months in 1363¹. Though the baldness of this rendering led to an abatement in his enthusiasm for the old Greek poet, his subsequent writings give proof of his study of its pages. There is a well-attested tradition that he died while 'illuminating' (that is, annotating) his copy of a Latin translation of Homer². This copy is now in the National Library of France, and the trembling hand that marks the close of the notes on the *Odyssey* confirms the tradition that they were his latest work. A Latin rendering of Homer's description of Bellerophon's wanderings on the Alecian plain³, which appears in Petrarch's *Secretum*⁴, has caused needless perplexity to two of his most learned exponents in Germany and France⁵, who hazard the conjecture that the rendering is due to Petrarch himself. Had they been as familiar as Petrarch with the pages of Cicero, they would have found it in the *Tusculan Disputations*⁶.

Petrarch possessed a MS of the Greek text of sixteen of the dialogues of Plato, and, on receiving the MS of Homer, placed it beside his Plato and wrote to assure the donor of his pride at having under his roof at Milan two guests of such distinction⁷. He also possessed a copy of part of the translation of the *Tymæus* by Chalcidius⁸. Leontius Pilatus, the only person from whom he might possibly have obtained a rendering of the rest, had met with a sudden and singular end. On his voyage from Constantinople in the spring of 1367, he was struck dead by a flash of lightning while standing against the mast, and Petrarch hurried down to the quay in the vain hope of finding, in the unhappy man's possessions, some precious manuscript of Euripides or of Sophocles⁹. Petrarch knows of the *Phædo* solely in connexion with the story of the death of Cato¹⁰. He mentions the *otiosa*

¹ The passages on Leontius Pilatus are quoted in full by Hody, 2—10; cp. Gibbon, vii 20 Bury; and De Nolhac, 339—349.

² Decembrio, quoted by De Nolhac, 348.

³ *Il.* vi 201 f.

⁴ Körting, i 477 f; De Nolhac, 350 n. 1.

⁵ *Fam.* xviii. 2.

⁶ Now in Paris, *Bibl. Nat.* 6280 (De Nolhac, 43).

⁷ *Sen.* vi 1, p. 807; cp. Gibbon, vii 120 Bury.

⁸ *Fam.* iii 18, iv 3.

⁴ iii p. 357.

⁶ iii 63.

cupresseta and the *spatia silvestria* that were the scene of the dialogue in Plato's *Laws*, but this touch of local colour is due not to the original but to an allusion in Cicero¹. For Aristotle, whom he only knew in Latin versions, he had no partiality. He was convinced that that philosopher had suffered much at the hands of his translators; he was repelled by a certain harshness of style, a complete absence of *eloquentia*²; and, so far from accepting his authority, he declared that Aristotle had undoubtedly erred, not in small matters only, but even in those of the highest moment³. We have proof of his having once possessed the current commentaries on Aristotle in a Paris MS including Eustratius⁴ of Nicaea, Aspasius and Michael of Ephesus, but there is little trace of any study of this MS on the part of the owner. He has a special antipathy against the Aristotelians of Padua, who followed the teaching of Averroës⁵. He urges his friend, the Augustinian monk, Ludovicus Marsilius, to write *contra canem illum rabidum Averroim*⁶. He wages war against the Dialecticians of the day, who contemn the old Greek or Latin representatives of philosophy or literature⁷. In the *Trionfo della Fama*⁸ he denounces the syllogisms of Porphyry as sophisms which supply weapons against the truth. In the same work he vaguely mentions Greek and Latin Classics, and, in his tenth Eclogue, he ranks Euripides next to Homer. It is true that, to Petrarch, these Greek authors are little more than names. Nevertheless, he regards the great writers of antiquity, Greek as well as Latin, as his personal friends; he feels that the Classics

¹ *De Legibus*, i 15 (cp. Plato's *Laws*, 625 B). *De Vita Solitaria*, i 5, 2, p. 242 (Tullius et Virgilius) Platonem secuti ambo, qui inter otiosa cupresseta et spatia silvestria de institutis rerum publicarum deque optimis legibus disputat. M. De Nolhac (p. 329), who here quotes neither Cicero nor Plato, imagines that the *Republic* is meant (as well as the *Laws*), but the scene of that dialogue is quite different.

² *Rer. Mem.* ii 2, p. 415; also *De Ignorantia*, pp. 1037, 1051.

³ *De Ignorantia*, p. 1042.

⁴ Eustachii (*sic*), wrongly identified as 'Eustathius' by De Nolhac, 337 n. 3.

⁵ *De Ignorantia*, 1035-59.

⁶ *Sen.* p. 734.

⁷ *Fam.* i 1 p. 30 Fr.; i 6 and 11; *Sen.* v 2 (3), p. 795.

⁸ iii 62-4.

that have survived enshrine for him the memory of great men of old whom he is glad to know¹. Petrarch prepared the soil of Italy for the reception of Greek culture. It is possible that, but for his timely intervention, the Revival of Learning might have been delayed until it was too late. Between the death of Petrarch in 1374, and the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Italy recovered the Greek Classics².

It was owing to the influence of Petrarch that his great contemporary, Boccaccio (1313—1375), began in early life to study the Latin Classics³. His education had unfortunately been left unfinished; and his knowledge of Latin remained imperfect to the last. A legend told by Filippo Villani⁴ ascribes his first love of poetry to a visit paid to the tomb of Virgil at Naples. A devoted student of Dante, he sent his own transcript of Dante's immortal poem⁵, and of certain works of Cicero and Varro⁶, as a gift to Petrarch, whom he had long admired, but had never met until he saw him in Florence in 1350. Boccaccio

¹ *Fam.* iii 18, p. 178 Fr.

² Symonds, 86 f.—For the text of Petrarch I have generally referred to the second Basel folio ed. of 1581 (my copy bears the autograph of *Tho' Campbell*, who used it in writing his *Life of Petrarch*, 1841); also to Fracassetti's ed. of the *Epp. de Rebus Familiaribus et Variarum*, 3 vols. 8vo, Florence, 1859-63. These letters have been translated and annotated by the editor in five vols. (1863-7), and the *Epp. Seniles* in two (1869). Cp. F. X. Kraus, *Petrarca in s. Briefwechsel*, 'Essays', i, 1896. The first ed. of his *De Viribus Illustribus*, and the best ed. of his *Africa*, were published at Bologna and Padua respectively in 1874 (the 500th anniversary of his death), which is also the date of Geiger's *Petrarka* (Leipzig), 277 pp. Cp. Voigt, *Humanismus*, i 20-156²; Körting, *Litteratur Italiens*, i 1878; Geiger, *Renaissance u. Humanismus*, 22-44, 565 f; De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 1892, ed. 2, 1907, and the literature quoted in these works; Sabbadini, *Il primo nucleo della Biblioteca del Petrarca*, in *Rendiconti del R. Ist. Lomb. di sc. e lett.* (1906), 369-388; also Symonds, *Renaissance*, ii 69-87², and Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch, The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, with translations from his Correspondence (New York, 1898).

³ *De casibus illustrium virorum*, fol. 90, (P.), quem ego ab ineunte juventute mea prae ceteris colueram.

⁴ F. Villani, *De Civitatis Florentiae Famosis Civibus*, ed. Galletti, 17; Symonds, *Boccaccio*, 21.

⁵ Petrarch, *Fam.* xxi 15, c. 1359 (the copy is now in the Vatican).

⁶ *ib.* xviii 4.

was the link between Petrarch and the city of Petrarch's ancestors. It was through Boccaccio that Petrarch's influence first made itself felt in Florence, and it was at Petrarch's prompting that Boccaccio learnt Greek, and thus became the earliest of the Greek scholars of the modern world. Both are equally eager for literary fame, and both of them hope to attain immortality by their Latin rather than by their Italian works. But Boccaccio's Latin prose lacks the freshness of that of Petrarch, and is notably inferior to all that he wrote, whether in prose or in verse, in his native tongue. While Petrarch is interested in the *spirit* of the ancient Classics, Boccaccio is absorbed in trivial items of *subject-matter*, and busies himself in the collection of a multitude of minor memoranda from their pages¹. Petrarch's Latin work 'On Illustrious Men' prompted Boccaccio to write 'On Famous Women', as well as on the 'Falls of Princes'², in which prominence is given to Greek legends. His principal Latin work is a small folio on Mythology, claiming to be founded on ancient authorities alone³. It is the earliest modern handbook of the subject, and its allegorical treatment of the old legends must have given it a peculiar interest in the eyes of the author's contemporaries⁴. 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 poets⁵, and with his own hand he made himself a complete copy of Terence, which is still preserved in the Laurentian Library⁶. He sees the importance of comparing the texts of ancient mss, but beyond that stage he does not advance. He differs from Petrarch in

¹ Schück in *Neue Jahrb.* 1874 (2), 467 f.

² The title of Lydgate's version of *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (W. P. Ker, *Medieval Essays*, 70).

³ l. xv c. 5. Cp. Schück, *Zur Charakteristik der italienischen Humanisten* (1857), 1—22.

⁴ F. Villani, *l.c.* 17, *mysteria poetarum sensusque allegoricos...in medium...perduxit*; cp. Hortis, *Accenni* etc., 1877, and *Studi*, 229—256.

⁵ Hortis, *Studi*, 389—413.

⁶ xxxviii 17; Hortis, *Studi*, 339.

being uncritical. He is specially attracted to the two Latin historians, Livy and Tacitus. His appreciation of Livy is proved not only by abundant quotations from that historian, but also by a manuscript in the Laurentian Library¹, which has on the fly-leaf some introductory notes by Boccaccio, first published from another source by Hearne the antiquary², and not traced to their true author until many years later³. Boccaccio 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. He also discovered the *Ibis* of Ovid, besides Martial, Ausonius, the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and the *Priapeia*, the earliest copy of which is written in his own hand⁵. His interest in the preservation of ancient manuscripts in general, perhaps even his interest in Tacitus in particular, is illustrated by the story of his visit to Monte Cassino, as told by his pupil Benvenuto in expounding the twenty-second canto of the *Paradiso*:

Being eager to see the library, which, he had heard, was very noble, he humbly besought one of the monks to do him the favour of opening it. Pointing to a lofty staircase, the monk answered stiffly: 'Go up; it is already open'. Boccaccio stepped up the staircase with delight, only to find the treasure-house of learning destitute of door or any kind of fastening, while the grass was growing on the window-sills and the dust reposing on the books and bookshelves. Turning over the manuscripts, he found many rare and ancient works, with whole sheets torn out, or with the margins ruthlessly clipped. As he left the room, he burst into tears, and, on asking a monk, whom he met in the cloister, to explain the neglect, was told that some of the inmates of the monastery, wishing to gain a few *soldi*, had torn out whole handfuls of leaves and made them into psalters, which they sold to boys, and had cut off strips of parchment, which they turned into amulets, to sell to women⁶.

In connexion with this story it has been suggested that the

¹ lxiii 8.

² Oxford, 1708.

³ Hortis, *Cenni di Giovanni Boccaccio intorno a Tito Livio*, Trieste, 1877, and *Studi*, 1879, p. 317 f; and, on his study of Livy, *ib.* 416—424.

⁴ *Laur.* l 10.

⁵ *Laur.* xxxiii 31. Cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 28—33.

⁶ Benvenuto on *Paradiso* xxii 74 f, ed. Lacaïta v 301; cp. Corazzini, xxxv f, and notes on Longfellow's *Dante, l.c.* (*brevia* is not, however, 'breviaries', but 'charms' or 'amulets'; see Ducange, *s. v.*). The story, not unnaturally, meets with protest from the learned historian of Monte Cassino, Tosti's *Storia*, iii 99.

well-known manuscript of the *Histories* and the latter part of the *Annals* of Tacitus, which in some mysterious manner came into the possession of Niccoli before 1427¹, and passed into the Medicean Library after his death, was perhaps originally obtained by Boccaccio from Monte Cassino. It is written in a 'Lombard' hand, and this very manuscript may have come from that monastery. What is certain is that Boccaccio possessed a copy of Tacitus, transcribed by himself, possibly from the manuscript which ultimately found its way into the Medicean collection². He is undoubtedly the first of the humanists who is at all familiar with that historian. In his commentary on Dante he quotes the substance of the historian's account of the death of Seneca; and, in his work 'On Famous Women', he borrows descriptions of certain notable personages from the thirteenth to the sixteenth books of the *Annals*, and from the second and third books of the *Histories*³.

After the date of his conversion in 1361, the author of the *Decameron*, and of *Fiammetta* and the *Anorosa Visione*, ceases to be a poet either in prose or verse, but he never ceases to be a scholar⁴. As a scholar, he was content to remain poor rather than sacrifice his independence. Apart from a few diplomatic missions, the only office he ever held was that of being the first to fill the lectureship on Dante, founded in Florence in 1373. He left his MSS to the Convent of Santo Spirito, where they were carefully tended by Niccoli in his youth. The catalogue of 1451 contains 106 MSS⁵. In the modest epitaph, which he wrote for himself, the only touch of pride is in the final phrase:—*Studium*

¹ Poggio, *Epp.* iii 14.

² He writes to the abbot of Montefalcone, 'quaternum quem asportasti Cornelii Taciti quaeso saltem mittas, ne laborem meum frustraveris et libro deformitatem ampliorem addideris' (Corazzini, p. 59, corrected in Hortis, *Studi*, 425, n. 4). Cp. Rostagno, p. vi of *facsimile* of Tacitus, *Laur.* lxxviii 2.

³ Schück in *Neue Jahrb.* 1874 (2), 170; Hortis, *Studi*, 425 f.; De Nolhac in *Mélanges d'archéol. etc.* xii (Rome, 1892); and other literature in Voigt, i 250³ n. 1.

⁴ Symonds, *Boccaccio*, 63 f, 70.

⁵ Goldmann, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* iv (1887), 137—155; Novati, in *Giornale stor. della letter. ital.* x 419 f, and Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Braunschweig, 1902), 29—36.

fuit alma pœsis. Like Browning's 'Grammarian', he was not prevented, even by the trials and tortures of old age¹, from remaining a brave and arduous scholar to the last; and, when he died, in the year following the death of Petrarch, the chancellor of Florence declared that both of the luminaries of the new eloquence had been extinguished, and that he had never known a more loveable being than Boccaccio².

Boccaccio was not only the earliest modern student of Tacitus. He was also the first of modern men to study Greek in Italy, and indeed in Europe. Part of his Greek lore he derived from king Robert's librarian at Naples, one Paolo da Perugia, who had obtained from the Calabrian monk, Barlaam, a number of fragmentary details connected with Greek mythology. When Barlaam's pupil, another Calabrian, Leontius Pilatus, had arrived in Venice from the East about 1360, Boccaccio promptly invited him to come and teach Greek in Florence, and kept him in his own house for three years translating Homer, while he carefully noted all the little items of Greek learning that fell from the lips of his ignorant and ill-favoured instructor³.

He has a fancy for giving clumsily compounded Greek names to his Italian works. Greek and Roman mythology obtrudes itself in his *Filocolo*. The scene of his *Ameto* is laid in an imaginary Arcadia; that of the *Teseide* at Athens, while his *Filostrato* professes to be a tale of Troy⁴. Like Petrarch⁵, he declines to believe that Plato ever proposed the expulsion of Homer from his ideal State; and, in defending the ancient poets, he takes refuge in allegorical interpretations⁶. He shows some slight knowledge of the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Meteorologica* of

¹ *Ep. ad Brossanum*, p. 378 Corazzini.

² *Salutati*, ap. Corazzini, pp. 475, 477.

³ *De Gen. Deor.* xv c. 6, *aspectu horridus homo est, turpi facie, barba proluxa, et capilitio nigra, et meditatione occupatus assidua, moribus incultus, nec satis urbanus homo etc.* Petrarch, *Sen.* iii 6, calls 'Leo' a 'magna bellua,' and 'Graius moestissimus' (*Hortis, Studi*, 502).

⁴ Symonds, *Boccaccio*, 30, 39, 47-9, 78.

⁵ *Contra Medicum*, iii p. 1104 init.

⁶ *De Gen. Deor.* xiv c. 10, *stultum credere poetas nil sensisse sub cortice fabularum.*

Aristotle, and, in a single passage of his Commentary on Dante, mentions the writings on *Logic* and *Metaphysics*¹.

In his work on Greek Mythology 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 Italy, the first to introduce the poems of Homer into Tuscany, the first of all Italians to resume the reading of Homer².

¹ Hortis, *Studi*, 378—380.

² *De Gen. Deor.* c. 7; cp. Manetti, *Vita Boccaccii*, ed. Galletti, 91, quicquid apud nos Graecorum est, Boccaccio nostro feratur acceptum.—In studying the Latin works, I have used *Johannis Bocatii reperi γυναικῶν Deorum libri xv...*; *ejusdem de Montium, Sylvarum etc. nominibus* (small folio, Basel, 1532), with Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, 956 pp., large 4to (Trieste, 1879), and Corazzini's *Lettere edite e inedite* (small 8vo, Firenze, 1877). Cp. in general Voigt, i 162—183²; Körting, *Litteratur Italiens*, ii (1880); Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus*, 45—69; Gaspary, *Italienische Litteratur*, ii 1—69, 636—645; and Feuerlein, *Petrarca und Boccaccio*, in *Hist. Zeitschr.* xxxviii 193 f; also Symonds, *Renaissance*, ii 87—98, and *Giovanni Boccaccio* (1895).



GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO.

From a medallion in the British Museum, inscribed

IOHES · BOCATIVS · FLORE(NTINVS).

Cp. Alois Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance* (1891), i 140.

CHAPTER II.

SALUTATI. CHRYSOLORAS. BARZIZZA.

SHORTLY after the death of Boccaccio, we have a glimpse of the interest inspired by the Classics in two of the social circles of Florence. In the brilliant company that frequented the Villa Paradiso of the Alberti, the conversation sometimes turned on Odysseus and Catiline, on Livy and Ovid, on the ancient Roman Empire, and the old Latin language¹. A more learned society assembled at Santo Spirito, where the centre of the traditions of Boccaccio and of Petrarch was the eminent theologian and patriot, Luigi de' Marsigli (d. 1394), who was familiar with Cicero, Virgil and Seneca, and followed St Augustine in assigning a moral meaning to the scene in the *Odyssey*, where the comrades of Odysseus are transformed into swine by the wand of Circe. Among those who came under Marsigli's influence were Coluccio Salutati, Roberto de' Rossi, and Niccolò Niccoli².

Salutati (1330—1406), who was educated at Bologna and corresponded with Petrarch in his youth, held the high office of chancellor, or 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 existence³. He was the first to possess a copy of Cato, *De Agricultura*, the elegies of Maximianus, the *Aratea* of Germanicus and the commentary of

¹ Giovanni da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Wesselofsky, 1867.

² Voigt, i 184—190³.

³ Ed. Bachrens, *Proleg.* pp. vii, x.

Pompeius on the *Ars maior* of Donatus¹. On learning in 1389 that the two mss of Cicero's Letters, from Verona and Vercelli, were at 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 transcribed². Thus, after the lapse of centuries, the two volumes of Cicero's Letters stood side by side at last in the two ancient mss at Milan, and in the two modern transcripts in the possession of Salutati in Florence³. Both of the latter are now in the Laurentian Library⁴, together with the original of the *Ad Familiares*, the ms from Vercelli⁵.

Salutati was much more than a mere collector. We find him drawing up summaries of Cicero's Letters, and collating mss of Seneca and St Augustine. He detects the spuriousness of the *De Differentiis*, formerly ascribed to Cicero. He encourages younger scholars, and among those whose gratitude he thus won, were men of no less mark than Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni. He was honoured with a public funeral in the Cathedral. A full-length portrait of the Chancellor of Florence, a gaunt and grim personage with a Roman nose, robed in the black gown of his office, and bending beneath the weight of a vast volume which he holds in his hands, forms the frontispiece of the monumental edition of his Latin Letters⁶.

¹ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 34 f.

² p. 7 *supra*.

³ Cp. Voigt, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1879, 41—65; Viertel, *Königsberg Progr.* 1879, and *Jahrb. für kl. Phil.* 1880, 231—247; and Cic. *Epp.* ed. Mendelssohn (1893), xi f; also Leighton, in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxi 59—87, and Kirner, in *Studi ital. di filol. cl.* ix 399.

⁴ xlix 7 (*Ad Familiares*) and 18 (*Ad Atticum*).

⁵ xlix 9.

⁶ *Epistolario*, ed. Novati, in 3 vols, large 8vo, Rome, 1891—6; frontispiece to vol. i, reproduced in Wiese u. Pèrcopo, *Ital. Litt.* 193; frontispiece to vol. iii, an earlier portrait by Cristoforo Allori; facsimiles from his letters in iii 621, 661. More than a quarter of vol. iv part 1 (1905) is occupied with his defence of the ancient poets and of classical education. Cp., in general, Voigt, i 190—212².

Salutati was of signal service in promoting the study of Greek in Florence. The youthful Guarino of Verona had been prompted by the high reputation of Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1350—1415), as a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy, to seek a place in his household at Constantinople with a view to profiting by his instructions¹. The gratitude of Guarino caused the name of Chrysoloras to become widely known in the north of Italy; and Chrysoloras and the aged Demetrius Cydonius had hardly landed in Venice as envoys of Manuel Palaeologus (1393), when two of the noble sons of Florence hastened to obtain the benefit of their teaching. One of them, Giacomo da Scarparia, accompanied the envoys on their return to the Byzantine capital, there to learn Greek from Cydonius. The other, Roberto de' Rossi, acquired some knowledge of the language in Venice, and inspired the aged Salutati with an interest in Greek and in Chrysoloras. Salutati urged Scarparia to search for MSS of all the Greek historians and poets, and of Homer in particular, together with Plato and Plutarch, and lexicons of the Greek language². In 1396 he was authorised by influential persons, such as Palla Strozzi and Niccolò Niccoli, to invite Chrysoloras to leave Constantinople and to settle in Florence as a teacher of Greek. He accepted the invitation, and held that office for four years (1396—1400). Under his influence, Giacomo da Scarparia translated the Cosmography of Ptolemy, and Rossi certain of the works of Aristotle³; Palla Strozzi, in later life, produced renderings from the Greek, but Niccoli never attained any intimate knowledge of the language. The most enthusiastic pupils of the new teacher were younger men, such as Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, and possibly Ambrogio Traversari. Bruni had been engaged for four years in the study of law, when the arrival of Chrysoloras prompted him to learn a language that no Italian had understood 'for the last seven

¹ Janus Pannonius, *Deliciae poetarum Hung.* (1619), 8 f (Legrand, *Bibl. Hillen.* 1 xix), *famulus colis atria docti hospitis, et mixto geris auditore ministrum.*

² Salutati, *Epp.* iii 129—132.

³ Attested in Guarino's dedication of Plutarch's *Flamininus*, ap. Bandini, *Catal. Cod. Lat.* ii 738.

centuries¹, a language that would unlock for him the treasures of Homer, Plato and Demosthenes, and of all the poets, philosophers and orators, of whom he had heard such wonders². Bruni learnt Greek for two years under Chrysoloras, and his memorable translations from the Greek will be mentioned at a later point³. Another notable pupil, Vergerio, left a distinguished position as a teacher at Padua, to learn Greek in Florence. But the first enthusiasm for Greek had begun to abate on the Arno, when Chrysoloras, in obedience to the bidding of the emperor Manuel Palaeologus, left Florence in 1400 for Milan, where he was invited in 1402 to teach Greek at Pavia. It was there that he commenced a literal rendering of Plato's *Republic*, afterwards revised by his favourite pupil Uberto Decembrio⁴, who transmitted to his scholarly son, Pier Candido⁵, a reverence for the memory of Chrysoloras. The latter returned for a time to the East, but between 1407 and 1410 he was once more in the West as the envoy of his emperor, the places visited during these years including Venice, Florence, Paris, London⁶, and finally Rome. He was afterwards sent to Constantinople to treat with the patriarch on the union of the Churches. In 1413 he went to Germany with two cardinals to arrange about the Council of Constance, and at Constance he died of a fever in the spring of 1415. He was buried, not in the church of the Dominican monastery, but in a chapel between the north side of the choir and the sacristy. The monastery has been secularised; the finely vaulted church has become the dining-room, and the adjoining chapel the pantry, of the *Insel-Hôtel*; but

¹ This interval of time (in which several other humanists agree) is deemed too small by Hody (p. 54), and by others. But it closely corresponds to the statement in Martin Crusius, *Annales Suevici* 274, that Greek was extinguished in Italy in 690 A.D. (exactly 706 years before).

² Hody, 28—30; cp. Gibbon, vii 122 Bury, and Symonds, ii 110 f.

³ p. 45 f *infra*.

⁴ *Cod. Laur. Lat.* lxxxix 50.

⁵ See his letter in Traversari, *Epp.* xxiv 69. He was only a child of three when Chrysoloras reached Pavia.

⁶ *Ep. ad Joannem (Palaeologum II) imperatorem, ἐν ᾗ σύγκρισις τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας Ῥώμης*, in Migne, *P. G.* clvi 34 a, *μνημαὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν Λαυδωνίῳ τῆς Βρεταννικῆς...γενόμενης αὐτοῖς (St Peter and St Paul) πομπῆς καὶ πανηγύρεως τῶν ἐκεῖ*.

on the ceiling of the ancient chapel the traveller may still read the simple epitaph composed by Vergerio in memory of his master¹.

His funeral was attended by his Roman pupil, the poet Cenci, and by Poggio Bracciolini. The catechism of Greek Grammar known as his *Erotemata*, the earliest modern text-book of the subject, was printed in Florence shortly before 1484 and at Venice in the February of that year, and was afterwards used by Linacre at Oxford and by Erasmus at Cambridge. We also have his letter to Guarino on the meaning of the term *Theorica* in Demosthenes, and on the edition of the *Iliad* described by Plutarch as that of the *narthex*². But he was unproductive as an author, and needlessly diffuse and redundant as a teacher. In his general character, however, he was a man of a far finer type than either of his precursors, Barlaam and Leontius Pilatus. His pupil Poggio, who, in his relation to others, is only too apt to give proof of an implacable and bitter temper, is eloquent in praise of his master's integrity, generosity and kindness, and of that grave and sober earnestness, which was in itself an incentive to virtue. He had been a bright example to others, a heaven-sent messenger who had aroused an enthusiasm for the study of Greek³. His fame was cherished by another celebrated pupil, Guarino, who compared him to a ray of light illuminating the deep darkness of Italy. Forty years after his master's death, he fondly collected all the many tributes to his memory and enshrined them in a volume under the title of *Chrysolorina*⁴. A Greek MS that once belonged to Chrysoloras is now at Wolfenbüttel⁵, and his own transcript of Demosthenes in the Vatican⁶.

¹ Ante aram situs est D. Emanuel Chrysoloras, ...vir doctissimus, prudentissimus, optimus etc. (complete copy in Legrand, I xxviii f). An epitaph, which I have seen in the Portinari chapel (1462-6) of the church of S. Eustorgio in Milan, strangely confounds Manuel Chrysoloras, *litterarum Graecarum restitutor*, with his nephew John, the father-in-law of Philadelphus.

² Rosmini, *Vita di Guarino*, iii 181, 187-189.

³ Poggio, *Epp.* i 4, xiii 1.

⁴ Partly preserved in Harleian MS 2580 (Sabbadini, *La Scuola...di Guarino*, 16). Cp., in general, Voigt, i 222-232²; ii 113²; also Hody, 12-54; Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I xix-xxx; and Klette, *Beiträge*, i 47 f. Portrait in Paulus Jovius, *Elogia* (1575) 41, copied in Legrand, III 59.

⁵ Gud. 24.

⁶ Gr. 1368 (De Nolhac, *Bibl. de F. Orsini*, 145).

Meanwhile, an interest in Latin literature was maintained and developed in Northern Italy by the enthusiastic student of Cicero, Gasparino da Barzizza, to whom we shall soon return¹, and by two earlier Latin scholars, both of them bearing the identical name of 'John of Ravenna'². One of the two was a pupil of Petrarch, a youthful humanist, who has been identified as Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna (1347—
 Giovanni di
 Conversino c. 1406). He was recommended to Petrarch in 1364, and aided him in editing his 'Familiar Letters'. His beautiful penmanship, his marvellous memory, and his zeal for learning made his master desire to retain him permanently in his service. He left for Pisa (1366) and soon returned. After a while he was eager to go to Constantinople and learn Greek; but Petrarch assured him that Greece was no longer a home of learning³, and accordingly he started for 'Calabria', with letters of introduction to persons in Rome and Naples. We afterwards find him teaching in Florence (1368), Belluno and Udine, but the only place in which he settled for long was Padua, where he was a teacher of rhetoric in 1382, and again from 1394 to 1405. Besides serving as Latin secretary to the house of the Carraras, he lectured on the Latin poets, and aroused an interest in the study of Cicero. Among his pupils were the foremost teachers of the next generation, Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona⁴. He was formerly confounded with another 'John of Ravenna', now finally identified as Giovanni Malpaghini (fl. 1397—1417), who was
 Giovanni
 Malpaghini a teacher in Florence for many years, counting among his pupils the three future Chancellors, Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini and Poggio Bracciolini⁵.

Early in the fifteenth century Gasparino of Barzizza, near

¹ p. 23 *infra*.

² They were regarded, even by so eminent an authority as Voigt, as one and the same person.

³ *Epp. Sen.* xi 9, p. 887, *Graeciam...nunc omnis longe inopem disciplinae*.

⁴ Voigt, i 212-9¹, ed. 3, revised by Lehnerdt. See esp. the Königsberg Programm of the latter (1893), with Sabbadini in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.* v (1888) 156 f, and Klette's *Beiträge*, i (1888).

⁵ Voigt, i 219² f.

Bergamo (c. 1370—1431) taught for a time in Pavia, Venice, Padua and Ferrara, and in 1418 found his earliest hopes fulfilled by his final settlement in Milan. Gasparino da
Barzizza He expounded the *De Oratore*, *De Senectute*, *De Officiis*, *Philippics* and *Letters* of Cicero, the last of these being his favourite study. He collected Ciceronian MSS¹, and gave a strong impulse to the study of Cicero, and especially to the cultivation of a new style of epistolary Latin. Henceforward, Latin letters were neither to be inspired by Seneca and the philosophical works of Cicero, as those of Petrarch, nor were they to be rich in rhetoric, like those of Salutati. They were to aim at a studied carelessness, and to reflect the grace of the best type of conversation. Gasparino's own style was sometimes criticised as marked by elegance and refinement rather than force and vigour. But his style is not uniform. It is marked by three main varieties:—(1) the easy and familiar style of his private correspondence, in which, however, he is far too fond of the mediaeval use of *quod*; (2) his orations, which include not a few un-Ciceronian words and phrases, while his eulogy of St Francis combines classical and Christian phraseology without any breach of good taste; and (3) his formal models for epistolary Latin composition,—*Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae*. It is in these last that he attains the highest degree of correctness; it is in these alone that he proves himself 'the true apostle of Ciceronianism'². It is characteristic of the French appreciation of literary and epistolary style that his *liber epistolarum* was the first book printed in France³.

¹ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 36.

² Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, 13—17.

³ Paris, 1470; copy exhibited in British Museum, King's Library, case vii. His book on Orthography was published about the same time, while his Grammar was printed at Brescia in 1492. *Opera*, ed. Furietti, Rome, 1723; two of his Latin lectures in K. Müllner's *Reden und Briefen*, 56 f. Cp. Voigt, i 220³ f, 506³, and *facsimile* in Chap. xiii *infra*.

D esuper aduerso sonit omni iulhere uentre
 I melius coedatq malis. iam tempora morantur
 S anguine que luteant auris uirulae dnos
 V mcula qua primo aruix comitatur aru.
 S oluit dextre grauis latentem propulur heros
 A c super insistens pollex. ego mustus amulus
 X tunc natus ut. noniam murmuribus umbra
 H oc referat. sic de mimeri noscere sepulchre
 B abrua sbe temple spargit fugi. nullus abempti
 R. egis amor. moniam celores fluroiq cupessunt.
 H oc sors hoc auyra tendem minus arguit ausis.
 . C. ualori flaci organisationi. Hic fragmenta reperit est
 in metastro simet galle. pro consistencia. xx. milib passus. unia
 parte. C. astony pedum. dous conuolat altem ut utruq opus
 reperit perfert. Nos quod potissimur eximus.

.. Poggus florentinus ..

VALERIUS FLACCUS, iv 307—317, FROM CODEX MATRITENSIS, X 81.—Poggio's autograph copy of the MS discovered at St Gallen in 1416, with colophon and signature. See p. 27 n. 9 *infra*.

CHAPTER III.

THE RECOVERY OF THE CLASSICS. POGGIO, AURISPA, FILELFO, JANUS LASCARIS.

THE quest for classical manuscripts, begun by Petrarch¹ and continued by Boccaccio² and Salutati³, was extended beyond the borders of Italy during the Council of Constance (1414—1418). That famous Council witnessed not only the death of 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—1459)⁴. Born at Terranuovo near Arezzo, and educated at Florence under Giovanni Poggio Malpaghini and Chrysoloras, 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 year⁵.

(1) At Cluni⁶, north of Mâcon, Poggio found an ancient MS of Cicero's Speeches, including the *pro Cluentio*, *pro Sexto Roscio*, and *pro Murena*⁷. Recent researches have proved that it also

¹ p. 7, *supra*.

² p. 14 f.

³ p. 17 f.

⁴ Cp. Voigt, i 235—251, 257—260².

⁵ These four expeditions have been carefully discriminated by Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' secoli xiv e xv* (Firenze, 1905).

⁶ Poggio, *Epp.* li 7, *ex monasterio Cluniacensi*.

⁷ *Epp.* ii 26 (to Niccoli), *Orationes meas Cluniacenses potes mittere... Scribas mihi quae orationes sunt in eo volumine praeter Cluentianam, pro Roscio et Murena.*

included the *pro Milone* and *pro Caelio*¹. Poggio rescued the ms from the risk of destruction and sent it to his friends in Florence, where Francesco Barbaro had great difficulty in deciphering it². The earliest known copy was completed in February, 1416, for Cosimo de' Medici by 'Joannes Arretinus', doubtless the calligrapher of that name³.

(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)⁴. 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, a noisome prison (says Poggio) to which even criminals condemned to death would never have been consigned⁵. Cencio, who was deeply moved at the sight, declares that, if those scrolls could have found a voice, they would have exclaimed:—'O ye, who love the Latin tongue, suffer us not to

¹ A. C. Clark, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, x (1905), *The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio*, p. iii. Poggio's MS is there identified with no. 496 in the Cluni catalogue of cent. xii, 'Cicero pro Milone et pro Avito et pro Murena et pro quibusdam aliis'. Before Poggio's MS was removed to Italy, readings from it, including the *pro Milone* and *pro Caelio*, had been copied in a St Victor MS, now in Paris (Lat. 14,749).

² Guarino on *Rosc.* § 132, quoted in Clark's *Anecdota*, iii.

³ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 77 n. 22. On other copies, see Clark, xxxix.

⁴ Vespasiano, *Vite*, 503-5, a short life of 'Zembino Pistolese'. His universal chronicle is partly printed in Muratori, *Scr.* xvi 1063.

⁵ Poggio, *Epp.* i 5 (to Guarino, 15 Dec. 1416).

perish here; release us from our prison'¹. Among Poggio's first discoveries was a complete copy of the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian², a work which Petrarch had never known except in an imperfect and mutilated form³, and which Salutati had vainly hoped to obtain from France⁴, while Gasparino da Barzizza had audaciously undertaken to supply the missing portions by means of compositions of his own⁵. 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 days⁶. His transcript was apparently still in the Medicean Library in 1495⁷, and Gasparino obtained a second copy direct from Constance⁸.

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 Madrid⁹. Another copy, probably made for Bartolomeo by some ignorant German scribe,

¹ Cencio to Francesco da Fiano in Rome, in Quirinus (Angelo Maria Querini), *Diatriba ad Fr. Barbari Epp.* (1741), p. 8.

² *Epp.* i 5, ibi inter confertissimam librorum copiam, quos longum est per-censere, Quintilianum comperimus adhuc saluum et incolumem, plenum tamen situ et pulvere squalentem... Repperimus praeterea libros tres primos et dimidiam partem quarti C. Valeri Flacci Argonauticon, et expositiones...super octo Ciceronis orationes Q. Asconii Pediani...Haec mea manu transcripsi, et quidem velociter, ut ea mitterem ad Leonardum Arretinum et Nicolaum Florentinum; qui cum a me huius thesauri adinventionem cognovissent, multis a me verbis Quintilianum per suas litteras quam primum ad eos mitti contende-runt. Cp. Bruni, *Epp.* iv 5.

³ p. 8 *supra*.

⁴ *Ep.* (1) in Thomas, *De Johannis de Monsteriolo vita* (1883) 110; and (2) in Salutati's *Epistolario*, i 260.

⁵ Blondus, *Ital. Illustr.* 346.

⁶ *Sede Apostolica vacante* says the transcript of the colophon, quoted by Reifferscheid, in *Rhein. Mus.* 1868, 145. Bruni's reply to Poggio's first announcement of his discoveries is dated 13 Sept. 1416 (*Epp.* iv 5).

⁷ *Archiv Stor. Ital.*, Ser. III, xx 60. We have two transcripts from Poggio's: Vat. Urbin. 327, and Ambros. B 153 sup. (Sabbadini, *Spogli Ambros.* 350).

⁸ Sabbadini, *Studi di Gasp. Barzizza* (1886), 4.

⁹ x 81 (*facsimile* on p. 24), written in a more rapid hand than Poggio's transcript of Jerome and Prosper. For photographs from both MSS I am indebted to Mr A. C. Clark.

is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford¹. A complete MS found its way into Italy at a later date (c. 1481)².

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 Orations³. This MS was faithfully copied at Constance by Bartolomeo⁴ and by Zomino⁵. Bartolomeo's transcript is now in the Laurentian Library⁶; 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 mentioned⁷. A fair copy of Poggio's hasty transcript became the archetype of MSS in the Laurentian Library⁸ 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 transcribed⁹, notes the discovery of a Comment of Priscian on a few lines of Virgil¹⁰, 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 Avignon¹¹.

(3) A second expedition to St Gallen was made amid the wintry snows of January, 1417¹². This expedition was under official sanction, and Bartolomeo and Poggio are regarded as explorers of equal rank and authority¹³. St Gallen was not the

¹ A. C. Clark, in *Cl. Rev.* xiii 119—130.

² Vat. 3277 (cent. ix); Thilo, *Proleg.* xl; cp. A. C. Clark, *l. c.*, 124; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 151.

³ *Div. Act.* 1, 11, lib. i and ii, down to § 35.

⁴ 25 July, 1416.

⁵ 23 July, 1417.

⁶ liv 5.

⁷ A. C. Clark, in *Cl. Rev.* x 301—5.

⁸ liv 4.

⁹ Quirinus, *l. c.*, *horum quidem omnium librorum exempla habemus.*

¹⁰ *Partitiones (i. e. 'parsing') xii versuum Aeneidos.*

¹¹ Müntz, *Hist. de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, i 238.

¹² Bartolomeo's letter of 21 Jan. to Traversari (*Epp.* p. 984); *vis hyemis* and *nives* mentioned in Barbaro's subsequent letter to Poggio (p. 2), 6 July, 1417.

¹³ F. Barbari, *Epp.* pp. 4, 6. Among the promoters of this expedition was Cardinal Branda (Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 79, n. 33).

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 unknown¹. 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 behalf². It was probably in the summer of 1418 that this copy was sent to Niccoli, who apparently kept it until 1434³, 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 Madrid⁴ containing 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 Poggio⁵, and of the four mss, on which the text now rests, the two in Florence⁶ probably represent the copy made for

¹ Sabbadini, 80, n. 36.

² Poggio to Barbaro, early in 1418, 'Lucretius mihi nondum redditus est, cum sit scriptus: locus est satis longinquus, neque unde aliqui veniant' (A. C. Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xiii 125). Murbach im Elsass has been proposed by Lehnerdt (*Lucr. in der Renaissance*, 5), who suggests that Poggio might have visited it during the expedition to Langres.

³ Poggio to Niccoli, *Epp.* ii 26 (June, 1425), iv 2 (Dec. 1429; Munro, *Lucr.* p. 3²; Lehnerdt, 5).

⁴ R. Ellis, in *Hermathena*, viii (1893) 261—286, and *Cl. Rev.* vii 310, 356, 406. The Madrid ms (M 31), containing Manilius and the *Silvae*, was originally bound up with another ms (X 81) containing Asconius and Valerius Flaccus. At the beginning of the *first* are the contents of the whole: *Manilii Astronomicon Statii Papinii silvae et Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem et Valerii Flacci nonnulla*; for the end of the second, see *facsimile* on p. 24, and cp. Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xiii 119.

⁵ Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xiii 126—9; xv 166.

⁶ L (*Laur.* xxxvii 16) and F.

Poggio, and the two others¹ 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 himself². 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*⁵; 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*⁶. 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 1436⁷. It is only through this transcript, and its copies, that the text of 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*.

¹ O (*Oxon. Coll. Regin.*) and V (*Val.* 1652).

² Ziegelbauer (ap. Urlichs, in *Rhein. Mus.* xxvi 638), lectissima de sua bibliotheca exportari volumina iussit, quae magnam vero partem deinceps non sunt restituta. Poggio, *Epp.* ii p. 375, Ammianum Marcellinum ego latinis musis restitui cum illum eruissem e bibliothecis ne dicam ergastulis Germanorum. Cardinalis de Columna habet eum codicem, quem portavi, litteris antiquis, sed ita mendosum, ut nil corruptius esse possit. Nicolaus Nicolus illum manu sua transcripsit in chartis papyri. Is est in bibliotheca Cosmi. *Id. Ep.* printed by Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xiii 125, De Ammiano Marcellino non reperio, qui symbolum conferat ('aid in the decipherment or interpretation').

³ No. 1873, cent. x; *Facs.* in Chatelain, *Pal.* no. 195.

⁴ *Epp.* ii 7, iii 12 (1423-7). 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. Cp. Schanz, § 809.

⁵ Colophon to *pro Caecina*; hanc orationem...cum eam...in silvis Lingonum adinvenisset....

⁶ Colophon to *in Pisonem*; has septem...orationes...perquisitis plurimis Galliae Germaniaeque...bibliothecis cum latentes comperisset (A. C. Clark, *Anecd. Oxon.* p. 11; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 81).

⁷ Letters, ap. A. C. Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xiii 125-6.

The discovery of the *Silvae* of Statius has been referred to this fourth expedition¹ solely because it is not mentioned by Barbaro in his letter to Poggio², in which Lucretius, Manilius and Silius are among the authors named. It was during his tour in Germany that Poggio (as he tells us) hired a local scribe³, and to just such a scribe the MS of the *Silvae* at Madrid, which is the archetype of all existing MSS of that work, has been independently assigned on internal evidence⁴. It was probably on the fourth expedition that he discovered a copy of Columella, an author already known to Pastrengo of Verona⁵.

At Rome in 1427 Poggio sought in vain for MSS of Cicero, rumours of which had reached him from Trier and Utrecht, and even from distant Portugal. So closely was he identified with the quest that he was even erroneously credited with the first discovery of the *Letters to Atticus*⁶, the *De Finibus* and *De Legibus*⁷. At Pistoia in 1409 Leonardo Bruni⁸ had seen an ancient MS of Cicero's *Letters to Quintus and Brutus*, with seven books *ad Atticum*, which supplied new evidence as to the text and included two letters hitherto unknown⁹. In the latter half of 1421¹⁰ (while Poggio was in England) an important discovery was made near Milan. In the cathedral 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 by Landriani to Gasparino Barzizza, who appropriated it, and sent in return a transcript of the *De Oratore* made by Cosimo Raimondi of Cremona¹¹. Subsequently, Gasparino combined the newly discovered portions with those

¹ Sabbadini, 82.

² Querini, *Epp. Barbari*, p. 2.

³ *Epp.* i p. 80, *conduxi scriptorem in Germania*.

⁴ Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xiii 128.

⁵ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 16, 82.

⁶ Vespasiano, *Poggio*, § 2.

⁷ Jovius, *Elog.* no. 10.

⁸ *Epp.* iii 13.

⁹ Viertel, in *Jahrb. für d. Phil.* (1880), 243.

¹⁰ Sabbadini, in *Studi ital.* vii 104 f, *Scoperte*, 100.

¹¹ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 100, n. 61.

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 time¹, and this copy, which is preserved in the Vatican², 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 1428³. 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 years⁴. From Paris he sent Niccoli a transcript of the Lexicon of Nonius Marcellus⁵. The rumours of a complete Livy in a Benedictine abbey (possibly Cismar) in the diocese of Lübeck, which had reached Salutati in Florence, found their counterpart in the statement by a Dominican, Giovanni da Colonna, that he had seen an ancient MS of the 'fourth decade' in the archives of the cathedral at Chartres (c. 1413)⁶, and the hope of finding new decades was thus revived. Early in 1424 a Dane at Rome assured Poggio that, in the Cistercian monastery of Sorøe near Røskilde, he had seen three vast volumes, in Lombardic, mixed with Gothic, characters, containing (according to the inscription outside one of them) ten decades of Livy, and that he had read a summary of their contents. But no such MS was found either at this, or at another monastery in Denmark, and a still later rumour was dismissed by Poggio as a mere romance⁷.

We have already seen that the first of the humanists, who had any knowledge of Tacitus, was Boccaccio, who may possibly have

¹ *Ital. Illustr.* 346.

² Ottob. 1592.

³ Sabbadini, *Guarino e le op. ret. di Cic.* 433, and *Scuola di Guarino*, 102.

⁴ *Epp.* ii 3; iv 2, 4.

⁵ *Epp.* ii 22.

⁶ Valentinelli, *Bibl. MSS. Add. S. Marci Venet.* vi 52.

⁷ *Epp.* ii 9; iv 20; v 18.

discovered the MS of the *Histories* and the later books of the *Annals* at Monte Cassino¹. How and when that MS reached Florence is unknown. It was in the possession of Niccoli in 1426 and there was some mystery about its *provenance*. Niccoli sent it to Poggio, who solemnly promised to keep its existence a secret²; he also allowed Francesco Barbaro to make a copy, and this copy was afterwards transcribed for Cardinal Bessarion (1453). But, until the text was printed, about 1470, it was known to very few. Thus the beginning of the *Histories* is quoted by Bruni in his laudation of Florence (1400), and the contents of the above MS were known to Valla, Tortelli, Decembrio, and Sicco Polentone. Tacitus is also quoted by Leon Battista Alberti (1452)³. The fact that Tacitus was so little quoted prompted an attempt on the part of J. W. Ross (1878) to prove that the *Annals* were forged by Poggio in 1422-9⁴, a fancy refuted by Sir Henry Howorth⁵, to be revived by P. Hochart⁶. But the later books of the *Annals* were known to Boccaccio before Poggio was born, and the earlier books were not discovered until 49 years after Poggio had died⁷. The MS of *Annals* 1-VI, which probably came from Corvey, did not reach Italy until shortly before 1509⁸.

The first to hear in Germany of the *Agricola*, *Germania*, and *Dialogus* of Tacitus was apparently Bartolomeo Capra, an archbishop of Milan, who was eager in the quest of MSS⁹. Poggio was in London at the time (1422)¹⁰, but his negotiations with a monk of Hersfeld began in 1425. Ultimately, in 1455, Enoch of Ascoli, the emissary of Leo X, acquired the Hersfeld MS of the minor works, and eight leaves of this MS have been happily

¹ p. 14 f *supra*; cp. H. Keil, in *Rhein. Mus.* vi (1848) 145. On the recovery of Tacitus, cp. Voigt, i 249-257³.

² *Epp.* iii 5, 14, 15, 17 (1426-8).

³ *Hist.* ii 49, in *Architettura*, p. 38, ed. 1565.

⁴ Bursian's *Jahresb.* xix 568.

⁵ Cp. *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 148, pp. 437-468.

⁶ 1890. Cp. *Riv. di filol.* xix 302.

⁷ Clark, *Cl. Rev.* xx 227, n. 3.

⁸ Viertel, in *Neue Jahrb.* 1881, 423, 805; Hüffer, *Korveier Studien*, 1898, p. 14.

⁹ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 104 b.

¹⁰ *Epp.* i 21.

identified in the MS of the *Agricola* found at Jesi near Ancona in 1902¹.

In 1427, Lamola found at Milan a famous MS of Celsus². 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 unknown³. 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 MS⁴ of four⁵ of the eight known plays and of twelve that were new, which is still one of the treasures of the Vatican Library⁶. In the recension of Plautus which gradually became current in Italy, Poggio was aided by Gregorio Corero of Venice⁷.

It was known to Poggio in 1425 that at Monte Cassino there was a copy of the work of Frontinus on the aqueducts of Rome, but it was not until he visited the monastery, in 1429, that the manuscript was actually found⁸. It was carried off to Rome, copied and returned, and it is still at Monte Cassino⁹. In the quest of MSS others (such as 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 Padua¹⁰.

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 Trajan¹¹. In the century that elapsed between Petrarch's discovery of Cicero *pro Archia* (1333), and Aurispa's discovery of Pliny's

¹ Facs. of one page in paper by Ramorino, in *Atti del congresso...di sc. storiche*, Roma, 1905, ii 230-2; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 141 f.

² Laur. lxxiii 1.

³ Poggio, *Epp.* i p. 266.

⁴ *ib.* p. 304.

⁵ *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.

⁶ Ritschl's D (c. xii).

⁷ Vespasiano, *Poggio*, § 2.

⁸ *Epp.* i pp. 284, 304; cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 85.

⁹ Complete *facsimile*, ed. C. Herschel (Boston, 1899).

¹⁰ Trav. *Epp.* viii 53; Sabbadini, 95.

¹¹ Voigt, i 260^b; Sabbadini, 116.

Panegyric (1433), the principal accessions to the Latin Classics had been made.

Francesco Pizzopasso, archbishop of Milan (d. 1443), collected 65 MSS, all of which are now in the Ambrosian Library. Among these is a valuable fragment of Donatus on Terence, and the sole authority for the *Notae Juris* of Probus¹. In 1455, Enoch of Ascoli brought to Rome from the North, not only the minor works of Tacitus, but also all that remains of Suetonius *de grammaticis et rhetoribus*, with Apicius, and the tragedy of *Orestes*, and Porphyrio's commentary on Horace². The *Consolatio ad Liviam* was discovered by an unnamed scholar in 1470, and in the same century a large part of two of Ovid's *Heroides* (xvi and xxi) was recovered³. In France, in 1501-4, the exiled Sannazaro discovered new poems of the Latin Anthology, as well as the *Halieuticon* of Ovid, and the *Cynegeticon* of Grattius and of Nemesianus⁴.

Politian was a keen investigator of all the ancient MSS that came within his reach in Florence or elsewhere⁵. It was under the auspices of his rival Merula at Milan that Merula's secretary, Giorgio Galbiate, discovered the MSS at Bobbio in 1493. He probably brought to Milan, for the purposes of his proposed 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 at 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 Prudentius⁶.

About 1500, Fra Giocondo of Verona discovered in Paris the

¹ Sabbadini, 121.

² *ib.* 141.

³ *ib.* 125 f.

⁴ *ib.* 140.

⁵ *ib.* 151 f.; p. 84 *infra*.

⁶ Sabbadini, 156-160.

Correspondence of Trajan and the younger Pliny. In 1508 the MS of Tacitus *Annals*, 1—vi, was brought from Corvey to the Medicean Library; in 1515, Velleius Paterculus was found by Beatus Rhenanus at the abbey of Murbach; and, 1527, the first five books of the fifth decade of Livy were brought to light by Grynaeus from the abbey of Lorsch¹.

The Greek MSS², 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, Angeli da Scarparia, who was urged by Salutati³ to bring MSS of Homer and Plato and Plutarch from Constantinople. Another of his pupils, Guarino, returned to Italy from the East in 1408 with more

than 50 MSS⁴. Foremost among the discoverers of

Aurispa

Greek MSS was the Sicilian Aurispa, who became for Greek literature what Poggio was for Latin. He had his ambitions as a scholar, but he was more remarkable for his singular aptitude for trading in MSS. In 1417 he brought from the East a few good MSS, a Sophocles, a Euripides, and a Thucydides; this last he sold to Niccoli at Pisa⁵. Among those that he possessed in 1421, was the *Commentum Aristarchi in Homerum*, which has been identified as the celebrated *codex A* of the *Iliad*⁶. In 1422–3 he was in Constantinople, where he gathered from various parts of the Greek world a vast number of MSS. The aged emperor, Manuel II, presented him with the great historical work of Procopius, and with Xenophon's little treatise on Horsemanship. 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 Traversari⁷. 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

¹ Sabbadini, 164.

² Voigt, i 262–63.

³ *Epp.* iii 129–132.

⁴ List published by Omont in *Rev. des Bibliothèques*, ii (1892); cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 44 f.

⁵ Traversari, *Epp.* vi 8.

⁶ Sabbadini, 46.

⁷ *Epp.* xxiv 38, 53, 61.

Rhodium, now famous as the Laurentian MS of those authors¹. 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. He taught Greek for a short time in Bologna and Florence, and afterwards settled in Ferrara. Of his many MSS he made little use, beyond trading with them, and, when he died in 1459, all except thirty had been scattered in different directions².

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, Thucydides and Xenophon) was brought to Venice by Filelfo (1398—1481) who had spent seven years as secretary to the Venetian Legation at Constantinople³. Among the principal collectors of Greek MSS were Bruni and Niccoli⁴, whose collection found its way into the Medicean Library. Besides these there were Palla Strozzi, and Manetti, and Nicolas V. MSS were also collected at Urbino and Milan, at Mantua and Ferrara, at Padua and Venice⁵. 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 Venice⁶. 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)⁷.

The age of discovery saw the awakening of a new interest in

¹ *Facs.* of Sophocles (1885) and Aeschylus (1896).

² Voigt, i 263-5, 346-8, 556-560²; final list of his MSS in Sabbadini's *Biographia*; cp. *Scoperte*, 46-47.

³ List in Traversari, *Epp.* xxiv 32, transcribed in Symonds, ii 270²; cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 48; on minor discoverers of MSS, *ib.* 49 f.

⁴ *ib.* 51-55.

⁵ *ib.* 55-65.

⁶ Omont, *Inventaire*, 1894; p. 61 *infra*.

⁷ K. K. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen*, 333-411. Cp. Sabbadini, 67 f.

the intelligent study of classical archaeology¹. The ruins of Rome had been regarded with interest by Petrarch and by his friends, Rienzi and Dondi, and those friends had even recorded some of her ancient inscriptions. But a marked advance was made by Poggio, who carried off, either from St Gallen or from Reichenau, the tract ascribed to a pilgrim of the ninth century known as the *Anonymus Einsiedlensis*², and himself collected inscriptions in Rome³, besides carefully enumerating and describing the ancient ruins in the first of the four books of his interesting treatise *De Varietate Fortunae*⁴. For Nicolas V, whom he there hails as a second Mæcenas, he produced a translation of Diodorus Siculus, and, after serving as a papal secretary for half a century (1403—1453), succeeded Carlo Marsuppini as chancellor and, in the evening of his days, composed his masterpiece, the *History of Florence* from 1350 to 1455. His style, which is apt to be diffuse, has remarkable freedom and originality, though professedly modelled on that of Cicero⁵. With his frivolous *Facetiae* and with his bitter feuds with rival scholars, such as Filelfo and Valla, we are not here concerned, though Valla has some interesting criticisms on Poggio's departures from Ciceronian usage⁶. He was buried behind the choir of Santa Croce, but the marble monument, for which he left provision in his will, was never erected. Donatello's statue of an aged 'prophet', with sarcastic lips and deeply furrowed face and with antique drapery, which formed part of the façade of the cathedral church until 1560, when it was removed to a niche in the N. aisle, has been supposed to be a portrait of Poggio⁷, but it has been assigned to about 1422, when Poggio was only 42. The portrait by Antonio Pollaiuolo, which his sons were permitted to place in the hall of the Proconsolo,

¹ Voigt, i 266—286².

² Mommsen in *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.* 1850, p. 287 f; Voigt, i 268², n. 4; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 82, n. 49.

³ Copy discovered by De Rossi; cp. Henzen in *C.I.L.* vi 1 (Voigt, i 266—8²).

⁴ Cp. Burckhardt, Part III, c. ii, 177—186 E.T., and Symonds, ii 152—5.

⁵ *Epp.* xii 37, quidquid in me est, hoc totum acceptum refero Ciceroni, quem elegi ad eloquentiam docendam. Cp. Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, 19 f.

⁶ Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, 20—25; cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 155 f.

⁷ Recanati, *Vita Poggii*, xxxiv.

has not been traced; and we have to rest content with inferior representations in the gallery between the Uffizi and Pitti palaces¹ and in the Venice edition of the History of Florence (1715)².

The leading representative of archaeological research in this age was Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli of Ancona (c. 1391—Ciriaco
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. The study of Dante led him to that of Virgil, and the study of Virgil to that of Homer. At his birth-place 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 as compared with that derived from ordinary literature³. 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, viewing with delight the treasures of ancient art collected by Cosimo de' Medici and Marsuppini, by Donatello and Ghiberti, and taking a peculiar pleasure in the mss and antiquities of his friend, Niccoli. Between 1435 and 1447 he travelled in many parts of Greece, including the islands. In Thasos he

¹ No. 761, head bent down towards left; grayish hair brushed back from right temple; and marked depression between the nostril and the corner of the lips. See also Boissard's *Icones*, i xii 108 (1597).

² Partly facing to left, with abundant black hair. On Poggio in general, cp. Vespasiano, 420-7; *Life* by Rev. W. Shepherd (1802); Voigt, i 235-249, ii 7, 74, 251, 327, 448 etc.; Symonds, ii 134 f, 152, 218, 230-246. *Epistolae*, ed. Tonelli, i 183a, ii and iii (very rare) 1859-61. Orelli, *Symbolae nonnullae ad historiam philologiae* (Zürich, 1835), prints extracts from the Letters on discoveries of mss, followed by the two on Jerome of Prague, and the Baths of Baden near Zürich; and A. C. Clark, in *Cl. Rev.* xiii 125, publishes an important letter to Francesco Barbaro. A much-needed ed. of the Letters is expected from Wilmanns.

³ maiorem longe quam ipsi libri fidem et notitiam praebere videbantur.

bought a ms of Plutarch's *Moralia*¹. 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) and his discovery of Homer's 'epitaph' in the island of Chios. A few years later we find him at Ferrara, and 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. His friend Bruni once told him that he would be much the better for knowing less². But he was an honest man, and the doubts once cast on the accuracy of his transcripts have been triumphantly dispelled³. In his unwearied endeavour to resuscitate the memorials of the past, he was fully conscious that his mission in life was 'to awake the dead'. He took a special pleasure in recalling an incident that once occurred while he was looking for antiques in a church at Vercelli. An inquisitive priest, who, on seeing him prowling about the church, ventured to ask him on what business he was bent, was completely mystified by the solemn reply:—'It is sometimes my business to awaken the dead out of their graves; it is an art that I have learnt from the Pythian oracle of Apollo'⁴. His drawings of ancient sculptures have vanished, but, before their disappearance, some of them were copied at Padua by the Nuremberg humanist, Hartman Schedel (c. 1466)⁵.

Among the contemporaries of Ciriaco was Flavio Biondo of Forli (1388—1463), who, in 1422, was the first to make a copy of the newly discovered *Brutus* of

¹ *Vat. Gr.* 1309. Of his Strabo in two vols., the first is at Eton (cod. 141), the second in Florence (*Laur.* xxviii 15). Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 48, 69.

² *Epp.* vi 9 Mehus.

³ Boeckh, *C. I. G.* I p. ix; Henzen, *C. I. L.* VI (1) p. xl; Jahn, 341-3.

⁴ Voigt, i 284²; cp. Jahn, 336.

⁵ Chap. xvi *infra*; O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1868, 333-352. Cp., in general, Scalamentius in Colucci, *Delle antichità Picene*, xv 50 f; the pref. to *Kyriaci Itinerarium*, ed. Mehus (1742); Tiraboschi, vi 179-203; *C. I. L.* III p. xxii, 129 f; Voigt, i 269-286²; Symonds, ii 155-7; De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* i 356-387; and Ziebarth, in *N. Jahrb. kl. Alt.* 1902, 214 f.

Cicero¹. 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 Inclinazione Romani Imperii* obviously anticipates that of the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*².

Flavio Biondo died in 1463. In the following year we have an interesting indication of the abiding influence of his contemporary, Ciriaco. On a pleasant day in the autumn of 1464 a merry company from Verona, Padua and Mantua met among the lemon-groves of Toscolano, on the western shore of the Lago di Garda. They crowned themselves with ivy and with myrtle, and sallied forth to visit all the remains of Roman antiquities that they could find amid the ruins of the temple of Diana and elsewhere, and to copy all the Roman inscriptions they could discover on or near the south-west shore of the lake. When they left the shore for the islands, their barque was dressed with laurel, and the notes of the lyre floated over the waters as they sailed southward for Sirmione. There they devoutly entered the little Church of San Pietro to give thanks for a happy and successful day. No less than two and twenty inscriptions had been copied by this joyous and grateful company, all of whom were members of an antiquarian confraternity. The confraternity had two officials bearing the name of 'consuls', one of whom was none other than the great antiquary and artist Andrea Mantegna, while the 'procurator' or secretary was the fortunate possessor of a name of happy omen, Felix Felicianus of Verona, whose jubilant memorial of this antiquarian excursion is one of the brightest pages in the early history of classical archaeology in Italy³.

¹ p. 32 *supra*.

² See further in A. Masius, *Flavio Biondo, sein Leben und seine Werke*; Voigt, ii 34-6, 85-8³; cp. Symonds, ii 220-2, Creighton, ii 374, iii 174; and *Harvard Lectures*, 46.

³ Complete text first published in Kristeller's *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. 1901,

Ciriaco's example was thus happily followed by the versatile and accomplished Felix Felicianus, whose collection of inscriptions was appropriately dedicated 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. 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)¹.

p. 523. Only the beginning of the *Fubilatio* is printed in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* v i p. 427 a.

¹ On the successors of Ciriaco, cp. E. Zieharth, in *Neue Jahrb. für das kl. Altertum*, xi (1903), 480—493; and *Harvard Lectures*, 48—54.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY MEDICEAN AGE IN FLORENCE.

UNDER the rule of the *Ottimati*, or the leading members of the greater Guilds (1382—1434), not a few men of mark in Florence gave proof of their interest in classical learning. Roberto de' Rossi, the first of the Florentine pupils of Chrysoloras, took delight in translating Aristotle, and in making beautiful copies of the works of ancient authors, which he bequeathed to his pupils, one of whom was Cosimo de' Medici¹. The noble and generous Palla Strozzi, who had invited Chrysoloras to Florence, might have surpassed his rival Cosimo as a patron of learning, had he not been sent into exile in 1434. He spent the twenty-eight years of his banishment in studying philosophy and in translating Greek authors at Padua. Meanwhile, Cosimo was for thirty years (1434—64) 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
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 Plautus². 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

¹ Vespasiano, *Cosimo*, 246.

² On MSS acquired by him, cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 54.

an enthusiastic literary circle in Florence. Though he was an excellent Latin scholar, Italian was the language of his letters and his conversation, and even of his only work, a short treatise on Latin orthography. Leonardo Bruni confessed that, as a student, he owed everything to Niccoli. He had attained the age of 73 when he died in the arms of his devoted friend Traversari¹.

Ambrogio Traversari (1386—1439) entered at an early age the Camaldolese convent of Santa Maria degli Traversari Angioli in Florence. He had taught himself Greek with the aid of Chrysoloras, and found his chief delight in the study of Chrysostom². On his appointment as General of his Order in 1431, he visited the Camaldolese convents in many parts of Italy, but was far less fortunate than Poggio in the discovery of ancient MSS³. At Cosimo's request he executed, amid many misgivings, a Latin translation of Diogenes Laërtius⁴. When he writes to his scholarly friend, Niccoli, his conscience does not allow him to quote a tempting passage from Naevius⁵; and, in the vast series of his letters, his only citation of a pagan poet is from Virgil's *Eclogues*⁶. He was painfully conscious of the conflicting claims of literature and of religion; but, in later examples of monks who were also humanists, there is less of the anxious scrupulosity of Traversari as to which of the two masters should be served⁷.

¹ Vespasiano, *Nicolao Niccoli*, 473—482; Poggio's Funeral Oration and Letter to Marsuppini in *Opera*, 270, 342; Tiraboschi, vi 129—137; Voigt, i 296—306²; Symonds, ii 178—182.

² Francesco da Castiglione's letter to Lorenzo (1469), ed. Müllner, 216, makes Cosimo say:—'quam suavis est Chrysostomus, quam solus Ambrosius in vertendo', where *solus* is doubtless a mistake for *scitus*.

³ *Epp.* viii 45—52, p. 34 *supra*.

⁴ *Epp.* vi 23, 25, 27; vii 2; viii 8; xxiii 10.

⁵ *Epp.* viii 9.

⁶ *Epp.* iii 59.

⁷ Vespasiano, *Fratre Ambrogio*, 240—5; Mehus, *Vita*, compiled from the *Letters* and the *Hodoeponicon* (ed. Mehus, 1680), on pp. 364—436 of the preface to Canneto's ed. of the *Letters* in two folio vols. (1759); the rest of the so-called *Vita* is a chaotic mass of materials for the literary history of Florence; Tiraboschi, vi 157, 808 f; Meiners, vol. ii (1796); Cortesius, p. 227, ed. Galletti; and esp. Voigt, i 314—322²; cp. Symonds, ii 193² f. A portrait, copied from the 'bust in the cloister of S. Maria degli Angioli', represents him

Among his pupils in Greek and Latin was Giannozzo Manetti (1396—1459). A merchant and diplomatist, he was also a student of theology, and was perfectly familiar with the languages of the Old and New Testaments, besides being a fluent (in fact prolix) Latin orator. The official oration delivered by Marsuppini, as chancellor of Florence, in congratulation of the emperor Frederic III, was considered far inferior to the extemporaneous speech delivered by Manetti in prompt and effective reply to certain points then raised by Aeneas Sylvius on the emperor's behalf. Driven into exile by the jealousy of the Medici in 1453, he withdrew to the court of Nicolas V. in Rome, and subsequently to that of Alfonso in Naples. His Latin translations include the Greek Testament¹, and the *Nicomachean* and *Eudemean Ethics* of Aristotle, together with the *Magna Moralia*. His failure to attain the permanent reputation that he fully deserved has been ascribed to the tediousness of his Latin style, and to the fact that he was 'deficient in all that elevates mere learning to the rank of art'².

From the name of one who so little merited banishment from the city which he adorned with his learning, we turn to two of her Latin secretaries who served her to the end of their lives. Leonardo Bruni (1369—1444) was born at Arezzo, the birthplace of Petrarch, and the daily sight of the portrait of his distinguished fellow-countryman inspired him with the ambition of following in his steps³. He learnt Greek at Florence under Chrysoloras, and his fame as a Latinist led to his being a papal secretary from 1405—1415, and chancellor of Florence from 1427 to his death. 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

as a gracious personage with parted lips and upward-lifted eyes, and with a bunch of hair falling over his forehead (*Ritratti... Toscani*, 1766, iii 16).

¹ Naldus, *Vita Manetti*, in Muratori, xx 529.

² Symonds, ii 193². Cp. Vespasiano, *Vite*, 444—472, and *Comentario* (ed. 1862); Voigt, i 322—6² etc. He was a small man with a large head; in the portrait in *Ritratti... Toscani* (1766), ii 16, we see his keen glance and his grave and eager face. A resolute determination is the leading characteristic of the likeness in the gallery between the Uffizi and Pitti (no. 574).

³ *Commentarius* in Muratori, *Scr.* xix 917.

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*¹ and *Politics* of Aristotle. The translation of the *Politics* was prompted by the admiration for his *Ethics* expressed by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and the autograph copy dedicated to the duke was sent to England, but, owing to some delay in the acknowledgement, its dedication was transferred (with satisfactory results) to Pope Eugenius IV (1437)². For this work he used a MS of the *Politics* obtained from Constantinople by Palla Strozzi³, probably comparing therewith the MS in possession of his friend Filelfo⁴. It has even been suggested that Palla Strozzi's copy had also been brought from the East by Filelfo in 1429⁵. Bruni's rendering is now regarded as far too free and arbitrary; it is often impossible to infer with any certainty the reading of his Greek text; and many peculiarities of his translation must accordingly be 'passed over or regarded as merely his own conjectures'⁶. But 'not a few good readings' are due to this source⁷. Bruni describes the original as an *opus magnificum ac plane regium*⁸, and he had good reason to be proud of a free and flowing version that made the Greek masterpiece intelligible to the Latin scholars of Europe. His other works included similar versions of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Polybius and Procopius. He even wrote a Latin history of the First Punic War to make up for the loss of the second decade of Livy. He also composed a Greek treatise on the origin and

¹ Cp. Klette, *Beiträge*, ii 17.

² Vespasiano, 436f, where *duca di Worcestri* must be a mistake for *Glocestri*. Cf. MS. at New Coll. Oxford (c. 1450) and in Bodleian, Canon. Lat. 195 (Newman's *Politics*, II 58). Printed 1492 etc.

³ Vespasiano, *Palla Strozzi*, 272.

⁴ Bruni, *Epp.* vi 11.

⁵ Oncken, *Staatslehre des Ar.* i 78 f; Susemihl, ed. 1872, p. xv.

⁶ Susemihl-Hicks (1894), p. 1; cp. ed. 1872, xxviii f.

⁷ Newman's *Politics*, III p. xxi f.

⁸ *Epp.* viii 1 (Voigt, i 169^a f).

constitution of Florence, a Latin dialogue criticising the works of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio¹, and a Latin encomium on Florence modelled on the encomium on Athens by the Greek rhetorician Aristides². His *Letters* were famed for their excellent Latinity³; but the chief work of his life was his Latin History of the Florentine Republic, of which twelve books had been completed at his death. His funeral oration was pronounced by Manetti, who placed a crown of laurel on the historian's brow. His body rests in Santa Croce, where his marble effigy, with his History laid upon his breast, reclines beneath a canopied tomb, which is a masterpiece of Bernardo Rossellino. The epitaph, modelled partly on that of Plautus, was composed by his successor Marsuppini:—

'Postquam Leonardus e vita migravit, Historia luget, Eloquentia muta est, ferturque Musas tum Graecas tum Latinas lacrimas tenere non potuisse'⁴.

Carlo Marsuppini (c. 1399—1453) was, like Bruni, a native of Arezzo. Like Bruni, he found his way to Florence; and, by the influence of Niccoli, was introduced to the Medicean family, and, in 1431, appointed teacher of Latin rhetoric and of the Greek language in the local university. In his inaugural lecture he gave proof of his marvellous memory by surpassing all his predecessors in the multitude of passages cited from the Greek and Latin authors. So signal was his success that he was permitted to lecture, even after his promotion in 1444 to the important office of chancellor. He 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*⁵. By his

¹ Klette, *Beiträge*, ii 37—83.

² Extracts in Klette, ii 84—105.

³ *Epp.* ed. Mehus, 1741.

⁴ Vespasiano, *Lionardo d'Arezzo*, 427—439; Voigt, i 306—312, ii 163—173³; cp. Symonds, ii 282—6. His tractate *De Studiis et Literis* (c. 1405), translated in Woodward's *Vittorino*, 119—133; cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 61—64. Portrait in profile, with aquiline nose, in Boissard's *Icones*, part i (1597), no. xvi, p. 124.

⁵ Extract in Bandini, *Bibl. Leop. Laurent.* ii 439, beginning 'Nunc iram Aeacidæ tristem miseramque futuram Diva, cane, et quantos Graiis dedit ille dolores'. The rendering was warmly welcomed by Nicolas V in two Letters preserved by Vespasiano, 441.

contemporaries he was regarded as a man of no religion; nevertheless, he was one of the papal secretaries, and, when he died in 1453, his head was crowned with laurel by his pupil, the mystical poet, Matteo Palmieri¹, and he was buried in Santa Croce. His tomb, in the southern aisle, faces that of Bruni. The reclining form, with the hands clasped over the book, is less calm in its repose, and the design, as a whole, less severely simple, richer and more florid, but without loss of refinement. It is the masterpiece of Desiderio da Settignano, and is indeed one of the finest monuments of the Renaissance².

Niccoli, Traversari, Manetti, Bruni and Marsuppini were the foremost of the humanists of Florence in the age of Cosimo de' Medici. All of them, in their various ways, were actively engaged in promoting the Revival of Learning, when the study of Greek, and of Plato in particular, incidentally received a new impulse during the conference between the Greek and Latin Churches at the Council of Florence (1439). Before we trace the fortunes of the Greek immigrants who flocked to Italy between the date of that Council and the fall of Constantinople, we may glance at a few of the Italian humanists who have points of contact with Florence, though their main activity belongs to other cities in Northern Italy.

We have already noticed the name of Gasparino Barzizza³, the eminent Ciceronian scholar, who closed his varied career at Milan in 1431, after professing Rhetoric at several other places, the most important of which was Padua (1407). Padua is also associated with a less eminent but not uninteresting humanist, Pietro Paolo Vergerio (c. 1370—c. 1445), who produced the first modern introduction to the study of Quintilian⁴, and, in 1392, addressed to a prince of the house of Carrara the first treatise in which the claims of Latin learning are methodi-

¹ 1406—1475; author of treatise *Della Vita Civile* (cp. Woodward's *Renaissance Education*, 65—78).

² Cp. C. C. Perkins, *Italian Sculpture*, 119, 121; and cuts in Geiger's *Renaissance*, 91, 93. On Marsuppini, cp. *Vespasiano, Carlo d' Arcazzo*, 439—441; Voigt, i 312—4, ii 194^a f; Symonds, ii 186 f.

³ p. 23; *supra*.

⁴ Combi, *Epistole di Vergerio*, p. xxi.

cally maintained as an essential part of a liberal education¹. In the latter he exults in Cicero's praises of literature, and himself declares that 'without style' even worthy thoughts would not be likely to attract much notice or secure a sure survival². His interesting references to Plato and Aristotle³ must have been derived from Latin translations. He had not yet learnt Greek, when, in connexion with Roman history, we find him writing as follows:—

It is hard that no slight portion of the history of Rome is only to be known through the labours of one writing in the Greek language (*i.e.* Polybius). It is still worse that this same noble tongue, once well-nigh the only speech of our race, as familiar as the Latin language itself, is on the point of perishing even among its own sons, and to us Italians is already utterly lost, unless we except one or two who in our own time are tardily endeavouring to rescue something—if it be only an echo of it—from oblivion⁴.

About 1400, at the age of more than thirty, he went to Florence to learn Greek from Chrysoloras⁵. He was a papal secretary, when he had the honour of writing the Latin epitaph at Constance in memory of the restorer of Greek learning in Italy⁶. From Constance he followed the emperor Sigismund into Hungary, where his latest work was a studiously simple Latin rendering of the *Anabasis* of Arrian⁷.

While Vergerio had learnt Greek from Chrysoloras in Florence, Guarino of Verona (1374—1460) followed that teacher to Constantinople and learnt the language by spending five years in his household (1403—8). On his return he landed in Venice with about fifty Greek MSS⁸. He afterwards lectured for a few years in Florence (1410—4). His subsequent success as a lecturer in Venice (1414—9) led to his return to his native city of Verona (1419—29). Ultimately he was called to Ferrara, where after devoting five years to the education of Lionello, the eldest son of Niccolò d' Este, marquis of Ferrara, he was appointed professor of Rhetoric in the local

¹ Woodward's *Vittorino*, 14, 93—118; *Harvard Lectures*, 58—61.

² Woodward, 105.

³ *ib.* 98, 101, 110.

⁴ *ib.* 106.

⁵ Voigt, i 432².

⁶ p. 21, *supra*.

⁷ Voigt, ii 272². Cp. Combi's *Epistole di... Vergerio*, Venice, 1887; K. A. Kopp, in *Hist. Jahrb. der Görresgesellschaft*, 1897, 274—310, 533—571.

⁸ p. 36, *supra*.

university (1436). The last thirty years of his life were spent in teaching at Ferrara, where his proficiency in Greek and Latin led to his acting as interpreter between the representatives of the Greek and Latin Churches at the Council of 1438. In addition to an elementary Latin Grammar, he produced a widely popular Latin version of the Catechism of Greek Grammar by Chrysoloras. His translations included three of the minor works of Lucian, the *Evagoras* and *Nicoles* of Isocrates, the whole of Strabo, and some fifteen of Plutarch's *Lives*. The singularly fine copy of his version of Plutarch's *Lysander* and *Sulla*, now in the Laurentian Library, was his wedding present to his pupil Lionello (1435)¹. Guarino 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. As a native of Verona, he is fond of quoting Catullus, and his interest in the text descended to his son. He was himself concerned in the recension of Cicero's *Speeches*, and of Caesar, as well as both the Plinies, and Gellius and Servius. In his Letters he owes much of his inspiration to Cicero and the younger Pliny, and Pliny's account of his Tuscan villa is closely followed in Guarino's description of his own villa near Ferrara. Similarly his pupil, Angelo Decembrio, imitates the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius in describing the literary discussions, whose scene he places at Ferrara, either in the apartments of Lionello, or in the suburban palace of Belfiore, or at the castle of Bellosguardo. The long life of Guarino began with no precociously early promise; it was marked by a steady and continuous growth. Unlike certain other humanists, he showed no antagonism to the authority of the Church, no feeling of resentment against the spirit of the Middle Ages; but he was true to the humanist type in a certain love of personal fame. He left

¹ lxxv 27; *Harvard Lectures*, 76.

behind him many occasional speeches and some 600 letters, an elaborate edition of which, prepared by the devotion of a Sabbadini and deposited in 1892 in the library of the Lincei at the Palazzo Corsini in Rome, is still awaiting publication. His school and his method were eulogised in more than 1000 hexameters by Janus Pannonius¹, and he deserves to be remembered with respect as a humanist whose moral character was very nearly equal to his learning.

The method of instruction pursued by Guarino may be gathered from the treatise *De Ordine Docendi* written in 1459 by his son Battista (1434—1513). It is the earliest treatise in which the claim to be considered an educated gentleman is reserved for one who is familiar with Greek as well as Latin:—

I have said that ability to write Latin verse is one of the essential marks of an educated person. I wish now to indicate a second, which is of at least equal importance, namely, familiarity with the language and literature of Greece. The time has come when we must speak with no uncertain voice upon this vital requirement of scholarship².

Among the numerous pupils of Guarino we note the names of four Englishmen, Robert Fleming, dean of Lincoln, John Free, bishop of Bath, John Gunthorp, dean of Wells³, and William Gray, bishop of Ely⁴. The Italian pupils included a precocious

¹ *Silva Panegyrica ad Guarinum*, 1457; *Delitiae Pottarum Hung.* (1619), pp. 3—34. Cp., in general, Rosmini, *Vita e Disciplina di Guarino Veronese*, Brescia, 3 vols., 1805—6, with copy of a miniature portrait in the Trivulzi collection at Milan, representing Guarino in a conical Greek cap and with a closely shaven face and an intelligent expression; medallion by Matteo de' Pasti in G. F. Hill's *Pisanello* opp. p. 230; portrait in Guarino's *Strabo* (MS Phillipps 6645) published by Omont (1905), and reproduced on p. 52. See also Voigt, i 344 f, 547 f³ etc.; Symonds, ii 297—301; and Sabbadini, *G. V. e le opere retoriche di Cicerone* (1885); Index to his *Epistolario*, with *Vita* (1885); *G. V. e gli archetipi di Celso e Plauto* (1886); *Codici Latini posseduti, scoperti, illustrati da G. V.*, in *Mus. Ital. di Ant. Class.* ii (1887), 374—456; *Vita* (1891), and esp. *La Scuola e gli Studi di G. V.* 240 pp. (1896). Mr Woodward, in *Otia Merseiana* (Liverpool, 1903), 1—3, describes the contents of the Balliol MS (cxxxv) containing Letters and Orations of Guarino, presented to his College by Guarino's pupil, William Gray, bishop of Ely. Four of his letters on educational subjects are printed in Müllner's *Reden und Briefe*, 213—238. See also Woodward's *Renaissance Education* (1906), 26—47.

² p. 166 of Woodward's *Vittorino*, where the whole is translated, 159—178. Cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 78 f.

³ Rosmini, iiii 117—121.

⁴ Vespasiano, 214.

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*. Guarino shares with Vergerio the honour of having transmitted the Greek teaching of Chrysoloras to one who is so eminent in the history of education as Vittorino da Feltre.



GUARINO DA VERONA.

Reduced from H. Omont's *Portrait de Guarino de Véronne* (1905), the frontispiece of which is derived from a photograph of the portrait painted in life-size at the end of Guarino's *Strabo* in the Phillipps library at Cheltenham.

Vittorino dei Ramboldini (1378—1446) was born at Feltre, among the hills between Venice and the Eastern Alps. For nearly twenty years he went on learning and teaching in Padua and then left for Venice, where he learnt Greek under Guarino. After a second stay at Padua, he returned to Venice, where the turning-point of his life came to him at the age of forty-six, when Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, invited him to undertake the education of his sons. Mantua thus became the home of Vittorino for the remaining twenty-two years of his life. He there established '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 1416¹, 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'. The 'Pleasant House' amid the playing-fields on the slopes above the Mincio was a palace of delight, where all the sixty or seventy scholars, of whatever rank, were under the selfsame discipline. Among the Latin authors studied in his school were Virgil and Lucan, with selections from Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal, besides Cicero and Quintilian, Sallust and Curtius, Caesar and Livy. The Greek authors were Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and the Dramatists, with Herodotus, Xenophon and Plato, Isocrates and Demosthenes, Plutarch and Arrian⁴. In the teaching of Greek he was aided by Georgius

¹ Woodward's *Vittorino*, 24.

² p. 27, *supra*; cp. A. Messer, *Q. als Didaktiker und sein Einfluss auf die didaktisch-pädagogische Theorie des Humanismus*, in *Fleckeis. Jahrb.* 156 (1897), 161, 273, 321, 361, 409, 457. An epitome of the complete Quintilian was drawn up by Francesco Patrizi of Siena, bp of Gaëta 1460-94; cp. Fierville, *Quint.* i, 1890, p. xxxv; Peterson, in *Cl. Rev.* v 54; Bassi, Turin, 1894; Meister, in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1892 (nos. 39 f), 1894 (no. 50), and 1906 (nos. 27-9, 31). See also Woodward's *Education in the Age of the Renaissance* (1906), 8-10.

³ Woodward's *Vittorino*, 25-27.

⁴ On Vittorino's Greek MSS, cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 60.

Trapezuntius and Theodorus Gaza, both of whom learnt their Latin from Vittorino. 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 used¹; 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 Cicero. In his splendid edition of Livy, he pays a special tribute of gratitude to his master Vittorino. Vittorino was a man of keen and eager temperament, of small stature and of wiry frame, with a ruddy complexion and

¹ His lecture on Val. Maximus, in Müllner's *Reden*, 142.



VITTORINO DA FELTRE.

From a Medallion by Pisanello in the British Museum, inscribed VICTORINVS · FELTRENENSIS · SVMMVS · MATHEMATICVS · ET · OMNIS · HVMANITATIS · PATER · OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS · The latter part is on the reverse, which represents a pelican feeding her young.

sharp features, and a frank and genial expression. The medallion, on which his scholarly face has been immortalised by Pisanello¹, shows that he had the 'ornament of a meek and quiet' countenance².

One, if not both, of the Greek instructors in the school of Mantua had been recommended by Francesco Filelfo (1398—1481), a humanist whose character stands in sharp contrast to that of Vittorino. Filelfo had studied Latin at Padua under Barzizza, and had taught at Padua and Venice, where he saw much of Vittorino, as well as of Guarino. He learnt Greek at Constantinople (1422—7) in the household of the nephew of Manuel Chrysoloras, and he married that nephew's daughter. He was particularly proud of the purity of the Greek that he had acquired from his wife³. On his return to Italy he taught at Venice and Bologna, and (in 1429—34) at Florence, where he lectured with great *éclat* to audiences of four hundred, including the two future Popes, Nicolas V and Pius II. He gave four lectures daily, taking Cicero, and Livy or Homer, in the forenoon, and, in the afternoon, Terence, and Xenophon or Thucydides. Faults of character, however, led to his falling out of favour with Cosimo and the foremost scholars of Florence. From 1440 to the end of his life he lived mainly at Milan. At the age of 77, he was invited to lecture in Rome, and, at that of 83, in Florence, where he died soon after his return. His translations included Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, *Agésilas*, and *Lacedaemoniorum Respublica*, two speeches of Lysias, the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, and four of Plutarch's *Lives*⁴. Among his original works

¹ Complete copy in Woodward's *Frontispiece*, and G. F. Hill's *Pisanello*, pl. 54.

² Cp. Woodward's *Vittorino*, xi, 1—92, and the literature there quoted; also Creighton's *Historical Essays and Reviews*, 107—134, 'A School-master of the Renaissance' (*Macmillan's Magazine*, 1875); and Woodward's *Renaissance Education*, 10—25.

³ He says of the Greek women, *ob solitudinem observabant antiquitatem incorrupti sermonis*. The same had been said of the Roman matrons by Cicero, *De Or.* iii 45. In Sept. 1451 Poggio states the aim of his sojourn at Constantinople, *quo Graeca sapientia factus doctior, maiori vel usui vel ornamento Latinae futurus essem*.

⁴ Cp. *Ep.* 30, Sept. 1444.

were *Satires* and *Odes*, and an epic poem of 6400 lines on Francesco Sforza of Milan. The Laurentian Library has an autograph volume of 46 sets of Greek verses, written alternately in elegiac and in Sapphic metre, in which the principal interest lies in the persons to whom the several poems are addressed, the list including Palla Strozzi, Bessarion, Argyropulos, Theodorus Gaza and Mahomet II¹, who are among his correspondents in the 110 Greek letters which have deserved the honour of publication² far better than the poems.

His Latin letters throw much light on his studies, and on his attitude as a humanist. He had learnt Greek in the hope of adding a new grace to his Latin lore³. During his studies at Constantinople he had recognised the Aeolic element in Homer⁴, but he had searched in vain for a copy of Apollonius (Dyscolus) or of Herodian. Yet Greek would be better learnt there than in the Peloponnesus, which had produced no scholar except Gemistus Plethon⁵. The most learned Greek of the day was Theodorus Gaza⁶, who had copied for Filelfo the whole of the *Iliad*⁷. He himself had MSS of Diodorus and Pollux⁸, and was ready to lend a friend his 'Varro'⁹. He was careful in comparing manuscripts, and in studying Servius' commentary on Virgil¹⁰. As a strict purist he writes *Quinctilis* instead of Julius, and *Deus* (and even *Christus*) *Optimus Maximus*¹¹. He criticises the 'Spanish' style of Quintilian's Declamations¹². He exhorts a youth of high promise to devote himself to the study of *eloquentia* and *humanitas*¹³. He has no doubt as to his own eminence, and he assures his distinguished correspondents that, by the magic of his style, he can make them immortal¹⁴.

He combined the accomplishments of a scholar with the insidiousness and the brutality of a brigand. As one of the least

¹ *Laur.* lviii 15. After I had noted the contents of this MS, I observed that 14 of the poems had been printed by Legrand (*Cent-dix Lettres Grecques de François Filelfe*, 1892, 195—219) from copies supplied by other scholars, who apparently did not inform him of Filelfo's express request that they should *not* be published (*neque ex hisce quisquam exscribat rogo*), as he had not revised them.

² Klette, *Beiträge*, iii (1890), 98—174; and Legrand, *l. c.* (1892), 1—194.

³ Sept. 1451.

⁴ 13 Apr. 1441.

⁵ 9 June, 1441.

⁶ 28 Feb. 1446.

⁷ 23 Jan. 1448.

⁸ 3 Aug. 1437.

⁹ 30 Dec. 1442.

¹⁰ 18 Dec. 1439.

¹¹ 1 Aug. 1428.

¹² 31 Jan. 1440.

¹³ 8 Dec. 1440.

¹⁴ (To Cosimo) May 1433; cp. 23 Jan. 1451. (The above references have been contributed by Prof. Sihler of New York, but the grouping and arrangement are my own.)

humane of all the humanists, he is a discreditable exception to the Ovidian rule,

‘ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus’.

His bitter feuds may however be forgotten, while we remember that in 1427 he brought from Constantinople the works of at least forty Greek authors¹, and that, on the death of Nicolas V, he exultantly wrote, with reference to that Pope’s collection of MSS, and to the translations from the Greek that had been executed under the papal patronage :—

‘Greece has not perished, but has migrated to Italy, the land that was known of old as *Magna Græcia*’².

¹ p. 37, *supra*.

² *Epp.* xiii 1 (ed. 1502, Venice, the only complete ed.). Cp., in general, Vespasiano, 488—491; Rosmini, *Vita*, 3 vols. Milan, 1808, with frontispiece from portrait by Mantegna; Voigt, i 348—366, 512 f, 524 f²; Symonds, ii 267—288; also Klette’s *Beiträge*, iii 1890; and Legrand’s *Cent-dix Lettres Grecques*, 1892. Five of his lectures at Florence (1429—34) printed in Müllner’s *Kaden*, 146—162. Portrait (in profile, with upward gaze, and laurel crown, and cap) in Jovius, *Elogia*, p. 30, copied in Wiese and Percopo, 207.



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 (p. 64, n. 6)

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLIER GREEK IMMIGRANTS.

WHILE the Council of Constance is associated with the death of the first important teacher of Greek in Italy (1415), the Council held at Ferrara in 1438, and at Florence in 1439, gave a definite impulse to the further study of that language in connexion with the Platonic philosophy and with the controversies as to the relative merits of Plato and Aristotle. The Council 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. At Ferrara the leading representatives of the Greek and Latin Churches were hospitably entertained by the able physician and dialectician, Ugo Benzi of Siena, who, after setting forth the differences between Plato and Aristotle, is said to have triumphantly refuted the Greeks in their preference for Plato¹. On the transfer of the Council to Florence, the city on the Arno became the meeting-place of the languages of the West and the East, and of the two types of civilisation prevailing in the Italian and the Hellenic world. When one of the younger scholars of Florence first saw the long beards and the shaggy hair of the Greeks, he recalled the stories of the ancient Spartans, and strove in vain to repress his laughter; but he admitted that some of those Greeks were fully worthy of their ancestors, and were still true to the traditions of the Lyceum and of the Old Academy².

¹ Aeneas Sylvius, *Europa*, c. 52. Cp. Tiraboschi, vi 461; Voigt, ii 121².

² Lapo da Castiglionchio, quoted by Hody, *De Graecis Illustribus*, 31, 136. Cp. Vespasiano, *Vite*, 14 f. Two of Lapo's lectures at Bologna (c. 1435) in Müllner's *Reden*, 129.

Petrarch and Boccaccio had been vaguely interested in Plato ; and Bruni, the pupil of Chrysoloras, had translated several of the dialogues. The attention of the leading spirits in Florence was now called to a certain form of Neo-Platonism by the singular personality of an aged representative of the Greeks, **Gemistos Plethon** Georgios Gemistos, a native of Constantinople (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'. '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 and expounder of Plato. Before leaving Florence, Plethon produced a treatise on the points of difference between Plato and Aristotle³, 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. By 1441 Plethon had returned to the site of Sparta. His life extended over nearly the whole century that preceded the fall of Constantinople. Even

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

² Preface to *Plotinus* (1492).

³ *περὶ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαφέρειται*, Basel, 1574; Migne, *P. G.* clx 882 f. Cp. F. Schultze, *Plethon*, 19, 70—91.

after his death in 1450, his Neo-Platonic and pagan opinions were repeatedly attacked by the patriarch Gennadios¹. But, while his memory was assailed in the East, it was honoured in the West, and, sixteen years later, when Sigismondo Malatesta, the victorious general of the Venetian forces, had rescued the site of Sparta from the Turks², his 'love for men of learning' led him to remove the bones of the Neo-Platonist in the splendid semi-pagan temple lately built by Leon Alberti of Florence for the lord of Rimini³.

Among the Greeks assembled at the Council was Plethon's former pupil, Bessarion (1395 or 1403—1472), the Bessarion archbishop of Nicaea, whose services in the papal cause led to his being made a Cardinal. He afterwards translated into Latin the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, and (in 1468) gave to Venice a large number of Greek MSS, which formed the foundation of the famous library of St Mark's⁴. As a Cardinal resident in Rome, and surrounded by a crowd of Greek and Latin scholars, who escorted him every morning to the Vatican from his Palace on the Quirinal, 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 event⁵.

¹ W. Gass, *Gennadios und Plethon, Aristotelismus und Platonismus in der griechischen Kirche* (1844). Cp. frontispiece to Legrand, 111.

² Schutze, 109.

³ Cut in Geiger's *Renaissance*, 211. Cp. F. Schultze, *Gesch. der Philosophie der Renaissance*, (i) *Georgios Gemistos Plethon*, 1874; Voigt, ii 119² f; Symonds, i 157 f, ii 198—210, and *Sketches in Italy and Greece*, 236; and H. F. Tozer in *J. H. S.* vii 353—380, with Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, iv 41—6, ed. 1901. Works in Migne, *P. G.* clx; Alexandre, *Traité des Lois* (1858); and Plethon's *Denkschriften* in Elissen's *Analekten*, iv ii (1860). Portrait in Boissard's *Icones*, I xix 136.

⁴ Omont, *Inventaire* (1894); Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 67 f; p. 37 *supra*.

⁵ Vespasiano, 145 f; Hody, 136—177; cp. Voigt, ii 123—132² (with the literature there quoted); Symonds, ii 246—8; and R. Rocholl, *Bessarion, Studie sur Gesch. der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1904. Portrait in Paulus Jovius, *Elogia*, 43, copied in Legrand, 111 3; another in Boissard's *Icones*, I xix 136. Autograph and portrait by Cordegliahi, with illuminated first page of the Act of Donation of his MSS, in *La Biblioteca Marciana nella sua nuova sede*, Venice, 1906.

Of the Greeks who arrived before its fall, the foremost (apart from Bessarion) were Theodorus Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius, Joannes Argyropulos, and Demetrius Chalcondyles.

Theodorus
Gaza

The first of these, Theodorus Gaza (c. 1400—1475), 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 fill the chair of philosophy in Rome, and to take part in the papal scheme for translating the principal Greek Classics. His numerous translations included the *Mechanical Problems*¹ and *De Animalibus* of Aristotle², and the *De Plantis* of Theophrastus³. He also produced a Greek rendering of Cicero *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*. On the death of the Pope in 1455, he went to Naples, where he translated Aelian's *Tactics* for king Alfonso. On the death of the latter (1458), he withdrew to a monastery on the Lucanian coast, was recalled to Rome by Paul II in 1464, and took part in the *editio princeps* of Gellius (1469). On the death of Bessarion (1472) he finally retired to Lucania, where he died in 1475. Of his two transcripts of the *Iliad*, one is preserved in Florence⁴, and the other in Venice⁵. In the preface to an Aldine edition of his translation of the *Problems* (1504), he is described by Manutius as *facile princeps* among the Latin and Greek scholars of his age, and he is eulogised by Scaliger as *magnus vir et doctus*, though he makes mistakes in the *Historia Animalium*⁶. His Greek Grammar⁷, the first of modern manuals to include Syntax, was used as a text-

¹ Printed at Rome, 1475. His translation of the *Problems* of Alexander Aphrod. first printed by Aldus, 1504.

² Venice, 1476.

³ Tarvisii, 1483.

⁴ *Laur.* xxxii 1, including the *Batrachomyomachia*. The text of the whole published at Florence in 1811 by a Cypriote, Nic. Theseus.

⁵ At St Mark's. His copy of Aristotle's *Politics* is assigned by Hody, p. 58, to another Venetian library.

⁶ *Scaligerana prima*, 102.

⁷ *γραμματικὴ εἰσαγωγή*, ed. pr. Ald. 1495; often reprinted with Latin trans. down to 1803.

book by Budaeus in Paris, and by Erasmus in Cambridge. In a fine ms of this Grammar in the Laurentian Library, a portrait bright with gold and various colours represents the author in a Greek garb, holding a book in his hand¹. A less pretentious portrait, in the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius, gives the impression of an honest and intelligent scholar².

The second of the early immigrants, Georgius Trapezuntius (1395—1484), a native of Crete, who finally reached 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 Gaza³.

The third, Argyropulos of Constantinople (1416—1486), was in Padua as early as 1441, aiding the distinguished exile, Palla Strozzi, in the study of Greek. At Florence he taught Greek under the patronage of the Medici for fifteen years⁴, 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, and an earl of Worcester went to one of them incognito⁵. At Rome, in 1482, his lectures on Thucydides were heard by Reuchlin, afterwards eminent among the humanists of Germany. The lecturer invited Reuchlin to

Georgius
Trapezuntius

Joannes
Argyropulos

¹ *Laur.* lv 15; Bandini, *Cod. Gr.* ii 279; Legrand, i xli n.

² p. 48, copied in Boissard's *Icones*, i xx 140, and in Legraud, III 187. Cp., in general, Hody, 55—101, Voigt, ii 143—6²; and esp. Legrand, i xxxi—xlix.

³ Ludovicus Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis*, iii (Hody, 231). In his *Laws*, Bessarion found 259 mistakes. Cp., in general, Hody, 102—135, Boerner, 105—120; Voigt, ii 45, 137—143². His portrait, in Paulus Jovius, *Elogia*, 46, copied by Legrand, III 119, represents him as having an honest and stupid face, with an open book in his right hand. Cp. Boissard, i xviii 132.

⁴ Six of his introductory lectures on Aristotle (1456—62) are printed in K. Müllner's *Reden und Briefe* (1899), 3—56.

⁵ John Tiptoft; Vespasiano, 403.

read and translate a passage from one of the speeches, and was so struck by the excellence of his pronunciation and his reading, that he exclaimed with a sigh :—‘ Lo ! through our exile, Greece has flown across the Alps’¹.

Lastly, Demetrius Chalcondyles of Athens (1424—1511) reached Rome in 1447, and taught Greek at Perugia, Padua, Florence, and Milan. In 1450, as a youthful lecturer at Perugia, he made an immediate conquest of his Italian audience. One of his enthusiastic pupils says :— ‘ I listen to his lectures with rapture, firstly because he is a Greek, secondly because he is an Athenian, and, thirdly, because he is Demetrius. He looks like another Plato’². At Padua (1463—71) he was the first teacher of Greek who received a fixed stipend in any of the universities of Europe³. In 1466 he finished his transcript of a Greek Anthology now in Florence⁴. 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 Greek⁵. There are some vague and probably unfounded rumours of a feud with Politian. This can hardly have been serious, for a fresco in Santa Maria Novella painted by Ghirlandaio (d. 1498) represents an apparently friendly group of scholars who have been identified as Ficino, Landino, Politian and Demetrius⁶. Ficino thanks the last three scholars

¹ Melanchthon, *Declam.* (1533 and 1552) in *Corpus Reformatorum*, xi 238, 1005, ‘ Ecce, Graecia nostro exsilio transvolavit Alpes’. Cp. Hody, 187—210; Voigt, i 367—9². In his portrait in Jovius, 50, reproduced in Legrand, 111 155, he wears a large flat cap, and has a keen and resolute expression.

² Campanus, *Epp.* ii 9, p. 72, ed. 1707; trans. by Symonds, ii 249; cp. Tiraboschi, vi 820; Legrand, i xciv f.

³ Voigt, i 439³.

⁴ *Laur.* xxxi 28.

⁵ Legrand, i 9 f.

⁶ Cp. Vasari, ii 212 (E. T. 1876) (Bottari supposes that the fourth figure is Gentile de’ Becchi, bp of Arezzo). Reproduced on p. 58. This is clearly the original followed by a German artist of cent. xvi, who, in a picture on a wooden panel, now in the *Bibl. Albertina* at Leipzig, has painted a church and some timbered houses of a German style beyond a piece of water, as the background to a copy of the portraits of these four scholars, whose names are given in German characters on the lower part of the frame. I am indebted to Prof. Zarnecke of Leipzig for facilitating the taking of a photograph of the

for their aid in the revision of his translation of Plato; and Demetrius was Politian's colleague as preceptor to the sons of Lorenzo. A Greek epigram by Politian describes the Muses as dwelling in the breast of Chalcondyles¹, while a few lines of lyric verse by Marullus tell us that the bees of Attica were attracted by the sweetness of his honeyed lips². 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 Erasmus³. It was there also that he produced the *editio princeps* of Isocrates (1493), and of Suidas (1499)⁴. He gave proof of much insight (not unmixt with caprice) in the emendation of Greek texts. In integrity of character and in gentleness of disposition he stands higher than the ordinary Greeks of his time⁵.

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 did much for the architectural adornment of Rome, and for the encouragement of learning. He gathered mss from all lands, and became famous for ever as the founder of the collection of classical mss now preserved

Leipzig panel. The latter is the source of the portrait of Demetrius in Boerner. Mr R. C. Christie's copy of the four portraits, now in the Library of Owens Coll., Manchester, is attributed to Vasari; it is clearly copied from the original, and is better than the German version.

¹ Politian, ed. 1887, 192.

² *Hymni etc.*, ed. 1497, p. 8 of signature d iii.

³ Demetrio...viro tum probo, tum erudito, sed cujus mediocritas exactum illud ac sublime Theodori iudicium haudquaquam assequi potuerit (Hody, 221).

⁴ Legrand, I 16, 63.

⁵ Jovius, with portrait, 56 (reproduced by Legrand, *Bibl. Hellén.* I xciv) similar to that in Ghirlandaio's fresco. Cp. Hody, 211—226; Tiraboschi, vi 819—822; Boerner, 181—191; Legrand, I xciv—ci.

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 Castello¹, and Theophrastus, *De Plantis*, by Gaza.

Turning to the Italian translators, we find Thucydides and nearly the whole of Herodotus rendered by Valla, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* by Lapo da 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. All the above translators were liberally rewarded by Nicolas V, who, on his deathbed, was able to say with perfect truth:—'In all things I was liberal, in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Greek and Latin manuscripts, and in the rewarding of learned men'². Most of the scholars, who were thus remunerated, 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 and from the papal secretary, Rinucci, while he owed Valla 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, first at Gaëta (1435), and afterwards at Naples (1442). Valla's denunciation of the 'Donation of Constantine' in 1440 served the interests of Alfonso by dis-

¹ Tifernas. Two of his lectures in Müllner's *Reden*, 173—190.

² Manetti, *Vita*, 955—6.

crediting the papal claim to temporal power, whether at Naples or elsewhere. Ultimately Valla made his peace with Eugenius IV, but it was reserved for that Pope's successor, Nicolas V, to appoint him a papal *scriptor*, and to obtain his aid in the great scheme of translations. In 1450 he became professor of Rhetoric in Rome. He survived Nicolas, and became a papal secretary under his successor. In 1457 he died in Rome at the age of fifty.

In early life Valla had been attracted to the study of Quintilian, whom he deliberately preferred to Cicero, and certain of Valla's notes on the first two books of the *Institutio Oratoria* were long afterwards included in the Venice edition of 1494. In his earliest extant work, the dialogue *De Voluptate*, written at Pavia (1431), he shows a more than merely dramatic interest in Epicurean opinions¹. His career at Pavia was brought to an end by his bold attack on the superstitious respect paid to modern jurists by the local lawyers². Similarly, 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 Aristotle³. 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'⁴. Thus it was that, 'in the revival of letters and liberty, this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of

¹ *Opera*, 896—1010. The short dialogues, *De libero arbitrio*, and *De professione religiosorum* (Vahlen, *Opuscula tria*, 155), belong to the same group.

² *Opera*, 633—643.

³ *Opera*, 643—761, esp. 644. Cp. Vahlen's *Vortrag*, 10—15².

⁴ Text of decree reprinted by M. von Wolff, *Lorenzo Valla*, 85—88.

Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot¹. Valla's declamation naturally attracted the notice of the German reformers, and it was first printed by Ulrich von Hutten in 1517². The 'Donation of Constantine' has since disappeared from the Roman Breviary:

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 labour³. He here attacks the barbarous Latin of the Middle Ages and of his own times. He declares that for centuries no one has really written Latin, yet he has a profound belief in the immortality of that language, which he deems as eternal as the Eternal City⁴. He tries its modern use by the standard of Cicero and Quintilian. He repeatedly shows a refined taste in the discrimination of synonyms⁵. From observations on points of *grammar* and *style*, which occupy the first five books, he passes on to *criticism*, the last book being mainly devoted to correcting the views of the ancient scholars or grammarians, such as Gellius, Nonius, Donatus, and Servius. Of the mediaeval grammarians, Isidore, Papias, and Hugutio, he has a far lower opinion, and his disrespect for these traditional authorities and even for Priscian, that 'Sun of Grammar, which sometimes suffers eclipse', was one of the grounds alleged for regarding him as a heretic⁶. In the latter part of the last book he examines the meanings given to certain legal terms, and appeals from the modern jurists to the ancient authorities on Roman law. He thus became one of the founders of the exact study of jurisprudence, and his influence was felt in France by Budaeus⁷. In its first form (with an appendix on *sui* and *suus*) the work was dedicated to Tortellius, the first librarian of the Vatican. It was printed at Venice in 1471, passed through 59 editions between

¹ Gibbon, c. 49 (v 273-5 and 538 Bury); cp. Milman's *Lat. Chr.* i 72 n; Döllinger's *Papstfabeln des MA.*, 61 f, and Vahlen's *Vortrag*, 25-33².

² Also in Valla's *Opera* (1540), 761-795.

³ Cp. lib. v *init.*

⁴ *Opera*, 3 f.

⁵ e.g. iv 56 (*Opera*, 142) on *sylva*, *lucus*, *sallus*, *nemus*.

⁶ *Apologia* in *Opera*, 799; cp. M. von Wolff, 69.

⁷ Cp. Valla, *Elég.* lib. iii praef.; Budaeus, *Annot. in Pandectas*, p. 9 g, ed. 1556, and Vahlen's *Vortrag* 21³.

that year and 1536, and, even at the present day, the greater part of its contents is by no means out of date¹.

As a textual critic Valla is represented partly by certain passages of his *Elegantiae*, and still more by the emendations that arose out of the readings in Livy at the court of Alfonso. It was Valla who explained to that inquisitive king the exact meaning of *pedibus ire in sententiam*². Many of his emendations on the first six books of Livy's Second Punic War now form part of the current text³. He also criticises the Vulgate version of the New Testament in relation to the original Greek (1444), and his criticisms⁴ were first published by Erasmus in 1505.

Before returning to Rome, Valla translated Aesop at Gaëta (1440) and sixteen books of the *Iliad* at Naples (1442-4)⁵. It may be doubted whether he, or indeed any Italian of that age, was equal to the difficult task of translating Thucydides. However, in little more than two years, the work was finished (1452): the Pope was pleased, and asked Valla to translate Herodotus. The latter was still unfinished when the Pope died in 1455, and the uncompleted rendering was accordingly dedicated to Valla's earlier patron, the king of Naples. His translation of Demosthenes, *De Corona*, shows greater freedom and idiomatic force than the somewhat bald version by Bruni⁶. Valla ended his days at peace with Rome. In a lecture delivered two years before his death he declares that, on the fall of the Roman empire, the Latin language had been preserved from extinction by the beneficence of the Christian religion and the apostolic see. The denouncer of the Constantinian donation of the Lateran Palace died as a Canon of the Lateran Church, and was buried within its walls. The epitaph

¹ The criticisms by Velletri (1452-1505) are reprinted by Vegetius, *De Stylo Latino* (1613), 143-191 f, with animadversions of his own, 60 f; also by Sanctius (1523-1601) in his *Minerva*, II c. 10 and c. 12, who in c. 10 says of Valla's treatment of the comparative, 'egregie ineptus est Valla, cujus studium fuit Latinam linguam compedibus constringere'. Valla's work was praised, and epitomised, by Erasmus (P. S. Allen's *Erasmi Epp.* i 99, 108, 110).

² Liv. xxvii 34; *Opera*, 594.

³ *Opera*, 603-620. On Lucius and Aruns, cp. 438 f, 448.

⁴ *Opera*, 801-895.

⁵ Vahlen, *Opuscula Tria*, 74-104.

⁶ Vahlen, *Opuscula Tria*, 9-12, 128-148; specimens in 194-205.

on this pioneer of historical criticism was ultimately preserved from destruction by Niebuhr¹.

The translation of Appian had been entrusted to Pier Candido Decembrio (1399—1477), who in 1419—47 had been secretary to Filippo Maria Visconti, and lived in Rome and Naples in 1450—60, and for the rest of his life at Ferrara and Naples. His father, Uberto (1370—1427), had studied Greek under Chrysoloras, who had begun a Latin rendering of Plato's *Republic*. This rendering was revised by Uberto, and continued by his son, who sent his translation of the fifth book to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in 1439, and completed the work in the following year. The presentation copy, which arrived in England about 1443, was accompanied by a letter, the last words of which, *vale, immortalis princeps*, intimate that Decembrio's dedication of Plato's immortal masterpiece would render the duke himself immortal². Decembrio had already prepared, for the duke of Milan, Italian renderings of the Lives of Alexander and of Caesar (1438)³. In 1440 he presented John II of Castile with a literal translation of *Iliad* 1—IV, x⁴. In 1453 several books of his translation of Appian were ready for Nicolas V, while the *History of the Civil War* was finished after the death of the Pope, and was dedicated to Alfonso, king of Naples⁵. Decembrio's portrait has been preserved in a fine medallion produced before 1450 by Pisanello, in which he is described as *studiorum humanitatis decus*, one of the earliest examples of the

¹ *Vorträge über röm. Alterth.* 1858, p. 11. On Valla, cp. *Opera*, Basel, 1540 and 1543, folio; Poggiali, *Memorie*, 1790; Tiraboschi, vi 1057—72; C. G. Zumpt, in Schmidt's *Zeitschrift f. Gesch.* 1845, 397—434; and esp. Vahlen, *Lorenzo Valla, ein Vortrag*, 1864¹, 1870², and *L. V. Opuscula Trina*, 205 pp., 1869; also Voigt, i 460—476, ii 148—150³; Symonds, ii 258—263; Mancini, *Vita*, 1891; Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, 25—32, and *Cronologia*, 1891; M. von Wolff, *L. V.*, 134 pp., 1893; and W. Schwahn, *L. V.*, 61 pp., 1896; also *Harvard Lectures*, 136—8, 156.

² Voigt, ii 256¹; Einstein, *Italian Renaissance in England*, 5—7; Mario Borsa, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1904, 509—576, and W. L. Newman, *ib.* 1905, 483—497.

³ From Curtius and (probably) Suetonius respectively; Voigt, i 512².

⁴ *ib.* ii 192³.

⁵ *ib.* ii 186³.

application of the term *humanitas* to the Classical studies of the Renaissance¹.

The free and flowing, though far from faithful rendering of Polybius, executed by Perotti (1430—1480), was highly appreciated by Nicolas. Perotti had been educated at Mantua under Vittorino. He had lived at Verona with William Gray, the future bishop of Ely, and at Bologna with Cardinal Bessarion, in whose household he had diligently studied Greek. 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'². In 1458 he was made bishop of Manfredonia, but, except when travelling on ecclesiastical business in Umbria, he usually resided among his literary friends in Rome, where his recension of the elder Pliny was printed in 1473. He spent his later years in a charming villa at Sassoferrato, the place of his birth. He there prepared a remarkably learned and discursive commentary on the *Spectacula* and the first book of Martial, published by his nephew nine years after the bishop's death³. The same volume includes his commentary on Pliny's preface, and (in the later issues of 1513-26) his editions of Varro, Sextus Pompeius and Nonius Marcellus. As a Greek scholar and a pupil of Bessarion, Perotti took the side of Plato in one of the latest phases of the long controversy respecting Plato and Aristotle.

Nicolas V had been a great patron of learning. On his death, it was for a short time thought possible that his successor would be the Greek Cardinal Bessarion. His actual successor, Callixtus III (1455-8), did little for the Greeks beyond proclaiming war against the Turks, and, to obtain funds for this purpose, he sold the works of art which Nicolas had lavished on the churches of Rome, and stripped the splendid bindings off the MSS, which

¹ Geiger, *Renaissance*, 159; G. F. Hill's *Pisanello*, pl. 56.

² i 521 c (Woodward's *Vittorino*, 87, and *Erasmus*, 163).

³ *Cornucopie 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. On Perotti, cp. Voigt, ii 133-7².

Nicolas had stored in the Vatican¹. The next Pope, Pius II (1458-64), disappointed the hopes of the humanists, though he was eminent not only as a statesman but also as a man of letters. As Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, he had learnt some Greek from Filelfo in Florence, had studied and taught at Siena, had written Ovidian poems and Horatian epistles, and had made his mark by a Latin oration at the Council of Basel. He had sent a long letter to young Sigismund, count of Tyrol, in praise of learning (1443), and an elaborate treatise on education to Ladislas, the youthful king of Bohemia and Hungary (1450). In that treatise, he had recommended the study of the Historians of Rome, and the moral writings of Cicero, Seneca and Boëthius, together with Plautus and Terence, Virgil and Horace, Lucan and Statius, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, as well as Valerius Flaccus and Claudian, and Persius, with selections from Juvenal and Martial, neatly saying of the latter that 'in handling Martial we cannot gather the roses for the thorns', and dexterously parrying the 'shallow Churchman's' objection to the perusal of pagan poets by the remark that, 'happily, there were in Hungary not a few to whom the poets of antiquity were a precious possession'². He had also composed Ciceronian dialogues in which he had relieved the dulness of scholastic arguments by discussions on classical archaeology, literature and history; not to mention a History of Bohemia in the style of Livy, a Latin comedy in that of Terence, and a Latin novel after the manner of Boccaccio. After he had become Pope, he frankly regretted some of his earlier poems, and spent much of his time on writing the history of his pontificate, but he was too critical to be really popular with the humanists, and his want of appreciation was never forgiven by the ever self-assertive Filelfo.

Of his immediate circle the one who did most for the study of the Classics was Campano (*c.* 1427-1477), the Campanian shepherd boy, who became a pupil of Valla in Naples. But it was not until after the death of Pius II that, in or about the year 1470, he printed a series of seven folio

¹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, iii 184.

² *De Liberorum Educatione*, translated in Woodward's *Vittorino*, 134-158. Cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 67-69.

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 name of Pius II is commemorated in the Piccolomini palace and other buildings of Pienza, and also in the exquisitely beautiful Piccolomini library at Siena. In his private library he once possessed a MS of Prosper, which has since proved to be a palimpsest of the *Verrine Speeches* of Cicero, and, after many vicissitudes, has found a permanent home in the Vatican¹. He died at Ancona amid the final preparations for his crusade against the Turks, and among the Cardinals who stood by his dying bed was Bessarion. In comparison with that Cardinal, he knew little of Greek, but when, only eleven years earlier, the news of the fall of Constantinople broke like a thunder-bolt on Italy, Aeneas Sylvius was fully conscious of the blow that had befallen the cause of Greek literature. In a letter to Nicolas, the papal patron of the Classics who had raised him to the purple, we find him exclaiming :

How many names of mighty men will perish ! It is a second death to Homer and to Plato. The fount of the Muses is dried up for evermore².

¹ E. Piccolomini, in *Bolletino Storico Senese* (1899), fasc. iii (*Class. Rev.* xvii 460).

² *Ep.* 162, 12 July 1453 (Hody, 191 f). On Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II) cp. Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, Book IV cc. i and ix, and *Historical Essays and Reviews*; also Voigt, *passim*, and the monograph by the latter in 3 vols., 1856-63. Portrait in Phil. Galleus, *Effigies*, i (1572) A3, and Boissard's *Icones*, III ii p. 10 (1598), reproduced in Miss J. M. Stone's *Reformation and Renaissance*.

CHAPTER VI.

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, which had been waged at Florence by Plethon in 1439. Plethon and Plato were attacked without bitterness by Theodorus Gaza¹, and defended with good temper by Bessarion² between 1455 and 1459. Bessarion wrote a second treatise³, which was answered by Gaza⁴ (c. 1459). Gaza's preference for Aristotle brought down upon him an ill-mannered and ill-tempered

¹ ὅτι ἡ φύσις βουλευεται.

² *De Natura et Arte*, printed later as book vi of *Adv. Calumniatorem Platonis*.

³ πρὸς τὰ Πλήθωνα πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην περὶ οὐσίας.

⁴ πρὸς Πλήθωνα ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοτέλους.

attack on the part of one of Bessarion's protégés, Michael Apostolius, who hoped to retain Bessarion's favour by defending Plato¹ (1460-1). But Bessarion, who thoroughly disapproved of his protégé's controversial methods, protested that he himself had a profound respect for Aristotle, as well as for Plato², and even gave a cordial welcome to a short treatise, in which Aristotle was defended, and Apostolius refuted, in a sensible and moderate manner by a Greek of better breeding named Andronicus Callistus³ (1462). Bessarion was afterwards attacked in a petulant spirit by Georgius Trapezuntius (1464)⁴, who in his turn was answered by Bessarion (1469)⁵. Simply for approving this answer, Argyropulos was denounced by Theodorus Gaza, who, so far as the Greeks were concerned, had the last word in this long debate (c. 1470)⁶. Bessarion, however, had the support of Italians such as Filelfo and Ficino, and his own pupil Perotti, who wrote a treatise against Trapezuntius⁷. Throughout all the tangles of this complicated controversy, a thread of gold is inwoven by the serene and imperturbable temper of Bessarion. Among the Aristotelians who joined in the fray, Theodorus Gaza shines by contrast with Georgius Trapezuntius, while Andronicus Callistus is far more attractive than the selfish and interested Platonist, Apostolius⁸.

¹ Apostolios, *πνήματα τρία*, Smyrna, 1876; also MS in Bodleian, mentioned by Hody, 78.

² ἐμὲ δὲ φιλοῦντα μὲν Ἰσθι Πλάτωνα, φιλοῦντα δ' Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ ὡς σοφωτάτω σεβόμενον ἑκατέρω. Text of Bessarion's Letter in Migne, *P. G.* clxi 685-692; cp. Legrand, I lxii f.

³ MS in Escorial; Miller, *Catal. des MSS Grecs*, p. 177.

⁴ *Comparatio inter Aristotelem et Platonem* (printed Ven. 1523).

⁵ *Adversus Calumniatorem Platonis* (printed in Rome, 1469).

⁶ Ἀντιρρήτικόν. Cp. Bandini, *Catal. MSS Gr.* ii 275 f.

⁷ Valentinelli, *Bibl. ms. ad S. Marci*, Venet. iv 7, 9.

⁸ The earliest account of this controversy is that of Boivin le Cadet, *Querelle des Philosophes du quinzième siècle*, first printed in the *Mémoires de Littérature* of the French Academy, ii (1717) 775-791, where the correspondence about Apostolius and Andronicus (1462) is translated for the first time. Cp. Tiraboschi, vi c. 2 § 18, pp. 368-370; Buhle, *Gesch. der neuern Philos.* ii, 1800; Legrand, I xxxvi f; Gaspary (on the chronology of the controversy), in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, iii (1890) 50-53; and Voigt, ii 155⁸.

Michael Apostolius (c. 1422—1480), who had been a pupil of Argyropulos at Constantinople, fled to Rome in 1454. He subsequently settled in Crete, where he supported himself as a copyist¹. His bitter attack on Theodorus Gaza was answered (as we have seen) in a courteous spirit by Andronicus Callistus, a native of Constantinople, who makes his first appearance in Italy in 1461, when (like Argyropulos at an earlier date) he aided the Greek studies of Palla Strozzi at Padua. It was probably at Padua that John Free² wrote a letter of introduction to a friend at Ferrara describing Callistus as fully equal in learning to Gaza, and as a modest and pleasant person³. Callistus afterwards taught at Bologna and at Rome, and, on the death of Bessarion in 1472, left for Florence, where his lectures were attended by the youthful Politian, who wrote a graceful set of Latin elegiacs urging Lorenzo not to allow Callistus to leave Florence⁴. His fame as a lecturer reached the Hungarian bishop, Janus Pannonius, who had left Italy in 1458—9, but imagines himself as returning to the school in which Callistus was discoursing on Homer, Demosthenes, and Aristotle⁵. Callistus dedicated to Lorenzo a translation of Aristotle, *De Generatione et Corruptione*⁶. He subsequently lived in Milan and in Paris. He died in London, far from his friends⁷, after aiding a fellow-countryman, Hermonymus of Sparta, to return to Paris⁸, where he was one of the earliest teachers of Greek in France.

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

¹ Legrand, 1 lviii f.

² Creighton's *Historical Lectures and Addresses*, 202.

³ Hody, 228 f.

⁴ Politian, ed. 1867, 227 f.

⁵ *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum*, 1617, p. 198 (cp. Hody, 227—232; Legrand, 1 lii n. 6).

⁶ Legrand, 1 lvii.

⁷ *φιλον ἐρημος*, Const. Lascaris, ap. Legrand, 1 lvi n. 3.

