Brill's New Pauly

Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World

CLASSICAL TRADITION

A-DEL

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Brill's New Pauly

CLASSICAL TRADITION
VOLUME 1

A-Del

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Brill's

Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World

New Pauly

Edited by
Manfred Landfester in cooperation with
Hubert Cancik and *Helmuth Schneider*

English Edition
Managing Editor *Francis G. Gentry*

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BRILL
LEIDEN - BOSTON
2006

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Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

Originally published in German as DER NEUE PAULY. Enzyklopädie der Antike. In Verbindung mit Hubert Cancik und Helmuth Schneider herausgegeben von Manfred Landfester. Copyright © J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH 1996ff./1999ff. Stuttgart/Weimar

Cover design: TopicA (Antoinette Hanekuyk)
Front: Delphi, temple area

Data structuring and typesetting:
pagina GmbH, Tübingen, Germany

ISBN (volume) 90 04 14221 5
ISBN (set) 90 04 12259 1

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Table of Contents

Notes to the User VII
List of Transliterations IX
List of Abbreviations XI
List of Authors XLIX
Classical Tradition translators LI
List of Entries LIII
Entries 1

Notes to the User

Arrangement of Entries

The entries are arranged alphabetically and, if applicable, placed in chronological order. In the case of alternative forms or sub-entries, cross-references will lead to the respective main entry. Composite entries can be found in more than one place (e.g. *a commentariis* refers to *commentariis, a*).
Identical entries are differentiated by numbering.

Spelling of Entries

Greek words and names are as a rule latinized, following the predominant practice of reference works in the English language, with the notable exception of technical terms. Institutions and places (cities, rivers, islands, countries etc.) often have their conventional English names (e.g. *Rome* not *Roma*). The latinized versions of Greek names and words are generally followed by the Greek and the literal transliteration in brackets, e.g. *Aeschylus* (Αἰσχύλος; *Aischýlos*).
Oriental proper names are usually spelled according to the 'Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients' (TAVO), but again conventional names in English are also used. In the maps, the names of cities, rivers, islands, countries etc. follow ancient spelling and are transliterated fully to allow for differences in time, e.g. both Καππαδόκια and *Cappadocia* can be found. The transliteration of non-Latin scripts can be found in the 'List of Transliterations'.
Latin and transliterated Greek words are italicized in the article text. However, where Greek transliterations do not follow immediately upon a word written in Greek, they will generally appear in italics, but without accents or makra.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations can be found in the 'List of Abbreviations'. Collections of inscriptions, coins and papyri are listed under their *sigla*.

Bibliographies

Most entries have bibliographies, consisting of numbered and/or alphabetically organized references. References within the text to the numbered bibliographic items are in square brackets (e.g. [1.5 n.23] refers to the first title of the bibliography, page 5, note 23). The abbreviations within the bibliographies follow the rules of the 'List of Abbreviations'.

Cross-references

Articles are linked through a system of cross-references with an arrow → before the entry that is being referred to.
Cross-references to related entries are given at the end of an article, generally before the bibliographic notes. If reference is made to a homonymous entry, the respective number is also added.
Cross-references to entries within the *Classical Tradition* volumes are added in small capitals; cross-references to entries in the *Antiquity* volumes are added in regular type.
It can occur that in a cross-reference a name is spelled differently from the surrounding text: e.g., a cross-reference to Mark Antony has to be to Marcus → Antonius, as his name will be found in a list of other names containing the component 'Antonius'.

List of Transliterations

Transliteration of ancient Greek

α	a	alpha
αι	ai	
αυ	au	
β	b	beta
γ	g	gamma; γ before γ, κ, ξ, χ: n
δ	d	delta
ε	e	epsilon
ει	ei	
ευ	eu	
ζ	z	z(d)eta
η	ē	eta
ηυ	ēu	
θ	th	theta
ι	i	iota
κ	k	kappa
λ	l	la(m)bda
μ	m	mu
ν	n	nu
ξ	x	xi
ο	o	omicron
οι	oi	
ου	ou	
π	p	pi
ρ	r	rho
σ, ς	s	sigma
τ	t	tau
υ	y	upsilon
φ	ph	phi
χ	ch	chi
ψ	ps	psi
ω	ō	omega
῾	h	spiritus asper
ᾳ	ai	iota subscriptum (similarly ῃ, ῳ)

In transliterated Greek the accents are retained (acute ´, grave `, and circumflex ^). Long vowels with the circumflex accent have no separate indication of vowel length (makron).

Transliteration and pronounciation of Modern Greek

Only those sounds and combinations of sounds are mentioned which are different from Ancient Greek.

Consonants

β	v	
γ	gh	before 'dark' vowels like Engl. 'go'
	j	before 'light' vowels
δ	dh	like Engl. 'the'
ζ	z	like Engl. 'zeal'
θ	th	like Engl. 'thing'

Combinations of consonants

γκ	ng	
	g	in initial position
μπ	mb	
	b	in initial position
ντ	nd	
	d	in initial position

Vowels

η	i
υ	i

Diphthongs

αι	e	
αυ	av	
	af	before hard consonants
ει	i	
ευ	ev	
	ef	before hard consonants
οι	i	
υι	ii	

Spiritus asper is not pronounced. The Ancient Greek accent normally retains its position, but the distinction between ´, ` and ^ has disappeared.

Transliteration of Hebrew

א	a	alef
ב	b	bet
ג	g	gimel
ד	d	dalet
ה	h	he
ו	w	vav
ז	z	zayin
ח	ḥ	khet
ט	ṭ	tet
י	y	yod
כ	k	kaf

ל	l	lamed
מ	m	mem
נ	n	nun
ס	s	samek
ע	ʿ	ayin
פ	p/f	pe
צ	ṣ	tsade
ק	q	qof
ר	r	resh
שׂ	ś	sin
שׁ	š	shin
ת	t	tav

Pronunciation of Turkish

Turkish uses Latin script since 1928. Pronunciation and spelling generally follow the same rules as European languages. Phonology according to G. Lewis, Turkish Grammar, 2000.

A	a	French a in *avoir*
B	b	b
C	c	j in *jam*
Ç	ç	ch in *church*
D	d	d
E	e	French ê in *être*
F	f	f
G	g	g in *gate* or in *angular*
Ğ	ğ	lengthens preceding vowel
H	h	h in *have*
I	ı	i in *cousin*
İ	i	French i in *si*
J	j	French j
K	k	c in *cat* or in *cure*
L	l	l in *list* or in *wool*
M	m	m
N	n	n
O	o	French o in *note*
Ö	ö	German ö
P	p	p
R	r	r
S	s	s in *sit*
Ş	ş	sh in *shape*
T	t	t
U	u	u in *put*
Ü	ü	German ü
V	v	v
Y	y	y in *yet*
Z	z	z

Transliteration of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish

ء, ا	ʾ, ā	ʾ	ʾ	hamza, alif
ب	b	b	b	bāʾ
پ	–	p	p	pe
ت	t	t	t	tāʾ
ث	ṯ	s̱	s̱	ṯāʾ
ج	ǧ	ǧ	ǧ	ǧīm
چ	–	č	č	čim
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥāʾ
خ	ḫ	ḫ	ḫ	ḫāʾ
د	d	d	d	dāl
ذ	ḏ	ẕ	ẕ	ḏāl
ر	r	r	r	rāʾ
ز	z	z	z	zāy
ژ	–	ž	ž	že
س	s	s	s	sīn
ش	š	š	š	šīn
ص	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣād
ض	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍād
ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭāʾ
ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓāʾ
ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿain
غ	ġ	ġ	ġ	ġain
ف	f	f	f	fāʾ
ق	q	q	q, k	qāf
ك	k	k	k, g, ñ	kāf
گ	–	g	g, ñ	gāf
ل	l	l	l	lām
م	m	m	m	mīm
ن	n	n	n	nūn
ه	h	h	h	hāʾ
و	w, ū	v	v	wāw
ى	y, ī	y	y	yāʾ

Transliteration of other languages

Akkadian (Assyrian-Babylonian), Hittite and Sumerian are transliterated according to the rules of RLA and TAVO. For Egyptian the rules of the Lexikon der Ägyptologie are used. The transliteration of Indo-European follows Rix, HGG. The transliteration of Old Indian is after M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, 1992ff. Avestian is done according to K. Hoffmann, B. Forssman, Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre, 1996. Old Persian follows R.G. Kent, Old Persian, ²1953 (additions from K. Hoffmann, Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik vol. 2, 1976, 622ff.); other Iranian languages are after R. Schmitt, Compendium linguarum Iranicarum, 1989, and after D.N. MacKenzie, A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, ³1990. For Armenian the rules of R. Schmitt, Grammatik des Klassisch-Armenischen, 1981, and of the Revue des études arméniennes, apply. The languages of Asia Minor are transliterated according to HbdOr. For Mycenean, Cyprian see Heubeck and Masson; for Italic scripts and Etruscan see Vetter and ET.

List of Abbreviations

1. Special Characters

→	see (cross-reference)	i̯, u̯	consonantal i, u
<	originated from (ling.)	m̥, n̥	vocalized m, n
>	evolved into (ling.)	l̥, r̥	vocalized l, r
√	root	|	syllable end
*	born/reconstructed form (ling.)	#	word end
∞	married	〈 〉	transliteration
ă	short vowel	/ /	phonemic representation
ā	long vowel	[ ]	apocryphal
†	deceased		

2. List of General Abbreviations

Common abbreviations (e.g., etc.) are not included in the list of general abbreviations.

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
Athens, AM	Athens, Acropolis Museum
Athens, BM	Athens, Benaki Museum
Athens, NM	Athens, National Museum
Athens, NUM	Athens, Numismatic Museum
b.	born
Baltimore, WAG	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
Basle, AM	Basle, Antikenmuseum
Berlin, PM	Berlin, Pergamonmuseum
Berlin, SM	Berlin, Staatliche Museen
bk(s).	book(s)
Bonn, RL	Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Boston, MFA	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Bull.	Bulletin, Bullettino
c.	circa
Cambridge, FM	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
carm.	carmen, carmina
Cat.	Catalogue, Catalogo
cent.	century
ch.	chapter
Cod.	Codex, Codices, Codizes
col.	column
conc.	acta concilii
Cologne, RGM	Cologne, Römisch Germanisches Museum
comm.	commentary
Congr.	Congrss, Congrès, Congresso
contd.	continued
Copenhagen, NCG	Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek
Copenhagen, NM	Copenhagen, National Museum
Copenhagen, TM	Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum
d.	died
dat.	dative
decret.	decretum, decreta
diss.	dissertation
ed.	edidit, editio, editor, edited (by)
edd.	ediderunt
epist.	epistulae
f.l.	falsa lectio
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
Florence, MA	Florence, Museo Archeologico
Florence, UF	Florence, Uffizi
fr.	fragment
Frankfurt, LH	Frankfurt, Liebighaus
gen.	genitive
Geneva, MAH	Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek
Hamburg, MKG	Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe
Hanover, KM	Hanover, Kestner-Museum

inventory no.	inventory number
Istanbul, AM	Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
itin.	itineraria
Kassel, SK	Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
l.	lex
l.	line
L.	Lucius
l.c.	loco citato
Lat.	Latin
leg.	leges
lib.	liber, libri
ling.	linguistic(ally)
loc.	locative
London, BM	London, British Museum
Madrid, PR	Madrid, Prado
Malibu, GM	Malibu, Getty Museum
masc.	masculinum, masculine
Moscow, PM	Moscow, Pushkin Museum
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
Munich, GL	Munich, Glyptothek
Munich, SA	Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung
Munich, SM	Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung
Mus.	Museum, Musée, Museo
n.d.	no date
Naples, MAN	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
neutr.	neutrum, neuter, neutral
New York, MMA	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts
no.	number
nom.	nominative
N.S.	Neue Serie, New Series, Nouvelle Série, Nuova Seria
NT	New Testament
Op.	Opus, Opera
opt.	optative
OT	Old Testament
Oxford, AM	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
p.	page
P	Papyrus
Palermo, MAN	Palermo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
Paris, BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris, CM	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles
Paris, LV	Paris, Louvre
pl.	plate
plur.	plural
pr(aef).	praefatio
Ps.-	Pseudo
rev.	revised
Rome, MC	Rome, Museo Capitolino
Rome, MN	Rome, Museo Nazionale
Rome, MV	Rome, Museo Vaticano
Rome, VA	Rome, Villa Albani
Rome, VG	Rome, Villa Giulia
Ser.	Serie, Series, Série, Seria
s.v.	sub voce
sc.	scilicet
schol.	scholion, scholia
serm.	sermo
s(in)g.	singular
Soc.	Society, Societé, Società
St.	Saint
St. Petersburg, HR	St. Petersburg, Hermitage
Stud.	Studia, Studien, Studies, Studi
The Hague, MK	The Hague, Muntenkabinet
Thessaloniki, NM	Thessaloniki, National Museum
tit.	titulus
trans.	translation, translated (by)
t.t.	terminus technicus
Univ.	Universität, University, Université, Università
v	verso
Vienna,KM	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
vol(s).	volume(s)

3. Bibliographic Abbreviations

A&A
Antike und Abendland

A&R
Atene e Roma

AA
Archäologischer Anzeiger

AAA
Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology

AAAlg
S. Gsell, Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie. Édition spéciale des cartes au 200.000 du Service Géographique de l' Armée, 1911, repr. 1973

AAHG
Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaften, publication of the Österreichische Humanistische Gesellschaft

AArch
Acta archeologica

AASO
The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

AATun 050
E. Babelon, R. Cagnat, S. Reinach (ed.), Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie (1 : 50.000), 1893

AATun 100
R. Cagnat, A. Merlin (ed.), Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie (1: 100.000), 1914

AAWG
Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse

AAWM
Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur in Mainz. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse

AAWW
Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse

ABAW
Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse

Abel
F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine 2 vols., 1933–38

ABG,
Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte: Bausteine zu einem historischen Wörterbuch der Philosophie

ABr
P. Arndt, F. Bruckmann (ed.), Griechische und römische Porträts, 1891 – 1912; E. Lippold (ed.), Text vol., 1958

ABSA
Annual of the British School at Athens

AC
L'Antiquité Classique

Acta
Acta conventus neo-latini Lovaniensis, 1973

AD
Archaiologikon Deltion

ADAIK
Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo

Adam
J.P. Adam, La construction romaine. Matériaux et techniques, 1984

ADAW
Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst

ADB
Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie

AdI
Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica

AE
L'Année épigraphique

AEA
Archivo Espanol de Arqueología

AEM
Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich

AfO
Archiv für Orientforschung

AGD
Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen 4 vols., 1968–75

AGM
Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin

Agora
The Athenian Agora. Results of the Excavations by the American School of Classical Studies of Athens, 1953 ff.

AGPh
Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie

AGR
Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte

AHAW
Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse

AHES
Archive for History of Exact Sciences

AIHS
Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences

AION
Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico, Sezione di Archeologia e Storia antica

AJ
The Archaeological Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

AJA
American Journal of Archaeology

AJAH
American Journal of Ancient History

AJBA
Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology

AJN
American Journal of Numismatics

AJPh
American Journal of Philology

AK
Antike Kunst

AKG
Archiv für Kulturgeschichte

AKL
G. Meissner (ed.), Allgemeines Künsterlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker, ^{2}1991 ff.

AKM
Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

Albrecht
M. v. Albrecht, Geschichte der römischen Literatur, ^{2}1994

Alessio
G. Alessio, Lexicon etymologicum. Supplemento ai Dizionari etimologici latini e romanzi, 1976

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M.C. Alexander, Trials in the Late Roman Republic: 149 BC to 50 BC (Phoenix Suppl. Vol. 26), 1990

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A. Alföldi, Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche, 1970, repr. ^{3}1980

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G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses. Senatorische Reichsbeamte und Offiziere in den spanischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches von Augustus bis Diokletian, 1969

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G. Alföldy, Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht (Antiquitas 1, 27), 1977

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G. Alföldy, Römische Heeresgeschichte, 1987

Alföldy, RS
G. Alföldy, Römische Sozialgeschichte, ^{3}1984

ALLG
Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik

Altaner
B. Altaner, Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter, ^{9}1980

AMI
Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran

Amyx, Addenda
C.W. Neeft, Addenda et Corrigenda to D.A. Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting, 1991

Amyx, CVP
D.A. Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period 3 vols., 1988

Anadolu
Anadolu (Anatolia)

Anatolica
Anatolica

AncSoc
Ancient Society

Anderson
J.G. Anderson, A Journey of Exploration in Pontus (Studia pontica 1), 1903

Anderson Cumont/Grégoire
J.G. Anderson, F. Cumont, H. Grégoire, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie (Studia pontica 3), 1910

André, botan.
J. André, Lexique des termes de botanique en latin, 1956

André, oiseaux
J. André, Les noms d'oiseaux en latin, 1967

André, plantes
J. André, Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique, 1985

Andrews
K. Andrews, The Castles of Morea, 1953

ANET
J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ^{3}1969, repr. 1992

AnnSAAt
Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene

ANRW
H. Temporini, W. Haase (ed.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, 1972 ff.

ANSMusN
Museum Notes. American Numismatic Society

AntAfr
Antiquités africaines

AntChr
Antike und Christentum

AntPl
Antike Plastik

AO
Der Alte Orient

AOAT
Alter Orient und Altes Testament

APF
Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete

APh
L'Année philologique

Arangio-Ruiz
V. Arangio-Ruiz, Storia del diritto romano, ^{6}1953

Arcadia
Arcadia. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft

ArchCl
Archeologia Classica

ArchE
Archaiologike ephemeris

ArcheologijaSof
Archeologija. Organ na Archeologiceskija institut i muzej pri B'lgarskata akademija na naukite

ArchHom
Archaeologia Homerica, 1967ff.

ArtAntMod
Arte antica e moderna

ARW
Archiv für Religionswissenschaft

AS
Anatolian Studies

ASAA
Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente

ASL
Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen

ASNP
Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia

ASpr
Die Alten Sprachen

ASR
B. Andreae (ed.), Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, 1952 ff.

Athenaeum
Athenaeum

ATL
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BalkSt
Balkan Studies

BaM
Baghdader Mitteilungen

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Bulletin of the History of Medicine

BIAO
Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale

BiblH&R
Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance

BiblLing
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Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte

HJb
Historisches Jahrbuch

HLav
Humanistica Lavanensia

HLL
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HS
Historische Sprachforschung

HSM
Histoire des sciences médicales

HSPh
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

Hülser
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HWdR
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HZ
Historische Zeitschrift

IA
Iranica Antiqua

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IEJ
Israel Exploration Journal
IER
Illustrierte Enzyklopädie der Renaissance
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IF
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IG
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International Journal of the Classical Tradition
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IMU
Italia medioevale e umanistica
Index
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IPQ
International Philosophical Quaterly
IPriene
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The Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JbAC
Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JCS
Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JDAI
Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JEA
The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
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Journal for the History of Arabic Science
JHB
Journal of the History of Biology

JHM
Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JHPh
Journal of the History of Philosophy
JHS
Journal of Hellenic Studies
JLW
Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft
JMRS
Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies
JNES
Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNG
Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
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Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
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JRGZ
Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
JRS
Journal of Roman Studies
Justi
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JWG
Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte
JWI
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
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LCI
Lexikon der christlichen lkonographie

LdA
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MDAI(Ist)
Istanbuler Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

MDAI(K)
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Abteilung Kairo)

MDAI(R)
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung

MDOG
Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin

MededRom
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Mediaevalia

Mediaevistik
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MGH SS
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Museum Helveticum

MiB
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Numismatic Chronicle

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NHS
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PCA
Proceedings of die Classical Association. London
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PdP
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RBi
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RBK
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RBN
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RBPh
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RDAC
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RDK
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REG
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RGRW
Religion in the Graeco-Roman World
RGVV
Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten

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RHA
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RhM
Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
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RHPhR
Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RHR
Revue de l'histoire des religions
RHS
Revue historique des Sciences et leurs applications
RIA
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SHAW
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Sicilia archeologica

SIFC
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SiH
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SMEA
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SMSR
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SMV
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SNG
Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum

SNR
Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau

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Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

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TrGF
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WS
Wiener Studien, Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik
WUNT
Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WVDOG
Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YCIS
Yale Classical Studies
ZA
Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie
ZÄS
Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZATW
Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
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ZDP
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Zeitschrift für Numismatik
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ZKG,
Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNTW
Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentfiche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZpalV
Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZPE
Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZKG
Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung
ZRGG
Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZVRW
Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft
ZVS
Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung

4. Ancient Authors and Titles of Works

Abd	Abdias
Acc.	Accius
Ach.Tat.	Achilles Tatius
Act. Arv.	Acta fratrum Arvalium
Act. lud. saec.	Acta ludorum saecularium

Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Aet.	Aetius
Aeth.	Aetheriae peregrinatio
Ael. Ep.	Aelianus, Epistulae
NA	De natura animalium
VH	Varia historia
Aen. Tact.	Aeneas Tacticus
Aesch. Ag.	Aeschylus, Agamemnon
Cho.	Choephori
Eum.	Eumenides
Pers.	Persae
PV	Prometheus
Sept.	Septem adversus Thebas
Supp.	Supplices
Aeschin. In Ctes.	Aeschines, In Ctesiphontem
Leg.	De falsa legatione
In Tim.	In Timarchum
Aesop.	Aesopus
Alc.	Alcaeus
Alc. Avit.	Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus
Alex. Aphr.	Alexander of Aphrodisias
Alci.	Alciphron
Alcm.	Alcman
Alex. Polyh.	Alexander Polyhistor
Am	Amos
Ambr. Epist.	Ambrosius, Epistulae
Exc. Sat.	De excessu Fratris (Satyri)
Obit. Theod.	De obitu Theodosii
Obit. Valent.	De obitu Valentiniani (iunioris)
Off.	De officiis ministrorum
Paenit.	De paenitentia
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus
Anac.	Anacreon
Anaxag.	Anaxagoras
Anaximand.	Anaximander
Anaximen.	Anaximenes
And.	Andocides
Anecd. Bekk.	Anecdota Graeca ed. I. Bekker
Anecd. Par.	Anecdota Graeca ed. J.A. Kramer
Anon. De rebus bell.	Anonymus de rebus bellicis (Ireland 1984)
Anth. Gr.	Anthologia Graeca
Anth. Lat.	Anthologia Latina (Riese ^{2}1894/1906)
Anth. Pal.	Anthologia Palatina
Anth. Plan.	Anthologia Planudea
Antiph.	Antiphon
Antisth.	Antisthenes
Apc	Apocalypse
Apoll. Rhod.	Apollonius Rhodius
Apollod.	Apollodorus, Library
App. B Civ.	Appianus, Bella civilia
Celt.	Celtica
Hann.	Hannibalica
Hisp.	Iberica
Ill.	Illyrica
It.	Italica
Lib.	Libyca
Mac.	Macedonica
Mith.	Mithridatius
Num.	Numidica
Reg.	Regia
Sam.	Samnitica
Sic.	Sicula
Syr.	Syriaca
App. Verg.	Appendix Vergiliana
Apul. Apol.	Apuleius, Apologia
Flor.	Florida
Met.	Metamorphoses
Arat.	Aratus
Archil.	Archilochus
Archim.	Archimedes
Archyt.	Archytas
Arist. Quint.	Aristides Quintilianus
Aristaen.	Aristaenetus
Aristid.	Aelius Aristides
Aristob.	Aristoboulus
Aristoph. Ach.	Aristophanes, Acharnenses
Av.	Aves
Eccl.	Ecclesiazusae
Equ.	Equites
Lys.	Lysistrata
Nub.	Nubes
Pax	Pax
Plut.	Plutus
Ran.	Ranae
Thesm.	Thesmophoriazusae
Vesp.	Vespae
Aristot. An.	Aristotle, De anima (Becker 1831–70)
An. post.	Analytica posteriora
An. pr.	Analytica priora
Ath. Pol.	Athenaion Politeia
Aud.	De audibilibus
Cael.	De caelo
Cat.	Categoriae
Col.	De coloribus
Div.	De divinatione
Eth. Eud.	Ethica Eudemia
Eth. Nic.	Ethica Nicomachea
Gen. an.	De generatione animalium
Gen. corr.	De generatione et corruptione
Hist. an.	Historia animalium
Mag. mor.	Magna moralia
Metaph.	Metaphysica
Mete.	Meteorologica
Mir.	Mirabilia
Mot. an.	De motu animalium
Mund.	De mundo
Oec.	Oeconomica
Part. an.	De partibus animalium
Phgn.	Physiognomica
Ph.	Physica
Poet.	Poetica
Pol.	Politica
Pr.	Problemata

Rh.	Rhetorica
Rh. Al.	Rhetorica ad Alexandrum
Sens.	De sensu
Somn.	De somno et vigilia
Soph. el.	Sophistici elenchi
Spir.	De spiritu
Top.	Topica
Aristox. Harm.	Aristoxenus, Harmonica
Arnob.	Arnobius, Adversus nationes
Arr. Anab.	Arrianus, Anabasis
Cyn.	Cynegeticus
Ind.	Indica
Peripl. p. eux.	Periplus ponti Euxini
Succ.	Historia successorum Alexandri
Tact.	Tactica
Artem.	Artemidorus
Ascon.	Asconius (Stangl Vol. 2, 1912)
Athan. ad Const.	Athanasius, Apologia ad Constantium
c. Ar.	Apologia contra Arianos
Fuga	Apologia de fuga sua
Hist. Ar.	Historia Arianorum ad monachos
Ath.	Athenaeus (Casaubon 1597) (List of books, pages, letters)
Aug. Civ.	Augustinus, De civitate dei
Conf.	Confessiones
Doctr. christ.	De doctrina christiana
Epist.	Epistulae
Retract.	Retractationes
Serm.	Sermones
Soliloq.	Soliloquia
Trin.	De trinitate
Aur. Vict.	Aurelius Victor
Auson. Mos.	Ausonius, Mosella (Peiper 1976)
Urb.	Ordo nobilium urbium
Avell.	Collectio Avellana
Avien.	Avienus
Babr.	Babrius
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides
Bar	Baruch
Bas.	Basilicorum libri LX (Heimbach)
Basil.	Basilius
Batr.	Batrachomyomachia
Bell. Afr.	Bellum Africum
Bell. Alex.	Bellum Alexandrinum
Bell. Hisp.	Bellum Hispaniense
Boeth.	Boethius
Caes. B Civ.	Caesar, De bello civili
B Gall.	De bello Gallico
Callim. Epigr.	Callimachus, Epigrammata
Fr.	Fragmentum (Pfeiffer)
H.	Hymni
Calp. Ecl.	Calpurnius Siculus, Eclogae
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Cassian.	Iohannes Cassianus
Cassiod. Inst.	Cassiodorus, Institutiones
Var.	Variae
Cato Agr.	Cato, De agri cultura
Orig.	Origines (HRR)
Catull.	Catullus, Carmina
Celsus, Med.	Cornelius Celsus, De medicina
Celsus, Dig.	Iuventius Celsus, Digesta
Censorinus, DN	Censorinus, De die natali
Chalcid.	Chalcidius
Charisius, Gramm.	Charisius, Ars grammatica (Barwick 1964)
1 Chr, 2 Chr	Chronicle
Chron. pasch.	Chronicon paschale
Chron. min.	Chronica minora
Cic. Acad. 1	Cicero, Academicorum posteriorum liber 1
Acad. 2	Lucullus sive Academicorum priorum liber 2
Ad Q. Fr.	Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem
Arat.	Aratea (Soubiran 1972)
Arch.	Pro Archia poeta
Att.	Epistulae ad Atticum
Balb.	Pro L. Balbo
Brut.	Brutus
Caecin.	Pro A. Caecina
Cael.	Pro M. Caelio
Cat.	In Catilinam
Cato	Cato maior de senectute
Clu.	Pro A. Cluentio
De or.	De oratore
Deiot.	Pro rege Deiotaro
Div.	De divinatione
Div. Caec.	Divinatio in Q. Caecilium
Dom.	De domo sua
Fam.	Epistulae ad familiares
Fat.	De fato
Fin.	De finibus bonorum et malorum
Flac.	Pro L. Valerio Flacco
Font.	Pro M. Fonteio
Har. resp.	De haruspicum responso
Inv.	De inventione
Lael.	Laelius de amicitia
Leg.	De legibus
Leg. agr.	De lege agraria
Lig.	Pro Q. Ligario
Leg. Man.	Pro lege Manilia (de imperio Cn. Pompei)
Marcell.	Pro M. Marcello
Mil.	Pro T. Annio Milone
Mur.	Pro L. Murena
Nat. D.	De natura deorum
Off.	De officiis
Opt. Gen.	De optimo genere oratorum
Orat.	Orator
P. Red. Quir.	Oratio post reditum ad Quirites
P. Red. Sen.	Oratio post reditum in senatu
Parad.	Paradoxa
Part. or.	Partitiones oratoriae
Phil.	In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae

Philo.	Libri philosophici
Pis.	In L. Pisonem
Planc.	Pro Cn. Plancio
Prov. cons.	De provinciis consularibus
Q. Rosc.	Pro Q. Roscio comoedo
Quinct.	Pro P. Quinctio
Rab. perd.	Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo
Rab. Post.	Pro C. Rabirio Postumo
Rep.	De re publica
Rosc. Am.	Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino
Scaur.	Pro M. Aemilio Scauro
Sest.	Pro P. Sestio
Sull.	Pro P. Sulla
Tim.	Timaeus
Top.	Topica
Tull.	Pro M. Tullio
Tusc.	Tusculanae disputationes
Vatin.	In P. Vatinium testem interrogatio
Verr. 1, 2	In Verrem actio prima, secunda
Claud. Carm.	Claudius Claudianus, Carmina (Hall 1985)
Rapt. Pros.	De raptu Proserpinae
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus
Cod. Greg.	Codex Gregorianus
Cod. Herm.	Codex Hermogenianus
Cod. Iust.	Corpus Iuris Civilis, Codex Iustinianus (Krueger 1900)
Cod. Theod.	Codex Theodosianus
Col	Letter to the Colossians
Coll.	Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio
Colum.	Columella
Comm.	Commodianus
Cons.	Consultatio veteris cuiusdam iurisconsulti
Const.	Constitutio Sirmondiana
1 Cor, 2 Cor	Letters to the Corinthians
Coripp.	Corippus
Curt.	Curtius Rufus, Historiae Alexandri Magni
Cypr.	Cyprianus
Dan	Daniel
Din.	Dinarchus
Demad.	Demades
Democr.	Democritus
Dem. Or.	Demosthenes, Orationes
Dig.	Corpus Iuris Civilis, Digesta (Mommsen 1905, author presented where applicable)
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Diom.	Diomedes, Ars grammatica
Dion. Chrys.	Dion Chrysostomus
Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.	Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Antiquitates Romanae
Comp.	De compositione verborum
Rhet.	Ars rhetorica
Dionys. Per.	Dionysius Periegeta
Dion. Thrax	Dionysius Thrax
DK	Diels /Kranz (preceded by fragment number)
Donat.	Donatus grammaticus
Drac.	Dracontius
Dt	Deuteronomy = 5. Moses
Edict. praet. dig.	Edictum perpetuum in Dig.
Emp.	Empedocles
Enn. Ann.	Ennius, Annales (Skutsch 1985)
Sat.	Saturae (Vahlen ^{2}1928)
Scaen.	Fragmenta scaenica (Vahlen ^{2}1928)
Ennod.	Ennodius
Eph	Letter to the Ephesians
Ephor.	Ephorus of Cyme (FGrH 70)
Epicurus	Epicurus
Epict.	Epictetus
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes
Esr	Esra
Est	Esther
Et. Gen.	Etymologicum genuinum
Et. Gud.	Etymologicum Gudianum
EM	Etymologicum magnum
Euc.	Euclides, Elementa
Eunap. VS	Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum
Eur. Alc.	Euripides, Alcestis
Andr.	Andromache
Bacch.	Bacchae
Beller.	Bellerophon
Cyc.	Cyclops
El.	Electra
Hec.	Hecuba
Hel.	Helena
Heracl.	Heraclidae
HF	Hercules Furens
Hipp.	Hippolytus
Hyps.	Hypsipyle
Ion	Ion
IA	Iphigenia Aulidensis
IT	Iphigenia Taurica
Med.	Medea
Or.	Orestes
Phoen.	Phoenissae
Rhes.	Rhesus
Supp.	Supplices
Tro.	Troades
Euseb. Dem. evang.	Eusebios, Demonstratio Evangelica
Hist. eccl.	Historia Ecclesiastica
On.	Onomasticon (Klostermann 1904)
Praep. evang.	Praeparatio Evangelica
Eust.	Eustathius
Eutr.	Eutropius
Ev. Ver.	Evangelium Veritatis
Ex	Exodus = 2. Moses
Ez	Ezechiel

Fast.	Fasti
Fest.	Festus (Lindsay 1913)
Firm. Mat.	Firmicus Maternus
Flor. Epit.	Florus, Epitoma de Tito Livio
Florent.	Florentinus
Frontin. Aq.	Frontinus, De aquae ductu urbis Romae
Str.	Strategemata
Fulg.	Fulgentius Afer
Fulg. Rusp.	Fulgentius Ruspensis
Gai. Inst.	Gaius, Institutiones
Gal	Letter to the Galatians
Gal.	Galenus
Gell. NA	Gellius, Noctes Atticae
Geogr. Rav	Geographus Ravennas (Schnetz 1940)
Gp.	Geoponica
Gn	Genesis = 1. Moses
Gorg.	Gorgias
Greg. M. Dial.	Gregorius Magnus, Dialogi (de miraculis patrum Italicorum)
Epist.	Epistulae
Past.	Regula pastoralis
Greg. Naz. Epist.	Gregorius Nazianzenus, Epistulae
Or.	Orationes
Greg. Nyss.	Gregorius Nyssenus
Greg. Tur. Franc.	Gregorius of Tours, Historia Francorum
Mart.	De virtutibus Martini
Vit. patr.	De vita patrum
Hab	Habakkuk
Hagg	Haggai
Harpocr.	Harpocrates
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hebr	Letter to the Hebrews
Hegesipp.	Hegesippus (= Flavius Josephus)
Hecat.	Hecataeus
Hell. Oxy.	Hellennica Oxyrhynchia
Hen	Henoch
Heph.	Hephaestio grammaticus (Alexandrinus)
Heracl.	Heraclitus
Heraclid. Pont.	Heraclides Ponticus
Herc. O.	Hercules Oetaeus
Herm.	Hermes Trismegistus
Herm. Mand.	Hermas, Mandata
Sim.	Similitudines
Vis.	Visiones
Hermog.	Hermogenes
Hdn.	Herodianus
Hes. Cat.	Hesiodus, Catalogus feminarum (Merkelbach /West 1967)
Op.	Opera et dies
Sc.	Scutum (Merkelbach /West1967)
Theog.	Theogonia
Hsch.	Hesychius
Hil.	Hilarius
Hippoc.	Hippocrates
H. Hom.	Hymni Homerici
Hom. Il.	Homerus, Ilias
Od.	Odyssea
Hor. Ars P.	Horatius, Ars poetica
Carm.	Carmina
Carm. saec.	Carmen saeculare
Epist.	Epistulae
Epod.	Epodi
Sat.	Satirae (sermones)
Hos	Hosea
Hyg. Astr.	Hyginus, Astronomica (Le Bœuffle 1983)
Fab.	Fabulae
Hyp.	Hypereides
Iambl. Myst.	Iamblichus, De mysteriis
Protr.	Protrepticus in philosophiam
VP	De vita Pythagorica
Iav.	Iavolenus Priscus
Inst. Iust.	Corpus Juris Civilis, Institutiones (Krueger 1905)
Ioh. Chrys. Epist.	Iohannes Chrysostomus, Epistulae
Hom. ...	Homiliae in ...
Ioh. Mal.	Iohannes Malalas, Chronographia
Iord. Get.	Iordanes, De origine actibusque Getarum
Iren.	Irenaeus (Rousseau/Doutreleau 1965–82)
Is	Isaiah
Isid. Nat.	Isidorus, De natura rerum
Orig.	Origines
Isoc. Or.	Isocrates, Orationes
It. Ant.	Itinerarium, Antonini
Aug.	Augusti
Burd.	Burdigalense vel Hierosolymitanum
Plac.	Placentini
Iul. Vict. Rhet.	C. Iulius Victor, Ars rhetorica
Iuvenc.	Iuvencus, Evangelia (Huemer 1891)
Jac	Letter of James
Jdg	Judges
Jdt	Judith
Jer	Jeremiah
Jer. Chron.	Jerome, Chronicon
Comm. in Ez.	Commentaria in Ezechielem (PL 25)
Ep.	Epistulae
On.	Onomasticon (Klostermann 1904)
Vir. ill.	De viris illustribus
1 – 3 Jo	1st – 3rd letters of John
Jo	John
Jon	Jona
Jos. Ant. Iud.	Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae
BI	Bellum Iudaicum
Ap.	Contra Apionem
Vit.	De sua vita

Jos	Joshua
Jud	Letter of Judas
Julian. Ep.	Julianus, Epistulae
In Gal.	In Galilaeos
Mis.	Misopogon
Or.	Orationes
Symp.	Symposium
Just. Epit.	Justinus, Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum
Justin. Apol.	Justinus Martyr, Apologia
Dial.	Dialogus cum Tryphone
Juv.	Juvenalis, Saturae
1 Kg, 2 Kg	1, 2 Kings
KH	Khania (place where Linear B tables were discovered)
KN	Knossos (place where Linear B tables were discovered)
Lactant. Div. inst.	Lactantius, Divinae institutiones
Ira	De ira dei
De mort. pers.	De mortibus persecutorum
Opif.	De opificio dei
Lam	Lamentations
Lex Irnit.	Lex Irnitana
Lex Malac.	Lex municipii Malacitani
Lex Rubr.	Lex Rubria de Gallia cisalpina
Lex Salpens.	Lex municipii Salpensani
Lex Urson.	Lex coloniae Iuliae Genetivae Ursonensis
Lex Visig.	Leges Visigothorum
Lex XII tab.	Lex duodecim tabularum
Lib. Ep.	Libanius, Epistulae
Or.	Orationes
Liv.	Livius, Ab urbe condita
Lc	Luke
Luc.	Lucanus, Bellum civile
Lucil.	Lucilius, Saturae (Marx 1904)
Lucr.	Lucretius, De rerum natura
Lucian. Alex.	Lucianus, Alexander
Anach.	Anacharsis
Cal.	Calumniae non temere credendum
Catapl.	Cataplus
Demon.	Demonax
Dial. D.	Dialogi deorum
Dial. meret.	Dialogi meretricium
Dial. mort.	Dialogi mortuorum
Her.	Herodotus
Hermot.	Hermotimus
Hist. conscr.	Quomodo historia conscribenda sit
Ind.	Adversus indoctum
Iupp. trag.	Iuppiter tragoedus
Luct.	De luctu
Macr.	Macrobii
Nigr.	Nigrinus
Philops.	Philopseudes
Pseudol.	Pseudologista
Salt.	De saltatione
Somn.	Somnium
Symp.	Symposium
Syr. D.	De Syria dea
Trag.	Tragodopodagra
Ver. hist.	Verae historiae, 1, 2
Vit. auct.	Vitarum auctio
Lv	Leviticus = 3. Moses
LXX	Septuaginta
Lydus, Mag.	Lydus, De magistratibus
Mens.	De mensibus
Lycoph.	Lycophron
Lycurg.	Lycurgus
Lys.	Lysias
M. Aur.	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus
Macrob. Sat.	Macrobius, Saturnalia
In Somn.	Commentarii in Ciceronis somnium Scipionis
1 Macc, 2 Macc	Maccabees
Mal	Malachi
Manil.	Manilius, Astronomica (Goold 1985)
Mar. Vict.	Marius Victorinus
Mart.	Martialis
Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella
Max. Tyr.	Maximus Tyrius (Trapp 1994)
Mela	Pomponius Mela
Melanipp.	Melanippides
Men. Dys.	Menander, Dyskolos
Epit.	Epitrepontes
Fr.	Fragmentum (Körte)
Pk.	Perikeiromene
Sam.	Samia
Mi	Micha
Mimn.	Mimnermus
Min. Fel.	Minucius Felix, Octavius (Kytzler 1982,^{2}1992)
Mk	Mark
Mod.	Herennius Modestinus
Mosch.	Moschus
Mt	Matthew
MY	Mycenae (place where Linear B tables were discovered)
Naev.	Naevius (carmina according to FPL)
Nah	Nahum
Neh	Nehemia
Nemes.	Nemesianus
Nep. Att.	Cornelius Nepos, Atticus
Hann.	Hannibal
Nic. Alex.	Nicander, Alexipharmaca
Ther.	Theriaca
Nicom.	Nicomachus
Nm	Numbers = 4. Moses
Non.	Nonius Marcellus (L. Mueller 1888)
Nonnus, Dion.	Nonnus, Dionysiaca

Not. Dign. Occ.	Notitia dignitatum occidentis
Not. Dign. Or.	Notitia dignitatum orientis
Not. Episc.	Notitia dignitatum et episcoporum
Nov.	Corpus Iuris Civilis, Leges Novellae (Schoell/Kroll 1904)
Obseq.	Julius Obsequens, Prodigia (Rossbach 1910)
Opp. Hal.	Oppianus, Halieutica
Cyn.	Cynegetica
Or. Sib.	Oracula Sibyllina
Orib.	Oribasius
Orig.	Origenes
OrMan	Prayer to Manasseh
Oros.	Orosius
Orph. A.	Orpheus, Argonautica
Fr.	Fragmentum (Kern)
H.	Hymni
Ov. Am.	Ovidius, Amores
Ars am.	Ars amatoria
Epist.	Epistulae (Heroides)
Fast.	Fasti
Ib.	Ibis
Medic.	Medicamina faciei femineae
Met.	Metamorphoses
Pont.	Epistulae ex Ponto
Rem. am.	Remedia amoris
Tr.	Tristia
P	Papyrus editions according to E.G. Turner, Greek Papyri. An Introduction, 159–178
P Abinn.	Papyrus editions according to H.I. Bell et al. (ed.), The Abinnaeus Archive papers of a Roman officer in the reign of Constantius II, 1962
P Bodmer	Papyrus editions according to V. Martin, R. Kasser et al. (ed.), Papyrus Bodmer 1954ff.
P CZ	Papyrus editions according to C.C. Edgar (ed.), Zenon Papyri (Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire) 4 vols., 1925ff.
P Hercul.	Papyrus editions according to Papyri aus Herculaneum
P Lond.	Papyrus editions according to F.G. Kenyon et al. (ed.), Greek Papyri in the British Museum 7 vols., 1893–1974
P Mich	Papyrus editions according to C.C. Edgar, A.E.R. Boak, J.G. Winter et al. (ed.), Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection 13 vols., 1931–1977
P Oxy.	Papyrus editions according to B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt et al. (ed.), The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 1898 ff.
Pall. Agric.	Palladius, Opus agriculturae
Laus.	Historia Lausiaca
Pan. Lat.	Panegyrici Latini
Papin.	Aemilius Papinianus
Paroemiogr.	Paroemiographi Graeci
Pass. mart.	Passiones martyrum
Paul Fest.	Paulus Diaconus, Epitoma Festi
Paul Nol.	Paulinus Nolanus
Paulus, Sent.	Julius Paulus, Sententiae
Paus.	Pausanias
Pelag.	Pelagius
Peripl. m. eux.	Periplus maris Euxini
Peripl. m.m.	Periplus maris magni
Peripl. m.r.	Periplus maris rubri
Pers.	Persius, Saturae
1 Petr, 2 Petr	Letters of Peter
Petron. Sat.	Petronius, Satyrica (Müller 1961)
Phaedr.	Phaedrus, Fabulae (Guaglianone 1969)
Phil	Letter to the Philippians
Phil.	Philo
Philarg. Verg. ecl.	Philargyrius grammaticus, Explanatio in eclogas Vergilii
Philod.	Philodemus
Phlp.	Philoponus
Philostr. VA	Philostratus, Vita Apollonii
Imag.	Imagines
VS	Vitae sophistarum
Phm	Letter to Philemon
Phot.	Photius (Bekker 1824)
Phryn.	Phrynichus
Pind. Fr.	Pindar, Fragments (Snell/Maehler)
Isthm.	Isthmian Odes
Nem.	Nemean Odes
Ol.	Olympian Odes
Pae.	Paeanes
Pyth.	Pythian Odes
Pl. Alc. 1	Plato, Alcibiades 1 (Stephanus)
Alc. 2	Alcibiades 2
Ap.	Apologia
Ax.	Axiochus
Chrm.	Charmides
Clit.	Clitopho
Crat.	Cratylus
Crit.	Crito
Criti.	Critias
Def.	Definitiones
Demod.	Demodocus
Epin.	Epinomis
Ep.	Epistulae
Erast.	Erastae
Eryx.	Eryxias
Euthd.	Euthydemus
Euthphr.	Euthyphro
Grg.	Gorgias
Hp. mai.	Hippias maior
Hp. mi.	Hippias minor
Hipparch.	Hipparchus

Ion	Ion
La.	Laches
Leg.	Leges
Ly.	Lysis
Men.	Menon
Min.	Minos
Menex.	Menexenus
Prm.	Parmenides
Phd.	Phaedo
Phdr.	Phaedrus
Phlb.	Philebus
Plt.	Politicus
Prt.	Protagoras
Resp.	Res publica
Sis.	Sisyphus
Soph.	Sophista
Symp.	Symposium
Thg.	Theages
Tht.	Theaetetus
Ti.	Timaeus
Plaut. Amph.	Plautus, Amphitruo (fr.according to Leo 1895 f.)
Asin.	Asinaria
Aul.	Aulularia
Bacch.	Bacchides
Capt.	Captivi
Cas.	Casina
Cist.	Cistellaria
Curc.	Curculio
Epid.	Epidicus
Men.	Menaechmi
Merc.	Mercator
Mil.	Miles gloriosus
Mostell.	Mostellaria
Poen.	Poenulus
Pseud.	Pseudolus
Rud.	Rudens
Stich.	Stichus
Trin.	Trinummus
Truc.	Truculentus
Vid.	Vidularia
Plin. HN	Plinius maior, Naturalis historia
Plin. Ep.	Plinius minor, Epistulae
Pan.	Panegyricus
Plot.	Plotinus
Plut.	Plutarchus, Vitae parallelae (with the respective name)
Amat.	Amatorius (chapter and page numbers)
De def. or.	De defectu oraculorum
De E	De E apud Delphos
De Pyth. or.	De Pythiae oraculis
De sera	De sera numinis vindicta
De Is. et Os.	De Iside et Osiride (with chapter and page numbers)
Mor.	Moralia (apart from the separately mentioned works; with p. numbers)
Quaest. Graec.	Quaestiones Graecae (with chapter numbers)
Quaest. Rom.	Quaestiones Romanae (with ch. numbers)
Symp.	Quaestiones convivales (book, chapter, page number)
Pol.	Polybius
Pol. Silv.	Polemius Silvius
Poll.	Pollux
Polyaenus, Strat.	Polyaenus, Strategemata
Polyc.	Polycarpus, Letter
Pompon.	Sextus Pomponius
Pomp. Trog.	Pompeius Trogus
Porph.	Porphyrius
Porph. Hor. comm.	Porphyrio, Commentum in Horatii carmina
Posidon.	Posidonius
Priap.	Priapea
Prisc.	Priscianus
Prob.	Pseudo-Probian writings
Procop. Aed.	Procopius, De aedificiis
Goth.	Bellum Gothicum
Pers.	Bellum Persicum
Vand.	Bellum Vandalicum
Arc.	Historia arcana
Procl.	Proclus
Prop.	Propertius, Elegiae
Prosp.	Prosper Tiro
Prov.	Proverbs
Prudent.	Prudentius
Ps (Pss)	Psalm(s)
Ps.-Acro	Ps.-Acro in Horatium
Ps.-Aristot. Lin. insec.	Pseudo-Aristotle, De lineis insecabilibus
Mech.	Mechanica
Ps.-Sall. In Tull.	Pseudo-Sallustius, In M.Tullium Ciceronem invectiva
Rep.	Epistulae ad Caesarem senem de re publica
Ptol. Alm.	Ptolemy, Almagest
Geog.	Geographia
Harm.	Harmonica
Tetr.	Tetrabiblos
PY	Pylos (place where Linear B tablets were discovered)
4 Q Flor	Florilegium, Cave 4
4 Q Patr	Patriarch's blessing, Cave 4
1 Q pHab	Habakuk-Midrash, Cave 1
4 Q pNah	Nahum-Midrash, Cave 4
4 Q test	Testimonia, Cave 4
1 QH	Songs of Praise, Cave 1
1 QM	War list, Cave 1
1 QS	Comunal rule, Cave 1
1 QSa	Community rule, Cave 1
1 QSb	Blessings, Cave 1
Quint. Smyrn.	Quintus Smyrnaeus
Quint. Decl.	Quintilianus, Declamationes minores (Shackleton Bailey 1989)

Inst.	Institutio oratoria
R. Gest. div. Aug.	Res gestae divi Augusti
Rhet. Her.	Rhetorica ad C. Herennium
Rom	Letter to the Romans
Rt	Ruth
Rufin.	Tyrannius Rufinus
Rut. Namat.	Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, De reditu suo
S. Sol.	Song of Solomon
Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus
Sach	Sacharia
Sall. Catil.	Sallustius, De coniuratione Catilinae
Hist.	Historiae
Iug.	De bello Iugurthino
Salv. Gub.	Salvianus, De gubernatione dei
1 Sam, 2 Sam	Samuel
Schol. (before an author's name)	Scholia to the author in question
Sedul.	Sedulius
Sen. Controv.	Seneca maior, Controversiae
Suas.	Suasoriae
Sen. Ag.	Seneca minor, Agamemno
Apocol.	Divi Claudii apocolocyntosis
Ben.	De beneficiis
Clem.	De clementia (Hosius ²1914)
Dial.	Dialogi
Ep.	Epistulae morales ad Lucilium
Herc. f.	Hercules furens
Med.	Medea
Q Nat.	Naturales quaestiones
Oed.	Oedipus
Phaedr.	Phaedra
Phoen.	Phoenissae
Thy.	Thyestes
Tranq.	De tranquillitate animi
Tro.	Troades
Serv. auct.	Servius auctus Danielis
Serv. Aen.	Servius, Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneida
Ecl.	Commentarius in Vergilii eclogas
Georg.	Commentarius in Vergilii georgica
Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus
SHA Ael.	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Aelius
Alb.	Clodius Albinus
Alex. Sev.	Alexander Severus
Aur.	M. Aurelius
Aurel.	Aurelianus
Avid. Cass.	Avidius Cassius
Car.	Carus et Carinus et Numerianus
Carac.	Antoninus Caracalla
Clod.	Claudius
Comm.	Commodus
Diad.	Diadumenus Antoninus
Did. Iul.	Didius Iulianus
Gall.	Gallieni duo
Gord.	Gordiani tres
Hadr.	Hadrianus
Heliogab.	Heliogabalus
Max. Balb.	Maximus et Balbus
Opil.	Opilius Macrinus
Pert.	Helvius Pertinax
Pesc. Nig.	Pescennius Niger
Pius	Antoninus Pius
Quadr. tyr.	Quadraginta tyranni
Sev.	Severus
Tac.	Tacitus
Tyr. Trig.	Triginta Tyranni
Valer.	Valeriani duo
Sid. Apoll. Carm.	Apollinaris Sidonius, Carmina
Epist.	Epistulae
Sil. Pun.	Silius Italicus, Punica
Simon.	Simonides
Simpl.	Simplicius
Sir	Jesus Sirach
Scyl.	Scylax, Periplus
Scymn.	Scymnus, Periegesis
Socr.	Socrates, Historia ecclesiastica
Sol.	Solon
Solin.	Solinus
Soph. Aj.	Sophocles, Ajax
Ant.	Antigone
El.	Electra
Ichn.	Ichneutae
OC	Oedipus Coloneus
OT	Oedipus Tyrannus
Phil.	Philoctetes
Trach.	Trachiniae
Sor. Gyn.	Soranus, Gynaecia
Sozom. Hist. eccl.	Sozomenus, Historia ecclesiastica
Stat. Achil.	Statius, Achilleis
Silv.	Silvae
Theb.	Thebais
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius
Stesich.	Stesichorus
Stob.	Stobaeus
Str.	Strabo (books, chapters)
Suda	Suda = Suidas
Suet. Aug.	Suetonius, Divus Augustus (Ihm 1907)
Calig.	Caligula
Claud.	Divus Claudius
Dom.	Domitianus
Gram.	De grammaticis (Kaster 1995)
Iul.	Divus Iulius
Tib.	Divus Tiberius
Tit.	Divus Titus
Vesp.	Divus Vespasianus
Vit.	Vitellius
Sulp. Sev.	Sulpicius Severus
Symmachus, Ep.	Symmachus, Epistulae
Or.	Orationes

Relat.	Relationes
Synes. epist.	Synesius, Epistulae
Sync.	Syncellus
Tab. Peut.	Tabula Peutingeriana
Tac. Agr.	Tacitus, Agricola
Ann.	Annales
Dial.	Dialogus de oratoribus
Germ.	Germania
Hist.	Historiae
Ter. Maur.	Terentianus Maurus
Ter. Ad.	Terentius, Adelphoe
An.	Andria
Eun.	Eunuchus
Haut.	H(e)autontimorumenos
Hec.	Hecyra
Phorm.	Phormio
Tert. Apol.	Tertullianus, Apologeticum
Ad nat.	Ad nationes (Borleffs 1954)
TH	Thebes (place where Linear B tables were discovered)
Them. Or.	Themistius, Orationes
Theoc.	Theocritus
Theod. Epist.	Theodoretus, Epistulae
Gr. aff. Cur.	Graecarum affectionum curatio
Hist. eccl.	Historia ecclesiastica
Theopomp.	Theopompus
Theophr. Caus. pl.	Theophrastus, De causis plantarum
Char.	Characteres
Hist. pl.	Historia plantarum
1 Thess, 2 Thess	Letters to the Thessalonians
Thgn.	Theognis
Thuc.	Thucydides
TI	Tiryns (place where Linear B tablets were discovered)
Tib.	Tibullus, Elegiae
1 Tim, 2 Tim	Letters to Timothy
Tit	Letter to Titus
Tob	Tobit
Tzetz. Anteh.	Tzetzes, Antehomerica
Chil.	Chiliades
Posth.	Posthomerica
Ulp.	Ulpianus (Ulpiani regulae)
Val. Fl.	Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia
Varro, Ling.	Varro, De lingua Latina
Rust.	Res rusticae
Sat. Men.	Saturae Menippeae (Astbury 1985)
Vat.	Fragmenta Vaticana
Veg. Mil.	Vegetius, Epitoma rei militaris
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus, Historiae Romanae
Ven. Fort.	Venantius Fortunatus
Verg. Aen.	Vergilius, Aeneis
Catal.	Catalepton
Ecl.	Eclogae
G.	Georgica
Vir. ill.	De viris illustribus
Vitr. De arch.	Vitruvius, De architectura
Vulg.	Vulgate
Wisd	Wisdom
Xen. Ages.	Xenophon, Agesilaus
An.	Anabasis
Ap.	Apologia
Ath. pol.	Athenaion politeia
Cyn.	Cynegeticus
Cyr.	Cyropaedia
Eq.	De equitandi ratione
Eq. mag.	De equitum magistro
Hell.	Hellenica
Hier.	Hiero
Lac.	Respublica Lacedaemoniorum
Mem.	Memorabilia
Oec.	Oeconomicus
Symp.	Symposium
Vect.	De vectigalibus
Xenoph.	Xenophanes
Zen.	Zeno
Zenob.	Zenobius
Zenod.	Zenodotus
Zeph	Zephania
Zon.	Zonaras
Zos.	Zosimus

List of Authors

Altekamp, Stefan
Apel, Hans Jürgen
Arbeiter, Achim
Bachmaier, Helmut
Bäbler, Balbina
Behrwald, Ralf
Berger, Albrecht
Berges, Dietrich
Bergfeld, Christoph
Bichler, Reinhold
Borgmeier, Raimund
Böschenstein, Renate
Boschung, Dietrich
Bouzek, Jan
Bredow, Iris von
Brunet, Michèle Moretti, Jean-Charles
Brunner, Karl
Busch, Werner
Christof, Eva
Crüsemann, Nicola
Csapodi, Csaba
Dally, Ortwin
Dierse, Ulrich
Döhl, Hartmut G.
Dölemeyer, Barbara
Döring, Klaus
Dolezalek, Gero
Dominik, William J.
Drost-Abgarjan, Armenuhi
Dyson, Stephen L.
Effenberger, Arne
Eickhoff, Birgit
El-Abbadi, Mostafa
Eleuteri, Paolo
Febel, Gisela
Feistner, Edith
Fischer, Klaus
Fischer, Wolfdietrich
Fornaro, Sotera
Forssman, Bernhard
Forssman, Berthold
Frahm, Eckart
Freyberger, Klaus Stefan
Frielinghaus, Heide
Frobenius, Wolf, Barth, Andreas
Gauß, Walter
Gechter, Marianne
Geerlings, Wilhelm
Geus, Klaus
Gnilka, Christian
Graf, Fritz
Greiner, Bernhard
Groppe, Carola
Grosse, Max
Günther, Hubertus
Günther, Linda-Marie
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Hartmann, Elke
Hartmann, Jana
Hauser, Stefan R.
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Hellwig, Karin Wenzel, Carola
Hetzer, Armin
Hinz, Berthold
Hošek, Radislav
Höcker, Christoph
Hölter, Achim
Hünemörder, Christian
Irmscher (†), Johannes
Jakobi-Mirwald, Christine
Kader, Ingeborg
Kern, Manfred
Kilian, Barbara
Koerrenz, Ralf
Kopka, Alex
Krasser, Helmut
Kreikenbom, Detlev
Kuhlmann, Peter
Kuhn-Chen, Barbara
Kümmerling-Meibauer, Bettina
Kytzler, Bernhard
Landfester, Manfred
Lošek, Fritz
Lohr, Charles H.
Lück, Heiner
Luig, Klaus
Eickhoff, Birgit
Makris, Georgios
Mašek, Miro
Marshall, Peter K.
Martínková, Dana
Matthäus, Hartmut
Meier, Hans-Rudolf
Meier, Mischa
Mergenthaler, Volker
Michel, Raphael
Mohnhaupt, Heinz
Moser, Christian
Müller-Richter, Klaus
Näf, Beat
Niemeyer, Hans Georg
Nutton, Vivian

Peña, P. Bádenas De La
Pfarr, Ulrich
Pingel, Volker
Raeburn, David Antony
Ranieri, Filippo
Ratkowitsch, Christine
Rebenich, Stefan
Reinsch, Diether Roderich
Renger, Johannes
Repgen, Tilman
Reudenbach, Bruno
Rheidt, Klaus
Ricken, Friedo
Rollinger, Robert
Rommel, Bettina
Rudolph, Kurt
Rudolph, Wolf
Rüpke, Jörg
Saleh, Mohamed
Schalles, Hans-Joachim
Scharf, Friedhelm
Schevtschenko, Galina Ivanovna
Schiering, Wolfgang
Schlesier, Renate
Schmidt-Dengler, Wendelin
Schmitz, Thomas A.
Schneider, Helmuth
Schneider, Jakob Hans Josef
Schulze, Christian
Schulze, Janine
Schupp, Volker
Schütte, Sven
Schwandner, Ernst-Ludwig
Schweizer, Beat
Schweizer, Stefan
Sguaitamatti, Lorenzo
Stärk, Ekkehard
Stehlíková, Eva
Stenzel, Hartmut
Stillers, Rainer
Strohmaier, Gotthard
Stroszeck, Jutta
Strothmann, Jürgen
Stückelberger, Alfred
Stumpf, Gerd
Suntrup, Rudolf
Suter, Claudia E.
Svatoš, Martin
Talbert, Richard
Tinnefeld, Franz
Toral-Niehoff, Isabel
Tsakmakis, Antonis
Ungefähr-Kortus, Claudia
Usener, Sylvia
Vidmanová, Anežka
Wachter, Rudolf
Walther, Gerrit
Waquet, Françoise
Warland, Rainer
Werdehausen, Anna Elisabeth
Westbrook, Raymond
Wiater, Werner
Wiegels, Rainer
Wildung, Dietrich
Willers, Dietrich
Wyss, Beat
Zaminer, Frieder
Zeman, Herbert
Zervoudaki, Eos
Ziegler, Sabine

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List of Entries

Academy
Acculturation
Acoustics
Adagium
Adaptation
Advertizing
Aegina
Aequitas
Aerial Archaeological Imaging
Aesthetics
Aezani
Affects, Theory of (Musical)
Africa
Agriculture
Agrimensoren
Albania
Alchemy
Alesia
Alexandria
Alexandrinism
Allegorism
Allegory
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum
Anacreontic Poetry, Anacreontica
Ancient History (Greece, Rome, Late Antiquity)
Ancient Languages, Teaching of
Ancient Near Eastern Philology and History (Assyriology)
Andalucia
Animal Epic
Animal Studies
Anthologia Graeca
Anthologia Latina
Antiquarianism (Humanism until 1800)
Antiqui et moderni
Antiquities, Collections of
Antiquity
Antiquity, Romance set in
Anti-semitism
Aphorism
Apollonian/Dionysian
Apologos
Apophtegm
Apotheosis
Arabic Medicine
Arabic Studies
Arabic-Islamic Cultural Sphere, the
Arcadianism
Archaeological Institute of America
Archaeological Methods and Theories
Archaeological Park
Archaeological Structural Research
Archaic Period
Archaism
Architectural Copy/Citation
Architectural Theory/Vitruvianism
Argumentation Theory
Aristocracy
Aristotelianism
Arithmetic
Armenia
Art Works, Acquisition of/Art Theft
Artemis of ephesus
Artes liberales
Artists, Legends concerning
Assyriology
Astrology
Astronomy
Atheism
Athens
Atlantis
Atomism
Augustinism
Austria
Autobiography
Automata
Baalbek
Babylon
Baghdad, Iraq Museum
Baltic Languages
Baltimore
Barberini faun
Baron Thesis, the
Baroque
Basilica
Basle, Antikenmuseum and Sammlung Ludwig
Battlefields
Bavaria
Beauty
Belarus
Belgium
Bellum iustum
Belorussia
Belvedere Apollo
Berlin
Bible
Bibliotheca Corviniana
Biography
Böckh-Hermann Dispute, the
Body Culture
Bohemia
Bonapartism

Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum and Akademisches Kunstmuseum
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Botany
Bücher-Meyer Controversy, the
Bucolic/Idyll
Bulgaria
Burlesque
Byzantine Studies
Byzantium
Caesarism
Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Calendar
Cambridge School
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Campania
Canada
Cannae
Canon
Canonists
Capitoline museums
Caricature
Carmen figuratum
Carolingian Renaissance
Carthage
Cartography
Caryatids
Cast/Cast Collection
Cathedral School
Causa
Celtic Languages
Celtic-Germanic Archaeology
Cemeteries, Culture of
Censorship
Ceremony
Chanson de Geste
Character Theory
Chemistry
Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum
Children's and Young Adults' Literature
China
Chrêsis
Christian Archaeology
Christianity
Chronology
Church
Church History
Ciceronianism
Circus
Citizen
Civilists
Classical Archaeology
Classical Period
Classicism
Classicism after Classical Antiquity
Clothing
Cnidian Aphrodite
Cnidus
Codicology
Codification
Coin Collections
Coins, Coin Minting
College
Cologne
Column/Monumental Column
Columniation
Comedy
Comets
Comics
Commentary
Communism
Consolation Literature
Constantine, Donation of
Constantinople
Constitution
Constitution, Types of
Contract
Copenhagen
Copy
Corpus Medicorum
Cosmology
Course of Instruction
Cretan-Mycenaean Archaeology
Croatia
Crown
Cult image
Cultural Anthropology
Cynicism
Cyprus
Czech Republic
Dance
Décadence
Debt Law
Decipherment
Decorations
Deification
Delos
Delphi

A

Academy

I. General II. Musical

I. General

A. Definition B. Humanism D. 19th Century E. 20th Century

A. Definition

The word 'academy' is not used in a uniform manner. In addition to scholarly academies dedicated to research, the term denotes various scholarly, pedagogical and social establishments. There are medical academies; music, dance and art academies; as well as church-related ones (→ A. II. musical). Scholarly (i.e. research) academies, on the other hand, are associations of scholars with the purpose of furthering research and academic communication. Their names have been changed many times over the centuries: they have been known as *societas* (society), *sodalitas* (sodality), association, institute, and by others terms. Since the 15th cent., the word academy has encompassed the widest variety of social and intellectual associations and organisations. It no longer exclusively refers to the ancient academy, more specifically, Plato's school, but also to scholarly associations and pure teaching institutions. In view of the loss of importance of universities, the prestigious term *academy* was assumed by other institutions of higher learning – specifically German ones – to promote themselves as places of scholarship and teaching. Following the French example, scholarly institutions in Germany were first called academies in the course of the 18th cent.

B. Humanism

The Platonic Academy, closed in 529 by Justinian, was rediscovered in Italian humanistic circles around the turn of the 15th cent. [9; 39; 55]. It is debatable to what extent the circle that existed at the court of Charlemagne under the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin can be called an academy. The link was consciously made to the Academy in Athens, both in content and in name, in order that its secular scholarship would be perfected by Christian teaching (cf. Alcuin, epist. 170, ed. Dümmler). But this link to ancient tradition was an isolated episode. The reason for this was also the negative connotation of the word in the Latin Middle Ages, which, following from Augustine's *Contra Academicos* (or *De Academicis*; cf. the commentary to bk. 2 and 3 by Th. Fuhrer, 1997) considered the sceptical tradition of the academy as an absolute or rejected it ([3]; L. Boehm in: [19. 65–111]). It was not until the professors, clerics, notables and merchants who set themselves up in private groups in Florence around 1400 in the monastery of Santo Spirito and in the Paradiso degli Alberti in order to debate literary, philosophical and political themes based on ancient texts that the idea of the Platonic Academy was taken up in a systematic manner. To be sure, these social discussion groups were not organized in a formal way (S. Neumeister in: [19. 171–189]). In 1427, inspired by Cicero's Tusc. 3,3,6f., Poggio Bracciolini planned to set up an Academy on his Tuscan estate to read the classics in the original, with an educated circle of friends. Then in 1454 in the house of the Florentine notable Alamanno Rinucci, young humanists came together in a *Nova Academia* or *Chorus Academiae Florentinae*, there to devote themselves, observing definite rules, above all to the writings of Plato and Aristotle. The study of ancient philosophers received a strong impetus through the works of the Byzantine scholar Johannes Argyropulos. The important influence of Greek philosophy on the humanistically aware Florentines was also reflected in the group collected together by Marsilio Ficino in 1462 that was commonly (albeit falsely, cf. [26]) dubbed *Accademia Platonica* and was the first occidental academy of modern times [15; 39. 101ff.; 40]. It also lacked a firm organisational framework and precise statutes. Its biggest achievement was the rediscovery of Platonic writings for the Latin West, through precise translations of which Ficino saw the opportunity to reform Christianity [57]. The express aim was the resurrection of the ancient academy 'antiquam Academiam resurgentem': M. Ficino, Opera omnia, ²1576, Repr. 1959, I 909), to which one demonstrated commitment through *exercitatio literarum*, i.e. educated debate, oratorical exercises and philosophical interpretations of Platonic teachings. The head of the academy, Ficino, dubbed the *pater Platonicae familiae*, managed the renewal of the ancient model in a villa in Careggi, which was given to him by Cosimo de Medici. *Symposia* were held following the Platonic example; November 7, Plato's supposed birthday and death day was kept as a holiday; the walls were decorated with aphorisms; and a bust of Plato, allegedly from the ancient Academy, was set up. At the same time, the Academy, which had close ties to the Medici, was to develop its influence – in a humanistic context – as a place of universal education and of the culture of urbane conversation. Although only a few selected individuals from the Florentine political and intellectual elite took part in individual meetings (such as Cristoforo Landino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano), Ficino's conception proved exceptionally effective and influenced other humanistic circles outside Florence, such as the *Accademia Pontaniana* in Naples. The *Accademia Pontaniana* was founded in 1458 as the discussion group of Alfons I. It continued in 1471 under the guidance of Giovanni Pontano, the most important Neapolitian humanist; which also contributed to the fame of the court of Aragon. Together they studied ancient authors, specifically Virgil. In 1464 Pomponio Leto founded the *Accademia Romana* (after its founder also called the *Accademia Pomponiana*) on the Quirinal in

Rome. The most important Italian humanists belonged to it. It was temporarily banned for anticlerical statements by Pope Paul II. In Venice in 1484, Aldo Manuzio organised his *Neoacademia* in his publishing house. It not only pressed ahead with editions of Greek authors, but also developed rules of order, written in Greek, and discussions were carried on in Greek.

In the 15th cent. the idea of the academy found many disciples north of the Alps, specifically through the mediation of Conrad Celtis. 'Sodalities', literary/historically oriented, and informally organised, which in many ways picked up their inspiration from Italy, were founded in Buda, Krakow, Basel, Vienna, Ingolstadt, Heidelberg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Erfurt, Straßburg and in many other towns [19. 951ff., 1069ff.; 56. 128ff.; 62]. The circles, which were formed by means of academic friendships and exchange of letters of their members, reflect a new formation of intellectual associations, founded through private initiative, but taken seriously by the Early Modern courts; they spread the classical legacy through editions, translations and relevant publications as well as historical/geographical studies of individual regions.

The level of popularity that the concept of the academy had in humanistic Italy can be seen in the fact that from the middle of the 15th to the end of the 16th cent., around 400 academies were founded (granted some existed only for a short time). In these, educated burghers came together to debate scholarly questions and the cultivation of the arts [19. 190–270; 44]. They continued the traditions of the first humanistic academies, in most cases not surviving the death of their founders. The number of academies, which had clear statutes and membership rules, procedural rules for meetings, apportioning of offices, fields of activity etc., grew from the first half of the 16th cent. on. In the period of early Absolutism the princes gradually assumed direction of the academies. In the context of the late humanist search for universal knowledge (Universalwissenschaft), the principal focus was on literary texts; scientifically based academies constituted only a small proportion.

The academies developed a new field of expertise in the course of the 16th cent.: the investigation and standardisation of literature in the national languages. Already at the beginning of the 1540s, the *Accademia Fiorentina* occupied itself with Dante, Petrarch and the contemporary language of Tuscany. The *Accademia della Crusca* was founded in 1583 – likewise in Florence – and formed its program to illustrate its name. Its task was, based on established authors of the 14th cent., to sort in the Italian language the worthless bran (*crusca*) from the flour. The first edition of the Italian dictionary of the *Accademia della Crusca* appeared in 1612. The German societies, however, initially held fast to Latin; Sprachgesellschaften in Germany as in other European countries, were formed on the Italian model only later. The *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* [19. 230ff.] was founded in Weimar in 1617, and Cardinal Richelieu set up the *Académie Française* [19. 348ff.] in 1635. Their declared aim was to derive standards and concepts for literature written in their national languages from ancient rhetoric and poetry. This deliberate turning towards the vernacular put the language societies of the 17th cent. in opposition to the universities, which still held tightly onto their tradition of Latin language and education.

C. 17TH AND 18TH CENTS.

Between 1660 and 1793, 70 official academies were founded in Europe and America. In addition there were numerous scholarly associations of a private and semi-private nature (such as the classical philological societies in German university towns [65]). In contrast to the academies, they were not, as a rule, licensed by the state, though they were recognised (Overview [45. 261ff., 281ff.]). The academies differed, sometimes considerably, in their orientation, organisation and social composition (L. Hammermayer in [2. 1ff.; 19; 29; 64; 66]). The Platonic model, that was modified already in the 16th cent., was no longer relevant for the content of their studies and organisational structure. The academies concerned themselves with scholarship and arts of the most different types, and in their variety reflected the enormous differentiation in the fields of knowledge. Most notably they accounted for the beginning rise of the natural sciences since the late 16th cent. The integration of scientific research and formulation of research problems in the work of the academies led to a deep division. There was far less discussion of the contribution of language and literature to establishing identity and culture than in the humanistic societies. Research in the service of scientific advancement was now the basic premise of the academy movement. It is against this background that, beginning in the second half of the 17th cent., the turn of the academies towards an experimental-inductive methodology in the sciences and the development of historical and philological source criticism is to be viewed. What the academies had in common was that they contributed to supraregional research communication and their members were only rarely obliged to teach in the universities. Before the Enlightenment, the universities, which were bound to the scholastic tradition, lost both esteem and significance to the academies, which offered themselves as central research institutions. By the end of the 18th cent. the academies were the standard organizational form of scholarly collaboration. Acting as the central academic institutes of their respective countries, they gathered together well-known academics and dedicated themselves more frequently to large scholarly projects that an individual scholar would not be able to tackle. Aside from custom prevailing in the Sprachgesellschaften, Latin first served as the international scholarly language, but was soon joined by French. From the middle of the 18th cent., national languages were used in the academies.

The informal scholarly associations soon came under the influence of the state and the ruler: absolutist princes assumed the roles of patrons, who supported existing organisations and founded new academies. In Europe, academies were a prominent tool of royal support for academia. The private circles of scholars, interested in literary and scientific studies, became state controlled organisations of an elitist cultural policy. Significantly, this absolutist academy movement played no role in the constitutionally republican Netherlands and Switzerland (Academy foundations did not occur there until 1808 and 1815 respectively). In Paris the *Académie des Sciences* and the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* had already been founded in 1666 and 1667 respectively to take their places alongside the *Académie Française* [19. 348ff.]. In London in 1662, the *Royal Society* was founded, which was oriented towards the natural sciences, and in 1683 the *Philosophical Society* in Dublin [19. 669ff.]. In Berlin, the Elector Frederick III, according to the concept of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, founded the *Kurfürstliche Brandenburgische Societet der Scientien* in1700 [7; 20; 21; 27; 28]. Vienna and Dresden tried to imitate the Berlin model, but in vain (it was not until 1847 that the opening of the *Kaiserliche Akademie* was officially announced in Vienna) [33; 46]. It was only in St Petersburg under Peter the Great in 1724/25 that the plan for an academy following the Prussian model could become reality [19. 966ff.]. In other European centres too, academies arose as institutions supported and funded by the state: in Edinburgh in 1731, in Madrid in 1714 (*Real Academia Española*) and in 1738 (*Real Academia de la Historia*), in Lisbon 1717 (*Academia Portuguesa da Historia*) and in 1779 (*Academia das Sciências*), in Stockholm 1739, in Copenhagen 1742 and in Brussels1772.

In the 18th cent., an academy was to be found in every larger town in Italy some of which carried out important archaeological, as well as local and regional historical research such as that at Cortona on the Etruscans. In France there were not just academies in Paris, but also provincial academies were set up in many towns – often through private initiatives – all of which had a different focus; by 1789 there were 32 of them. The academy movement also gained a foothold in East and Southeast Europe [2; 11; 19. 1031ff.]. There was an extensive wave of formations in the German Reich in the second half of the 18th cent. To begin with the Olmütz Society was founded in 1746, though it was dissolved in 1751. Of great importance was the reorganisation of the Berlin Academy under Frederick II in the 1740s, which from now on was called the *Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Over the next four decades, countless academies and scholarly societies were founded in the country's various regional capitals, especially in central and southern Germany: The *Königliche Sozietät der Wissenschaften* in Göttingen (1751) [2. 97ff.; 29. 97ff.], the *Akademie nützlicher Wissenschaften* in Erfurt (1754) [1], the *Bayerische*

Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich (1759) [24; 25], the Pfälzische *Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Mannheim (1763), the *Fürstlich Jablonowskische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* in Leipzig (1774) [42], the *Gesellschaft der Altertümer* in Kassel (1777) und the *Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* in Prague (1785). In North America too the academy movement met with response. The *Philosophical Society* was initially set up in Philadelphia in 1743/44 and the *American Academy of Arts and Sciences* with its headquarters in Boston in 1779. In the 18th cent. the concept of the academy reached Central and South America as well as Asia via the Portuguese and the Spanish.

The science-oriented academies grew in importance: After the brief flowering of the *Academia Secretorum Naturae* in Naples between 1560 and 1568, the *Accademia dei Lincei* was founded in Rome in 1603, in 1652 the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* in Schweinfurt (which later became the *Leopoldina* in Halle), the *Royal Society* in London in 1660 and in 1666 the *Académie des Sciences* in Paris. The expansion of research in mathematics and the natural sciences found different institutional solutions and led to continuous controversies about the division of the scholarly fields within the academies. Basically it came down to the followingl alternatives: Either academies for sciences – such as in Schweinfurt, London and Paris – could be set up as independent organisations (partly in addition to academies for languages, literature and history), or science and humanities were merged into a single academy which would then be divided into different classes or departments. The idea of the unity of scholarship was advocated by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and successfully put into practise in the Berlin Academy. Here, history, languages and natural sciences were all dealt with under the same roof. Many French and (after the second half of the 18th cent.) Italian provincial academies were modelled on the Berlin *Sozietät* [44; 54].

The frequently stressed connections of the academies with each other in a supranational and interfaith *république des sciences* or *république des lettres* have, up to now, only been verified in a few cases (e.g. for Berlin and St Petersburg). Munich's connections with academies elsewhere, however, were insignificant in the 18th cent. (cf. summary of previous research [66. 28f.]). Respected foreign scholars were frequently invited to become members of an academy. These choices were based not only upon position, but also their scholarly achievements. However, there are definitive studies on the members' social denominational and geographical origins only for the French and some German academies. It seems likely that already before the middle of the 18th cent. the majority of academy members came from the upper middle classes. Non-noble scholars entered the exclusive academic meritocracy on an equal footing with noble members and used their activities in the academy as a means of social mobility.

The Catholic Church also established comparable institutions. One may note the Maurist Congregation, which since the middle of the 17th cent. in Saint-Germain-des-Prés had been publishing exemplary editions of Church history and which also became renowned for its significant studies of ancillary historical material and for works on French history.

Despite the diversification in scholarship and the intensive focus of research on the natural sciences, the study of the ancient world retained a prominent position in the work of academies. It profited from the systematic collection and editions of historical sources which were now being started. Naturally the study of ancient history (just as that of universal history) was not on the agenda of every academy (cf. the German academies in general [38]; Paris: [5. 171ff.; 63. 230ff.]; Mannheim: [12; 18]; Munich: [37]). The transcriptions of monumental and epigraphic texts were large-scale classical research projects: Archaeological campaigns were carried out in Tuscany and the towns at the foot of Vesuvius, → POMPEII and → HERCULANEUM [14], but also in Gallia Romana and in the Palatinate [13]. Local academies, too, made important research contributions to regional ancient history; in Italy, for example, they made important contributions to intensive research in Etruscan history [4]. Prize contests sponsored by the academies frequently treated classical themes. The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, for example, alternated questions from Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages and even admitted non-French participants. In 1775 Herder addressed the theme: *Quels furent les noms et les attributs de Vénus chez les diverses nations de la Grèce et de l'Italie* [64. 65].

The academy movement, however, suffered a crisis in the 18th cent. The vast and extensive variety of academy foundings, which reflected the advances in scholarly specialisation, made intraregional coordination and cooperation ever more difficult. The unavoidable institutionalisation led to ossification and inflexibility. Various reform projects were discussed, including the suggestion for a Europe-wide *République des Lettres*, which in 1795 led to the establishment of the *Institut de France*. At the same time the middle class turned, under the influence of the Enlightenment, to organisations that were largely independent of the courts, so that the academies lost their principal socio-politial and scientific organisatorial function.

D. 19TH CENT.

This stagnation crisis was overcome by the reform movement at the beginning of the 19th cent. The Parisian model of a central academy, which had originated after the liquidation of the old academy structure during the French Revolution, had an effect on various European states, such as the *Kaiserlich Russische Akademie* reorganised in 1803 and the newly established *Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in 1807. In Prussia, Wilhelm von Humboldt started a thorough and wide-ranging reform in the division and structure of scholarly fields that led to the founding of the University of Berlin (1810) and the reorganisation of the Academy (1812). In the 19th cent. the *Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* became a model example of a modern and efficient scholarly academy, whose central function lay in the overall organisation, representation and coordination of scholarly work. At the same time Humboldt's conception, the unity of research and teaching, prevented the universities from taking second place to the academies, as was the case in France, for instance. The members of the German Academy were frequently university professors. The Berlin Academy enlarged its distance, already stressed since the 17th cent., to theology and jurisprudence, the normative practical orientation of which was not considered reconcilable with an enlightened concept of science and innovation. Exponents of these subjects, such as the theologian Adolf Harnack, could only be taken on as historians. The neo-humanistic epistemology constructed a model of the academy which combined an idealised concept of an almost timeless Platonic academy with a positivist understanding of scholarship and a highly efficient scholarly organisation.

Before this background, Classical Studies in the 19th cent. experienced a boom without parallel [51; 52]. Led by Theodor Mommsen, since 1858 a full member and from 1874 to 1895 secretary of the Berlin Academy, the great classical undertakings were started: the fundamental research on source criticism, which established the international reputation of German classical scholarship. The entire historical source material of the ancient world was to be collected, indexed and published in large corpora. According to the methodological credo, advancement in scholarship could only be made via comprehensive editions of sources. In his reply to Harnack's inaugural speech, Mommsen in 1890 had redefined the task of the Academy in the age of positivism: *Auch die Wissenschaft hat ihr sociales Problem: wie der Großstaat und die Großindustrie, so ist die Großwissenschaft, die nicht von Einem geleistet, aber von Einem geleitet wird, ein nothwendiges Element unserer Kulturentwicklung, und deren rechte Träger sind die Akademien oder sollten es sein* ('Scholarship, too, has its social problem: just as the national state and corporate industry so also large-scale scholarship, which is not accomplished by [just] one individual but rather is led by one, is an essential element of our cultural development; and the responsible institutions for that are the academies or should be', Minutes. Berlin 1890, 792; TH. MOMMSEN, Reden und Aufsätze, 1905, 209). Hermann Diels, Mommsen's successor as secretary of the philolosophical-historical section, shared his views. He expressed his thoughts on *Die Organisation der Wissenschaften* in 1906 (in: [32]). Harnack, who inherited Mommsen's leading role in Academy politics after 1895, penned his programmatic essay in 1911 *Vom Großbetrieb der Wissenschaften* (now in: [49. 1009–1019]).

In 1815 on the initiative of August Böckh the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* was founded (4 vols., 1825–1859; 1877 index) and in 1817 Immanuel Bekker started the Aristotle edition (4 vols., 1827–1836; index 1870), which since 1874 was supplemented with the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* and the *Supplementum Aristotelicum*. After years of argument, the Berlin Academy approved Mommsen's plan in 1854 for a *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Individual fascicles have been appearing since 1863; up to now 17 volumes with around 180,000 inscriptions as well as numerous supplements. From work on the indices of Latin inscriptions emerged the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I.II.III.*, edited by Hermann Dessau, Elimar Klebs and Paul von Rohden 1897/98. At Mommsen's suggestion Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer started to collect the ancient coins of northern Greece in 1888. Since 1898 individual volumes of the *Griechische Münzwerk* have been appearing at irregular intervals. In 1891 the corpus of Greek Christian writers of the first to third cents., commonly called the Church Fathers' Edition or 'Kirchenväterausgabe', was founded on the initiative of Mommsen and Harnack. The interdisciplinary project, on which ancient historians, classical philologists and theologians worked together, is a good example of the epoch-making cooperation of 'classical studies' and church history at the end of the 19th cent. After 1945 the series was broadened to include texts from later centuries (up to the 8th cent.). The Commission in charge of the Church Fathers' Edition became, at the end of 1901, also responsible for the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. IV. V. VI*; the large-scale undertaking was intended to be a basic biographical tool for both secular and ecclesiastic historians, as well as for theologians and philologists; but in the end it failed because of its unrealistic goal, for which its initiator Mommsen had to take the blame. After many setbacks, the work was halted in 1933. In 1897, work was started on the dictionary of Ancient Egyptian under the leadership of Adolf Erman. By 1947 it contained around 1.75 million definitions of ancient Egyptian words (13 vols., 1926–1963). In 1901 Hermann Diels together with Ludvig Heiberg started the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. Under the aegis of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1903 saw a new plan for the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, the sister project for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*; cooperation with other academies, especially the Wiener Akademie, was strongly pushed and resulted in a geographical division of labour. From now on, Berlin focused its attention on the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands. To date 45 volumes (with almost 50,000 inscriptions) have appeared. In addition, Theodor Mommsen inaugurated the *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*, a complete word index to the Digests and the pre-Justinian legal sources (5 vols., 1903–1987), an edition of Fronto, which was, however, not completed, as well as an index *rei militaris imperii Romani*. Plans for a comprehensive survey of ancient art and for a *Corpus Papyrorum* never came to fruition. The Prussian Academy had a personnel and administrative influence on several local, non-academic ventures and institutions in Berlin, and others like the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, the DAI (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*) with its branches in Rome, Athens, Cairo and Constantinople, the Reichslimeskommission headquartered in Heidelberg and the Römisch-Germanische Kommission in Frankfurt [52].

Also the newly established academies in the German-speaking countries (1846 the *Königlich-Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Leipzig [42], 1847 the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna [33; 46], 1906 the Akademie in Straßburg and 1909 the Heidelberger Akademie [67]) carried out classical research and took part in joint ventures. In Vienna in 1864, the Commission to edit the works of the Latin Church Fathers was set up (CSEL); the Asia Minor Commission, which among other things was responsible for excavations at Ephesus, followed in 1890 [16. 9ff.], and in 1897 the Commission for research on the Roman Limes. Straßburg and Heidelberg increased their research on papyri. After 1918, the Heidelberg Academy took over a part of the work of its Straßburg sister organisation, specifically the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* which had been advanced by Eduard Schwartz since 1909 [53. 41ff.].

Likewise, in many European and overseas nations, in order to manifest newly-won or aspired-to national sovereignty, in the 19th cent. academies were founded: in Poland (Krakow 1816), in Mexico (1824), in Hungary (1825), in Finland (1838), in Belgium (1841/42), in Norway (1857), in Croatia (1866), in Romania (1866), in Serbia (1866), in Bulgaria (1869) und in Japan (1879). These newly founded academies concerned themselves to a greater or lesser extent with classical research and were to some degree shaped by the Prussian Academy and its organisation (compare the individual articles on these countries). Academies played a lesser role in the USA, a result of the decentralisation of scholarly organisation and the prominent importance of private institutes; it was not until 1919 that the most important humanities organisations joined together as the *American Council of Learned Societies*. The Berlin Academy had a decisive influence on the works of other already existing academies – such as the one in St Petersburg [61]. In addition they were strengthened by the numerous personal relationships of members of individual academies, via elaborate correspondence (a nice example: the series of letters between Wilamowitz and M.I. Rostovzev [10]) and by inviting foreign scholars into the circle of members. (for the classical studies of the Berlin Academy: [35]).

In the face of the ever more costly projects that went beyond the organisatorial and financial possibilities of any one academy, and the need to avoid overlaps in the pursuit of research projects, at the end of the 19th cent. the possibility of a 'cartel' of scholarly academies was discussed. In 1893 the academies of Göttingen (in

whose reorganisation Wilamowitz had a decisive share), Leipzig, Munich and Vienna formed the *Verband der wissenschaftlichen Körperschaften*. Berlin, which up to now had only worked in individual joint ventures, and Heidelberg joined in 1906 and 1911 respectively. On the initiative of the cartel, the International Association of Academies (IAA) came into being in 1899. Active until 1914 it brought together 24 European and American academies [23; 31]. The cartel oversaw over 30 projects, including the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, which was tackled by the academies in Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna, and on which today more than 20 academies on three continents are working [41]. There was also the edition of the Septuagint started by Rudolf Smend and Alfred Rahlfs in 1907 which now has its home in Göttingen[58]. Other projects were realised by arrangements between individual academies; the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* since 1893 with the support of the Prussian and Saxon academies. Work on the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* was supported by the Berlin and Leipzig academies as well as the Royal Society in Copenhagen.

The 'industry-style management of research', funded by state support and private foundations, changed the character of the academy at the end of the 19th cent. This can be seen clearly at the Berlin Academy [52]. It was no longer a place of learned discourse, but rather an institution which had to accommodate itself to the requirements of large-scale, 'industrialised' research. Classical Studies initiated and exemplified an organisatorial modernisation, international cooperation, flexible methods of financing research and methodological diversity. Its innovative potential had its effect on other areas and even the physical and natural science section followed this model. Undertakings in Classical Studies strengthened at the same time a tendency towards subject specialistion. Using other areas of study as models, the study of Antiquity was divided into different sections and the unity of Classical Studies was destroyed forever.

E. 20th Cent.

The most recent history of the academy reflects the changes and ruptures of the 20th cent. Chauvinism and military aggression, which culminated in two World Wars, robbed the scholarly community of vital material, personnel and ideational resources, and broke down the internationality of the scientific *republic*. The National Socialist regime had tried since 1933 – with varying degrees of success – to influence the personnel structure, the scholarly orientation and the organisation of the German, and after 1938 the Vienna and Prague Academies too (preliminary observations: [17; 43; 52a]). The academy system in Germany was reorganised along federal lines immediately after the end of World War II; in 1946 the individual academies joined together as the network, *Konferenz der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften*. [60]. The Russian Academy had been steered onto communist lines by Stalin in 1929 and reshaped into the Academy of Science of the USSR; since 1934 it had been meeting in Moscow; between 1961 and 1963 a basic reorganisation of the academy made allowance for the for the increasing differentation of the sciences and the quantative expansion of positions and institutes[34]. The division of Europe during the Cold War carried with it the transformation of a formerly pluralistic scholarly community in Eastern Europe into ideologically organised research academies, set up with well-staffed institutes, which had a central role in the scholarly organisation of their countries. The former *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin was also affected by this process; reopened in 1946 as the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, it underwent a far reaching reorganisation in 1969 ([48]; first results of the history of the institutes of Classical Studies [68]). The political changes that shook up former Warsaw Pact countries from the mid-1980s onwards and the ensuing disintegration of the Soviet Union and its satellites had a wide-ranging impact even on scholarly organisations. Many academies in Eastern Europe were newly-established or refounded: national sovereignty demonstrated itself in scholarly independence. The process of restructuring and reestablishing academic traditions was in no way a smooth process, nor indeed is it over. After the destruction of these older organisational structures, research is threatened in many places by an uncertain future and lack of resources (cf. on Russia [47]). In the Federal Republic of Germany after reunification the *Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften* was continued, the *Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften* in Erfurt was reconstituted and after the various institutes of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* of the former German Democratic Republic had been dissolved, the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* was newly constituted (for an informative historical snapshot of the year 1989: [59]).

Specialisation within Classical Studies continued in the 20th cent. Numerous new enterprises were added to the projects pursued up to that point, achieved in part by individual academies, in part in national or international cooperation (cf. the publications of the individual academies in their *Jahrbücher* and *Sitzungsberichte*, and in the Internet). Many academies are represented by archaeological institutes in centres of Mediterranean culture (Madrid, Rome, Athens, Istanbul, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, etc.). The *Internationale Assoziation*, set up in 1901 on the initiative of the London-based *Royal Society*, was joined by 18 academies and was replaced in 1919 by the *Union Académique International* (headquartered in Brussels). Within this international association, various academies have been working on *Catalogue des Manuscrits alchimiques grecs et latins*, on the *Corpus vasorum antiquorum*, on the *Tabula Imperii Romani* and the *Corpus des timbres amphoriques*. The German-speaking academies are jointly publishing the *Mittellateinische Wörterbuch* (to-

gether with the *Novum Glossarium*); there are comparable projects on medieval lexicography in many other European academies. Other large-scale joint projects include the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*), the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, a *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* and the *Année Philologique*. The British Academy founded in 1901 (cf. Proceedings of the British Academy 1. VII–IX) supported textual criticism research on the Greek New Testament, the *Corpus Platonicum medii aevi*, the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* and the *Patristic Greek Lexicon*; today among other things, a *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and the *Roman-British Writing Tablets* are being published; furthermore, the *British Academy* is linked with the *British Schools and Institutes* and their various areas of research. The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* in Paris has also been concerned and occupied itself with numerous philological, epigraphic and archaeological projects; it is worth mentioning the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (since 1867) and the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, the French complete edition of the works of Bartolomeo Borghesi, the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, the *Inscriptions latines de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, the *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie mineure*, the inscriptions of Delos, the *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*, the *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule* and, together with Yale University, the excavations in Dura-Europos; in its remit are the administration of the *Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* and the *École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem*. The Italian academies and the *Unione Accademia Nazionale* are overseeing, among others, numerous archaeological projects, the editing of Greek and Latin authors, the *Inscriptiones Italicae* (with the *Supplementa Italica* and the *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia*), the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* and the *Corpus delle antichità fenicie e puniche*. The south and eastern European academies, as well as those from Scandinavian and the Benelux countries, have distinguished themselves by the deciphering and analysis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence, the publishing of academic journals and publications, the translation of classical authors in respective national languages, and collaborative work with international joint projects (cf. also the entires on individual countries).

In addition the commissions set up for international projects, the Austrian Academy in Vienna supports further working groups on Byzantine studies, the Corpus of ancient mosaics of Asia Minor, Mycenean research, Iranian studies and the history of ancient law. Together with the *Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften* it publishes the *Inschriften griechischer Städte in Kleinasien*. After World War II, the Berlin Academy started work on a *Polybios-Lexikon* and a *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. The academy in Göttingen devotes itself to Byzantine legal sources, the *Septuaginta-Edition*, a *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, the *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* and research on early Christian monasticism. The Bavarian Academy worked with the Vienna Academy on the *Corpus griechischer Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* and, set up in several study groups, is currently engaged in examining cuneiform texts and Near Eastern archaeology; research on urban life in Late Antiquity and late Roman Raetia; the publication of a second series of *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*; onomastics; and an index to the Novellae of Justinian. In Heidelberg there are research positions on archaeometry, an epigraphic database, the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, the *Année Philologique*, publications from its papyri collection, the collection and study of Balkan pre-history. In the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* in Mainz, founded in 1949, commissions have been working and publishing on ancient slavery, coins of the Roman period found in Germany, Greek papyrus documents from Egypt, an Augustinus-Lexikon, the Corpus of Minoan and Mycenean seals, indices to Latin literature of the Renaissance, Coptic textiles, translations and commentaries on the works of Plato, a demotic book of names, and cuneiform texts from Bogazköy. The *Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, founded in 1950 and headquartered in Düsseldorf, financed a critical edition of Athanasius and the *Bibliographia patristica*, is taking part in the publication of the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* and the *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*; it supports the edition of the works of Gregory of Nyssa as well as publications on papyri. The academies of Berlin, Düsseldorf, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Mainz und Munich together maintain the Patristic Commission.

The significance of the academies in terms of research policy and organisation for modern Classical Studies lies on the one hand in their mission to function as places of interdisciplinary discourse and international cooperation; on the other hand, in their responsibility for the dissemination of scholarly results through publications (protocols, yearbooks, monographs, special series, etc.), and, finally, in their function in carrying out long-term projects, which frequently conduct basic research in critical source analysis. Contrary to the natural sciences, Classical Studies have to a much smaller degree set up their own research institutions outside the academy and the university (in Germany, for instance, they have never been represented in the Kaiser-Wilhelm-/Max-Planck-Gesellschaft). The traditional leading role in Classical Studies in numerous academies in the 19th cent., above all in the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften has now been lost. For the most part, classical research projects are only a small part of the whole programme of the academy and often suffer consideral pressure for legitimisation as the result of tighter financial resources in the academic arena.

→ Academy; → Justinian; → Plato
→ Baroque IV. Art and Painting

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II. Musical

In the history of music, many institutions (schools, societies) and their events became significant under the designation academy. Many academies, in the sense of societies, discovered or imitated ancient music (Alterati Florenz, late 16th cent.; Académie de Poésie et Musique Paris, 1570), furthered or carried on musical theatre (Intronati Siena, 1531; Invaghiti Mantua, 1607; Académie Royale de Musique, Paris after 1669; Royal Academy of Music, London 1719–28; Arcadia Rom, 1690) and staged concerts or performed music, especially ancient music (Academy of Vocal Music London, 1726–31; Academy of Ancient Music London, 1710?/31–92; Sing-Akademie Berlin, after 1791; Sing-Akademie Breslau, after 1825). Whereas some private academies employed professional musicians to teach its members (and in doing so became not infrequently the basis for a conservatory), other academies were from the beginning conceived as schools of music (Filarmonica Verona, after 1543; Floridi, later Filarmonica, Bologna, after 1614/15; Royal Academy of Music London, after 1832; Santa Cecilia Rome, 1839; Dublin

1848; Zurich 1891; Vienna 1908; Glasgow 1929; Helsinki 1939; Basel 1948). Just like the sessions or meetings of societies that designate themselves as 'academies', also their concerts may be called 'academies' metonymically, so that in this context, one did not need an academy to stage the event. A report about the musical life in Vienna in 1800 differentiates – apparently depending on the type of locale – between 'public' und 'private academies' and in both categories between 'fixed' und 'ad-hoc' (the 'ad-hoc' private academies evolved in the course of decades into what is called salon music). In a further metonymic sense, academy can even mean works composed for a function at the academy (cantatas) (Pellegrini *Amor tiranno* 1616, Pasquini 1687).

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Acculturation

A. History of the Concept
B. Acculturation in the Historical Disciplines

A. History of the Concept

The concept of *acculturation* originally derives from the conceptual apparatus of American-style → Cultural anthropology, and is based on the concept of culture essentially developed by S. Tylor, which, in the course of the 20th cent., gradually replaced the normative-judgmental concept of culture that had been dominant until then. As an alternative to the latter, which classified human societies on a scale between primitive peoples and complex civilizations, 'Cultural Anthropology' near the end of the 19th cent. developed the model of a non-judgmental comparison of individual cultures. The underlying concept of culture embraces all areas of human endeavor (thus including politics, economics and religion) [4]. The study of 'acculturation' takes into consideration the modes and results of cultural change that are the consequence of cultural contact. In 1936, the following definition, still largely valid today, was developed by R. Redfield, R. Lindon and M. Herskvits: 'Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups' [14. 149]. In this context, the mechanisms and contexts of areas of contact were at the center of these authors' considerations, for instance the circumstances of encounter and criteria of selection in cases of exchange. The concept was fine-tuned in a workshop in 1953, by considering social structures more intensely and classifying the possible reactions to cultural contact [16]. Since acculturation also offered a welcome explanatory model for cultural change, the concept was soon utilized in many other disciplines like sociology [11], archaeology [15] and the historical disciplines.

B. Acculturation in the Historical Disciplines

The transferal of the anthropological acculturation model, initially conceived for cultural encounters within a colonial context, to historical societies (in particular ancient cultures), nevertheless revealed a series of problems. In particular, the concept lost some of its rigor, since the nature of the sources seldom permitted the exact observation of 'first-hand contact' and gradual change. In addition, the idea of homogeneity of the cultural entities involved turns out to be highly problematic, for it neglects the complexity of historical cultures, and it does not take historical development into consideration [7].

These problems have led to various modifications of the acculturation model: for instance, U. Bitterli's typology of cultural contacts [1] (primarily with regard to the contact of Europe with non-European cultures); building upon the latter, the more flexible concept of 'cultural borders' by J. Osterhammel [13] and the research on 'cultural transfer', established by M. Espagne and M. Werner [3] (particularly tailored to inter-European cultural exchange); finally, the flexibilized acculturation model specially developed for research on Classical Antiquity by U. Gotter. Gotter understands cultural entities as identity groups, and he limits the possibility of making relevant statements about acculturation to cases in which (1) groups can be determined and delimited, (2) the degree of foreignness between the groups can be determined (particularly with reference to perception), (3) the dynamics of reception can be described, and (4) the transformation of 'original patterns' can be observed. Since this is often impossible for ancient cultures, many of which can be grasped only on the basis of artifacts (this is true especially for the ancient 'marginal cultures' such as the Germanic, Celtic, and Iberian), according to Gotter the acculturation model should not be used in such cases [7]. As an example, Gotter has demonstrated his concept in a work on the process of Hellenization of the city of priests, Olba in Cilicia [6]. Important and well-attested processes of acculturation in Antiquity are Hellenization (for instance of Egypt [8], Southern Italy [10], Phoenicia [17], and Asia Minor [12]), the Orientalization of Greece in the Archaic Period [2], and Romanisation [9]. A particularly complex case are the processes of acculturation between Greece and Rome [5; 18]. The reception of the cultural and institutional achievements of the subjugated Hellenized population by Islam can also be interpreted as a process of acculturation.