⁸ 1476. Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* v 420—6.

at Corfu, but he found time for a visit to Rhodes, where he copied or acquired certain MSS now at Madrid¹. From 1460 to 1465 he was transcribing MSS and teaching Greek in Milan. It was there that, in a happy moment, he presented to the princess Hippolyta Sforza a beautifully written transcript of his work 'On the Eight Parts of Speech', now in the Paris Library². On her marriage to Alfonso II, the future king of Naples, Lascaris followed her to that court, and, a year later, started for Greece in a vessel that stopped at Messina. He was urged to stay, and there he abode for the remaining thirty-five years of his life. At Messina he taught Greek, one of his pupils being the future Cardinal Bembo³. In the bitterness of his spirit he once wrote to a friend lamenting the enslavement of Greece, and longing to leave Sicily for the British Isles, or for the Islands of the Blest⁴. In gratitude, however, to the Sicilian city, where he had spent the latter half of his life, he left his MSS to Messina, then under the rule of Castile. At Messina they remained until 1679, when they were removed, first to Palermo, and thence to Spain. In 1712 they were placed in the National Library founded in that year in Madrid⁵. 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 Greek⁶. Constantine Lascaris is a pathetic figure in the history of scholarship. Though he bore an imperial name, he found himself little better than a slave in Italy. He was reduced to support himself by teaching, and by copying MSS; and even his industry as a

¹ *Cod. Matrit.* no. 43 (Aphthonius etc.), no. 85 (Byz. law), no. 101 (Choricus). Cp. Legrand, 1 lxxi, and Iriarte's *Catalogue*.

² no. 2590.

³ In 1492. Bembo, *Epp.* ed. 1582, p. 4 f.

⁴ Iriarte, *Bibl. Matrit. Codd. Gr.* 290 (Legrand, 1 lxxx f).

⁵ Catalogued by Iriarte, 1769. Cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 68.

⁶ Legrand, 1 1—5. Reprinted by Aldus at Venice (1495); the Pronouns had been finished at Milan, 1460, the Nouns, 1463; the Verbs at Messina, 1468, and the Subscript Vowels, 1470. His abstract of Herodian is in the Hamburg Library.

copyist was of no avail, when his skill was superseded by the newly-invented art of printing¹.

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 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)². 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 Matthaëus Devarius of Corfu (c. 1500—1570), the future author of a work on the Greek particles³, and 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 Fontainebleau⁴. In this work he was associated with Budaëus, who, as an occasional pupil of his colleague, learnt more Greek from Lascaris than from his former teacher, Hermonymus of Sparta. Lascaris returned to Rome on the accession of the second Medicean Pope, in 1523, and again in 1534. In the following year he died, and was buried in the church of Sant' Agata, where the Greek epitaph, composed by himself, tells of his grief for the enslavement of his

¹ Cp. Hody, 240—6; Tiraboschi, vi 822—5; Voigt, i 369³; and esp. Legrand, i lxxi—lxxxvii.

² He visited Corfu, Arta, Thessalonica, Mount Athos, Constantinople, Crete. The memoranda of his acquisitions (*Cod. Vat.* no. 1412) were published by K. K. Müller, in *Centribl. f. Bibl.* i (1884) 333—412. Cp. De Nolhac, *Bibl. de F. Orsini*, 154—9, and in *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* vi (1886) 255 f, 264 f.

³ Ed. Klotz, 1835—42; originally published in 1587 (details of his life in his nephew's dedication of this work, and in Legrand, i cxcv—viii, and ii 52 f).

⁴ Cp. Omont, *Catalogues des MSS grecs de Fontainebleau* (1889), p. iv f.

country, and of his gratitude to the alien land that had given him a new home¹. His reputation rests on his five *editiones principes*, all of them printed in Florence, in Greek capitals with accents: namely, four plays of Euripides², Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, the Greek Anthology, and Lucian (1494-6). At Rome he produced at the Greek press on the Quirinal the ancient *scholia* on the *Iliad* and on Sophocles (1517-8)³.

Among his pupils in Florence was the Cretan Musurus (c. 1470-1517), who was so diligent in teaching Greek at Padua that he hardly allowed himself four days of holiday throughout the year⁴. In 1513 we find him lecturing on Greek in Venice, and making it a 'second Athens'. Such is the language of Aldus Manutius⁵ whom he aided, from 1498 to 1515, in the preparation of the earliest printed editions of Aristophanes⁶, Euripides, Plato, Athenaeus, Hesychius, and Pausanias. In recognition of the beautiful Greek poem, prefixed in 1513 to the *editio princeps* of Plato⁷, he was appointed bishop of Monembasia in the Morea, but died at the age of less than fifty, before starting for his distant diocese⁸. He was the editor of the '*Etymologicum*

Marcus
Musurus

¹ Lascaris *Epigr.* ed. 1544, f. 13 verso, Ἀσκαρίς ἄλλοδαπῆ γαίῃ ἐνικάθθητο, γαίῃ | ὅτρε λίην ξείνην, ὧ ξένη, μεμφόμενος. | εὐρετο μελιχίην, ἀλλ' ἀχθεταί, εἴπερ Ἀχαιοὶς | οὐδ' ἐτι χροὸν χεῦει πατρίς ἐλευθέριον.

² *Med. Hipp. Alc. Androm.*

³ Cp. Boerner, 199 f; Hody, 247-275; Wolf, *Analecta*, i 237; Vogel in *Serapeum*, 1849, no. 5 and 6; Symonds, ii 427 f; and esp. Legrand, i cxxx-clxii, and portrait, *ib.* 111 411.

⁴ Erasmus, iii 788 B; Nichols, i 449. His teaching is highly praised by Beatus Rhenanus: 'nihil (in Graecis auctoribus) erat tam reconditum, quod non aperiret, nec tam involutum, quod non expediret Musurus, vere Musarum custos et antistes' (*Ep. ad Carolum V*; Leyden ed. of Erasmus, i *init.*; cp. Hody, p. 304).

⁵ Preface to *Oratores Graeci*, 1513.

⁶ *Facsimile in Early Venetian Printing* (1895), 111.

⁷ Printed in Botfield's *Prefaces to the Editiones Principes*, 290-6, and in Didot's *Aldi Manuce*, 491-8; translated in Roscoe's *Leo X*, i 421 f, ed. 1846.

⁸ He is described, in his epitaph in S. Maria della Pace, as *exactae diligentiae grammaticus et rarae felicitatis poeta* (Legrand, i cxxi), and by Erasmus as not only *gente Graecus, eruditione Graecissimus* (*Ep.* 295), but also as *Latinae linguae usque ad miraculum doctus* (*Ep.* 671). Cp. Hody, 294-307; Boerner, 219-232; R. Menge in Schmidt's Hesychius, v 1-88 (1868);

*Magnum*¹, published at Venice in 1499¹, 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 at Rome the second edition of Pindar (1515), and an early edition of Theocritus (1516), followed by his Thomas Magister (1517). Callierges was noted for his calligraphy², and his Greek type is as beautiful, in its kind, as that of Aldus Manutius³.

and esp. Legrand, i cviii—cxxiv, with portrait in vol. II, frontispiece, from Jovius, *Elogia*, p. 57; also in Didot, p. 300 (with page of autograph, opp. p. 500).

¹ Facsimile in *Early Venetian Printing*, 123 (wrongly dated 1497).

² Stobaeus, in *New Coll.*, Oxford, copied Dec. 1523, the latest definite date in his life.

³ Hody, 317; Ritschl's Pref. to Thomas Magister, p. xviii, and esp. Legrand, I I—lvii. The Greek Immigrants are briefly sketched by Heeren, ii 199—221, Bernhardt, *Gr. Lit.* i 747—752⁴; Symonds, ii 246—250, 375—8, and by others; all previous accounts are, however, superseded by Legrand's *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I—III (1885—1903). Cp. Literature in Krumbacher, p. 502 f, ed. 1897.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ACADEMIES OF FLORENCE, NAPLES, AND ROME.

THE thirty years, during which Cosimo de' Medici was in power (1434-64), were separated by the five years of the brief sway of his son from the three and twenty years of the rule of Lorenzo (1469-92). Lorenzo was one of the most accomplished and versatile of men; astute as a politician, graceful as a poet, generous as a patron, and eager and enthusiastic as a lover of art and philosophy and classical learning. In his virtues and in his vices he was the incarnation of the spirit of the Renaissance.

Ficino had translated ten of Plato's dialogues before the death of Cosimo; 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. The ancient custom of celebrating the memory of Plato by an annual banquet had, after an interval of twelve hundred years, been revived by Lorenzo. Nine members of the Academy, including Ficino and Landino, had been invited to the villa at Careggi. At the conclusion of the repast, Ficino's rendering of all the seven speeches in the *Symposium* is read aloud, and discussed by five of the guests¹. Of the nine that assembled at Careggi to discuss the *Symposium*, the only one unknown to fame, apart from Ficino himself, is Cristoforo Landino (1424-1504). A survivor from the age of Cosimo, he was destined to live to the age of eighty, and even to outlive the youthful Lorenzo. He had been associated with Ficino as Lorenzo's tutor; he had already lectured on Petrarch (1460), and, at a later time, he was to expound

¹ pp. 373-440 of Basel ed., 1532.

Dante (1481), to annotate Horace (1482) and Virgil (1487), to translate the elder Pliny (1501), and to imitate the *Tusculan Disputations* of Cicero¹ in a celebrated dialogue, whose scene is laid at Camaldoli, near the source of the Arno. In that dialogue the life of action is lauded by Lorenzo, and that of contemplation by the widely accomplished Leon Battista Alberti (1404—1472)², who maintains the allegorical significance of the *Aeneid*, and finds affinities between the poetry of Virgil and the philosophy of Plato³.

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). After surviving Lorenzo for seven years, he died in 1499, and is commemorated by a marble bust in the Cathedral of Florence⁴.

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, on the very day of 1494, on which the invader of Italy, Charles VIII of France, marched into Florence⁵.

¹ His lecture on the *Tusc. Disp.* is printed in K. Müllner's *Reden*, 118—129.

² Voigt, i 370—6³; Symonds, ii 341—4; portrait in G. F. Hill's *Pisanello*, 192. At 20, he composed a Latin Comedy, which passed for a Classic (the *Philodoxius* of 'Lepidus Comicus', ed. Ven. 1588).

³ Portrait in group on p. 58 *supra*; another portrait in Alois Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, i 63.

⁴ Reproduced in Wiese and Pèrcopo, *It. Litt.* 199; he is one of the group on p. 58 *supra*. Cp. Reumont's *Lorenzo*, ii 20—30 E.T.; Symonds, ii 324—8; *Harvard Lectures*, 89—94.

⁵ Roscoe's *Lorenzo*, 259 f, ed. 1847; Reumont, ii 79—95; Symonds, ii 329—338; fine portrait in the Uffizi, no. 1154, reproduced in Armstrong's *Lorenzo*, and Wiese and Pèrcopo, 203; another portrait in the Uffizi, reproduced by Alois Heiss, *l.c.* i 29.

Pico's friend and correspondent, Hermolaus Barbarus (1454—1493), died only a year before him. A grandson of Francesco Barbaro, the Venetian friend of Poggio, Hermolaus
Barbarus 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 Pliny¹. In a memorable letter, Pico, while congratulating him on his Ciceronian style, ventured to ask whether the old schoolmen might not say to any one who now charged them with dulness, 'Let him prove by experience whether we barbarians have not the god of eloquence in our hearts rather than on our lips'². He is described by Politian as *Hermolaus Barbarus barbariae hostis acerrimus*³; and he is declared by Bembo to have surpassed all former Venetians in Greek and Latin learning. He died in Rome in 1493, at the early age of thirty-nine.

'Urbs Venetum vitam, mortem dedit inclyta Roma,
non potuit nasci nobilivse mori'⁴.

In the following year, at the age of forty, died a notable member of the Florentine Academy, Angelo Poliziano, familiarly known as Politian (1454—1494). Politian Sent to Florence at the age of ten from his home at Monte Pulciano, he attended the lectures of Landino, Argyropulos, Andronicus Callistus, and Ficino. 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 Age⁵. It is as a scholar, and not as a

¹ *Castigationes Plin.* 1492-3.

² Ap. Politian, *Epp.* ix 4.

³ *Misc.* c. xc.

⁴ Jovius, *Elogia*, no. 36, with portrait on p. 69. Cp. Tiraboschi, vi 828 f; Roscoe's *Lorenzo*, note 329.

⁵ *Oratio super Quintiliano et Statii Silvis*, in *Opera*, ed. 1498, signature *as*.

philosopher, that he claims the right to expound Aristotle¹. He was probably the first teacher in Italy whose mastery of Greek was equal to that of the Greek immigrants².

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 *Sylvæ*. 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)³.

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 Rusticæ*. His copy of the *editio princeps* of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Statius, published in 1472, formerly in the Laurentian Library⁴, is now in the Corsini palace in Rome⁵. He made a special study of the Pandects of Justinian, the celebrated MS of which was removed from Pisa to Florence in 1411. By the influence of Lorenzo, Politian was allowed to study the MS at his leisure⁶, and was thus enabled to point out mistakes in the later MSS, and in the current editions of the work⁷.

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

¹ *Lamia*, *ib.*, signature Y.

² Letter to Matthias Corvinus, in *Epp.* ix 1.

³ Text in ed. 1867, 285—427; cp. Symonds, ii 453—484; *Harvard Lectures*, 96.

⁴ Mähly, *Angelus Politianus*, 22.

⁵ Cp. Schanz, § 411, p. 146; Klotz, *Praef.* to Statius, *Silvæ*, pp. 1—lxviii; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 153, n. 71.

⁶ *Misc.* c. xli; *Epp.* x 4.

⁷ Gibbon, c. 44 (iv 468 Bury); Roscoe's *Lorenzo*, note 217; and esp. Mähly's *Ang. Politianus*, 61—7.

signatures of Greek sculptors. Gellius quotes a Latin riddle, and, for its solution, refers his readers to a lost book of Varro:—

‘semel minusve an bis minus sit nescio,
at utrumque eorum, ut quondam audivi dicier,
Iovi ipsi regi noluit concedere’.

Politian solves the riddle with the word *Terminus*, adding a reference to Ovid’s *Fasti*¹.

In his Latin prose, Politian was an eclectic, with an eccentric fondness for rare and archaic words. As an eclectic, he found himself in opposition to the pretended Ciceronian, Bartolomeo Scala, the Latin Secretary of Florence, and to the true Ciceronian, Paolo Cortesi, the author of the remarkable dialogue ‘On Learned Men’ (1490). In the course of a controversy with Scala, Politian insists that a single style is not sufficient to express everything. He adds that his critics sometimes found fault with him for using words that were really derived from the best MSS of Cicero. Scala is ready to approve of Politian’s imitation of Sallust and Livy, while protesting against his partiality for the writers of the Silver Age². In the controversy with Cortesi, Politian denounces the Ciceronians as the mere ‘apes of Cicero’. ‘To myself (he adds) the face of a bull or a lion appears far more beautiful than that of an ape, although the ape has a closer resemblance to man’. But “someone will say: ‘You do not express Cicero’. I answer: ‘I am not Cicero; what I really express is *myself*’”³. In his Latin history of the Pazzi conspiracy, the model he selects is Sallust.

Politian wrote Greek poems at the age of seventeen, and, by his verse translation of four books of the *Iliad*⁴, gained the proud title of *Homericus juvenis*. His other translations include poems from Moschus and Callimachus and the Greek Anthology, with

¹ ii 677 f. On the interest evoked by its publication, cp. *Epp.* iii 18; *Harvard Lectures*, 97. It led to a feud with Merula, who pretended that part of Politian’s learning was derived from himself (*Epp.* xi 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 21; Roscoe’s *Lorenzo*, 251 f; Mähly, 141–3).

² Politian, *Epp.* v.

³ *Epp.* viii 16; Mähly, 74–86; Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, 34–42; *Harvard Lectures*, 157–9.

⁴ ii—v, *Poesie Latine*, ed. 1867, 429–523.

part of Plato's *Charmides*, and Epictetus, and a flowing rendering of the historian Herodian¹.

In Latin, as well as Italian, verse, Politian was a born poet. The Italian *Opera* originated in his *Orfeo*, which, in its first edition, written at an early age, contained, imbedded in the Italian text, an ode in Latin Sapphics to be sung by Orpheus². There is a singular grace and beauty in the long elegiac poem on the violets sent him by the lady of his love. The purport of the whole may be gathered from a single couplet :—

'felices nimum violae, quas carpsit illa
dextera quae miserum me mihi subripuit'³.

A graver pathos lingers over the lament for Lorenzo with its twice-repeated refrain :—

'quis dabit capiti meo
aquam, quis oculis meis
fontem lachrymarum dabit?'⁴

The death of Lorenzo (1492)⁵ probably hastened the death of Politian (1494)⁶, and the Academy could hardly survive the death of Ficino in 1499.

In the last year of his life we find Politian corresponding with Beroaldo Filippo Beroaldo the elder (1453—1505), on the subject of Merula, one of the few scholars of the day who failed to live on good terms with Beroaldo. Beroaldo had produced at Parma in 1476 the first commentary on the

¹ Mähly, 86—100.

² *Opere Volgari*, p. 71 f, ed. 1885.

³ *Poesie Lat.* 235.

⁴ *ib.* 274.

⁵ Politian, *Epp.* iv 2, 'nunc extincto, qui fuerat unicus auctor eruditi laboris videlicet, ardor etiam scribendi noster extinctus est, omnisque prope veterum studiorum alacritas elanguit'.

⁶ On Politian, cp. Jovius, no. 38 (with portrait on p. 73, ed. 1577); F. O. Mencken (Leipzig, 1836); Tiraboschi, vi 1098—1108; W. P. Gresswell, *Memoirs* (1801, 1805, 1809); S. F. W. Hoffmann, *Lebensbilder berühmter Humanisten*, i (1837) 71—198; and esp. A. Mähly, *Ang. Politianus, Ein Culturbild aus der Renaissance*, 173 pp. (1867); Symonds, ii 345—357, 452—465; Guido Mazzoni, *Il Polisiano e l'Umanesimo*, in *Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento* (Milan, 1899), 147—177. *Opera*, Ven. 1498, Flor. 1499, Bas. 1553; *Epp.* Bas. 1522, Antw. 1567; *Opera, Epp., Miscell.* Lugd. 1526 etc.; *Poesie Latine e Greche in Prose Volgari* etc., ed. Isidoro del Lungo (Firenze, 1867). His portrait is included in the group on p. 58.

elder Pliny. He was afterwards a professor at Milan and Paris and in his native city of Bologna¹, and proved himself a scholar of wide attainments and extraordinary industry, as an editor of many of the Latin Classics, including Propertius (1487) and Plautus (1500). The Latin Satirists and Terence were edited by his contemporary Giovanni Britan-
Britannico
 nico of Brescia (d. after 1518), who completed in 1506 a post-
 humous edition of Plautus by his friend 'Pylades' Buccardus².

Among Politian's contemporaries at Florence was Michael Tarchaniota Marullus, who was a mere child when
Marullus
 his family fled from Constantinople in the year of its fall. They took refuge first in Ancona, where his great-grand-
 father had lived and died. In his youth Marullus served under the banner of 'Mars and the Muses'³. On settling in Florence he won the favour of Lorenzo, and married Alessandra, the accomplished daughter of Lorenzo's secretary, Bartolommeo Scala. The daughter had previously won the affections of Politian, and the feud that arose between the rival suitors has left its traces on the poems of both. Among the Greeks in Italy Marullus is exceptional in his mastery of Latin verse. In the first edition of his poems he imitates Catullus, Tibullus, and Horace, but in the last, that of 1497, he gives proof of a keen admiration for Lucretius⁴. His able emendations of the text of the poet were well known during the latter part of his life⁵, and a copy was found on his person at his death⁶. He perished in the waters of the Cecina in the neighbourhood of Volterra (1500)⁷.

Among those who waited on Lorenzo, as he lay a-dying at the early age of forty-three, were Pico and Politian. There too was Savonarola (1452—1498), who, with-
Savonarola
 in the next few years, was to see the works of Latin and Italian poets and many precious mss perish in the flames kindled by his

¹ A lecture on Juvenal delivered at Bologna is printed in K. Müllner's *Reden*, 60 f.

² Cp. Ritschl, *Opusc.* ii 62.

³ *Epigr.* 1.

⁴ Esp. in his last poem; cp. Munro's *Lucretius*, p. 7².

⁵ *ib.* pp. 6—14².

⁶ Candidus in pref. to Juntine ed. (1512).

⁷ Hody, 276—291.

followers (1497), and was himself to close his marvellous career by an awful doom. About the date of Lorenzo's death, Savonarola wrote a treatise describing all learning as dangerous unless limited to a chosen few. He there attacks the abuse of poetry, though he spares poetry itself. He is peculiarly suspicious of the imitation of the *ancient* poets, and, as a reformer, he represents a religious reaction against the pagan tendencies of some of the humanists¹.

Shortly after the death of Savonarola, Florence for the first time employed in her Chancery the astute diplomatist, Machiavelli Niccolò Machiavelli (1469—1527), who ceased to hold office on the restoration of the Medici in 1513. While living in poverty on his farm in the neighbourhood of Florence, Machiavelli wrote, not only his *Principe*, but also his *Discourses on the first decade of Livy*, in which the Roman historian supplies the author with a few texts for setting forth the progress of an ambitious people. These discourses were written in 1516 to 1519 for the meetings of the revived Academy held in the gardens of Bernardo Rucellai in the Via della Scala². The Academy was suppressed in 1522, and, when it was restored in 1540, its aim was solely the study of the Italian language. One of Machiavelli's comedies, the *Clizia*, is founded on the *Casina* of Plautus, while his Italian history of Florence, down to the death of Lorenzo, has a flowing smoothness worthy of Herodotus, and a vivid picturesqueness resembling that of Tacitus. Early in the seventeenth century, when a request for permission to publish Boccalini's *Commentaries on Tacitus* was referred to five of the Senators of Venice, 'it is the teaching of Tacitus (they said) that has produced Machiavelli and the other bad authors, who would destroy public virtue; we should replace Tacitus by Livy and Polybius, historians of the happier and more virtuous times of the Roman republic, and by Thucydides, the historian of the Greek republic, who found themselves in circumstances like those of Venice'³.

¹ Savonarola, *De Divisione ac Utilitate Omnium Scientiarum*; cp. Villari's *Savonarola*, 501 f; Burckhardt, 476 E.T.; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iii 141 f; and Spingarn, *Lit. Criticism in the Renaissance*, 14 f.

² Nerli, *Comm.* vii 138.

³ Sclopis, in *Revue hist. de droit français et étranger*, ii (1856) 25.

Machiavelli's writings abound in illustrations, not only from Livy and Tacitus, but also from Aristotle's *Politics*, and from Polybius and Plutarch. It is held by some that he was saturated with Thucydides, with whom he may have been familiar in Latinised selections, or in the Latin rendering of Leonardo Bruni, or of Valla; but he has very few actual references to the Greek historian. It has been judiciously observed by Mr John Morley that, 'if he had ever read Thucydides, he would have recalled that first great chapter in European literature, ... where the historian analyses the demoralisation of the Hellenic world'¹. Paolo Giovio states that Machiavelli confessed to him that he was indebted to Marcellus Virgilius, whom he had once served as secretary, for a number of choice passages from Greek and Latin authors for insertion in his works². Such indebtedness for a few quotations is quite consistent with a high degree of originality³; and, whatever doubt there may be as to his knowledge of Greek, there is none as to his Latin. At his farm, he used to read Ovid and Tibullus in the open air, and, in the evening, array himself in royal robes before holding converse with the great men of old⁴.

In the year of his death, Florence, for the third time, expelled the Medici, only to fall once more under their sway, and ultimately to pass for two centuries under the power of the younger branch of the Medicean house, the ultimate descendants of the younger brother of Cosimo, the Father of his Country.

The Academy of Naples came into being during the reign of Alfonso of Aragon (1442-58), the 'magnanimous' patron of learning, who was interested in visiting The Academy
of Naples the birthplace of Ovid, in preserving the site of Cicero's villa at Gaëta, and in listening to recitations from Virgil or Terence, and readings from Curtius and Livy. The centre of this Academy was the poet and courtier, Antonio of Palermo, better known as Beccadelli (1394-1471); and its place of meeting

¹ Thuc. iii 82-4; *Romanes Lecture* (1897), 16.

² *Elogia*, c. 87.

³ Algarotti, ap. Tiraboschi, vii 594.

⁴ Letter to Fr. Vettori, 10 Dec. 1514. Cp., in general, Macaulay's *Essay*; Villari's *Machiavelli*; Symonds, i 282-305; and Mr Burd's edition of the *Prince*.

was an open colonnade looking out on the 'Street of Tribunals'. On the death of Alfonso, it was organised as a club under 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 verse¹. His poems 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 models². Most of the prominent members of this Academy were poets. One of the exceptions is Valla, whom we have already noticed in another connexion³.

While the Academy of Naples had been fostered by Alfonso, and that of Florence by Lorenzo, Greek and Latin scholarship in Rome owed little to public patronage between the death of Nicolas V (1456) and the accession of Leo X (1513)⁴. Callixtus III regarded the sums spent by Nicolas V, on the red and silver bindings of the Greek and Latin MSS in the newly founded Vatican Library, as a lamentable waste of the resources of the Church⁵. Pius II disappointed the hopes of the humanists; Paul II persecuted the Roman Platonists; Sixtus IV opened the Vatican Library to the public, but suppressed the stipends of the local professors. Innocent III patronised Politian's translation of Herodian, but did nothing for scholarship in Rome itself; no service to the Classics was rendered by the infamous Alexander VI. Pius III was Pope for less than a month; and Julius II was too busy with his wars to do anything for the votaries of the Classics,—beyond the bestowal of a laurel-crown on a young Roman poet who assumed the garb of Orpheus⁶. But it was for Julius that Raphael painted, in the *Camera della Segnatura*, between 1509 and 1511, the famous fresco of Apollo

¹ *Carmina*, ed. 1902. He was one of the early critics of the text of Lucretius; cp. Munro, p. 6 f.

² *Harvard Lectures*, 101-9.

³ p. 66 f, *supra*.

⁴ Symonds, ii 357-9.

⁵ *Vespasiano, Vite*, 216.

⁶ *Diary of Paris de Grassis*, 1512 (Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, v 201, 314).

and the Muses with the ancient poets on Parnassus, and the no less famous 'School of Athens', which may well have been inspired either by the writings of Marsilio Ficino in Florence, or by the suggestions of Sadoleto in Rome¹. It was under Julius that many men of letters, such as Sadoleto, Bembo, and Vida, gave the first proof of that distinction which added a lustre to the pontificate of Leo X². It was also under Julius that Italy was visited, in 1506-9, by Erasmus Erasmus
in Italy (1466-1536). In 1506, he went to Bologna. Filippo Beroaldo the elder, who had edited a vast number of Latin Classics, and Codrus Urceus, a professor of Greek, who wrote poems in good Latin, had lately passed away. Erasmus remained at Bologna for little more than a year, working quietly at Greek, and, in November, saw the triumphal entry of the warrior-pope, Julius II. Early in 1508, he left for Venice, where he spent nine months with Aldus Manutius, revising his Latin translation of the *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, correcting the text of Plautus, Terence, and Seneca³, and seeing through the press a new edition of the *Adagia*. From Venice he went to Padua, where he studied Pausanias and Eustathius, with the scholiasts on Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, and Lycophron⁴. After visiting Ferrara and Siena, in the spring of 1509 he reached Rome, where he first made the acquaintance of the younger Beroaldo, as well as Cardinal Riario, the nephew, and Cardinal Giovanni Medici, the future successor, of Julius II. On a third visit he made the acquaintance of Cardinal Grimani⁵, who pressed him to remain in Rome; but the hopes inspired by the news of the accession of Henry VIII soon called him to England. He afterwards wrote, however, to assure *one* of the Cardinals, that the river of Lethe alone would wash out the memory of the delights of Rome⁶; and *another*, that he recalled

¹ Raphael was in Florence in 1508. Cp. F. X. Kraus, *Camera della Segnatura* (Firenze, 1890), and Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iii 758 f. 768-772, 792.

² F. X. Kraus, in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* ii 15 f.

³ Didot's *Alde Manuce*, 414 n. 2.

⁴ Beatus Rhenanus, quoted by De Nolhac, 56.

⁵ *Ep.* 1175; cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 139.

⁶ *Ep.* 136.

with regret the theatre, the libraries, and the scholarly conversations he had enjoyed in that city¹.

The Roman Academy flourished anew under Julius II. That Academy had owed its origin to Pomponius Laetus
 The Roman Academy (1425—1498), a pupil of Valla, whom he succeeded 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. To Pomponius the contemplation of the ruins of ancient Rome was a perpetual delight; and in his own person he revived the life of the pagan past. He had a small plot of land, which he tilled in accordance with the precepts of Varro and Columella, and he was himself regarded as a second Cato. His vineyard on the Quirinal was frequented by his enthusiastic pupils. Before day-break that 'insignificant little figure, with small, quick eyes, and quaint dress'², might be seen descending, lantern in hand, from his home on the Esquiline to the scene of his lectures, where an eager crowd awaited him³. He was the ruling spirit of the Academy. The members of that body assumed Latin names, and celebrated the foundation of Rome on the annual return of the festival of the *Palilia*. They also revived the performance of the plays of Plautus. Among the best-known members were Platina, the future librarian of the Vatican (1475—81)⁴, and Sabellicus (1436—1506), the future praefect of the Library of San Marco in Venice⁵. In 1468 the Academy was suppressed for a time by Paul II, on the ground of its political aims and its pagan spirit; Pomponius was imprisoned in the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and was put to the torture with Platina⁶ and other men of mark. The Academy was revived under Sixtus IV, and we have a quaint account of

¹ *Ep.* 167—8. Cp. De Nolhac, *Érasme en Italie*, 144 pp., ed. 1898; and Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, viii 309 f, E. T.

² Sabellicus, *Épp.* lib. xi; Burckhardt, 279 E. T.

³ Jovius, *Elogia*, no. 40; portrait on p. 78.

⁴ Portrait in Jovius, p. 34. Platina is included in Melozzo da Forlì's fresco (admirably reproduced in Alois Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, i opp. p. 52), and in the interesting fresco copied in J. W. Clark's *Care of Books*, fig. 99.

⁵ Portrait in Jovius, p. 98 (closely resembling Politian).

⁶ *De Vitis Pontificum*, p. 338, ed. 1568.

all the ceremonies, grave and gay, attending the commemoration, in 1482, of the first anniversary of the death of Platina'. 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. In complete accordance with his pagan view of life, he had desired that, on his death, his body should simply be placed in an ancient Roman sarcophagus on the Appian Way; but, when he died at the age of seventy, his desire was over-ruled by his having a Christian burial in the church of San Salvatore in Lauro, and his obsequies at the *Ara Caeli* were attended by as many as forty bishops¹. The Academy which he founded flourished once more under Julius II, when it had its *Dictator* and its *Comitia*, which, however, were of a somewhat frivolous character. Its palmy days were in the pontificate of Leo X, when it included the most brilliant members of the literary society of Rome, men like the future Cardinals, Bembo and Sadoletto, as well as Paolo Giovio and Castiglione. It held its meetings in the Circus Maximus, or on the Quirinal, or near the temple of Hercules by the bank of the Tiber, or in the suburban park of some Maecenas of the day, when a simple repast, seasoned with the salt of wit, would be followed by the delivery of Latin speeches and the recitation of Latin poems². It was overwhelmed in the general ruin, which accompanied the sack of Rome by the Spanish and German troops of the Emperor Charles V in 1527. Among the minor Roman Academies of later origin was the *Accademia della Virtù* founded by Claudio Tolomei and others under the patronage of the young Cardinal Ippolito dei Medici (d. 1535). The special aim of this Academy was the study of Vitruvius.

¹ Jacopo Volterrano, in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* xxiii 171 (Tiraboschi, vi 322).

² Sabellicus, vol. iii, *Epp.* xi pp. 458-461, ed. Basel; Tiraboschi, vi 108-114, 659-665; Symonds, i 353, ii 359-362; Creighton, iv 47-56; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, ii 292-5, 305 f; also Eckstein on Tac. *Dial.* p. 64; Naeke, *Opp.* i 119; and Mommsen, in *Rhein. Mus.* vi 628.

³ Tiraboschi, vii 141-4; Gregorovius, Book xiv, Chap. iv (viii 313 f).



ALDUS MANUTIUS.

From a contemporary print in the Library of San Marco, Venice,
reproduced as *Frontispiece* to Didot's *Aldo Manuce*; p. 97 *infra*.

CHAPTER VIII.

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.

The old order culminates in the name of **Vespasiano da Bisticci** (1421—1498), the last of mediaeval scribes and the first of modern booksellers. The date of his birth falls exactly a hundred years after the death of Dante (1321) and before the death of Leo X (1521), and he is himself one of the most interesting representatives of Medicean Florence. An intimate friend of the many-sided Manetti, he was conscious of not having such a mastery of the best Latin as would warrant his using that language in answering the Latin letters of his friend, yet he possessed a thorough knowledge of the commercial value of Latin, Greek and Hebrew mss. Besides executing orders for Hungary, Portugal, Germany, and England, he was the trusted agent of the three greatest collectors in the fifteenth century, Cosimo de' Medici, Nicolas V, and Frederic of Urbino. When Cosimo, the founder of three libraries, the private library of the Medici, that of San Marco, and that of the Badia between Florence and Fiesole, proposed to found a fourth library for the monks of San Lorenzo, he applied to Vespasiano, who promptly engaged 45 copyists, and, in less than two years, produced 200 MSS for that purpose¹. The library was divided into classes according

Vespasiano
da Bisticci

¹ *Vita di Cosimo*, § 12, p. 255.

to a scheme drawn up by Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards famous as Nicolas V, the founder of the collection of mss in the Vatican Library. In the formation of that library, Vespasiano was one of the Pope's principal assistants, and the bookseller of Florence dwells in glowing terms on the services rendered by Nicolas V to the cause of learning¹. Similarly, Vespasiano spent fourteen years in forming for the duke of Urbino a fine library including all the Greek and Latin authors as yet discovered, all the volumes being bound in crimson and silver, and all in perfect condition, all 'written with the pen,' for the duke would have been ashamed (says Vespasiano) to possess a single printed book². Such is the phrase found in one of those delightful biographies of the hundred and three men of mark, the patriots, patrons of learning and scholars of the fifteenth century, biographies founded on personal knowledge and inspired by a love of virtue, which have made the name of Vespasiano dear to all who are interested in the literature of the time of transition from the age of the mediaeval copyist to that of the modern printer. He rests in Santa Croce among the great men of Florence, after proving himself faithful to the old traditions of learning down to the very end of his life³. Twenty-eight years before the death of Vespasiano, we find Filelfo genuinely interested in the new art of printing, and resolving on the purchase of 'some of those *codices* they are now making without any trouble, and without a pen, but with certain so-called types, and which seem to be the work of a skilled and exact scribe', and finally inquiring as to the cost of a printed copy of Pliny and Livy and Aulus Gellius⁴.

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

¹ *Vita di Nicola V*, § 25 f, p. 38 f.

² *Federigo, duca d' Urbino*, §§ 27—31, esp. p. 99 'tutti iscritti a penna, e non v' è ignuno a stampa, che se ne sarebbe vergognato'.

³ The *Vite* first published by Mai, in *Spicilegium Romanum*, 1839 f, and afterwards by Bartoli (Florence, 1859). Cp. in general, Voigt, i 399 f²; Symonds, ii 306 f.

⁴ Letter dated 25 July, 1470, in Rosmini's *Vita di Filelfo*, ii 201; Symonds, ii 306.

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, the first Italian who cast his own type, 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 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 Lascaris² and Chrysoloras³; two Psalters⁴; Aesop⁵ and Theocritus⁶, the 'Battle of the Frogs and Mice'⁷, and Homer⁸, with Isocrates⁹, and the Greek Anthology¹⁰. 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.

¹ See list of Latin *Editiones Principes* on p. 103 *infra*.

² Milan, 1476; Vicenza, 1488.

³ Venice, 1484; Vicenza, 1490.

⁴ Milan, 1481-6.

⁵ Milan, c. 1479.

⁶ Milan, c. 1493.

⁷ Venice, 1486; cp. p. 102.

⁸ Florence, 1488.

⁹ Milan, 1493.

¹⁰ Florence, 1494.

Aldus Manutius (1449—1515) is the Latin form of Aldo Manuzio, whose original name was Teobaldo Manucci. Born in the neighbourhood of Velletri, he was early imbued with classical learning by two natives of Verona, having studied Latin in Rome under Gaspare, and Greek as well as Latin under Guarino at Ferrara¹. His younger fellow-student, the brilliant Giovanni Pico of Mirandola, recommended Aldus as tutor to his nephews Alberto and Lionello Pio at Carpi, and it was at Carpi that Aldus matured his plans for starting a Greek press with the aid of Alberto Pio. The press was ultimately 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, nine plays of Aristophanes, Sophocles, Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon's *Hellenica*, with eighteen plays of Euripides, 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 Athenaeus².

With a view to promoting the study of Greek and the systematic publication of the Greek Classics, Aldus formed in 1500 the 'New Academy' of Hellenists. Greek was the language of its rules; Greek was spoken at its meetings; and Greek names were adopted by its Italian members. Thus Scipione Fortiguerra of Pistoia, the earliest editor of the text of Demosthenes, and Secretary of the Academy, translated his name into Carteromachus.

One of the aims of the Academy was to produce in each month an edition of at least 1,000 copies of some 'good author'³. Among the ordinary members were Janus Lascaris and his pupil Marcus Musurus, besides other scholars from Crete. Among the honorary foreign members were Linacre, whose Latin rendering of the *Sphere* of Proclus was published by Aldus in 1499, and Erasmus, who

¹ Pref. to Theocritus, 1495, p. 194 of Botfield's *Prefaces*.

² See list of Greek *Editiones Principes* on p. 104 *infra*.

³ Pref. to Euripides, 1503, p. 226 Botfield.

visited Venice in 1508, when he was engaged in seeing through the press a new edition of the *Adagia*¹.

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 founded on the handwriting of Petrarch by Francesco da Bologna², and it was first used in 1501 in the Aldine editions of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal and Persius, as well as in the *Cosè Volgare* of Petrarch³. The later Latin texts include Valerius Maximus (1502), Pliny's *Letters* (1508)⁴, 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 *actibus Aldi et Andreae soceri*, supplies us with the first public record of the fact. Aldus was far more than a printer and bookseller; he rejoiced in rescuing the writings of the ancients from the hands of selfish bibliomaniacs, many of his texts were edited by himself, and he was honoured as a scholar by the foremost scholars of the age. One of the most generous of men, his generosity was appreciated by Erasmus, and by his own countrymen. The editor of the *Prefaces to the Editiones Principes* justly describes 'the dedications of Aldus as worth all the rest; there is a high and a noble feeling, a self-respect, and simplicity of language about him which is delightful; he certainly had aspiring hopes of doing the world good'⁵. He is probably the only publisher

¹ Didot's *Alde Manuce*, 147—152, 435—470; and Symonds, ii 385—8.

² Of the Griffi family (not Francia); cp. Fumagalli, *Lexicon typographicum Italiae*, Florence, 1905, s. v. Bologna, p. 42. Aldus himself called this style of type, *cancelleresco* (*ib.* 471).

³ Didot, 155—169. Of the rare texts above mentioned, I happen to possess Munro's copy of the Juvenal and Persius, bound with the Catullus, Propertius and Tibullus of the following year.

⁴ The first complete ed. with *all* the correspondence with Trajan (and the *Panegyricus*).

⁵ Botfield, p. vi.

who, in the preface of a work published by himself, ever used such language as the following:—*nihil unquam memini me legere deterius, lectuque minus dignum*. Such are the terms in which he refers to the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus; but he hastens to add that, as an antidote to the poison, he publishes in the same volume the refutation by Eusebius, translated by the friend to whom he dedicates the work. 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 printed². 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, was educated by his grandfather Andrea, who carried on the business till his death in 1529, when Andrea was succeeded by his sons, with whom Paolo was in partnership from 1533 to 1540. From that date forward, Paolo published on his own account a series of Ciceronian works, beginning with the complete edition of 1540–6, and including 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 published his Italian Letters in 1556–60, and his Latin *Epistolae et Praefationes* in 1558. 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). At Venice and Rome he published several works on Roman Antiquities, while

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

² On Aldus Manutius, see Didot's *Aldes Manuce*, 1875; Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes* (1803–12; ed. 2, 1834); and Omont, *Catalogue...en phototypie*, 1892. Cp. A. Schütk, *A. M. u. seine Zeitgenossen* (1862); and Symonds, ii 368–391. Portrait, published in Rome, probably by Antoine Lafrery, now in Library of San Marco, Venice, copied by Phil. Galleus, *Effigies*, ii (1577) 32, and in frontispiece to Didot's *Aldes Manuce*, reproduced on p. 94. Portraits of all the three Aldi in Cicero, ed. 1583.

his comments on Cicero's *Speeches* were posthumously printed in 1578-9, and his celebrated *commentarius* on the Letters *Ad Familiares* in 1592¹. Tiraboschi, who refers to the eulogies paid him by Muretus and others, happily describes him as having been worthy of a far longer life, and still more worthy of immortal remembrance².

Paolo bequeathed his business to his son Aldo Manuzio the younger (1547-1597), who held a professorship in Venice before succeeding Sigonius in Bologna and Muretus in Rome. At the age of eleven, he had produced a treatise on the 'Elegancies of the Tuscan and Latin languages', and, at fourteen, a work on Orthography founded on the study of inscriptions (1561). The second edition of the latter (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*³. His other publications include a volume of antiquarian miscellanies entitled *De Quaesitis per Epistolam* (1576). He is somewhat severely denounced by Scaliger as 'a wretched and slow wit, the mimic of his father'⁴. 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 1597⁵. The vast library which had descended to him from his father and his grandfather was dispersed, but the productions of the Aldine press are still treasured by scholars in every part of the civilised world.

Aldus
Manutius II

¹ Ed. Richter, 1779 f; 'optimi etiam nunc interpretis' (Orelli's *Cicero*, ed. 1845, III p. xxxv f).

² vii 208 f; cp. *Epp.* 1581, ed. Krause, 1720; *Epp. Scl.* (Teubner, 1892), *Lettere Volgari*, 1560, Renouard, *Lettere di P. M.* (Paris, 1834). Portrait in his *Liber de Comitibus* (1585), and in Phil. Galleus; ii 33, and Boissard's *Icones*, VIII mmm 2.

³ Cp. *C. I. L.* i pp. 303-7; J. Wordsworth, *Fragments... of Early Latin*, 266 f, 539.

⁴ *Scaligerana*, 149. 'P. Manucius quidquid scripsit bonum fuit, magno labore scribebat epistolas. Aldus filius miserum ingenium, lentum; quae dedit valde sunt vulgaria: utrumque novi; Patrem imitabatur, solas epistolas bonas habet; sed trivit Ciceronem diu. Insignis est Manucii commentarius in Epistolas ad Atticum et Familiares. Manucius non poterat tria verba Latine dicere, et bene scribebat....'

⁵ Portrait in *Elegantiae* (1580), and in Cicero, ed. 1583.

The present chapter may fitly close with a chronological conspectus of the *editiones principes* of the Greek and Latin Classics. The list is mainly confined to the principal classical authors, with the addition of the two earliest texts of the Greek Testament (1516-7) and of the Latin Fathers (1465), but to the exclusion of translations, grammars, and minor bibliographical curiosities. Not unfrequently an *editio princeps* comes into the world without any note of time or place, and without the name of any editor or printer, and the determination of these points is often a matter of considerable difficulty. Possibly the unique *Batrachomyomachia* in the Rylands Library, Manchester (ascribed by Proctor to Ferrandus of Brescia, c. 1474), and the rare copies of Virgil (Mentelin, Strassburg, c. 1469), Juvenal (Ulrich Hahn, Rome, c. 1470), and Martial (Rome, c. 1471), are earlier than those entered in the list; and it is uncertain whether the *editio princeps* of Curtius (c. 1471) is that of G. Laver, Rome, or Vindelin de Spira, Venice. In the list, approximate dates are (as here) distinguished by the usual abbreviation for *circiter*; and conjectural names of printers, or of places of publication, are enclosed within parentheses. For all these details the best bibliographical works have been consulted¹. The name of the 'editor' has been added, wherever it can be inferred either from the colophon or title-page, or from the preface or letter of dedication. It will be seen how large a part of the editorial work was done, in the case of Latin authors, by Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi, bishop of Aleria, and, in the case of Greek, by Janus Lascaris, and Aldus Manutius (with or without the aid of Musurus). Besides frequently indicating the names of the editors, the Aldine prefaces are full of varied interest. Thus Aldus laments that his work as a printer is interrupted by wars abroad² and by strikes at home³, and by difficulties in procuring trustworthy mss.⁴ But he exults in the fact that Greek is being studied, not in Italy alone, but also in France and Hungary and Britain and Spain⁵. A Greek scholar at Milan begins the *editio princeps* of the great lexicon of Suidas with an adroit advertisement in the form of a lively dialogue between the bookseller and the student, who finally produces three good pieces and buys the book.

¹ Dibdin's *Introduction*, ed. 4 (London, 1827); Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, ad ann. 1536, 11 vols. (Nürnberg, 1793-1803); Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, ad ann. 1500, 2 vols. in 2 parts each (Stuttgart, 1826-38; now in course of reprinting), with *Indices* and *Register* (Leipzig, 1891); Copinger's *Supplement*, 3 vols. (London, 1898), and Reichling's *Appendices* (Munich, 1905-); R. Proctor, *Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum to 1500*, 2 vols. (London, 1898), Germany, in 1501-20 (1903), and *The Printing of Greek in the xvth cent.* (*Bibliographica*, Dec. 1900); Renouard, *Annales des Imprimeries des Aldes*, 3 vols. ed. 3 (Paris, 1834); Didot, *Aldes Manuce* (Paris, 1875); Botfield, *Praefationes et Epp.* (London, 1861); R. C. Christie, *Chronology of the Early Aldines* (1894), in *Selected Essays* (London, 1902), 223-246; and H. Guppy, *The John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1906), 49-78.

² Plato, 1513.

⁴ Aristotle, i 2, and iv 1495-8.

³ Prudentius, 1502 N. S.

⁵ Aristotle, i 2 (*init.*); Steph. Byz.

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>Philippicæ</i>	..	Ulrich Hahn (Meuel)	(Strassburg)
	Terence	..	..	..
	Valerius Maximus	..	..	..
	Boethius, <i>De Phil. Cons.</i>	..	Hans Glim	Savigliano
	Tacitus, <i>Ann. 11-16, Hist., Germ., Dial.</i>	..	J. 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>Épp.</i> , libri viii	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.</i> Nepos	..	N. Jenson	Venice
c. 1471	Horace	..	..	(Venice)
	*Martial	G. Merula	Vindelin de Spira	Venice
1472	Plautus	..	..	..
	Tib., Prop., Cat., Stat., <i>Sibv.</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.</i> 3	Dom. Calderinus	Schurener	Rome
1475-83	Statius	..	Octavianus Scotus	Venice
1475	Hi-t. Aug. Scriptores	Itonus Accursius	Philippus de Lavagna	Milan
	Seneca, <i>Moralia et Épp.</i>	..	Moravus	Naples
1477	Dictys Cretensis	Masellus Beneventanus	(Philippus de Lavagna)	Milan
1478	Celsus	Bart. Fontius	Nicolaus Alemannus	Florence
1481	Quintilian, <i>Decl.</i> 19	Jac. Grasolarius	Lucas Venetus	Venice
1482	Claudian	Barn. Celsanus	Jac. Dusensis	Vicenza
c. 1482	Pliny, <i>Pan.</i> , Tacitus, <i>Agr.</i>	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	..	Eucharis Silber	..
1494	Quintilian, <i>Decl.</i> 138	Thad. Ugoletus	Ang. Ugoletus	Parma
1498	Apicius	Ant. Motta	Gul. Signerre	Milan
1498-9	Cicero, 4 vols. folio	Alex. Minutianus	..	Gulielmi fratres
1502	Prosper, Sedulius	Aldus Manutius	Aldus Manutius	Venice
c. 1508-13	Symmachus	Bart. Cyniscus	Bern. de Vitalibus	..
1515	Tacitus, <i>Annal.</i> 1-5 etc.	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

* See p. 102.

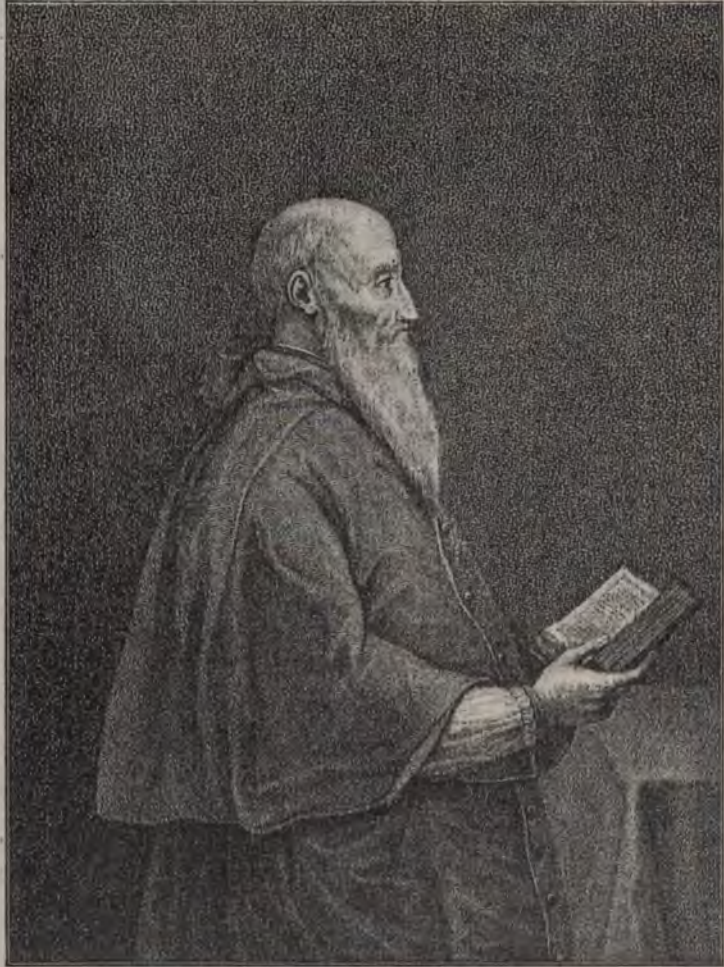
Editiones Principes of Greek Authors.

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—90, Bion, Moschus, Hesiod, Theognis	..	..	..
1496	Scriptores Grammatici Apollonius Rhodius Lucian	Guarino, Politian etc. J. Lascaris	Laur. de Alopa	Florence
1497	Zenobius	Bened. Ricciardini	Phil. de Junta	Florence
1498	'Phalaris'	Bart. Capo d' Istria	Printers from Carpi	Venice
1499	Aristophanes, 9 plays	Aldus et Musurus	Aldus Manutius	..
	<i>Epp. Graecae</i>	..	..	..
	<i>Astronomici veteres</i>	Aldus Manutius	..	..
	Dioscorides and Nicander	..	..	..
	'Etymologicum Magnum'	Musurus	Zach. Callierges	..
	Simplicius in <i>Ar. Categ.</i>	..	Z. Callierges	..
1500	Suidas	Dem. Chalcondyles	Printers from Carpi	Venice
	Ammonius in <i>v voces</i>	..	Z. Callierges	..
1502	Orpheus	..	Phil. Junta	Florence
	Stephanus Byz.	Aldus Manutius	Aldus Manutius	Venice
	Pollux	..	..	..
	Thucydides	..	..	..
	Sophocles	..	..	..
	Herodotus	..	..	..
1503	Euripides, 18 plays	..	..	..
	Ammonius in <i>Ar. Interp.</i>	..	..	..
	Ulpian and Harpocration	..	..	..
	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>	..	..	..
1504	Philostratus, <i>vita Apoll.</i>	..	..	..
	Philoponus in <i>Ar.</i>	..	..	..
	Demosthenes	Aldus et Carteromachus	..	..
1508—9	<i>Rhetores Graeci</i> (incl. <i>Ar. 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. <i>Orationes Rhet. Gr.</i>	Aldus Manutius	Aldus et Andreas Asul.	Venice
	Plato	Aldus et Musurus	..	..
1514	Alex. Aphrod. in <i>Ar. Top.</i>	Aldus Manutius	..	..
	Athenaeus	Aldus et Musurus	..	..
	Hesychius	..	..	..
1515	Oppian, <i>Halientica</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	..	..

* See p. 102.

Editiones Principes of Greek Authors (*continued*).

Date	Author	Editor	Printer	Place
1517	Libanius Didymus, <i>Homericæ</i> Aristides Plutarch, <i>Vitas</i>	Coelius Calcagninus J. Lascaris Euphrosynus Boninus Phil. Junta	Jo. Maclochus Ang. Collottius 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	Arnold Gul. de Brocarto Aldus et Andreas socer 'Monte Caballo'	Alcalá Venice Rome
1525	Galen, in 5 parts Xenophon, <i>Opera</i> Hippocrates	Asulani fratres Fr. Asulanus	Aldus et Andreas Asul. Akti in aedibus Aldus et Andreas Asul.	Venice
1526	Epictetus and Simplicius	Vinc. Obsopoeus	J. Anton. et fr. de Sabio	..
1528	Polybius	Simon Grynaeus	Jo. Secerius	Hagenau
1530	Aristophanes, 11 plays	Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopius	Cratander Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopius	Basel ..
1533	Diogenes Laërtius Euclides Ptolemaeus	Simon Grynaeus Erasmus	Jo. Hervagius Hieron. Froben et Nic. Episcopius J. F. Trincavelli	.. .. Venice
1535	Arrian Stobaeus	Jo. Bapt. Egnatius Victor Trincavelli	J. F. Trincavelli	Venice
1539	Diodorus, 16-20	Vinc. Opsopoeus	Jo. Oporinus	Basel
1544	Josephus Archimedes	Arnoldus Arlenius Thomas Gechauff	Hieron. Froben Jo. Hervagius	.. Rome
1545	Aelian, <i>Var. Hist.</i> , etc.	Camillus Periscus	Rob. Stephanus	Paris
1546	Dionysius Halic.	Rob. Stephanus	Rob. Stephanus	..
1548	Dion Cassius, 36-58	Majoranus & Devarius	Ant. Bladus	Rome
1548-50	Eustathius, 4 vols.	F. Turrisanus	F. Turrisanus	Venice
1551	Dion Chrys. Appian	..	Car. Stephanus Spinelli	Paris Venice
1552	Aelian, <i>Tactica</i> Aeschylus, 7 plays	Robertelli	..	..
1553	Menander, <i>Frag.</i>	..	F. Morel I	Paris
1554	'Longinus' Anacreon Aretaeus	Robertelli Putschius, & printer Jac. Goupyl	Jo. Oporinus H. Stephanus Andr. Turnebus	Basel Paris ..
1555	Apollodorus, <i>Bibl.</i>	Ben. Aegius	Ant. Bladus	Rome
1556	Claudius Aelian, <i>Opera</i>	C. Gesner, Robertelli, Gillius	Gesneri fratres	Zürich
1557	Aeschylus, <i>c. Ag.</i> 323-1050	Victorius	H. Stephanus	Paris
1558	Maximus Tyrius	H. Stephanus	H. Stephanus	Zürich
1558	Marcus Aurelius	Xylander et C. Gesner	And. Gesner	Geneva
1559	Diodorus, 1-20	H. Stephanus	H. Stephanus	Paris
1565	Bion, Moschus	Adolf Meckerch	Goltzius	Bruges
1566	Poetae Gr. Principes Aristaenetus	H. Stephanus J. Sambucus	H. Stephanus Plantin	Paris Antwerp
1568	Antonius Liberalis, Phlegon, Apollonius	Xylander	Thomas Guarinus	Basel
1569	Nonnus, <i>Dionysiaca</i>	Falkenburg	Plantin	Antwerp
1572	Plutarch, <i>Opera</i>	H. Stephanus	H. Stephanus	Paris
1573	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	Hoeschelius	M. Manger	Augsburg
1598	Iamblichus	Jo. Arcerius Theo- doretus	Aegid. Kadaeus	Francker
1601	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>	Hoeschelius	Jo. Praetorius	Augsburg
1621	Diophantus	Cl. G. Bachetus	Seb. Cramoisy	Paris



PIETRO BEMBO.

From Bartolozzi's engraving of a portrait by Titian (1539). Cp. p. 112 f.
(Print-room, British Museum.)

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE AGE OF LEO X TO THE SACK OF ROME.

THE age of Aldus Manutius was succeeded by the pontificate of Leo X (1513-21). Under the care of Lorenzo the future Pope had learnt his Latin and his Greek from the best scholars of Florence. When he made his progress as Pope in the splendid procession from St Peter's to the Lateran, the streets of Rome were adorned with marble statues of the old pagan divinities, while a triumphal arch in front of the palace of the wealthy banker, Agostino Chigi, bore an inscription in golden letters recalling the times of Alexander VI and Julius II, and declaring that the reign of Venus and of Mars was over, and that of Minerva had begun:—

'olim habuit Cypris sua tempora, tempora Mavors
olim habuit, sua nunc tempora Pallas habet'¹.

Chigi set up a Greek press in his palace, where a celebrated edition of Pindar, the first including the *scholia*, was printed in 1515 by Zacharias Callierges of Crete, who produced an edition of Theocritus in the following year. The Pope himself established a Greek school and a Greek printing-press on Monte Cavallo. Under the supervision of Janus Lascaris, and Marcus Musurus², the *scholia* on Homer and Sophocles, and the Homeric Questions of Porphyry, were there published in 1517-8. A pupil of Politian, named Guarino of Favera³, who had already taken part in editing

¹ Casanova; cp. Gregorovius, book xiv, c. iii (viii 186, E. T.).

² p. 78 *supra*.

³ Also known as Varius and Phavorinus and as Camers (from his birth-place in the March of Camerino). Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 1101 f.

for Aldus in 1496 a collection of grammatical extracts, selected from the works of 34 Greek grammarians¹, and was afterwards to be the compiler of a Greek dictionary printed by Callierges in 1523, was made bishop of Nocera and custodian of the private library of the Pope. That library had been mainly formed from the Medicean collection, which had been dispersed on the entry of Charles VIII into Florence in 1494. The greater part of it was fortunately purchased by the monks of San Marco, from whom it was bought by the Cardinal Giovanni Medici and conveyed to Rome in 1508, there to remain until the second Medicean Pope, Clement VII, restored it to Florence (1523), and founded, for its reception, the present building of the Laurentian Library². While the Medicean collection was still in Rome, Leo added to it the recently discovered ms of the first five books of the *Annals* of Tacitus, and it was under his patronage that the first complete edition of Tacitus was produced at Rome in 1515 by Filippo Beroaldo of Bologna (1472—1518), the nephew and pupil of the far more prolific editor bearing the same name (1453—1505). In a brief granting to Beroaldo the exclusive privilege of publishing this work (a privilege which was immediately infringed at Milan), the Pope insists on the importance of classical literature and expresses his earnest desire to continue to bestow honours and rewards on men of learning³.

The publication of the *editio princeps* of the extant works of Tacitus was followed in 1516 by the appearance of the small but by no means unimportant treatise of Pietro Pomponazzi, *De Immortalitate Animae*⁴.

Study of
Aristotle

¹ *Scriptores Grammatici Graeci*; 'Thesaurus Cornucopias et Horti Adonidis' (1496); cp. Roscoe's *Leo X*, i 349 f, 489, ed. 1846; Botfield's *Prefaces*, 205. This work is not really, as stated by Gregorovius, viii 346, 'the first *Thesaurus* of the Greek language', in the ordinary sense of that term. Guarino was aided by another pupil of Politian, Carlo Antinori, and by Politian himself; also by Aldus and Urbano da Belluno, author of the Aldine Greek Grammar of Jan. 1497.

² Anziani, *Della bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, 1872; Jebb's *Introd.* to plain text of Sophocles (1898), xxxiii.

³ The brief was written by Sadoletto (Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv 483); translated in Roscoe's *Leo X*, i 357.

⁴ Bologna, 1516; Venice, 1525; anon. '1534'.

Its author, a native of Mantua (1462—1525), is a representative of one of the four varieties of the Aristotelianism of the time, namely that which accepts the interpretation of the opinions of Aristotle originally put forth by Alexander of Aphrodisias. Pomponazzi

The Italian Aristotelians were either content to follow one of the three exponents of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas or Averroës or Alexander, or they studied the Greek text of Aristotle himself with or without the aid of the current Latin translations. Thomas Aquinas was the interpreter accepted by Aristotelians, who were in full accord with the normal doctrine of the Church. The teaching of Averroës had found a home in Padua in the first half of the fourteenth century, where it continued to flourish in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth, under Zimara (d. 1532) and Zabarella (d. 1589), until it practically came to an end on the death of Cremonini (1637). It had roused the energetic protests of Petrarch in the fourteenth century, the century in which it was represented at Padua by Jean de Jandun (*fl.* 1322)¹. It had also been represented in Northern Italy by Urbano da Bologna (*fl.* 1334), and by Paolo Veneto (d. 1429), who, at a disputation held at Bologna in the presence of 800 Augustinians, had been defeated by Niccolò Fava (d. 1439), a friend of Filelfo² and an early representative of that school of students of the Greek text which was to dethrone Averroës in the following century³. Averroism of a much more moderate type than that of Paolo Veneto had been expounded at Padua in the fifteenth century by a member of a distinguished family of Vicenza, named Gaetano da Thiene (1387—1465)⁴. It was at Padua that, in the same century, the first printed edition of Averroës had appeared in 1472, followed by a new edition in 1552-3. Averroism was combined with varying degrees of orthodoxy. Even the celebrated Thomas de Vio (1469—1534), who became Cardinal Cajetan in 1517, used Averroës as his text-book at Padua, where he counted Pomponazzi among his pupils. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the extreme Averroistic doctrine of the unity of the immortal reason in the whole human race had been professed at Padua by Nicoletto Vernias from 1471 to 1499, but, in the latter year, under the moderating influence of the bishop of Padua, Vernias had withdrawn from that doctrine, and had written in favour of the plurality of souls, and the immortality of each individual human soul⁵. Four years before this public change of opinion, he had become remiss in his teaching, and he found himself opposed by a spirited rival in the person of Pomponazzi, who broke loose from the dry and dull routine of the traditional exposition of Aristotle and Averroës by adopting a more vigorous and varied style⁶.

¹ Renan, *Av.* 339-42⁴.

² *Epp.* i 29, 38 (1428).

³ Tiraboschi, vi 333 f, 343 f; Renan, *Averroës*, 344-6⁴.

⁴ Tiraboschi, vi 345; Renan, *Av.* 347⁴.

⁵ Renan, *Av.* 352⁴.

⁶ Jovius, *Elogia*, no. 71; Renan, *Av.* 353⁴.

While agreeing that the doctrine of Averroës as to the unity of all intellect had been sufficiently refuted by Thomas Aquinas, Pomponazzi held that Aristotle's true meaning was not that there was a plurality of immortal intellects (as contended by Aquinas), but that the human soul, including the rational faculty, was mortal. For this interpretation he appealed to Alexander of Aphrodisias, who identifies the active mortal intellect with the divine mind and declares the individual reason of each man to be mortal¹. To escape from the imputation of heterodoxy, he distinguished between two orders of truth, the philosophical and the theological, admitting that an opinion, which was philosophically true, might be theologically false. Two years after this youthful teacher had begun to supersede the aged Vernias, the traditional interpreters of Aristotle were set aside and the original Greek text restored to a position of supremacy by a scholar of Albanian origin born in Venice, who had attended the lectures

of Demetrius in Florence. This was none other than Leonico Tomeo (1456—1531), an admirer of Plato and of Cicero², who, by the vigour of his attack on scholasticism, and by the beauty of his style, opened a new era in the scholarly study of Aristotle. While he effectively recalled attention to the original text, he treated the views of Averroës with the utmost deference, and even found support in the Arabic interpreter's psychology for a reconciliation of Aristotle with Plato, and a proof of the pre-existence and the immortality of all individual souls. He is described as a singularly attractive person, a quiet and unambitious bachelor, whose house, no less than his lecture-room, was frequented by earnest students in quest of knowledge. Towards the end of his long life, his venerable appearance was enhanced by the silvery whiteness of his flowing beard. As the inmate of his home he kept a tame crane for no less than forty years, and, not long after the loss of his favourite bird, he died of old age at 75. In the church of San Francesco in Padua his merits are commemorated in the Latin prose of an

¹ Ueberweg, ii 13 E.T. Pomponazzi, who was ignorant of Greek, doubtless used the translation of Alexander, *περὶ ψυχῆς*, by Girolamo Donato of Venice (Brescia, 1495). It had already been printed in Oxford, 1481.

² Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, 71, ed. 1621.

epitaph written by Bembo, who also honoured his memory in the impressive epigram:—

'Naturae si quid rerum te forte latebat,
Hoc legis in magno nunc Leonice Deo.'¹

Pomponazzi was opposed in Padua by the moderate Averroist Alessandro Achillini (1463—1518). The war that arose from the league of Cambrai for the overthrow of Venice compelled these academic combatants to transfer their battlefield to Bologna, where Achillini died nine years afterwards. He cherished a belief in the orthodoxy of his views, by distinguishing (like his opponent) between theological and philosophic truth, but this even balance of opinion is not maintained in the pagan epitaph which was placed on his tomb:—

'Hospes, Achillinum tumulo qui quaeris in isto,
Falleris, ille suo iunctus Aristoteli
Elysium colit, et quas rerum hic discere causas
Vix potuit, plenis nunc videt ille oculis:
Tu modo, per campos dum nobilis umbra beatos
Errat, dic longum *perpetuumque* vale.'²

Meanwhile, a decree of the Lateran Council, published on 19 Dec. 1512³, had condemned all who maintained either the mortality or the universal unity of the intelligent soul. The former was the view of Alexander⁴, the latter that of Averroës. The same Council condemned the distinction between two orders of truth, and declared everything false that was in conflict with revelation. In September, 1516, Pomponazzi produced his celebrated treatise on the immortality of the soul, towards the close of which, after stating that Aristotle regards the soul as mortal, he himself concludes that the immortality of the soul is a neutral problem, that the soul cannot be proved by natural reason to be either mortal or immortal, but that its immortality depends on revelation. The tone and spirit of the work are clearly opposed to the Lateran decree, but, when the Dominicans of Venice urged the Pope to condemn it, the question was referred to the papal secretary, Bembo, who (as it happened) had attended

¹ Jovius, no. 81 (portrait on p. 170); Tiraboschi, vii 422 f.

² Jovius, no. 57 (portrait on p. 112); Tiraboschi, vi 489 f.

³ Labbé, xix 842 f.

⁴ *i.e.* Alexander of Aphrodisias.

Pomponazzi's lectures at Padua. In Bembo's view the work contained nothing worthy of censure, and this opinion was judicially approved by the Master of the Palace. As the writer had separated the region of philosophic speculation from that of Christian belief, he was acquitted, especially as he had formally declared that he did not adhere to anything he had written, save in so far as was determined by the Apostolic See. The Pope, however, entrusted the formal refutation of the treatise to a dexterous controversialist, Augustinus Niphus, who had produced a complete edition of the works of Averroës in 1495-7, and had passed from extreme to moderate and comparatively orthodox Averroism¹. Pomponazzi, a person of diminutive stature, never dared to show himself in Venice, where his book had been burned in public; for nine more years he enjoyed the safety of the papal city of Bologna. He finally resolved on starving himself to death, and on departing from the world in perfect silence, but that silence was broken by a few brief words attesting that he died without the hopes inspired by Christianity². His body was taken to his native place, where he was buried in the church of San Francesco, while a bronze statue was set up in his memory by his pupil, the Cardinal Gonzaga³.

Among the Latin scholars of this age the most conspicuous was Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). His father, a Venetian noble, was the owner of the celebrated Bembine MS of Terence. The son was born and bred in Florence. He afterwards studied Greek under Constantine Lascaris at Messina⁴, and philosophy under Pomponazzi at Padua. On completing his education, he joined his father at the brilliant court of Ferrara, where he sang the praises of Lucrezia Borgia in elegiacs modelled on those of Tibullus⁵, and dedicated to her the most graceful of his Italian works, a Platonic dialogue on

¹ Renan, *Av.* 366-71⁴.

² Pastor, iii 113-5.

³ See Jovius, no. 71 (portrait on p. 134). On Pomponazzi, cp. in general Tiraboschi, vii 425-31; Renan, *Av.* 353-66⁴; F. Fiorentino (1868); Geiger, *Renaissance u. Humanismus*, 289 f; Creighton, v 270-5; Fairbairn in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* ii 702-4; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv (1906) 562 f; also R. C. Christie's *Selected Essays* (1902), 124-160.

⁴ Cp. his description of Etna, Ven. 1495; *Opera* (1567), iii 41-69.

⁵ *Delitiae CC Ital. Poët.* (1608), i 354.

love¹. At Urbino, he attended the court of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro (1506-8), and, in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, it is Bembo who discourses on the same Platonic theme, until the day breaks and the star of love alone is shining in the summer sky². At Rome, in 1512, he was soon engaged in a controversy on Latin style with Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1470-1533), the scholarly nephew of Politian's brilliant friend, Giovanni Pico³. In this controversy, Pico is the eclectic, and Bembo the Ciceronian⁴. In the following year, Leo X, on his accession, appointed Bembo one of the papal secretaries. This office he held during practically the whole of Leo's pontificate, and his official letters, in their published form, are good examples of an ultra-Ciceronian style. In the printed edition, the papal secretary lapses into some of the strangely pagan phrases that were characteristic of the age⁵. The Virgin Mary is described as *Dea ipsa*⁶; Francis I is exhorted *per deos atque homines* to undertake a crusade against the Turks⁷; and a bishop calls 'gods and men' to witness to the truth of his statement⁸. In the 'History of Venice' the Senate of the Venetian Republic becomes the *Patres Conscripti*, the Turks are transformed into the Thracians, and, by a still stranger anachronism, the 'immortal gods' are mentioned, certainly in thirteen passages, and probably in many more.

Among his official letters, the two of special interest to scholars are those recommending Janus Lascaris and Longolius

¹ *Gli Asolani*, 1504.

² Symonds, *Italian Byways*, 137.

³ p. 82 *supra*.

⁴ J. Fr. Pico (19 Sept. 1512) and Petrus Bembo (1 Jan. 1513) *De Imitatione* are both printed in Bembo's *Opera* (Bas. 1567) iii 1-41, and by themselves (c. 1513, and Jena, 1726). Cp. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, 69 (ed. 1621); Sabbadini's *Ciceronianismo*, 46; *Harvard Lectures*, 159.

⁵ Gregorovius, book xiv, c. 4 (viii 295 f.; E.T.).

⁶ *Epp.* viii 17.

⁷ *Epp.* xv 17.

⁸ *Epp.* xii 24, 'obtestansque deos et homines', and, *ad fin.*, 'ex quo tamen et uberior a Diis immortalibus gratia, et clarior ab hominibus gloria te sequetur' (to Francis I). Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv (1906) 433, says: 'Die meisten heidnischen Ausdrücke wurden erst später für die Druckausgabe der Briefe hinzugefügt; in den Originalen, die aus der Kanzlei Leos X versandt wurden, findet sich die Mehrzahl jener Wendungen nicht' (Anhang, nr. 3).

to the favour of Francis I'. The second of these is the last of the series. Shortly before the death of Leo in 1521, Bembo had withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Padua, where he formed a choice collection of medals, inscriptions, statues and pictures². The Terence, which he had inherited from his father, and the MS of the fragments of Virgil (cent. v), ultimately passed into the Vatican Library. He brought his collections to Rome³ on being made a Cardinal in 1539. It was after that date that he acquired the once celebrated *Tabula Isiaca*⁴. On his death in 1547 he was buried in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and, among the Latin poems written in his memory⁵, there are some, which, like Castiglione's Idyll of *Alcon*⁶, and the *Eclogues* of Joannes Baptista Amaltheus⁷, may well be regarded as the Italian prototypes of Milton's *Lycidas*. In his perfect mastery of pure and correct Latin prose, Bembo is the typical Ciceronian of his time. His interest in Latin scholarship is displayed, not only in his treatise *De Imitatione*, but also in his disquisition on the *Culex* of Virgil and on the plays of Terence, composed in the form of a dialogue between Pomponius Laetus and Hermolaus Barbarus⁸. Nine years after his death, these were valued by Muretus⁹ more highly than their author's Latin poems. As a Latin poet he has more elegance than vigour. His early elegiacs, best represented by his *Galatea*¹⁰ and his poem *De Galeo et Maximo*¹¹, are mainly modelled on Tibullus, Ovid, and Martial. He imitates the hexameters of Catullus in the poem on *Benacus*¹², and his hendeca-

¹ *Epp.* xi 5, and xvi 30 (April, 1521).

² Villa in *Opere* (Ven. 1729); copied in Wiese and Pèrcopo, 328 f.

³ *Opere*, iii 266.

⁴ Now in Turin Museum, a spurious product of the age of Hadrian.

⁵ *Delitiae*, i 379—396, esp. 380 f.

⁶ Symonds, ii 490 f.

⁷ *Selecta Poëmata Italorum*, ed. Pope (1740), i 23—37. *Ecl.* vi 'Lycidas'; p. 24, *pecudes, alio sub sole, requiram: externasque petam, dispersa per aquora, terras* ('To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new'); p. 25, *at vos o lauri*; *Ecl.* viii 'Corydon'; p. 29, *En iterum* ('Yet once more, O ye laurels').

⁸ Ed. 1530; also in *Opera*, iii 70—128.

⁹ *Opera*, ii 525; cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 170.

¹⁰ *Delitiae*, i 347. ¹¹ i 364.

¹² i 306 (also in *Sel. Poëmata Ital.* ii 192).

syllables in some delightful lines defending his cultivation of his mother tongue, and concluding as follows:—

'Hac uti ut valeas, tibi videndum est;
ne dum marmoreas remota in ora
sumptu construis et labore villas,
domi te calamo tegas palustri'¹.

His hexameter poem on the river-god *Sarca*, the 'father' of the Mincius, closes with a fine apostrophe on Virgil². But, of all his Latin verses, those that live longest in the memory are his eulogy of Politian, ending with the line, *Arbiter Ausoniae, Politiane, lyrae*³; and two of the shortest of his épitaphs, that on Actius Sincerus Sannazarius:—

'Da sacro cineri flores: hic ille Maroni
Sincerus Musa proximus, ut tumulo';

and that on Raphael:—

'Hic ille est Raphaël, metuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori'⁴.

Bembo's colleague as papal secretary was Jacopo Sadoleto (1477—1547)⁵. He had studied at Ferrara under Leonicensus, and had reached Rome in the pontificate of Alexander VI, when he enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Caraffa, and the friendship of Scipio Carteromachus. The hexameter poem, in which he celebrated the discovery of the *Laocoön* in 1506, was one of the most memorable compositions of the age. In the enthusiasm kindled by the recent discovery of the masterpiece, the poem was warmly welcomed. Bembo read it 'a hundred times'⁶; but it is to be feared that, to many modern readers, it will seem as polished and as cold as the

¹ i 365; cp. Symonds, ii 415.

² Mai, *Spicilegium Rom.* viii 488—504; Burckhardt, 259 E.T.

³ *Delitiae*, i 375; Jovius, no. 38.

⁴ *Delitiae*, i 378 f. On Bembo, cp. Tiraboschi, vii 938 f.; Roscoe's *Leo X.*, c. 16; Greswell's *Politiani etc.* 405—53²; Symonds, ii 410—5, 481—5; Creighton, vi 199; Cian, *Un decennio di vita di Bembo* (Torino, 1885); and Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv (1906) 430—4. Portrait by Titian, reproduced on p. 106; cp. Phil. Galleus, *Effigies*, i (1572). A 5.

⁵ For his later Letters, cp. *Epp.* ed. Balan (Innsbruck, 1885).

⁶ *Epp. Fam.* iii 23 (vol. iv p. 178 a., ed. Ven. 1729).

marble which it commemorates¹. His far longer poem on the ancient Roman hero, Marcus Curtius, has much more life and movement². In his maturer years he wrote Ciceronian treatises *De Gloria* and *De laudibus philosophiae*³. The influence of Quintilian is apparent in his dialogue on education, where the poets passed in review are Homer and Virgil, Plautus and Terence, and a new emphasis is laid on the study of Greek⁴. His *Letters* are more important than those of Bembo for the light that they throw on the literary life of the age; and he is in general a man of wider interests and of far finer character than his colleague. He counted Erasmus among his correspondents, and had the highest regard for Melanchthon and Calvin. He was made bishop of Carpentras by Leo X, and a Cardinal by Paul III, and he died in the same year as Bembo (1547)⁵.

The briefest mention must suffice for the 'learned Muse' of
 Calcagnini Celio Calcagnini of Ferrara (1479—1541), a many-sided scholar, who saw service as a soldier, was interested in law and astronomy, collected MSS, and severely criticised the *De Officiis* of Cicero. His learning has been lauded by his friend Giraldis, who implies that his Latin verses were a mosaic of reminiscences from the ancient poets⁶. Giraldis himself is among those addressed in his hendecasyllables, which are in general more successful than his elegiacs. But a place may here be found for the best and briefest of his epigrams,

¹ *Delitiae*, ii 582 f (58 lines); transcribed by Lessing in his *Laokoon*, c. vi, where it is considered 'worthy of an ancient poet'. Cp. Gregorovius, viii 146 f, E.T.

² *Delitiae*, ii 584—600; *Sel. Poëmata Ital.* ii 181—191.

³ Welcomed by Bembo, *Epp. Fam.* v 21, as a masterpiece of Ciceronian style.

⁴ *De Libris Recte Instituendis* (1534); also in *Opera*, iii 66—126 (Verona, 1738). Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 312; Gerini, *Scritt. pedag. del sec. XVI* (Torino, 1891); Woodward's *Renaissance Education*, c. ix.

⁵ *Epp.* (Lyons, 1560); *Epp. proprio nomine scriptae* (Rome, 1760—7); *Opera* (Mainz, 1607; Verona, 1737); *Illustrium Imagines* (Rome, 1517). Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 308 f; A. Joly (Caen, 1857); Symonds, li 415; Gregorovius, viii 327 f; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv (1906) 434—6; portrait in Boissard, i xlv 262.

De Poëtis Nostrorum Temporum, ed. Wotke (1894) 33 f.

' Ut tibi mors felix contingat, vivere disce :
ut felix possis vivere, disce mori'¹.

The foremost Christian poet of the time was Marcus Hieronymus Vida (c. 1490—1566), who was born at Cremona, and spent most of his youth at Rome under Julius II and Leo X. Of his earlier poems the greatest is his *Art of Poetry*². He was the first of the many Italians who wrote on that theme in the sixteenth century³. His poem is mainly inspired by Virgil. But he is distinctly original in laying down laws of imitative harmony, and in illustrating them by his own verse⁴. He is apostrophised in the well-known lines of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* :—

' Immortal Vida : on whose honour'd brow
The Poet's bays and Critic's ivy grow ;
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame'⁵.

His didactic poems on the *Management of Silkworms* and on the *Game of Chess* are singularly skillful compositions⁶. The former was highly appreciated by the elder Scaliger⁷, and the latter by Leo X, who presented the poet with a priory at Frascati, and set him the task of composing, amid the beauties of nature, an epic poem on the Life of Christ. The *Christias*, which was thus begun under happy auspices in the age of Leo, was not completed until the time of the second Medicean Pope⁸. It is more successful in the general treatment of its sacred theme than Sannazaro's poem *De Partu Virginis*⁹.

¹ *Delitiae*, i 520. Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 870-3; Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 21; Geiger, *Renaissance*, 232 f. He revised for Aldus the *ed. princeps* of Libanius (1517).

² *Selecta Poëmata Italarum*, i 131-189; written before 1520, printed 1527.

³ Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 126 f, 131 f.

⁴ *Selecta Poëmata Italarum*, i 182-5.

⁵ l. 705 f. It was probably this eulogy that led to the whole poem being translated by Chr. Pitt.

⁶ *De Bombyce*, and *De ludo scacorum* (*Sel. Poëm. Ital.* i 103-120, 190-210).

⁷ *Poëtices liber* vi 806 (1586).

⁸ Cremona, 1535; illustrated ed., Oxford, 1725.

⁹ Tiraboschi, vii 1440-51; Hallam, i 431⁴; Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 17 (ii 154 f); Symonds, ii 399; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv (1906) 436-8 (and the literature there quoted); portrait in Wiese and Percopo, 282.

Among the correspondents of these Roman poets was a patrician of Venice, Andreas Navagero (1483—1529). He revised for the Aldine press Quintilian and Virgil (1514), Lucretius (1516), Ovid and Terence (1517), Horace, and the *Speeches* of Cicero (1519). The three volumes of the last were accompanied by Ciceronian letters of dedication addressed to Leo X, Bembo and Sadoletto. Among the works dedicated to himself was the *editio princeps* (1514) of Pindar (whose Odes he had more than once transcribed), together with editions of Cicero, *De arte rhetorica* and *Brutus* (1514-5), and the first decade of Livy (1518). He wrote Latin verse of singular beauty and purity on elegiac and idyllic themes; and Giraldi has praised his *antiquae simplicitatis aemulatio*¹. So deep was his detestation of Martial that once a year, on a day dedicated to the Muses, he solemnly burnt a copy of that poet's epigrams². He found relief from the depression caused by overwork by serving for a time as a soldier. He was afterwards appointed librarian of San Marco, and historiographer of Venice, but his early death, as envoy to the court of Francis I at Blois, led to the History being entrusted to Bembo. Among the poets and scholars of his age, he is one of the purest in life and the most attractive in character³.

The fellow-students of Navagero, at the philosophical lectures of Pomponazzi at Padua, included one of the ablest authors of the age, Girolamo Fracastoro (1483—1553). Devoted to the study of music and astronomy, he was famous as a physician and a poet. The theme of the most important of his poems was the terrible scourge that first appeared in 1495 among the French soldiers quartered at Naples⁴. A theme no less unpromising had been vigorously handled by Lucretius in his description of the plague of Athens; but Manilius rather than Lucretius is the model of Fracastoro. The poem was dedicated to Bembo, and men of letters admired the

¹ p. 29, 31 Wotke; cp. J. C. Scaliger, *Poll.* vi, 'Naugerii stilus generosus totus: semper enim aliquid vult, quantum potest'.

² Jovius, no. 78; portrait in Boissard, I (1597) xliii 256.

³ *Opera* (Padua, 1718), including his *Variae Lectiones* on Ovid; Poems in *Delitiae*, ii 104-135; cp. Greswell's *Politian etc.* 474-7²; Roscoe's *Leo X*, ii 163-7; Didot's *Alde Manuce*, 465 f; Symonds, ii 485-8.

⁴ Bembo, *Hist. Veneta*, iii 113, ed. 1567.

poetic skill with which the author had handled an undoubtedly difficult topic. Sannazaro held it superior to anything composed by himself or any of his brother-poets, while the elder Scaliger even described it as a 'divine poem'¹. The author passed a large part of his life at his beautifully situated villa near Verona, a villa described in one of his poetical epistles². His memory was perpetuated at Padua by a statue of bronze, by the side of a similar memorial of his friend Navagero; and the names of both are united in a *monumentum aere perennius*, in Fracastoro's celebrated dialogue *Naugerius* (1555)³. Navagero not only supplies the title of that work, but is also the principal speaker, as the exponent of the ideal element in Aristotle's theory of poetry⁴.

A pleasant contrast to the neo-paganism of not a few of the poets of this age is presented by Marcantonio Flaminio Flaminio of Serravalle (1498—1550), who is described by the historian of Italian literature as 'a name no less dear to Virtue than to the Muses'⁵. In his early youth he presented to Leo X some elegant compositions in Latin verse; but he cared little for the great world of Rome. Though he spent part of his life at Urbino and Bologna, and at Padua, Genoa and Naples, and visited Venice in 1536, with a view to supervising the printing of his paraphrase of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, he was never happier than at his villa on the Lago di Garda, poring over his Aristotle or writing his Latin poems⁶.

¹ *Poëtices liber vi* 817, ed. 1586. The poem *De Morbo Gallico* is printed in *Sel. Poëmata Itolorum*, i 53—95; part is translated in Greswell's *Politian etc.* 479^a; and in Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 17 (ii 160), and the whole by Tate in *Dryden's Miscellaneous Poems*, v 333—381, ed. 1716 (other poems, *ib.* ii 198—235). The author himself says, in his dialogue on poetry, 'omnis materia poëtæ convenit, dummodo exornari possit'.

² *Ad Franc. Turrianum*, quoted and translated in Greswell's *Politian etc.* 464—471^a.

³ *Fracastorii Opera*, i 340; *Naugerii Opera*, 227—272.

⁴ Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 31. On Fracastoro, cp. Tiraboschi, vii 1458; Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 17; Greswell's *Politian etc.*, 455—491^a; Symonds, ii 477—481. Portrait in Boissard, i xvii 128.

⁵ Tiraboschi, vii 1417 f.

⁶ His delight in a rural life is charmingly expressed in his poems *Ad agellum suum* and *Ad Fr. Turrianum* (in *Sel. Poëmata Ital.* ii 53, 62). Most of his poems are printed in *Delitæe*, i 984—1045.

His verse is marked by piety of tone, and purity of theme, as well as terseness and vigour of style. A volume of poems by scholars of Northern Italy, which he sends, about 1549, to his patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, is accompanied by a set of verses, in which he expresses his wonder that, after the dark ages, and after all the ruin that has since befallen Italy, so many lights of song had shone forth in a single generation, and within the narrow bounds of Trans-Padan Italy. But these lights alone (he declares) would suffice to dispel the gloom of barbarism and restore the splendour of Latin letters; they would add eternal lustre to Italy, while Latin was now studied, not only by the northern nations, but even in the New World¹.

Such are some of the principal Latin poets of that age, but there are many whose names cannot here be recounted, though they are far from forgotten. The scholars and poets of Italy have been enumerated by Bartolommeo Fazio (d. 1457)² and by Cortesius (d. 1510)³. Francesco Arsilli supplies us with a hundred epigrammatic descriptions of the poets who dwelt on Leo's Parnassus⁴. In 1514, no less than a hundred and twenty 'poets' laid their offerings on the altar in the church of Sant' Agostino⁵. Two hundred 'illustrious' poets of Italy are included in the *Delitiae* of Janus Gruter⁶. Lilio Giraldi of Ferrara (1479—1552) has crowned his dialogues on the Greek and Latin poets of the past with two that are rich in delicate discrimination of the many poets of his time⁷; while Paolo Giovio (1483—1552) has published his 'eulogies' on the scholars of Italy, whose portraits he had gathered round him in his villa on the Lake of Como⁸.

¹ *Carmina* (Padua, 1743), 122 f; *Poëmata Sel. Italarum* (Oxford, 1808), 166; Symonds, ii 504-7. Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 1417-32; Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 17; Greswell, *l.c.*, 493-509², and *Fifty Select Poems* imitated by E. W. Barnard, with a memoir (Chester, 1829); *Harvard Lectures*, pp. iv, 82; portrait in *Carmina* (1743), copied in Wiese and Percopo, 326.

² *De viris illustribus*.

³ *De hominibus doctis*.

⁴ *De Poëtis Urbanis* (1524), reprinted in Tiraboschi, vii ad fin.; cp. Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 17 ad fin.

⁵ *Coryciana* (1524); Roscoe, *l.c.*; Gregorovius, viii 357 f; Creighton, vi 121.

⁶ *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum hujus superiorisque aevi illustrium* (1608).

⁷ *De poëtis nostrorum temporum* (Ferrara, 1548); ed. Wotke, 1894.

⁸ *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita* (Ven. 1546); *Elogia*

From the poets we turn to the archaeologists. A collection of Roman inscriptions founded on the researches of Fra Giocondo of Verona, and probably prepared by the learned Canon Francesco Albertini, was published in Rome by Mazocchi in 1521¹. Meanwhile in 1513 Andrea Fulvio had 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 1527².

Rome, which had been visited by Erasmus under Julius II, was, in the age of Leo, the goal of another wanderer from the North, Christopher Longolius (1488-1522). Neither the study of the law at Valence, nor its practice in Paris, could prevent his being drawn to Rome by the 'genius of Italy'³. In 1517 he entered the capital in the disguise of a soldier; his disguise was soon detected, he was hospitably entertained for three years, and, under the advice of Bembo, he applied himself to the study and the exclusive imitation of Cicero. A charge of treason to Rome, founded on the fact that, as a student in France, he had once eulogised the ancient Gauls at the expense of the ancient Romans, drove him from Rome to Padua, where he once more found a friend in Bembo. At Padua he published a volume of Ciceronian epistles, and, in 1522, he died at the early age of thirty-four. His death was lamented by all the scholars of the day, not excluding

doctorum virorum (Bas. c. 1556); *Elogia virorum literis illustrium, ex ejusdem Musæo... imaginibus exornata* (Bas. 1577); his own portrait *ib.* and in Uffizi. Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 908 f; Gregorovius, viii 344.

¹ Henzen, *Monatsber. Berl. Acad.* 1868, 403 f; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iv (1906) 465.

² Pastor, *l.c.*, 468, n. 3; Lanciani, *Golden Days of the Renaissance* (1906), 245-252.

³ *Epp.* iv 26, 'felicem illum ac plane divinum Italiae genium sum secutus'.

Erasmus, who, in his *Ciceronianus* (1523), singles him out as a typical Ciceronian¹.

Leo's posthumous fame as a patron of learning has been partly enhanced by the phrase of Erasmus, who marked the transition from Julius II to Leo X in the words:—'an age worse than that of iron was suddenly transformed into an age of gold'². Leo's 'golden days' have been celebrated in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*; and, when Leo died, his tomb was strewn with verses lamenting the passing away of the 'golden age'³.

Leo's successor, Adrian VI (1522-3), cared little for classical literature or Greek art. In the presence of an envoy from Venice, after glancing for a moment at the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere, he turned away, and said with a sigh:—'They are the idols of the ancients'⁴.

The pontificate of the second Medicean Pope, Clement VII (1523-34), saw a brief revival of learning. Piero Valeriano of Belluno (1477-1558), who had lived in Rome since 1509, and had been a favourite of Leo X, and a friend of that multifarious scholar, Cardinal Egidius Canisius of Viterbo⁵, was now recalled from Naples, and appointed professor of Eloquence⁶. His fame as an antiquarian, as a critic of Virgil, and as a successful imitator of Horace and Propertius, is eclipsed by his thrilling account of the calamities that befell the scholars of his time. The greatest of these calamities was the Sack of Rome by the Spanish and German troops of Charles V in the month of May, 1527⁷. In that overwhelming catastrophe many an artist and many a scholar perished, or suffered grievous losses, or passed into exile. The learned recluse, who had aided Raphael in the study of Vitruvius, died a miserable death in a hospital; the literary critic of the

¹ p. 82 f, ed. 1621. Cp. Jovius, no. 67 (portrait on p. 127, and in Bullart's *Académie*, ii (1682) 156); Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, 52-60; Gregorovius, viii 361 f; *Harvard Lectures*, 160 f.

² *Ep.* 174.

³ Gregorovius, viii 437.

⁴ Negri in *Lettere di Principi*, i 113 (Venice, 1581); cp. Valeriano, ii 34.

⁵ Gregorovius, viii 341 f.

⁶ Portrait (in fur cloak, with strong face and fine eyes) in Philippus Gallus, *Effigies*, ii (Antwerp, 1577) 36.

⁷ Creighton, vi 339-344, and Diaries quoted *ib.*, 381-3, 418-437.

Latin poets of that age, Lilio Giraldi, had to lament the loss of all his books; the writer of the eulogies of learned men, Paolo Giovio, was bereft of his only copy of part of the first decade of his great History of Rome, while the head of the Roman Academy saw most of his fine collection of MSS and antiquities dispersed and destroyed. Valeriano was absent from Rome during this appalling calamity, but on his return he found in the strange adventures of those who had lingered in the doomed city, much of the material for his work 'on the misfortunes of scholars'.¹ Giovio, at the close of his brief biographies, bids a sad farewell to the scholars of his own nation. The Germans, he laments, 'have robbed exhausted Greece and slumbering Italy of the ornaments of peace, of learning, and of the flower of the arts'. Yet this 'hostile age' has left us 'something of our ancient heritage'. 'If, after the almost utter loss of liberty, we may still glory in anything, we may boast that we hold the citadel of imperishable eloquence.' Every citizen of Rome must 'guard this post, in order that under the banner of Bembo and Sadoletto, we may heroically defend the remnant of the great bequest of our forefathers'.²

Immediately after the great disaster, men were saying on all sides that the light of the world had perished. Sadoletto, who had left for his bishopric in the South of France, wrote to the head of the Roman Academy recalling those happy meetings that had now been broken up by the cruel fate of Rome.³ He himself received a letter from Bembo, who had withdrawn to Padua, exhorting him to bury their common misfortunes in a life of study⁴; and another from Erasmus, saying that this terrible event had affected the whole earth; for Rome was not only the fortress of the Christian religion, the instructress of noble minds, but also the mother of the nations; her fall was not the fall of the city, but of the world.⁵

¹ *De litteratorum infelicitate*, Venice, 1620; cp. Roscoe's *Leo X*, c. 21; Gregorovius viii 334, 357, 651; Symonds, ii 443 f.

² *Elogia*, ad fin.; Gregorovius, viii 350.

³ Sadoletto, *Epp.* i 106. Cp. Gregorovius, viii 654 f.

⁴ Bembo, *Epp. Fam.* iii 24.

⁵ Erasmus, *Ep.* 988.

History of Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century.

Italy	Spain and Portugal	France	Netherlands	England and Scotland	Germany
Janus Lascaris 1445-1535	Ant. Nebrissensis 1444-1522				Wimpfeling 1450-1528
Aldus Manutius 1449-1515					Reuchlin 1435-1522
Beroaldus I 1453-1505				Grocyn 1446-1519	Conrad Celtis 1459-1508
Leonico Tomeo 1456-1531		Budaeus 1467-1540	Erasmus 1466-1536	Linacre 1460-1524	Trithemius 1462-1516
Sannazaro 1468-1530		Corderius 1479-1564		Colet 1467-1519	Peutinger 1465-1547
Pomponazzi 1463-1565		J. C. Scaliger 1484-1558 (in France 1529-53)	Vives (in Netherlands 1512-22, 1525-40)	Lily 1468-1522	Busche 1468-1534
Achillini 1463-1518		Rabelais 1490-1553		More 1478-1535	Pirkheimer 1470-1530
Machiavelli 1469-1527		Danesius 1497-1577		Croke 1489-1568	Heatus Rhenanus 1485-1547
Musurus 1470-1517	Nonius Pincianus 1471-1552	Toussain 1498-1547			Eobanus Hessus 1488-1540
Bembo 1470-1547		R. Stephanus 1503-1559	Nannius 1500-1557		Glareanus 1488-1563
Beroaldus II 1472-1518		Dorat 1502-1588		Huchanan 1506-1582	Petrus Mosellanus 1493-1524
Sadoletto 1477-1547		Dolet 1509-1546			Grynæus 1493-1541
Calcagnini 1479-1541		Le Roy 1510-1577	Pulmannus 1510-1590		Gelenius 1497-1554
Lilio Giraldi 1479-1552		Turnebus 1512-1565	H. Junius 1511-1575		Melancthon 1497-1560
Navagero 1483-1529		Dalechamps 1513-1588			Rivius 1500-1553
Paolo Gio. io 1483-1552		Amyot 1513-1593	Petreiis Tiara 1516-1588	Cheke 1514-1537	Camerarius 1500-1574
Fracastoro 1483-1553	Vergara 1484-1545	Ramus 1515-1572	Pighius 1520-1604	Ascham 1515-1568	Micyllus 1503-1558
J. C. Scaliger 1484-1558 (in Italy-1529)		Lambinus 1520-1572			Sturm 1507-1589
Longolius 1488-1522 (in Italy 1517-22)		De Grouchy 1520-1572			Conrad Gesner 1516-1565
Vida 1490-1566	Vives 1492-1540	Cujas 1522-1590			G. Fabricius 1516-1571
Flaminio 1498-1530	Clenardus 1495-1542	Hotman 1524-1590			H. Wolf 1516-1580
Nizolius 1498-1566	Resende 1498-1573	Muretus 1526-1585			B. Faber 1520-1576
Victorius 1499-1585		Doneau 1527-1591			F. Fabricius 1525-1573
Paleario 1504-1570		H. Stephanus 1528-31-1598	Vulcanius 1538-1614	Golding 1536-1605	Martin Crusius 1526-1607
Castelvetro 1505-1571		P. Daniel 1530-1603	J. J. Scaliger 1540-1609 (at Leyden 1595-1609)		Xylander 1532-1576
Fr. Portus 1511-1581	Oserio 1506-1584	Brisson 1531-1591	W. Canter 1542-1575	Savile 1549-1622	Sylburg 1536-1596
Majoragius 1514-1555	Ant. Augustinus 1517-1586	Montaigne 1533-1592	Cruquius ed. Horace 1578		Rhodoman 1546-1606
Robortelli 1516-1567	Sanctius 1523-1601	Paaverat 1534-1602	Janus Douss I 1545-1604		Frischlin 1547-1590
Sigonius 1524-1584	Nunnesius d. 1602	Pierre Pithou 1539-1596	Lipsius 1547-1606	Phil. Holland 1552-1637	Acm. Portus 1550-1615
Muretus 1526-1585 (in Italy 1554-85)	Ach. Statius 1524-1581	J. J. Scaliger 1540-1609	A. Schott 1552-1629	Chapman 1559-1634	Guilielmus 1555-1584
Panvinio 1529-1568	P. Clacconius 1525-1581	Gothofredus 1549-1621	Modius 1556-1599	Owen 1560-1622	Hoeschel 1556-1617
Patrizi 1529-1597	Alvarez 1526-1583	Bongars 1554-1612	Janus Douss II 1571-1597	A. Melville 1565-1622	Gruter 1560-1627
Fulvio Orsini 1529-1600	A. Ciacconius 1529-1599	Casaubon 1559-1614	Franciscus Douss 1577-1606	Drummond 1585-1649	Taubmann 1565-1613
	Cerda 1560-1643	Mercier d. 1626		Johnston 1587-1641	Acidalius 1567-1595

BOOK II.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Videmus Latinam eruditionem, quamvis impendiosam, citra Graecismum mancam esse ac dimidiatam. Apud nos enim rivuli vix quidam sunt et lacunculæ lutulentæ; apud illos fontes purissimi et flumina aurum volventia.

ERASMUS, *Ep.* 149 ed. Allen, 1906; (Paris, 1501).

Capessite ergo sana studia...; veteres Latinos colite, Graeca amplexamini, sine quibus Latina tractari nequeunt. Ea pro omnium litterarum usu ingenium alent mitius, atque elegantius undequaque reddent.

MELANCHTHON, *De Corrigendis Adulescentiæ Studiis*, ad fin. (Wittenberg, 1518).

Linguae Graecae osoribus ita responsum volo, omnem elegantem doctrinam, omnem cognitionem dignam hominis ingenui studio, uno verbo, quicquid usquam est politiorum disciplinarum, nullis aliis, quam Graecorum libris ac literis, contineri.

MURETUS, *Or.* II iv (Rome, 1573).



ERASMUS (1523).

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

CHAPTER X.

ERASMUS.

IN tracing the history of humanism, our natural course at the present point would be to turn from Italy to the other countries of Europe and to embark on a survey of the Revival of Learning in each. But there is one eminent scholar whose life and influence, so far from being confined to his native land, are even more closely connected with France, England, Italy, Germany and Switzerland than with the land of his birth. Our survey of the early history of scholarship beyond the bounds of Italy will therefore 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. He was the second of the two sons of Gerard of Gouda, near Rotterdam, and Margaret of Zevenberge in Brabant. His father Erasmus was in priest's orders at the time of his birth, and the name Erasmus was that of a martyred bishop of Campania, who was revered in the Low Countries, as well as in England¹. The Latin equivalent, Desiderius, was adopted by Erasmus himself, whose full name in the old Latin style was Desiderius Erasmus Rotterodamus. In his ninth year he was sent to school at Deventer, where the mediaeval text-books of Grammar were still in use, and his high promise was there recognised in 1484², when the school was visited by Rudolphus Agricola, afterwards described by Erasmus himself as 'the first who brought from Italy some breath of a better culture'³. In the same year he was removed to a school at Bois-le-Duc, distinctly inferior to that at Deventer, though

¹ F. M. Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, i 37 f.

² P. S. Allen, *Epp. Erasmi* (1906), i p. 581.

³ p. 1 of *Ep. ad Botshemum*, 30 Jan. 1524 (Leyden ed. of *Opera*, i *init.*).

founded by the Brothers of the Common Life¹; 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. He next entered the service of the bishop of Cambrai, who sent him to Paris, where he wrote a laudatory preface to a Latin history of France and thus became known to Colet. 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’². He is conscious that ‘without Greek the amplest erudition in Latin is imperfect’³, and, of his early study of Homer, he says (like Petrarch) ‘I am refreshed and fed by the sight of his words, even when I cannot always understand him’⁴. 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, whom he continued to translate in conjunction with More. 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 (as we have already seen)

¹ The school to which Erasmus was removed in his 14th year is described by himself as one of those belonging to the *Fratres Collationarii* (*Ep.* 442), i.e. the Brethren of the Common Life. Cp. Delprat's *History of the Confraternity* (Utrecht, 1830), 196, 313 f, quoted (with other passages) in a letter to Dr A. W. Ward from F. van der Haeghen of Ghent.

² iii 86; Nichols, *Epp.* i 233; *Ep.* 123, p. 285 Allen.

³ iii 968 D; 36 and 96 B; *De Ratione Studii*, § 3; *Ep.* 129, p. 301 Allen.

⁴ iii 78; Nichols, i 270; *Ep.* 131, p. 305 Allen. Woodward's *Erasmus*,

he worked quietly at Greek; Venice, where (as a guest of Aldus) he prepared a second edition of his *Adagia*; Padua, where he attended the lectures of Musurus, and 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 city¹. 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 future 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 producing Latin renderings from the *Moralia* of Plutarch, and was 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. His edition of the Greek Testament, the first that was actually published, was accompanied with a Latin version and with notes suggested by those of Valla, which Erasmus had discovered in 1505⁴. 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 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

¹ De Nolhac, *Erasmus en Italie*, 1888 (cp. p. 91 *supra*).

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

³ *Ep.* 123 (iii 110); cp. *Ep.* 233, p. 473 Allen.

⁴ Cp. *Ep.* 182, p. 406 f Allen.

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. The dialogue aroused the bitter attacks of the elder Scaliger and of Étienne Dolet¹. 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 the pronunciation adopted by Reuchlin the vowels η , ι , υ and the diphthongs $\alpha\iota$ and $\alpha\upsilon$ were all pronounced like the Italian *i*, while $\alpha\upsilon$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$ were pronounced like *af* or *av*, and *ef* or *ev*. 'The Erasmians maintained...that, among the ancients, each vowel or diphthong had its own proper sound, α like the Italian *a*, *iota* like the Italian *i*, υ like the French *u* or German *ü*, ϵ and η like the Italian short and long *e* respectively, and that the diphthongs had the sound which results from the combined sounds of their component letters. They proved also that β had the sound of our *b*, γ of our hard *g*, δ of our *d*, ζ of *ds*, χ of hard *ch*...; that τ and π should always retain the sound of *t* and *p*, and that the initial aspirate should be sounded as *h*'².

In 1529 Erasmus 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 published³. 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 1536.

The art of Holbein and of Dürer, with some slight touches derived from tradition, enables us to picture his personal appearance as a man of slight but well-built figure, with bluish grey eyes and light brown hair, a face characterised by a quiet humour, and a calm and steady gaze, blended with a caution that verges on

¹ Cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 162—167, and pp. 177—8 *infra*.

² W. G. Clark in *Journal of Philology*, 1 no 2, 98—108; Egger, *Hellenisme en France*, i 451—470.

³ Basel, 1532.

timidity¹. The inscription on the portrait by Dürer², as well as a phrase in the author's own *Letters*³, tells us that a better picture may be found in his writings. We there find proof of an unwearied industry brightened by a quick apprehension, a vivid fancy, and a playful wit, acuteness of observation and vigour of intellect rather than depth of thought, wide and varied learning expressed with facility in a flowing style that is free from a ponderous and pretentious pedantry, and never aims at elegance for its own sake. 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 princes⁴; 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 mediæval 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. The other Latin books that he recommends for use in schools are select plays of Plautus, with Virgil and Horace, Caesar and Sallust. In Greek he approves Lucian, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Homer and Euripides⁵. His own editions of Latin authors comprise Seneca (1515), Suetonius (1518), certain works of Cicero (1518-32), with Pliny (1525) 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

¹ Beatus Rhenanus (Nichols, i 36); Mullinger's *Cambridge*, i 491; Jebb's *Erasmus*, 5 f.

² τὴν κρείττω τὰ συγγράμματα δείξει (1525).

³ *Ep.* 428 (iii 446), optimam Erasmi partem in libris videre licet, quoties libet (1 June, 1519).

⁴ Cp. Hallam, *Lit.* i 280-5.

⁵ *De Ratione Studii*, § 3; ed. Woodward, 112.

cannot forget his edition of the Greek Testament (1516). In the preface to that work, the scholar, who had done so much for secular as well as for sacred learning, points the contrast between those two branches of scholarship in the words:—

'aliorum litterae sunt eiusmodi ut non parum multos paenituerit insumptae in illis operae...at felix ille quem in hisce litteris meditantem mors occupat'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. 'I used my best endeavour' (he declared) 'to deliver the rising generation from the depths of ignorance and to inspire them with a taste for better studies. I wrote, not for Italy, but for Germany and the Netherlands'². Before turning to the northern nations, we propose to trace the History of Scholarship in Italy in the age that immediately succeeded the Revival of Learning.

¹ The following is a small part of the literature on Erasmus. *Opera*, ed. J. Clericus (Leyden) in eleven folio vols. (1703-6); *Life* etc. by Jortin (1758-60); De Laur (1872); R. B. Drummond (1873); Fougère (1874); Nisard (1876); Froude (1894); Emerton (1899); Mark Pattison in *Enc. Brit.* ed. ix, and Capey, with brief bibliography (1902); also Bursian, *Gesch. d. cl. Philol. in Deutschland*, i 142-9; Geiger's *Renaissance*, 526-548, Mullinger's *Cambridge*, i 472-520; Jebb's *Erasmus* (1890) and in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* i 569-571; F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus* (1901-4); Woodward, *Erasmus on Education* (1904), with bibliography, *Renaissance Education* (1906), 104-126, and Brunetière, *Hist. de la Litt. Française classique* (1904), i 34-50; and, lastly, *Briefe an Erasmus*, ed. Enthoven (Strassburg, 1906), and esp. *Erasmii Epistolae*, vol. i, 1484-1514, ed. P. S. Allen (Oxford, 1906). Of the portraits by Holbein there are three types:—(1) the profile-portraits, (a) once in the possession of Charles I, and now in the *salon carré* of the Louvre (reproduced on p. 126); (b) at Basel, with a simpler background, and with the words on the paper clearly legible:—*In Evangelium Marci paraphrasis* followed by the author's name..., *Cunctis mortalibus ins(itum est)* (reproduced in Geiger's *Humanismus*, 531); (2) the three-quarter-face portrait at Longford Castle, near Salisbury; (3) the small circular three-quarter-face portrait at Basel, representing a somewhat older man. (1) and (2) belong to 1523 (Woltmann's *Holbein*, 182-9).

² Jebb's *Erasmus*, 41 f; Erasmus, *Opera* (Basel, 1540), ix 1440, 'me adolescens in nostrate Germania regnabat impune crassa barbaries, literas Graecas attigisse haeresis erat. Itaque pro mea quantulacunque portione conatus sum iuventutem ab inscitiae coeno ad puriora studia excitare. Neque enim illa scripsi Italis, sed Hollandis, Brabantis, ac Flandris. Nec omnino male cessit conatus meus' (1535).

CHAPTER XI.

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. In the month immediately preceding that appalling event, a work composed by Vida before 1520 was printed in Rome in the form of a didactic poem *De Arte Poetica*, the first of a long series of volumes on the theory of poetry published in Italy during the sixteenth century. Literary
Criticism.
Vida Vida's treatise 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 Virgil¹. Meanwhile, in 1498, another of the great classical text-books of literary criticism, the treatise of Aristotle *On the Art of Poetry*, had been im- Influence of
Aristotle's
Poetic perfectly translated into Latin by Giorgio Valla of Piacenza (c. 1430-99), probably a cousin of Laurentius Valla; 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 the memorable year 1536². It was the year that saw the Greek text separately published by Trincaveli, a revised Latin translation published by Pazzi, and the teaching of Aristotle applied for the first time to the theory of tragedy by Daniello³. In 1536 Ramus obtained his doctor's degree in Paris by maintaining that all the doctrines

¹ On Vida, see p. 117 *supra*; and cp. Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, ii 29-37; Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 127, 131-3.

² Spingarn, 17.

³ Spingarn, 137; also 28, 41, 81 f.

of Aristotle were false, thus marking the *decline* of Aristotle's teaching in *philosophy*; but, in the very same year, the dedicator of Pazzi's posthumous work declares that, in the treatise on Poetry, 'the precepts of poetic art are treated by Aristotle as divinely as he has treated every other form of knowledge',—thus marking the *beginning* of Aristotle's influence in *literature*'. Between 1536 and 1550 the critics and poets of Italy had assimilated the teaching of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry. In 1543 Giraldo Cintio tells us that it was already in use as a dramatic text-book¹. In 1548 the first critical edition, with a Latin translation and a learned commentary, was produced by Robortelli, then professor at Pisa². In the following year the first Italian translation was published by Bernardo Segni, and before April in that year, Ferrara was the scene of its first public exposition by Maggi, whose edition appeared in 1550³. The great edition by Victorius was produced in 1560, and in 1563 we find Trissino adding to his earlier work (1529) two new parts, which are entirely founded on Aristotle⁴. Next follow the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro (1570) and Piccolomini (1575). The former is regarded by Tasso as supreme in erudition, and the latter in maturity of judgement⁵. The Unity of Time, which had made its first appearance in Giraldo Cintio (1543)⁷, is now followed by the Unity of Place, which presents itself in Castelvetro (1570)⁸, whose commentary is lauded by Milton⁹, and described by Bentley as sold for its 'weight in silver in most countries of Europe'¹⁰. Aristotle's treatise was even expounded in Latin verse by Baldini in 1576, and, ten years later, it was paraphrased and explained in Italian prose by Salviati (1586), who briefly reviews the works of his precursors¹¹. It was made into a practical manual for poets and playwrights by Riccoboni (1591)¹²,

¹ Spingarn, 137.

² *Discorso sulle Comedie e sulle Tragedie*, ii 6 (Spingarn, 62).

³ p. 141 *infra*.

⁴ Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 1472 f.

⁵ Spingarn, 140.

⁶ xv 20 (Spingarn, 140).

⁷ *Discorso sulle Comedie e sulle Tragedie*, ii 10 f; Spingarn, 91.

⁸ *Poetica*, 534; Spingarn, 98 f.

⁹ *Of Education* (iv 389, ed. 1863).

¹⁰ *Phalaris*, 63, Wagner.

¹¹ Printed from MS in Florence by Spingarn, 314-6.

¹² Spingarn, 140.

defended against all detractors by Buonamici (1597)¹, and finally expounded on a large scale by Beni (1613).

Meanwhile, a series of treatises on the Art of Poetry had been produced in Italy by Daniello (1536), Muzio (1551), Varchi (1553), Giraldis Cintio (1554), Fracastoro (1555)², Minturno (1559), and Partenio (1560)³. All these culminated in a work by a more famous scholar of Italian birth, Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484—1558); who in 1529 had left the banks of the Lago di Garda for Agen on the Garonne. In his treatise on poetry, posthumously published at Geneva in 1561, he describes Aristotle as 'imperator noster, omnium bonarum artium dictator perpetuus'⁴. The elder Scaliger belongs to the history of scholarship in France, the land of his adoption, but we must here notice two eminent Italian scholars, whose studies were closely connected with the *Ars Poëtica* of Aristotle, though far from being confined to it.

Piero Vettori, whose name is more familiar in the Latin form of Petrus Victorius (1499—1585), may be regarded as possibly the greatest Greek scholar of Italy, as Victorius certainly the foremost representative of classical scholarship in that country during the sixteenth century, which, for Italy at least, may well be called the *saeculum Victorianum*. Descended on both sides from families of distinction in Florence, he owed much to the intellectual ability of his mother. He learnt his Greek from Marcello Hadriano, and Andrea Dazzi⁵, and from the

¹ *Discorsi Poëtici in difesa d' Aristotele*.

² p. 118 *supra*.

³ See *Index* to Spingarn and Saintsbury.

⁴ *Poëtices libri septem*, VII ii 1, p. 932 (ed. 1586). Cp. Saintsbury, ii 69—80. Scaliger's treatise was succeeded by a second work by Minturno (1564), and by those of Viperano (1579), Patrizzi (1586), Tasso (1587), Denores (1588), Buonamici (1597) and Summo (1600).

⁵ Andrea Dazzi (1475—1548), a pupil of the Latin secretary of Florence, and editor of Dioscorides (1518), Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus (1464—1521), whom he succeeded as professor. In his Latin poem on the 'Battle of the Cats and Mice' he imitated Virgil, Ovid, and Silius Italicus. He also wrote minor hexameter poems, *Silvae*, and Greek and Latin Epigrams (W. Rüdiger, *Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus*, 65 pp., and *Andreas Dactylus aus Florens*, 70 pp., Halle, 1897).



PIERO VETTORI LETTERATO INSIGNE
 SENATORE CAV. E CONTE PALATINO
 AMBASCIAT. IN ROMA A PAPA GIULIO III.
 NACQUE IN FIRENZE L' ANNO MCCCCXCIX.
 MORI L' AN. MDLXXXV.

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

VICTORIUS.

From the portrait by Titian, engraved by Ant. Zaballi for the *Ritratti Toscani*, vol. 1, no. xxxix (Allegrini, Firenze, 1766).

blind scholar, Giorgio Riescio of Poggibonsi. An early interest in astronomy led to his eager study of Aratus and his commentator Hipparchus. At the age of 24 he visited Spain in the company of his relative, Paolo Vettori, admiral of the papal fleet which was sent to escort the newly-elected Pope, Adrian of Utrecht, to the shores of Italy; and, in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, he then collected a number of Latin inscriptions¹. After taking part in the spirited but unavailing attempt of Florence to oppose the return of the base-born tyrant, Alessandro Medici, he lived in retirement at San Casciano from 1529 to the death of the second Medicean Pope, Clement VII (1534). In 1536-7 he produced in three volumes an edition of the *Letters* and the *philosophical and rhetorical works* of Cicero, whose *Speeches* had already been edited by Naugerius. Under Cosimo I, he withdrew to Rome, but was soon invited to return to Florence as professor of Latin. He was subsequently professor of Greek, and of Moral Philosophy. In Latin scholarship he paid special attention to Cicero's *Letters*²; 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). All of these are published in folio volumes, in which every sentence, or paragraph, of the text is printed separately, followed, in each case, by a full exposition. For the second Juntine edition of Sophocles (1547) he collated certain ancient mss in Florence (doubtless including the *codex Laurentianus*) so far as regarded the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*, and *Trachiniae*, but in the preface he is simply described as 'a learned man', without any mention of his name. 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), with the text interspersed in the folio pages

¹ Cp. *Epp.* 167 f.

² Ed. 1536, followed by *Castigationes* in 1540-1, *Ad Familiares* 1558, and *Ad Atticum* 1571. Many of the corrections now universally accepted are due to Victorius, e.g. *Ad Fam.* iv 8, ὑπὲρ Μαλέας for 'supra Mais', and *Ad Att.* xv 19, 'De Menedemo' for 'Demea domi est'; cp. Rüdiger, *P. V.* 18, 24, 49.

of the Latin commentary. 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)¹. 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. The only other works that need here be mentioned are his *Epistolae ad Germanos missae* (1577) and the *Epistolae* and *Orationes* published by his grandson in 1586.

While he disapproved of the disastrous policy of the Medicean Pope, Clement VII, which ended in the Sack of Rome and the suppression of the liberty of Florence, he was loyal to the successors of Clement, and to the Grand Dukes of Tuscany; and he was sent by Florence to congratulate Julius III on his election (1549).

When the Grand Duke, Francesco, married Bianca Capella, Victorius presented the ruler of the State with a very exceptional wedding-gift in the form of a new edition of the commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1579). In the Commentary on the *Ethics*, Aristotle's reference to the opinion of Eudoxus, that pleasure is the chief good², prompts Victorius to introduce an irrelevant notice of the services of Eudoxus in the correction of the Calendar, and an equally irrelevant compliment to Gregory XIII on his similar services,—a compliment which Victorius also pays the Pope in a separate letter on this subject³. None of the attempts to attract Victorius to Rome or Bologna had any permanent result; he remained true to Florence to the last. We are told that, for eighty-five of the eighty-six years of his long life, his sight remained undimmed; also that he drank water only, and constantly bathed in his native stream of the Arno. At the age of 86 he died and was buried in the church of Santo Spirito, where the following inscription may be seen on the wall to the right of the altar:—

¹ Owing to the loss of 14 leaves, more than two-thirds of the play is missing in the Medicean MS, viz. 323—1050, 1159—1673, ed. Wecklein.

² *Ethics*, x 2, § 1.

³ *Epp.* p. 222, 'nactus occasionem idoneam laudandi te etc.'

'D. O. M.

In sepulcro hoc sub aram posito
Inter ceteras familiae Vettori exuvias
Translata servantur ossa
Petri Victorii cognomento docti'.

During his lifetime five medals were struck in his honour¹, and his portrait was painted by Titian², while, in the frontispiece of his posthumous *Epistolae*, we have an engraving representing the great scholar in the 87th year of his age. His fame was not limited to his own land, or his own time. Scholars of his own age, or little later, were loud in his praises. His scrupulous care and unwearied industry are lauded by Turnebus, who declines to be compared with him, even for a moment³; the epithets *doctissimus*, *optimus*, and *fidelissimus* are applied to him by the younger and the greater of the two Scaligers⁴, while Muretus calls him *eruditorum coryphaeus*⁵; and similar eulogies might be quoted from Justus Lipsius⁶, and the author of the *Polyhistor*⁷, as well as from editors of the *Ars Poëtica* of Aristotle, such as Anna Dacier⁸, and of Cicero's *Letters*, such as Graevius⁹. His *Variae Lectiones*, however, were sometimes regarded as unduly diffuse, and the prolixity of his Latin letters has been noticed in the *Scaligerana*¹⁰, and by Balzac, who observed that the perusal of the whole volume was as tedious as travelling, on foot and alone, across the moorlands of Bordeaux¹¹. Among his editions of Greek authors, the highest place for wide and varied learning was generally awarded to his commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*¹², while his contemporary Robortelli lauded him as the only scholar who had really thrown light on the text of Cicero¹³. He is described by a poet as having

¹ Bandini's *Vita*, 1759, opp. p. civ, and on title-page.

² Reproduced opp. p. 137.

³ *Adversaria*, xix 28; *Epp. clar. Ital. et Germ.* iii 34.

⁴ *Prima Scaligerana*, 99.

⁵ *Var. Lect.* viii 6.

⁶ *Var. Lect.* ii 25.

⁷ Morhof, *Polyhistor*, i 5, 15.

⁸ Ed. 1692, *Préface*.

⁹ *Epp. Fam., Praef.* Cp. Sir Thomas Pope in Blount's *Censura*, 475 f.

¹⁰ p. 359.

¹¹ *Lettres à M. Chapelain*, iii 21 (6 July, 1638), ed. 1656.

¹² *Epp. clar. Ital. et Germ.* i 36.

¹³ *ib.* i 6.

climbed the 'hill of Virtue', and taken his place on its summit between Cicero and Aristotle¹. The funeral oration in his honour was delivered by Leonardo Salviati, the head of the newly founded Accademia della Crusca, who dwells on the simplicity of his life, the unselfishness of his character, and his high qualities as a teacher; and personifies Italia as saying of her famous son:—

Now no more shall distant peoples cross the snows of the Alps to see Victorious, or men of mark arrive from every land to hear him; or princes hold converse with him. Now no more shall the works of scholars in all parts of the world be sent here for his approval; or youth learn wisdom from his lips².

Within a year of the delivery of that funeral oration, Salviati, in the course of the celebrated controversy in defence of Ariosto and in depreciation of Tasso, had written an extensive commentary on the *Ars Poëtica* of Aristotle, which still remains in MS at Florence³. As commentators on that treatise, Salviati and Victorious alike had been anticipated by the author of the first critical edition, Robortelli (1548).