→ Hellenization; → Olba; → Romanisation

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Acoustics see → Natural sciences

Adagium see→ Aphorism;

Adaptation

A. Definition B. Epics Based on Classical Models C. Compilation E. Verse and Prose Paraphrases G. Translation H. Periphrastic Translation I. Travesty J. Emblematic Adaptation K. Other Forms

A. Definition

In the narrower sense, adaptation is understood by literary scholarship to mean the arranging of a literary work according to the rules of another genre or medium. Looking at the reception of classical texts in the literature of the Middle Ages and the modern age, adaptation is, to be sure, in a broader sense an adjustment to the conditions present in another, i.e. vernacular literature. The boundaries of this expanded concept of adaptation are translation on one hand and → *imi-*

tatio on the other. Whereas the latter, as imitation of mostly formal and poetological characteristics, will remain on the sidelines, translation must be seen as a form of adaptation. Because different periods view translations in different terms, to modern eyes those of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period appear, to a greater or lesser extent, as free adaptations. In this general sense, adaptation mainly implies the following three aspects: 1. Insofar as the adaptation intends an adjustment to the ideology, view of the world, people or society and ethics of the adapting epoch, the changing methods of adaptation throw a significant light on the dominant self-awareness of the era, specifically on its relationship to antiquity. 2. With regard to literary-aesthetic matters, the potential of creativity in genre, language and style is a significant feature of adaptation.

The significance of adaptation reveals, to what extent classical literature and which aspects are perceived as important for their own time. Adaptation contributes to the development of emerging genres (for example in the epics of the courtly Middle Ages based on those of Classical Antiquity), reinforces the validity of developed genres (for example in the adaptation of the *Aeneid* or *Metamorphoses* in the → Renaissance which interact with modern epic forms); or adaptation implicitly postulates a change in the concept of a genre (for example in the mock heroic epic of the 17th and 18th cents.). 3. The co-existence of different expectations, for example of an academic and popular nature, which can lead to completely opposing forms and functions of adaptation in the same era, demonstrates the close connection between adaptation and public taste. The following sections should be seen as an account of the historical forms of adaptation of Classical literature. The period covered is limited to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, as it is then when the most important forms manifest themselves. A second concentration can be found in French and Italian literature, as it is here where the reception of antiquity in general, and the various types of adaptation appear first. In the literature of other countries (Spain, Germany, Britain), they were mostly received after a certain interval. The methods of adaptation will be shown principally through the reception of the Classical epic, since no other genre shows a comparable variety of possibilities.

B. Romances set in Antiquity

The romance set in Antiquity (*Antikenroman*) is the most characteristic form of adaptation to show the relationship of the Middle Ages to Classical Antiquity. This genre emerged in Anglo-Norman French literature of the 12th cent. and was then taken up in other countries, notably Germany and Italy. The three most important texts are the anonymous *Roman de Thèbes* (*c.* 1150), the likewise anonymous *Roman d'Eneas* (*c.* 1160) and the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure (*c.* 1165). The main sources for these works are Virgil (*Aeneid*), Statius (*Thebaid*) and the pseudo-historical writings of Dares Phrygius (*De excidio Troiae*) and Dictys Cretensis (*Ephemeris belli Troiani*). In addition to clerics, the educated upper classes of society were the audience for these romances. These texts flourished only for a brief time. The reading public soon turned to the Arthurian legend. All the same, this type of adaptation is, from the viewpoint of the history of the genre, of wide-ranging importance since it prepared the ground for the characteristic features of the courtly epic. In that way the *Roman d'Eneas* most likely had an exemplary influence on the work of Chrétien de Troyes.

These romances set in Antiquity took great liberties in dealing with their sources and also in how they combined them. In spite of that, the public at the time perceived them as adequate and historically balanced treatments. The formal characteristics, specifically their structuring into moderate-size, relatively homogeneous, discrete narrative units, point to a predominantly oral transmission of the epics. When compared to the ancient versions, the story lines are often severely altered in terms of chronology and rhythm. In places they are compressed or abbreviated, and in others they are expanded either by amplification or by the introduction of new elements. The method of presentation can be generally viewed as a 'modernisation' of Classical Antiquity. Mythological elements are greatly reduced; motivation, which in the classical texts emerges from the meddling of the gods, is transferred into an inter- or intrapersonal sphere. Conventions and customs, perceptions of morals, institutions and social structures are made to approximate those of the High Middle Ages in order to acquaint the readers with the foreign world through the familiar. Classical personages become kings, knights, dukes, bishops, burghers and so on. Further, typical of the age is the social mindset, continually shaped by *cortoisie* (courtly attitude). In this way, the romance set in Antiquity anticipates an element that will have a fundamental ideological function in the courtly epic. A similar point holds for the concept of love, which again mirrors the courtly ideal. A characteristic feature is the change of emphasis in the *Roman d'Eneas*: drawing on elements from Ovid, the heroic plot becomes a love story. Two concepts of love are introduced and they are contrasted by a significant expansion of the original plot. In the end, the passionate love between Dido and Aeneas is contrasted with the courtly ideal, the love between Aeneas and Lavinia, with whose marriage the *Roman d'Eneas* ends. This ideological rounding off was so convincing to posterity that as late as 1428 the humanist M. Vegio composed, in Latin, a 13th book of the *Aeneid*, telling of Aeneas' marriage, rule and, in the end, apotheosis. This supplementary book appeared in most editions and translations of the *Aeneid* in early modern times (e.g. in G. Douglas 1513 and Th. Murner 1515).

Characteristic of the medieval relationship to the Classical world is also the reception of French romances of this type in other countries, notably in German and Italy where, via edited translations, secondary adapta-

tions were generated. Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneit* (*c.* 1170–90) almost certainly did not have recourse to the ancient texts, rather it adhered closely to the subject matter of the *Roman d'Eneas*. Nonetheless the romance was adapted to the linguistic and ideological norms of its author's surroundings. In this way he weakened the compilatory traits of its model, strengthened the structural coherence, gave the text a strongly rhetorical revision and highlighted the courtly idealisation of people, society and love. As in France, the German adaptation of the *Roman d'Eneas* comes particularly close to a contemporary understanding of courtly epic. Because Ovid's stories did not correspond to the taste dominated by the romance set in Antiquity, the German version of the *Metamorphoses* by Albrecht von Halberstadt from 1217 found no resonance, although it was the very first one done in the Middle Ages,

C. Compilation

That the romances set in Antiquity were appreciated less as literary texts than as works transmitting historical knowledge, is seen by the fact that they were often included in historical compilations. As manuscripts they were often combined in collections, in which the order could vary. In this way a kind of world history was constituted, which started with Trojan origins and flowed into the history of Britain, more specifically, the Arthurian era. Like the *Roman d'Eneas*, the *Roman de Troie* was utilized for a *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, which at the same time assembled and adapted other ancient sources, e.g. the *Excidium Troiae* of Dares or a number of Ovid's *Heroides*. This type of compilation was repeated in other countries, for instance in Italy in the 14th cent. The *Fiorita* by Armannino da Bologna (1325), a mixture of poetry and prose passages, represents a history of mankind up to the age of Caesar; it also used the subject matter of the *Aeneid*. Similarly, Guido da Pisa in his *Fiore d'Italia* (start of the 14th cent.) used classical and medieval sources for a history of the Hebrew, Greek and Roman world. His second book, titled *I fatti di Enea* traces the story line of Virgil's epic in simple prose.

D. *Cantare*

The *Cantari* are a popular variation of the medieval courtly epic, intended mainly for public oral presentation. They use material from Old French heroic epics and courtly epics as well as Classical epics (Virgil, Ovid, Statius). In terms of adaptation, the *Cantari* with Classical subject matter share certain similarities with the romances set in Antiquity. Here too heroes and mythological figures are transposed to the world of the Middle Ages; the heroes show chivalric characteristics, and the action is structured in imitation of the courtly epic. Nonetheless, the *Cantari* should be understood as a form of adaptation in their own right. They took their material from medieval paraphrases, or *volgarizzamenti* (see below), and at times from the Old French verse adaptations of Classical epics. They were not aimed at a highly-educated courtly audience, rather at the more simple, unequally educated levels of the Italian communes, where the *cantari* were enjoyed as a literary form of entertainment. This is borne out by the formal characteristics of the genre: a lot of action, fast narrative pace, relatively simple syntax and a striking arrangement of plot. The earliest *cantari* with Classical themes go back to the 14th cent. (for example the *Cantare di Piramo e Tisbe*); numerous others from the 15th and 16th cents. rework the subject matter of the *Aeneid* or episodes from the *Metamorphoses*. Then they were gradually replaced by adaptations, which followed the form of the *cantare*, now enhanced into an artistic genre called the *romanzo* (Boiardo, Ariosto).

E. Verse and Prose Paraphrases

Characteristic of medieval paraphrases is the combination with commentary. It was not until the beginning of the Renaissance that textual adaptation and commentary diverged. By far the best example for the paraphrasing adaptation is the anonymous Old French *Ovide moralisé* (1316–28), a comprehensive didactic epic of 72,000 verses that supplies the themes of the *Metamorphoses* with a moralising explanation. The actual transmission of the Ovidian text is a simplified retelling of the plots, which are often structured after the style of late medieval romances or are connected with each other. The huge expansion results from three components: from the insertion of adaptations of other Ovidian texts (*Heroides*), from the integration of mythological stories from other sources (for example the *Aeneid*) and from the addition of allegorical interpretations, which for the most part go back to Latin commentaries on the *Metamorphoses*. The aim of the *Ovide moralisé* is to provide as complete a mythography as possible, aimed at an educated audience that, however, does not know Latin. At the same time the *Ovide moralisé* is this era's adaptation of the *Metamorphoses* with the greatest impact. Its reception reaches into the 16th cent. A prose version of the work appeared in 1466/67, and it is on this version that W. Caxton (1480) based the first English prose version of the *Metamorphoses*. Like this version the *Bible des Poètes*, published in 1484, also takes over the allegories of the *Ovide moralisé* and augments them with further allegories taken from the *Ovidius moralizatus* of a Latin commentatary by P. Bersuire (1347). It was not until the 16th cent. that the interest in themes from classical stories as fiction began to outweigh their interest as allegorical exegesis. In 1532 a modernised version of the *Bible* under the title *Le Grand Olympe* appeared, which turned its back on allegories and in the introduction explicitly stated its interest in the style and aesthetic qualities of the Classical epic – a decisive step away from the medieval paraphrase towards a literary interest in the original text.

F. *Volgarizzamento*

By *volgarizzamenti* we mean the transmission and translation of Latin texts into Italian (*volgare*), which

flourished in Italy between the 14th and 16th cents. more strongly and more varied than in other countries, possibly via the intermediate stage of French adaptations. *Volgarizzamenti* do not constitute a unique form of adaptation, since in principle they can include every contemporary genre. Functionally, however, they must be differentiated from other adaptations: they developed mainly in the specific social context of the Italian city-states for a non-educated, but culturally-interested bourgeois audience. The most important texts of the 14th cent. were the *Metamorphoses*, the *Heroides*, the *Aeneid* as well as the tragedies of Seneca. The *volgarizzamenti* act similarly as mediators between the paraphrase and the original text as those examples cited in the previous section. The differences in level of the *volgarizzamenti* are characteristic of a broadly-diverse audience with a variety of interests. Working from the Latin prose adaptation of G. del Virgilio, G. dei Bonsignori (1375/77) translated the *Metamorphoses* into a simple language merely summarising the contents of the stories. In contrast, A. Simintendi (before 1333) earlier translated the same work, also into prose, but did so from the original text, on which he based his Italian. Another characteristic of *volgarizzamenti* is their multiple function. Although, like the paraphrases, they are often accompanied by allegorical or moral comments, new kinds of intentions are apparent in the transmission of knowledge, in rhetorical enrichment and with that the increasing appreciation of the vernacular, as much as in the transmission of the poetic themes of ancient texts. These intentions were motivated by the strong presence of Latin authors in contemporary vernacular literature, which was not comprehensible to a readership ignorant of Latin and without the knowledge of Classical texts, themes and forms. It was not least the especially early appearance of → Humanism in Italy that was responsible for the phenomenon of the *volgarizzamenti*. Under the influence of the Italian *volgarizzamenti* and together with beginning Humanism in Spain around 100 years later, similar transmissions appeared there in the 15th cent., often not based on Latin, but rather on Italian texts.

G. Translation

Due to their broad understanding of translation the medieval paraphrases and the *volgarizzamenti* of the early Italian Renaissance view themselves as translations of their Classical sources. Prose translations which make relatively free with the original are already encountered in the late 15th and in the 16th cents. – a French rendering of the *Aeneid* (1483), one of Homer, also in French (1519–1530) and the first Spanish version of the *Metamorphoses* (J. de Bustamante, 1546). Another of the first translations of the *Metamorphoses* dating from the 16th cent. into Italian follows a medieval pattern by not going back to Ovid's original, but to the paraphrase of Bonsignori. The first German version of Homer, translated by S. Schaidenreisser (1537), likewise goes back to a Latin version. At the same time, however, the first accurate translations appeared, in which the effects of the Humanistic philological confrontation with Antiquity are visible. These translations are based on the original classical texts, follow them word for word as much as possible and aim for a textually faithful account, formally, rhetorically and semantically. This is true – at least in its intention – of the first French translation of the *Aeneid* by Octovien de Saint-Gelais (1500), more so of Cl. Marot's French translation of the *Metamorphoses* (Book I/II, 1534/43), B. Aneau (Book III, 1556) and F. Habert (complete, 1549–57). The first translations of Classical epics also appeared in other languages. In 1515 Th. Murner penned the first German *Aeneid* (which also has certain elements of a paraphrase), G. Douglas translated the same epic for the first time into English, and Chapman, between 1598 and 1611, the Homeric epics.

H. Periphrastic Translation

In the wake of translations of Classical literature, which were based on the original text and shaped by Humanistic-philological standards, the awareness of the complementary possibility emerged more clearly: namely of a translation that orientated itself on the taste or the expectation of the reader and allowed the features of the adapted text to recede in favour of the aesthetic principles of contemporary literature. This form of adaptation, resulting in a periphrastic rendering, represents an extraordinarily widely disseminated form in all European literatures. Characteristic examples are encountered especially in Italy from the beginning of the 16th cent. with A. Cerretanis' (1566) and A. Caros' (1570) versions of the *Aeneid* or L. Dolces' (1553) and G.A. dell'Anguillaras' (1561) versions of the *Metamorphoses*. In a sense Th. Murner's translation of the *Aeneid* (1515) and the conspicuously large number of adaptations in Restoration England, such as J. Dryden's renderings of Virgil and Ovid (1693, 1697) or A. Pope's Homer, should be included as well. On the surface the periphrastic translation has similarities with the romance set in Antiquity. In both cases, characteristics of contemporary genres are devolved onto the Classical text. The periphrastic rendering, however, was not meant to impart either historical or substantive knowledge. Its novelty lies in its aesthetic quality, which was viewed as an adequate equivalent of the Classical form. The Classical text was adapted with the conviction that the Classical author, had he lived in the modern age, would have shaped it the same way. In that respect, the periphrastic rendering really follows the broadly understood principle of *imitatio*. The intention of this type of adaptation is the improvement of the original with the means of one's own language and poetics so that the adaptation achieves the level of an independent and effective literary work.

An illuminating example is Murner's version of the *Aeneid* mentioned above, which may be placed between a translation and a paraphrase. This adaptation aims to turn the Classical work into a lively form and make it

accessible to the German public. For that purpose Murner takes up the nearest contemporary epic form, the minstrel epic, and transposes the Classical world into the mores and customs of his time. However, the Italian Renaissance adaptations of Virgil and Ovid that try to link the *imitatio* of Classical Antiquity with contemporary literature become decisive for these adaptations. Most adaptors of epic texts chose the octave, common in vernacular epic; in stylistic and rhetorical terms, as well as in the composition of characters, plot development, scenery and décor they orientated themselves on the most successful genre of the epoch, the chivalric tale (romanzo), as it was first elevated to an artistic form by M.M. Boiardo (*Orlando innamorato*), and then by L. Ariosto (*Orlando furioso*). The plots of the Classical originals were rearranged, embellished or expanded according to the structural principles of these models. Above all, the predilection for long accounts of emotions and expanded descriptive passages were taken over. Generally, just as in the romanzo the represented reality was made to match the culture and ideology of the Renaissance. Classical heroes appear as princes; in their attitudes people follow courtly habits and manners. The marriage of the Classical with the contemporary model is eased by the fact that Renaissance literature in the vernacular picks up on the imitated Classical texts. Thus Ovid's epic is already in many places the model for Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, which in turn affected the *Metamorphoses* adaptations in the Renaissance.

I. Travesty

Travesty is the adaptation of a Classical subject into a style which is not appropriate for it, specifically the adaptation of an elevated and heroic plot into a witty, funny or burlesque style. From a literary-historical point of view, it presupposes the linguistically and stylistically free adaptation of Classical works as practised in the periphrastic translations. Apart from that, it implies that Classical texts still have an exemplary character for contemporary poetics, but that at the same time a certain distance regarding the concept of a strict *imitatio* has occurred. That explains why the first parody of Virgil's *Aeneid*, G.B. Lalli's 1633, turns up in Italian literature, which already had a rich tradition of parodistic writing. Simultaneously with the emergence of the first chivalric tales, raised to the level of an art form, comic variations of the genre appeared. The immediate predecessors of the epic travesties are epic parodies, or mock-heroic epic, the best known example of which is A. Tassoni's *Secchia rapita* (1624). In it, the typical motifs, plot elements, character and mythological set up of the classical epic are caricatured within a trite plot that takes place in the contemporary world. Travesty differs from this comic variation of the *imitatio*, primarily in that it does not take up individual formal elements or plot features, but transforms a given epic subject as a whole, which it adheres to like a translation. Choosing a low or vulgar style, Lalli and his followers

were aiming not to mock the Classical work, but to create a new one, an amusing and witty variation of a known text, which in its transformation would find favour with the audience. The implied criticism is aimed rather at the implausibility of the models for a contemporary audience, and in the case of the Ovid travesty also at the tradition of allegorical elevation in mythological stories. This distancing highlighted the contrast between the original gravity of plot and characters and the everyday world in which they were placed. Heroes and gods are situated in a profane, trivial and bourgeois setting. A typical device that is used here – e.g. in P. Scarron's *Virgile travesty* (1648–52) or in L. Richer's *Ovide bouffon ou travesty* (1649) – is the mixture of high and colloquial language, of archaic, scholarly, Latinising elements with an informal to vulgar parlance. Through this the presentation of characters is often radically transformed: For example, in Scarron's version, Aeneas remains courageous and righteous, but at the same time feeble, vain and pompous. Scarron tries to find the burlesque equivalent for every grand situation of the original text. The travesty therefore presumes the reader's complete familiarity with the original. Without this knowledge, the comedy of contrast cannot be appreciated. The fact that travesty enjoyed a strong but brief fashion confirms that the genre indicates a shifting appreciation of the exemplary nature of Classical Literature. In France, most of the travesties were written around the middle of the 17th cent., in Britain between 1660 and 1680 (e.g. Ch. Cotton's *Scarronides: Or, Virgile Travestie*, 1664). Marivaux's Homer travesty (1716) or A. Blumauer's *Abenteuer des frommen Helden Äneas* (1784–1788) are rather the exceptions.

J. Emblematic Adaptation

The adaptation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* enjoyed a certain popularity in the 16th and 17th cents. in the form of the emblem book (→ Emblems). In 1557 P. Bernard, for example, designed a *Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, in which the pictorial representation (*pictura*) of the most important tales and scenes of the epic are combined with a description (*subscriptio*) of that scene in an epigrammatic eight-line poem (probably from the Ovid translator B. Aneau). What differentiates this work from emblem books in the proper sense is that here, the interpretation of the mythological scene is not yet given in the *subscriptio*, whereas in later examples the tendency increases to interpret the Ovid episode allegorically as a moral exemplum (e.g. in G. Symeoni, 1559). In doing so, authors could follow either the route of humanistic tradition of interpretation, guided by moral philosophy (J. Posthius, 1563), or the Christian one (J. Spreng, Latin 1563, German 1564). The best known example of this genre is I. de Benserade's *Métamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux* (1676). The lyric form of the *rondeau* that Benserade chose for the *subscriptio* allows him to handle the moralising only occasionally seriously, but much more

often playfully, jokingly or even ironically. Contributory to this is the fact that Benserade did not just transpose the *Metamorphoses* into emblematic form, but adapted them at the same time with the poetic means of a different popular, contemporary genre, the → FABLE, as it appears in exemplary form in the collections of J. de La Fontaine.

K. Other Forms

Since the 'naturalisation' of a Classical theme in a form familiar to the public is an essential feature of every adaptation, basically no genre can be excluded as a potential target form. Thus a certain P. Galleni adapted Book 2 of the *Aeneid* into the form of a sonnet cycle. At the start of the same century, A. Metzger tailored episodes from the *Metamorphoses* into song forms of late *Meistergesang*. A Tuscan adaptor in the 18th cent. converted Ovid's epic into a cycle of novellas. However, the numerous lyrical, partial adaptations of Ovidian scenes in the Early Modern period as well as the dramatic compositions of classical themes belong in the large border area between adaptation and *imitatio*. New dramatic works using material of Classical tragedy and comedy since the Renaissance have not, as a rule, been perceived as adaptations (like the epic version of the *Aeneid* or *Metamorphoses*), but rather as original creations. On the other hand, it is clear that the earliest dramas (e.g. Angelo Poliziano's *Favola di Orfeo*, 1480) and the early libretto (e.g. *Dafne* by Ottavio Rinuccini, 1598) are basically partial adaptations of individual episodes from Ovid. Aside from the *Metamorphoses*, in the 16th and 17th cents., the dramatic adaptation of the Dido and Aeneas episode from Virgil's epic became especially popular as source material for the theatre (G.B. Giraldi 1541, L. Dolce 1547, E. Jodelle 1558, Ch. Marlowe 1580, A. Hardy 1627, G. de Scudéry 1637, Fr. de Boisrobert 1643). While Ovidian themes were chosen because of the fact that they were well-known and allowed a number of interpretations, the fourth book of the *Aeneid* provided an opportunity for developing a contemporary, hotly debated ethical-political topic: the conflict between the duty of the ruler and his passion. But here too, in addition to the question of a functionalisation of the material in the light of the perceived values of the epoch concerned, it is at the same time a matter of conforming to contemporary aesthetic principles, to the imitation of Greek or Roman tragedy in the Italian Renaissance or to the generic norms in the period of French classicism which were based on those. → COMMENTARY; → EPIC; → HUMANISM; → IMITATIO

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RAINER STILLERS

Advertizing

I. Definition and Systematics II. History

I. Definition and Systematics

Economically, advertizing denotes an instrument of a company's marketing policy; from the viewpoint of communications theory, it is a specific practice of the communicative use of signs. It has an ulterior goal, viz. to strengthen the advertized product's position in the market. In more recent times, this exclusively or predominantly heteronomous determination of advertizing has been qualified with a view to its artistic character and the aesthetic means it increasingly brings to bear (depending in each case on the underlying conception of art).

These means include the utilization of a 'very diverse' array of 'cultural elements', taken *inter alia* from Antiquity [9.88], drawn on in order to credit a given advertized product and to form a distinctive image. This adaptation may be laid out openly, but it may also be done less obviously, 'since reaching the goal of such

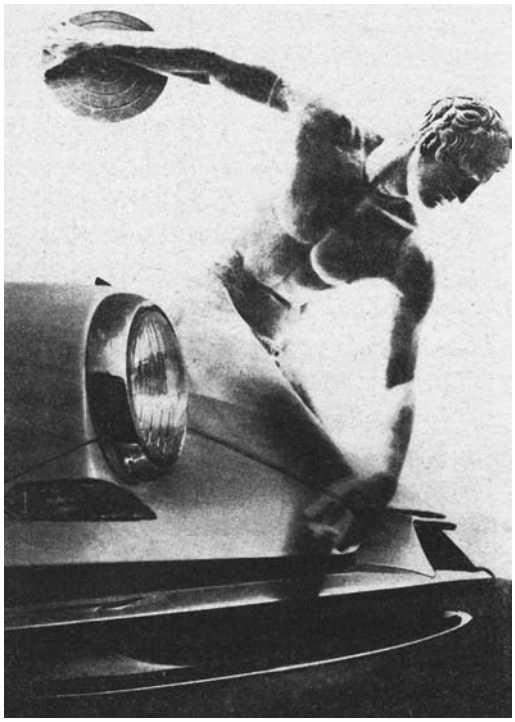

Fig. 1: Advertisement of the car manufacturer Citroën (from: *Der Spiegel* 15, 1960, 58)

communication', that is, successful sales, is not 'linked to the cognitive decipherment of a motif' [11.24]. What is decisive is not 'whether all who view the advertizement perceive' or 'recognize the ancient sources adapted in each case as such', since advertizing is directed 'not just to connoisseurs and experts, that is, to an audience trained in philology or art history', but to 'potential purchasers of every social origin and group affiliation' [13. 134–135]. For advertizing to be successful, it is much more critical that the 'cultural elements' [9 88] can be identified as borrowed from the world of Antiquity, and hence as 'classical'. A peculiar characteristic of the use of ancient elements in advertizing consequently consists in transforming [4] the 'classical' as a characteristic of a period, derived from a concept of style and valuation and subsequently (a-historically) attributed to the whole of Antiquity, into the 'classical' as a characteristic of quality, and attributing it [10 41] to the advertized products, 'preferably (...) luxury consumer goods and services' [11 27]. Like the ancient prop, the advertized merchandise or service is also considered to be 'classical', now in the sense of 'first class, exemplary (...), consummate, timeless' [2. 2132]. In this process, preferential use is made of mythological personages, ancient works of art and architecture, and the ideologems that come with them (for instance, norms of beauty or bodies). Thus, for instance, Myron's discus-thrower (with the head in an altered position) vouches for an automobile and attributes 'classical harmony of mind and body, form and performance' to it; in this way, 'the Citroen' becomes a 'car of classical beauty' (Fig. 1).

However, Antiquity becomes the object of appropriation through advertizing not only in such a substantial or material sense, as an arsenal of single parts potentially effective for advertizing, vaguely perceived and used in a historically undifferentiated way. On the contrary, in order to achieve its goal and move its recipient to buy merchandise or make use of a service, advertizing uses a theoretically well-grounded and systematically elaborated concept from Antiquity: that of → RHETORIC [12. 157, 165]. The systematic mapping of persuasive techniques by rhetoric is of special interest for the advertizing industry [3]. To be sure, 'tropes and figures are for the most part applied (...) unconsciously' [3. 73]; 'advertizing teams are by no means associations for the promotion of ancient rhetoric' [3. 73], yet in their choice of linguistic means (in the broadest sense of the term) they inevitably fall back on proven concepts that have been used in rhetorical practice since Antiquity and systematized in ancient theory. Ancient heritage finds its place in advertizing insofar as the latter is rhetorical. Since advertizing is closely connected to trade and is based on the experience of competition, it belongs, like trade, 'to the most archaic impulses of the human race' [1. vol. I.11]. But as an anthropological phenomenon, it is subject to historical modification. Looked at from a historical perspective, the extent to which it draws on an arsenal of ancient texts, images, and ideologems is subject to strong fluctuations. Decisive factors in this connection are, on the one hand, the knowledge about and status of Antiquity (for instance, as an aesthetic paradigm in the → CLASSICISM around 1800), on the other hand, the popularity of receptive processes (for instance, in the craze for allusions in Postmodernism).

→ Advertizing

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VOLKER MERGENTHALER

II. History

A. Introduction B. From the End of the 19th to the First Half of the 20th Cent. C. Contemporary Advertizing D. Summary

A. Introduction

Advertizing is omnipresent: in posters, newspapers, journals, radio, television commercials, movies, internet, illuminated signs, display windows, packing material for consumer goods, marketing for events, advertizing vehicles and models, etc. For German-speaking regions, despite the increasing importance of electronic media, poster and newspaper advertizing are considered the best yardsticks of advertizing activity because of their large number of recipients.

Advertizing is a medium of information whose main task is the attractive display and sale of products. It must attract the attention of consumers and at the same time awaken in them needs which the product being offered promises to satisfy. Successful advertizing does the work of psychological persuasion and influences behaviour [49]. In light of its varied content (advertizing for products, for services, for firms, financial advertizing, non-commercial advertizing, etc.), and the inexhaustible possibilities of the world of advertizing, advertizing which makes use of Antiquity appears relatively seldom. Nevertheless, the direct or indirect use of archaeological objects and other Latin or Greek quotations indicates that Antiquity offers society as a whole a current and universal field of reference even outside of learned discourse.

Advertizing existed in Antiquity as well. Entrepreneurs announced their goods and services on shop signs [38; 46]. Drinking cups of terra sigillata from the Imperial Period were provided with their manufacturer's stamp in a clearly visible spot on the vessel [52], and were thereby designated as 'brand-name wares'.

B. From the End of the 19th to the First Half of the 20th Cent.

The medium of advertizing arose in the 19th cent. [37; 40] as a result of the interplay of social transformations (the collapse of the guilds, the introduction of free trade, the separation of producers and consumers, and rise of big-city culture) and technical achievements (use of machines, mass production of consumer goods, industrialization). Whereas in the first half of the 19th cent., advertizing was limited to ads in books, pictorial advertizements and posters came to the fore in German-speaking areas in the 2nd half of the 19th cent. In printing and reproduction technology, the foundations

which made possible the production of large numbers of color posters at an affordable price were laid by Alois Senefelder's *Lehrbuch der Steindruckerei* (Textbook of Lithography), published in 1818, and G. Engelmann's application for a patent on chromolithography in 1837. In 1855 in Berlin, Ernst Litfass introduced the columns which were named after him as bearers of advertizing, at the same time ensuring for himself a monopolistic concession on city billposting [54].

Commercial artists and lithographers worked alongside plastic artists in this new trade. Early advertising, both that designed for artistic interests and that designed for commercial purposes, was characterized by a harmonic-aesthetic tenor. Allegories and ideal figures, which the educated bourgeois deciphered on the basis of his knowledge, were highly popular as means of artistic expression. For instance, many companies advertised by personifying their hometown, represented as a woman with a mural crown after the manner of Roman personifications of cities: in 1883, 'Vienna' advertised for a play; from 1885 the Cologne-based company 4711 introduced a 'Colonia', and in 1893 a 'Stuttgart' appeared as the main figure in a poster for the municipal tourist organization [5; 9; 40] (Fig. 1). Contemporary content was clothed in ancient mythology. In taking over the characteristic tokens of the ancient gods, however, pictorial language corresponded completely to contemporary forms of expression. The gods were represented in restful, majestic posture. Athena was quite popular. [6. 144–145, catalogue no. 213, color pl. 20; 40]. On a poster by Ludwig von Hofmann from 1893, Ganymede, the incarnation of beauty, feeds Zeus' eagle [3. Fig. 202; 5. 140–141, catalogue no. 209, color pl. 17], in a metaphor for the relationship between art and the state. In an ad for Odol mouthwash from 1906 [13], the onlooker's gaze is directed to some ruins of a make-believe amphitheater, in the arena of which the company's name is indelibly inscribed in large stone blocks. For a beauty-product advertisement from 1919 [11], an independent domestic scene was invented, borrowing from the pictorial language of Attic vase-painting. The beauty products, which are not depicted, are described by a great deal of explanatory text. The vase-painting scheme serves to create an ideal world. In an ad for 'Triumph' beer from around 1904 [4], a triumphant Emperor is depicted on his quadriga, a concept probably most closely connected with relief sculpture on Imperial monumental arches like the Arch of Titus at Rome, the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, or the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna. Ads for Audi from 1909/1912 show the company founder August Horch in front of his car with his hand cupped at his ear in the gesture of 'listening or hearing', for the Latin word *audi* [8. Fig. 92].

From 1905 on, the object poster, with its representation of the product, began to be commonplace. Object posters were often enriched by citations from Antiquity, whose task was to illustrate the ideal conception of the product. Thus, in an automobile ad from 1928, a

miniature car, with a driver and with two ladies in flounced dresses has been added to Myron's Discus-thrower at thigh-height [8. Abb. 109]. By the position of his head and hand, the Discus-thrower appears to support the car, which, to judge by the speed-lines accompanying it, is racing by. In place of the discus is the laurel-crowned Fiat label. In an ad for Opel from 1932, an illustration of the car is complemented by a drawing of the → Belvedere Apollo [3]. Original photos of famous statues were never used as models in early advertising

In its quest for objectivity the Bauhaus devoted considerable attention to graphics and text. An advertising flyer by Herbert Bayer (1900–1985) for Dessau has a graphic representation of a columns express the city's ancient character and that of a glistening machine part its new [2]. The reception of Antiquity in the advertizing of the 1930s was characterized by the graphical abstraction and distancing of ancient architecture, ancient models, and forms [10; 14; 12; 51].

C. Contemporary Advertizing

20th cent. marketing [49] works essentially with three methods: 1) an appeal to the emotions (success, freedom, friendship, love, sex, security, happiness, interest, independence, safety, anxiety, etc.) and offering a 'total' lifestyle or artwork concept; 2) intellectual mechanisms (surprise, novelty, intellectual conflict and contradiction). Difficult presentations must first be decoded by the recipient and thereby convey to him the experience of 'I have grasped what was to be said to me and only me' [57. 211]; 3) physical and optical attractions (color, variegation, size, contrast). According to the branch of communication science which concerns itself with 'imagery' [47], images are easier to memorize the more concrete, the more characteristic, and the larger they are. Representations of people and images that trigger personal feelings and associations are also effective. Positive concepts meet with greater success. Images are the quickest transmitters. The time an ad in a magazine is looked at is generally less than two seconds, which is enough for reception and processing. In advertizing in general, pictures, and hence representations of antiquities, are not an end in themselves, but are displayed by means of modifications and citations as well as being controlled by linguistic means, to achieve their goal.

In an ad for the financial advising company Ptech [2] the computer model of a skyscraper bearing an integrated, coloured structural diagram which displays the essential points of corporate strategy is set against a retouched detail of the decaying → Parthenon; thus, classical Antiquity is set up as a world of contrast to the present. The old has been rendered distant and obsolete, but nevertheless represents a foundation. The same principle underlies the contrast between a cave-painting and an automobile in an ad for Audi [23], and a Xerox ad with a painted clay pot and scrolls [17], which strongly emphasizes the contrast of the old with the new technologies offered by the company. Le Corbusier, in his essay *Des yeux qui ne voient pas: les automobiles* (1920) had already contrasted automobiles with a temple from Paestum and the Parthenon [50] in order to show the aesthetic kinship between the world of machines and Classical Greek architecture (→ Paestum, Fig. 6).

By inserting traffic lights, a collection of antiquities is represented as an environment in which people drive around in Lexus automobiles [26]. A seminar on business technology in Israel with the title 'Mosaic' [15] makes an argument for the advantages of a site rich in tradition. Syria, Lebanon, and Israel are well known by many for their Imperial-era mosaic finds which can therefore embody the cultural tradition of those countries. To bridge the gap to the present, a computer mouse looking as if it were made of mosaic pebbles in the style of an ancient mosaic was added to the picture. In an ad for Condor airlines [29], three runners are placed as black silhouettes against a yellow background. Unusually, they communicate by means of balloons, as in → comics. The figures themselves were copied from a black-figured vase-painting from an Attic prize amphora [36]: they evoke the association of speed and culture. The speed with which design in advertizing can be quickly rededicated to new ends is illustrated by a poster of the city of Frankfurt for an Aids benefit run from 2000 (Fig. 2). This time, the same three runners are depicted as blue silhouettes on a red background. Moreover, for reasons of gender equality, the central male figure has, through the hint of a breast and the addition of a hair braid, been transformed into a woman. An unusual example of the transformation of an ancient image is offered by an ad for British Airways [28]: a seated man designated by an inscription on his sedan chair as 'Chairman' is contrasted with a sleeping 'Wise man' sprawled under a canopy. In Antiquity, rest positions and sedan chairs are indeed signs of comfort, but this iconography is always found in a sepulchral context [45].

With its illustration from the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius from the Capitol at Rome (→ equestrian statues) [31], the international credit institution Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co. seeks to transfer the Roman emperor's strength along with his philosophical insight and his leading position to the corporation. The newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* surprises its readers with a picture running over two pages of the monumental pillars of the Temple of Apollo at → Delphi [19]. Here, the shrine's significance as an oracle and site of wisdom is transferred to the newspaper. The architectural designers M. Thun and Th. Schriefers, according to their own statement, intentionally chose classical architecture for their advertizing collages in the 1990s, for instance the Athenian acropolis, in order to position their 'product as an exclusive', top-quality product and to achieve the association of 'classical, exemplary, solid and high-quality' [7]. The Hellenistic statue of the → Venus of Milo,

Fig. 2: R. Nachbauer, Stuttgart (Germany), Tourist Office, before 1893. Chromeolithography, 86×62 cm. Early poster advertisements from the 2nd half of the 19th cent. featured allegories of ancient gods represented in contemporary forms.

discovered in 1820 and found today in the Louvre, which already inspired Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870) for his novella *The Venus of Ille* (1837) [41], and was reified, modified and ironized by Salvador Dali by the addition of drawers in 1934 [35], stands in advertizing for 'Greece, vacations, independence' (Fig. 3), for 'tradition and culture', and for 'erotic women' [27; 30; 34].

In an advertizing campaign launched several times since the late 1990s by Radio Ö1–Club of the ORF [16], the head of Lysippus' Apoxyomenos becomes the ideal listener (Fig. 4). The typical seams that arise in the process of plaster molding are clearly visible. The use of plaster and trivial copies in the ad is explained by its easy availability. Many large antiquities museums (Munich, Berlin, Basel, etc.) have set up workshops specializing in the exact reproduction of works of art, which are sold, and not only to specialized institutions, as → cast collections. Plaster casts of ancient works are also used in 20th cent. art [44; 56; 42. 238–239]. Advertizing and art tend towards use of classical and classicistic models of time-tested and aesthetically appealing objects, first and foremost statues. Art is much sooner open to experimentation like multiplication, alignment in rows, insertion within spatial relations, addition of foreign materials, colouring, disguise, negation, and dissociation. Whereas in the art of the 20th cent. the goal is the dissolution of all original content and all historical significance, Antiquity functions in advertizing in a precisely converse way: as a classical ideal, incorporating timeless values.

Brand names have been and still are an essential component of advertizing. They provide key information and indicate quality. Since the beginnings of the advertizing business, unusual names have been preferred, often taken from Greek or Latin sources [48]: 1. Names of ancient gods and persons: Artemis (publishing), Diogenes (publishing), Clio (an automobile), Penaten (a cream), Nike (sporting apparel), Merkur (insurance, supermarket). 2. Speaking names: Audi ('Listen!', 1st half of the 20th cent.), Volvo ('I roll', 1927). 3. Word formations from meaningful Latin and Greek words or elements, including phantasy constructions: a hair-loss remedy in H. Balzac's *Histoire de la grandeur et de la décadence de César Birotteau* (1838) is called Kephalol; Alete, Kaloderma (as early as 1857), Nivea (the beauty ideal of 'snow-white'), Xerox (from xerography, ξέρος/

xéros, dry, and γράφειν/ *gráphein*, to write, plus -ox as an exotic and symmetrical final syllable. 4. General prestige words denoting superiority, value and classicism. Their abstract character makes them, in part, applicable to very different products: 'Triumph' (beer, clothing), 'Olympia' (typewriters), 'Omega' (watches).

On a linguistic level, short and succinct slogans, easy to remember in daily life are effective. In accordance with this principle, Greek and Latin citations are also limited to → DICTA. The Horatian saying *Carpe diem* (Horace, Odes 1, 11) is used by an airline [18] and the eco-friendly cardboard packaging of a collection of scarves and cloths [1]. The words 'I came, I saw, I conquered', which according to Plutarch (Caes. 50,3), Caesar uttered to characterize his lightning-like victory in the battle of Zela, is used among others by the credit-card company Visa ('veni vidi visa') [21. 22]. An ad in the newspaper Gewinn *Win* for the winners of a competition chose as its title 'the die is cast' [20]. This expression, also known as *alea iacta est*, was, according to Plutarch, again uttered by Caesar when he quoted the Greek proverb κύβος ἀνερρίφθω/ *kýbos anerríphthō* ('let the die be cast'), alluding to the risk of an uncertain outcome. *Alea iacta est* also appears as the motto of the strategic approach of the German software company Veritas [29]. The Raiffeisen Bank, which always has a solution ready for its clients' problems, advertizes by using the 'Gordian knot', here simply a very tightly knotted rope before a neutral green background [33].

D. Summary

The following points in approaches to Antiquity can be noted: 1. The advertizing of both the 19th and 20th cents. uses, among other things, very well-known monuments which already have a lengthy history of reception. 2. Complete sculptures with their own aesthetic value are preferred. 3. Brand names are formed from Greek or Roman components. 4. The use of the Greek and Latin language, as well as of antiquarian or historical themes, is restricted to proverb-style quotations. 5. For the most part, highly valued, rather expensive goods and services like automobiles, airlines and air-travel vacations, banks, software, and computers are advertized: less often is it products of daily need. 6. In the 19th cent., advertized products are represented by allegory. 7. Ancient objects are valued for their age, their dignity, their character as ruins, and their value as art. The aura of the remote and the exotic is attributed to them, and so they function either as the foundation for modern times or else as a contrast to the present. A classicism is cultivated in advertizing, which sees ethical and aesthetic standards, an ideal, grandeur, wisdom, culture, quality, and high social prestige embodied in Antiquity. 8. Content-value is attributed to sculptures: the Venus of Milo stands for a woman's beauty and sexuality, the Belvedere Apollo for the ideal male, Myron's Disk-thrower for concentrated strength. In all these cases, the ancient object is positioned as possessing prototype status and spiritual supremacy. 9. With no basis in reality, products are upgraded and deliberately mystified by association with Antiquity. The feeling of 'uniqueness' is transmitted by means of a dictionary-style treatment of 'rara avis' [24] and the appeal to a Latin technical term. 10. Ancient works are retouched by use of omission or addition, reproduced as details, as drawings or graphics, and combined with modern elements.

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EVA CHRISTOF

Aegina

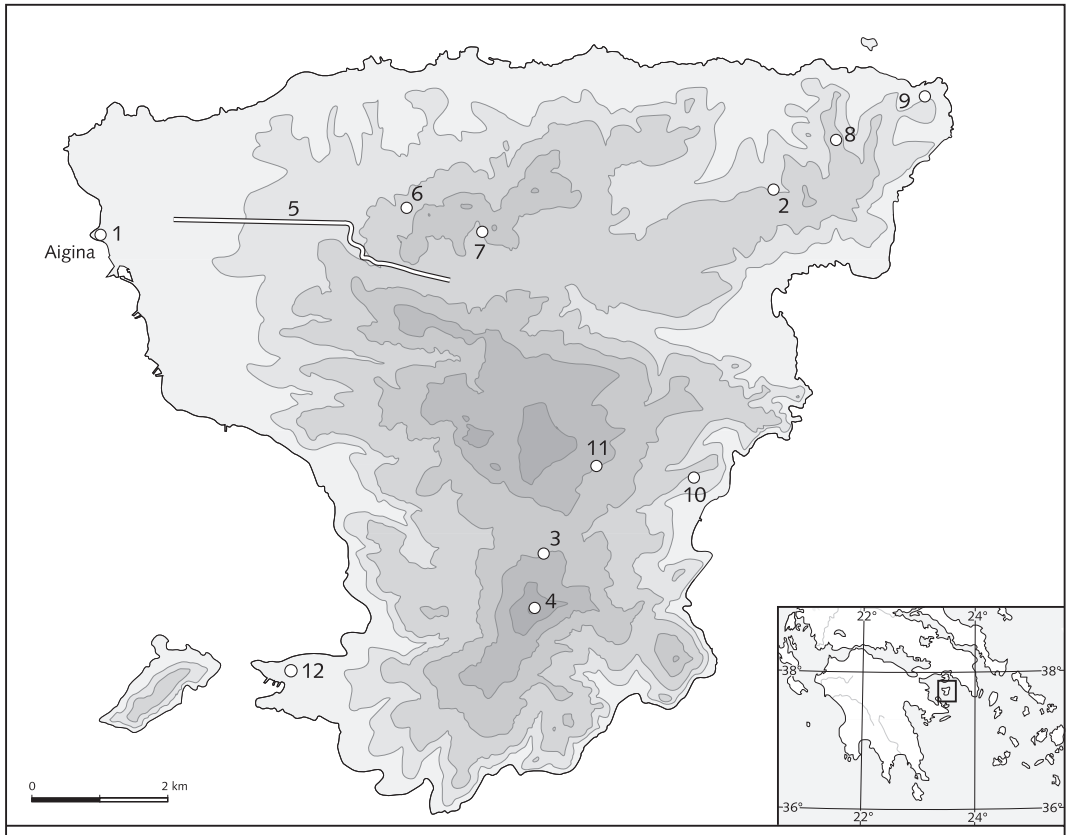
A. Sanctuary of Apollo B. Sanctuary of Aphaea C. Oros and Other Archaeological Sites D. Museums E. History of Reception

A. Sanctuary of Apollo

(Fig.1,1) Since the end of the 17th cent. travel accounts have mentioned temple remains on the island of Aegina (A.). The first investigations in Colonna took place in 1811 after the excavations at the site of the Sanctuary of Aphaea. These were discontinued after three days by C.R. Cockerell since the hoped-for sculptural finds failed to appear. In 1829 the temple foundations were, for the most part, removed for the construction of the port. This state of affairs was shown by the survey of the Expédition de Morée [55. 12–17]. A. Furtwängler and G. Loeschcke conducted small excavations in 1878, and V. Stais in 1894 [6. 41; 29; 36]. In 1904, A.D. Keramopoullos exposed parts of the nearby Mycenean necropolis on the Hill of Windmills where the A. Treasure, subsequently bought by the British Museum, was found in 1891. With the exception of W. Kraiker's outline of geometric and archaic pottery and several preliminary reports [20; 40–48; 50], the extensive excavations of the sanctuary by A. Furtwängler (1903–1907), P. Wolters and G. Welter (1924–1941) remain unpublished. Furtwängler's hopes to make similarly rich finds as at the Sanctuary of Aphaea, were not fulfilled. The settlement in late antiquity as well as the scavenging of stone in both ancient and later times is mainly responsible for this. [50. 2; 54; 55. 78]. The only significant sculpture found is the statue of a sphinx from the early 5th cent. BC, a bronze replica of which adorns Furtwängler's grave in Athens [39. 80 Nr. 52; 50. 2]. Furtwängler focused on topographical questions involving interpretations of Pausanias which set the tone for the subsequent excavations of Wolters and Welter in 1924. These led to the renaming of the sanctuary, then known as the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, as the Sanctuary of Apollo, a name that still stands today. Moreover preliminary excavations were also carried out on the long-inhabited prehistoric settlement and fortifications which, after the resumption of excavations in 1966 by H. Walter, were almost completely uncovered [38]. In the course of these a shaft grave dating to the middle Bronze Age was discovered [18]. Since 1974 the structural survey of the late archaic Temple of Apollo [55] has been published and a gradual reconsideration of the older finds has taken place[13–14; 18; 38; 51; 54–56]. Since 1993 excavations in the sanctuary have been continued by F. Felten and S. Hiller [5].

B. Sanctuary of Aphaea

(Fig. 1,2) The temple is first mentioned in 1675 by J. Spon and G. Wheler. The first investigation of the site, which had been plundered by metal treasure hunters, was undertaken in 1765 by the → Society of Dilettanti. Further excavations followed in 1804 (M. Leake) and 1805 (E. Dodwell). In 1811 Cockerell, C. Haller v. Hallerstein, J. Linckh and J. Foster discovered the famous pedimental statues. In the wake of this, many scholarly treatises were published about the temple, most of which identified the site with Zeus Panhellenios or Athena. [7. 10–21; 35. 163–165; 52. 47–62]. In 1894 Stais excavated around the east terrace wall and found several fragments of sculpture. The unsatisfactory inventory and restoration as well as the hope of finding further sculpture fragments led Furtwängler to start up excavations again in 1901. In the process, the temenos and the late archaic structure, south and west of the sanctuary were exposed, and the designation of Aphaea as the patroness of the cultic site was confirmed [7. I–IX, 1–9; 49]. The site's cultic uses must have started in the late Bronze Age [32]. The temple ruins, which were threatening to collapse, were extensively restored in the 1950s by the Greek Ministry for Monuments. Since 1962 there have been further investigations aiming at a definitive clarification of the pedimental arrangement, and since 1967 there have been further excavations by D. Ohly, the most important result of which has been the new arrangment of the pediment sculptures [26–27]. More specific dating and mythological interpretations of the *Ägineten* are still subjects of discussion [23. 244–248; 27; 35]. New excavation results have been continuously published since 1965 [1; 8; 25; 28; 34] and have replaced the old publications [7].



Aigina: the archaeological sites mentioned in the text

1 Sanctuary of Apollo (Cape Kolonna) and the town of Aigina. Settled since the Neolithic, fortified settlement from the early Bronze Age; sanctuary from the Protogeometric period; also: main town in antiquity, with commercial and naval ports, as well as ship sheds, theatre, stadium, city fortifications and graves from Mycenaean to Hellenistic times; synagogue and early Christian churches.