Francesco Robortelli (1516—1567) was the son of a notary belonging to a noble family at Udine. He was educated at Bologna, and held professorships at Lucca (1538), Pisa (1543), Venice (1549), and Padua (1552—7), and at Bologna itself (1557). From Bologna he returned to Padua in 1560. Seven years later he died in poverty, and the university honoured him with a public funeral, while the gratitude of his Paduan pupils of the 'German nation' caused his statue to be placed in the church of Sant' Antonio⁴. An inordinate self-esteem led to his quarrelling with several of the leading scholars of his time. His earliest work, the *Variorum Locorum Adnotationes* (Venice, 1543), is remarkable for its frequent attacks on Erasmus. It was reprinted at Florence in 1548, in the same volume as several minor works on History and Rhetoric, on Catullus and Virgil, and on the Names of the Romans, closing

¹ Albericus Longus, *ib. ad fin.*

² *Orazione Funerale*, 1585. Cp., in general, Bandini's *Vita*, 1759; H. Kämmer in *Jahrb. f. Philol.* xcvi, 1866, 325 f, 421 f; and W. Rüdiger (Halle, 1896).

³ Cod. Magliabech. 11 ii 2, Spingarn, 314 f; also 123 f.

⁴ G. B. Rossetti, *Pitture etc. di Padova*, 77.

with a Greek Ode in honour of the author. The disquisition on the Names of the Romans became notorious in connexion with his subsequent controversy with the great authority on Roman Antiquities, Sigonius. In the same year he produced a far more important work, his edition of Aristotle's 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 commentary¹. 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 stage². In this view, he is followed by Victorius (1560) and Castelvetro (1570). His edition concludes with a paraphrase of the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace, and some account of other criticisms on poetry. Much of the erudition contained in this work was afterwards utilised in the *Arte Nuevo* of Lope de Vega (d. 1635)³. 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 metre⁴. 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*⁵, which here appears as the work of 'Dionysius Longinus', an attribution which remained unchallenged until 1808⁶. With a pardonable pride, the editor describes the text as an *opus redivivum ... e tenebris in lucem eductum*; but all that he supplies by way of elucidation of this masterly work is a series of marginal headings denoting the principal contents. His unimportant edition of Callimachus, with the Greek *scholia* and with a Latin translation, appeared in the same year as his *Fasti Capitolini* (1555). 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

¹ Later ed. Basel, 1555.

² Cp. Spingarn, 29, 63, 77.

³ Ed. Morel-Fatio, 1901-2 (Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*, ii 50, 345).

⁴ Cp. *Eum.* ed. Davies, p. 25.

⁵ Basel, 1554.

⁶ Cp. Rhys Roberts, 3, 247, 251.

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 kind¹. 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 emendation². 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. The quarrel arose out of Robortelli's unimportant treatise *On the Names of the Romans*, published while he was still at Pisa (1548). Five years later, Sigonius wrote on the same subject, attacking Robortelli's opinions³, but describing the author as a 'friend' and as 'a man of learning'. In the following year Robortelli published a letter resenting the attack, and reprinted this letter in his *Fasti Capitolini*. The latter had been published earlier in the same year by Sigonius with additions of his own. But these additions were omitted by Robortelli, who stated that they contained many mistakes, which he proposed to set forth in his public lectures. In a new edition of the *Fasti* (1556), Sigonius said nothing of Robortelli; and, in the following year, Robortelli, in his treatise on the chronology of Livy, renewed his attacks on Sigonius, repeatedly describing him as *nullo iudicio praeditus*, and heading half the chapters with *error Sigonii*. Sigonius managed to obtain advance sheets of this work, and was thus enabled to answer the attack within a month of its publication. The answer is as bitter as the attack, but Sigonius might fairly plead excessive provocation. The quarrel was composed for a time by the good offices of Cardinal Seripando, who was at Bologna in 1561, but it broke out afresh in 1562, when both the disputants

¹ *De Arte sive Ratione corrigendi Antiquos Libros Disputatio, nunc primum a me excogitata*; reprinted in the Amsterdam ed. of Scioppius, *De Arte Critica* (1672), and in Gruter's *Lampas*, ed. 1747, t. ii.

² Hallam, i 496⁴.

³ e.g. Robortelli had denied the antiquity of Roman female praenomina, except in the marriage formula, *ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia*. Sigonius replied by quoting examples to the contrary from the times of the Republic.

were professors in Padua. Robortelli's treatise *De Vita et Victu Populi Romani* was afterwards attacked by Sigonius in his *Disputationes Patavinae*, and Robortelli replied under an assumed name in his *Ephemerides Patavinae* with remarks on the personal peculiarities of Sigonius, which brought on him a still more violent attack in a second edition of the *Disputationes*. Happily, both works were suppressed by order of the State. Robortelli's merits, as an editor of Aeschylus, and as an intelligent expositor of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry, are undoubted. It is true that he failed to rise to the height of a great opportunity in the *editio princeps* of the treatise *On the Sublime*, but, five years later, he laid the foundation of the art of textual criticism as applied to Latin MSS. It would have been better for his reputation if he had written nothing more, for, in the department of Roman Antiquities, he was no match for his opponent Sigonius¹.

Carlo Sigone or Sigonio (c. 1524—1584) was born at Modena, and at Modena he died, after having held professorships at Venice (1552), Padua (1560), and Bologna (1563). His minor works include a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1557) and a collection of the fragments of Cicero (1559). All his greater 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 year². 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'³. 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 history⁴. In another stately volume he

¹ Cp., in general, Tiraboschi vii 840-8.

² Both reprinted at Oxford, 1801-2.

³ c. 45 (iv 506 Bury).

⁴ *Historiarum de occidentali imperio libri xx*, Bononiae, 1578.

had already told the story of the 'Kingdom of Italy' from the invasion of the Lombards (568) to 1199, and afterwards to 1286¹, a work which was founded on wide research in the Italian archives, and has received the highest eulogy from the competent pen of the author's erudite biographer, Muratori². He had dealt more briefly with the Constitution of Athens, and with the times of the Athenian and the Spartan supremacy (1564-5). In the former all the Greek authorities appear in a Latin dress, and hardly any Greek words occur, a fact that has been held by Hallam to imply a decline of Greek learning in Italy, while his works on the Roman government are regarded by the same writer as marking an epoch in that department of ancient literature³.

Besides his controversy with Robortelli, he was involved in a discussion, conducted in a better temper on both sides, with Nicolas de Grouchy of Rouen, professor of Greek at Bordeaux, the author of a treatise *De Comitibus Romanorum* (1555)⁴. Late in life he was engaged in a less creditable controversy with Antonio Riccoboni (1541-1599), who was already known as a commentator on the rhetorical works of Cicero, and as a translator of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle⁵. In 1583 a printer in Venice produced a volume purporting to be the *Consolatio* of Cicero, *liber...nunc primum repertus et in lucem editus*⁶. It had been seen through the press by one Francesco Vianello. Sigonius maintained in two 'Orations' that it was the work of Cicero, while Riccoboni declared that it was spurious; he suspected, indeed, that it was the work of Sigonius himself. Justus Lipsius and others agreed with Riccoboni, and there is no doubt that they were right. Sigonius did not live to publish his third 'Oratio' on the subject

¹ *De Regno Italiae*, Ven. 1574, etc.; cp. Gibbon, c. 45 *ad fin.*

² *Vita Sigonii*, p. ix, 'insigne profecto opus et monumentorum copia, et splendore sermonis, et ordine narrationis, ex quo incredibilis lux facta est eruditioni barbarorum temporum, in illum usque diem apud Italos tenebris innumeris circumfusae'.
³ i 525-6^a.

⁴ The discussion related to the question whether popular elections had to be confirmed by the *comitia curiata*; cp. Cic. *De Lege Agr.* ii 26-31.

⁵ His criticisms on the *Rhetoric* and *Ethics* were reprinted at Oxford as late as 1820-1.

⁶ There were nine different editions in 1583-4 (Orelli-Baiter, *Onomasticon*, i 377 f). It may be seen in Nobbe's Cicero, p. 1345.

(1599). Early in 1584 he withdrew to his native town of Modena, where he had built himself a villa that may still be seen across the Secchia, two miles distant from the town. He there died in the same year, and was buried in the church of Sant' Agostino¹.

An interest in Roman antiquities was aroused in Rome itself by one of the earlier contemporaries of Sigonius, Pantagato
Ottavio Pantagato of Brescia (1494—1567), who passed the greater part of his life in Rome. His high reputation for learning, especially in the department of Antiquities and Chronology, is attested by Victorius² and by Paulus Manutius³.

A younger contemporary of Sigonius, Onofrio Panvinio, an Panvinio
Augustinian monk of Verona (1529—1568), printed an edition of the *Fasti Consulares* at Venice in 1556, and thus came into friendly controversy with their recent editor, Sigonius. Panvinio spent most of his time in Rome. During a visit to Sicily in 1568, he died at Palermo; he was buried at Rome in the church of Sant' Agostino. In the course of his short life, besides producing his edition of the Consular *Fasti*, he wrote on Roman names, on *ludi circenses* and *saeculares*, on triumphs and sacrifices, on the books of the Sibyls and the portraits of the emperors. Much of his work was founded on his own researches in Roman inscriptions. He had collected nearly 3000, and formed a grand scheme for publishing all the inscriptions of the Roman world⁴. His collection has not been found, but it has been surmised that it was the same as that published at Antwerp by one of his companions in Rome, named Martin Smetius, whose work became the foundation of that of Janus Gruter⁵.

During the life-time of Sigonius, the study of Cicero, but not of

¹ A complete edition of his works in six folio volumes was published at Milan, 1732-7, with a Life by Muratori, and with a fine portrait as frontispiece. Cp., in general, Tiraboschi, vii 831—840.

² Pref. to Cic. *ad Att.*

³ *Epp.* ii 34, 'urbem, a qua ceteri honestantur, sua ipse virtute nobilitat' etc. Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 882-6.

⁴ *Fasti*, lib. ii, 'magnum inscriptionum totius orbis opus adorno, quod quamprimum Deo auspice evulgabitur; in quo omnia singillatim inscriptionum loca accuratissime descripta sunt'. Cp. Lanciani (*u. s.* p. 121), 130-2.

⁵ Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 825—831; Henzen in *C.I.L.* vi (1) liii; Stark, 101.

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—1566), was born at Brescello in the duchy of Milan, and had already enjoyed for thirteen years the generous patronage of Count Gianfrancesco Gambara of Brescia, when he 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 revised by Alexander Scot under the title of *Apparatus Latinae locutionis*, with references to the *sections* of his edition of the whole of Cicero (Basel, 1588). It was republished under the more intelligible titles, *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*, and *Lexicon Ciceronianum*. The latter was the title adopted by Facciolati in his edition of 1734. Later editions of this valuable work are still in use¹. From 1547 to 1562 he was a professor at Parma, and was brought into controversy with Majoragius. The latter had attacked the *Paradoxes* of Cicero (1546); the attack was met by a friendly letter of protest on the part of Nizolius. Majoragius replied in an *Apologia*, and Nizolius retorted in an *Antapologia*, whereupon Majoragius hurled forth two books of *Reprehensiones*, and soon found himself confronted by his opponent's *Anti-barbarus Philosophicus* (1553)². The author here 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 owes its reputation mainly to the fact that it was reprinted by Leibnitz in 1670, with a notable preface recommending the work as a model of philosophical language that was free from barbarism³. The controversy between Nizolius and Majoragius, which was waged with violence on both sides, was viewed with regret by the literary world of Italy, and many attempts were made to reconcile the disputants. Oporinus, who printed the

¹ e.g. ed. 1820 London, in three octavo vols. Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Apologie for Poetrie* (1595), p. 68 Arber, mentions '*Nizolian Paper-bookes of...figures and phrases*'; cp. p. 150 *infra*.

² This is only the popular abridgement of the true title:—*De veris principiis et de vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudo-philosophos*.

³ Hallam, ii 17 f⁴.

tracts of Majoragius at Basel, vainly intervened in a controversy which was only closed by the early death of that otherwise blameless and meritorious scholar (1555). In 1562 the survivor, Nizolius, became professor at Sabbioneta, but, four years later, he appears to have died at the place of his birth, where a tablet commemorates him, not only as the 'first author of the Observations on Cicero' (which is true), but also as 'the sole restorer of the Aristotelian philosophy' (which does not appear to be in accordance with the facts)¹.

His opponent, Marcantonio Majoragio, assumed that name in exchange for that of Maria Antonio Conti Majoragius (1514—1555). He was born at Majoragio near Milan, and it was at Milan that he held a professorship for the latter part of his short life, being only absent for a year or more, in 1542. At that date the war in Lombardy led to his leaving for Ferrara, where he attended the lectures of Maggi on philosophy, and those of Alciati² on jurisprudence. He produced a commentary on the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (1547) and on the *Orator* of Cicero (1552 etc.); that on the first book of the *De Oratore* (1587) was not published until after his death. He defended Cicero against the attack on the *De Officiis* by that versatile scholar and eager student of Cicero, Celio Calcagnini (1479—1546), who had already passed away before the defence was published. His own attack on the *Paradoxes* of Cicero (1546) brought him (as we have seen) into a conflict with Nizolius, which was only closed by the early death of Majoragius³.

Another student of Cicero, Gabriello Faërno (or Faërnus) of Cremona (d. 1561), owed much to the favour of Faërnus Cardinal Carlo Borromeo and to that Cardinal's uncle, the future Pope Pius IV. It was not until after the death of Faërnus that the classical world of Rome welcomed the publication of his edition of Cicero's *Philippics*, with the *pro Fonteio*, *pro Flacco* and *in Pisonem* (1563), and his recension of Terence (1565), both of which works were highly commended by Victorius⁴. His celebrated rendering of a hundred Aesopian fables

¹ Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 452, 1510-3.

² (1492—1550); portrait in Boissard, II 134.

³ p. 146 *supra*. Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 1507-10.

⁴ *Epp.* pp. 112, 129.

into Latin verse was similarly published by command of the Pope (1564)¹.

The year that preceded the death of Faërnus was that of the arrival of Muretus in Rome. Marc-Antoine Muretus Muret (1526—1585), who was born at Muret near Limoges, studied at Poitiers, but was mainly self-taught. In early life he had a great admiration for the elder Scaliger, whom he twice visited at Agen. In 1546 he began to lecture at Poitiers, where he made the acquaintance of Joachim du Bellay, one of the brilliant group of poets known as the Pleiad. In the following year he was already lecturing with success at Bordeaux. Montaigne, who claims Muretus as one of his private tutors, and took part, as a boy, in his play of *Julius Caesar*,

¹ Tiraboschi, vii 1409-11.



MURETUS.

From Joannes Imperialis, *Museum Historicum* (Venice, 1640), p. 110.

describes him as recognised by France and Italy as the best stylist of his time¹. In Paris he lectured on Cicero, *De Divinatione*, and on Aristotle's *Ethics*, his notes on the latter being printed in 1553,—his first publication on a Greek subject. Thanks to Dorat, himself a native of Limoges, and to Joachim du Bellay, he was admitted into the circle of young poets, to which Dorat and Ronsard then belonged. In 1553 he published his French commentary on Ronsard's *Amours*, and his *Juvenilia*, a collection of Latin verse, including the fine line :—*Pande oculos, pande stellatae frontis honorem*². In the midst of his gay and brilliant life among the poets of Paris, a cloud suddenly arose on the horizon. Mysterious charges of heresy and of immorality led to his suddenly leaving Paris for Toulouse, where he is said to have been condemned to death; but one of the two entrusted with the execution of the sentence sent him a slip of paper inscribed with the Virgilian phrase, *heu fuge crudeles terras*; Muretus at once took the hint, and was at a safe distance by the time when he was burnt in effigy at Toulouse. During his flight across the north of Italy, he fell into a fever, and, in one of the cities of Lombardy, found himself in the hands of certain physicians. The coarseness of his features, and the rustic garb of his disguise, led to his being mistaken for a tramp. After a consultation, one of the physicians said to the other in Latin :—*faciamus experimentum in anima vili*, whereupon the patient rose in his bed, and indignantly exclaimed :—*Vilem animam appellas pro qua Christus non dedignatus est mori*?³. Escaping from this second peril, he made his way to Venice, where he held a professorship of humanity for four years (1555–8). He afterwards took private pupils in Padua, and lived for twelve years under the patronage of the Cardinal of Este at Ferrara and elsewhere; and, finally, he was a professor in Rome for more than twenty years (1563–84). In 1576 he was ordained to the priesthood, and in 1585 he died, and was buried near the high altar in the French church of SS. Trinità de' Monti, where an inscription in his own Latin prose identifies his tomb⁴.

¹ i 25, 'le meilleur orateur du temps'.

² No. 28; Dejob, p. 35. Pattison, *Essays*, i 127, compares the Tennysonian 'star-like sorrows of immortal eyes'.

³ Colletet, ap. Dejob, 60; *Menagiana*, i 302.

⁴ Dejob, 367.

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, a commentary on the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, and the three lectures *De Studiis Litterarum* (1555). Early in 1563, on a visit to Paris in the train of the Cardinal of Ferrara (when he was well received by Turnebus and Dorat, and met the young Canter, besides coming into friendly relations with Amyot), he discovered a ms of Victorinus¹, and 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* 1, 11, 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. One of the most interesting passages is that in which he tells us of the trap that he laid for some of the ultra-Ciceronians of his day, who had a singularly sensitive ear for any words, which, as they supposed, had never been used by Cicero. To these fastidious critics the touchstone of Ciceronianism was the lexicon of Nizolius. When some of them were attending Muretus' lectures in Rome, he slyly introduced into his discourse some of the words which had been accidentally omitted by the lexicographer. The 'Ciceronians' protested that it was simple torture to listen to such barbarisms; but, when Muretus actually showed them his authority in the pages of Cicero, the words that had just before been deemed harsh and rough, at once became 'smooth and sweet and delightful to the ear'². Similarly, the superlative *illustrissimus* lay under grave suspicion, so long as it

¹ *Epp.* III xii.

² *Var. Lect.* xv 1; *Harvard Lectures*, 169 f.

was supposed that the earliest authority for its use was Gellius; but, as soon as it was discovered in Varro, it was no longer necessary to resort to the circumlocution *maxime illustris*¹. Muretus was specially grateful to Cujas for bringing some of the old Latin words into use, *ne lingua per se inops...magis etiam pauperetur*².

His relations with Lambinus were perfectly satisfactory in 1556, when Lambinus visited Muretus in Venice; but an estrangement arose in 1559, when Muretus published in his *Variae Lectiones* some emendations, which he had borrowed, without leave, from Lambinus. The final and irreparable breach ensued two years later, when Lambinus published his correspondence with Muretus, regardless of the damage that was thus inflicted on the good name of the latter. Muretus, who had plagiarised from Lambinus, held that he had himself been similarly treated by Lipsius, in his edition of Tacitus, but he states his grievance in the most courteous terms³. Nevertheless the work of Lipsius on Tacitus, like that of Lambinus on Horace, is superior to any single edition published by Muretus. 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 rest⁴. As an imitator of Cicero, he was more successful than the younger Pliny, or than Paulus Manutius. Nature (says Ruhnken) had given him the same genius as Cicero⁵. He was long regarded as a classic model for modern Latin prose. But he was himself fully conscious of the importance of Greek. In his inaugural lecture on Plato, he defended the teaching of Greek against the unintelligent protests of the day, and clearly pointed out the probable results of a neglect of that study. 'All that was lofty in thought' (he declared) 'was enshrined in the literature of Greece'⁶. During the twenty years, in which he

¹ *Var. Lect.* xv. 1; *Harvard Lectures*, 169 f.

² *Var. Lect.* xi 17; *paupero* itself is only found in Plautus.

³ *Var. Lect.* xi 1.

⁴ *Scaligerana Sec.*

⁵ *Mureti Opera*, iv iii, ed. Ruhnken. Cp. Hallam, i 504⁴.

⁶ *Or.* 11 iv (1 236 Ruhnken), 'Omnes elegantem doctrinam, omnem

lectured under no small difficulties and restrictions in Rome, he foresaw the decline of learning in Italy and made every effort to arrest it¹.

Muretus had been forbidden to continue his lectures on Plato.

Patrizzi It was not until seven years after his death that the prominent Platonist, Francesco Patrizzi (1529—1597), was invited to hold a professorship in Rome. This original and versatile genius was at once a philosopher, mathematician, historian, soldier, orator, and poet. Born on an island between Istria and Dalmatia, he was educated from an early age at Padua, where he became the pupil and the friend of Robortelli. In 1553 he published a discourse on the different kinds of poetic inspiration, followed, in 1561, by his dialogues on history. After living abroad in Cyprus, France and Spain, he produced the four volumes of his *Discussiones Peripateticæ* (1571–81), in which he criticises the life of Aristotle, declaring many of his writings to be spurious and violently attacking his opinions. During a second visit to Spain he parted with several of his Greek mss, which are now in the Library of the Escorial². He subsequently spent fourteen years at Ferrara under the patronage of duke Alfonso II. It was during this time that he published his remarkable work *Della Poetica* (1586), in which he once more opposes Aristotle. In the historical division of this work he declines to follow Aristotle in founding the type of the various forms of poetry on a few great works. He surveys the history of literature as a whole, and thus produces the first attempt in modern times to study

cognitionem dignam hominis ingenui studio, uno verbo quicquid usquam est politorum disciplinarum, nullis aliis quam Graecorum libris ac litteris contineri'. 'Praedicere possumus, si homines nostri paulo magis Graecas litteras negligere coeperint, omnibus bonis artibus certissimam pestem ac perniciem imminere'.

¹ Dejob, 375. On Muretus, cp. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret*, pp. 496 (1881), and the literature there quoted (reviewed in Pattison's *Essays*, i 124—131). *Opera*, four vols., ed. Ruhnken (1789); *Epistolae, Praefationes, Orationes*, three vols., ed. Frotscher (1834–41); *Scripta Selecta*, two parts, ed. Frey (1871–3). Portrait in his *Juvenilia* (1553), also in Phil. Galleus, *Effigies*, ii (1577) 12; Boissard's *Icones*, viii III 2; in Ruhnken's ed. vol. i, and Joannes Imperialis, *Museum Historicum* (Ven. 1640), p. 110, reproduced on p. 148. Cp. also De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque d'un humaniste au XVI^e s.* (Rome, 1883).

² Proclus, Libanius, Plotinus, etc. (Graux, *Fonds grec de l'Escorial*, 127–9).

literary history in a broad as well as a philosophic spirit. In the controversial division he attacks the *Treatise on Poetry*, denouncing its teaching as 'obscure, inconsistent and entirely unworthy of credence'. As a literary critic he is two centuries in advance of his time¹. In his *Nuova Filosofia* of 1591 he combined the opinions of Plato with the teaching of Bernardino Telesio of Cosenza (1508—1588), who united a keen appreciation of the prae-Socratic natural philosophers with an eager insistence on the importance of the direct investigation of nature. The work was dedicated to Gregory XIV, formerly his fellow-student at Padua. That Pope's successor, Clement VIII, soon invited him to Rome, where he was professor of Platonic philosophy till his death in 1597².

His contemporary, the enthusiastic scholar and antiquarian, Fulvio Orsini (1529—1600), who was probably the natural son of a condottiere named Maërbale Orsini, Fulvio Orsini was originally a chorister and ultimately a canon of the church of St John Lateran. For his interest in Greek and Latin and his taste for the study of Roman antiquities he was mainly indebted to a canon of the Lateran church, Gentile Delfini, and to the president of the Roman Academy, Angelo Colocci. When the Roman Fasti were discovered in the Forum (1546-7) it was Delfini who was entrusted by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese with the duty of placing them in the Palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol. On the death of Delfini (1559), Orsini became librarian to three of the Farnese cardinals in succession, and devoted himself to the formation of a large collection of manuscripts and printed books, as well as busts and gems and Latin inscriptions. He was the centre of classical and antiquarian interests in Rome, and there was hardly any edition of a Latin author published in his time to which he did not contribute readings from his store of mss. He was thus brought into relations with many of the leading scholars in Italy and in other parts of Europe. Among his independent works were Greek illustrations of Virgil (1567), and selections from the Greek lyric poets (1568), as well as an important work on iconography entitled

¹ Spingarn, 163 f.

² Saintsbury, ii 95—102.

³ Cp. Tiraboschi, vii (1) 458-66; Hallam, ii 6 f.

Imagines et Elogia (1570), and textual notes on the whole of Cicero (1579 f). He was also in various ways associated with Antonio Agostino¹ in his own work on Roman Families (1577), in his *Festus* (1581), in his *editio princeps* of the excerpts from Polybius, which he received from his friend the archbishop of Tarragona (1582), and in his latest work, the fragments of the Roman historians (1595). He bequeathed his important collection of MSS to the Vatican Library, which thus became possessed of many treasures of the highest value, including the celebrated MSS of Pindar, Terence and Virgil, which had once belonged to Cardinal Bembo. He was buried at the foot of the altar of the chapel, which he founded near the entrance to the sacristy of the Lateran church. He has been justly eulogised by Baronius as *rerum antiquarum solertissimus explorator*².

The briefest mention must suffice for the classical archaeologists, Bartolomeo Marliani of Milan, who produced in 1544 the second edition of his *antiquae urbis Romanae topographia*; Pirro Ligorio (d. c. 1586), who published a work on the Antiquities of Rome in 1553, and left a vast collection of copies of Latin inscriptions³ and ancient monuments⁴; Guido Panciroli (1523-99), a professor of law at Padua, whose *Descriptio Urbis Romae* appeared in 1593⁵; Ulisse Aldrovandi⁶, who printed in Venice a brief but important account of the ancient statues in Rome (1556); Joannes Baptista de Cavalieriis, who

¹ p. 160 *infra*.

² *Ann. Eccl.* 324 A.D. See also the eulogy by De Thou, ap. Tiraboschi, vii 246, Blount, *Censura*, 553, and esp. De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (1887), 489 pp., with plate of autographs of Petrarch, Poggio, Pomponius Laetus, Politian and J. Lascaris etc.

³ Many of these are spurious: cp. *C. I. L.* vi (1) li, (5) 19^o—213^o; Pref. to ix—x xlviii.—Under the name of Anniius of Viterbo, the Dominican Giovanni Nanni (1432—1502) had already published in Rome in 1498 the 'Commentaria supra opera diversorum auctorum de Antiquitatibus loquentium confecta', including passages purporting to be the remains of Berosus, Manetho, Megasthenes, Fabius Pictor, and Cato, the genuineness of which was doubted by Sabellicus (d. 1506), Crinitus (d. 1504), and Raphael Maffei of Volterra (d. 1521), and has since been vainly defended by A. Flörchen (Hildes. 1759) and G. B. Favre (Viterbo, 1779). Cp. Tiraboschi, vi 666 f, Hallam, i 240⁶, and R. C. Christie's *Selected Essays*, 59 f.

⁴ Tiraboschi, vii 880-2; Stark, 103. His collection was preserved at Turin and Naples. There is a single vol. in the Bodleian.

⁵ Tiraboschi, vii 794-8.

⁶ Portrait in Bullart's *Académie* (Paris, 1682), ii 109.

published reproductions of the buildings in 1569, and of the statues in 1584 and 1594; Antonio Lafreri, who produced more than 100 engravings of old Rome in his *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (1575)¹; and, lastly, Flaminio Vacca, who in 1594 wrote a careful account of the Roman Antiquities discovered in his day, and thus closed with a work of high merit the archaeological productions of the sixteenth century².

During the latter half of the century the influence of the Inquisition and the Index was distinctly unfavourable to classical scholarship³. The scholar and poet, Aonio
Paleario Aonio Paleario (1504—1570), denounces the Index as 'a dagger drawn from the scabbard to assassinate letters'⁴. He laments that 'the study of the liberal arts is deserted, the young men wanton in idleness and wander about the public squares'⁵. He complains that 'a professor was no better than a donkey working in a mill; nothing remained for him but to dole out commonplaces, avoiding every point of contact between the authors he interpreted and the burning questions of modern life'⁶. Paleario is well known as the author of the Latin poem *On the Immortality of the Soul*⁷, an uneven work modelled partly on Lucretius⁸. After holding a professorship of eloquence at Lucca, he succeeded Majoragius as professor at Milan in 1555. Fifteen years later he was accused of heresy, and died a martyr's death in Rome⁹.

The influence of the Greek and Latin drama on the Italian literature of the sixteenth century may readily be traced in the translations, or imitations, of Sophocles, Influence of
the Classica Euripides, and Seneca¹⁰, as well as of Plautus and

¹ Stark, 102.

² *ib.* 100.

³ Cp. Charles Dejob, *Sur l'Influence du Concile de Trente*, 49—80, 99—102; Symonds, vi 219—237.

⁴ *Oratio pro se ipso* (Lyons, 1552), 'sica districta in omnes scriptores' (Symonds, vi 212).

⁵ *Camb. Mod. Hist.* iii 465.

⁶ Symonds, vi 230.

⁷ *Sel. Poëm. Ital.* i 211—270; cp. Symonds, li 497 n. 2.

⁸ Cp. J. C. Scaliger, *Poët.* 796, ed. 1586.

⁹ Cp. Tiraboschi, vii 1452—6. Of the treatise *On the Benefits of Christ's Death*, ascribed to Aonio Paleario, 40,000 copies were printed; among the very few that survive are two in Italian and one in French in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. It was really written by Don Benedetto, a follower of Flaminio; Lanciani (*u. s.* p. 121), 208 f.

¹⁰ Gaspary, *Ital. Lit.* ii c. 29.

Terence¹. The representation of plays of Plautus had been begun in Rome by Pomponius Laetus, and was continued at the brilliant court of Ferrara towards the close of the fifteenth century. It was Ferrara also that saw the performance in 1508 of the first comedy written in Italian, the *Cassaria* of Ariosto, a play of a Plautine type, which had been composed ten years previously. The author, in adopting the new language, pays in the prologue an interesting compliment to the old :—

'È ver che né volgar prosa né rima
Ha paragon con prose antique o versi
Né pari è l'eloquenza a quella prima'.

Another early Italian comedy, the *Calandria* of Cardinal Bibbiena (first performed at Urbino in or before 1510), is founded on the *Menaechmi*, and similarly the *Mercator*, *Aulularia* and *Mostellaria* are imitated by Machiavelli in the two plays which he produced in 1536. But the practice of performing Latin plays, or Italian translations of them, was by no means superseded by these and other imitations of Latin originals. After the middle of the century we find a performance of the *Phormio* of Terence, the prologue of which was, on this occasion, written by Muretus².

The influence of Virgil may most readily be traced in Tasso, whose Christian epic abounds in reminiscences of the pagan poet. In some of the more exalted passages a certain incongruity has been noticed in these reminiscences. For example, the Crusaders at an impressive and tragic moment are allowed to lapse into an obvious translation from the dying words of Dido :— 'Noi morirem, ma non morremo inulti'. All such incongruity vanishes, however, in the beautiful renderings of the similes and the battle-scenes. Tasso's models also include Lucretius and Lucan³.

¹ Gaspary, *Ital. Lit.* ii c. 30.

² Tiraboschi, vii 1302. Cp., in general, Vincenzo De Amicis, *L'Imitazione Latina nella Commedia Italiana del xvi secolo*, ed. 1897.

³ See Symonds, vii 102-6.

CHAPTER XII.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

IN tracing the influence of humanism beyond the bounds of Italy, we shall begin with the Latin nations, and with the Iberian peninsula. In Spain we find no proof of any influence on the part of Petrarch, while there are several points of contact with Poggio¹. Again, the Spanish nobleman, Nugno Gusmano, who visited Italy during the Council of Florence, returned with Italian renderings of the *Tusculan Disputations* and *De Oratore* of Cicero, the *Declamations* of Quintilian and the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius². Among early scholars in Spain, a pupil of Politian, Arias Barbosa, taught Greek at Salamanca; and Antonio of Lebrixa, commonly called Nebrissensis (1444—1522), after spending twenty years in Italy, returned in 1473 to lecture at Seville, Salamanca and Alcalà, and to publish Grammars of Latin and Greek, as well as Hebrew³. His *Introductiones Latinae* was the first Latin Grammar of note in Spain⁴. The first classical book printed in Spain was Sallust (Valencia, 1475). A College was founded at Alcalà by Cardinal Ximenes (1437—1517), but the Greek Testament, there completed and printed early in 1514 as the fifth volume of the 'Complutensian Polyglott' (two years before that of Erasmus), was not licensed for publication until 1520 and was not seen by Erasmus until 1522. The Cardinal had died five years before, and the issue of this important work was not followed by any public patronage of Greek studies in Spain. The knowledge of Greek

¹ Voigt, ii 357^a.

² Vespasiano, *Vite*, 520; cp. Sabbadini's *Scoperte*, 195.

³ McCrie's *Reformation in Spain* (Hallam, i 173^a).

⁴ A. Merrill, in *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* XXI (1870) xxiii f.

was confined to a very select class, who learned the language, not for its own sake, but to aid them in their other studies. By the compact concluded by Charles V and Clement VII at Bologna in 1530, Spain was pledged to a reactionary policy in Italy, and the Revival of Learning was checked in both countries. However, in the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century Spanish scholars who visited Italy brought back with them a certain interest in Greek authors. Pincianus, Cardinal Ximenes, and Francesco de Mendoza, Cardinal of Burgos, had thus imported Greek MSS and texts; and these volumes were accessible to scholars, while their owners lived, and passed into public libraries on their death¹. In 1548 Aristotle's *Politics* was translated into Latin by the Spanish scholar Sepúlveda, but the translation was printed in Paris. In 1555 Dioscorides was translated into Spanish by Andrea Laguna, a physician of Valencia, who, with the aid of an ancient MS, corrected the text in more than 700 places².

Among the pupils of Barbosa and Lebrixa, we find Fernan
 Pincianus Nuñez de Guzman (1471—1552), also known as
 Nonius Pincianus (from Pintia, the ancient name of
 Valladolid). He taught Greek at Alcalà and Salamanca. At
 Alcalà in 1519 he published interlinear Latin renderings of Basil's
 tract on the study of Greek literature, and of the 'Helen and
 Alexander' of Demetrius Moschus³. He annotated the margins
 of his MS of twelve unpublished discourses of Themistius, but he
 never published any edition. That honour was reserved for
 France and the Netherlands⁴. In 1536, however, he produced an
 edition of Seneca that earned the praise of Lipsius⁵, and, in 1544,
 a series of able emendations of Pliny's *Natural History*, which
 were completely reproduced in the edition of Commelin (1593)⁶.

Vivès, a native of Valencia (1492—1540), spent a large part
 of his active life in the Spanish Netherlands⁷; and,
 Clenardus conversely, Nicolaus Clenardus, or Cleynaerts, a
 native of Brabant (1495—1542), taught Latin in Spain at Braga

¹ Graux, *Essai sur les origines des fonds grecs de l'Escorial* (Bibl. de l'École des hautes études, XLVI), xxxi + 529 pp. (1880).

² Graux, 98.

³ Graux, 9 f.

⁴ Graux, 21.

⁵ Hallam, i 335⁴.

⁶ Cp. Graux, 9—11.

⁷ chap. xiv *infra*.

and Granada, publishing an excellent Greek Grammar (Louvain, 1530), which was widely used and frequently reprinted¹. The Greek Grammar of Clenardus was, however, surpassed by that of Francisco Vergara (c. 1484—1545), a work produced in 1537², and fully appreciated by Scaliger³, who added that the best parts had been borrowed by Canini. Half a century later, Francisco Sanchez of Brozas, commonly called Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis (1523—1601), professor of Greek at Salamanca in 1554, won a high reputation by a celebrated text-book on Latin Syntax, called *Minerva, seu de causis linguae Latinae Commentarius* (1587).

Sanctius owed much to the elder Scaliger's work *De linguae Latinae causis*. While he constantly cites the ancient and modern grammarians, he nevertheless regards them with a scorn that is almost ludicrous. He is led astray by comparing Latin with Hebrew and Arabic. He insists on a rigid uniformity in Latin Grammar. Rules were to have no exceptions; every word was to have one construction only. The author constantly takes refuge in 'ellipse', when he is confronted by any syntactical difficulty. But the ultimate success of his *Minerva* was unbounded. He was regarded by Haase as having done more for Latin Grammar than any of his predecessors, and Sir William Hamilton even held that the study of *Minerva*, with the notes of the editors, was more profitable than that of Newton's *Principia*. The peculiar and uncommon constructions that are here collected doubtless make the book useful as a work of reference. It is at any rate written in good Latin. The author shows a familiarity with the whole range of Latin literature, as well as with Aristotle and Plato. He edited Virgil's *Bucolics* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, with Persius, the *Ibis* of 'Ovid', the *Gryphus* of Ausonius, and the *Sylvae* of Politian⁴.

A contemporary of 'Sanctius', named Pedro Juan Nuñez, or Nunnesius, of Valencia, who studied in Paris, and was professor of Greek at Barcelona (d. 1602), is best remembered as an editor of Phrynichus (1580)⁵. He was also the author of an interesting little Greek Grammar (1590),

¹ Hallam, i 330⁴; R. C. Christie's *Selected Essays*, 92—123.

² Paris, Morel, 1557, 'ad Complutensem ed. excusum et restitutum', 438 pp., including 100 on Syntax.

³ *Scaligerana Sec.*; Hallam, i 493.

⁴ A. Merrill, *l. c.*

⁵ Described in Lobeck's ed., p. lxxv, as 'non indoctus sane, ut illa erant tempora'; and his notes as 'philologiae sibi proludentis crepundia'.

which differs little from those now used in schools¹. We are sorry to add that the great Greek *Thesaurus* of H. Stephanus was not appreciated² either by Nunnesius or by the eminent scholar who will next engage our attention.

Archaeological studies were well represented in Antonio Agostino of Saragossa (1517—1586), who was educated at Salamanca, and (under Alciati) at Bologna, where he continued the study of law, combining with it the study of Greek, which was then a somewhat rare accomplishment. He taught law at Padua, and at Florence, where he questioned the accuracy of Politian's collation of the famous MS of the Pandects³. He studied MSS, inscriptions, and ancient monuments in Rome, where he was a member of the papal tribunal (1544—54), while he was in constant communication with the scholars of the time, and rejoiced in the old associations of the eternal city⁴. In 1554 he published at Rome an edition of Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, in which he followed the interpolated MSS and banished every archaism from the text, a process that met with protests from Turnebus and Scaliger. In 1559 he was more successful in editing certain fragments of Verrius Flaccus, and Festus, making good use of the Farnese MS at Naples, and introducing many corrections⁵. After holding the see of Lerida, he became archbishop of Tarragona for the last ten years of his life (1576—86). In 1583 he published a treatise on Roman laws and *Senatus consulta*, which was twice reprinted before the end of the century. His masterpiece in classical archaeology was his book of dialogues on coins, inscriptions and other antiquities, posthumously published in 1587, and subsequently translated into Latin⁶.

He breathes the spirit of the Italian humanists when he writes with rapture to his Roman friend Orsini, telling him of the

¹ Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*, 504.

² Graux, 16, 17.

³ p. 84 *supra*.

⁴ Andreas Schott, *laudatio funebris*, 'vixit jucundè in hac urbe propter antiquitatis Romanae impressa vestigia, theatrum circum titulos nummos et inscriptiones, quibus referta urbs est, ut et moenia omnia Romane loqui videantur' (Stark, 106).

⁵ K. O. Müller, pref. to *Festus*, p. xxxvi.

⁶ By Andreas Schott (1617); cp. Stark, 106; De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, 43—48.

discovery of the Excerpts on Legations from the Encyclopaedia of Constantius Porphyrogenitus:—

Somewhere in Spain a Greek MS has been found containing the fairest fragments of the ancient historians. I have a large part of them in my hands at the present moment, while the rest are being promptly copied. If they were pearls or rubies or diamonds, they could not be more precious. The most ancient of these belong to Polybius...I have also in my hands some beautiful fragments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, fragments as lucid as crystal, and well-nigh as bright as the stars¹.

The MS that aroused this enthusiasm was the gem of the collection of Greek MSS belonging to Juan Paez de Castro, the chaplain of Philip II, who had addressed to the king, in the early part of his reign, a memoir 'on the utility of founding a good library'. The monastery of the Escorial, near Madrid, was built in 1563-84; the library was founded in 1566-87, and this MS formed part of its treasures, but the text was not published by any Spanish scholar². The MS was more than once transcribed by the Greek copyist Darmarius; and the transcripts made by the latter were the source of the editions of Orsini in 1582 and of Hoeschel in 1603, and of the fragments in Casaubon's *Polybius* (1609). The original, and one of the transcripts, perished in the Escorial in the disastrous fire of 1671; but another of the transcripts still survives in that library³.

The study of Roman Antiquities and Latin texts was meanwhile represented by a modest and industrious scholar named Pedro Chacon, Petrus Ciacconius of Toledo (1525—1581), who was employed by Gregory XIII on learned researches in Rome and was called the Varro of his age. His antiquarian treatises were published after his death, and were partially reprinted in the *Thesaurus* of Graevius. He is celebrated for his works on the Roman *tricladium* and on the *columna rostrata* of Duilius. His namesake Alfonso Chacon (1540—1599), a native of Granada, who died in Rome, wrote a treatise on the Column of Trajan, and left behind him many drawings of Roman Antiquities.

¹ Letter to Fulvio Orsini, from Lerida, 26 Sept. 1574, in *Antonii Augustini opera*, vii 256, ed. Lucca; Graux, 15, 93—97.

² Graux, 20.

³ Graux, 95—97.

The Jesuit, Juan Luigi de la Cerda of Toledo (c. 1560—1643),
 Cerda produced at Madrid in three folio volumes an edition
 of Virgil (1608—17), reprinted in Lyons and Cologne.

The only other names that need here be noted are those of the
 historian Enrique Florez (1693—1773), and the expert in numis-
 matics and epigraphy, Francesco Perez Bayer (1711—1794)¹.

Among the public institutions of Spain the Library founded by
 Philip II at the Monastery of the Escorial between 1566 and 1587
 is celebrated for its Greek MSS². The monastery is a vast and
 lonely palace amid the mountains north of Madrid. The collection
 formed by Mendoza (1503—1575), the envoy of Charles V in
 Venice, was acquired for the Library in 1576³, and that of Antonio
 Agostino in 1587⁴; but a large number of the MSS were destroyed
 by the fire of 1671⁵. The classical MSS in the *Biblioteca Nacional*
 at Madrid include the collection made by another Mendoza (1508—
 1566), the cardinal bishop of Burgos⁶. They also include the
 Greek MSS of Constantine Lascaris⁷, and several important Latin
 MSS formerly belonging to Poggio, (1) Manilius and the *Silvae* of
 Statius, and (2) Asconius and Valerius Flaccus, (1) having been
 copied by a scribe in his employ, and (2) by Poggio himself⁸.
 The MSS of Poggio and Lascaris are an interesting link between
 Spain and Italy.

Portugal, as well as Spain, took a keener interest than France
 in the works of Poggio, who wrote a letter congratu-
 Portugal lating Prince Henry the Navigator on his exploration
 of 'Ocean's utmost shores'⁹. The restoration of learning in that
 country is ascribed to the historian and poet,
 Resende Resende (1498—1573), who was instructed in Greek
 by Barbosa and Lebrixa, published his Latin Grammar in 1540,
 and taught at Lisbon and Evora. He there counted among his

¹ *C. I. L.* ii p. xxi.

² Miller, *Catalogue* (Paris, 1848).

³ Graux, 163 f.

⁴ *ib.* 280 f.

⁵ *ib.* 320 f.

⁶ *ib.* 60 f.

⁷ Included in catalogue by Iriarte, Madrid, 1769; cp. Graux, *Rapport*, 1878, p. 124; and p. 77 *supra*.

⁸ A. C. Clark in *Cl. Rev.* xiii 119 f. These MSS formerly belonged to the
 Conde del Miranda. For a *facsimile* from Poggio's Valerius Flaccus, see
 p. 24 *supra*.

⁹ *Epp.* ix 35 (1448—9); Voigt, ii 357^a f.

pupils Achille Estaço, or 'Achilles Staius' (1524—1581), who afterwards won a high reputation in Rome, not only by a work on ancient portraits (1569), but also by studies on the *virii illustres* of Suetonius, which were highly praised by Casaubon¹. The Portuguese bishop, Jeronymo Osorio (1506—1580), who was educated at Salamanca, Paris, and Bologna, has been described by Dupin as the Cicero of Portugal². He owes his reputation as a Latinist to his treatise on Glory and to his History of the reign of Emanuel, but Bacon has severely said of him that his vein was weak and waterish³. The Jesuit, Emanuel Alvarez of Lisbon (1526—1583), produced in 1572 a Latin Grammar, which has been extolled as the first in which the fancies of the ancient grammarians were laid aside⁴. It was the text-book in all the Jesuit schools, and has often been reprinted, the latest edition being that of Paris in 1879.

Achilles
Staius

Osorio

Alvarez

¹ 'Staius' commented on the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace (1553) and on Catullus and Tibullus (1566-7), after he had already been associated with Muretus' edition of Propertius (1558).

² Nicéron, ed. Baumgarten, vol. ii 308.

³ 'The flowing and watery vein of Osorius' (*Advancement of Learning*, i iv 2 p. 29 Aldis Wright); cp. Ascham's *Scholemaster*, 110, 129—131, 233, 239, ed. Mayor; and Hallam, i 507⁴. *Opera* in 4 folio vols. 1592.

⁴ Morhof, i 831, ed. 1747.



BUDAEUS.

From the engraving in André Thevet, *Portraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584), p. 551. Cp. p. 170 f *infra*.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRANCE FROM 1360 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. Petrarch, who was unfamiliar with French, and consequently never felt quite at home in Paris, wrote a letter in 1367 congratulating Urban V on exchanging Avignon for Rome. He there praises Italy at the expense of France, and even describes the French as a barbarous people¹. The letter naturally aroused the indignation of a champion of France identified as Jean de Hesdin, who in his reply gives proof of his familiarity with the Latin Classics in general and with the historians in particular².

Among the constant companions of Petrarch during the three months that he spent in Paris in 1361, was Pierre Bersuire (d. 1362), the French priest who translated for king John the Good all the books of Livy that were then known. Under that king's son, Charles the 'Wise' (who was familiar with Latin), Sallust, Suetonius, Seneca, Vegetius, with Lucan and parts of Ovid, were translated into French. A French rendering of the Latin translation of the *Politics*, *Economics*, and *Ethics* of Aristotle was produced by Nicole Oresme (d. 1382), chaplain to the king, and dean of Rouen, who, after his promotion to the bishopric of Lisieux, produced a translation of Aristotle *De Caelo*³. As a translator, he introduced into French a large number of words of Greek origin, which were then new, such as *aristocratie*, *démocratie*, *oligarchie*,

¹ *Epp. Sen.* ix i.

² Voigt, ii 333² f.

³ Fr. Meunier, *Essai* (1857) 84—117.

démagogue and *sophiste*, and even *métaphore*, *poète* and *poème*¹. While Oresme belongs in spirit to the Middle Ages, a certain sympathy with the Revival of Learning is shown by Laurent de Premierfait, a priest of Troyes, who died in Paris in 1418. He translated the *De Senectute* and the *De Amicitia* of Cicero for an uncle of Charles the 'Wise'².

The library of king Charles included Lucan, Boëthius, portions of Ovid and Seneca, Latin translations of Plato's *Tymæus*, and of parts of Aristotle, with French translations from Aristotle, Valerius Maximus³, Sallust and Vegetius. 'Virgil is conspicuously absent'⁴. But Virgil's *Eclogues* (as well as Pliny and Terence) were to be found in the library of the king's brother, John, duke of Berry⁵.

The influence of the University is exemplified in the textbooks prescribed for the academic course. In the fourteenth century they included authors such as Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Terence, with Sallust and Livy, as well as Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian⁶. Of the two foremost representatives of the University, Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1425) and Jean Charlier de Gerson (d. 1429), the latter was far more familiar with classical authors, his speeches and sermons including quotations from Virgil and Terence, Horace and Statius, Cicero and Seneca, as well as Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Suetonius and Valerius Maximus. But his Latin style is obscure, and teems with Gallicisms and with scholastic terminology⁷.

The earliest genuine humanist in France was Jean de Montreuil (1354—1418), secretary to the Pope and the Dauphin, as well as to the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and ultimately chancellor to Charles VI. He regarded Petrarch as the most famous of moral philosophers;

Jean de
Montreuil

¹ Fr. Meunier, *l.c.*; Egger, *Hellénisme en France*, i 128 f; Voigt, ii 339^a f.

² Voigt, ii 340^a.

³ The translation begun by Simon de Hesdin for Charles the 'Wise' (1375), and completed by Nicolas de Gonesse for John, duke of Berry (1401), was adorned with fine miniatures by Jean Fouquet (c. 1475) for Philippe de Comines (reproduced from two Harleian MSS in 1907).

⁴ Cp. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS*, i 18—46, iii 115—170, 335 f, quoted in Tilley's *Essay* on the preludes of the French Renaissance (1885), 139.

⁵ Tilley, *l.c.* 139 f.

⁶ Voigt, ii 342^a.

⁷ *ib.* ii 343^a f.

he had a special admiration for the *Remedia Utriusque Fortunae*, but his model in Latin style was Salutati, 'the father of Latin eloquence'. As envoy of his king in 1412, he spent some time in Rome, where Leonardo Bruni gave him an introduction to Niccoli in Florence. He thus obtained transcripts of plays of Plautus and certain books of Livy, with Varro *De Re Rustica*, being apparently the first Frenchman who derived classical learning from Italy. In his letters he is fond of quoting Virgil and Terence, with Cicero, Sallust and Seneca; he is the first in France to follow the example of Petrarch in adopting the classical second person singular, instead of the plural, in addressing Popes and Princes; he even urges the Pope to imitate the actions recorded in the ancient history of Rome¹. Among his most intimate friends was Nicolas de Clemanges² (1360—c. 1440), who taught the rhetoric of Cicero and Aristotle in the schools of Paris, and was an eager student of the Latin Classics, especially Quintilian and Cicero, from whose *speeches* (he assures us) he learnt many more lessons in eloquence than from his rhetorical works³. He spent some twelve years at Avignon as the only humanist among the papal secretaries, was made a Canon of Langres, and late in life resumed his lectures on Rhetoric in Paris. Among the Classics familiar to him were several that were then imperfectly known in Italy, such as Persius, Cicero, *De Oratore* and *Pro Archia*, and the Letters *Ad Familiares*⁴.

The Revival of Learning in France was promoted by the introduction of printing. In 1470 Michael Freyburger of Colmar, Ulrich Gerjng of Constance, and Martin Crantz, were invited by Guillaume Fichet and Jean Heynlyn 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 Barzizza⁵. The prefatory epistle, with its reference to Heynlyn as 'prior' and Fichet as

¹ *Ep.* 19 in *Epp. Sel.*, Martène and Durand, *Vel. Script. et Mon. Amplissima Collectio*, Paris, 1724, ii 1311—1465; Voigt, ii 344—9². Eight new letters in A. Thomas, *De Joannis de Monsterolio vita et operibus*, Paris, 1883.

² Or Clamanges.

³ *Ep.* 43.

⁴ Voigt, ii 349—355².

⁵ p. 23 *supra*.

'doctor', determines the date as 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 Maximus¹.

ne ab ōnibus te defertū esse iudices! ego
 (quem forte in numero amicorū nō habebas)
 polliceor tibi operā meā. & (quā illi non sine scelere neglexerūt) ego paratus
 sum defensionē tuam suscipere. Tu uero
 admonebis, quibus adiumentis opus tibi
 sit. & ego neque pecunia, neque consilio tibi
 deero. Vale ;

Foelix Epistolae Gasparini finis.

CONCLUSION OF THE EPISTOLAE GASPARINI.

The first book printed in France (1470); part of *facsimile* in *British Museum Guide to the King's Library* (1901), p. 40.

The study of Greek was slow in making its way in France. The Council of Vienne (1311) had decreed the appointment of two Lecturers in Greek, as well as Hebrew, in the University of Paris, no less than in those of Bologna, Salamanca, and Oxford, but the decree, which was passed in the interest of theological rather than classical learning, remained a dead letter². It was not until 1430 that a stipend was assigned to teachers of Greek and Hebrew in Paris³, and not until 1456 that Gregorio Tifernas, who was born at Città di Castello about

¹ Cp. Tilley, *Essay* (1885), 155 f, and the earlier authorities there quoted; also A. Claudin's *First Paris Press* (Bibliogr. Soc. 1898), and *Hist. de l'Imprimerie en France*, i (1900), with illuminated *facsimile* of Gasparino p. 1, and colophon, facing p. 22; and P. Champion, *Les plus anciens monuments de la typographie parisienne* (1904), 86 *planches*.

² vol. i 584¹, 607².

³ Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.* v 393.

1415 and had lived in Greece and had taught Greek in Naples, Milan and Rome, applied for permission to teach it in Paris¹. The permission was granted and a salary assigned, on condition that the lecturer charged no fees and that he lectured daily on Rhetoric as well as on Greek. He continued to lecture for four years, and then left for Venice, where he died in 1466.

About 1476 another teacher of Greek appeared in the person of a skilful copyist², George Hermonymus of Sparta, the somewhat incompetent instructor of Erasmus³ and Budaeus and Reuchlin⁴. Lectures in Greek were occasionally given by John Lascaris, who was invited to France in 1495 by Charles VIII, aided Louis XII in organising the library at Blois, and joined Budaeus in doing similar service to Francis I, when the library at Blois was transferred in 1544 to Fontainebleau⁵. A more regular and continuous course of instruction was supplied by the Italian, Jerome Aleander, who arrived in 1508, armed with an introduction from Erasmus⁶.

In and after that year, he lectured on Greek as well as Latin, and perhaps also on Hebrew. He became Rector of the University of Paris in 1512; on his return to Rome, in 1517, he was appointed librarian to the Vatican, and, as Cardinal Aleander, he became prominent in the ecclesiastical history of the age⁷.

It was with the aid of Aleander that the text of three treatises from Plutarch's *Moralia* was printed in Paris in 1509, doubtless to serve as text-books for Aleander's pupils.

The printer was Gourmont, who had established the first Greek press in Paris, producing in 1507 a little volume

¹ The dates in Crevier, *Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris*, iv 243 f, are 1458 or 1470.

² Omont, *Mém. Soc. Hist.* (Paris, 1885).

³ *Catal. Lucubr.* in Pref. to Leyden ed. i, *Graece balbutiebat...; neque potuisset docere si voluisset; neque voluisset, si potuisset.*

⁴ Cp. Egger, i 146 f; Omont, in *Mém. de la Soc. d'histoire de France*, xii 65—98; Tilley, *Essay*, 146 f.

⁵ Removed to Paris under Henri IV (1595). Cp. Omont, *Cat. des MSS grecs de Fontainebleau*, 1889; also (in general) Tilley, *Essay*, 148 f.

⁶ Cp. De Nolhac, in *Revue des Études grecques*, i 61 f; and Lefranc, *Hist. du Collège de France*, 29 f.

⁷ Tilley, *Essay*, 149 f.

of extracts from the gnomic poets called the *liber gnomagyricus*, the first Greek book printed in France. In the course of a brief preface the editor, François Tissard, insists on the importance of Greek:—*nemini dubium est... quanti sit Latinis eruditio Graeca in hac praecipue tempestate aestimanda*. He also describes the difficulty with which he had induced the printers to put a Greek work into type by appealing to their sense of honour, their ambition, their public spirit, and their hope of personal profit¹. In the same year, Gourmont 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 *Ecclesiastusae* of Aristophanes, and Demosthenes and Lucian². The text of the whole of Sophocles was completed by Simon Colinaeus on Dec. 16th, 1528³.

The following year was the date of the publication of the celebrated *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* of Budaeus⁴.
 Budaeus Guillaume Budé (1467—1540), who was born in Paris, was the son of a wealthy civilian who had a considerable collection of books. After spending three years in studying law with little success at Orleans, he returned to Paris and gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, a pursuit on which he long afterwards wrote a dialogue by the command of Charles IX. 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. His letter to Cuthbert Tunstall assures us of the little Greek that he ever learned from Hermonymus of Sparta⁵. He derived far more profit from the occasional instructions of the busy Greek diplomatist, Janus Lascaris. Budaeus rose to be secretary to Louis XII and a *Maître des Requêtes*; he was charged with diplomatic missions to Julius II and Leo X; and in 1520 was present at the interview between Francis I and Henry VIII in the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold'. Under Francis I and Henry II his fame as a Greek scholar was one of the glories of his country. In 1502–5 he

¹ Egger, *Hellénisme en France*, i 154–7.

² Cp. Didot's *Alde Manuce*, 596 f; Lefranc, *Collège de France*, 29–33.

³ Th. Renouard, *Bibl. de Simon de Colines*, 1894, p. 128.

⁴ Ed. Badius, 1529; ed. R. Estienne, 1548.

⁵ *Opera*, i 362 (1557).

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. Its abundant learning is said to have aroused the envy of Erasmus, and its dry erudition was preferred by one of the author's partisans to the rich variety and the sparkling wit of the *Adagia*¹. The collection of letters which he published in 1520 included several in Greek, and thenceforth he held, by the side of Erasmus, the foremost rank as a scholar. The original aim of his *Commentarii* was the elucidation of the legal terminology of Greece and Rome, and, amid all the miscellaneous information here accumulated, that aim remains prominent². The author's learning was generously recognised by Scaliger³, and much of 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 far more extensive work *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 important⁴.

Besides two villas in the country, he owned a house in the Rue Saint-Martin (no. 203), which in the seventeenth century still bore the motto selected by Budaeus himself :—

'Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas'.

¹ Hallam, i 278^a f.

² *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii (Hallam, i 329^a).

³ *Scaligerana*, 39, ça est le plus grand Grec de l'Europe.

⁴ Woodward, *Renaissance Education*, 127—138.

In 1503 he married the daughter of an ancient Norman house, and it is said that, on his wedding-day, by an exceptional act of self-denial, he limited his time of study to three hours only. In his studies he was aided in every possible way by the devotion of his wife. Once, when he was busy reading in his library, one of the servants suddenly rushed in to inform him that the house was on fire. The scholar, without lifting up his eyes from his book, simply said to his informant:—*allez avertir ma femme ; vous savez bien que je ne m'occupe pas des affaires du menage*!¹ His health was seriously impaired by his prodigious industry, and the surgeons of the day vainly endeavoured to cure him of his constant headaches by applying a red-hot iron to the crown of his head². Happily he was enabled to find a safer remedy by taking long walks and by cultivating his garden³. When he died in 1539, he had a simple burial in the church of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs⁴. The contrast between this great Greek scholar and his contemporary, the admirable Latinist, Erasmus, has been felicitously drawn by M. Egger:—

'Budé ne sut jamais emprunter à son ami les charmes d'une latinité facile et amusante. Il dit lourdement des choses souvent neuves, toujours sensées, quelquefois profondes, sur l'efficacité des études helléniques et sur l'utilité de leur alliance avec l'esprit chrétien. Il n'a du réformateur que le savoir et les convictions sérieuses; il n'en a point le talent'⁵.

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. *Il était bâti en hommes*⁶. It was many years before it attained the dignity of a local habitation⁷ and the name of the *Collège de France*. In front of the present buildings of that centre of eloquent and inspiring teaching the place of honour is justly assigned to the

¹ Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Guillaume Budé*, 22.

² *ib.* 23. ³ *ib.* 187 f.

⁴ Cp. Saint-Gelais, i 120, quoted by Tilley, i 19.

⁵ *Hellénisme en France*, i 173.

⁶ Étienne Pasquier, *Œuvres*, i 923.

⁷ The first stone was laid 28 Aug. 1610 (Lefranc, 235), and the fabric finished about 1778 (*ib.* 266 f).

statue of Budaeus¹. In his own age, Calvin had proudly described him as *primum rei literariae decus et columen, cuius beneficio palmam eruditionis hodie sibi vindicat nostra Gallia*. It was mainly owing to Budaeus that the primacy in scholarship had passed from Italy to France².

The foundation of the royal readerships had been opposed by the obscurantists in the University, but lectures in Greek were already being given in several of the Colleges, and, in the College of Sainte-Barbe, Maturin Cordier (1479—1564) had been active as an educational reformer for the sixteen years immediately preceding the publication of his treatise attacking the barbarous Latin of the day³. Among his pupils at another College was Calvin, who afterwards invited him to Geneva, where he taught in 1536—38, and in 1559—64, and where he published his celebrated *Colloquies* (1564)⁴. Cordier

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), became in its final form an entirely new work in three folio volumes (1543)⁵. 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)⁶, and Robert Estienne

¹ On Budaeus cp. *Vita* by Louis le Roy 1540—1; Rebitté, *Guillaume Budé, restaurateur des Études grecques en France* (1846); and Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Guillaume Budé, Fondateur du Collège de France* (1884); M. Triwunatz, in *Münchener Beiträge*, no. 28 (1903); also Egger, i 161—173; Lefranc, *Hist. du Collège de France*, 46 f, 102—6; and A. A. Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, 1904, i 14—19. Portrait on p. 164 *supra*.

² Tilley, i 19. On Germanus Brixius and Nicolas Berauld, who ranked next to Budaeus as Greek scholars, and on Pierre du Chastel, one of his successors, see *ib.* i 20 f.

³ Corderius, *De corrupti sermonis apud Gallos et loquendi latine ratione libellus*, 1530.

⁴ E. T. 1614, 1657; latest ed. London, 1830. Cp. E. Puech, *Maturin Cordier*, 1895; Tilley, i 17 f; and Woodward, *Renaissance Education*, 154—166.

⁵ Cp. Christle's *Étienne Dolet*, 235 n.

⁶ The words in the preface, *locos mutilos intactos reliquimus*, give proof of a more cautious and critical spirit than that of the Italian humanists.



ROBERTVS STEPHANVS.
*ROBERTVM cernis STEPHANVM, quem Gallicus orbis
Miratur, primus Chalcographum Stephanus:
Qui pius et doctus procudit Scripta piorum.
Sorbona hinc non vult impia ferre virum.*

ROBERT ESTIENNE.

From a photograph of one of Croler's reproductions of the original engraving by
Léonard Gaultier (copied in Renouard's *Annales*, p. 24). Cabinet des Estampes,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Appian (1551)¹. These books were printed in a magnificent type designed in 1541 by the last of the professional calligraphers, Angelo Vergecio², executed by the first French engraver of the day, Claude Garamond, and finally cast at the expense of the royal treasury. In this type the complex ligatures and contractions used by calligraphers were skilfully imitated. The first book in which all the three alphabets of the new type were used was the folio edition of the Greek Testament (1550)³. 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. In 1551 persecutions arising from his printing of this text compelled Robert Estienne to take refuge in Geneva, where he died in 1559⁴.

As a printer and a scholar he was even surpassed by his son, Henri Estienne (1528–31⁵—1598), who, in the H. Estienne early part of his career, spent several years in Italy (1547–9), and also visited Florence, Brabant, and England. A second visit to Italy led to his discovery of ten new books of Diodorus, printed in 1559, the year in which he succeeded to his father's business at Geneva. His editions of ancient authors amounted to no less than 58 in Latin and 74 in Greek, 18 of the latter being *éditiones principes*. He was specially attracted to the Greek historians⁶. He ruined himself over the publication of his *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (1572) and his Plato (1578). The

¹ Completed by his younger brother, Charles.

² Egger, i 148, 150.

³ A. Bernard, *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François I* (1856, and 1867); Pattison's *Essays* ii 85–89; W. Meyer, *Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi, mit 2 Tafeln* (Göttingen *Abhandl.* vi 2 (1902) 32 pp.). The same type was used at Paris by Morel and Turnebus, and also at Heidelberg and Basel. It was not until 1662 that a simpler type (with 40 instead of 400 characters) was first used by Wetstein at Antwerp. The *Typi Regii* are reproduced in Omont's *Gk Catalogues of Fontainebleau* (1889); cp. Proctor's *Essays*, 95–108.

⁴ Cp. Mark Pattison's *Essays*, i 70–89. Portrait on p. 174.

⁵ 1528 is the traditional date, given by Maittaire and Renouard; but 1531 is supported by the evidence of Henri himself and his uncle Charles, and is preferred by L. Clément, *Henri Estienne et son œuvre française* (1899), 463 f.

⁶ *Pulcherrimum scriptorum genus* (Pref. to Diodorus, 1589).

former, in five folio volumes, is his greatest work; it was a *Thesaurus* that (as the publisher bitterly remarked) made him poor instead of rich; its sale was damaged by the publication of an abridgement in a single volume, prepared by his disloyal assistant, Scapula (1579). The original work has been re-edited in modern times¹, and, as a Greek lexicon on a large scale, it 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 'Apology for Herodotus', a volume of 600 closely printed pages, is an example of his weakness and diffuseness as an author and a critic². His main strength lies in a perfect mastery of Greek idiom, attained as the ripe result of long and laborious study. His first publication was the *editio princeps* of 'Anacreon' (1554), and the text of that edition was not superseded for three centuries. When it first appeared, it was welcomed by the poet Ronsard, who passes from the imitation of Pindar to that of Anacreon in the pretty lines addressed to his page-boy:

'Verse donc et reverse encor
Dedans ceste grand' coupe d'or:
Je vay boire à Henry Estienne,
Qui des enfers nous a rendu
Du vieil Anacréon perdu
La douce lyre ténienne'³.

His Aeschylus, edited by Victorius (1557), was the first to include the complete *Agamemnon*. His edition of the 'Planudean Anthology' was supplemented by many epigrams recorded in ancient authors (1566). In his recensions of the Classics his alterations of the manuscript readings were capricious and uncritical, and he is accordingly denounced with some severity by Scaliger as a corrupter of ancient texts⁴. It has also been supposed that the readings, which he describes as derived from MSS, are sometimes merely conjectures of his own, to which he thus attempts to lend an air of fictitious authority⁵; but his veracity

¹ London, 1815-28; Paris, 1831-65.

² Cp. Tilley, i 292 f.

³ Egger, *Hellénisme en France*, i 363; Tilley, i 332.

⁴ *Prima Scaligerana*, s.v. Dalechampius, and Erotianus.

⁵ e.g. Hermann on Eur. *Hél.* 1410, 1507.

has been repeatedly vindicated, and, whenever his statements cannot be put to the test, it must be remembered that, during his extensive travels in Italy and elsewhere, he examined many MSS in a cursory manner, and that, in the case of those in private collections in particular, the MSS, from which he states that he derived his readings, may easily have been lost¹.

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 Caesar Scaliger (1484—1558), a scholar of Italian Julius Caesar
Scaliger origin, who had been born at Riva on the Lago di Garda, and, after spending 42 years in Italy, had betaken himself to the French town of Agen on the Garonne. During his Italian days he had seen service as a soldier; he was now physician to the bishop of Agen. Burning to make himself a name among scholars, he published, in 1531, an oration denouncing Erasmus as a parricide, a parasite, and a corrector of printer's proofs; defending Cicero from the attacks of Erasmus; and maintaining that Cicero was absolutely perfect². Erasmus treated this abusive tirade with silent contempt; he attributed it to Aleander; he felt sure that Scaliger could not possibly have had the ability to write it. Stung with rage and mortification, Scaliger flung himself once more into the fray. He prepared a

¹ Feugère, *Caractères*, ii 1—204; Grautoff's Program (Glogau, 1862), 15—17; Sintenis in *Philologus*, i 134—142, *sur Ehrenerklärung für Henricus Stephanus*. On both the Stephani, cp. Almeloveen, *de vitis Stephanorum*, Amst. 1683; Maillaire, *Stephanorum Historia*, London, 1709 (both include a portrait of Robertus); *H. St. xxvii Briefe an Crato*, ed. Passow (1830); *iii unedierte Briefe*, ed. Dinse, in *Jahrb. cl. Philol.* 1864, 843—859; also Didot, *Observations* (1824); Greswell's *Early Parisian Greek Press* (1833); Renouard, *Annales* (1837 etc.); Feugère (1853 and 1859); Egger, *Hellenisme en France*, i 198—221; Mark Pattison, *Essays*, i 67—123; Stein, *Nouveaux Documents sur les Estienne* (1895). On 'Henri Estienne', cp. L. Clément, *H. Estienne et son œuvre française* (1899); Tilley, i 290—8. There is no known portrait.

² J. Caesaris Scaligeri *Pro M. Tullio Cicerone, contra Desiderium Erasmus Roterodanum, Oratio I* (1531), ed. 1620, Toulouse.

still more violent and vain-glorious harangue, which was not published until late in 1536¹; but, meanwhile, in the month of July, Erasmus had passed from the scenes of earthly controversy

‘To where beyond these voices there is peace’.

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, in the course of which he claims to have corrected 634 mistakes made by Valla and his other predecessors. A far more comprehensive work is his *Poëtice* (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’². He also declares Seneca ‘inferior to none of the Greeks in majesty’³. He makes all literary creation depend ultimately on judicious imitation⁴.

During the controversy raised by the *Ciceronianus*, Scaliger was not alone in his championship of Cicero. He was supported by one who was nettled, not only by the disrespectful way in which Erasmus was supposed to have treated Budaeus, but also by his criticisms on the young Ciceronian scholar, Longolius, one of whose devoted pupils at Padua was a friend of this second

Dolet

champion of Cicero, Étienne Dolet (1509—1546).

Dolet's ‘Dialogue on the imitation of Cicero’ takes the form of an imaginary conversation between the pupil of Longolius, and Sir Thomas More as the representative of Erasmus. It was less violent than Scaliger's first oration, but it was treated by Erasmus with the same silent contempt⁵.

¹ Oratio II, ed. 1623, Toulouse. Christie's *Étienne Dolet*, 194-6; cp. Hallam, i 325⁴.

² Hallam, ii 200-2⁴.

³ vi 6.

⁴ Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 131, and *passim*; also Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*, ii 69-80; cp. E. Lintillac, *De J. C. Scaligeri poëtice* (Hachette, Paris, 1887), and Tilley, ii 80 f.

⁵ Christie, *Étienne Dolet*, 197 f.

Its author, a native of Orleans, had eagerly devoted himself to the study of Rhetoric and Cicero in Paris and Padua, and, on returning to France, took up his residence at Toulouse (1532-4), where he resolved on writing a great work with a view to proving Cicero's superiority to Sallust, Caesar and Livy. After making many enemies by his injudicious and intemperate speeches at Toulouse, he left for Lyons, where the two folio volumes of his 'Commentaries' 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. The work was enlivened by personal touches that would certainly have been out of place in a dictionary². The author also gives a singularly complete list of the leading representatives of the Revival of Learning, adding an eloquent eulogy on their victories over barbarism³. This great achievement was soon followed by a collection of *Formulae*, or Ciceronian phrases (1539), afterwards printed as an Appendix to Nizolius⁴. Dolet's attack on Erasmus provoked in 1539 a rejoinder by Franciscus Floridus Sabinus, who charged Dolet with plagiarism in his 'Commentaries', and even with 'atheism'⁵. Dolet replied in 1540, and was himself answered in the following year. The charge of plagiarism is only true to a trifling extent. As a printer, from 1538 to 1544, Dolet produced a French translation of the *Ad Familiares* and the *Tusculan Disputations* of Cicero, and a history of the reign of Francis I in Latin verse and prose. He was for a time a friend of Marot and of Rabelais. His *Carmina* were denounced as heretical in 1538; his publication of the New

¹ *Commentarii Linguae Latinae: facs.* of title-page in Christie, 243.

² Christie, 234 f.

³ *ib.* 241.

⁴ *ib.* 247-253.

⁵ Edd. 1606, 1734, 1820; also in several epitomes.

⁶ Christie, 272 f.

Testament in French and his translation of two religious treatises by Erasmus, with other works, charged with 'heresy' in 1542, led to his being prosecuted in the court of the Inquisitor-General at the instigation of jealous rivals among the printers of Lyons. On his condemnation, he appealed to the Parliament of Paris, but meanwhile the royal pardon had been obtained and he was set at liberty. He was the first to translate any part of Plato, or the 'Platonic' writings, into French. His rendering of the *Axiochus* and *Hipparchus*, which was 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 former dialogue laid him open to the imputation of attributing to 'Plato' a disbelief in the immortality of the soul, and, strange to say, this charge contributed in no small degree to his being condemned to death. He was executed in the Place Maubert in 1546. Julius Caesar Scaliger ignobly heaped insults on his memory, but his fate was lamented by Theodore Beza, and his memory has recently been honoured by a bronze statue erected on the spot where he died as a 'martyr to the Renaissance'.

He has been well described as 'a sound Latin scholar, as scholarship was then understood, possessed of much learning, of strong classical feeling, of unwearied industry, and of both the will and the power to make his learning available for the use and benefit of others'¹. 'His enthusiastic love of learning and his intense belief in himself are his strongest characteristics, and both contributed in no small degree to his misfortune'².

Three centuries before the death of Dolet, an oriental College had been founded on the southern bank of the Seine, not far from the Place Maubert. It had been suggested by a bull of Innocent IV in the year 1248. It was afterwards called the 'College of Constantinople', and its aim was the theological instruction of young Greeks with a view to their being sent as missionaries to the East. But this Greek College was in no sense a College for the teaching of Greek. In 1515 Leo X had founded a Greek College under Lascaris at Rome. In the same year, the

¹ *ὁ δὲ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσει*, 'tu ne seras pas rien du tout', Christie, 445.

² Christie, 477.

³ *ib.* 480, ed. 1880 (ed. 2, 1899). Cp. Saintsbury, in *Macmillan*, xliii 273 f, and Tilley, i 25 f.

university of Alcalà, with its College of St Jerome and its four chairs of Greek and Hebrew, had been established by Cardinal Ximenes; and in 1517 the *Collegium Trilingue* was constituted at Louvain. It was the ambition of Francis I to found a similar College in France. In 1517 he vainly endeavoured to attract Erasmus to Paris, while the foremost scholar of the day declined on the plea that Charles V had the first claim on his allegiance. Francis I afterwards became the prisoner of Charles V, and, during his captivity in Spain, actually saw in 1525 the newly-founded university of Alcalà. The eloquent appeal addressed in 1529 to Francis in the preface of the 'Commentaries' of Budæus, together with the enlightened cooperation of Lascaris, led in 1530 to the foundation of the 'Corporation of the Royal Readers'¹ with teachers of Greek, Hebrew and Mathematics, who were in the first instance five in number. The College arose partly out of the hostility of the Sorbonne to the study of Greek and Hebrew. The lawyer Conrad of Heresbach states in 1551 that he once heard a monk vehemently declaring in the pulpit, 'they have recently discovered a language called *Greek*, against which we must be on our guard. It is the parent of all heresies. I observe in the hands of many persons a work written in that language called the *New Testament*. It is a work teeming with brambles and vipers. As for Hebrew, all who learn it immediately become Jews'².

The first two teachers of Greek were Pierre Danès, 'Danesius' (1497—1577), a member of an ancient and wealthy family in Paris, who afterwards produced editions of Justin and Pliny, became bishop of Lavaur, took an important part in the Council of Trent, and was buried in St Germain-des-Prés; and Jacques Toussain (c. 1498—1547), a less pretentious and far more industrious scholar, the compiler of a Greek and Latin Dictionary, whose portrait in Beza's *Icones*³ suggests austerity of life and energy of character. Among their first pupils were two whose paths diverged widely in

¹ p. 172 *supra*.

² *De laudibus Graecarum literarum oratio*, Argentorati, 1551, p. 26 f; Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Budé*, 43 f.

³ Facing p. v. ij.

after life,—Ignatius de Loyola, and Calvin (1509—1564), whose earliest work was a commentary on Seneca *De Clementia* (1532), and who owed much to his mastery of Latin¹. It is probable that their lectures were also attended for a short time by Rabelais.

François Rabelais (c. 1490—1553), the son of an *avocat*, was born at or near Chinon in Touraine. He was educated at the Cluniac monastery of Seuillé, and afterwards at a Franciscan convent near Angers. He subsequently became a Friar of the strictest order of the Franciscans at the convent of Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou; where he laid the foundation of his wide erudition (1509—24). His friend Pierre Lamy was a *protégé* of Budaeus, who encouraged the brethren in their Greek studies. Rabelais translated Herodotus, and read largely in Lucian. The less scholarly inmates of Fontenay were alarmed by the publication of Erasmus' Commentaries on the New Testament; Greek was denounced as heretical, and the students of Greek deprived of their books. Lamy fled at the first opportunity, while Rabelais was considerably transferred by Clement VII to the Benedictine abbey of Maillezais near Ligugé, then under the refined and enlightened bishop, Geoffroi d'Estissac. He was here welcomed by a circle of learned men, mostly jurists, e.g. André Tiraqueau, Jean Bouchet, and Almaric Bouchard. But, before long, he left for the French universities, studying law at Bourges, and medicine in Paris (1528—30). In December, 1530, he graduated as Bachelor in Medicine at Montpellier. After lecturing there with great success, he went to Lyons early in 1532, with a view to his lectures on parts of Hippocrates and Galen being published by Sebastian Gryphius, an excellent Latin scholar and printer of handy editions of the Latin classics. Rabelais almost certainly acted for Gryphius as corrector of the press. In October he became physician to the local hospital, and, to amuse his patients, composed *Les grandes... Croniques du géant Gargantua*, in which the adventures of that beneficent giant are combined with those of Merlin and Lancelot of the Lake. The success of this work prompted him to publish his *Pantagruel*, which combines giant-stories of the Carolingian cycle with humanistic learning, with satires on legal and scholastic studies and on the disputations in the Sorbonne, and with attacks on the Mendicant Orders. He here borrows from the Commentaries on the Pandects and the *De Assé* of Budaeus, from More's *Utopia*, as well as from Homer, Hippocrates, Galen, and Diogenes Laërtius, with Virgil, Ovid, and Gellius, and from translations from Lucian and Plutarch by Erasmus and Budaeus.

After a visit to Rome in company with the future Cardinal, bishop Jean du Bellay, he produced at Lyons an edition of Marliani's *Topographia Romae Antiquae* (1534)². In the next year his *Grandes Croniques* were superseded by his *Gargantua*, a work of wider outlook and more extensive erudition.

¹ Tilley, i 230.

² p. 154 *supra*.

The suggestions made in *Pantagruel*¹ are here expanded into a complete system of moral, intellectual and physical education², which even now commands respect,—a system probably partly inspired by that of Vittorino. The giant-stories are dropped, but we have much about medicine and classical learning, and many traces of indebtedness to the *Adagia* of Erasmus. Erasmus is doubtless the source of the learned allusion to the images of the Sileni in the prologue, and the series of references to Hippocrates, Plautus, Varro and Pliny is really derived from Gellius³.

After a second visit to Rome with the Cardinal (July 1535 to March 1536), he returned to Paris, completed his medical degrees at Montpellier, and wandered about the South of France till late in 1539, when he took service with the Cardinal's brother, Guillaume du Bellay, Viceroy of Piedmont⁴. A stay at Orleans was succeeded by his residence at the Benedictine priory of St Maur des Fossés near Paris, under Cardinal du Bellay. Here he seriously took up classical studies and completed his *Third Book*. This, his most finished production, is concerned almost entirely with various systems of divination on the prospects of the marriage of Panurge. The wealth of classical reference is more profuse than ever, including Homer, Diodorus, Strabo, Pausanias and Diogenes Laërtius⁵, with Ovid, Suetonius, Gellius, and the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae', Lucian and Philostratus, Catullus and Terence. Under the inspiration of the library of St Maur⁶, he carefully studied Plutarch's *Moralia*⁷, the *De Divinatione* and the moral treatises of Cicero, Pliny's *Natural History* (especially on points of botany), Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, and (above all) Virgil, with the commentary of Servius⁸ and the elucidations of Macrobius. The renaissance scholars laid under contribution include Politian and Valla, Budaeus and Erasmus, with Tiraqueau⁹, Johannes Nevizanus¹⁰, and Cornelius Agrippa¹¹.

On the publication of the *Third Book* (1546) he retired to Metz, where he soon became physician to the hospital, and wrote part of his *Fourth Book* with the aid of a few texts such as Ovid's *Fasti* and Valerius Maximus. The Book was finished in Rome during his third visit in the company of the Cardinal (1548–50), when he added to his authorities the *Antiquae Lectiones* of Caelius Rhodiginus, formerly Greek Professor at Milan (d. 1525). The *Fourth* and the posthumous *Fifth Book* are entirely taken up with the Voyage of Pantagruel and his companions to consult the oracle in Northern India or Cathay, whither they proceed by the famous North-West passage¹². Rabelais is

¹ c. 8.² c. 23 and 24.³ iii 16.⁴ d. Jan. 1543.⁵ Also Herodotus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁶ Lib. iv, *Ep. Ded.*⁷ Cp. P. P. Plan, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xxvi (1906), 195–249.⁸ W. F. Smith, in *Revue des Études rabelaisiennes*, iv 4 (1906), 22 pp.⁹ *De legibus connubialibus*.¹⁰ *Silva Nuptialis*.¹¹ *De occulta philosophia and de vanitate scientiarum*.¹² iv c. 1.

remarkable for his interest in voyages of discovery. Hence his fondness for the *Odyssey*, and for Lucian's *Vera Historia*.

After the publication of the *Fourth Book* (1552), in which the Decretals are ridiculed, he resigned his cure of Meudon early in 1553, and died in the same year¹.

Toussain counted not only Rabelais, but also Ramus and Turnebus among his pupils. In 1547 (the year of the death of Francis I) Toussain was succeeded as lecturer in Greek by Turnebus, while Ramus became a professor in 1551. For a quarter of a century Ramus, or Pierre de la Ramée (1515—1572), was the most prominent teacher in Paris. He was already celebrated as the resolute opponent of the exclusive authority of Aristotle. In 1536 he had maintained the thesis that everything written by Aristotle was false, and in 1543 he had severely attacked the Aristotelian logic. This attitude had naturally made him many enemies. Nevertheless in 1551 a special chair of 'eloquence and philosophy' was instituted on his behalf². He lectured with great success on Cicero and Virgil. He substituted humanistic methods of teaching for the scholastic methods that had long prevailed; he encouraged the study of Greek, and he improved the study of Latin. In the very first year of his lectureship he was entangled in a petty controversy with the Sorbonne as to the proper pronunciation of *quisquis* and *quanquam*. The Royal Reader pronounced the vowel *u* in both words; the Sorbonne pleaded for its suppression; Parliament decided to leave it an open question³. With his colleague, Galland, he had a dispute on the merits of Quintilian, of which Rabelais has said in the 'new preface' to the fourth book of *Pantagruel*:—'What shall we do with this Ramus and this Galland, who are setting by the ears the whole University of Paris?' As a protestant, Ramus was unhappily one of the victims of the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572⁴.

¹ This account of Rabelais is abridged from a sketch written on my behalf by my friend, Mr W. F. Smith, Fellow of St John's, translator of Rabelais (1893). Cp. Tilley, i 165—223, with the bibliography there quoted, and Brunetière, *Hist. de la litt. française classique*, i (1904), 105—164; also C. Whibley, *Literary Portraits* (1904), 1—108.

² Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, ix 18.

³ Lefranc, 211 n.

⁴ On Ramus, cp. Ch. Waddington (Paris, 1855); Desmazes, 1864; Ziegler,

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'¹ of Andelys in Normandy (1512—1565), was sent at the age of twelve to be educated in Paris under Toussain and



TURNEBUS.

No. 127 of De Leu's *Pourtraicts* (c. 1600); Print Room, British Museum.

others, whom he astonished by his marvellous memory and his rare acumen. In 1545 he became a professor at Toulouse, and, on the death of Toussain, was appointed to succeed him in Paris. Toussain had been (like Budaeus and Rabelais) a man of marked

Gesch. der Pädagogik (1895), 107 f; and see Tilley, i 273 f; portrait in Bois-sard, 11 96.

¹ This is the form found on the title-page of his *Aeschylus*. In the *Letters* prefixed to that ed., and to his *Sophocles*, the name is spelt *Τούρνεβος*, as also in the *Greek Epitaph* by Henr. Stephanus, who in another epigram calls him *Τούρνεβος* (Maittaire, *Stephanorum Vitae*, 112 f). The *Latin* epitaphs, by Stephanus and Jean Mercier, have *Turnēbus*. His own contemporary, Estienne Pasquier (*Œuvres choisies*, Ep. 1) addresses him in 1552 as M. de Tournebu, and the form Tournebou is given in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, vii 154 f; Tournebus is found in Paris accounts of 1550-1 (Lefranc's *Collège de France*, 404), and is the form adopted by Legay (Caen, 1828), and by Tilley, i 280, who describes 'Tournebus' as Latinised into Turnebus, and then Gallicised back into Turnèbe. The suggestion that the original French form was Tournebœuf, and that this was derived from the Scottish name of Turnbull (a suggestion due to Dempster), is rightly regarded as doubtful by Eckstein, *Nomencl. Philol.* s.v. Cp. L. Clément (1899), p. 7.

erudition, 'a living library'; Turnebus was more of a specialist in Greek textual criticism. From 1552 to 1556 he was Director of the Royal Press, and, in that capacity, 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 judiciously explained or boldly emended. De Thou describes them as *aeternitate digna*. Scaliger's verdict on the *Adversaria* is vague. He admires the author's learning, but regards the work as immature¹; at the same time, he considers that there is more in a single book of Turnebus than in the 37 books of the *Variae Lectiones* of Victorius². Montaigne, his junior by 21 years, speaks with no uncertain sound:—

'I have seen Adrianus Turnebus, who having never professed any thing but studie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthiest man that lived these thousand years,...notwithstanding had no pedanticall thing about him but the wearing of his gowne, and some external fashions, that could not well be reduced and incivilized to the courtiers cut... For his inward parts, I deeme him to have been one of the most unspotted and truly honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose urged him to speake of matters furthest from his study, wherein he was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgment distinguish them, that he seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie than warre, and matters of state'³.

Another of the Royal Readers in Greek, Jean Dorat⁴
 Dorat (c. 1502—1588), was born at Limoges. Francis I made him tutor to the royal pages, and Charles IX gave him the title of 'Poet Royal'. He is said to have published more than 50,000 Greek and Latin verses, and 15,000 of these

¹ *Scaligerana* s.v.

² *Scaligerana Sec.* s.v.

³ *Essays*, I c. xxiv, *Of Pedantisme* (in Florio's transl.); cp. II c. xii, 'Adrianus Turnebus, a man who knew all things'. Cp. in general L. du Chesne's Funeral Oration in *Opera* (Arg., 1600); Legay (Paris, 1893), 51 pp.; L. Clément, *De Adriani Turnebi...praefationibus et poematis* (1899), 152 pp. with bibliography.

⁴ His father's name was *Dorat*; the son Latinised this as *Auratus*; and his contemporaries called him *Daurat* as well as *Dorat* (Tilley, i 309; cp. Pattison's *Essays*, i 206 n.).

are preserved in his *Poemata*. 'No book was written but Auratus composed a poetic eulogy of the author; no person of quality died but Auratus wrote an elegy in verse'. He represents the 'moment in French literature, when Greek learning was in alliance with public taste and polite letters'¹. Scaliger, who can only describe him as 'bonus poëta', because he could write verses



DORAT.

No. 108 of De Leu's *Pourtraits* (c. 1600); Print Room, British Museum.

on any subject, is more emphatic when he calls him 'Graecae linguae peritissimus'. Ten years before his appointment as one of the Royal Readers, he published his edition of the *Prometheus Vincit* (1549). Among his pupils at the Collège de Coqueret was the future poet Ronsard. Dorat, 'foreseeing that Ronsard would one day be the Homer of France, and desiring that his spirit should be nursed with appropriate aliment', took him and read to him the whole of the *Prometheus*. 'Why is it, master', cried Ronsard, 'that you have hidden such riches from me for so long?'² The gratitude of Dorat's poetic pupils enrolled their master's name in the 'Pleiad'; and the Greek spirit that, under the influence of Dorat, began to breathe in the poems of Ronsard, aroused an interest in all that was Greek³. Apart from the edition of the *Prometheus*, Dorat left behind him conjectural emendations on other plays of Aeschylus, which give proof of learning,

¹ Pattison, i 207.

² Binet's *Life of Ronsard*.

³ Egger, *Hellénisme*, leçon x.

acumen, and poetic taste. Hermann preferred him to all the critics on Aeschylus¹.

Dolet had translated the *Letters* of Cicero; Masures, the whole of Virgil; Habert, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and Pelletier, the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace. The number of these translations multiplied to such an extent that a protest was raised by one of the 'Pleiad', J. du Bellay, who urged the duty of imitating and assimilating the ancients instead of translating them. The poets in particular, he declared, should not be translated, except at the command of princes and great noblemen². Nevertheless, he afterwards translated *Aeneid* IV and VI, while the *Epistles* of Ovid were published in French by a lady of high birth, Madeleine de l'Aubespine³.

Literary criticism in France began with the publication of Pelletier's French version of the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace (1545), and the first reference to the corresponding work of Aristotle in the critical literature of France is to be found in du Bellay's *Défense et Illustration de la Langue française* (1549). An edition of Aristotle's treatise was produced in 1555 by the learned printer, Guillaume Morel (1505-64); and the dramatic law of the 'Unity of Time', ascribed to Aristotle by Italian writers such as Minturno and Castelvetro, was accepted in France by Ronsard (1565), and by Jean de la Taille (1572)⁴.



LAMBINUS.

The third of the above-mentioned Royal Readers in Greek was Denys Lambin, or Dionysius Lambinus (1520—1572), who won his laurels mainly in the field of Latin scholarship. Born at Montreuil-sur-mer in Picardy, he was educated at Amiens, and, after spending some years on the study of the best Greek and Latin authors⁵, entered the service of the

¹ On *Agam.* 1396. Cp. Vitrac's *Éloge* (1775); Robiquet, *De J. Aurati vita* (1887); and Pattison's *Essays*, i 206, 210.

² *Défense*, l. i.

³ Feugère, *Caractères*, i 7.

⁴ Spingarn, 171, 177, 184, 206; Saintsbury, ii 113, 117; Tilley, ii 82.

⁵ Preface to Cicero, 'cum in optimo quoque scriptore et Graeco et Latino evolvendo ac legendo aliquot annos in Gallia consumpssissem, in Italiam profectus sum'.

Cardinal de Tournon, whom he accompanied on two visits to Italy. During the first of these visits he lived in Rome for four years (1549-53). After staying for a year or two in Paris, he returned to Italy for five years (1555-60), which he spent in Rome, Venice and Lucca. In one of his letters he describes himself as having passed twelve years in a *vita motoria et turbulenta*¹. But he was thus brought into contact with scholars such as Faërnus, Muretus and Fulvius Ursinus, and had those opportunities of collating MSS in the Vatican and elsewhere, which proved of signal service in his subsequent editions of the Latin Classics. In 1561 he was appointed one of the Royal Readers in Latin, but was soon transferred to a readership in Greek. At that time he had already published, at the suggestion of the Cardinal de Tournon, a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* (1558), which was followed (in 1567) by one of the *Politics*, while, in the last year of his life, he published a discourse on the utility of Greek, and on the proper method of translating Greek authors into Latin (1572). Meanwhile, he had won a wide reputation by his great editions of Latin authors. The first of these was his Horace (1561). He had been preceded by unimportant commentators on the *Ars Poëtica*, such as Achilles Statius (1553) and Francesco Luisini (1554), and by others whose names are now forgotten; 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 poet². 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 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

¹ Letter to Erricus Memmius, *Epp. Bruti*, p. 435.

² Preface to Cicero, 'ibidem (in Italia) Q. Horatium Flaccum cum exemplaribus antiquis, quorum magna est in eis locis copia, comparavi, eosque duces et auctores secutus, multos in eo poëta locos et mendosos emendavi et implicatos explicavi'.

had studied the old Latin grammarians ; while, with a view to his commentary, he had ransacked the Greek and Latin Classics. For his author he had a peculiar admiration : of all the surviving Latin poets, Lucretius was, in his opinion, not only *elegantissimus et purissimus*, but also *gravissimus atque ornatissimus*. He dedicates the whole work to Charles IX, and the several books to individual scholars, such as 'Memmius', Ronsard, Muretus, Turnebus, and 'Auratus'. He claims to have restored the true reading in 800 passages, and we are assured on the best authority that the superiority of his text over those of all his predecessors 'can scarcely be exaggerated'.

'The quickness of his intellect, united with his exquisite knowledge of the language, gave him great power in the field of conjecture, and, for nearly three centuries, his remained the standard text'. 'His copious explanatory and illustrative commentary calls for unqualified eulogy, and has remained...the great original storehouse, from which all have borrowed who have done anything for the elucidation of their author'. 'His reading is as vast as it is accurate, and its results are given in a style of unsurpassed clearness and beauty. His notes observe the mean between too much and too little : he himself calls them brief, while his thankless countrymen, thinking however more perhaps of his Horace than his Lucretius, have made *lambin* or *lambiner* classical terms to express what is diffuse and tedious'.

The learning accumulated in this edition was shamelessly pillaged by Giphanius (1566). In 1570 Lambinus published his third edition. 'In a preface of great power and beauty of style he states his wrongs ; there and throughout his commentary the whole Latin language, rich in that department, is ransacked for terms of scorn and contumely'¹.

To the preparation of his brilliant edition of the whole of Cicero, which appeared in 1566, he gave only 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 the shock caused by the news, that his colleague Ramus had been put to death in the massacre of St Bartholomew, hastened his own end. Scaliger, who observes that Lambinus possessed very few books², admires the excellence of his spoken and written Latin style³; and it has

¹ Munro's *Lucretius*, pp. 14—16³.

² *Scaligerana*.

³ *Prima Scaligerana*.

been well remarked by Munro, that 'his knowledge of Cicero and the older Latin writers, as well as the Augustan poets, has never been surpassed and rarely equalled'¹.

During his second sojourn in Italy, Lambinus had been assisted by Muretus in deciphering the readings in certain MSS of Lucretius, and had shown his assistant part of his future commentary on Horace. In 1559, on receiving from Muretus a copy of the *Variae Lectiones*, Lambinus discovered that his own notes on Horace had been appropriated. He wrote in temperate terms to expostulate, and, in 1561, printed the whole of the correspondence, in which (as it happened) there were several other items detrimental to the moral character of Muretus². The latter had afterwards the satisfaction of noticing in the margin of a copy of Lambinus' *Horace* some of the minor mistakes in that important work³. The career of Muretus has already been traced in connexion with the land of his adoption⁴.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century we note the name of the poet and professor, Jean Passerat (1534—1602), who succeeded Ramus as Royal Professor of Eloquence in 1572. He is said to have published nothing before the age of sixty, when he wrote the French verses at the close of the *Satire Ménippée* (1594). In Latin, his favourite author was Plautus, whom he is said to have read through forty times. He lost his sight five years before his death. He is best known for two of his posthumous works:—a treatise *De literarum inter se cognatione ac permutatione* (1606), and an annotated edition of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius (1608)⁵.

In this century there were three notable scholars in France, who published classical texts from MSS formerly in monastic libraries. Pierre Daniel of Orleans (1530—1603) produced the first edition of the *Querolus* (1564), and of the fuller form of the

¹ *Lucretius*, p. 14³. Cp., in general, P. Lazerus in Orelli's *Onomasticon Tullianum*, i 478—491; and, for opinions of early scholars, Blount's *Censura*, 504 f.

² Muretus, *Opera*, ed. Ruhnken, i 395 f, where the rest of the correspondence is reprinted.

³ Lazeri, *u.s.* p. 486 f.

⁴ p. 148 *supra*.

⁵ Cp. Tilley, ii 54.

Lambinus
and Muretus

Passerat

Daniel,
and Pierre
Pithou

commentary of Servius (1600)¹. Pierre Pithou, 'Petrus Pithoeus' of Troyes (1539—1596), General-Procurator in Guienne and at Paris, had a fine library including an important collection of MSS. He produced the first important text of Juvenal and Persius (1585) founded on the 'codex Pithoeanus' formerly in the Benedictine abbey of Lorsch, and now at Montpellier², and the *editio princeps* of Phaedrus (Autun, 1596), the *Pervigilium Veneris* (1577), Salvianus (1580), and the Edict of Theodoric (1579). He also produced an improved edition of Petronius³. He narrowly escaped death in the massacre of St Bartholomew (1572), and became a Catholic in the following year. When Scaliger left for Leyden in 1593, Pithou was perhaps the ablest scholar in France; but a decline in Greek scholarship is indicated by the fact that Scaliger describes Pithou as 'nothing of a Greek scholar'⁴.

The Protestant, Jacques Bongars of Orleans (1554—1612), who received part of his early education in Germany, and was afterwards a pupil of Cujas at Bourges, edited Justin in 1581, a collection of Dacian Inscriptions in 1600, and the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, early histories of the French Crusades, in 1611. He held diplomatic positions abroad, and in the course of his travels visited Constantinople in 1585, and Cambridge in 1608. In 1603-4 he bought a large part of the libraries of Pierre Daniel and of Cujas, and subsequently bequeathed all his books and MSS to the son of René Grausset, the Strassburg banker. The son presented them to Bern, the native city of his wife (1632). The most important items in the collection are the MSS of Virgil, Horace⁵, and Lucan. The collection included part of the literary treasures of Fleury, which had been dispersed in 1562⁶.

¹ Hagen, *Zur Gesch. der Philol.* 1 f (Bern, 1873); L. Jarry, *Une correspondance littéraire* (1876); history of his library in Moréri, *Grand Dict. Hist.*

² *Facs.* in Chatelain, *Pal.* no. 127.

³ A. Collignon, *Plérome en France* (1905), 24—28.

⁴ *Scaligerana Altera.* Cp. Boivin, *vita etc.* 1716; Grosley (1756); Briquet de Laraux (1768); O. Jahn, *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch.* iv 278; and Tilley, i 294, ii 234. A fine portrait engraved by Vanschuppen (also by Morin, in Lacroix, *xvii^e siècle*, 1882, fig. 55, p. 149).

⁵ Chatelain, *Pal.* pl. 76, 77.

⁶ Hagen, *l. c.* 53 f, and Schultess, in *Beiträge zur Gelehrten-Geschichte des xvii^e Jahrh.*, Hamburg, 1905, 103—206; also vol. i 625^a, n. 8.

In the same age law and archaeology were admirably represented in France. The study of jurisprudence had been introduced by the Italian, Andrea Alciati (1492—1550), who lectured for a few years at Bourges (1528—32)¹. Nicolas de Grouchy, of Rouen (1520—1572), taught at Bordeaux, Paris, Coimbra and Rochelle, and (besides his numerous translations from Aristotle) distinguished himself by his learned dissertation *De Comitibus Romanorum* (1555). Jacques Cujas, or Cujacius, of Toulouse (1522—1590), who taught at Cahors, Valence, Paris, and Bourges, was the founder of the historical school of jurisprudence. He was famous as the author of an extensive series of learned 'Observations and Emendations' (1566), while the fullest edition of his works extends to eleven folio volumes. The professors in certain German universities were wont to raise their caps whenever, in the course of their lectures, they mentioned the name of Cujas or of Turnebus². François Hotman (1524—1590) was the author of 'Observations' on Roman Law, and of Commentaries on Cicero's Speeches. His political pamphlet, the *Tigre* (1560), which has been described as a 'succession of pistol-shots fired point-blank' at the Cardinal of Lorraine, was modelled on the Catilinarian orations³. He also produced an important political treatise in Latin, the *Franco-Gallia* (1573)⁴. Hugues Doneau, or 'Donellus' (1527—1591), was the author of a systematic work on Civil Law⁵. The massacre of 1572 drove Doneau and Hotman to Geneva. Barnabé Brisson (1531—1591) was the writer of celebrated treatises on the terminology of the Civil Law (1557) and on the legal *formulae* of the Romans (1583). He was forced by the partisans of the League to act as first President of their Parliament in 1589, and was put to death by the faction of the Sixteen in 1591⁶. Lastly, Denys Godefroy,

De Grouchy
Cujas
Hotman
Doneau
Brisson
Godefroy

¹ Portrait in Boissard, II 134.

² Pasquier, *Recherches*, ix c. 18 (Tilley, i 281). Portrait in Boissard, VII ff.

³ Tilley, ii 229.

⁴ *ib.* ii 231; portrait in Boissard, III 140.

⁵ Portrait in Boissard, III 290.

⁶ Molles, *Diss. de Brissonio*, Altd. 1696; Conrad in his ed. of *De Formulâs* (1781).

'Gothofredus' (1549—1621)¹, distinguished himself as the editor of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, while his son Jacques (1587—1652) edited the Theodosian Code. The treatise on Government, *Six livres de la République*, written in French and also in Latin by Jean Bodin (1530—1596), may here be noted, in so far as it is founded on the teaching of Plato and Aristotle². The learned lawyers above mentioned are among the glories of France. An interesting picture of their scholarly industry is preserved by one of the legal luminaries of the time, Antoine Loisel, who tells us that, after supper, Pithou, Cujas and himself used to meet in the library every evening, and continued to work there until three o'clock in the morning³.

During this age classical masterpieces were translated with a marked effect on the literature of France. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the most popular Latin poet was Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses* had been popularised by the paraphrase and commentary of Pierre Bersuire (d. 1362). The *Epistles* were translated in 1500, the *Remedium Amoris* in 1509, and the first two books of the *Metamorphoses* (by Marot) in 1532. Among the translations of Virgil may be mentioned the first *Eclague* by Marot (1512) and the first *Georgic* by Peletier (1547), who also translated the *Ars Poetica* of Horace (1544), which partly inspired the *Art Poétique* of Sibilet (1548), the first French translator of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (1549). Terence's *Andria* was competently rendered by Charles Estienne (1542).

Estienne Dolet's translations of Cicero, *ad Familiares*, and *Tusculan Disputations*, 1—111 (1542-3), were frequently reprinted. The *De amicitia* and *De senectute*, the *De legibus* and *Somnium Scipionis* were rendered by Jean Colin (1537-9), and ten of the *Speeches* by Macault (1548). Meigret translated the *De Officiis*, and Sallust, and three books of the elder Pliny. Old translations of Caesar were revised. Bersuire's Livy held its ground till 1582, but a new rendering had been begun in 1548, which was also the date of the beginning of a translation of Tacitus completed in 1582. Vitruvius was translated by Martin in 1547.

Translations from the Greek poets opened a new era in French literature in the reign of Francis I. The *Electra* of Sophocles and the *Hecuba* of Euripides were indifferently rendered by Lazare de Baif (1537-44), and the first ten books of the *Iliad* and the first two of the *Odyssey* were translated in verse by Salel and Peletier respectively (1545-7). With the aid of Janus Lascaris, several of the Greek historians were translated by Claude de Seyssel, bishop of Marseilles and afterwards archbishop of Turin, and were published

¹ Portrait in Boissard, vii ff 2.

² Feugère, *Caractères*, i p. xxxii, ii 432-5.

³ *ib.* Cp. Tilley in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* iii 58 f.

after his death (1520) by command of the king¹. The title-page of Macault's translation of the first three books of Diodorus shows us the king's secretary and *valet de chambre* presenting his work to Francis I (1535). There were also translations of Herodian and Polybius, 1—v, Dion Cassius and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. These were surpassed in popularity by Pierre Saliat's Herodotus (1556)². The above translation from Diodorus was printed by Tory, who himself translated thirty dialogues of Lucian (1529), and the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon (1531). The *Hipparchus* of Plato and the spurious *Axiochus* were rendered by Dolet (1544), and we know of versions of part of the *Symposium*, and of the *Ion*, *Crito*, and *Lysis*. Oresme's translations of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* still held the field. Two renderings of Aesop in French verse were published in 1542—7. Parts of Plutarch's *Moralia* and eight of the *Lives* appeared in the reign of Francis I. With regard to these translations in general, it must be noticed that they were made from Latin versions, with the rarest possible reference to the original Greek³.

Pindar, whose text was first published in 1513, doubtless presented serious difficulties even to Dorat, the best Greek scholar in the *Pleiade*, but he found imitators such as Ronsard, one of whose odes even surpasses the *Fourth Pythian* in length⁴. It was apparently with a sense of relief that Ronsard welcomed the easier task of imitating Anacreon⁵.

The title of prince of translators was won by Jacques Amyot (1513—1593), who made Plutarch speak the French language⁶. He was lectured on Greek by Danes and Toussain, and was appointed professor at Bourges. He published his translation of the Greek novel of Heliodorus in 1547, and, in recognition of this rendering and of his version of some *Lives* from Plutarch that was still unpublished, was made abbot of Bellozane, one of the last acts of Francis I. For the next four years he worked in the Libraries of St Mark and the Vatican. In the Vatican he discovered a better MS of Heliodorus; at Venice he found five of the lost books of Diodorus (xi—xv),

¹ Thuc., Xen. *Anab.*, Diodorus 18—20, Eusebius and Appian (1527—44).

² Ed. Talbot (1864).

³ Cp. Tilley, i 35—40; and, for translations from Greek and Latin poets, Goujet's *Bibliothèque française*, iv—viii, and, from Latin and Italian generally, J. Blanc's *Bibliographie italico-française* (Milan, 1886) quoted *ib.* i 39; also a popular sketch by J. Bellanger, *Hist. de la Traduction en France*, 131 pp. (no index), 1903.

⁴ Egger, i 351—8.

⁵ *ib.* 363; Sainte-Beuve, *Anacréon au xvii^e s.* (in *Tableau de la poésie fr.*); Delboulle's *Anacréon*, 1891; and Tilley, i 330 f.

⁶ Montaigne, ii 10.

which he published, with the next two, in 1554. In 1559 he produced his rendering of the *Daphnis and Chloë* of Longus, and completed that of the *Lives* of Plutarch, which he dedicated to Henry II. Henry's successor, Charles IX, made him Grand Almoner of France (1560) and bishop of Auxerre (1570). Amyot's translation of the *Moralia* appeared in 1572. His translation of Plutarch was practically a new and 'original work', and a living force for two and a half centuries¹. In his own age, 'I am grateful to Amyot above all things' (says Montaigne), 'for having had the wit to select so worthy and so suitable a work to present his country. We ignorant folk had been lost, had not this lifted us out of the mire; thanks to it, we now dare speak and write, and ladies give lessons out of it to schoolmasters; 'tis our breviary'². The dignity and grace of Amyot's rendering were lauded by the translator's friend and publisher, Morel; his version of the *Lives*, in the English dress of Florio, became Shakespeare's Plutarch. Minor flaws have been found in its pages by Muretus³, and in the seventeenth century by Méziriac, and, early in the nineteenth, by Paul Louis Courier; but its smooth and flowing charm, and its literary merits in general, have been more generously appreciated by later critics⁴.

Louis Le Roy (1510—1577) attended the lectures of the new royal professors in 1530, a year or two later than Amyot. He wrote a life of Budaeus in excellent Latin, and, after spending nearly twenty years in translating Greek prose authors, succeeded Lambinus as professor of Greek (1572). His translations consist of the *Olynthiacs* and *Philippics* of Demosthenes; Plato's *Timaeus*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium* and *Republic*; Aristotle's *Politics*, and some treatises of Isocrates and Xenophon. He is recognised as a 'competent translator', whose style 'sometimes strikes a higher note'. In the first of his lectures on Demosthenes, which were delivered in French (1576), after

¹ Joseph Joubert, ed. K. Lyttelton (1898), 188.

² O. Gréard, *De la morale de Plutarque*, 328 f (ed. 1874).

³ ii 4 *init.* ⁴ *Journal de Montaigne*, ii 152 (ed. 1774).

⁵ A. Pommier, *Éloge d'Amyot* (1849); Balignières, *Amyot et les traducteurs français au xvi s.* (1851); Feugère, *Caractères*, i 487—506; Egger, *Hellénisme*, i 261—4; Bellanger, *Hist. de la Traduction en France*, 13, 25—28; and Tilley, i 280—289.

paying a tribute to the ancient languages, he attacks 'those scholars who entirely neglected their native language and all modern topics'¹.

Michel de Montaigne (1533-92) preserves a perfect silence as to Saliat, the translator of Herodotus, from whom all his quotations from that historian are borrowed. He is personally acquainted with Amyot, 'the great Almoner of France'²; the books that he reads for profit as well as pleasure are 'Plutarch (since he spake French) and Seneca'³; and he confesses that his book is completely built up with the spoils of these two authors⁴. The other Classics that he cites most frequently are Cicero, Lucretius, Horace and Virgil⁵. As his 'familiar tutors' he names 'Nicholas Gruchy, who hath written *De comitiis Romanorum*; William Guerente, who hath commented Aristotle; George Buchanan, that famous Scottish Poet, and Marke Antonie Muret, whom (while he lived) both France and Italie to this day, acknowledge to have been the best orator'⁶. He also quotes 'our late most famous writer Lipsius, in his learned and laborious work of the *Politiques*'⁷. His eulogy of Turnebus has been already noticed⁸. There is no

¹ Tilley, i 289 f; cp. A. H. Becker, *Loys Le Roy*, 1896.

² i c. 23; p. 196 *supra*.

³ ii c. 10.

⁴ ii c. 32; i c. 25; cp. Tilley, ii 160-2, and in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* iii 69.

⁵ For a list of authors read by Montaigne, with his judgements on them, see Miss Grace Norton's *Studies in Montaigne* (1904), p. 265 f. The authors read before 1580 include Aristotle, Caesar, Gellius, Horace, Manilius, Martial, Ovid, the elder Pliny, Plutarch, Suetonius, Terence, Valerius Maximus; those read chiefly in 1580-8, Catullus, 'Cornelius Gallus', Curtius, Juvenal, Lucan, Lucretius, Persius, Propertius, Tacitus, Virgil; after 1588, Diodorus, Herodotus, Livy, Plato, Quintilian, Xenophon; and, in all years, Cicero, Diogenes Laërtius, and Seneca (pp. 267-286 f). Besides these 50 authors, he uses 125 others, e.g. Stobaeus; *Florilegium Epigrammatum* (1531); *Poëtae Gnomici* (1561-9); 'Publius Syrus' (1516 or 1560). Montaigne is 'one of the most original of authors, though he helped himself to ideas in every direction; but they turn to blood and coloring in his style, and give a freshness of complexion that is forever charming' (Lowell, on *Montaigne as a Reader, and Student of Style*). Cp. C. Whibley, *Literary Portraits* (1904), 181-221.

⁶ i c. 25 (l'lorio's transl.); p. 149 *supra*.

⁷ *ib.*, cp. latest ed. of ii, c. 12. He had corresponded with Lipsius in 1589 (Tilley, ii 149).

⁸ p. 186 *supra*.

writer of this age who is so thoroughly saturated with the wisdom of the ancients or who so frequently applies quotations from the Classics to the conduct of life. He is proud of the honorary title of 'Citizen of Rome'; and he represents the final and the ripe result of the Revival of Learning in France.

With Montaigne we may associate his short-lived friend,
La Boétie Estienne de La Boétie (1530—1561), whom he so warmly admired for his bold protest against tyranny¹. La Boétie's interest in Greek is proved by his translation of the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon and of part of the *Economics* of Aristotle, as well as Plutarch's *Præcepta Conjugalium* and *Consolatio ad Uxorem*. His skill in Latin verse is exemplified in the poems, which he composed at the prompting of the elder Scaliger, whose death he commemorated in a pathetic passage in which he foresees the approach of his own end².

The French civilian and poet, Estienne Pasquier (1529—1615),
Pasquier who was born before Montaigne and his friend, and survived them both, agreed with Montaigne in his admiration of Horace, and, at a time when Du Perron preferred a single page of Quintus Curtius to thirty of Tacitus, insisted on the superiority of the author of the *Annals*, and sent one of his correspondents a happy rendering from that historian's pages³.

His friend Scévole de Sainte-Marthe of Loudun
Sainte-Marthe (1536—1623), a member of a noble house, and a pupil of Muretus, Turnebus and Ramus, was distinguished as a Latin poet. Two of his works deserve mention:—(1) a didactic poem on the education of children, called by one of his medical contemporaries the *divinum carmen Paedotrophicum*⁴; and (2) a book of eulogies in Latin elegiacs on no less than 150 Frenchmen distinguished for their learning, who had died during the author's life-time, beginning with Lefèvre d'Étaples (*d.* 1536) and ending (in its final form) with Estienne Pasquier (*d.* 1615)⁵. Among those

¹ *Essais*, i c. 27; cp. Hallam, ii 36^a.

² Feugère, *Caractères*, i 1—125, esp. 115.

³ *ib.* i 227—9. See also Tilley, i 299—304.

⁴ Feugère, i 435 n., translated into English verse, with life, by H. W. Tytler, M.D., 1757; cp. Tilley, ii 23 f.

⁵ *Gallorum doctrina illustrium, qui nostra patrumque memoria floruerunt, dogia* (Poitiers, 1598, 1602), Paris, 1630.

commemorated are Budaeus, Longolius, Montaigne, Ramus, Turnebus, Amyot, Muretus, Lambinus, Auratus, and Henri Estienne. *Aureolus Elogiorum libellus* is the phrase applied in the Letters of Balzac¹ to this brief and epigrammatic survey of more than a century of French Scholarship². The characters of the leading scholars who died between 1545 and 1607 are admirably summed up in the obituary notices that adorn the great Latin History of De Thou (1553—1617)³.

Of the foremost scholars of France in the sixteenth century, Turnebus died some years before the eventful date of St Bartholomew (1572); Ramus perished in the massacre, Lambinus died of fright, while Hotman and Doneau fled to Geneva, never to return. Joseph Justus Scaliger withdrew to the same city for two years, and, when he returned, the only great scholars who survived from the former age were Dorat and Cujas⁴. Scaliger, who is one of the glories of the later age, spent the last sixteen years of his life at Leyden, but, for the first fifty-three years of his life, he belongs to France.

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540—1609) was of Italian descent. At Agen on the Garonne, he was 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'⁵. 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

¹ xxii 17.

² Feugère, i 461—482.

³ Extracted in Teissier's *Eloges* (Geneva, 1683), and in Blount's *Censura*, *passim*.

⁴ Tilley, i 294.

⁵ Scaliger, *Epp.* p. 51 (L.B. 1627).



Josephus Scaliger Jul. 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 La Roche-Pozay. With this nobleman Scaliger travelled for four years in Italy, paying two visits to Rome, where he saw much of Muretus, and staying for a time in Naples and Venice, and at Verona, which he regarded with reverence as the home of his ancestors. In Italy, his main attention appears to have been given to inscriptions, but a whole winter was devoted to Thucydides, and, on returning to France, the scholar was wont to discourse on Polybius during his rides with his patron. In that patron's family he lived from time to time for thirty years (1563-93), moving from castle to castle in Poitou and Limousin. During all that period he was serving his long apprenticeship to learning, but his studies were repeatedly interrupted by the disturbed state of the country. Shortly after his tour in Italy, he visited Edinburgh, and, although he failed to find any Greek MSS in the libraries of the British Isles, he afterwards borrowed a transcript of the *Lexicon* of Photius from Richard Thomson of Clare¹. In 1570 he studied Roman Law at Valence under Cujas, who, in his commentary on the Digest, accepted one of his pupil's emendations². At Valence he also began a friendship, that was to last for thirty-eight years, with the great historian De Thou. Two years later he left Valence; and, on the fatal night of St Bartholomew, he was safe at Lausanne. For the next two years he remained at Geneva, lecturing with some reluctance, but with marked success, on Cicero, *De Finibus*, and on Aristotle's *Organon*. He then returned to his patron in Poitou.

Scaliger had already given early proof of his study of Varro (1565), and had 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)³. 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

¹ Scaliger, *Epp.* p. 503.

² Bernays, 144.

³ His transpositions in Propertius and Tibullus are severely criticised in Haupt's *Opusc.* iii 34-36.

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 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. He resolved on reconstructing the original Greek text of both books. In 1601 he came on the track of a manuscript *chronicle* by a Greek monk, Georgius Syncellus, and, in 1602, he ultimately succeeded in getting a MS of this *Chronicle* sent from the Paris Library to Leyden, when he found that it largely consisted of transcripts from Eusebius. In 1605 he heard from Casaubon that in the Paris Library there was a chronological list of all the Olympic victors down to the 249th Olympiad. He was convinced that this must at one time have formed part of the work of Eusebius, and that it was originally compiled by Julius Africanus. He obtained a transcript, and with the aid of all the extant Greek evidence, drew up a complete list in Greek, which has sometimes been erroneously regarded by scholars as an original Greek document. He was thus 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 of Julius Africanus.

The Jesuits had captured Muretus and Lipsius, and had hopes of securing the timid and wavering Casaubon. Their attack against the apparently impregnable Scaliger was directed, not from France, but from Flanders and Germany. It was opened at Gratz in 1601 by Martin Delrio, formerly of Liège and Louvain, who denounced Scaliger for denying the genuineness of the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. It was continued at Antwerp in the coarse production called the *Amphitheatrum Honoris* (1605), and, at Mainz, by criticisms on Scaliger's knowledge of Hebrew, and by the polished and pungent pages of the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus* of the Latin stylist Caspar Scioppius (1607). Scaliger had inherited from his father a profound belief in his descent from the Della Scalas of Verona¹. It was this claim that was denounced by Scioppius. In the *Confutatio Fabulae Burdonum* (1608), Scaliger produced a vigorous and triumphant reply, which more than convinced his friends, Casaubon and Daniel Heinsius, but was disregarded by his foes and by the general public.

During his fifteen and a half years 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. Early in 1609, he fell asleep in the arms of his favourite pupil, Daniel Heinsius. That pupil honoured his master's memory by a funeral oration in Latin prose and by a Latin poem. Of Scaliger's productions in Latin verse, two thirds are translations, including a Latin rendering of the whole of the *Ajax* of Sophocles² and the *Cassandra* of Lycophron, and many Greek versions from Catullus and Martial. His original Latin verse is marked by a high degree of moral force³. He was praised by Bentley as an expert in prosody⁴. His chronological labours were also warmly appreciated by Selden in England, and by Calvisius at Leipzig; he aided the literary labours of David Hoeschel in Augsburg, and of Sylburg and Gruter at Heidelberg, devoting no less than ten months to producing a masterly index to

¹ *Epp.* pp. 1—58 (1594), ed. 1627, 'De Vetustate Gentis Scaligeræ'.

² Cp. *Scaligerana Sec.* s.v. Muretus. ³ ed. 2, 1864.

⁴ *Menander*, p. 67, 'nemo in arte metrica Scaligero peritior'.

the Inscriptions edited by the latter¹. He foresaw the future greatness of Grotius. De Thou describes his friend, Scaliger, as the foremost scholar of his age². Scaliger says that 'Lipsius is nothing in comparison with Muretus', while Lipsius compares Scaliger to 'an eagle in the clouds'³, the symbol adopted in the vignette to the funeral oration. Lastly, Casaubon says of Scaliger:— 'nihil est quod discere quisquam vellet, quod ille docere non posset; nihil legerat, quod non statim meminisset'⁴. He had no sympathy with the fashion of publishing *Miscellanea* or *Adversaria*, which had been set by Politian and Victorius, by Turnebus and Muretus; he preferred to deal with the exposition and criticism of each author as an undivided whole⁵. 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 works⁶.

Isaac Casaubon (1559—1614), who was eighteen years younger than Scaliger, was born at Geneva of Huguenot parents, who had fled from Gascony. At the age of nine he could speak and write Latin. He was learning Greek from his father, with Isocrates, *ad Demonium*, 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. 'Till the age of nineteen his father, who was a Huguenot pastor, was his only instructor. The son describes

¹ *Epp.* p. 381; cp. Bernays, p. 186.

² *Hist. lib.* xxi, 'in re literaria principem sine controversia locum tenet'.

³ *Epp. Misc. Cent.* i 6.

⁴ Praef. to Scaliger's *Opusc.* For other eulogies, see Blount's *Censura*.

⁵ *Ep.* 1, p. 52, Bernays, 164.

⁶ The materials for the life of Scaliger include his *Epistolae* (1617), and *Lettres Inédites* (1879); his opinions are reproduced in the *Scaligerana prima* (*Vertuniani*, 1574-93), and *secunda* (*Vassanorum*, 1603-6), best ed. 1740. The *Poëmata* (1615) were reprinted in 1864. The account in Nisard's *Triumvirat Littéraire* (1852) is superseded by the learned monograph of Bernays (1855), and by Pattison's *Essays*, i 132-243. Cp. Ulrichs, 59-61². (Bernays is regarded as unduly laudatory by Lucian Müller, *Philologie in den Niederlanden*, 35, 222-7, and by Haupt, *Opusculi*, iii 30 f.)

himself as *ὄψιμαθής* and *ἀντοδιδάκτος*. He hardly began any consecutive study until the age of twenty, when he was sent to Geneva, there to remain for the next eighteen years (1578–96). At Geneva he read Greek with the Cretan, Franciscus Portus, whom he succeeded as ‘professor’ in 1582. His second wife (1586) was a daughter of Henri Estienne, who jealously prevented his son-in-law from having access to his MSS, and hardly ever lent them: ‘he guards his books’ (writes Casaubon) ‘as the griffins in India do their gold’¹. But, when Estienne died in loneliness at Lyons, Casaubon inscribed in his journal a few feeling lines lamenting his loss². Meanwhile, he read all the Greek texts that he could find, besides buying transcripts of unpublished MSS from the Greek copyist, Darmarius. Even at a place where literary interests were almost dead, he carried out his own ideal of classical learning. In an exhaustive course of reading he made a complete survey of the ancient world. Among his foremost friends in Geneva was the venerable Beza; his correspondents in France included De Thou and Bongars. In 1594 he writes to Scaliger at Leyden:—‘I never take up your books or those of your great father, without laying them down in despair at my own progress’³; and, on hearing of Scaliger’s death in 1609, he notes in his diary, that he had lost ‘the guide of his studies, the inseparable friend, the sweet patron of his life’. Scaliger himself had said of Casaubon: ‘he is the greatest man we now have in Greek’; ‘his Latin style is excellent, terse, not diffuse Italian Latin’⁴.