2 Aphaea Sanctuary. Sanctuary in the Late Mycenaean and again from Geometric period.

3 Sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios at the foot of the Oros, from Archaic period.

4 Oros: Bronze Age peak settlement and sanctuary in Late Mycenaean and again from Geometric period.

5 Water pipe

6 Dragunera: 'minor sanctuary' (Geometric?)

7 Palaeochora: the ancient Oie (?), main town of Aigina in Byzantine and medieval times

8 Tripiti: small sanctuary and settlement of the Classical and Hellenistic periods

9 Pyrgazi: Archaic (?) and Classical (?) settlements

10 Kilindra: Mycenaean graves

11 Lazarides: Mycenaean settlement and graves

12 Perdika: Mycenaean graves

Altitute (in metres)

0 50 100 200 300 400

C. Oros and Other Archaeological Sites

(Fig.1, 3–4) The highest mountain on A. is often mentioned in travel writings of the 19th cent. The first survey of remains was carried out by the Expédition de Morée in 1829, followed by the first excavations of Stais in 1894. The brief excavations by Furtwängler (1905, 1907) and Welters (1933) have never been fully published [45. 91–92; 46. 8–14]. They confirm, however, the localisation of the Sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios at Oros [33] contrary to the commonly held view, which sited the Sanctuary of Aphaea here on the terraced area at the foot of Oros. Furtwängler's and Welter's dating and reconstruction have been confirmed since 1995 by surveys [15] and since 1996 by secondary excavations carried out by H.R. Goette. The excavations of Furtwängler and Welter on the summit (Illustration 1,4) likewise remain almost completely unpublished. A middle Bronze Age settlement and a Mycenean sanctuary are likely [7. 473–474; 31; 33; 41. 187; 45. 26; 46. 14–16]. Since geometric times, the Summit Sanctuary of Zeus-Hellanios-in addition to an altar [33; 46. 14–16]-was provided with a roofed cultic structure possibly fromaround 500 BC [15]. Apart from the two large excavation sites of Aphaea and Colonna and the mountain of Oros, a topographical survey and preliminary digs have been carried out at many sites on the island (Illustration 1): the town of A. with its harbour, synagogue and early Christian churches (1) [19], the aqueduct (5), the so-called small sanctuary in Dragunera (6), Palaeochora (7), Tripiti (8), Pyrgazi (9), Kilindra (10). The results of these were to appear in volumes of the series started by Furtwängler (Vol. 1: Aphaea [7]), but they were never published. Additional sites from Antiquity are marked on the map by H. Thiersch [7]. New unmarked finds include A. Town (1) [30], Lazarides (11) [4] and Perdika (12) [10. 26].

D. Museums

The institution of a national museum was part of the self image of the newly founded Greek state. Between 1829 and 1832 it was in A., the first Greek capital [16. 11–40]. During this period, finds from all over Greece were brought to A. Some, such as funerary steles from Greater Delos, remain in the Museum of A. Others, such as the Stele from Salamis [3. 396–398 Nr. 1550], possibly from A. originally, were transferred to Athens after 1832. In 1927, the Museum of A. was moved to the old school building by Welter [43]. The collection suffered losses in World War II, notably sculpture fragments from the Sanctuary of Aphaea [27. XII]. The new museum of A. Colonna was opened in 1981 and finds that were in the older museum have, for the most part, been transferred there. Finds from Colonna, sculpture fragments and the famous inscription from Aphaea as well as finds from other sites on the island have been displayed since the museum was re-opened in 1997. The Aphaea Museum, which includes a partial reconstruction of the older Poros Temple, was built in 1968.

E. History of Reception

The first attempts at interpretation came with the rediscovery of the Temple of Aphaea in the 19th cent. The ruins were generally identified either with the Temple of Zeus Panhellenios or Athena and together with the sculptures, linked with the Persian War. This corresponds with its interpretation as a Victory or National monument [24. 678; 35. 132, 162–165]. The pedimental statues from the temple (*Ägineten*) were bought in 1823 by the crown prince of Bavaria, later King Ludwig I, and first displayed in the workshop of M. Wagner in Rome. Between 1816 and 1818 they were restored and completed in a modern fashion by B. Thorvaldsen and staff under Wagner's supervision, something which earned praise and admiration as well as criticism. [9; 21; 27. XII; 52. 23–72]. Through the restoration, Thorvaldsen was stimulated (for his own work), e.g. the *Hoffung* later acquired by C.v. Humboldt [2. 155; 11. 64–74; 21. 40; 27. XV]. In 1828, following Cockerell's recommendations, the *Ägineten* were grouped together in the room called the Äginetensaal in the Glyptothek, itself designed by L.v.Klenze to be a classical work of art. Although desired by Ludwig I, the exhibition was disowned by Wagner and Thorvaldsen, [52. 68–70; 53. 37–41, 98–100]. It was with the discovery of the *Ägineten*, which were up until then the first original pre-classical sculpture known, that research into archaic sculpture began. At the same time, in accordance with the *zeitgeist*, significance was attached to the *Ägineten* in terms of cultural development, Winckelmann's writings, and the already-known Elgin Marbles, although their aesthetic value was received with reserve [21. 40; 23. 10–11]. Thus Goethe's judgement inclined towards the negative (Sophienausgabe IV. 29, Nr. 8024) [9. 314; 37. 108], while K. O. Müller and – in his later works – Cockerell, too, made more positive comments about the *Ägineten* [21; 24. 677–679]. After much intense discussion, Thorvaldsen's restorative additions were removed for the new display in 1966 [9; 21; 22; 26].

→ Aegina; → Aphaea; → Apollo; → Architectural sculpture; → Dictynna; → Oros; → Water pipes; → Zeus

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WALTER GAUSS

Aequitas

A. The Concept B. Ancient Roots C. Reception in the Middle Ages D. Further Developments in the Modern Era

A. The Concept

Since the late Middle Ages, the legal concept of *aequitas* has been translated by equity, although a differentiation was made between the two terms, particularly in the 19th cent.

Equity can best be described as a source of law, which claims validity in addition to the positive legal system and helps to decide individual cases. Martinus Gosia (*around 1100), for instance, designated equity as *fons et origo iustitiae* ('source and origin of justice'). As a particular manifestation of → justice, equity is both a means of interpreting positive laws and a complementary legal norm for correcting legal resolutions that appear to be unjust in individual cases, as well as for filling lacunas. Since the beginning of European jurisprudence in the Middle Ages, it has taken its place among the central institutions of law. It was mainly developed in civil law and in canon law, and later was also used in criminal and public law.

B. Ancient Roots

The doctrine of *equity* in post-Antiquity is a continuing development of three ancient elements: Aristotelian *epieíkeia* ('propriety'), Roman legal *equity* and their elaboration by the Church Fathers.

The concept of *epieíkeia* as developed by Aristotle (Eth. Nic. 5,14, 1137a–1138a; Rhet. 1,13, 1373b–1374b) means a justice higher than that of positive laws. In Aristotle, *aequitas* means that one must not stick to the letter of the text in the interpretation of the law, but rather pay attention to its meaning. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, abstract laws can be unjust in an individual case. *Epieíkeia* then enables a mitigation or even a deviation from the law, in favor of single case justice. Thus, what is at stake here is the adaptation of general norms to the particular, factual circumstances of the case, according to the spirit of the legislator.

In ancient Roman law, *aequitas* denoted the ethical requirements for the law, for instance in the definition of law as *ars aequi et boni* (Celsus, Dig. 1,1,1 pr.). First and foremost, *aequitas* meant equality of service and service in return, in other words, the exchange of justice. In the post-Classical era, equity was a criterion for the action of legislators and judges. Under the influence of Latin Patristics the concept of *equity* was broadened quite generally to that of overarching justice. The concepts of *caritas, humanitas, misericordia, benignitas* and *clementia* were brought into connection with *aequitas*. *Aequitas* received a religious foundation in the equality of mankind before God and in the command to love one's neighbor.

C. Reception in the Middle Ages

Medieval jurisprudence was dominated by the idea of *ratio scripta*. The *Corpus iuris civilis* enjoyed unconditional authority, from which to deviate no judge possessed any justification whatsoever. The special obligatory force of Justinian law was the direct result of the fact that the law in question was written down. For that reason it is one of the signal achievements of the → Glossators to have integrated the idea of *equity* within the legal system as it was understood, so that, for instance, one reads in the *Exceptiones Petri* (around 1160): *Si quid inutile, ruptum aequitative contrarium in legibus reperitur, nostris pedibus subcalcamus* ('If something useless, damaging, or contrary to equity is found in the laws, we shall crush it beneath our feet'). [9]. The Glossators solved the apparent contradiction between Cod. Iust. 1,14,1 (fair [in the sense of *aequitas*] interpretation is permitted only to the Emperor) and Cod. Iust. 3,1,8 (the judge shall give preference to justice and equity above the law in the strict sense) by going back to Cicero (Top. 2,9 and 5,28), with his distinction between *aequitas scripta* and *non scripta*. Cod. Iust. 3,1,8 was seen as an expression of *aequitas scripta*: within the context of the letter of the text, the judge was to accentuate the *aequitas* that is contained within the law itself. A genuine deviation from the law on grounds of *aequitas non scripta* should be reserved for the legislator (Cod. Iust. 1,14,1).

Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336/7) established the following rule for the relation between positive law and *aequitas*: 1. If neither *ius* nor *aequitas* is written down, then *aequitas* has precedence. 2. If one of the two is written down, it has precedence. 3. If both are written down, the more specific norm outweighs the more general one; if both are equally specific or general, then *aequitas* again gets precedence [7] All the elements of ancient *aequitas* are attested in legalistic and canonistic jurisprudential literature. The latter brought *aequitas* above all into connection with → natural law (cf.

Decretum Gratiani I, ch. 7), which justified the non-applicability or correction in individual cases of possibly unjust laws. Legal studies and studies of Canon law have in common that *aequitas* is always sought rather in interpretation than in the correction of a law. Equity was thus granted a supervisory function with regard to positive law. Among the important mediators of Aristotelian *epieíkeia* for posterity was Thomas Aquinas [1].

Germanic law of the Middle Ages also was aware of considerations of equity, which resembled ancient *equity* in their function, although no direct dependence upon ancient concepts can be proved in this area. Following canon law, Thomas More defined the most important cases in which to apply *equity* as 'to help in conscience fraud, accident and things of confidence'. As with ancient *aequitas*, equity in English law was originally concerned with the balancing of a deficit in justice arising as a result of the strict application of norms. Over the course of time, *equity* developed into its own normative system, alongside *common law*.

D. Further Developments in the Modern Era

Aequitas has maintained its function as a regulatory criterion until today. Norms must be interpreted in such a way that they do not give rise to unjust results in individual cases. In this context, particular attention must be paid to the meaning of rules. Similar to *epieíkeia* is the definition of equity in a treatise by Johannes Oldendorp (*c.* 1488–1567): *Billigkeit ist ein Urteil der natürlichen Vernunft, wodurch weltliche Gesetze gemildert und auf ein rechtes Leben ausgerichtet werden* ('equity is a judgment of natural reason, whereby secular laws are mitigated and directed towards an upright life') [6]. Moreover, the circumstances of the individual case should be of critical importance. Spanish Late Scholastic thought consolidated the medieval doctrine of *aequitas* in a way that long remained authoritative. In agreement with ancient tradition, Francisco Suárez (1541–1617) defined the most important cases where equity must be applied: to mitigate oppressive and unjust obligations, as well as to realize the true meaning of the law [11]. The Early Modern era produced a plethora of essays on *aequitas* [5]. In *usus modernus*, a mitigation of the law in individual cases by the judge was fully recognized. In these cases, frequent reference was made to ancient roots [10]. Unlike the jurists of previous times, theorists of natural law even used the argument of equity to establish rules that were positively standardised in Roman law [8. lib. cap. 15, § 9]. Grotius, building on Thomas Aquinus, took over the Aristotelian doctrine of *epieíkeia* [3]. Deviation from the law because of the circumstances of an individual case was also just for Pufendorf [8. lib. 2, § 10]. As in Aristotle, *aequitas* was to be taken into account, above all in the interpretation of law.

In Early Modern literature, there are repeated warnings against *aequitas cerebrina*, or equity judgments that have their origin not in objective grounds, but only in the judge's 'head'. Because of the danger of arbitrariness, Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) in particular sought drastically to limit the field of applicability of *aequitas* [12]. Yet equity continued to assert itself, even in the face of the 18th-cent. idea of codification, which saw the legislator alone as bound to equity, whereas the judge was not to evaluate the justice of the laws. Only the *Codex Maximilianeus Bavaricus Civilis* (1756) sought to implement this ideal completely (I 1 § 11). Later codifications increasingly moved away from this goal, and finally returned to the traditional conception (cf. Prussian Civil Code, Introd. §§ 20, 49; § 7 General German Civil Code; Art. 565, 1135 Code civil; §§ 242, 315, 660, 745, 829 BGB; Swiss Book of Civil Law, Art. 4): interpretation according to the meaning of the law, and filling in lacunae from the viewpoint of equity.

The 19th cent. saw the appearance, alongside traditional doctrines [2], of those which understood equity as a concept of morality and not of law, since the law in a liberal constitutional state must have assessible norms, but equity is non-assessible [13]. Nevertheless, equity in the sense of *epieíkeia* maintained its role in jurisprudence. As Windscheid wrote in his textbook on Pandects: *Billig ist das den thatsächlichen Verhältnissen angemessene Recht* ('the law that is appropriate to factual circumstances is valid') [4].

Equity maintained its position in the 20th cent. In the era of the constitutional state, of course, the contents of a fair judgement are strongly affected by constitutional principles. This is especially true of public law, which developed the principle of proportionality, as an expression of equity, into a central institution of law. Art. 20 III of the Basic Law of Germany binds all state action to law and justice. This prescription arose from the very experience that laws do not always yield just results, and it can therefore be understood as an expression of equity. The European Court of Justice has also taken up the Aristotelian idea of equity in the sense of a rule of equality and correction of laws that appear as unjust in individual cases (European Court of Justice, judgment of 20.5.1981, RS 152/80, in: Slg. 1981, 129ff.). The question still remains open as to who has actually benefited from the equity-argument throughout the various periods of legal history; in other words, [what is/was] its judicial-political function.

→ Aequitas

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TILMAN REPGEN

Aerial Archaeological Imaging

A. Definition and Introduction B. Development C. Premises

A. Definition and Introduction

Aerial archaeological imaging (AAI) usually designates methods of remote sensing, which from high altitude make archaeological monuments visible or more easily viewed. Photographic procedures are normally employed for documentation of the information obtainable from a high altitude. The technical possibilities and scope of AAI have depended primarily on the development of air and space travel, and secondarily on that of photography. With the development of AAI, archaeology's grasp of humanity's history has been extended by a fundamental, distancing and abstracting perspective. With adequate surface conditions, AAI contributes greatly to the identification of fixed archaeological monuments covering large areas, offers vital data on the nature and extent of human activity in extended areas, and when satellite remote sensing is used, even over entire landscapes, AAI is an important means for the early identification and, therefore, the prophylactic protection of cultural resources.

B. Development

[3. 33–44; 5. 1–84; 8] In a narrower sense AAI is based on the awareness that observation from high altitude allows one to perceive previously unknown archaeological monuments or some of their attributes, a procedure that one already had at one's disposal in a number of different, isolated places by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th cent. In the field of classical archaeology the cooperation of some Italian archaeologists (Giacomo Boni among others) with specialists in military aerial photography and reconnaissance proved to be pioneering work to which we owe, among other things, the discovery of the remains of monumental inscriptions in the Augustan pavement of the Forum Romanum or the identification of the historical course of the Tiber's mouth at Ostia [2. 22–25, 29–31]. During the Italo-Turkish war of 1911–1912 pilots of the same military unit identified the remains of the ancient port installations of Sabratha in Tripolitania, which were covered by the sea. AAI developed significantly during both World Wars, a fact that illuminates the decades-long dependence of the practice of aerial archaeology on the development of aerial warfare and military aerial reconnaissance. The first attempts at a systematic use of AAI were made during World War I by, among others, the German-Turkish unit for the protection of monuments led by Theodor Wiegand in the Near East or by Carl Schuchhardt in Dobruja (Romania). These attempts proved above all useful in the documentation of settlements and military lines. At the same time Marc Bloch, an intelligence officer and later a co-founder of the journal Annales d'histoire économique et sociale, stimulated modern economic and social history by advocating the use of aerial prospection in the field of agrarian history [10. 101–107, 109f., 124f.] The methodological and practical breakthrough of systematic AAI took place in the 1920s in Great Britain through the efforts of Osbert Crawford [7]. Crawford created the necessary institutional support for AAI in his homeland, began a continued personal involvement which survived long after World War II, defined the relevant parameters for detection of archaeological monuments from the air and handled the publication of and publicity for the achievements of AAI. From 1925 to 1932 Antoine Poidebrad flew systematically over the former Roman border area in contemporary Syria and documented extended sectors of the limes constructions [9]. From 1934 to 1936, combining AAI and underwater research, he developed a layout of the remains of the docks of Tyre, the Phoenician port city, which were covered by the sea. From 1935 to 1937, Erich F. Schmidt, on behalf of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute, conducted flights in Iran, which served current excavations, the preparation of documentation for scheduled excavation sites and the systematic prospection of other territories in order to iden-

tify unknown archaeological monuments [11]. Parallel to the general production of maps with the aid of aerial images, especially of vertical exposures, AAI and archaeological cartography converged after World War I. In both fields, which were also intertwined in terms of personalities (e.g. through Osbert Crawford or Giuseppe Lugli), international meetings were organized which contributed to shared knowledge and to the general circulation of the results. The increased use of the respective air forces in World War II led to the emergence of aerial image archives of unprecedented dimensions, which afterwards were also able to be used for archaeological purposes. From these AAI received a further decisive impetus. Jean Baradez analyzed the topography of the border of Roman North Africa using aerial images, covering wide areas and taken from high altitude [4]. The series of aerial images taken by the Royal Air Force began a new phase in the study of the ancient cultural landscape of Italy, substantially initiated by the British School of Rome. The 1970s movement in Europe to protect monuments established AAI, in principle, as a standard tool of regional archaeology. However, adequate stability of infrastructure was not achieved in most of the relevant fields of activity. The profound political changes in Central and Eastern Europe have created conditions for a new beginning for AAI in these regions because many archived images, previously classified as military secrets, have become available for archaeological interpretation, and at the same time have made new AAI activities possible. When aerial prospection is practiced especially for archaeology the conditions of observation and documentation can be accurately established in accordance with scientific needs. The results of this exclusively archaeological aerial inspection are therefore considerably greater than the archaeological post processing of aerial images made for other purposes. Automatic data processing facilitates the subsequent elimination of deformations from oblique exposures and makes it possible to combine aerial archaeological images with other data, among others cartographic data, in geographic information systems (GIS), and thus to create integrated archaeological archives, which allow queries combining spatial- and object-related information. With the use of satellites offering images with increasingly better resolution, AAI is once again closely connected with the current development of military and civil remote sensing, as it was at the time of its nascency. AAI offers archaeological science an instrument which is able to quantify and describe, with increased precision, the potential of a given territory. At the same time it makes available for the first time specific individual sources as well as entire categories of information. Also in the field of Ancient archaeology AAI has provided the identification of entire settlements (e.g. Spina) and of isolated monuments, especially in areas with no modern construction. To the latter group belong border or fortification buildings and temporary military camps as well as farms or rural residences (villae). Fruitful research about ancient surveying is almost exclusively due to AAI.

C. Premises

Even those archaeological monuments which are not recognizable from the ground have to leave some markings or traces on the surface in order to be identified by remote sensing. Among them are slight differences in height which cast shadows and the differences in soil color, or the height of the vegetation which has grown over the archaeologically relevant remains and traces in ground. Results from AAI are influenced by the time of the day (incidence of the light), by the season (the density and height of the vegetation, snow covering), by the altitude of the flight, by the angle of vision or the camera angle. The full potential of AAI will only become evident in the long run through the successive joining of different sets of premises (for example, by the inclusion of the concomitant phenomenon of extreme drought). Fundamentally, the outlook for success with AAI depends on the extent of the subsequent modifications of the soil. Among these the utilization of the land is very important: agriculture, especially deep plowing, urban sprawl or soil sealing destroy archaeological remains or make them inaccessible to aerial inspection. Already by the beginning of the 20th cent. the parameters for the use of AAI were very different from region to region. Thus the remarkable success of AAI in countries such as Great Britain is due also to the local particularities of land-use history (with animal husbandry prevalent). The use of increasingly systematic aerial prospection over long periods of time also allows AAI to offer first-class documentation of the progressive loss of fixed archaeological sources.

→ Archaeological methods and theories;
→ Underwater archaeology

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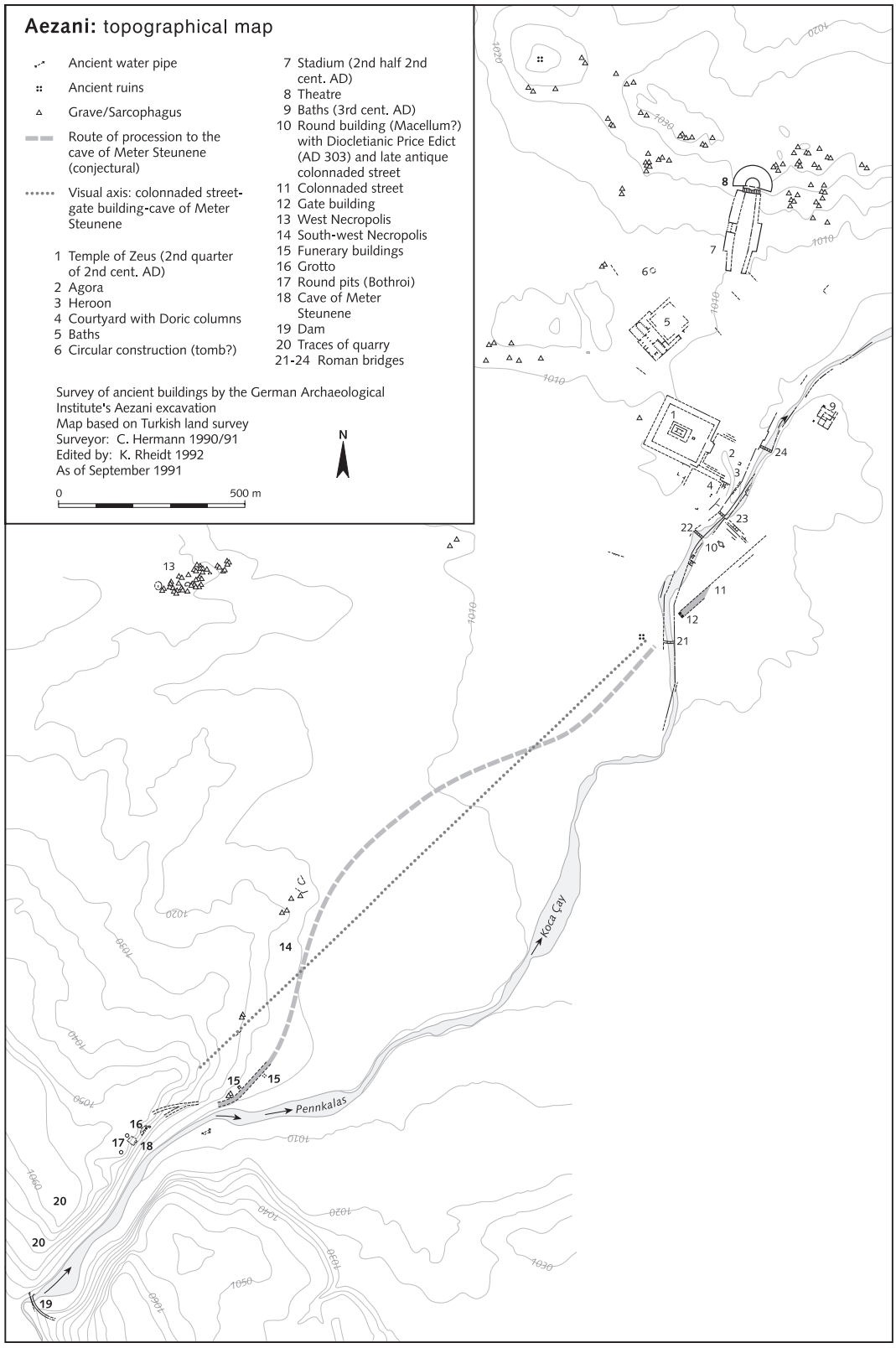
STEFAN ALTEKAMP

Aesthetics see → Beauty, → Body, attitudes towards, → Proportions, theory of


Aezani: topographical map
Ancient water pipe
Ancient ruins
Grave/Sarcophagus
Route of procession to the cave of Meter Steunene (conjectural)
Visual axis: colonnaded street-gate building-cave of Meter Steunene
1 Temple of Zeus (2nd quarter of 2nd cent. AD)
2 Agora
3 Heroon
4 Courtyard with Doric columns
5 Baths
6 Circular construction (tomb?)
7 Stadium (2nd half 2nd cent. AD)
8 Theatre
9 Baths (3rd cent. AD)
10 Round building (Macellum?) with Diocletianic Price Edict (AD 303) and late antique colonnaded street
11 Colonnaded street
12 Gate building
13 West Necropolis
14 South-west Necropolis
15 Funerary buildings
16 Grotto
17 Round pits (Bothroi)
18 Cave of Meter Steunene
19 Dam
20 Traces of quarry
21-24 Roman bridges
Survey of ancient buildings by the German Archaeological Institute's Aezani excavation
Map based on Turkish land survey
Surveyor: C. Hermann 1990/91
Edited by: K. Rheidt 1992
As of September 1991
N
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500 m
Koca Çay
Pennkalas

Aezani

A. Location B. History and Significance C. The History of Discovery D. Excavation and Monuments

A. Location

Aezani (A.) is situated in a rural area near the town of Çavdarhisar, *c.* 50 kilometres southwest of the provincial capitol Kütahya in modern Turkey. A. occupied a central location on the Aizanitis, a plateau *c.* 1000 metres above sea level in western Phrygia, and belonged to Phrygia Epiktetos (Str. 12,8,12). The village houses of the older parts of Çavdarhisar stand in part on ancient foundation walls and contain numerous elements of ancient building. After destruction by an earthquake in 1970 a new town center was established about 2 kilometres to the southeast. Since then the houses of the old village have been gradually abandoned and allowed to deteriorate.

B. History and Significance

In its founding legend A. referred to its Arcadian descent in the early Imperial Period. Pausanias (8,4,3; 10,32,3) mentions the hero Azan, born of a liaison with the nymph Erato, as the mythical ancestor of the Phrygians who lived in the area around the Steunos cave and the Pencalas river. The oldest finds show that the city area was settled from the Early Bronze period at the latest (1st half of the 3rd cent.). In the Hellenistic period the area around Aizanoi was the object of contention between the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pergamon and came under Roman control in 133 BC. The first mintings are known from the 2nd/1st cent. BC, which bear the city name Ezeanitōn from the last third of the 1st cent. BC onwards. Since the time of Augustus the coins almost always say Aizanitōn or Aizaneitōn. An imperial inscription mentions donations of land by the kings of Pergamon and Bithynia to the temple and the city, which speaks for a certain significance for A. in the Hellenistic period [6; 22].

Citizens of A. held high offices beginning in the Augustan period and helped to bring the city to a position of importance through their connections to the Roman imperial house and through material donations. A. experienced a time of growth under Hadrian, whose arbitration made possible the collection of rents from the lands donated for the sanctuary of Zeus and with these the building of the temple of Zeus. Members of rich land-owning families were by then Roman citizens. Some of them played leading roles in the province as Asiarchs and even became consuls. A. was especially proud of its membership in the Panhellenion and of the honour of being counted among the most important cities of the realm with Greek tradition and culture [6; 10; 22; 26; 33]. In the Byzantine period A. was the seat of a bishop and had several churches, of which the largest was built over the temple of Zeus. In the 11th and 12th cents. this church was part of a settlement on the temple plateau. The fortified walls of this settlement

were made of ancient structural elements and in the 13th cent. they served as a base for the tribe of the Çavdar Tartars and gave the modern site its name Çavdarhisar (Çavdar-Fortress) [6; 9; 22].

C. The History of Discovery

In 1824 Saint-Asaph, the later Earl of Ashburnham, was the first European to visit the well-preserved ruins. A.D. Mordtmann, G.Th. Keppel and W.J. Hamilton followed him a few years later. In 1838 L. de Laborde, in 1839 Ch. Texier and in 1847 Ph. Le Bas and E. Landron published the first extensive pictures of the buildings. A new phase in the history of its discovery began when A. Körte worked on dating the temple of Zeus in 1890 and 1895. The Steunos cave, in which the Anatolian mother goddess was worshipped as Meter Steunene (Fig.1: 16, 17, 18), was discovered by J.G.C. Anderson in 1898 and examined closely by Th. Wiegand in 1908 [16; 22; 31]. The first excavations of the → Deutsches Archäologisches Institut under the leadership of M. Schede and D. Krencker were carried out in 1926 and 1928. They were resumed by R. Naumann in 1970 and continue until today [22].

D. Excavation and Monuments

The temple of Zeus was the center of the excavations in the 1920s (Fig.1: 1). The Ionic Pseudodipteros from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd cent. AD, with its 8 x 15 columns, stands on a podium with an open staircase. Stairs, leading from the Opisthodom into a cellar with vaulted ceiling and to the roof of the temple [22] (Fig.2), point to the performance of ritual acts both in the cellar and on the roof. But the excavators' hypothesis that the temple was a double sanctuary in which the cult of Cybele was observed in the cellar has not been confirmed [26]. The temple has a pronounced ancient appearance because of its overall design and the development of some details such as the Ionic arrangement of the ringed hall (Fig.3). The retrospective architectural

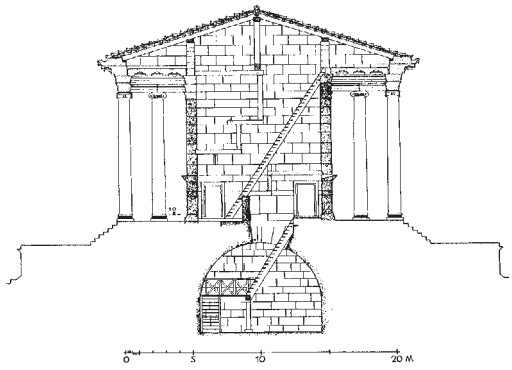

Fig. 2: Temple of Zeus; transverse section with cellar and reconstruction of stairs.
With Permission of the Aizanoi-excavation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Insitut

Fig. 3: Temple of Zeus; view from the northwest after completion of the measures to secure the timberwork 1996. *With Permission of the Aizanoi-excavation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*

language of the building and the reversion to Hellenistic models can be related to the desire for antiquity and for a Greek legacy, which reflected the city's membership in the Panhellenion [26; 30; 34]. The building of the temple of Zeus was the start of the representative expansion of the city center and was followed shortly afterwards by the so-called Agora (Fig.1: 2) with a small podium temple that has been interpreted as a Heroon (Fig.1: 3) [17; 22] by and the halls around the temple. Only the court with Doric columns (Fig.1: 4) [13; 22] was built before the temple of Zeus (Fig.4).

The excavations and research of the 1920s were not published until 1979 by R. Naumann, since Krenkker and Schede did not survive World War II. Naumann pleaded for the resumption of the excavation in A. in the aftermath of the earthquake of 1970 and began by examining several smaller structures, among them the Heroon on the Agora [17] and the circular building (Fig.1: 10) on the eastern bank of the Pencalas, which has the Diocletian price edict from the year AD 301 on its wall [21]. Regular excavations have taken place since 1978, concentrating on the thermal gymnasium from the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. AD (Fig.1: 5) [11, 12, 13]. From 1982 to 1984 Naumann, making individual investigations near the reservoir (Fig. 1: 19) and the Doric hall of columns (Fig.1: 4), uncovered a building made of large limestone blocks (Fig.1: 9), in which a second thermal bath with rich mosaics was added in the 3rd cent. AD From the 4th or 5th cent. onwards structural alterations were made to the main halls and given Christian furnishings [13; 14]. A. Hoffmann excavated from 1982 to 1990 in order to clarify the structural history of the theater-stadium complex (Fig.1: 7, 8), concluding that the stadium was constructed in several phases beginning in the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. AD, but was abandoned around the middle of the 4th cent. and used as a stone quarry [3; 4].

Since 1990 the members of the A. excavation team, under the leadership of K. Rheidt, have been investigating the entire city. By examining the urban relationships between monumental structures [23; 26], pottery [1], building ornaments, gravestones [5; 29] and inscriptions [6; 32; 33; 34] they are trying to work out a picture of A.'s topography and history in its various phases of development from its beginnings until the ruins were included in the houses and gardens of the village of Çavdarhisar, as well as placing it in a larger historical context. This new phase of the A. excavation, which was supplemented by emergency excavations of the Kütahya Museum [28; 35], yielded the fact that the city, in spite of its efforts to imitate Roman models with temples, thermal baths and theater-stadium, did not give up its Anatolian roots until well into the late Imperial period. The 2nd cent. AD system of urban planning could not be integrated with the new monumental structures. In contrast, the broad, columned street (Fig.1: 11) with an ornamental gate (Fig. 1. 12) [12],

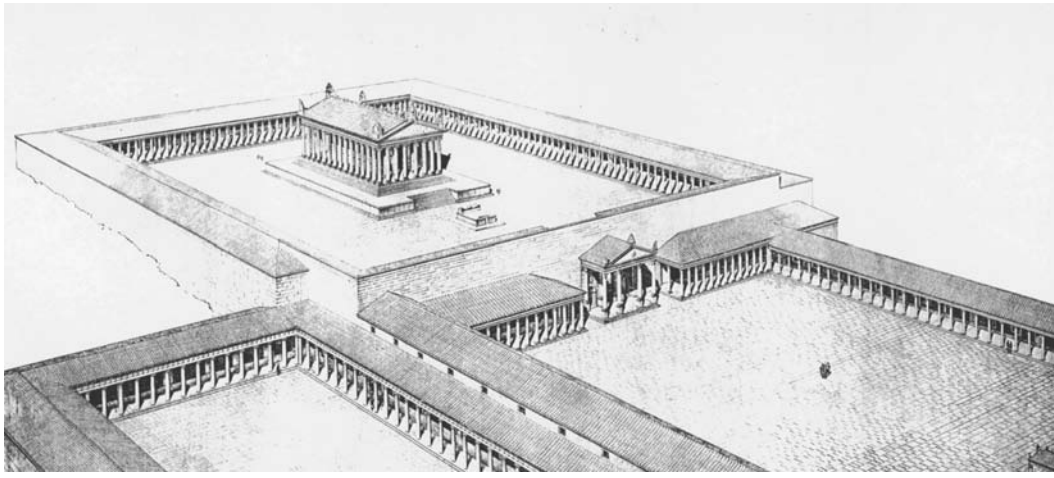

Fig. 4: Town centre in the Imperial period; perspective reconstruction by D. Krencker, drawing by O. Heck. *With Permission of the Aizanoi-excavation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*

Fig. 5: The late antique colonnade after anastylosis.
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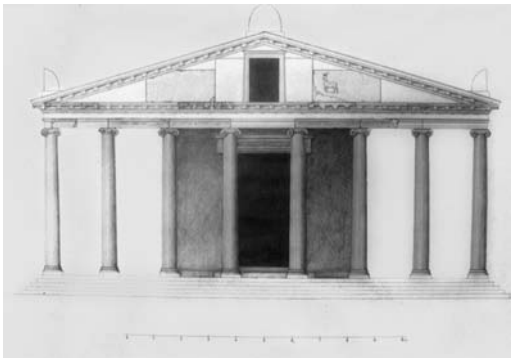

Fig. 6: Artemisium; this reconstruction of the temple front incorporates elements that were built into the hall architecture of the late antique colonnade.
With Permission of the Aizanoi-excavation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

which was the backbone of this system of streets, was aligned with the sanctuary of Meter Steunene (Fig.1: 16, 17, 18) and was adorned with the tombs of the richest families of A. around the middle of the 2nd cent. AD [23; 26].

Between 1992 and 1995 a columned street from Late Antiquity was uncovered, built around AD 400 out of parts of older buildings (Fig.1: 10; Fig.5), into which inscription bases and statues were integrated [7]. Among them were building parts from the temple of Artemis from the middle of the 1st cent. AD (Fig.6). There was a regularly arranged city precinct on the eastern bank of the Pencalas river by the 1st half of the 1st cent. AD, which replaced late Hellenistic workshops and potteries [1; 24; 26]. Since 1996 excavation in A. has concentrated again on the temple of Zeus (Fig.1: 1) [25]. Excavations are being carried out south of the temple and at the southern corner of the temple plateau, which have been identified as the remains of a settlement mound.

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KLAUS RHEIDT

Affects, Theory of (Musical) Although affects were themes in Classical philosophy and rhetoric, incidentally also in the ethical doctrine of music (→ MUSIC), there was no specific theory of musical affects. That melodies and rhythms affected different souls in different manners had been demonstrated by Boethius inst. mus. 1,1) as a transmitter of the idea (Pythagoras, Plato rep. 3,398–401). After the 11th cent., the attempt was made to link the → MUSICAL THEORY OF KEYS in Gregorian chant with the ethical doctrine of music. Connected with the reception of Aristotle (pol. 8; eth. Nic.), commentaries which discussed the question of ethics and affects in musical keys used in church first appeared around 1300 (Petrus de Alvernia and Guido von Saint-Denis [13], Walter Burley [12]). In the Renaissance, though the idea originated with words set to music in the late Middle Ages, the combination of music and words changed into a 'speaking art', which absorbed elements of both classical rhetoric and rhythm. Just as art's most noble challenge was to imitate nature, so too music's was to represent human affects. The theory of musical affects arising in the 16th cent. came out of the study of living speech and was joined to Classical rhetoric with its requirement that it entertain and move (*delectare*, *movere*, Quint. inst. or. 12,10,59). Added to this came the Greek teachings of the four humours (Galen; → HUMORAL THEORY). Ramos de Pareja [7. 56f.] associated the four basic keys to the four humours (temperaments): *tonus protus* associated with the *phlegmatic temperament*, *tonus deuterus* with the *colic*, *tonus tritus* with the *sanguine* and *tonus tetrardus* with the *melancholic*. Renaissance theoreticians stressed that the ethical and affective content of a text should be expressed in a musical key [1]. In another development, Gioseffo Zarlino [8. 3, 10. Kap.], constructed a new system: intervals 'without half tones' (whole tones, major third, major sixth) express joyful affects; those 'with half tones' (minor third, minor sixth), sad affects. In Germany the musical or rhetorical theory of figures absorbed the theory of affects. The theory of musical affects acquired its greatest importance, with a precursor in the Italian madrigals, in the rise of monody at the end of the 16th cent. On the advice of philologist Girolamo Mei, the Florentine Camerata around Giovanni Bardi rejected polyphony and announced that the song of passionate expression was the new ideal (*cantare con affetto*) [2]). In Claudio Monteverdi's madrigals (1567–1643) the three affects were *ira*, *temperanza* and *humilta*, which corresponded to his *stile concitato*, *stile temperato* and *stile molle* [6]. After the first experiences with the new genre called → OPERA particularly those of Monteverdi, Giovanni Battista Doni [3] differentiated three styles of new singing: simple recitative (*stile recitativo*), a style in which song clarified the affective content of the words (*stile espressivo*) and impassioned and dramatic singing (*stile rappresentativo*). Marin Mersenne [5] offered an elaborate system of musical affects that embraced both polyphony and instruments. Affects in music and the theory of musical affects played

an important role in the teaching of music in the following era (e.g. Rameau, Mattheson, Marpurg, Kuhnau, Heinichen), but here at this point one can hardly still speak of a Classical reception.

→ ARISTOTELIANISM; → MUSIC

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Zaminer, Frieder FRIEDER ZAMINER

Africa

A. AFRICAN LITERATURE IN THE LATIN LANGUAGE (16TH–18TH CENTS.) B. AFRICAN POETRY AND PROSE (19TH–20TH CENTS.) C. AFRICAN DRAMA (20TH CENT.) D. CLASSICAL LANGUAGES AND CLASSICAL STUDIES IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES AND MUSEUMS (18TH–20TH CENTS.)

A. African Literature in the Latin Language (16th–18th Cents.)

The earliest and probably best known African poet from this period was Juan Latino (1516–*c.* 1594), who was born in West-A. and who came to Spain around 1528. He translated Horace and wrote poetry in Latin. Five published works are extant, for the most part panegyric poems with numerous mythological allusions: The *Epigrammatum liber* (Granada 1573), which is set mostly in elegic metre following the example of Ovid, celebrates the birth of Prince Ferdinand in the year 1571; an elegy (Granada 1573) to Pius V.; the *Austriad* (Granada 1573), which is set in hexametres and which begins with an appeal to Apollo, compares the battle of Lepanto between the Turkish and Spanish fleets with a battle between Greeks and Trojans and narrates the victory of Don Juan of Austria with an occasional recourse to formulations from classical poetry; *De Translatione* (Granada 1574), in which Philipp II. is praised for his filial devotion; and a short poem (1585), which is dedicated to the Duke of Sesa. Among the African poets who wrote in Latin, Anton Wilhelm Amo (1703–after 1753) and Jacobus Eliza Johannes Capitein (1717–47) are also known to some extent. Amo wrote on legal and philosophical topics: *De jure Maurorum in Europa*

(Halle 1729), *De humanae mentis* ἀπάθεια *seu sensionis ac facultatis sentiendi in mente humana absentia* (Halle 1734) and the *Tractatus de arte sobrie et accurate philosophandi* (Leiden 1738). Capitein published some of his sermons and a speech entitled *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute libertati Christianae non contraria* (Wittenberg 1742).

B. African Poetry and Prose (19th–20th Cents.)

Numerous works by African poets show influences of the Classics. Among a series of Cape Verdean poets, the work of José Lopes (1872–1962) is most strongly influenced by Classical Antiquity. This can be seen most readily in the titles of his works: *Jardim das Hespérides* (1916), *Hesperitanas* (1929) and *Alma Arsinária* (1952); he also wrote poems in Latin. Lopes was especially influenced by the Classics in his bond with the epic world view and its mythical apparatus, in the assumption of the 'universality' of his poetry and the concept of the poet as the interpreter of the 'collective soul' of his people. Several other Cape Verdean poets, who show an inclination to Antiquity in the titles of their books of poems and individual poems, in quotations from the literature of antiquity, in lyrical elements, heroic odes, erotic themes, ancient deities, bucolic framework (→ Bucolic/Idyll), mythological inferences and stories, are Januário Leite (1865–1930), Mário Pinto (1887–1958), Pedro Monteiro Cardoso (*c.* 1890–1942), Eugénio Tavares (1867–1930), Jorge Barbosa (1902–71), Manuel Lopes (1907–2005) and António Nunes (1917–1951). The interest of poets from the African mainland in Antiquity shows itself most obviously in the titles of numerous poems, for example *Creation of a Caryatid* by Wole Soyinka (b. 1934). While the Senegalese poet Birago Diop (1906–1989) used a classical metre in some of his poems, the poems in the works of his countryman Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001) from *Chants d'ombre* (1945) to *Elégies majeures* (1979) are saturated with the influence of Greco-Roman poetry and Greek philosophy (pre-Socratic, Platonic as well as the post-Socratic). The poems of Christopher Okigbo (1932–1967) are reminiscent of the voice of the choir in classical Greek poetry. Musaemura Bonas Zimunya (b. 1949) from Zimbabwe uses allusions to Antiquity in his poetry. In some of his formulations and in his metric variety he resembles Latin poets, especially Catullus, while the style of the Cameroonian poet Louis-Marie Pouka M'Bague (b. 1910) has echoes of Horace and Virgil.

Other African poets and a few prose writers have also adopted protagonists, motives and themes from classical authors. Wole Soyinka uses the archetype Odysseus in his anthology of poems entitled *A Shuttle in the Crypt* (1972), while the god Ogun takes a journey into the deep in his book *Idanre and Other Poems* (1967), which appears elsewhere as a descent to Hades; the hunter Akara-Ogun in the fictional work *Ogboju ode ninu igbo irunmale* (1938) by Daniel Olorunfemi Fagunwa (1903–1963) is an Odysseus figure. Nigerian 'books of ballads' are written in a spirit related to that of Ovid *Ars amatoria* in order to introduce the reader to the art of love. The novelist Ibrahim Issa (b. 1922) from Niger uses Homeric images in his work *Les Grandes eaux noires* (1959) in order to explore the historical possibility of Roman soldiers destroying the kingdom of a local ruler on the Niger River after the 2nd Punic War in the year 182 BC. In general the influence of Classical Antiquity on African writers is obvious not only in the frequent use of references to ancient literature and Latin expressions, but also in the balanced sentences and well-rounded paragraphs reminiscent of the style of Cicero. This goes back to the Greek and Latin studies, especially the latter, in the secondary schools and universities in the 19th and 20th cents. and the use of Latin in the Roman Catholic Church until 1965.

C. African Drama (20th Cent.)

A series of African dramatists, especially those of the Yoruba tribe in West-A., have adapted motifs and elements from Antiquity in their pieces and occasionally even kept the characteristics of individual Greek dramas. The Yoruba dramatist Wole Soyinka, recipient of the Nobel prize for literature for the year 1986, readapted Euripides' *Bacchants* in his piece *The Bacchae of Euripides: A Communion Rite* (1973), but was fairly faithful to the main scenes. In his portrayal of Dionysus Soyinka allows Apollan, Dionysian and Promethean characteristics to blend and refers to the Greek idea that a scapegoat must be offered to the gods, especially to Dionysus, in order to assure the fruitfulness of the grain. The influence of Greek tragedy can be seen in his other pieces as well, e.g. *Kongi's Harvest* (1967), in which strategies which correspond to the *deus ex machina*, the *prologos* and the *exodos* of the Greeks are used to give structure. Ola Rotimi (1938–2000), a countryman of Soyinka, transfers a Greek tragedy model and the Oedipus myth over to a Yoruba setting in *The Gods Are Not to Blame* (1971). The plot of Rotimi's piece is more or less identical to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, and the chorus of the people from the city has a socio-philosophical text that can be compared to the role of the choir in Greek tragedy. Duro Ladipo (1931–1978), another Yoruba dramatist, composed a piece entitled *Oba Koso* (1973), which has some characteristics reminiscent of *Oedipus Rex*. John Pepper Clark (b. 1935), of Ijo-Yoruba background, went back to the proto-theatrical sources of Greek drama (origin in 'fertility cults') when he wrote *Song of a Goat* (1962), a piece about sterility and fertility. The title of the drama, in its literal translation of the Greek elements of the word 'tragedy', as they are commonly understood, is clear enough. After the sacrifice of a ram and the laments of a half-possessed aunt, a Cassandra figure who foresees everything and who prophesies evil in parabolic language but who is not believed and not respected because she is mad, the three main figures die, one of them in the Greek style behind the scenes. *The*

Song of a Goat is the first part of a trilogy of pieces which show that course of a family curse, a Nigerian version of *Oresteia* by Aeschylus. In The *Masquerade* (1964), the second piece of the cycle, choirs of neighbours and priests comment on the plot and report acts of violence that took place behind the scenes and are relevant to the plot just like in Greek tragedies. Femi Osofisan (b. 1946), a countryman of the abovementioned dramatists wrote an unpublished version of Sophocles' *Antigone* with the title *Tegonni: An African Antigone*. The Ghanaean Efua Theodora Sutherland (1924–1996) published *Edufa* (1967), a new interpretation of *Alcestis* by Euripides and included a choir since it is indispensable for Greek drama. Just like in Euripides' piece the wife in *Edufa* promises to die for her husband and keeps her promise under similar circumstances, which are marked by tender love. *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968), the work of another Ghanaean, Ayi Kwei Armah (b. 1939), echoes Juvenal's satire and Platonic teachings including the simile of the cave.

D. Classical Languages and Classical Studies in African Schools, Universities and Museums (18th–20th Cents.)

Classical languages and studies have a marked tradition in African schools and universities. Latin and Greek were first taught in school in the 18th cent. This practice was able to continue in places with strong missionary and colonial influence. Latin is still taught in some public and private (mostly mission) schools, Greek much less, mostly in countries where these subjects are taught on a university level. One of the most famous schools is the Kamuzu Academy (Malawi), where pupils are required to study Latin, Greek and Classical history. Most Classics Departments in universities were established about the middle of the 20th cent. or later. In West-A. Classical philology and Classical studies are taught at the Universities of Sierra Leone, Cheikh Anta Diop (Senegal), Ibadan (Nigeria), Ghana and Cape Coast (Ghana). In 1966 the Classics Department in Cape Coast opened a Classical Museum, which was later taken over by the *Museums and Monuments Board* of Ghana. In central and southern A. Classical Philology and Classical Studies are taught at the Universities of Kikwit (Democratic Republic of Congo), Malawi and Zimbabwe. The University of Zimbabwe owns the world famous *Courtauld Collection of Greek and Roman Coins* and has published two catalogs of the collection.

→ Africa; → Myth; → Tragedy
→ Schools; → South-Africa; → University

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WILLIAM J. DOMINIK

Agriculture

A. Introduction B. Effects of Landscape Change C. Transmission of Agrarian Knowledge D. Ancient Legislation E. Specialist Literature

A. Introduction

Although questions of continuity within the tradition of intellectual history are apparent, hardly any other area of Classical civilisation has had such a lasting effect on European history as agriculture. Various levels may be distinguished: 1) the effect of measures used

during Antiquity itself which changed the landscape; 2) the transmission of agricultural knowledge to successor cultures; 3) the consequences and exemplary nature of Classical legislation and social structures; 4) the indirect effects through specialist agrarian literature and calendars.

That agriculture's impact in the Mediterranean differs from that in the provinces or in areas of possible absorption outside the former empire is clear. In many cases it is a question of continuity of special developments that came about in Late Antiquity, which were in no way typical of the classical Mediterranean world. The main focus of the following survey is on the Latin West; long-term continuity in the Graeco-Byzantine world and the enormous achievements in transmission by Islamic cultures can only be sketched. Adaptations in the agrarian sector at the time of the Crusades were comparatively minor; the Graeco-Latin contact zones in southern Italy and in the Balkans had more of a regional effect. An important aspect that is not to be underestimated is the social prestige that aptitude in agriculture granted the *cives Romanus*, something that is also apparent in literary works (e.g. Virgil, Horace). Romanticised as early as the Augustan period, the republican farmer-warrior was viewed as an ethical model, with which an individual member of the upper classes, for whom the specialist literature was intended, could identify. This attitude was, it is true, not immediately understood within a Western warrior culture, but did have an effect where Latin written works became particularly well-known: in Medieval monasteries for whom the Roman example of large farms could be of use, in the Renaissance and, last but not least, in the reconstitution of the Baroque manor system.

B. Effects of Landscape Change

Certain characteristics of ancient agriculture have left a stamp on the European landscape: small scale, intensive crops are found e.g. in the lower Rhone valley and in former Raetia. Whether artificial irrigation in South Tyrol today through 'Waale' (from *aquale*) harks back to ancient roots is probable, but not attestable. Specialisation in specific crops in Antiquity (areas were used when suitable primarily for olives, wine, cereal crops or animal husbandry) had a lasting effect on large areas of land later on. The exploitation of forests for ship-building and for military uses laid waste entire regions, allowing them to erode and turn to karst; animal husbandry (especially of goats) was also responsible. In some regions (e.g. Salzburg, Bavaria) the Roman 'quadra' field system is still recognisable today.