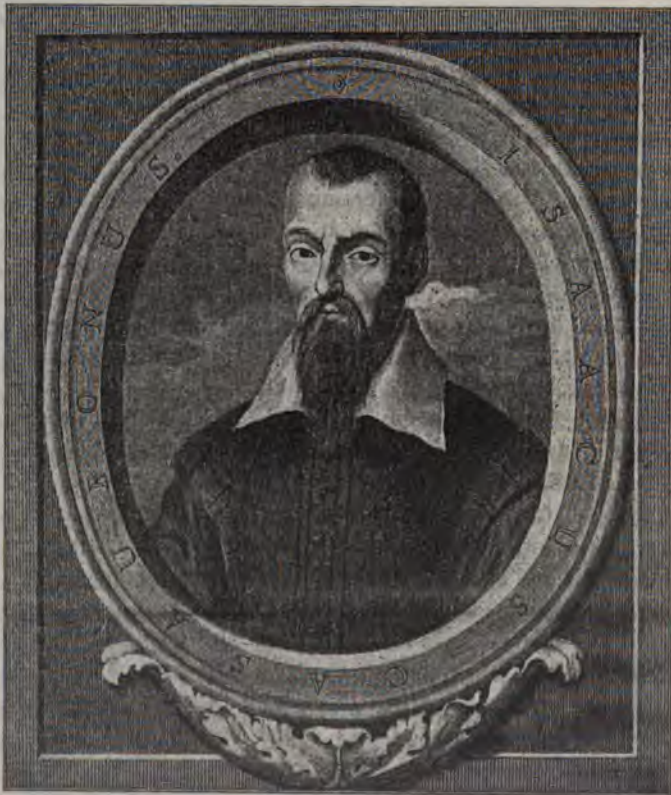
In 1596 Casaubon left Geneva for Montpellier, where there was a greater interest in the Classics, the medical course including Hippocrates and Galen. His entry into Montpellier was nothing short of a triumphal progress. For three years he lectured to students of mature years on Roman law and history, 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.

In 1598 he paid his first visit to Paris, where he was welcomed by a group of scholars, which had, only two years previously, lost its presiding genius, Pierre Pithou. The group included the elegant

¹ *Ep.* 41.² *Ephem.* 1598.³ *Ep.* 17.⁴ *Scaligerana Sec. s.v. Casaubon.*

Latin versifiers, Passerat and Rapin, and their customary place of meeting was the house of the learned historian De Thou, with whom Casaubon had been in correspondence for many years. He had heard much of De Thou's library¹, but it surpassed his expectation, and his heart sank at the thought of the little that he knew. He returned to Montpellier in October, 1598.

¹ Engraving in Lacroix, *xvii^e siècle*, fig. 54 (frontispiece of *Bibliotheca Thuana*); portrait in Boissard, viii *kkk* 4.



ISAAC CASaubON.

From a photograph of an engraving in the Cabinet des Estampes,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Early in 1599 he was invited to Paris by the king, who desired his aid in a proposed 'restoration' of the university. Bidding a sad farewell to Montpellier, he waited on the way for more than a year at Lyons, while he superintended the printing of his 'Animadversions' on Athenaeus. At Paris he had the title of *Lecteur du Roi*, but, owing doubtless to his remaining true to his Protestant principles, he was not appointed to an actual professorship either in the University of Paris or in the Collège de France. In the latter the Chair of Latin was filled by Frédéric Morel, who has far less claim to distinction as a professor of Latin than as a printer of Greek, the finest of his editions, in point of typography, being the Libanius of 1606. The Chair of Greek, which ought to have been assigned to Casaubon, was given to a youthful protégé of Cardinal Du Perron. In 1604 Casaubon was, however, appointed sub-librarian to De Thou in the Royal Library. In that capacity he supplied materials to Scaliger and Heinsius at Leyden, Gruter at Heidelberg, Hoeschel at Augsburg, and Savile at Eton, while his own works prove how eagerly he ransacked the Royal mss. His ten years in Paris were the happiest period of his life.

After the assassination of Henry IV (1610), the Ultramontane party gained new power, and Casaubon was urgently pressed to become a Catholic. His own feelings were in favour of the *via media* of the Anglican Church, and he accepted from archbishop Bancroft 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. Writing from England to Salmasius, Casaubon gratefully exclaims:—'This people is anything but barbarous; it loves and cultivates learning, especially sacred learning'¹. Casaubon was compelled to give most of his time to the refutation of the *Annals* of Baronius. He discovered that the errors of Baronius were errors of scholarship, for Baronius knew neither Hebrew nor Greek. Casaubon paid visits to Cambridge and Oxford, and was delighted with both. His host at Oxford was Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of Merton as well as Provost of Eton, but, although they had the common ground of an interest in Greek, they were separated by the strongest contrast of character:—'Casaubon, insignificant in presence, the most humble of men,

¹ *Ep.* 837.

but intensely real, knowing what he knew with fatal accuracy, and keeping his utterance below his knowledge'; Savile, 'the munificent patron of learning, and devoting his fortune to its promotion, with a fine presence, polished manners and courtly speech', not devoid of 'swagger and braggadocio'¹. Casaubon was hospitably entertained, but succeeded in reserving many hours of each day for his studies in the Bodleian, a pleasure for which he paid the penalty during the second week in a sudden sense of giddiness which seized him on his way to the library². 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'³, 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. The martyr of learning was buried in Westminster Abbey, and the epitaph, added at a later date by Morton, bishop of Durham, begins and ends as follows:—

'O Doctorum quidquid est assurgite
Huic tam colendo Nomini'...

'Qui nosse vult Casaubonum
Non saxa sed chartas legat
Superfuturas marmori,
Et profuturas posteris'⁴.

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 un superseded. 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 marked by his distinctive merit, an interpretation of a text of the most varied interest founded on wide reading and consummate learning⁵. It was a work that won the highest praise from Scaliger⁶. The number of *Characters* in this edition is raised from 23 to 28

¹ Pattison, 355^a.

² *Eph.* p. 984.

³ *Eph.* 703.

⁴ Blount, *Censura*, 622. Wolf, *Kl. Schriften*, ii 1185-8, prefers *Casaubonus* to *Casaubonus*.

⁵ Pattison, 433^a.

⁶ *Eph.* 35, with Casaubon's reply, *Eph.* 19.

by the addition of five from the Heidelberg Library. His notes on Suetonius (1595) continued to be reprinted *in extenso* down to 1736. Though generally destitute of poetic feeling, he admired Theocritus; he calls the 27th poem a 'mellitissimum carmen'; and his *Lectiones Theocriteae* formed part of an edition published in 1596. 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. Casaubon would indeed have rejoiced, if he could have foreseen this fact when he wrote to Camerarius in 1594: 'I am deep in Athenaeus, and I hope my labour will not be in vain. But one's industry is sadly damped by the reflexion how Greek is now neglected and despised. Looking to posterity, or the next generation, what motive has one for devotion to study?'¹ 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'². 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 meat³, was reprinted in Germany as late as 1833, and has been ultimately merged in Conington's edition. Casaubon 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 addressed to Henry IV, 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, the aim of which was to make the ancient historian accessible to the modern world⁴. A small volume of notes was posthumously published in 1617. Casaubon lives in his *Letters*⁵ and in his *Ephemerides*⁶, a Latin journal largely interspersed with Greek, recording his daily reading and his reflexions for the last seventeen years of his life. When he has read continuously for a whole day,

¹ *Ep.* 996 (Pattison, 52³).

² Pattison, 440².

³ *Ep.* 104.

⁴ *Cp.* Pattison, 197—203².

⁵ *Ed.* Almelooven, Rotterdam, 1709.

⁶ *Ed.* J. Russell, Oxford, 1850.

from early morn till late at night, he gratefully records the fact in the words: *hodie vixi*. 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 Scaliger¹. The only two *mots* attributed to him illustrate the attitude of the humanist towards an expiring scholasticism. Once when he was shown the old hall of the Sorbonne, his guide exclaimed:—*Voilà une sale où il y a quatre cens ans qu'on dispute*; and Casaubon replied with the question:—*Qu'a-t-on décidé?* Again, after listening to a long disputation in that home of mediaeval lore, he remarked that 'he had never heard so much Latin spoken without understanding it'². The 'Casauboniana' printed by J. C. Wolf in 1710 are merely extracts from the 60 volumes of *Adversaria* and other papers deposited in the Bodleian by his son. The *Adversaria* themselves consist almost entirely of rough memoranda of his own reading, and the only item that can here be quoted is the precept that supplies us with the motive that inspired this vast collection:—'quicquid legis in excerptorum libros referre memineris. Haec unica ratio labanti memoriae succurrendi. Scitum enim illud est, Tantum quisque scit, quantum memoria tenet'³.

His good name was attacked by his foes and was vindicated by his son Meric (1599—1671), who was educated at Eton and Oxford, and held preferment in England. He is known as a translator of Marcus Aurelius, and an annotator on Terence, as well as on Hierocles, Epictetus and Cebes.

The sixteenth century in France closes with the name of Josias Mercier, or Mercerus, who was born in Languedoc, was a member of the Council of Henry IV, and produced editions of the *Ibis* of Ovid (1568), the dictionary of Nonius Marcellus (1583, etc.), the Letters of Aristaenetus, and the treatise of Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* (1625). Mercier marks the transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. Three years before his death in 1626, his daughter was married to one of the leading scholars of the seventeenth century, Claudius Salmasius.

¹ Pattison, 88^a.

² *ib.* 426^a.

³ Tom. 16 (Pattison, 429^b). On Isaac Casaubon, cp. esp. the *Life* by Mark Pattison, 1875, and (with portrait and index) 1892; also *Enc. Brit.* s.v. Cp. C. Nisard's *Gladiateurs*, 309—456, esp. 344—379; and the slight sketch by L. J. Nazelle, *J. C., sa vie et son temps* (1897).

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NETHERLANDS FROM 1400 TO 1575.

DURING the fourteenth century the Brotherhood of the Common Life was founded in the Netherlands by Gerhard Groot (1340-84) and Florentius Radewyns (1350—1400). Among the chief aims of the Brethren 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 birth-place of Cues on the Mosel a valuable collection of Greek and Latin mss¹; 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 Paris².

Groot and
Radewyns

Nicolaus
Cusanus
J. Wessel

The School at Deventer appears to have been originally a Chapter School, revived by the Brethren³ who took part in the instruction, although the most celebrated of its head-masters, Hegius, was not a member of that body. The Brotherhood, however, has a clear claim to the credit of having founded the school

¹ Cp. F. A. Scharpff (Tübingen, 1871); Geiger, 331 f; Creighton, *Papacy*, vi 8. Many of the mss now form part of the Harleian collection in the British Museum; cp. Sabbadini's *Scoperte*, 109-113.

² Bursian, i 90; cp. Creighton, *Papacy*, vi 7.

³ On returning from Amersfurt, where they had been driven by the plague in 1398 (Delprat, *Broederschap van G. Groot* 1830, p. 43 f, ed. 1856).

at Hertogenbosch, or Bois-le-Duc. Deventer was the first, and

Erasmus 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 point¹.

The university of Louvain had been founded in 1426 by John IV, duke of Brabant, with the approval of Martin V. The best of the local schools, known as that of the *Lilium* or *Lis*, was established in 1437 by Carolus Virulus (d. 1493), who presided over it for fifty-six years, and was the composer of a highly popular

Despauterius book of *formulae epistolares*². From the school of *Lis* came Jan van Pauteren, or 'Despauterius' (d. 1520),

a teacher at Hertogenbosch, who was one of the reformers of the current text-books of Latin Grammar³; and at that school the study of Latin was popularised in and after 1508 by the public performance of the *Aulularia* and *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus⁴.

The *Collegium Trilingue* for the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew,

Busleiden was founded in 1517 by Jerome Busleiden, who in 1498 had left Louvain to study law at Bologna, and

on his return became famous as a patron of letters and a collector of mss. The magnificent museum, which formed part of his mansion at Malines, was admired by Sir Thomas More⁵, while he is lauded in the *Letters* of Erasmus as not only *omnium librorum emacissimus*⁶, but also *utriusque linguae callentissimus*⁷. 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 *Collegium Trilingue* could hardly have survived the first ten years of its existence.

¹ p. 127 *supra*.

² He is lauded by Vivès *De Trad. Disc.* iv i 336; Felix Nève, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le collège des Trois-Langues à l'université de Louvain* (Bruxelles, 1856), 9 f.

³ Nève, 15; Bähler, *Beiträge*, 140—169. It was founded on Alexander de Villa Dei, and written in Latin verse. The *Orthographiae Isagoge* (Paris, 1510), *Rudimenta* (1512), and *Syntaxis* (1515), were combined in the *Commentarii Grammatici* (Lyons, 1536; Paris, 1537).

⁴ Nève, 118 f.

⁵ *Lucubrations*, 258 f, ed. 1563 (Nève, 384 f).

⁶ i p. 671.

⁷ i p. 1836.

The history of humanism in the Southern Netherlands is inseparably connected with the early printers of that region. John of Westphalia began printing in Louvain in 1474, and, between that date and 1497, produced more than 120 works. His press was in one of the university buildings, and his editions included Juvenal and Persius, Virgil (1475-6), Cicero's *Brutus* (1475) and *De Officiis* etc. (1483), and Leonardo Bruni's translation of the *Ethics* (1475). His business was bought by Dierik Martens, who settled at Louvain in 1512, there producing 24 editions of Latin works, which, in size and price, were suited for the use of students. In 1512 he made a fount of Greek type, and, when lectures began to be given in Louvain, he improved his type and produced a large number of Classical editions, including the greater part of Lucian, Homer (1523), Euripides, Theocritus, Aesop, the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, Herodotus, parts of Xenophon, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch. He was himself a Greek and Latin and Hebrew scholar, and, in his preface to the *Plutus*, he laments the loss of the plays of Menander. His Greek texts are better printed than any produced in Paris before the establishment of the Royal Press by Francis I in 1538. He left Louvain for his native town of Alost in 1529. From that year onward, under the editorship of Rescius, the first professor of Greek at the *Collegium Trilingue*, a series of Greek texts was printed by Barthélemy Gravius, including Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, parts of Lucian, the *Laws* of Plato, the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and Homer (1531-5). After the death of Rescius little was done at Louvain for the printing of Greek; Gravius died in 1580, and scholars at Louvain had their Greek editions printed either abroad or at the important press recently founded by Plantin at Antwerp. Christopher Plantin (1514-1589), who was born near Tours, was apprenticed to a printer at Caen; he practised bookbinding in Paris for three years before leaving for Antwerp, where he established a press in 1550. In 1570 he obtained the important privilege of printing all books of devotion for every part of the Spanish dominions. His greatest work was the Antwerp Polyglott printed in eight folio volumes (1569-72). His business was carried on under great difficulties owing to the revolt of the Netherlands against the power of Spain. In 1583-5 he was compelled to withdraw to Leyden, not returning until Antwerp had been recovered for Spain by the duke of Parma. On his death he was buried in the Cathedral¹. In 1585, one of his sons-in-law, Franz Raphelinghius (1539-97), professor of Hebrew and Arabic, set up a press at Leyden, where his sons succeeded him as printers. At Antwerp, Plantin's business was inherited by his son-in-law, Moretus, and for three centuries it was continued in the same premises from 1576 to 1876, when the last representative of the house of Plantin-Moretus sold the building, with all its plant, its collection of MSS, printed books and engravings, and picture-

Printers:
John of
Westphalia

Martens

Plantin

¹ Portrait in Bullart's *Acadmis*, ii 257; and in Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin*, 1882.

gallery, to the city of Antwerp, to be preserved for ever as a Museum of Printing. Among the numerous portraits by Rubens there preserved are those of Matthias Corvinus, Pico della Mirandola, Ortelius, and Lipsius, who is also represented in a fine engraving¹; in the room set apart for the correctors of the press, are two paintings probably representing Theodor Poelman, the editor of Horace (1557), and Cornelius Kilianus, the Flemish lexicographer, correcting their proofs, while among the printed Classics exhibited are diminutive copies of Martial (1568), and of Canter's Aeschylus (1580)². We shall meet Canter and Poelman and Lipsius in the sequel; meanwhile, from scholars connected with the house of Plantin at Antwerp, we must turn to a humanist of earlier date, who was similarly connected with Martens at Louvain.

In 1509 Juan Luis de Vivès (1492—1540), a Spaniard of distinguished ancestry, who had been an adherent of scholasticism in his native land, and had opposed the adoption of a new Latin Grammar at Valencia, left for Paris, where he endeavoured to attain proficiency in dialectics. Three years later, weary of word-fence, he settled among the Spanish merchants in the university town of Louvain. He subsequently paid repeated visits to Paris. His conversion from scholasticism to humanism, probably begun in Paris and completed in the Netherlands, was due to the writings of Erasmus, whose personal acquaintance he made at Louvain. He there lectured mainly on Virgil and Cicero, and on the elder Pliny. In 1522 he went to England, and from Sept. 1523 to March 1525 resided from time to time in Corpus Christi College, Oxford³. He composed for his pupil, the Princess Mary, his treatise *De Ratione Studii*, and *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, which he dedicated to her mother, queen Catherine of Aragon; and, for protesting against the king's divorce from Catherine, he was disgraced and dismissed. He returned to Bruges, where he had married in 1524, and where he lived (with few exceptions) for the rest of his life. It was there that, as tutor to a future bishop of Cambrai and archbishop of

¹ Reproduced in chap. xix, p. 302 *infra*.

² Both in 16mo. Cp. Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin*, with 100 plates; and *Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1883.

³ In 1523 he was invited by Wolsey to fill one of the public lectureships, and gave two brilliant courses of lectures (cp. P. S. Allen, on 'Vives at Corpus,' in the *Pelican Record*, 1902, 156 f, and on the 'Early Corpus Readerships').

Toledo, he composed (in 1531) his three educational treatises¹. All three are included under the general title *De Disciplinis*.

(i) In the first seven books, which are critical, he discusses the causes that have led to the decline of learning, touches on the superficiality of the schoolmen, whom he describes as 'sophists'; refers to the corruptions in Classical MSS and the inadequacy of the Latin translations of Aristotle; the evil effects of scholastic disputations, the objections to the existing method of obtaining university degrees, the moral influence of the teacher, and the dignity of his calling. Grammar must not be studied in the subtle scholastic manner, but must be treated as the study of literature. All the other 'arts' are next reviewed in due order. (ii) The five books of part ii are constructive. The proper site for a school, and the character of the teacher, are set forth, and quarterly conferences on the part of teachers in each school recommended. The mother-tongue must be cultivated, but the almost universal language is Latin, which is also necessary in learning Italian and Spanish, while, for a complete mastery of Latin, it is necessary to learn Greek. The work forms a systematic and consistent whole, and it rests on an ethical and psychological basis. It is characterised by a blending of humanism with a Christianity that is partly coloured by Stoic and Platonic elements. It is one of the most valuable products of the union of Christianity and humanism during the Revival of Learning².

It was at Louvain that several of the minor works of Vivès were printed between 1519 and 1523, and, for part of that time, he lectured on Latin authors in the university. In his early treatise *In Pseudodialecticos* (1519) he criticised the university of Paris, and, late in life (1538), he produced a volume of colloquies for beginners in Latin³.

Among the lecturers of more than local fame at the *Collegium Trilingue* in 1519-39 was Conrad Goclenius. He dedicated a translation of the *Hermotimus* of Lucian to Sir Thomas More (1522), who acknowledged the compliment by sending the translator a gilded cup full of gold pieces⁴. His successor in 1539-57 was Petrus Nannius of Alkmaar (1500-1557), who produced ten books of critical

Goclenius

Nannius

¹ *De Corruptis Artibus; De Tradendis Disciplinis; De Artibus*.

² Hartfelder in Schmid's *Gesch. der Erziehung*, II ii 128-135.

³ Cp. *Vita* by Majan, prefixed to the *Opera* (Valence, 1782-90); *Mémoire* by Namèche (Bruxelles, 1841), and article by Mullinger in *D. N. B.*; also P. S. Allen, *u. s.*; and Woodward, *Renaissance Education*, 180-210 (list of classical authors recommended by Vivès, *ib.* 198 f).

⁴ Nannius (Nève, 146 n).

and explanatory *Miscellanea*, and commentaries on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and the *Ars Poëtica*, together with many translations from the Greek. He is described by Lipsius as the first who kindled an ardour for letters in the school of Louvain¹.

A few other names may be briefly noted. Hermann Torrentius, who taught at Groningen and in his native town of Zwolle, is known as an editor of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (1502), and as the author of a Classical Dictionary (1498 etc.)², and of a revised and corrected edition of the mediaeval Grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei³. Theodor Poelman, or Pulmannus (1510—1581), saw through the press a large number of Latin Classics (Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Censorinus, Claudian etc.) for the great house of Plantin at Antwerp⁴. Jan Everaerts, or Joannes Secundus, a jurist of the Hague (1511—36), is best known as the author of the *Basia*. Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe), a physician at Haarlem, Copenhagen, and Delft (1511—1575), is in good repute as an early editor of Nonius Marcellus (1565)⁵. A higher distinction belongs to the name of the Greek critic, Willem W. Canter Canter of Utrecht (1542—1575), who studied under an able teacher, Cornelius Valerius, or Wouters (fl. 1557—78), and under Dorat in Paris, and afterwards lived as an independent scholar at Louvain. Among his works are the *Novae Lectiones* (1564), a *Syntaxma* on the proper method of emending Greek authors⁶, and an edition of the *Eclogae* of Stobaeus. He opens a new era as an editor of the Tragic Poets of Greece. His Euripides, a sexto-decimo 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 responsions⁷. His editions of Sophocles (1579) and Aeschylus

¹ *Ep. Sel. Misc.* iii 87; cp. Nève, 149—156.

² *Elucidarius carminum et historiarum*, etc.

³ Bursian, i 104 f.

⁴ Max Rooses, *Plantin*, 106 f (with portrait).

⁵ Also as the author of a Greek and Latin *Lexicon* (Bas. 1548, 1577); *Life* (1836) and *Letters* (1839) by Scheltema, Amsterdam.

⁶ Reprinted in Samuel Jebb's *Aristides*, vol. ii.

⁷ *Euripidis Tragoediae xix, in quibus praeter infinita menda sublata,*

(1580) were posthumously published¹. The former remained in common use for more than two centuries².

If we descend below the year 1575, we have to note the name of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius (1520—1604), a Pighius native of Campen, who spent eight years in Italy, was librarian to Cardinal Granvella in Brussels (1555—74), and passed the latter part of his life as a Canon at Xanten on the Rhine. It was there that he produced both of his important works, his edition of Valerius Maximus (1585), and his *Annales Romanorum* (1599—1615). His earlier life in Italy is represented by a collection of drawings of ancient monuments preserved in the *codex Pighianus* at Berlin³. We may also notice Modius Franz Modius, a Canon of Aire, who was born near Bruges (1556—1599), an editor of Curtius, Vegetius, Frontinus, Justin, and Livy, and author of a work on the triumphal processions and the festivals of Rome. The Jesuit, Martin Delrio Anton Delrio, of Antwerp and Louvain (1561—1608), who criticised Solinus, and annotated Claudian and the plays of Seneca, is best known for his denunciation of Scaliger's disbelief in the genuineness of the works ascribed to 'Dionysius the Areopagite'⁴. A far more familiar name is that Cruquius 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 Blandinicus*, borrowed from the library of a Benedictine monastery near 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

carminum omnium ratio hactenus ignorata nunc primum proditur (Plantin, Antwerp).

¹ Cp. Burman, *Trajectum Eruditum*, 59—70.

² Brunck (1786); cp. Jebb's *Introduct.* to text of Sophocles (1897), xxxviii.

³ Bursian, i 345.

⁴ Bernays, *Scaliger*, 81, 205 f.

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 XV.

ENGLAND FROM c. 1370 TO c. 1600.

IN the dawn of the Renaissance the only point of contact between Petrarch and England is supplied by the learned bibliophile, Richard of Bury. When these kindred spirits met at Avignon in 1330, Petrarch seized the opportunity to enquire as to the exact position of the ancient *Thule*, and was disappointed to find the English envoy perfectly indifferent to this interesting topic¹. Petrarch was afterwards, however, assured by Boccaccio that a day would come when even 'the backward Briton' would appreciate his epic poem of *Africa*². Chaucer (1328—1400) paid three visits to Italy in 1372—8 and was under Italian influence until 1384. He made use of Boccaccio's Latin works, though he never names their author, and there is no evidence that he knew the *Decameron*³. But he frequently mentions Petrarch. The 'Clerkes Tale' he professes to have 'lern'd at Padowe of a worthy clerk'.

'Franceis Petrark, the laureat poete,
Highte this clerke, whos rethorike swete
Enlumined all Itaille of poetry'⁴.

The Latin Classics most familiar to Chaucer were Ovid, Virgil, Statius, and Juvenal, with parts of Cicero and Seneca⁵. Homer⁶,

¹ *Epp. Fam.* iii 1.

² *Studiis tardus Britannus* (Boccaccio, *Letters*, p. 250, Corazzini).

³ W. H. Schofield, *English Literature, from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (1906), 109, 293, 341, 347.

⁴ On Petrarch's influence on English poetry, cp. Einstein's *Italian Renaissance in England*, 316—340.

⁵ Cp. W. Hertzberg, *Chaucers Canterbury Gesch.* 42—45; Kissner, *Chaucer in s. Beziehungen zur ital. Literatur*, Marburg, 1867; T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, New York, 1892, vol. ii.

⁶ Cp. Schofield, 282 f.

Status, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and Claudian are the poets placed on lofty pillars in his *House of Fame*¹. Chaucer's pupil, Lydgate, knew the most important of the Latin works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1414), was a correspondent of Salutati. In 1395² an Augustinian monk named 'Thomas of England' lectured in Florence, where he 'bought the books of the modern poets', and the translations and other early works of Leonardo Bruni³. In December, 1400, the Greek emperor, Manuel Palaeologus, was entertained at Christ Church, Canterbury, and, in 1408, England was visited by Manuel Chrysoloras⁴. At the Council of Constance

(1415) Henry Beaufort became acquainted with Poggio, who at the bishop's invitation spent several years in England (1418-23). Poggio's English correspondents included Nicholas Bildstone, archdeacon of Winchester, Richard Pettworth, the bishop's secretary, and John Stafford, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. In the early

years of the Council of Basel, Aeneas Sylvius was sent as an envoy to Britain. On his way to Scotland he noted the barbarism of the rustics in Northumberland, but, on his return, he saw a Latin translation of Thucydides in the sacristy of St Paul's cathedral (1435)⁵. It was probably after returning to Basel that he made the acquaintance of Adam de Molyneux, Secretary of State to Henry VI and a frequent correspondent of Aeneas Sylvius. Molyneux was probably the first Englishman who acquired the art of writing a Latin letter in a polished style adorned with classical quotations⁶.

In the same age Cardinal Beaufort's rival, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1391-1447), distinguished himself as a patron of learning. He employed Italian teachers to aid him in the study of Latin poetry and rhetoric. These teachers included 'Titus Livius of Forli',

Poggio in
England

Visit of Aeneas
Sylvius

Humphrey,
duke of
Gloucester

¹ iii 365-423.

² Gherardi, *Statuti*, 364.

³ *Epp.* ii 18; Voigt, ii 258².

⁴ F. A. Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, p. 20, ed. 1905.

⁵ *Epp.* 126 (Creighton's *Papacy*, iii 53 n.).

⁶ Cp. Creighton's *Early Renaissance*, p. 19; also in *Hist. Lectures and Addresses*, p. 196 f.

'poet and orator to the duke of Gloucester', and afterwards author of a life of Henry V; Antonio Beccario of Verona, a pupil of Vittorino; and Vincent Clement, his 'orator' at Rome, who was also famous as the 'star' of the university of Oxford¹. Duke Humphrey left to that university a considerable library², including the *Panegyrici Veteres*, and the *Letters* of Cicero³. His admiration of Leonardo Bruni's rendering of the *Ethics* led him to ask the translator to produce a similar rendering of the *Politics*, which was ultimately dedicated to Pope Eugenius IV⁴. Another Italian scholar, Pier Candido Decembrio, sent the duke a translation of the first five books of the *Republic*, begun by Chrysoloras, continued by his father, and completed by himself. On this second occasion the duke (who had been remiss with Bruni) did not forget to thank the translator for the work; he even encouraged him to complete it (1439)⁵. He also received from the youthful Lapo da Castiglionchio certain of his renderings of Plutarch's *Lives*⁶. With his death in 1447 the first age of humanism in England comes to an end, and the interest in the Greek Classics falls, for a time, into abeyance.

In the second half of the same century, Italy was visited by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (c. 1427—1470), a friend of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. Forced to leave England, he went to Venice, and thence to Palestine. On his return to Italy, he studied Latin at Padua, visited the aged Guarino at Ferrara, and Vespasiano in Florence, where he heard Argyropulos lecture on Greek. The Latin speech

¹ Beckynnton's *Correspondence*, i 223 (*Rolls Series*).

² The number is variously stated at 108, 129, 300—400, or 600 (probably the ultimate total). Cp. *Munimenta Academica*, ed. Anstey, for 1439 and 1444; and Delisle, *Le cabinet des MSS*, i 52. Erasmus could hardly refrain from tears when he saw the scanty remains of this library, and in Leland's day scarcely a single volume survived.

³ Voigt, ii 256^a.

⁴ Vespasiano, *Vite*, 436 f; p. 46 *supra*.

⁵ The whole correspondence is printed in *English Hist. Rev.* July 1904—5; a facsimile of a MS of Decembrio's letter is given opposite p. 6 of Einstein's *Italian Renaissance in England*. The duke's reply includes the phrase *hoc uno nos longe felicem iudicantes* (*Hist. Rev.* 1904, 513); cp. Hallam i 108^d n.

⁶ Bandini, *Cat. codd. Lat. Laur.* ii 699, 742; Voigt, ii 257^a.

that he delivered in Rome in the presence of Pius II drew tears of joy from the eyes of the Pope. A translation from Lucian was dedicated to him by Francesco d' Arezzo, and he himself translated the *De Amicitia* of Cicero. Some of the numerous MSS that he purchased in Florence were presented to the university of Oxford¹. His love of letters was lauded by Caxton², but Italy had inspired him, not only with an appreciation of the Greek and Latin Classics, but also with an admiration for the methods of the Italian despots, and, when he was executed on Tower Hill, the mob declared that he deserved his death for infringing the liberties of the people by bringing from Italy 'a law of Padua' to take the place of the common law of England³.

Florence was also visited by an Englishman, who was the royal envoy to the Pope, and remained in Florence for a year and a half, consorting with scholars of the better sort, such as Manetti, and purchasing many MSS from Vespasiano⁴.

Englishmen resorted still more frequently to Ferrara. Reynold Chicheley studied there and became Rector of the university⁵. Among those who attended the school of Guarino at that place was William Grey, who had already worked at Cologne and Padua, and invited a youthful scholar, Niccolò Perotti, to share his lodgings and aid him in the study of Latin. Grey became bishop of Ely (d. 1478), and bequeathed to Balliol College, Oxford, a number of MSS, including many letters of Guarino⁶.

¹ *Epist. Acad.* ii 354, 390.

² Leland, *Script. Brit.* 480.

³ Vespasiano, *Vite*, 402-5; Creighton, *Historical Lectures*, 198; Einstein, 24-27. In the Canterbury necrology (MS Arundel 68 f 45 d, quoted by Gasquet, p. 21) he is described as 'vir undecumque doctissimus, omnium liberalium artium divinarumque simul ac secularium litterarum scienter peritissimus'.

⁴ *Vite*, 238, 'Messer Andrea Ols'. I have succeeded in identifying him as Andrew Holes, chancellor of Sarum (1438) and envoy of Henry VI to Eugenius IV in Florence (1441-3). He had meanwhile been *nominated* archdeacon of Northampton, and bishop of Coutances. See Beckynston's *Correspondence*, in the *Rolls Series*, i 26, 91, 118, 172 f, 225, 234, 239, ii 251.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. VI, part iii, 1581.

⁶ Coxe, *Cat. Cod. Oxon.* i *Balliol*; and Woodward, *Otia Merseiana*, 1903. Cp. Vespasiano, 213 f; Creighton, 201; Einstein, 19 f.

Guarino was also visited by John Free (better known as Phreas), Fellow of Balliol, who taught medicine at Ferrara, Florence, and Parma, and is said to have been nominated bishop of Bath shortly before his death in 1465¹. When Guarino died in 1460, his son referred with pride to the fact that his father's school had been attended by pupils even from Britain, 'which is situated outside the world'², and the funeral oration by Lodovico Carbone paid the same tribute to the master's memory³. Robert Flemming, who had been made dean of Lincoln in 1451, left Lincoln for Ferrara, and was agent for Edward IV in Rome. He wrote Latin verses at Tivoli and compiled a Greek and Latin dictionary. On his death in 1483, he left the mss, which he had collected in Italy, to his cousin's foundation of Lincoln College, Oxford⁴. John Gunthorpe, who was invited to Ferrara by Free, there learnt to make Latin speeches. He was employed on complimentary embassies by Edward IV, was Warden of the King's Hall, Cambridge, prebendary of Lincoln and dean of Wells (1472-98). The house that he there built gives proof of his interest in Italian architecture, while some of the mss which he collected in Italy were bequeathed to Jesus College, Cambridge⁵.

All of these Englishmen, who went on pilgrimage to Guarino's school at Ferrara, were interested in Latin. They all attained positions of eminence, and left their Latin mss to College libraries, but they kindled no interest in the Classics. 'It was not till the value of Greek thought became in any degree manifest that the New Learning awakened any enthusiasm in England'⁶.

In the Revival of Learning the first Englishman who studied Greek was a Benedictine monk, William of Selling, or Celling,

¹ Voigt, ii 260³; Creighton, 202; Einstein, 18, 20-23; some of his Letters published by Spingarn in *Journal of Comp. Lit.* 1903. Dr J. F. Payne suggests that his original name was possibly Wells (plural of *φρέαρ*).

² Voigt, ii 261 n. 1².

³ Leland, *De Scriptoribus Brit.* 462.

⁴ Voigt, ii 260³; Creighton, 203; Einstein, 23 f.

⁵ Only one or two are left (M. R. James, *Parker MSS*, 1899, 13). Cp. in general Voigt, ii 260³; Creighton, 202; Einstein, 23.

⁶ Creighton, 204.



LINACRE.

From a drawing in the Cracherode collection, Print Room, British Museum.

Thomas Linacre professeur en medecine a son isle Angloise, homme certes docte aus deux langues, Grecque et Latine, lequel ayant composé plusieurs doctes livres, mourut a Londres l'an de notre Seigneur 1524.

near Canterbury (d. 1494)¹. Night and day he was haunted by the vision of Italy that, next to Greece, was the nursing mother of men of genius². Accompanied by another monk, William Hadley, he went to Italy in 1464³ 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 Canterbury, of which he became Prior in 1472, after a second visit to Rome in 1469. He paid special attention to Greek, and produced a Latin rendering of a work of St Chrysostom. In 1485, he visited Rome for the third time, to announce the accession of Henry VII, when he delivered a Latin oration in the presence of Innocent VIII and the College of Cardinals. He was possibly Fellow of All Souls⁴; he was certainly Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, from 1472 to 1494. The mss, which he had collected in Italy, were bequeathed to that body; most of them perished in a fire, but one of them possibly survives in the Homer given by archbishop Parker to the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge⁵. His monument in Canterbury Cathedral describes him as 'Doctor theologus Selling, Graeca atque Latina | lingua perdoctus'⁶.

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 Souls⁷ in 1484, and accompanied Selling on his embassy to the Pope in 1485-6. It was during

¹ Leland's *Tillaeus* (*De Ser. Brit.* 482) has suggested *Tilly* or *Till*. The *Canterbury Letter Books* (iii 291 in the *Rolls Series*, quoted by Gasquet, p. 22) show that Prior Selling was interested in a boy named 'Richard Tyll'.

² Leland, *Script. Brit.* 482, 'prae oculis obversabatur Italia, post Graeciam, bonorum ingeniorum et parens et altrix'.

³ *Litt. Cant.* iii 239; cp. Einstein, 29; Gasquet, 23. Leland, *l.c.*, states that, at Bologna, Selling was the pupil of Politian 'with whom...he formed a familiar and lasting friendship'; but Politian was only 10 in 1464, and was probably then in Florence. The Greek Readers at Bologna in 1466-7 were Lionorus and Andronicus (Dallari's *Rotuli*, p. 51, quoted by Gasquet).

⁴ M. R. James, *Parker MSS* (1899), p. 9. The Euripides in the same library, and the Livy in that of Trinity College, possibly belonged to Selling.

⁵ William Worcester mentions 'certain Greek terminations as taught by Dr Selling' with the pronunciation of the vowels (*Brit. Mus. Cotton MS Julius F vii, f. 118*, quoted by Gasquet, p. 24).

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. It was there that, while examining a ms of the *Phaedrus* in the Vatican Library, he made the acquaintance of Hermolaus Barbarus¹, who urged Linacre and his two English companions, William Grocyn and William Latimer, to translate Aristotle into Latin. After leaving Rome for Venice, he made the acquaintance of Aldus Manutius, and was enrolled as an honorary member of his Greek Academy. In the preface to the second volume of the Aldine *editio princeps* of Aristotle (February, 1497), Aldus states that the care with which the work had been executed would be attested by many in Italy, and in particular at Venice by 'Thomas Anglicus, homo et Graece et Latine peritissimus'. At the end of the *Astronomici Veteres* (1499), Aldus prints the *Sphere* of Proclus in the Latin rendering recently made by 'Thomas Linacrus Britannus', who had become intimate with the prince of Carpi, to whom this part of the work is dedicated by the printer in October, 1499. He also prints a letter from Grocyn (27 August) mentioning Linacre's recent return to England. Linacre had meanwhile, in 1492, graduated in medicine at Padua, and had studied Hippocrates under Leonicens at Vicenza. On his way back to England (probably in the summer of 1499), he erected on the highest point of one of the Alpine passes an altar of stones which he dedicated to Italy as his *Sancta Mater Studiorum*². On his return he proceeded to translate the commentary of Simplicius on the *Physics* and of Alexander on the *Meteorologica* of Aristotle, and it was probably at this time, in London, that his lectures on the *Meteorologica* were attended by Thomas More³. His translation⁴ remained unpublished, but his renderings of

¹ Pauli Jovii *Elogia*, no. 63.

² Epigram by Janus Vitalis, in Pauli Jovii *Elogia*, no. 63; cp. Dr Payne's *Introd.* to Linacre's *Galen*, 13—15.

³ Stapleton (*Vita Mori*, 12, in *Tres Thomae*, 1588) states that More learned Greek, and studied the *Meteorologica*, under Linacre at Oxford, where More was in residence about 1493. This is the only evidence for Linacre's return to England in 1492 (see esp. P. S. Allen, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xviii (1903) 514, *Linacre and Latimer in Italy*).

⁴ Erasmus, *Epp.* 466, 1091.

several treatises of Galen saw the light, *De Sanitate Tuenda* and *Methodus Medendi* in Paris (1517 and 1519), *De Temperamentis* at Cambridge (1521)¹, and three other treatises in London (1523-4). The work printed at Cambridge in 1521 by Siberch, who in the same year and place was the first to use Greek type in England², was dedicated by Linacre to Leo X, in memory of the fact that, by permission of Lorenzo, the translator had shared with the future Pope the private instructions of Politian. In 1509 he had been appointed physician to Henry VIII; in 1512 he wrote for St Paul's School a Latin Grammar, which was not accepted by Colet. 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 Germany³. The edition of Julius Pollux by Antonio Francesco Varchiese (1520) was dedicated to Linacre, who also counted among his correspondents the eminent Greek scholar, Budaeus. Lastly, Linacre was the founder of the College of Physicians (1518), and of lectureships in medicine at Merton College, Oxford, and St John's College, Cambridge. The lecturers were originally required to expound Linacre's own renderings of Galen, but the Galenian tradition, which had come down from the Middle Ages, was abolished at Cambridge by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth⁴. Linacre was buried in St Paul's cathedral, but it was not until 1557 that Dr Caius marked the site with an epitaph in which he describes Linacre as *vir et Graece et Latine atque in re medica longe eruditissimus*⁵. He is among the earliest

¹ *Facsimile*, Cambridge, 1881.

² Assuming the correctness of Mr Bradshaw's chronological arrangement of Siberch's publications, the first Greek printed in England must have been the expressive words, πάντων μεταβολή, the motto of the Sermon of St Augustine (1521; *facsimile*, 1886).

³ Hallam, i 338^a.

⁴ Prof. Macalister's *Lecture in Lancet*, 1904, pp. 1005 f.

⁵ Cp. Einstein, 30-38; Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658), 56.

of England's humanists. Erasmus has declared that nothing can be more acute, more profound, or more refined than the judgement of Linacre¹, and in the *Encomium Moriae* (1521) has drawn a portrait of his friend, which may well have been the original of Browning's *Grammarian*²:—

'Novi quendam πολυτεχνότατον Graecum, Latinum, Mathematicum, philosophum medicum καὶ ταῦτα βασιλικὸν jam sexagenarium qui, caeteris rebus omissis, annis plus viginti se torquet et discruciat in Grammaticā, prorsus felicem se fore ratus, si tamdiu licet vivere, donec certo statuatur, quomodo distinguendae sint octo partes orationis, quod hactenus nemo Graecorum aut Latinorum ad plenum praestare valuit. Proinde quasi res sit bello quoque vindicanda, si quis conjunctionem faciat dictionem ad adverbiorum jus pertinentem'³.

Modern English Scholarship begins with Linacre and his two friends, William Grocyn and William Latimer. Grocyn The eldest of the three was Grocyn (c. 1446—1519), elected Fellow of New College in 1467. He was over forty when he joined Linacre in Italy, where he and Latimer 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. Beyond the tradition of his teaching, he has left little behind him, except a letter to Aldus, written in 1499, thanking him for his singular kindness to Linacre who had just returned to England, and congratulating him on his publication of the Greek text of Aristotle⁴.

William Latimer (c. 1460—1545), Fellow of All Souls' in 1489, who studied at Padua (1498) and was a friend of Sir Thomas More, was even less productive than Grocyn. He is only represented in literature by his correspondence with Erasmus, who playfully refers to the little use he made

¹ p. 229 *infra*.

² Dr Payne, *l.c.*, p. 48.

³ p. 251. Life (by George Lily) in Paulus Jovius, *Descr. Britanniae* (Ven. 1548); also in Bale (Ipswich, 1548), Leland's *Encomia* (1589); and Dr Noble Johnson (1835). See esp. Dr Payne's *Introd.* (pp. 1—48) to Linacre's *Galen* (1881, with portrait from Windsor), and his *Harveian Lecture on Harvey and Galen* (1897), 7—14. Another portrait, p. 224 *supra*.

⁴ Printed next to Preface to Linacre's *Proclus* in the Aldine *Astronomici Veteres*; cf. *Oxford Collectanea*, ii 351, and Einstein, 30—35.

of his learning by comparing him to a miser hoarding his gold¹. The youngest of this group of Greek scholars was William Lily (c. 1468—1522), who during his early pilgrimage to Jerusalem studied Greek in Rhodes, underwent all kinds of difficulties and privations, while working in Venice², and attended the lectures of Sulpitius Verulanus and Pomponius Laetus in Rome. He was chosen by John Colet to be the first high-master of St Paul's (1512—22), and in that capacity prepared, under the title of 'Grammatices Rudimenta', a short Latin Syntax, with the rules in English, which was not printed until 1527. Colet (c. 1467—1519), after studying the Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy in Latin versions, spent three years in Italy (1493—6), during which he acquired the rudiments of Greek. Among his favourite modern authors were Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. The life and letters of the latter were specially studied by Thomas More (1478—1535) about 1510³. More himself informs us that he attended Linacre's lectures on Aristotle's *Meteorologica*⁴, and his *Utopia* (1516) has elements derived not only from St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* but also from Plato's *Republic*⁵. More had already left Oxford to read law in London, while Erasmus was spending those two months in Oxford (Oct. Nov. 1499), when he first met Colet; but he lighted on More (as well as Grocyn and Linacre) during a visit to London, and in December, 1499, wrote from London to an English friend in Italy:—

'I have found in England...so much learning and culture, and that of no common kind, but recondite, exact and ancient, Latin and Greek, that I now hardly want to go to Italy, except to see it. When I listen to my friend Colet, I can fancy I am listening to Plato himself. Who can fail to admire Grocyn, with all his encyclopaedic erudition? Can anything be more acute, more profound, more refined, than the judgement of Linacre? Has nature ever moulded anything gentler, pleasanter, or happier, than the mind of Thomas More?'⁶

¹ *Ep.* 363. ² Sir George Young, *Gk Literature in England*, 69.

³ More's *Picus Erle of Myrandula* has been reprinted, ed. J. M. Rigg (1890). More may have been born in 1477 (P. S. Allen, *Erasmii Epp.* i 265).

⁴ Letter to Dorpius, 21 Oct. 1515, in his *Lucubrations* (1563), 416 f; Lupton's *Introd.* to *Utopia*, p. xix. Cp. p. 226 n. 3 *supra*.

⁵ *ib.* xlviii f, and Index.

⁶ *Ep.* 14 (no. 118, ed. P. S. Allen, 1906).

It was to a daughter of More that Erasmus, in the language of a modern picture of *The Household of Sir Thomas More*, disclosed his opinion of the relative value of Greek and Latin :—

‘ You are an eloquent Latinist, *Margaret*’, he was pleased to say, ‘ but, if you would drink deeplie of the Wellsprings of Wislom, applie to Greek. The Latins have onlie shallow Rivulets; the Greeks, copious Rivers running over Sands of gold’¹.

During the short time spent by Erasmus in Cambridge (Aug. 1511—Jan. 1514), he gave unofficial instruction in Greek, beginning with the catechism of Chrysoloras, and going on to the larger grammar of Theodorus Gaza².

When in 1516 Bishop Fox, who had been Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, founded Corpus Christi 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. But the teaching of Greek aroused in 1518 the opposition of a party of students who called themselves Trojans; and a preacher in Lent went so far as to denounce, not only Greek, but also Latin and all liberal learning whatsoever. More, who was then in attendance on the king at Abingdon, wrote to the authorities of the university on behalf of the Grecians³; a royal letter was sent commanding that all students should be readily permitted to study Greek⁴; and in the same year (1518) a lectureship of Greek was founded by Wolsey. Erasmus, who rejoices in recording the way in which the ‘ brawlers were silenced’ at Oxford, observes that, meanwhile, at Cambridge, ‘ Greek was being taught without disturbance (*tranquille*), as its school was under the government of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a divine not only in learning but in life’⁵.

Among the pupils of Erasmus in Cambridge was Henry Bullock, Fellow of Queens’ (1506), who kept Greek alive in

¹ [Miss A. Manning], *Household of Sir Thomas More*, p. 90, ed. Hutton, 1906; Erasmus, quoted on p. 125 *supra*.

² *Ep.* 123 (no. 233, ed. P. S. Allen).

³ Letter in Jortin’s *Erasmus*, ii 662–7; 29 March, 1518.

⁴ Erasmus, *Ep.* 380 (22 April, 1519).

⁵ *ib.* (cp. Mayor on Ascham’s *Scholemaster*, 245).

Cambridge¹, till it was taken up in 1518 by Richard 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.

Bullock
Croke

After studying at Cambridge in 1506—10, he worked in Paris² 1511—2 under Erasmus and Aleander, and, in 1515—7, taught Greek with signal success at Cologne, Louvain, and Leipzig³, where he counted Camerarius among his pupils⁴. After eight years' absence abroad, he returned from Dresden to Cambridge in 1518, and, having been formally appointed Reader in Greek, delivered two orations on the importance and utility of that language (1520)⁵. Cambridge was the first university in the British Isles to institute the office of Public Orator (1522), and Richard Croke, the first holder of that office, was specially appointed for life, and had further privileges, *quia primus invexit literas ad nos graecas*⁶. As Reader in Greek, he was succeeded

Sir Thomas
Smith

by Thomas Smith of Queens' (1514—1577), who filled that position from 1535 to 1540, when he became Regius Professor of Civil Law, the Regius Professorship of Greek, founded in this year, being assigned to John Cheke (1514—57), 'who taught Cambridge and king Edward Greek'. He was then Fellow of

Sir John
Cheke

St John's, and afterwards Public Orator, and Provost of King's. Within two years of Cheke's appointment as Professor, we find Roger Ascham, Fellow of St John's, writing to another member of the same society on the flourishing state of classical studies in Cambridge:—

¹ His translation of Lucian *περὶ διψιδων* (1521) is in St John's College Library, the only copy in Cambridge. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1524—5, and died in 1526.

² Erasmus, *Ep.* 149; no. 227 and 256, P. S. Allen; Nichols, ii 22.

³ Nichols, ii 274, 533.

⁴ Camerarius, *De Eobano Hesso*, 'ferebar in oculis, quia audiveram Ricardum Crocum Britannum, qui primus putabatur ita docuisse Graecam linguam in Germania, ut plane perdisci illam posse—arbitrarentur' (Mullinger's *Cambridge*, i 527).

⁵ Mullinger, i 528—539.

⁶ Statute in Heywood's *Documents*, 1852, i 433. This ignores the instruction privately given by Erasmus in October, 1511 (*Ep.* 233 Allen).

For some five years, Aristotle and Plato had been studied at St John's; Sophocles and Euripides were more familiar than Plautus had been twelve years before; Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon were more 'conned and discussed' than Livy was then; Demosthenes was as well known as Cicero; Isocrates as Terence; 'it is Cheke's labours and example that have lighted up and continue to sustain this learned ardour'¹.

About 1535, Thomas Smith and John Cheke, then young men of little more than twenty, had been attracted to the question of the pronunciation of Greek, and, after studying the Dialogue of Erasmus on that subject (1528), and the treatise of Terentianus, *De Litteris et Syllabis*, they had come to the conclusion that a reform was necessary. This reform, which was none other than the adoption of the 'Erasmian' method, was cautiously introduced by Smith, whose example was followed by Cheke and Ascham. In December, 1536, the *Plutus* was acted in St John's with the Erasmian pronunciation. The reform was opposed, and the question brought to the notice of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then Chancellor of the university. In 1542 Gardiner, after writing to Cheke, decreed an immediate return to the 'Reuchlinian' pronunciation. The effect is described as most disheartening. Ascham complains that 'all sounds in Greek are now exactly the same, reduced, that is to say, to a like thin and slender character, and subjected to the authority of a single letter, the *iota*; so that all one can hear is a feeble piping like that of sparrows, or an unpleasant hissing like that of snakes'². Then followed a protracted correspondence between Cheke and Gardiner³. Compliance with the

¹ *Epp.* p. 74 (Mayor's ed. of *The Scholemaster*, 257; Mullinger, ii 52 f. Cp. *Toxophilus*, p. 77 Arber). Portrait in H. Holland's *Heroologia* (1620), p. 52, and in Strype's *Life*, ed. 1705.

² *Epp.* p. 75 (Mullinger, ii 60). Ascham found the 'Erasmian' pronunciation in use at Louvain in 1551 (*Works*, 355). Cp. Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, 17—19 (ed. 1705), and of *Sir Thomas Smith*, 29—34 (ed. 1698); also Sir George Young, *Greek Literature in England* (1862), 85—94.

³ *Joannis Cheki...de pronuntiatione Graecae potissimum linguae* (Basileae, 1555), reprinted, with other treatises on the same subject, in S. Havercamp's *Sylloge*, 2 vols., Leyden, 1736. The force of many of Gardiner's arguments is noticed by Munro in my copy of this work. 'The *Erasmian* pronunciation of the *vowels* was the same as that already in use in France, and with the exception of *v*, with that used in Italy and Germany'; the *English* pro-

decree was neglected for a time; it was rigorously enforced in 1554; but, on the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, the 'Erasmian' pronunciation came into general use in England. It was subsequently adopted abroad, being accepted by Henry Stephens¹ and Beza, and by Ramus and Lambinus².

It has not been generally noticed that Gardiner's edict of May, 1542, was directed against any change in the customary method of pronouncing Greek *or Latin*³.

Latin pro-
nunciation

Early in the 16th century it was assumed in England that the Italian method of pronouncing the Latin vowels was right. Erasmus⁴ describes the Italians as recognising the English pronunciation of Latin as being the next best to their own. Even as late as 1542 the vowels were still pronounced at Cambridge in the Italian manner⁵. But the Reformation made it no longer necessary for the clergy to use the common language of the Roman Church; and, partly to save trouble to teachers and learners, Latin was gradually mispronounced as English. The mischief probably began in the grammar schools, and then spread to the universities. Coryat, who visited Italy and other parts of Europe in 1608, found England completely isolated in its pronunciation of long *i*.

'Whereas in my travels I discoursed in Latin with Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Danes, Polonians, Suecians, and divers others, I observed that everyone, with whom I had any conference, pronounced the *i* after the manner that the Italians use...Whereupon having observed such a generall consent amongst them in the pronunciation of this letter, I have thought good to

nunciation of the Greek vowels was (and is) the same as that of the *English* vowels (W. G. Clark in *Journal of Philology*, i (2) 98—108).

¹ *Apologeticum* (1580).

² Mullinger, ii 54—64.

³ The question referred to the Chancellor is: 'quid in literarum sonis ac linguae tum Graecae tum *Latinae* pronuntiatione spectandum, sequendum, tenendum sit'; and the Chancellor's decision is: 'quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos literis siue Graecis siue *Latinis* ab usu publico praesentis saeculi alienis, priuato iudicio affingere ne audeto': Cheke, *De pronuntiatione* (1555), p. 18. Cp. Cooper's *Annals*, i 401—3.

⁴ 1528. *De Pronuntiatione*, 234, ed. 1643.

⁵ Thomas Smith, *De rectâ et emendata linguae Graecae pronuntiatione* (12 Aug. 1542), Paris, 1568, p. 14^v, 'voces...quas nos Angli concordēs cum Italis producebamus'; but the English pronunciation was already, in certain points, different from the Italian and the French (*ib.* 3 f).

imitate these nations herein, and to abandon my English pronunciation of *vita*...and *amicus*, as being utterly dissonant from the sound of all other Nations; and have determined (God willing) to retayne the same till my dying day'¹.

At Leyden, in 1608, Scaliger received a visit from an unnamed English scholar, and, after listening to his 'Latin' for a full quarter of an hour, and finding it as unintelligible as Turkish, was compelled to bring the interview to a close by apologising, in perfect good-faith, for his inadequate knowledge of English². Coryat visited Leyden in the same year, but he does not profess to have called on any other scholar than Vulcanius.

The isolation of England had doubtless extended still further by the time of Milton, who holds that 'to smatter Latin with an *English* mouth, is as ill a hearing as Law-French', and recommends that the speech of boys should 'be fashion'd to a distinct and clear pronuntiati^on as near as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the vowels'³ (1644).

The flourishing state of Greek studies in Cambridge has been attested⁴ by Roger Ascham (1515—1568), who was
Ascham Fellow and Greek reader at St John's and Public Orator (1546—54). He was private tutor to Elizabeth as princess in 1548, and as queen ten years later, and between these dates he was a Secretary of Embassy under Edward VI, and Latin Secretary to queen Mary in 1553. On the accession of that queen, he wrote in the space of three days no less than 47 different Latin letters to the principal personages of Europe, not one of whom was below the rank of a Cardinal⁵. In 1550, on visiting Bradgate Park in Leicestershire, to take leave of Lady Jane Grey before he went to Germany, he found her in her chamber reading the

¹ Coryat's *Crudities* (1611), ii 157 f, ed. 1776. At Venice he conversed with a 'Jewish Rabbin, that spake good Latin' (i 301); and with a Greek Archbishop, whose 'pronunciation was so plausible, that any man which was skillfull in the Greeke tongue, might easily understand him' (i 295).

² *Epp.* iv no. 362, p. 700, ed. 1627.

³ *Of Education*, in *Prose Works*, ii 384 f, ed. Mitford. Cp. W. G. Clark, in *Journal of Philology*, i (2) 103.

⁴ p. 232 *supra*.

⁵ E. Grant, *De Vita*, p. 22 in *Epp.* ed. 1703.

Phaedo of Plato, and regarding all the sport in the Park as 'but a shadow' to the pleasure that she found in Plato¹.

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, which was followed by Cicero in the case of Greek and commended by the younger Pliny, while the method of paraphrase, rejected by both, was approved by Quintilian. It had, however, injured the style of Melancthon and was discountenanced by Sturm. Again, 'Metaphrasis', or turning Latin verse into prose, or prose into verse, was approved by Quintilian, but disallowed by Cicero, with whom Ascham agreed. Epitomising was useful to the compiler himself, but harmful to others. He also touches on dramatic imitation, discusses the choice of models and of means and instruments of literary imitation in general, briefly reviewing the ancient and modern authorities on the subject; and, after an interesting digression on the state of learning in Cambridge, ends by setting forth the rules for the imitation of Latin authors that had been laid down by Cheke, including a full account of his admirable criticism on Sallust, with his 'uncontented care to write better than he could'². The sections on declamation, and on the imitation of Cicero, are missing, as the work, which was published in 1570, had been left incomplete at its author's death.

Ascham's definition of Plato's *εὐφύης*³, founded mainly on a passage of Plutarch's *Moralia*⁴, is, in a certain sense, the source of the *Euphues* of John Lyly (1579 f); but there is a vast difference between the plain and strong style of Ascham, and the elaborately antithetical and affectedly sententious manner of Lyly, who, so far from appealing to the same circle as the *Scholemaster*, has himself assured us that '*Euphues* had rather lye shut in a Ladyes casket, then open in a Schollers studie'⁵. In opposing the opinion of the bishop, who said, 'we have no nede now of the Greeke tong, when all things be translated into Latin', Ascham urges that 'even the best translation is...but an evill imped wing to flie withall, or a hevie stompe leg of wood to go withall'⁶.

While travelling abroad, he looked back on Cambridge as a place to be preferred to Louvain⁷, and he failed to admire a Greek lecture on the *Ethics* at Cologne⁸. He spent several

¹ *Scholemaster*, 33, 213, ed. Mayor.

² p. 192; cp. *Saintsbury*, ii 152.

³ *Scholemaster*, p. 21 Mayor.

⁴ 81 D.

⁵ p. 220 Arber.

⁶ p. 151.

⁷ pp. 62, 220, 258.

⁸ *Epp.* pp. 230, 233.

years at Augsburg, where he frequently met Hieronymus Wolf¹. During nine days in Venice, he saw 'more liberty to sin' than he ever heard tell of in nine years in London²; he knows many whom 'all the Siren songs of Italy could never untwine from the mast of God's word'³; but he holds that, for young men, travelling in Italy is morally dangerous⁴. Next to Greek and Latin he 'likes and loves' the Italian tongue⁵, but he maintains that to read and to obey the precepts of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* for one year would do a young man more good than three years spent in Italy⁶. 'Time was, when Italy and Rome have been...the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men...but now that time is gone'⁷. Clearly, in Ascham's opinion, the age in which Italy had exercised a healthy influence on the Revival of Learning in England was already over. 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'⁸.

The year of the publication of the *Scholemaster* was also that of the appearance of the earliest English translation of Demosthenes. In the dedication of a version of the *Three Olynthiacs* (1570) the translator, Thomas Wilson, of Eton and King's, and LL.D. of Ferrara (c. 1525—1581), dwells on Sir John Cheke's masterly renderings of the orator, and recalls the days they spent together 'in that famous Universitie

Sir Thomas
Wilson

¹ Katterfeld, *Roger Ascham*, 141.

² p. 87.

³ *Scholemaster*, p. 73.

⁴ pp. 68, 83.

⁵ p. 69.

⁶ p. 61.

⁷ p. 69.

⁸ Fuller's *Worthies* (1662) in *Yorkshire*, 209. See, in general, the edd. of the *Scholemaster* by Mayor and Arber; also Katterfeld's *Roger Ascham* (Strassburg, 1879), and Quick's *Educational Reformers*, 23 f. The only portrait is in the frontispiece of Elstob's ed. of the *Epistolae* (1703) where Ascham is presenting an address to Queen Elizabeth. In the margin are 10 medallions, including Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Sturm, all of them excellent portraits. But Ascham's profile is in the shade and his features cannot be clearly distinguished; there was obviously no authentic portrait for the engraver to follow. A profile portrait carved in wood, and evidently founded on this engraving, was presented to the Library of St John's College about 1900. It was formerly in a private library in Southampton. The English works of Ascham have been edited by Mr Aldis Wright (1904).

of Padua', and the 'care that he had over all the Englishe men there, to go to their bokes'¹. In his *Art of Rhetoric* (1553), which shows a keen interest in style, he protests against 'strange inkhorn terms' and all undue 'Latining of the English language'².

One of the crazes of his contemporaries was the introduction of classical metres into English poetry. Homer's description of Odysseus is regarded by Ascham³ as Classical
metres translated 'both plainly for the sense and roundly for the verse' in an excruciating couplet by Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, of which William Webbe actually says that, 'for the sweetness and gallantness thereof', it 'doth match and surpass the Latin copy of Horace'⁴:

'All travellers do gladly report great praise of Ulysses,
For that he knew many men's manners, and saw many cities'.

Chapman, in one of his earliest poems, says the last word on the newly-imported English hexameter:—

'Sweet Poesy
Will not be clad in her supremacy
With those strange garlands, Rome's hexameters,
As she is English; but in right prefers
Our native robes, put on with skilful hands,
English heroics, to those antic garlands'⁵.

The adoption of such metres had been pressed upon Edmuud Spenser⁶ by that eccentric genius, Gabriel Harvey (1550—1—1630) of Christ's College, Fellow of Gabriel
Harvey Pembroke, who may here be briefly mentioned, not only by reason of his claim to be the father of the English hexameter, but also as the author of the 'Oratio post Reditum', which he published under the title of *Ciceronianus* (1577). We are here concerned solely with that part of the discourse which

¹ Cp. Arber's *Introd. to the Scholemaster*, 6 f.

² Cp. Saintsbury, ii 149 f and Gregory Smith's *Elisabethan Essayists*, index, s.v. *Inkhorn*.

³ *Scholemaster*, p. 71 Mayor.

⁴ *Of English Poetry* (1586), p. 72 Arber.

⁵ *Shadow of Night*, 86—91 (Gregory Smith, *l.c.*, i liv, and *Camb. Med. Hist.* iii 369).

⁶ Cp. Einstein, 357.

shows how deeply the author was influenced by scholars abroad. He confesses that he had formerly followed the strict Ciceronians, such as Bembo, Sadoletto and Nizolius, had disapproved of Erasmus, and had sided with Cortesius against Politian. But he had since lighted on the *Cicronianus* of Joannes Sambucus (1531–84)¹. From Sambucus he had been led to the *Cicronianus* of Ramus (1557), and the corresponding works of Freigius (1575) and Sturm (1574)². These had sent him back to the study of the old Latin Classics, and he had thus learnt to appreciate other models besides Cicero³. ‘Let every man’, he said, ‘learn to be, not a Roman, but himself’. In the margin of his Quintilian in the British Museum he writes that ‘Mr Ascham, in his fine discourse of Imitation, is somewhat too precise and scrupulous for Tully only, in all points’⁴.

The History of Scholarship in England has necessarily some points of contact with that of its principal educational institutions, the dates of Colleges which may here be briefly noted. In the year 1300 only three Colleges were in existence in Oxford, University, Balliol, and Merton, and only one in Cambridge, Peterhouse (1284). In the fourteenth century, during the life of Petrarch, three were founded at Oxford, Exeter, Oriel, and Queen’s, and five at Cambridge, Clare, Pembroke, Gonville Hall, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi College. The next foundation at Oxford was New College (1386), in intimate connexion with Winchester (1387), and the next at Cambridge was King’s (1441) in similar relation to Eton (1441). In the fifteenth century, Oxford saw the foundation of three Colleges: Lincoln (1427), All Souls’ (1437), and Magdalen (1458); and Cambridge also of three, Queens’, St Catharine’s, and Jesus (1496). It is not until the sixteenth century that we can trace the influence of the Revival of Learning in the foundation of Brasenose (1509), Corpus (1516), Christ Church (1525), Trinity and St John’s (1554–5) at Oxford; and of Christ’s (1505), St John’s (1511), Magdalene (1542), and Trinity (1546) at Cambridge. In 1558 Gonville Hall was endowed anew, as Caius College, by Dr John Caius (1510–73), who, between 1539 and 1544,

¹ *De Imitatione Ciceroniana IV dialogi*, Par. 1561.

² *De Imitatione Oratoria*.

³ *Cicronianus* (ed. 1577), 18–47.

⁴ H. Morley’s *Hobbinal*, in Grosart’s *Introd.* to Gabriel Harvey, I xviii. Cp. Mayor on Ascham’s *Scholemaster*, 241, 272. Harvey’s favourite Latin phrases are ridiculed in *Pedantius*, a play which was performed in Trinity College in February, 1581, and probably contributed to his being defeated in his candidature for the office of Public Orator in March (G. C. Moore-Smith’s ed., Louvain, 1905, xxxii–xxxviii).

had studied at Padua and lectured there on Aristotle, and had collated MSS of Galen in Italy, and who permitted the medical fellows on his foundation to study abroad either at Padua or Bologna, or at Paris or Montpellier¹. In the same century we have the distinctly post-Reformation Colleges of Jesus College, Oxford (1571), and of Emmanuel (1584) and Sidney, Cambridge (1596). The only Colleges that have since been founded are, at Oxford, Wadham and Pembroke (1612-24), and Worcester (1714), with Keble (1870) and Hertford (1874); and, at Cambridge, Downing (1800) and Selwyn (1882).

The founder of Exeter College (1314) had established a School at Exeter in connexion with his College at Oxford, thus anticipating the principle carried out in the splendid foundations of Winchester Schools (1387) and Eton (1441). The first English School that came into being under the immediate influence of the Revival of Learning was that of St Paul's in London, founded in 1510 by dean Colet, the friend of Erasmus; the first high-master was one of the earliest students of Greek in England; by the Statutes, the holder of that office was required to be 'learned in good and clean Latin², and also in Greek, *if such may be gotten*', and this requirement is copied in the Statutes of Merchant Taylors School (1561). By the ordinances of Shrewsbury School (f. 1551), made in the time of the first Master, Thomas Ashton (1562-8), the Master and the Second Master must be 'well able to make a latten vearse and learned in the greke tongue', while the books prescribed in Greek are the Grammar of Cleonardus, the New Testament, Isocrates *ad Demonicum*, and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*³. Archbishop Sandys directs the Master of his School at Hawkshead (1588) to 'teach Grammar, and the pryncples of the Greeke tongue'⁴; and the text-books mentioned by John Lyon, the founder of Harrow (1590), include some Greek orators and historians, as well as Hesiod. Greek text-books were prepared for the use of Westminster School in 1575 and 1581, and the influence of the Revival of Learning extended to many other schools such as Christ's Hospital (1552), Repton (1557), Rugby (1567), and the numerous Grammar Schools⁵.

The Revival of Learning in England led to the production of many English renderings of the Classics. The *Translations* *Phoenissae* of Euripides was translated by George Gascoigne, of Trinity, Cambridge, and Francis Kinwelmersh, both students of Gray's Inn (1556)⁶. The ten Tragedies of Seneca

¹ Statute 54 (Heywood's *Documents*, ii 276).

² Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, and Terence are mentioned in the Statute, which also required the teaching of Lactantius, Prudentius, Proba, Sedulius, Juvenecus, and Baptista Mantuanus (Lupton's *Life of Colet*, 279).

³ Baker-Mayor, *Hist. of St John's Coll.* 409-413.

⁴ Complete text of Statutes in H. S. Cowper's *Hawkshead*, 1889, 472 f.

⁵ Cp. A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1546-8 (1896), 5 f.

⁶ Warton's *History of English Poetry*, § 57 *init.* Gascoigne's translation was made from the Italian rendering by Dolce (Einstein, 359).

were paraphrased by various hands' and published in a collected edition (1581), of which Thomas Nash has said in his *General Censure* (1589):—'English *Seneca* read by candle light yields many good sentences..., and...he will afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches'². Thomas Phaer, the lawyer, who was also an M.D. of Oxford, had translated little more than nine books of the *Aeneid* before his death in 1560; the task was completed by Thomas Twyne, of Corpus Christi, Oxford, in 1573. Phaer, who began his work with a view to proving that the English language was not incapable of elegance and propriety, claims to be a pioneer:—'By mee first this gate is set open'. His metre is the Alexandrine line of seven feet:—*e.g.*

'Lo! there againe where Pallas sits, on fortes and castle-towres,
With Gorgons eyes, in lightning cloudes inclosed grim she lowres'.

Webbe cites several passages from Phaer to prove the 'meetnesse of our speeche to receive the best forme of Poetry', and the 'gal-lant grace which our Englishe speeche affoordeth'³. The first four books of the *Aeneid* were rendered in rude but sometimes vigorous hexameters by Richard Stanyhurst of University College, Oxford (1582)⁴. The translation of Virgil was completed by Abraham Flemming of Peterhouse, in his bald and literal rendering of the *Ecloques* and *Georgics* (1575, 1589). Virgil's *Culex* was paraphrased by Spenser (1591). Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was rendered in a spirited and poetic manner by Arthur Golding (1565–7), in the same metre as Phaer's *Aeneid*:—*e.g.*

'The princely pallace of the Sun, stood gorgeous to behold,
On stately pillars builded high, of yellow burnisht gold'⁵ (Lib. ii).

He is commended by Webbe for 'beautifying the English language'⁶, and his version was well known to Shakespeare. It was

¹ Jasper Heywood's *Troades*, *Thyestes*, *Hercules Furens*; Alex. Nevyle's *Oedipus*; Thos. Nuce's *Octavia*; John Studley's *Medea*, *Agamemnon*; Henry Denham's *Hippolytus*; and Thos. Newton's *Thebais*. Warton, § 57 *ult.*

² Ed. Gregory Smith, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, i 312.

³ pp. 46–51 Arber; i 256–262 Gregory Smith.

⁴ Ed. Arber (1880). Cp. Gregory Smith, i 135–147; and the vigorous onslaught by Nash, *ib.* 315 f.

⁵ New ed. 1904.

⁶ p. 51 Arber.

succeeded (in 1621-6) by the rather unduly literal rendering of George Sandys, of St Mary Hall, Oxford, a rendering admired by Dryden¹. Marlowe of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, translated part of the *Hero and Leander* of Musaeus, the *Amores* of Ovid (c. 1597), and the first book of Lucan (1600). Ovid's *Heroides* was rendered by Turberville of New College, Oxford (1567): and Horace's *Satires*, *Epistles*, and *Art of Poetry* by Thomas Drant, of St John's, Cambridge (1567)². Martial fills a large part of the Epigrams translated by Timothy Kendall of Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1577).

Christopher Johnson, Fellow of New and Head-Master of Winchester, translated Homer's *Battle of the Frogs and Mice* into Latin hexameters (1580); and Thomas Watson, possibly of Oxford, produced a Latin version of the *Antigone* (1581), and of the 'Rape of Helen' (1586), a poem rendered into English in the next year by Marlowe, who in 1598 paraphrased part of the *Hero and Leander* of Musaeus, a work completed by George Chapman. The earliest English translation of any part of Homer was that of *Iliad* 1-x, translated, in 1581, from the French version of Hugues Salel (1545), by a turbulent M.P., Arthur Hall, who had been encouraged in the work by Roger Ascham. It begins thus: 'I thee beseech, O goddess milde, the hatefull hate to plaine'. This was entirely superseded by the splendid work of George Chapman (c. 1559-1634), who in 1611 completed his vigorous rendering of 'the *Iliads* of Homer, Prince of Poets, never before in any language truly translated'. This was followed by the *Odyssey* (1614), the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, and the *Hymns* (1624); and, at the end of this volume, he proudly adds: 'The work is done that I was born to do'. The following is an extract from his translation of *Iliad* v:—

'From his bright helme and shield did burne, a most unwearied fire,
Like rich Autumnus' golden lamps, whose brightnesse men admire,
Past all the other host of starres, when with his chearfull face,
Fresh-washt in loftie ocean waves, he doth the skie enchase'.

Chapman has enriched the language with a long array of compound epithets, such as 'silver-footed', 'high-walled', 'triple-feathered'.

¹ Hooper's *Introd. to George Sandys' Poetical Works*, I xxvii—xlii.

² Warton, § 58.

Waller could never read his rendering of the *Iliad* without a feeling of transport, and Pope appreciated its 'daring fiery spirit'. It was after sitting up till daylight over a copy of the fine folio edition that Keats wrote the celebrated sonnet, 'On first looking into Chapman's Homer', from which the few following lines are taken:—

'Oft of one wide expanse had I been told,
That deep-brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne:
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold:
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken'.

But Keats (as Matthew Arnold has reminded us) 'could not read the original and therefore could not really judge the translation'. "Coleridge, in praising Chapman's version, says at the same time, 'It will give you small idea of Homer'"¹. In the Preface to the Reader (1598)² Chapman holds that 'the worth of a skilful translator' is to adorn his version 'with figures and formes of oration fitted to the original'. But, while it is a mark of Homer's style to be 'plain in thought', Chapman introduces 'conceits' of his own, that are not *fitted to the original*, as in the line:—'When sacred Troy shall shed her tow'rs, for tears of overthrow'³. And yet Chapman has much that is truly Homeric: 'he is plain-spoken, fresh, vigorous, and, to a certain degree, rapid'⁴.

Arthur Golding, the translator of Ovid, was also the translator of Caesar (1565), Justin (1574), Seneca *De Beneficiis* (1578), and Pomponius Mela and Solinus (1587-90)⁵. Sir Thomas North (c. 1535—c. 1601), who translated Marcus Aurelius from French and Spanish editions, reproduced Amyot's French rendering of Plutarch's *Lives* in a version published in 1579, which is celebrated

¹ Warton, § 59.

² Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer*, 24; cp. 25-30 (ed. 1896).

³ Gregory Smith, ii 295 f.

⁴ *ἔταν ποτ' ὀλώλην Ἴλιος ἰρή* (Matthew Arnold, *l.c.*, 89, 98).

⁵ *ib.* 23. Cp. Saintsbury's *Elizabethan Lit.* 189 f.

⁶ In the Caesar (dedicated to Sir William Cecil), *nostris militibus cunctantibus* (iv 25) is expanded into, 'when our men staid and semed to make curtsy'; and *scaphas* and *speculatoria navigia* (iv 26) are rendered 'cockbotes and brigantines'.

as the authority followed by Shakespeare in *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*¹. A still wider fame was attained by Philemon Holland (1552—1637), Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, and ultimately head-master of Coventry School, whose remarkable industry as an interpreter of the Classics earned him the title of 'the translator general in his age'². His renderings included the whole of Livy (1600)³, Pliny (1601), the *Moralia* of Plutarch (1603), Suetonius (1606), Ammianus Marcellinus (1609) and (after an interval occupied partly by his translation of Camden's *Britannia*), the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon (1632).

The example of Petrarch and his successors, as writers of Latin verse, was followed in England. Several of the Latin poets of Italy visited that country, and the *Zodiac of Life* by Marcellus Palingenius (Venice, c. 1531) was highly popular in its English dress. The eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus (1448—1516), the 'good old Mantuan' of *Love's Labour's Lost*⁴, were read in the grammar-schools of Shakespeare's boyhood, were translated by Turberville in 1567 and imitated in Spenser's 'Shepherd's Calendar' in 1587⁵.

Meanwhile, Latin scholarship was well represented in Scotland by a humanist who was born before Cheke and Ascham, and survived them both. George Buchanan *Buchanan* (1506—1582) studied in Paris in 1520—2 and at St Andrew's in 1524. In 1526 he returned to Paris, where he taught Grammar in the College of Ste Barbe, and was tutor to the young Earl of Cassilis in 1529—34⁶. In 1540—7 he was teaching Latin at Bordeaux, Paris, and Coimbra, living mainly in France, Portugal, and Italy, until his return to Scotland in 1559. Apart from his Latin poem on the Sphere⁷, his Latin epigrams on his imaginary loves,

¹ Cp. *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. Skeat (1875).

² Fuller's *Worthies*, iii 287 Nuttall.

³ The whole of this translation was 'written with one pen', which a lady set in silver and preserved as a curiosity.

⁴ iv 2, 97 f.

⁵ Cp. Einstein, 346—8.

⁶ It was to the Earl of Cassilis that Buchanan dedicated his first work, his Latin translation (1533) of Linacre's English *Rudimenta Grammatices*.

⁷ 1586 etc.; Hallam, ii 147⁴.



*Scotia si Vatem hunc gelidam produxit ad arcton,
Credo equidem gelidæ percaluere polj.*

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

From Boissard's *Scones*, III iv 22 (Frankfurt, 1598).

his Latin plays¹, and his translation of the *Medea* and *Alcestis* in Latin verse, his scholarship is best represented by his Latin version of the Psalms in various metres (1566 etc.), mainly produced during his stay in Portugal. One of the most elegant is his rendering of the psalm *By the waters of Babylon*, which begins as follows:—

‘Dum procul a patria, mœsti Babylonis in oris,
Fluminis ad liquidas forte sedemus aquas;
Illa animum subiit species miseranda Sionis,
Et nunquam patrii tecta videnda soli.
Flevimus, et gemitus luctantia verba repressit,
Inque sinus liquidæ decidit imber aquae.
Muta super virides pendebant nablia ramos,
Et salices tacitas sustinere lyras’².

The following is the first half of the poem dedicating the work to Mary, Queen of Scots:—

‘Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptrâ tueris avos;
Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus:
Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus’.

Henry and Robert Stephens in all their editions describe the translator as *poëtarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*. Scaliger says of him: *Buchananus unus est in tota Europa, omnes post se relinquens in latina poësi*³. Even in his lifetime his Latin Psalms were studied in the schools of Germany; they remained long in use in the schools of Scotland, and an edition was even set to music in 1585⁴. Buchanan has not merely translated the Psalms into Latin

¹ His *Jepthes* (1554) is described by Ascham (*Sch.* 169) as ‘able to abide the true touch of Aristotle’s precepts and Euripides’ examples’. This play and *John the Baptist* have been translated into English verse by the Rev. A. Gordon Mitchell.

² Cp. Eglissham’s *Duellum Poëticum* (London, 1618 f), and the criticisms on the same by Arthur Johnston (1619) and W. Barclay (1620); also Andrew Symson’s *Octupla* (Edinb. 1696).

³ *Scaligerana I.* Cp. Blount’s *Censura*.

⁴ P. Hume Brown’s *Buchanan* (1890), 146–9. Preceded by another musical ed., Lyons, 1579.

verse; he has endeavoured to clothe them in the form and texture of lyrical and elegiac Latin poems. Sir Philip Sidney declares that 'the tragedies of Buchanan doe justly bring forth a divine admiration'¹. 'Buchanan' (said Dr Johnson) 'was a very fine poet'², 'whose name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern Latinity'; he 'not only had great knowledge of Latin, but was a great poetical genius'. It is as a writer of history that he is described by Dryden as 'comparable to any of the moderns, and excelled by few of the ancients'³. His *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, a 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 centuries. In the eighteenth century it was seriously debated whether the historian's model was Caesar or Livy or Sallust, and it was almost universally agreed that he had surpassed his predecessors. He is now remembered mainly for his compositions in Latin verse. He wrote a May-day poem that was a joy to Wordsworth⁴, a poem closing with the lines in which that day is hailed as the image of life's early prime and as the happy omen of a new age:—

'Salve vetustae vitae imago,
Et specimen venientis aevi'⁵.

¹ *Apology for Poetry*, 67 ed. Arber.

² Boswell's *Life*, i 376 Napier; cp. iii 295.

³ Hume Brown, 3, 293 f, 327.

⁴ *Life* by Chr. Wordsworth, ii 466 (*Calendae Maiæ*, translated in Hume Brown's *Buchanan*, 177-9).

⁵ On Buchanan, cp. Bernays on *Scaliger*, 108 f; Henry Morley, *English Writers*, viii 339-352; *Testimonia* in Allibone's *Dictionary*; and esp. P. Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer* (1890); also *Life* by D. Macmillan (1906), and *Essay* by T. D. Robb; *Lit. Suppl. to The Times*, 6 July, 1906; C. Whibley in *Blackwood*, July, 1906. The portrait on p. 244 is reproduced from that in Boissard's *Icones* (1597 f), which has been copied in the bust in Greyfriars Churchyard, and in Hume Brown's frontispiece. For another portrait, see Bullart's *Académie*, ii 351 (1682).

Opera omnia, ed. T. Ruddiman (Edinh. 1715); for the best bibliography of Buchanan, see (Dr David Murray's) Catalogue of the Quatercentenary Exhibition held in Glasgow (1906) including list of 13 portraits in oils, with more than 6 engravings; reprinted as part of the 'Quatercentenary Studies', ed. G. Neilson, with Robb's *Humanism in Buchanan* (1907). See also St Andrews *Memorial*, ed. D. A. Millar (1907).

One of the most interesting of the minor 'Scots abroad' was Florentius Volusenus (*c.* 1504-47), who was educated at Aberdeen, and resided in Paris (1528-35). When he called on Sadoleto, bishop of Carpentras, he so completely charmed that Ciceronian scholar by his exquisite Latinity, that he was at once appointed principal of the local school, where he lectured on Latin authors for ten years (1536-46). The humanist and the Christian alike are represented in his Ciceronian dialogue, *De Animi Tranquillitate*. He died at Vienne on his way home to Scotland, and is commemorated in the following lines by Buchanan:—

Florentius
Volusenus

'Hic Musis Volusene jaces carissime ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria!
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quae foret altrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos'¹.

In the generation next to that of Buchanan we have Andrew Melville (1545—1622), who, as a Latin poet, is sometimes ranked second to Buchanan. Among the finest of his hexameter poems is that on the Creation, and the paraphrase of the Song of Moses². He studied under Ramus in Paris, was professor at Geneva in 1568, was acquainted with Scaliger, and, as head of Glasgow University in 1574, and principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, in 1579, led the revolt against the mediaeval method of studying Aristotle³, and created a taste for Greek letters in Scotland⁴. The foundation of the university of Glasgow had been sanctioned in 1450 by a Bull issued by Nicolas V, but the study of Greek was not introduced into Scotland until 1534, when John Erskine of Dun (1509—1591), on returning from his travels, brought with him Petrus de

Melville

¹ P. Hume Brown's *Buchanan*, 71—74.

² *Delitiae*, ii 77, 84. Cp. Dr McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, i 92-6.

³ James Melvill's *Diary*, 48 f, 67, 123 f (owing to Andrew Melville's influence at St Andrews, they 'perusit Aristotle in his awin langage'). McCrie, i 78, 258 f; R. S. Rait, on 'Andrew Melville and the Revolt against Aristotle in Scotland,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1899, 250—260.

⁴ Latin Poems in *Delitiae*, ii 67—137; an epigram of six lines led to his being imprisoned for nearly four years in the Tower of London (1607—11); *Life* by Dr McCrie, 242 f.

Marsiliers, a native of France who taught Greek at Montrose¹. Andrew Melville studied under him as a boy in 1556-8², but Andrew's nephew, James, who 'would have gladly' learnt Greek and Hebrew at St Andrews, complains that

'the langages war nocht to be gottine in the land; our Regent...teatched us the A, B, C of the Greek, and the simple declintiones, bot went no farder'³.

The influence of the Humanist-Pope, who had granted the Bull for the founding of Glasgow, had not availed to arouse an interest in Greek on the distant banks of the Clyde; and at St Andrews, in 1564, the great Latin scholar, Buchanan, failed to obtain recognition for the study of Greek⁴. The honour of promoting the study of that language at Glasgow was reserved for the protagonist of presbyterianism, Andrew Melville, who substituted for a blind faith in the authority of Aristotle an intelligent study of Greek texts. With Melville, however, the languages were simply the handmaids to theology. The Union of the Crowns in 1604, which 'brought about the victory of the party opposed to Melville, placed in the universities a new type of men, who cared for the humane learning for its own sake'. The period of the first episcopalian supremacy (1604-38) has accordingly been described as 'the golden age of the humane letters' in Scotland⁵.

In that age a closer rendering of the Psalms than that of Buchanan was produced in 1637 by his countryman, Johnstone Arthur Johnstone (1587-1641)⁶. It will be remembered that the Baron of Bradwardine used to read 'Arthur Johnstone's Psalms of a Sunday, and the *Deliciae Poëtarum Scotorum*'⁷. Johnstone has a pretty poem on his birthplace, beside the river Ury and below the ridge of Bennachie, both of which are named in the following graceful lines:—

¹ James Melvill's *Diary* (ed. 1842), 39; cp. McCrie's *Life of Knox*, period i, note C, and James Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland* (1876), 46-48, 330-349.

² *Diary*, 39.

³ *Diary*, 30.

⁴ Hume Brown, 238 f.

⁵ R. S. Rait, on *University Education in Scotland*, in *Proceedings of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 15 Dec. 1904.

⁶ P. Hume Brown's *Buchanan*, 147-9.

⁷ *Waverley*, c. 13.

'Mille per ambages nitidis argenteus undis
 Hic trepidat lætos Vrius inter agros.
 Explicat hic seras ingens Bennachus umbras,
 Nox ubi libratur lance dieque pari.
 Gemmifer est amnis, radiat mons ipse lapillis,
 Queis nihil Eous purius orbis habet'¹.

He had taken the degree of M.D. at Padua, and was a physician in Paris. On his return to Scotland after an absence of twenty-four years, he was patronised by Laud as a rival to Buchanan². While Buchanan uses a variety of metres in his version of the Psalms, Johnston confines himself to the elegiac couplet³. He has been called 'the Scottish Ovid', his style 'possessing somewhat of Ovidian ease, accompanied with strength and simplicity'⁴. A word of praise may be added on the *Heroides* of Mark Alexander Boyd (1563—1601), and on the poem on Anne of Denmark by Hercules Rollock (fl. 1577—1619)⁵. David Wedderburn (1580—1646), who compiled a Latin Grammar (1630)⁶, was from 1620 to 1646 the official Latin poet of Aberdeen. One of his poems is an elegy on Arthur Johnston (1641). Johnston's Psalms had been published in 1637. After the Scottish Revolution of 1638, 'down with learning' was the cry of some of the extreme Covenanting divines.

The biographer of Buchanan has aptly described William Drummond, of Hawthornden (1585—1649), as 'the Drummond only Scotsman of eminence in whom it is possible to find the *humanist* even in his milder form; and Drummond all through his life felt himself an alien in a strange land'⁷. He attended lectures on law at Bourges and Paris (1607—8), shortly before becoming laird of Hawthornden (1610). His sonnets were

¹ *Delitiae Poët. Scot.* i 601, ed. 1637.

² *i.e.* a rival to Buchanan's posthumous fame (Buchanan having died five years before the birth of Johnston).

³ A fine ed. of Johnston's Poems was produced by Geddes, 1892—5, with copies of three portraits. Cp. *Bibliography and Portraits* by W. Johnston, 1896.

⁴ W. Tennant, quoted (with other *Testimonia*) in Allibone's *Dict.*

⁵ Cp. McCrie, ii 318 f.

⁶ James Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, 365—8.

⁷ P. Hume Brown, 236.

inspired by those of the Italian poet, Guarini, and his poetry reveals many traces of the influence of the Latin poets of Italy. His interest in Chess led to his being specially attracted by Vida's poem on that theme:—

'If *Hieronymus Vida* can be found, with *Baptista Marini* his *Adone*, we shall not spare some hours of the night and day at their Chesse, for I affect that above the other'¹.

Turning from Scotland to Wales, we have a clever contemporary of Andrew Melville in the Latin epigrammatist John Owen, or *Audoenus* (c. 1560—1622). Born at Armon in the county of Caernarvon, he was educated at Winchester, was a Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1584—91, became head-master of Warwick School about 1595², and was buried in St Paul's cathedral. The three books of his *Epigrams* (1606) were followed by a complete edition in 1624; they were thrice translated into English, and often reprinted at home and abroad. They are described by Hallam as 'sometimes neat, and more often witty'. They were placed in the Index in 1654, doubtless mainly owing to the unfortunate epigram, which, in his lifetime, had led to his being disinherited by his uncle:—

'An Petrus fuerit Romae, sub iudice lis est;
Simonem Romae nemo fuisse negat'³.

Among happier examples of his style we may quote his epigram on Martial:—

'Dicere de rebus, personis parcere nosti;
Sunt sine felle tui, non sine melle, sales'⁴,

and the central couplet of his lines on Drake:—

'Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum;
Atque polus de te discet uterque loqui'⁵.

¹ *History of Scotland* (1655), p. 263.

² A. F. Leach, *History of Warwick School*, 124—134 (with Owen's portrait).

³ *Ad Henricum*, i 8.

⁴ *Ad Dominam Mariam Neville*, ii 160.

⁵ *ib.* ii 39.

CHAPTER XVI.

GERMANY FROM 1350 TO 1616.

THE German Emperor, Charles IV, who ascended the throne in 1346, was regarded by Petrarch, not only as the head of the Holy Roman Empire, but also as a beneficent patron of literature, a new Augustus. Petrarch's correspondence with Charles IV began in 1350¹; at Mantua, in the autumn of 1354, he presented the emperor with gold and silver coins of ancient Rome bearing the effigy of the emperor's great precursors². In 1356 he was sent as the envoy of Milan to the emperor's capital of Prague, 'the extreme confines of the land of the barbarians'³; but this visit led to no permanent result⁴. The second son of Charles IV, the emperor Sigismund, was enabled to study Arrian's account of the exploits of Alexander in the easy Latin version provided for him by Vergerio, the first of Italian humanists to enter the service of a foreign prince⁵. But this version would have been forgotten, had it not fallen into the hands of Aeneas Sylvius, who represented Italian humanism in Vienna (1442-55), and wrote in 1450 an interesting treatise on Education for the benefit of a royal ward of his master, Frederic III⁶. As Pope, in 1459, he was assured by his former pupil, the German historian, Hinderbach, of the gratitude of Germany for the teaching and the example which had led that land to admire the studies of humanism, and to emulate the olden splendour of Roman eloquence⁷. The German jurist,

¹ *Epp. Fam.* x 1.

² *ib.* xix 3.

³ *Sen.* xvi 2.

⁴ On Petrarch's relations to Charles IV, cp. Voigt, ii 263-8²; and *Cancellaria Caroli IV*, ed. Tadra, Prag, 1895.

⁵ p. 49 *supra*.

⁶ p. 72 *supra*.

⁷ Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland* (1882),

Gregor Heimburg, who, in his earlier years, had acquired for himself a certain degree of proficiency in the Classics, was a political opponent of Aeneas Sylvius and of the humanistic influence of Italy¹. The influence of Aeneas was, however, continued at Prague by Johann von Rabstein² and in Moravia by bishop Prostadius of Czernahora³.

The first to expound the Latin poets in Vienna was Georg Peuerbach (1423—1469), who had visited many universities in France, Italy and Germany, and in 1454—60 lectured in Vienna, not only on mathematics and astronomy, but also on the *Aeneid*, and on Horace and Juvenal⁴. Lectures on the *Eclogues* and on Terence, and on Cicero, *De Senectute*, were given by his pupil, the astronomer Johann Müller of Königsberg, near Coburg, who is best known as Regiomontanus (1436—1476). In 1461 he 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. Returning to Vienna in 1467, he entered the service of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and finally settled at Nuremberg, where he published the first edition of the astronomical poem of Manilius (1472). He ultimately became archbishop of Ratisbon, and a proposal to reform the calendar led to his being summoned to Rome, where he died in 1476⁵.

The influence of Italy on German humanism was early exemplified by Peter Luder (c. 1415—c. 1474), who, after matriculating at Heidelberg, visited Rome as a priest, became a pupil of Guarino at Ferrara, sailed from Venice along the coast of Greece as far as Macedonia, and, on his return, settled at Padua with a view to studying medicine. The presence

¹ *Scripta*, ed. Goldast, 1608: Joachimsohn, *Gregor Heimburg* (Bamberg, 1891); Voigt, ii 284—290².

² *Dialogus*, ed. Bachmann (Vienna, 1876).

³ Voigt, ii 293³.

⁴ Voigt, ii 291²; cp. Aschbach, *Gesch. der Wiener Univ.* 486 f.

⁵ Bursian, i 107 f; cp. Hallam, i 186⁴; and Aschbach, *l.c.*, 537 f; also Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages* (E. T. 1896 f), i 139—146.

of some German students at Padua led to his fame reaching the Palatinate. He was accordingly invited to Heidelberg, and appointed to lecture on Latin poets (1456). His older colleagues immediately insisted on his submitting his inaugural discourse to their own approval, and prevented his having easy access to the university library. Driven from Heidelberg by the plague in 1460, he was welcomed at Ulm and Erfurt and Leipzig. He even returned to Padua, and afterwards lectured on medicine as well as Latin at Basel¹.

Among his most eager pupils at Leipzig was Hartman Schedel (1440—1514), who became an unwearied collector of humanistic literature. He has thus preserved an important part of the great journal of Ciriaco d' Ancona, including his copies of the monuments and inscriptions of the Cyclades. His sketches of certain works of ancient art afterwards inspired some of the drawings of Dürer, now in Vienna². His large collection of inscriptions is now in the library at Munich, and his work on the history of the world from the creation to the year 1492 is widely known under the name of the 'Nuremberg Chronicle' (1493)³.

A place of honour among the early humanists of Germany is justly assigned to the famous Frisian, Roeloff Huysman, or Rodolphus Agricola (1444—1485), who was born near Groningen, and was educated at Deventer, Erfurt, Louvain and Cologne, and perhaps also in Paris. In 1468 he left for Italy, where he studied law and rhetoric at Pavia between 1469 and 1474, paying two visits to the North during that interval. In 1475 he went to Ferrara, and studied Greek under Theodorus Gaza. In 1479 he finally returned to Groningen, where he was town-clerk in 1480—84, often acting as an envoy and paying repeated visits to Deventer, on one of which (possibly in 1484) he saw Erasmus⁴. In 1484 he went to teach at Heidelberg

¹ Voigt, ii 295—301³; Bursian, i 95 f; Geiger, 327. Cp. Wattenbach, *Peter Luder*, in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. des Oberrheins*, xxii (1869) 33 f; Bauch's *Erfurt*, 43—50.

² p. 40 *supra*.

³ Voigt, ii 306³; Bursian, i 108 f; Geiger, 374; Wattenbach in *Forsch. sur deutschen Geschichte*, xi 351 f.

⁴ P. S. Allen's *Erasmi Epp.* i 581.

on the invitation of Dalberg, bishop of Worms, whom he accompanied to Rome in the following year to deliver an oration in honour of the newly elected Pope, Innocent VIII. Shortly after his return he died at Heidelberg.

At Heidelberg he lectured occasionally on Aristotle, but 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 Lucian¹. He was long regarded as the standard-bearer of humanism in Germany². His slight treatise on education (1484)³ was welcomed as a *libellus vere aureus* when it appeared in the same volume as the corresponding works of Erasmus and Melanchthon, but the only important points on which he there insists are cultivation of the memory, carefulness in reading, and constant practice. A cheerful alacrity in saying and doing the right thing is the lesson of life expressed in his own epigram:—

‘Optima sit vitae quae formula quaeritis: haec est:
Mens hilaris faciens quod licet, ilque loquens’.

He is remembered as an earnest opponent of mediaeval scholasticism, and he certainly did much towards making the study of the Classics a vital force in Germany. In a letter to a fellow-labourer in this cause, Rudolf von Langen (1438—1519), who promoted the revival of education in the cathedral-school of Münster⁴, we find Agricola saying:—‘I entertain the highest hope that, by your aid, we shall one day wrest from proud Italy her vaunted glory of pre-eminent eloquence’⁵; and the closing couplet of a tribute to his memory written by the Italian humanist, Hermolaus Barbarus, implies that, during the life-time of Agricola, Germany was the rival of Greece and Rome:—

‘Scilicet hoc vivo meruit Germania laudis,
Quicquid habet Latium, Graecia quicquid habet’⁶.

¹ *Gallus*, and the *libellus de non facile credendis delationibus* (ed. 1530).

² Pref. to *Opuscula* (1518), ‘antesignanus’.

³ *De formando studio*. Cp. Woodward, *Renaissance Education*, 99.

⁴ Bursian, i 98 f.

⁵ *Opera* (Col. 1539) ii 178 (Heeren, ii 173; Hallam, i 206⁴).

⁶ Boissard, i 175. For Agricola, cp. *Opera* (Col. 1539); Tresling, *Vita et Merita Rudolphi Agricolae* (Groningen, 1830); Bursian, i 101 f.; von Bezold (1884); Ihm (1893); P. S. Allen, in *English Hist. Rev.*, April, 1906, and in

Agricola gave some instruction in Greek to his friend and earlier contemporary, Alexander Hegius (1433—1498), who was a master at Wesel and Emmerich, and, during the last fifteen years of his life, made the School of Deventer the great educational centre of North Germany, waging a successful war against the old mediaeval text-books and pointing to the Latin Classics as the only source of a perfect Latin style¹. Among his pupils at Deventer was Erasmus.

Rudolf von Langen (1438—1519), a student at Erfurt, who visited Italy in 1465 and 1486, finally succeeded in 1498 in carrying out his long-cherished plan of founding a school on humanistic lines at Münster, where he spent the greater part of his life as Canon of the cathedral church. He failed to induce Hegius to become the head-master, but one of the best-known masters of the school was a pupil of Hegius, namely Murmellius (1480—1517), the author of many useful text-books. Langen himself published a work in Latin prose on the Fall of Jerusalem, and four volumes of Latin verse².

The Schools of Deventer and Münster in the North had their counterpart in the South-West, at Schlettstadt in Elsass. It was the school of Jacob Wimpeling (1450—1528), who afterwards studied at Freiburg and Erfurt, and also at Heidelberg. He returned to that university as a professor (1498), lecturing mainly upon St Jerome. He subsequently left for Strassburg, where he was in frequent feud with monks and humanists alike, and failed in his hopes of reforming education and establishing a university. He had founded literary societies in several of the cities where he dwelt. At Strassburg he became the centre of a literary circle, which corresponded with Erasmus

Erasmi Epp. i 106; and Woodward's *Renaissance Education* (1906), 79—103, where a still unpublished Life of Petrarch (1477; Munich *Cod. Lat.* 479) is noticed. Cp., in general, Creighton, *Papacy*, vi 9 f; and Geiger in *A. D. B.*, and in *Renaissance*, 334 f. A contemporary portrait is reproduced *ib.* 335, and in Boissard's *Icones*, I xxvii 172 (1597).

¹ O. Jahn, *Populäre Aufsätze*, 416; Geiger, 391 f; and literature in Bursian, i 100 n. Cp. P. S. Allen in *Erasmi Epp.* i 105 f, and Woodward, *l.c.*, 84 f.

² Bursian, i 98—101; J. F. Schröder's *Kl. Studien in Deutschland* (in cent. xv f), 1864, 61—6; Bauch's *Erfurt*, 41 f; P. S. Allen's *Erasmi Epp.* i 197.

on questions of literature and theology. In his writings on the theory of education, he insisted on the importance of moral influence; he also suggested new methods and better text-books, that should aim at appealing to the intelligence instead of burdening the memory. He abolished the commentaries on Donatus and Alexander, and supplied practical manuals in their place. His own treatises on grammar and style were widely popular¹.

Brant His principal friend at Strassburg was the town-clerk, Sebastian Brant (1457—1521), celebrated as the author of the *Ship of Fools* (1494). 'He was more of a humanist than Wimpheling, and found a solace for his legal labours in the cultivation of the Muse...He celebrated, with justifiable pride, the German invention of printing, and took it as an omen of the coming time when the Muses would desert Italy and make their abode on the banks of the Rhine'².

His great contemporary, Johann Reuchlin (1455—1522), studied Greek at Paris in 1473 under the pupils of **Reuchlin** Gregory Tifernas and in 1478 under Hermonymus. In the interim he went to Basel and made good progress in the language under Andronicus Contoblacas (1474). At the age of twenty he there produced, under the title of *Vocabularius Breviloquus* (1475-6), a Latin dictionary, which showed a marked advance in clearness of arrangement, 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. In this we so won the minds of all who...longed for a purer knowledge, that they flocked to us and deserted the trifling of the schools³.

¹ *Isidoneus Germanicus* and *Adolescentia* (1496-8); also *Elegantiarum Medulla* (1490), and *Germania* (1501). Cp. Wiskowatoff (Berlin, 1867); B. Schwarz (Gotha, 1875); Geiger, 359, 402 f, 576; Bursian, i 103 f; Paulsen, i 61 f; Hartfelder in Schmid's *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii 2, 68-70; Creighton, *Papacy*, vi 11-13; Karl Pearson, *Ethic of Freethought*, 185-192, ed. 1901; P. S. Allen's *Erasmii Epp.* 463; and Woodward's *Renaissance Education*, 216.

² Creighton, vi 14; cp. Geiger, 365-9; portrait in Boissard, II 174.

³ *Ep.* 250; cp. 171; Karl Pearson, *Ethic of Freethought*, 164 f (ed. 1901).

In 1482, and again in 1490, he went to Italy, where he became acquainted with the learned Venetian, Hermolaus Barbarus. At Rome he won the admiration of Argyropulos by his mastery of Greek¹. On a subsequent visit in 1498 he learnt Hebrew, which was thenceforward the main interest of his life². 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 Ortwin Gratius (1491—1451), and his allies in Cologne, were admirably parodied in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*. The first volume of that memorable satire (1516) was mainly composed by a humanist of Erfurt, Johann Jäger of Dornheim, who called himself *Crotus Rubianus*³, while the second (1517) was chiefly the work of Ulrich von Hutten⁴. The unobtrusive leader of the eager band of humanists, who produced these remarkable volumes, was Conrad Muth, or Mutianus Rufus (c. 1471—
Mutianus
1526), who had been a school-fellow of Erasmus at

Deventer, and had lived at Erfurt, as a student and a teacher, from 1486 to 1492, when he left for Italy. He there made the acquaintance of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Baptista Mantuanus, as well as the elder Beroaldus and Codrus Urceus at Bologna, where he took the degree of Doctor in Law. On his return, he settled at Gotha, where he placed, in golden letters, over the door of his canonical residence the words BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, and thereafter devoted his thoughts to 'God and the Saints and the study of all Antiquity'. He took the keenest interest in his younger friends, the humanists of Erfurt, inspiring them with an eager desire for the spread of classical literature, a hatred for the pedantry and formalism of the old scholastic methods, and a critical spirit which felt little reverence for the

¹ p. 63 f *supra*.

² Bursian, i 120 f; Geiger, 504—525, and *Life* (1871) and *Letters* (1875); cp. P. S. Allen, *Erasmii Epp.* i 555.

³ Bauch's *Erfurt*, 147—9.

⁴ Ed. Böcking, 1859—70; cp. Geiger, 504 f, 549 f; Bursian, i 120—131.

past¹. After organising the victory of the humanists over the scholastic obscurantists of the day, their leader lived to see his 'tranquil' home ruthlessly plundered by a protestant mob², at a time when the quiet waters of Humanism had been overwhelmed by the stronger stream of the Reformation³.

The humanists of Germany may be divided into three successive schools distinguished from one another in their relation to the Church'. (1) The *Earlier* or *Scholastic* Humanists, who were loyal supporters of the Church, while they were eager for a revival of classical learning, and a new system of education. They are represented by the three great teachers of North Germany, Rudolphus Agricola, Rudolf von Langen, and Alexander Hegius; also by Wimpfeling, the restorer of education in South Germany; by Trithemius, one of the founders of the Rhenish Society of Literature; and by Eck, the famous opponent of Luther. They worked for the Revival of Learning in all branches of knowledge, while they hoped that the new learning would remain subservient to the old theology. (2) The *Intermediate* or *Rational* Humanists, who took a rational view of Christianity and its creed, while they protested against the 'old scholasticism, and against the external abuses of the Church. 'They either did not support Luther, or soon deserted him, being conscious that his movement would lead to the destruction of all true culture'. Their leaders were Reuchlin and Erasmus, and Conrad Muth, the Canon of Gotha. 'Their party and its true work of culture were shipwrecked by the tempest of the Reformation'. (3) The *Later* or *Protestant* Humanists, who were ready to 'protest' against everything,—young men of great talent, but of less learning, whose love of liberty sometimes lapsed into licence. Their leading spirit was Ulrich von Hutten.

¹ Creighton, vi 32.

² 1524; Kampfschulte, ii 233.

³ On his highly original letters, which reveal the secret of his influence, cp. Krause's *Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus* (1885); also Böcking, *Hutteni Opera*, Suppl. ii 420-8; and esp. Kampfschulte, *Die Universität Erfurt in ihrem Verhältnisse zu dem Humanismus und die Reformation* (2 vols., Trier, 1858-60). Cp. A. W. Ward, *On some Academical experiences of the German Renaissance*, 1878; G. Bauch, *Erfurt im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus* (1904), 126-8, and *passim*; Geiger, 432 f; Bursian, i 128 f.

⁴ Karl Pearson, *Ethic of Freethought*, 166-184, ed. 1901; cp. Janssen's *History of the German People* (E.T.), i 63-80; iii 1-44.

In course of time, some of them became Rational Humanists; others, supporters of Luther. 'While Erasmus, Reuchlin and Muth viewed Luther's propaganda with distrust', these younger Humanists 'flocked to the new standard of protest and revolt, and so doing brought culture into disgrace and shipwrecked the Revival of Learning in Germany'. 'The revolt of Luther caused the Church to reject Humanism, and was the deathblow of the Erasmian Reformation'¹.

On the publication of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, a premature death had already cut short the career of Reuchlin's younger contemporary, Conrad Celtes Celtes (1459—1508), the knight-errant of humanism in Germany. The scholastic spirit was still dominant during the seven years that he had spent in Cologne. But he learnt some Greek from Agricola at Heidelberg, and he was widely known, and fairly remunerated, as a lecturer on the Platonic philosophy, and on Latin poets and orators, at Erfurt, Rostock, and Leipzig. The proceeds of his lectures enabled him to spend six months in Italy, living mainly at Ferrara with Battista Guarino, and also at Padua with Musurus, and in Rome with Pomponius Laetus. Soon after his return in 1487, he received the poet's crown from Frederic III at Nuremberg, being the first German who attained that distinction. We next find him studying and teaching at Cracow. He there met a congenial spirit in Filippo Buonaccorsi, who had fled from Rome owing to the suppression of the Roman Academy. Celtes was thereby prompted to found humanistic societies in Poland and Hungary, and also on the Rhine. This last was inaugurated at Mainz in 1491; the great patron of learning, Johann von Dalberg, bishop of Worms, was its first president, while Johannes Trithemius, of Trittenheim on the Mosel (1462—1516), and Wilibald Pirkheimer of Nuremberg (1470—1530), were among its most prominent members. Trithemius combined wide learning of the mediaeval type with a keen interest in the collection of MSS, and the acquisition of Greek and Hebrew²; while Pirkheimer, who had spent

¹ Karl Pearson, 177.

² *ib.* 227; cp. 244.

³ Bursian, i 105 f; Geiger, 446-9; cp. Silbernagel (1885³), Schneegans (1882); Janssen, i 108-116.

seven years in Italy, was eminent as a statesman and a patron of humanism, and as a translator of Greek texts and a student of archaeology¹. Celtes himself lived for a time at Nuremberg, and afterwards lectured on rhetoric at Ingoldstadt. In 1497, under the favour of Maximilian, he became a professor, as well as head of the Imperial Library, in Vienna, and, in 1502, president of the 'College of Poets and Mathematicians' then founded by the emperor. His adventures in various parts of Germany are the main theme of his Latin poems, many of which are inspired by a semi-pagan spirit. His more serious productions included editions of Gunther's *Ligurinus*², of the Latin plays of Hroswitha³, and of the *Germania* of Tacitus, which was accompanied by a patriotic poem on Germany. Lastly, he discovered in the Vienna Library a thirteenth-century copy of a map of Roman roads of the third century, which he bequeathed to the patrician patron of learning, Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg (1465—1547)⁴, to whom it owes the familiar name of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*⁵. Peutinger was an eager collector of coins and inscriptions. It was by his aid, and at the cost of Count Raymund Fugger of Augsburg, that a *corpus* of Greek and Latin inscriptions was produced by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius of Ingoldstadt (1534)⁶.

Among the ablest of the successors of Celtes in Vienna was Johannes Cuspinianus (1473—1529), a poet and statesman, who edited Avienus and Florus, and critically studied Roman chronology⁷. His friend, Joachim Watt, or Vadianus of St Gallen (1484—1551), produced an exhaustive commentary on Pomponius Mela⁸.

¹ Bursian, i 160-4; Geiger, 376-384, with Dürer's fine portrait on p. 377; Janssen, i 147 f.

² Vol. i c. 29 *prope finem*.

³ Vol. i c. 26.

⁴ Geiger, 369-372, with portrait on p. 444.

⁵ Now in Vienna; handy ed. by Miller (1888).—On Celtes, cp. J. F. Schröder, *Kl. Studien* (1864), 154-168; Bursian, i 109-117, and *Jahresb.* xxxii 215-8; Bauch's *Erfurt*, 67-72; Geiger, 454-462, 578, with portraits on pp. 455, 459; also Janssen, i 158 f.

⁶ Bursian, i 167; Janssen, i 148-151.

⁷ Geiger, 441 f.

⁸ Bursian, i 170 f. Portrait of Vadianus (*Watt*) in Boissard's *Icones* 111 xv 112 (1598), copied in Gribble's *Early Mountaineers*, facing p. 43.

One of the most scholarly of the adherents of Ulrich von Hutten was Hermann von dem Busche (1468—
 1534). Educated at Deventer and Heidelberg, he Busche
 went in 1486 to Italy, where he spent five years, in the course of
 which he visited Rome, and attended the lectures of Pomponius
 Laetus. On his return, after spending a year at Cologne, he
 passed through many of the universities in Northern and Central
 Germany, lecturing everywhere on the Latin Classics, till he
 became the first professor of Classical Literature, *rectorum litte-
 rarum professor*, at Marburg (1527-33). He defended classical
 studies in his *Vallum Humanitatis* (1518); he was the first to
 publish the *Carmen de Bello Civili* preserved in Petronius (1500);
 and he also edited Silius Italicus (1504) and the *Amphitruo*
 of Plautus, and commented on Claudian's poem *De Raptu
 Proserpinae*¹.

Meanwhile, at Tübingen, an enthusiastic teacher of humble
 birth, Heinrich Bebel (1472—1518), was laying Bebel
 down the laws of Latin usage, of Latin letter-writing,
 and of Latin versification. He was also winning a wide popularity
 by singing the glories of Germany, and the Triumph of Love, and
 by providing a German counterpart of the frivolous *Facetiae* of
 Poggio².

Among the humanists of Erfurt a prominent place must be
 assigned to Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488—1540),
 who lived at that university, not only as a student, Eobanus
Hessus
 but also as a teacher. From 1517 to 1526 he was
 the highly popular professor of Poetry and Rhetoric, lecturing to
 enormous audiences, and counting among his pupils youths of
 high promise, such as Micyllus and Camerarius. The somewhat
 serious student just mentioned was the first treasurer of a festive
 club, over which Eobanus presided as the 'king of poets'. When
 the interests of humanism fell into abeyance at Erfurt, Eobanus
 left for Nuremberg, where he taught for seven years with the grave
 Camerarius as his colleague. This was the time of his greatest
 activity as a translator. He rendered into Latin verse the *Idylls* of

¹ Bursian, i 136-9; cp. Geiger, 426-8.

² Bursian, i 140f; Geiger, in *A. D. B. and Renaissance*, 423-5; Creighton,
 vi 28 f.

Theocritus (1531), and Similes from Homer, with some of the *Psalms*, and the book of *Ecclesiastes*. He also produced a long Latin poem on the historic and artistic glories of Nuremberg. A brief return to Erfurt (1533-6), where he found that the fame of the university had declined, and that the spell of his own popularity had been broken, was followed by his migration to the newly-founded university of Marburg, where he continued his activity as a poet and a teacher during the four remaining years of his life. He there completed his metrical version of the *Psalms*, and produced a new edition of his numerous poems, the principal place among them being due to the 'Christian *Heroides*' that won him the title of the 'Christian Ovid'. His latest work was a rendering of the whole of the *Iliad* in Latin hexameters (1540). He undoubtedly did much in his time for the popularising of humanistic studies. His success was due to his happy and cheerful temper, and also to the elegant and idiomatic Latin, which characterised his work as a translator¹

In this age one of the most important centres of humanism was Basel². Humanism was there fostered by the **Basel** university founded in 1460, while Classical texts were issued by at least three printing-presses:—(1) that of Johannes Froben (1491), who was succeeded in 1527 by his son Hieronymus and his son-in-law Episcopius; (2) that of Cratander (1518), subsequently managed by Oporinus³ (1544); and (3) that of Hervagius (1531). The texts were founded on MSS from the monasteries of Alsace and the Palatinate, and some of them are now the only evidence as to the readings of those MSS, e.g. Cratander's edition of Cicero *ad Atticum*, Beatus Rhenanus' Velleius Paterculus, Gelenius' Ammianus Marcellinus, and the joint edition of Livy by the last two scholars⁴.

Erasmus had resided at Basel during the four years after 1514,

¹ Bursian, i 131-4; Bauch's *Erfurt*, *passim*; and esp. C. Krause's admirable monograph in two vols. (1879), with specimens of his translation of *Theocritus* (ii 94) and *Homer* (ii 249), and portrait of 1533; Dürer's engraving of 1526 is reproduced in Geiger, 469, and less accurately in Boissard, III xvii 124.

² Cp. Geiger, 416-21.

³ Bursian, i 158; portrait in Boissard, IV xlix 322.

⁴ Urlichs, 67²; Bursian, i 159, 254.

the seven after 1522, and also for the last two years of his life. He had been attracted to the place by his printer and publisher Johannes Froben, that genuine bibliophile, that 'ideal friend', who 'had no memory for injuries', and 'never forgot the most trivial service'. Froben died in 1527. For sixteen years before that date Basel had also been the home of the friend and biographer of Erasmus, **Beatus Rhenanus** of Schlettstadt (1485—1547), who, on the death of his publisher, left Basel for the place of his birth and his early education; he died (at Strassburg) twenty years later. With the main exception of his *Curtius*, with notes by Erasmus, which had already appeared at Strassburg (1518), his best editions were printed at Basel:—the *editio princeps* of Velleius (1520), from a ms discovered by himself at Murbach; Seneca, *Ludus de morte Claudii* (1515); 'emendations' on the text of the elder Pliny (1526), from a Murbach ms that has since vanished; and lastly his Tacitus (1519-33), and his joint edition of Livy (1535)². The text of Tacitus owes much to his corrections, but he was in general distinguished for his fidelity to the readings of the mss, and for his critical caution in admitting conjectures³.

Among his younger contemporaries was Glareanus (1488—1563), who generally resided at Basel, or at Freiburg, where he held the professorship of poetry, though his main distinctions were won in the criticism of the current Roman chronology⁴. A second contemporary was Grynaeus of Heidelberg (1493—1541), who in 1527 discovered at Lorsch a ms of the first five books of the fifth decade of Livy (now in Vienna), taught Greek in Vienna and Buda-Pest, as well as Heidelberg, and finally settled in 1529 at Basel⁵. A third was Gelenius of Prague (1497—1554), who, after studying at Venice

¹ *Ep.* 922; Drummond's *Erasmus*, ii 273 f.

² He also edited Pliny's *Ep.* (Strassburg, 1514), Gregory of Nyssa, Prudentius, Tertullian, and Origen.

³ Bursian, i 150-2; Geiger, 488 f; *Life*, etc. by Horawitz (1872-4); *Briefwechsel*, 1886; G. C. Knod, *Aus der Bibliothek des B. R.* (Schlettstadt, 1889); portrait in Boissard, i xli 248.

⁴ Bursian, i 154 f; Geiger, 418 f.

⁵ Bursian, i 156 f; portrait in Beza's *Icones*, facing p. O iij, and in Boissard, iv xliiii 286.



MELANCHTHON.

From a print of Albert Dürer's engraving. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

under Musurus, went in 1524 to Basel, where he produced editions of Callimachus and Aristophanes, as well as the Planudean Anthology, with a commentary by Brodaeus of Tours, and the *editio princeps* of several of the minor Greek geographers (1533)¹. In Latin he published an edition of Ammianus Marcellinus (1533), with the aid of a MS from Hersfeld, which has since disappeared; he was associated (as we have seen) with Beatus Rhenanus in an edition of Livy, to which he contributed a collation of a MS at Speyer, and a new collation of that at Mainz, both of which MSS are now lost². Lastly, he made good use of two ancient MSS in his *Castigationes* on the text of the elder Pliny (1535), followed by his edition of 1554, the merit of which has been recently recognised by Mayhoff³. His short-lived contemporary, Petrus Mosellanus (1493—1524), who succeeded Richard Croke as the teacher of Greek at Leipzig (1517), distinguished himself as an expositor of Quintilian and of Gellius, and still more as the preceptor of Camerarius, who is best known as the friend of Melanchthon⁴.

Petrus
Mosellanus

Philip Schwarzerd, or 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 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

Melanchthon

¹ He assisted in the preparation of the *editio princeps* of Josephus (Basel, 1544). The editor was Arnoldus Arlenius of Brabant, who also produced the *editio princeps* of Lycophron (*ib.* 1546); while his Polybius (1549) was the first to include the Epitome of books VII—XVII. A pupil of Gyraldus (*De poetis*, p. 69 Wotke), he had copied for Conrad Gesner the illustrations in the MS of 'Oppian' in the Library of St Mark's, and, in 1538—46, had organised the collection of MSS formed by Mendoza, the envoy of Charles V at Venice (Graux, *Fonds Grec de l'Escorial*, 185—9).

² Bursian, i 152 f.

³ Ed. 1906, Praef. p. iv.

⁴ Bursian, i 184; cp. O. G. Schmidt, 1867, and *De Paedologia*, ed. 1906, with *Einleitung* by Hermann Michel.

works, on Terence and Sallust, on the *Fasti* of Ovid, 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. His text-books, and his courses of lectures, were introduced by excellent 'Prefaces'. 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)¹. His many Latin *Letters*, and indeed his Latin works in general, are written in a style that is easy, clear, and simple, without being distinctly elegant. 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*².

His friend, Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg (1500—1574),
Camerarius studied Greek under Croke and others at Leipzig and belonged to the circle of Eobanus Hessus at Erfurt. After becoming the intimate friend of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, he 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, 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 a place of honour must be assigned to his Plautus (1552), the

¹ *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis*. The *Declamationes* have been edited in two parts by Hartfelder (Weidmann, Berlin).

² His philological works are included in the *Corpus Reformatorum* vols. xvi—xx, and the *Letters* and *Declamations* in other volumes. Cp. Bursian, i 173—8; also Hartfelder, *Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, and *Mel. Paedagogica*, and in Schmid's *Gesch. der Erziehung*, III ii 206—228; Paulsen, ed. 2, i 112 f, 185 f, 203 f, 223 f, 258 f; and Woodward's *Renaissance Education*, c. xi, 211 f; also T. Bailey Saunders (preparing). As compared with Wimpfeling, Melanchthon is depreciated by Karl Pearson, *Ethic of Free-thought*, 222^a. Portrait after Dürer on p. 264; the life-like medallion at Hanover is reproduced as frontispiece to Hartfelder's *Melanchthon*.

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. Camerarius was fully equal to his friend and exemplar Melanchthon in the wide extent of his attainments and in his thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin in particular, but he distinctly surpassed him in critical acumen, and in this respect holds one of the foremost places among the German scholars of the sixteenth century¹.

Among his friends was Jacob Molsheym of Strassburg (1503—1558), who owed his name of Micyllus to his taking the part of that character in a dramatic representation of Lucian's 'Dream' at Erfurt, where he was under the influence of the enthusiastic Latin scholar and poet, Eolhanus Hesusus. After continuing his studies under Melanchthon at Wittenberg, he lectured on Latin at Frankfurt, and on Greek at Heidelberg. He was associated with Camerarius in an edition of Homer comprising the earlier and shorter *scholia* of Didymus (1541). His independent works included the *editio princeps* of the fables of Hyginus (1535) from a MS at Freising, besides editions of large portions of Ovid, a translation of the whole of Lucian (1538), and a treatise on prosody (1539)².