C. Transmission of Agrarian Knowledge

1. Continuity and Breaks 2. Individual Crops 3. Agricultural Implements

1. Continuity and Breaks

Direct continuity in the Byzantine empire and in the Islamic world cannot be followed here in greater detail.

Artificial irrigation and intensive cultivation right up to market garden level were of course also seen in the European Mediterranean world, but they lost their markets with the decline of the Empire.

In spite of political fragmentation, the need for exchange of agricultural products over large distances might have contributed to a residual Italian identity because of the continuation of certain specialised products: until late in the 5th cent. (*Vita Severini*) even the region north of the Alps was accustomed to imports of olive oil.

2. Individual Crops

The most prominent example of Roman continuity is Alpine agriculture. There are numerous examples of Latin loan words from this activity in the German language (*alpes* > *Alm*, *butyrus* > *Butter*, *caseus* > *Käse*, *senior* > *Senn* and so on). Evidence of continuity is also found in place names. Alpine agriculture was of a special kind, typical for the mixed Celtic/Roman culture of the Alps. Demographic exchange in these areas was limited.

On the other hand animal husbandry was to a great extent culturally dependent. Cattle especially belonged to the prestigious Roman, Celtic and Germanic upper classes. This may also have had the consequence that there was no continuation of Roman breeding: the size of early medieval cattle breeds are noticeably smaller. The herding of sheep is older than Roman civilisation and therefore not really influenced by it; the continuation of shepherding culture is difficult to assess because of the lack of written sources. Sheep were replaced with pigs in parts of Europe as a generic animal raised for meat. Horse rearing had little to do with agriculture; horses were not used as agricultural draft animals until the late Middle Ages.

Similar to other crops, viticulture north of the Alps probably followed adaptations made necessary by climate, even during Roman times. For this reason, it is difficult to differentiate, from the written tradition, the share of continuity from that of reacquisition. Hardly any branch of fruit growing is conceivable without the influence from Antiquity. In this area one must differentiate between the improvement of local fruit (apples, less so pears) and the introduction of new varieties (pears, cherries, chestnuts etc.), whose prestige was higher the harder they were to grow. Continuity in herbs and vegetables can be presumed on a case-by-case basis, but because of a lack of sources, is difficult to prove. Individual varieties (peas, beans, herbs) come from the Mediterranean; but caution is needed as the European garden was strongly shaped by the Latin world of the monastery. Because of their erudition, monks from the early Middle Ages were able to draw on tradition as much as they drew on books. Strains of herbs, known from books, were either given up ('garum') or substituted (lavender for nard). Pepper and cloves were imported to Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

In the cultivation of cereals there is little to show for concerning continuity from the Roman period. In a few regions with particularly strong Roman continuity, Roman ploughing techniques must have predominated until the early Middle Ages: the crosswise ploughing of the ground with a digger plough rather led to square fields, while the post-Roman swivel plough is most applicable to long fields. Continuity is possible in wheat (cereals), and in millet, which, however, almost vanished from the sources, though it is difficult to assess whether that is because of low value or decreasing use. For other cereal types it is best to think in terms of independent development.

3. Agricultural Implements

Without going into the details which belong to the field of archaeology, two basic lines of development may be compared here: individual pieces of equipment reached such an optimal state in Antiquity so as to have required no further innovation to this day. An example that can be cited is the knives used to cut vines or fruit trees, practically a status symbol for the manorial lord.

Other implements required change due to shifts in the social structure, primarily because of the abolition of slavery. An effective example is the plough: the wide ploughshare required more oxen as draft animals, and the whole span had to be driven by several people. From the 5th cent. on, ploughshares became smaller and set at a slant. These required less pulling power and turned over the soil.

Until late in the Middle Ages, cereal crops were cut with a sickle. Because there was no need for a large supply of hay in the Mediterranean, large sickles were certainly sufficient for cutting grass. The innovation from Late Antiquity was to introduce a bend between the sickle blade and the handle, so that a person could cut parallel to the ground while standing–leading to the development of the scythe.

D. Ancient Legislation

Of specific relevance for European agriculture were provisions of Antiquity which had been originally developed to secure areas on the edges of desert and mountainous regions which were difficult to cultivate. A *Lex Hadriana de rudibus agris* and a *Lex Manciana*, both of which have survived as inscriptions (e.g. CIL VIII 25902, 25943, 26416), assured specific rights for colonists in such regions. The so-called *Tablettes Albertini* from North Africa illustrate the relationships within an estate where tenant farmers could manage and trade almost entirely freely. Even an Italian papyrus (P. Ital. 3) attests to the classical roots of the 'two part agriculture', which was to become characteristic of the Middle Ages: the overlord or later the feudal lord cultivated only a part of his land centrally, passed a larger part on to more or less dependent people, who to a large extent worked independently on their holding in return for commensurate payments.

E. Specialist Literature

1. Sources 2. Transmission 3. Impact

1. Sources

The work of the Carthaginian Mago, translated into Latin after the fall of Carthage in 146 BC, has been lost, but was cited with great respect by Roman agronomists. Brief synopses survived (Diophanes) in Greek. The *Geoponika*, preserved only in fragments, was compiled in the 6th cent. AD and newly edited around 950 under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The oldest Roman agricultural work is M. Porcius Cato's (234–149 BC) *De agri cultura*. The work, probably intended for private use, originated from his notes and did not appear in his lifetime, but influenced later authors. From its conception, M. Terentius Varro's (116–27 BC) work *De re rustica*, was a consciously systematic instruction manual. The *Georgics* by P. Vergilius Maro (70–19 BC) were by far more influential, although, or indeed because, they were written as a work of literature. The author himself had little practical knowledge even though Isidore of Seville categorised him as a specialist writer (Orig. 17,1,1). The 17th and 18th books of Pliny the Elder's (23–79 AD) *Historia naturalis* are a compilation of agricultural knowledge and commentaries on the calendar. In terms of content the work of L. Iunius Moderatus Columella, *De re rustica* from the 1st cent. AD is remarkable even today. The work of an unknown author, *De arboribus*, was combined with Columella's work already in Late Antiquity.

The most important intermediary of agricultural knowledge is Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius with his work *Opus Agriculturae*, probably written in the first half of the 5th cent. His work organises agrarian work for the first time almost entirely by the calendar, and for this reason enjoyed enormous popularity.

As in many other areas, Isidore of Seville had a decisive role in handing down ancient knowledge about agriculture; the relevant chapter 17 begins by mentioning the most important authors on the subject and thus ensures, while continually citing Virgil, acquaintance with the most important concepts.

2. Transmission

Transmission of the works of Virgil and Pliny was for the most part independent of their agrarian content; numerous manuscripts of both authors are in existence. All modern editions of Cato and Varro are based on a lost Florence manuscript (Marcianus). The younger authors on the subject have generally been transmitted in codices, and experienced their 'renaissance' in the Carolingian period and at the end of the Middle Ages. Palladius is also transmitted in individual manuscripts. To these must be added numerous excerpts and partial collections.

The calendars presented a special case for the transmission of agrarian knowledge. Roman holidays were closely connected to the farming year. The *Menologia rustica* should be understood in their connection with the Julian calendar reforms and list the agricultural ac-

tivities assigned to particular months. The topics of illustrations in manuscripts of calendars, which for the most part show a typical activity for the season, remain noticeably constant, except for the reinterpretation of pagan elements e.g. a priest in front of a sacrificial altar becomes an old man warming himself over a fire. Little by little, the poems which accompanied the months, dealing with the names of the months, astronomical details and agrarian activities were expanded. One of the most extensive is that of Wandalbert of Prüm (813 – *c.* 870), who perhaps still directly drew on a calendar in the tradition of Filocalus (4th cent.).

3. Impact

Thus, the agrarian expertise of Antiquity remained available on farms and monasteries and was regularly drawn upon in the years of incisive agricultural reforms, most recently by experts in biological [organic] agriculture. From the outset, the size of the Roman empire made it necessary, depending on the region, to consider time conversions and climatic adjustments. Every era drew different lessons from its models. What one could and still can learn, affects not just the use of individual techniques and methods, but more basically – similar to jurisprudence – the development of a systematic scientific approach to agriculture: the concept *experimentum* which was derived from astronomy and there initially meant the systematic observation of celestial events, was adopted by Columella for agriculture and expanded through the element of repeated experiments. It was then possible to acquire a market-oriented, income-related mindset, which then came about above all in modern times.

Writers in the Middle Ages made use of specialist Classical literature for their agronomical works: Palladius and Varro were important sources for Petrus de Crescentiis, whose *Opus ruralium commodorum* was one of the most influential of medieval works in the field. Most medieval agronomical works also include books on veterinary science, though the transmission of these parts is smaller in volume. This may be in part because veterinary science was considered a subject in its own right (horse breeding was left mostly to the military); perhaps magical practises had become obsolete; but it is more likely that the post-Roman peoples had developed their own methods of animal husbandry and appropriate medical treatment.

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KARL BRUNNER

Albania

A. Renaissance and Humanism B. Effects of Antiquity C. Archaeology

A. Renaissance and Humanism

In the Middle Ages, A. was only a geographical concept, and a loosely defined one at that. In the north, even what is now the Montenegrin coast was defined as Venetian A., while in the south, the name Epirus applied also to modern day A. In the 15th cent., the country was caught in a protracted defence against the Turkish conquest, so that there were no favourable requisites for the development of → Humanism. Nonetheless, as a result of the various waves of refugees fleeing to the West, native Albanians did take part in the → Renaissance of the arts and sciences, primarily in the city states of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) und Venice. Individuals of note include [7. 28]: Johannes Gasulius (Ginus Gaxulus, Gjon Gàzulli, 1400–1465), Michele Marullo (Mikel Maruli,

1453–1500), Leonicus Thomeus (Leonik Tomeu, 1456–1531), Marinus Becichemus Scodrensis (Marin Beçikemi, born 1468). The most important, without question, was Marinus Barletius (Marin Barleti, c. 1440–1512). His works in Latin about the siege of Scùtari (Shkodra) and General Gjergj Kastrioti, known as Skanderbeg (Skënderbeu, 1405–1468) were disseminated throughout Europe and were translated into many languages (Italian, French, German and Polish, just to name a few). In these, the author described contemporary events in an educated style of Classical authors. In his first book of [1], he described Shkodra as a city in 'Madeconia' and mentioned that in antiquity, the Macedonians conquered the East, as far as India. Thus, Albanians sometimes confuse Alexander the Great (Leka i Madh) and Skanderbeg, since the Arabic/Turkish form of Alexander's name, Iskender, sounds the same. Also the allegedly Illyrian twin-horned helmet of Skanderbeg feeds this contamination, because it is reminiscent of Ẕu'l Qarnayn in the Koran (18th Sura, 83–98), who is traditionally interpreted to be Alexander.

Another native Albanian, known internationally under his Russian name, is Maksim Grek (Mihal Artioti, 1475–1556). The master builder, painter and sculptor Andrea Nikollë Aleksi from Durrës (Andrija Alešija, 1425–1505) worked predominantly in Dalmatia. The fresco painter Onuphrios from Elbasan (Onufri, 16th cent.), belongs to the Greek renaissance and was active in Berat and Kastoria. A good late example of Humanism is the inclusion of the 10 classical sibyls with the prophets in the bi-lingual Italian-Albanian work of Catholic theological literature *The Host of Prophets*. The author Petrus Bogdanus (Pjetër Bogdani, *c.* 1625–1689) was named archbishop of Skopje (Macedonia) in 1677 and died in Pristina (Kosovo).

B. Effects of Antiquity

In ethnography, elements of national dress (e.g. the 'bell' dresses of women or men's 'fustanella') and individual themes and motifs of folk poetry have been discussed in terms of relics from Classical times. Albanian customary law (*Kanun*) is said to have retained elements from Indo-European prehistoric times. No consensus has been reached in all of these cases and any evaluation must be made with caution. Classical tradition played no serious role in the education system, and in the 20th cent., the interest of Albanians was limited to the issue of their ancestry. Within the purview of the Catholic Church, Latin was taught in North A. (1859–1944), and there are isolated examples of translations from Latin, but because of prevailing illiteracy in pre-War A. they did not reach a wide public. In the 18th cent., the influence of Greek neo-Aristotelianism reached briefly into southern A. Under the leadership of Theōdoros Kaballiōtēs, the Academy of Voskopoja (Moschopolis), which had been founded in 1744, had an exchange with the Μαρούτσειος σχολή in Ἰωάννινα (Epirus); in this way Eugenios Bulgarēs' ideas came to

southern A. In scholarly writings of the 17th and 18th cents., the Croats are described as Illyrians and the Albanians as Epirotes or Macedonians. P. Bogdanus (1685) described himself as 'Macedo' and the Italo-Albanian Nicola Chetta (1742–1802) described his people as 'Macedoni' [7. 24]. The self-designation *Albanoi* > *Arbër/Arbën* can hardly have become customary in medieval A. without foreign influence since the change *l*>*r* is not otherwise attested in the language development. The serious attempt at a scholarly explanation for the origin of the Albanians started with Thunmann [36], who grouped the Albanians with the classical Illyrians and the Rumanians (=Walachians) with the Thracians. Still the leading opinion today, it was, nonetheless, questioned from various sides at the start of the 19th cent. Adelung saw in the Albanians relics of non-Slavicised Proto-Bulgarians and linked them with the Iranian Ἀλανοί, or Caucasian *A.* [5. 793]. The alternative is therefore immigration versus autochthonic development, and since Xylander (1835), in the field of linguistics, the theory has prevailed of Albanian as a continuation of a paleo-Balkan language [15. 199–201]. A dead end in terms of the history of ideas which had serious consequences was Hahn's thesis of the Pelasgian character of Albanian. He suggested that the ancestors of the Albanians settled the Balkan peninsula before the Greeks [14. 211–254; 301–309]. This assertion that the *Pelasgians* (Πελασγοί) 'were the first European bearers of culture' [14. 245] has fired Albanian national consciousness until today, although linguists have never seriously pursued Hahn's theory. He determined: 'Epirotes, Macedonians and Illyrians originate from the same tribe. (...) Illyrian = Pelasgian in the broader sense' [14. 215]. Hahn equated the Albanian tribal name, the *Toski* with the classical *Tusci* and deduced: 'We consider ourselves justified in taking not only the Epirotes but also the Macedonians as Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, and seeing in them the nucleus of a large ethnos which was spread over the entire northern extent of the peninsula, a nucleus which connects the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians in Thrace and in Italy' [14. 233]. Camarda (1864) adopted this theory and spoke of a 'Thracian-Pelasgian or Greek-Latin stem' ('ceppo traco-pelasgico, o greco-latino') [8. 5], to which Albanian must be reckoned, in which Albanian was closer to Greek than Latin. We also find here the untenable theory anonymously expounded, in which Albanian is 'nothing less than a rather deformed dialect of basic Greek' ('poco meno che un dialetto, comunque assai disforme, del linguaggio fondamentale greco') [8. 7]. This theory – but with anti-Greek overtones – took a turn into politics through the writings of Pashko Vasa (1879) and Sami Frashëri (1899). For the Albanians, the majority of whom had converted to Islam since the 18th cent. the theory of the Pelasgian = Indo-European descent was an ideological justification for their ambitions first of all for self-administration and eventually for independence from the Ottoman Empire. 'The Pelasgians, who derive from a certain Pelasgus I.(Πελασγός), were without question

the first, and compared to those who came later, had the character of autochthonic people' [37. 5f.]. P. Vasa explained the most important names in the Greek pantheon from Albanian etymology [37. 16–19]. S. Frashëri continued such exaggerations and as a practical conclusion derived from this a demand for the cultivation of the Albanian language. 'We are the oldest nation in Europe, the most noble and heroic; we speak the oldest and best language of the Aryan race'. The Pelasgian theory vanished from research after World War II; but the Illyrian descent from now on became a vehicle of political justification, in that it served to rebuff the territorial claims of its neighbours. In Kosovo particularly, one seized on the designation of the Illyrian Dardanians and postulated a continuity of settlement since Classical times. Following a methodology practised by Hahn and Camarda, the name *Dardania* was etymologically explained from the Albanian word *dardhë-a* ('pear'). A late literary resumption of the Pelasgian theory was ventured by the internationally known author Ismail Kadare, in which he declared that the Albanian folk epic came from pre-Homeric times. With this he went against the predominant scholarly view of a recent adoption from the Serbo-Bosnian epic-cycle.

C. Archaeology

During Turkish rule (until 1912), the archaeological sites in Albania and Kosovo were not systematically investigated, at first. They were only mentioned in travel reports with Greek and Roman antiquities attracting the most interest. There were only occasional excavations, e.g. 1899–1900 by P. Traeger in Koman. An early expedition report, based on fieldwork is that of C. Patsch [26]. On the Albanian side, archaeology lay in the hands of educated laymen and amateurs like Sh. Gjeçov [23. 61–73]. During occupation in World War I, excavations were carried out in the north of the country by B. Árpád, C. Praschniker and A. Schober [28. 6–9, 17]. After World War I, C. Praschniker and L. Ugolini carried out excavations in Apollonia (Ἀπολλωνία) and Butrint (Βουθρωτόν). It was not until the founding of the Archaeological-Ethnographic Museum in Tirana (1948) that archaeology in A. received an institutional framework [12. 37]. The museum with the greatest number of exhibits is that in Durrës. In 1976 the Centre for Archaeological Studies was founded as part of the Albanian Academy of Sciences. Between 1971–1990, the journal *Iliria* appeared, which published the results of academic research on Antiquity, while the journal *Monumentet*) was dedicated to medieval studies and the preservation of historical monuments. Excavations range from pre- and early history to Classical antiquity and the medieval period.

1. Pre- and early history 2. Illyrians
3. Colonial Towns 4. Middle Ages
5. Kosovo

1. Pre- and early history

Research focused on the Korça basin (Maliq, Dunavec, Tren) in the south east of the country and on the Mat valley in the middle of A. Neolithic, Bronze Age pile villages and cave dwellings were discovered and burial mounds were excavated. Early Iron Age depictions of hunting scenes were reported from the site of Spileja (Tren) [33. 26–29; 11. 28]. From prehistoric, Bronze and Iron Age finds, Albanian archaeology infers a continuity of settlement up to modern times. 'The most important conclusion to come from the rich Bronze Age finds (...), is that the various levels of culture with their content from the early, middle and late Bronze Age, confirm an unbroken cultural continuity during this period and, with that, an autochthonic development. The broad ethnic community which emerged at the end of the 2nd millennium BC with the common economic, cultural, religious and linguistic characteristics is described as Ur-Illyrian' (M. Korkuti in: [11. 22]).

2. Illyrians

Because there is no written transmission of the Illyrian culture, archaeology must carry the whole burden for the historical line of argument. Scodra (Shkodra), Pelion (Πήλιον in Dassaretien, Selca) [11. 56f.], Amantia (Plloça), Antigoneia [11. 59–61] and Byllis (Βυλλίς, Hekal near Ballsh) [11. 72–79] are known to have been important Illyrian fortified settlements. The city of Albanopolis (Ἀλβανόπολις), mentioned by Ptolemy is believed to be Zgërdhesh near Kruja in central A. Koch, on the other hand, [21. 136, 151] maintains that Persqop south of Tirana is Albanopolis and that Zgërdhesh is a settlement not known by name from antiquity. Aside from Dyrrhachion and Apollonia, the larger Illyrian towns (either tribal conglomerations or kingdoms) minted their own (bronze) coins with Greek inscriptions. The existence of some Illyrian towns is only substantiated by coin finds with corresponding marks. Silver and gold coins that have been found in the country usually came from Athens, Epirus (Pyrrhos) or Macedonia [11. 260–276].

3. Colonial Towns

Durrës (Dyrrhachion/Epidamnos), Apollonia and Butrint are the most important Greek colonial towns on the Albanian coast, which are nowadays the most visible with the most accessible ruins. The old town of Durrës is partly built on the remains of the ancient amphitheatre, meaning that up to now it has only been partly excavated. Butrint has an ancient lion gate, a theatre, the remains of early Christian sacred buildings as well as Venetian fortifications from the Middle Ages. The nearby ancient town of Phoinike (Finiq) was the main city of the Epirote Chaones. With reference to Stephanos of Byzantion, Albanian archaeology assumes that the Greek colonies were generally founded

on already existing Illyrian settlements and had a mixed population (N. Ceka [11.39f.]). Consequently, the town constitution would represent the real Greek factor and not the ethnic composition of the population. Grave inscriptions right up to Roman times have been interpreted to that effect when the proper names contained Illyrian elements [9].

4. Middle Ages

The Archaeology of medieval sites began with the excavation of burial grounds, but is now opening up above all the fortified settlements and castles which were destroyed during the Turkish conquest and thereafter abandoned, e.g. Pogradec, Berat, Kanina (near Vlora) and Butrint. The process works hand in hand with the conservation of monuments, which aims for the preservation and reconstruction of medieval and modern structures up to urban groupings (e.g. the 'museum towns' of Berat and Gjirokastra). At the entrance to the castle of Kruja, a museum in the shape of a medieval castle was set up in 1982 [28. 732f.; 11. 157] according to the design of the architects Pr. Hoxha and P. Vaso- one of the most dubious achievements of Albanian conservation.

5. Kosovo

Old Dardania features numerous prehistoric and Classical sites, which were systematically opened up only after 1954 [24. 267]. The remains of the town Ulpiana (Ουλπιανόν, Iustiniana Secunda, Lipljan near Gračanica) were partly excavated in 1954–56. Among the most important discovery sites is one called 'The Spinning Mill' (*predionica – tjerrtorja*), a prehistoric site near Prišhtina. In 1971 work started in the prehistoric burial ground of Romaja, northwest of Prišhtina. Already in antiquity the country must have had several ore mines; Novo Brdo was explored in 1955 as a medieval mining town. In 1975–76, the medieval conditions were studied intensively in connection with the work on the *Historischer Atlas des Mittelalters*.

→ Alexander [4] the Great; → Epirus; → Pelasgian

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ARMIN HETZER

Alchemy see → Natural sciences

Alesia see→ Battlefields

Alexandria

I. History II. History of the Excavations and Finds

I. History

A. Late Antiquity B. Arab Rule (642–1172) C. Up to the Ottoman Conquest D. Modern Alexandria

A. Late Antiquity

In Alexandria (A.), as in other cities of the Roman Empire, the transition from the pagan Graeco-Roman

times to Christian Late Antiquity was accompanied by violence. A decisive event was the destruction in AD 391 of the Serapeum and the library annexed to it. A church was built on its ruins and the 'Great Church' was founded on the site of the Caesareum. Christian A. soon acquired significance owing to its leading role in the Church and thanks to the catechistic school under the leadership of distinguished scholars such as Clement and Origen and the Patriarchs Petrus I and Athanasius. Nevertheless the pagan Hellenistic cultural tradition continued to exist and could boast of the 'Wisdom of Hypatia' (Synes. epist. 136). Furthermore, in the 6th cent AD, after Justinian had ordered the shutting down of the Academy in 529 AD, the Neo-Platonist Damascius fled from Athens and may have settled in A. (Agathias 2,30).

Economically, A. remained an important centre for trade, with the production of glass, textiles, papyrus, and wine, though of poorer quality than before. It also served, as before, as a place of transfer for trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. After the *Annona* from AD 330 on were no longer delivered to Rome, but to Constantinople, the sea route from A to the Bosporus became the most important trade route. As late as the 5th cent. AD Jerome wrote that Rome was enriched by A. and its treasures (epist. 91).

B. Arab Rule (642–1172)

In 642 the Arab general ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs occupied A., but only three years later the Byzantines reconquered the city, so that ʿAmr had to take it by storm in 645. These events resulted in destruction on a large scale. The loss of a great part of the Greek Byzantine population and leading citizens and the Arabs' establishment of Fustat as a new capital had a negative effect on the further development of A. (John of Nikiou 117,2–3; Al-Baladhuri 214; ʿAbd-al-Hakam 72). In spite of this A. retained a certain economic significance, since the Lighthouse and the harbour installations were in as good a condition as ever. As a result A. continued to be the most important port in Egypt. Even if trade relations with Europe and Constantinople continued only to a restricted extent, they were maintained with other parts of the Islamic world and with India. Shipbuilding and textile production remained concentrated in A., but the manufacture of glass and papyrus, owing to the altered circumstances, gradually decreased.

Around 800 the rise of Venice as a leading trading power in the Mediterranean was a sign of the intensifying of trade relations with Europe, as Venetian ships traded between Italy, Constantinople, Egypt, and Syria. As a result of this revival of Mediterranean trade the autonomous Sultan Ibn Tulun had the city fortifications and the Lighthouse restored in the second half of the 9th cent., after the uppermost storey had collapsed in an earlier earthquake in 796. To a large extent these improvements enabled A. to reconfirm its role as a port of reshipment for trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean (Al-Masʿudi, al-Tanbih 19). During the

following two centuries under the Fatimid Dynasty (969–1172) A. became not only a base for its strong navy, but also a central port for merchant ships sailing throughout the Mediterranean to Andalusia, northern Africa, Amalfi, Genoa, Venice and Syria. Associations of foreigners with their own trade settlements and offices (*funduqs*) were widespread in A.

Throughout the period of Arab rule (642–1172) the population and culture gradually changed. At first the Greek character of A. could be preserved, since the Arab garrison kept itself primarily to its own quarter and Greek remained, as before, the official language of administration of the country for almost a century. Being able to speak Greek was still of importance: it has been reported from the 8th cent. that an Omajjad prince 'commanded a group of philosophers in Egypt to translate medical books from Greek and Coptic into Arabic' (Ibn al-Nadim 338–339). There is also evidence that in the 9th cent. Hunain b. Ishaq, the famous Abbasid translator, 'went to A. to learn Greek' (Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa 1,189).

With increasing Arabisation more Arabs settled in the city, particularly soldiers and merchants. This also had an effect on the topographic face of A., with mosques and trade settlements (known as caravanserais or *funduqs*) being most significant, but there were also luxurious houses and theological schools (Ibn Ǧubair 39; Al-Maqqari 3,60–61). It should be emphasised that two Sunnite schools experienced their prime in A. under the Shiʿite Fatimid dynasty.

C. Up to the Ottoman Conquest

After the fall of the Fatimids, Saladin founded in Cairo a new Sunnite dynasty, the Ajjubids (1172–1250). Because of his personal war experience he decided to fortify A. and strengthen the navy. During a visit to the city he arranged for the establishment of a new school at which secular as well as theological subjects were to be taught. The school provided accommodation for those students who came from far away, and had baths and a hospital (Ibn Ǧubair 42; Abu Shama, Akhbar al-Dawlatain 1,269). Despite constant disputes with the Crusaders in Palestine, Saladin maintained the same friendly trade relations as his predecessors with the Italian city republics and other Europeans, a policy which operated for the greater good of A. The Spanish traveller Benjamin de Tudela (1166–1173) saw in the city associations and representatives from almost every European land as well as from Muslim and other eastern peoples as far away as India, and every nation had its own *funduq* (De Herreros, Quatre Voyageurs 29,3; Ibn Ǧubair 39–40).

At this time, after five years silence, a story of the fate of the Library of A. was spreading among Arab authors. According to this (as told at the beginning of the 13th cent. by Ibn al-Qifti, p. 354) the Arab general ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs destroyed the library, by having the books used as fuel for the baths in A. The truth of this story has been doubted in modern times since the 17th cent. The cur-

rently accepted interpretation stems from the assumption that the story is a 12th cent. fabrication to justify Saladin's selling the great Fatimid Library of Cairo and that of ʿAmid on the upper Tigris when he urgently needed money to finance the furthering of his campaign against the Crusaders (Al-Maqrizi, Khitat 2,255; Abu Shama 1,200). To justify Saladin's action Ibn al-Qifti, one of his most faithful followers, evidently considered it appropriate to include in his work the fantastic story of ʿAmr's desecration of the books. Today the prevailing opinion is that the ancient Royal Library was unintentionally burnt in Caesar's Alexandrian War in 48 BC, whereas the sister library of the Serapeum, mentioned above, was destroyed in 391 AD. Thus the library had long ceased to exist when ʿAmr occupied A.

During the subsequent rule of the Mamelukes (1250–1517) A. was able to maintain a relatively high standard of living. Economic growth in various parts of Europe had led to an increased demand for eastern goods. Correspondingly, more capital was also invested in international east-west trade, in which Egypt played a central role, as a pivot between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Merchandise flowed in abundance to A., and from there to practically every Mediterranean port. Recent archaeological finds show that A. was part of a broad branching international trade network, which stretched over the whole of the Mediterranean and reached as far as the Far East, India and China.

In 1303 an earthquake destroyed the ancient Lighthouse, or what was left of it. Attempts to reconstruct it were unsuccessful and so a new Lighthouse was built over on the end of Cape Lochia (now Silsila) (Ibn Battuta 10). On the old site Sultan Qait Bey had a fort built using parts of the old Lighthouse (1480), to defend the entrance into the eastern harbour. Only a short time later the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1497 provided sea trade to India with the route round Africa. This substitute represented a decisive turning-point in the significance of A. as a trade metropolis. Even the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 could not offset the problems that had arisen or stop the decline of the city. Many inhabitants withdrew to Rosetta, particularly after the fresh water channel which connected A. with the Nile became choked with mud. When the members of the French expedition came to the largely deserted city in 1798, they estimated the population still to be 8000, but when they left again the number of inhabitants had decreased to 7000 (G. Le Père, Description de l'Égypte, 18).

D. Modern Alexandria

The departure of the French gave rise to a power vacuum, which soon led to dispute between British, Ottoman and Mameluke forces. An Egyptian popular uprising certainly brought about that the conflict ended favouring Mohammad ʿAli, an officer of Albanian descent in the Ottoman army. In 1805 the Sultan designated him Viceroy of Egypt. In 1807 British troops occupied A., but were defeated at Rosetta and forced to evacuate A. on 20 September 1807. The following day Mohammad ʿAli entered the city. He set in motion measures to restore A. to its old greatness. First he connected A. with the rest of Egypt by having a new fresh water channel dug (the Mahmudiya Canal), which reaches to the western branch of the Nile. Then he repaired the western harbour, extended it, and provided it with a new lighthouse. Europeans soon settled in large numbers in A.: British, French, Greeks, Italians, Swiss, but also Syrians and Egyptians from all parts of the land, as well as Jews of various nationalities. The population of the city multiplied from 7000 to 60,000 in 1840, and by 1874 the number had risen to 270,000.

After a revolt in 1882 under Ahmed ʿOrabi Pasha, violent unrest again broke out after the First World War in 1919 against the British Protectorate, this time under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha. In the end, the British agreed to full independence in 1922. In 1923 a constitution for Egypt was concluded, and Sultan Fuad was invested with the title of king. At this time A. had the status of a second capital, as the Cabinet occasionally met there in the summer. Trade also increasingly intensified in A., and the Stock Exchange acquired an international significance.

During the Second World War A. was one of the most important British naval bases and so was the target of German air raids. In 1942 a modern university was founded in A., considerably stimulating cultural life. Shortly after the end of the War in 1952 a military coup forced King Faruq to abdicate in A. on 26 July. Egypt became a republic with General Nagib as its first president, succeeded in 1954 by Gamal ʿAbd al-Nasser. It was in A. that Nasser announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956. The failure of attempts by the United Kingdom, France and Israel to regain the Canal caused many Europeans in A. and the rest of Egypt to leave the country. The widely applied nationalisation and requisition measures of 1961/1962 drove a great proportion of the Europeans out of A. Because of the more strongly centralised administration in Cairo the government no longer met in A. in summer. In 1990 the population exceeded three million, but A. had lost its economic significance, since business activities had increasingly also concentrated themselves in Cairo and several western agencies had transferred from A. to Cairo.

→ Alexandria; → Library

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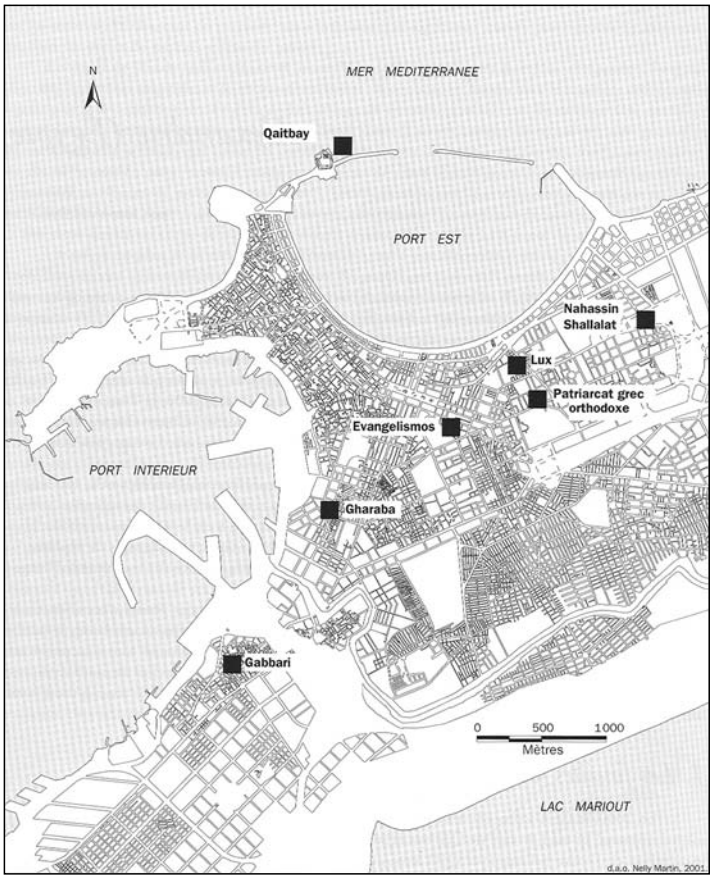

Fig. 1: Plan of Alexandria showing the locations of sites excavated by the Centre d'Études (2000)

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II. History of the Excavations and Finds
A. Introduction B. Fate of the Monuments up to the Beginning of the 19th Century C. Excavations and Finds D. The Name Alexandria in Modern Times

A. Introduction

Despite the great economic and cultural significance of the city of A., which was founded by the Macedonian King Alexander on the Egyptian Mediterranean coast in 331 BC, the preservation of the ancient remains and the state of scholarship are poor. Most of the ancient public buildings are still attested to only in literary sources (Strab. 17,791ff.).

B. Fate of the Monuments up to the Beginning of the 19th Century

Until the Arab conquest of Egypt in 640 most of the public buildings presumably remained intact. After the decision of Caliph Omar to expand the city of Fustat at Gizah into a new finance and trade centre, A. quickly became depopulated. Sedimentation and natural changes in the water level led to the city being gradually filled in. There is certain evidence that the lighthouse, the ancient landmark of A., fell victim to an earthquake in 1303. The ancient buildings subsequently served as a quarry [33].

C. Excavations and Finds

In the 17th and 18th cents., European travellers visited A. repeatedly, though only sporadically mentioning the ancient relics of the city. The first plan was drawn up by the Frenchman Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825) and his collaborators, who also documented the ancient remains of the city. They were members of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts of General Napoleon Bonaparte's Eastern Army, founded in 1798 [8]. The beginning of the systematic study of A. is connected with the name of Mahmud-Bey el-Falaki, who began excavations between 1863 and 1865 by order of the Egyptian Viceroy Ismaīl Pasha for the *Histoire de Jules César* of the French Emperor Napoleon III. If the exact extent and appearance of the city is unclear even today, el-Falaki's basic perception that the city possessed a system of orthogonally crossing streets retains validity [12]. The opportunity to pursue extensive excavations in A. was lost in the course of the 19th

Fig. 2: Architectural fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Alexandria (1923)

cent.: as a result of the decision of Mohammed ʿAli, the Ottoman Governor of Egypt (1769–1849), to expand A. into a great port, the modern city came to cover the ancient settlement area completely, making archeological investigation difficult to this day [14]. It also explains why many questions regarding the topography of ancient A. still remain unanswered despite numerous research activities, particularly during the 20th century. This concerns a complete plan of the city [19; 32] as well as the location and furnishings of many graves [34], the waterway network [5], the picture of the royal palaces with the tomb of Alexander the Great [4] and the nearby world-famous library [22]. After el-Falaki, the Greek physician T.D. Neroutsos contributed greatly to the exploration of the city with his archaeological and topographical investigations, esp. from 1874 to 1885 [24]. The endangering of the ancient structures by the rapid growth of A. led on 17 October 1892 to the foundation of the Archaeological Museum, which is active to this day as a research institute and conserves part of the antiquities found in the excavations (Fig. 2: architectural fragments in the Archaeological Museum) [15]. The first director, Giuseppe Botti (1892–1903), principally carried out emergency digs, which had become necessary owing to the extension of the eastern harbour and the demolition of the Arab fortification walls. Between 1892 and 1902 he worked in the rich necropolis of Kôm el-Chougafa alongside renowned German archaeologists, whose work was financed by the Stuttgart industrialist Ernst von Sieglin [9]. Botti also established the first catalogue of the Museum and was one of the driving forces in the founding of the Society Archéologique Royale d'Alexandrie, publisher since 1898 of the Bulletin d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie [7]. Botti's successor, Evaristo Breccia (1904–1932), continued the work of his predecessor, primarily presenting evidence that he had found in his excavations in the necropoleis of the ancient city. The third director of the Museum, Achille Adriani (1932–1939 and 1947–1953), is a man of outstanding merit not only for conducting numerous excavations, but also for initiating a still unfinished compendium Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano of the sculptures [2], paintings, architecture [3] and artefacts of Greek and Roman Egypt, with special emphasis on those found in A. Alan Rowe, who administered the Museum between 1941 and 1947, uncovered the foundations of the Serapeum, one of the few monuments in the interior of the city of whose history and reconstruction an approximate idea is possible [28]. Since 1954 the Museum has been headed by Egyptian archaeologists. Substantial insights into the city in Late Antiquity have resulted from the activities of the Mission Archéologique Polonaise (since 1960), which has been active in the region of Kôm el-Dikka. The Polish team were the first to document an insula in the centre of the ancient city, and they were able to reconstruct the development of the area from the second century AD into the early modern period [20; 27]. Work on a smaller scale was carried out by the Cairo Section of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut from 1975 to 1977 (Gabbari necropolis) [29]. New impulses for archaeological field work in the city have come from the Centre d'Études Alexandrines and its director Jean-Yves Empereur (Fig. 1: Plan of Alexandria showing the locations of sites excavated by the Centre d'Études (2000). [This plan may need to go to GeoMüller – to give it the Pauly look, and I think for legal reasons as well.]) [11]. The Centre has committed itself to intensifying its excavation work to support conclusions about the appearance of the ancient metropolis. Their investigations are now spread across the entire city [10]. Underwater excavations east of the Mameluke fort at Quaitby (at the eastern end of the lighthouse island) led to the discovery of colossal architectural and statue fragments, which can be attributed to the pharaonic and Ptolemaic eras. Their exact origin and significance however are still not entirely explained [16]. It remains unclear, for example, whether a colossal torso from the excavations (Fig. 3: Torso of a Ptolemaic pharao) in fact can be identified as portraying Ptolemy II (283–246 BC). The patchy knowledge of A. arises not only from the many inadequately documented or published excavations, but also from the impossibility of reconstructing the exact location of objects from many rapidly executed emergency digs. Most of the finds are now in museums in Europe and overseas. It has been possible to achieve an approximately satisfactory state of research only in some areas (e.g. Ptolemaic architectural fragments) [25]. Many questions about chronology and production of sculpture [31], ceramics [23], terracotta, toreutics, glyptics, and glass are still open [1; 30].

Because of its rich literary and epigraphical tradition A. has been a particularly interesting subject for ancient historical research [6]; two areas of special study are emerging: A. under the Ptolemies [13] and A. in Late Antiquity, a period during which the city's population

was made up not only of pagans, but also comprised a significant Jewish community and a growing number of Christians [17]. Detailed attention has been paid to the life and art [35] as well as the elaborately adorned processions and festivals at the court of the Ptolemies [18; 26]; since the early 1970s many archaeological studies and those focussing on the history of religion have examined the Greek and Greco-Egyptian cults of A., esp. the Serapis cult and the iconography of its images [21].

D. The Name Alexandria in Modern Times

The name Alexandria plays no great role in modern times. Only in connexion with the last Ptolemaic Queen Cleopatra, after Jacques Amyot's 1559 translation into French of Plutarch's Lives, did it become, since the 17th cent., a favourite topic of European literature, fine arts and – in the 20th cent. – the film industry. The name Alexandria stands for proverbial ostentation and riches at the court of the Ptolemaic queen [36]
→ Alexandria; → Plutarch

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Alexandrinism

A. Philosophy B. Theory of Art and Culture C. Alexandrinisme as a Literary Mark of Style

A. Philosophy

1. Ancient Basis of the Term 2. Reception in the Middle Ages 3. Alexandrinism in the Renaissance

1. Ancient Basis of the Term

As a term in the history of philosophy Alexandrinism describes a direction of → Aristotelianism informed by the writings of the most significant ancient Aristotelian commentator, Alexander of Aphrodisias. By removing inconsistencies in the works of Aristotle, Alexander endeavoured (around AD 200) to present a naturalistic base position. His doctrine of the threefold *nous* had particularly far-reaching influence: he distinguishes 1. the *physikós nous*, which primarily describes the *nóesis* in its potentiality, 2. the *epíktētos nous*, which contains the capacity of the *noeín* for application, and 3. the *nous poiētikós*, which effects the devel-

opment from 1 to 2, invades humans from outside and is identified with the divine. The human soul dies with the body; no divine providence exists as far as the particular individual is concerned [13; 18. 564f.; 21].

2. Reception in the Middle Ages

Alexander of Aphrodisias's works were known to the Scholastic philosophers mainly through the Latin translations of Wilhelm von Moerbeke (*c.* 1215–1286), but also through Latin versions of Arabic translations [19. 348f., 368]. It was Alexander's theses and particularly his teaching on the threefold *nous* that occupied Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Dietrich von Freiberg, and others [19. 410, 434, 558].

Alexander's writings were known in the East no later than about AD 850–900 [19. 301], and Averroes (= Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198) in his comprehensive commentary on Aristotle's writings also expounded on the works of Alexander. Like Alexander so also Averroes rejected the idea of an individual immortal soul. He was, however, of the opinion– in the sense of monopsychism–that there was a continuation of the soul as a part of a common intellect (i.e., the 'divine soul') for the whole of humanity [19. 313–322].

Whereas the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (1135–1204) apportioned great significance to the Commentaries of Alexander and Averroes for the understanding of the writings of Aristotle [19. 340], the Catholic Church repeatedly pronounced prohibitions against the 'false doctrines' of Alexandrianism and Averroism, as they denied both the immortality of individual souls and divine providence in regard to individual humans [7. 452].

3. Alexandrinism in the Renaissance

Renaissance Aristotelianism was also accompanied by an intensive occupation with the Aristotelian commentators of Antiquity and the Middle Ages and it led to a clear polarisation between champions of Alexandrinism and of Averroism. In the Introduction to his translation of Plotinus, the Platonist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) characterised contemporary Aristotelianism in these terms: *Totus fere terrarum orbis a Peripateticis occupatus in duas plurimum sectas divisus est, Alexandrinam et Averroicam* ('Almost the whole world is occupied by Peripatetics and divided for the most part into two schools, the Alexandrian and the Averroic').

Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1524) is considered the chief advocate of Alexandrinism in the Renaissance period. He taught in Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua and caused deep controversy, especially through his *De immortalitate animae* (1516) [10. 63–78; 20. 22f., 26–30], with the defenders of Averroism, but particularly also with the Catholic Church. In it Pomponazzi stated that the doctrine of the absolute immortality of the soul was indeed true on account of its firm basis in Holy Scripture, but at the same time called into doubt whether it could be proved rationally, and independently of the convictions of faith (P. Pomponazzi, De immortalitate animae, ch. 8). Already by 1512 a prohibition from the Church against Alexandrinism and Averroism had occurred, and Pope Leo X commissioned the Aristotelean commentator Augustinus Niphus (1473–1546) to write a refutation of *De immortalitate animae*. Other advocates of Alexandrinism in the Renaissance include the Neapolitan philosopher Simon Porta (d.1555) and the Spaniard Sepulveda (d. 1572), a pupil of Pietro Pomponazzi [20. 30f.].

B. Theory of Art and Culture

1. Ancient Basis of the Term 2. Use of the Adjective 'Alexandrian' in the Works of Friedrich Nietzsche 2.1 Theory of Art and Criticism of Culture 2.2 Theory of Education 3. 20th Cent. Discussion of Education

1. Ancient Basis of the Term

The use of the adjective 'Alexandrian' in the sense of 'cultured', 'educated' can be traced back to ancient Alexandria, which had been a significant cultural centre in the Mediterranean since about 300 BC and distinguished itself by the flourishing of literary, natural and spiritual learning, the rise of new branches of knowledge such as philology in particular and also by the institution of the Museum with its comprehensive Library. The literati of Alexandria were often scholars and poets in one person and concentrated on their activities as philologists. In their own poetry they mostly preferred small literary forms, strove for particularly painstaking elaborations of the texts, frequently chose unusual themes, in accordance with the ideal of the *Poeta Doctus*, and included learned allusions and excursuses [8. 88–99, 193–194; 16].

2. Use of the Adjective 'Alexandrian' in the Works of Friedrich Nietzsche

2.1 Theory of Art and Criticism of Culture

In his *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik* ('The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music') Friedrich Nietzsche traces the decline of ancient tragedy both to an increasing dominance in rational thought and theoretical contemplation of the world and to optimism about knowledge, citing Socrates as its creator. The rebirth of tragedy and, with it, of Hellenism can only result by establishing the limits of knowledge. He uses the adjective 'Alexandrian' as a synonym for 'theoretical', 'Socratic', and 'learned' [4. 610] in the sense of a quixotic accumulation of knowledge and an exaggerated confidence in the possibilities of human cognition. Alexandrian humans, 'who are basically librarians and proofreaders sacrificing their sight to book dust and printing errors' (Geburt der Trag. ch. 18, Werke III.1, 116), oppose art, myth and everything Dionysian; they are at best epigones, but are never themselves productive. Nietzsche therefore singles out the educational aspect of ancient Alexandrian culture and uses 'Alexandrian' in a purely pejorative way to characterise Roman Antiquity, the Renaissance and particularly his own time, which is wholly 'caught in the net of Alex-

andrian culture' and the highest ideal it knows is 'the theoretical man, equipped with the highest powers of understanding and working in the service of science' (Geburt der Trag., ch. 18, Werke III.1, 112). Nietzsche's interpretation of art is dealt with in detail in [12].

2.2 Theory of Education

Friedrich Nietzsche accuses the philologists of his time of unproductive erudition (Fragment 5,47, Werke IV.1, 129) and criticises: *Aufklärung und alexandrinische Bildung ist es – besten Falls!–, was Philologen wollen. Nicht Hellenenthum* ('Elucidation and Alexandrian education are – at best! – what philologists want. Not Hellenism.' Fragment 5,136, Werke IV.1, 151). An adequate understanding of Antiquity can not be arrived at in this manner. Nietzsche repeated his rebukes in *David Strauß*, characterising the eponymous hero as a 'cultural Philistine' (David Strauß, ch. 2, Werke III.1, 161) and remarking: *Vieles Wissen und Gelernthaben ist ... weder ein nothwendiges Mittel der Kultur, noch ein Zeichen derselben und verträgt sich nöthigenfalls auf das beste mit dem Gegensatze der Kultur, der Barbarei* ('Much of what is known and learnt is ... neither a necessary instrument of culture nor a sign of the same, and of necessity it at best complies with the antithesis of culture, barbarity'. David Strauß, ch. 1, Werke III.1, 159).

3. 20th Cent. Discussion of Education

The central points of the criticism of scholarship and education expressed by Nietzsche were often taken up and discussed with great controversy at the end of the 19th cent. and the beginning of the 20th [15. 80ff.]. By the end of the 20th cent., the question of the demarcation of true education from pure accumulation of factual details had gained in topicality in the face of an abundance of new interpretive possibilities. In 1998 Wolfgang Frühwald titled his article on education in the information age 'Athen aus Alexandrien zurückerobern' ('Reconquering Athens from Alexandria'). He was referring to a quotation from E.R. Curtius, which probably originated in a remark by the historian of art and culture Aby Warburg [2. 230; 9. 5], and asserted: *In der technizistischen Debatte um die Effizienz der Hochschulen geht oft der Blick dafür verloren, daß bloße »Belehrtheit« nicht das Ziel der Bildung sein kann* ('In the technicist debate on the efficiency of the universities one often loses sight of the fact that simple learnedness cannot be the goal of education') [2. 228].

C. Alexandrinisme as a Literary Mark of Style

Proceeding from the characteristics of ancient Alexandrian literature presented in B.1, French employs the noun *alexandrinisme* as a description of a subtle, somewhat dark style with a predilection for strong embellishments, allegories, and learned allusions. In contrast to Nietzsche's usage, there is no exclusively pejorative connotation [17. 491f.], although this is contained in the English term Alexandrianism or Alexandrinism.

→ Aristotelianism; → Education/Culture; → Philosophy; → Renaissance

→ Alexander [26] of Aphrodisias; → Alexandria; → Aristotle, commentators on; → Aristotelianism; → Hellenism; → Museum; → Peripatos

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Jana Hartmann

Allegorism

I. Linguistics and Literary Studies II. History of Religions and Mythology

I. Linguistics and Literary Studies

A. Introduction: The Concept B. Homeric Allegorism C. Biblical Allegorism D. Virgilian Allegorism E. Ovidian Allegorism and Allegorical-Integumental Mixed Forms

A. Introduction: The Concept

In recent linguistic and literary-historical studies, as in theology, allegorism designates the methodically re-

flective development of a multiple meaning that goes beyond the literal meaning of religious, poetical, and other normative texts. As a hermeneutic-interpretative procedure, allegorism is to be distinguished from the grammatical, rhetorical, and productive-poetic forms (cf. below, *ad finem*) of → ALLEGORY. Like the latter, it proceeds according to the fundamental law of transference. Allegorism begins with a situation of creative reception in which a canonical text needs to be explained under altered cultural circumstances that lead to the assumption that its wording no longer constitutes its unique or proper meaning, but rather that the genuine (theological, philosophical or ethical) spiritual meaning (*nous*), or that which is 'concealed beneath (*hypó*) the literal meaning', still remains to be discovered. In the oldest texts, as in the Homeric allegorism of Theagenes of Rhegium and the end of the 6th cent. BC, allegorism is therefore designated as *hypónoia*. This concept is gradually replaced, near the dawn of our era at the latest, by *allegoria*, a word found in works of literary hermeneutics since the 1st cent. AD(Ps.-Heraclitus, Sextus Empiricus, Philo of Alexandria) and is current in patristic literature since Origen.

B. Homeric Allegorism

The beginnings of Western textual allegory are found in the criticism of Homeric poetry and myth by the grammarian Theagenes of Rhegium of the 6th cent. BC, who interpreted Homeric texts in the direction of cosmogony or philosophy of nature. It was practiced systematically in the 5th/4th cent. by Ionic natural philosophers from among the Pre-Socratics. The first 'ethical' allegorism was that of Anaxagoras of Clazomenae and his student Metrodorus of Lampsacus. Homeric allegorism was handed down in scholia from the 2nd cent. BC on down into the Byzantine period. Homeric allegorism found wide acceptance in the 1st cent. AD in the school of Pergamum (L. Annaeus Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*; Ps.-Heraclitus, *Allegoriae Homericae*), which was much influenced by Stoicism. Choeroboscus (6th or 7th cent.), with his allegorism of Homer to explain nature, is characteristic of the further development of the theory of allegorism in the Greek world. Homeric allegorism was still known in the 12th cent. to the Byzantine scholar Eustathius (archbishop of Thessalonica), who continued it in his own commentary on the *Iliad*.

C. Biblical Allegorism

Allegorical exegesis of the Bible, whose pre-Christian roots lie in Hellenistic Judaism, constitutes the core of allegorism. Philo of Alexandria furnished large parts of the Mosaic books with an ethical-moral allegorism. This had an important influence on Clement of Alexandria. The Antiocheans Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected allegorism. The NT is familiar with a rudimentary form of allegorism, and developed, especially through Paul and the Letter to the Hebrews, the related thought form of → TYPOLOGY. Throughout the Middle Ages allegorism remained the authoritative form of reception of the Bible in a wide variety of commentaries, particularly on *Genesis*, the *Psalms*, the *Song of Songs* and the *Apocalypse*. In the High and Late Middle Ages allegorism was extended to the entire Bible. From there, it spread to such neighboring fields as sermons, liturgy, visionary literature, the interpretation of history and philosophy of nature. Common to the various concepts of allegorical interpretation of scripture evolving over time is the claim that it is founded on the facts of sacred history and is therefore true. On the other hand, poetic allegorism was evaluated as *figmentum, mendacium* (John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 3,6 and 9), or as an 'enveloping' transformation of reality (*integumentum*, *involucrum*, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 8,7,10; William of Conches, Bernardus Silvestris). Origen was decisive for the beginnings of Christian allegorism of scripture with his model of meaning on three levels, transferred from the order of creation to scripture (*Peri archon* 4,2,4).Following him, the Middle Ages down to the 13th cent. developed various outlines of systems. Gregory the Great conceived of a threefold explication of the Bible in the literal, allegorical-typological and tropological-moral sense (*Moralia in Iob* = CCL 143,4). More influential was the doctrine, already defended by Cassian (*Conlationes* 14,8,4 = CSEL 13,405) around 420 and further propagated in the 12th and 13th cents., of the fourfold meaning of scripture: *historia/sensus litteralis – allegoria* including typology, *tropologia/sensus moralis and anagogia*. Essential for the expansion of allegorism was the theory of signs originating in Augustine (*De doctrina christiana* 2,10,15 = CCL 32,41), which then in the 12th and 13th cents. further developed into a theory of meaning not only of words, but also of things. This, according to Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, enabled one to differentiate spiritual literature from worldly literature. The way was thus prepared for an all-embracing allegorism of everything found in the Bible, in creation and in all utterances of human culture and history (cf. PL 175,20–24; PL 177,205B). Substantial transformations in allegorism were brought about by the rise of → SCHOLASTICISM and can be identified in → HUMANISM (Trithemius; Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Enchiridion*), in the literature of the Reformation, and in Protestant schoolbooks of the early modern period.

D. Virgilian Allegorism

The beginnings of the allegorical interpretation of the *Aeneid* lie in the 4th and 5th cents.in the*Vita* of Aelius Donatus, in Servius, and especially in Claudius Giordanus Fulgentius' (*Expositio Vergilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*), whose richly transmitted work influenced the integumental interpretation of the *Aeneid* that was in evidence since the 12th cent. (Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii*). Medieval sermons were also familiar with Christian interpretations of Virgil (Alanus ab Insulis, Absalon von Springiersbach; see Gottschalk

Hollen [11. 259] for further material on integumental Virgil commentaries), and with lives of Virgil. Virgilian allegorism was still practiced by Ph. N. Frischlin (*P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica & Georgica, paraphrasi exposita*, 1580; a modification of earlier interpretations by J.L. Vives and a plagiarizer).

E. Ovidian Allegorism and Allegorical-Integumental Mixed Forms

Knowledge of Ovid already appears in the early Middle Ages. Since its beginnings, in addition to the reception of extracts of Ovidian material, motifs and formal patterns, 'the possibility of the allegorical interpretation of mythology' constituted a central aspect of Ovid reception [4. 252]. Conceptual and actual transitions to *integumentum*, that is, to 'the interpretative allegorism of poets and philosophers' became manifest with particular clarity in the forms of medieval Ovid allegorism, as did 'expressive-creative poetic allegory, formed with this as its model' [6. 9]. Authoritative models of the latter were given, for instance, by Prudentius, *Psychomachia*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*; Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*; and Alanus ab Insulis, *De planctu naturae* and *Anticlaudianus*). Whereas authors like Bernardus Silvestris and John of Salisbury sought to separate *allegoria*and *integumentum*, this separation was not maintained in the systematic commentaries on Ovid that began in the 12th cent. (Arnolphe of Orléans, *Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin*; John of Garlandia, *Integumenta Ovidii*); for many other examples of allegorizing interpretations of Ovid: [2. 286–288]. The *Ovidius moralizatus* (*c.* 1340) of Petrus Berchorius (Pierre Bersuire), which stood methodologically close to biblical allegorism, may be considered the high point of allegorism of the *Metamorphoses*; the Old French *Ovide moralisé* arose independently from it (*c.* 1350).

→ Adaptation
→ Philo of Alexandria

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II. History of Religions and Mythology

A. Introduction B. Origin C. The Jewish-Christian Tradition of Antiquity D. Middle Ages E. Early Modern Period

A. Introduction

Allegorism,from the Greek *allēgoreín*, 'to interpret figuratively', is the understanding of a traditional text in a figurative sense; the term was coined in Hellenistic discussions and replaced the expression *hypónoia*, 'deeper (literally,lying underneath) meaning', which was generally used in Plato's time. As a method, it is to be distinguished from the historical interpretation of myths, or euhemerism, as well as from purely etymological interpretation, even though allegorism often makes use of them, and also from Christian typology, which by means of non-literal interpretation of the Old Testament, transforms it into the forerunner and announcer of the salvific events described in the New Testament. Here, of course, the terminology in Christian discussion since Galatians 4,24 is often easy to misunderstand (cf. Origen, *Peri archōn* 4,2,6). Allegorism as an exegetical method is also to be distinguished from → allegory, which is a literary creation that is, under the influence of a poetics that goes back to allegorism, deliberately unintelligible on a literal level. Allegory was particularly vital in the Middle Ages and beyond through the examples of Prudentius, Martianus Capella and Boethius. A comprehensive historical presentation of allegorism is lacking. Precisely for this reason, the best synthesis will be a systematic approach ([1], cf. also [2; 3; 4]).

B. Origin

Allegorism arose in Greek Antiquity as a means of interpreting Homer. As a consequence of pre-Socratic criticism of mythical tales in Homer, carried out in particular by Xenophanes of Colophon and Heraclitus of Ephesus, there was an apologetic concern. This was at least as important as the claim of Late Archaic exegetes of Homer that they were reading the poet in an original way [5; 6]. Already in Antiquity, the Homeric interpreters Theagenes of Rhegium and Stesimbrotus of Thasus (FGrH 107), from the end of the 6th cent. BC were considered its inventors. Its most important early defender was thought to be the Anaxagorean Metrodorus of Lampsacus (late 5th cent. BC). He was held to have interpreted Homer in line with the physical sciences, as can be seen in detail in his commentary on a cosmogon-

ic poem by Orpheus from a grave at Derveni (*c.* 320 BC) [7], whereas his teacher Anaxagoras himself was regarded as the founder of the ethical allegorism of Homer (Diogenes Laertius 2,3,11). However, ethical allegorism of mythic tales must have already arisen in the circle of southern Italian Pythagoreans, as Plato suggests (Gorgias 493 ab). In the following period, physical allegorism, taken up and expanded particularly by the Stoa, was to dominate [8]. The model of *theologia tripertita* or 'threefold speech about the gods' found in M. Terentius Varro probably goes back to the Hellenistic Stoa. In addition to the literal sense (*theologia poetice*), it added an underlying physical sense (*theologia physice*) and a text's application to political life (*theologia civilis*) [9]. Important authors writing in Greek include Cornutus and Heraclitus, the latter of whom wrote Homeric allegorism in the imperial period. Physical allegorism predominates in both these authors [10]. In his *De natura deorum*, Cicero has the Epicurean Velleius and the Sceptic Academic Cotta strongly criticize the allegorism of the Stoic Balbus. Nevertheless, it was at least handed down as a method for posterity by one of the chief Latin authors. Despite the indifference of Plato and the hesitant attitude of Plutarch (*Isis et Osiris* 374 E; [11]), allegorism became important for the Neoplatonists (with the exception of Plotinus), as is shown, for instance, in Porphyry's work on the cave of the nymphs in Homer, or Julian's discourse on the Great Mother [12; 13]. Particularly important for posterity was the commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* by Macrobius [14].

C. The Jewish-Christian Tradition of Antiquity

1. Jewish 2. Christian

1. Jewish

Apologetic allegorism of the Old Testament began in Alexandrian Judaism. Fragmentarily preserved are the interpretations of the Jewish Peripatetic Aristobulus (2nd cent. BC) in his Commentary on the Pentateuch (Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica* 8,10; 12,12), and the allegorical exegesis of the dietary laws in the *Letter of Aristeas* (143–50); however, the fact that the *Song of Songs* was taken up into the canon also presupposes its allegorical interpretation. It was Philo's allegorism, however, that became central, particularly his moral allegorizing, although he is also familiar with physical allegorism. He sought to grasp the true reality of the biblical text, whose literal meaning was merely a shadowy image of the truth. By means of this Platonizing construct, he succeeded, despite privileging the allegorical meaning, in maintaining the literal sense so indispensable for religious practice (cf. in particular, Philo, *Legum allegoriae* 2,71–73; *De Abrahami migratione* 89f.; De *providentia* 2,72; *De mutatione nominum* 8–10) [15].

2. Christian

Imperial Christians used allegorism both for the rejection of pagan myths and for the interpretation of their own scriptural tradition. In this process, Varro's *theologia tripertita* became one of the foundations of allegorism and is referred to both by apologists and Church Fathers [16; 17].

The consequences of physical allegorism for pagan religion are easily seen. It eliminates the reality of the gods (Aristides, *Apologia* 13,7). At the same time, however, it provides myths with an acceptable validity, to which apologists and Church Fathers objected. Not only allegorism, but also pagan myths as such were to be rejected (for a detailed account, see, for instance, Athenagoras leg. 22 or Arnob. 4,33; 5,32–41). This attitude survives in the sermons of Augustine (see the detailed account in a sermon for the calends [18]).

In addition, a tradition of allegorizing the Old Testament existed since the New Testament times, whereas the gospels, as historical truth, were not subject to allegorism. Paul already read Genesis 16,1–15 (Sara and Agar) *per allegoriam* (Galatians 4,24), that is, typologically. This legitimized allegorism of the Old Testament for the whole of Christian exegesis. Following Alexandrian tradition, Origen formulated a system of allegorism and distinguished between the literal (somatic) meaning, accessible to all; the more advanced moral (psychic) sense; and the mystical (pneumatic) sense, open only to a few (*Peri archōn* 4,2,4). He often rejected the literal sense, in contrast to his successors; yet through his system he influenced the three scriptural meanings of later times. In the Latin West, Ambrose in particular, following Philo, pursued allegorism, both moral and mystical. As with Philo, however (and Ambrose's predecessor Hilary of Poitiers), the literal meaning remained indisputably steadfast; moreover, the *sensus historialis* and the *sensus mysticus* (moral allegorism) took their place within the taxonomy. Augustine subscribed to this view in a nuanced way, insofar as he ascribed greater psychagogical effect to allegorical interpretation (*Epistolae* 55,21), and correspondingly used it in his sermons, whereas he preferred the historical sense in his Bible commentaries [19]. Both interpretative levels consequently coexist. This became valid for all those who followed, especially once Gregory the Great clearly stood up for this twofold path (*In evangelio Johannis* 40,1). From its roots in scriptural interpretation, allegorism became clearly discernible in Fulgentius' commentary on Statius' *Thebaid* and, thus secularized, was transferred to the interpretation of pagan literary works as well. Despite the objections of the late Augustine (*De doctrina christiana* 3,8,12), this linked the allegorizing literary interpretation of imperial grammar with Christian allegorism. On the other hand, a Christian allegorical literature arose from creative contact with exegetical procedure. Its most important exponents in the Latin West were Prudentius and Boethius [20; 21].

D. Middle Ages

1. Scriptural Exegesis and Allegorical Poetry 2. The Allegorism of Ancient Myths

1. Scriptural Exegesis and Allegorical Poetry

Following the Church Fathers, particularly Augustine, the Middle Ages continued the allegorical exegesis of scripture, as well as the secularized exegesis of pagan poetry. In the School of Chartres (see below), this led to elaborate theoretical schemes, like that of *indumentum*, or the literal surface of the 'textual skin', which was to be penetrated. Under the influence of Prudentius and Boethius, the Latin Middle Ages provided itself in addition with a highly vital allegorical poetry. Understanding it, whether in an ethical or edifying sense, historically or politically, did not take place via the exegetical procedure of allegorism, but was already pre-planned within the literal sense. We cannot elaborate on this here.

2. The Allegorism of Ancient Myths

Rhetorical tradition classified the mythical tale (*fabula*) as fiction (Cicero, *De inventione* 1,27 and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1,12 down to Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1,44,5). Although they understood this fiction as an 'image of truth' (Theon, *Progymnasmata* 3; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 1; Sopater, *Rhetores Graeci* 10, p. 59 Walz), they derived the necessity of allegorism from this fact [22]. It was ultimately on this foundation, but above all on Porphyry's theoretical comprehension in his confrontation with Colotes on the subject of Platonic myth (Porphory, Fragment 182 Smith) that Macrobius, in his commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (1,2,7–12), constructed a complex classification of fictional texts (*fabulae*). According to it, fictional texts fall into two categories: the purely entertaining (and hence rejected) textual genre of comedy and novel, and the useful (animal fables, myths of the gods, philosophical myths). This classification, absorbed by Isidore (*Etymologiae* 1,40), became fundamental for the Western Middle Ages and in the School of Chartres, with its concept of the narrative surface (*indumentum, integumentum*) of fictional texts, particularly influenced the exegesis of literary fiction in general [23]. It also became the starting-point for an independent philosophical treatment of myth [24]. Above all, however, allegorism, both physical and moral, was the means that permitted the Middle Ages contact with ancient mythology. In addition to Cicero's *De natura deorum*, the central texts were the *Mythologiae* of Fulgentius [25], and often Servius' commentaries on Virgil as well. Boccaccio's *De genealogiis deorum* still embraced these basic approaches in the form of a genuine encyclopedic compendium. The Middle Ages sought the same approach to pagan authors, above all to Virgil and Ovid. Virgil had already been the subject of allegorical interpretation by Macrobius, and in Carolingian times Theodolphus of Orleans had formulated the general opinion that in the works of both poets 'there lies hidden a great deal of truth under a false surface' (*plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent* [26]). This was the origin of, among other things, the moralistic allegorism of the Ovidian *Metamorphoses*, with its high point in the *Integumenta Ovidii* of John of Garland and the *Ovid moralisé* of the 13th cent. [27; 28].

E. Early Modern Period

On one level, the Renaissance and Baroque periods continued this tradition uninterruptedly [29]. Needless to say, new access to Greek texts as well opened up a broad spectrum of interpretative possibilities. In addition to physical and moral allegorism, political allegorism appeared in an ever-increasing degree. Following the lead of Augustus' utilization of the myth of Aeneas, this allegorism used ancient myths for the legitimation of political rule. Florentine → Neo-Platonism in particular employed theological-philosophical allegorism. Its role for understanding iconography has still not been given adequate treatment [30; 31].

Allegorism underwent a fundamental transformation beginning in the late 16th cent. through the gradual appearance of a scientific mythology in connection with the discoveries and elaboration of ethnography [32; 33]. Knowledge of non-European myths, with their often striking resemblances to ancient mythology, led to a historicization of the → myth phenomenon, and a conceptual disengagement from other fictional genres, particularly animal fables (La Fontaine). Myth was understood for the first time, but with lasting consequences, by Bernard de Fontenelle [34] as a story that belongs to the dawn of humanity, and whose narrative peculiarities are not deliberate surfaces placed over a deeper truth, but involuntary distortions of physical and historical facts. From an exegetical procedure that sought the narrator's actual intentions, allegorism was thus transformed into the decoding of early human psychic reactions and excluded all moralistic exegesis. Central in this process was the systematization by Christian Gottlob Heyne. Instead of the current technical term *fabula*, he coined the term *mythus*, whereby he declared the independence of myth from literary genres and codified the division of myth into a *genus physicum* and a *genus historicum*. Although these contents relied completely on the categories of traditional allegorism, he turned expressly against the understanding of myth as allegory, designating it as a symbol [35]. He thereby laid the foundations for the Romantic interpretation of myth and the consequent debate on the differentiation between allegory and symbol.

→ Allegoresis, → allegory.

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FRITZ GRAF

Allegory

I. LITERARY HISTORY II. ART HISTORY

I. LITERARY HISTORY

Since Antiquity, the term has had a productive and a receptive aspect. In rhetoric it denotes the generation of texts based on the linking of metaphors (cf. Quint. Inst. 8,6,44) and the use of personifications. With regard to hermeneutics, it refers to the interpretation of mythical texts (Euhemeros) or biblical texts (cf. Aug. Doctr. christ.) which is, in a spiritual sense, clearly different from the literary sense. Nowadays we prefer to subsume this under the term allegorism. Already in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (AD 405), the first larger allegorical work of literature, expressive and interpretative allegory work together since an allegorical text always identifies itself as such and presents interpretative aids to the readers e.g. through the proem or the speeches of the personifications. According to Christian understanding, not only texts but also their references can be interpreted allegorically (*allegoria in factis*) [8]; thus, in Prudentius Abraham's battles in the OldTestament prefigure the battle between virtues and vices within the Christian soul. The allegory presupposes a dualistic world view, the separation between a sphere of the sensual regarded as inferior and, by contrast, a distinguished intelligible world; consequently, allegory has an affinity to → PLATONISM and Christianity. As 'poetry of the invisible' [4. 28] allegorical literature makes the intelligible evident. Therefore, allegorical personifications are popular in the visual arts (manuscripts of allegorical texts are often illuminated in the Middle Ages), in the art of memory as *imagines agentes*, in the religious plays of the late Middle Ages and the Baroque, in the European → FESTIVE PROCESSIONS from the *entrées royales* of the Middle Ages to the triumphal processions of the Italian Renaissance and the political celebration of the 'Highest Being' in the French Revolution.

Besides Prudentius, Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*) and Martianus Capella determined the further development of the allegory, especially the neo-Platonic literature of the 12th cent. replete with allusions to and quotations from classical authors. Partly in prosimetric and partly in epic hexameter, Alanus ab Insulis (*De planctu Naturae*, *Anticlaudianus*), Bernardus Silvestris (*Cosmographia*) and Johannes de Hauvilla (*Architrenius*) describe the cosmological order and the position of humans in it. The often Christological allegories of animals from the *Physiologus* were adapted in all vernacular languages of the Middle Ages, in the most original fashion by Richard de Fournival, whose *Bestiaire d'Amours* (mid–13th cent.) refers not to salvation history but to the amorous history of the author. A similar tendency towards secularization and psychologization of the allegory can also be found in the very influential *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun (*c.* 1240–1280), in which a love allegory is narrated in the first person as a dream vision; there the mistress is split into personifications such as *Fair Welcome* or *Danger*. Probably the most complex allegory in European literary history is Dante's *Divina Commedia* (*c.* 1310–1314); besides the subjective allegory of the vision, it fully integrates both the Latin poetical and allegorical tradition as well a the tradition of the theological interpretation of the Bible. Dante was the first vernacular author to call for a reading of his text according to the fourfold method of interpretation (cf. Epist. 13); this, once again, demonstrates the complementarity of the productive and the recep-

tive allegory. In direct addresses (e.g. Inf. 9,61–63 und Purg. 8,19–21) the reader is assigned to interpret the *Commedia* allegorically, but the *dottrina* is not revealed. Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) influenced by Dante, a love allegory in stilted Latinizing prose, reveals a strong antiquarian interest in the archaic heritage of Antiquity; therefore, images and descriptions of monuments gain importance as opposed to the narrative. It is From this combination of picture and allegorical text that the field of → EMBLEMS arose in the 16th cent. The Spanish baroque allegory of the Counter Reformation, however, dissolves the earthly world into mere illusion. In the works of Pedro Calderón de la Barca this is expressed in the allegorical equation of life and dream (*La vida es sueño*) (1635) and that of world and theatre *El gran teatro del mundo* (1655). The very diverse plots (*argumentos*) of the Corpus Christi plays always refer to the same, the only substantial topic (*asunto*), i.e. the Eucharist. Empiricism and secularization, therefore, necessarily lead to a depreciation of the allegory [1]; Goethe gave priority to the primacy of the appearance in the symbol over the primacy of the concept of all allegory (*Maximen und Reflexionen*, no. 1112). The rehabilitation of the allegory in Baudelaire [3. 686–700] and W. Benjamin [2] is not a restauration of pre-modern world views, but it is linked to the insight into the split nature of the subject and the external determination by psychological forces such as melancholy.

→ ALLEGORISM; → EMBLEMS
→ Allegoresis; → Allegorical poetry; → Allegory

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MAX GROSSE

II. ART HISTORY

see → PERSONIFICATION

Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum

A. THE INSTITUTION B. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION C. ACTIVITIES OF THE MUSEUM

A. THE INSTITUTION

The Allard Pierson Museum (APM) is located at Oude Turfmarkt 127, 1012 GC Amsterdam, the Netherlands. It is funded by the University of Amsterdam. The museum receives active support and is anchored in the public domain through the *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson*, with its own journal [12]. (Website: www.uba.uva.nl/apm; e-mail: APM @UBA.UVA.nl)

B. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The APM, with around 14,000 objects, is the second most important collection of antiquities in the Netherlands after the National Museum in Leiden. It was founded relatively recently, on November 12, 1934, when the Allard Pierson Stichting (Foundation) was transferred to the University of Amsterdam. The collection of C.W. Lunsingh-Scheurleer from 's-Gravenhage (The Hague), which was housed in his private museum, Carnegielaand, forms its core [1]. As such, the APM serves, like other museums in this country, as an example of a civic museum. It originated in the context of a bourgeoisie broadly interested in art, antiquities and learning. Its collection was assembled between 1900–1932 through purchases on the international art market.

Important names of the 20th cent. history of European collections are represented in the APM. The collection Lunsingh-Scheurleer in turn, for instance, absorbed the large sets of Greek, Roman and Coptic artefacts of the collection of Freiherr Friedrich W. von Bissing. This represented, apart from the Sieglin Collection (Stuttgart/Tübingen), one of the most important European collections of art and craft of Greco-Roman Egypt. The Egyptian objects of the von Bissing collection came into the possession of the APM only after 1934 when von Bissing saw an opportunity to keep large parts of his collection together there [2]. In addition, there are important items from the collections of Paul Arndt, Munich and of Hans Schrader, Frankfurt/M, that had been acquired primarily in Athens.

In the post-war period the APM continued the systematic study of items in its collection, a process started under difficult circumstances during the war [3; 4]. In addition, the APM devoted itself actively to the education of young archaeologists while at the same time cultivating and enlarging its stock [5; 6]. Thus, in 1976, on the occasion of the move to the Oude Turfmarkt, some 1400 objects were donated, a sign of the broad support and recognition of the work done [7]. The APM received further donations in more recent times, too. Worth mentioning in this respect are the collection of black-figured Attic vases of Dr. J.L. Theodor (1995) [12] in the classical field as well as the collection van Leer in the Egyptian department [13; 14]. The remaining stock of the former collection Lunsingh-Scheurleer was finally transferred from The Hague to the APM in the summer of 1998 which means that the museum has a considerable collection of classical vases from all parts of the Greek world at its disposal.

C. ACTIVITIES OF THE MUSEUM

The strength of the institution lies in its collections in the areas of Greece, Italy, and Greek-Roman Egypt. The predominance of minor arts lends the institution its

special character, something that becomes apparent in the permanent exhibition which is set out in modern display cases according to geographical and historical viewpoints. Detailed (multilingual) labels guide the visitor and familiarise him with the distinctive features and strengths of the APM collections.

The ceramics collection contains more than 4000 vessels and fragments and includes a broad repertoire of ancient forms of pottery from the Greek Bronze age through the Etruscans to Roman Terrasigillata [6]. Undecorated consumer ceramics stand next to vessels decorated with figures or black varnish. Attic black-figured goods are particularly richly represented in the Greek section, in part by some outstanding examples. Figured terracotta is another main subject representing all important centres of production of the ancient world from the 6th cent. BC until the [Roman] Empire. These provide a good insight of the cultural and religious history of Antiquity and are rich in mythological depictions, bridging the time span between Antiquity and the present.

Ancient sculpture is represented by burial and other reliefs; this department is particularly proud of a few busts, among them the basalt bust of a man from the 2nd or 3rd cent. BC [15]. Metalwork is represented both by bronze vessels and gold and silver jewellery [16]. Of particular interest are the moulds for metal casts, as a model for a helmet from Greek Egypt shows. Faience and glass are also abundantly represented. The extensive collection of W.N.G. van der Sleen belongs, as a special subject, to the latter category comprising a compendium of glass beads from Antiquity to modern times [10]. Besides, finds from Roman times point at Holland's own ancient past.

While the APM as the sole archaeological Museum of Amsterdam – the largest Dutch city – has to perform important public tasks, it has developed at the same time into an important research centre as part of its academic duties [11; 13]. This way, museum work and basic research are developed further through the combination of academic and public duties. The APM has above all made a name for itself through publications on Greek ceramics of the archaic period. Worth mentioning are, among other things, studies on Laconian ceramics which for the first time systematically opened up this important local class of ceramics [17]. The continuing study of Greek-Roman antiquities from Egypt is also one of the initiatives resulting from the work of the museum.

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Anacreontic poetry, Anacreontica

A. The Figure of Anacreon as a Literary Subject and as Eudaimonistic Model B. The Adaptation of Anacreontic Motifs, Translation and Stylistic Creation in Western Poetry C. The Neo-Latin and Vernacular Anacreontic Poetry of Europe under the Banner of the Renaissance and Humanism D. The German Anacreontic Movement E. European Anacreontic Poetry in the 18th–19th Cents.

A. The Figure of Anacreon as a Literary Subject and as Eudaimonistic Model

The lasting influence of Anacreon and the *Anacreontea* can best be expressed by the title of a book by L. A. Michelangeli: *Anacreonte e la sua fortuna nei secoli* ('Anacreon and his posthumous fame throughout the centuries'). In order to form a picture of the poet's personality, it is not necessary to rely on the historical or ahistorical testimony of later poets (Aulus Gellius, Horace), on his own works or on those of the *Anacreontea*, for Anacreon himself had already been canonized in the Hellenistic period as one of the great ancient lyric poets. After the discovery, publication (1554) and interpretation of the *Anacreontea* by the French Humanist Henricus Stephanus (1528–1598) and later literarily ambitious interpreters, Anacreon, identified as the lyric alter ego of the poems considered authentic, finally became one of the leading figures of European Eudaimonism with Enlightenment tendencies, or the so-called 'Anacreontic' period of the 18th cent. The image of Anacreon, literarily reconstructed to be sure, corresponded to the concept of the Socratic Sage. Goethe maintained this image in the epigram *Anakreons Grab* ('Anacreon's Tomb', 1784).

B. The Adaptation of Anacreontic Motifs, Translation and Stylistic Creation in Western Poetry

Connected with this image, Anacreontic poetry immediately spread throughout Europe. In addition to poetic translations and adaptations (→ Adaptation), the Anacreontic style of writing became prevalent first in Neo-Latin, then later also in vernacular tongues (unrhymed catalectic iambic or catalectic ionic dimeter in meter; witty and graceful, often also tenderly flirtatious or casually narrative in style; in subject-matter: erotic playfulness, often in allegorical guise; poems of friendship and marriage; meditations).

C. The Neo-Latin and Vernacular Anacreontic Poetry of Europe under the Banner of the Renaissance and Humanism

The Neo-Latins were to some extent already composing anacreonizing verse in the various national literatures before the *editio princeps* of Anacreon in 1554: for example, the Italian Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), the Englishman Thomas More (1478–1535,) and the Dutchman Johannes Secundus (1511–1536); somewhat later, the Germans Johannes Aurpach (1531–1582) and Caspar Barth (1587–1658). The poetry of the recent national literatures followed the *editio princeps* of 1554: in France, beginning with Pierre Ronsard (1524–1585) and Remy Belleau (1528–1577); in Italy, with Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) and Gabriello Chiabrera (1552–1638); in Spain, beginning with Manuel de Villegas (1589–1669); in Holland with Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Petrus Scriverius (1576–1666); in Britain with Robert Herrick (1591–1674) and Abraham Cowley (1618–1667); in Poland with Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584); in Germany with Georg Rudolph Weckherlin (1584–1653) and Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689). The anacreontic style, which could also take on sentimental features, was particularly appropriate for occasional poetry from the 16th to the 18th cent. Neo-Latin and vernacular anacreontic wedding-poems were a common artistic exercise. Finally, in the poetry of the Catholic orders the style and meter were transferred to Christian themes: By the Jesuits, for instance – the German-Czech Jacobus Pontanus (1542–1626), from France Gilbertus Ioninus (1596–1638), from Belgium Nicolaus Susius (d. 1619), from Holland Petrus Stratenus and finally from Italy Carlo d'Aquino in 1726. There was also an *Anacreon christianus* in the Protestant camp – for instance with Wilhem Alardus (1572–1645) and Caspar Barth. This kind of *parodia christiana* reminds one of the Christian 'Anacreontea', as they had been constituted since the 7th cent. by Sophronius of Damascus, Bishop of Jerusalem, and his successors Helias and Michael Syncellus (8th and 9th cents.), and had later become characteristic of Byzantine culture through the poems of the Patriarch Photius, Emperor Leo, Leo Magister, Gregory of Nazianzen and others.

D. The German Anacreontic Movement

German Anacreontic poetry reached a high-water mark in the 18th cent. A number of Anacreon editions and translations had sustained interest in this lyric poetry until this point. The inexhaustible gracious poetry of the French – the historically last poets of a long line: Chaulieu (1639–1720), La Farre (1644–1712), de la Motte (1672–1731), and Gresset (1709–1777) come to mind – provided with numerous *odes anacréontiques* the very cadence and motifs which were decisive for German anacreontic poetry, the center of the so-called Anacreontic in the 18th cent. The literary-historical concept of Anacreontic thus focusses on that buoyant lyric poetry of the German Enlightenment (→ Enlightenment), which, in view of a new understanding of a secularized and optimistic existence supported by the bourgeoisie, took the Anacreontic as its model with regard to content, meter, and style. The figure of Anacreon became the ideal for the attitude toward life of a poetic youth movement. The poetic translation, *Die Oden Anakreons in reimlosen Versen* (The odes of Anacreon in unrhymed verses), published in 1746 by Johann Nikolaus Götz (1721–1781) and Johann Peter Uz (1720–1786) had its effect: in 1760 it appeared once again, revised by Götz. The young Enlightenment thinkers, often 'anacreontically' confederated in friendship-leagues, had their own German Anacreon, translated in the new style of pleasantries and gracefulness. Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719–1803), known as the 'German Anacreon', propagated the style of unrhymed anacreontic short verses developed by his friends Uz and Götz through his own attempt at humorous songs devoted to friendship, love, and (moderate) wine-drinking (1744/45). Gleim attracted other Anacreontics into his circle of friends: Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725–1798), Johann Georg Jacobi (1740–1814) and others. The anacreontic style, extended onto numerous topics, found from then on supporters in Goethe (1749–1832) and his friend Karl Ludwig von Knebel (1744–1834), August Graf von Platen (1796–1835), Wilhem Müller (1794–1827), Eduard Mörike (1804–1875) down to Otto Julius Bierbaum (1865–1910) and Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929).

E. European Anacreontic Poetry in the 18th–19th Cents.

The reception of Anacreon in other European nations took a similar course as in Germany: the Italians developed an enthusiastic taste for anacreonizing in: Paolo Rolli (1687–1765), Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782) and Lorenzo da Ponte (1749–1838); from Sweden, based on German models, anacreontic verses by Carl Michael Bellmann (1740–1795) rang forth; likewise from Holland by Jacobus Bellamy (1757–1786). In England, the adaptation of the *Anacreontea* by Thomas Moore (1779–1852) called forth an unheard-of enthusiasm for Anacreon. There was no end to the anacreonizing, when at the end of the 18th cent., under

the influence of the Europe-wide classicistic enthusiasm for Antiquity, and influenced by German literature, Russian lyricists also gave their contribution: after Antioch Dmitrijevich Kantemir (1709–1744), who provided the first Russian translation of the *Anacreontea*, M.V. Lomonossov (1711–1765) and A.P. Sumarokov (1717–1777) tried their hand at it, the latter taking Gleim as his model. Finally, Michail Matvejevich Cheraskov (1733–1807), together with the poets close to him, brought life to a Russian Anacreontic, which was influential long into the 19th cent., and was promoted by the complete translation of the *Anacreontea* by J.J. Martynov (1771–1833).

→ Anacreon

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Ancient History (Greece, Rome, Late Antiquity) see → Historiography

Ancient Languages, Teaching of

I. Germany II. Great Britain III. Italy IV. France V. USA

I. Germany

A. Definition B. History C. The Current Situation

A. Definition

Methodical instruction in the classical languages Latin and Greek (in earlier times also Hebrew) as well as guided reading and interpretation of Latin and Greek texts is designated as instruction in the classics.

B. History

Classical languages have been taught since ancient times, when Greek was studied in Rome. In medieval preparatory schools/Latin schools, Latin was the focus of instruction. Grammar, rhetoric and dialectics were taught and practised using Classical texts. This instruction was intended to prepare students for reading philosophical and scholarly works. In the → Renaissance, renewed interest in the ancient world led to the establishment of instruction in the Classics. Cicero's works were now regarded as an expression of Classical Latin style; *latine legere, scribere, loqui* was the goal of the new kind of Latin teaching, and Greek began to be taught as well. Latin instruction in particular had not only academic, but also practical purposes, since proficiency in *eloquentia* ('eloquence') was useful as long as Latin remained the language of the Church, diplomacy, scholarship and jurisprudence. After 1700, as the German language was increasingly placed on an equal footing with Latin and also gained more acceptance at the → University, the importance of teaching Latin declined.

Against this backdrop, the 18th cent. Classical scholars J. M. Gesner and C. G. Heyne developed a new concept of the ancient world and stressed the value of cultural tradition in → education/culture. *In der Kritik an dem rhetorischen Bildungsideal (→ Rhetoric) des ersten Humanisten mit seiner Latinitätsdressur verleg(t)en sie den Schwerpunkt von der Imitation auf die Interpretation der antiken Schriften, deren idealem Gehalt sie schon vor dem Einfluß Winckelmanns und Herders eine humanisierende Wirkung zuschr(ie)ben* ('In their critique of the rhetorical ideal of education (Rhetoric) put forth by the first humanists, which was characterized by an emphasis on Latinate rote learning, they shifted the emphasis from imitation to the interpretation of Classical writings, ascribing a humanizing effect to the ideals contained in such works, even before the influence of Winckelmann and Herder was felt' [10. 5]). This new appreciation for the Classical tradition encouraged a view of education in which the Greek language as well as Greek art and philosophy offered a historical model of the highest levels of human perfection, and thus the ancient world served as the focus of education. After 1780, Heyne's pupil F. A. Wolf developed the academic field of Classical languages into that of Classical philology, making it an independent discipline. At the same time, J. G. Herder was including similar ideas in his *lectures*. He emphasized that the ideal formation of a human being is based on the harmonious development of his talents, and that this goal can be furthered by learning Classical languages and studying exemplary works from the ancient world. Around the year 1800, W. von Humboldt built upon this foundation to establish the new humanist theory of education. Like F. A. Wolf, he was convinced that the Greeks had achieved a particularly pure concept of humanity in their culture and the works they produced. Accordingly, education should focus on the study of

Greek antiquity, particularly Greek language, literature and art, since only such studies were capable of stimulating thinking and one's aesthetic and moral sense in the desired way.

Humboldt presumed that every human being possesses 'capabilities' suited for perceiving and learning about the world. These capabilities must be developed in a harmonious and well-rounded manner. To that end, stimuli are required from a variety of situations and encounters, as well as from various kinds of subjects; education requires using one's powers to deal with subjects and situations with which one comes into contact. The primary means of stimulation is language, since it is the unique mode of expression that distinguishes human beings from other creatures. Languages such as ancient Greek and Latin, which have ceased to change and are no longer spoken, and which convey great cultural accomplishments, are, in their clarity, particularly suitable for practicing one's capabilities. Together with the study of the mother tongue and mathematics, they offer fundamental stimuli to shape a personality that is capable of thinking independently, assessing situations, and acting in accordance with the dictates of morality.

During the Prussian educational reform that began in 1809, these ideas played a significant role in the concept of the humanistic *Gymnasium*. Instruction in the Classics represented the core of the *Gymnasium*'s curriculum. It was Latin, not Greek, however, that became the fundamental language in the schools, while instruction in Greek was added two years later. But this *Gymnasium* curriculum, which was developed by J. W. Süvern, reflected the fact that it was no longer Humboldt's position to require pupils in the *Gymnasium* to study both Latin and Greek over a period of many years. Pupils working toward the final qualifying examination (*Abitur*) were now required to study both Classical languages up to their final school year, to express themselves in Latin both in writing and orally, and later to translate from Greek into Latin. It soon became clear that an important function of instruction in the Classics was not so much to educate young people through the study of Classical languages, but to carry out social selection. After 1832, the study of Latin was also introduced for the first time in the secondary schools for the bourgeoisie; no heed was paid to the need to teach the emerging natural sciences, and only later were the sciences integrated into the curriculum to a limited degree. For a long time, the influence of the Classical philologists made it impossible to receive an education at the *Gymnasium* by studying other subjects. Thus instruction in the Classics remained the core subject and the most imposing obstacle to passing in *Abitur* examination. It was not until the last third of the 18th century that the number of hours devoted to the Classics declined somewhat; for instance, the Latin essay was eliminated from the *Abitur*. Finally, the school conference of 1900 abolished the monopoly of the → Humanist gymnasium as the only pathway by

which one could gain general qualification for university entrance. Concurrently, there were discussions and testing of ways to reform the *Gymnasium* by shortening the duration of instruction in the Classics.

In this situation, proponents of instruction in the Classics saw a way to underscore its importance by seeking to interpret Classical texts in the prevalent spirit of German nationalism [1]. This stabilized the situation for a brief period, but the Classics' position in education again became precarious after 1918. The old charges – that it was outmoded, elitist, excessively demanding, not appropriate for children, socially selective, reactionary – were again raised during the Weimar Republic. The decline of instruction in the Classics was unstoppable. Nor was the → Third Humanism movement founded by W. Jaeger, whose proponents idealistically emphasized the educational effects of Classical studies, able to gain widespread acceptance. Furthermore, advocates of instruction in the Classics neglected to adapt to the need for political education that encouraged a republican way of thinking. *Das liebevoll weiter ausgemalte Bild des frühen Rom als einer verklärten Welt, die von fides, auctoritas, labor, pietas und magnitudo animi erfüllt war, konnte nicht nur historische Nachprüfung nicht standhalten, sondern stellte auch kein geeignetes Leitbild für die Jugend eines demokratischen Staates dar* ('The lovingly painted portrait of ancient Rome as an idealized world filled with fides, auctoritas, labor, pietas and magnitudo animi not only failed the test of historical accuracy, but also offered no suitable model for young people in a democratic state' [9. 37]). A further devaluation of instruction in the Classics occurred under the National Socialists [1] (→ National Socialism). They demanded that the study of Latin and Greek be used to promote a spirit of nationalism. There is some dispute as to the practical effects of these demands on the schools. In most cases, it meant ideologization; however, sometimes the Classics were also used as a means of distancing oneself from Nazi ideology. Two strands of development can be reconstructed for the period between 1945 and 1990, one West German, the other East. In West Germany attempts were successful, despite strong American objections to the humanistic *Gymnasium*, to reestablish instruction in the Classics as it was traditionally understood. Indeed, it experienced a brief flowering in the 1950s, before steadily losing ground in the 1960s. There are a number of reasons for the dramatic decline: 1. the familiar, above-mentioned objections to the humanistic *Gymnasium*, 2. the establishment of new subject concentrations in the *Gymnasium*, which proved more attractive to many parents, 3. the expansion of the study of the natural sciences, 4. discussion of an impending disaster in education and attempts to attract pupils, 5. the opening of the *Gymansium* to a wider segment of the population, 6. the reform of the *Gymnasium*'s upper level with the introduction of elective subjects, which often led students to drop courses such as Latin that had occupied a privileged position in the

curriculum, and 7. discussion about modernizing the curriculum, introducing clearly defined instructional and learning goals. Within the curriculum discussion, it was apparently no longer possible to identify appropriate goals, content and methods for instruction in the Classics. In 1970, it seemed that it would be 'only a matter of time' until such instruction was done away with altogether [10. 7].

However, the threatened demise of instruction in the Classics mobilized efforts to legitimize and reestablish it within the framework of the modern curriculum discussion. The Classical philologists sought to draw up 'concrete descriptions of the content and functions of Classical instruction' [11. 1], in place of the familiar emotional appeals that underscored the value of Classical studies in shaping the human mind. A new pedagogy was developed in which clear goals for instruction in the Classics were formulated, as well as appropriate content and methods. The theory that Classical works were useful in themselves was abandoned in favour of arguments that language instruction was valuable for developing existing capabilities by focusing on socially relevant topics. This more objective approach was reflected in the following learning goals, formulated in terms of behaviour: instruction in the Classics encourages the development of scholarly procedure. By teaching translation, it helps the student to practise choosing the appropriate word in a given situation and to understand the context of written materials. It introduces the student to interpretive techniques and provides insight into unfamiliar grammar and means of expression. As such goals were formulated, appropriate texts for reading were chosen and methods of instruction were selected. On this basis, Classical philologists were able to participate in constructing new curricula in the 1970s. The curricular approach – goals, content, methods, evaluating the achievement of learning goals – was also practised in the case of the Classics curricula. Learning goals were formulated with a view to general educational goals, and content was determined with those goals in mind. Subsequently, procedures were identified for achieving and assessing the goals that had been set. In this context it was decided that learning goals should reflect social needs. Thus the teaching of Latin might concentrate on specific questions relating to Rome as a world power, such as its policies toward conquered nations, its legal system and so on, which in effect uses the past to encourage thinking about central issues of the present. The language itself and the texts composed in that language were no longer regarded as indispensable pillars of a good education; they had to be justified through logical learning goals as appropriate subjects to be taught. Accordingly, the instructional aims became clearer, and they were reflected in concrete subject matter. Thus the pedagogy of Classical language teaching gained intellectual status in the curricular discussion; instruction in the Classics was accepted as a part of education in the schools. It was now a subject that needed to compete with the other school subjects and prove convincing in terms of its goals. In the case of Latin, especially, these efforts were sufficiently successful to appeal to parents of *Gymnasium* students, and interest in studying Latin has remained steady ever since the 1980s.

In East Germany (beginning in 1949, the German Democratic Republic) the secondary schools continued to offer so-called C branches with Classes in Latin and Greek until the mid–1960s (→ GDR). Even in the secondary schools that focused on modern languages or the natural sciences, Latin was a required subject up to the 'Kleines Latinum' [6. 313]. After 1964, when the educational system shifted to a socialist model featuring a polytechnical secondary school (which went up to the 10th form, *Polytechnische Oberschule, POS*) and an expanded secondary school (11th/12th form, *Erweiterte Oberschule, EOS*), the Classes that had focused on Classical languages were eliminated. In all of the GDR, there were now nine schools in which instruction in the Classics was compulsory. In addition, Latin was offered as a mandatory elective course in the 11th and 12th years of the expanded secondary school, for three hours, twice a week. In the 1980s fewer pupils were able to study the Classical languages because of a worsening shortage of teachers qualified to teach Latin or Greek. At the same time, 'the demand for courses in Classical languages at the universities by far exceeded the resources of the foreign language departments' [6. 313]. This gap between supply and demand drew renewed attention to the importance of instruction in the Classics in a well-rounded education and as a basis for university training. An initial step toward remedying the shortage was the decision in 1985 that the University of Halle would again train Latin teachers; subjects were combined: German plus Latin or Russian plus Latin, with the option of earning certification to teach Greek as well. However, by 1990, there had been no success in expanding instruction in the Classics in order to bring 'secondary school education in the GDR up to a level comparable to the rest of Europe' [6. 316].

C. The Current Situation

More recent curricula include the Classical languages on an equal footing with the modern languages and other subjects. The characteristic structure of the *Gymnasium*, as a multi-functional school that offers a variety of choices, puts instruction in the Classics in competition with other subjects, particularly the modern languages. The struggle to attract students begins in the first year, and continues every two years thereafter. Students and parents may choose between Latin–later Greek– and, each time, a modern foreign language. Accordingly, proponents of the Classics today must seek to attract students through open competition with other subjects. This has led to numerous efforts to provide a rationale for learning Latin, while Greek has been promoted to a lesser degree. Statistics for the period from 1980 to 1992 from the Conference of Ministers of Education and the Arts (*Kultusministerkonferenz,*

KMK) show that the share of students who took Latin at the first and second secondary school levels has fallen steadily, but appears likely to remain stable at the new levels. The percentage dropped from 40.7% (1980) to 27.3% (1992), but the absolute number of pupils studying Latin has recently increased somewhat. There are, however, differences among the German states in how often pupils choose to study Latin. By far the largest percentage of pupils to take Latin is found in Bavaria (41.9%). By comparison, there appears to be almost no interest in taking Greek: during this period, the percentage of all pupils studying Greek at the first and second secondary school levels declined from 1.4% to 0.7%, according to the *KMK*. While 559,134 pupils were taking Latin in 1992, only 13,656 chose to study Greek.

In discussing the reasons for studying various subjects, arguments for the importance of Latin teaching in particular were brought up very early on. The new humanists (→ NEO-HUMANISM) underscored its role in conveying formal principles. In 1900, Willmann stressed the 'inherent logic' of the Latin language and described instruction in the Classics as a 'regime of intellectual exercise' [13. 364], while also pointing out the importance of the cultural content of Latin works for a proper education. Similar arguments are now couched in modern terms. F. Maier lists the five most important: 1) 'Latin is the keep-fit path of the mind': courses in Latin provide a training ground for logical thinking that requires methodical, thorough and concentrated work on clear text passages. Text analysis encourages intellectual discipline and forces the student to follow certain rules in order to work through unfamiliar sentence structure. Translating constantly requires comparison of the Latin content with the German. This enriches one's language. 2) Latin is the 'basic language of Europe'. It is the foundation for numerous languages and forms a bridge to the Romance languages. 3) Latin is the 'fundamental language of scholarship'. Having learned Latin, one can decipher many common scholarly concepts. 4) Latin is a 'key language in European culture'. It is the language in which the basic texts of European thought were written up to the modern age. 5) Latin is the 'core subject of a humanistic education' [8]. The Latin tradition includes texts about political, ethical and philosophical issues that are comparable to the basic issues confronting us today. These texts can be used as models in 'intensive study of the foundations of human existence' [8. 400]. They offer impetus for developing a humanistic perspective with regard to historical and social situations. These are the central arguments. Sometimes the additional argument is made that Latin is an appropriate first foreign language, since it does not involve difficulties in pronunciation or writing.

The introduction of the multi-functional *Gymnasium* meant that Latin was taught in four different segments, beginning in the fifth year with Latin I, in the seventh with Latin II, in the ninth with Latin III, and in the tenth or eleventh with Latin IV. This means different numbers of hours of instruction, and requires finding a balance between the teaching of language and of reading. 'The shorter the language-teaching phase, the more demands are placed on reading instruction, in order to consolidate, reinforce and expand the pupils' knowledge of the language' [7. 109]. Accordingly, the various types of Latin teaching must reflect age-specific abilities and interests. In any case, it is problematic to teach reading adequately to convey the ancient way of life, given a limited amount of language instruction. The new pedagogy has developed models for both content and methods to address this issue.

In order to encourage the study of Greek, particular emphasis has been placed on the importance of ancient Greek civilization and its literary works. Even more than Latin, the study of Greek requires a willingness to deal with a foreign tradition with precision, concentration and persistence; accordingly, a stronger focus has been placed on learning to read Greek and examining basic texts that deal with issues of politics, ethics and knowledge.

Two thousand years after Cicero, then, we can conclude that, despite undiminished opposition, instruction in the Classics has withstood the crisis of the 1970s. Indeed, it has emerged from this period even stronger, and with new approaches to both content and methodology. At present, efforts are focused on seeking to consolidate the competitive position of instruction in the Classics relative to the other subjects in the curriculum by linking the issues it raises to the present day; this seems to have been more successful in the case of Latin, since it is a more accessible language and more people appear to be convinced of its importance. Greek, on the other hand, while favoured by the new humanists, continues its long-term fight for survival.