Strassburg is also associated with the more notable name of Johannes Sturm (1507—1589). His educational principles are laid down in the celebrated treatise *De puerorum ludis recte aperiendis* (1538), his inaugural oration as head-master of Strassburg school, a position which he filled with distinction for no less than forty-three years. He made the writing and the speaking of Latin the almost exclusive aim of education. His school was frequented by pupils from all lands, and became the model for *gymnasia* in many parts of Germany. His correspondent Roger Ascham, who unfortunately never met him³, describes him as 'one of his two dearest friends'⁴; he praises his 'Select Letters of Cicero' (1539), and his treatise *De Institutione Principum*⁵ (1551); and, when he wishes to

¹ Bursian, i 185-9; Paulsen, i 229-233²; Ritschl, *Opusc.* ii 99 f, iii 67 f; Ribbeck's *Ritschl*, ii 432; cp. Pökel, *s.v.*

² Bursian, i 192-6.

³ Katterfeld, *Roger Ascham*, 78.

⁴ *Scholemaster*, 128.

⁵ *Scholemaster*, 3, 35.

recommend a modern model of the plain, as well as the grand and the intermediate, styles, he says:—

‘For our time the odde man to performe all three perfitlie, whatsoever he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfullie, whan so ever he list, is in my poore opinion *Joannes Sturm*’¹.

An educational position similar to that of Sturm at Strassburg was attained in Saxony by his short-lived contemporary Rivius (1500—1553), who published at the Saxon town of Meissen an excellent edition of Sallust, in which the text is founded on the evidence of four MSS and is corrected in many passages (1539)². His pupil, G. Fabricius Georg Fabricius (1516—1571), studied in Italy at Padua and Bologna, and explored the monuments and inscriptions in Rome. His numerous editions of the Classics included Virgil and Horace, with the *scholia* on both, while he also produced works on Roman topography and antiquities (1549 f). His namesake, Franz Fabricius of F. Fabricius Diiren (1527—1573), studied in Paris under Ramus and Turnebus, and was Rector of the *gymnasium* at Dilseldorf (1564—73). The most important of his works was the *Annals of the Life of Cicero* (1563 etc.). He also arranged Cicero’s *Letters* in chronological order, and, in editing several of Cicero’s works, made use of several new MSS. Lastly, he supplied Lambinus with readings from a MS at Cologne. In this respect, and as a pupil of eminent teachers in Paris, he is an interesting link between Germany and France³.

A name of greater note is that of Melanchthon’s pupil, Hieronymus Wolf (1516—1580), who, after a wandering life, settled at Augsburg, first as secretary and librarian to the wealthy merchant Johann Jakob Fugger, and next as Rector of the newly-founded *gymnasium*, which he ruled from 1557 until his death. He 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 historians⁴. Roger

¹ p. 113, with Mayor’s n. on p. 208. Cp. Life by C. Schmidt (1855); Raumer’s *Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, i 228—276²; Paulsen, i 282—290²; E. Laas (Berlin, 1872); Bursian, i 201 f; Geiger, 404; portrait in Boissard’s *Icones*, vii 663; G. Schmid in R. A. Schmid’s *Gesch. der Erziehung*, II ii 302—388.

² Bursian, i 204 f.

³ Bursian, i 208 f.

⁴ Bursian, i 210—2; portrait in Boissard’s *Icones*, II 270.

Ascham, during his stay in Augsburg (1550-1), admired the varied learning and the fine library of Jakob Fugger, and had the use of a catalogue of the MSS, made by Wolf¹, whom he describes as 'very simple' in his personal appearance, and a frequent guest at the table of the English embassy².

A wide range of reading was represented by the educational text-books of Michael Neander (1525-1595), who studied under Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and was for forty-five years Rector of the school at Ilfeld. His best-known works were his *Opus Aureum* of Greek and Latin moral maxims, his *Anthologicum Græco-Latinum*, and his selections from Pindar and Euripides³.

Lexicography is represented in the same age by Basilius Faber, Rector of Erfurt (1520-1576). In 1571 he produced a comprehensive Latin *Thesaurus*, which long survived. It was re-edited by Cellarius (1686), Graevius (1710), and J. M. Gesner (1726). Lexicography satisfied only a part of the varied intellectual activity of an earlier Gesner, Conrad Gesner of Zürich (1516-1565), whose *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545-9) is a biographical and bibliographical Dictionary of all the writers in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew known to the author. The second part of this work is a vast encyclopaedia of the arts and sciences. Gesner was one of the founders of the modern study of Natural Science, and his description of the ascent of Pilatus opens an era in the literature of the scientific exploration of the Alps⁴. His classical works include a Dictionary of Greek and Latin, and of Proper Names, an edition of Stobaeus, and the *editio princeps* of Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* (1556). In his *Mithridates* (1555) he made the first attempt towards the comparative study of language⁵. The study

¹ *Ep.* p. 41 (to Sturm) and p. 252 (to Froben), ed. Elstob.

² Katterfeld, *R. Ascham*, 140 f.—On H. Wolf as an educationist, cp. G. Schmid, *l.c.*, II ii 430-461.

³ Bursian, i 212-5; G. Schmid, *l.c.*, II ii 388-430.

⁴ *De raris herbis* etc. (Zürich, 1555). Cp. F. Gribble's *Early Mountaineers*, with Gesner's portrait (1899), 51-62.

⁵ Bursian, i 216-8; portrait in Boissard, IV xxiii 130 (with his own list of his writings).

of modern, as well as ancient, Greek was represented in the same age by Martin Crusius (1526—1607), for the last forty-seven years of his life professor at Tübingen¹. His younger and abler colleague, the Latin versifier Nicodemus Frischlin (1547—1590), did much for the advancement of the study of Greek and Latin Grammar². Wilhelm Xylander³ of Augsburg (1532—1576), a student of Tübingen, who in 1558 succeeded Micyllus⁴ as professor of Greek and as librarian 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 Sylburg⁵.

A thorough knowledge of Greek, considerable critical acumen, and an intelligent application of great powers of work were the main characteristics of Friedrich Sylburg (1536—1596), who, besides studying at Marburg and Jena, spent some time in Geneva and Paris, where he learnt much from Henri Estienne, to whose Greek *Thesaurus* he afterwards contributed. In 1583 he settled for eight years at Frankfurt, and, for the last five years of his life, at Heidelberg, working for the press of Wechel at the former, and for that of Commelinus at the latter. Besides completing Xylander's edition of Pausanias (1584), he 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*. His work at Heidelberg included the Latin writers *De Re Rustica*, and the Greek Fathers, Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr. Early in his career he declined an invitation to fill the Chair of Greek at Marburg: he was content to hold an appointment in the library at Heidelberg, devoting almost all his energies to editorial work. Every one of his editions is distinguished by important

¹ Bursian, i 223.² *ib.* i 224—7.³ Holtzmann.⁴ p. 267 *supra*.⁵ Bursian, i 228; portrait in Boissard, iv xli 278.

corrections of the text, and is accompanied by a full and careful index¹.

Sylburg would naturally have been appointed professor of Greek at Heidelberg, but for his sudden death from over-work at the age of 60. The vacant professorship was assigned to Aemilius Portus Aemilius
Portus (1550—1614-5), a son of the Cretan Greek, Franciscus Portus. The father had taught his native language at Ferrara, and had withdrawn to Geneva in 1559 owing to his sympathy with the cause of the Reformation. The son, who was born at Ferrara and had taught Greek at Geneva and Lausanne, was living in Heidelberg at the time when the professorship fell vacant². He had inherited from his father a complete command of his ancestral tongue, but, notwithstanding his undoubted industry, he was inferior to Sylburg in thoroughness, in critical acumen, and in sound judgement. An unfortunate dispute with a German student led to his resigning his professorship; he was accordingly compelled to confine himself to the duties of an ordinary teacher at Kassel and Stadthagen, where he died. His numerous works, many of which were hastily produced under the pressure of poverty, included lexicons, such as those to Herodotus and Pindar and the Bucolic Poets, besides many Greek texts with Latin translations. In the first volume of his edition of Euripides, there was printed for the first time a long fragment, which was then ascribed to the *Danaë*, but has since been proved to be spurious³. He was the first to prepare an edition of the six books of Proclus on the Theology of Plato, posthumously printed in 1618⁴.

Among Germans who studied Greek, a place of honour is due to Lorenz Rhodomann (1546—1606), a school- Rhodomann master, who, in the latter part of his life, was professor of Greek and Latin at Jena and Wittenberg. He had a remarkable facility in writing Greek hexameters, and his epic poems, anonymously published in 1588 by his former master, Michael Neander, were accepted by many as genuine classical works. In ancient literature the special subject of his study was Quintus Smyrnaeus, whose epic poem he published, with a Latin translation and critical notes, in 1608. In the same year he produced the ripe result of many years of learned labour in an edition of Diodorus Siculus, by which the textual criticism of that author was materially advanced. Ten years previously, he had published Latin translations of the extracts from the historian

¹ Bursian, i 229—232.

² By the death of Pithopoeus (1596); Portus resigned in 1608.

³ Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag.* p. 714 f.

⁴ Bursian, i 232-4.

Memnon, and the geographer Agatharchides, which had been preserved by Photius¹.

Far greater service was done for Photius by a pupil of Hieronymus Wolf, named David Hoeschel (1556—1617), who, in 1601, gave to the world the *editio princeps* of the whole of the *Bibliotheca*. He also edited the *Illyrica* of Appian (1599), the *Ecloga* of Phrynichus (1601), and the *Excerpta ex Legationibus* in the historic encyclopaedia of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (1603). The material for these and other works was derived from a valuable collection of Greek mss from Corfu, which was bought in Venice by the enlightened Council of Augsburg (1544)². With the aid of a wealthy and learned member of that Council, Marcus Welser, he set up a printing press, at which his own editions and those of other scholars were printed on fine paper and in excellent type from 1595 to 1614³.

One of the last of the scholars of Germany, who taught the language and literature of Greece in the spirit of Melanchthon, was Erasmus Schmied (1570—1637), who was professor, first of Greek, and next of Mathematics, at Wittenberg. His principal work was an edition of Pindar, with a Latin translation and a careful commentary (1616). It was founded on three Palatine mss, and the writer claimed to have corrected the text in more than 600 places. The commentary remained unsurpassed until the appearance of the editions of Heyne and Boeckh. He also edited Hesiod (1603), and produced a treatise maintaining his preference for the 'Reuchlinian' over the 'Erasmian' method of pronouncing Greek⁴.

Mention may here be made of two Latin scholars of high promise, both of whom died in the prime of life. Janus Guilielmus of Lübeck (1555—1584) published at an early age at Rostock a treatise on the officials of the Roman Republic, and a Latin rendering of the *Phoenissae*. His subsequent studies at Cologne were followed by the publication at Antwerp of his *Verisimilia* on the early Latin authors (1582). In

¹ Bursian, i 235 f.

² Graux, *L'Escurial* (1880), 110, 413.

³ Bursian, i 236-8; portrait in Boissard, VIII *un* 1.

⁴ Bursian, i 238-240.

the next year he was welcomed in Paris by all the foremost scholars of the day, and there published his maturest work, the *Plautinarum Quaestionum Commentarius*. In 1584 he conclusively refuted Sigonius by proving that the *Consolatio*, printed in 1583, was not the work of Cicero¹. From the days of his youth Cicero had been his favourite author, and he had collected materials for the correction of the text in Cologne and Paris. The results were first published in Gruter's edition of 1618, long after their author's early death at Bourges in 1584².

In extent and variety of published work Guilielmus was surpassed by Valens Acidalius (1567—1595), who in 1590 left the universities of Northern Germany for those of Italy. At Bologna, where he spent most of his time in the study of the Classics, he graduated in Medicine. At Padua, he had already produced, in 1590, an edition of Velleius Paterculus, containing many corrections of the text. He also paid much attention to Apuleius, and the plays of Plautus and Seneca. On returning to Germany in 1593, he settled at Breslau, but the only results of his studies abroad that he produced in the two remaining years of his life were his 'Animadversions' on Q. Curtius. His corrections of the text of Plautus and Tacitus and the Latin *Panegyrici* were published by his brother³.

Far less capacity for the criticism of Plautus was displayed by Friedrich Taubmann of Wittenberg (1565—1613), who deserves, however, to be remembered for the zeal with which he endeavoured to counteract the decline in Latin style which he laments in his thesis *De Lingua Latina* (1602). Notwithstanding the efforts of men like Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Luther to mould the German language for the purposes of literature, Latin long continued to be the normal medium, not only for works of learning of every description⁴, but even for poetry⁵.

An early link between Italy and Hungary may be found in the treatise on education addressed in 1450 by Aeneas Sylvius to Ladislas, the youthful king of Hungary

¹ p. 144 *supra*.

² Bursian, i 240-2.

³ Bursian, i 242 f.

⁴ Bursian, i 244 f.

⁵ *ib.* i 250 f.

and Bohemia. The study of the best Latin literature in prose and verse is here strongly recommended, with details as to the authors that should be preferred. For reasons of style, the youthful king is warned against wasting his time over the history of Bohemia or Hungary¹. Five years later the royal youth requested the king of Naples, and the duke of Modena, to send him any works of interest on the exploits of the ancient Romans, or of others who were worthy of imitation²; but his life of promise came to an early end at the age of eighteen. Even the heroic general of the king's armies, Joannes Hunyady, found time for studying the works of Poggio; but the true founder of classical studies in Hungary was Joannes Vitéz (d. 1472), who had studied in Italy before becoming secretary to Hunyady; chancellor to Hunyady's royal son, Matthias Corvinus; and, finally, cardinal archbishop of Gran. Vitéz was in constant correspondence with Florence, sending for correct copies of the Classics, and himself transcribing translations from the Greek. It was his ambition to found a Hungarian university, and he prompted the king to become a patron of learning. Among those whom he befriended was the aged Italian humanist, Vergerio, while he received from Argyropulos the dedication of a rendering of the *De Caelo* of Aristotle³.

One of the youths sent at his charges to receive their education in Italy was his nephew, Janus Pannonius (1434—1472), who, from the age of thirteen to that of twenty, was an inmate of the house of Guarino at Ferrara, where he gave proof of a singular precocity of intellect, as well as a marvellous memory. He produced translations from the Greek, but his favourite field of composition was Latin verse. When he had studied law for four years at Padua, and was still under the age of twenty-five, his uncle induced Pius II to appoint him to a Hungarian bishopric. Returning to Hungary with a large collection of Greek and Latin MSS, he regarded his native land as a place of exile as compared with the

¹ p. 72 *supra*; *De Liberorum Educatione*, translated in Woodward's *Vittorino*, 134—158; cp. *Harvard Lectures*, 67—69.

² Abel's *Analecta* (Budapest, 1880), 156 f.

³ Voigt, ii 316—8².

Italy that he had left. His gratitude to his teacher, Guarino, was enshrined in a lengthy poem in Latin hexameters¹, and, to the end of his life, Latin verse was the main theme of his interest. Ficino's rendering of Plato's *Symposium* was dedicated to him; and he himself dedicated to king Matthias Corvinus a translation of part of the *Iliad*, and of the *Apophtegms* of Plutarch. Unhappily he was induced by his uncle to join in a conspiracy against the king, and, not long afterwards, he died at the early age of thirty-eight².

King Matthias Corvinus (1443—1490) was interested in Latin poets, such as Silius Italicus, in historians, such as Livy and Curtius, and in Roman writers on the military art. In 1467, with the approval of the Pope, he founded an academy at Pressburg, but young Hungarians still preferred, if possible, to complete their education in Italy. He also formed a fine library at Buda, where thirty copyists and artists were employed in keeping up the supply of illuminated mss. This library, which belonged to the last ten or fifteen years of his life, was unfortunately scattered in all directions at his death³. He introduced the art of printing and founded a university at Buda; Italian humanists were welcomed at his court, and an interest in literature flourished in the land; but the intellectual life of Hungary, as well as the newly-founded university, was overwhelmed for a time by the Turks, who invaded the country after the victory of Mohács in 1526⁴.

In Poland, the earliest apostle of humanism was apparently the cardinal archbishop of Cracow, Sbignew Olesnicky. He had studied at Cracow, but there is nothing to prove that he had ever visited Italy. His command of Latin prose, mainly founded on modern models,

¹ p. 51 *supra*.

² Vespasiano, *Vite*, 222; Voigt, ii 318—324²; *Poemata* and *Opuscula* (Utrecht, 1784); Abel, *Analecta* (1880).

³ Abel in *Lit. Berichten aus Ungarn*, II iv (1878). Cp. Marki in *Öst. Ung. Rev.* xxv. In this library J. A. Brassicanus (1500—1539) saw a complete Hypereides (*Praef. ad Salvianum*, 1530).

⁴ Voigt, ii 315—327².

such as the letters of Salutati, led to his appointment as secretary to the king of Poland. In 1423 he became bishop of Cracow, a position which he held for thirty-two years. In 1424 he there made the acquaintance of Filelfo; and for twelve years he corresponded with Aeneas Sylvius, who, as bishop of Triest in 1450, displayed to the German Councillors at Neustadt a letter from the Polish Cardinal proving that the German skill in Latin was surpassed in Poland¹.

For twenty-four years the Cardinal's secretary was Johannes Dlugosz, who, in a letter to Aeneas Sylvius, confesses to his admiration for clearness of style, and is himself known as the author of the first important Latin history of Poland². Latin poetry rather than prose was the favourite study of Gregor of Sanok, who, after setting out on his wanderings in Germany at the age of twelve, settled down as a student at Cracow, where he graduated in 1439. He lectured on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and on Plautus and Juvenal. After acting as tutor to the sons of Hunyady, he lived in the household of bishop Vitéz, and himself became archbishop of Lemberg in 1451. He wrote much, but published little apart from a selection from his Latin verses, with two historical works. In Italy he might have attained that distinction in literature, for which he could find no scope in the land of his birth. Among the Italians whom he welcomed in Poland was Filippo Buonaccorsi, who had fled from Rome when the local Academy was suppressed by Paul II³. Buonaccorsi was the first Italian to introduce into Poland a wider and more popular interest in Classical studies⁴. It was at Cracow that (as we have already seen) he met Conrad Celtes, who was thereby inspired to found humanistic societies in Poland and Hungary, as well as on the banks of the Rhine⁵.

¹ Voigt, ii 327-9^a. ² *ib.* ii 329^a. ³ p. 92 *supra*.

⁴ Zeissberg, *Die polnische Geschichtschreibung des MAs* (1873), 349 f (Voigt, ii 330^a).

⁵ p. 259 *supra*. On humanism in Poland, cp. *Cod. Epist. Saec. XV*, ed. Sokolowski et Szujski (*Mon. medii aevi*, t. ii) Crac. 1876.

BOOK III.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Nescire quaedam, magna pars Sapientiae est.

GROTIUS, *Poëmata*, p. 332, ed. 1617.

*Non audiendi sunt homines imperiti, qui humano ingenio
majorem, vel inutilem, et rebus gerendis adversam πολυμάθειαν
criminantur.*

MORHOF, *Polyhistor*, i i § 1, 1688.

*La fin naturelle de la science, et par consequent des études,
est, après s'estre rempli soy-mesme, de travailler pour les autres.*

MABILLON, *Études Monastiques*, Part II, Ch. xv, 1691.

History of Scholarship in the Seventeenth Century.

Italy	France	Netherlands	England and Scotland	Germany
			Savile 1549-1622	
			Downes 1549-1628	
			Bacon 1561-1629	Gruter 1560-1627
Strada 1572-1649	Sirmond 1559-1651 Guyet 1575-1655	Baudius 1561-1613 Woverius 1574-1612 Puteanus 1574-1646 Scriverius 1576-1660 G. J. Voassius 1577-1649 Meursius 1579-1639 Putschius 1580-1606 Cluverius 1580-1623 D. Heinsius 1580-1-1653 Grotius 1583-1645 Salsmasius at Leyden 1631-1653 F. Junius 1589-1677	Gataker 1574-1654 R. Burton 1576-1640 Dempster 1579-1625 Barclay 1582-1621 Selden 1584-1654 Hales 1584-1656 Druunmond 1585-1649 Johnston 1587-1641 May 1595-1650 Meric Casaubon 1599-1671 Duport 1606-1679 Milton 1608-1674 Falkland 1610-1643 Pearson 1613-1686 H. More 1614-1687 Cudworth 1617-1688 Stanley 1625-1687 Theoph. Gale 1628-1676 Barrow 1630-1677 Dryden 1631-1700 Thomas Gale 1635-1702 H. Dodwell 1641-1711 Baxter 1650-1723 Barnes 1654-1712 Creech 1659-1700 Hudson 1662-1719 Bentley 1662-1742 Potter 1674-1747	Taubmann 1565-1613 H. Lindenbrog 1570-1642 Scher 1573-1634 F. Lindenbrog 1573-1648 Pareus 1576-1648 Scioppius 1576-1649 Bernegger 1582-1640 Harth 1587-1658 Keiuscius 1587-1667 Holstenius 1596-1661 Kircher 1601-1680 Weller 1602-1664 Conring 1606-1681 Freinsheim 1608-1660 Boeckler 1610-1672 Scheffer 1621-1679 Vorst 1623-1696 Jonsen 1624-1659 Lambeck 1628-1680 Spanheim 1629-1710 Gule 1635-1689 Cellarius 1638-1707 Morhof 1639-1690 Obrecht 1646-1673 Beger 1653-1705
Donati 1584-1640	Heraldu 1579-1649 Peiresc 1580-1637 C. Labbé 1582-1657 Petavius 1583-1652			
Doni 1594-1647 Cassiano dal Pozzo d. 1657 Nardini J. 1661	Palmerius 1587-1670 Salsmasius 1588-1653 P. Séguier 1588-1672 Maussac 1590-1650 Vigerus 1591-1647 H. Valesius 1603-1676 P. Labbé 1607-1667 Du Cange 1610-1688 Ménage 1613-1692 Tan. Faber 1615-1672 Rapin 1621-1687 Huet 1629-1721 Mabillon 1632-1707 C. Patin 1633-1694 Hardouin 1646-1729 Spon 1647-1685 Dacier 1651-1722 Anne Dacier 1654-1720 J. J. Vaillant 1665-1708	J. F. Gronovius 1611-1671 Isaac Vossius 1618-1689 N. Heinsius 1620-1681 Spanheim 1629-1710 Meibomius 1630-1710 Graevius 1632-1703 Rycke 1640-1690 Francius 1645-1704 Jakob Gronovius 1645-1716 Broukhusius 1649-1707 Cuypers 1644-1716 Perizonius 1651-1715		
Bellori 1615-1696 Pietro Bartoli 1635-1700 R. Fabretti 1619-1700				
Salvini 1653-1729				
Ficoroni 1664-1747				

CHAPTER XVII.

ITALY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the seventeenth century the classical learning of Italy was mainly limited to archaeology,—a study that was stimulated by the perpetual presence of the ruins of old Rome, by the accumulation of ever-increasing stores of Latin inscriptions, and by the occasional discovery of interesting works of ancient art. In the first half of the century a large collection of drawings and prints from the antique was formed at Rome by the Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo (d. 1657) and his brother Antonio. This collection was constantly consulted by Winckelmann while it was still in the possession of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, from whom it was purchased in 1762 for the Royal Library at Windsor'. The topography of ancient Rome was intelligently described in the *Roma vetus ac recens* (1638) of a Jesuit teacher of rhetoric in Rome named Alessandro Donati of Siena (1584—1640), and in a diffuse and popular work on the same subject, the *Roma antica* of Famiano Nardini of Florence, who died in Rome in 1661. The *Inscriptiones Antiquae* of Giovanni Battista Doni (1594—1647) were posthumously published by Gori in 1731. The distinguished archaeologist, Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1615—1696), published the 'Capitoline plan' of Rome (1673), and reproduced the coins and gems in the collection of queen Christina, the portraits of ancient poets and philosophers and Roman emperors, the paintings in the Roman crypts and in the sepulchre of the Nasos, the reliefs on the Antonine column, and

Archaeologists

Cassiano
dal Pozzo

Donati
Nardini
Doni

Bellori and
Bartoli

¹ Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 84, 433, 718.

a large series of similar sculptures included in the *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum vestigia* (1693). The engravings for these great works were mainly executed by Pietro Bartoli¹. His

R. Fabretti contemporary, Raphael Fabretti of Urbino (1619—1700), who became director of the archives of Rome, published a clear and almost complete account of the Roman aqueducts (1680), and a fine folio volume on Trajan's column (1683). He also did good service by his learned labours in the field of Latin inscriptions.

¹ His diligence in collecting inscriptions was only surpassed by his sagacity in explaining them; and his authority has been preferred to that of any other antiquary. His time was spent in delving among ruins and vaults, to explore the subterranean treasures of Latium; no heat, nor cold, nor rain, nor badness of road, could deter him from these solitary peregrinations. Yet the glory of Fabretti must be partly shared with his horse. This wise and faithful animal, named Marco Polo, had acquired, it is said, the habit of standing still, and as it were *pointing*, when he came near an antiquity; his master candidly owning that several things which would have escaped him had been detected by the antiquarian quadruped².

In Latin scholarship the most pleasing product of this century is to be found in the *Prolusiones Academicæ* of the Roman Jesuit, Favianus 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.

The most interesting of his *Prolusiones* are the fifth and sixth of the second book, where we have a critical review of the Latin poets of the age of Leo, and a discourse on poetry, purporting to have been delivered by one of their number, Sadoleto. The ancient models imitated by the poets of that age are next illustrated by a series of six short poems composed by Strada himself, with criticisms on each. The following are the six poets selected, with the names of the modern poets to whom the several imitations are dramatically assigned:—Lucan (*Janus Parrhasius*), Lucretius (*Bembo*), Claudian (*Castiglione*), Ovid (*Hercules Strossi*), Statius (*Pontano*), and Virgil (*Naugerio*)³. The happiest of these parodies are those on Lucan and Ovid; a lower degree of

¹ 1635—1700; Stark, 115.

² Hallam, iii 255⁴, who refers to Fabroni, *Vitæ Italarum*, vi, and Visconti in *Biographie Universelle*. Cp. Stark, 116.

³ pp. 322—342, Amsterdam, 1658.

success is attained in the case of Virgil, Statius and Claudian, and the lowest in that of Lucretius. But this last has an interest of its own. The theme is the magnet, and the poem describes an imaginary method of communication between absent friends by means of two magnetic needles which successively point towards the same letters of the alphabet, however far the friends may be removed from one another,—an ingenious play of fancy, which almost anticipates the electric telegraph. This poem has been specially mentioned by Addison in the *Spectator*¹, while all the six poems are noticed in the *Guardian*². The theme of the poem in the style of Claudian is the famous contest between the nightingale and the player on the lute, which (as observed by Addison) is introduced into one of the pastorals of Ambrose Philips (d. 1749). But Addison omits to observe that the whole of the poem had been elegantly translated by Richard Crashaw, who died exactly a hundred years before Philips, in fact in the same year as Strada himself. Strada's name is not mentioned in the *Delights of the Muses*, where the first poem, on *Music's Duel*, ends with the following description of the nightingale's fate:

'She fails; and failing, grieves; and grieving, dies;—
She dies, and leaves her life the victor's prize,
Falling upon his lute. O, fit to have—
That lived so sweetly—dead, so sweet a grave'.

In the second half of this century there were other Latin poets, both within and without the 'Society of Jesus'. Among these may be mentioned Tommaso Ceva (1648—1737), the author of an elegant, though somewhat incongruous, poem on the childhood of Jesus; and Sergardi, who bitterly satirises the jurist Gravina³. But to the classical scholar not one of these poets is equal in interest to Strada.

Ceva

Sergardi

Strada was violently attacked in a curious work by Caspar Scioppius (1576—1649), the *Infamia Famiani*, in which that captious critic objects to Strada's use of Latin words found only in authors of the Silver age. The critic, who was born near Nuremberg, had spent nearly half a century in Italy after joining the Church of Rome in 1598. An account of his varied career is reserved for the chapter on the land of his birth⁴.

In the Italian literature of the transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century the lyric poet Chiabrera (1552—1637), who was educated by the Jesuits in Rome but spent most of his life at his birthplace

Imitatore
of Pindar
and Horace

¹ No. 241 (iii 135 of Addison's *Works*, ed. 1868).

² Nos. 115, 119, 122 (*Works* iv 221, 237—243). Cp. Sir Thomas Browne's *Works*, i 152 f, 155, ed. 1852; Hallam, iii 132^a.

³ Hallam, iii 490 f^a.

⁴ c. xxi *infra*.

Savona, endeavoured to strike out a new line by the avowed imitation of Pindar. His ruling instinct as a scholar is revealed in the sentence:—‘When I see anything eminently beautiful, or taste something that is excellent, I say: It is Greek Poetry’¹. The ‘Pindaric Ode’, with its strophe, antistrophe and epode, but without any imitation of the poet’s style, had been introduced by Trissino (d. 1550). The study of Pindar is also exemplified in the free translation by Alessandro Adimari (d. 1649)². In 1671 ‘Pindaric Odes’ appear among the works of the great lyric poet Guidi (1650—1712), but Guidi was unfamiliar with the text of Pindar himself³. Pindar was afterwards translated by the Abate Angelo Mazzo of Parma (d. 1817)⁴, but the eminent critic Carducci considers that the only Italian lyric poem, ‘in the deep Pindaric sense of the term’, is the *Sepolcri* of Ugo Foscolo (d. 1827)⁵.

The Alcaic odes of Horace were imitated by Chiabrera⁶, and the ‘Roman Pindar’ was emulated by Fulvio Testi of Ferrara (1593—1606)⁷, of whom it has been said that ‘had he chosen his diction with greater care, he might have earned the name of the Tuscan Horace’⁸. The odes had already been imitated by Bernardo Bembo (1493—1569), by Bartolomeo del Bene of Florence (d. 1558)⁹, and, later than this century, by Luigi Cerretti (d. 1808)¹⁰ and others.

¹ Symonds, vii 316 f. Cp. Hallam, iii 9 f⁴; portrait in Wiese u. Pèrcopo, *It. Litt.* 399.

² Hallam, iii 114.

⁴ Wiese u. Pèrcopo, 532.

⁶ *ib.* 401.

⁸ Crescimbeni (Hallam, iii 10⁴).

¹⁰ Wiese u. Pèrcopo, 532.

³ Wiese u. Pèrcopo, 409.

⁵ *ib.* 532.

⁷ *ib.* 400, 402.

⁹ *ib.* 339.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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 England¹. Owing to the influence of the Counter-Reformation, and the training of the Jesuits, the energies of the classical scholars that still remained in France were diverted from pagan to Christian studies. Thus the Jesuit, Jacques Sirmond (1559—1651), edited Apollinaris Sidonius (1614)², together with a number of ecclesiastical writers. Another Jesuit, Denys Petau, or Petavius, of Orleans (1583—1652), besides editing Synesius (1612) and Epiphanius (1622), devoted a large part of his chronological work, the *Doctrina Temporum* (1627), to the criticism of Scaliger's *De Emendatione Temporum*³. A third, Fronton du Duc (1558—1624), edited Chrysostom; while a pupil of the Jesuits, Nicolas Rigault (1577—1654), edited Tertullian and Cyprian. Among other eminent men of learning, who were trained by that Society, were the brothers Henri and Adrien de Valois, and Du Cange, to whom we shall shortly return⁴. The Catholic side was also represented by François Guyet of Angers (1575—1655), a private tutor in Rome and Paris, whose posthumous works include acute criticisms on Hesiod and Hesychius,

Sirmond
Petavius

Guyet
Peiresc

¹ pp. 203, 207 *supra*.

² Cp. Gibbon's *Life and Letters*, 56, ed. 1869.

³ Hallam, ii 295-7⁴; Bernays, *Scaliger*, 76, 165.

⁴ pp. 287-9 *infra*. Cp. Tilley, in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* iii 61.



SALMASIVS.

From the engraving by Boulonnois in Bullart's *Académie*, 1682, ii 226.

and on Horace, Phaedrus, and Valerius Maximus, as well as recensions of Terence and Plautus, with a translation of the latter. His contemporary Nicolas Peiresc (1580—1637), who was educated by the Jesuits at Avignon, and distinguished himself in mathematics and in oriental languages at Padua, made the acquaintance of Camden and Saville on his visit to England in 1605. On returning to the South of France he began to form his extensive collection of marbles and medals. Among those whom he aided by his liberality were Grotius and Valesius, as well as Scaliger and Salmasius¹.

Claude de Saumaise, better known as Salmasius (1588—1653), was a native of Saumur. His early promise was recognised by Casaubon, who, writing to Scaliger in 1607, calls him a *juvenis ad miraculum doctus*². 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 Scaliger³, 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; in 1623 the ms was carried off to Rome, where it remained until 1797; and it was not until 1813-4 that the text of the whole work was printed by Jacobs. 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. It was said that what Salmasius did not know was beyond the bounds of knowledge⁴, but his erudition had its limits, for, in a discussion on the different varieties of silk, his 'profound, diffuse, and obscure researches'⁵ show that he was 'ignorant of the most common trades of Dijon or Leyden'⁶. 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).

¹ Hallam, iii 238—240⁴.

² *Epp.* 245-8, pp. 525—536.

³ *Hist. Aug.* pp. 388—391.

⁴ *Epp.* p. 284.

⁵ Hallam, ii 283⁴; p. 286 n. 6 *infra*.

⁶ Gibbon, c. 40 (iv 229 Bury).

The Chair of Scaliger, which had been left vacant at Leyden since 1609, was filled in 1632 by the call of Salmasius, who, like Scaliger, was expressly invited *not* to teach, but to 'shed on the university the honour of his name, illustrate it by his writings, and adorn it by his presence'¹. At Leyden he produced his 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. This was followed by an appendix *De Modo Usurarum* (1639). 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 time². In 1649 the exiled king, Charles II, then living in the neighbourhood at the Hague, requested Salmasius to vindicate the memory of Charles I in a Latin treatise that should appeal to the whole of Europe. Accordingly, Salmasius, 'a man of enormous reading and no judgment', a pedant destitute of either literary or political tact, and utterly ignorant of public affairs, prepared his *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I* (1649)³. The reply was entrusted to Milton, who, in his pamphlet entitled *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1651), began by attacking Salmasius for using *persona* of an individual, but, in the very same passage, unfortunately exposed himself to attack by using *vapulandum* instead of *verberandum*⁴. Milton's pamphlet teems with personalities, and the same is true of the rejoinder by Salmasius, which was his latest work⁵. Neither of the controversialists gained any credit, or even any pecuniary reward. Milton paid the penalty of his efforts in the total loss of sight, while Salmasius, who had left Leyden in 1650, for the Swedish court of queen Christina, ended his days in gloom. He left behind him a vast reputation for learning. He is called by Gronovius the Varro and Eratosthenes of his age, and he is lauded by Grotius as 'optimus interpres veteris Salmasius aevi'⁶.

¹ Funeral Oration by Voorst, in Pattison's *Casaubon*, 256^a.

² Hallam, ii 276^d.

³ Pattison's *Milton*, 106.

⁴ Milton's *Prose Works*, iv 6 Mitford; Johnson's *Lives*, i 102, ed. 1854.

⁵ 1653, printed in 1660.

⁶ Cp. Blount's *Censura*, 719 f, ed. 1690. He is severely criticised by Baillet, n. 511. 'Non homini sed scientiae deest, quod nescivit Salmasius' (Balzac).

Meanwhile, in the native land of Salmasius, Desiderius Heraldus (c. 1579—1649), professor of Greek at Sedan, and a member of the parliamentary bar in Paris, had published ‘animadversions’ on Martial (1600), besides writing a work on Greek and Roman law, which was published in the year after his death. Palmerius, or Jacques le Paulmier (1587—1670), who had studied law and Greek literature at Sedan, passed the last twenty years of his life at Caen, and, during that time, published at Leyden a volume of ‘Exercitations’ on the best Greek authors (1668). Pierre Séguier (1588—1672), President of the French Academy, was at the same time collecting those MSS, which led to his name being assigned to the *Lexica Segueriana* in a single MS in the Paris Library¹. The Jesuit François Vigier, or Vigerus, of Rouen (1591—1647), broke the ordinary Jesuit tradition of the predominant study of Latin by producing a work on the principal idioms of Greek (1627), which had the distinction of being successively edited anew by Hoogeveen, Zeune, and Hermann (1834)². 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 pedant³, 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). Greek was also studied by Charles Labbé (1582—1657), a parliamentary barrister of Paris, who published Glosses on Greek law (1607), and prepared an edition of the Glossaries of ‘Cyril and Philoxenus’, published after his death by Du Cange (1679). His namesake, the Jesuit Philippe Labbé of Bourges (1607—1667), edited several of the Byzantine historians, besides taking part in a great work on the Councils⁴. Editions of the Byzantine historians, Cinnamus and

Heraldus
Palmerius
Séguier

Vigerus
Maussac
Valesius

C. Labbé
P. Labbé

¹ Vol. i 406¹, 416²; portrait in Lacroix, *Science and Literature in the... Renaissance*, fig. 410 (p. 547 E.T.).

Vigerus, *De praecipuis graecae linguae idiotismis*. Cp. Hallam, ii 275⁴.

² E. de Broglie, *Mabillon*, i 60.

⁴ He also published numerous works on Greek Grammar, *Tirocinium linguae graecae*, etc.



DU CANGE.

From a print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Zonaras, and of the *Chronicon Paschale*, were produced by the erudite scholar and historian, Charles du Fresne, Du Cange
 sieur Du Cange (1610—1688), who was born at Amiens, and educated at the local Jesuit College. After studying law at Orleans, he was called to the parliamentary bar in Paris, but devoted himself mainly to historical studies at Amiens (1638—68) and in the capital. He is best known for his great Glossary of mediæval Latin, originally published in three folio volumes (1678)¹, and a corresponding Glossary of mediæval Greek in two (1688). The Jesuit, François Vavasseur (1605—1681), an elegant Latin scholar and the author of an *Anti-barbarus*, said of the lexicon of late Latin:—‘Il y a soixante ans que je m’applique à ne me servir d’aucun des mots rassemblés si laborieusement par M. Du Cange’. 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 palæography. 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 also edited Ville-Hardouin’s History of the Latin conquest of that city, and wrote a History of its Latin emperors, besides editing Joinville’s History of Louis IX. The edition of the Glossaries ascribed to ‘Cyril and Philoxenus’ etc. (1679) is closely connected with his own glossarial labours. He is one of the greatest lexicographers of France, and his work in this department still remains unsurpassed. He was a man of unaffected piety, and his sociable temperament won him many friends, among the most learned being Mabillon. He had a small but well-knit frame, and a fine figure. His statue in bronze, larger than life, still adorns the Place St Denis in his native city of Amiens².

¹ Ed. 4 in six vols. (1733—6); ed. Charpentier in ten (1766); in six (Halle, 1772—84); ed. Henschel in seven (1840—50); ed. Favre in ten (1883—7).

² Cp. Pref. to his *Amiens* (1840); Hardouin’s *Essai* (1849); Feugère in *Journal de l’Instruction publique* (mars, avril, 1852); *Lettres Inédites*, 1879; and other literature quoted in *Nouv. Biogr. Gén.*

The Society of Jesus, founded in Paris by Ignatius Loyola in 1534 and approved by Paul III in 1540, had, in spite of the opposition of the university, succeeded in establishing the *Collegium Claramontanum* in 1563. Expelled in 1594, they returned in 1609. In their celebrated schools they did much for the promotion of original composition modelled on Cicero and Virgil. Of their numerous Latin poets, the best-known in the 17th century were Petavius¹, Rapin², and Santeul (1630—1697), and in the 18th, Sanadon (d. 1733). Intensely conservative in their adherence to the *ratio studiorum* of 1599, they continued to use Latin in their text-books long after it had been abandoned by other teachers. The use of

French was one of the characteristics of the 'Little Schools' of the Jansenists of Port-Royal, founded in 1643 near the abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs, eight miles beyond Versailles, and suppressed in 1660. Their text-books included the Latin Grammar of Lancelot (1644), who also composed a Greek Grammar (1655), and a highly popular *Jardin des racines grecques* (1657), which remained in use for two centuries. The most celebrated pupil of Port-Royal was Racine, while their opponents, the Jesuits, claimed Corneille and Molière. More than a century after the suppression of Port-Royal, the Jesuits were themselves suppressed in 1761.

The anecdotist, Gilles Ménage of Angers (1613—1692), a parliamentary barrister, and prior of Mont-Didier, besides writing a discourse on the *Hautontimorumenos* of Terence, and notes on Lucian, produced several works which were repeatedly reprinted,—including notes on Diogenes Laërtius, the *Amoenitates juris civilis*, and the *Historia mulierum philosopharum*. A similar popularity has attended his *Poëmata*, a pleasing imitation of Ovid and Tibullus³, and the light anecdotes of a literary kind collected in the four small volumes of his *Menagiana*. He confesses that he cannot read a Greek author easily without the aid of a translation⁴, but he is quite capable of finding flaws of prosody in the Greek verses of Scaliger⁵. He is the original of Vadius in the *Femmes Savantes* of Molière (1672), and of the 'Pedant' in the *Caractères* of La Bruyère (1644—96), the translator as well as the imitator of Theophrastus (1688).

La Bruyère, Ménage, and Du Cange were all, sooner or later, elected members of the French Academy founded by Richelieu in 1635. During the five preceding years, while that Academy was coming into being, one of its original members, the minor poet

The French Academy and the 'Three Unities'

¹ p. 283 *supra*.

² p. 291 *infra*.

³ Hallam, iii 491⁴.

⁴ *Menagiana*, iii 61, ed. 1715.

⁵ *Menagiana*, i 326.

Chapelain, definitely formulated in France the theory of the Three Unities, which the dramatic critics of Italy had elicited from Aristotle, who really recognises no other Unity than that of Action. Chapelain converted Richelieu to his views and inspired the attack directed by the Academy against Corneille's *Cid* on the ground of its violation of the Unities. The controversy ended in 1640 with the victory of the theory of the Unities; Corneille was elected a member of the Academy in 1647, and in 1660 wrote a discourse recanting, at the bidding of the minor critics of his day, the principles he had himself followed in the *Cid*¹. The influence exerted in France by Italian commentaries on Aristotle's treatise on Poetry is further exemplified in the survey of the history of the subject by the Jesuit, René Rapin of Tours (1621—1687)², who is also the writer of an elegant Latin poem on Gardens³, and in his 'Parallels of Great Men' prefers the Latins to the Greeks⁴.

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. Ménage effectively says of him:— 'M. le Fèvre étoit un bon Gaulois de l'ancienne roche, qui faisoit autant gloire de sa pauvreté que de sa profession'. He was in fact so poor that he was compelled to part with his library, but he is famous, adds Ménage, not only as the editor of the works he has left behind him, but also as the father and the preceptor of Madame Dacier⁵. Faber's daughter, 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

André and
Anne Dacier

¹ Saintsbury, ii 257 f; Spingarn, 210.

² *Avertissement* to his *Réflexions sur l'Art Poétique d'Aristote* (1674).

³ Cp. Hallam, iii 491—3⁴.

⁴ *ib.* 541⁴.

⁵ *Ménagiana*, ii 17 f.

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; and, although it has been criticised for a too frequent resort to periphrasis, and for its occasional anachronisms, it deserves the praise of having been founded on an accurate knowledge of the text, and inspired by a boundless enthusiasm for the poet¹. As an editor of the Classics, she is represented in Greek by her Callimachus²; 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 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. Learning had indeed been declining since the days of Francis I, but the Latin Classics, though no longer exclusively cultivated for their own sakes, were still recognised as forming a part of general literature, and popular editions of the ordinary Latin authors were welcome. In addition to a Latin commentary, each of these editions had an *ordo verborum* below the text, and a complete verbal index. These points were not novel in themselves; the novelty lay in their application to the whole of the Latin authors included in the series. The best known of the editors are (besides Madame Dacier) Hardouin and Charles de la Rue. But the only distinctly scholarly edition was that of the *Panegyrici Veteres* by De la Baune, while Huet's conjectural emendations on Manilius prompted Bentley, the next editor of that poet, to describe Huet and Scaliger as *viros egregios*. All the volumes of the original edition have an engraving of 'Arion and the dolphin', and are inscribed with the phrase *in usum serenissimi Delphini*. The Dauphin, for whose benefit this comprehensive series of Latin Classics was organised by Huet, and for whom the 'Discourse on Universal History' was composed by Bossuet, celebrated the completion of his education by limiting his future reading to the list of births, deaths and marriages in the *Gazette de France*. He died four years before Louis XIV, who was succeeded by the Dauphin's eldest son.

¹ Bellanger, *Traduction en France*, 45—47. Cp. Hallam, iii 247¹.

² Bentley calls the editor *foeminarum doctissima*.

Huet, who in early life had seen Salmasius at Leyden, and had visited the court of queen Christina at Stockholm, was in frequent correspondence with many of the scholars of Europe. He was the founder of the Academy of Caen, and, in his edition of Origen, showed a singular sagacity as a conjectural critic. After devoting ten years to the tuition of the Dauphin, he spent ten summers at a beautifully situated abbey south of Caen, and was afterwards for fourteen years bishop of Soissons and Avranches. On his elevation to the bishopric, he did not cease to be a student, and the disappointed rustic, who was not allowed to see him at Avranches, 'because the bishop was studying', expressed a hope that the king would send them a bishop 'qui a fait ses études'. After resigning the mitre, he persisted in continuing his studies for the remaining twenty-two years of his life. He resided mainly at the abbey of Fontenai, near Caen, devoting most of his time to philosophical pursuits. His keen interest in classical studies led to his opposing the Cartesians, who despised the ancients. His Latin has been described as the characteristic Latin of the Jesuits, faultless, fluent, perfectly clear, and—insipid. A student of philosophy to the very end of a long life of more than 90 years, he is the modern counterpart of Carneades, as described by Valerius Maximus:—'laboriosus et diuturnus sapientiae miles; siquidem, nonaginta expletis annis, idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit'.

Huet had survived for fourteen years his learned contemporary, Jean Mabillon (1632—1707), one of the greatest ornaments of the Benedictine Order. Born in a Mabillon simple cottage at Saint-Pierremont in the diocese of Reims, he had delighted in passing his time in meditation under the shadow of an oak tree, the site of which was known long after as 'le chêne Mabillon'. He was a student at Reims, and, at the abbey of Saint-Remi in that city, he entered the Order at the age of twenty-two. Part of the next ten years was passed at the monasteries of Nogent, Corbie, and Saint-Denis, where his duties as custodian of the treasury of the abbey enabled him to cultivate his archaeological tastes. He had already seized every opportunity

¹ Pattison's *Essays*, i 244—305.



MABILLON.

From an engraving by Simonneau, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

for the study of MSS, when, at the age of thirty-two, he was invited by Luc d'Achery (1609—1685), the editor of the thirteen volumes of the *Veterum aliquot Scriptorum Spicilegium*, to take part in the learned labours of the Benedictines at the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the south of Paris.

The earliest home of the Benedictine Order in France was the monastery of Saint-Maur on the Loire, founded by St Benedict's favourite pupil, St Maur. The Order had been reformed in Lorraine and elsewhere by Didier de la Cour in 1613-8, and this reform had been taken up by Tarisse, who in 1630-48 presided over the 'Congregation of Saint-Maur', with its head-quarters at the ancient abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which continued to be a famous centre of religious learning until its suppression in 1792¹.

Mabillon was a member of this abbey 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. During the many years of his residence within its walls, the abbey was the resort of the foremost representatives of the learned world in Paris, including classical scholars such as Du Cange and Valesius. In less than three years after his admission, he produced the two folio volumes of his edition of St Bernard, a work in which he proved himself a sound critic, an able expositor, and the master of a pure and lucid Latin style. In the following year he published the first volume of his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, a historic work of the highest order, which was characterised throughout by a never-failing love of truth. The quest of manuscript materials for the composition of this and other learned works led to his visiting the monasteries of Flanders, Lorraine, Burgundy, Normandy, and Alsace. In the course of these investigations he produced his third great work, the folio volume of 635 pages, *De Re Diplomatica* (1681). The authority of the charters of Saint-Denis had been attacked, and the general object of the treatise was to set forth the proper method of determining the date and genuineness of ancient documents. A spirit of charity and candour is conspicuous in the preface; the work itself includes numerous *facsimiles* from charters and other ancient MSS, and it ends with a special tribute of thanks to the learned Du

¹ Cp. Vanel, *Les Bénédictins de Saint-Maur à Saint-Germain-des-Prés 1630—1792* (1896).

Cange. Its publication was welcomed as an important event by the world of scholars throughout Europe. After its publication the king desired to see the author, who was accordingly presented by Le Tellier, the archbishop of Reims, and by his rival, Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. In introducing Mabillon, Le Tellier said:— 'Sire, I have the honour of presenting to your Majesty the *most learned* man in your realm'. Bossuet, regarding this as a reflexion on his own learning, quietly suppressed the proud archbishop by adding:— 'and the *most humble*'. Even in recent times the value of the treatise has been recognised by M. Léopold Delisle, who says of Mabillon:—

The most illustrious of the pupils of Luc d'Achery added much to the collections of his master; above all he devoted himself to the task of dissipating the darkness that enveloped the historical documents of the Middle Ages, and, in his immortal treatise *De Re Diplomatica*, laid down the rules that have resisted the most vigorous attacks, rules whose truth has been confirmed by the most modern investigations¹.

The work was dedicated to Louis XIV's great minister, Colbert. In the following year Colbert invited Mabillon to examine, in the archives of Burgundy, the documents relating to the reigning house, and afterwards sent him to the libraries of Germany at the royal expense.

The time was not entirely favourable for a tour in Germany. The Germans had been exasperated by the sudden capture of Strassburg by the French (1681), and Vienna was being threatened by the Turks (1683). But the tour was accomplished with very little inconvenience in the happy companionship of Michel Germain, the devoted friend of Mabillon. It extended over parts of Bavaria, Switzerland, and the Tyrol, and included visits to Luxeuil, Bâle, Einsiedeln, St Gallen, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Salzburg, Munich, Innsbruck, Constance, Reichenau, Freiburg and Strassburg. At the prompting of Mabillon, the manuscript Chronicle of Trithemius was printed in the abbey of St Gallen. Some Greek MSS had been noticed at Augsburg, and MSS of Virgil at Reichenau; and a collection of Roman inscriptions, unknown to Gruter, had been discovered. The journey lasted from January to October 1683, and was recorded in the *Iter Germanicum*, in the last of the four volumes of the *Analecta* (1685).

A similar journey in Italy was taken at the king's charges by the same two monks. It lasted from April 1685 to June 1686, including a month at Milan, eleven days in Venice, seven months in Rome, one in Naples, ten days at

¹ *Cabinet des MSS*, 1874, ii 63.

Monte Cassino, and three at Bobbio, and more than one visit to Florence. At Florence they were greatly aided by the ducal librarian, Magliabecchi, whom Mabillon describes as a 'walking museum and a living library'; at Rome, they were shown all the objects of antiquarian interest by the eminent archaeologist, Fabretti. Among the numerous MSS, which they acquired in Italy for the royal library in Paris, was a fine copy of Ammianus Marcellinus. The tour was described under the title of the *Iter Italicum* in the first part of the first of the two quarto volumes of the *Museum Italicum* (1687).

Mabillon was subsequently invited to draw up a scheme of study for persons leading a monastic life. This was published in 1691, and was received with applause by the learned world. But it brought him into controversy with the Abbé Armand de Rancé, who had renounced all his preferments except the small priory of La Trappe (near Mortagne), where he founded a reformed community consisting of members of the Cistercian Order. In 1683 he produced his treatise, *Les Devoirs de la Vie Monastique*, permitting the monks no other employment than that of prayer, the chanting of the psalms, and manual labour, and enjoining perpetual silence and abstinence from study. Mabillon's lively friend, Michel Germain, indignantly exclaimed:—'he would condemn us to the spade and the plough!'¹ De Rancé's views reappeared in a modified form in his *Éclaircissements*. On the publication of Mabillon's *Traité des Études Monastiques*, de Rancé regarded it as a direct attack on his own principles, although his name was nowhere mentioned. The Abbé published a *Réponse* (1692), and in the same year was answered by Mabillon in his *Réflexions*. The controversy excited the keenest interest among scholars. On the publication of the *Traité*, Mabillon received a letter from Huet, congratulating him on his endeavour to disabuse the minds of those who had been led to believe that ignorance was a necessary qualification for a good monk². The controversialists were finally reconciled by the Christian charity exhibited by Mabillon in an interview with the Abbé de Rancé, which was brought about by the latter's friend, the widowed Duchesse de Guise. In 1701 the 'Academy of Inscriptions' was founded by Colbert, not with a view to the study of ancient inscriptions, but

¹ Valéry, *Correspondance*, ii 329.

² 13 Aug. 1691 (Valéry, ii 320). Cp., in general, Maitland's *Dark Ages*, 161-5 (ed. 1844).

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. Two years later he produced the first of the four folio volumes of the 'Annals' of the Benedictine Order, which occupied his attention until his death in 1707. In all his scholarly investigations he was inspired by a perfect charity, and an unfailing honesty of purpose. The guiding principle of his life may be found in the motto prefixed to the particular work which, among all his learned labours, has the closest connexion with scholarship: *scientia veri justique vindex*¹. His devoted friend, Thierry Ruinart, spent two years in collecting his papers and in writing his life. In 1819 his remains found their final resting-place in the second chapel to the right, as one enters the choir of the ancient abbey church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The inscription runs as follows:—

'Memoriae D. Ioannis Mabillon, Presbyteri, Monachi Ordinis S. Benedicti, Academiae Inscriptionum Humaniorumque Litterarum Socii, pietate doctrina modestia elapso iam saeculo clari, bibliothecarum tum nostratum tum exterarum diligentissimi indagatoris, in diplomatum sinceritate dijudicanda facile principis, Actorum Annualiumque Ordinis sui collectoris conditoris'².

The other tablets of the same date in the same chapel are in honour of Descartes, and of Mabillon's great successor among the scholars of the Benedictine Order, Bernard Montfaucon.

Montfaucon belongs to the next generation and is therefore reserved for a subsequent chapter. Meanwhile, the **Hardouin** Jesuit Jean Hardouin of Quimper (1646—1729) may here be mentioned as the editor of the Delphin edition of the elder Pliny (1685), and as the author of works on numismatics (1684 and 1693), who paradoxically maintained that almost all the ancient Classics were spurious products of the thirteenth century. He made an exception in favour of the *Georgics* of Virgil, the *Satires*

¹ *De Re Diplomatica*, 1681; cp. Jadart, 89.

² On Mabillon cp., in general, Ruinart (1709), Chavin de Meulan (1843), Valéry, *Correspondance Inédite* (1847), and esp. the works of H. Jadart (Reims, 1879), E. de Broglie, 2 vols. (1888); and S. Bäumer, *Johannes Mabillon, ein Lebens- und Literaturbild* (Augsburg, 1892).

and *Epistles* of Horace, with Cicero and the elder Pliny, and to these he was disposed to add Homer, Herodotus and Plautus. Thus he held that the *Odes* of Horace and the *Aeneid* of Virgil were written in the middle ages, an opinion that prompted his younger contemporary Boileau to remark that, although he had no love for the monks, he would not have been sorry to live with 'Frère Horace' or 'Dom Virgile'. Jacob Vernet of Geneva hit off his character in the following epitaph:—'in expectatione iudicii hic jacet hominum paradoxotatus..., credulitate puer, audacia juvenis, deliriis senex'¹.

Classical archaeology owed much to his short-lived contemporary, Jacques Spon of Lyon (1647—1685), who travelled with George Wheler in Greece and the Levant (1675—6), collecting coins and MSS and antique marbles. Drawings of the sculptures of the Parthenon were made in 1674, thirteen years before it was reduced to ruin during the Venetian siege of 1687². These drawings were formerly ascribed to the French artist, Carrey, but were probably produced by one of the two Flemish artists who accompanied the Marquis de Nointel³.

Spon (and
Wheler)

¹ E. de Broglie, *Mabillon*, i 105; borrowed partly from Ménage, *Vita Gargilii Mamurrae*, in *Misc.* 1652.

² Stark, 137 f; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, 62 f, 95 f, 345 f; Omont, *Athènes au xvi^e siècle* (1898), pl. i—xix; Springer-Michaelis, *Kunstgeschichte*, ed. 7, fig. 44.

³ Omont, 4 f.

CHAPTER XIX.

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. When the siege of Leyden had ended in the repulse of the Spanish forces, the heroism of the inhabitants was publicly commemorated by the institution of an annual fair and by the establishment of a university. The actual birth of that university was celebrated by a gorgeous series of ceremonies. In the van of an imposing procession were the allegorical representatives of the faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine; in the centre, a personification of Minerva, surrounded by Aristotle and Plato, Cicero and Virgil; and, in the rear, the professors and other officials of the newly-founded seat of learning. Meanwhile, a triumphal barge floated slowly down the Rhine, bearing to the place of landing the radiant forms of Apollo and the Muses. The barge was steered by Neptune, who had lately let loose the waters of the Ocean on the troops of Spain, and had thus relieved the siege of Leyden. As soon as the procession of the professors had reached the landing-place, each in turn was embraced by the Muses and Apollo, and all were welcomed by the recitation of a Latin poem¹. It was the happy inauguration of a seat of learning that had come into being under circumstances that were absolutely unique.

¹ Motley's *Dutch Republic*, ii 565-8; cp. Meursius, *Athenae Batavae*, 18-20. The current story that Leyden was offered a choice between a university and an annual fair free of tolls and taxes finds no support in the documentary history of Pieter Bor, vii 561, and (as I learn from Mr Hessels) is rejected by the latest historian of the Netherlands, Prof. Blok of Leyden.

The newly-founded university owed much to the foremost of its three Curators, the lord of Noortwyk, Janus Dousa (1545—1604)¹. As governor of Leyden he had been the brave leader of the beleaguered citizens; in Latin letters, he was then known for his poems alone, but he afterwards gave proof of his interest in Plautus (1587) and in other poets. His love of Plautus was inherited by his elder son, Janus (1571—1597), the Librarian of Leyden, while the younger, Franciscus (1577—1606), produced in 1597 a memorable edition of the fragments of Lucilius, in which the influence of Scaliger is apparent². The first Rector of Leyden was Petreius Tiara (1516—88), professor of Greek, translator of the *Sophistes* of Plato and the *Medea* of Euripides³. The same professorship was held from 1588 to 1612 by Bonaventura Vulcanius, or De Smet, of Bruges (1538—1614), an editor of Arrian, Callimachus, and Apuleius, who also published the glossary of Philoxenus⁴.

One of the two greatest services rendered to Leyden by its first curator, Janus Dousa, who was known as the 'Batavian Varro' and the 'Oracle of the University'⁵, was his happily inducing the great Latin scholar, Justus Lipsius (1547—1606), to take up his residence at Leyden in 1579. Born at Issche near Brussels, he had from the age of sixteen been a student at Louvain, where he specially devoted himself to Roman Law. In 1567 he had accompanied Cardinal Gravella to Italy as his Latin secretary. He spent two years in Italy, exploring the libraries and examining all the inscriptions he could find. In Rome he made the acquaintance of Muretus and other leading scholars, and collated transcripts of Tacitus, without ascertaining the existence of either of the two Medicean MSS. After returning to Louvain for a year of irregular life, he visited Dôle and Vienna. On his way back in 1572 he stayed for more than a

¹ Portraits of Janus, father and son, in Meursius, 87, 151, and in Boissard, IV 2 and VI 14.

² Portrait in Marx' *Lucilius*, 1906.

³ Portrait in Meursius, 83, and Boissard, VI 3.

⁴ Portrait in Meursius, 102, and Boissard, VI 5.

⁵ *ib.* 89; cp. Hamilton's *Discussions*, 332 f.



LIPSIUS.

IVSTO LIPSIO 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.

year at Jena, where he held a professorship. He there became a Protestant, and even delivered a violent discourse against the Catholics. He left Jena for Cologne, where he spent nine months, in 1574. In the same year his great edition of Tacitus was published at Antwerp. He then withdrew to his old home at Issche, but the horrors of civil war soon drove him from that defenceless town to the city of Louvain. In 1576 he was lecturing at the local university on the *Leges Regiae et Decemvirales*, and on the first book of Livy. The memorable invitation to leave the Spanish Netherlands for the Dutch university of Leyden led to his residing there with great distinction, as 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. After declining many tempting proposals from princes and bishops in Germany, in 1592 he 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. He also received a stipend as honorary professor of Latin at the *Collegium Trilingue*, which long remained closed in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. In one of his Dialogues he writes of Louvain in 1602:—*nunc jacent ibi omnia et silent*¹. Even the office of President of the College continued vacant for thirty years until 1606,—the year of the death of Lipsius².

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 Caesaris*³, was confirmed. He was so familiar with the text of Tacitus, that he 'offered to repeat any passage with a dagger at his breast, to be used against him if his memory failed him'⁴. The exegesis of his edition rests on a profound and accurate knowledge of Roman history and

¹ *Lovanium*, lib. III, c. iv.

² Nève, *Mém.* 103.

³ *Ann.* i 5.

⁴ *Niceron*, xxiv 119 (Hallam, i 486).

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. Except in the case of Seneca's *Tragedies* and Plautus, he did little for Latin Verse, and his work was of far greater service for the authors of the Silver Age than for Cicero. His familiarity with Cicero is, however, proved by his *Variæ Lectiones*, and by his decisive rejection of the *Consolatio* published by Sigonius¹. His thorough acquaintance with Latin literature and Roman history is conspicuous in his numerous treatises, especially in those entitled *De Militia Romana* and *Poliortetica* (the former including a commentary on the Roman camp as described by Polybius²), in his *Variæ* and *Antiquæ Lectiones* of 1569 and 1575 respectively, and in his *Epistolicae Quaestiones* (1577). His *Politica* is mainly a digest of Aristotle, Tacitus, and other ancient authors. A special interest attaches to the work on the pronunciation of Latin, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney (1586), in which he is distinctly in favour of always pronouncing C as K, and V as W, while he allows of some variation in the sounds of the vowels³. His study of the authors of the Silver Age led to his abandoning the moderate Ciceronianism of his earlier Letters and of his *Variæ Lectiones* for a style founded on Tacitus and Seneca, and even on Gellius and Apuleius⁴. Though he was fond of quoting Greek, his strength did not lie in that branch of scholarship. Scaliger said of him: *Lipsius n'est Grec que pour sa provision*⁵; and a remark in one of the Letters of Lipsius, 'Graecas litteras homini erudito decoras esse, necessarias non item', met with a protest, in his life-time, from Casaubon⁶, and, after his death, from Ruhnken⁷,

¹ Lipsii *Opera Critica* (Hallam i 508ⁿ.); p. 144 *supra*.

² Cp. Hallam, i 527⁴; founded on Fr. Patrizzi (cp. *Scal. Sec.* 143).

³ *Opera* (Antwerp, 1637), 441 f.

⁴ H. Stephanus, *De Lipsii Latinitate* (1595); cp. C. Nisard, *Triumvirat*, 39—42, 140—6.

⁵ *Scal. Sec.* 143.

⁶ *Épp.* 291, 294; with Lipsius' reply, *Ép.* 356 (Burman, *Sylloge*, i 376).

⁷ *Opera*, i 268. On the Life and Works of Lipsius, cp. Meursius, 109—115 (portrait, *ib.* and in Boissard, II ii 28); his portrait was painted by Rubens, Van Dyck, and Abraham Janssens (see p. 302 *supra*). Cp. also Blount,

who describes him as 'perfectus literis Latinis, Graecarum medicriter peritus'.

The Jesuit Andreas Schott of Antwerp (1552—1629) was, like Lipsius, a pupil of Cornelius Valerius, professor of Latin at Louvain (1557—78). After visiting Douai and Paris, he spent several years in Spain, as a professor at Toledo and Saragossa. Thereupon he entered the Society of Jesus, and was a teacher in Rome at the Collegio Romano. In 1597, at the age of 45, he returned to Antwerp, which remained his home for the rest of his life. To the Ciceronian controversy he contributed a pamphlet entitled *Cicero a calumniis vindicatus* (1613). His name is connected with the discovery of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, first copied by Busbequius (1555), *Legationis Turcicae Epp. iv* (1595), 65; and first published by Schott with Aurelius Victor (Antwerp, 1579) 65 f. He edited Aurelius Victor, Pomponius Mela, and Seneca the rhetorician; while his study of Greek is attested by his edition of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (1606), and the Chrestomathy of Proclus (1615). He was the first to edit the Proverbs of Diogenianus (1612); all his notes on those Proverbs were reprinted by Gaisford, and a small selection only by Leutsch and Schneidewin. Although he was a Jesuit, he was on friendly terms with Casaubon, their correspondence beginning in 1602. But in writing to Protestants he exercised a certain degree of caution; at the end of a letter to G. J. Vossius he simply subscribes himself as 'the darkling (*tenebrio*) who translated Photius'¹.

At Louvain, Lipsius was succeeded in 1607 by his pupil, Erycius Puteanus of Venloo (1574—1646), who at an early age was appointed professor of Eloquence at Milan, where he was honoured with the friendship of Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, the founder of the Ambrosian Library. He was the correspondent of many scholars throughout Europe, but the topics treated in his Latin works were unimportant, and he succeeded in his blameless ambition of being *bonus potius quam conspicuus*².

At Leyden, the place of distinction filled by Lipsius until 1590 was offered by Janus Doussa to Scaliger, who there produced his great work, the *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606). His life and works have been already noticed in connexion with the land of his birth³. In the land of his

591-4; Reiffenberg (1823); C. Nisard, *Triumvirat*, 1—148; Nève, *Mém.* 166—172, 322 f; G. H. M. Delprat, *Lettres Inédites* (1580—97), Amst. 1858; Van der Haeghen, *Bibliographie*; L. Müller, 24—29, 33—35; Urlichs, 62³ f.

¹ Colomiés, *Mélange Curieux*, 833. Cp., in general, Baguet in *Mém. Acad. Belg.* xxiii 1—49; van Hulst in *Revue de Liège* (1846); de Backer, *Bibliographie* i 710—727; Nève, *Mém.* 342 f; Pattison's *Casaubon*, 396—400³ n.

² Nève, *Mém.* 172—180; portrait in Boissard, VII II 3; Blount, *Censura*, 689; Max Rooses, *Musée Plantin* (1883), 32.

³ p. 199 *supra*.

adoption he continued to be famous as the greatest scholar of his age. Among those who came under his immediate influence at Leyden was Daniel Heinsius, to whom we shall shortly return.

Woverius¹ (1574—1612), a native of Hamburg, was Scaliger's pupil at Leyden, and, after living at Antwerp, travelled for some years in France and Italy. He was aided by Scaliger in his edition of Petronius; he also edited Apuleius. A greater interest attaches to his *Tractatio de Polymathia*, a fragment of a vast work on the learned studies of the ancients, the first attempt at a general survey of the whole domain of classical learning (1604)². He was an intimate friend of Philip Rubens (1574—1611), the elder brother of the artist. Both of the friends were pupils of Lipsius, and their friendship has been immortalised by the artist in a picture now in the Pitti Palace. The two friends are seated at a table covered with books, and between them is Lipsius. In a niche of the wall to the right, we see a copy of the bronze bust of 'Seneca' (whose works had been edited by Lipsius in 1605), with four Dutch tulips in a glass beside it; in the middle distance, we have a glimpse of a beautiful Italian landscape; while the artist himself is standing on the left³.

The teaching of History at Leyden was taken up in 1597 by Paulus Merula of Dordrecht (1558—1607), who had travelled extensively in France, Italy, Germany, and England, and was then practising as a barrister. Several of his antiquarian and geographical works were published after his death. Two years before his appointment, he published an edition of the Fragments of Ennius (1595). He professed to have found some of these in a MS of L. Calpurnius Piso at the monastery of Saint-Victor in Paris⁴, but this is now regarded as a fraudulent statement⁵. Merula's successor Badius was Dominicus Badius (1561—1613), an excellent composer in verse and prose, as is proved by his *Amores* and his *Orationes*. One of these was addressed to queen Elizabeth, another to James I, while a

¹ Jan van der Wouwer.

² Bursian, i 303, Urlichs, 74².

³ Cp. Émile Michel, *Rubens*, i 155. It is clear, from chronological considerations, that it is not *Grotius* who is here represented as the friend of Philip Rubens; and this opinion is confirmed, on other grounds, by Max Rooses as well as Émile Michel. A portrait of Lipsius, engraved for Woverius, p. 302 *supra*.

⁴ p. 424 of Hessel's ed. of Ennius, 1707.

⁵ Lawicki, *De fraude P. Merulae*, Bonn, 1852.—Cp. Meursius, *Ath. Bat.* 158 f; portrait *ib.*, and in Boissard, vi 16.

third is the funeral oration in honour of Scaliger (1609). Of his numerous letters many are addressed to Grotius¹. Petrus Scriverius of Haarlem (1576—1660), who lived at Leyden as an independent scholar, is best known as an editor of Martial (1619). He also edited the tragedies of Seneca and the works of Apuleius, but he was probably much more interested in writing his own poems and in printing repeated editions of the *Basia* of Joannes Secundus².

A far wider field of learning was covered by Gerard John Vossius (1577—1649), the greatest 'Polyhistor' of his age. Born of Dutch parentage in the neighbourhood of Heidelberg, he was educated at Dordrecht and Leyden, ultimately becoming Rector of the former in 1600 and of the latter in 1615. In 1622 he was appointed professor of Eloquence at Leyden, and, after holding that office for ten years, accepted the professorship of History at Amsterdam in 1631³. Seventeen years later, at the age of 72, when he was climbing a ladder in his library, he had a fall that proved fatal, thus dying (as Reisig has phrased it) 'in the arms of the Muses'. The subjects of his most important works 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. On its first appearance, Scaliger declared that he had learnt an infinite amount from its perusal, while Casaubon lauded its critical power and its wide erudition⁴. 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*, was warmly welcomed by Salmasius, and went through several editions, the latest of which appeared at Halle after the lapse of two centuries⁵. He also wrote a treatise *De Vitiis Sermonis et Glossematis Latino-barbaris* in nine books.

¹ *Epp. et Orationes*, ed. nova, 1642, portrait *ib.*, and in Meursius, 154, and Boissard, vi 15.

² Portrait of Scriverius in Meursius, 220, and Boissard, vi 27.

³ Meanwhile, he was offered a professorship of History at Cambridge in 1624, and was made Canon of Canterbury in 1629.

⁴ See also Saintsbury, ii 358.

⁵ Cp. Hallam, ii 288⁴.



GERARDVS IOAN. VOSSIUS.

Cornu Palaestinae, Lector, miracula terrae. Quid non exquirat scriptor in usque futuram:
Quem suus haud una persequitur aetate labor. Non alia scribi secula posse vana.
Sufficit acta dies alius, non sufficit illi. Et puer, et juvenis chartis impalluititur.
Ab insula, studii tempora modo putat. Et tunc non alium se cogit esse, senec.

G. J. VOSSIUS.

From Bloteling's engraving of portrait by Sandrart.

Four of these, published during his life-time (1645), may be briefly described as an *Anti-barbarus*; of the remaining five (1685), printed after his death, the most interesting part is on the *verba falso suspecta*, giving lists of many good Latin words that do not happen to be found in Cicero¹. 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. It resembles the corresponding treatise of the elder Scaliger². 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 Mythology³. The brother of his second wife was Franciscus Junius (1589—1677), Junius author of the *De pictura veterum* (1637 and 1694), and for thirty years librarian to the earl of Arundel⁴.

The Chair of History at Leyden, left vacant from the death of Scaliger in 1609 to the year 1631, might well have been offered to Gerard John Vossius, who had produced both of his important works on the Greek and Latin historians before the end of 1627. But in 1631 a native of another land, Salmasius Claude Saumaise, was invited to fill the vacant Chair, and it cannot be regarded as an entirely accidental coincidence that in that very year Vossius resigned the professorship of Eloquence at Leyden for that of History at Amsterdam. Saumaise, or Salmasius, whose earlier career we have already noticed in connexion with the land of his birth⁵, had produced in 1629 his great work on Solinus, but, after his appointment at Leyden, he edited authors of minor importance only, such as Scylax, Cebes, Simplicius, and Achilles Tatius, while he added

¹ Cp. Hallam, ii 287^f.

² See Saintsbury, ii 359.

³ *De Origine et Progressu Idololatriae, sive de Theologia Gentili*. On G. J. Vossius, cp. Meursius, *Ath. Bat.* 267—275 (portrait *ib.* and in Boissard, ix n # 1; also on p. 308 *supra*); Blount, 680; C. Tollius (1649); H. Tollius (1778); De Crane (1820); Hallam, ii 287^f; L. Müller, 40.

⁴ Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 25; Stark, 126. Cp. Lessing's *Laokoon*, c. 2 and c. 29.

⁵ p. 285 *supra*.



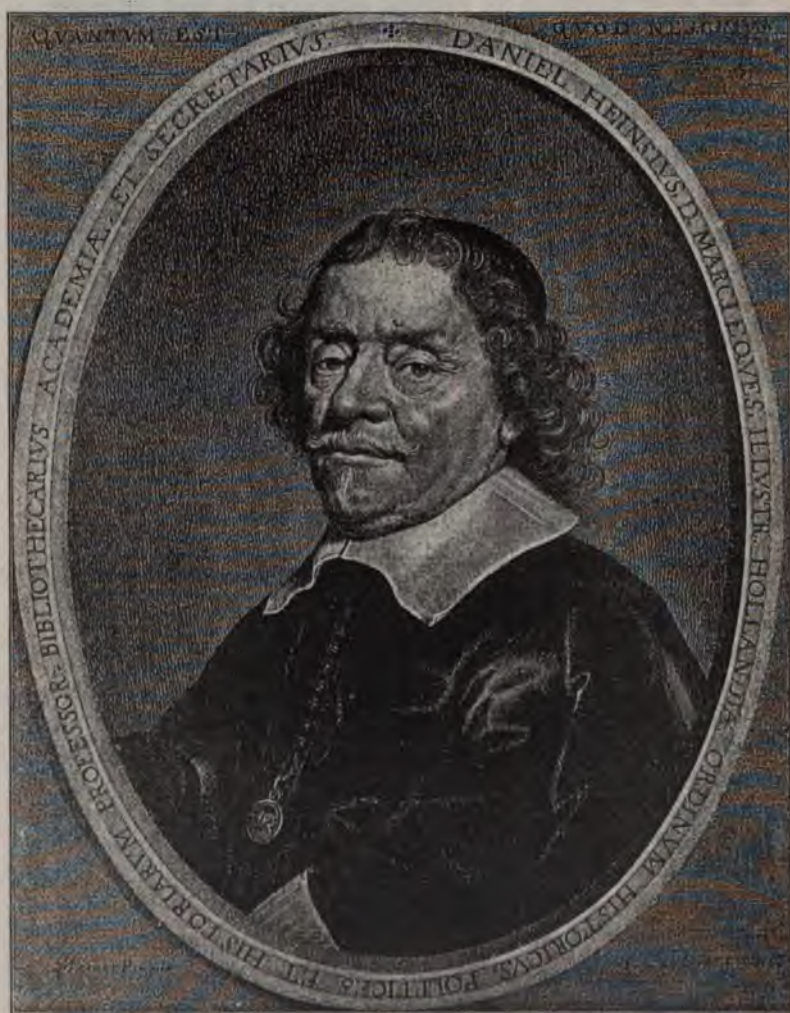
MEURSIUS.

From the engraving in Meursius, *Athenae Batavae* (1625), p. 191.

little to his reputation for learning, except by his work on usury, and his treatise disproving the existence of a separate Hellenistic dialect.

Jan de Meurs, or Joannes Meursius (1579—1639), who was born near the Hague, was a student at Leyden, and, after receiving the degree of Doctor in Law at Orleans, became professor of History and of Greek in his own university (1610). During the fourteen years of his professorial activity, he printed for the first time a number of Byzantine authors; he also produced the *editio princeps* of the *Elementa Harmonica* of Aristoxenus (1616), and edited the *Timaeus* of Plato with the commentary and translation of Chalcidius (1617). Most of his numerous lucubrations are concerned with Greek Antiquities, including the festivals, games, and dances of Greece, and the mysteries of Eleusis. Gronovius, who has gathered many of these into his *Thesaurus*, describes Meursius as 'the true and legitimate mystagogue to the sanctuaries of Greece'. 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. His treatise on the *Ceramicus Geminus* was first published by Pufendorf (1663), to whom Graevius dedicated his edition of the *Themis Attica* of Meursius (1685). 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 with curious cuts representing incidents connected with the siege, and (2) a series of biographies of the principal professors, contributed by themselves, with lists of their works and with their portraits. The date of its publication (1625) marks a turning point in his career. The work is dedicated to the chancellor of the king of Denmark, who had lately invited him to accept the professorship of History at the Danish university of Soroë, where he passed the last fourteen years of his life. The portrait prefixed to his autobiography in the *Athenae Batavae*, presents us with a face marked with an exceptional alertness and keenness of expression¹.

¹ p. 191, and Boissard, vi 23. See also D. W. Moller's *Disputatio* (1693); J. V. Schramm (1715); and A. Vorst, in preface to posthumous ed. of Theophrastus, *Char.* 1640 (reprinted in Gronovius, *Thes.* x); *Opera*, Flor. 1741-63.



DANIEL HEINSIUS.

From Snyderhuis' engraving of portrait by S. Merck. Print Room, British Museum.

Helias Putschius of Antwerp (1580—1606) was educated at Stade, near the mouth of the Elbe, and at Leyden, where he came under the influence of Scaliger. To Putschius Scaliger, who calls him an *egregius juvenis*¹, he dedicated his comprehensive collection of *Grammaticae Latinae auctores antiqui* (1605), printed from manuscript sources at Heidelberg, one of the many places in Germany where he lived before that early death at Stade, which prevented his completing the notes to that great work².

Cluverius of Danzig (1580—1623) visited Poland and Germany before he was sent to learn Law at Leyden. But he was much more Cluverius attracted to the study of Geography, and, under the influence of Scaliger, he devoted himself entirely to that subject. He served as a soldier for two years in Hungary, travelled in Bohemia, and in England and Scotland, as well as in France, Germany, and Italy. He had a wide knowledge of modern languages, and the Italian Cardinals endeavoured to retain him in Rome, but he remained true to Leyden, where he ended his days in receipt of an annual stipend, which did not involve any public duties as a teacher. He produced three important works on the ancient geography of Germany (1616), Sicily, with Sardinia and Corsica (1619), and Italy (1624). The first of these, as well as his Introduction to Geography, which was published after his death, was twice reprinted³.

A far longer life than that of Putschius the grammarian, or Cluverius the geographer, was allotted to one who was born in or about the same year as both. Daniel D. Heinsius Heinsius of Ghent (1580—1—1655) studied Law at Leyden, but his real interest lay in Plato and Aristotle. He found a friend in Scaliger, who bequeathed to him a number of his books, while Heinsius was deeply devoted to the memory of that great scholar, and published three orations in his honour⁴. His work on Greek authors, such as Hesiod and Aristotle's treatise on Poetry, was (except in the case of Theocritus) better than his work on Latin authors. He studied the treatise of Aristotle in connexion with the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace. His edition of the former (1611) is the only considerable contribution to the criticism and elucidation

¹ *Scal. Sec. s. v.*

² Life by Ritterhusius, 1608 and 1706, and by Wilcken, *Lindenbrogii* (1723), 82—112.

³ Cp. Meursius, *Ath. Bat.* 290 f, with portrait, and D. Heinsius, *Oratio* ix.

⁴ *Or.* ii, iii, xxix.

of the work that was ever produced in the Netherlands. It includes several satisfactory corrections of the text, a Latin translation completed in 'two or three days', and a number of original notes. In his pamphlet *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, published in the same year, 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 Seneca¹. It was through this work that he became a centre of Aristotelian influence in Holland². His influence extended, in France, to Chapelain and Balzac³, to Racine and Corneille⁴; in Germany, to Opitz⁵; and, in England, to Ben Jonson, who in his *Discoveries* (1641) borrows largely from Heinsius, without mentioning his name⁶. He also borrows from the criticisms of Heinsius on Plautus and Terence, first printed in that scholar's edition of Horace (1612)⁷.

His transpositions in the text of the *Ars Poëtica* and his verbal conjectures in the other works of Horace have been disapproved by Bentley and other critics; but his treatise *De Satyra Horatiana* is not without merit. His critical notes on Silius (1600), on the tragedies of Seneca (1611), and on Ovid (1629), are not much more valuable than those on Horace⁸. Nevertheless, his criticisms were highly praised by his contemporaries and by his immediate successors⁹. His Latin orations are sometimes deemed to be unduly grandiloquent, but his elegiac poems have a more uniform elegance than those of Buchanan, which they closely resemble. His *Juvenilia* in particular are marked by a repeated preference for a polysyllabic ending to the pentameter line¹⁰. He was highly honoured at home and abroad; he was made a Councillor of State by Gustavus Adolphus, and a knight of St Mark by the Republic

¹ Saintsbury, ii 356 f.

² Jonkbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1889⁴, iv 214 f.

³ *ib.* iii 60 f.

⁴ Pref. to *Don Sanche*.

⁵ Beckherra, *Opitz, Ronsard, und Heinsius*, 1888.

⁶ This has been pointed out to me by Prof. Spingarn, to whom all the above references are due.

⁷ See esp. Spingarn's *Sources of Jonson's 'Discoveries'*, in *Modern Philology*, ii (1905) 451—460, and M. Castelain's critical ed. (Paris, 1907).

⁸ L. Müller, 39.

⁹ Blount, 698.

¹⁰ Hallam, iii 51⁴.

of Venice; and was invited to the papal court by Urban VIII 'to rescue Rome from barbarism'¹.

Hugo Grotius (1583—1645), who was born at Delft and educated at Leyden, was eminent as a statesman, a diplomatist, a theologian and a scholar. His father Grotius wrote Latin poems, and corresponded with Lipsius in Latin prose. The son began writing Latin verses at the tender age of eight, and constantly practised the art until he was at least thirty-four. 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. In the same year he attended Olden-Barneveldt on an important mission to France, and was presented to Henry IV², who gave the young attaché a gold chain with his portrait. On his return to the Netherlands the youthful Grotius published his commentary on Capella, with a portrait of himself wearing the gold chain and the medallion. The work was welcomed by Scaliger, who divined the editor's future greatness³. 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). The controversy excited by the two theological professors of Leyden, Arminius and Gomar, continued long after the death of the former in 1609; and the Arminian (or anti-Calvinistic) opinions of Barneveldt led to his being sentenced to death with the approval of the Synod of Dort (1619). Grotius, who sympathised with Barneveldt, was condemned to imprisonment for life. The same sentence was pronounced on the president of the council of Ley-

¹ Cp., in general, Meursius, *Ath. Bat.* 209—219 (portrait *ib.*, and in Boissard, VI 26, bearing his modest motto, *quantum est quod nescimus*); Thysius, *Orat. Funeris*, 1655. Portrait on p. 312 *supra*.

² *Poëmata* (1617), p. 307 f.

³ *ib.* 519 f.

den, who, on hearing his doom, exclaimed in the words of Horace: *hic murus aëneus esto, nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa*. Grotius received his sentence in silence, reserving for a future time the publication of the proof of its scandalous injustice¹. In his prison he wrote in Dutch verse the first draft of his future treatise *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*; and the 'dulces ante omnia Musae' were now dearer to him than ever². All that he composed at this time was sent to G. J. Vossius at Leyden, and Vossius in his turn was permitted to send large parcels of books for the use of the imprisoned scholar. The books passed to and fro in a box about four feet long, and, by the ingenuity of his wife, it was in this box that, after the lapse of a year and ten months, the prisoner made his escape. In March, 1622, he fled to Paris, where he found friends among the scholars of the time, such as Salmasius and Peirescius. Once, in the company of the latter, a stranger asked how he could become as learned as Peirescius and Grotius, when Grotius replied: 'Lege Veteres, sperne recentiores, et eris noster'³. When Puteanus wrote to console the exile with the examples of Themistocles and Coriolanus, Grotius preferred to think of Aristides, and of Phocion, who in his last words sent a message to his son, bidding him never to reproach Athens with the penalty she had inflicted on his father⁴. In 1622 he published his Defence in Dutch and in Latin. 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 Greece⁵. The Latin version of the extracts in Stobaeus had occupied him during the imprisonment at the Hague immediately before his trial, and, curiously enough, he had just reached the 49th Section, *On the Criticism of Tyranny*, when the pen was taken from his hand⁶. In the three short years between the publication of his Stobaeus and 1625 he composed his classic work *De Jure Belli et Pacis*⁷. In the same year he completed the Latin version of the *De Veritate* and offered

¹ *Apologeticus*, c. 19.

² Luden, 171 n.

³ 1626; enlarged by Gataker in his *Miscellanies*.

⁴ *Ep.* 200, p. 71.

⁵ *Ep.* 125.

⁶ *Ep.* 164, p. 62.

⁷ Hallam, ii 544—589^d.

Scriverius some memoranda on the tragedies of Seneca¹. He also put together certain notes and emendations on Tacitus, which reminded him to resume his Latin History of Holland. The emendations were subsequently printed in 1640 in a new issue of the edition of Lipsius. His translation of Procopius was not published until ten years after his death. His rendering of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides in Latin Verse, begun in prison, was completed and published in 1630.

His attempt to return to his native land was rudely met by a decree of perpetual banishment. But the treatise *De Jure Belli et Pacis* had been specially admired by the great warrior Gustavus Adolphus; Grotius entered the service of Sweden, and in 1635 began his career as envoy of the young queen Christina at the court of France. Fourteen years later, he asked for his recall; the request was granted; on his way to Sweden, he was welcomed by his friends at Amsterdam and Rotterdam. He had an interview with the queen at Stockholm, and left for Lübeck (presumably) in the hope of returning to his native land. His ship was, however, wrecked on the Pomeranian coast, and he was only able to drive as far as Rostock, where he died. His embalmed body was afterwards buried in the tomb of his ancestors at Delft, and the place of his rest was marked by an epitaph, which he had himself composed:—

'Grotius hic Hugo est, Batavus, Captivus et Exul,
Legatus Regni, Suecia magna, tui'.

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 (as we have seen) 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, and the former of these was imitated by Vondel and by Milton. He had translated the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, and the poetic extracts in Stobaeus; 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 renderings of the Planudean Anthology. In the course of this work he corrected the original text in many passages, and in this

¹ *Ep.* 101, p. 784.

connexion consulted Salmasius¹, who had made his memorable discovery of the more comprehensive Palatine Anthology in 1606, and was still contemplating an edition of the same. For the appearance of that edition Grotius waited in vain; he continued to revise and polish his renderings, and lived in the hope of seeing this work printed, not in France, but in Holland². The printing had even begun³, when the work was laid aside, and these admirable renderings did not see the light until 150 years after the translator's death⁴.

He was less skilful as a critic of the text of the tragic and comic poets of Greece, than as a translator; but he had a singular faculty for illustrating any passage with the aid of apt parallels from his wide reading of the Classics. His Latin poems give abundant proof of his poetic taste; and his immature verses of 1598 were superseded by the edition of his poems collected by his brother in 1617. Of the Latin poets of that age, Baudius may excel in fancy; Broukhusius, and the elder and younger Heinsius, in smoothness of style; but Grotius surpasses all in the success with which he reproduces the spirit of classical poetry, and clothes modern thoughts in ancient forms. Lucian Müller, in the course of a long and interesting examination of his Latin verse, quotes, as a solitary example of a departure from classical usage, the following couplet referring to a portrait of Scaliger painted shortly before the death of that great scholar:—

‘haec est Scaligeri mortem meditantis imago,
luminis heu tanti vespera talis erat’.

‘The evening of life’ (adds the critic) ‘is a modern, not an ancient, metaphor’⁵. On the contrary, the ‘evening of life’ is a metaphor approved by Aristotle⁶, who quotes a parallel from Empedocles and might have quoted another from Aeschylus⁷; and Daniel

¹ *Epp.* 368, 418. ² *Epp.* 527, 612, 1698 etc.; *Suppl.* 402, 486, ed. 1687.

³ *Ep.* 1721.

⁴ His secretary, E. le Mercier, deposited the original in the library of the Jesuits' College in Paris in 1665. It was published by Jerome de Bosch at Utrecht in 1795–8, with the aid of a transcript from England, corrected by Grotius himself (Luden, 278). It has since been reproduced as part of the Didot ed. of the *Greek Anthology*.

⁵ p. 203.

⁶ *Poët.* c. 21 § 6.

⁷ *Agam.* 1123.

Heinsius, who, like Grotius, was one of the favourite pupils of Scaliger, had translated in 1611 the very treatise in which Aristotle approves this metaphor¹. Grotius could hardly have failed to be familiar with this work.

Of all the scholars to whom he addresses his poems, the first place belongs to Heinsius², who, as it happened, was afterwards Secretary of the Synod of Dort, which condemned Grotius. Among the rest are Scaliger³ and Meursius⁴. A scholarly interest attaches to his iambic poem on *Docta Ignorantia*, the point of which is driven home in the final line:—'Nescire quaedam, magna pars Sapientiae est'⁵. In the preface he confesses to an *ingenium sequax ac ductile*, which made it easy for him to imitate any Latin poet in whose works he happened to be interested. His vocabulary is even coloured occasionally by his study of Roman law, which is directly represented by his poetic paraphrase of a long passage in the *Institutes* of Justinian⁶. He skilfully imitates the *Apophoreta* of Martial in a long series of couplets on the articles, which the thrifty Dutchman, so far from presenting to his friends, carefully keeps for himself. In this series the couplet on *Pocula cerevisiaria*, in which the contents of those glasses are lauded as *pretiosior unda Lyaco*⁷, led to an amusing controversy with the French scholar, François Guyet, who patriotically preferred the national beverage of France⁸.

The next generation to that of Grotius is represented by Johann Friedrich Gronov (1611—1671). He was born at Hamburg and studied at Leipzig and Jena, entered Leyden in 1634, and completed his academic education

¹ p. 47, *Dicit ergo...senectutem vesperam vitae*.

² pp. 73, 230, 251, 324, 335, 372, 373, 376. Cp. Heinsius ad Grotium, 531-3; and Baudius on Grotius and Heinsius, 527, 529.

³ pp. 299, 300, 344, 360; and seven poems on his death, 357 f.

⁴ pp. 247, 288, 335, 336, 362. There are also poems on Gruter's *Inscriptions* (235); on Gorlaeus (322) and his *Dactyliotheca* (176); on Scriverius, editor of *Martial* (381); and on the death of Lipsius (239, 345); lastly, a poem by Vossius on the works of Grotius (541).

⁵ 331: cp. Quint. i 8, 21; Scaliger, *Poemata, Iambi*, xx; and Gibbon, *Autob.* 54, ed. 1869; also Sir W. Hamilton's Appendix on 'Learned Ignorance' in *Discussions*, 601-7.

⁶ pp. 433-452.

⁷ p. 428.

⁸ On the life and works of Grotius, cp. Burigny (1750 f); H. Luden, Berlin, 1806; Caumont, *Étude*, Paris, 1862; Neumann, Berlin, 1884; and literature in Eckstein, and Pökel, s. v. *Testimonia* in Blount, 663-7. Portrait in Meursius, *Ath. Bat.* 204, and elsewhere; also a coloured print, including his escape from prison, published by J. Wilkes, 1806; see also Fred. Muller's *Catalogus* (Amst. 1853).



J. F. GRONOVIVS.

From an engraving by J. Munnickhuysen.

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 describes the large classes that attended the lectures of Heinsius, whom he succeeded 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 of Tacitus and Gellius. 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 Phaedrus and Martial, Seneca and Statius. His edition of Plautus is marred by an imperfect knowledge of metre, which has been noticed by Bentley¹. His breaking ground in Greek is hailed with delight by the French scholar, Tanaquil Faber², but his published work was almost entirely confined to Latin³. His son and grandson will be mentioned in the sequel.

Meanwhile, we turn to certain scholars of the same generation, the sons of a distinguished father, G. F. Vossius.

¹ *Em. in Men. et Phil.* p. 484 Meineke, 'Gronovius senariorum rationes parum intelligebat'.

² *Ep.* 75.

³ *Testimonia* in Blount, 741 f; cp. L. Müller, 42—44; also the Life by N. Wilckens (1723), and in the *Lectioes Plantinae* (1740); and J. Moller, *Cimbria Litterata*, iii 265—282.

All of his sons were singularly precocious. Dionysius (1612-33) was the short-lived librarian of Amsterdam; and Gerhard (1620-40) edited Velleius Paterculus at the age of nineteen. His second son, Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), who was born at Leyden, was appointed professor of History at Amsterdam at the age of fifteen. Nine years later he visited Italy, and we find him giving his friend N. Heinsius a graphic account of the difficulties he experienced in seeking admission to the libraries in Rome¹. In 1649 he left Amsterdam for the court of queen Christina. He taught the queen Greek, and sold her a large number of his father's valuable MSS. She is the 'Xanthippe' of his letters to Heinsius. He left Sweden in 1652 owing to a dispute with Salmasius, and, six years later, in an edition of Pomponius Mela, had the satisfaction of noticing some of the geographical mistakes made in his opponent's work on Solinus. He repeatedly visited Paris, and was tempted to enter the service of France, which would have made it necessary for him to become a Catholic. But he preferred becoming an Anglican, not (like Casaubon) on grounds of real belief, but because he desired to retain the right to a certain degree of speculative freedom. His sponsor in England was John Pearson, the scholarly Master of Trinity, who had been attracted by his work on Ignatius. He received an honorary degree at Oxford (1670), and was presented by Charles II with a prebend at Windsor (1673), but he scandalised his colleagues by reading Ovid during the services in St George's Chapel, and by saying of one of their number who was absent from Windsor but was loyally doing his duty at his country-living:—'est sacrificulus in pago et rusticus decipit'. With his scepticism he combined a singular degree of credulity, and it was possibly the credulity exhibited in his work on the Sibylline Oracles (1679) that prompted Charles II to say of him: 'He is a strange man for a divine; there is nothing that he will not believe, if only it is not in the Bible'. He is said to have been intimately acquainted with the manners and personages of all ages but his own. Evelyn, who met 'the learned Isaac Vossius' at dinner 'at my Lord Chamberlain's'², discourses, ten years later, on the erudite note on tacking, which Vossius had introduced into his commentary on Catullus³. The miscellaneous character of his learning is also illustrated by his telling Evelyn 'of a certain harmony produced by the snapping of carters' whips, used of old in the feasts of Bacchus and Cybele'⁴. Evelyn further notes that, with the aid of MSS, he had corrected Justin 'in many hundreds of places most material to the sense and elegancy'⁵. He held his prebend at Windsor for sixteen years, and, when he died, his fine library of 762 MSS was offered 'at a great price' to the Bodleian, and Bentley, who was then at Oxford, did his best to bring about its purchase⁶; but the executors

¹ Burman's *Sylloge*, iii 561.

² *Diary*, 31 Oct. 1675.

³ iv 20.

⁴ Evelyn to Pepys, 23 Sept. 1685 (*Diary* etc. iii 278, q. v.).

⁵ *ib.* iii 190.

Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 211; and Bentley's *Correspondence*, 6-8.

carried the MSS back to Holland, where they expected 'a quicker market'. 'I wished with all my heart' (says Evelyn) 'some brave and noble Maecenas would have made a present of them to Trinity College, Cambridge'¹. Had the MSS remained in England, instead of being bought by Leyden, Bentley, who was then working at Lucretius, might, with the aid of the two Vossian MSS of that poet, have anticipated Lachmann's discoveries by a century and a half². Isaac Vossius (as we have seen) edited Justin, and the minor geographers, Scylax and Pomponius Mela, his edition of the former including an anonymous *periplus* from the library of Salmasius. His Catullus, published in London in 1684, is rich in curious erudition, but is not highly esteemed. One of his best works is his treatise *De poematum cantu et vocibus rhythmicis*, published anonymously at Oxford in 1673. He there 'retraces the ancient alliance between poetry and music, insists on a strict adherence to the rules of prosody', and 'dwells on the beauty of rhythmical movement'³. His principal characteristic is a not inconsiderable versatility, but he is unquestionably inferior to his father⁴. It may, however, be remembered to his credit that his learning attracted the interest of bishop Pearson, and that his correspondents included Laud and Ussher, as well as his accomplished countryman, the younger Heinsius⁵, who follows next in order.

Niklaas Heinsius (1620—1681), the only son of Daniel Heinsius, was born in Leyden. He travelled in England (1641), France (1645), Italy (1646), and Sweden (1649). In 1651 he resided in Italy as the envoy of queen Christina; he 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 at Vianen, a small place on the lower Rhine, S. of Utrecht; and he died at the Hague. His library, which was sold by auction for a considerable sum after his death, included all branches of learning, but was peculiarly rich in editions of the Latin poets⁶. For a large part of his career he was engaged in diplomatic and political work;

¹ Evelyn to Pepys, 12 Aug. 1689 (iii 306).

² Munro's *Lucretius*, i p. 17².

³ *D. N. B.* s. v.

⁴ Hallam, iii 244⁴, is not sufficiently decisive on this point.

⁵ On Isaac Vossius, cp. Aa's *Woordenboek*, xix 416; Danou in *Biogr. Univ.* xlix; and authorities quoted in *D. N. B.* Correspondence in *Vossii et Clarorum Virorum Epistolae* (1690), and with N. Heinsius in Burman's *Sylloge*, iii 556—692.

⁶ Peerlkamp, *De Vita, Doctrina, et Facultate Nederlandorum, qui carmina Latina composuerunt*, 426.



N. HAMSTRUS.

From the frontispiece to his *Adversaria* (1742).

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. His Latin poems are brighter in style than those of his father and of Grotius, and are fully as graceful as those of Baudius and Broukhusius. 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. In making his selection from the vast mass of variants, he was guided by a fine taste and a sound judgement acquired by long experience¹. While Gronovius had devoted himself entirely to the writers of Latin prose, his friend, the younger Heinsius, was almost exclusively an editor of Latin poets. He produced editions of Claudian (1650), Ovid (1652), Virgil (1664), Prudentius (1667), and Valerius Flaccus (1680), besides leaving notes on Catullus, Propertius, Phaedrus and Silius Italicus, which were published long after his death². In Latin prose he only edited Velleius Paterculus (1678), 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. As a critic, he is more concerned with single words or phrases, than with the composition as a whole. The fact that Virgil and Ovid formed a kind of conventional phraseology, which became current in Latin poetry, made it comparatively easy for one who was familiar with that phraseology to correct the texts of the Latin poets. Cicero and Livy had no similar influence on their immediate successors,

¹ L. Müller, 51 f.

² *Adversaria* (1742).

who have in general a definite individuality. This may explain the fact that Heinsius is less successful as a corrector and a critic of Velleius Paterculus, Curtius and Tacitus, than of Claudian and Silius Italicus¹. But we may also attribute his success as a critic of the poets to the fact that he was himself endowed with a high degree of imaginative power and with a singularly felicitous taste. In his works in general he wears his learning 'lightly, like a flower'. While his pressing engagements as a diplomatist and a statesman robbed him of the leisure which might have enabled him to produce a longer array of learned lucubrations, it can hardly be doubted that 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. In his Latin verse, he shares with the other poets of the Netherlands a certain partiality for Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, but his own model is mainly Ovid. Two of the happiest of his elegiac poems are those on the Bay of Naples², and on the girls skating on the frozen Rhine³. His eulogy of General Monk as the restorer of the Stuarts includes the couplet:—

'Harmodios Atthis, Brutos ne Roma loquatur;
Pulchrius haec longe dextra peregit opus'⁴.

Among his many 'occasional' poems, a special interest attaches to those concerned with *Ménage* and *Balzac*⁵; Thomas May, the continuator of *Lucan*⁶; *Scriverius*, the editor of *Martial*⁷; and J. F. Gronovius:—

'Optimus antiqui Gronovius arbiter aevi,
Cui nihil ignotum saecula cana ferunt'⁸.

In his Latin letters, his chief correspondents are Gronovius⁹ and Graevius¹⁰.

¹ Ruhnken's *Praef. in Velleium*, 'haec tantopere celebrata felicitas illum destituit in prosae orationis scriptoribus, Velleio, Petronio, Curtio, Tacito'.

² p. 12 f, ed. 1666.

³ p. 234.

⁴ p. 82.

⁵ pp. 255—260.

⁶ p. 274.

⁷ p. 203.

⁸ p. 85; cp. 18, 107, 228.

⁹ 342 Letters in Burman's *Sylloge*, iii 1—555.

¹⁰ 699 Letters, *ib.* iv 1—733. Portrait in his *Adversaria* (1742), reproduced on p. 324.

Among the scholars who, like Heinsius, were connected with the queen of Sweden, was Marcus Meibomius (1630—1710), who lived Meibomius for a short time at the Swedish court. He was a professor at the Danish university of Sorø, and at Amsterdam. An interval of forty years separates his Latin translation of the *Antiqui Musici Scriptores* (1652) from that of Diogenes Laërtius (1692).

The cosmopolitan scholar, Ezechiel Spanheim (1629—1710), was born in Geneva. His father was celebrated Spanheim as a theological professor, first at Geneva and next at Leyden, where the son continued his early education from 1642 to his father's death in 1649. At the age of twenty-two he became professor of Eloquence at his native town; travelled in Italy until 1665 as tutor to the son of Charles Louis, Elector-Palatine, and subsequently represented the Elector in London; and was the envoy of Frederic III, Elector of Brandenburg, at Paris in 1680, and, on that Elector's becoming the first king of Prussia in 1701, represented him in London for the last eight years of his life. His principal work, *De Praestantia et Usu Veterum Numismatum*, was published at Rome during his visit to Italy (1664)¹. He also contributed a prolix commentary to the posthumous edition of Callimachus (1697) bearing the name of Theodorus Graevius (1669—92), a son of J. G. Graevius². Lastly, he produced an edition, and a French translation, of Julian (1696). Wytttenbach thought more highly of Petavius than of Spanheim as a commentator on the first Oration of Julian: 'Spanheimius multa, non multum legerat; at eruditio ejus censeri debeat multitudine ac varietate, non vi ac ratione'³.

Johann Georg Greffe, or Graeve, better known as Graevius Graevius (1632—1703), was born at Naumburg, educated at Schulpforta, and at the universities of Leipzig, Deventer and Leyden. He was professor of Eloquence at Duisburg (1656) and Deventer (1658), and at Utrecht (1662), where

¹ Ed. 2 (1671); ed. nova (London, 1706; Amst. 1717), with portraits.

² Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 62, 76, 189, 195.

³ *Juliani...Oratio*, 166, ed. Schaefer (1802).—*Opera omnia* in 3 folio vols. (Leyden, 1701—3); many papers in Graevius, *Thesaurus*. Portrait in Trinity Lodge, bequeathed by Spanheim; engravings dated 1683 and 1700 in F. Muller's *Catalogus*, 5044—6, also in editions of his principal work, and in Nicéron etc.—Cp. Cambridge ed. of Matthew Prior, ii (1907) 183.

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, and primarily to Cicero, whom Gronovius had admired without either imitating his style or editing his works. Graevius 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). He further edited the Latin historians, Justin, Suetonius, Florus, and Caesar. Finally he published the *Inscriptiones Antiquae* (1707), and the works of earlier scholars collected and reprinted in the three *Thesauri*, (1) *eruditionis scholasticae* (1710); (2) *antiquitatum Romanarum*, in twelve folio volumes (1694-9); and (3) *antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, in nine volumes (1704), continued by Burman (1725). In so vast an output of learned labour, we cannot expect all the parts to be equally excellent, and it is in his recension of Cicero's *Letters* that we may most clearly trace the salutary influence of Gronovius. The Latin style of his Prefaces, his Speeches and his Letters, is elegant, but he did not succeed in creating a school of style among his pupils¹. The correspondence begun by Bentley in 1692 was continued with little intermission until the death of Graevius in 1703². 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; and Graevius, whose attention was first drawn to Bentley by the *Epistle to Mill*, hailed him as the *novum sed splendidissimum Britanniae lumen*³.

The successor of Gronovius at Leyden in 1672 was his pupil Theodor Rycke of Arnheim (1640-1690), who produced an annotated edition of Tacitus (1687), and a small volume of *Animadver-*

¹ *Praefationes et Epp.* (1707); L. Müller, 45.

² Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 49 f; *Correspondence* (1842), 41-270 *passim*, and *Epistolae* (1825), 1-125 (with portraits of both); also in Haupt's *Opus.* iii 89-107.

³ *Praef. ad Callimachum.* Cp., in general, Frotscher's *Narrationes*, 1826, i 134-204.

siones (1686), which attained the distinction of being reprinted in three volumes at Dublin (1730). Another pupil of Gronovius was his son Jakob (1645—1716), who studied under his father at Deventer and Leyden, visited England, Spain and Italy, and was professor of Greek at Pisa, and at Leyden from 1679 to his death thirty-seven years later. Besides producing new editions of his father's Tacitus, Gellius, and Seneca's tragedies, he edited Herodotus and Polybius, Cicero, Livy and Ammianus Marcellinus, as well as Harpocration, and Stephanus Byzantinus. He also produced a *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum* in thirteen folio volumes (1697—1702), volume 12 including an enlarged Latin edition of Potter's *Antiquities*. A special interest attaches to his *editio princeps* of Manetho (1689). Bentley's success in correcting the fragments of Callimachus aroused the envious spirit, the angry temper and the vituperative tongue of Jakob Gronovius, whose failings as an editor of Cicero led him to be described by Bentley ten years later in language of unwonted severity¹. Bentley's subsequent correction of a fragment of Menander, and of the errors committed by Gronovius in attempting to correct it, prompted the latter to attack Bentley once more in a pamphlet, in which the bitterness of the tone is only equalled by the harshness of the style². The reputation of this industrious scholar has been unduly enhanced by the credit he derived from his father's fame, which, in the third generation, descended in a diminished degree on Abraham Gronovius (1695—1775), an editor of Aelian, and Librarian of Leyden³.

Jan van Broekhuizen, or Janus Broukhusius of Amsterdam (1649—1707), was a pupil of Hadrianus Junius. Skilfully discriminating between the special aptitudes of two of his pupils, Hadrianus recommended Ovid as the best model for Petrus Francius, and Propertius for Broukhusius. So successful was the latter that he became known as the 'Propertius of Holland'. The love of Latin literature, with which he had been inspired by his master, never deserted him. On the death of his father, his uncle vainly endeavoured to apprentice him to an apothecary. Rather than submit he enlisted as a soldier, and rose to the command of one of the bodies of troops stationed at his native city of Amsterdam. But he never ceased to read and to imitate the Latin poets, and especially Propertius and Tibullus, and also to prove himself an original poet in his lyric as well as his elegiac pieces⁴. He began his literary career

¹ *homunculus eruditione mediocri, ingenio nullo*; Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 226.

² *ib.* i 276.

³ Cp. L. Müller, 44.

⁴ *Poëmata*, 1684 and 1711; Peerlkamp, 455—460.

as an editor of the modern Latin poems of Aonio Paleario (1696), and his edition of Sannazaro was published in 1728, twenty-one years after his death. The former of these works was followed by an elaborate edition of Propertius (1702, ed. 2 1727), in which he is far too apt to reduce the poet's rough and vigorous phrases to an Ovidian smoothness. After the publication of his first edition, he transcribed all the notes of N. Heinsius on Propertius, and his transcript was printed by Burman, at the end of his publication of the *Adversaria* of Heinsius (1742)¹. His own edition of Propertius was followed by one of his other favourite poet, Tibullus (1708).

Petrus Francius (1645—1704), the fellow-pupil of Broukhusius, had the honour of reciting a Virgilian poem in the 'New Church' of Amsterdam in memory of the heroic Admiral Ruyter, who had fallen in a victorious engagement off the shore of Sicily. So vast was the crowd which thronged the church to listen to the poem, that the poet's friend, the scholar-soldier, Broukhusius, who was in command of the troops on that occasion, resorted to the use of the Latin language in addressing every applicant for admission, and all who replied in Latin were immediately admitted. His skill in carrying out his master's injunction to imitate Ovid is fully proved by his published poems (1697). His early travels in England, Italy, and France, were followed by his election, first to the Chair of History and Eloquence, and, next, to that of Greek at Amsterdam. He carried out a small part of his plan for rendering all the Greek epigrams of the Planudean Anthology into Latin verse². He also published some Latin Orations, which were attacked by an inferior composer, the learned Perizonius (1651—

Perizonius 1715). The vernacular name of the latter was Voorbroek, and under the Latinised name, Accinctus, he wrote a Latin letter 'ad P. Francium Barbarum'. But, as a Latin composer, Perizonius only excited the ridicule of Francius. His strength lay in another line. He produced an annotated edition of the *Minerva* of Sanctius, while he was still a professor at Franeker (1607). He was called to Leyden in 1693. His best

¹ Burman's Funeral Oration (1708), and Peerlkamp, *l. c.*

² Peerlkamp, 446—453.

work as an editor is his recension of Aelian's *Varia Historia* (1701). He also produced a learned dissertation on Dictys (1702). In his *Origines Babylonicae et Aegyptiacae* (1711), he was the first to suggest the spuriousness of the royal lists of Manetho, and he defended the chronology of Scaliger against the criticisms of Sir John Marsham. 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 Rome¹.

Classical archaeology in the Netherlands is best represented by his contemporary Gisbert Cuyper (1644—1716),
Cuyper
 a pupil of Gronovius at Leyden, who became professor of History (1668), and Bürgermeister at Deventer. His volume of *Observationes* (1670), which included explanations of various rites, and illustrations from Roman coins, was twice reprinted. In his *Harpocrates* (1676) he published a number of monuments that were previously unknown, and in 1683 he lavished a considerable amount of learning on the famous relief called the *Apotheosis Homeri*, found at Bovillae, formerly in the Colonna Palace and now in the British Museum².

We have already noticed the early printers of the Classics in the Southern Netherlands, at Louvain and Antwerp³. We have here to mention a famous family of printers belonging to the Northern Netherlands, and, in particular, to Leyden and Amsterdam.

The founder of the family was Louis Elzevier (1540—1617), who, when his native place, Louvain, had been ravaged by war and pestilence,
The Elzeviers
 left it for Leyden, where he established himself as a bookseller and bookbinder in 1580, five years after the foundation of the university. His fame as a printer began about 1595. In the works issued from his press, he was the first to draw a distinction between the consonant *v* and the vowel *u*. Of his five sons, two, namely Matthys and Bonaventura, succeeded their father at Leyden; the business continued to flourish until 1681, and then declined between that date and 1712. Two other sons of Louis became booksellers at the Hague, and the fifth at the university of Utrecht.

¹ Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, i 251 f (E. T., 1831); Schwegler, i 135; Kramer's *Elogium*, Berlin, 1828; Urlichs, 81².

² Third Graeco-Roman Room, no. 159. First published in Kircher's *Latium*, Amsterdam, 1671. Cp. L. Müller, 21; Urlichs, 80²; Stark, *Handbuch*, 122 f.

³ p. 213 *supra*.

Meanwhile, another firm had been founded at Amsterdam in 1638 by another Louis (d. 1670), who was joined in 1654 by Bonaventura's son, Daniel, who died in 1680. The business passed into the hands of another family in 1681, a date which marks the close of the best days of the Elzeviers of Amsterdam, and of Leyden.

The beautiful editions of the Greek and Latin Classics that continued to appear down to 1681 were produced at Leyden in and after 1595 and especially between 1622 and 1651, the era of the 12mo and 16mo volumes of Bonaventura and of his nephew Abraham, the son of Matthys. Similar editions were produced at Amsterdam in and after 1638. The Greek Testament was repeatedly printed at Leyden (1624 and 1633) and Amsterdam (1656, 1662, 1670, 1678). It is the preface to the second Leyden edition that contains the oft-quoted words:—*textum habes nunc ab omnibus receptum*¹. All the Elzevier editions, of the Greek Testament and the Classics alike, fully deserve their place among the dainty little volumes described, in the preface to the former, in the Homeric phrase:—*ἀλοις τε φίλοις τε*.

¹ E. Reuss, *Bibl. N. T.* (1892) 109 f. On the Elzeviers, cp., in general, Willems, *Les Elzevier*, Bruxelles, 1880, and Eckstein's *Nomenclator*, 642 f, with the literature there quoted; also Berghman's *Études*, Stockholm, 1885; Goldsmid's *Catalogue*, Edinburgh, 1885 (abridged from Willems); and R. C. Christie's *Essays*, 297—308.

CHAPTER XX.

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). After matriculating at Brasenose, he became Fellow and mathematical Lecturer, and ultimately (from 1585 to 1622) Warden of Merton. On taking his M.A. degree in 1570, he 'read his ordinaries in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy', thus attaining a two-fold reputation, as a mathematician and as a Greek scholar. In 1578 he went abroad, collecting MSS and making the acquaintance of scholars on the continent. He is said to have represented the queen for a short time in the Netherlands¹. On his return he became her tutor in Greek, and it was in her presence at Oxford that he delivered a memorable discourse on the merits of the mediaeval Schoolmen². As Warden of Merton he showed great judgement in selecting men of learning as Fellows. In 1591 he translated four books of the *Histories*, and the *Agricola* of Tacitus³. His translation was eulogised in verse by Ben Jonson, and, within fifty years, had passed through six editions. In the *Agricola*⁴, the correction *Intemelio* for *in templo* is due to Savile. The notes were afterwards reproduced in Latin by Gruter (1649). Savile added 'A view of certain militar matters, for the better understanding of ancient Roman stories', which was translated into Latin by M. Freher of Heidelberg (1601). (It is generally regarded as

¹ Wotton, *English Baronetage*, i 60.

² *Oratio*, printed 1658.

³ The *Annals* and *Germania* were translated in the same reign by Richard Grenaway.

⁴ c. 8.

the first contribution made by any English scholar to the study of Roman Antiquities; but we must not forget that, half-a-century previously, Robert Talbot, of Winchester and New (c. 1505—1558), had published Latin 'annotations' on the Antonine Itinerary.) When the office of Provost of Eton fell vacant, he aspired to fill it, although he was a layman, and the holder of the office was required to be in priest's orders. Early in 1595 the queen gave him the Latin Secretaryship and the Deanery of Carlisle, 'in order to stop his mouth from importuning her any more for the provostship of Eton'.¹ However, in May, he was actually appointed Provost, and was as strict a disciplinarian as in his other high office, that of Warden of Merton. At Eton we are told he could not abide 'witts', and much preferred 'the plodding student'.² In 1604 he was knighted after a banquet given at Eton to James I. He was subsequently one of the scholars associated in the preparation of the authorised version of the Bible, being one of those entrusted with the Acts and Revelation, and with part of the Gospels. The loss of his only son, in the year of the father's knighthood, led to his devoting the larger part of his private fortune to the advancement of learning. He collected mss, and secured the aid of scholars at home and abroad, for a great edition of Chrysostom. Through Casaubon, he obtained collations of mss in the royal library of Paris, but he failed in his attempt to purchase the set of matrices of the royal type, which Henri Estienne, the father-in-law of Casaubon, had taken from Paris to Geneva.³ Thereupon Savile purchased a special fount of type, probably from the founders employed by the firm of Wechel at Frankfurt⁴; engaged the king's printer, and himself superintended the work at Eton. In 1611 Casaubon tells a friend abroad that the work was being produced *privata impensa, animo regio*, and that he found some solace for all his troubles in reading the proofs⁵. The printing of the eight folio volumes

¹ Anthony Bacon to Hawkins, 5 March, 1595.

² Aubrey's *Lives*, II ii 525 (ii 214, ed. 1898).

³ Pattison's *Casaubon*, 231².

⁴ To Hoeschel, *Ep.* 738.

⁵ R. Proctor, *The French Greek Types and the Eton Chrysostom*, in *Essays* (1905), 110-7.

was completed in 1613, at a total cost of £8000, the paper alone costing a quarter of that sum.

'This worthy knight' (says Fuller) 'carefully collected the best Copies of St Chrysostome, and employed learned Men to transcribe, and make Annotations on them'; which done, he fairly set it forth, on his own cost, in a most beautiful edition; a burthen which he underwent without stooping under it, though the weight thereof would have broken the back of an ordinary Person'¹.

In splendour of execution, and in breadth of erudition, it far surpassed all the previous productions of English scholarship². An edition of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* was printed at Eton at the same press in 1615. After Savile's death the 'elegant types', which that 'learned knight procured with great cost', were scattered about the Provost's lodge and lost³. All the type had been bequeathed to the University of Oxford; in 1632, some of it was lent to the University Press at Cambridge; but nothing more is known of it⁴.

It was on the completion of the great edition of Chrysostom that Savile (as we have seen) 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 University⁵. He aided Bodley with his advice in founding his famous Library. His own MSS are mentioned on almost every page of the Greek ecclesiastical historians edited by Valesius⁶. In 1619 he founded the two professorships of Geometry and Astronomy at Oxford; and, two years later, published his prelections on Euclid. On his death in 1622 he was commemorated by sculptured monuments at Eton and at Merton College, Oxford.

The latter includes a portrait representing him clad in a Roman toga and resting his hand on a closed book, with figures of Chrysostom and Ptolemy on one side of the monument, and of Euclid and Tacitus on the other. In the

¹ Among these may be mentioned Richard Montagu, of Eton and King's, afterwards bishop of Norwich, and Andrew Downes, professor of Greek at Cambridge.

² *Worthies of England*, Yorkshire, iii 431 Nuttall.

³ Cp. Hallam, ii 277⁴.

⁴ Evelyn to Pepys, 12 Aug. 1689 (iii 300, ed. 1854).

⁵ Proctor, *l. c.* 117.

⁶ p. 207 *f supra*.

⁷ Evelyn, iii 307.

upper part are two Genii, one of them gazing at Savile's face in a mirror, and the other writing his name in the Book of Life; while above them is a figure seated on his coat of arms and blowing the trumpet of fame¹.

Munificent in his patronage of learning, he was polished in his manner, courtly in his speech, and vain-glorious in his character. 'He would faine have been thought to have been as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger'². He is reported to have been an 'extraordinary handsome man, no lady having a finer complexion'³. There is a portrait at Eton, and another in the university gallery at Oxford.

Among those who aided Savile by their learning was Andrew
Downes (*c.* 1549—1628), 'whose pains were so in-
laid with Sir Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom,
that both will be preserved together'⁴. He was educated at Shrewsbury and at St John's, Cambridge, where he held a fellowship from 1571 to 1586. Amid the conflict of theological controversies, the knowledge of Greek was 'almost lost and forgot' in St John's, 'had it not been restored' by Downes⁵. After migrating to Trinity in 1586, he held the professorship of Greek for nearly forty years (1586—1625). He is characterised by Fuller as a scholar 'composed of Greek and industry'. His lectures on Demosthenes, *De Corona*, were attended in 1620 by Simonds D'Ewes, who in his *Diary* describes the lecturer as follows:

'He had been Greek professor in the University about 30 years, and was at this time accounted the ablest Grecian of Christendom, being no native of Greece; which Joseph Scaliger himself confessed of him long before...When I came to his house near the public Schools, he sent for me up into a chamber, where I found him sitting in a chair with his legs upon a table that stood by him. He neither stirred his hat nor body, but only took me by the hand, and instantly fell into discourse...touching matters of learning and criticisms. He was of personage big and tall, long-faced and ruddy-coloured, and his eyes very lively, although I took him to be at that time at least 70 years old'⁶.

¹ Ant. Wood, *De Coll. Merton.*; epitaph in Blount's *Censura*, 651.

² Aubrey, *Lives*, ii 524 (ii 214, ed. 1898).

³ *ib.*

⁴ Fuller's *Cambridge*, 310, ed. 1840.

⁵ Baker's *Hist. of St John's*, 180, 171, ed. Mayor.

⁶ *Life*, ed. Halliwell, i 139; *Diary*, 17 Mar. 1620; Baker-Mayor, 598.
Cp. [Marsden's] *College Life in the Time of James I*, 30—34.

D'Ewes, after repeatedly absenting himself from the Greek professor's lectures, received from the professor, by the hands of a bachelor in divinity, 'a scroll containing certain notes of his last lecture'.

Downes had been appointed one of the six final revisers of the authorised version of the Bible, but he would never leave Cambridge for the meetings at Stationers' Hall 'till he was either fetcht, or threatened with a Pursivant'¹. Another of the six was his pupil John Bois, who, like himself, had aided Savile in his Chrysostom, and whose notes survived in the Benedictine edition, while those of Downes were omitted². Downes published his lectures on Lysias, *De caede Eratosthenis* (1593), and on Demosthenes, *De Pace* (1621)³. John Taylor, in the preface to his *Lysias* (1739), says of him: 'multum de juventute Academica et renascente Graecismo meruit vir ille laboriosissimus'. For the first of his Colleges, he wrote a letter of thanks in Greek to a lady identified as Mildred lady Burghley⁴; corresponded in Greek with Casaubon⁵; and, on the death of James I, wrote a Greek epigram stating that Peitho had rested on the lips of the departed monarch. He deprecates criticism on his verses; he was then 77 years of age. Two years later he resigned his Professorship, and retired to the village of Coton, near Cambridge, where he died early in 1628⁶. The *Diarist*, to whom we are indebted for part of the above description of Andrew Downes, gives us a glimpse of a young classical student's range of reading in those days, when he writes:

'I...finished Florus, transcribing historical abbreviations out of it in mine own private study; in which also I perused most of the other authors, and read over Gellius' *Attic Nights*, and part of Macrobius' *Saturnals*'⁷.

¹ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, viii 48 § 9.

² Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii 506 n.

³ Dedicated to James I; reprinted in C. D. Beck's ed. (1799), pp. 103—318. Valckenaer, on Herodotus iii 70, refers to 'Andreae Dounaeti, viri Graecae perdocti, Praelect. in Demosth. Philipp. p. 99'.

⁴ Baker-Mayor, 396.

⁵ Epp. 108 (1596), 949 (1614), 995 (1595) etc.

⁶ Epitaph in chancel, copied in Taylor's *Lysias*, xv, and in Baker-Mayor, 599.

⁷ Simonds D'Ewes, *Life*, i 121.

A far wider range of study is represented by Francis Bacon (1561—1629), who 'had taken all knowledge to be his province'¹. At the age of twelve, he came into residence at Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner of Trinity College; and, among the books with which he was furnished by the Master, were Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Caesar; Homer, Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle². We are confidently assured by his earliest biographer that, even 'whilst he was commorant at the university, about sixteen years of age, he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle, ...being a philosophy only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man'³. His general attitude towards ancient philosophy is briefly summed up by Macaulay: 'Two words form the key of the Baconian doctrine, Utility and Progress. The ancient philosophy disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary'⁴. In Bacon's *Essays* (1597—1625), a History of Scholarship is only concerned with a single sentence from that on 'Studies':—To spend too much time in *Studies* is Sloth; To use them too much for Ornament is Affectation; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler'. 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 noticed⁵. We have, however, a 'survey' or 'general and faithful perambulation of learning'⁶; and indications of the author's familiarity with certain stages in its history.

Thus, of the attitude of the early and mediaeval Church towards the Classics, he writes:—'We find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the Church were excellently read and studied in all the learning of the heathen'; and 'it was the Christian Church, which, amid the inundations of the Scythians... and Saracens..., did preserve in the sacred lap and bosom thereof the precious relics even of heathen learning, which otherwise had been extinguished'⁷.

¹ Letter to Burleigh.

² *Advancement of Learning*, ed. Aldis Wright, pref. p. vi.

³ *ib.* vii.

⁴ *Essays*, 383, ed. 1861.

⁵ II i 2.

⁶ II Ded. 15.

⁷ I vi 14.

As an instance of the 'contentious' type of learning, Bacon selects the schoolmen, 'who, having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator)..., and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, open out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books'¹. Of their dependence on Aristotle he adds:—'As water will not ascend higher than the level of the first springhead from whence it descendeth, so knowledge derived from Aristotle, and exempted from liberty of examination, will not rise again higher than the knowledge of Aristotle'². 'Notwithstanding, certain it is that, if those schoolmen to their great thirst of truth and unwearied travail of wit had joined variety and universality of reading and contemplation, they had proved excellent lights, to the great advancement of all learning and knowledge'³.

In connexion with the Revival of Learning, the credit, now generally assigned to Petrarch and the early humanists, is here attributed to Luther, who, 'finding his own solitude, being no ways aided by the opinions of his own time, was enforced to awake all antiquity, and to call former times to his succours to make a party against the present time. So that the ancient authors, both in divinity and in humanity, which had long slept in libraries, began generally to be read and revolved'.... 'The admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages' were among the causes that contributed to the study of eloquence. 'This grew speedily to an excess', as might be seen in the 'flowing and watery vein of Osorius'⁴, in the superstitious cult of Cicero which had been satirised by Erasmus and exemplified by Ascham and Sturm, and in the almost deification of Demosthenes by Car of Cambridge⁵. All these are examples of the 'first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter'⁶.

In the age of the Reformation, he points out that 'it was ordained by the Divine Providence, that there should attend withal a renovation and new spring of all other knowledges; and, on the other side' he recognises that the Jesuits⁷ 'have much quickened and strengthened the state of learning'⁸.

Lastly, in the reign of James I, he feels persuaded 'that this third period of time will far surpass that of the Grecian and Roman learning'⁹.

The *Advancement of Learning* is expanded in a Latin form in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623). *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609) gives a moral or political interpretation to many

¹ I iv 5.² I iv 12.³ I iv 7.⁴ p. 163 *supra*.⁵ Nicholas Carr (1523-68), Greek professor 1547, translator of *Dem. Ol.* and *Phil.*, etc.⁶ I iv 2.⁷ Cp. I iii 3, and *De Augmentis*, vi 4.⁸ I vi 15.⁹ II xxiv.

of the fables of Greek Mythology. Finally, in the *Novum Organum* (1620), by the very title of that memorable work, the author boldly enters the lists against the logical text-book of Aristotle; and, although it has been censured by Hallam¹ for the 'general obscurity' of its style, it has been highly commended by the learned author of the *Polyhistor*, who 'had found little in the books since written by Englishmen, the grounds of which he had not long before met with in Bacon'².

A remarkable variety of classical erudition is the main characteristic of
 R. Burton Robert Burton (1576—1640), Fellow of Brasenose, and Student of Christ Church, Oxford, the celebrated author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621)³. He is quaintly described in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*⁴ as 'a general read scholar, a thoro' pac'd philologist'; 'by many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors'; but 'very merry, facete, and juvenile'. The Latin elegiacs which he addresses to his book show a turn for pleasant raillery. Dr Johnson has justly described the work as 'perhaps overloaded with quotations'; 'but there is great spirit and great power' (he adds) 'in what Burton says when he writes from his own mind'⁵.

Thomas Dempster of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (c. 1579—
 Dempster 1625), was born some three years later than Robert Burton and died fifteen years before him. He belonged to an ancient family in Scotland, which lost all its fortunes owing to its fidelity to the catholic cause. He graduated at Douay and Paris, and was a professor at Toulouse and Nîmes, and at several Colleges in Paris. In Paris he edited Claudian (1607) and Corippus (1610). At Cologne in 1613 he reprinted, with corrections and large additions, the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Johann Rossfeld, or Rosinus (1585). He afterwards professed civil law at Pisa, and the humanities at Bologna, where he died. Meanwhile he had been knighted by Urban VIII. In addition to a critique on Historians, he wrote an Ecclesiastical History of Scotland⁶, in which he was prompted by his patriotism to exaggerate the literary fame of his country, and even to claim Turnebus as of Scottish descent⁷. His work *De Etruria Regali*,

¹ ii 430⁴.

² Morhof, ii 124 f, ed. 1747.

³ ii 652 f, Bliss.

⁴ 1627; new ed. 1828.

⁵ 17 other edd. before 1850.

⁶ Boswell, ii 259, Napier.

⁷ p. 185 n. *supra*.

printed nearly a century later (1723-6), with an illustrated supplement by Philip Buonarroti, aroused a fantastic interest in Etruscan Art, and an exaggerated sense of the antiquity and extent of Etruscan civilisation¹. He also wrote on mythology and cosmography, and was famous as a Latin poet, his poem entitled *Musca* being admired as a *lepidum carmen, sed non indoctum*². He had a frank and open manner, and a pugnacious temper. He had also a remarkably good memory, and spent fourteen hours a day in reading³. He is described by Ussher as a man of much reading, and absolutely no judgement⁴.

His contemporary John Barclay (1582—1621), who was born in Lorraine of Scottish descent and was probably educated by the Jesuits, has some reputation as a Latin writer. At the beginning of the ten years of his residence in London, he produced the Latin poems of his *Sylvae* (1606), and, at the close of the five years spent in Rome towards the end of his life, he completed a political satire in Latin prose called the *Argénis* (1621). The latter is an allegory, partly founded on the state of France during the latter years of Henry III, and it was a favourite with Richelieu⁵. Coleridge even preferred the Latin style of this work to that of Livy or Tacitus, but Hallam is more judiciously content to compare it with that of Petronius⁶. His Latin verse is modelled mainly on Statius and Claudian. He is the theme of a couplet composed by Grotius :—

‘Gente Caledonius, Gallus natalibus hic est,
Romam Romano qui docet ore loqui’⁷.

The puritan divine and critic, Thomas Gataker (1574—1654), was a Scholar of St John’s, a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and subsequently lecturer at Lincoln’s Inn and rector of Rotherhithe. In 1620 he

¹ Stark, 183.

² Borrichius, *De Poëtis*, 151.

³ Aub. Miraeus, ap. Blount.

⁴ *Antiq. Britann. Eccl.* c. 1. Cp. Blount, 642 f, and *D. N. B.*

⁵ *Vita*, prefixed to *Argénis*.

⁶ Hallam, ii 284⁴, iii 165 f⁴.

⁷ For other *Testimonia*, cp. Blount, 655 f. See also sketch of *Life* by Lord Hales, 1783.

travelled in the Netherlands. He wrote a curious treatise on the 'Nature and Use of Lots', and, apart from works on the Hebrew prophets and on the ecclesiastical controversies of the day, published a Greek text of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, with a Latin version and a copious commentary¹,—'the earliest edition of any classical writer published in England with original annotations'². 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. His translation of Marcus Aurelius is reprinted in the *Opera Critica*, published at Utrecht in 1698, with a Life by Herman Witsius. He has been placed by a foreign writer among the six Protestants conspicuous for depth of reading, and has been characterised as a *vir stupendae lectionis magnique judicii*³.

Gataker's slightly younger contemporary, the learned jurist, John Selden (1584—1654) of Hart Hall, Oxford, and of the Inner Temple, M.P. for his university 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*⁴. 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 William Petty, a Cambridge man, who was acting as agent for Thomas Howard, the second Earl of Arundel (1586—1646). Petty found at Smyrna a number of Greek inscriptions originally collected by an agent of the Provençal scholar, Peiresc⁵. Owing to some intrigues on the part of the sellers, the agent had been thrown into prison and the collection dispersed. Petty recovered them, and purchased them, at a high price, for Lord Arundel, and the marbles reached Arundel House in the Strand in 1627. The greatest interest was excited by the

¹ 1652; reprinted, 1697, 1707.

² Hallam, iii 250⁴.

³ Morhof, *Polyhistor*, i 926, ed. 1747.

⁴ *De Tetragr.*

⁵ *Vita*, by Gassendi, 227.

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 lost¹. The deciphering and interpretation were undertaken by Selden, the *magnus dictator doctrinae gentis Anglicae*, with the aid of Patrick Young and Richard James. The fame of the inscriptions and their collector was spread abroad by the publication of Selden's work, and Peiresc now learnt for the first time the fate of his former property, but he generously rejoiced that the task of appreciating the inscriptions had fallen into such good hands². The work is lauded by Baillet, who adds that, even if men were to refuse to Selden the eulogies that were his due, '*les pierres parleroient pour luy*'³. Forty years after the marbles had arrived in England, the inscriptions, which Selden's volume had made famous, are described by Evelyn as 'universally neglected and scattered up and down about the garden, and other parts of Arundel House', 'exceedingly impaired' by the 'corrosive air of London'⁴. Part of them were used in the repair of the house, and in this way the upper half of the *Marmor Parium* had disappeared in the chimney, and would have been lost to the learned world, had it not been discovered betimes by Selden and his friends⁵. Under the influence of Evelyn, the marbles were presented to the university of Oxford, but, of the original number of 250 inscribed stones, only 136 reached that destination. These were at first 'inserted in the walls that compass the area of the (Sheldonian) theatre', where the author of the *Sylva* judiciously advised the planting of a hedge of holly to prevent idle persons from scratching and injuring them⁶. They were edited afresh by Prideaux (1676), and afterwards transferred to the interior of the Ashmolean Museum, and ultimately to the University Galleries.

¹ A fragment covering 336—299 B.C. has been found (*Ath. Mitt.* 1897, 183).

² Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 17 f, 34 f.

³ *Jugemens des Sçavans*, 1685, ii 401 ed. 1722.

⁴ *Diary*, 19 Sept. 1667 (ii 29).

⁵ Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, 1676, pref.

⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, 13 July, 1669 (ii 41 f).

When Grotius, in his *Mare Liberum* (1633), denied England's right to exclude the fishermen of the Netherlands from the seas claimed by England, that right was maintained by Selden in his *Mare Clausum* (1636), and Grotius, who had already described Selden as the *Honor Britanniae* (1625)¹, was (as we have already seen) well content that the controversy should be in such good hands². His dissertation on the Civil Year and the Calendar of the Jews was lauded by Vossius³. His *Table-Talk* has been characterised as 'far less rude, but more cutting than that of Scaliger'⁴. Selden must have been thinking mainly of *theological learning*, when he said of the English clergy of his day, 'All Confess there never was a more learned Clergy—no Man taxes them with Ignorance'; and of *learning in a larger sense*, when he says elsewhere, 'The Jesuits and the Lawyers of *France*, and the Low-Countrymen, have engrossed all Learning; the rest of the world make nothing but Homilies'⁵. His own preference for quoting original authorities is expressed with some rudeness, when he remarks: 'To quote a modern *Dutch Man*, where I may use a Classic Author, is as if' (in justifying my reputation) 'I were to...neglect all persons of Note and Quality that know me, and bring the Testimonial of the Scullion in the Kitchen'⁶. He is described by Burnet as 'the most learned Mr Selden, one of the greatest men that any age has produced'⁷. His industry, and his strength of frame, the exactness of his memory and the sureness of his judgement, have been lauded in the *Memoirs* of Dr Lloyd, who adds that his 'Fancy' was 'slow'; nevertheless he made 'several sallies' into poetry and oratory, and was proud of the fact that he had been taught by Ben Jonson 'to relish Horace'⁸.

Thomas Young (1587—1655), curate to Gataker at Rotherhithe, and afterwards the Puritan Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, was John Milton's private tutor, and is the theme of the fourth of his Latin Elegies and of

¹ *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, lib. II, c. 2.

² p. 315 *supra*.

⁴ Hallam, ii 518^d.

⁶ *ib.* 31.

⁸ Blount, 696.

³ *De Scient. Math.* 466.

⁵ pp. 37, 67 Arber.

⁷ *Hist. Ref.* book 3, p. 264, ed. 1539.

two of his Latin Letters¹. In the Elegy the poet confesses that he has derived from his private tutor his first taste for classical literature and poetry :—

‘Primus ego Aonios, illo praeceunte, recessus
Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta jugi;
Pieriosque hausit latices, Clioque favente,
Castalio sparsi laeta ter ora mero’.

Milton (1608—1674), who was educated at St Paul’s School, London, and for seven years at Christ’s College, Cambridge, tells us in his ‘Apology’ that at Cambridge he was not ‘unstudied in those authors which are most commended’, the ‘grave Orators and Historians’, ‘the smooth Elegiac Poets’, and the ‘divine volumes of Plato and Xenophon’². During his five years at Horton, he ‘enjoyed a complete holiday in turning over Latin and Greek authors’³. His common-place book, ascribed to the latter part of his time in that rural retreat, includes quotations from as many as sixteen Greek authors, cited mainly for historical facts, and not for poetic phrases⁴. His reading was that of a poet and a general scholar rather than that of a professional philologist; and he ‘meditated’ what he read⁵, thus escaping the reproach of being ‘deep verst in books, and shallow in himself’⁶.

At Paris, in 1638, he saw Grotius, who ‘took his visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth, and the high commendations he had heard of him’⁷. During his year in Italy (1638–9) he attended two of the meetings of one of the Florentine Academies, and recited from memory some of the Latin verses of his youth. He spent two months in Rome, viewing the antiquities, and cultivating the acquaintance of scholars, such as Lucas Holstein of Hamburg, who had lived for three years at Oxford, and was then librarian of the Vatican. He was shown the sights of Naples by Manso, the patron of Tasso and Marini, and on his departure presented his host with his Virgilian Eclogue of *Mansus*. On his way back he spent two more months in

¹ Mitford’s *Milton*, i 216, vii 369, 373.

² *ib.* iii 269, 272.

⁴ Pattison’s *Milton*, 19.

⁶ *P. R.* iv 326.

⁷ Philips, *Life of Milton* (1649) in W. Godwin’s *Lives* (1815), p. 358.

³ *ib.* vi 287.

⁵ Aubrey’s *Lives* (*ib.* 18).

Rome, and two in Florence, where he saw Galileo. After a month in Venice, he returned to England *via* Geneva, the home of the uncle of his bosom-friend, Carolus Diodati, the Damon of the *Epitaphium*, a pastoral elegy inspired by a genuine emotion. It was composed on his return from abroad, and is the latest of the poet's serious efforts in Latin verse. His *Lycidas*, which preceded his visit to Italy, and his *Epitaphium Damonis*, which immediately followed his return, were both of them modelled on the Latin Eclogues of Virgil and of later Italian poets¹. 'The Latin pieces' (says Dr Johnson) 'are lusciously elegant; but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquisite imitation of the ancient writers, by the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention, or vigour of sentiment'². He also describes the *Epitaphium Damonis* as 'written with the common but childish imitation of pastoral life'³. The poem is, however, defended by Warton, who observes that 'there are some new and natural country images, and the common topicks are often recommended by a novelty of elegant expressions'⁴. Leland's hendecasyllables and epigrams are an unimportant exception to the statement that Milton is 'the first Englishman, who, after the restoration of letters, wrote Latin verses with classick elegance'⁵. His early Latin poems belong to 'the spring-time of an ardent and brilliant fancy'⁶; and his Latin poems in general are 'distinguished from most Neo-Latin verse by being a vehicle of real emotion'⁷.

In 1640 Milton was engaged in the tuition of his two nephews, who were joined by other pupils in 1643. One of those nephews has preserved an impressive list of the authors studied:—in husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius; Celsus, and a great part of Pliny; Vitruvius; the *Stratagems* of Frontinus; Lucretius and Manilius. In Greek verse, Hesiod, Aratus, Dionysius, Oppian, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Apollonius Rhodius; in prose, Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum*, and *On the Education of Children*; Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis*; the *Tactics* of Aelian, and the *Stratagems* of Polyænus⁸.

¹ p. 114, n. 7 *supra*.

² *Lives of the English Poets*, i 139, ed. Cunningham.

³ *ib.* i 91.

⁴ Todd's *Milton*, iv 363.

⁵ Pattison's *Milton*, 41.

⁶ Todd's *Milton*, iv 506.

⁷ Hallam, iii 56⁴.

⁸ Todd's *Milton*, i 29.

The *Tractate on Education* (1642) is mainly a scheme for the acquirement of useful knowledge with the aid of Greek and Latin books. After suggesting that the speech of his ideal students should be 'fashion'd to a distinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the Vowels', he would have 'some easie and delightful Book of Education' read to them, such as 'Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic discourses', or 'the two or three first Books of Quintilian'. 'The next step would be to the Authors of Agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella'. 'The difficulties of Grammar being soon overcome, all the Historical Physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus are open before them'. 'The like access will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's Natural Questions, to Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus'. 'Then also those Poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius, and, in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural part of Virgil'. Thereupon 'their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laërtius, and those Locrian remnants'; 'some choice Comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian; those Tragedies also that treat of Houshold matters, as *Trachiniae*, *Alcestis*, and the like'; 'those extoll'd remains of Grecian Lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, and thence to all the Roman Edicts and Tables with their Justinian'. 'Then will the choise Histories, Heroic Poems, and Attic Tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous Political Orations offer themselves; which, if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles'. Logic, also, 'so much as is useful', to be followed in due course by 'a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus'; and, lastly, 'that sublime art which, in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in Horace, and the Italian Commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true Epic Poem, what of a Dramatic, what of a Lyric, what Decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe'¹.

Milton's copies of Pindar, Euripides, Lycophron, and Aratus are still extant with marginal memoranda proving that he read the Greek poets with the eye of a critic. His Pindar, the Saumur edition of 1620, is now in the Harvard Library. His Euripides, printed by Paul Stephens at Geneva in 1602, was bought in 1634, the year in which he wrote the *Comus*, and is now in the possession of Mr W. W. Vaughan, head-master of Giggleswick². His Lycophron was once in the library of the late Lord

¹ Todd's *Milton*, iv 384-9.

² Emendations in *Museum Criticum*, 1814; cp. *Bacch.* 188 n, ed. Sandys.

As a Latin poet, not only May, but also Cowley (1618—1667), is preferred to Milton by Dr Johnson¹; but the merits of May, who is a 'sonorous versifier', 'accomplished in poetical declamation', are mainly those of a skilful parodist, while the metaphysical conceits of Cowley are ill-adapted for the garb of Latin verse². A passing mention is due to Cowley's *Naufragium Joculare*, and to his little volume *De Plantis*, in which he discourses in Latin verse on the qualities of herbs, the beauties of flowers, and the uses of trees. In the final couplet of the Latin dedication of his English Poems to his *Alma Mater*, he recalls the happy days of his quiet life beside the Cam:—

'Qualis eram cum me tranquilla mente sedentem
Vidisti in ripa, Came serene, tua'.

James Duport (1606—1679), who was the son of a Master of Jesus, and was educated at Westminster and Trinity, and elected Fellow in 1627, may well have known Milton, who was only two years junior to himself, in Cambridge. But this is only an inference from his omission of Milton's name in his invectives against regicides. Duport was professor of Greek from 1639 to 1654, and during the Civil War went on quietly lecturing on the *Characters* of Theophrastus³. After the Restoration he became Dean of Peterborough (1664) and Master of Magdalene (1668—79). In contrast to the Cambridge Platonists of his day, he was an adherent of Aristotle, but he devoted most of his energies to the composition of Greek and Latin verse. His models were Homer and Martial, but he allowed himself metrical licences unrecognised by either. He broke into verse on the slightest provocation. An episcopalian and a royalist, he could not refrain from joining in celebrating the peace with Holland in a collection of verses addressed to Cromwell. In his *Horae Subsecivae* he supplies us with a set of Latin elegiacs on the Trinity

¹ *Lives*, i 12 f.

² T. Warton, *Preface to Milton's Minor Poems*, xviii, ed. 2.

³ The MS of his lectures was lent to Stanley, the editor of Aeschylus, on whose death it came into possession of Moore, bishop of Ely; the bishop lent it to Peter Needham, who published it in his own edition (1712). Needham assumed it had been composed by Stanley, until Bentley proved from internal evidence that it was the work of Duport.

fountain¹, and represents the Master lamenting the death of the Vice-Master in a grandiloquent series of Greek hexameters addressed to a meeting of the Senior Fellows². Essaying a far longer flight, he rendered in Homeric verse the whole of the Book of Job (1637), as well as those of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon (1646). In his *Homeri Gnomologia* (1660) he collected all the aphorisms of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and illustrated them from the Scriptures and the Classics³.

At the Restoration, Duport had been invited to resume the Chair of Greek, which had been vacant for six years. He declined the honour, and recommended that it should be conferred

Barrow

on his favourite pupil, Isaac Barrow (1630—1677).

Barrow's inaugural oration opens with a brief review of the earlier teachers of Greek in Cambridge, beginning with Erasmus, Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, and ending with Downes and Creighton; but the lectures, which were so auspiciously begun, were but scantily attended. 'I sit like an owl', he says, 'driven out from the society of other birds'⁴. Within four years he exchanged the Chair of Greek for the newly-founded Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics. His introductory lecture reveals him as a philosopher and a divine, as well as a scholar. He confesses that 'though far from viewing with morose disdain the amusing employment of verbal criticism, his warmest affections have ever been given to the graver investigations of nature'; and he reminds his hearers that the ancient Greek philosophers had ever blended the study of philosophy with that of mathematics⁵. He resigned the Lucasian Chair in favour of his pupil, Isaac Newton (1669). As Master of Trinity (1672), he founded the Library. He published a Latin text of Euclid before his election as Professor of Greek, and a Latin text of Archimedes after his

¹ 318 f.

² *ib.* 497.

³ Monk in *Museum Criticum*, ii 672, and Mullinger, *Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century*. Cp. Hallam, iii 248 f⁴. *Quem Jupiter vult perdere, dementat prius* is the rendering in Duport's *Gnomologia*, 282, of the tragic fragment, *ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ, τὸν νοῦν ἐβλάψῃ πρῶτον ἢ βουλευέται* (in Schol. on Soph. *Ant.* 620), subsequently rendered in Joshua Barnes' Euripides (1694), Index Prior D, *Deus quos vult perdere, dementat prius*.

⁴ *Opuscula*, iv 111.

⁵ Mullinger, 191.

appointment as Master of Trinity. He came to the end of his great career as a scholar, a mathematician, and a divine at the early age of forty-seven.

We have already noticed the names of Meric Casaubon (1599—1671)¹, and of Isaac Vossius² (1618—1689). The early work of the latter on the Letters of Ignatius attracted the interest of John Pearson (1613—1686), the author of the 'Vindiciae Ignatianae,' of whose unfinished work on Ignatius we find Bentley saying that 'the very dust of his writings is gold'³. He was also an annotator on Diogenes Laërtius, but is now far better known as the author of the 'Exposition of the Creed', as Master of Jesus and Trinity, Cambridge, and as Bishop of Chester.

Thomas Stanley of Pembroke Hall (1625—1678), a barrister, who, after travelling abroad, settled in London, was a descendant of the third earl of Derby, and a cousin and intimate friend of Lovelace. At Pembroke, he was a pupil of Fairfax, the translator of Tasso, and his ample means enabled him to assist Sir Edward Sherburne (1618—1702), the translator of Manilius (1675), and of the tragedies of Seneca (1701). His own translations included versions of Greek, as well as Latin, poets⁴. His *History of Philosophy*, published in four volumes (1655-62), is biographical rather than critical, and includes no name later than Carneades. It is mainly derived from Diogenes Laërtius, but there is also an account of the Platonic philosophy, derived from Alcinoüs, the Peripatetic from Aristotle, and the Stoic from various ancient authorities. At the time of its publication, the field which it covered was almost untrodden ground⁵. 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, without acknowledgement, from the partly unpub-

¹ p. 210 *supra*.

² p. 322 *supra*.

³ *Phalaris*, c. 13 *prope finem*.

⁴ 1647-51; edited by Brydges in 1814-5; his version of Anacreon reprinted in 1893.

⁵ Hallam, iii 303⁴.

lished proposals of Dorat, Scaliger, and Casaubon¹. 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'²; it was republished in 1745, and afterwards revised by Porson and reprinted by Samuel Butler. Stanley's *Adversaria* are still preserved in the University Library of Cambridge.

The study of the Classics in the seventeenth century may be illustrated by the intellectual interests displayed by some of the principal representatives of rational theology in that age. The

Falkland moderate and liberal churchman, Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland (c. 1610—1643), who was admitted a member of St John's College, Cambridge³, and also studied at Trinity College, Dublin, is described by his friend Clarendon as having subsequently made 'prodigious progress' in learning. 'There were very few classic authors in the Greek and Latin tongue that he had not read with great exactness'⁴; while, among the scholars of his own day, he had a singular admiration

for Grotius⁵. The 'ever-memorable' John Hales (1584—1656), Fellow of Merton and lecturer in Greek at Oxford, and Fellow of Eton from 1613 to 1649, had an 'exact knowledge of the Greek tongue', which enabled him to be of special service to Savile in his famous edition of Chrysostom⁶.

Jeremy Taylor Jeremy Taylor (1613—1667), Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and of All Souls, Oxford, Bishop of Down and Vice-Chancellor of Dublin, was described in his funeral sermon as 'a rare humanist', who was 'hugely vers'd in all the polite parts of Learning, and had thoroughly concocted all the ancient Moralists, Greek and Roman, Poets and Orators'⁷, while his own discourses are remarkable for 'an erudition pouring itself forth in quotation, till his sermons

¹ C. J. Blomfield in *Edin. Review*, xix 494, and in *Museum Criticum*, ii 498; Hallam, iii 250^d. Stanley's own emendations are quoted by Davies on *Eum.* p. 29 f.

² *Phalaris*, 260 Wagner.

³ Falkland's Letter in Baker-Mayor, 532.

⁴ *Life*, 48.

⁵ Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the xvii cent.* (1872), i 91. Cp., in general, J. A. R. Marriott's *Falkland* (1907).

⁶ *ib.* i 172.

⁷ Dr George Rust, p. 13³ (1670).

become in some places almost a garland of flowers from all other writers, and especially from those of Classical antiquity¹. His 'Liberty of Propheying' has for its explanatory title the formidable Greek designation:—*σύμβολον ἠθικο-πολεμικόν*.

One of the foremost of the 'Cambridge Platonists' of the same century, Henry More (1614—1687), was known as the 'Angel of Christ's College', where he led a secluded life, declining the office of Master, as well as a bishopric. 'For the perfecting' of his knowledge 'of the Greek and Latin tongue', he had been sent as a boy to Eton, where he 'was wont sometimes with a sort of musical and melancholic murmur to repeat' to himself those verses of Claudian:—

Cambridge
Platonists
More

'Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
curarent superi terras, an nullus inesset
rector, et incerto fluereut mortalia casu'.

As a youthful Bachelor of Arts at Christ's, he studied the 'Platonic writers, Marsilius Ficinus, Plotinus himself, Mercurius Trismegistus, and the mystical divines'; and among his other favourite authors in later life were Philo and Clement of Alexandria. His 'Philosophical Poems', beginning with his 'Psychozoïa' and 'Psychathanasia', in which he endeavours to 'give some fair glimpse of Plato's hid Philosophy', are purely Neo-Platonic conceptions clothed in the fantastic garb of a poetry that is so far from lucid as to call for the poet's 'notes' and 'interpretation general' to illuminate its obscurities. In the most readable of his prose works, the 'Divine Dialogue', he describes a dream of his youth, in which he sees a 'very grave and venerable person', who presents him with a silver key, inscribed with the sentence, *Claude fenestras, ut luceat domus*, and a key of gold, bearing the motto, *Amor Dei Lux Animae*. The dreamer is awakened by strange noises from the outer world, but the full meaning of the golden and the silver keys, and of their mottoes, is the theme of long debate in the 'philosophical bower' of the 'airy-minded Platonist', where the scene of the 'Divine Dialogue' is laid².

¹ Hallam, ii 359⁴.

² Tulloch, ii 305, 307, 309, 312—323.

More's contemporary, Ralph Cudworth (1617—1688), Fellow of Emmanuel, and Master of Christ's from 1654 to his death, is best known as the author of 'The true Intellectual System of the Universe', and the 'Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality'. He quotes freely from the Neo-Platonists, and from their modern followers, Pico of Mirandola and Ludovicus Vivès¹.

The Cambridge Platonists, of whom More and Cudworth are the most prominent representatives, show a lack of critical judgment 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 the 'Immutable Morality' consists of quotations from the *Theaetetus*, and the discussion of the Platonic Trinity in the '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'².

Like Philo, and Clement of Alexandria, the 'Cambridge Platonists' held that Plato derived his wisdom from Moses. Similarly Theophilus Gale (1628—1678) of Magdalen College, Oxford, who left his library to Harvard, maintained that all the Gentile philosophy was borrowed from the Jews. This opinion is set forth at length in his 'Court of the Gentiles' (1669—77), which is recognised as a work of far wider learning than Stanley's *History of Philosophy*³.

His namesake Thomas Gale (c. 1635—1702), Scholar of Westminster and Fellow of Trinity, was Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1666—72), High Master of St Paul's (1672—97), and Dean of York (1697—1702). His published works include an edition of Timaeus Locrus, *De Anima Mundi* (1670); the *Opuscula Mythologica, Ethica, et Physica* (1671); the *Historiae Poeticae Scriptores Antiqui* (1675) and the *Rhetores Selecti Graeci et Latini* (1676). These were followed by the *editio princeps* of Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* (1678), in the preface of which he states that he had received from Isaac Vossius the

¹ Tulloch, ii 201.

² *ib.* ii 478 f.

³ Hallam, iii 303⁴.

original MS, 'quod nunc primum edo'. He also produced editions of Herodotus and Cicero, and of the Latin historians of Britain (1687-91). In 1695 we find Evelyn dining at St Paul's with Dr Gale, 'who showed me many curious passages out of some ancient Platonists' MSS concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned person would publish, with many other rare things, if he was encouraged, and eased of the burden of teaching'¹. Two years later he became Dean of York, but no further work of his was published, until his posthumous edition of the 'Antonine Itinerary' was produced in 1709 by his son Roger Gale, the antiquarian, who left a large collection of his father's MSS to Trinity College, Cambridge,—chief among which is the celebrated MS of the Lexicon of Photius².

The second half of the seventeenth century is marked by an interest in Lucretius. In 1656 the first book was translated into English verse by John Evelyn Evelyn (1620—1706)³, with a lengthy but rather trivial commentary⁴. Eighteen years later we find him writing to Meric Casaubon:—'you may be sure I was very young, and therefore very rash, or ambitious, when I adventured upon that knotty piece'. He adds that, 'to charm his anxious thoughts during those sad and calamitous times', he had gone through the remaining five books, but that his rendering 'still lies in the dust of his study, where 'tis like to be for ever buried'⁵. A year later, a verse translation of the six books was presented to the earl of Anglesey by Mrs Lucy Hutchinson, far better known as the writer of Lucy Hutchinson the Life of Col. Hutchinson (1615—1664)⁶ and of the 'Principles of the Christian Religion'. In the latter 'there is hardly any writer, sacred or profane, Jewish, Greek or Roman; hardly any schoolman or modern commentator, whose opinions are not considered in greater or less detail'⁷. In her translation

¹ *Diary*, 29 Oct. 1695 (ii 337).

² M. R. James, *Catalogue of Western MSS*, ii *Pref.* and p. 190.

³ *Diary* etc., i 314, iii 72-8.

⁴ Munro in *Journ. Cl. and S. Philol.* iv 124.

⁵ *Diary* etc., iii 247.

⁶ Portraits of both in Peterhouse Library.

⁷ Munro, *l. c.* iv 122.

of Lucretius, she denounces the poet as 'this Dog', and 'the foppish casual dance of atoms' as an impious and execrable doctrine¹. Her work remains in ms². Seven years later a rendering in verse was published by Thomas Creech (1659—1700), Scholar of Wadham, Fellow of All Souls, and head-master of Sherborne. His *edition* of Lucretius (1695) was published by the Oxford Press, and, 'owing to the clearness and brevity of the notes', remained long in use. The compiler of this work has been described as 'a man of sound and good taste, but...of somewhat arrogant and supercilious temper'³. Besides editing and translating Lucretius⁴, he produced renderings of Horace⁵, Theocritus and Manilius, with selections from Ovid, Juvenal, and Plutarch.

Anacreon and Horace were edited by William Baxter (1650—1723),—Richard Baxter's nephew, who was educated at Harrow, and became master of the Mercers' school. Under the title *De Analogia, seu arte Latinae Linguae Commentarius* (1679), he produced the first Latin Grammar of a more than elementary type that had appeared in England. John Hudson (1662—1719) of Queen's College, Oxford, Fellow and Tutor of University and Librarian of the Bodleian, edited Thucydides (1696), Josephus, and the minor Greek Geographers (1698—1712).

The year 1697 was the date of Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*, the early work of John Potter (c. 1674—1747), Fellow of Lincoln, and afterwards editor of Clement, bishop of Oxford, and archbishop of Canterbury. The same year was the date of Evelyn's *Discourse on Medals*, and of Dryden's *Virgil*. The latter was keenly criticised by Swift and Bentley. It contains many fine lines⁶; but, as a whole, it is perhaps less successful than his renderings of Horace, and of Persius and Juvenal, authors better suited to his strong

¹ Munro, *l. c.* iv 128 f.

² British Museum, Add. 19,333.

³ Munro's *Lucretius*, i 17³.

⁴ Cp. Prior's *Satire on the Modern Translators* in the Cambridge ed. of Prior, ii (1907) 50.

⁵ Cp. Pope's *Imitation of Ep.* i 6.

⁶ Hallam, iii 488⁴.

and vehement style. The death of Dryden (1631—1700) coincides with the close of the century.

Our present period ends in England with the names of Henry Dodwell and Joshua Barnes. Dodwell (1641 H. Dodwell—1711), Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Camden Professor of History in Oxford from 1688 to 1691 (when the fact that he was a non-juror led to the loss of his professorship), 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), of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, began his literary career by producing a Barnes fanciful little volume written in English, but interspersed with Greek verses, called *Gerania* or 'News from the Pygmies' (1675)¹. Elected Fellow of Emmanuel three years later, he 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. Finally he embarked on an edition of Homer, for which he failed to find a publisher. Its publication in 1710—1 was only made possible by his persuading his wife, who had inherited a small fortune from her first husband, that the real author of the Homeric poems was Solomon². With all its imperfections, it has been recognised as a work of greater utility than any of its predecessors, and ninety years elapsed before any distinctly superior edition appeared³. The editor's facility in writing and in speaking Greek was remarkable. When the Greek archbishop of Philippopolis visited Cambridge in 1701, Barnes, at the request of the Vice-Chancellor, presented him for an honorary degree in a Greek speech that is 'still preserved'⁴. In the preface to his poem on

¹ This may well have inspired Swift with the idea of *Gulliver's Travels* (as suggested to me by Mr P. Giles). It may at least have partly prompted him to describe Gulliver as a student at Emmanuel, especially as it was the College of Swift's former patron, Sir William Temple.

² Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 291 n.

³ *ib.* i 296 f.

⁴ *ib.* i 152 f. The archbishop's reply is bound up with a volume in Ee. 12. 10

Esther, he tells us that he found it easier to write his annotations in Greek than in Latin, or in English. There was nothing, however trivial, that he could not turn into Greek. Bentley, who fully acknowledged his 'singular industry' and 'most diffuse reading'¹, used to say that he understood about as much Greek 'as an Athenian blacksmith', presumably implying that he had rather the 'colloquial readiness of a vulgar mechanic' than the erudition, taste and judgement of a scholar². In the year after the publication of his *Homer* he died, and was buried at Hemingford Abbot in Huntingdonshire. Greek Anacreontics were written for his monument, but a Cambridge wit suggested a terser epitaph describing him as *felix memoriae, expectans judicium*³. 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.

in St John's College Library (Wordsworth's *Univ. Life in xviiiith cent.*, 320 f); but the Greek speech of presentation is not to be found in the University Library or at the Registry or at Emmanuel, or among the Covel papers in the British Museum.

¹ *Dissertations*, 558 Wagner.

² Cumberland's *Memoirs*, 28, 'I do believe that Barnes had as much Greek, and understood it about as well, as an Athenian blacksmith'. Cp. Jebb's *Bentley*, 36. The *Biographia Britannica* (followed by Allibone's *Dict.* and Wolf's *Kl. Schr.* 1052) wrongly has 'an Athenian cobbler'.

³ Wolf, 1053. The phrase was borrowed from Ménage (p. 299, n. 1 *supra*). On Barnes, cp. Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 52-4, 291-7; also *Biogr. Brit.*, and Allibone.

CHAPTER XXI.

GERMANY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

GERMANY, as well as England and the Netherlands, may claim a part in the career of Janus Gruter (1560—^{Gruter} 1627). His father was burgomaster of Antwerp, and it was there that Janus was born. His mother was a learned and accomplished Englishwoman, and it was from his mother that he learnt Latin. Owing to the troubled state of Antwerp during the struggle of the Netherlands against the power of Spain, his parents took refuge in England. From the age of seven he lived in this country; he was educated at Norwich Grammar School, and in 1577 entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge¹. He continued his academic studies at Leyden, and subsequently held professorships at Rostock and Wittenberg, where he published nine books of *Suspiciones*, explaining or emending numerous passages of Plautus, Apuleius, and Seneca (1591). In 1592 he left for Heidelberg, where he gathered around him a goodly band of eager pupils. At or near the capital of the Palatinate 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 of Scaliger, who not only supplied a large part of the materials, but also devoted the strenuous toil of ten months to the construction of twenty-four admirably methodical Indices². He produced editions of at least seventeen Latin authors, including Tacitus, with the notes of nine previous commentators (1607), Livy (1608), and Cicero (1618), with the hitherto unpublished collations and conjectures

¹ Cp. Venn's *Annals*, 410 f; *Biogr. Hist.* i 92.

² Bernays, *Scaliger*, 67 f; cp. Hallam, ii 290 f⁴.



JANUS GRUTER.

From a photograph of the portrait in the University Library, Heidelberg.

of Guilielmus¹, and with unjustifiable strictures on the text of Lambinus. In his notes to the *Historiae Augustae Scriptores Minores* (1611), he was the first to recognise the existence of the 'Saxon characters' in a Palatine MS, written in what is now known as the Beneventan script². He was charged by Scaliger with being indifferent to the merit of the authors edited, his only aim being the production of a book. It was even said that he never failed to publish one in every year, and sometimes even in 'every month'. All other scholars appeared 'mere drones in comparison with him'³. The six volumes of his *Lampas* (1602-12) are only a collection of dissertations by scholars of centuries xv-xvi. His collection of two hundred of the modern Latin poets of Italy⁴ was published under the name of Ranutius G(h)erus, an anagram of Janus Gruterus (1608). In 1622, when Heidelberg was captured by the troops of Tilly, a large part of his private library was destroyed, while the famous Palatine library, which was under his charge, was assigned as the spoils of war to Maximilian of Bavaria. By Maximilian it was presented to Pope Gregory XV, who sent Leo Allatius to superintend its transfer to the Vatican (1623). Hence it is that so large a number of the Vatican MSS are still known as the *codices Palatini*⁵. Some of them were afterwards carried off from Rome to Paris, and then sent back to Heidelberg. The greater part of the Palatine *Anthology* was thus restored to its former home. Gruter never recovered from the blow that had befallen the library; he spent the last four years of his life cultivating his garden in a rural retreat not far from the desolate university of the Palatinate⁶. 'His eulogists have given him credit for acumen and judgement, and even for elegance, and an agreeable variety of style; but his reputation mainly rests on his laborious erudition'⁷. The merit

¹ p. 272 *supra*. ² Traube, in *S. Ber. of Munich Acad.* 1900, 472.

³ Hallam, ii 280⁴.

⁴ Also of France (1609), and Belgium (1614); those of Germany were collected by A. F. G. G. (1612); those of Hungary by Pareus (1619); while those of Scotland were printed at Amsterdam (1637).

⁵ *Graeci*, cat. by H. Stevenson (1885); *Latini*, by H. Stevenson jun. and De Rossi (vol. i, 1886).

⁶ Bursian, i 270-4. Cp. J. v. Hulst, *Jean Gruyère*, Liège, 1847.

⁷ Hallam, ii 280⁴.

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.

As custodian of the Palatine MSS, he had always been ready to oblige scholars who publicly acknowledged his aid. The excerpts from the MSS of Camerarius, which he sent to Taubmann (1565—1613) for his edition of Plautus (1605—12), were duly acknowledged; but he regarded with disfavour and endeavoured to

discredit the Plautine labours of Philipp Pareüs
 Pareüs (1576—1648), who, in his second edition of 1619, printed the first accurate collation of the Palatine MSS. In the third edition of Taubmann's text, Gruter attempted to reflect on the accuracy of Pareüs by stating that the text of Taubmann had been *bona fide* collated by the librarian himself with that of the MSS¹. Pareüs did permanent service to the study of Plautus by the publication of his *Lexicon* (1614, 1634) and the evidence of the Palatine MSS of Terence is carefully recorded in his edition of that poet, which has a good Index (1619). He also edited Sallust and Symmachus, and made useful contributions to Latin lexicography. A full index is the main merit of his son Daniel's edition of Lucretius (1631). Much of the father's best work was done at Neustadt on the Hardt, where he was Rector of the local School from 1610 until the capture of the town by the troops of Spain drove him to Hanau, where he held a similar position for nearly all the twenty-five remaining years of his life.

Among the scholars and controversialists connected with the Palatinate a place must be found for Caspar Schoppe (1576—1649), who
 Scloppius was born in the upper Palatinate, near Nuremberg, and studied at Heidelberg, Altdorf, and Ingoldstadt. He was still a student when he produced, in 1596, a volume of *Verisimilia* on classical writers of Latin prose, —a work evincing critical acumen and multifarious reading, as well as vanity and shameless dishonesty. Part at least of this work was plagiarised from the books to which he had access in the library of his master, Giphanius². In the following year his criticisms were continued in the form of a series of Letters addressed to Scaliger and Casaubon in his *Suspectae Lexiones*, consisting mainly

¹ Bursian, i 275 n. 2; and Ritschl's *Opusc.* ii 125 f.

² C. Nisard, *Gladiateurs*, ii 12 f. Cp. p. 190 *supra*.

of conjectures on Plautus and Apuleius. In the same year, in his brief treatise *De Arte Critica*, he illustrated the errors of the copyists by means of examples taken from the MSS of Plautus and Symmachus. Having become a catholic at Prague in 1598, he went to Rome, and served the papal cause in Germany, Italy and Spain. Meanwhile he found time for criticising Apuleius, editing Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, and the Letters of Symmachus, and producing an improved edition of the *Minerva* of Sanctius. In 1618-30 he lived in retirement at Milan, where he wrote a 'philosophic' Latin Grammar (1628)¹, which passed through several editions. He next attacked the Jesuits, and, to escape from the enemies he had raised against him, fled for refuge to Padua, where he spent the last thirteen years of his life. He wrote polemical treatises against the great protestant scholars Scaliger² and Casaubon³. 'The Protestants, whom he had abandoned, and the Jesuits, whom he would not join, are equally the objects of his anger'. As 'one of those restless and angry spirits, whose hand is against all the world', he 'lived a long life of controversy'⁴. His literary feuds earned him the title of the snarling scholar—the *canis grammaticus*. It is possibly the same irritability of temper that is symbolised in the 'quills upon the fretful porcupine' which is represented as resting on the table beside which he stands in one of his portraits. Scaliger having inherited from his father the championship of the cause of Cicero, Scioppius entered the lists against the greatest orator of Rome. He also attacked the style of the Jesuit Latinist Strada⁵, whose 'Italianisms' he exposed to view, while his own style, at least in his earlier works, is disfigured with 'Germanisms'⁶. The attack on Strada has, however, the merit of being accompanied by a valuable treatise on historic style. In the course of the latter he attacks the Latinity of Thuanus, Lipsius, Casaubon, and other recent writers.

Schoppe had a keen controversy with the Latin versifier, Caspar von Barth (1587—1658), who, after travelling abroad for ten years, lived mainly at Leipzig and Halle. His facility in Latin verse was Barth early proved in his *Juvenilia* (1607). In the same year he elaborately edited the Pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris*. In 1612 he attacked Schoppe in his *Cave Canem*, and edited Claudian. This was followed by his edition of the 'venatic and bucolic' Latin poets, dedicated to Casaubon (1613). His *Status* was not published until 1664. Of the 120 volumes of his *Adversaria*, only 60 have been printed, but these are enough; they extend to 1500 folio pages, and to more than that number of chapters⁷. Mediaeval literature was one of his many interests. He professes to have read as many as 16,000 authors of all kinds,

¹ Hallam, ii 285⁴.

² *Scaliger hypobolimaeus*, 1607; cp. Bernays, *Scaliger*, 85 f, 212 f.

³ *Responsio ad Ep. Casoboni*, 1615.

⁴ Hallam, ii 285⁴.

⁵ p. 281 *supra*.

⁶ *Infamia Famiani*; cp. Nisard, ii 182 f.

⁷ Cp. Hallam, ii 281⁴.

and he has been described by a contemporary scholar as a *vir multae lectionis sed exigui iudicii*¹. He is characterised by an extraordinary degree of vanity, combined with a disregard for veracity. For a time he counted among his

Reinesius friends the learned physician, Thomas Reinesius of Gotha (1587—1667), who was in correspondence with many scholars.

Reinesius had studied medicine at Padua, and his residence in Italy had led to his taking an interest in the collection of Latin Inscriptions, but it was not until after his death that the results were published in a fine folio volume dated 1682. His wide learning is attested by the 700 pages of his *Variae Lectiones* (1640). At Padua in 1664 he produced a valuable edition of a considerable fragment of Petronius, which had been found at Trau in Dalmatia in 1640.

Thuringia was also the home of a meritorious scholar, Wolfgang Seber (1573—1634), who published a complete vocabulary to the

Seber Homeric poems, and editions of Theognis and Pollux. West

of Thuringia lay the birthplace of the theologian and orientalist Jacob Weller

Weller (1602—1664), who in 1635 produced a *Grammatica Graeca nova*, which deserved praise for its brevity and clearness, and

was widely used in Holland, as well as in Germany, down to the end of the eighteenth century, especially in the edition prepared by J. F. Fischer, and supplemented by the Syntax of Lambert Bos².

The influence of Scaliger is exemplified by Heinrich Lindenburg of Hamburg (1570—1642), who produced a learned edition of Censorinus, which was reprinted at Leyden and Cambridge; while his brother, Friedrich (1573—1648), edited many other Latin authors, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, Terence and Statius (with the *scholia* on both), besides collecting the earliest Latin historians of Germany. Both were pupils of Scaliger at Leyden (1594—6), and Heinrich was specially interested in Latin Inscriptions³.

Another native of Hamburg, Lucas Holstein, or Holstenius (1596—1661), after studying at Leyden, visited England and France, joined the Roman communion and went to Rome, where he lived from 1627 to his death, as librarian of the Barberini palace and of the Vatican. His published works include an edition of certain treatises of Porphyry, and the *editio princeps* of Arrian's *Cyneticus* (1644).

¹ Burman's *Sylloge*, ii 763.

² Bursian, i 301; cp. Hallam, ii 275⁴.

³ Ziebarth, in *Beiträge zur Gelehrten-Geschichte des xviii Jahrh.* (Hamburg, 1905), 73—161.

He formed the design of editing all the minor Greek Geographers, and his familiarity with ancient Geography is proved by his posthumously published notes on Stephanus of Byzantium. The geography of Italy and of the ancient world in general was studied by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601—1680), Kircher who was driven by the victorious Swedes from Würzburg, and found a refuge in Rome, as a professor in the Collegio Romano. One of his best works is his illustrated historical and topographical account of Latium (1671). He is famous as the founder of the Roman Museum of Antiquities known as the Museo Kircheriano, which still includes his own collection of antique Roman and Italian coins¹.

The study of Latin style is exemplified in the works *de Latinitate falso* and *merito suspecta* (1665—9), published Vorst by the Berlin schoolmaster and librarian, Johannes Vorst (1623—1696). The history of literature is meanwhile represented by Jönsen (1624—1659), a master of the Jönsen school at Frankfurt, who in the last year of his life produced a work *De Scriptoribus Historiæ Philosophicæ*, worthy to stand beside that of Vossius on the Greek Historians. Only the early portion of a literary history of the world was completed in the same year by Peter Lambeck, of Lambeck Hamburg (1628—1680), a nephew of Holstenius. In the course of his critical notes on the *Notæ Atticæ*, he conclusively proved that the author's name was A(ulus) Gellius, and not Agellius, as had been supposed by mediaeval writers and even in later times by Lipsius. He joined the Roman Church, and, in the latter part of his life, became librarian at Vienna, leaving behind him eight folio volumes on the history of the MSS which had been under his charge from 1663 to his death.

In contrast to the *Prodromus Historiæ Literariæ* (which Lambeck failed to bring down any further than the times of Moses and Cadmus), in contrast also to the fragmentary *Tractatio de Polymathia* of Wowerius², we have the completed fabric of the *Polyhistor* of Daniel George Morhof of Wismar Morhof (1639—1690), who left a professorship at Rostock

¹ Bursian, i 310; Ulrichs, 73².

² p. 306 *supra*.

(1661-5) to be one of the first professors at the newly-founded university of Kiel (1665-90). His *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus, et practicus*, is a great encyclopaedic work divided into three parts. The early part alone was printed two years before the author's death. The whole was edited by Moller in 1704, and by the encyclopaedic author, J. A. Fabricius of Hamburg, in 1731 and 1747. We are here concerned with the *Polyhistor literarius* alone. This is a vast survey of classical learning, divided into seven books, (1) *bibliothecarius*, on the history of literature, on bibliography, and on libraries; (2) *methodicus*, on the best method of studying Greek and Latin; (3) *παρασκευαστικός*, on making notes and abstracts of the authors studied, together with the first draft of a dictionary of metaphors, and lists of topics for laudatory poems etc.; (4) *grammaticus*, on language and literature; (5) *criticus*, on writers on criticism and antiquities; (6) *oratorius*, on rhetoricians and orators ancient and modern; and (7) *poeticus*, on ancient and modern writers on the art of poetry, and ancient Greek and modern Latin poets, the *ancient* Latin poets having already been reviewed in (4). In this great work Morhof has embodied his teaching as a professor at Kiel; he reviews the books in every department of learning in an approximately chronological order; supplies a brief but judicious notice of each; and, by his copious erudition, makes amends for certain defects in the distribution of his subject¹. In his minor works he defended Livy from the charge of *Patavinus* (1685), and also wrote on purity of Latin style (ed. 1725)².

His contemporary, Marquard Gude of Rendsburg in Schleswig-Holstein (1635-1689), is less distinguished as a scholar than as a patron of learning and a collector of mss. During his travels in Italy he copied numerous inscriptions that were finally published by Franz Hessel (1731). His valuable collection of Greek and Latin mss (including the Greek lexicon known as the *lexicon Gudianum*) now forms part of the library at Wolfenbüttel³.

For a large part of the seventeenth century there was a flourish-

¹ Cp. Hallam, i p. v; iii 551⁴.

² Bursian, i 304-6.

³ Bursian, i 323 f.

ing school of Roman History at Strassburg, where a university was founded in 1621. The editions of the Roman historians published by this school were distinguished for the excellence of their *indices* of subject-matter as well as language. The founder of the school was Matthias Bernegger of Hallstadt (1582 —1640), who edited Justin, select Lives from Suetonius, and the whole of Tacitus, with explanatory notes, original and selected (1638). The model of this school was the great editor of Tacitus, Justus Lipsius¹. Bernegger's Tacitus included many excellent notes and emendations due to his pupil and son-in-law, Johannes Caspar Freinsheim (1608 —1660), the foremost representative of the school. Freinsheim lived at Upsala in 1642-51, and passed the last four years of his life as an honorary professor at Heidelberg. He produced excellent editions of Florus², and of the first four books of the *Annals* of Tacitus. In his edition of Curtius, he endeavours to repair the loss of the first two books by a composition of his own, which is the best of the three attempts to supply the deficiency. A far more extensive work is his restoration of no less than sixty of the lost books of Livy (1654), a work which, although it lacks the charm of the historian's style, is stored with an ample supply of facts, and rich in the fruits of careful research. Even his posthumous edition of Phaedrus (1664) is inspired by an interest in history, for each of the fables is illustrated by a historical incident³. Another pupil of Bernegger, Johann Heinrich Boekler (1610-1672), was an influential teacher at Strassburg in 1631-48, and 1652-72, and at Upsala in the interval between these two periods. He edited Velleius Paterculus, and the *Histories* of Tacitus, produced a commentary on Nepos, collated MSS of Polybius, and published an edition of Herodian. His pupil and son-in-law, Ulrich Obrecht (1646-1673), edited the *Scriptores*

¹ Cp. Bünger (Strassburg, 1893).

² 1632, 1636, 1655, 1669.

³ For correspondence between Bernegger and Freinsheim (1629-36), see E. Keller, in *Beiträge zur Gelehrten-Geschichte des xvii Jahrh.* (Hamburg, 1905), 1-72; Reifferscheid, *Quellen zur Gesch. d. geistigen Lebens... 17 Jahrh.*, p. 960.

Historiae Augustae, and the whole of Quintilian. Another pupil of Boekler, Johann Scheffer (1621—1672), who, like Boekler, became a professor at Upsala, where he spent the last 31 years of his life, produced many editions of Greek and Latin authors, including Hyginus, Petronius, Justin, and Phaedrus, but he perversely opposed the ordinary opinion as to the authorship of the first two of these works. His illustrated treatises on the ships, the carriages, and even the necklaces of the ancients, are in good repute; he was also an artist, and wrote on the history and the technique of ancient painting¹.

The historical studies characteristic of Strassburg have their counterpart at Helmstadt, near Magdeburg, in the learned labours of Hermann Conring (1606—1681), who was for half a century the ornament of the university of Helmstadt, being successively professor of Physics, Medicine, and Politics. Apart from encyclopaedic works on the first two of these subjects, he produced, in connexion with the third of his varied interests, an edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus, with excerpts from other writers on German history. He also edited the *Politics* of Aristotle, with many valuable suggestions on the Text, and with a collection of the fragments of the lost *πολιτεῖαι*².

The work of Spanheim (1629—1710), who belongs to Germany by his descent and also by his diplomatic services, has already been noticed in connexion with his place of education in the Netherlands³. While Spanheim had a wide knowledge of classical literature as well as of numismatics, his comparatively short-lived successor, Lorenz Beger of Heidelberg (1653—1705), confined his researches to the antiquarian field alone. He was the custodian of the cabinet of antiques at Heidelberg, and of the collection of works of ancient art at Berlin, and his *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* (1696) contains a large selection of ancient coins and gems, with an ample commentary⁴.

The scholar and archaeologist Spanheim, and the eminent jurist Thomasius, played an important part in promoting in 1694

¹ Bursian, i 325—335; Urlichs, 75².

² Bursian, i 336—8.

³ p. 327 *supra*.

⁴ Bursian, i 342—7.

the foundation of the university of Halle by Friedrich, Elector of Brandenburg, who afterwards became the first King of Prussia. 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 Cellartus Ancient History and Geography. Among his most popular works were his *Antibarbarus*, his *Orthographia Latina*, his new edition of Faber's *Thesaurus*, and his *Historia* and *Geographia Antiqua*. His most important work is his *Notitia Orbis Antiqui*, in two quarto volumes (1701—6), with numerous maps. Several of his fifteen editions of Latin historians and other authors were accompanied by maps, which were then a novelty in classical works. He also broke new ground in starting a *Collegium politioris doctrinae* or *elegantioris litteraturae*, the precursor of the *Seminarium* which has become an established institution in the universities of Germany¹.

In the early part of the century surveyed in the five preceding chapters, the first enthusiasm aroused by the Revival of Learning had already begun to languish in Italy and in other parts of Europe. It was an exceptional indication of an interest in accurate scholarship when a treatise on the Latin particles prepared by the Italian Jesuit, Horatius Tursellinus (b. 1545), was printed at Mainz in 1602 as the first of all the precursors of the elaborate edition published by Hand three centuries after the birth of the original author. During the seventeenth century the learning of Italy was almost exclusively concentrated on local and general archaeology². 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 such as Sirmond, Petavius and Vigerus³, and by jurists, such as Peiresc, Heraldus

¹ Bursian, i 348—351; cp. Creuzer, *Zur Gesch. der Phil.* 120 f.

² Chap. xvii.

³ To these may be added Rigault (1577—1654), editor of Onosander and S. II.

and Valesius¹, most of whom were surpassed in erudition, on the catholic side, by the great lexicographer, Du Cange, and the learned palaeographer, Mabillon². 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 Bentley³. 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 Perizonius⁴. In England the century was adorned by the names of Savile and Bacon, Gataker and Selden, More and Cudworth, Milton and Dryden, 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*⁵. 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. But, happily, the beginning and the end of the century were marked by the notable names of the cosmopolitan scholars, Gruter and Spanheim, both of whom had points of contact with England, while, in its latter half, the name that perhaps lingers longest in the memory is that of Morhof, the profoundly learned author of the *Polyhistor*⁶. 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 Perizonius⁷.

Artemidorus; the Scriptorum Oneirocritici...Agrarii etc. (1614); Juvenal and Sulpicia (1616); Tertullian (1635), Minucius Felix and Cyprian (1643).

¹ Samuel Petit (1594-1643), author of the *Leges Atticae* (1635), belongs to the same group.

² Chap. xviii.

³ p. 403 *infra*.

⁴ Chap. xix.

⁵ Chap. xx.

⁶ Chap. xxi.

⁷ p. 331 *supra*.

BOOK IV.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- (a) *Nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt.*
(b) *Noli Librarios solos venerari; sed per te sapere aude, ut singula ad orationis ductum sermonisque genium exigens ita demum pronunties sententiamque feras.*

BENTLEY, on Horace, *Carm.* iii 27, 15, and *Praef.*, 1711.

Conjecturas ingeniosas laudabat magis quam probabat; et nihil magis quam dulces illas ingenii illecebras in iudicando cavendum monebat.

ERNESTI, *De Gesnero ad Ruhnkenium*, 1762.

Movebat ipsa Graecae linguae dignitas, ut pro viribus ad eam illustrandam aliquid conferrem; disciplinarum nempe et artium omnium matrem, qua stante steterunt omnia vitae civilis ornamenta; qua deficiente illa quoque dilapsa sunt.

MONTFAUCON, *Palaeographia Graeca*, *Ep.* p. 5, 1708.

Recte vir magnus statuebat, Latinam linguam Graecae sic aptam et nexam esse, ut, qui alteram ab altera distrahat ac divellat, animi et corporis discidium inducere videatur.

RUHNKEN, *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, p. 43, 1789².

CHAPTER XXII.

ITALY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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 'Calepinus'. The author, Ambrogio da Calepio, or Ambrosius Calepinus (c. 1440—1511), was born at Calepio between Bergamo and Brescia, entered the Augustinian Order at Bergamo, and published his dictionary at Reggio in 1502, dedicating his work to the Senate and People of Bergamo. He prepared a new edition in 1509, which he inscribed with the name of the Superior of his Order, Egidio of Viterbo. In 1511 he died, and his corrections were incorporated in an edition published in 1521. In his preface he tells the Senate and People of Bergamo that 'for many years he had extracted from authors, both catholic and profane, interpretations of words rather for his own use than for publication, preferring the learning of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, to the cavils of Valla. He professes to excel all former writers in copiousness, in exactness of citation, in the explanation of prepositions; but is notwithstanding conscious of innumerable defects'¹. His dictionary marked a great advance on the mediaeval glossaries, and on the various vocabularies of the last quarter of the fifteenth century². It was widely used in Europe, and it

¹ Ed. 1502, quoted by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, *Journal of Cl. and S. Philology*, ii 278.

² Tortellius (1471), Junianus Maius (1475), Reuchlin (1475), Dionysius Novariensis (1488).

even added to the French language a new word *Calepin*, 'a note-book, or common-place-book'. Edited again and again, and overlaid with many additions, it was denounced as follows by the learned Dane, Olaus Borrichius (1626—1690):—*Bonus ille Calepinus toties coctus et recoctus parum sapit*¹. 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)². This was followed by Faber's *Thesaurus* (1571), in which all the derivatives were arranged under the words from which they were derived³. A series of revisions of Calepinus, Estienne, and Faber, appeared in Germany, culminating in J. M. Gesner's *Novus Thesaurus* (1749).

Meanwhile, the students of Latin in Italy were in general content to rely on the successive editions of the work of their countryman, Calepinus. 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 Torregia in the Euganean hills, and Aegidio Forcellini (1688—1768) at Campo Sampiero, near Treviso. Both were of humble birth and of excellent abilities. 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's brother,

¹ *Dissert. de Lexicis Latinis.*

² p. 173 *supra.*

³ p. 269 *supra.*

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*. In 1724, when he had reached the word *comitor*, the bishop died, and, under his successor, Forcellini was compelled to leave the seminary of Padua. For seven years he was placed at the head of the seminary of Ceneda in the Venetian Alps, but, on the arrival of a new bishop (Ottononi), he was recalled in 1731, and had proceeded as far as the word *pone* in 1742, when the bishop inconsiderately assigned him the laborious duty of being Confessor to all the local clergy. The progress of the lexicon was thus retarded until he was fortunately released from that responsibility by a new bishop (Rezzonico) in 1751, when he was enabled to continue his lexicographical work without further interruption, starting afresh with the appropriate word *thesaurus*, and reaching 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.

Meanwhile he wrote his preface, in which 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. He had spent all his pains, strength and time on his task; he was a young man when he set hands to it, and had grown old in the course of its completion.

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. He was now far advanced in life and broken down by his long labours, when he bethought him of the village where he was born, and asked permission to make the place of his birth the quiet haven of his declining years. The permission was granted, and the great lexicographer humbly handed over to the library of the seminary the twelve last volumes of his own original draft of the lexicon with the sixteen volumes of the fair copy, and on May-day in the year 1765 left Padua for his old home at Campo Sampiero. There, among his own people, he spent his time in peaceful rest and in quiet contemplation of things eternal, till, three years later, after a short illness, he passed away early in April, 1768, in the 80th year of his age. His body was laid without pomp or circumstance in the part of the village-church where priests were wont to be buried, and it was not until many years had elapsed that any epitaph whatsoever was placed on his tomb. 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.

¹ De-Vit's *Praef.* p. xxxii.

The printing of Forcellini's lexicon was completed in four folio volumes in 1771, having been seen through the press by Caietano Cognolati, who wrote a full preface to the work. But the printer had in hand a new edition of the old 'Calepinus', which was intended for publication in 1772. He accordingly kept back the great lexicon for fear it should damage the sale of the other work. A few copies, however, got abroad, and so large was the demand that nearly the whole stock was soon exhausted. 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)¹.

¹ See De-Vit's *Praefatio* (1879), 118 pp.; and cp. J. E. E. Mayor, in *Journal of Cl. and S. Philology*, ii (1855) 271-290.



FORCELLINI.

Part of the Frontispiece to the London edition of 1825.

While Forcellini deserves perpetual remembrance as 'the man of one book', and that a true monument of gigantic industry, we must, in fairness to his former master, add that Facciolati was the author of the *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini* (1757) and many minor works; that he edited Cicero, *De Officiis* etc. (1720), and was the first to give a satisfactory form to the *Lexicon Ciceronianum* of Nizolius (1738).

The study of Cicero is represented in the same century (1) by **Ferrati** Marcus Antonius Ferratius of Padua (d. 1748), whose *Epistolae* (Venice 1699 and 1738) did much for the right understanding of Cicero's *Speeches*¹; and (2) by the **Lagomarsini** learned Jesuit, Girolamo Lagomarsini (1698—1773), who collated all the MSS of Cicero accessible to him in Florence and elsewhere, and was professor of Greek in Rome for the last twenty-two years of his life.

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 Baier and Halm in the second edition of Orelli. But not a single work of Cicero was edited by the industrious collator himself².

In the next generation about half of Cicero was edited by **Garatoni** Garatoni of Ravenna (1743—1817). During the eleven years that he spent at Rome and Bologna (1777—88) he published seventeen volumes of an edition, which was to have extended to thirty-three, but the printing came to an end owing to the bankruptcy of the publisher, and, for the rest of the editor's life, nothing else appeared in connexion with Cicero, except editions of the *pro Plancio* and *pro Milone*³. At an earlier date a remarkable monument of the study of the elder Pliny was produced in the two folio volumes

¹ Orelli-Baier, *Onomasticon*, i 437, 'liber quo Ciceronis interpres carere prorsus nequeat'.

² Cp. J. M. Parthenius, *De Vita et Studiis Lagomarsini*, Ven. 1801, §§ 82—98; Fabroni, *Vitae Italorum*, xviii 146.

³ Dionysii Stochii *de vita et scr. G.* 1818 (Friedemann u. Seelbode, *Misc. Crit.* i 136—141 and ii 1 etc.).

of the exceedingly diffuse *Disquisitiones Plinianaë* (1763) of Count Rezzonico (1709—1785).

In the same century we have two important catalogues of the classical MSS of Florence. That of the library in the Riccardi palace by Giovanni Lami¹ of Santa Croce was published at Leghorn in 1756², while that of the Laurentian library, including a vast amount of information extracted from the MSS themselves and from other sources, was produced in eight folio volumes (1764—78) by Angelo Maria Bandini of Florence (1726—1803)³. In the field of Classics a librarian of the Vatican, Pier Francesco Foggini of Florence (1713—1783), contented himself with producing a printed 'facsimile' of the Medicean Virgil (1741), and a satisfactory edition of the *Fasti Praenestini* of Verrius Flaccus (1779). Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius were specially studied by Giannantonio Volpi of Padua (1686—1766), an editor of Plautus, Lucretius and Lucan.

During this age Greek occupies a subordinate position. In the first half of the century Greek studies are well represented by Odoardo Corsini of Fanano (1702—
Corsini
 1765), whose *Fasti Attici*, published in four quarto volumes in Florence (1744—56), laid the foundation for the chronology of the Attic Archons, 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). He was afterwards general superior of the educational Order of Piarists, first in Rome and afterwards in Pisa⁴. His great work on Greek chronology was not followed up by any exactly similar work in Italy.

The first two of the fourteen years, that Bandini devoted to the printing of the great catalogue of the Lauren-
Bandini
 tian library⁵, were partly spent in publishing the remains of five Alexandrian poets:—Callimachus, Nicander, Coluthus, Tryphiodorus and Aratus (1764—5). Callimachus had already been translated into Latin, and Nicander (as well as Oppian) into Italian verse by Antonio Maria Salvini (1653—1729). In 1766 Bandini published Theognis, Phocylides, and the golden verses of Pythagoras, with translations into Latin and Italian,

¹ 1697—1770.

² He also produced 18 vols. of *Deliciae Eruditorum* (1736—69), and 3 vols. of *Memorabilia Italorum eruditione præstantium*, 1742—8.

³ Cp. Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d' Italia*, II i 217 f.

⁴ Fabroni, *Vitæ Italorum*, III 88—148.

⁵ I. 5 *supra*.

followed in 1770 by Theophrastus, *De Historia Plantarum*. He was also interested in the literary history of Florence, as is partly proved by his Lives of Ficino (1771) and Victorius (1759)¹.

We need only mention two more Greek scholars, both of whom were ecclesiastics:—Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli of Bologna (1722—1793), who produced a notable treatise on the metres of Pindar (1773); and Jacopo Morelli of Venice (1745—1819), who published the declamation of 'Aristides' against Leptines, and other Greek texts, from the library of St Mark's, which was under his care².

Archaeological research was meanwhile promoted by the foundation of learned societies such as the Etruscan Academy of Cortona with quaintly styled 'Lucumons' at its head (1726), the 'Accademia di Ercolano' at Naples (1755), and the 'Accademia di antichità profane' founded on the Capitoline hill by Benedict XIV (1740—58)³. The antiquities discovered by these Academies were added to the treasures of ancient art stored in the Museum at Naples, and on the Capitol and in the Vatican at Rome. Turning from societies to individuals, we find antiquarian and topographical research successfully

carried on by Ficoroni (1664—1747), whose name is associated for ever with the exquisitely engraved *cista*, which he discovered near Praeneste and presented to the Museum in the Collegio Romano. His latest work, that on the Vestiges of Ancient Rome (1744), supplies an instructive conspectus of the topography and the monuments. About the same time the ruins of Rome were reproduced in bold and vigorous

engravings by Vasi and his distinguished pupil Gianbattista Piranesi (1707—78)⁴. The youthful Goethe was first inspired with a longing to see Italy by the very copies of these engravings, which may still be seen at the *Goethe-Haus* in Frankfurt. After the time of Ficoroni and before that of

Piranesi, we find Antonio Francesco Gori, a priest and professor in Florence (1691—1757), publishing the ancient Greek and Roman inscriptions of Etruria (1727—44), and editing Doni's ancient inscriptions (1732), together with the

¹ Mazzuchelli, II i 217 f.

² Life by Moschini (1819) and Zandrini (1821).

³ Stark, 188 f.

⁴ Stark, 241.

six volumes on coins, in the *Museum Florentinum* (1740-2), and the three volumes on ancient ivory Diptychs (1759)¹. Inscriptions continued to be collected and studied in many parts of Italy, but their study was attended with difficulty owing to the fact that many of them were forgeries². The latter are not excluded with sufficient strictness even from the *Thesaurus* compiled by the great historian Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672—
Muratori
1750), librarian at Milan from 1695 to 1700 and afterwards for half a century at Modena, the most industrious and the most widely learned Italian scholar of his time. He produced six folio volumes of *Antiquitates Italicae 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 unflinching championship of good sense in matters of scholarship, he exercised a most healthy influence on historical and antiquarian studies in Italy. He stoutly resisted the scholasticism of his day, successfully defended himself against the Jesuits, who had the audacity to denounce him as a heretic, and, as a parish priest and ultimately provost of Modena, was a perfect pattern of devotion to the sacred duties of his office³.

To the school of Muratori belongs his contemporary and friend Scipione Maffei of Verona (1675—1755), a scholar
Maffei
of varied accomplishments, who combined an interest in the drama, and in art and poetry in general, with the local patriotism which 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 archæo-

¹ Stark, 116.

² Stark, 119.

³ *Vita*, Ven. 1756; Fabroni, *Vitae Ital.* x 89—391; Schedoni, *Elogio* (Modena, 1818); Braun, *Ehrenrettung* (Trier, 1838); Stark, 118; portrait in *Scritti Inediti* (1872), reproduced in Wiese u. Percopo, 466.

logists¹. He travelled in Germany and England, spent four years in Paris, and was thoroughly familiar with the Roman remains in the South of France².

Archaeology is represented in the next generation by Paolo Maria Paciaudi of Turin (1710—1785), a pupil (and also a strong opponent) of the Jesuits. Widely known as an able preacher of the Theatine Order, he showed a keen interest in sacred archaeology in his learned sermons on the Saints. He spent part of his life in Naples and Rome, held high office in his Order, was an eager collector of antiquities, and a recognised authority on ecclesiastical archaeology and on numismatics. In his most important work, the *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca* (Rome, 1761), he published, for the first time, the inscriptions, reliefs and statues from the Peloponnesus and the Greek islands, preserved in the Nani Museum at Venice, and applied to their interpretation a sound and critical method³.

Some twenty years later, an admirable introduction to the study of inscriptions was supplied by Stephano Antonio Morcelli of Chiari (1737—1821), librarian to Cardinal Albani, in his work 'On the style of Latin inscriptions' (1780) and in his 'Select Inscriptions, with Comments' (1783). The wide extent of his influence may be estimated by the fact that he was the authority that inspired the Latin inscriptions of Dr Parr, while the present writer has seen a copy of the second of the above works in the little local library of the upland village of Colle near Bordighera.

His contemporary, 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 time⁴.

¹ Hagenbach, *Epp. Epigr.* 1747, ap. Urlichs, 100².

² Stark, 118.

³ Stark, 119.

⁴ Our knowledge of the *Fratres Arvales* has since been completed by Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, 1874.

The archaeological family of the Visconti, like that of the former rulers of Milan, originally came from Sarzano near Genoa. When Winckelmann left Rome in 1768, he was succeeded as surveyor of antiquities by Giovanni Battista Visconti, who held that office till his death in 1784. The most famous member of the family was his son, Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751—1818), a precocious genius who published at the age of 13 an Italian rendering of the *Hecuba*. Early in his career he produced works on the Monuments of the Scipios (1775), the inscriptions of the Jenkins collection (1783), the excavations at Gabii, and the antiques in the Palace and Villa Borghese (1796—7). Meanwhile he had 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. It was humorously said of him by the Danish archaeologist, Zoëga, who was then in Rome:—‘Visconti is working at archaeology with as much distinction as ever,—always equally ready with an explanation, whether the subject admits of an explanation or not’. When the Roman Republic was set up in 1798, Visconti, to the regret of his friends, allowed himself to be made a Consul; and, in the following years, when some of the finest works of art were carried off by Napoleon, he accompanied them to Paris, where he held high office as *Conservateur des Antiques*, and produced an admirable account of the works of ancient sculpture entrusted to his charge¹, besides completing three important volumes on Greek Iconography². In 1814 he was one of the first to recognise the transcendent importance of the Elgin marbles³. He is the embodiment of the intelligent appreciation of the works of ancient sculpture awakened in Italy by the influence of Winckelmann.

His brother, Filippo Aurelio (d. 1831), was distinguished as an editor of the *Museo Chiaramonti*⁴; his nephew, Pietro, was secretary of the Roman

¹ 1800, 1817.

² The finely-bound large-paper copy of this work, that once belonged to Napoleon himself, has been seen by the present writer in the collection of M. Gennadius in London.

³ Cp. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 82 f.

⁴ vol. i (1808).

Academy of Archaeology; his son, Ludovico Tullio (d. 1853), was an able architect in Paris, and a Visconti has since been at the head of the Archaeological Commission in Rome¹.

Among the Roman contemporaries of Ennio Quirino Visconti was Carlo Fea of Pigna near Nice (1753—1836), a member of the bar, who became librarian to the Chigi, and, besides translating and annotating Winckelmann's 'History of Ancient Art' in 1783—4, produced an important work on the Ruins of Rome (1820). He not only gave proof of his interest in Virgil (1797) and Horace (1811), but he superintended the Roman excavations, which were begun in 1782 and became peculiarly productive from 1813 to 1820. He preserved important records of these discoveries in his *Miscellanea* (1790, 1836), and published the new fragments of the *Fasti Consulares* in 1820. He is the principal founder of the modern study of Roman topography².

The briefest mention may suffice for Alessio Simmacho Mazzocchi (1684—1771), a commentator on the *Tabulae Heracleenses* (1754), and Niccolo Ignarra (1728—1808), who was highly esteemed by Ruhnken³ for his corrections of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (1784). Both of these were Neapolitan ecclesiastics. Meanwhile, in Florence, Luigi Lanzi (1732—1810) was writing on ancient vases and on modern painting, and was editing Hesiod; and in Rome, a professor of Greek, Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi (1742—1792), was producing his *Vetera Monumenta* and his *Anecdota*, which were followed by a far slighter work, his edition of two of the *Characters* of Theophrastus, published at Parma in 1786.

¹ Stark, 243—4.

² Jordan, *Topogr.* i i 96 (Stark, 242).

³ *Opusc.* ii 548 f.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

OUR first important name is that of Bernard de Montfaucon (1655—1741), who was born at the *château* of ^{Montfaucon} Soulage in Languedoc. After leaving school, he read all the historical works in his father's library, beginning with the French translation of Plutarch. Apart from the library, there was a chest of books left in his father's care. The chest was invaded by rats, but the young Montfaucon came to the rescue by finding a key that would unlock the chest, thus saving its contents from destruction, and finding fresh fields of literature to explore. The reading of history led to his first becoming a soldier; but after serving for two years in the army, he entered the Benedictine Order at Toulouse in 1675. He subsequently studied the language and literature of Greece for two years at Sorèze and for eight at Grasse. In 1686 he was diligently reading Herodotus at Bordeaux. After removing to Paris in the following year, he spent three years in Italy (1698—1701), exploring the great collections of MSS, and devoting special attention to the Laurentian Library. An account of his travels was published under the title of the *Diarium Italicum* (1702), which was translated into English. This includes a full description of the topography of Rome, with some notice of earlier writers on the subject, and a scheme for a more complete survey¹. Some of the results of this tour were embodied in the two volumes of fragments of the Greek Fathers (1707). While Latin alone had been the theme of Mabillon's treatise *De Re Diplomatica*, the foundations

¹ Gibbon, c. lxxi *ad finem* (vii 324 Bury).



MONTFAUCON.

From a portrait by 'Paulus Abbas Genbacensis' (1739), engraved by Tardieu
fils, and reproduced by Odieuvre in Dreux du Radier's *L'Europe Illustre*
(1777) vol. v.

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. Within two months the first edition of 1,800 copies (or 18,000 volumes) was sold off, and a new edition of 2,200 printed in the same year, followed by a supplement in five volumes. All the fifteen volumes were translated into English. The Russian nobleman, Prince Kourakin, had a complete set, sumptuously bound, and packed in a special case to accompany him on his travels in Italy. The work had been produced in haste, and the execution of the plates was far from perfect, but it supplied a comprehensive conspectus of all the antiquarian learning of the age, and it was long before it was in any way superseded. A grand scheme for the exposition of the civil and ecclesiastical archaeology of France was only partially completed in the five volumes on the *Monuments de la monarchie française* (1725-33). Montfaucon had published St Athanasius in 1698, and Origen's *Hexapla* in 1713; his great edition of Saint Chrysostom in thirteen folio volumes, begun in 1715, was finished in 1738. 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 1741 he had gathered materials for the continuation of his vast work on French archaeology, the second part of which was to deal with the churches of France. When he read a paper on this subject at the Academy of Inscriptions in the December of that year, a foreign member, who then saw him for the first time, asked him his age, and received the reply: 'In thirteen years I shall be a hundred'. Two days later an unforeseen attack of apoplexy carried off in a few hours the last of the great scholars of the Congregation of Saint-Maur. His final resting-

place is in the same chapel of the abbey-church that contains the remains of his great predecessor, Mabillon.

In his early surroundings at the *château* in Languedoc there had been little to suggest that he would become a great scholar. One of his brothers, who was an officer, writes him a letter beginning: 'vous êtes insupportable, mon cher frère, avec vos racines grecques'¹. He not only became one of the best Greek scholars since the Revival of Learning, but he also learnt Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee and Coptic, and only failed to learn Arabic. The secret of his wide learning, and of the large number of volumes that he produced, is revealed in a memorandum drawn up at the age of eighty-five, in which he states that, for the last forty-six years, he had always spent thirteen or fourteen hours a day in reading or writing². 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. He had a happy wit, and a keen appreciation of the work of younger men. The scholars of his immediate circle were informally known as the 'Academy of the Bernardins', and the best of his pupils were proud to call themselves his sons³. In 1719, when he was made a member of the Academy of Inscriptions, he had already produced forty-four folio volumes. He had scholarly friends in all Europe; he was known to Englishmen as *hominum et amicorum optimus*⁴. One of the most frequent visitors at the abbey was the poet and diplomatist, Matthew Prior, plenipotentiary in Paris in 1712⁵. Another of the numerous foreign frequenters of his rooms was the future author of a great work on Sicily, Philippe d'Orville of Amsterdam (1726)⁶. Among the most learned and accomplished of his Italian correspondents were

¹ E. de Broglie, i 205.

² *ib.* ii 316.

³ Cp. his own account of his life and works, printed in E. de Broglie, *Bernard de Montfaucon et les Bernardins* (1891), ii 311—323.

⁴ *ib.* i 22.

⁵ *ib.* i 137 f. In 1700 Prior had vainly applied on behalf of the Cambridge Press for the use of the 'Greek matrices, cut by order of Francis I' (p. 175 *supra*). Cp. *MSS de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 1787, 1 xciii f; Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* iv 663 f; Wordsworth, *Schol. Acad.* 383.

⁶ *ib.* i 277—283.

Muratori and Albani¹. One of his younger friends at the abbey was Dom Vincent Thuillier (1685—1736), who, besides editing the posthumous works, and writing a summary of the controversy with the Abbé de Rancé, produced a French translation of the whole of Polybius at the request of an eager strategist, the Chevalier de Folard, who had been inspired with an interest in the art of war by reading the Commentaries of Caesar. The Chevalier's commentary on Polybius, which accompanied the Benedictine monk's translation, included so many personal reflexions on his military contemporaries, that the first volume alone was allowed to be published in France (1727), while the remainder saw the light in Holland². Among the greater 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). Their other works are mainly connected with the History of France and its Provinces³.

Among the French Latinists of the eighteenth century we find three members of a single family. The first of these, Claude Capperonnier (1671—1744), editor of Quintilian (1725) and the *Rhetores Latini* (1756), took part in the revision of the Latin Thesaurus of Robert Estienne⁴. Claude's nephew, Jean (1716—1775), edited Caesar and Plautus, and Sophocles, with the *scholia* (1781). It was his transcript of the Paris ms that was used by Ruhnken in his edition of the Platonic Lexicon of Timæus (1754)⁵. Lastly, Jean Augustin (1745—1820) edited Virgil, Justin, Eutropius etc., and the *Academica* of Cicero (1796). The second and third of the Capperonniers were librarians in Paris, and all the three had friendly relations with scholars in the Netherlands.

¹ *ib.* i 324 f, and 338 f.

² *ib.* i 43, ii 41—110.

³ *ib.* ii 306.

⁴ Lefebure de S. Marc, *Éloge*, 1744.

⁵ Dupuy, *Éloge* in *Hist. Acad. Inscr.* xi 243.

Jean Bouhier (1673—1746), president at Dijon, edited Cicero and the poem of Petronius *On the Civil War*, with a French translation (1737)¹; he also wrote treatises on Herodotus, and contributed to Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca* an account of the ancient forms of the Greek and Latin Alphabets. Horace was edited in 1715 by the Jesuit, Noël Étienne Sanadon of Rouen (1676—1733), a Latin versifier, who taught at Caen and Tours, and held the office of librarian at the Collège de Louis XIV in Paris². Another Jesuit, Pierre Joseph de Thoulié, better known as Olivetus (1682—1768), besides translating parts of Demosthenes and Cicero, produced an edition of the whole of Cicero with selected notes in nine quarto volumes (1742), which was reprinted in Geneva and London.

We may here mention a group of archaeologists including Banduri (1671—1743), the author of a vast work on the Eastern Empire and on the Antiquities of Constantinople; Michel Fourmont (1690—1745), who collected a large number of inscriptions in the Peloponnesus, but published his forgeries only³; Burette (d. 1747), who for half a century contributed to the *Journal des Savants* a number of important papers on Greek Art and Greek Music; and Nicolas Fréret (1688—1749), the author of notable works on ancient geography and history, who was sent to the Bastille for his unpatriotic memoir on the origin of the Franks⁴. During his imprisonment he perused anew the Greek and Latin Classics, and wrote a paper on the *Cyropaedia*.

Classical archaeology was ably promoted by the Comte de Caylus (1692—1765), who, after a military career, accompanied the French envoys to the East, spent two months in Smyrna, made a perilous journey to Ephesus and Colophon, visited the plain of Troy, and studied the monuments of Constantinople and of Rome (1717). On his return to France we find him intimate with men like Mariette and the Abbé Barthélemy. Spending four-fifths of his large income on the

¹ A. Collignon, *Pétrone en France*, 94.

² Harless, *Vitae Philol.* iv 58—73.

³ Cp. *C. I. G.* i p. 61, R. C. Christie's *Selected Essays*, 58—91, and *infra* c. xxix (on Boeckh), vol. iii 99 n. 2.

⁴ Bougainville in *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* xxiii 314—337; Walckenaer, *Examen Critique*.

patronage of archaeology, he filled his house with works of ancient art three times over, and on each occasion presented the contents to the royal collections. He was interested in Etruscan and Egyptian, as well as Greek and Roman Art, and was attracted to works that were interesting because they were instructive, and not solely because they were beautiful. 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. The numerous memoirs which he presented to the Academy, in and after 1744, deal with works of ancient art in a scientific spirit, carefully interpreting and reconstructing them in the light of the ancient authorities. He caused the mural paintings found in the sepulchre of the Nasones to be carefully reproduced by P. S. Bartoli in a rare and sumptuous work, the *Peintures Antiques* (1757). He noted with interest the new enthusiasm for Homer, and observed that impressions derived from Homer were always enduring, because his ideas were 'just and grand'¹. He advised artists to choose their subjects, not from Ovid, but from Homer and Virgil, and, in the execution of their works, to keep closely to the poet's description, thus ignoring (as Lessing has shown) the essential difference between painting and poetry². Lastly, he took the keenest interest in the exploration of Herculaneum and Velcia, and in the Roman camps and Roman roads of France³.

Greek and Roman coins had been collected with eager enthusiasm by Charles Patin (1633-94), J. F. F. Vaillant (1655-1708), and Joseph Pellerin (1684-1782); and ancient gems skilfully reproduced in the *Pierres Gravées* (1752) of P. J. Mariette (1694-1775)⁴. Meanwhile, Ancient Geography was admirably represented by the 'First Geographer of the King of France', J. B. B. D'Anville (1697-1782), who published no less than seventy-eight geographical treatises and two hundred and eleven maps, all of them distinguished for their clearness and accuracy. Some of his best works were on Ancient Gaul, Italy, and Egypt.

Patin
Vaillant
Pellerin
Mariette
D'Anville

¹ *Corresp.* ii 67.

² *Tableaux*, 1757; criticised in *Laokoön*, c. xi.

³ Stark, *Handbuch*, 147-151.

⁴ Stark, 146 f.

A popular type of Archaeology was represented by the anti-
 quary, Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716—1795), who
 Barthélemy was educated by the Jesuits, enjoyed the patronage
 of the Duc and the Duchesse de Choiseul, and travelled with
 them in Italy, where he was keenly interested in the recent
 discovery of the Herculanean *papyri*¹. 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
 Phoenician, and of numismatic palaeography². 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.
 It has even been translated into modern Greek.

In this work the youthful traveller is the counterpart of the author, while
 two of his other characters correspond to his patrons the Duc and Duchesse
 de Choiseul. The brief analysis of Aristotle's treatise on Poetry, included
 in this work³, is apparently inspired by Marmontel; the account of Greek
 Astronomy⁴ is a reminiscence of Fontenelle; the criticisms on the constitu-
 tion of Sparta recall the paradoxes of the Abbé de Mably and of Rousseau;
 while the views on the Drama are suggestive of those of Voltaire. Even apart
 from these anticipations of modern opinions, anachronisms are not wanting.
 Thus we have an Athenian of the age of Philip giving us a definition of the
 Eclogue which really belongs to the times of Theocritus. In the discussion
 on Poetry⁵ the poetic imagination is described in terms far more precise than
 those of Plato's *Ion* or *Phaedrus*, while the definition of the imagination as
 the faculty of calling up images, whether in waking hours or in the hours
 of sleep, is not the view of Aristotle, but that of Philostratus, five centuries
 later⁶; and the author's views on 'the purgation of the passions' resemble
 those of modern interpreters rather than the dimly suggested opinions of
 Aristotle himself. Again, much is omitted that might well have found a place
 in its pages. In the description of the popular songs of Greece, the swallow-
 song of the boys and girls of Rhodes is absent⁷; and interesting traits might
 have been borrowed from the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, and from the private
 speeches of the Attic orators. But the author's glowing description of the
 pan-hellenic festivals gives a new life to the poetry of Pindar; he is prompted
 by a happy inspiration when he describes Plato as unfolding to his disciples

¹ Egger, *Hellénisme*, ii 404.

² Stark, 175.

³ c. 71.

⁴ c. 30.

⁵ c. 80.

⁶ Egger, *Histoire de la Critique*, c. 25. Cp. vol. i 72², 334² *supra*.

⁷ Athenaeus, 360.

the cosmology of the *Timæus* on the crest of Sunium, where a violent storm has just been succeeded by a perfect calm; his story of the death of Socrates is not unworthy of the Greek original in Plato, and his description of the voyage of the sacred vessel bound for Delos might well have been written by one who had long been familiar with the Cyclades. As a matter of fact, the author had never been beyond the bounds of France and Italy, but in Italy he had viewed the early excavations of Pompeii and had thus been enabled to give a more vivid description of the visit of Anacharsis to the theatre of Athens¹. The work is accompanied by illustrative notes, and maps.

In the year that followed the publication of the *Anacharsis*, the author produced a paper on the finances of Athens, suggested by an Attic inscription that had recently reached the Louvre². The *Anacharsis*, which was published in 1789, on the very eve of the French Revolution, supplies us with a pleasing picture of the literary labours that were rudely interrupted by that appalling event. Deprived of his official position and his Academic functions, the keeper of the King's Cabinet of Coins, and the member of the Academy of Inscriptions, was sent to prison. He there wrote three memoirs including a delightful retrospect of his career, which was not unclouded by fears for the future of the studies to which he had devoted more than fifty years of his life. He was released from prison owing to the influence of Danton; but, before the meetings of the Academy could be resumed, the Abbé Barthélemy had already passed away³.

The archaeologist Seroux d'Agincourt of Beauvais (1730—1814) escaped the perils of the Revolution by making Italy his home for thirty years, from 1778 ^{Seroux} to 1809. A pupil of the Comte de Caylus, he ^{d'Agincourt} bequeathed to his own pupils a set of engravings of thirty-seven antique terracottas, but it was not until 1823 that his great work in six volumes was published,—a work that fills the interval between the end of ancient and the beginning of modern art, and, in its earliest portions, is of special value in connexion with classical archæology⁴.

While the travels of Seroux d'Agincourt and Barthélemy were confined to

¹ c. 11.

² *Mém. de l'Acad. des belles lettres* (1792); *C. I. G.* no. 147.

³ Egger, *Hellénisme*, ii 296—310.

⁴ Stark, 256.

Italy, the manners and customs of the modern Greeks were carefully studied at Constantinople, and elsewhere, by Pierre Augustin Guys (1720—1799), a merchant and Secretary of State, who was a member of the Academy of Marseilles, and who died at Zante¹.

A more distinguished representative of France, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752—1817), the nephew of Barthélemy's great patron, travelled in Greece and Asia Minor from 1776 to 1782. In 1784 he published a memoir on the Hippodrome of Olympia, and was appointed ambassador of France at Constantinople. Three years later he sent the artist Fauvel (who had already travelled in Greece) to sketch the ruins of Athens, and obtained for the Louvre a single metope of the Parthenon and a single slab of the frieze. Of the two folio volumes of his *Voyage Pittoresque en Grèce*, the first alone (1782) appeared before the outbreak of the Revolution. The author fled to St Petersburg, where he became Director of the Academy and of the Public Libraries. He returned to France in 1802, was made a Peer of the Realm in 1814, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1817. 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 Greece².

The Jesuit Academician, Gabriel Brotier (1723—1789), is best known in connexion with his edition of Tacitus (1771), which has often been reprinted; he also edited Pliny (1779) and Phaedrus (1783). 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. He had previously translated the *Electra* of Euripides, the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, and the Greek romance of Chariton³.

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

¹ *Voyage Litt. de la Grèce*, ed. 2, 1776.

² Stark, 256.

³ Boissonade, *Notice*, 1813.

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 François Philippe Brunck (1729—1803), born at Brunck 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; during the Revolution he was imprisoned at Besançon; and, on his liberation, sold his library in 1790, thirteen years before his death¹. 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 Anthology² (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 Aeschylus³, seven of Euripides⁴, 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 agrees⁵. The Laurentian MS was then practically unknown to scholars; it was not collated by Elmsley until 1820. Brunck was often led astray by the temptation to introduce conjectures of his own, and by an undue anxiety

¹ *Mémoire* (1803); Fr. Jacobs in *Allg. Encycl.* 1 vol. xiii 220-2, Halm in *A. D. B.*; 'Lettres Inédites' in *Annuaire...des Études grecques*, 1874; Bursian, i 500.

² Cp. Fr. Jacobs, *Proleg. Breviora*, p. xxi b Dübner, 'Inter ipsos belli Borussiae tumultus, graecis literis admotus, vix e limpidiis illis fontibus gustaverat, quum incredibili ardore dies noctesque hoc unum ageret, ut sitim gustando excitatam largis haustibus restingeret. Forte in ejus manus apographa quaedam Anthologiae ineditae inciderant' etc.

³ *Prom., Persae, Septem* (1779).

⁴ *Androm., Or., Med., Hec., Phoen., Hipp., Bacchae* (1779 f).

⁵ Jebb, Introduction to *Facsimile of Laur. MS*, p. 20; and to Text of Sophocles (1897), xlii.

to accept the canon propounded by Dawes ; nevertheless, he fully earned the credit of having laid the foundation for a better treatment of the text and metre. He is far less well known for his editions of Latin Classics, such as Plautus (1779 f), Virgil (1785), and Terence (1797).

Jeremias Jacob Oberlin (1735—1806), who was born and bred at Strassburg, passed his whole life as a member of the staff of the *gymnasium* and the university, being head of the former from 1787 to his death. He edited Vibius Sequester, as well as Ovid's *Tristia* and *Ibis*, Horace, Tacitus, and Caesar ; and was interested in archæology, and palæography, and in the history of literature¹.

Strassburg was also the place of the birth and education of Johann Schweighäuser (1742—1830), who was professor of Greek and Oriental Languages from 1778 to 1824. He took part in editing two of Brunck's earlier editions of Greek plays, but his own studies were mainly confined to the classical writers of Greek prose. Thus he edited Appian (1785)², Polybius (1795), Epictetus and Cebes (1798), Athenæus (1798), and Herodotus (1810). He also produced excellent lexicons to Herodotus and Polybius ; his Athenæus (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. In Latin prose he is only represented by an edition of Seneca's prose works in five volumes (1808)³.

Schweighäuser and Brunck were associated with the series known as the *editioes Bipontinae* (1779—1809) begun at Zweibrücken, and continued in 1798 at Strassburg. The Greek Classics included were Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Diodorus, Lucian, and the *Scriptores Erotici*. The Latin Classics extended to one hundred and fifteen volumes, and included Brunck's edition of Plautus, which marks a very different stage in the history of the text to that which has since been attained. The series comprised independent recensions, to-

¹ *Fata literarum omnis ævi tabulis explicata* (1789).

² For this ed. he used many excellent MSS (*Opusc. Acad.* ii 97 f), together with unpublished notes by Musgrave.

³ L. Spach, *Les deux Schweighæuser, in Oeuvres Choisies*, 1871, 175 f ; Ch. Rabany, *Les Schweighæuser*, 1884, 128 pp. ; Bursian, i 503.

gether with reprints from earlier commentaries. The enterprise was mainly organised by G. C. Croll (1728—1790), editor of Terence, Sallust, Tacitus, Velleius, and Cicero's *Brutus*, *De Officiis*, and *Tusculan Disputations* etc., and by his colleagues J. V. Embser (d. 1781), and F. C. Exter (1746—1817), editor of Plato, Cicero (thirteen volumes), Seneca, and Tacitus¹. Croll and Exter were successively Rectors of the *gymnasium* at Zweibrücken².

Our group of scholarly Alsatians closes with the name of Friedrich Jacob Bast (1771—1811) of Buchsweiler, which then belonged to the distant Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt. Bast, who was legal adviser to the Hessian legation in Vienna and Paris, 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. At the time of his death he was preparing an edition of Apollonius Dyscolus³.

Ancient History is represented in France by Pierre Charles Levesque (1736—1812), who wrote a Critical History of the Roman Republic, and discussed the Constitutions of Athens and Sparta (1796 f); and by the Baron de Sainte-Croix (1746—1806), a French officer living at Avignon and in Paris, whose works on the Historians of Alexander the Great, on Ancient Federal Governments, on the Cretan Constitution and on the Eleusinian Mysteries are still held in esteem⁴. Both of these lived on into the age of Wolf, whose *Prolegomena* were published in 1795 and were attacked by Sainte-Croix in a work described as a 'Refutation of a paradox on Homer'⁵.

Homer was the theme of the most fruitful labours of Jean Baptiste Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison⁶ (1753—1805). As early as 1696, Küster had mentioned

¹ 1792; ed. 2, 1798.

² Butters, *Éditiones Bipontinae*, Zweibrücken (1877), 53 pp.; Bursian, i 504 f.

³ *Mem.* in Wytttenbach, *Opp.* Cp., on Elsass, Urlichs, 116².

⁴ Cp. Wytttenbach's *Opuscula*; and *Notices* by De Sacy and Dacier.

⁵ Millin's *Mag. Encycl.* vol. v (1798).

⁶ His aristocratic name was regarded with disfavour in the age of the Revolution. Finding it necessary, as a Member of the Academy, to obtain permission to write a paper on some point of philosophy, he presented himself before one of the revolutionary authorities, when the following dialogue ensued:—*Comment t'appelle-tu, citoyen?*—*De Villoison.*—*Il n'y a plus de De.*—*Il le bien: soit Villoison.*—*Il n'y a plus de Ville.*—*Comment faut-il donc que je m'appelle?*—*Commune-Oison.* Villoison himself greatly relished telling

the *scholia* of a MS of Homer in the Library of St Mark's in Venice¹; in 1781 Villoison drew attention to the importance of this MS². He was accordingly sent to Venice at the public expense to collate MSS and to transcribe the *scholia*, which he published with ample *prolegomena* in 1788³. Meanwhile, he had visited the Court of Weimar, and had spent two years in Greece (1785-7). During the Revolution he fled to Orleans; he was afterwards Professor of Ancient and Modern Greek at the Collège de France. His earliest work had been the Homeric Lexicon of Apollonius (1773-4)⁴, followed by an edition of the *Pastoralia* of Longus (1778). 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 Homer⁵. The last scholar of the old school had unconsciously forged the weapons for the first scholar of the new⁶.

this story to his Greek friend, Panagiotis Kodrikés (cp. Thereianos, *Adamantios Korais*, i 179, where the new name is further transformed into Κομμουνοαζών).

¹ *Historia Critica Homeri*, p. 111, 'Venetiis in Bibliotheca D. Marci servatur Ilias cum scholiis ab editis multum differentibus'.

² *Anecdota Graeca* (Venice, 1781), ii 184, '(Iliadis editio) quae cum hisce signis criticis et aureis illis utriusque Colicis prolibit Scholiis'.

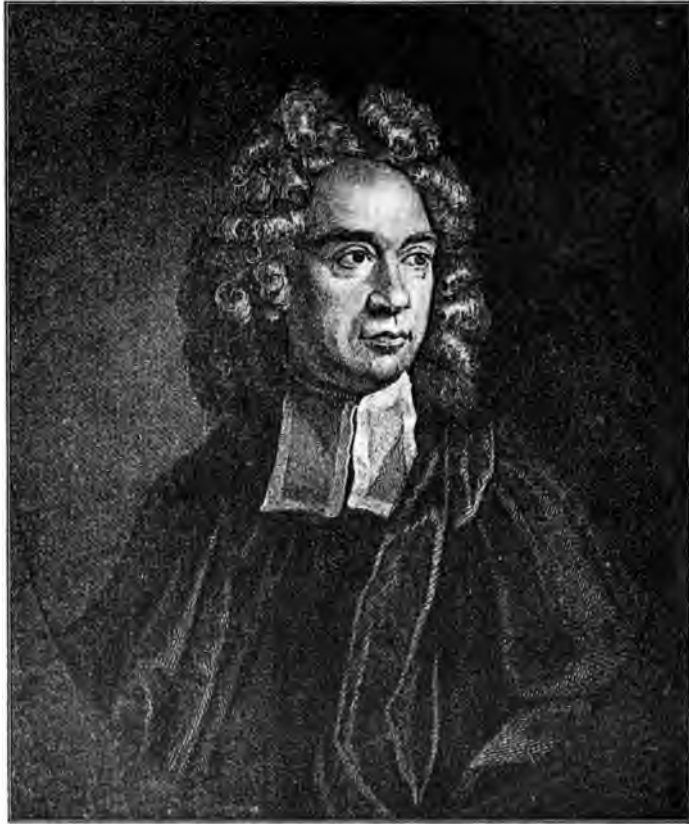
³ For details cp. Beccard, *De Scholiis in Homeri Iliadem Venetis*, i, Berlin, 1850.

⁴ Since edited by Bekker, and Pflugers.

⁵ Dacier, *Notice* (1806), 15 f.

⁶ Egger, *Hellénisme*, ii 400-2; *Nouvelle Biogr. Gén.* xiii 1-13; Wyttenbach, *Opuscula*, ii 74-79; Boissonade in *Mag. Encycl.* iii 380; Urlichs, 109².





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 XXIV.

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 Bentley Richard Bentley (1662—1742). Born at Oulton, near Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, he was educated at Wakefield Grammar School, and at St John's College, Cambridge. He was admitted a member of that College at the age of fourteen years and four months, and took his degree as a high Wrangler at the age of eighteen. It was at the same age that one of his future opponents, Richard Johnson, had entered the College in the previous year. 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. When Stillingfleet had become bishop of Worcester, and Bentley was his chaplain, a nobleman, who had met Bentley at the bishop's table, said to his host immediately after:—'My Lord, that chaplain of yours is a very extraordinary man'; 'Yes', replied Stillingfleet, 'had he but the gift of humility, he would be the most extraordinary man in Europe'¹. Meanwhile, he had 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

¹ J. Nichols, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1779 (*Monk's Life of Bentley*, i 48, ed. 1833).

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. The early dramatists of Athens are described by the Chronicler as 'Themis, Minos, and Auleas'; under this disguise, Bentley detected the names of Thespis, Ion of Chios, and Aeschylus. He also announced his discovery of the metrical continuity (or *Synapheia*) of the anapaestic system¹. In less than a hundred pages, he corrected and explained more than sixty Greek or Latin authors. In recognition of this masterly performance, he was hailed by two of his most erudite contemporaries on the continent, as 'the new star of English letters'². Seventy-five years later, Ruhnken declared that, 'to ascertain the truth as to the lexicon of Hesychius, the world had needed the learned audacity of Bentley's *Letter to Mill*,—that wonderful monument of genius and erudition, such as could only have come from the first critic of his age'³.

In 1697, his learned correspondent, Graevius, published an edition of the text of Callimachus, which had been prepared by his short-lived son. The work was made memorable by the fact that it was accompanied by an erudite commentary from the pen of Spanheim, and by a remarkable series of some 420 fragments collected by the industry and elucidated by the genius of Bentley. This collection is a striking example of critical method, and is characterised by sound judgement as well as undoubted brilliancy⁴. It was described by Valckenaer as the most perfect work of its kind⁵.

¹ Dawes, *Misc. Crit.*, p. 30, ed. Oxon., says:—"Hanc *συναφειαν* (*sic*) in anapaesticis locum habere primus docuit, non iam, uti ipse ad Hor. *Carmin.* iii 12, 1 asseverat, Cl. *Bentleius*, sed *Terentianus*:—"Anapaestica fiunt ibidem per *συναφειαν*." But the knowledge of this fact had been lost, when it was rediscovered by Bentley.

² Graevius, *Praef. ad Callimachum*, 'novum sed splendidissimum Britanniae lumen'; Spanheim, in *Julianum*, p. 19, 'novum idemque iam lucidum litteratae Britanniae sidus' (Monk, i 31).

³ *Opuscula*, i 192 (1766), ed. 1823.

⁴ Jebb's *Bentley*, 34.

⁵ *Diatrise in Eur.*, p. 4 a, 'nihil in hoc genere praestantius prodiit aut magis elaboratum'; and on *Schol. Leyd. in Il.* xxii 398, 'opus perfectissimum' (Mähly, 113 f).

Meanwhile, a controversy on the literary merits of the ancients and the moderns, that had arisen in France, had found its way to England. Perrault¹ and Fontenelle² had claimed the palm for the moderns³. 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 Aesop'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. I know, several learned men (or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics) have not esteemed them genuine ; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian : but I think he must have little skill in painting that cannot find out this to be an original. Such diversity of passions, upon such variety of actions and passages of life and government ; such freedom of thought, such boldness of expression ; such bounty to his friends, such scorn of his enemies ; such honour of learned men, such esteem of good ; such knowledge of life, such contempt of death, with such fierceness of nature and cruelty of revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them. And I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of writing than of acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the scholar or the sophist ; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander'⁴.

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 'Aesopian' Fables were not the work of Aesop, and that the Letters of

¹ *Le siècle de Louis le Grand* (1687) ; *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes* (1688-92).

² Appendix to his *Dissertation on Pastoral Poetry* (1689).

³ Cp. Monk i 58 f ; Macaulay's *Essay on Sir William Temple*, pp. 452-7 of *Essays*, ed. 1861. Cp. H. Rigault, *Histoire de la Querelle des anciens et des modernes* (Paris, 1856), 490 pp.

⁴ In *Miscellanea*, part ii (1690) ; *Works*, i 166, ed. 1750.

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, a 'young gentleman of great hopes', the honourable Charles Boyle. It must be remembered that the genuineness of the Letters was never maintained by Boyle, who leaves it an open question. It was Temple, who was committed to the opinion that the author was Phalaris¹. A new edition of Wotton's *Reflections* was soon called for, and in 1697 Bentley contributed his promised *Dissertation* on Aesop 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 Alaesia 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 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 standard. 'Take them in the whole bulk....I should say they are a fardle of common-places, without life or spirit from action and circumstance....You feel, by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant with his elbow on his desk; not with an active, ambitious tyrant, with his hand on his sword, commanding a million of subjects'².

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. Here, as before, his arguments turn on points of history and chronology, and language. As to the 'Letters of Euripides', a private

¹ Bentley's *First Dissertation*, p. 68, ed. 1697.

² Jebb's *Bentley*, 56, 58.

³ *First Dissertation*, p. 62, ed. 1697.

communication from Bentley¹ had not deterred Barnes from declaring in his edition of 1694, that any doubt as to their having been written by Euripides was a proof of either 'effrontery or incapacity'. The arguments urged in that communication are here repeated with several additions.

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 Boyle². 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 1695, Pepys, after reading the first attack on Bentley in the preface to Boyle's edition of the Letters, writes to a friend:— 'I suspect Mr Boyle is in the right; for our friend's learning (which I have a great value for) wants a little filing; and I doubt not but a few such strokes as this will do it and him good'³. In 1697 Swift, who was then living under Temple's roof at Moor Park, attacked Bentley in his 'Tale of a Tub', and in his 'Battle of the Books'⁴. In April, 1698, Evelyn 'alone would stand up' for him, waiting till he had heard both sides⁵.

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 not only a 'masterpiece of controversy' and a 'store-house of erudition'; it is an example of critical method, heralding a new era⁶. Yet it was long before its mastery was recognised: many years elapsed before Tyrwhitt could describe the opponents of Bentley as 'laid low, as by a thunderbolt'⁷, or Porson pronounce it an 'immortal dissertation'⁸.

Bentley was Master of Trinity from 1700 to his death in

¹ 22 Feb. 1693 (N. S.), *Correspondence*, i 64-9.

² *Bentley's Dissertations examined by Boyle* (1698).

³ Bodleian MS (Monk, i 71 f).

⁴ pp. 51, 65, ed. 1869. Preface dated Aug. 1697; anonymously published, 1704.

⁵ pp. 101, 103, 105-9. Anonymously published, 1704.

⁶ *Bentley's Correspondence*, p. 167.

⁷ Jebb's *Bentley*, 83.

⁸ *De Babrio* (1776), quoted by Mähly, 117.

⁹ *Watson's Life of Porson*, 28.

1742. We are not here concerned with the internal feuds and controversies that marked his tenure of that office. His introduction of written examinations for fellowships and of annual elections to scholarships was a permanent advantage to the College. 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 Menander¹. The next year saw the publication of his memorable edition of Horace (1711), in which the traditional text is altered in more than 700 passages², 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'³. A large part of the notes was thrown off in the course of five months (July to November, 1711), 'in the first impetus and glow' of his thought. This rapidity of production naturally landed him in occasional mistakes, and his Latinity was attacked by two of the schoolmasters of the day, one of whom, John Ker⁴, drew attention to the fact that Bentley in his preface had promised that, even in this hasty work, his readers would not fail to find *sermonis puritatem*, whereas the word *puritas* was in itself an example of impure Latinity. He was similarly attacked by his contemporary at St John's, Richard Johnson⁵, who begins with an interesting collection of Bentley's sayings about himself and others. A rival edition of very uneven merit was produced in 1721 by a Scottish friend of Burman and Le Clerc, Alexander Cunningham (c. 1655—1730), whose editions of Virgil and Phaedrus were posthumously published.

Bentley's skill in the restoration of Greek inscriptions was exemplified in the case of inscriptions from Delos (1721)⁶ and Chalcedon (1728). In the latter, his corrections of the faulty

¹ Utrecht, 1710; Cambridge, 1713; p. 442 *infra*.

² Select list in Mähly, 131 f.

³ On *Carm.* iii 27, 15.

⁴ *Quaternae Epistolae* (1743).

⁵ *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus* (1717).

⁶ *Correspondence*, p. 589; Monk, ii 160 f.

copies were completely confirmed by the original¹. In 1722 he supplied Dr Mead with a number of emendations of the *Theriaca* of Nicander². 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, and by a Latin speech delivered by Bentley in July, 1725, when he had just been restored to the University degrees, of which he had been deprived in 1715³. He here explains the significance of the several symbols of the doctoral degree, the chair, the cap, the book, and the gold ring, which is the emblem of liberty⁴.

Bentley has left his mark on the textual criticism of Plautus⁵, Lucretius⁶, and Lucan⁷. 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, and it is mentioned in a note on *Iliad* xvi 172, in the posthumous second volume of Samuel Clarke's *Iliad* (1732)⁸. In the same year he introduced the *digamma* in two quotations from Homer in the notes to his edition of *Paradise Lost*⁹. It was the strange appearance of words such as *Ἐεουκῶς*, in these notes, that prompted Pope in March, 1742, to write the well-known lines in the fourth

¹ *Correspondence*, 698 f; J. Taylor, *De Inope Debitore* (1741); Monk, ii 411 f; Jebb, 137 f.

² *Museum Criticum*, i 370 f, 445 f (1814); Monk, ii 170 f.

³ Jebb, 141.

⁴ Cp. 'aureus annulus est Doctori' in Dupont's *Praevaricatio*, 1631 (Chr. Wordsworth's *Scholae Academicæ*, 275; *ib.* 22 n. 1). The present writer, as a boy in the galleries of the Senate-House, saw this 'gold ring' still in use in 1858. The rings have since been handed down from one Vice-Chancellor to another unused; their purpose has been forgotten, but they are faithfully preserved by the University.

⁵ Sonnenschein's *Captivi* (1880), and *Anecd. Oxon.*, 1883.

⁶ Ed. Wakefield (Glasgow, 1813); ed. Oxon. 1818.

⁷ Ed. 1760 and 1816; cp. Mähly, 150, and, in general, Jebb, v-vi.

⁸ Cp. Mähly, 79, 144 f, 161-179.

⁹ iv 887, vi 832.

book of the *Dunciad* where the goddess of Dulness is addressed as follows :—

'Mistress! dismiss that rabble from your throne:
 Avaunt—Is Aristarchus yet unknown?
 Thy mighty scholiast whose unwearied pains
 Made Horace dull and humbled Milton's strains.
 Turn what they will to verse, their toil is vain:
 Critics like me shall make it prose again.
 Roman and Greek grammarians! know your better,
 Author of something yet more great than letter;
 While tow'ring o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
 Stands our digamma, and o'ertops them all'.

In his 'Remarks' on the 'Discourse of Free-Thinking' by Anthony Collins, he protests against the opinion that the *Iliad* was an 'epitome of all arts and sciences', which Homer had 'designed for eternity, to please and instruct mankind'. He adds his own view :—

'Take my word for it, poor Homer...had never such aspiring thoughts. He wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment; the *Iliad* he made for men, and the *Odyssey* for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem till Pisistratus's time, above 500 years after'¹.

Bentley's latest work was his recension of the astronomical poet, Manilius (1739), a quarto volume with an engraving by Vertue of Thornhill's portrait in the Master's Lodge of Trinity College (1710).

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)². In 1696 he obtained for the University Press a new fount of type from Holland³, which was used in printing Küster's *Suidas* in 1705. 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 author⁴. In the same year he prompted the youthful Hemsterhuys to strengthen the weak

¹ c. vii; *Works*, iii 304 (Dyce). Cp. Jebb, 146 f.

² p. 402 *supra*.

³ Wordsworth's *Scholae Academicæ*, 383 f.

⁴ His *marginalia* were first published in the *Classical Journal*, nos. xi—xiv.

points in his knowledge of Greek metre¹. With Pieter Burman his relations were at first friendly. Burman's first letter informed him of the death of their common friend, Graevius²; and it was through Burman that he published his anonymous *Elucidations of Philemon and Menander*³. In 1709 Burman sends Bentley a presentation-copy of his *Petronius*⁴; next year, he consults him as to a proposed edition of *Valerius Flaccus*⁵. In 1718 he laments the interruption in their correspondence⁶, and in 1721 writes about his edition of *Ovid*⁷. The publication of Bentley's *Phaedrus* (in the *Terence* of 1726) led to a rupture with Burman, who had already produced three editions, and soon added a fourth (1727), in which he carefully balanced Bentley's readings with those of Bentley's opponent, Hare; and, in the same year, when Bentley, in preparing his own edition of *Lucan*, applied to Burman for the use of the collations and notes of N. Heinsius, Burman declined to lend them, and announced an edition of his own, which did not appear until 1740⁸.

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. One of his characteristic mottoes was:—

¹ p. 449 *infra*.

² 1703; *Correspondence*, 206 f.; Bentley's reply in Haupt's *Opusc.* iii 89 f.

³ p. 442 *infra*.

⁴ *Corresp.* p. 379 f.

⁵ 1710, *ib.* 391.

⁶ *Monk*, ii 118.

⁷ *Corresp.* p. 578 f.

⁸ *Monk*, ii 236-8.

ἄλλους ἐξενάριζ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἐκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας¹. He had a strong and masterful personality, but his predominant passion was an unswerving devotion to truth².

Bentley's friends included Evelyn and Wren, Newton and Locke. Evelyn's *Discourse on Medals* had appeared in 1697. The influence of the Classics is illustrated by several other con-

temporaries of Bentley, who were not professional scholars. Addison (1672—1719), who was ten years younger than Bentley, and died at the early age of 47, gives proof of a refined and tasteful interest in the Classics, not only in his *Dialogues on Medals*³, and his *Remarks on Italy*⁴, but also in his Latin Poems⁵ and his literary criticisms on Homer⁶ and Virgil⁷. Even his own writings have been described as 'sweet Virgilian prose'⁸. Classical poetry also finds its echo in Pope

(1688—1744), the imitator of Horace's *Satires* and the translator of the *Iliad* (1720) and the *Odyssey* (1725 f). Shortly after the publication of Pope's *Iliad*, Bentley met the translator at bishop Atterbury's table, and told Pope 'that it was a very

¹ Monk, li 50.

² A Narrative of the Life and Distresses of Simon Mason, Apothecary (Birmingham, s. a.), 76, says of Bentley: 'The Charities he did with his right Hand, were not known to his left; his Alms were done in Secret that he might be rewarded openly'. On Bentley in general, cp. *Life* by J. H. Monk, 1830; ed. 2, 1833; *Correspondence*, ed. C. Wordsworth, 1842; six of Bentley's letters to Burman in 1703-24 in Haupt's *Opuscula*, iii 89-107 (reprinted in A. A. Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, 1862); F. A. Wolf in *Litt. Analekten* (1816), reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, ii 1030-1094; De Quincey's *Works*, ed. 1863, vi 35-180; Hartley Coleridge, *Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire*, 65-174; H. J. Nicoll's *Great Scholars*, 37-90; G. Hermann, *Opusc.* ii 263-8; Bernays, in *Rhein. Mus.* viii 1-24; Jacob Maehly, Leipzig, 1868; R. C. Jebb in *English Men of Letters*, 1882 (with literature in Prefatory Note), and in *D. N. B.*; J. E. Sandys in *Social England*, v 59-70. Bibliography by A. T. Bartholomew and J. W. Clark, preliminary proof printed for private circulation, Cambridge, 1906.

³ *Works*, ed. 1862, i 253-355.

⁴ i 356-538.

⁵ i 231-252.

⁶ e.g. in *Tatler*, no. 152, and *Spectator*, nos. 273, 417.

⁷ *Essay on the Georgics*, 1693 (*Works*, i 154 f); *Tatler*, no. 154; *Guardian*, no. 138; *Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning*, v 214; *Dissertatione de Insignioribus Romanis Poëtis*, vi 587 f.

⁸ *Works*, i 231 (a phrase of Dr Edward Young's).

pretty poem, but that he must not call it *Homer*', and Bentley, later in life, when asked the cause of Pope's dislike (as shown in the *Dunciad*), replied:—'I talked against his *Homer*, and the portentous cub never forgives'¹. It has aptly been observed by Matthew Arnold that 'between Pope and Homer there is interposed the mist of Pope's literary artificial manner'; 'Pope certainly had a quick and darting spirit, as he had, also, real nobleness; yet Pope does not render the movement of Homer'². The best-known line in the translation of the *Odyssey* is preceded by one that owes its existence to the necessities of rhyme alone:—

'True friendship's laws are by this rule exprest,
Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest'³.

Joseph Spence (1699—1768), a friend of Pope, was a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and travelled extensively in Europe. He exchanged the Professorship of Poetry for a sinecure Professorship of History, and devoted his leisure to the preparation of his *Polymetis*⁴, a treatise on Classical Art and Mythology, which Lessing frequently criticises in the *Laokoön*, while he fully admits the author's learning and his familiarity with extant works of ancient art⁵.

Among the minor contemporaries of Bentley was Michael Maittaire (1668—1747), a native of France, educated at Westminster and Oxford. As a master of the History of Printing⁶, besides editing for scholastic purposes no less than thirty-three volumes of the Greek and Latin Classics (1711—23)⁷. His northern contemporary, Thomas Ruddiman (1674—1757) of Aberdeen, a printer, bookseller and librarian in Edinburgh, deserves honourable mention for his *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue* (1714), and his *Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones* (1725—31). The former work passed through

¹ Monk, ii 372.

² *On Translating Homer*, 11, 68; also 19, 21 f, 66, ed. 1896.

³ *Od.* xv 74.

⁴ 1747; ed. 2, 1755.

⁵ pp. 90, 97, 103, 114, 124 ff, ed. Blümner.

⁶ *Stephanorum Historia*, 1709; *Hist. typographorum Paris.*, 1717; *Annales Typographici*, 1719—25.