→ CLASSICISM AFTER CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY; → COURSE OF INSTRUCTION; → GERMANY; → SCHOOLS

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HANS JÜRGEN APEL

II. Great Britain
A. From the Renaissance to the 20th Cent.
B. 20th Cent. C. Current Situation

A. From the Renaissance to the 20th Cent.

From the Renaissance until the early 20th cent., the teaching of Latin and (to a lesser degree) Greek occupied the most prominent place in the school curriculum for the British educated classes. Long after Latin had lost its function as Europe's lingua franca, the Classical languages and Classical literature formed the foundation of schooling for children of the ruling aristocracy and academic families. This situation was not appreciably changed by the industrial revolution in the 19th cent.: the established schools were hesitant to introduce instruction in the natural sciences, and the new industrial leadership class wanted its own sons to enjoy an education similar to that provided for the landed gentry. When state-run *secondary schools* were established in 1902, their curriculum was intended to approximate the model of the traditional *grammar schools* and the so-called *public schools* as closely as possible. The Classical subjects continued to be defended with the argument that they offered a comprehensive general education (→ Education/Culture) that schooled the intellect and offered the optimum preparation for public government service, whether in → Great Britain or in other parts of the British empire.

One of the main methodological features of instruction in the Classics, beginning in the early 19th cent. and continuing up to the 1960s, was the great importance attached to translation (→ Adaptation) from English into Latin and Greek. Stylistic exercises in both prose and verse were developed into a high art that was regarded as a central element in linguistic education, along with the stylistic integration of Greek and Latin authors.

B. 20th Cent.

In the course of the 20th cent., the Classical subjects lost their preeminence in the curriculum, while other subjects such as the natural sciences and modern languages have steadily increased in importance. First Greek, then Latin, lost its position as a subject required for admission to the universities at Oxford and Cambridge. A further factor was the development in the state-run educational sector of non-selective *comprehensive schools*, which, in many places, were replacing the state-run *grammar schools* that had offered Latin. Theoretically, the Classical languages could still be taught in the comprehensive schools, since individual schools maintained control over their curricula, and indeed, some head teachers offered Latin and – albeit only rarely – Greek as an elective for their more talented pupils. After 1988, however, when a uniform curriculum (the so-called *National Curriculum*) was introduced in all state-run schools, only few pupils were able to take Latin, and Greek disappeared almost entirely from the schools. In the so-called public schools, which offered a more academically oriented programme, Latin continued to be taught, but was only rarely compulsory. A few schools also offered Greek, but this frequently depended on the willingness of individual teachers to take on additional unpaid work.

During the second half of the 20th cent., these developments caused teachers to rethink the real goals of teaching the Classical languages and the rationale for them as part of the curriculum (→ Course of Instruction). Owing to the limited amount of time allotted in the curriculum, it seemed necessary to attach more importance to teaching translation so that pupils might read the ancient Latin and Greek texts. It was no longer possible to maintain the traditional emphasis on stylistic exercises in the Classical languages. Classical language instruction was generally justified in terms of cultural considerations rather than as a way of sharpening one's intellect, which was presumed to be a benefit of their study as well. The new language courses for beginners included historical and other kinds of background material, which captured and held pupils' interest. Advanced classes attached less importance to knowledge of grammar than to the development of a critical literary sense. All the same, the argument continued to be made that the real reason for learning Latin was to develop the ability to apply learning methods to other subjects, particularly as utilitarian considerations gained the upper hand in the materialistic climate of the 1980s. A new movement arose in 1977 with the development of modern learning materials for introducing Latin in the state-run *primary schools*, which may well be useful in helping to teach English grammar.

Constant worry about the survival of the subject also led to a change in methodology. In the first half of the 20th cent., a campaign was initiated by the *Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching*, urging the use of the so-called 'direct approach', which is normally associated with teaching modern languages. While this method produced some enthusiastic teachers, it failed to gain general acceptance, since oral communication is not among the main goals of learning Greek and Latin. However, enhancing knowledge of the original → pronounciation did indeed lead to improvements in the ability to recite Classical poetry and prose. The *Classical Association* continues to support regional competitions for pupils in which Classical texts are read aloud and quoted from memory.

C. Current Situation

The most significant influence on instruction in the Classics during the second half of the 20th cent. came from the *Joint Association of Classical Teachers* (JACT), founded in 1962. In its publications and conferences, this association proposed a number of innovations and provided help to teachers in adjusting to changed circumstances. One of its achievements was the development of a textbook for teaching Greek that is still widely used in schools and universities, both in Great Britain and abroad. In addition, the JACT found-

ed *summer schools* for older pupils studying Latin and Greek. This again enabled more pupils to learn the Classical languages, and many young people were encouraged to continue their study at the → University level.

Currently, most university departments of Classical philology offer courses for students who want to begin studying the Classical languages, whether in order to read Classical texts in the original or as a foundation for studies in other areas. Moreover, there is considerable interest in such courses in the field of adult education. The wide dissemination of texts in translation as well as many other sources of information, including television and travel, has led to increasing public interest in Classical literature and ancient civilizations. Such factors – and not so much the established position of the Classical languages in the English school system – will undoubtedly keep instruction in the Classics alive in Great Britain in the 21st cent. and beyond.

→ Schools

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III. Italy

A. History to the End of the 19th Cent.
B. 20th Cent.

A. History to the End of the 19th Cent.

As it was in the Roman Empire's school system, which continued in place in Italy up to the time of the Lombards, the teaching of Latin grammar and rhetoric were characteristic of the Italian system. These subjects aided in occupational training that was based primarily on the study of law. Following directly in the tradition of the legal academies of the Roman Empire, beginning in the 4th cent. the Church established cathedral schools (→ Cathedral schools) for educating priests as well as parish schools that were open to all, in which the basics of Latin were taught; these can be considered the forerunners of today's primary schools. The goal of mediaeval schooling was the pupils' religious education; accordingly, the 'non-Christian' writers Virgil and Ovid as well as Classical culture in general were largely ignored and viewed as dangerous. The 'secular' answer to the Church's system of instruction came during the period of the city-republics with the establishment of state-run schools in which arithmetic and writing were taught rather than elementary Latin; at a higher level, there were the → universities, which had their roots in the culture of the city. At the same time the humanistic schools emerged, a mid-level model that was common

in the most prominent Italian cities. The main proponents of this model were educational theorists like Guarino Guarini and Vittorino da Feltre, whose aim was to educate young people to become good citizens, taking care to respect their dignity, by reviving the Classical ideal of *humanitas* (→ Humanism). The schools taught rhetoric as well as the philological and historical interpretation of Classical texts.

The *studia humanistica* did not last long; their 'humanistic and religious' ideals were taken up during the Counter-Reformation by the Jesuit colleges, which dissociated themselves from the free universities and developed into public schools par excellence, in Italy as well as in other countries (cf. [2]; → Jesuit schools). The Jesuit *ratio studiorum* (1599) provided for instruction in Latin grammar during the first four years of study. The teaching method was based on mnemonics, and the goal was to practise the rhetorical use of Latin. In addition, these schools taught the fundamentals of Greek (cf. [2. 911; 6; 11]). The Jesuits required Greek in order to understand Biblical texts and documents of church history, as well as to keep pace with the Protestants, who had excellent training in Greek. By and large, Greek, which was considered an 'oriental' language, was taught relatively infrequently from the end of the 16th until the 19th century, even at the university level, a fact lamented by the Classical scholar Scipione Maffei (*Parere sul migliore ordinamento della R. Università di Torino*, 1718), among others. Latin, in contrast, was always a main subject in the schools, for example in the Savoyan Piedmont, where the schools were reorganized by Vittorio Amedeo II through the *Costituzioni* that were passed in 1729, as well as during the Napoleonic occupation; Vittorio Amedeo II had taken charge of organizing the school system and teacher training even before the Jesuits were banned (1773).

The *legge Casati* (1859) introduced the first school system in a united Italy and took as its models not only reforms that had already been made in the Savoy kingdom (such as the *legge Boncompagni* of 1848), but also, in particular, the Prussian system. This resulted in the humanist *liceo classico*, which was divided into the five-year *ginnasio* and the three-year *liceo* (a distinction that is echoed today in the anachronistic terms 'fourth and fifth forms' of the *ginnasio* used for the first two years of the *liceo classico*). According to the *legge Casati*- which, to be sure, witnessed regular curriculum amendments up to the year 1923 – Greek was taught beginning with the third form of the *ginnasio*. Latin lessons, which were allotted more than three times as many hours as Greek, accounted for about one fourth of all class time in the *ginnasio*, but this amount was drastically reduced in the *liceo*, where the natural sciences were given preference. Overall, between 1860 and 1923, Latin and Greek were assigned about 50 hours per week in the *ginnasio*, and in the *liceo* about 25, out of a total of 179 hours each week (precise figures: [1. 95]). Rhetorical use of Latin continued to be important; a great deal of time was devoted to practising writing essays in Latin. It

was not until 1867 that uniform curricula were established by law. The curricula regarded the study of Latin and Greek as preparation for reading texts considered exemplary for a sense 'of the aesthetic and art'. The authors read in the *ginnasio* included Cornelius Nepos, Phaedrus, Caesar (*De bello Gallico*), Ovid (*Fasti*), Cicero (*Briefe*), Virgil (several books of the *Aeneid*), Livy (excerpts) and Sallust (*De coniuratione Catilinae* or *De bello Iugurthino*). In the *liceo*, pupils read Tacitus's *Historiae*, Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical works, Horace, Virgil's *Georgica* and portions of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. Readings in Greek classes included not only Xenophon, the author par excellence for the *ginnasio*, but also Homer and the orators. The German model was followed also in selecting textbooks. The standard textbook for Greek was Georg Curtius's grammar, namely, Giuseppe Müller's translation that was published by Hermann Loescher, the first Italian publisher specializing in Latin and Greek textbooks. This translation was preferred especially by those who advocated a 'logical', 'algebraic' and 'linguistic' approach to Greek. Sometimes, however, Raphael Kühner's 'empirically' based grammar was used as well (both of these served as a foundation for Karl Schenkl's widely-used grammar as well as his exercise book, translated in 1868). Kühner's grammar was used in teaching Latin. The Greek and Latin authors were regarded as the foundation of knowledge, while the Classical languages, owing to the 'memory training' required in order to learn them, were seen as the 'key' to every other subject, including the natural sciences. This view was the subject of later criticism of instruction in the Classics, and particularly of Latin instruction (the study of which, according to the Italian anthropologist Cesare Lombroso, 1893, supposedly weakened the nervous system).

The discussion of the Italian school system following the unification of Italy was, then, oriented toward Germany and France. The time had passed when school instruction was solely in the hands of the Church. All the same, the influence of the clergy remained crucial among the people and in the political arena, and any attempt at reform was subject to criticism and tension emanating from Church circles. Opinion polls were taken in preparation for planning school reform. The poll initiated by Minister of Education Antonio Scialoia (1872) [10] provides a good picture of the polemics of that time with respect to the teaching of Latin and Greek. Latin was rejected not only in favour of more practically oriented subjects, but also because the content of the Latin texts was regarded as 'immoral' and as practically inciting attempts to overthrow the government. Greek was naturally met with resistance by the utilitarians, but also by the 'humanists', who rejected philological Classical studies that were focused on the languages. Even among the clergy there were no teachers trained to teach Greek. Accordingly, many at the end of the 19th cent. advocated doing away with the teaching of Greek in the *liceo* [12. 430ff.]; in 1904, a legislative decree permitted a choice between Greek and mathematics in the second year of the *liceo*.

The 'philologists', in particular the Turin group in the *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, founded in 1872, launched a campaign to save Greek, causing them to be accused of Germanophilia (for more on the other side of this attitude: [12]). The voice of the *Società italiana per la diffusione e l'insegnamento degli studi classici* was the magazine *Atene e Roma* (today the periodical of the *Associazione italiana di cultura classica*), which was founded in 1898 and published in Florence. On the opposing side were those who rejected philological studies in favour of the rhetorical and artistic use of the Classical texts, such as the school periodical *Il Baretti*. The *Civiltà cattolica* was untiring in its advocacy of Latin studies that were neither historical nor linguistic, but rhetorical in nature, which represented one of the strengths of the parochial schools. On the other side, the extreme position of the philologists led to viewpoints that were utterly opposed to the idea of disseminating scientific advances in the schools: adopting the German model for the organization of Classical studies encouraged scientific research, but it also led to a stark division between academic and university work, on the one hand, and the teaching of Latin and Greek in the secondary schools, on the other.

B. 20TH CENT.

The task of the *liceo classico* in a united Italy was to educate the ruling classes (and in many respects that remains true today). The difficult and 'unnecessary' study of the Classical languages and philosophy served as a means of social discrimination. Latin and Greek teachers, for example, received a higher salary. The reform project initiated by Gaetano Salveminis (1908; with the help of Alfredo Galletti) supported elite schools, particularly for the Classical subjects. Giovanni Gentile's reform (1923) also saw the *liceo classico* as having central importance as the aristocratic school that offered access to all university departments, which held true until 1970. Although numerous changes have been made in some areas, this reform continues to be a heavy burden on the Italian school system, because the structure of the *liceo classico* remains unchanged: the natural sciences and modern foreign languages are substantially underrepresented; during the first two years all of Greek and Latin morphology and syntax are covered (about 10 hours per week), and all 'humanistic' subjects are taught by the same teacher. The last three years, in which extensive excerpts from the Classics are read, are devoted to the whole of literary history. With the reform of 1923, the *liceo scientifico* was introduced, which had a natural science orientation and served to train qualified technicians; Greek was not part of the curriculum. Another new school type was the *istituto magistrale* (previously: *scuola normale*) for training primary-school teachers, which included Latin in its curricula for all four years; it replaced more practically-oriented subjects such as agronomy, needlework and

handwriting. Finally, a state examination which included tests in translating from Latin and Greek was introduced as part of the final qualifying examination taken upon completion of the *liceo*. In line with the ideological exaggeration of the importance of Latin by the fascist regime, the Minister of Education Giuseppe Bottai made Latin the basic subject in his reform of the 'unified' middle school (*scuola media 'unica'*). Until 1962, when the three-year obligatory *scuola media unica* was introduced, this *scuola media* provided access to higher education. While Latin was optional in the last year of the *scuola media* until 1977, it was eliminated altogether at that time, following numerous fierce debates. As in the 19th cent., → COURSES OF INSTRUCTION were not drawn up until long after structural reforms had been agreed upon; it was not until 1944 that curricula for the secondary schools were in place. In 1967 they were examined (the Latin curricula used today in the *liceo scientifico* and the *istituto magistrale* are from that year) and in 1978 they were revised for the *ginnasio* and in 1980 for the *liceo classico*, after Latin and Greek had begun simultaneously in the first year of the *liceo*. A comprehensive reform to standardize the curricula is underway. During the last few years, there has been growing interest in the didactics of the Classical languages, also at the university level, while the final examinations to gain certification to teach at the *ginnasio* (1993) still require, anachronistically, translation from Greek into Latin.

→ ITALY;→ SCHOOLS

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SOTERA FORNARO

IV. FRANCE
see → FRANCE

V. USA
see → UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ancient Near Eastern Philology and History (Assyriology)

A. NAME AND DEFINITION B. ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS C. END OF THE 19TH CENT. D. THE 1920S AND 1930S E. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II F. STRUCTURES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE DISCIPLINE G. ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PHILOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT
H. PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

A. NAME AND DEFINITION

Ancient Near Eastern Philology and History (ANEPH) is part of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, which includes the archaeology of the ancient Near East as well as philology and history. The term 'ancient Near Eastern', in the context of Western European and American scholarship, refers to the geographical area of the Near East and its pre-Christian or pre-Islamic civilizations in the territory of present-day Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, the Arabian peninsula and Iran. As understood by Eastern European scholars, the term ancient Near Eastern includes all ancient advanced civilizations between the Mediterranean and the China Sea. Originally, and to some degree even today, the discipline has borne the traditional name Assyriology, since it was inscriptions from ancient Assyria that marked the beginning of research on the culture of ancient Mesopotamia. In comparison with that term the designation Ancient Near Eastern Studies proved to be increasingly appropriate the more ancient Near Eastern civilizations became known. The enormous increase in inscriptions and archaeological material over the years led to the development of two sub-disciplines: Ancient Near Eastern Philology and → NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY, which, however, remain linked by a shared goal – which is to reconstruct an ancient advanced civilization on the basis of written and material evidence. In that regard, ANEPH, as a historical and cultural discipline, is very closely associated with Near Eastern Archaeology and unthinkable without the contributions of that discipline. The work of the latter, in turn, can only be successful by taking into consideration the findings of philology, when dealing with epochs that can be studied through written sources.

ANEPH concerns itself with the languages, history and civilizations of the Ancient Near East. Their written relics can be understood primarily through the medium of Akkadian (Assyrian-Babylonian) and Sumerian cuneiform script; through Hittite and other ancient Anatolian languages passed down in cuneiform writings (Hattic, Luwian, Palaic); and through (hieroglyphic) Luwian, familiar from numerous hieroglyphic texts.

ANEPH cultivates close ties to the historical and Near Eastern disciplines that address the languages and civilizations of the ancient Near East whose written expressions are extant in non-cuneiform alphabetic writings. These include → SEMITIC Studies, insofar as they deal with Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic and other Western Semitic languages, Old South Arabian and aspects of comparative linguistics; furthermore → IRANIAN Studies and Ancient History insofar as they focus on the reign of the Achaemenids, Arsacids (Parthians) and Sasanids. There are close links between Anatolian Studies, which deals with the oldest known Indo-European languages, and Indo-Germanic Studies, which focuses, among other things, on the ancient Anatolian languages of the 1st millenium (for example Lydian, Lycian, Phrygian).

B. ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS

Soon after the→ DECIPHERMENT of Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian cuneiform script during the 1st half of the 19th cent. some of this work occurring at the same time as extensive English and French excavations were being carried out in the palaces of the Assyrian capitals of Kalu (Nimrud), Dūr-Šarru-ukīn and Nineveh, inscriptions found there on orthostats were published, as were texts from the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal that was discovered in Nineveh (E. Botta, *Monument de Ninive* (= Dūr-Šarru-ukīn), 1849; A.H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, 1851; H.C. Rawlinson, E. Norris, Th. Pinches, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 5 volumes 1861–1880). Having become accessible, these texts made it possible to undertake a comprehensive study of ancient Mesopotamia that went beyond merely deciphering the language.

Public interest in the artistic and written relics of ancient Mesopotamia arose from a variety of motives: for one, attempts by European powers to gain political and economic influence in the Ottoman Empire had the side effect of leading to an occupation – initially pursued by amateurs – with the relics of the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia. Second, a certain competitiveness arose among the major countries of that time in seeking to acquire important works of art for their museums. A related factor, at the end of the 19th cent., was the decision by the political and intellectual elite of Germany, and in particular Prussia, to conduct excavations of their own in Mesopotamia, and likewise to display ancient Near Eastern antiquities in the museums of Berlin, as such materials were displayed in the → LOUVRE and the British Museum. The public exhibitions there of reliefs from the palaces of the Assyrian rulers now introduced to an educated public another pre-classical advanced civilization, in addition to ancient Egypt, with works of art of an impressive appeal. Third, the development of the discipline must be viewed against the backdrop of a general contemporary interest in foreign civilizations that encompassed the ethnography of the non-European world as well as the history of antiquity. In this context, the Near East assumed a significant position in a universally-oriented historiography, when it involved the investigation of the beginnings of history. Finally, the theological discussion in Europe-and the United States [7; 11] concerning the Old Testament as a historical source and its accuracy, played a significant role insofar as certain inscriptions from Assyrian rulers shed light on Old Testament reports of contacts and conflicts involving the nations of Judah and Israel. Thus, it was a sensation in 1874 when George Smith, curator at the British Museum in London, published an extensive fragment of the Epic of Gilgamesh, which was discovered among the clay tablets in the library of Ashurbanipal, and which contained the story of a 'flood' that shows astonishing parallels to the story of the Flood in the Old Testament (Gen. 6–8).

C. END OF THE 19TH CENT.

Especially those scholars engaged in historical and critical investigation of the Old Testament provided crucial impetus for establishing Assyriology as an independent academic discipline. The articles by the Old Testament scholar Eberhard Schrader were of landmark importance: *Die Basis der Entzifferung der babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften geprüft* (ZDMG 23, 1869, 337–374) and *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keilschriften. Kritische Untersuchungen der Grundlagen ihrer Entzifferung* (ZDMG 26, 1872,1–392) as well as his monograph *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testatment* (1872, ^{3}1903). Not least because of these works, Schrader was appointed in 1875 to the first professorial chair for Assyriology, which was created for him in Berlin at the initiative of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences.

For a long time, the new discipline was met with considerable scepticism. Objections were raised, for example, to what were regarded as careless philological methods; this was warranted given that the discipline was still in its beginning stages. Not justified in its absoluteness was the criticism of numerous errors in the reading of place names and personal names due to the multiple meanings of the cuneiform script. Above all, it is thanks to Friedrich Delitzsch that a change occurred in this regard. His roots were in Indo-Germanic Studies, a discipline noted for its methodological stringency; he wrote his Habilitation thesis in 1874 in Leipzig, the first to do so in the field of Assyriology, and immediately thereafter received a position at that university as an associate professor (*außerordentlich*). In a methodically convincing manner, Delitzsch laid the groundwork for the discipline in terms of grammar (*Assyrische Grammatik*, 1889) and lexicon (*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 1896) and thus established Assyriology as a recognized academic discipline in the canon of the other Near Eastern subjects. His reputation as an outstanding scholar drew students from many countries, who subsequently established an Assyriological tradition in their own countries. Assyriology was shaped by

Delitzsch's many students in the United States in particular. Paul Haupt founded Ancient Near Eastern studies in Baltimore; his student W. Muss-Arnoldt compiled the first English-language dictionary of Akkadian, which far exceeded Delitzsch's in its scope.

In the 1880s it was above all the French excavations (L. Heuzy, E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, 1884–1912) in southern Iraq that revealed numerous monumental inscriptions from rulers of the city-state of Lagash dating from the 25th to the 22nd cents. BC as well as thousands of administrative documents. They were written in Sumerian, a language whose study had only just begun at that time. This meant that ANEPH, whose horizon had initially been limited to the Assyrian and Babylonian history of the 1st millennium, was expanded to a substantial degree chronologically, geographically and linguistically, since the newly discovered texts came from the second half of the 3rd millennium. Previous research on the Sumerian language, which had at first been regarded by many researchers not as an independent language, but as a cryptographic rendition of Assyrian-Babylonian, was based in large part on bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian texts from the 1st millennium. Of fundamental importance were the works of the French scholars F. de Lenormant and J. Oppert, as well as of A.H. Sayce in England, who recognized the essential grammatical principle of Sumerian – an agglutinative language that up to today no one has been able to assign to one of the known language families [13]. Building on this, in 1907 the French scholar of Ancient Near Eastern Studies F. Thureau-Dangin published his masterly translation of the Gudea of Lagash (22nd cent. BC), which – apart from certain details – has not been surpassed even today. When Delitzsch subsequently published his *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik* (1914) and his *Sumerisches Glossar* (1914), the first stage of research on the Sumerian language had come to an end.

As the 19th cent. gave way to the 20th, ANEPH received enormous impetus from numerous excavations in Iraq; of these, particular mention should be made of the American excavations in Nippur conducted by H.V. Hilprecht and those carried out by the → Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in → Babylon and in Ashur by R. Koldewey and W. Andrae, among others. An important role was played at that time by the British Museum, where Assyriological research was carried out with great foresight in its organization. One example is the *Catalogue of the Kujundjik Collection of the British Museum* (1889–1896) published by Carl Bezold, which still today remains indispensable. It deciphers the scholarly records of ancient Mesopotamia (largely in Akkadian as well as in bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian texts) collected in the library of Ashurbanipal. In particular, it enabled scholars to fit together texts that had been unearthed as fragments – which was generally the case for the text records from Mesopotamia – and to identify duplicates. It is often necessary to have several dozen partially overlapping duplicates in order to reconstruct

a text completely. The major museums in London, Paris and Berlin began to publish their extensive holdings of clay tablets (*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, 1869ff.; *Textes cunéiformes du Louvre*, 1910ff.; *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1907–1917). The same was true of the important American collections, which had acquired thousands of cuneiform texts in the antiquities market: for example *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian texts* (1915ff.); University of Pennsylvania Museum: *Publications of the Babylonian Section* (1911–1930); *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* (1893–1914). Thus researchers had an extensive body of material available for most of the periods of Mesopotamian history and linguistic development. As excavations, text publications and the editing and translation of important texts significantly increased knowledge of the history and culture of Babylonia and Assyria, the relationship of Assyriology/ANEPH to Old Testament studies was also affected. Triggered by lectures given by Delitzsch, this led in Germany to the so-called Babel-Bible controversy (→ Babylon, E, 4).

Of particular significance was the discovery of the Hammurabi Stele, found in the course of the French excavations at Susa (1902) – containing the text of what remains today the most comprehensive code of laws from preclassical Antiquity – by the French scholar V. Scheil, who also made a great contribution by publishing an impressive number of texts. The Stele text – written in the Old Babylonian dialect Akkadian – opened up new dimensions in the study of Akkadian grammar. Moreover, this find led to the development of an independent branch of ANEPH, Ancient Near Eastern Legal History. This discipline was shaped by the prominent legal historians Josef Kohler, Paul Koschaker, Mariano San Nicolò and Sir John Miles. For a long time, Ancient Near Eastern Legal History could claim to be on an equal methodological footing with its parent discipline, Roman Legal History. Otherwise, this holds true only for the research on Babylonian → mathematics and mathematical astronomy conducted by Otto Neugebauer. Studies of the literature and religion of ancient Mesopotamia have gradually been linked with the respective parent disciplines, as the appropriate methodological approaches are being adopted.

D. The 1920s and 1930s

With his *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (1923) and the morphological analysis formulated in it, which remains essentially valid today, Arno Poebel laid the foundation for further research into the Sumerian language. A. Deimel, who worked at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome, made a landmark contribution when he published administrative documents from the 24th cent. BC in their original archival context, and on that basis, for the first time, depicted systematically the administrative and economic structures of an early

Mesopotamian city-state (beginning in 1920). His *Sumerisches Lexikon* (1928–1933), organized by cuneiform signs, remains an indispensable lexical aid for Sumerology, despite the obvious shortcomings in it that have since become evident. The English scholar Stephen Langdon contributed in a variety of ways to our knowledge of Sumerian through the publication of numerous texts and studies.

A new branch of ANEPH began to emerge in 1915, when the Czech orientalist Bedrich Hrozny recognized as Indo-European the language on the clay tablets that had been discovered by August Winckler in 1907 at the Anatolian site of Boghazkoy, and thus laid the foundation for the new cuneiform discipline of → Hittite Studies. In the United States, the Egyptologist James Henry Breasted, Director of the Oriental Institute in Chicago, launched the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* project in 1922. Following the model of the Egyptian dictionary that had been started under the leadership of A. Erman and under the patronage of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Breasted planned to compile a thesaurus of the Assyrian-Babylonian language. Scholars from all over the world were recruited to go through and translate entire groups of texts, some of them as yet unpublished, as a basis for cataloging the language's vocabulary. The goal of Bruno Meissner, Professor of Assyriology in Berlin, was a more modest one; with the support of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, after extensive preliminary work, he sought in 1930 to compile a concise dictionary of Assyrian-Babylonian. It was not until after World War II that both dictionary projects were successfully continued. C. Bezold had sought to meet the need for a dictionary. His *Babylonian-Assyrian Glossary* (without references) was published posthumously in 1926 by his student A. Götze.

In the 1920s, the young scholar Benno Landsberger (1890–1968), who was teaching in Leipzig, provided, with his fundamental grammatical and heuristic insights, a valuable impetus for ANEPH that continues today. Particularly groundbreaking was his work entitled *Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt.* (1926, repr. 1965). In it, Landsberger put an end to so-called Pan-Babylonianism, while at the same time calling into question the sometimes rash application of Old Testament concepts to the religious phenomena of Mesopotamia. He showed how to gain insight in a methodologically rigorous manner into the ways of thinking and the values that were specific to Mesopotamian culture. In this way, he anticipated the later discussion of group-specific and scientific concepts that was to become well known under the terms 'emic' and 'etic' in the fields of linguistics and social anthropology. His findings in the sphere of grammar were further developed by his students in later years, and became a fundamental part of the discipline.

Hitler's dictatorship led to the exodus of numerous scholars from Germany and Austria – among them scholars in the field of Ancient Near Eastern Studies

such as Benno Landsberger, Julius and Hildegard Lewy, Otto Neugebauer, Hans-Gustav Güterbock, Fritz Rudolf Kraus, Leo Oppenheim, Ernst Herzfeld and Albrecht Goetze. As modern universities were being established under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, Landsberger, Güterbock and Kraus founded the field of ANEPH in Turkey. Oppenheim, Goetze, the Lewys, Neugebauer and Herzfeld found a new home in the United States and had a profound effect on APG in that country.

E. Since the End of World War II

After the war, Landsberger, Güterbock and Oppenheim were called to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and, together with I. J. Gelb and T. Jacobsen, they guided the decisive phase of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD) project. The original plan to compile a thesaurus had been abandoned, since the publication of the myriad unpublished texts in museums and private collections, as well as the new texts that were constantly being added from of the numerous excavations in Iraq and Syria, would only have been possible to achieve with the help of generations of researchers. Therefore, it was decided that work should proceed on the basis of the text material that was already accessible. In 1956 the first volume appeared and in July 2005 a conference was held at the Oriental Institute to celebrate the completion of the CAD project. According to its long-term publisher, Leo Oppenheim, the CAD is not intended to be just a dictionary, but a compendium that depicts the culture of Mesopotamia through the concepts that are inherent in its language. This is accomplished, for example, by citing the entire context of a given word, which permits the user a direct critique of its interpretation. The CAD continued the tradition of international cooperation, even after the actual writing process had begun: many young as well as older scholars from all over the world were recruited to work on this project. In contrast, Wolfram von Soden's three-volume *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, which was compiled – based on Meissner's preliminary work – between 1954 and 1981, was largely one man's accomplishment. Conceived as a concise dictionary, it attaches particular importance to the etymological equivalents of the other Semitic languages and to the grammatical (morphological and syntactical) characteristics of individual words, which makes it a valuable supplement to the CAD. Thus the study of Akkadian has at its disposal modern lexicographic aids that are comparable to those used in studying the classical languages. In addition to the dictionary, von Soden contributed to ANEPH an *Akkadian Syllabary* (1948), the basis for a well-founded interpretation of the various meanings of the signs of cuneiform script, and above all the descriptive *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik* (1952), which remains the standard today. Modern linguistic theory forms the foundation of the grammatical presentations of Erica Reiner (*A Linguistic Analysis of Akkadian*, 1966), I. J. Gelb (*A Sequential Reconstruc-*

tion of Akkadian, 1969) and G. Buccellati (*A Structural Grammar of Akkadian*, 1996).

Research on the Sumerian language after 1945 was shaped by the work of Adam Falkenstein (1906–1966), Thorkild Jacobsen (1904–1993) and Samuel Noah Kramer (1897–1990). Falkenstein's *Grammatik der Sprache des Gudea von Lagasch* (1949/50), important aspects of which are based on Poebel (see above), introduced a new era of research into Sumerian grammar. Since then, a sometimes controversial discussion of the grammatical structure of Sumerian has followed, which has led, among other things, to important new discoveries regarding the Sumerian verb system. While previously the grammar had been based for the most part on bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian texts (known to scholars from copies dating from the 1st millennium) and bilingual grammatical lists, Falkenstein based his analysis on a monolingual Sumerian text corpus of high literary quality. The advantage of using this text corpus was that its formation could be limited to a time span of some 20 years, and that it had not been subsequently 'modernized' as it was handed down. Kramer's lasting contribution lies in the publication of Sumerian myths, epics and cultic songs in autographic and philological editions. Together with the help of numerous dissertations instigated by him, the most important components of the Sumerian literary tradition were made accessible. Lexicographic research on Sumerian is based to a substantial degree on the series edited by B. Landsberger and M. Civil entitled *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon* (17 volumes since 1938), which contains bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian vocabularies and lists of objects organized by subject groups. The compilation of a Sumerian dictionary based on the CAD model has been under way since 1984 at the University of Pennsylvania (PSD) under the leadership of Å. Sjöberg and continued by Steve Tinney. In recent years, the project's focus has shifted more toward a digital existence. PSD has issued a web-release of its second Beta of the ePSD in 2005 and expects to have a Web, CD and print-release of a first full version of the PSD in 2006.

F. Structures and Institutions of the Discipline

Since the 1950s, ANEPH has been established as a new discipline in many countries beyond the group of North American and Western European countries that were prominent in the past (for example, in China, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Spain, Syria) or has launched a new beginning, as in the former Soviet Union (in that country, the entire field of Near Eastern Studies in Leningrad fell victim to the Stalinist 'purges' following Kirov's murder in 1934), Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia. In Iraq, Israel, Syria and Turkey, an important motivation for addressing the cultures of the Ancient Near East arose from interest in those countries' own history and the search for a national identity.

Since the beginning of the 20th cent., ANEPH has been repeatedly enriched by surprising text discoveries.

These discoveries have not only deepened our understanding of Babylonian civilization, but above all they have substantially increased our knowledge of the culture and history of northern Mesopotamia and Syria (among others, Alalaḫ, Ebla, Emar, Kaneš, Mari, Nuzi, Ugarit). Research has turned to the Syrian region because of the favorable working conditions found there, but also because of the political situation in Iraq. The enormous expansion in the amount of source material, not only in terms of regional, but also in its linguistic variety, chronological dimension (3200 – approx. 100 BC) and content (e.g., literary and religious texts, administrative and legal documents, letters), has led to increased specialization within the field of ANEPH: in the sub-disciplines of Sumerology, Akkadian studies and Hittite Studies, interest is emerging to varying degrees in certain language and historical periods and in certain content areas (among others, economic and social history, literary traditions, medical, mathematical and astronomical texts). While the situation varies from country to country, as a result of these developments there are now two professorships in the field of ANEPH at many universities. Unlike the United States, France and Italy, where ancient Near Eastern history is taught on a large scale within the general history curriculum, in Germany it has not proved possible so far, despite a great deal of effort, to integrate the non-European history of Asia and Africa into the academic training offered to historians, although it is an integral part of the secondary-school curriculum. In Western Europe and North America, many new professorships in ANEPH were established as the universities were expanded in the 1970s; however, since the mid–1990s these positions again find themselves in jeopardy as a wave of 'consolidation' is taking place in the tertiary educational sphere.

In some countries, ANEPH has been a subject of study not only at the universities, but also at research institutions outside of the universities or affiliated with them: for example at the Carsten Niebuhr Institute in Denmark, the Oriental Institute in Chicago, the Netherlands' Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in France, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) in Italy, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in Spain, at the major museums in Philadelphia, Paris, London and Berlin, and the Academies of Sciences in the former Soviet Union or Russia, the former Czechoslovakia or the Czech Republic, and the former East Germany. In countries with no national research centers, research projects at the universities are financially supported by the relevant national organizations for promoting research (among others, the National Endowment for the Humanities in the United States, the Netherlands' Organization for Pure Research, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

An important part in the extensive scholarly cooperation that occurs within the sphere of ANEPH is contributed by the annual Rencontre Assyriologique

Internationale, which was established by French and Belgian Assyriologists in 1948. Since scholars in Ancient Near Eastern Studies in the socialist countries were long subject to travel restrictions, they began in 1974 to hold conferences at irregular intervals under the name 'Šulmu' (peace), with active participation by researchers from Western Europe and the United States.

G. Ancient Near Eastern Philology and History in the Context of its Cultural and Political Environment

In addition to discussing heuristic and methodological problems, in keeping with a general trend in the study of history, the discipline of ANEPH itself has become the subject of investigation and critical reflection [12; 16]. Central themes in this regard include the concentration on certain research subjects favored by the trends of the time, the use of specific methods, as well as issues of the discipline's place and significance in the university's canon and in university education. Looking back, it also becomes clear to what degree the circumstances of a given era have affected the discipline's development and choice of themes. This holds true not only for the 19th cent. In later years as well, the discipline has become entangled in the ideological currents of the time. In the Soviet Union, V.V. Struve participated in the 1930s in formulating the so-called Stalinist formation theory (the development from a primitive society to communism via a slaveholder society, feudalism and capitalism). To counter Struve's one-sided ideological positions, I.M. Diakonoff was able to put forth, successfully, a well-founded critique, strictly focused on the message of the texts, (1967). In so doing, Diakonoff helped to shape ancient Near Eastern research in the former Soviet Union, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, as well as in Poland and in Hungary. In the winter semester of 1933/34, as part of the political education of students at the University of Berlin, Bruno Meissner lectured on a topic entitled Introduction to the 'Ethnogeny of the Ancient Near East' [14. 191]. T. Jacobsen's *Primitive Democracy* (JNES 2, 1943, 149–72) can be viewed as a young scholar's declaration of allegiance to the political system of his adopted country, while his work *The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History* in the Journal of the American Oriental Society (JAOS) 59, 1939, 485–95) is a response to the view – by no means limited to Germany – that historical developments can be explained by national characteristics or racial differences [4].

H. Perspectives for the Future

In view of the fact that new texts are continually being discovered, and with more than 150,000 unpublished texts now found in museums (in particular in the British Museum in London, the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul and the Iraq Museum in Baghdad), ANEPH finds itself in a dilemma: first, the urgent task remains to make unpublished material in the form of

autographies accessible; in addition, there is a pressing need to edit the content of known material and to develop syntheses. In the near term, then, it is important not only to continue the editing of the large quantities of unpublished texts, but also to come up with newly-edited publications of texts that have long been available. In the last few decades, exemplary editorial standards have been developed for this purpose. This included making hand-drawn copies of and collating the texts. In view of the many duplicates of literary texts, the reader not only had to be informed of variants, but the actual degree of preservation of each text passage had to be laid out as well, in the form of a 'Partitur' (i.e. 'textual matrix' format). In this context, increasing attention has been paid to issues of paleography and the scribal culture. A large quantity of texts in the rich scholarly tradition of ancient Mesopotamia (in particular myths, epics, texts of divination and incantation, medical, mathematical and astronomical texts) has been made accessible not only editorially, but also with respect to content. There is an emerging tendency to approach the intellectual concepts of Mesopotamian civilization and its values and world view in such a way that intuition, methodological stringency and understanding of what is specific to that civilization are rooted in strict philological discipline [10].

Since the 1960s, problems of social and economic history in the ancient Near East have drawn increasing attention (I. J.Gelb, *Approaches to the Study of Ancient Societies*, JAOS 87, 1967, 1–8). The groundwork for such inquiries was laid by Koschaker, Miles and San Nicolo (see above) and their students, who conducted numerous investigations in legal history. Research dealing with this region's social and economic history currently has at its disposal a unique and far richer body of source material than is available for other ancient civilizations, with a present total of around 100,000 published letters and legal and administrative documents. However, since they are dispersed among a large number of museums and collections – coming, in many cases, from illicit excavations – they first have to be put back into their original context. In the case of document holdings of significance for economic and social history research, this is achieved primarily by the use of prosopographic methods. With the help of archives or dossiers reconstructed in this manner, it is then possible to depict the structures and processes of a society and its economy. While the texts do not enable us to draw statistical conclusions that meet the standards of social science, the extant individual texts are of great temporal and localdensity; for example, frequently 10,000–20,000 texts are spread over a span of only a few decades. As sources have been made accessible, an intensive and sometimes controversial theoretical debate has ensued, primarily regarding the question of whether modern, neoclassical economic theories are suitable for analyzing pre-modern economies. Those who answer in the negative base their view on the work of the economic historian Karl Polanyi and the ancient historian Moses Finley, among others [15].

Increasingly, ANEPH is launching interdisciplinary research projects dealing with such issues as cultural, social, religious, economic and scientific history, or participating in related colloquia or research groups. In so doing, it is expanding the spectrum of knowledge that, in the past, has often been limited by Western ways of thinking. ANEPH enables us to examine and understand an independent and significant ancient advanced civilization, in the light of its own circumstances and concepts. Moreover, it is clear that the knowledge and achievements of this civilization have remained influential up to the present day, through the mediation of the Old Testament and the classical Mediterranean world. For its part, ANEPH has also gained new perspectives for considering its own sources by working together with other disciplines (such as sociology, social anthropology, economic, legal, cultural, medical, mathematical, astronomical and religious history, and comparative literature) and by gaining experience with the methods of those disciplines.

→ Achamenids; → Akkadian; → Ancient Southern Arabian; → Aramaic; → Assurbanipal; → Atraḫasīs; → Cuneiform script; → Gilgamesh, Gilgamesh Epic; → Ḫammurapi; → Hattic; → Ḫattusa; → Hieroglyphs; → Hittite; → Judah and Israel; → Luwian; → Nineveh; → Palaic; → Parthia; → Phoenicians, Poeni; → Sassanids; → Sumerian; → Ugaritic

→ Iraq Museum Baghdad; → Berlin II. Vorderasiatisches Museum; → Egyptology; → London, British Museum

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JOHANNES RENGER

Andalucia see→ Arabic-Islamic cultural sphere

Animal Epic

A. Concept, Origin, Classical Models
B. History

A. Concept, Origin, Classical Models

The animal epic (AE) is an epic work of varying length (from several hundred to more than 10, 000 lines) with animals as the protagonists, who plan, act, reflect and speak like human beings. Animals appear as well-spoken participants in the myths, stories and other literature of a wide range of peoples and cultures, in oral tradition as well as in literary works that have come down to us in written form. The inclination to reflect human activity in narrative form in the world of the animals may be seen as an anthropological universal, and it manifests itself in literary genres as varied as the → epic, the → fable, didactic writing, Christian redemption-allegory in the tradition of the *Physiologus*, as well as in the → fairy-tale. These genres have been grouped together in modern literary criticism since the 19th cent. under the heading of 'animal poetry', although in classical and medieval poetics fictional texts with animals as protagonists are not classified under an individual category, and even the sub-classification of AE is unknown.

The anthropomorphic treatment of animals always has an alienating effect, whether the emphasis is upon the similarity between animal and human behaviour in the didactic parable, or whether it is on the deliberate discrepancy for parodistic purposes between an elevated style and actions carried out by lower orders. In the AE the reduction of the epic hero, who stands out above his fellow-humans through his special abilities, to an animal fulfils a parodistic or satirical function. Since the animal is never fully humanised, and in certain situations retains its natural instincts to seize its prey or to run away, it is precisely this oscillation on the part of the protagonist between its animal and its human nature that gives the AE its particular charm [1]. Both in form and content (verse-form, use of epic formulas and epithets, narrative, use of dialogue, battle-descriptions and to an extent cyclic structures, in post-classical times also love-themes) the AE, as is so often the case with comic genres, feeds upon 'serious' or 'high-level' models in the relevant literature. This is already apparent in the single surviving animal-epic from the classical period, the late Hellenistic pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*, which describes in only around 300 lines of verse the battle between the frogs and the mice, using the *Iliad* as a model. Although the *Batrachomyomachia* was unknown in the West during the Middle Ages and had no influence on the development of post-classical Latin and vernacular AEs, it was used as a school text in → Byzantium, and provided a model for a satirical book-drama by Johannes Prodromos, the *Katomyomachia* ('War of the Cats and the Mice', 1st. half of the 12th cent.). Not until 1472 was the pseudo-Homeric

epic parody translated into Latin by the Italian humanist C. Marsuppini, and it became known in Western European literature from the 16th century on. In spite of the assumption made by J. Grimm, it is impossible to determine a straightforward genealogy which would lead from the oral tradition of the 'animal legend' (which is practically impossible to reconstruct) directly to the medieval AE [5. 12–23]. An important classical precedent for the development of the AE in the Middle Ages in Western Europe, however, is the fable; numerous narrative themes, such as that of the unfairly divided booty by the lion, were taken over into the AE and given epic treatment. The AE is a heterogeneous genre, for which it is impossible to point to a single source or claim a single tradition line of development; multiple origins of the genre has to be assumed, given that the humanisation of animals is a familiar feature of all agrarian societies. Folklore, Christian tradition (*Physiologus*, Balaam's ass in Numbers 22, 28, as the only speaking animal in the Bible) and the Latin school tradition (especially collections of fables, *Avianus*) all have a combined effect [10. 1–46].

B. History

The history of the AE is a discontinuous one; its most important points of development are the formation in the High Middle Ages (12th cent.) of large-scale epic cycles with named individual protagonists, and the productive use of the classical genre *Batrachomyomachia* as a model, which begins only in the → Renaissance (16th cent.).

Shorter animal-poems in various metres have survived from the early Middle Ages which, like Alcuin's *The Cock and the Wolf* take up themes from fables, but no generic tradition of AE developed [10.129]. The first more extensive AE of the Latin Middle Ages is the anonymous *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi* in 1229 leonine hexameters (*c.* 1043–1046); the author interpolates into an autobiographical framework on the distractions of his youth the tale of the flight of a calf, which would have been devoured by a wolf had the latter not been outwitted by the fox. The artistry of the story, with the interweaving of various episodes and narrative levels, as well as borrowings from Horace, is, however, not really an epic, but presumably a monastic Easter entertainment designed to be performedt with different voices for different roles. The first genuine Latin AE is the *Ysengrimus* of Nivardus of Ghent (mid–12th cent.) in elegiac distichs. The otherwise unknown author integrates the individual comic episodes with different adventures of the wolf by way of flashbacks, to make it an epic whole, which ends with the protagonist torn apart by a herd of swine. Nivardus individualises the animals for the first time by providing names. The wolf, a deceiver deceived, falls prey, as a caricature of a monastic bishop, to Fortuna [7]; the cunning of the fox is developed in carefully worked-out rhetorical dialogues and inner monologues, which show the contradiction of thought and word.

Around 1170 there emerged the first episodes (Fr. *branches*) of the Old French *Roman de Renart* in rhymed octosyllabic couplets, the metre of the courtly romance. The Old French AE shares with the romance the description of a feudal world under the rule of King Noble. Even the parodistic reversal of courtly love in a crude rape-scene (Renart the fox woos the she-wolf Hersent, only to force himself on her) is to be read against the background of the courtly world. The action is motivated by the antagonism between the cunning fox and the constantly outwitted wolf, and in generic terms is characterised as the opposite of heroic poetry [5. 219–239]; the entire Renart-cycle of over 30, 000 lines also shows us, like other ramified large-scale epics, the childhood and the death of the hero. Renart constantly shows himself to be a master of verbal equivocation, mockery and deceit [8]. Thus the trickster-figure of the cunning fox can, in French allegories of the 13th cent. (e.g. Jacquemart Gielee, *Renart le Nouvel*), be stylised into the embodiment of evil as such. The Renart-material was welcomed into other medieval literatures, as for example in the *Reinhart Fuchs* (late 12th cent.) of Heinrich der Glîchezare from the Alsace, who warns against disloyalty, in the anonymous Middle English version *The Vox and the Wolf* (second half of the 13th cent., see [4. 181–197]), the Flemish *Van den Vos Reinaerde* (first half of the 13th cent.) or the Low German AE *Reynke de Vos* of 1498, which was to serve in 1793 as Goethe's model when he was working on his own AE *Reineke Fuchs*.

During the Renaissance the Homeric epics, and also the pseudo-Homeric *Batrochomyomachia* became once again the focus of literary attention. As early as 1521 Teofilo Folengo published his burlesque AE *Moschaea* in three books of elegiac distichs, dealing with the victorious struggle of the ants against the flies. The parodistic mismatch between epic style and trivial subject, which is a constitutive feature of the burlesque genre, is here augmented in two respects: first through the reduction of the heroes to insects, and secondly through the 'macaronic' mixture of the scholarly language, Latin, and the dialect of Padua. In 1595 in his *Froschmeuseler* the German humanist Georg Rollhagen inflated the classical model into a gigantic didactic epic with moral, economic and scientific excursuses. Against that, Lope de Vega's *Gatomaquia* is more comic and wittier, written in 1635 in *silvas*, the favoured strophic form of his arch-rival Góngora, who had been branded as 'dark.' The battle of the juvenile cats is set off by their rivalry for the beautiful but flighty lady cat, Zapaquila. The introduction of the jealousy-motif is an indication that beside the classical epic, the genre of the Italian romanzo, which grew out of a mixture of medieval *romance*, medieval heroic epic and classical epic, most notably Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, is also being parodied. The parodistic AE serves as a foil, therefore, to whatever epic genres are available or popular at any given time. Against this, the gradual loss of interest in the epic and the eventual dominance of the ironic

→ NOVEL towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cent. also lead to the disappearance of the AE, although it bids farewell from the heights of European literature and in fine style with Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*, published in 1794, and Giacomo Leopardi's incomplete *Batracomiomachia*, begun in 1831. Where Goethe cast his medieval material into hexameters in order to castigate human foibles in general and as a personal diversion from the genuine epic activities on the 'world stage', the French → REVOLUTION, Leopardi was concerned in his work, full of allusions and composed in *ottava rima*, the metre of the *romance*, precisely with a satirical treatment of the political struggles between Italian patriots and adherents of the restoration in Naples in the years 1820–1831. George Orwell's anti-Stalinist satire *Animal Farm* (1945), in terms of genre, is no longer determined by the epic, but by the fable and the novel. Beyond that, in the 20th cent. talking animals have withdrawn into → COMICS and children's books, where their improbability is most likely to be accepted. Alan Alexander Milne's children's classic *Winnie-the-Pooh* was even translated into Latin in 1958, so that Bear, Piglet and Rabbit appear one last time in classical dress.

→ Batrachomyomachia;→ Epic, animal
→ FABLE

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MAX GROSSE

Animal studies see → ZOOLOGY

Anthologia Graeca see→ LYRIC POETRY

Anthologia Latina see→ LYRIC POETRY

Antiquarianism (Humanism until 1800)

A. CONCEPT, CONTENT AND FORM B. HISTORY AND GENRES C. ANTIQUARIANISM AND MODERN ANCIENT STUDIES

A. CONCEPT, CONTENT AND FORM

During the period covered here, *antiquities antiquitates, antiquités*, 'Antiquitäten', 'Alterthümer' were understood as the totality of written documentation or material remains (such as coins, monuments, objects of art and everyday items) that might provide information about the daily conditions, customs, practices, cults, institutions, in short the culture, of an ancient people.