⁷ Charles, *Dissertation*, 1839.

fifteen editions during the author's life-time, and long remained in use in the schools of Scotland. The second part of his *Institutiones* was the best work of the time on the subject of Syntax. He also wrote on the true method of teaching Latin (1733). His masterpiece in printing was his edition of Livy (1751). His edition of the Latin works of Buchanan (1715) brought him into controversy with those who agreed with that historian's political opinions, which differed from his own; but even controversy failed to affect the serenity of his temper. 'In person he was of middle height, thin and straight, and had eyes remarkably piercing'. In the opinion of the writer just quoted, he was 'one of the best men who ever lived'.

Among Bentley's immediate friends was Joseph Wasse (1672—1738), Fellow of Queens', the editor of Sallust² and Thucydides³, of whom Bentley said:—'When I am dead, Wasse will be the most learned man in England'. Bentley survived him by four years; and lived ten years longer than his younger friend John Davies (1679—1732), Fellow and afterwards President of Queens', who, besides editing Caesar, Minucius Felix, and Maximus Tyrius, made his mark as a commentator on many of the philosophical works of Cicero⁴. To his edition of the *Tusculan Disputations* an important Appendix was contributed by Bentley⁵, to whom he dedicated his edition of the *De Natura Deorum*⁶. The *De Oratore*, *De Officiis*, and 'Longinus' were ably edited by Zachary Pearce (1690—1774), Fellow of Trinity, and ultimately bishop of Rochester.

Among Bentley's contemporaries at Cambridge were William Whiston (1667—1752), Fellow of Clare, a mathematician and divine of 'very uncommon parts and more uncommon learning, but of a singular and extraordinary character'⁷, now best known as the translator

¹ H. J. Nicoll, *Great Scholars*, 199. ² Cp. *Life* by G. Chalmers, 1794.

³ 1710, founded on the collation of 80 MSS.

⁴ Incorporated in Duker's ed. (1731), p. 447 *infra*.

⁵ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, i 263. 'Kuster, Burman, Wasse' in Pope's *Dunciad*, iv 237.

⁶ *Tusc. Disp.*, *De Nat. Deor.*, *De Divin.*, *Acad.*, *De Legibus*, *De Finibus*.

⁷ p. 406 *supra*.

⁸ Monk, i 223, ii 115.

⁹ Nichols, i 494—506, with portrait.

of Josephus, and Dr Conyers Middleton (1683—1750), one of Bentley's opponents, the author of the *Life of Cicero*. Bentley had friendly relations with Dr Samuel Clarke (1675—1729) of Gonville and Caius College, who, in two passages of his *Caesar* (1712), expresses his admiration of the great critic¹, and, in one of his latest notes on the *Iliad*, draws attention to Bentley's discovery of the *digamma*². Another contemporary, Peter Needham (1680—1731), Fellow of St John's, who had edited the *Geoponica*, produced, with Bentley's aid, an edition of the Commentary of Hierocles on the 'Golden Verses of Pythagoras' (1709), which was partly superseded by that of Richard Warren, Fellow of Jesus College (1742)³. Needham had meanwhile published a variorum edition of the *Characters* of Theophrastus.

Bentley was on friendly terms with Jeremiah Markland (1693—1776), Fellow of Peterhouse, who, in his earliest work, the *Epistola Critica* on Horace, shows the highest appreciation of Bentley (1723)⁴. Markland produced an important edition of the *Sylvae* 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 Orator⁵. Markland (besides contributing to Taylor's *Lysias*) edited the *Supplices* of Euripides (1763) and the two *Iphigenias* (1768). He dedicated the first of these three plays to Hemsterhuys and Wesseling, and wrote in his own copy:—'probably it will be a long time before this sort of Learning will revive in England'⁶. During his travels abroad, he met D'Orville, the eminent geographer, in Amsterdam; and he was familiar with the works of J. M. Gesner, whom he closely resembled in personal appearance. He twice declined the Regius Professorship of Greek, and, at the age of sixty, withdrew to

¹ Monk, i 336 f.

² Monk, ii 263.

³ Monk, i 226 f.

⁴ Monk, ii 169.

⁵ Cic. *ad Att. et Q. fratrem* (1741); 'Observations' on the correspondence between Cic. and Brutus (1745). See, in general, Nichols, v 412-4.

⁶ Nichols, iv 288.

Milton Court, near Dorking, where he lived in feeble health for the last twenty-five years of his life. His best work as a Scholar was characterised by a peculiar combination of caution and boldness¹. In the opinion of Elmsley, who belongs to the next generation,

'He was endowed with a respectable portion of judgment and sagacity. He was very laborious, loved retirement, and spent a long life in the study of the Greek and Latin languages. For modesty, candour, literary honesty and courtesousness to scholars, he is justly considered as the model which ought to be proposed for the imitation of every critic'².

Markland's Cambridge friend, John Taylor (1704—1766), was Fellow of St John's and successively Librarian Taylor (1731—4) and Registrary (1734—51) of the university. He is best known as an editor of Lysias³, and of part of Demosthenes⁴. He was the first to publish and expound the important inscription recording the accounts of the Delian Temple in 377—4 B.C.⁵ For thirty years he resided continuously in College. 'Taylor's friend', George Ashby, says:—

'If you called on him in College after dinner, you were sure to find him sitting at an old oval walnut-tree table entirely covered with books' ...; 'and he instantly appeared as cheerful, good-humoured, and *degagé*, as if he had not been at all engaged or interrupted.' 'He understood perfectly, as a gentleman and a scholar, all that belongs to making a book handsome, as the choice of paper, types, and the disposition of text, version, and notes.' 'He was grand in his looks, yet affable, flowing and polite.'⁶ Dr Johnson, who was far less familiar with him, said: '*Demosthenes Taylor*...was the most silent man, the merest statue of a man, that I have ever seen'⁷.

He was ordained at the age of 43, and was Rector of Lawford in Essex from 1751 to his death. He left his MSS to Askew, and

¹ F. A. Wolf, *Kleine Schriften*, 1104.

² *Quarterly Rev.* 1812, 442. Cp. Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* iv 272—362, 657 f, with portrait, and vii 249 f (index). F. A. Wolf, *l. c.*, 1096—1110; E. H. Barker, *Parriana*, ii 241 f.

³ 4to, 1739; 8vo, 1740.

⁴ vol. iii, 1748; ii, 1757; i never appeared.

⁵ *Marmor Sandvicense* (1743); now in the vestibule of Trinity Library; cp. Nichols, iv 497; Hicks, *Gk Hist. Inscr.* no. 82.

⁶ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, iv 490—535, 662 f (reprinted separately, 1819); R. F. Scott, *St John's Coll. Admissions* (1903), 339 f. Cp. E. H. Barker's *Parriana*, ii 220—231.

⁷ Boswell, 25 Apr. 1778.

many of his books to his former school—Shrewsbury. He took part in the English edition of the Latin Thesaurus of Robert Stephanus, much augmented and amended by the Rev. Edm. Law, Fellow of Christ's¹, the Rev. T. Johnson, Fellow of Magdalene, and Sandys Hutchinson, Librarian of Trinity (1735). In the very next year Robert Ainsworth (1660—1743) produced his 'Compendious Dictionary of the Latin Tongue', on the same general plan as Faber's *Thesaurus*². It passed through at least five editions, the fourth being revised by William Young, the original of Fielding's 'Parson Adams'.

Among the earliest productions of Richard Dawes (1709—1766), Fellow of Emmanuel, was a Greek eclogue on the death of George I (1727), followed by a Dawes specimen of a proposed translation of *Paradise Lost* into Greek hexameters (1736)³. In a note to the latter he adroitly applied to the criticism of a passage in Bentley's singular edition of Milton's great epic⁴ one of Bentley's own comments on Horace⁵. He was a diligent student of Bentley's *Terence* and of the accompanying *scholiasma*. In 1738 he became master of the grammar-school at Newcastle upon Tyne, and 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 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 $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \mu\eta^6$ and $o\upsilon \mu\eta^7$. In all such cases he insisted on

¹ Educated at St John's; afterwards Master of Peterhouse, and Bp of Carlisle (cp. Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.* ii 65—72).

² Nichols, v 248—254.

³ Cp. Kidd's ed. of the *Misc. Crit.* (1817), *init.*

⁴ *P. L.* i 249 f.

⁵ *Carm.* i 7, 27.

⁶ *Misc. Crit.* ed. Oxon. p. 227 (Ar. *Nub.* 822).

⁷ *ib.* p. 221 (*Nub.* 366).

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 use¹. Dawes repeatedly criticises Bentley², who had died three years before the publication of the work. It passed through five editions, but the author failed to produce his promised recensions of Homer and Pindar and the Attic poets. Meanwhile, he satirically described his former pupil, Anthony Askew of Emmanuel (1722-74), as 'Aeschyli editionis promissor'³. Though Askew never edited Aeschylus, he collected Greek and Latin inscriptions and left behind him an extensive library of classical mss and of rare editions. As master of the school at Newcastle, Dawes quarrelled with the Town Council (he even taught his boys that the proper translation of *δῆμος* was *Alderman*), but he ultimately retired on a pension in 1748. A stalwart man with flowing snow-white hair, he spent most of his time in rowing on the Tyne, but there is no record of his producing any classical work in the eighteen years that elapsed between the date of his retirement and that of his death⁴. He 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 afulget sed paulatim addiscitur ars quaedam, qua verum cernere et eruere et ipse possis'⁵.

His contemporary, James Harris (1709-1780), is well known as the author of *Hermes* and of the *Philosophical Inquiries*.

Among the poetic translators of the age was Christopher Pitt
Chr. Pitt (1699-1748), of Winchester and New, who produced a successful rendering of the *Aeneid* (1740)

¹ Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 363 f, and *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 1869 f, 46-55; cp. Hermann, *Opusc.* vi 91 f. ² pp. 261, 313 etc.

³ Advt in *Newcastle Courant*, 10 Oct. to 14 Nov. 1747 (Giles, p. 66). He collected all the editions, and, while still a student at Leyden, dedicated to Dr Mead a *Specimen* of his proposed work (1746). He is regarded as one of the founders of *Bibliomania* in England (Allibone, *s. v.*). Cp. Nichols, iii 494-7, iv 725. His portrait in Emmanuel is engraved in Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. ii.

⁴ P. Giles, in *Emm. Coll. Mag.*, v (2) 49-69; Monk's *Bentley*, ii 367 f.

⁵ *Or. de Arte Interpretandi* (1847), 136.

and an interesting version of Vida's *Art of Poetry*¹. The poet, Thomas Gray (1716—1771) of Eton and Peter-
house, who migrated to Pembroke in 1756, wrote
his Latin ode on the Grande Chartreuse during his early travels
abroad. His notes on Linnaeus were mainly written in Latin².
As a scholar of a wide range of reading he was a specially diligent
student of Plato, and not a few of his notes³ are quoted in
Thompson's *Gorgias*. He was mentioned by Parr among the
few persons in England who 'well understood' Plato. Another
of these was Floyer Sydenham (1710—1787), Fellow
of Wadham, the translator of the whole of Plato
(1759—80)⁴. His contemporary, Richard Hurd (1720—1808),
Fellow of Emmanuel, produced an aesthetic commentary on
Horace's *Ars Poetica* (1749) and the *Epistola ad Augustum*
(1751), which was translated into German. The former date
marks the beginning of his friendship with Warburton (1698—
1779), who discourses at large on the sixth *Aeneid* in connexion
with his paradoxical work on the *Legation of Moses* (1737—41),
and borrows largely from Meursius in his account of the Eleusinian
Mysteries.

We may next notice a group of three Greek Scholars, all of them
associated in various ways with Exeter. Benjamin
Heath (1704—1766), town-clerk of Exeter, pub-
lished notes on Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in 1762,
and received an honorary degree at Oxford in the same year.
He has been recognised as one of the ablest of English editors of
Aeschylus⁵. The latest English editor of Sophocles has described
him as 'a critic of fine insight and delicate taste'⁶. He also left
manuscript notes on Latin poets, and was interested in the English
dramatists. Jonathan Toup (1713—1785) of Exeter
College, Oxford, did much for the criticism of

¹ Nichols, ii 260 f. For Vincent Bourne, see *Addendum* on p. 439.

² C. E. Norton, *Gray as a Naturalist*, with facsimiles of his notes and his drawings (Boston, 1903).

³ Gray's *Works*, ed. Gosse (1884), iv 67—338.

⁴ Field's *Life of Parr*, ii 358.

⁵ *Eum.* ed. J. F. Davies, p. 32.

⁶ Jebb's *Introduction* to text of Soph. (1897), xli.

Suidas¹, and produced an edition of the treatise *On the Sublime* (1778), which gave Porson the first impulse to classical criticism. He also contributed to Thomas Warton's *Theocritus* (1770). Reiske contrasts the urbanity of Warton with the truculence of Toup², while Wyttenbach says of Markland and Toup, 'illum ratione, hunc ingenio Criticam factitare'³. 'He was less happy in conjecturing than in defending his conjectures, and in this he resembled his great master Bentley, whose very errors were instructive'⁴. He was 'not wholly untinged with that self-complacency, which is the almost inseparable companion of too much solitude'⁵. The tablet placed in the church at East Looe by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press assures us that 'his abilities and critical sagacity' were 'known to the learned throughout Europe'⁶. 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), M.D. of
 Musgrave Leyden and Oxford, who counted Ruhnken⁷, Ernesti⁸, and Schweighäuser⁹ among his correspondents. He visited Paris to collate MSS for his edition of the *Hippolytus* (1756)¹⁰, and his 'Exercitations' on Euripides were published in the same year as the notes of his fellow-townsmen, Heath, on all the Tragic poets (1762). He visited Paris again in 1763-4, and was well known to the leading scholars there; Jean Capperonnier refers to him in terms of gratitude. Meanwhile, he had edited the whole of Euripides in 1778. The popular edition of Sophocles was that of Thomas Johnson (1675—1750), of Eton and Brentford, a capable, diligent and careful scholar, who died in great poverty¹¹. This edition was published in three volumes (1705-46), and was twice reprinted after his death. Musgrave's comments on the poet were incorporated in the Oxford edition of 1800.

¹ *Emendationes*, 1760-6; *Ep. Crit.* 1767; *Curæ Novissimæ*, 1775.

² Reiske to Askew; Mant's *Life of T. Warton*, I xlvi.

³ *Vita Ruhnck.* 218.

⁴ *Gentleman's Mag.* I.V 340.

⁵ Nichols, ii 341.

⁶ Nichols, ii 339-346, 427, iii 58; Barker's *Parriana*, ii 236 f; Johnstone's *Mem. of Parr*, i 534.

⁷ *Vita*, 71, and *Ep.* 9 Jul. 1780.

⁸ *Corresp.* ed. Tittmann, 55-62.

⁹ Cp. *Bibl. Crit.* II ii 117.

¹⁰ Nichols, iv 285.

¹¹ Jebb, *Introd.* to text of Soph. xxxviii.

Two years before Musgrave's death, Apollonius Rhodius had been edited at Oxford in 1778 by Thomas Shaw, Fellow of Magdalen, T. Shaw who is said to have found the earliest recognition of his work in a notice of one of his conjectures, followed by the words *putide Shavius*¹. This is probably only a pleasantry of the Oxford wits of the day, who also made sport of the Latin version of the name of his more distinguished namesake, the Fellow of Queen's and professor of Greek (1747-51)². The criticism is not due to Brunck, who in his *Apollonius Rhodius* (1780) is sufficiently severe on the Oxford editor, but always calls him *Shaw*. The next year saw the publication of an English commentary on the *Ion* and *Bacchae* (1781) by Richard Paul Jodrell (1745-1831), followed by the *Alkestis* in 1790. The best part of these 'Illustrations of Euripides' Jodrell is the archaeological introduction to the *Bacchae*.

Oxford was far more ably represented in the same age by the widely accomplished scholar, Thomas Tyrwhitt Tyrwhitt (1730-1786). Educated at Eton and Queen's, he was a Fellow of Merton (1755-62), and Clerk to the House of Commons (1762-8). He is credited with an 'unlimited benevolence', and a knowledge of 'almost every European tongue', and is celebrated as an editor of Chaucer, a critic of Shakespeare, and as the principal detector of the forgeries of Chatterton. He contributed a critical appendix to Musgrave's 'Exercitations' on Euripides. In 1776, following in the track of Bentley, he detected further traces of Babrius in the 'Fables of Aesop'. In 1781, he boldly assigned to the age of Constantius (357) the Orphic poem *De Lapidibus*, and his edition of that poem received the rare distinction of a review by Ruhnken³. A cursory perusal of Strabo led to his publishing a number of corrections of the text (1783). Further, 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 in 1794, eight years after his death. All his works are characterised by wide reading, and by critical acumen⁴. It was partly in re-

¹ Chr. Wordsworth's *Scholae Academicas*, 94 n. 1; Tuckwell's *Reminiscences*, 131 (where 'Boeckh' is mentioned by an error of memory).

² Wordsworth, 168.

³ *Bibliotheca Critica*, iv 85 f; and *Ep.* 9 Jan. 1783 (Wordsworth's *Scholae*, 93 n. 5).

⁴ *Gentleman's Mag.* LV1 (2) 717; Nichol, iii 147-151; Wolf, *Kl. Schr.*

cognition of his own earlier work that, in 1786, he received from Brunck the flattering assurance that England was 'le pays de l'Europe où la littérature grecque est la plus florissante'.

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. Twining Thomas Twining (1735—1804), late Fellow of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, who had sole charge at Fordham, near Colchester, from 1764, and was Rector of St Mary's, Colchester, for the last sixteen years of his life. He had no aptitude for the trade in tea for which his family has long been famous, his main interest being in literature and music. Before going to Cambridge, he had learnt Latin and Greek in the family of a Colchester clergyman, where his sole fellow-student in those languages was his tutor's daughter, his future wife. On his marriage in 1766, he wrote his wife's name in the first leaf of the household account-book, adding the date, and a quotation from Tibullus:—*Illi sint omnia curae, Et juvet in tota me nihil esse domo*. His English rendering and his suggestive notes on Aristotle were prepared in his study at Fordham, an 'extremely cheerful and pleasant' room, 'looking into a garden of sweets'. His boat on the piece of water at the parsonage prompts him to write an English imitation of the *Dedicatio Phaseli* of Catullus¹. He is delighted with the vignettes in a new edition of his favourite Tibullus, which he describes as 'by far the most elegant German book' he had ever seen². He says of Pindar:—

'There are here and there fine poetical strokes in him, and moral maxims well expressed; but he is very unequal, often very tiresome, very obscure, and to us moderns very uninteresting.... He is.....one of those ancient authors,

1111-3; and *D.N.B.* His portrait is prefixed to his quarto edition of Chaucer.

¹ Luard in *Camb. Essays*, 1857, 125.

² *Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century*, being selections from the Correspondence of Thomas Twining, edited by his grand-nephew, Richard (1882-3).

³ *ib.* 240 f.

⁴ *ib.* 71 (1779).

whose real merit falls short of their echoed character. He is sometimes bombastic, and sometimes prosaic¹. 'There is no *appearance* of art in Demosthenes: in Cicero a great deal too much'².

He delights in Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer³. In preparing his own work on Aristotle's *Ars Poëtica*, he writes to Charles Burney in 1786:—

'The extreme depravation of the text, its obscurities and ambiguities, are such that I have been forced to give up a greater portion of my comment to philological disquisitions than I could have wished; and a great part of my pains have been employed in proving passages to be unintelligible. But what then? When people fancy they understand what they do not, it is doing some good to show them that they do not. It is some use to pull down what is wrong, if one can't build up what is right'⁴.

He sends Heyne a presentation copy of his translation, writes a Latin letter suggesting a correction of *Odyssey*, xi 584, and receives a flattering reply from the Göttingen professor⁵. His English correspondence gives proof of his interest in the Greek Drama and in Greek Music⁶, and in many other matters unconnected with the Classics. His intimate friends included Dr Burney and Dr Parr.

Parr wrote in his presentation copy of the Aristotle:—'The gift of the author, whom I am proud and happy to call my friend, because he is one of the best scholars now living, and one of the best men that ever lived'⁷. Parr also wrote his epitaph:—'Viro, in quo doctrina inerat multiplex et recondita, ingenium elegans et acutum, scribendi genus non exile spinosumque, sed accuratum et exquisitum, in rebus quae ad artem criticam pertinent explicandis sermo sine aculeo et maledictis facetus et sapore paene proprio Athenarum imbutus'⁸.

The writer of this tribute of friendship, Samuel Parr (1747—1825) of Harrow and Emmanuel, was head-master
Parr
of three schools in succession, at Stanmore, Colchester, and Norwich, and, from 1785 to his death, perpetual curate and private tutor at Hatton in Warwickshire, where he built himself a library, which contained more than 10,000 volumes.

¹ *ib.* 180 f (1793).

² *ib.* 193.

³ *ib.* 229.

⁴ *ib.* 140.

⁵ *ib.* 246—257 (στέυρο δὲ διψῶν πιεῖν, οὐδ' εἶχεν ἐλθεῖν).

⁶ *ib.* 14, 26.

⁷ *ib.* 10 (1790).

⁸ Johnstone's *Memoirs of Parr*, iv 597, viii 584; engraved portrait in Sidney Sussex College.

He attained considerable distinction as a writer of Latin Prose. His stately epitaphs and his other Latin inscriptions¹ were confessedly modelled mainly on the contemporary works of Morcelli². Writing to Edward Maltby, he says:—‘In Westminster Abbey I do not know one inscription that is formed upon the models of antiquity; and even in Oxford I have met only with one which resembles them’³. ‘It is all very well to say that So-and-so is a good scholar’, said Samuel Parr to Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury, ‘*but can he write an inscription?*’⁴ In 1787 he reprinted a treatise on Cicero written by William Bellenden (*fl.* 1616)⁵, who had apparently proposed to add an account of Seneca and the Elder Pliny, and thus complete his work ‘*De tribus Luminibus Romanorum*’. Parr prefixed to his reprint a long Latin preface on the ‘Three Lights of Britain’, Lord North, Fox, and Burke. The preface is modelled on Cicero and Quintilian, and references to the numerous passages borrowed from those writers are added in the margin⁶. In the generation immediately succeeding the author’s death, this preface used to be studied in Cambridge as an accepted model of modern Latin Prose⁷. While Porson was still living, Sydney Smith called Parr ‘by far the most learned man of his day’; and Parr admitted Porson’s superiority to himself in Attic Greek alone. ‘Porson’, he once observed to a friend, with whom he was out riding, ‘has more Greek, but no man’s horse, John, carries more Latin than mine’⁸. Another of his well-known sayings was ‘Porson first,—Burney third’⁹. He sent an able Latin scholar, Mr James Pillans of Edinburgh, a

¹ 94 in Johnstone’s *Memoirs*, iv 558—655; cp. *ib.* 677 f, and viii 555—656; also Barker’s *Parriana*, i 524, 526; Johnstone’s *Memoirs*, i 755 f; Blunt’s *Essays*, 244 f. Parr wrote his own epitaph in English.

² p. 382 *supra*. See Johnstone’s *Memoirs*, i 758.

³ Johnstone, i 758.

⁴ S. Butler’s *Life and Letters*, i 255 q. v.

⁵ Copied by Middleton in his *Life of Cicero* (1741); Nichols, v 414—7.

⁶ *Parriana*, i 523 n; ii 147—152; *Memoirs*, i 180—206.

⁷ Pryme’s *Reminiscences*, 136; Wordsworth’s *Scholae Academicæ*, 100. My copy belonged to James Hildyard of Christ’s in 1829, and to W. H. Bateson, from 1848, the year of his election as Public Orator. F. A. Wolf, *Kl. Schr.* ii 1114 n, describes Parr as exhibiting, in his Latin prose, *mehr echt-Römische Farbe* than most Englishmen. Parr himself preferred Ernesti’s and Ruhnken’s Latin to that of Heyne (*Parriana*, ii 99).

⁸ *Parriana*, i 522.

⁹ *ib.* i 521 f; ii 723.

monograph on the subjunctive mood¹ which fills more than twenty pages of print. It was by the advice of Parr that in 1791 Samuel Butler, then entered at Christ Church, was transferred to St John's College, Cambridge; it was also by his advice, supported by that of Porson, that, in 1805, another eminent head-master, of the same surname, but of another family, George Butler, was appointed Joseph Drury's successor at Harrow. Parr migrated from Emmanuel to St John's, where one of his portraits is preserved². He was not satisfied with any of them:—'All the artists', he remarked, 'fail in one feature—none of them give me my peculiar ferocity'³. Notwithstanding his extensive erudition, he accomplished little that was of permanent importance, but he freely lavished his advice and his aid on others, and thus enabled them to accomplish what they could not otherwise have done⁴. Porson spent the winter of 1790-1 at Hatton, enriching his mind with the vast stores of Parr's library. 'As a classical scholar he was supreme... Pre-eminent in learning,...he was...most liberal in communicating it'. Such is the language of the frank and honest funeral-sermon preached by Samuel Butler; he has since been described by one, who has surveyed all the literature of the subject, as 'one of the kindest hearted and best read Englishmen' of his generation⁵; while Macaulay has characterised his 'vast treasure of erudition' as 'too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid'⁶.

One of his faithful friends was Henry Homer (1753-1791), Fellow of Emmanuel, who aided him in the revision of his preface to Bellenden. He was so modest a man that he never published H. Homer

¹ *Works*, ed. Johnstone, viii 533-554.

² The author once showed this portrait (in 1891) to a lady (Miss Horner, of Florence), who perfectly remembered 'sitting next to Dr Parr, at the christening of her younger brother'.

³ Nicoll, 183.

⁴ *ib.* 187.

⁵ J. E. B. Mayor, in Baker-Mayor's *History of St John's Coll., Cambridge*, 940. Cp. Johnstone's *Memoirs* etc., 8 vols. (1818); *Life* by Field, 2 vols. (1818); E. H. Barker's *Parriana*, 2 vols. (1818); De Quincey, v 9-145 (ed. Masson); J. J. Blunt, *Quarterly Rev.*, Apr. 1829 (*Essays*, 172-249); and H. J. Nicoll's *Great Scholars*, 139-187; Allibone's *Dict. s. v.*; also L. Stephen, in *D. N. B.*

⁶ *Essays*, 642, ed. 1861.

his distinguished name on the title-page of any of the handsome volumes of his classical editions, which included Ovid's *Heroides*, Persius, and Sallust (1789), and Pliny's *Epistles*, Caesar, and Tacitus (1790). His edition of Livy, begun in 1787, was completed by his brother in 1794; and a variorum edition of Horace was published after his death by his colleague, Dr Combe, with readings from seven Harleian MSS (1792)¹. This edition was attacked by Parr², who had aided Homer by his advice, but had apparently not been courted with sufficient deference by Combe³. Parr, in the course of his review, pays a striking tribute to Bentley, as an editor of Horace⁴, and writes as follows on verbal criticism:—

'Verbal criticism has been seldom despised sincerely by any man who was capable of cultivating it successfully; and if the comparative dignity of any kind of learning is to be measured by the talents of those who are most distinguished for the acquisition of it, *philology* will hold no inconsiderable rank in the various and splendid classes of human knowledge'⁵. Dr Johnson said of the same subject in his *Preface to Shakspeare*:—'Conjectural criticism demands more than humanity possesses, and he that exercises it with most praise, has very frequent need of indulgence'⁶.

The great powers of Parr 'were never directed to one great object'. Of his contemporaries in England, some were his superiors as critics of Attic Greek,—'as universal Greek scholars, perhaps none'. 'Porson could not have produced the notes on the *Spital Sermon*' (which exemplify the remarkable range of Parr's philosophical and classical reading); 'nor could Parr have written the *Preface to the Hecuba*'⁷.

At the close of the eighteenth century the greatest name among English scholars was that of Richard Porson (1759—1808). The son of the parish clerk at East Ruston, near North Walsham, in Norfolk, he gave early proof of the most remarkable powers of memory. The liberality of the future founder of the Norrisian Professorship made it possible for him to enter Eton, while a fund started by an Etonian, Sir George Baker, President of the Royal College of Physicians, enabled him to become a member of Trinity College, Cambridge,

¹ *D. N. B.*; and F. A. Wolf, *Kl. Schr.* 1113-5.

² *British Critic*, iii 8 (Blunt's *Essays*, 208 f).

³ Parr, in Field's *Life of Parr*, ii 449-456; Johnstone's *Memoirs*, i 408-437; Nicoll, 166 f.

⁴ *British Critic*, iii 100 (Blunt, 211).

⁵ *ib.* iii 22.

⁶ Blunt, 212 f.

⁷ Blunt, 173, 246.

in 1778. Elected to the Craven Scholarship in 1781, he was First Chancellor's Medallist, and Fellow of Trinity, in 1782. Ten years later he lost his Fellowship, 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, at the foot of the statue of Newton. His bust, by Chantrey, is in the same building; a plaster cast of his face, taken immediately after his death, was engraved by Fittler, and published in the *Adversaria*¹. His portrait, by Kirkby, is in the dining-room of Trinity Lodge; that by Hoppner, in the University Library, has been engraved by Sharpe² and by Adlard. According to his friend, Pryse Gordon, he had a remarkably fine head; an expansive forehead with his shining brown hair smoothly combed over it; a Roman nose, with a keen and penetrating eye, shaded with long lashes; a mouth full of expression, and a countenance suggestive of deep thought. He was nearly six feet high. Careless and slovenly in his dress, when alone, and engaged in study, we are assured that, on important occasions, when he put on his blue coat, white waistcoat, black satin breeches, silk stockings, and ruffled shirt, 'he looked quite the gentleman'³.

His literary activity is mainly limited to the twenty years between his reviews of certain editions of Aeschylus and Aristophanes⁴, and his restoration of the Greek inscription on the Rosetta Stone⁵ (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'⁶, thus supporting an opinion which had long been held by critics from Erasmus to Bentley⁷, and had recently

¹ 1812 (in large paper ed.).

² Reproduced on p. 426.

³ *Personal Memoirs*, i 288 (Watson, 132).

⁴ Kidd's *Tracts*, 4—37; cp. Watson, 37—44.

⁵ Kidd, 183.

⁶ *St John*, v 7.

⁷ *Monk*, ii 18 f.



RICHARD PORSON.

From Sharpe's engraving of the portrait by Hoppner in the University
Library, Cambridge.

been affirmed afresh by Gibbon, who regarded the work as 'the most acute and accurate piece of criticism since the days of Bentley'¹. This was immediately followed by his preface and notes to a new edition of Toup's *Emendations on Suidas* (1790). It was by a copy of Toup's *Longinus*, presented to him as a boy by the head-master of Eton, that he (as we have already seen) had been first drawn to classical criticism². He also regarded Dawes and Bentley as his greatest masters³. He contributed many corrections to the folio edition of Aeschylus published by Foulis at Glasgow in 1795⁴. Twelve years had passed since he had been invited by the Syndics of the Cambridge Press to edit Aeschylus, but his offer to visit Florence with a view to collating the Laurentian MS was unfortunately rejected, Dr Torkington, Master of Clare and Vice-Chancellor, gravely suggesting that 'Mr Porson might collect his manuscripts at home'⁵. The Syndics had also unwisely insisted on an exact reprint of the old and corrupt text of Stanley, and Porson naturally declined the task. 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 justly regarded as 'his finest single piece of criticism'⁶. 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

¹ Gibbon, *Miscell.* i 159.

² p. 418 *supra*.

³ Watson, 27 f.

⁴ Cp. F. A. Wolf, *Anal.* ii 284-9 (*Kleine Schriften*, 1180-5).

⁵ Kidd's *Tracts*, p. xxxvi; F. Norgate in *Athenaeum*, 9 May, 1896, p. 621.

⁶ Jebb, in *D. N. B.*

name¹. After Porson's death, Hermann, in a work published in 1816, honoured his memory by describing him as *vir magnae accurataeque doctrinae*².

Porson spent at least ten months in transcribing in his own beautiful hand the *Codex Galeanus* of the lexicon of Photius; the transcript was destroyed by fire in 1796; a second transcript was prepared by Porson and deposited in the library of his College, and finally published by Dobree in 1822, fourteen years after Porson's death³. The library also possesses his transcripts of the *Medea* and *Phoenissae*, written in the matchless hand that was made the model for the Greek type that bore his name, but was not used until after his death, when it first appeared in editions of plays of Euripides produced by Cambridge scholars⁴.

It is to be regretted that he failed to finish his edition of Euripides, and that he did not live to edit either Aristophanes or Athenaeus. He would doubtless have achieved far more, if the sobriety of his life had been equal to the honesty and truthfulness of his character⁵.

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

¹ In a famous note on *Medea*, 675, he had made effective mention of that name five times over in the phrase:—*quis praeter Hermannum*. See also Watson, 167—183; Weston's *Porsoniana*, 14, and Wordsworth's *Scholae*, 112 f.

² *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae*, p. xiii, ed. 1817; cp. *Opusc.* vi 93 f.

³ An inferior edition, published by Hermann in 1808, is criticised in *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1813.

⁴ C. J. Blomfield's *Prometheus*, 1810, p. vi, 'litterarum Graecarum typos ad Porsoni mentem cusos fuisse'; and Monk's *Hippolytus* (1811). Cp. Wordsworth's *Scholae Academicae*, 392. On his handwriting, cp. Watson, 361, 422, and specimen opposite 260; also the collection of his note-books preserved in the Library of his College.

⁵ Parr to Burney (1787), in *Memoirs*, vii 403, 'He is not only a matchless scholar, but an honest, a very honest man'; Turton's *Vindication*, 348, he 'had no superior' in 'the most pure and inflexible love of truth' (Watson, 357).

by the resources of a marvellous memory'¹. After he had made many corrections of the text of Aristophanes, he was shown Bentley's copy, and shed tears of joy at finding that a large portion of Bentley's conjectures exactly coincided with his own². It has been said that 'in learning he was superior to Valckenaer, in accuracy to Bentley'³. We have already noticed his relations to Hermann, who, in an extant letter, asks his aid in connexion with MSS of Plautus⁴. He consults Ruhnken on the fragments of Aeschylus⁵; he approves of Heyne's receiving from Trinity College a transcript of Bentley's Homeric notes and emendations⁶; and he obtains for Villoison a presentation copy of the Grenville Homer⁷, which included Porson's collation of the Harleian *Odyssey* (1801). 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 Suidas (1834). His memory was also perpetuated by Charles Burney (1757—1818)⁸, who was one of the trustees of the fund founded in his honour, a fund ultimately devoted to 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'⁹. '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'¹⁰. It was Porson's friend Burney who happily described Bentley, Taylor and Markland, with Dawes, Toup, Tyrwhitt, and Porson, as forming the constellation of the *Pleiades* among the English scholars of the

¹ Cp. Jebb in *D. N. B.* 162 f; J. E. Sandys in *Social England*, vi 299.

² Luard, in *Cambridge Essays*, 1857.

³ Luard, in *Enc. Brit.*

⁴ Luard's *Correspondence of Richard Porson*, 62 f.

⁵ Kidd's *Tracts*, xxxvi f.

⁶ *Corresp.* 29.

⁷ *Corresp.* 76—80.

⁸ Author of the *Tentamen Criticum* on the Metres of Aeschylus (1809); cp. Hermann, *Opusc.* vi 94.

⁹ Rogers, *Table Talk*, 'Porsoniana,' 334.

¹⁰ Cp. Jebb in *D. N. B.* 163; J. E. Sandys in *Social England*, vi 300.

eighteenth century'. Parr, in the list of his scholarly friends, while he writes of Twining as τοῦ Ἀττικωτάτου, and of Burney as τοῦ κριτικωτάτου καὶ πολυμαθευτάτου, applies to Porson the epithet τοῦ πάνυ θαναστοῦ³.

Among the minor lights of the age was Gilbert Wakefield (1756—1801), a
Wakefield Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, who had attained the second place in the Wranglers, the Chancellor's Medallists, and the Members' Prizemen of his year. On leaving the Church of England for the Unitarian body, he became a classical teacher and editor at Nottingham. In matters of public policy he was inspired with a violent hatred of Pitt, and in 1799 his treasonable expression of a hope, that England would be invaded and conquered by the French, led to his imprisonment for two years in Dorchester gaol. During his imprisonment he continued to correspond with Fox on points of scholarship⁴, and, shortly after his release, he died. In the unduly partial opinion of Parr, who agreed with him in politics, he 'united the simplicity of a child with the fortitude of a martyr'⁴. Both as a politician and as a scholar he was greatly lacking in judgement and in self-control⁵. A passion for tampering with the texts of the Classics pervades all the five parts of his *Sylva Critica*, as well as his editions of Horace⁶, Virgil, and Lucretius. In his Lucretius (1796 f) he aimed at producing a text founded on manuscript authority alone, but his collations were incredibly careless, while his notes displayed ignorance of the language and the philosophy of his author, and were further disfigured by his attacking 'the most brilliant and certain emendations of Lambinus' 'with a vehemence of abuse that would be too great even for his own errors'. Nevertheless, 'not a few certain corrections' are due to Wakefield⁷. His Lucretius was completed in the same year as Porson's first edition of the *Hecuba*. Wakefield had proposed certain alterations in the text of that play, which Porson 'out of kindness' had forborne

¹ Preface to Burney's *Tentamen*, of Porson, 'ultimus ille ἐν τῇ τῶν μακαρῶν (parco enim viventium nominibus) Anglorum Πλειάδι'.

² *Memoirs*, i 526. Porson's Life has been written in *Cambridge Essays*, 1857, and in *Enc. Brit.*, ed. 9, 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.* Some of his Greek Iambics in Kidd's *Tracts*, p. 2; cp. Barker's *Parriana*, ii 652—671, 730—746. Cp. Hermann, *Opusc.* vi 92—95; H. J. Nicoll, *Great Scholars*, 91—138; and J. E. Sandys in *Social England*, vi 297 f.

³ *Correspondence of W. with C. J. Fox*, 1813.

⁴ *Parriana*, ii 549.

⁵ Watson's *Porson*, 248 f.

⁶ Cp. *Parriana*, ii 566 f.

⁷ Munro's *Lucretius*, i p. 19³; cp. Munro's criticism on Wakefield's rendering of 'The paths of glory lead but to the grave', 'Ad tumuli fauces ducit honoris iter' (*Macmillan's Mag.* Feb. 1875).

to mention, but his silence led to Wakefield's composing a violent and hasty 'Diatribes' teeming with injudicious and intemperate criticisms. On the eve of its publication, Porson being present at a party, in which every toast was to be coupled with a quotation from Shakespeare, good-naturedly proposed 'My friend, Gilbert Wakefield,—"What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?"'¹.

Porson had a high opinion of the mental powers² of his earlier contemporary, the politician and philologist, John Horne Tooke (1736—1812), of St John's College, Cambridge³. His reputation as a scholar rests on the 'Diversions of Purley' (1786)⁴, a work which Lord Brougham regarded as 'one of the most amusing and even lively of books'⁵, and John Hill Burton as 'one of the toughest books in existence'⁶. It certainly excited a new interest in matters of etymology, and it had the special merit of insisting on the importance of the study of Gothic and Anglo-Saxon⁷.

Porson professed a certain contempt for the scholarship of Thomas Burgess⁸ (1756—1837), Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who, early in his career, reprinted Burton's five Greek plays (1779), and Dawes' *Miscellanea Critica* (1781)⁹. Three years later, he was well received by Ruhnken at Leyden¹⁰, and it was through Burgess that Wyttenbach was induced to edit the *Moralia* of Plutarch for the Clarendon Press. As bishop of St David's, he founded Lampeter College, and, as bishop of Salisbury, he attempted to defend the traditional text on the 'Three Heavenly Witnesses' against the strictures of Porson, who was then no longer living. The bishop of Salisbury was finally refuted in 1827 by Dr Turton, the future bishop of Ely¹¹.

An interest in Classical Archaeology was fostered by the foundation of the Society of Dilettanti at the close of 1733. It was founded by 'some gentlemen who had travelled in Italy', who were 'desirous of encouraging at home a taste for those objects which had contributed so much to their entertainment abroad'¹². One of the few commoners among its earliest members was Spence, the author of the *Polymetis*. The liberality of this distinguished Society has

¹ Watson's *Porson*, 155—156, 239—249.

² *ib.* 309.

³ Entered as John Horne, he assumed the name of Tooke in 1782; see R. F. Scott's *Admissions* (1903), 621 f.

⁴ Ed. 2, 1798; part 2, 1805, often reprinted.

⁵ *Statesmen, Time of Geo. III*, ii 105, ed. 1856.

⁶ *Book-Hunter*, Part ii.

⁷ Bust of Tooke in Fitzwilliam Museum.

⁸ Watson, 304.

⁹ Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicæ*, 94 f.

¹⁰ Wyttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkenii*, 189.

¹¹ Watson, 82, 304.

¹² Preface to *Antiquities of Ionia*.

produced a splendid series of archaeological publications, those belonging partly or wholly to the eighteenth century being the four folio volumes of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (1762—1816), the three of the *Antiquities of Ionia* (1769—1840), as well as Chandler's *Inscriptions and Travels* (1774—6)¹.

The first of the authors above mentioned, James Stuart
 J. Stuart (1713—1788), the painter and architect known as
 'Athenian Stuart', visited Rome in 1741. In Rome
 the erection of the obelisk on the Monte Citorio led to his
 composing a monograph on that subject². Ten years later he left
 for Greece in the company of the architect and draughtsman,
 Nicholas Revett (1720—1804). Their united labours at Athens
 resulted in the production of a great work of permanent value,
 the full title of which is *The Antiquities of Athens measured and
 delineated* (1762)³. This work, which incidentally led to the
 adoption of Greek Architecture in St James's Square, appeared in
 a second edition in 1825—30; it was also translated into German,
 and is still deservedly held in high esteem as containing the
 earliest accurate reproductions of the monuments of Athens⁴.

One of the leading supporters of Stuart and Revett in their
 proposals for the delineation of the remains of Athenian archi-
 tecture, was the eminent traveller and politician,
 R. Wood Robert Wood (c. 1717—1771). He visited many
 parts of France, Italy, Western Europe, and Asia Minor. His
 travels in the remoter regions of Syria resulted in the publication
 of important works on the ruins of Palmyra (1753) and of
 Heliopolis (1757), while the ancient associations of the Troad
 prompted him to compose his *Essay on the original genius and
 writings of Homer, with a comparative view of the ancient and
 present state of the Troade*⁵. It was in admiration of all these
 three works that Goethe exclaimed:—

¹ Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 62—5; cp. Lionel Cust's *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, ed. Sidney Colvin, 1898.

² *De obelisco Caesaris Augusti Campo Martis nuper effosso*, 1750.

³ Vol. ii 1789; vol. iii 1794; vol. iv 1816; cp. Nichols, ix 57, 143—150.

⁴ Stark, 184—6.

⁵ Seven copies privately printed in 1769; posthumously published in 1775; other editions 1776 and 1824.

'With the exception of England, not one of the European nations of the present day possesses that enthusiasm for the remains of classical antiquity which spares neither cost nor pains in the endeavour to restore them to their perfect splendour'¹.

In his *Essay* Wood conjectures, in the course of a chapter on 'Homer's language and learning', that the art of writing was not introduced into Greece until about 554 B.C.² His opinions on this point were reviewed and defended by Merian in 1788, and were partially accepted by F. A. Wolf in 1795³. It is in the same work that Wood tells the story of his waiting as Under-Secretary of State on the President of the Council, John Cartaret, Earl of Granville, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, which closed the Seven Years' War in 1763. On that memorable occasion the aged statesman recited some lines from the speech of Sarpedon in the twelfth Iliad⁴, dwelling with a singular emphasis on a line that recalled the distinguished part he had taken in public affairs, and repeating the last word of the passage, *ἴομεν*, several times with a calm and determinate resignation, before declaring the approbation of a dying statesman 'on the most glorious War, and most honourable Peace, this nation ever saw'⁵.

The above story has been quoted by Matthew Arnold mainly because of its interest 'as exhibiting the English aristocracy at its very height of culture, lofty spirit, and greatness', towards the middle of the eighteenth century⁶. It was the century of those great parliamentary orators, Chatham (1708—1778) and Burke (1729—1797) and Fox (1749—1806) and Pitt (1759—1806). Passages of a thoroughly Demosthenic type, as well as direct reminiscences of Demosthenes, may be found in the speeches of all four of those statesmen⁷. The *dictum* of Sir James Macintosh that Fox was 'the most Demosthenean speaker since Demosthenes' is opposed by Brougham, but a modern critic has noticed at least ten characteristics of the oratory of Fox that bear a striking resemblance to those of the great Athenian orator⁸. We find Payne Knight writing to Parr from Whitehall:—'Fox and I have been reading Lycophron'⁹. Chatham

¹ *Sämml. Werke*, xxxiii 21 (Stark, 187). ³ p. 258.

² *Proleg. ad Hom.* c. xii.

⁴ 322-8, ἴομεν—ἴομεν.

⁵ p. vii, ed. 1775. On Robert Wood, cp. Nichols, iii 81-6, viii 426 f, ix 144 f.

⁶ *On Translating Homer*, 18, ed. 1896.

⁷ Quoted in prefaces to Dem. *Philippics*, vols. i and ii, ed. Sandys.

⁸ C. A. Goodrich, *Select British Eloquence*, New York, 1852, p. 461.

⁹ Parr's *Works*, vii 304 (Jan. 1805?).

caused his distinguished son, the younger Pitt, to acquire a wider command of language by translating aloud, and at sight, passages from the Greek or Latin Classics¹. That excellent classical scholar, the Marquis of Wellesley, described him as 'perfectly accomplished in classical literature, both Latin and Greek', adding that Lord Grenville² had 'often declared that Mr. Pitt was the best Greek scholar he ever conversed with'³. During the peroration of his great speech on the abolition of the slave-trade, even his opponents listened to him as to one 'inspired'⁴. The debate had lasted through the night, and the rays of the rising sun were streaming into the House, when the orator closed a splendid period, on the coming dawn of a brighter day for the natives of Africa, with the fine quotation from Virgil:—

'nosque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper'⁵.

Returning to the Classical Archaeologists of the century, we note the name
Archaeologists: of Sir William Hamilton (1730—1803), the British Minister
Sir Wm at Naples (1764—1800), who sent the Society of Antiquaries
Hamilton an account of the early discoveries at Pompeii, and made
 important collections of Greek vases and other antiquities, which were ultimately sold to the British Museum (1772) and to Thomas Hope of Deepdene (1801)⁶. His contemporary, Charles Townley (1737—1805),
Townley who first visited Italy in 1765, struck up a friendship with Hamilton at Naples, and afterwards spent four years in Rome, collecting marbles, bronzes, coins, gems, and vases, which were removed to his house in London in 1772, received many additions during the next twenty years, and after his death were bought by the Museum⁷. The French adventurer, 'D'Hancarville', author of a fanciful work on the Arts of Greece (1785), had a considerable influence on Townley and on Payne Knight, both of them members of the Dilettanti Society. It was under the auspices of that Society
Chandler that Richard Chandler (1738—1810), of Magdalen College, Oxford, the editor of the *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763)⁸, pursued those learned researches in Greece and Asia Minor, which were published in his *Antiquities of Ionia*, and in his *Inscriptions and Travels*.
 Under the influence of 'D'Hancarville', Richard Payne Knight (1750—
Payne Knight 1824), who had visited Sicily in 1777, began in 1785 the great collection of Greek and Roman bronzes and coins, which he bequeathed to the British Museum. His 'Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet' (1791) contains much that is fanciful on the subject of the *digamma*, while it proposes a system of metrical quantity founded mainly on the practice

¹ Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, i 8, iii 413, ed. 1879.

² Wm Wyndham Grenville (1759—1834).

³ *Quarterly Rev.* lvii 488 f.

⁴ *Life of Wilberforce*, i 346; 2 April, 1792.

⁵ Virgil, *Georg.* i 250 f.

⁶ Michaelis, 109—112.

⁷ *ib.* 96—99.

⁸ Michaelis, 41, 540.

of Homer¹. His didactic poem on the 'Progress of Civil Society' (1796) owes its main inspiration to the fifth book of Lucretius. He also wrote the introduction and text to the 'Specimens of Antient Sculpture in Great Britain' (1809), mainly selected from his own collection and that of Townley,—a work that forms a brilliant conclusion to the golden age of classic dilettantism in England².

In 1808 he printed fifty copies of an edition of Homer with notes and prolegomena³, the earliest work published outside of Germany in which the views of Heyne and Wolf are discussed⁴. It is reprinted in his later edition of the *Iliad* (1820), in which he carries out Bentley's intention of restoring the *digamma* to an extent far exceeding the limits which that great scholar would doubtless have observed. Thus, he spells the Greek name of the *Iliad* as FIAFIAΣ, and introduces the letter ten times in the first three lines of the poem⁵.

Constitutional Antiquities are represented in the latter part of the eighteenth century by Alexander Adam (1741—
Adam
1809), rector of the Edinburgh High School, the author of a work on *Roman Antiquities* (1791), which remained long in use, and was even translated into German⁶. 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'. Finding it 'scarcely possible for a mind endowed with any active curiosity to be long conversant with the Latin Classics without aspiring to know the Greek originals'⁷, after regretting that he had not begun with Greek, he worked through

¹ Porson's interesting review is quoted in Watson's *Porson*, 118—121. Payne Knight was the first to detect (in §§ 6, 7) the forgeries in the Greek Inscriptions of the Abbé Fourmont, and Porson accepted his proof as conclusive (*Monthly Review*, 1794); cp. R. C. Christie's *Selected Essays*, 80—85.

² Michaelis, 119—123; cp. Stark, 251.

³ Reprinted in *Class. Journ.* (1813), and at Leipzig (1816).

⁴ Cp. Volkmann, *Gesch. u. Kritik der Wolfischen Prolegomena*, 166—172.

⁵ Dissen (1821), *K7. Schr.* 277, describes this text as *eine baare litterarische Lächerlichkeit*, and Volkmann (1874) as *eine dilettantische Grillenhaftigkeit* (167). Cp. Hermann (1821), *Opusc.* vi 73 f.

⁶ *Life* by Alex. Henderson, 1810.

⁷ *Autobiography*, 41 f, ed. 1869.

half the *Iliad* and a large part of Xenophon and Herodotus. During his perusal of Livy he made an ingenious correction, which was at once adopted by Crévier¹. Returning to England in 1758, he laid the foundation of a historical library by spending £20 on the twenty volumes of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions, a series which, in Gibbon's opinion, presents many discoveries in the field of ancient literature, and sometimes, what is almost as valuable, 'une *ignorance* modeste et *savante*'. In his earliest work, his French Essay on the Study of Literature, he proposes to prove that 'all the faculties of the mind may be exercised by the study of ancient literature'², and he complacently considers that his own view of 'the patriotic and political design of the *Georgics* is happily conceived'³. During two and a half years of service in the Hampshire militia, he read the modern *Mémoires Militaires* of Quintus Icilius⁴, and it is in this connexion that he writes:—'The discipline and evolution of a modern battalion 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'⁵. He also studied Homer and 'Longinus', while (he adds) 'on every march, in every journey, Horace was always in my pocket, and often in my hand'⁶. 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'⁷. 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 his first publication in English, the *Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid*, published anonymously in 1770, he argues against the opinion expressed in Warburton's *Divine Legation* that, in the sixth *Aeneid*, Aeneas, 'in

¹ *otio* for *odio* in xxx 44, 7; 'nec esse in vos *odio* vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis, nulla magna civitas quiescere potest'; 'nec est cur vos *otio* etc.' (Madvig).

² *Autob.* 54; cp. 319 n. 5 *supra*.

³ *ib.* 58.

⁴ *Autob.* 61.

⁵ *Autob.* 66.

⁶ *ib.* 55.

⁷ *i.e.* C. T. Guischart (1758).

⁸ *Journal*, 3 and 12 Sept. 1762.

⁹ *Autob.* 76 f.

the character of a lawgiver', is represented as having been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. Heyne, who approves of Gibbon's argument, styles the unknown author as *doctus...et elegantissimus Britannus*¹. In the fifteen years that elapsed between his 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. The work had been warmly welcomed by the leading historians of the day. 'The candour of Dr Robertson embraced his disciple. A letter from Mr Hume overpaid the labour of ten years'². 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 mind³; 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'⁴. 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 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

¹ *ib.* 84 f.² *ib.* 91.³ *ib.* 79.⁴ *ib.* 103 f.

in Italy which closes the 66th is a splendid and eloquent page in the *History of Classical Scholarship*¹.

While Gibbon was captain of the South Hampshire militia in 1760-2, the colonel of the same regiment was
Mitford William Mitford (1744-1827), who had matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1761. Like Gibbon he was a Member of Parliament, but for many more years than the historian of the Roman empire. It was at Gibbon's suggestion that Mitford embarked on his *History of Greece* (1784-1810). It was written in a spirited and lively style, but, in a work where the history of Athens necessarily occupied a prominent place, there was an obvious disadvantage in the fact that its author was inspired by an invincible dislike of every form of democracy.

Two years after the *History of Greece* had been begun by Mitford, and two years before that of Rome had been completed by Gibbon, is the date that marks the birth of the
Sir William Jones study of Comparative Philology. William Jones (1746-1794), who was educated at Harrow, and became a Fellow of University College, Oxford, and enjoyed the friendship of Burke and Gibbon and Parr², 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

¹ Porson's critique on Gibbon is reprinted in Watson's *Porson*, 85 f.; cp. Traill in *Social England*, v 448 f.

² For his *Character* of Parr (in the style of Theophrastus), see Parr's *Memoirs*, i 478.

and Celtic had the same origin with the Sanscrit. The old Persian may be added to the same family¹.

In 1789 he pointed out the connexion between Sanskrit and Zend². He has thus earned the right (a right far stronger than that of Giraldus Cambrensis³) to be regarded as the true 'father of comparative philology'. His 'genius and learning', his 'virtues' and his 'public services' are commemorated by a monument in St Paul's⁴, while the tablet in University College, Oxford, recognises in him an 'ingenium scientiarum omnium capax'⁵. As the far-sighted pioneer in the new field of comparative philology, he fitly closes 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 Porson and Gibbon.

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, i 422 (1786), *Works*, iii 34 (1807), duly noticed in Max Müller's *Lectures*, i 177^b, Benfey's *Gesch. der Sprachwissenschaft*, 348, and Thomsen's *Sprogvidenskabens Historie* (Copenhagen, 1902), 46.

² His translations of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā* and of Manu's *Institutes*, his Commentaries on Eastern poetry, and his History of Nadir Shah, are well known to Oriental scholars.

³ Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, v 579.

⁴ Nichols, iii 757.

⁵ *ib.* 242 f.

Adendum to p. 417, l. 1.

Christopher Pitt's Cambridge contemporary, Vincent Bourne (1695—1747), a Fellow of Trinity and a master at Westminster, published in 1734 a volume of elegant Latin poems, some of which were translated into English verse by his pupil, Cowper, and by Charles Lamb. Macaulay, in his *Essay on Addison*, has coupled the 'noble alcaics of Gray' with the 'playful elegiacs' of Vincent Bourne, who celebrated Addison's recovery from illness in a Latin poem worthy of the pen of Addison himself.

Vincent
Bourne



CHAPTER XXV.

THE NETHERLANDS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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.

Jean Le Clerc, or Clericus (1657—1736), the son of a Greek Professor at Geneva, was educated at Geneva, Grenoble and Saumur, and, after a brief stay in England, settled for the rest of his life in the Netherlands. It was in 1683 that he took up his abode in Amsterdam; in the following year he was appointed to a Professorship in the Arminian College, and he continued to reside there for more than half a century. His published works extended over the wide domain of theology, philosophy, and scholarship. The last of these is represented primarily by his *Ars Critica*, a work in three volumes, which was thrice reprinted¹. He here deals with the study, interpretation and criticism of the Classics, ending with an examination of the historic credibility of Quintus Curtius. It was regarded by J. M. Gesner as a *liber quantivis pretii*². In Latin, he produced an edition of the grammarian Festus, the poets C. Pedo Albinovanus and P. Cornelius Severus (the reputed author of the *Aetna*), and, lastly, the whole of Livy. In Greek, he edited Hesiod, the fragments of Menander and Philemon (1709), and the Dialogues of Aeschines Socraticus. He also published Greek *scholia* on Lucian, collected Latin in-

¹ Joannis Clerici *Ars Critica*, in qua ad studia linguarum Latinae Graecae et Hebraicae via munitur; veterumque emendandorum, spuriorum scriptorum a genuinis dignoscendorum et judicandi de eorum libris ratio traditur (1696—1700).

² *Isagoge*, § 135. Cp. Van der Hoeven, *De Joanne Clerico* (1843), 151-4.

scriptions¹, and promoted the sale of a new issue of the *Lexicon Philologicum* of Matthias Martinius (1623) by contributing a brief Etymological Dissertation (1701), which agrees with that *Lexicon* in the fatal error of deriving Greek from Hebrew. He had a wide reputation as a reviewer, being the editor and principal writer of the *Bibliothèque* successively designated *Universelle* (1686-93), *Choisie* (1703-13), and *Ancienne et Moderne* (1714-27). In these his chief aim was to give a careful summary of the contents of the works reviewed, only occasionally indulging in a 'very gentle confutation'². It was one of these reviews that is supposed to have led to his memorable feud with Bentley.

Bentley was apparently nettled by the way in which his contributions to Davies' *Tusculan Disputations* (1709) had been noticed by Le Clerc in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*³. A few months later, Le Clerc produced an edition of the fragments of Menander and Philemon. He had collected these from the Dramatic Excerpts of Grotius, and the Indices of Meursius and Fabricius, and 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. As soon as the work appeared, its authorship was manifest, and, within three weeks, the first edition of this exposure of the metrical demerits of Le Clerc was completely exhausted (1710). Jacob Gronovius, who had a feud with Bentley as well as with Le Clerc, wrote a pamphlet abusing both⁴; and Jan Cornelis de Pauw of Utrecht, under the name of *Philargyrius Cantabrigiensis*, attacked Bentley in a pamphlet which was published with a lengthy preface by Le Clerc⁵.

In 1711 Le Clerc printed an apologetic account of his literary career, concluding with some letters addressed to himself

¹ Van der Hoeven, 175 f.

² *Life and Writings* (1712), 19; cp. Hallam, ii 274, 548⁴.

³ xx (1710) 213-227 (the tone, however, is, on the whole, complimentary and distinctly deferential).

⁴ *Infamia Emendationum in Menandrum nuper editarum*. Cp. Mähly's *Bentley*, 128.

⁵ For fuller details, see Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 267-280; cp. Bentley's *Correspondence*, 397-411 Wordsworth, and Van der Hoeven, *De Joanne Clerico*, 80-98 (1843); also Mähly's *Bentley*, 129, and Jebb's *Bentley*, 125.

by Graevius and Spanheim¹; and, when Bentley's *Horace* was published, in the same year, Le Clerc wrote a review which is liberal in its tone and reflects credit on its writer². Though he has obviously no claims to being a specialist on Greek metre, he deserves the credit of being a courteous and well-informed reviewer. He was helpful to Cambridge scholars such as John Davies, and Wasse and Needham³; and he must be gratefully remembered as the industrious editor of the ten folio volumes of the standard edition of Erasmus⁴.

Pieter Burman (1668—1741), Bentley's ally in the feud with Le Clerc, was a pupil of Graevius at Utrecht and of Jacob Gronovius at Leyden. In 1696 he was appointed professor of History and of 'Eloquence' (*i.e.* Latin) at Utrecht, and in 1715 was transferred to the corresponding Professorship at Leyden, where he passed the remaining twenty-six years of his life. 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. Of the writers of prose, he edited Petronius, Velleius Paterculus⁵, Justin, Quintilian, Suetonius. We also have his *Variæ Lectiones* and *Observationes Miscellaneæ*, his *Orationes* and *Poëmata*, and his *Somnium, sive Iter in Arcadiam novam* (1710). He owed his interest in the Latin poets, and his skill in versification, to Broekhuysen and Francius, and one of his own poems commemorates the third Jubilee of Leyden (1725)⁶. He distinguished himself for a time at the bar. As an editor of Latin poets, he was regarded by Ruhnken as equal to

¹ Engl. Transl. 1712.

² *Bibl. Choisie*, xxvi (1713) 260—279; Monk, i 332.

³ Van der Hoeven, 98.

⁴ On Le Clerc, see his own *Life* (1711) and *Parrhasiana* (E. T. 1700), and Van der Hoeven, *De Joanne Clerico*, 299 pp. (1843); also L. Müller, 47 f.

⁵ Longius a Lipsii laude abest ultimus Velleii editor, Petrus Burmannus, praesertim in eo scriptore recensendo, in quo, propter crebras corruptelas, res omnis ad acumen criticum, quo illum minus valuisse scimus, rediret (Ruhnken, *Opusc.* 542, ed. 1823).

⁶ Peerlkamp, *De Poëtis Lat.*, 489 f.; L. Müller, 213.



PIETER BURMAN I.

N. Heinsius in learning, but inferior in acumen and in emendatory skill¹. He had access to the unpublished notes of his predecessor, but he is careless in his use of them²; he is less widely read in Greek³; and his editions are overloaded by a mass of ill-digested variants. 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 wake⁴. In his *Horace* (1699) he reproduces the marginal notes of John Bond of Taunton (1600), which in their turn were mainly borrowed from Lambinus, but in 1712 he fully appreciates the originality of Bentley's edition⁵. His introductions are apt to be monotonous, but an exceptional interest attaches to his preface to Lucan, in which he dwells on the literary characteristics of the poet, while his preface to Ovid was so libellous that it could not be printed in the life-time of the editor⁶. In his introduction to Gruter's *Inscriptions* he is loud in his praise of the generous aid afforded to Gruter by Scaliger⁷. 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 Netherlands⁸.

In contrast to the distinctively Latin Scholarship of Burman we have a representative of Greek in the person of Küster the Westphalian, Ludolf Küster, or 'Neocorus' (1670—1716). Educated at Berlin and at Frankfurt on the Oder, he went to Utrecht at the age of twenty-six, and afterwards visited Paris and Cambridge, having had the good fortune to be in-

¹ *Elogium Henst.* 14.

² Merkel's Pref. to Ovid's *Tristia*, 11—16.

³ *Harlesii De Vitis Philologorum*, i 150 (L. Müller, 55). Prof. Mayor, however, tells me that, on Ovid, *Ars Am.* i 99, *spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae*, he independently quotes a parallel from Aelian.

⁴ L. Müller, 56 f.

⁵ Bentley's *Correspondence*, 439.

⁶ L. Müller, 57 f.

⁷ Hallam, ii 290^a f.

⁸ Harless, *l.c.*, i 93—167; Saxe's *Onomasticon*, v 466—477; L. Müller, 45 f, 54—59.

roduced to Bentley by Graevius. In the scarlet gown of a Cambridge Doctor he was one of the representatives of that university at the centenary of Frankfurt¹. After a brief tenure of the office of librarian and professor at Berlin, he returned to the Netherlands, living mainly at Rotterdam. Towards the end of his life he left for Paris, where he joined the Roman Church two years before his death. His graphic and detailed description of the Abbé Bignon's villa on an island in the Seine near Meulan is one of the most interesting parts of his correspondence with Bentley². In 1696 he wrote a *Historia Critica Homeri*, which was incorporated in Wolf's edition nearly a century later. In 1705 he produced an edition of Suidas in three folio volumes, published by the Cambridge Press. This was founded on the editor's collation of three Paris mss, together with corrections by Bishop Pearson and other aid supplied by Bentley, and was completed in the short space of four years³. Bentley offered to promote a proposed edition of Hesychius, but Küster was meanwhile engaged on the Lives of Pythagoras, by Iamblichus and Porphyry (1707). This was followed by his comprehensive folio edition of Aristophanes, including the whole of the Greek *scholia*, with a metrical version in a column parallel to the text, and a collection of all the modern comments at the end of the volume, including many original notes contributed by Bentley⁴ (1710). In the same year he published a reprint of Mill's Greek Testament, followed by a diatribe against Jacob Gronovius (who had attacked his Suidas), and by a treatise on the Greek Middle Verb. Finally, he began an edition of Hesychius, half of which had been written out for the press at the time of his death. In 1736 his MS was handed over to Alberti⁵.

Greek Grammar occupied the attention of Küster's short-lived contemporary Lambert Bos (1670—1717), professor at Franeker, the editor of Thomas Magister (1698) and the author of a work on *Ellipses Graecae* (1700), twice

¹ Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 191; *Correspondence*, 233; Chr. Wordsworth's *Scholae Academicæ*, 98.

² *Correspondence*, 491-4.

³ Monk's *Life of Bentley*, i 154 f, 190.

⁴ *ib.* i 193-6.

⁵ *ib.* i 402-5. Cp. Mahly's *Bentley*, 125 f; Bursian, i 364-7.

reprinted in the nineteenth century. He also produced a folio volume on the spread of Greek learning by means of the colonies of Greece (1704).

The Westphalian scholar, Karl Andreas Duker (1670—1752), who ultimately became a professor at Utrecht (1713—34), is best known as an editor of Thucydides in two folio volumes, including the unpublished commentary left in MS by the Cambridge scholar, Wasse (1731). Duker's notes on Florus, and on the Latinity of the Roman jurists, passed through three editions, while his memoranda on Livy, Suetonius, Servius and Aristophanes were published in the works of other editors of those authors. Thus his notes on Livy were incorporated in the great edition of Arnold Drakenborch (1684—1748), who studied law at Utrecht and Leyden, and was professor of History and of 'Eloquence' at Utrecht (1716—48). It was there that he published the seven quarto volumes of his Livy (1738—46). This had been preceded by a treatise *De Praefectis Urbi* (which was twice reprinted), and by an edition of Silius Italicus¹.

His contemporary, Siegbert Havercamp (1684—1742), is remembered as the Leyden professor who, in editing the two large volumes of his Lucretius (1725), failed to see the importance of the two Leyden MSS, and was singularly careless in reporting their readings, besides giving proof of his incompetence as a commentator². His Orosius attained a second edition, but he did less service by his own recensions of ancient authors than by publishing the works of his predecessors, e.g. the numismatic *Thesaurus* of Andreas Morell (1734), and the *Sylloge* of tracts on the pronunciation of Greek (1736—40). In 1721 it was probably the baneful influence of Burman that led to the appointment of Havercamp as professor of Greek at Leyden instead of Hemsterhuys.

The honour of reviving the study of Greek in the Netherlands belongs to Tiberius Hemsterhuys (1685—1766), who was educated at Groningen under the eminent mathematician, John Bernoulli, and at Leyden under the learned editor of Aelian and of Curtius, Jacob Perizonius. At Leyden he was entrusted by the Curators with the duty of

¹ Portrait in first volume of his *Livy*; life in Uhl's ed. of *De Praefectis Urbi*.

² Munro's *Lucr.* pp. 17—19².

rearranging the disordered MSS of the public library, and this recognition of his early promise inspired the general hope that he would at some future day be appointed to succeed Jacob Gronovius as professor of Greek. He was hardly nineteen when he was invited to fill the Professorship of Mathematics and Philosophy at the Athenaeum of Amsterdam (1704). He there counted among his pupils D'Orville, the future author of a standard work on Sicily; and he came under the influence of Broekhuyzen, the editor of Propertius, and Bergler and Küster, the future editors of Aristophanes. He afterwards contributed to the criticism of both of those authors. In the year before his arrival in Amsterdam, Lederlin, who had begun to edit Homer and Pollux, left his publisher in the lurch by abandoning his editorial undertakings at Amsterdam for a professorship in his



HEMSTERHUYS.

From an engraving by Schellhorn, published by Schumann, Zwickau.

native city of Strassburg. The edition of Homer was transferred to Bergler. That of Pollux, by the advice of the veteran Graevius, who died in that year, was assigned to the youthful Hemsterhuys.

Lederlin had already prepared for the press the first seven books, and we still possess his letter to Bentley asking for his aid in the work¹. Hemsterhuys must have begun the last three before becoming professor at Amsterdam (1704), for he had already spent two and a half years on the task when he wrote his first letter to Bentley in July, 1705. At the suggestion of Klüster, 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 print². Two of the young Dutchman's letters of grateful thanks failed to reach Bentley; the third, written in the spring of 1708, expressed the writer's 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 opportunity³. 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. At the beginning of his letter he assures his correspondent that his corrections occur to him so easily and spontaneously, that he has no claim to any profusion of thanks for so trifling an effort; at the end he adds that he is weary of writing, and that it takes him far longer to set down his emendations than to make them. 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 acquire⁴. 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

¹ Oct. 1702, *Correspondence*, 198 f.

² *Correspondence*, 219 f.

³ *ib.* 263 f.

⁴ *ib.* 270—293.

of any who enviously depreciated the intellectual grandeur of one whom they could not possibly rival¹.

Two years after completing Pollux, Hemsterhuys edited some select dialogues of Lucian, with the *Tabula* of Cebes and moral maxims from Menander (1708), and a presentation copy was acknowledged by Bentley as an *elegantissimum munus*². In 1720 he undertook an edition of the whole of Lucian. Ten years later the printing began; in the next six years, the editor had only translated and expounded a sixth part of the text, and had thus filled 525 quarto pages. As the publisher desired to see the work finished within the limits of his own life-time, he entrusted its completion to J. F. Reitz, a schoolmaster at Utrecht, who in five years completed the remaining five-sixths of the work³.

In connexion with Aristophanes, Hemsterhuys contributed to Küster's edition a version of the *Birds* (1710), besides editing the *Plutus* (1744). In the text of an Italian edition of Xenophon Ephesius, he corrected many errors and restored many mutilated passages, and his corrections and restorations were largely confirmed by the text published from a new ms by D'Orville. He also contributed notes to the edition of *Hesychius* by Alberti and Ruhnken, to Ruhnken's *Timaeus*, and Ernesti's *Callimachus*. His notes on Propertius found their way into the edition by Burman II, completed by Santen in 1780-4.

Meanwhile, in 1705, he had been promoted from his appointment at the Athenaeum of Amsterdam to a Professorship at the university of Harderwyk. When Jacob Gronovius died at Leyden (1716), it was generally hoped that Hemsterhuys would at once be appointed to succeed him; a year passed, and he became a Professor at Franeker. Those at Leyden, who feared that his appointment might throw their own merits into the shade⁴, succeeded in ultimately securing in 1721 the nomination of Havercamp⁵, who cast a cloud over the university for more than twenty

¹ Ruhnken, *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, 24-27.

² *Correspondence*, p. 270.

³ Four quarto vols. 1743-6; reprinted in ten octavo vols., Biponti, 1793.

⁴ Ruhnken, *Elogium Hemst.* 21; Burman is suspected by L. Müller, 74 n. (cp. Bergman's ed. of the *Elogium*, p. 315).

⁵ p. 447 *supra*.

years. At Franeker the most famous pupil of Hemsterhuys was Valckenaer, but that small university, in its remote and isolated position near the N.E. corner of the Zuyder Zee, could not become a new centre for the learning of the Netherlands. At last, in 1740, two years before the death of Havercamp, Hemsterhuys was called to Leyden, where, for a quarter of a century, he kept the flag of Greek flying in the foremost of the Dutch universities. He even rallied around it the sons of other lands. Among his pupils was J. S. Bernard of Berlin (1718—1793), the learned physician, who was interested in Greek to the end of his life, but was compelled to allow his edition of Thomas Magister to be completed and published by Oudendorp (1757). In 1743, Hemsterhuys was joined by the most famous of his pupils, Ruhnken, who had been assured at Wittenberg that, if he wanted to study Greek, his best course was to go to the Netherlands. In 1766, Hemsterhuys was succeeded as professor of Greek by his Franeker pupil, Valckenaer; meanwhile, on the death of Oudendorp in 1761, the professorship of History and Latin had been assigned to Ruhnken.

Hemsterhuys had obtained his eminence by specialising in Greek. In the Netherlands (as in Germany) the professorial teaching of Greek had been generally attached to the professorship of Oriental Languages, including Hebrew and Arabic. In contrast to the early Latinists of Holland, with their vast output of variorum notes, the Greek scholars who succeeded them produced comparatively little, but the work of a Hemsterhuys was worth whole bundles of the mechanically manufactured products of a Burman¹.

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. Meursius and Spanheim had derived their learning from the fountains of Greek lore,

¹ Cp. L. Müller, 77 f.

but were inferior as critics. The younger Heinsius, and Burman, had spent all their pains on elaborating the text of the Latin poets, rivalling one another in learning, but unequal in acumen and in felicity of emendation. 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 eagle¹; 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. It was only his memory that would sometimes fail him, and that solely if the name of some individual had to be suddenly recalled.

He had entered the university of Groningen at the age of fourteen; and, in after life, his face glowed and his eyes flashed with delight, whenever he recalled the debt that he owed to the mathematical teaching of Bernoulli. In studying the Greek poets, he followed the order of chronology, and he recommended his pupils to do the same; and similarly with the writers in Greek prose. The familiarity, which he thus acquired with Thucydides, enabled him to detect the passages in which that historian was imitated by Polybius, Dionysius, and Plutarch.

He often regretted that mathematics and philosophy were no longer included among the *studia humanitatis*. Even in criticism and exegesis he owed much to his mathematical training. He was also an accomplished student of philosophy. In history, he lamented that modern critics had not resumed the learned labours of Scaliger; in his own historical studies, his model was Polybius. He was interested in ancient art, and urged his pupils to give early attention to drawing.

He regarded a perfect familiarity with the classical languages, and especially with Greek, as the portal of all knowledge. Since the Revival of Learning, 'no better Greek scholar had arisen'²; he had even surpassed Casaubon. 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 Latin³. 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 Casaubon⁴ had been roused to indignation by the saying of Lipsius⁵ 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

¹ Cp. portrait on p. 448.

² p. 40. Cp. Creuzer, *l. c.*, 183.

³ *Var. Lect.* ii 20.

⁴ *Epp.* 291, 294.

⁵ *Ep.* 336, in Burman's *Sylloge*, i 376.

more begun to confine themselves to Latin. The need had arisen for another Scaliger, and that need had been supplied by Hemsterhuys.

His early notes on Lucian had been admired for their terseness and precision, as contrasted with the loose profusion of a Salmasius. The foundation for his criticism of any text had been laid in a thorough knowledge of the author as a whole. In making emendations he had relied partly on his familiarity with the various contractions used in MSS, but mainly on considerations of sense. He was also masterly as a commentator; and exemplary in his relations towards other scholars, suffering even fools gladly. In his home-life, he was conspicuous for his self-control; once while he was entertaining some visitors for two days at Franeker, he heard of the decease of a promising son in a distant land, but, like Xenophon on receiving the news of the death of Gryllus, he would not allow his private sorrows to interfere with his immediate duty. His knowledge of public affairs was derived from the study of the history of his country, on which he lectured to his pupils in the spirit of a Polybius or a Tacitus¹.

From Hemsterhuys we turn to the scholar who completed his *Lucian*. Johann Friedrich Reitz (1695—1778), born at the Castle of Braunfels on the Lahn, and educated at Siegen and at Wesel on the lower Rhine, studied at Utrecht, to which he returned after holding a mastership at Rotterdam. He there became headmaster of the local School, and ultimately, for thirty years, professor of History and Eloquence in the University (1748—78). His treatise on ambiguous words and phrases (1736), his edition of Maittaire's *Greek Dialects* (1738), and his successful completion, in 1742, of the great edition of Lucian begun by Hemsterhuys, were all prior to his appointment as professor. The lexicon to Lucian in the fourth volume of this edition was the work of his brother, Karl Conrad Reitz (1708—1773), afterwards professor at Harderwyk.

Among those who came under the immediate influence of Hemsterhuys was the Westphalian, Peter Wesseling (1692—1764), who, after completing his early education in the schools of his native land, became a student at Leyden and at Franeker. After holding scholastic appointments elsewhere, he was for twelve years professor of 'Eloquence' at Franeker, and, for twenty-nine, professor of History and Greek at Utrecht. He is best known as the learned editor of Diodorus (1746) and Herodotus (1763). In his wide erudition he was the true pupil of Jacob Gronovius, under whom he had worked at

¹ Ruhnken's *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, ed. 1768, 1789; ed. Frey, Teubner, 1875; annotated ed. Bergman, with Bentley's two *Letters*, and Wyttenbach's 'Life of Ruhnken,' Leyden, 1824. Cp., in general, L. Müller, 74—82.

Leyden; but, in systematical and methodical study, he owed much to Hemsterhuys, having been admitted into his intimate friendship immediately on his own appointment at Franeker. From Hemsterhuys he learnt that no erudition, however varied and copious, was of any real avail without criticism¹. His learned edition of Herodotus owed much to the grammatical and critical element supplied by Valckenaer, the pupil of Hemsterhuys².

It could only have been as a boy of eight or nine that Jacques Philippe D'Orville (1696—1751) came under the notice of Hemsterhuys at Amsterdam (1704). He had originally looked forward to a mercantile career, but eventually he studied law at Leyden, where he made the acquaintance of Burman. He travelled from 1723 to 1729; from 1730 to 1742 he was a professor at Amsterdam, where he continued to live for nine years after resigning his professorship. His ample means and his extensive travels in early life had enabled him to collect a considerable amount of new material in the province of scholarship and of archaeology. His earliest work was a scathing denunciation of the demerits of that arrogant scholar of Utrecht, Jan Cornelis de Pauw³. This was followed by his edition of Chariton in two quarto volumes (1750), founded on a bad copy of a MS of that author, and marked by a want of clearness and precision, and by the intrusion of much irrelevant matter. This last defect may be ascribed to the influence of Burman⁴. The twelve volumes of *Miscellaneae Observationes Criticae* (1732—51), begun by Burman, were continued by D'Orville, whose greatest work, that on *Sicily*, in two folio volumes, was edited by Burman's nephew in 1762—4.

The last of the great Latinists of the third age of scholarship in the Netherlands is Franz van Oudendorp (1696—1761), a student of Leyden, who, for the last twenty-one years of his life, was professor of 'Eloquence' and History at Leyden. During all that time he was the Latin colleague of Hemsterhuys, whose influence led to the appointment of Ruhnken as the successor of Oudendorp. 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; his notes on Cicero's *Letters*, by Liebmann (1834—9), and his *Epistolae Criticae*, by Hand (1850).

¹ Ruhnken, *El. Hemst.* 60f.

² Wyttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkenii*, 85f.

³ *Critica Vannus in inanes J. C. Pavonis paleas*, 1737.

⁴ L. Müller, 75.

On the death of Oudendorp, the normal tradition of Latin scholarship might have been maintained at Leyden by the appointment of Pieter Burman II, instead of Ruhnken. Burman II (1714—1778), the nephew of the elder Burman, was born at Amsterdam, and studied at Leyden. In 1736 he became professor of 'Eloquence' and History at Franeker. In 1742 he was called to the Athenaeum of his native city, where he continued to teach until near the end of his life. His most important work was his edition of the Latin Anthology (1759-73). His *Propertius* was completed by Santen (1780). His edition of the *Ad Herennium* and *De Inventione* was twice reprinted. He also edited Aristophanes with the notes of Bergler, and Claudian with those of the elder Burman. He was only in a secondary sense a pupil of Duker and Drakenborch; he was primarily a pupil of the elder Burman, to whom he was superior in his intellectual attainments, and especially in his knowledge of Greek. He was devoted to his uncle's memory, and scholars who were silent on the merits of the elder Burman were subject to the suspicion and even the vituperation of the nephew¹. He has been eulogised as a stimulating teacher², and as an excellent Latin poet³.

At Franeker Johannes Schrader (1722-83), a pupil of Burman II, and of Hemsterhuys and Valckenaer, was professor of 'Eloquence' and History for the last thirty-five years of his life. His *Musaeus*, published at the age of twenty, and reprinted in the following century, was inspired by the influence of Hemsterhuys. His *Observationes* and *Emendationes* and his *Epistola Critica* in Part II of Burman's Latin Anthology give proof of a skill in emendation not unworthy of N. Heinsius, combined with a higher degree of judgement. He exhibits a sound knowledge of metre, and, in the preface to his *Emendationes*, gives a long list of the metrical blunders of some notable scholars⁴. His Latin poems include a spirited set of

¹ L. Müller, 56.

² Santen in Pref. to his ed. of Burman II's *Propertius*, and D. J. van Lennep's *Laudatio H. Boschii*, viii (ib. 98 n). His feuds with Saxe and Klotz are recounted by G. C. Harless, *De Vitis Philologorum*, i 95-234; cp. Saxe, *Onomasticon*, vi 533-5; Bursian, i 446.

³ Peerlkamp, 512-5.

⁴ pp. 30 f.

elegiacs written in defence of the university of Franeker (1773)¹. He was an excellent teacher and had many pupils².

Greek scholarship was meanwhile ably represented by Lodewyk Kaspar Valckenaer (1715—1785), who was born at Leeuwarden and was educated there, and also at Franeker and Leyden. At Franeker he was a pupil of Hemsterhuys, whom he twice succeeded as professor of Greek, first at Franeker (1741—66), and afterwards at Leyden (1766—85). He had previously produced an edition of Annonius, *De Differentia Adfinium Vocabulorum*. As professor at Franeker, he edited *Iliad* xxii, with *scholia* (1747), and in the same year brought out a new edition of Fulvio Orsini's *Virgilius illustratus*. 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 *Diatrise* on the Fragments (1768). This was followed by his edition of *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus*. His *Fragments of Callimachus*, and his treatise on the Alexandrian impostor, the Jew Aristobulus, were published after his death by Luzac. He was mainly devoted to the study of the Greek poets, but his familiarity with the Latin poets is proved by his preface to the *Virgilius illustratus*. He was also specially familiar with hellenistic Greek³.

The 'Greek triumvirate' of the Netherlands comprises the names of Hemsterhuys, Valckenaer, and Ruhnken. David Ruhnken, or Ruhnkenius, commonly called Ruhnken (1723—98), was a native of Northern Pomerania, who, after being a schoolfellow of Kant at Königsberg, went to study for two years at Wittenberg under the Latin scholar, J. W. von Berger, and the historian, J. D. Ritter. He completed his course at Wittenberg by writing a dissertation on Gallia Placidia (1743). Finding from his professors that an accurate knowledge of Greek hardly existed except in the Netherlands, he followed the advice of Ernesti, who urged him not to resort to the teaching of J. M. Gesner, at Göttingen, but to betake himself to Hemsterhuys at

¹ Peerlkamp, 518 f.

² L. Müller, 99 f.

³ Cp. Wyttenbach's *Vita Ruhnkenii*, 175—181 etc. ed. Bergman; J. T. Bergman's *Memoria* (Utrecht, 1871); L. Müller, 82 f.; and Wilamowitz, *Eur. Heracles* i 231 f, 'Er übertraf an Wucht der Gelehrsamkeit alle Zeitgenossen'.

Leyden. Against the wishes of his parents, he left for the Netherlands. He was delighted with the dignity and courtesy with which he was received by Hemsterhuys¹, who thenceforth became his sole model and example, and whose portrait he afterwards drew as that of the ideal critic. Ruhnken began with Greek, and read through all the Greek and Latin Classics in chronological order. In Greek he used the Greek lexicographers themselves, with Stephens' *Thesaurus*, and an interleaved copy of Scapula; in Latin, an interleaved Faber. 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, who had been led to undertake an edition of Hesychius, owing to his interest in the 'sacred glosses'. With a view to qualifying for a professorship in law, he prepared a dissertation on the Greek Commentators on the Digest (1752). His next work was his edition of the *Platonic Lexicon of Timaeus*, from a ms (in the Coislin library), a specimen of which had been printed by Montfaucon. The transcript used by Ruhnken was made by Jean Capperonnier through the kind offices of Dr Henry Gally, Canon of Norwich, whom Ruhnken had met while he accompanied Alberti to Spa. Its publication, with the learned notes of Ruhnken, drew the attention of scholars to the *literary* interest of Plato. Wytttenbach and Brunck agreed in considering this volume as at once the briefest and the most learned work that had been published in connexion with Greek².

Ruhnken had now been for ten years at Leyden. Ritter, Berger, and Ernesti were eager that he should become a professor in Germany, but nothing would induce him to leave the Netherlands. He enjoyed taking an occasional private tutorship in or near Leyden, which would allow of a certain amount of leisure for travelling and visiting foreign libraries. 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. In Paris, besides enjoying the intellectual life of the place, he became acquainted with two English scholars, Musgrave and Tyrwhitt³, while the circle of his

¹ Wytttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkenii*.

² 1754; Wytttenbach, 59.

³ *ib.* 71.



H. Pothoven del. 1791. Oehlme & Müller del. Brunsv. 1827. P. H. Jonxis sculp. 1792.

*Viro Summo,
Jo. Aug. Ernesti
Dac. Ruhnkenius S. P. D.*

RUHNKEN.

From a portrait by H. Pothoven (1791), engraved by P. H. Jonxis (1792),
and lithographed by Oehlme and Müller (Brunsv. 1827).

French friends included Villoison, Larcher, and Sainte-Croix. Hemsterhuys, however, advised him not to remain abroad too long. On 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. His inaugural oration *De Doctore Umbratico*, interesting in itself as showing by contrast the professor's own ideal of the true scholar, gave offence to certain pedants, and especially to certain head-masters, who assumed that the portrait was meant for themselves. Accordingly, when their pupils left them for Leyden, they suggested that it was unnecessary for them to attend the lectures of the Latin professor. Any foreigner holding a public position in Holland was regarded with a jealous eye, and Burman II and Schrader may well have thought that they had a better claim to the Latin Chair. On his appointment, Ruhnken 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*¹. He was content with a comparatively small class,—a class larger, however, than that of J. F. Gronovius, who in the palmy days of Leyden sometimes had scarcely ten pupils. He declined the Chair vacated by Gesner at Göttingen, and recommended the appointment of Heyne (1763). 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 Græcorum* (1768). He also edited Velleius Paterculus and Cornelius Nepos. 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 a quotation by Joannes Siceliotus² led him to identify as that of Cassius Longinus³. In this connexion he wrote a treatise *De Vita et*

¹ Cp. his *Dictata* in Ter., Sueton., and Ovid's *Heroides*.

² *Rhetores Gr.* ed. Walz, vi 119 (cp. v 451, ix p. xxiii).

³ *Rhetores Gr.* ed. Spengel, i 310, 10—15.

Scriptis Longini (1776), which Wyttenbach 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). In 1784 he began his complete edition of *Muretus*, whom he regarded as an admirable model of modern Latin. In the same year he had a welcome visit from Thomas Burgess, the editor of five Greek plays and the future bishop of Salisbury², and, two years later, he saw much of Spalding, the future Editor of Quintilian. Among the latest works on which he was engaged was an edition of certain *scholia* on Plato, with a revision of the Latin lexicon of Scheller. 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 afterwards, while his mind was wandering during an illness that proved fatal, he was heard to murmur broken snatches of Greek and Latin, till, as he slumbered, 'at last Sleep laid him with her brother, Death'. Thus, 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, Wyttenbach, whose *Life* of his master is practically a survey of the History of Scholarship during this age. Ruhnken himself is there described 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 chase³.

¹ *Vita*, 169 f.

² p. 431 *supra*.

³ *Vita* (L. B. 1799; ed. Bergman, *ib.* 1824; ed. Frotcher, Friberg, 1846). *Opuscula*, 2 vols, ed. 2 (1823); *Orationes, Dissertationes et Epistolae*, W. Friedemann, Bruns., 1828; *Epp. ad Wyttenbach.*, ed. Mahne (Altona, 1834); *Select Epp.* etc. in H. H. Wolf's *Eclogae Latinae*, 140-191 (1883). Cp. L. Müller, 84-88, 101 f; and H. Petrich, in *Z. f. Gymn.* xxxiv (1880) 81-111.

Before turning to Wytttenbach, the pupil and biographer and successor of Ruhnken, we may briefly notice a few minor scholars, who, in the date of their birth, fall between the two great scholars already mentioned.

Johann Pierson (1731—1759), a pupil of Valckenaer and Schrader at Franeker, and of Hemsterhuys at Leyden (1751), and for four brief years Rector of the school at Leeuwarden (1755—9), Pierson published his *Verisimilia* in 1752, and his edition of the lexicon of Moeris four years later.

Gisbert Koen (1736—1767), a native of Breda, studied at Franeker and Leyden. After holding several head-masterships, he became professor of Greek at Franeker in the last year of his life. Koen It was during the same year that his edition of Gregorius Corinthius was published at Leyden.

Laurens van Santen of Amsterdam (1746—1798) studied under Burman II at Leyden, where he became Curator of the university. Santen He completed Burman's edition of Propertius and edited Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, with Valckenaer's notes. His own edition of Terentianus Maurus was completed by J. D. van Lennep (1825). His collections for an edition of Catullus are preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. He was in good repute as a Latin poet¹.

Jean Luzac (1746—1807), the pupil and the son-in-law of Valckenaer, studied law at Leyden, practised as a barrister at the Hague, and succeeded Valckenaer as professor of Greek from 1785 to 1796, and again from 1802 to 1807. In this last year, he was one of the many victims of a fatal explosion of a cargo of gunpowder on board a barge in Leyden². Besides editing Valckenaer's *Fragments of Callimachus* (1799) and his Diatribe on Aristobulus (1806), he was prompted doubtless by his father-in-law's edition of the *Hippolytus* to include many criticisms on that play in his *Exercitationes Academicæ* (1792—3). He also contributed to his pupil Janus Otto Sluiter's *Lectiones Andocidææ* (1804). He appears in the light of a lawyer rather than a scholar in his *Lectiones Atticæ*, edited after his death by Sluiter, a professor of Greek and Roman literature at Deventer, who died in 1815. In the first of the two periods of his professorship, Luzac was overshadowed by Ruhnken, and in the second by Wytttenbach³.

Daniel Wytttenbach (1746—1820), who was born at Bern, was educated at Marburg, and studied for a time at the universities of Marburg and Göttingen. Just as Ruhnken left Wittenberg and neglected Göttingen, to become a pupil of Hemsterhuys at Leyden, so Wytttenbach abandoned Göttingen in 1770 to live at Leyden for one memorable year

¹ Peerlkamp, 512—5. Cp. L. Müller, 177, 186, 214.

² Cp. Mahne's *Wytttenbach*, 153—9³.

³ L. Müller, 92 f.



WYTTENBACH.

From a photograph of the portrait in the *Aula* of the University of Leyden.

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). For the last four years of his life, he withdrew to a country-house in the neighbourhood. He had lost his sight for some time before his death in 1820.

His early studies at Göttingen are represented by his *Epistola Critica* on passages in Julian, Eunapius, and Aristaenetus (1769)¹. It was addressed to Ruhnken. Wytttenbach had been reading Xenophon, and was beginning Plato, when a friend, finding that Ruhnken's edition of the *Platonic Lexicon of Timaeus* had nothing to do with the Platonic dialogue of that name, handed over his copy to Wytttenbach. The latter was soon lost in admiration of its editor, who thus became to him *novae veluti vitae auctor*². Heyne, who owed his own professorship at Göttingen to the good-will of Ruhnken, gave Wytttenbach an introduction to the great scholar of Leyden. On entering that university, 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. The successive instalments of 'copy' were sent to the Press through the British Minister at the Hague; the first arrived safely in 1794; in 1798 (when Holland was at war with England) the next was despatched in a box protected with pitch from the perils of the sea, and was mislaid at the Hague for two years and a half; during all this time the editor was anxiously uncertain as to its fate³.

On the death of Ruhnken, Wytttenbach became the most influential scholar in the Netherlands. His influence was maintained and extended by the articles which he wrote for two

¹ This *Epistola*, with notes, on Julian's Eulogy of Constantius, was reprinted by G. H. Schaefer (1802).

² Wytttenbach, *Vita R.* 148.

³ Mahne's *Wytttenbach*, 142-5².

Classical Reviews in succession:—(1) the *Bibliotheca Critica* (1777—1809), to which he was the principal contributor; and (2) the *Philomathia* (1809—17), written entirely by himself. His contributions were, however, not unfrequently distinguished more for the elegance of their Latinity than for precise and thorough treatment of the work reviewed. Both of these periodicals give abundant proof of the friendly relations between scholars in the Netherlands and in England¹.

While Wytttenbach was still at Amsterdam, he had proved his aptitude for attracting promising students, such as Hieronymus de Bosch (1740—1811), the editor of the Greek Anthology, Nieuwland (1764—94), the author of a treatise on Musonius Rufus, and D. J. van Lennep (1774—1853), the editor of Hesiod, who, together with de Bosch, followed him to Leyden. At Leyden his influence was still greater. His pupils there included Alexander Basse (d. 1844), and Philip Willem van Heusde (1778—1839). All of them were formed on his own model, and, in their devotion to Greek Philosophy and to Cicero, became 'miniature Wytttenbachs'. It was an exception when their work, as in the case of van Heusde's *Specimen Criticum in Platonem*, was concerned with emendation and interpretation. Wytttenbach himself, who began with an unbounded admiration for the critical works of Ruhnken and Valckenaer, an admiration expressed in the *Epistola Critica* of his time at Göttingen, 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 commentary, 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. Even his conclusive proof of the spuriousness of the 'Plutarchic' treatise, *De Educatione Puerorum*,

¹ Chr. Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicæ*, 93—6.

is inferior to Valckenaer's masterly exposure of the impostor Aristobulus.

But his departure from Ruhnken's critical method was less pronounced than his breach with the old Latin traditions of the Netherlands. The unanimous voice of his scholarly contemporaries assures us that he had little taste for modern Latin poetry, and, although this is not so grave a crime as it might have seemed in the eyes of the pupils of Burman II and of Schrader, Lucian Müller demurs to the dictum of Peerlkamp, that Wyttenbach is entitled to the gratitude of the scholars of the Netherlands for 'suppressing the perverse study of Latin versification'. Such gratitude would only be in place, if he had transformed this 'perverse study' into one that was sane and rational. This he was neither able nor willing to do, and the 'suppression' of Latin verse in the Netherlands has been accompanied by a decline in Latin scholarship. He was more interested in the Greek poets, but, strange to say, he does not apply that interest to the numerous poetic passages imbedded in the prose of Plutarch. In fact, he does not always detect their existence. 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. He also helped to oppose the introduction of the modern Kantian philosophy into Holland¹. 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 Wolf².

¹ L. Müller, 91—96.

² On Wyttenbach, cp. Mahne's *Vita*, Ghent, 1823; ed. Friedemann (with *Epp. ineditae*), Braunschweig, 1825; *Selectae Epp.*, ed. Kraft (Altona, 1834); *Opuscula* (Leyden, 1821); *Epp. sex ineditae* (Marburg, 1839); also Pattison's *Casaubon*, 423, 439, 449³; *Praecepta philosophiae logicae* (Halle, 1820).

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*¹ 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 Forcellini². In France, the study of Greek was well represented, in the early part of the century, by Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*³, and, towards its close, by Villoison's *Venetian Scholia*⁴—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'⁵, 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 literature, the artificial Latin hitherto in fashion was a less adequate medium than the vigorous use of the mother-tongue⁶. 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 Greek⁷, and thus ultimately achieved so great a reputation that Ruhnken left Germany to learn Greek at Leyden⁸, just as, in the next generation, Wyttenbach went to learn Greek from Ruhnken⁹. Lastly, we may recall the influence exerted in Germany by Robert Wood's *Essay*¹⁰, which inspired Heyne with a new interest in Homer, and supplied Wolf with part of the materials for his *Prolegomena*. Our survey of the eighteenth century in Germany is reserved for the first two chapters in the next volume.

¹ p. 379.² p. 375.³ p. 387.⁴ p. 397 *supra*; iii 56, 58 *infra*.⁵ p. 403.⁶ Cp. Wilamowitz, in Lexis, *Die Reform des höheren Schulwesens* (1902),

174.

⁷ p. 449.⁸ p. 456.⁹ p. 461.¹⁰ p. 432 *supra*; iii 41, 55 *infra*.

INDEX

- Aberleem, 249
 Academy, French, 290 f; Academy of Inscriptions, 297 f, 436; Italian Academies, 380; Florence, 81-89; Naples, 89; Rome, 90-93; Venice (Aldine) 98
 Achery, Luc d', 295
 Achilles Tattius, *ed. pr.* (Heidelb. 1601); *ed. Salmasius* (1640), 309
 Achillini, Alessandro, 111
 Acidalius, Valens, 273
 Adam, Alexander, 435
 Adamantius, 35
 'Adams', 'Parson', 415
 Addison, 281, 410
 Adrian VI, 122, 137
 Adrianus, Marcellus Virgilius, 135 n. 5
 Aegius, Ben., 105
 Aeschines, trans. by Bruni, 46; *ed. pr.* in *Rhetores Graeci* (Ven. 1513), 104; *ed. H. Wolf* (Bas. 1572); Taylor (Camb. 1748-69), 414
 Aeschines Socraticus, *ed. Le Clerc*, 441
 Aeschylus, Laur. MS, 36 f; *ed. pr.* 6 plays (Ven. 1518), 105; 7 plays (Ven. 1552), 105; with *Agam.* 323-1050 (Par. 1557), 105, 138, 176; *ed. Robortelli* (1552), 141, 143; Turnebus (1552), 186; Dorat, *P. V.* (1549), 187; Canter (1580), 216; Stanley (1663), 351; Heath (1762), 417; Porson (1795), 427
 Aesop, transl. Valla, 69; Milan *ed.* (c. 1478), 97, 104; transl. by Faërnus (1564), 148; Bentley on, 403-5
 Aetna, 441
 Agatharchides, 272
 Agincourt, J. B. L. G. Seroux d', 393
 Agostino, Antonio, 160; 154, 162
 Agrippa, (1) Cornelius, 183; (2) Rudolphus, 253; 62, 127, 211, 258
 Ailly, Pierre d', 166
 Ainsworth, Robert, 415
 Alberti, (1) Leo Battista, 33, 61, 82; (2) Johann, 446, 457, 459
 Albinovanus, 441
 Alciati, Andrea, 147, 160, 193
 Aldrovandi, Ulisse, 154
 Aleander, Hieronymus (Girolamo Aleandro), 169
 Alexander, (1) of Aphrodisias 104, 109 f, 111; Gaza's transl. of his *Problems*, 62 n.; (2) Alexander VI, 90, 107, 115
 Alfonso, the Magnanimous (1383-1458), king of Aragon and Sicily (1416-58), and king of Naples (1442-58), 45, 62, 66, 69, 89
 Allatius, Leo (Leone Allacci), 361
 Alvarez (Alvarus), Emanuel, 163
 Amaduzzi, Giovanni Cristoforo, 384
 Amaltheus, Joannes Baptista, 114
 Amantius, Bartholomaeus, 260
 Ammianus Marcellinus, MS discovered by Poggio, 29 f; *ed. pr.* Rome (1474), (2) Augsburg (1533), 103; *ed. Gelenius*, Bas. (1533), 265; Valesius (1636), 287
 Ammonius (1500, 1503), 104; Valckenaeer (1739), 456
 Amyot, Jacques, 195 f; 197, 242
 Anacreon, *ed. pr.* (Par. 1554), 176; 105
Analecta, Brunck's, 395
 Anapaestic system, *synapsis* of the, 402
 Ancients and moderns, controversy on the, 403
 Ancona, Ciriaco de' Pizzicollì d' (Cyrriacus Anconitanus), 39 f
Ancyranum, *Adon.*, 305
 Andrews, St, 247 f
 Andronicus Rhodius, *ed. pr.* (Augs. 1594), 105
 Annus Viterbiensis, Joannes (Giovanni Nanni), 154 n. 3
Anthologia Graeca (1) *Planudes*, *ed.*

- pr.* (Flor. 1494), 79, 97, 104; 330; Chalcondyles' MS, 64; trans. Politian, 85, Grotius, 317f; (2) *Palatina*, 285, 361
- Anthologia Latina*, 35, 454
- Antiquité Expliquée* (Montfaucon's), 387
- Antonius (1) Liberalis, *ed. pr.* (Bas. 1568), 105; (2) Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli), 89
- Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d', 391
- Apianus (Bennewitz or Bienewitz), Petrus, 260
- Apicius, MS, 35; *ed. pr.* (Milan, 1498), 103
- Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1555), 105
- Apollonius, (1) grammarian, 270; (2) lexicographer, 398; (3) mathematician, 252; (4) paradoxographer, *ed. pr.* (1568), 105; (5) poet, A. Rhodius, Laur. MS, 36f; *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1496), 79, 97, 104; *ed. Shaw*, 419; Brunck, 395
- Apostolius, Michael, 75f
- Appian, 70, 272; *ed. pr.* (R. Stephanus (Par. 1551), 105, 175
- Apsines, 459
- Apuleius, *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1469), 97, 103; *ed. Wowerius*, 306; Oudendorp, 454; Acidalius on, 273; *De Deo Socratis*, *ed. Mercier*, 210
- Aquinas, Thomas, 109f
- Aratus, *ed. pr.* in *Astronomici Veteres* (Ven. 1499), 104; studied by Victorius, 137; *ed. Grotius* (L. B. 1600); Bandini (1765), 379
- Archaeology, classical, 38-40; 121, 145, 153f, 160f, 279f, 299, 327, 331, 334, 380-384, 393f, 431f, 434
- Archimedes, *ed. pr.* (Bas. 1544), 105; Latin *ed.*, Barrow, 349
- Arctaeus, *ed. pr.* (Par. 1554), 105
- Argyropulos, Joannes, 63; 75f, 83, 221, 257, 274
- Ariosto, 156
- Aristaenetus, *ed. pr.* (Ant. 1566), 105; *ed. Mercier*, 210
- Aristides, *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1517), 105
- Aristobulus, 456
- Aristophanes, *ed. pr.*, 9 plays (Ven. 1498), 79, 98, 104; *Thesm. Lys.* (Flor. 1516 N.S.), 104; 11 plays (Bas. 1532), 105; Bentley on, 408; Porson on, 429; *ed. Brunck*, 395; Küster, 446; Bergler, 455; Hemsterhuys (*Plutus*), 450
- Aristotle, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1495-8), 98, 104; *ed. Erasmus* (1531), 131; Casaubon (1590), 208; Syllburg (1584-7), 270; *Hist. Anim.* and *Mech. Probl.* transl. by Gaza, 62; *De Caelo*, 165, 274; *De Gen. et Corr.* transl., 76; *Ethics* transl. by Manetti, 45; *Oec., Eth., Pol.* by Bruni, 46, 221; *Eth., Pol., Oec., De An., De Caelo*, by Argyropulos, 63; *Rhet.* (1381), *Poët.* (141), *Pol., Eth.* (138), *ed. Victorius*, 137; *Eth., Oec., Top.*, Muretus on, 149f; *Met.* transl. by Bessarion, 61; paraphr. by Flaminio, 119; *Poët. ed. pr.* in *Rhetores Graeci* (1513), 98, 104, 133; *ed. Robortelli*, 141, 143; 188, 291, 313, 392, 419; Fracastoro on, 119; its influence in Italy, 133-5; definition of tragedy, 348; *Rhetoric, ed. pr.* (in *Rhetores Graeci*), 98, 104; *Rhet.* and *Probl.* transl. by Trapezuntius, 63; *Rhet.* by Sigonius, 143, and Majoragius, 146; *Rhet. i, ii* transl. by Muretus, 150; *Politics*, Machiavelli, 89; 158, 165; *ed. Conring*, 368. Mediaeval study of, 247; Petrarch's attitude towards, 10; Boccaccio's knowledge of, 15; controversy on Aristotle and Plato, 60, 71, 74f; Italian study of Aristotle, 109-112; Politian on, 84; Ramus on, 133f; the elder Scaliger on, 135; Patrizzi on, 152f; Aristotelians of Padua, 10, 109f; Aristotelians attacked by Valla, 67; Aristotelian influence in England, 314; Bacon and Aristotle, 338f
- Aristoxenus, *ed. pr.* (L. B. 1616), 311; Meibom in *Musici Scriptores* (1652), 327
- Arlenius, Arnoldus (Paraxylus), 105, 265 n. 1
- 'Arretinus', 'Joannes', 26
- Arrian, *Anabasis*, transl. by Vergerio, 49; *Anabasis* and *Indica, ed. pr.* (Ven. 1535), 105; Gerbel (Strassb. 1539); H. Stephanus (Par. 1575); J. Gronovius (L. B. 1704); *Cyngeticus, ed. pr.*, Holstenius (Par. 1644), 364
- Arsilli, Francesco, 120
- Aruales, Fratres*, 382
- Ascham, Roger, 234-6; 231f, 238, 267f, 269, 339

- Ascoli, Enoch d', 33, 35
 Asconius, 28, 162
 Askew, Anthony, 416
 Aspasius on Aristotle, 10
 aspicrate, Latin and Greek, 84
Astronomici Veteres, ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1499), 104
 Athenaeus, ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1514), 79, 98, 104; ed. Basil. 1535; Casaubon (1597), 209; Schweighäuser (1801-7), 396
 Athens, Antiquities of, 432; the Parthenon, 299, 394
 Athos MSS, 37
 Augsburg MSS, 268, 272, 296
 Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, ed. *pr.* (Subiaco, 1467), 103
 Auratus (Dorat), 186 n. 4, 190
 Aurelius, Marcus, ed. *pr.* (Zürich, 1558), 105
 Aurispa, Joannes, 34, 36 f
 Ausonius, studied by Petrarch, 6; MS discovered by Boccaccio, 13; ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1472), 103; Politian on, 84; ed. J. A. Ferrarius (Milan, 1490); Ugoletus (Parma, 1499); Phil. Junta (Flor. 1519); *Ausoniarum Lectionum l. ii*, Scaliger (1574), 201; Variorum ed., Tollius (Amst. 1671)
 Averroës, 109, 111
- Babrius, 405, 419
 Bacon, Francis, 338 f
 Baif, Lazare de, 194
 Baldini, 134
 Balzac (1594-1654), 139, 314, 326
 Bandini, Angelo Maria, 379
 Banduri, Anselmo, 390
 (1) Barbaro, Francesco, 52; 26, 30, 33, 83; (2) Barbarus, Hermolaus, 83; 34, 114, 226, 254, 257
 Barbosa, Arias, 157, 162
 Barclay, John, 341
 Barlaam of Seminara, 8, 15
 Barnes, Joshua, 357 f; 405
 Baronius, Cardinal Caesar, 154, 207
 Barrow, Isaac, 350
 Barth, Caspar von, 363
 Barthélemy, Jean Jacques, 3, 392 f
 Bartoli, Pietro Santo, 280, 391
 Barzizza, Gasparino da (Gasparinus Barzizius), 23; 27, 31, 48, 55, 167 f
 Basel, Council of, 34; Erasmus at, 129; univ., 262; printing presses, 262
- Basil, St, 45, 158, 316
 Basse, Alexander, 464
 Bast, Friedrich Jacob, 397
 Bateson, William Henry, 422
Batrachomyomachia, transl. in Latin verse by Marsuppini, 47; ed. (c. 1474), 102; (1486), 97, 104
 Baudius, Dominicus, 306
 Baune, Jacques de la, 292
 Baxter, William, 356
 Bayer, Francesco Perez, 162
 Beaufort (Cardinal), Henry, 220
 Bebel, Heinrich, 261
 Beccadelli, Antonio (Antonius Panormita), 89
 Beccario, Antonio, 221
 Becchi, Gentile de', bp of Arezzo, 64
 Beger (Boeger), Lorenz (Daphnaeus Arcuarius), 368
 Bellay, Jean du, 182; Guillaume du, 183; Joachim du, 148 f, 188
 Bellenden, William, 422
 Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, 279
 Bembo, Pietro, 112-115; 118, 121, 123; pupil of Const. Lascaris, 77, 112; 91, 93; 111; portrait, 106; his son Bernardo, 282
 Bene, Bartolomeo del, 282
 Benedictines of Saint-Maur, 389
 Beni, Paolo, 135
 Bentley, Richard, 401-410; 370; portrait, 400 (cp. 408); ed. Horace, 406, 424, 445; Lucan, 407; Manilius, 408; Milton, 415; Phaedrus, 407, 409; Philemon and Menander, 406, 442; Terence, 407. Bentley on Aesop, 403, 405; Aristophanes, 408; the *digamma*, 407 f; Euripides, *Epp.*, 404; Greek inscr., 406; Homer, 407 f, 429, *Journal of Philol.* xiii. 122-163; Lucretius, 407; Malalas, 410 f; Nicander, 407; Phalaris, *Epp.*, 403-5; Philostratus, in Olearius ed. (1709); Socrates, *Epp.*, 404; *Synapsis*, 402; The mistocles, *Epp.*, 404. Bentley on Barnes, 358; Boyle, 404; Castelvetro, 134; Madame Dacier, 292 n. 2; J. F. Gronovius, 321; Jakob Gronovius, 320; D. Heinsius, 314; Huet, 292; Pearson, 351; Pope, 410 f; Scaliger, 203, 292; Stanley, 352; Temple, 403; Wasse, 412; the Vossian MSS, 322 f; the three Heavenly Witnesses, 425. Bentley's relations to Burman, 409, 442; Graevius, 328, 402, 408; Hem-

- sterhuys, 408, 449; R. Johnson, 406; Ker, 406; Kuster, 408, 446; Le Clerc, 441-3; Spanheim, 402; 327 n. 3. Evelyn and Pepys on Bentley, 405; Pope, 407 f; Porson, 405, 427; Ruhnken, 402; Tyrwhitt, 405; Valckenaeer, 402. J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 135-9, 421-436
- Benvenuto on Dante, 13
- Berauld, Nicolas, 173 n. 2
- Bergler, Stephan, 448 f
- Bernard, Johann Stephan, 451
- Bern MSS, 192
- Bernegger, Matthias, 367
- Beroaldo, Filippo, (1) 86 f, 91; (2) 91, 103, 108
- Bersuire, Pierre, 165, 194
- Bessarion, 61; 37, 66, 71, 74 f, 77 f
- Beza, Theodorus, 180, 181, 205
- Bibliena, Cardinal, 156
- Biblia Sacra Graeca (1518), 105
- Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* (Montfaucon's), 387
- Bion, Moschus etc., *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1496 N.S.), 104; Bion, Moschus, *ed. Mekerch* (Bruges 1565), 105. Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, *ed. H. Stephanus* (1579); Wakefield (1795)
- Biondo (Blondus), Flavio, 40 f; 32
- Bipontinae, editiones*, 396 f
- Blomfield, Charles James, 429; iii 400
- Bobbio, 35
- Boccaccio, Giovanni, 11-16; *περὶ γενεαλογίας Deorum*, 12, 16; *De Montium, Sybarum etc. nominibus*, 12, 16; *De Claris Mulieribus*, 12, 14; *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, 12; his study of Greek, 12, 15; his allegorical interpretations of ancient poets, 15; his study of the Latin poets, 12 f, and of Livy, 13, and Tacitus, 13, 32 f; his Latin prose, 12; his relations to Petrarch, 11 f; his influence on Chaucer, 219, and Lydgate, 220
- Bodin, Jean, 194
- Bodley, Sir Thomas, 335
- Boekler, Johann Heinrich, 367
- Boëthius, *De Phil. Cons., ed. pr.* (Savigliano, c. 1470), 103
- Boileau, Nicholas, 299
- Bois, John, 337
- Bois-le-Duc (Hertogenbosch), 127, 212
- Bologna, printing at, 97
- Bond, John (1530-1612), 445
- Bongars, Jacques, 192; 205
- Boninus, Euphrosynus, *ed. pr.* Xenophon (1516), Aristides (1517), 104 f
- Borrichius, Olaus (Olaf Claudii von Borch), 374
- Bos, Lambert, 446
- Bosch, Hieronymus (Jerome) de, 318 n. 4, 464
- Bossuet, J. B. le, 292, 296
- Bouhier (Buharius), Jean, 390
- Bourne, Vincent, 439
- Boyd, Mark Alexander, 249
- Boyle, the Hon. Charles, 404 f
- Bracciolini, Poggio (q.v.), 25-34; 38 f
- Brant, Sebastian, 256
- Brethren of the Common Life, 128, 211
- Brisson, Barnabé, 193
- Britannico, Giovanni, 87
- Brixius, Germanus, 173 n. 2
- Brodaeus (Brodeau), Jean, 265
- Brotier, Gabriel, 394
- Broukhusius, Janus (Jan van Broekhuizen), 329 f, 443, 448
- Browning's *Grammatician*, 228
- Brunck, Richard François Philipp, 395 f, 420, 457
- Bruni (Aretino) Leonardo, 45-47; 18, 19, 22, 27, 31, 33, 37, 40, 44, 47, 66, 221
- Bruyère, Jean de la, 290
- Buchanan, George, 243-6; 197, 249, 314, 412; portrait, 244
- Buda, 275
- Budaeus (Guillaume Budé), 170-173; 68, 78, 169, 177, 182, 196, 227; portrait, 164
- Bullock (Bovillus), Henry, 230 f
- Buonaccorsi, Filippo, 259, 276
- Buonamici, Francesco, on Ar. *Poet.*, 135
- Buonarroti, Philip, 341
- Burette, Pierre Jean, 390
- Burgess, Thomas, 431, 460
- Burke, Edmund, 433
- Burman, Pieter, (1) 443-5; 409, 442, 447, 452, 454; portrait, 444; (2) 455; 450, 459
- Burney, Charles, 429; 421
- Burton, (1) John. *Five Greek plays*, 431; (2) Robert, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 340
- Bury, Richard of, 109
- Busbequius (Aughar Ghislen Busbec), 305
- Busche (Buschius), Hermann von dem, 261

- Busleiden, Jerome, 212
 Bussi, Giovanni Andrea de', bp of
 Aleria, 54, 97; Joannes Andreas
 de Buxis, 103
 Butler, Samuel, 422 f; iii 398 f
 Byzantine historians, 268, 287, 289

 Caesar; his works studied by Petrarch,
 8, and Guarino, 50; *ed. pr.* (Rome,
 1469), 97, 103; *ed. Fra Giocondo*
 (1513), 42; Golding's transl. (1565),
 242; *ed. Jungermann* (1606); Grae-
 vius (1697), 328; Cellarius (1705);
 Davies (Camb. 1706, 1727), 412;
 Clarke (1712), 413; Oudendorp
 (1737), 454
 Caius, Dr John, 227
 Cajetan, Cardinal, 109
 Calcagninus, Coelius, 105; Celio
 Calcagnini, 116
 Calderinus, Dom., 103
 Callierges, Zacharias, 80, 104, 107, 108
 Callimachus, *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1495), 79,
 97, 104; transl. by Politian, 85;
 ed. Robortelli (1555), 141; Madame
 Dacier (1675), 292; Th. Graevius,
 Spanheim and Bentley (1697), 327,
 402; Ernesti (1761), 450; Bandini
 (1764), 379; Valckenaer (1799), 456
 Callistus, Andronicus, 37, 75 f, 83
 Callixtus III, 71, 90
 Calpurnius (and Ausonius), *ed. pr.*
 (Ven. 1472), 103.
 Calvi, Fabio, 121 f
 Calvin, Jean, 116, 182
 Calvisius (Kallwitz), Sethus, 203
 Calepinus, Amhrosius, 173, 373 f
 Cambridge, doctor's degree, symbols
 of, 407; Erasmus, 129, 230; office
 of Public Orator instituted, 231;
 controversy on Greek and Latin
 pronunciation, 232-4; study of
 Latin prose, 422; the Cambridge
 Platonists, 353; Cambridge prin-
 ters, Siberch, 227, University
 Press, 408, 427
 Colleges, 238 f; Christ's, 345, 353 f;
 Emmanuel, 357, 415, 421; Gon-
 ville and Caius, 359; Pembroke,
 351; Queens', 230; St John's,
 227, 232, 336, 352, 401, 414, 423,
 431; Sidney Sussex, 420; Trinity,
 338, 349 f, 355, 405, 425
 Camerarius, Joachim, 266 f; 261, 362
 Camers, (1) Guarino, 107 n. 3; (2)
 Johannes (Giovanni Ricuzzi Vel-
 leni of Camerino), 1448-1546, a
 Minorite who taught philosophy in
 Padua, and died in Venice
 Campanus (Giannantonio Campano),
 64 n. 2, 72, 103
 Cange, Charles du Fresne, Sieur du,
 289; 287, 295; portrait, 288
 Canisius, Cardinal Egidius, 122
 Canter, (1) Willem, 216 f; 105, 150,
 199, 214; (2) Theodor, *Var. Lect.*
 Antv. 1574
 Canterbury, Christ Church, 220, 225
 Capella, Martianus, *ed. pr.* (Vicenza,
 1499); Modena, 1500; Vienna,
 1516; Bas. 1577; *ed. Grotius*
 (L. B. 1599), 315
 Caper, Flavius, 29
 Capo d' Istria, Bart., 104
 Capperonnier, Claude, Jean (457),
 and Jean Augustin, 389
 Car, Nicholas, 339
 Caraffa, Cardinal, 115
 Carpi, Gk printers of, 98, 104
 Carrey, Jacques, 299
 Carteromachus (Scipione Fortiguerra),
 98, 104, 115
 Casaubon, (1) Isaac, 204-210; 105,
 161, 203 f, 304 f, 307, 335, 337,
 352, 362 f, 452; on Salmasius,
 285; portrait, 206; (2) Meric,
 210, 355
 Castelvetro, Lodovico, 134, 141, 188
 Castiglione, Baldassare, 93; 113, 114
 Cato, the Elder; Salutati, 17; Vic-
 torius, 137
 Catullus, rarely referred to by Pe-
 trarch, 6; known to Salutati, 17,
 and Guarino, 50; Catullus, Tibullus,
 Propertius and Statius, *Silvae, ed.*
 pr. (Ven. 1472), 84, 103; Catullus
 imitated by Bembo, 114 f; *ed.*
 Muretus (1554), 150; Scaliger
 (1577), 201; Passerat (1608), 191;
 Isaac Vossius (1624), 322 f; N.
 Heinsius on (1742), 325; Twining's
 transl. of *Phaselus*, 420
 Cavaleriis, Joannes Baptista de, 154
 Caylus, Anne Claude Philippe de
 Tubières, Comte de, 390 f
 Cebes, 309, 450
 Cellarius, Christoph, 369
 Celsus, Aurelius Cornelius, 34, 50,
 84; *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1478), 103
 Celtes or Celtis (Pickel), Conrad,
 259 f, 276
 Cenci de' Rustici, Agapito, 21
 Cennini, Bernardo, 97
 Censorinus, *ed. pr.* (place and date

- unknown), with Latin transl. of Cebes, Plutarch and Basil, *De Invidia et Odio*, and Basil, *De Vita Solitaria*; ed. 2 (Bol. 1497), with Cebes, Epictetus, Plutarch and Basil, *De Invidia et Odio*, etc.; ed. Vinetus (Pictav. 1568); Aldus Manutius (Ven. 1581); Carrio (Par. 1583); H. Lindembrog (Hamb. 1614) etc., 364; Havercamp (L. B. 1743)
- Cerda, Juan Luigi de la, 162
- Cerretti, Luigi, 282
- Ceva, Tommaso, 281
- Chacon, Pedro and Alfonso, 161
- Chalcedon, inscr. from, 406
- Chalcidius, 9, 311
- Chalcondyles, Demetrius, 64 f, 104, 110, 226; portrait, 58
- Chandler, Richard, 434; 432
- Chaplain, Jean, 314
- Chapman, George, 241 f; 237
- Charisius, 35
- Chariton, 454
- Charles V, 93, 122; (2) Charles V of France, *The Wise*, 165 f; (3) Charles VIII of France, 82, 108
- Chartres, 32
- Chastel, Pierre de, 173 n. 2
- Chatham, William Pitt, first Earl of, 433
- Chaucer, 219
- Cheke, Sir John, 231 f; 236; electrotypes of medallion portrait, ascribed to Cavino of Padua, presented to St John's Coll. Library, 1907
- Chess, Vida on, 177, 250
- Chialbrera, Gabriel, 281 f
- Chicheley, Reynold, 222
- Chigi, Agostino, 107
- Choiseul-Gouffier, Comte de, 394
- Chrestien (Christianus), Florent (1541-1596), tutor and librarian to Henri IV; ed. 'Empedocles' (1587), 105
- Christias*, Vida's, 117
- Christina, queen, 286, 293, 317, 322 f, 327; iii 339-342
- Chronicon Paschale*, 289
- Chrysostom, 283, 387; ed. Savile, 334, 352
- Ciacconius, Petrus and Alphonsus, 161
- Cicero, studied by Petrarch, 4, 6-8; *pro Archia* and *ad Atticum* discovered by Petrarch, 7; *ad Familiares* discovered by Salutati, 18; studied by Gasparino da Barzizza, 23; *pro Cluentio*, Roscio Amerino, Murena (25f), *pro Caecina, de lege agraria*, two speeches *pro Rabirio*, *pro Roscio comoedo* and *in Pisonem*, discovered by Poggio, 30; *De Or.*, *Brutus* and *Orator* discovered at Lodi by Landriani, 31, 53; *Brutus* copied by Biondo, 40
- Editiones principes*; *De Off.* (c. 1465), 103; *De Off.*, *Paradoxa* (1465), 103; *De Or.* (1465), 97, 103; *De Or.*, *Brutus*, *Orator* (1469), 97, 103; *ad Fam.* (1467), 103; *ad Att.* (1470), 103; *Rhetorica* (1470), 103; *Philippics* (1470), 73, 97, 103; *Orationes* (1471), 103; *Opera* (Milan, 1498-9), 103; *Rhet.* and *Brutus* (1514 f), 118
- Editors etc.; Erasmus, 131; Victorius, 137, 139; Paulus Manutius, 100f; Nizolius, 146; Orsini, 154; Lambinus, 190; Guilielmus, 273; Graevius, 328; Gruter, 359; Lagomarsini's collations, 378; Garatoni, 378; Olivetus, 390
- Ad Fam.*, chronology of, 84; Guarino's recension of *Speeches*, 50; palimpsest of *Verrine Speeches*, 73; *De Or.*, *Brutus*, *Or.* ed. Paulus Manutius, 100; Paulus Manutius on *pro Archia* and *ad Atticum*, 100. *Orator* and *De Or.* 1, Majoragius, 147; *Phil.*, *pro Fonteio*, *pro Flacco*, *in Pisonem*, Faërnus, 147; *in Cat.*, Muretus, 150; *post Reditum*, 413; *Epp.*, 454; *Epp. ad Brutum*, 413; *De Inv.*, Burman II, 455; *De Am.* and *De Sen.* transl. into Gk by Gaza, 62; *Academica*, J. A. Capperonnier, 389; *De Off.* attacked by Calcagnini, 116, 147; *Paradoxa* by Majoragius, 146 f; *Tusc. Disp.* imitated, 82; book i, ed. Muretus, 150; *De Differentiis*, 18; *Fragments* ed. Sigonius, 143; *Consolatio*, 144
- Ciceronianism, 85, 304 f; Bembo, 113 f; Sadoleto, 116; Longolius, 121 f; Erasmus on, 177; Muretus on, 150 f
- Cinna, 287
- Cintio, Giraldi, 134, 135
- Ciriaco de' Pizzicollì d' Ancona, Cyriacus Anconitanus, 39 f

- Clarke, Samuel, 413; 407
- Classical curriculum in the school of Vittorino, 53; survey of classical learning by Wowerius, 306; classical metres in English literature, 237
- Classics, influence of the, in Italian literature, 155 f
- Claudian, studied by Petrarch, 6; *ed. pr.* (Vicenza, 1482), 103; *ed.* Ugoletto (Parma, 1493); Joannes Camers (Vienna, 1510); Pulmannus (Ant. 1571), 216; Dempster (1607), 340; N. Heinsius (1650), 325; Barth (1650), 363; Burman (1714), 443; Burman II (1760), 455
- Clemanges, Nicolas de, 167
- Clemens Alexandrinus, 137, 270
- Clement VII, 108, 122, 137, 138; (2) Clement VIII, 153; (3) Vincent Clement, 221
- Clenardus (Cleynaerts), Nicolaus, 158, 239
- Clericus (Jean Le Clerc), 441 f
- Cluni, Poggio at, 25 f
- Cluverius (Philipp Klitwer), 313
- Cobet, C. G., 416; iii 282 f
- Colet, John, 128, 129, 229, 239
- Colin, Jean, 194
- Colocci, Angelo or Angiolo, 153; Angelus Collottius, 105
- Colonna, Girolamo (Hieronymus Columna), of Naples, 1534-1586, *Ennii... fragmenta* (Neap. 1590)
- Columella, 92 f; *ed. pr.* in *Scriptores de Re Rustica* (Ven. 1472), 103
- Coluthus, 379
- Combe, Charles, M.D., 424
- Comitia*, De Grouchy on, 144
- Commelin, Jérôme, 158
- Comparative Philology, birth of, 438
- Complutensian Polyglott, 105, 157
- Conring, Hermann, 368
- Constance, Council of, 19, 25, 49
- 'Constantine', 'Donation of', 66-68
- Constantinople, fall of, 73, 74
- Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, 161, 272
- Conti, Maria Antonio, 147
- Contoblacas, Andronicus, 256
- Cordier (Corderius), Maturin, 173
- Corfu MSS, 272
- Corippus, 340
- Corneille, 291, 341
- Corsini, Odoardo, 379
- Cortesi, Paolo, 85; Cortesius, 120
- Corvey, 33, 36
- Coryat on Latin pronunciation, 233
- Coryciana*, 120, n. 5
- Cowley, Abraham, 349
- Cowper, William, 439
- Crashaw, Richard, 281
- Cratander, Andreas (1532), 105, 262
- Creech, Thomas, 356
- Crete, immigrants from, 98
- Crévier, Jean Baptiste Louis, 436
- Crinitus, Petrus (Pietro Crinito), 154 n. 3
- Critica, Ars*, of Le Clerc, 441
- Criticism, Art of textual, Robortelli, 141 f
- Croke (Crocus), Richard, 231, 265 f
- Croll, George Christian, 397
- Cruquius (Jacob de Crusque), 217
- Crusius, Martin, 270
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, 19-21, 44 f, 49 f, 55, 97, 129, 220 f
- Cudworth, Ralph, 354
- Cujas (Cujacius), Jacques, 193; 192, 194, 201
- Cunningham, Alexander, 406
- Curtius, (1) Marcus, Sadoletto's poem on, 116; (2) Quintus, studied by Petrarch, 8; *ed. pr.* (Rome or Ven., c. 1471), 102, 103; 93; *ed.* Erasmus (1518 etc.); Du Perron on, 198; Acidalius on (1594), 273; Freinsheim (1640), 367; Loccenius, (1637); Cellarius (1688); Snakenburg (L. B. 1724)
- Cusanus, Nicolaus, 34
- Cuspinianus (Spieshammer), Johann, 260
- Cuyppers (Cuperus), Gisbert, 331
- 'Cyril and Philoxenus', 287, 289
- Dacier, (1) André, 291 f; (2) his wife Anna (Lefebvre), 139, 291 f
- Dalberg, Johann von, bp of Worms, 254, 259
- Dalecampius, Jacques Dalechamps (1513-1588), Latin transl. of Athenaeus (1583); *ed.* Plin. *N. H.* (1587); Seneca, *Phil. et Rhet.* (1627)
- Daniel, Pierre, 191 f
- Daniello, Bernardo, 133, 135
- Danès, Pierre, 181, 195
- Dante, Boccaccio on, 14; Landino on, 82
- Dares, 292; *ed. pr.* (Col. 1470); *ed.* Mercier (1618); Anne Dacier (1680), 292; Obrecht (Strassb. 1691)
- Darmarius, 161, 205
- Davies (Davisius), John, 412; 406,

- 442; J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 450-6
- Dawes, Richard, 415 f; 427, 431
- Dazzi, Andrea, 135 n. 5
- Decembrio, (1) Angelo, 50; (2) Pier(o) Candido, 70, 221; (3) Uberto, 70
- Delfini, Gentile, 153
- Delos, inscr. from, 406
- Delphin Classics, the, 292
- Delrio (Del 'Rio), Martin Anton, 217; 203
- Demetrius Cydonius, 19
- Demetrius, *De Elocutione*, ed. pr. in *Rhetores Graeci* (Ven. 1513), 104; ed. Victorius (1562), 137
- Demosthenes, Chrysoloras on, 21; MS, 268; transl. by Bruni, 46, 69, and Valla, 69; ed. pr. (Ven. 1504), 98, 104; ed. Hervagius (Bas. 1532, 1547); Feliciano (Ven. 1543); Guillaume Morel, Lambinus, Benenatus (Par. 1570); H. Wolf (Bas. 1572), 268; Taylor (1748-57), 414; *De Pace*, ed. Downes, 337; *Olynthiacs*, transl. by Wilson, 236
- Dempster, Thomas, 340
- Despauterius, Johannes (Jan van Pauteren), 212
- Devarius, Matthaeus, 78, 105
- Deventer, 127, 211, 253, 331
- De-Vit's ed. of Forcellini, 376 f
- D'Ewes, Sir Simonds, 336 f
- 'D'Iancarville', or Dancarville, P. F. II., 434
- Dictys Cretensis, ed. pr.? (Col. 1470); (Milan, 1477), 103; ed. Mercier (Par. 1618); Anne Dacier (1680), 292; Perizonius (1702), 331
- Didymus, *Homericæ*, ed. pr. (1517), 105; (1541), 267
- Digamma*, 407 f, 413, 434
- Dilettanti Society, 431
- Diodorus Siculus, i-v, transl. by Poggio (1472), 38, 66; Filelfo's MS, 56; ed. pr. xvi-xx (Bas. 1539); i-xx, H. Stephanus (Gen. 1559), 105, 175; Rhodomann (1604), 271; Wesseling (Amst. 1746, Bipont. 1793), 453
- Diogenes Laërtius, transl. by Traversari (ed. 1475 etc.), 44; ed. pr. (1533), 105; H. Stephanus (Par. 1570); Casaubon (1583, 1594), 208; Tommaso Aldobrandini (Rom. 1594); J. Pearson (Lond. 1664), 351; M. Meibomius (Amst. 1692), 327; P. D. Longolius (1739, 1759); Pierre Gassendi on book x, Lugd. 1649, 1675²); I. Bossius (Rom. 1788)
- Diogenianus, Zenobius and Suktas, proverbs, ed. pr. (Ant. 1612), 305
- Dion Cassius, Latin transl. by Niccolo Leonicensi (Ven. 1526); ed. pr. lib. 36-58, R. Stephanus (Par. 1548), 105, 173; H. Stephanus, with Latin transl. by Xylander (Gen. 1591); Leunclavius, with epitome of lib. 60-80 by Xiphilinus (Frankf. 1592, Hanau, 1606)
- Dion Chrysostom, ed. pr. (Ven. 1551), 105; F. Morel (Par. 1604, 1623)
- Dionysius, (1) the Areopagite, 203; (2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, ed. pr., R. Stephanus (Par. 1546), 105, 173; On Isaeus and Dinarchus, ed. Victorius (1581), 137; Agostino's fragments, 161; ed. Sylburg (1586, 1691), 270; Hudson (Oxon 1714); (3) Periegetes, ed. pr. (Ferrara, 1512), 104; Aldus Manutius, with Pindar etc. (1513); H. Stephanus, in *Poetae Gr. Principes* (Par. 1560), Edward Thwaites (Oxon. 1697)
- Diophantus, Latin transl. ed. Xylander (1575); ed. pr. (Par. 1621), 105; ed. Fermat (Toulouse, 1670)
- Dioscorides, transl. by Herm. Barbarus, 83; ed. pr. (Ven. 1499), 104; J. A. Saracenus (Frankf. 1598)
- Diplomatica, De Re*, Mabillon, 295
- Diugosz, Johannes, 276
- Dobree, Peter Paul, 429; iii 399; 279, 286, 402
- Dodwell, Henry, 357
- Dolet, Étienne, 178-181; 130, 194 f
- Donati, Alessandro, 279
- Dondi, 38
- Doneau (Donellus), 193
- Doni, Giovanni Battista, 279
- Dorat (Auratus), Jean, 186 f; 149 f, 195, 199, 352; portrait, 187
- Dousa, Janus, and his sons, Janus and Franciscus, 301
- Downes (Dunacus), Andrew, 336 f
- Dracontius, 35
- Drakenborch, Arnold, 447
- Drant, Thomas, 241
- Drummond of Hawthornden, 249
- Dryden's *Virgil* etc., 356
- Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, Sieur, 289; 287, 295; portrait, 288
- Duc, Fronton du, 283
- Dürer, Albrecht, 130 f, 253
- Duilius, 161

- Duker, Karl Andreas, 447
 Dupont, James, 349f
- Eck, Johann, 258
Editiones principes, 97, 100, 102-5,
 of Latin Authors, 103, of Greek
 Authors, 104-5, 173, 175
 Education, Renaissance; Vergerio,
 48f; Guarino, 49-52; Vittorino,
 53-55; Aeneas Sylvius, 72; Eras-
 mus, 130; Vivès, 214f; Ascham,
 235; Milton, 346f
- Einsiedeln, 29, 38
Elegantiae, Valla's, 68f, 128
 Eleusinian Mysteries, Meursius on
 the, 311, 417
 Elmsley, Peter, 395, 414; iii 394
 Elzeviers, the, 331f
 Embser, J. V., 397
 'Empedocles', *Sphaera*, ed. pr. (Par.
 1587), 105
- England, 1370-1600, 219-250; 1600-
 1700, 333-358; 1700-1800, 401-
 439; visited by Chrysoloras, 20;
 Poggio, 32, 220; Aeneas Sylvius,
 220; Erasmus, 128f; Casaubon,
 207f; Isaac Vossius, 322f; Küster,
 445f; England and the Netherlands,
 1f, 409; Colleges and Schools, 238f
 English translations of the Classics,
 239-243
- Ennius, in *Fragm. Vet. Poetarum*
Lat. R. and H. Stephanus (Par.
 1564); Ennius, *Fragm.*, ed. Hieron.
 Columna (Neap. 1590; Amst.
 1707); Paulus Merula (1595), 306;
Fragm. Trag. in Delrio's *Syntagma*
 (Ant. 1593; Par. 1607, 1619),
 and in Scriverius, *Collectanea vet.*
Tragicorum (L. B. 1620)
- Epictetus, trans., 66; Epictetus and
 Simplicius, ed. pr. (Ven. 1528), 105;
 ed. Schweighäuser (1798f), 396
- Episcopius, Nicolaus, 262; 105 (1533)
- Epistolae* (1) *Graecae*, ed. pr., 104;
 (2) *Obscurorum Virorum*, 257;
 (3) *Phalaridis*, 403, *Euripidis*,
Socratis, *Themistoclis*, 404
- Epitaphs, 111, 115, 139, 208, 247,
 422
- Erasmus, Desiderius, 127-132; in
 Italy, 91, 98, 128; *Ciceronianus*,
 120; 122, 177, 339; *Dialogus de*
Pronuntiatione, 232; on Education,
 130; Epitome of Valla's *Elegantiae*,
 69 n. 1; *Testamentum Novum*,
 104; on Musurus, 79 n. 8; at-
 tacked by Robortelli, 140; and by
 the elder Scaliger, 177; Letter to
 Sadoletto, 123; portraits, 126, 132;
 21, 65, 69, 71, 99, 116, 157, 169,
 171f, 181f, 212, 228f, 253, 257f,
 262f, 425; cp. Bywater, *The Eras-
 mian Pronunciation of Greek, and*
its Precursors (Oxford, 1908)
- Erfurt, univ., 257f, 262
- Ernesti, Johann August, 418, 456
- Erskine (of Dun), John, 247
- Escorial, 161f; 152
- Estienne (Stephanus), (1) Robert,
 173-5, 374; portrait, 174; (2)
 Henri, 175-7; 171, 205, 270, 334;
 (3) Charles, 194
- Étapes, Lefèvre d', 198
 'Etymologicum Magnum' (Ven. 1499),
 79f, 104
- Euclid, Latin transl. ed. pr. Ven.
 1482; Vicenza, 1491; Ven. 1505,
 1509; H. Stephanus (Par. 1516);
 ed. Barrow, 350; Greek text, ed.
 pr. Grynaeus (Bas. 1533); Briggs
 (Lond. 1620); David Gregory
 (Oxon. 1703)
- Eugenius IV, 46
- Euripides, four plays, ed. pr. (Flor.
 c. 1495), 79, 97, 104; eighteen plays,
 ed. pr. (Ven. 1503), 98, 104; *Electra*,
 ed. pr. (1545), 138; ed. Barnes,
 358; Markland, *Suppl.*, *Iph. Aul.*,
Iph. Taur., 413; Musgrave, 418f;
 Porson, 427, 429; Joddrell on *Ion*,
Bacchae, *Alcestis*, 419; Valckenaer
 on *Phoen.*, *Hipp.*, *Fragm.*, 456;
 Italian transl., 155; *Danaë?*, 271;
 'Letters', 404; Euripides ranked
 next to Homer by Petrarch, 10
- Eusebius, (1) *Praeparatio et Demon-
 stratio Evangelica*, ed. pr. R.
 Stephanus (Par. 1544-6), 173; with
 Latin transl. by Viger (1628, 1688);
 (2) *Ecl. Hist.* ed. pr. R. Stephanus
 (Par. 1549; 1612); Valesius (1659,
 1668); W. Reading (Camb., 1720);
 Turin, 1746-8); (3) *Chronicon*, ed.
 Scaliger (L. B. 1606; Amst. 1658)
- Eustathius, ed. pr. (Rome, 1542-50),
 78, 105
- Eustratius of Nicaea, 10
- Eutropius, ed. pr. (Rome, 1471), 103;
 ed. Egnatius (Ven. 1516); Schon-
 hovius (Bas. 1546, 1562); Vinetius
 (Pictav. 1554); Sylburg in *Script.*
hist. Rom. (Frankf. 1588); P.
 Merula (L. B. 1592); Hearne (Oxon.

- 1703); Havercamp (L. B. 1729); Gruner (Coburg, 1752, 1768); Verheyk (L. B. 1762, 1793)
- Eutyches, 29
- Evelyn, John, 355; 322 f, 343, 355, 356, 405, 410
- 'Evening of life', 'the', 318
- Exeter, 417
- experimentum in anima vili*, 149
- Exter, Friedrich Christian, 397
- Faber, (1) Basilius, 269, 374, 457; (2) Tanaquil (Tanneguy Lefebvre), 291, 321
- Fabretti, Rafaello, 280
- Fabricius (1) Georg (1516-1571), 268; (2) Franz (1525-1573), 268; (3) Johann Albert (1668-1736), 366
- Facciolati, Jacopo, 374 f; 146, 378
- Faërnus (Gabrielle Faerno), 147, 189
- Falkland, Lucius Cary, Viscount, 352
- Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro, 120, 153
- Fasti Capitolini*, or *Fasti Consulares*, discovered, 153; ed. Sigonius, 143; ed. Robortelli, 141 f; Panvinio, 145; 384; *F. Maffeiiani*, 101
- Fava, Niccolò, 109
- Fazio (Facijs), Bartolommeo, 120
- Fea, Carlo Domenico Francesco Ignazio, 384; iii 219, 244
- Felix Felicianus of Verona, 41 f
- Ferrandus of Brescia, 102 f
- Ferrara, 49 f, 59, 156, 223
- Ferratius (Marco Antonio Ferracci), 378
- Festus, Sextus Pompeius (*i.e.* the epitome by Paulus Diaconus) discovered at St Gallen, 29; studied by Politian, 84, and Pomponius Laetus, 93; printed at Milan (1471) and Venice (1478); Nonius Marcellus, Festus, Paulus, Varro, ed. J. B. Pius and Conagus, Milan, 1510 (Paris, 1511, 1519; Ven. 1513); ed. Perotti, 71; Antonio Agostino (Ven. 1559 f), 160; Scaliger (1575), 201; Orsini (Rom: 1581), 154; Dacier (Par. 1681), 291; Le Clerc (1699), 441
- Ficino, Marsilio (Marsilius Ficinus), 60, 75, 81 f, 83, 91, 105, 275, 380; portrait, 58
- Ficoroni, Francesco de', 380
- Filelfo (Philadelphus), Francesco, 55-57; 37 f, 46, 75, 96
- Fisher, John, bp of Rochester, 129, 230
- Flaminio, Marcantonio, 119 f
- Flemming, (1) Abraham, 240; (2) Robert, dean of Lincoln, 51
- Fleury MSS, 192
- Florence, Academy of, 81-89; 60; Bruni on, 47; Council of, 59-61; 48; Early Medicean Age in, 43 f; Libraries; 28, 36 f, 43, 56, 95, 108, 137; Printers, 97; Santa Croce, 96; Villa Paradiso and San Spirito, 17
- Florez, Enrique, 162
- Florus, studied by Petrarch, 8; *ed. pr.* (Par. 1471), 103, 168; ed. Beroaldo (1505); Joannes Camers (1518); Elie Vinet (Pictav. 1554 etc.); Jo. Stadius (Ant. 1567 etc.); Gruter (Heid. 1597); Gruter and Salmasius (Heid. 1609); Freinsheim (Strassb. 1632 etc.), 367; Graevius (Utr. 1680); Duker (L. B. 1722 etc.)
- Foggini, Pier Francesco, 379
- Folard, Jean Charles, Chevalier de, 389
- Fontenelle, Bern. le Bovier de, 403
- Forcellini, Aegidius, 374-7; portrait, 377
- Fortunatianus, 35
- Foscolo, Ugo, 282
- Fourmont, Michel, 390
- Fox (1) Richard, bp of Winchester, 128; (2) Charles James Fox, 430, 433
- Fracastoro, Girolamo, 118 f; 135
- France; 1360-1600, 165-210; 1600-1700, 283-299; 1700-1800, 385-398; the French period of Scholarship, 1; introduction of printing, 167; Greek in, 168; literary criticism in, 188; *Collège de France*, 172, 181
- Francesco da Bologna, 99
- Francis I, 78, 172, 181, 194 f
- Francius, Petrus (Peter de Franz), 330, 443
- Franeker, univ., 451, 456
- Frankfurt on the Oder, 445 f
- Free (Phrea), John, 51, 76, 223
- Freinsheim, Johannes Caspar, 367
- Freising MSS, 267
- French, Greek words in, 165; French translations of the Classics, 165, 180, 188, 194, 196, 198
- Fréret, Nicolas, 390
- Freyburger, Gering, and Crantz, 167; 103 (1471)

- Froben, (1) Johannes, 103, 104 (1516-20), 262 f; (2) Hieronymus, 105 (1544), 262 f
- Frontinus, studied by Petrarch, 8; MS, 34; *De aqueductibus*, ed. pr. (Rome, c. 1486), 103; R. Fabretti's *dissertationes tres* (Rom. 1680) reprinted with text in Graevius, *Thesaurus*; ed. Polenus (Patav. 1722); *Strategematicon libri iv*, ed. pr. (Rome, 1487), 103; in *Veteres de Re Militari Scriptores*, ed. Scriverius (L.B. 1607); Oudendorp (1731, 1779), 454; *Opera*, ed. Keuchen (Amst. 1661)
- Fugger, Jakob, 268 f; Raymund, 260
- Fulda, MS of Ammianus Marcellinus, 30
- Fulvio, Andrea, 121
- Gaetano da Thiene, 109
- Gaisford, Thomas, 429; iii 395 f; 122, 279; portrait, 396
- Galbiate, Giorgio, 35
- Gale, (1) Theophilus, (2) Thomas, 354 (cp. J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 448-450)
- Galen, Latin transl. Ven. 1490 and Ven. 1541 etc.; Froben, Bas. 1542, 1549, and, with prolegomena by Conrad Gesner, 1561; (Ven. 1562); Greek text, ed. pr. (Ven. 1525), 105; ed. Camerarius etc. (Bas. 1538); René Chartier (Par. 1639-79); *De Sanitate Tuenda, Methodus Medendi, De Temperamentis* etc., Latin transl. by Linacre (1517-24), 227
- Gallen, Poggio at St, 25-30
- Gally, Henry, 457
- Garamond, Claude, 175
- Garatoni, Gasparo, 378
- Garda, Lago di, antiquarian excursion on, 41
- Gardiner, Stephen, bp of Winchester, 232
- Gascoigne, George, 239
- Gasparino da Barzizza (Gasparinus Barzizius), 23; 27, 31, 48, 55, 167 f
- Gataker, Thomas, 341 f
- Gaza, Theodoros, 62; 54, 56, 66, 74 f, 120, 131, 253
- Gelenius (Siegmond Ghelen), 263
- Gellius, Aulus, ed. pr. (Rome, 1469), 62, 97, 103; ed. H. Stephanus and L. Carrion (Paris, 1585); Lambecius, *Lucubrations* (1647), 365; ed. J. F. Gronovius (1651, 1665); Variorum (L.B. 1666, 1687); Variorum, ed. Jakob Gronovius (L. B. 1706, Leipz. 1762)
- Gembloux, MS of Manilius, 29
- Gemistos Plethon, Georgios, 60 f
- Gennadios, patriarch of Constantinople, 61
- German humanists, three schools of, 258; Germans in Italy, 123
- Germanicus, *Aratea*; Salutati, 17; Bon. 1474; Ven. 1488, 1491; ed. Grotius (L. B. 1600)
- Germany; 1350-1616, 251-273; 1600-1700, 359-370; the German period of Scholarship, 2
- Gerson, Jean Charlier de, 166
- Gesner, (1) Conrad, 269; 105, 265 n. 1; (2) Johann Matthias, 413
- Ghirlandaio, fresco by, 58, 64 n. 6
- Gibbon, 435-8; 427, 438
- Giocondo (Jucundus, *Joyeux*), Fra Giovanni del, 35, 42, 121
- Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, and Giovanni Malpaghini, 22
- Giovio, Paolo (Paulus Jovius), 120; 89, 93, 123
- Giphanius (Hubert van Giffen), 190, 362
- Giraldi, Lilio (Giglio Gregorio), 120; 116, 118, 123
- Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti, von Glarus), 263
- Glasgow, Univ., 247 f
- Gnomagyricus, liber*, 170
- Goelenius (Conrad Gockelen), 215
- Godefroy, (1) Denys (Dionysius Gothofredus), 193 f; (2) Jacques, 193 f
- Goethe on England, 432
- Golding, Arthur, 242; 240
- Gori, Antonio Francesco, 279, 380
- Gourmont, Gilles de, 169 f
- Graeca, Anthologia* (1494), 104; *Epistolae Graecae* (1499), 104; *Orationes Rhetorum Graecorum* (1513), 104; *Palaeographia*, 390; *Graeca*, Montfaucon's, 387; *Poetae Graeci Principes* (1566), 105; *Rhetores Graeci* (1508-9), 104; *Scriptores Grammatici Graeci* (1496), 104, 108, n. 1
- Graevius (Johann Georg Graeve, or Greffe), 327 f; 139, 161, 311, 402, 408 f
- Grammar, Greek, Chrysoloras, 62, 97, 129; Gaza, 62; Const. Lascaris, 77, 97; (2) Latin, Leoniceus, 54; Perotti, 71; Linacre, 227

- Grammarians, ancient and mediaeval, criticised by Valla, 68
Grammatici Graeci, Scriptores (1496), 104, 108 n. 1; *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Putschius, 313
 Granville, John Cartaret, Earl of, 433
 Gratius, Ortwin, 257
 Grattius (or Grattius) Faliscus; his *Cynegiticon* discovered by Sanazaro, 35; ed. *pr.* Aldus Manutius, with Ovid's *Halieutica* and *Nemesianus* (Ven. Febr. 1534); (Augsb. Jul. 1534); in Burman's *Poëtae Latini Minores* (L. B. 1731); text, with Engl. transl. by Chr. Wase (Lond. 1654)
 Gravius, Barthélemy, 213
 Gray, Thomas, 417
 Gray (or Grey), William, bp of Ely, 51, 71, 222
 Greek, decline of its study in Italy, 49, 143; its educational importance, 51, 116, 452; English interest in, 223; Erasmus on, 128; Gibbon on the Revival of Greek learning, 437; hellenistic, 456; Lyric poets (Orsini's selections), 153; MSS brought to Italy, 36 f.; mediaeval Greek, 289; Muretus on the study of Greek, 151; Greek words in French, 165; Greek at Oxford and Cambridge (c. 1519), 230; neglected by Pomponius Laetus, 92; pronunciation, 130, 232 f., 272, 447; aorist and imperfect in signatures of Greek sculptors, 84; Syntax, 62; Greek Testament, Manetti, 45; Valla, 69; ed. Erasmus (1516), 104, 132; in Complutensian Polyglott (1514)¹, 105; Greek type, 175, 334; Greek verses, Filelfo, 56; Politian, 85; Dupont, 350
 Gregorius Corinthius, 461
 Gregory XIII, 138, 161; XIV, 153
 Grey, Lady Jane, 234
 Grocyn, William, 228; 83, 226, 229
Gromatici, Auctores, 35
 Gronovius, (1) Johann Friedrich, 319-21; 326, 459, portrait, 320; (2) Jakob, 329; 311, 446, 448, 453; (3) Abraham, 329
 Groot, Gerhard, 211
 Grotius, Hugo, 315-9; 204, 286, 306 n. 3, 307, 321, 325, 341, 344 f., 352, 442
 Grouchy, Nicolas de, 144, 193, 197
 Gruter, Janus, 359 f.; 120, 145, 203, 207, 273, 285, 445; portrait, 360
 Grynaeus, Simon, 263; 36
 Gryphius (Sebastian Greiff), 182; 179
 Guarino, (1) da Favera, 107; (2) da Verona, 49-52; 19, 21, 32, 36, 53, 98, 104, 221 f., 252, 274 f.; portrait, 52; (3) Battista, 51
 Gude, Marquard, 366
 Guerente, William, 197
 Guidi, Carlo Alessandro, 282
 Guilielmus, Janus, 272, 361
 Guischart, Charles Théophile (Q. Icilius), 436 n. 5
 Gunther's *Ligurinus*, 260
 Gunthorp, John, dean of Wells, 51, 223
 Gusmano, Nugno, 157
 Guyet, François, 283, 319
 Guys, Pierre Augustin, 394
 Guzman, Fernan(do), Nuflez de (Nonius Pincianus), 158
 Hadley, William, 225
 Hadrian, Mausoleum of, 92
 Hadriano, Marcello, 135
 Hadrianus Junius, (1) 216; (2) 329
 Hahn, Ulrich, 97, 103 (c. 1470)
 Hales, John, 352
 Hamilton, Sir William, 434
 Hand, Ferdinand Gotthelf, 369, 455
 Hardouin, Jean, 298; 292
 Hare, Dr Francis, 409
 Harpocraton, ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1503), 104; (Ven. 1527); ed. Maussac (Par. 1614), 287; H. Valesius *Notae et Emendationes* (287) in ed. by N. Blancardus (L. B. 1683); J. Gronovius (Harderwyk, 1696)
 Harris, James, 416
 Harvard College, 354
 Harvey, Gabriel, 237
 Havercamp, Sigbert, 447, 450
 Heath, Benjamin, 417 f.
 Hegius, Alex., 255, 258
 Heidelberg, 270 f., 285, 359, 361
 Heimburg, Gregor, 252
 Heinsius, (1) Daniel, 313 f.; 203, 207, 319; portrait, 312; (2) Nikolaas, 323-6; 321 f., 409, 443, 445, 452; portrait, 324
 Heliiodorus, ed. *pr.* Vincentius Oporopoeus (Heidnecker), Bas. 1534; ed. Commelin (Heidelnb. 1596) etc.;

¹ Published c. 1522.

- Daniel Paretis (Frankf. 1631); Amyot's transl., 195
Hellenisticae, Funus linguae, 286, 311
 Hemsterhuys, Tiberius, 447-453; 408, 413, 454, 456f, 459; portrait, 448
 Heraldus (Didier Herault), 287
 Herculanum, 391
 Hereshlach, Conrad of, 181
 Hermann, Gottfried, 427 f; iii 89-95
 Hieronymus of Sparta, 76, 78, 169
 Herodian, (1) grammarian; abstract by Const. Lascaris, 77 n. 6; treatise on numbers in Gaza's *Introd. Gramm.* (Ven. 1495); three other treatises in *Scriptores Grammatici* (Ven. 1496); fragments on barbarism and solecism in Valckenaer's *Ammonius* (L. B. 1739); (2) historian, transl. by Politian, 86
 Herodotus, transl. by Valla (Ven. 1474), 69; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1502), 98, 104; (Bas. 1541, 1557); H. Stephanus (Par. 1570, 1592), 'Apology for Herodotus' (1566 etc.), 176; ed. Jungermann (Frankf. 1606, Gen. 1618, Lond. 1679); Jakob Gronovius (L. B. 1715); Wesseling and Valckenaer (Amst. 1763), 253; transl. by Larcher (1786), 394; ed. Schweighäuser, with *Lexicon* (Strassb. 1806), 396
 Hersfeld, 30, 33, 265
 Hervagius (Herwagen), Johannes, 262; 105
 Hestlin, Jean de, 165
 Hesiod, Politian on, 84; *Opera et Dies*, *ed. pr.* (Milan, 1493), 104; *Opera*, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1496 N.S.), 98, 104; (Flor. 1515, 1540); ed. Trincavelli with scholia (Ven. 1537, Col. 1542, Frankf. 1591); Schmieid (1603), 272; D. Heinsius (Amst. 1667), 313; Le Clerc (1701), 441; Th. Robinson (Oxon. 1737)
 Hesus, Helius Eobanus, 261; 267
 Hesychius, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1514), 79, 104; (Flor. 1520), (Hagenau, 1521); ed. Schrevelius (1668); ed. proposed by Küster, 446; ed. Alberti and Ruhnken (L. B. 1746-66), 450, 457, 459
 Heusde, Philipp Willem van, 464
 Heyne, Christian Gottlob, 421, 429, 437, 463; iii 36-44
 Hierocles, (1) commentator on the golden verses of Pythagoras; transl. by Aurispa (Patav. 1474, Rom. 1475 etc.); *ed. pr.* J. Curterius (Par. 1583), 105; J. Pearson (Lond. 1654f); Needham (Cantab. 1709), 413; Warren (Lond. 1742), 413 (*Mayor's Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 256); (2) author of *Aereia*, *ed. pr.* Marq. Freher (Ladenburg, 1605); and in Pearson and Needham's editions, *u.s.*
 Hipparchus, on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus and Eudoxus, ed. Victorius (1567), 137
 Hippocrates, transl. by Fabius Calvus (Rom. 1525); *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1526), 105; ed. Hieron. Mercurialis (Ven. 1588); Foës (Frankf. 1595); Van der Linden (L. B. 1665); René Chartier (Par. 1639-79)
Historiae Augustae Scriptores, Petrararch, 8; *ed. pr.* (Milan, 1475), 103; (Ven. 1516, 1519); ed. Erasmus (Bas. 1518 etc.); Gruter (Hanov. 1611), 361; Casaubon (Par. 1603), 209; Salmasius (1620), 285; Variorum ed. (L. B. 1671); Obrecht (Strassb. 1677), 367 f
Historici Graecis et Latinis, G. J. Vossius, *De*, 309
 History, the first modern, 143
 Hoeschel, David, 272; 105, 161, 203, 207
 Holbein, 126, 130
 Holes, Andrew, 222 n. 4
 Holland, see *Netherlands*
 Holland, Philemon, 243
 Holstenius (Holstein), Lucas, 364f; 345
 Homer, Petrarch's ms, 8 f, Latin rendering by Leontius Pilatus, 9; *Codex Venetus A* of the *Iliad*, 36, 398; *Scholia*, 79, 107, 398; 'epitaph' in Chios, 40; Gaza's two transcripts of the *Iliad*, 62; ms in C.C.C., Cambridge, 225; *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1488), 64, 97, 104; (Ven. 1504); (Flor. 1537); *Batrachomyomachia* (c. 1474), 102; (1486), 97, 104; *Il. i* transl. by Marsuppini, 47, 66; i-xvi, Valla, 69; i-v, x, Decembrio, 70; Politian on, 84; *Od.* and *Hymns*, transl. (Ven. 1537); ed. H. Stephanus in *Poetae Graeci* (Par. 1566); Giphanius (Strassb. 1572); French transl. by Madame Dacier, 292; ed. Barnes (Cantab. 1711), 357; Samuel Clarke (1729-40),

- 413; the 'Grenville Homer', 429
Homeric Hymns, Aurispa's MS, 37; included in *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1488), 64, 97, 104; and in other early edd. of Homer; Bernard Martin, *Var. Lect.* (Par. 1605); *Hymns* in ed. Barnes (1711); D'Orville, *Critica Vannus*, 1737, and *Journal of Philology*, xxv 250-260; and Ruhnken's *Ep. Critica* (1749), 457, and *Hymns to Dionysus and Demeter* (1780-2), 460
 Homer and Virgil, the elder Scaliger on, 178; the Homeric Question, Bentley, 407 f; R. Wood, 432 f; Payne Knight, 435; Homer and Art, 391; *Homeri Apotheosis*, 331
 Homer, Henry, 423
 Horace, Petrarch, 5; Landino, 82; *Codex Blandinius*, 217; *ed. pr.* (c. 1471), 103; edd. Milan, Ferrara, Naples, 1474; Milan, 1476; ed. with scholia of Acron and Porphyryon (1481); with comm. of Landino (Flor. 1482); (Ven. 1501), 99; Navagero (Ven. 1519), 118; Muretus (1555 etc.), 150; Lambinus (1561, 1605), 189; Cruquius (1578 etc.), 217; John Bond (1600), 445; Laevinus Torrentius (1608, 1620); Burman (1699), 443, 445; William Baxter (Lond. 1701, 1725); Bentley (1711), 406; *Ars Poëtica* followed by Vida, 133; paraphrased by Robortelli, 141; Italian imitators of Horace, 281 f
 Hotman, François, 193
 Hroswitha, *ed. pr.* (1501), 260
 Hudson, John, 356
 Huet, Pierre Daniel, 292, 297
Humanitas, 71; *studia humanitatis*, 452
 Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 46, 70, 220 f
 Hungary, 72, 273-5
 Hunyadi, Joannes, 274
 Hurd, Richard, 417
 Hutchinson, Lucy, 355; Sandys Hutchinson, 415
 Hutten, Ulrich von, 257, 258
 Hyginus, *Astronomica*, *ed. pr.* Ferrara, 1475; Ven. 1475 etc.; *Fabulae*, *ed. pr.* Micyllus (Bas. 1535), 267; J. G. Scheffer (Hamb. 1674), 368; both in the *Mythographi Latini* of Th. Muncker (Amst. 1681) and A. van Staveren (L. B. 1742)
 Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorae* and *Sermones Protreptici*, *ed. pr.* (Franeker, 1593); *Vita Pythagorae*, ed. Küster (Amst. 1707); *De Mysteriis*, transl. by Ficinus (Ven. 1483; Rome, 1556); *ed. pr.* Thomas Gale (Oxon. 1678), 354
 Icilius, Q., 436
 Iconography, Orsini on, 153
 Ignarra, Niccolo, 384
Illustrissimus, 150
 Inghirami, Tommaso, 35
 Innocent III, 90
 Inscriptions, 38-41, 121, 145, 359
 Isaeus, *ed. pr.* in *Orationes Rhet. Gr.* (Ven. 1513); in *Oratores Gr. II.* Stephanus (Par. 1575); transl. by Sir William Jones (1779), 438; *De Menecles hereditate*, *ed. pr.* Tyrwhitt (1785), 419
 Isocrates, *Evagoras* and *Nicoles*, transl. by Guarino, 50; *ed. pr.* (Milan, 1493), 65, 97, 103; in *Orationes Rhet. Gr.* (Ven. 1513) etc.; ed. II. Wolf (Bas. 1553, 1570 etc.); H. Stephanus (Par. 1593 etc., Lond. 1615, Cantab. 1686)
 Italian Latin poets, ed. Gruter (1608), 361; *Selecta Poëmata Itatorum*, ed. Pope (1740); *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* (Bergaino, 1753); see *Latin*; Italian literature, influence of the Classics on, 155 f
 'Italic' type, 99
 Italy, 1321-1527, 1-123; 1527-1600, 133-156; 1600-1700, 279-283; 1700-1800, 373-384; Ascham on Italy, 236
 Jäger, Johann (Crotus Rubianus), 257
 Jandun, Jean de, 109
 Jenson, Nicolas, 99, 103
 Jerome (Hieronymus), *Tractatus et Epistolae*, *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1468); ed. 1470; *Epp.* Schoeffer (Maintz, 1470); ed. Erasmus (Bas. 1516 etc.), 131; Marianus Victorinus (Rom. 1566) etc.; Benedictine ed. (Par. 1693-1706); Vallarsi (Verona, 1734-42; Ven. 1766); transl. of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, ed. Scaliger (L. B. 1606, Amst. 1658), 202
 Jesuits, 290; 283, 285, 287, 298, 305,

- 339, 341, 363, 369, 378, 381 f, 390, 394
 Jodrell, Richard Paul, 419
 Joensen, or Joensig (Jonsius), Johann, 365
 John the Good, 165
 Johnson, (1) Christopher, 241; (2) Richard, 406; 401; (3) Samuel, 340, 346, 414, 424; (4) Thomas, 418
 Johnston, Arthur, 248
 Jones, Sir William, 438
 Jonson, Ben, 314, 344, 348
 Josephus, *ed. pr.* (Bas. 1544), 105; Hudson (Oxon. 1720), 356; Haver-camp (Amst. 1726); transl. by Whiston (Lond. 1737), 413
 Julian, 327, 463
 Julius Africanus, 202 f
 Julius II, 90-94, 107, 117; III, 138
 Junius, (1) Francisus (François du Jon), 309; (2) Hadrianus (Adriaan de Jonghe), 216; (3) Hadrianus Junius, 329
 Justin, studied by Petrarch, 8; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1470), 103; ed. Sabellicus (Ven. 1490 etc.); Aldus (Ven. 1522); Bongars (Par. 1581), 192; Graevius (L.B. 1683); Hearne (Oxon. 1705); Abr. Gronovius (L. B. 1719, 1760); Burman (1722), 443
 Justin Martyr, *ed. pr.* R. Stephanus (Par. 1551); Sylburg (Heidelb. 1593) etc., 270; Prudentius Maranus (Par. 1742)
 Justinian's *Pandects* studied by Politian, 84
 Juvenal, studied by Petrarch, 6; Juvenal and Persius, *ed. pr.* (Ven. c. 1470), 102 f; Jac. de Rubeis (Ven. 1475); G. Valla (Ven. 1486); Mancinellus (Ven. 1492); Aldus (1501 etc.), 99; Britannico, Juv. (1501), 87; Junta (Flor. 1513); Colinaeus (Par. 1528 etc.); Gryphius (Lugd. 1534 etc.); R. Stephanus (Par. 1544, 1549); Pulmannus (Ant. 1565, 1585); Pithoeus (Par. 1585, Heidelb. 1590), 192; index, *ed. Par.* 1602; F. Grangaeus (Par. 1614); Nic. Rigaltius (Par. 1613, 1616); *Comm.* by Angelus Sabinus and Domitius Calderinus (Rome, 1474); Georgius Merula (Ven. 1478); Tarvis (1478); Badius Ascensius (Lugd. 1497); Lubinus (R. stock, 1602); Farnabius (1612), Prateus (Par. 1684); Heninrius (Utrecht, 1685; L. B. 1695); Marshall (Lond. 1723); Coelius Curio in *ed. Paris*, 1528 and Bas. 1551; *scholia* in *ed. Pithoeus* (Par. 1585); Engl. transl. by Holyday (Oxon. 1673) and Stapylton (Lond. 1660); Dryden etc. (Lond. 1693)
 Kendall, Timothy, 241
 Ker, John, 406
 Kidd, Thomas, 429
 Kilianus, Cornelius, 214
 Kinwelmersh, Francis, 239
 Kircher, Athanasius, 365
 Knight, Richard Payne, 434; 433
 Koen, Gisbert, 461
 Klüster (Neocorus), Ludolf, 445 f; 397, 408, 448-450; Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 328 f
 Labbe (Labbaeus), Charles and Philippe, 287
 La Boetie, Estienne de, 198
 Lactantius, *ed. pr.* (Subiaco, 1467), 103
 Ladislas, king of Bohemia, 72
 Laetus, Julius Pomponius (Giulio Pomponio Leto), 92 f; 97, 103, 114, 156
 Lafreri, Antonio, 155
 Lagomarsini, Girolamo, 378
 Lambeck (Lambecius), Peter, 365
 Lambinus, Dionysius (Denis Lambin), 188-191; 151, 268, 445; portrait, 188
 Lami (Lamius), Giovanni, 379
 Lamola, Giovanni, 34, 50
 Lancelot, Dom Claude, 290
 Landino, Cristoforo, 81 f; 83; portrait, 58
 Landriani, Gerardo, 31
 Langen, Rudolf von, 255; 254, 258
 Langres, Poggio at, 30
 Lanzi, Luigi don, 384
 Laocoön, Sadolet's poem on, 115
 Lapo da Castiglionchio (de Castellione), Jacopo, 59 n. 2, 66, 221
 Larcher, Pierre Henri, 394, 459
 Lascaris, (1) Constantine, 76 f; 37, 162; (2) Janus, or Andreas Joannes, 78 f; 37, 78 f, 98, 104 f, 169 f
 Lateran Council (1512), 111
 Latimer, William, 228; 226
 Latin, an essential part of a liberal education, 48 f; epistolary, 23, 167 f; grammar, 411 f; lexicography, 373-7; mediaeval, 289; modern, 273; metres of the Latin dramatists,

- 406; pronunciation, 184, 233, 304; prose, Politian's, 85 (see also *Ciceronianism*); Latin of silver age studied by Politian, 83; *Poetae Latini Minores*, 443; collections of modern Latin verse, 361 n. 4; modern Latin poets, Addison, 410; Bembo, 114 f; Bourne, 439; Broukhusius, 329; Buchanan, 243 f; Ceva, 281; Cowley, 349; Duport, 349; Flaminio, 119; Fracastoro, 118; Francius, 330; Grotius, 318 f; D. Heinsius, 314; N. Heinsius, 325; Italians, 114-120, 280 f; Jesuits, 281, 290; Johnston, 248; Marullus, 87; May, 348; Milton, 346; Navagero, 118; in the Netherlands, 465; Owen, 250; Petrarch, 5; Politian, 84, 86; Pontano, 90; Rapin, 291; Sadoleto, 115; Sainte-Marthe, 198; Sannazaro, 90; Scaliger, 199, 203; Sergardi, 281; Strada, 280; Vida, 117; Latin studied in the New World, 120
- Latium*, Kircher's, 365
- Law, Edmund, 415
- Lebrixa (Nebrissensis), Elio Antonio, 157, 162; cp. Hemeterio Suaña, *Estudio Crítico-biográfico* (Madrid, 1879), and Bywater, *The Erasmus Pronunciation of Greek, and its Precursors* (Oxford, 1908)
- Le Clerc (Clericus), Jean, 441-3
- Lederlin, Johann Heinrich, 448 f
- Leibnitz, 146
- Leland, John, 346
- Lenep, (1) Jan Daniel van (1724-1771); (2) David Jacobus van (1774-1853), 461, 464
- Leo X, 107 f; 33, 78, 93, 113 f, 116-9, 121 f
- Leonicens, (1) Niccolo Leonicens, 115, 226; (2) Ognibuono da Lonigo, Omnibonus Leonicens, 54 (Voigt, i 429, ii 391)
- Leonico Tomeo, 110
- Leptines, 'Aristides' against, 380
- Le Roy (Regius), Louis, 19
- Lessing, 391, 411; iii 24-30
- Levesque, Pierre Charles, 397
- Lexicography, (1) Greek, H. Junius, 216 n. 5; H. Estienne, 175 f; Scapula, 176; (2) Latin, Calepinus, 373; R. Estienne, 173, 415; Faber, 269, 374; C. Gesner, 269; J. M. Gesner, 374; Forcellini, 374-7; Ainsworth, 415
- Leyden, univ., 300 f; 217, 303, 306 f, 311, 321, 443, 451, 464; MSS, 28, 189, 323
- Libanius, *ed. pr.* (Ferrara, 1517), 105; *ed. F. Morel* (Par. 1606-27); *opp.* *ed. J. C. Wolf* (Amst. 1738)
- Lignamine, Johann Philippus de, 97, 103
- Ligorio (Ligori), Pirro, 154
- Lily, William, 229
- Linacre, Thomas, 225-8; 21, 83, 98, 229; Osler on (1908); portrait, 224
- Lindembrog (Tiliobroga), Heinrich and Friedrich, 364
- Lipsius, Justus (Joest Lips), 301-4; 139, 144, 197, 202, 204, 214, 216, 306; portrait, 302 (cp. 306)
- Liviam, Consolatio ad*, 35
- Livy, studied by Boccaccio, 13; emended by Valla, 69; *ed. pr.* (Rome, c. 1469), 97, 103; *ed. Campano* (Rome, c. 1470); Ven. 1470; *ed. Sabellicus* (Ven. 1491 etc.); *Ascensius* (Par. 1510 etc.); *Navagero* (i-x), (Ven. 1518), 118; *Aldus* (Ven. 1518-33) 5 vols. incl. Florus, and Perotti's Latin transl. of Polybius; *Lorsch MS*, 263; xli-xlv, *ed. pr.*, Grynæus and Glareanus (Bas. 1531); *Beatus Rhenanus and Gelenius* (Bas. 1535), 263, 265; *Gryphius*, Lyon, 1542, Par. 1543; *Signonius* (Paulus Manutius, Ven. 1555 etc.), 143; *Gruter* (Frankf. 1608 etc.), 359, 362; *J. F. Gronovius* (Variorum ed., Amst. 1665, 1679), 321; *Le Clerc* (Amst. 1710), 441; *Crevier* (Par. 1735-41), 436; *Drakenborch* (L.B. 1738-46), 447; *French transl.* by Bersuire, 165; *Livy* and *Machiavelli*, 88; *Robortelli* (142) and *Glareanus* (263) on *Livy's* chronology; *Engl. transl.* by *Philemon Holland*, 243; the lost books, 32, 46; *Freinsheim's* continuation (*Holmiae*, 1649 etc.), 367
- Lodi, 31
- Loisel, Antoine, 194
- London, *Chrysoloras* in, 20; *Erasmus* in, 128, 229; *St Paul's*, Latin transl. of *Thucydides*, 220; *St Paul's School*, 129; *Greek architecture* in, 432
- '*Longinus*' *περὶ ὑψους*, *ed. pr.*, *Robortelli* (Bas. 1554), 141, 143;

- 105; Paulus Manutius (Ven. 1555); Franciscus Portus (Gen. 1569); G. Langbaine (Oxon. 1636 etc.); T. Faber (Saumur, 1663); transl. by Boileau (Paris, 1674 etc.); Tollius (Utrecht, 1694); Hudson (Oxon. 1710 etc.); Pearce (Lond. 1724 etc.), 412; N. Morus (Leipzig, 1769 f); Toup (Oxon. 1778, 1789, 1806), 418; Bodoni (Parma, 1793).
- Longinus, Cassius, 459
- Longolius (Gilbert de Longueuil), 113, 121 f, 178
- Longus, 106
- Lonigo, Ognibene, or Ognibuono, da (Omnibonus Leonicensus), 54
- Lope de Vega, 141
- Lorsch, 36, 263
- Louvain, univ., 212, 217; Erasmus and the *Collegium Trilingue*, 128 f, 212; Lipsius, 301, 303
- Loyola, Ignatius de, 182
- Lucan, studied by Petrarch, 6; *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1469), 97, 103, 156; Aldus (Ven. 1502); Pulmannus (Ant. 1564 etc.); Bersmannus (Leipzig, 1584); Grotius (Ant. 1614, L. B. 1626), 317; Cortius (Leipzig, 1726); Oudendorp (L. B. 1728), 454; Burman (L. B. 1740), 443; Bentley (1760), 407, 409; Renouard (Par. 1795); Index by Maittaire (Lond. 1719); book i transl. by Marlowe (Lond. 1600); translated and continued by May, 348, 454
- Lucian, translations by Guarino, 50; *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1496), 79, 97, 104; Aldus (Ven. 1503, 1522); Bourdelot (Par. 1615; Saumur, 1619); Le Clerc (Amst. 1687), 441; Hemsterhuys and J. F. Reitz (Amst. 1743); Index, K. K. Reitz (Utrecht, 1746), 450, 453; Schmidt (Mittau, 1776-80); *ed. Bipont.* (1789-93); *Dialogi Selecti*, Leedes (Lond. 1678, 1704, 1710, 1726, 1728), Mayor's *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 254 f; *Colloquia Selecta*, *ed. Hemsterhuys* (1708, 1732); transl. by Micyllus, 267; Engl. transl. by Dr Franklin, 1780 f
- Lucilius, in *Fragmenta Poëtarum Veterum Latinorum*, R. and H. Stephanus (Par. 1564); *ed. Fr. Dousa* (L. B. 1597), 301, reprinted by the brothers Volpi (Pata. 1735) and the Havercamps (L. B. 1743); also in Maittaire's *Corpus* (Lond. 1713), in the *Bipont Persius* (1785) and in that of Achaintre (Par. 1811)
- Lucretius, known to Petrarch through Macrobius, 6; MS discovered by Poggio, and copied by Niccoli, 29; *ed. pr.* (Brescia, *l.* 1473), 103; studied by Politian, 84, Marullus, 87, and Pontano, 90 n. 1; Verona, 1486; *ed. Lycinius*, Ven. 1495; *ed. Avancius*, Ven. 1500; J. B. Pius, Bol. 1511; Petrus Candidus, Flor. 1512; Navagero (Ven. 1516 N.S.), 118, 156; Gryphius, Lugd. 1534, 1540; Vossian MSS, now at Leyden, 189, 323; Lambinus (Par. 1564, 1565, 1570), 189 f; Giphanius (Ant. 1566), 190; D. Pareus, with index (1631), 362; Pierre Gassendi's *Syntagma philosophiae Epicuri* (Hag. 1658, etc.); T. Faber (Saumur, 1662), 291; Bentley and the Vossian MSS, 323, 407; Creech (Oxon. 1695), 356; Lond. 1712; Havercamps *Variorum ed.* (L. B. 1725), 447; Wakefield (Lond. 1796 with Bentley's notes in Glasg. *ed.* 1813, Lond. 1821), 430; Bentley's notes in new *ed.* of Creech (Oxon. 1818); English translations, 355 f
- Luder, Peter, 252
- Luisini, Francesco, 189
- Lupus, Rutilius, *ed. pr.* with Aquila Romanus, Zoppinus (Ven. 1519); in Fr. Pithou's *Antiqui Rhetores Latini* (Par. 1599); *ed. Ruhnken* (L. B. 1768), 459
- Luther, 258 f, 269, 273, 339
- Luzac, Joan, 456, 461
- Lycophron, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1513), 104; *ed. pr.* of the *scholia* (Bas. 1546), 265 n. 1; *ed. Potter* (Oxon. 1697, 1702); studied by Fox, 433
- Lycurgus, *ed. pr.* in *Orationes Rhet. Gr.* (Ven. 1513); with Dem. *Meidias*, *ed. Taylor* (Cantab. 1743)
- Lydgate, John, 220
- Lyl's *Euphuus*, 235
- Lysias, Filelfo's translations from (Froben, Bas. 1522), 55; *ed. pr.* in *Orationes Rhet. Gr.* (Ven. 1513), 104; H. Stephanus in *Oratorum Gr.* (Par. 1575); Jodocus van der Heyden (Hanov. 1615, Marb. 1683); Taylor (Cantab. 1739), 414; *Or.* 1, *ed. Downes* (1593), 337

- Mabillon, Jean, 293-8; 289, 436; portrait, 294
- Macault, transl. of Cicero and Diodorus, 194f
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 88
- Macrobius, *Saturnalia* and *Commentarius*, ed. pr. (Ven. 1472), 103; ed. Camerarius (Bas. 1535); Carrio (H. Stephanus, Par. 1585); J. I. Pontanus (L. B. 1597, 1625; Jakob Gronovius (L. B. 1670, Lond. 1694, Patav. 1736, Leipzig 1774); *De Differentiis*, ed. pr. H. Stephanus (Par. 1583); J. Obsopæus (Par. 1588); and in Putschius, *Gramm. Lat.* (Hanov. 1605)
- Madrid, mss of Janus, 37, and Constantine Lascaris, 77; Asconius, Manilius, Valerius Flaccus, 29 n. 4; Statius, *Silvae*, 29 n. 4, 31, 162; *Escurlar* (near Madrid), 161f
- Maffei, Scipione, 381
- Maggi (Madius), V., 134, 147
- Magliabecchi, Antonio, 297
- Maittaire, Michel, 411
- Majoragio (Majoragius), Marcantonio (Maria Antonio Conti), 147; 146
- Malalas, Chronicle of John, 401
- Malatesta, Sigismondo, 61
- Maltby, Edward, bp of Durham, 422
- Manchester, Rylands Library, 102
- Manetho, ed. pr. (1689), 329; Perizonius on, 331
- Manetti, Giannozzo, 45; 37, 47, 95
- Manilius, ms discovered by Poggio, 29 n. 4, 162; ed. pr., Regiomontanus (Norimb. 1472), 103, 252; L. Bonincontri (Bol. 1474), Dulcinus (Milan, 1489), Molinius (Lyon, 1551, 1556); Scaliger (Par. 1579, 1590; L. B. 1600), 202; Bentley (Lond. 1739), 408
- Manso, Giovanni Battista, 345
- Mantegna, Andrea, 41
- Mantua, 53f
- Mantuanus (Spaguuoli), Baptista, 243
- Manutius Romanus, Aldus Pius (Theobaldo or Aldo Manuzio), 98-100; 79, 91, 97, 102f, 104, 226, portrait, 94; Paulus Manutius, Aldi filius, 100; 150f; Aldus Manutius, Pauli filius, 101
- Maps in classical text-books, 369
- Marburg, univ., 262
- Mariette, Pierre Jean, 391
- Marini, Gaetano Luigi, 382
- Markland, Jeremiah, 413
- Marliani, Bartolomeo, 154, 182
- Marlowe, Christopher, 241
- Marot, Jean, 194
- Marsham, Sir John, 331
- Marsilius, Petrus de, 248
- Marsilius, Ludovicus (Luigi de' Marsigli), 10, 17
- Marsuppi, Carlo, 47f; 19, 22, 38f, 45, 66
- Martens, Dierik, 213
- Martial, studied by Petrarch, 6; ms discovered by Boccaccio, 13; ed. pr. (Venice or Rome, c. 1471), 102f; Ferrara, 1471; Ven. 1475; Milan, 1478; ed. Calderinus (Ven. 1474 etc.); Aldus (Ven. 1501; Perotti, 71; Aeneas Sylvius on, 72; imitated by Bembo, 114, and detested by Navagero, 118; ed. Junius (Bas. 1559); Gruter (Frankf. 1602); Scriverius (L. B. 1610, Amst. 1621, 1629), 307; Rader (Maintz, 1627; Col. 1628); Schrevelius, *Variorum* ed. incl. the notes of J. F. Gronovius (L. B. 1670), 321
- Martianus Capella, 315; see *Capella*
- Martin, Jean, transl. of Vitruvius, 194
- Martinius (Martini), Matthias, 442
- Marullus, Michael Tarchaniota, 87
- Matthaei, Christian Friedrich, 460
- Matthias Corvinus, 275; 214, 252, 274
- Maussac, Philippe Jacques de, 287
- Maximianus, 17
- Maximus Tyrius, ed. pr. (Par. 1557), 105; ed. D. Heinsius (L. B. 1607, 1614); Davies (Cantab. 1703, 1740)
- May, Thomas, 348; 326, 454
- Mazzo, Angelo, 282
- Mazzocchi, Alessio Simmacho, 384
- Medici, (1) Cosimo de', 39, 43f, 60, 65, 81, 95; (2) Lorenzo de', 81f; 37, 78, 83f, 86, 88; (3) Cardinal Giovanni, see *Leo X*; (4) Cardinal Ippolito, 93; (5) Alessandro, 137; (6) Cosimo I, 137; (7) Francesco, 138
- Meibomius (Maybaum), Marcus, 327
- Meigret, Louis, 194
- Mela, Pomponius, ed. pr. (Milan, 1471), 103; ed. Vadianus (Vienna, 1518; Bas. 1522), 260; Vinetus (Par. 1572), Schott (Ant. 1582); Isaac Vossius (Hag. 1658), 323; Jac. Gronovius (L. B. 1685, 1696); Abr. Gronovius (L. B. 1722, 1728)
- Melanchthon (Schwarzerd), Philipp, 265f; 116, 227; portrait, 264

- Melville, Andrew, 247 f
 Memnon, historian, 272
 Ménage, Gilles (Aegidius Menagius), 290; 291, 299 n. 1, 326, 358 n. 3
 Menander, *Fragm. ed. pr.* in the *Sententiae* of Guillaume Morel (Par. 1553), 105; Hertelius (Bas. 1560); H. Stephanus (Par. 1569); Nic. Rigaltius (Par. 1613); Grotius in *Excerpta* (Par. 1626); Winterton in *Poet. Min. Gr.* (Cantab. and Lond. 1653 etc.); Hemsterhuys (1708), 450; Le Clerc (Amst. 1709 etc.), 441 f; Bentley (1710), 409
 Mendoza, (1) envoy of Charles V, 162, 265 n. 1; (2) bishop of Burgos, 162
 Mercier (Mercurius), Josias des Bordes, 210
 Merian, 433
 Merula, (1) Georgius (Giorgio Merlani), 35, 85 n. 1, 86, 103; (2) Paulus (Paul van Merle), 306
 Metrical blunders of notable scholars, 455
 Meursius (Jan de Meurs), 311; 319, 417; portrait, 310
 Michael of Ephesus, 10
 Micyllus (Jacob Molsheym), 267; 261
 Middleton, Conyers, 413
 Milan, printing at, 97
 Milton, 344-8; his copies of Pindar, Euripides, Lycophron and Aratus, 347 f; Milton and Salmasius, 286; Milton on education, 346 f; on Latin pronunciation, 234; prototypes of *Lycidas*, 114 n. 7, 346
 Mingarelli, Giovanni Luigi, 380
 Minturno, Ant. Sebastiano, 135, 188
 Mirandola, (1) Giovanni Pico della, 82, 98, 113, 214; (2) Gianfrancesco Pico della, 113
 Mitford, William, 438
 Modius, Franz, 217
 Modoin, bp of Autun, 2
 Molière, Vadius in the *Femmes Savantes* of, 290
 Molyneux, Adam de, 220
 Monk, (1) General, 326; (2) James Henry, 429
 Montaigne, 197 f; 148; on Amyot, 196; on Turnebus, 186
 Monte Cassino, Boccaccio at, 13; Poggio at, 34
 Montefeltro, Guidobaldo da, 113
 Montepulciano, Bartolomeo da, 26, 27, 28, 29
 Montfaucon (Montefalco, Montefalconius), Bernard de, 385-9; 436, 457; portrait, 386
 Montreuil, Jean de, 166
 Morcelli, Stefano Antonio, 382, 422
 More, Sir Thomas, 229; 128, 178, 182, 212, 215, 226, 228, 230
 Morel, Frédéric, (1), 105; (2) 105, 207
 Morell, Andreas, 447
 Morelli, Jacopo, 380
 Morhof, Daniel Georg, 365; 139 n. 7, 340
 Moschus, (1) translations by Politian, 85; *ed. pr.* of idyll i in Lascaris, *Gk Gr.* ed. 3 (Vicenza, 1489); *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1496 N.S.), 104; (2) Demetrius Moschus, 158
 Mosellanus, Petrus (Peter Schade), 265
 Müller, Johann (Regiomontanus), 252
 Munro on Stephen Gardiner, 232 n. 3; on Lambinus, 190 f
 Muratori, Lodovico Antonio, 381; 144, 437
 Muretus (Marc Antoine Muret), 148-152; 114, 191, 196-8, 201, 204, 301, 460; portrait, 148
 Murmellius, Johannes, 255
 Musaeus, *ed. pr.* (c. 1494-5), 98, 104; ed. Kromayer (1721); Schrader, (1742), 455
 Musgrave, Samuel, 418; 457
 Musurus, Marcus, 79; 78, 98, 104, 107, 129
 Mutianus Rufus, 257; Conrad Muth, 258
 Muzio, Girolamo, 135
 Nanni, Giovanni (Aunius Viterbiensis), 154
 Nannius, Petrus (Pieter Nanninck), 215
 Naples, Academy of, 89
 Nardini, Famiano, 279
 Nash, Thomas, 240
 Navagero (Naugerius), Andrea, 118; 119, 137
 Neander, Michael, 269; 271
 Nebrissensis, Antonius (Elio Antonio Calà Harana del Oio, of Le Brixia), 127; see *Lebriza*
 Needham, Peter, 413 (Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 256)
 Nemesianus, discovered by Sannazaro, 35; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1534); in Burman's *Poetas Lat. Min.* (L. B. 1731)
 Neo-Platonism of Gemistos Plethon, 60 f; of Cambridge Platonists, 354

- Nepos, Cornelius, unknown to Petrarch, 8; known at Milan to abp Pizzolpasso and Pier Candido Decembrio (Sabbadini, *Spogli Ambrosiani Latini*, 1903, 313 f); *Lives* of Atticus and Cato, discovered by Traversari (1434), 34; *xx Lives (Aemilii Probi de vita excellentium)*, ed. pr. (Ven. 1471); *Life of Atticus* ascribed to Nepos in ed. Strassb. 1506; all the *Lives* ascribed to Nepos by Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470-1584), and by Lambinus (ed. Par. 1569), 190; Schott (Frankf. 1609), Gebhard (Amst. 1644), Boekler (Strassb. 1648), J. A. Bose (Jena, 1675), Van Staveren (L. B. 1734, 55, 73; ed. Bardili, Stuttgart, 1820); ed. Ruhnken, 459
- Neri, (1) Bernardo 64, 104; (2) Neri, 64
- Netherlands, 1400-1575, 211-218; 1575-1700, 300-332; 1700-1800, 441-465; Netherlands and England, 1 f, 464; materials for history of scholarship in, 445
- Nevizanus, Johannes, 183
- Nicander, ed. pr. (Ven. 1499), 104; Ven. 1523; ed. Bandini (1764), 379; Bentley, 407
- Niccoli, Niccolò de', 47 f; 14, 19, 27, 29, 32, 36 f, 39, 44, 47
- Nicolas V (Tommaso Parentucelli), 37, 38, 45, 55, 57, 65-67, 71-73, 95 f
- Nicolaus Cusanus, 211
- Niebuhr, 331, 378; iii 77 f
- Nieuwland, Pieter, 464
- Niphus, Augustinus (Agostino Nifo), 112
- Nizolius (Mario Nizzoli), 146; 150, 378
- Nonius Marcellus, ed. pr. (1471), 103; 32, 71, 93, 97; ed. Hadrianus Junius (Ant. 1565), 216; Mercier (Par. 1583, 1614), 210
- Nonius Pincianus (Nuñez de Guzman), 158
- Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, ed. pr. (Ant. 1569), 105; Hanau 1605; L. B. 1610 (with diss. by D. Heinsius and em. by Scaliger); *Paraphrasis*, ed. pr. (Ven. 1501); seven more edd. by 1566; ed. D. Heinsius (L. B. 1627)
- North, Sir Thomas, 242
- Nunnesius (Pedro Juan Nuñez), 159
- Oberlin, Jeremias Jacob, 396
- Obrecht, Ulrich, 367
- Obsopaeus. See *Opsopoeus*
- Olesnicky, Sbignew, 275
- Olivetus (Olivet) (Pierre Joseph de Thoulie), 390
- 'Ols', 'Messer Andrea', identified, 222, n. 4
- Omnibonus Leonicensus (Ognibuono da Lonigo), 54
- Opera*, origin of Italian, 86
- Opitz, Heinrich (1642-1712), 314
- Oporinus (Herbster), Johannes, 105, 262
- Oppian, ms, 265 n. 1; *Halientica*, ed. pr. (Flor. 1515), 104; *Halientica* and *Cyngetica* (Ven. 1517); *Cyngetica* (Par. 1549)
- Opsopoeus, (1) Vincentius (Heidnecker, d. 1539), ed. Diodorus, xvi-xx (Bas. 1539), 105; (2) Johann (d. 1596), ed. Macrobius, *De Differentiis* (Par. 1588), and *Oracula*, 1590-9
- Oresme, Nicole, 165, 195
- Orestes*, tragedy of, 35
- Orfeo*, Politian's, 86
- Orosius, studied by Petrarch, 8; 447
- 'Orpheus', 86, 90; ed. pr. (1500), 104; six more edd. down to 1606; ed. Eschenbach (Utrecht, 1689)
- Orphic poem *De Lapidibus*, 419
- Orsini, Fulvio (Fulvius Ursinus), 153 f; 160, 189, 456
- Orville, Philippe d', 388, 413, 448, 454
- Osorio, Jeronymo, 163; Osorius, 339
- Oudendorp, Franz van, 454; 451, 459
- Ovid's *Ibis*, discovered by Boccaccio, 13; *Heroides* and *Halienticon*, 35; Politian, 84; ed. pr. (Bol. 1741), 97, 103; ed. Rome, 1471; first Aldine (Ven. 1502); ed. Navagero (Ven. 1516), 118; Bersmann (Leipzig, 1582); D. Heinsius (L. B. 1619), 314; N. Heinsius (Amst. 1652), 325; Cnipping's Variorum ed. (L. B. 1670); Delphin (Lyon, 1689); Burman (Amst. 1727), 409, 443; imitated by Bembo, 114, and Francius, 330; French translations, 194; Mercier's ed. of *Ibis* (1568), 210; *Tristia* and *Epp. ex Ponto*, ed. J. Pontanus (Ingolst. 1610); Crispin, with Index (Cantab. 1703); *Met.*, with *Ibis*, ed. J. Pontanus (Ant. 1618); *Fasti*, ed. C. Neapolis (Ant. 1639); *Halienticon*, in *Ulittius, venatio novantiqua* (L. B. 1645);

- Heroides*, ed. Crispin, with Index (Lond. 1702). English transl., *Mel.*, Arthur Golding (1567), 240; George Sandys (Lond. 1626), 241; Dryden, Addison, Gay, Pope (ed. Garth, Lond. 1717); *Amores*, Marlowe (c. 1597), 241; *Heroides*, Turberville (1567), 241
- Owen (Audoënus), John, 250
- Oxford; Duke Humphrey, 221; Erasmus, 128, 220; Vivès, 214; Bentley, 401 f; 'Greek lecturers', 168; Colleges, 238 f; C. C. C., 230; Magdalen, 435; Merton, 227, 333-5, 419; Queen's, 28; University, 439; the Arundel Marbles, 342 f; the Clarendon Press, 418, 463
- Paciaudi, Paolo Maria, 382
- Padua, Aristotelians of, 10, 109; 110, 114, 121, 237
- Palaeographica, Commentatio*, Bast's, 397
- Palaeologus, Manuel, 19
- Paleario, Aonio, 155, 330
- Palingenius, Marcellus, 243
- Palmerius (Jacques Le Paulmier), 287
- Palmieri, Matteo, 48
- Panciroli, Guido, 154
- Pandects; Budaeus, 171; Politian, 84
- Panegyrici Latini*, MS of, 34; ed. Cuspinianus (1513); Beatus Rhenanus (Bas. 1520); Lavinæus (Ant. 1599); Ritterhusius (Frankf. 1607); Cellarius (Hal. 1703); de la Baune (Ven. 1728)
- Pannonius, Janus (Johann von Cisinge), 274; 51, 76
- Pantagato (Pacato), Ottavio, 145
- Fanvinio, Onofrio, 145
- Paolo, (1) da Perugia, 15; (2) Vineto, 109
- Parentucelli, Tommaso, 65, 96; see *Nicolas V*
- Parells (Johann) Philipp, 362
- Paris, university of, 165; Sorbonne, 167, 181, 184, 210; Collège de France, 172, 181; Place Maubert, 180; Saint-Germain-des-Près, 295-8
- Parium, Marmor*, 343
- Parr, Samuel, 421-4; 382, 417, 430, 438
- Parrasio, Aulo Giano, 35
- Pasquier, Estienne, 198
- Passerat, Jean, 191; 206
- Patin, Charles, 391
- Patrizi of Siena, Francesco, bp of Gaëta 1460-94, his epitome of Quintilian, 53 n. 2
- Patrizzi (Patricius), Francesco (1529-97), 152 f
- Paul II, 62, 92; III, 116
- Paulus Diaconus, 29
- Paupero*, 151 n. 2
- Pausanias, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1516), 79, 104; ed. Xylander and Sylburg (1583, 1613), 270; Kühn (Leipzig, 1696); Porson on, 429
- Pauw (P'avo), Jan Cornelis de, 454
- Pazzi, Alessandro de', 133 f
- Pearce, Zachary, 412
- Pearson, John, bp of Chester, 322 f; 351, 446
- Pedibus ire in sententiam*, 69
- Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabre de, 285; 287, 316, 342 f
- Peletier (or Pelletier), Jacques, 188, 194
- Peloponnesiaca, Mon.*, 382
- Pepys, Samuel, 405
- Perizonius (Voorbroek), Jacob, 330; 370, 447
- Perotti, Niccolò, 71; 54, 75
- Perrault, Charles, 370, 403
- Persius, studied by Petrarch, 6; Juvenal and Persius, *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1470), 102 f; Fontius in ed. Ven. 1480; Britannico, ed. Brescia, 1481; *scholia* of 'Cornutus' in ed. Ven. 1499; 17 other edd. before 1500; ed. 1501, 99; ed. Casaubon (Par. 1605), 209
- Petavius Dionysius (Denys Petau), 283; 290, 327
- P'etit, Samuel, 370 n. 1
- Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), 3-11; his study of the Latin Classics, 4-9; his interest in Greek, 9; his handwriting, 99; Landino on, 81; Petrarch and the Averroists, 109; 165-7, 219 f, 251
- Petronius, MS at Cologne, 32; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1499); ed. Thanner (Leipzig, 1500); Janus Douss (L. B. 1585); *ed. pr.* of *Cena Trimalchionis*, Pierre Petit (Patav. 1664; Par. 1664); '*Satyricon cum fragmentis Albæ Græcae recuperatis*', forged by François Nodot (Col. 1691, etc.); ed. Burman (Utrecht, 1709, Amst. 1743), 409, 443; *Carmen de Bello Civili*, ed. Busche (Leipzig, 1500); 261; Fr. transl. of *Carmen* by

- Bouhier (1737), 390; on the Trau MS, see A. C. Clark in *Cl. Rev.* Aug. 1908
- Petty, Sir William, 342
- Peuerbach, Georg, 252
- Peutinger, Conrad, 260
- Phaedrus, *ed. pr.*, Pierre Pithou (Troyes, 1596), 192; 103; *ed.* Freinsheim (1664), 367; *Variorum ed.*, J. F. Gronovius (1669), 321; Burman (Amst. 1698, etc.), 443; N. Heinsius, *notae* (1745); *ed.* Bentley (1726), 409
- Phaer, Thomas, 240
- Phalaris, *Epistles of, ed. pr.* 1498, 104; Bentley on, 402-3
- Phavorinus, 107 n. 3
- Philemon and Menander, 406, 409; see *Menander*
- Philips, Ambrose, 281
- Philoponus, *ed. pr.* Ven. (1) De quinque Dialectis in the *Thesaurus* (1476); (2) In Analytica Post. (1504), 104; (3) De Gen. Animal. (1526); (4) De Gen. et Interitu (1527); (5) De Anima (1535); (6) De Aeternitate Mundi (1535); (7) In Physica (1535); (8) In Meteor. (1551); (9) In Metaphysica, transl. into Latin by Fr. Patricius (Ferrara, 1583); (10) Collectio Vocum quae pro diversa significatione Accentum diversum accipiunt, *ed.* Erasmus Schmid (Witt. 1615)
- Philosophicae, Jönsen De Scriptoribus Historiae*, 365
- Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum, Heroicus and Imagines, ed. pr.* (Flor. 1496); *Vita Apollonii* (Ven. 1504), 100, 104; *Opera*, F. Morel (Par. 1608); Olearius (Leipzig, 1709), including conjectures by Bentley
- Philoxenus, Glossary of, *ed.* H. Stephanus (Par. 1573); Vulcanius (L. B. 1600)
- Phlegon, *ed. pr.* (Bas. 1568), 105; Meursius (L. B. 1620)
- Phocylides, 379
- Photius, *Bibliotheca, ed. pr.* Hoeschel (Augs. 1601), 272; 105; *ed.* Schott (Augs. 1606; Gen. 1612; Rouen, 1653), 305; *Lexicon*, 201; *codex Galcanus*, 355, 428; *ed.* Hermann (1808), 428 n. 3; Porson (*ed.* Dobree, 1822), 428
- Phreas, John, 223
- Phrynichus, *Ecloga, ed.* Z. Callierges in *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1517) and in the *Thesaurus* of 1523; in Aldine *Lexicon* (Ven. 1524), and in Vas-cosan's *ed.* (Par. 1532); *ed.* Nunnesius (Barc. 1586), 159; Hoeschel (Augs. 1601), 272; Pauw (Utr. 1739)
- Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius, 72 f; see *Sylvius* and *Pius II*
- Piccolomini, Alessandro, on Ar. *Poet.*, 134
- Pichena, Curzio, 303
- Pierson, Johann, 461
- Pighius (P'ighe), (Stephan Wynants), 217
- Pilatus, Leontius, his Latin rendering of Homer, 8 f, 15
- Pillans, James, 422
- Pincianus, Nonius, 158
- Pindar, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1513), 98, 104, 118, 195; (Rome, 1515), 80, 107; Vatican MS, 154; *ed.* Schmied (Witt. 1616), 272; Jo. Benedictus (Saumur, 1620); Oxon. 1697; Twining on, 420; metres of, 380; imitators of, 281 f
- Piranesi, Gianbattista, 380
- Pirkheimer, Wilibald, 259
- Pisanello, Vittore, 54, 70
- Pithou (Pithoeus), Pierre, 191 f; Phaedrus, *ed. pr.* (1596), 103; 194, 205
- Pitt, (1) Christopher, 416; (2) William, 433 f
- Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini), 55, 72 f, 90; III, 90
- Pizzolpasso, Francesco, 35
- Plantin, Christopher, 213; 105
- Planudes, Maximus, 405
- Platina (Bartolomeo de' Sacchi), 92 f
- Plato, Petrarch's MS, 9 f; *Republic*, transl. by Chrysoloras and Decembrio, 20, 221; *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, *Crito*, *Apology*, *Phaedrus* and *Letters*, by Bruni, 46; *Lysis* and *Parmenides*, by Georgius Trapezuntius and Theodorus Gaza, 63; *Charmides*, by Politian, 86; the whole, by Ficino, 81
- ed. pr.* (Ven. 1513), 79, 98, 104; (Bas. 1534 and 1556); *Lysis*, *ed.* Victorius, 137; Muretus on *Rep.* i, ii, 150; *ed.* II. Stephanus (Par. 1578), 175 f; *ed.* Bipont. (1781-6); *scholia* (Ruhnken), 460; *Phaeilo, ed.* Wytttenbach (1810), 464

- Controversy on Plato and Aristotle, 74 f; 60, 71; Gemistos Plethon, 60; the Platonic Academy of Florence, 81; Plato and Virgil, 82; the Platonist Patrizzi, 152; the Cambridge Platonists, 353
- Plautus, studied by Petrarch, 6; *codex Ursinianus*, 34, 50; Niccoli's MS, 43; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1472), 103; edd. Beroaldo, Buccardus, Britannico, 87; imitated by Machiavelli, 88; performances in Italy, 92, and the Netherlands, 212; influence on Italian literature, 155 f; ed. Camerarius (Bas. 1558), 266; Janus Dousa on, 301; Acidalius on, 273; Lipsius on, 304; ed. Lambinus (Par. 1576), 190; Taubmann (Witt. 1605), 362; Paretti (1610), 362; J. F. Gronovius (1664), 321; Bentley on, 407; ed. Jean Capperonnier (1759), 389
- Pleades*, Burney's, 429
- Plethon, Georgios Gemistos, 60
- Pliny, (1) the elder, studied by Petrarch, 8; text revised by Guarino, 50, and Perotti, 71; transl. by Landino, 82; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1469), 97, 103; *Comm.* by Beroaldo (1476), 86; *Castigationes* by Hermolaus Barbarus (1492), 83; ed. Erasmus (1525), 131; em. Bentus Rhenanus (1526), 263; ed. Gelenius (1535), 265; Dalecampius (1587); Nonius Pincianus in Commelin's ed. (1593), 158; Salmasius on (1629), 285; ed. J. F. Gronovius (1669), 321; Hardouin (1685), 298; Count Rezzonico on (1763), 379; Engl. transl. by Philemon Holland (1601), 243
- Pliny, (2) the younger, unknown to Petrarch, 8; a MS discovered by Guarino, 50; *ed. pr. Epp., libri viii* (Ven. 1471), 103; Rome, 1474; ed. Pomponius Lactus, Rome, 1490; *libri ix*, ed. Fra Giocondo (Ven. 1508), 42, 99; H. Stephanus (Par. 1591); Gruter (1611); Veenhusen (L. B. 1669); Cellarius (Leipzig, 1693, 1700); G. Cortius (Amst. 1734); J. M. Gesner (Leipzig, 1739, 1770); Correspondence with Trajan, 36; *Panegyric*, 34; *ed. pr.* (c. 1482), 103; ed. Lipsius (Ant. 1600 etc.), 304
- Plotinus, transl. by Ficino (1492), 82; *ed. pr.* (Bas. 1580), 105
- Plutarch, *Vitae*, Latin translations by Bruni, 46, Guarino, 50, Filelfo, 55, Campano, 73; Latin transl. of *Vitae* (Rome, 1470); Guarino's transl. of Plutarch, On Education, 53; *ed. pr., Moralia* (Ven. 1509), 98, 104; *Vitae* (Flor. 1517), 105; Bryan (Lond. 1729); *Opera* (Gen. 1572), 105; French transl. by Amyot (1559), 195 f, quoted by Montaigne, 197; *Lives*, Engl. transl. by North (1612), 242, Dryden (1683 f), and the Langhorns (1770); *Moralia*, ed. Wyttenbach (1795-1821), 463
- Poetry, Italian criticism of, 133-5; the elder Scaliger on, 178; G. J. Vossius on, 309; D. Heinsius on tragic poetry, 314
- Poggio Bracciolini, 25-34; 38; 18, 21 f, 157, 162, 220, 274
- Poland, 275 f
- Politian (Angelo Poliziano), 83-86; 35, 63 f, 76, 115, 160, 226; portrait, 58
- Pollux, Filelfo's MS, 56; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1502), 104; (Flor. 1520), 227; ed. Grynaeus (Bas. 1536); Seber (Frankf. 1608); Hemsterhuys (Amst. 1706), 449
- Polyaenus, *ed. pr.*, Casaubon (Lyon, 1539), 208; 105; ed. Maaswyck (Leyden, 1690); Mursinna (Berl. 1756)
- Polybius, noticed by Vergerio, 49; transl. by Bruni, 46, and Perotti, 71 (Rome, 1473); studied by Machiavelli, 89; *ed. pr. De Militia Romana* with transl. by Lascaris (Ven. 1529); *ed. pr. i-v* (Hagenau, 1530), 105; i-iv and Epitome of vii-xvii, ed. Arlenius (Bas. 1549), 265 n. 1; *Excerpta de Legationibus*, ed. Ursinus (Ant. 1582); ed. Casaubon (1609), 209; *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, ed. Valesius (1634), 287; Jakob Gronovius (Amst. 1670; ed. Ernesti, Leipzig, 1763 f), 329; Schweighäuser, with Lexicon (Leipzig, 1789-95; Oxon. 1823), 396; Thuillier's French transl., 389; Thucydides and Polybius, 452
- Pompeius on Donatus; *Salutati*, 18 (Keil, *Gr. Lat. v*)
- Pompeius (Festus), Sextus, ed. Perotti, 71, see *Festus*

- Pomponazzi (Pomponatus), Pietro, 108-112, 118
- Pomponius Laetus, 92 f; see *Laetus*
- Pomponius Mela; see *Mela*
- Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano, 90
- Pope, Alexander, 117, 122, 407 f, 410 f
- Porphyrio on Horace, 35; in Horace, ed. 1481, and in ed. G. Fabricius (Bas. 1555)
- Porphyrius, the syllogisms (of his Introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*) denounced by Petrarch, 10; *Homericæ*, ed. pr. (Rome, 1518), 105, 107; *Scholæ* on the *Iliad*, added to Valckenæer's ed. (1747) of Ursinus' Virgil; *De Abſtinentia*, ed. Victorius (1548), 137
- Porson, Richard, 424-430; 405, 418, 422 f, 431; portrait, 426
- Portraits, ancient, 163
- Port-Royal, Jansenists of, 290
- Portugal, 162 f
- Portus, Aemilius, 271; Franciscus, 271; 205
- Potter, John, 356; 329
- Pozzo, Cassiano and Antonio dal, 279
- Premierfait, Laurent de, 166
- Priapeia*, Boccaccio's transcript, 13
- Prideaux, Humphrey, 343
- Printers of classical works in Italy, 77-80, 95-105; France, 167-170; Netherlands, 213 f, 331 f; England, 227; Germany, 262 f
- Printing, Maittaire's history of, 411
- Prior, Matthew, 388
- Priscian, 28, 68; ed. pr. (Ven. 1470), 103; ed. Putschius in *Gramm. Lat.* (Hanov. 1605), 313
- Probus, Aem. (i.e. Nepos), ed. pr. (1471), 103; see *Nepos*
- Probus, grammarian, *Ars Minor* or *Institutio Artium*, discovered by Poggio, 29 f; *Catholica*, discovered by Merula, 35; Pseudo-Probus on Juvenal, ed. pr., G. Valla (Ven. 1486), 103
- Proclus, *Chrestomathia*, ed. Schott (Hanov. 1615), 305
- Proclus, *Sphere* of, trans. Linacre, 98
- Procopius, Aurispa's MS, 36; transl. by Bruni, 45 (Foligno, 1470; Ven. 1471), and Grotius (1655), 317; part of *Bellum Gothicum* in Pithoeus, *Codex Legum Wisigothorum* (Par. 1579); ed. Hoeschel (Augs. 1676); Vulcanius (L. B. 1597, 1617); *De Aedificiis*, ed. pr. (Bas. 1531); *Historia Arcana* ed. pr. (Lyon, 1623)
- Propertius; Petrarch, 6, 17; *Salutati*, 17; ed. pr. (1472), 103, Politian's copy, 84; ed. Beroaldo (1487), 87; imitated by Valeriano, 122; ed. Muretus (1558), 150; Scaliger (1577), 201; Broukhusius (1702), 330; N. Heinsius on (1742), 325; Volpi (1755), 379; Barth (1778); Hemsterhuys, 450, in Burman II's ed. (1780), 455
- Prosody, Latin; Perotti on, 71
- Prosper, *Chronicon*, MS of, 73; *Epigrammata*, ed. 1494, Maintz; ed. 1502, Ven., 103
- Prostadius, bp, 252
- Prudentius, 35, 325; ed. pr. (Deventer, 1472); Weitzius (Hanov. 1613); Chamillard (Par. 1687); Cellarius (Hal. 1703, '39); Teolius (Parm. 1788); Faustinus Arevalus (Rome, 1788 f)
- Ptolemy, (1) on Astronomy, *μεγάλη σφαιραξίς*, *Almagest*, Latin epitome by Regiomontanus (Ven. 1496), 252; ed. pr. of Gk text, Grynaeus (Bas. 1538); Catalogue of stars, Latin transl. (Col. 1537), end of vol. iii in Hudson's *Geogr. Gr. minores* (Oxon. 1698-1712); (2) *Tetrabiblon* and *Centiloquium*, ed. Camerarius (Norimb. 1535), and Melanchthon (Bas. 1553); (3) *De Apparentiis et Significationibus inerrantium stellarum*, in Petau's *Uranologium* (Par. 1630); (4) *De Analemmate* (Rome, 1572); (5) *Planisphaerium* (1507 f, and Ven. 1558); (6) *Harmonica* (Ven. 1562), ed. Wallis (Oxon. 1682, '89); (7) on Geography, *γεωγραφικὴ ὑφ' ἑρμῆως*, Latin transl. (Rome, 1462 etc.), Servetus (Lyon, 1541); ed. pr. of Gk text, Erasmus (Bas. 1533; Amst. 1605; L. B. 1619; Ant. 1624), 131; 105
- Pufendorf, 311
- Pulmannus (Theodor Poelman), 216; 214
- Punic War, First; Bruni's history of, 46
- Purple dye, Politian on, 84
- Puteanus, Erycius (Hendrik van Put), 305, 316
- Putschius (Helias van Putschen), 313; 105

- Pythagoras, golden verses of, 379;
Lives of, 446
- Querolus* (fourth cent. imitation of the *Aulularia* of Plautus), ed. Daniel (1564), 191
- Quintilian, imperfect MS possessed by Petrarch, 8, 27; complete MS discovered by Poggio, 27; first modern introduction, by Vergerio, 48; influence of, in the Renaissance, 48, 53 n. 2, 116; Valla, 67; Politian, 83 f.; Pomponius Laetus, 93; *Institutio Oratoria*, ed. *pr.*, Campano (Rome, 1470), 73, 103; ed. 2, Giov. Andrea de Bussi (Rome, 1470), 97; ed. 3 (Ven. 1471); ed. Navagero (Ven. 1514), 118; Cl. Capperonnier (1725), 389; *Inst. Orat.* and *Decl.* ed. Burman (1720), 443; ed. *pr.* of *Declamationes iii* (Rome, 1475), *xix* (Ven. 1481), *xxxviii* (Parma, 1494), 103
- Quintus Smyrnaeus, discovered by Bessarion, 37; transcribed by Const. Lascaris, 77; ed. *pr.* Ald. (Ven. 1504-5); ed. Rhodomann (Hanov. 1604), 271
- quisquis* and *quanguam*, pronunciation of, 184
- Rabelais, François, 182-4
- Rabstein, Johann von, 252
- Racine, 290, 314
- Radewyns, Florentius, 211
- Raimondi, Cosimo, 31
- Ramus, Petrus (Pierre de la Ramée), 184; 133, 198, 238, 247, 268
- Rancé, Armand de, 297
- Raphael, 90, 115, 121 f
- Rapin, (1) Nicolas (1540-1608), 206; (2) René (1621-1687), 291; 290; his *Réflexions sur l'Art Poétique d'Aristote*, translated by Thomas Rymer (1674), cp. Springarn's *Critical Essays of the 17th Cent.* (1908), ii 163 f
- Ravenna, John of, 22
- Regiomontanus, Johannes (Johann Müller of Königsberg), 252; 103
- Reichenau, MSS, 28 f, 296
- Reinesius, Thomas, 364
- Reitz, Johann Friedrich and Karl Conrad, 453
- Renaissance, 2 f
- Rescius (Rutger Ressen), 213
- Resende, Luis Andrea de, 162
- Reuchlin (Capnion), Johann, 256 f; 63 f, 169, 211, 258
- Revett, Nicholas, 432
- Rezzonico della Torre, Antonio Giuseppe conte, 379
- Rhenanus, Beatus (Bilde von Rheinau), 263; 36, 79 n. 4, 103
- Rhetores Latini*, 389; *Gracci*, ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1508-9), 98, 104; *Orationes Rhetorum Graecorum*, ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1513), 98, 104
- Rhetoric, G. J. Vossius on, 307
- Rhodomann, Lorenz, 271
- Riccoboni, Antonio, 134, 144
- Rienzi, 38
- Riescio of Poggibonsi, Giorgio, 137
- Rigault (Rigaltius), Nicolas, 283
- Rinucci, 66; Rinutius, transl. of Aesop (c. 1478), 104
- Rivius, Johann, 268
- Robortelli, Francesco, 140-143; 105, 134, 139, 152
- Rollock, Hercules, 249
- Roman Antiquities, 121; Savile on, 334; chronology, 143; early history criticised by Perizonius, 331; Orsini's fragments of Roman historians, 154; Sigonius on legal rights of Roman citizens, 143; Orsini and Agostino on Roman families, 154; Robortelli (140 f), Sigonius (143) and Panvinio (145) on Roman names. See also *Fasti*
- Rome, ruins of, 92; topography of, 154, 279; Academy of, 90-93, 123; printing-press in the palace of the Massimi, 97; Greek press on the Quirinal, 79 (Monte Caballo, 105, 107); Vatican Library, 34, 66, 90, 92, 154; sack of (1527), 122 f; 93, 121, 133
- Ronsard, Pierre de, 149, 176, 187 f, 190, 195
- Rosetta Stone, 425
- Rossfeld (Rosinus), Johann, 340
- Rossi, Roberto de', 19
- Rubens, 306
- Rubianus, Crotus (Johann Jäger of Dornheim), 257
- Rucellai, Bernardo, 88
- Ruddiman, Thomas, 411
- Rue, Charles de la, 292
- Ruhnken (originally Ruhneken), David, 456-460; 151, 304, 389, 402, 418 f, 429, 431, 443, 451 f, 454; portrait, 458
- Rustica, Scriptorum de Re*, Guarino,

- 84; *ed. pr.* (1472), 103; Sylburg, 270
- Rustici, Cencio, 26
- Rutilius Lupus, 459; see *Lupus*
- Rycke, Theodorus de, 328
- Sabellius, Marcus Antonius (Marcantonio Coccio), 92, 154 n. 3
- Sabinus, Franciscus Floridus, 179
- Sadoletto, Jacopo, 115; 91, 93, 115 f, 118, 123, 247
- Sainte-Croix, Guillaume Emmanuel Joseph, Baron de, 397, 459
- Sainte-Marthe, Scévole de, 198
- Salel, Hugues, 194
- Saliat, Pierre, 195, 197
- Sallust, studied by Petrarch, 8; one of Politian's models, 85; *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1470), 103; ed. Pomponius Laetus (1490), 93; Muretus on, 150; ed. Rivius (1539), 268; Victorius (1576), 137
- Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise), 285, 309; 207, 210, 307, 316, 318, 322, 453; portrait, 284
- Salutati, Coluccio, 17 f; 7, 27, 166, 276
- Salviati, Leonardo, 134, 140
- Sambucus, Johann, 238; 105
- Sanadon, Noël Étienne, 390; 290
- Sanctius Brocensis (Francisco Sanchez); *Minerva*, 159; 69 n. 1, 330, 363
- Sandys, George, 241
- San Gallo, Giuliano da, 42
- Sannazaro, Jacopo (Actius Sincerus Sannazarius), 90; 35, 115, 117, 119, 330
- Sanok, Gregor of, 276
- Sanskrit, 438 f
- Santen, Laurens van, 461; 450, 455
- Santeul (Santolius), Jean Baptiste, 290
- Savile, Sir Henry, 333-6; 207 f, 352
- Savonarola, Girolamo, 87
- Scala, Bartolomeo, 85, 87
- Scaliger (della Scala, de L'Escale), (1) Julius Caesar, the elder Scaliger (1484-1558), 135; 177 f; 117, 119, 130, 148, 180, 198 (2) Joseph Justus (1540-1609), 199-204, 305; leaves France for Leyden (1593), 283; at Leyden, 305 f; his pupils D. Heinsius and Grotius, 319; his influence on Cluverius, 313, Fr. Douss, 301, and H. Lindembrog, 364; aids Gruter, 359, 445, and Woverius, 306; is aided by Casaubon, 207, emulated by Savile, 336, visited by an English scholar at Leyden, 234; his style, 210; his table-talk, 344; his portrait, 200; epigram by Grotius on his portrait, 318; Scaliger on Aldus Manutius II, 101, Budaeus, 171, Casaubon, 205, 208, 209, Dorat, 187, Grotius, 315, Gruter, 361, Lambinus, 190, Lipsius, 304, Muretus, 151, Pithou, 192, Turnebus, 186, Victorius, 139, 176, 186, Vossius' *Rhetoric*, 307; Ménage on Scaliger's Greek verses, 290; Scaliger and Melville, 247, Delrio, 203, Scioppius, 203, 362 f; his chronology defended by Perizonius, 331; Casaubon, 205, and Hemsterhuys, 452, on Scaliger; Scaliger and Bentley, 409
- Scapula, Johann, 176, 457
- Scarparia, (1) Giacomo da, 19; (2) Angeli da, 36
- Schedel, Hartman, 253; 40
- Scheffer, Johann, 368; iii 341
- Schlettsstadt, 255
- Schmied, Erasmus, 272
- Scholarship, History of; its four principal periods, 1 f
- Schoolmen, Savile on the, 333
- Schott, Andreas, 305
- Schrader, Johannes, 455, 459
- Schrevelius (Kornelis Schrevel), 374
- Schweighäuser, Johann, 396, 418
- Scioppius (Schoppe), Caspar, 362; 203, 281
- Scot, Alexander, 146
- Scotland, 243-250
- Scriverius, Petrus (Peter Schryver), 307, 326
- Seber, Wolfgang, 364
- Secundus, Joannes (Jan Everaerts), 216, 307
- Sedulius, 35; earliest dated ed. (Ven. 1502), 103; ed. Cellarius (1704, '39), Arntzen (1761), Arevalus (1794)
- Segni, Bernardo, 134
- Séguier, Pierre, 287; *Lexica Segueriana*, 287
- Selden, John, 342-4; 203, 315
- Selling, William of, 223-5
- Seneca, his *Letters* studied by Petrarch, 4, 7; MSS collated by Salutati, 18; *Moralia et Epp.*, *ed. pr.* (Naples,

- 1475), 103; ed. Erasmus (1515), 131; ed. Nonius Pincianus, 158; quoted by Montaigne, 197; translated by T. Lodge (Lond. 1614); *Opera omnia* ed. Lipsius (*Trag.* 1598; *Op. phil.* 1605), 304; both the Senecas, ed. Gronovius (1649-58), 321; *De Morte Claudii*, ed. Beatus Rhenanus (1515), 263; Seneca's *Tragedies* studied by Petrarch, 6; transcribed by Regiomontanus, 252; *ed. pr.* (Ferrara, c. 1474-84), 103; their influence on Italian literature, 155; text corrected by Acidalius, 273
- Sepúlveda (Gordulensis), Genesis, 158
- Sergardi, 281
- Seripando, Cardinal, 142
- Servius on Virgil, studied by Filelfo, 56, and Rabelais, 183; *ed. pr.* (Flor. 1471-2), 97; R. Stephanus (Par. 1532); Daniel (Par. 1600); Maaswyck (Leeuwarden, 1717); and in Burman's Virgil (Amst. 1746)
- Seyssel, Claude de, 194
- Siorza, Francesco, 56; Hippolyta, 77
- Shakespeare, 196, 240, 243
- Shaw, Thomas, 419
- Sherburne, Sir Edward, 351
- Siberch, John, Cambridge printer, 227
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 304
- Sidonius, Apollinaris, ed. Sirmond, 283
- Sigeros, Nicolaus, 8
- Sigonius (Carlo Sigone or Sigonio), 143-5; his feud with Robortelli, 141-3; his contention, that the *Consolatio* was the work of Cicero, refuted by Guilielmus, 273, Riccoboni, 144, and Lipsius, 304
- Silius Italicus, MS discovered by Poggio, 29 f.; *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1471), 97, 103; Grotius (1636), 317; Cellarius (1695); Drakenborch, (1717), 447; N. Heinsius on (1742), 325
- Simplicius on Aristotle's *Categories*, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1499), 80, 104; Simplicius, with Epictetus, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1528), 105; ed. D. Heinsius (L.B. 1611); Schweighäuser (1799 f), 396
- Sirmond, Jacques, 283
- Sixtus IV, 90, 92
- Sluiter, Janus Otto, 461
- Smetius, Martin (d. 1578), 145
- Smith, Sir Thomas, 231 f
- 'Socrates', Letters of, 404
- Solinus, 285, 309
- Sophocles, Laur. MS, 36 f, 137; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1502), 98, 104; ed. Simon Colinaeus (Par. 1528), 170; Juntine ed., Victorius (Flor. 1547); Turnebus (Par. 1553 f); H. Stephanus (Par. 1568); W. Canter (1579), 216; Johnson (1705-46), 418; Heath on (1762), 417; ed. Jean Capperonnier (1781), 389; Brunck (1786-9), 395; Musgrave on (1800), 418; *scholia*, *ed. pr.* (1517-8), 79, 107; Italian transl., 155
- Sorož, univ., 327
- Spain, 157-162
- Spalding, Georg Ludwig, 460
- Spanheim, Ezechiel, 327; 402
- Spence, John, 411, 431
- Spenser, Edmund, 237, 240, 243
- Spira, Jo. de, 97, 99, 103; Vindelino de, 103
- Spon and Wheler, 299
- Stanley, Thomas, 351, 427
- Stanyhurst, Richard, 240
- Statesmen, scholarly, 433
- Stattius, *Thebais* and *Achilleis*, studied by Petrarch, 6; *ed. pr.* c. 1470. *Silvae* discovered by Poggio, 31; Madrid MS, 162; *ed. pr.*, with Tib., Prop., Cat. (Ven. 1472), 103; Politian's copy of this ed., 84; ed. Dom. Calderinius (Rome, 1475); J. F. Gronovius on (1637), 321; ed. Markland (1728); ed. Sillig, (1827), 413. *ed. pr.* of *Opera omnia*, *Thebais*, *Achilleis* and *Silvae* (Ven. 1475-83), 103; ed. Bernartius (Ant. 1595); F. Lindembrog (Par. 1600); Gevartius (L. B. 1616); J. F. Gronovius (Amst. 1653); Marolles (Par. 1658); Barth (1664), 363
- Stattius, Achilles, 163, 189
- Stephanus Byzantinus, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1502), 104; Flor. 1521; ed. Xylander (Bas. 1568); Thomas de Pinedo (Amst. 1678); Salmasius, Gronovius and Berkelius (L. B. 1688, 1694)
- Stephanus (Estienne), Robertus, 173; 105, 415; portrait, 174; Henricus, 175-7; 105; Carolus, 105
- Stillingfleet, Edward, 401
- Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, *ed. pr.* Trincaveli (1535), 105; ed. Conrad Gesner (1543 etc.), 269; transl. by


- Grotius, 316; *Eclogae*, ed. pr. Canter (1575), 105; *Florilegium* and *Eclogae* (Gen. 1609)
- Strabo, transl. by Guarino, 50, 66; ed. pr. (Ven. 1516), 104; ed. Xylander (Bas. 1571), 270; Casaubon (Gen. 1587, Par. 1620; ed. Almeloveen, Amst. 1707), 208
- Strada, Famianus, 280f; 363
- Strassburg, 255, 263, 267, 296, 367 f, 395 f
- Strozzi, Palla, 19, 37, 43, 46, 63, 76
- Stuart, James, 432
- Sturm, Johannes, 267; 235, 238, 339
- Subiaco, 96
- Suetonius, studied by Petrarch, 8; ed. pr. Campano (Rome, 1470), 73, 97, 103; ed. Erasmus (1518), 131; Achilles Statius on, 163; ed. Casaubon (Gen. 1595; Par. 1610), 209; Schild (L. B. 1647); Burman (Amst. 1736), 443; Oudendorp (L. B. 1751), 454; transl. by Philemon Holland (1606), 243; MS of Suetonius, *de gram. et rhet.*, 35
- Suidas, ed. pr. (Milan, 1499) 65, 102, 104; ed. Aldus (Ven. 1514; Bas. 1544); H. Wolf (Bas. 1564, 1581), 268; Aem. Portus (Gen. 1619, 1630); Kiltser (Cantab. 1705), 446; 408; Porson on, 429
- Sulpicia, 35
- Sweynheym and Pannartz, 96, 103
- Swift, Jonathan, 405
- Sydenham, Floyer, 417
- Sylburg, Friedrich, 270; 203
- Sylvester I, Valla on Pope, 67
- Sylvius Piccolomini, Aeneas (Pius II), 72 f; 220, 251 f, 273, 276
- Symmachus, *Epp.* ed. pr. (c. 1508-13), 103; Strassb. 1510; Bas. 1549; Par. 1580 etc.; Juretus (Par. 1604); Scioppius (Maintz, 1608)
- Syncellus, Georgius, 202
- Synesius, ed. pr. Turnebus (Par. 1553); Petavius (Par. 1612, 1633, 1640), 283
- Syrus, Publius, *Sententiae*, ed. pr. Erasmus (Strassb. 1516); Fabricius (1550); Gruter (1604); Velsler (1608); Havercamp (1708, 1727); Bentley (1726), 407
- Tabula Isiaca*, 114
- Tacitus, unknown to Petrarch, 8; studied by Boccaccio, 13 f, 32 f; MSS of *Annals*, i-v, 108; *Annals*, xi-xvi, and *Hist.*, 14, 33, 36; *Agricola*, *Germania* and *Dialogus*, 33 f, 35; ed. pr. of *Ann.* xi-xvi, *Hist.*, *Germ.*, *Dial.* (Ven. c. 1470), 103; *Agricola* (c. 1482), 103; *Opera Omnia*, ed. Beroaldo (Rome, 1515), 103, 108; quoted by Machiavelli, 89; Muretus on, 150; ed. Beatus Rhenanus (Bas. 1519-33), 263; Muretus on, 150; ed. Lipsius (1574 etc.), 303; Bocalini on, 88; ed. Gronovius (1672), 321; Brotier (Par. 1771), 394; *Germania*, ed. Conring (1652), 368; *Annals* and *Germania*, transl. by Grenaway; *Histories* and *Agricola* by Savile, 333
- Talbot, Robert, 334
- Tarragona, Antonio Agostino, abp of, 160, 154
- Tasso, 156
- Taubmann, Friedrich, 273, 362
- Taylor, (1) Jeremy, 352; (2) John, 414; 337
- Telesio, Bernardino, 153
- Temple, Sir William, 403
- Terentianus Maurus, 35; in Putschius, *Gram. Lat.*; ed. Santen and Van Lennep (Utr. 1825)
- Terence, studied by Petrarch, 6; Boccaccio's MS, 12; Politian, 84; Bembo's MS, 112, 114, 154; ed. pr. (Milan, c. 1470), 103; ed. Britannico (1485), 87; Navagero (1517), 118; Erasmus (1532), 131; Muretus (1555 etc.), 150; Faërnus (Flor. 1565), 147; Victorius em. (1565), 137; F. Lindenbrog (Par. 1602; Frankf. 1623), 364; Pareus, with index (Neustadt, 1619), 362; Bentley (Cantab. 1726 etc.), 407; Westerhof (Hag. 1727 etc.); MS of Donatus on, 34 f; Bembo on Terence, 114; influence of Terence on Italian literature, 156
- Testi, Fulvio, 282
- Themistius, transl. by Hermolaus Barbarus (Ven. 1481), 83; MS of, 158; *Paraphrases*, and 8 *Orations*, ed. pr. (Ven. 1534); 13 *Orations*, ed. H. Stephanus (1562); Petavius (1613-18); Hardouin (1684)
- 'Themistocles', Letters of, 404
- Theocritus, ed. pr., *Id.* i-xviii (Milan, c. 1493), 97, 104; i-xxx (Ven. 1496 N.S.), 98, 104; (Rome, 1516), 80; Latin verse transl. by Eobanus

- Hessus (1531), 261 f; Casaubon on, 209; ed. Thomas Warton (1770) with *scholia*; Brunck's *Analecta* (1772), 395; Valckenaeer (1779-81), 456
- Theognis, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1496 N.S.), 104; Par. 1537, 1543; Camerarius (Bas. 1551); Melanchthon (Witt. 1560); Seber (Leipzig, 1603, 1620); Sylburg, *Poëtae Gnomici* (Utr. 1651, 1748); Just (1710); Fischern (1739); Bandini (Flor. 1766), 379; Brunck, *Poëtae Gnomici* (Strassb. 1784, 1817)
- Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, transl. by Gaza, 62, 66; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1495-8), 104; ed. D. Heinsius (1613); Bandini (1770), 380. *Characters*, ed. Pirkheimer (1527); Casaubon (1592, 1599, 1612), 208; Duport, 349; Needham (1712), 413; Pauw (1737); Fischer (1763); Amaduzzi (1786), 384
- Thesaurus Cornucopiae* (Ven. 1496), 108 n. 1; *Thesauri* of Robert, 173, and Henri Estienne, 175; Graevius, 328, and Jakob Gronovius, 329
- Thomas Magister, *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1517), 80; in the *Aldine Dictionary Gr.* (Ven. 1525); with Phrynichus and Moschopolus (Par. 1532); ed. N. Blancardus (Franeker, 1690); Bos (Franeker, 1698), 446; Bernard (L.B. 1757), 451; *Orationes et Epp.* ed. L. Norrman (Ups. 1693)
- Thuanus (Jacques Auguste de Thou), 199, 201, 204 f, 206 f
- Thucydides, Valla's transl., 69; Bruni's transl., 89; Latin transl. at St Paul's, 220; Machiavelli, 88 f; *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1502), 98, 104; ed. H. Stephanus (1564); Hudson (1696), 356; Wasse, 412, and Duker (1731), 447; French transl. by Seyssel (1527); English transl. by Hobbes (1629)
- Thuillier, Vincent, 389
- Tiara, Petreius, 301
- Tibullus, excerpts alone known to Petrarch, 6; Tibullus, Propertius, Catullus, Statius, *Silvae*, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1472), 84, 103; Politian's copy, 84; ed. 2 (Ven. 1475); Tibullus, ed. Bernardinus Cyllenius Veronensis (Rome, 1475); imitated by Bembo, 112, 114; ed. Muretus (1558), 150; Achilles Statius (1566 f), 163; Catullus, Tibullus, Prop., ed. Scaliger (1577, 1582, 1600), 201; Passerat (1608), 191; Broukhusius (Amst. 1708), 330; Volpi (Patav. 1710, 1749), 379; Heyne (ed. 1777), 420; cp. Cartault, *A propos du Corpus Tibullianum* (1906), 1-74
- Tifernas, Gregorius (Gregorio da Città di Castello), 66 n., 168
- Timaeus, Platonis, *Lexicon* of, ed. Ruhnken, 450, 457, 463
- Tiptoft, John, earl of Worcester, 63, 221
- Tiraqueau, André, 182 f
- Tissard, François, 170
- Titian, 106, 136, 139
- 'Titus Livius of Forli', 220
- Tolemei, Claudio, 93
- Torrentius (van Beeck), Hermann, 216
- Tortellius (Giovanni Tortelli), 68
- Tooke, John Horne, 431
- Tory, Geoffroy, 195
- Toup, Jonathan, 417; 427
- Toussain (Tusanus), Jacques, 181, 195
- Townley, Charles, 434
- Trajan's column, 280
- Trapezuntius, Georgius, 63; 54, 66, 75
- Trappe, La, 297
- Traversari, Ambrogio (Ambrosius Camaldulensis), 44 f; 19, 34, 36
- Triclinius, 395
- Trincaveli, or Trincavelli, Vettore (1491-1593), ed. Arrian's Epictetus (printed by J. F. Trincavelli, Ven. 1535), 105; ed. Aristotle's *Poetic* (1536), 133
- Trissino, Giovanni Giorgio, 282
- Trithemius (of Tritenheim), Johannes, 259; 258, 296
- Tryphiodorus, 379
- Tübingen, 270
- Tunstall, (1) Cuthbert, 170; (2) James, 413
- Turberville, George, 241
- Turnebus (Tournebu, Tournebus, Tournebou), Adrianus, 185 f; 139, 150, 189 f, 193, 197 f, 268, 340; portrait, 185
- Tursellinus, Horatius (Orazio Torsellino), 369
- Twining, Thomas, 420 f
- Twyne, Thomas, 240
- Tyrwhitt, Thomas, 419; 405, 457
- Ulpian, on Demosthenes, *ed. pr.* (Ven. 1503), 104

- 'Unity of Time', 188; the 'Three Unities', 291
 Urbano da Bologna, 109
 Urbino, Federigo, duke of, 54, 95 f
 Urceus, Codrus (Antonio Urceo), 91
 Ursinus, Fulvius (Fulvio Orsini), 153; 160, 189, 456
- Vacca, Flaminio, 155
 Vadianus (Joachim von Watt), 260
 Vegetius (Heinrich Veget), *De Stylo Latino*, 69 n. 1
 Vaillant, Jean François Foy, 391
 Valckenaer, Lodewyk Kaspar, 456f; 402, 451, 457, 461
 Valdarfer, Christopher, 99, 103
 Valeriano, Piero, 122
 Valerius Flaccus, MS discovered by Poggio, 27; Poggio's autograph copy, 24, 29, 162; Laur. MS, 28; *ed. pr.* (Bol. 1474), 103; *ed. Jo. Bapt. Pius* (Bologna, 1519); Lud. Carrio (Ant. 1565 f); N. Heinsius (Amst. 1680), 325; Burman (Utr. 1724), 443; 409
 Valerius Maximus, studied by Petrarch, 8; *ed. pr.* (Strassb. c. 1470), 103; *ed.* 1502, 99; Leonicensus on, 54 n.; *ed. Pighius* (Ant. 1567 etc.), 217; Lipsius (Ant. 1585), 304; Vorst (Berl. 1672); A. Torrenius (L. B. 1726)
 Valerius, Cornelius (Kornelis Wouters), 216; 305
 Valesius, (1) Henricus (Henri de Valois), 287; 295, 335; (2) Hadrianus (Adrien de Valois, 1607-92), *De Cena Trimalchionis*, Par. 1666
 Valla, Laurentius (Lorenzo della Valle), 66-70; 128
 Valla, Georgius (Giorgio della Valle), 133
 Varchi, Benedetto, 135
 Varchiese, Antonio Francesco, 227
 Varinus (Guarino da Favera), 107 n. 3; see *Camers*
 Variorum editions, 445
 Varro, quoted by Boccaccio, 13; Filelfo's MS, 56; *De Lingua Latina*, *ed. pr.* (Rome, 1471), 93, 97, 103; *ed. Perotti*, 71; Agostino (Rome, 1554), 160; Scioppius (Ingolst. 1605), 363; *De Re Rustica*, *ed. pr.* in *Scriptores de Re Rustica* (Ven. 1472), 103; *ed. Victorius* (Lyon, 1541), 137
- Vavasseur, François (Franciscus Vavassor), 289
 Vegetius, studied by Petrarch, 8; MS discovered at St Gallen, 29; earliest dated *ed.* (Rome, 1487), 103; *ed. Scriverius* (Ant. 1585 etc.); N. Schwebel (Norimberg. 1767); Oudendorp and Bessel (Strassb. 1806); also in *Veteres de Re militari Scriptores* (Wesel, 1670)
 Veleia (S. of Piacenza), exploration of, 391
 Velius Longus, 35
 Velleius Paterculus, 36; *ed. pr. Beatus Rhenanus* (Bas. 1520), 263; 103; Acidalius (Patau. 1590), 273; Lipsius (L. B. 1591 etc.), 303; Gruter (Frankf. 1607); G. F. Vossius (L. B. 1639); Boekler (Strassb. 1642), 367; Thysius (L. B. 1653); N. Heinsius (Amst. 1678), 325; Hudson (Oxon. 1693); Burman (L. B. 1719), 443; Ruhnken (L. B. 1779), 459
 Velletri on Valla, 69 n. 1
 Venice, Academy of, 98; printing at, 97
 Vercelli, 18
 Vergara, Francisco, 159
 Vergicio, Angelo, 175
 Vergerio, Pietro Paolo, 48; 20, 251, 274
 Vernet, Jacob, 299
 Vernias, Nicoletto, 109 f
 Verona, MS of Cicero *ad Atticum etc.* discovered at, 7
 Verrius Flaccus, 160, 291; see *Festus*
 Vespasiano da Bisticci, 95 f; 221
 Vianello, Francesco, 144
 Vibius Sequester, studied by Boccaccio, 12
 Victorius, Petrus (Piero Vettori), 135-140; 105, 176, 186, 380; portrait, 136
 Vida, Marco Girolamo, 117, 133; 91, 417
 Vienne, Council of, 168
 Vigerus (François Vigier), 287
 Villoison, Jean Baptiste Gaspard d'Ansse de, 397 f; 429, 459
 Vio, Thomas de, 109
 Virgil, Medicean MS, 379; Hembine MS, 154; Petrarch and Virgil, 5; Virgil and Plato, 82; allegorical significance of Virgil, 82; Landino, 82; Politian, 84; *ed. pr.* (Rome or Strassburg, c. 1469), 97, 102, 103;

- Pomponius Laetus, 93; Aldine ed. (1501), 99; ed. Navagero (1514), 118; Cerda (1608 f), 162; N. Heinsius (1664), 325; Maaswyck (Leeuwarden, 1727) with Servius, Philargyrius etc.; Burman (1746), 443; Martyn's *Bucolics* and *Georgics* (1741-9), iii 429; Vida's imitation of Virgil, 117; Virgil, Vida's model of epic verse, 133; Bembo's apostrophe, 115; Orsini's illustrations, 153; Virgil's influence on Italian literature, 156; *Aeneid*, transl. in Scottish verse by Gawin Douglas (ed. 1553); transl. Dryden (1697), 356; Chr. Pitt (1740), 416; *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, Jos. Warton; *Appendix Vergiliana*, discovered by Boccaccio, 13; Bembo on *Culex*, 114; *Catalecta*, ed. Scaliger (1573), 201; *Ciris*, ed. Barth, 363
- Virgilius*, or *Vergilius*, 84
- Virgilius, Marcellus, 89
- Virulus, Carolus, 212
- Visconti, Ennio Quirino; Filippo Aurelio; Pietro; Ludovico Tullio; 383 f
- Vitéz, Joannes, 274, 276
- Vitruvius, 28, 42; ed. *pr.* (Rome, c. 1486), 103; Fra Giocondo (Ven. 1511), 42; study of, 93, 122 (Raphael); transl. by Martin, 194
- Vittorino da Feltre, 53-55; 71, 183; portrait, 54
- Vivès, Juan Luis, 214 f; 158; cp. Bonilla y San Martín, *Luis Vives y la filosofía del renacimiento*, 814 pp. (Madrid, 1903), with portrait, reproduced in *Revue Hispanique*, xii (1905), 373-412
- Volpi (Vulpus), Giannantonio, 379
- Volusenus, Florentius, 247
- Vorst, Johannes, 365
- Vossius, (1) Gerardus Johannes, 307-9; 305, 316; portrait, 308; (2) Isaac, 322; 355
- Vulcanius (De Smet), Bonaventura, 301
- Wakefield, Gilbert, 430
- Wales, 250
- Warburton, William, 417, 436
- Warham, William, 128
- Warton, Thomas (1728-1790), 3; ed. Theocritus, with *scholia* (1770), 418
- Wasse, Joseph, 412, 447
- Watson, Thomas, (1) bp of Lincoln, 237; (2) poet, of Oxford?, 241
- Watt (Vadianus), Joachim von, 260
- Webbe, William, 237, 240
- Wedderburn, David, 249
- Weingarten, abbey of, 29
- Weller (von Molsdorff), Jacob, 364
- Wellesley, Marquis (1760-1842), 434
- Welser, Marcus, 272
- Wessel, Johann, 211
- Wesseling, Peter, 453; 413
- Westphalia, John of, 213
- Whiston, William, 412
- Wilson, Sir Thomas, 236
- Wimpheling, Jacob, 255, 258
- Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 279, 384; iii 21-24
- Winterton, Ralph (1600-1636), *Poëtas Minores Graeci* (Cantab., 8 edd. between 1635 and 1700)
- Wittenberg, univ., 265 f, 272, 456
- Wolf, (1) Friedrich August, 397 f, 433, 435, 446, 460, 465; iii 51-60; (2) Hieronymus, 268 f; 272; (3) Johann Christian, 210
- Wolfenbüttel mss, 21, 35, 366
- Wood, Robert, 432
- Wotton, William, 403 f
- Wouters, Kornelis (Corn. Valerius), 216
- Wowerius, Johannes (Jan van der Wouwer), 306, 365
- Wytttenbach, Daniel, 461-5; 327, 418, 431, 457, 460; portrait, 462
- Xenophon, *De Re Equestri*, Aurispa's ms, 36; *Hieron* and *Hellenica*, transl. by Bruni, 46; *Cyrop.*, *Agex.*, *Lac. Resp.*, by Filelfo, 55; *Mem.* by Bessarion, 61; *Oeconomicus*, by Lapo, 66; *Hellenica*, ed. *pr.* (Ven. 1503), 98, 104; *Opera*, ed. Boninus (Flor. 1516), 104; *Apologia*, *Agexilaus*, *Hieron*, ed. Reuchlin (Hagenau, 1520); *Opera* (Ven. 1525), 105; ed. Brylinger (Bas. 1545); *Mem.* ed. Victorius (Flor. 1551), 137; *Opera*, H. Stephanus (Par. 1561, Gen. '81); *Cyrop.*, Savile (1615)
- Xenophon Ephesius, ed. *pr.* Antonio Cocchi (Lond. 1726); Hemsterhuys on, 450
- Ximenes, Cardinal, 157 f; 105
- Xylander (Wilhelm Holtzmann), 270; 105


-
- | | |
|--|--|
| Young, (1) Thomas, 344; (2) William,
415 | 1497), 104; Vincentius Opsopoeus
(Hagenau, 1535); Schott (Ant.
1612) |
| Zabarella, Jacopo, 109 | Zimara, Marcantonio, 109 |
| Zend, 439 | Zomino (Sozomeno) da Pistoia, 26, 28 |
| Zenobius, proverbs of, <i>ed. pr.</i> (Flor. | Zonaras, 289 |



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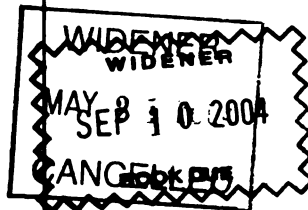
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CORRIGENDUM.

In Index to vol. II, *Chrysoloras*, now placed after *Crusius* on p. 473, should have been placed before *Chrysothem* on p. 472.