An *antiquarius* was an authority, a collector and archivist of such documents and fragments. After Jacob Spon (1685 [76]) both terms were often used synonymously with 'archaeology' and 'archaeologist'. This arbitrariness in terminology shows that antiquarianism was not regarded as a self-contained *ars* or academic discipline but rather as an arsenal of facts, the ordering and erudite description of which did not follow any firm set of rules but rather the interest and competence of the individual antiquarian. In a period that required every academic field to draw on ancient models, this openness can be readily explained by the multiplicity of possible models. Even if Varro's *Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum libri XLI*, that masterpiece of Antiquity praised by Cicero, had been lost and were known to us only through Augustine's scant list of its contents (Civ. 6,4), there were various other authors to turn to, such as Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*), Athenaeus of Naucratis (*The Learned Banquet*), Strabo, Pausanias, Stephanus of Byzantium or other late Roman-Hellenistic lexicographers. This plethora of varied models gave antiquarians significantly greater freedom of manoeuvre in the presentation and literate structure of their material than was available to historians, for example [112].

Like the latter, however, pre-modern antiquarianism pursued a fundamentally philological goal: it was expected to help reach a better understanding of the works of classical authors. Information derived from those authors helped, in turn, to identify ancient objects. Antiquarianism and history were thus expected to extend and validate each other, with the latter concentrating on the dynamic factor and the former, the static, systematic or structural factor: While ancient authors mostly depicted events and changes and often left the political and cultural constants simply to be guessed at, it fell to antiquarianism to portray just those 'circumstances and attitudes' [89. 54–55]. In the early modern period of Classical studies, it therefore encompassed constitutional, legal, economic and cultural history. Antiquarianism usually took the form of a reference work: *Bibliotheca* or *Thesaurus*, which bundled together excerpts or entire works on specific themes (e.g. [39–42; 82]), *Lexica*, which condensed such texts into short items of information (e.g. [62]), or *Catalogi*, which described and classified the pieces in a collection (e.g. [7–8; 26; 34; 71; 87]). From the late 16th cent. on, illustrations in woodcuts or copperplate engravings increasingly accompanied the textual description. In the 18th cent. the leading antiquarian publications were often expensive works with illustrated plates (e.g. [49]). Even if the external appearance of the publications was modified in this way, their structure nevertheless remained relatively unchanged. In 1459, in imitation of Varro, who had divided his *Antiquitates* into religious and temporal antiquities, Flavius Blondus developed the modern model, by breaking up his *Roma triumphans* (in: [10]) into *antiquitates publicae, privatae, sacrae* and *militares*. In 1583, Johannes Rosinus adopt-

ed a sharper differentiation in his *Romanarum Antiquitatum libri X* [67], which, in its revision by the Scottish Etruscologist Thomas Dempster (Utrecht, 1710) remained a standard work until well into the 19th cent.: the books covered Rome's topography and populations (I), the sacred items of Antiquity (II–IV), customs, games and festivals (V), *comitia* assemblies and magistrates (VI–VII), the legal (IX) and martial items of Antiquity (X). Items of Antiquity were always classified according to subject matter. In the middle of the 18th cent. categorisation changed to using periods and phases of artistic development. That heralded the end of traditional antiquarianism and its merging with history into modern *Altertumswissenschaft* (study of Antiquity).

B. History and genres

1. Rome as the Centre of Humanistic Antiquarianism 2. Antiquarianism and Aristocratic Representation 3. Forms of Antiquitates publicae 4. Greek and Biblical Antiquarianism 5. National Antiquarianism 6. Crisis and Triumph of Antiquarianism after 1700

1. Rome as the Centre of Humanistic Antiquarianism

Interest in material remains from Antiquity never faded during the Middle Ages [109, ch. 1; 124, ch. 1]. Ancient buildings were incorporated into churches, residential or defensive complexes, while inscriptions, sculptures und fragments were used as booty, and jewels and coins were fashioned into decorative items and cult objects. Saintly cults and local legends developed out of grave finds. Ancient monuments were used as evidence of the longevity of one's own city, family or period of rule – signifying a valuable political legitimisation in an era when legal and property claims and pretensions to power had to have a basis in tradition. This pragmatic, direct relationship with Antiquity was to change fundamentally at the beginning of the Renaissance. It gave way to the consciousness of a deep historical gap, separating the (depressed) present from (the brilliance of) Antiquity [105]. That is why Humanists no longer looked at ancient remains with a naive pleasure in the old and unusual, but with admiration and a spirit of enquiry. The beauty and artistic perfection of ancient objects confirmed for them that Antiquity had been an exemplary era in every respect, and they served as exemplars for the humanistic project of systematically orienting all fields of existence towards ancient models. Thus, scholars began to explore all these things specifically to gain from them a vivid, historical impression of the politico-cultural reality of life for people in Antiquity [129].

Like → Humanism in general, antiquarianism also came to life in Italy. The city of Rome remained its centre until the 18th cent. [99; 100; 111]. In the service of the Popes, who deliberately linked with Rome's imperial tradition on their return from Avignon (1377), distinguished Humanists like Poggio Bracciolini propagated a *renovatio* of Augustan Rome under curial direction (J. Hankins in: [99. 47–85]). Families who supplied cardinals, like the Orsini, Colonna or Barberini, on the other hand, promoted instead study that recalled the republican-senatorial tradition of ancient Rome. This political-ideological antagonism also dominated the relationship between Rome's antiquarian attitudes and those of other Italian states (e.g. Venice or Florence) and, from the time of the Reformation, between Catholic and Protestant antiquarianism. The fascination for antiquarianism in early modern Europe is to be explained not least by its importance as a cultural medium for political power struggles [127].

Roman antiquarianism began as a search for the topography of ancient Rome. In 1429, in *De varietate fortunae urbis Romae et de ruina eiusdem*, Poggio Bracciolini wistfully described the Roman ruins that he – following Petrarch's advice to read the classicists on ancient ruins – attempted to identify from literary sources (in: [63]). In 1432/34, for his treatise *De re aedificatoria* (1452, printed 1485), the architect Leon Battista Alberti measured and sketched several Roman buildings [1]. The first topographic manual of ancient Rome, however, was produced by Papal secretary Flavius Blondus in his *Roma instaurata* (1444–47, printed 1471), the sequel to which, *Roma triumphans* (1457–59, printed 1472), also encompassed Christian antiquities (in: [10]). In 1462 Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini) renewed an edict issued in 1363 for the protections of Roman antiquities. In 1515 Julius II appointed the painter Raffael Santi inspector of Roman monuments and antiquities and commissioned him to see to their systematic documentation. The results – the *Antiquitates urbis* of Andrea Fulvio and a map of ancient Rome by Fabio Calvo – appeared in 1527, shortly before the destruction of many ancient monuments in the 'Sacco di Roma' (Sack of Rome). In 1553, Calvo's map was superseded by the one that Pirro Ligorio drew in his *Libro delle antichitá di Roma* [46] and then surpassed in 1561 with his monumental woodcut-depiction of a bird's-eye view of ancient Rome (*Antiquae urbis imago accuratissime ex vetustis monumentis formata*) [97]. Similar attempts were made by Leonardo Bufalini (1551), Antonio Tempesta (1593) and many others after them (Grafton in: [99. 87–123]).

Rome's importance as a travel destination for pilgrims, members of the nobility and artists ensured that such maps and pictures of ancient buildings, statues and works of art quickly spread throughout the whole of Europe and shaped the contemporary image of Antiquity with local colouring [103]. Especially influential were the *compendia* of Ulisse Aldrovandi [2; 3] of Bologna, the *Vestigi delle Antichitá di Roma* of the copperplate engraver of the Prague court, Aegidius Sadeler [68], the plates depicting Roman statues and bas-reliefs by François Perrier [57–58], and in the 18th cent. the *vedute* of the Venetian Giovanni Battista Piranesi [61].

Until 1657 the Roman antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo had distinguished artists like Nicolas Poussin encyclopaedically document all extant monuments of Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in an enormous archive of illustrations. By the time of his death there were some 7000 drawings and etchings in 23 folio volumes (Museo Cartaceo) [17].

2. Antiquarianism and Aristocratic Representation

Until the discovery of → Pompeii, Rome remained the central stage for significant finds of classical works of art (→ Laocoon group in 1506, the Farnese bull in 1545, the Farnese Hercules in 1546, Ara pacis in 1568, the Aldobrandi wedding in 1582, Niobe in 1583) [102]. In 1471 Pope Sixtus IV opened the first Antiquity museum in the Conservatory palace. From 1503, Julius II created at Belvedere the Antiquity gallery that became a model throughout the world. Soon, not only Roman cardinals (Borghese, Farnese, Ludovisi, Barberini, Colonna, Chigi), but prestige-minded cities and princes in Europe began collecting works of art or at least establishing for themselves a *studiolo*, a study fashioned in antique style. Famous Italian collections were those of the Gonzaga in Mantua and the Este in Ferrara. In just Venice alone in the 17th cent. there were about 70 fairly small exhibition rooms of antiquities. Among the French aristocracy, antiquities-collecting was popular under Francois I (1515–1547) [102. 1–6]. Emperors in the Holy Roman Empire from Maximilian I (1493–1519) onward maintained antiquarian collections at their courts in Vienna, Innsbruck and Prague. As early as 1570 the dukes of Bavaria established in their residence at Munich the *Antiquarium*, the only Antiquity museum outside Italy [92. 133–192], in competition with the collection of the Palatine Electors in Heidelberg [7], while the courts of Saxony and Brandenburg did not develop their significant → Antiquities collections until the 17th cent. [8. 103]. In England, in addition to the collection of King Charles I (1625–1649), that of the diplomat Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, was world-famous [104]. Its catalogue, completed by John Selden in 1629 [71], set new scholarly standards.

Supervised by reputable antiquarians, such collections and (private) museums reflected the status, wealth, good taste, education and extensive contacts of their owners. They thus served scholarly and social purposes at the same time. As attractions for distinguished travellers, they became a meeting-place for nobles, artists, scholars and other members of the new upper class that often transcended social levels [127]. Under the influence of antiquarianism, aristocratic-elite circles, which constituted a Europe-wide network of communications and correspondence, formed themselves into → academies. One of the earliest and most influential was the Roman one of Pomponius Laetus (1428–1497), who held lectures on old chronology, linguistic and legal items of Antiquity and together with his pupils collected inscriptions [99]. In the 16th cent. all larger Italian cities

had similar academies, which pursued, proposed and financed antiquarian research. In → Naples, they united in 1738 to form the *Accademia degli Ercolanesi*, which had been recording the finds from → Herculaneum, and those from Pompeii after 1760. In Augsburg, Laetus' pupil Conrad Peutinger established around 1495 the first German collection of antiquities (which contained *inter alia* the *Tabula Peutingeriana*) and an academy that had links with the humanist sodalities promoted by Emperor Maximilian I [92]. In England 1572 a *Society of Antiquaries* was formed in 1572 but was banned by King James I in 1604 as a bastion of political resistance. In 1732 wealthy private individuals established the → Society of Dilettanti, which financed several antiquarian research expeditions in the eastern Mediterranean. The most important French academy for antiquarian studies was the royal *Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres* (founded 1663), which after its re-establishment in 1716/17 published *Mémoires* annually. A *Collegium Antiquarium* was established in Uppsala in 1666 [122; 126. 47–49].

3. Forms of Antiquitates publicae

The most widespread form of reputable antiquarianism was work with gems and coins. These fascinated contemporaries as symbols of princely power, as a starting-point for politico-moralistic reflection and for the attempts, characteristic of the period, to produce genealogical lines of descent from the Caesars to the collection's owner. For that reason, ancient numismatics flourished above all at the imperial court. Here, the court historiographer Wolfgang Lazius dreamed as early as 1558 of a complete corpus of all ancient coins [45], before Adolf III Occo outlined in 1579 a method for their chronological recording [52] – two goals that were, however, not reached until Joseph Hilarius Eckhel as Director of the Vienna Court Coin Cabinet, completed its massive catalogue in 1779 and in 1792 founded modern → Numismatics with his *Doctrina nummorum veterum* [26–27]. In the 17th cent., the leading numismatists were working in France, where, in 1514, using antiquarian techniques, Guillaume Budaeus had developed a comparative metrology and monetary theory [16]: Jean Foy Vaillant (1632–1706), who in the course of his adventurous life wrote a great number of treatises, particularly on Roman provincial and Hellenistic coins, and was the first to concentrate consistently on original items can be mentioned, but also Charles Patin [56] and the Palatine-Brandenburg diplomat Ezechiel Spanheim [75].

The first comprehensive compendia of gem and coin portraits were created by the Spanish court painter Hubert Goltzius [33] and distinguished collectors like Fulvius Ursinus [83–84] and Abraham Gorlaeus, a resident of Antwerp ([36; 37] cf. Zazoff in: [90. 363–378]). The spectacular plan for a publication on all ancient jewels, however, on which Peter Paul Rubens and Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc, the most famous antiquarian of his time, had been working between 1621 and 1637, did not come to fruition, because of the latter's death [117.

21]. The pioneering work of modern glyptography was created in 1724 by Philipp von Stosch [79], whose much admired collection was catalogued by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in 1760 [88. 130].

Aesthetic-moralistic and political interests interfered not only in the debate over coins but also in consideration of the classical forms of *antiquitates publicae* and of inscriptions and legal antiquities. In both cases, contemporaries admired not least the art of pithy, well-constructed mottoes. Most of all, though, they hoped to obtain information on the organisation and leadership structure of a model polity. Poggio published the first Roman inscriptions in 1429 in *De varietate fortunae* ([in: 63]). The first German collection was produced in 1505 by Conrad Peutinger 1505 in his *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum* [60]. Some 30 years later, his fellow citizen, the banker Raymund Fugger financed an edition [4] that remained the leading work on Roman provincial inscriptions until Janus Gruter, librarian of the Heidelberg Palatine Inscriptions, together with Joseph Justus Scaliger, published in 1602/03 the *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani*, the authoritative edition until Mommsen [43].

In 1550 the Augustinian monk Onuphrius Panvinius [54] from Verona and Carolus Sigonius from Modena [74] undertook the first attempts to reconstruct the ruins of the Roman *fasti*, discovered a little earlier on the forum. From such beginnings there developed, on the one hand, chronological antiquarianism, which culminated in Joseph Justus Scaliger's efforts in 1583 und 1606, using antiquarian, philological and mathematical methods, to combine Biblical and ancient time-systems into one objective world chronology [69; 70; 98]. On the other hand, Panvinius [55] und Sigonius [72] became the founders of antiquarian legal history, which was later developed in particular by Protestant scholars. Thus, Franciscus Balduinus [6] in 1550 and Jacobus Gothofredus [38] of Geneva in 1616 completed pioneering reconstructions of the Law of the Twelve Tables. Via Holland, this branch of antiquarianism reached Germany in the 17th cent., where, in 1719, Johann Gottlieb Heineccius compiled the collection of Roman legal antiquities that was be canonical for the whole of Europe for many decades [44].

4. Greek and Biblical Antiquarianism

The first steps in non-Roman, especially Greek antiquarianism [94; 106. 16–24] were taken in Italy as well. At the beginning of the 15th cent., the Florentine priest Cristoforo de' Buondelmonti, financed by Cardinal Girolamo Orsini, researched both Christian churches and ancient temples in the Aegean. Between 1423 and 1455 the long-distance trader Cyriacus of Ancona conducted even more intensive investigations into the ancient sites of this region. Of his *Antiquarum rerum commentaria*, however, there remain only copies of individual pages. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, such journeys became rarer – that of the French doctor Petrus Belonius [9] being an exception to the rule. The most important pioneers of Greek antiquarianism – Johannes Meursius [48], Ubbo Emmius [29], Samuel Petitus [59], Jacob Gronovius [42], Lambert Bos [12] and Johann Albert Fabricius [30] – never saw Greece. A new chapter of Greek travel began only in 1675/76 with Jacob Spon, a physician from Lyons, [78; 95]. From 1751 the → Society of Dilettanti financed several English research expeditions to → Greece and Asia Minor: these included those of the architects James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who for several years systematically recorded the *Antiquities of Athens* [80], and of Richard Chandler, who had catalogued the *Marmora Oxoniensia* [20], before he researched the *Ionian Antiquities* in Asia Minor [19]. In 1799, Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin, began his efforts, successful in 1804, to transport the Parthenon friezes (the so-called Elgin Marbles) to London.

Biblical antiquarianism, i.e. for the most part Hebrew-Ancient Near Eastern, was at least as intensively pursued as classical antiquarianism throughout the whole period under discussion. In 1583 Sigonius wrote, in turn, the first authoritative study [73]. In 1593 there followed Jewish-Rabbinical antiquities of the Spanish publisher of the polyglot Bible, Benito Arias Montanus [5]. The Utrecht orientalist, Hadrian Reeland [64–65], produced a collection of sacred Hebrew antiquities (1708) and a pioneering antiquarian topography of Palestine (which he had never seen). From 1744 the Venetian Blasius Ugolinus combined these and many other works on Hebrew antiquities into one thesaurus of 34 folio volumes [82]. Some 100 years earlier, Antonio Bosio had produced the foundational work of Christian antiquarianism with his topography of Roman catacombs [13].

A pre-Champollion Egyptian antiquarianism was inspired by the re-erection of Roman obelisks under Sixtus V (1585–1590). Imbued by the desire to portray the Egyptians to his contemporaries as a model people whose political and private lives moved in perfect, contented harmony with the precepts of almighty priest-kings, the polyglot Jesuit Athanasius Kircher studied their sacred antiquities and the meaning of the hieroglyphs (Grafton in: [99. 87–123]). Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc in Aix-en-Provence was especially interested in Egyptian antiquarianism. A universal scholar, he published nothing, but was, on the basis of his letters alone, regarded as the most significant antiquarian of his time [121].

5. National Antiquarianism

Parallel with the intensive study of Classical antiquarianism, research into individual national antiquities began in all European countries. Princes and authorities promoted efforts, intensified by the growing spirit of nationalism, to (re-)construct with critical methods as glorious an early history as possible from the monuments, ruins and finds in one's own country. In competition with the Papal-imperial *renovatio* of Rome, Italian cities started to discover their pre-Roman and – in Sicily and southern Italy – Greek origins [112. 104–106; 113]. → Etruscology flourished in Tus-

cany ([23; 34; 35; 36] cf. [112. 91–92]). Following Blondus' example, authorities such as Scipione Maffei [47] or Lodovico Antonio Muratori [50–51] established, as late as the 18th cent., impressive collections of urban and regional antiquities.

Even in France, where Joachim du Bellay's sonnet cycle *Les Antiquitéz de Rome* (1558) co-founded national literature, cities like Nîmes (1559), Bordeaux (1565), Paris (1576), Arles (1625), Vienne (1658) and Lyons (1678) undertook research into their monuments and antiquities ([77. 85–86]; further evidence in: [119; 95]). It was no accident but an indication of a political alliance that André Duchesne followed up his *Antiquités et Recherches de la grandeur et majesté des Rois de France* with a collection in 1610 of antiquities of French cities and fortresses [24–25]. In 1643, in his *Ulysse françois*, Louis Coulon wrote a guidebook to Gallo-Roman antiquities. Finds like those of the 'Venus of Arles' (1651), the 'Childeric grave' in Tournai (1653) and the Gallic 'grave of Cocherel' (1685) inspired the search for the Gallic past that in the 18th cent. was conducted on an academic basis and produced a great number of works on regional antiquarianism [119. 31–57].

In the Holy Roman Empire as well, urban scholars in particular (especially in Alsace, Franconia and Swabia) were engaged in demonstrating the greatness of the Germanic past through their antiquarian research and thus providing a historical-ideological accompaniment to the Emperors' efforts of political unification. Even before Beatus Rhenanus of Schlettstadt in his *Rerum Germanicarum libri III* (1531) put antiquities on an equal footing with textual sources [66], Sigismund Meisterlin had accorded them a great deal of attention in his *Augsburger Chronik* (Augsburg Chronicle) (1485/88). But even a royal historian of the court like Johann Turmair, also known as Aventin, thoroughly investigated his lord's property around 1520 in systematic search for Roman and pre-Roman remains [81]. Even before the Catholic project of *Germania Sacra* was translated into reality, the Jesuit Christoph Brouwer produced a model piece of modern religious-monastic antiquarianism with his antiquarian works on the history of the Fulda and Trier bishoprics [14–15].

After the Reformation, the attention given to national antiquities was strengthened by the anxiety that learned scholars felt at seeing the destruction of age-old monasteries, churches and monuments. In England, John Leland, who had been King's Antiquary since 1533, undertook extensive journeys following the closure of monasteries to save MSS, record place names and study local antiquities such Hadrian's Wall [109]. His jottings remained unpublished – like John Aubrey's notes on the *Monumenta Britannica* from the 1660s. William Camden, however, used them in 1586 for his influential *Britannia*, a collection, using Blondus as a model, of name-studies, urban histories, coins and inscriptions [118. 33–53]. *The Roman Antiquities*, in which Thomas Godwin drew parallels in 1614 between Roman and English institutions [31] were an antiquarian expression of such inspiration of national feeling [96]. There was now a universal effort to use excavations to enlarge antiquities [118]. In Sweden, Johan Bure (1568–1652) and Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702) were commissioned by the king to research rune stones and grave-mounds. In Denmark, Ole Worm (1588–1654) displayed his finds in his much-visited 'room of wonders'. In Hamburg, Andreas Albert Rhode's *Cimbrisch-Hollsteinische Antiquitaeten-Remarques* appeared in 1719/20 as the first antiquarian publication [124]. In Holland, Ubbo Emmius researched the antiquities of his native Frisia [28]. In Russia, where the Scythians had been discovered as national ancestors, the Czars, starting with Peter the Great, promoted research into Scythian graves and antiquities [123]. The combination of antiquarianism, topography and ethnography ensured that national antiquarianism – even more than the rather literature-fixated classical antiquarianism – became a laboratory for modern archaeological methods.

6. Crisis and Triumph of Antiquarianism after 1700

In the 17th cent. the universities in the Netherlands became centres of antiquarianism and places of refuge for leading antiquarians from all over Europe. Here, at the cutting-edge of advanced philology, mathematical inspiration and modern science, worked Philipp Cluverius of Danzig, who updated the topography not just of Germany but also of Old Italy [21–22], Johann Georg Graevius [39–41] of Naumburg and Jacob Gronovius [42] of Hamburg. Their life's work consisted of massive collections of texts, in which they brought together the work of earlier antiquarians, often with modern commentary, into mighty storehouses of knowledge and thus provided representative overviews of the status of individual branches of antiquarianism. The articles in the *Lexicon antiquitatum Romanarum* of Samuel Pitiscus [62] summarized the more extensive information contained in those publications. Such large-scale projects were also a reaction to a growing crisis in the meaning of antiquarianism, i.e. to the fact that consensus as to what 'Antiquity' was and should be, was clearly disappearing in the flood of finds and publications. In the process, the pedagogical-moral aim of antiquarianism moved so far away from its focus that it could appear as a frivolous end unto itself. Moreover, intensive philolological-antiquarian research had exposed so many mistakes in transmission that sceptics (so-called Pyrrhonists) disputed that antiquarianism could yield any reliable knowledge of value [112]. Defenders of antiquarianism had therefore to first of all identify what was credible in the accumulated wisdom on Antiquity and what of that was worth knowing at all. In the process, however, antiquarianism acquired a revolutionary new significance. To be sure, Cyriacus of Ancona had already prized antiquities as *sigilla* of historical accuracy, as Patin had praised coins as 'les marques les plus assures' of history, and Spon monuments as better books, fashioned out of stone and metal. Now,

however, the relationship between history and antiquarianism was being completely reversed: whereas classical texts had previously accorded antiquities their status and authority, the latter had now become judges of textual credibility [120].

Antiquarianism's new claim, to be able to determine, better than history could, the substance and meaning of Antiquity was embodied in 1719 by *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* of the Benedictine Bernard de Montfaucon [49]. The work, composed in French (with Latin translations at the foot of each page) was the most lavish and most expensive that antiquarianism had produced up to that time. In some 40,000 copperplate illustrations it documented ancient remains – divided into sacred, private, martial and funerary items of Antiquity – from pictures of deities to everyday objects from the whole Mediterranean (non-Jewish) world. Montfaucon saw pictures not as illustrations of textual information but as its sensory essence. He therefore defined Antiquity as precisely that *qui peut tomber sous les yeux, et ce qui se peut représenter dans des images*: and he regarded *la belle antiquité* as having declined in the 3rd cent., with the Theodosius Column as its last monument. On the other hand, he only touched peripherally on state, legal and constitutional antiquities, hitherto the central concerns of antiquarianism, or on chronology and topography.

This tendency to explain Antiquity as a sensory-aesthetic phenomenon and antiquities as autonomous, aesthetic objects was given a boost in 1752 by the *Recueil d'antiquités egyptiennes, etrusques, grecques et romaines* of the French diplomat, Asia Minor traveller and patron of the arts Anne Claude Philippe de Thubires, Comte de Caylus [18]. He discussed only items from his own collection and insofar adopted a distinctly anti-academic approach, although he attached great importance to exactness in measurements and physical descriptions and although he preferred fragments to intact items, sherds to statues. He constantly searched for the specific way in which each people in each period created its works so as to determine artistic progress or variations (*ses progrès ou ses alterations*) from the differences. In 1761, well ahead of Winckelmann, Caylus described an evolution from Egypt through Etruria to Greece *ou le savoir joint la plus noble élégance*, so that art reached its highest 'perfection' here, and by comparison that of the Romans represented something of a decline.

This transition to a genetic structure of antiquarianism, driven by the aristocratic principle of inherent aesthetic intuition, was completed in 1764 by Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (*History of the Art of Antiquity*) [88]. Art was no longer divided according to objects or artists but into a theoretical-typological section, which described artistic development according to its character, and an evolutionary history, which studied the same process in connection with the external conditions of the period. In so doing, he stipulated a parallelism between aesthetic and political development, taking art, in the emancipatory spirit of the Enlightenment, as the product and measure of political freedom [107; 108; 122]. That he, like Caylus, celebrated Greek culture as the apogee of Antiquity, and disparaged Roman culture, by contrast, as a phenomenon of decadence, shifted antiquarianism's traditionally most important field of study out of the limelight.

C. Antiquarianism and Modern Ancient Studies

Winckelmann thus gave antiquarianism its own immanent criteria – those of style and organic development – for independent classification of its material. This historizing completely freed antiquarianism from its bondage to ancient texts and did away with the old distinction between antiquarianism and history. At the beginning of the 19th cent. both disciplines – together with philology – merged into one new discipline: that of historically oriented 'Altertumswissenschaft' (ancient studies), which Christian Gottlob Heyne had been practicing since 1763 at the University of Göttingen,– with its powerful international reach – as the universal study of culture [93] and the programmatic representation of which was subsequently developed by his pupil Friedrich August Wolf in 1807 [89]. From being an aspect of aristocratic representative culture, an elitist hobby for wealthy collectors, or a demanding secondary activity for professors of poetry and jurisprudence, antiquarianism had become a professional academic subject. Without changing its name, it became the systematic discipline of archaeology, which in modern humanistic studies had the role of making material sources available. August Böckh's *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, the first document of the new modern antiquarianism, appeared in 1817 in that context. [11]. Whoever then, by contrast, pursued antiquarianism in the old way, immediately ran the risk of acquiring the reputation of being an unsystematic, unhistorical eclectic, or even of being *merely* an antiquarian.

→ Archaeological Methods and Theories; → Christian Archaeology; → Classical Archaeology; → Historiography; → Prints, books containing; → Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes; → Roman law

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GERRIT WALTHER

Antiqui et moderni see→ QUERELLE DES ANCIENS ET DES MODERNES

Antiquities, Collections of

A. INTRODUCTION B. PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF COLLECTIONS C. CATEGORIES OF COLLECTIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

The history of collections was the object of intensive investigation around 1900, in Germany above all by Adolf Michaelis [1–3] and Christian Hülsen [4]. In recent decades, it has once again, for various reasons, come to occupy the center of interest. Cultural history discovered collections and their classification systems as sources for research on mentality. Great museums occupied themselves increasingly with their own histories. Added to this was an increased attention to processes of reception. On the archaeological side, the new interest for the context of finds led to the investigation of the provenance of 'old finds'. It thus became possible

to trace the history of the Berlin (Praying boy) back through many collections to its discovery at Rhodes [5], or to clarify the provenance of the *Duncombe Discobolus* in a convincing way [6]. Because of these heterogeneous scientific interests and various methodological starting-points, the history of collections presents itself until today primarily as a mosaic of individual studies. Because of the one-sided state of research, the following presentation is largely limited to collections of sculptures.

B. Periods in the History of Collections

1. Antiquity and Byzantium 2. The Middle Ages 3. The Renaissance until the Council of Trent 4. The Baroque 5. The Age of Enlightenment 6. Future Prospects

1. Antiquity and Byzantium

Because of their religious and political significance, ancient statues were initially created only for exhibition in shrines and grave precincts, later on in public squares as well. Only when aesthetic appreciation asserted itself and consideration from art-historical viewpoints established itself did museum-style exhibitions become possible. Since Late Hellenistic theories of art attributed an exemplary role to works of the 5th and 4th cents. BC, the latter were particularly treasured and sought after by connoisseurs. Greek originals reached Rome in large numbers as spoils of war, and served as adornments of public buildings, but also of private villas and gardens [7; 8]. In addition, the development of the copyists' trade made older masterworks available for new exhibition contexts – at least in three-dimensional reproductions [9].

In Christian Late Antiquity a fundamental conflict was articulated, which was to remain decisive for the reception of statues down to modern times. To be sure, wealthy villas could still be fitted out with older statues, which often had to be repaired for their new exhibition. Here again, a primarily aesthetic appreciation of the sculptures came to the foreground [10]. On the other hand, the religious significance of the statues resulted in an aggressive rejection by the Christians, which often expressed itself in the destruction of ancient figures of the gods (for instance, the destruction of the cult-statue of Serapis in Alexandria [11]). Several collections of statues are attested at Byzantium [12–14; 15], of which that of Lausos is said to have contained some of the most famous Greek cult statues [16].

2. The Middle Ages

Owing to their interpretation as 'heathen' idols, ancient statues were also problematic in the Middle Ages [17; 18]. The smashing of 'idols' was even celebrated as a pious deed of saints. Showing the debris of ancient statues in public was considered proof of the victory of Christianity over the pagan deities [17; 45–47]. Occasionally, conflicts determined by content could be resolved through a Christian reinterpretation. Where no religious implications were perceived, particularly with primarily decorative pieces, ancient sculptures could be reused in a variety of ways: urns as reliquaries or stoups [19]; sarcophagi for the burial of important personages, or even saints [20]; reliefs as decorations for façades or choir screens, etc.

Publicly shown collections of antiquities, which served as legitimation of power and demonstration of political success, are attested in many places. In Rome, publicly exhibited ancient statues (the Lateran shewolf, the Capitoline group of fighting animals) marked the site of a massacre [21]. The figures displayed on the papal Lateran Palace testified to continuity since the time of the Roman emperors (equestrian statue of Constantine), and at the same time to the triumph of Christianity over the pagan divinities (colossal head of Sol) [17. 46; 22]. The sculptures brought to Aachen by Charlemagne underlined his claim to continue the Roman Empire in a new form[23; 24]. In Venice, the bronze horses and porphyry reliefs taken from Constantinople and exhibited in St. Mark's Square proclaimed the city's successes, although the contexts were soon forgotten [25; 26]. Many cities exhibited ancient inscriptions and figures as proof of their long and glorious history [25. 115–167]. The presentation of spolia in many churches was a visible expression of the overcoming and simultaneous monopolization of Antiquity [27; 28].

3. The Renaissance until the Council of Trent

The intense concern of the → Renaissance with the literature of Antiquity also led to a modified concept of the meaning of ancient sculptures. Artists and scholars made them the object of systematic study [29; 30], and not infrequently possessed antiquities themselves, as for example Lorenzo Ghiberti [31]. In addition to their traditional evaluation as historical and antiquarian testimonies (see above), the aesthetic appreciation of ancient works of art came more and more to the fore [32], as they became the unquestioned models for architects, painters and sculptors. Complete series of portraits, preferably of Roman emperors, became very popular: they could be regarded as parallels to historical texts, such as the Lives of the Caesars by Suetonius. Knowledge of ancient coins enabled a methodologically well-grounded procedure for the identification even of figures in the round [22. 48–50], which of course did not exclude continuing capricious identifications. Added to this was the effort to tie in preserved statues with literary accounts about famous monuments and artists.

In Rome, Venice, Florence and other cities of Northern Italy, cardinals and princes acquired their own collections of antiquities. In Rome in 1471, Pope Sixtus IV had some of the city's most famous antiquities (the shewolf; the colossal head of the bronze statue of an emperor and its bronze hand; the Spinario; Camillus) transferred from the Lateran Palace to the Capitol [22]. Gradually, the Piazza del Campidoglio was adorned with sculptures alluding to Rome's historic grandeur [32; 33] (Fig. 1). Under Julius II (1503–1513) the Bel-

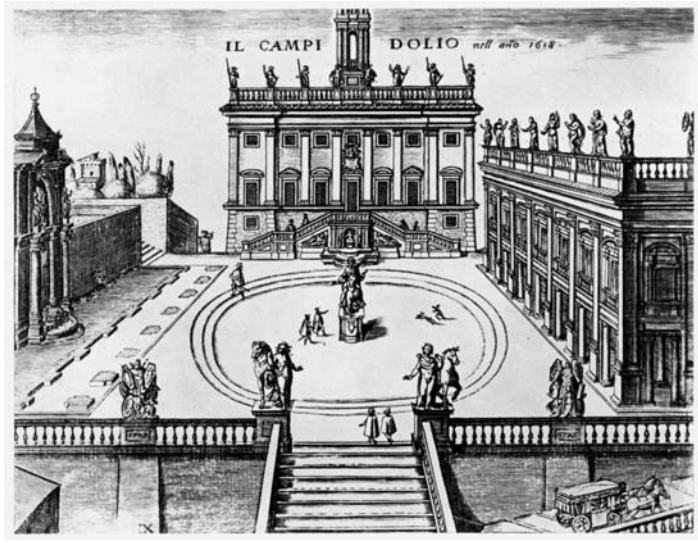

Fig. 1: Rome, Capitol Square with ancient statues. View from 1618, anonymous engraving

Fig. 2: Rome, collection of antiquities in the Casa Santacroce. Drawing by Marten van Heemskerck

Fig. 3: Rome, Courtyard of the Palazzo Valle-Capranica with antiques. Engraving by Hieronymus Cock

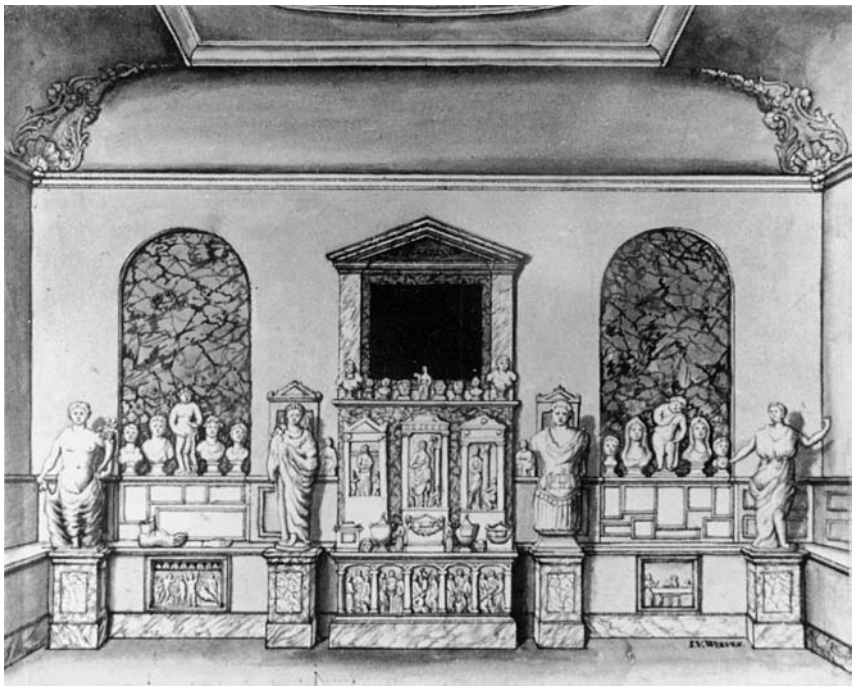

Fig. 4: Leiden, statue collection of the university. Drawing by Jacob van Werven, *c.* 1745

vedere Court at the Vatican received its decoration of statues, which, with the Apollo (→ Belvedere Apollo), the Antinoos, the Belvedere Torso and the → Laocoon group, included some of the most valued and frequently-copied figures [2; 34].

Cardinals and noble families filled the gardens and courts of their palaces with fragments of statues, busts, and reliefs [30. 471–480; 35]; one of the first to do so may well have been the Cardinal Prospero Colonna (d. 1463) [35; 90]. Inventories give some idea of the numerous and often very extensive collections of antiquities in Rome, as do the sketchbooks of artists like Maerten van Heemskerck (Fig. 2), but also the description written in 1550 by Ulisse Aldroandi, entitled *Le statue di Roma*. Among the antiquities collections described were those of the Cardinals Andrea Della Valle (d. 1534) [35. 117ff.; 36], Paolo Emilio (d. 1537) as well as Federico (d. 1564) Cesi [4. 1–42; 36; 87–91] and Rodolfo da Carpi (d. 1564) [4. 43–84] and that of Stefano Del Bufalo [37]. Antiquities thus often remained incomplete and were frequently arranged according to decorative considerations, but also often according to theme or content [36]. A pioneering innovation for the exhibition of antiquities was illustrated by their integration within architecture, as it was undertaken around 1525 in the Palazzo Valle Capranica [4. VI.; 36] (Fig.3). Outside of Italy, King François I of France proceeded to set up his own collection of antiquities [38].

4. The Baroque

The increasingly strict moral ideas of the Counter-Reformation brought about a drastic reduction of the papal antiquities collections in Rome under Pius V (1566–1572) and Sixtus V (1585–1590), and even the hiding of the Belvedere Court antiquities in wooden crates [2. 42–48; 36. 114–115). The same period, however, also witnessed the rapid expansion of the antiquities collections of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (d. 1589) [39] and Ferdinando de Medici (d. 1609) [40]. Only slightly later followed the collections of Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani [41; 42], of the Cardinals Scipio Borghese (d. 1633) [43] and Lodovico Ludovisi (d. 1632) [44–46] as well as that of Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644) in the Palazzo Barberini. All of them were integrated within magnificent palaces or villas.

The 17th cent. saw the rapid spread of antiquities collections north of the Alps as well, where they soon became an integral part of royal representations. For instance, antiquities collections were acquired by Albrecht V, Elector of Bavaria [47]; Charles I of England [48; 49], Christina of Sweden [50–52]; Louis XIV of France [53; 54] and Philip IV of Spain [55]. In France and England, powerful court figures were also active as collectors (for example, Richelieu [56], Mazarin [57; 58] (Fig. 4), J.-B. Colbert [59], N. Foucquet [60] in France; the Earl of Arundel [61], and the Duke of Bukkingham [62] in England). They were able to make use of diplomatic channels in Constantinople, Rome, and Venice to build up their antiquities collections rapidly and on a large scale. They also employed their own agents, who searched for statues in Greece and Asia Minor. In addition to Rome, Venice also played an important role in the procurement of ancient sculptures

destined for Germany, England, and the Netherlands [63]. The representative function of sculptures then caused them to be almost completely restored. Here the gallery emerged as a new form of exhibition, enabling the presentation of a large number of sculptures in a unified manner. [64].

Also the Republic of Venice exhibited the sculptures bequeathed by Domenico and Giovanni Grimani publicly in a gallery (*statuario pubblico*) that was connected to the Biblioteca Marciana [65]. In the Netherlands, a number of antiquities collections of the haute bourgeoisie came into existence [66]; most of these, however, were short-lived. Despite the striking increase in antiquities collections, ancient statues once again became problematic for religious and political reasons (Reformation, Counter-reformation, Puritanism). In England this led, around the middle of the 17th cent., to the dissolution of all significant antiquities collections, and in France to the partial destruction of Mazarin's collection.

5. The Age of Enlightenment

The antiquities collections of the 18th cent. stood completely under the sign of the English 'milords' (milordi) [1; 67–69]. Whereas English collections of the 17th cent. had been connected with the royal courts, it was now the aristocrats, concerned to maintain their distance from the crown, who set up antiquities collections on their country estates. Their emergence usually followed a well-established course: in the context of their 'grand tour', the young Lords visited Rome, where alongside the famous galleries they were also shown the offerings of art dealers. English art agents in Rome (G. Hamilton, Th. Jenkins [70]) obtained ancient sculptures from excavations or from old Roman collections, had them restored, and organized their export. Numerous antiquities collections thus appeared in England in quick succession. English collectors were often in close contact with each other. Many were members of the → Society of Dilettanti, which also backed archaeological explorations in Greece and Asia Minor.

The picture at Rome itself changed in the course of the 18th cent. [71]: a few well-known collections were dissolved (Mattei, Montalto Negroni), whereby many pieces came to England; other collections left as a whole (1728 A. Chigi to Dresden; 1780–88 A. Medici to Florence; 1787 A. Farnese to Naples; later, in 1808, A. Borghese to Paris). At the same time, at the initiative of the Popes, the Capitoline Museum (1734) (→ Rome, Capitoline Museum), and the Museo Pio-Clementino at the Vatican (since 1769; → Rome, Vatican Museums) came into being. The Cardinal Alessandro Albani's (→ Rome, Villa Albani) elaborately staged antiquities collection gained wide renown, and was given additional radiance by the activity of J. J. Winckelmann [72].

The model of English art collections was most of all imitated in Northern Europe: near the end of the 18th cent., similarly conceived antiquities collections arose in Germany (for example Wörlitz [73]), Poland (for example, Arkadia/Nieborow [74; 75]) and Russia.

6. Future Prospects

The establishment of the → Louvre as a National museum has, since 1792, created a new model of antiquities collections. In the following years, similarly ambitious national museums came into being in many countries; moreover, in many places were municipal collections, which included large antiquities sections. In contrast to these large politically-driven projects, carried out energetically and with substantial means, the significance of private antiquities collections declined rapidly and irrevocably. Nevertheless, significant antiquities collections continued to be started from time to time, even until most recent times. Thanks to the philanthropic attitude of their founders, many of them were transferred in one way or another to public museums.

C. Categories of Collections

Despite the individual character of many antiquities collections, categories may be formed on the basis of the various intentions underlying the collections [76]. Publicly displayed antiquities have been known since the Middle Ages (see above). In such cases collections came into being more or less accidentally, usually as the result of accumulations of fragments of statues. The earliest examples of deliberately compiled antiquities collections were closely connected with attempts to legitimatize authority through reference to Antiquity. The antiquities collection on the Capitol received a new quality through the donation of Sixtus IV in the year 1471 (see above), which became the seedbed of the Capitoline Museums. Through foundations and the conversion of private antiquities collections, public museums came into existence, soon eagerly visited by travelers, in Venice (*statuario pubblico*), Florence (→ Uffizi Gallery) and Verona (Museo Maffeiano).

Until the late 18th cent., aristocratic and royal collections represented the most important, frequent, and sumptuous group of antiquities collections. Here, ancient sculptures often formed only a part of the collections, which might also include paintings, gems, coins, etc. They were frequently combined with modern antiquities: copies of bronze, tin, stone or plaster, which reproduced the famous masterpieces in Florence or Rome [77]. Decorative statues were regarded as a representation form of the rulers, so that they were mainly used on facades, and in areas for formal representation and reception. Their integration into ostentatious architecture led to the fact that aristocratic antiquities collections, once established, could be maintained over generations. Scholars' collections included inscriptions, coins, gems, and minor arts, yet scarcely any sculptures. On the other hand, many universities acquired great antiquities collections in the course of the 18th cent. (Turin 1723; Leiden 1743, see Fig. 5; Oxford 1755).

Antiquities collections belonging to artists, who were often active as restorers and art dealers, are attested since the Renaissance. Whereas P. P. Rubens – although only for a short time – purchased an extensive antiquities collection, his colleagues contented them-

selves with smaller collections. Their possessions included mainly fragments of sculptures, which they were able to use as three-dimensional models for their work. This same function was often assumed by plaster casts. Copies of ancient statues, the study of which served for the training of artists, had been gathered since the 17th cent. in art academies.

Collections of members of the bourgeoisie are scarcely to be found before the 19th cent. The usually short-lived collections of Dutch merchants had a distinctive imprint. They presented antiquities lined up warehouse-style in intimate domestic settings.

→ Cast Collections

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DIETRICH BOSCHUNG

Antiquity

A. HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT B. DIVISION OF HISTORY INTO ANTIQUITY, MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES

A. History of the Concept

The term *antiquity* originated as a borrowing from the French adjective *antique*. It came to designate, after a fairly lengthy semantic development, a historical period (→ EPOCHS, CONCEPT OF) that, since the 18th cent. is synonymous with the German substantive 'Altertum' (ancient times) that had been used for centuries to denote Greco-Roman Antiquity. The adjective *antique* (from the Latin *antiquus*) was introduced into French in the 16th cent. by the Humanists and at first meant 'old' and then, since Rabelais, also antique, i.e., referring to the ancient world. Already in the Latin of the Early Middle Ages *antiquus* or *antiquitas* could denote the period of Greco-Roman Antiquity (e.g. Beda, temp. rat. 37,2; Notker Balbulus Gest. 1,28: *antiquitas*). In Italy Dante used the adjective *antico* in his *Convivio* (2,5,1), written in 1303–1308, to refer to pre-Christian ancient history: *per difetto d'ammaestramento li antichi la veritade non videro de le creature spirituali* ('for lack of instruction, ancient people did not yet see the truth of spiritual creatures'). The noun *antichità* as a term for Antiquity as a historical period first appears around 1350 in Boccaccio. The French *antique* as a feminine noun has since 1530 referred specifically, unlike in Italian, to an ancient work of art [6; 12], and as a masculine noun has, in archaeology, signified since the 18th cent. the art of Antiquity in general. By way of contrast, the noun *antiquité* (since Montaigne, 1580 [5]) has been used to refer to the culture and historical period of the ancient world. In German archaeological technical literature, *Antique* accordingly refers to an individual work of art from the 16th–17th cents. (Hagedorn 1743) [1] and then, as a delimiting term, to ancient works of sculpture (Winckelmann 1755) [10]. In the 18th cent. its usage began to broaden and served as a generic concept for the style of ancient works of art considered worthy of imitation, but it also referred to the totality of those works of art (since Heyne 1777) [3]. In 1798/99 Novalis spoke of the 'godliness of antiquity' that is created in the eyes of those who contemplate ancient works of art [7]. The adjective *antique* or *antik* was already used, even before the noun, in connection with works of art from Egypt, Greece and Italy (Hagedorn 1727) [4]; otherwise, 'old' took on the function of 'antique'. The German noun 'die Antike' was considered to relate to the adjective *antik* as 'breadth' relates to *broad* [13]. A.W. and F. Schlegel were the first, beginning in 1796, to expand the usage of 'antique' as a contrast to 'modern' [13. 31] to mean the culture of antiquity in general and literature in particular [13. 30f.]. The corresponding epoch itself was called by F. Schlegel, starting in 1797, 'the classical ancient world' (*klassiches Altertum*) [13. 33] in the sense of a normative aesthetics. This conceptual pair (*klassisches Altertum*) was generally disseminated and translated into other languages (English: C*lassical Antiquity*, French: *antiquité classique*). Only Greeks and Romans were included in this epoch. At the same time, however, in W. v. Humboldt the concept 'antiquity' expresses 'a special characteristic of human existence' and is thus not necessarily tied to a specific epoch ([9. Vol. VI, 487], 1819). Yet Humboldt, Eichendorff and others contrasted the inner posture of pagan Antiquity –as that of a lost paradise–, with Christian culture and German folk traditions ([9, IV. 83f.] 1813; [2]). The transformation in meaning of *antiquity* from a term referring to a stylistic and generic term in art history to one referring more generally to a historical period took place gradually in the 19th cent., first among art historians (e.g. Lübke and Springer since 1860 and 1862 [8]). In literary history, *antiquity* is first used to refer to a period of time in W. Scherer's

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur ('History of German Literature', 1883). The concept *antiquity*, not as an example of a culture expressing a normative function, but rather a historical period designating, in a historicist sense, the ancient world as a whole was first introduced by Th. Zieliński's book *Die Antike und Wir. Vorlesungen* ('Antiquity and Ourselves' [11]) at the beginning of the 20th cent. and thereafter began to replace the concept *ancient world* ('Altertum'; Stemplinger, Crusius, Immisch). This means that, at the very moment when the term 'antiquity' subsumed the existing concept (*classical) ancient world* ('klassisches Altertum'), the normative effect of that concept was being lost [13].

→ Period, Era; → Pompeius,*III. Schrifsteller und Redner* [III 3] P. Trogus

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B. Division of History into Antiquity, Middle Ages and Modern Times

During Antiquity itself, in addition to the mythological theory of the ages of the world, which described a decline from the Golden Age through the Silver and Bronze Ages to the Iron Age, there was a precursor of a historically oriented classification of eras; namely, the so-called 'theory of world empires' based on the ideas of Pompeius Trogus. According to this theory, world history was divided into the four great empires, one succeeding the other: Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome. The theory of world empires continued to be used to some extent until modern times. The fall of the Roman Empire and the founding of new states in its place did not at first lead to a new conceptual division of eras because the newly formed states, especially the Germanic ones, sought to preserve the continuity by

adopting the Christian-Roman culture and Latin as their written language. Christian authors, however, did distinguish themselves as *moderni* from the pagan *antique*. Cassiodorus in the 6th cent. was the first to do so, and then, in like manner, Charlemagne regarding his empire;(→ QUERELLE DES ANCIENS ET DES MODERNES). Only with the rise of → HUMANISM in Italy beginning in about the 14th cent. did an awareness develop of an ancient period (*antiquitas*) and a present epoch separated by a *medium aevum* or *tempus* (first in Petrarch 1373 [8. 245]). Whereas the present (*nova aetas*) was considered, in accordance with a cyclical conception of history, to be a resurrection of pagan Greco-Roman *antiquitas*, the period in between was seen as a transitional period of decay (*media barbaria* in Poliziano and others). The fact that there was nevertheless no perception of a sharp break between 'Antiquity' and the 'Middle Ages' can be seen in the description of this epoch as *media antiquitas* in Humanists from Poliziano (1484), Beatus Rhenanus (1531) and Vadian (1547) through the beginning of the 19th cent. (Grotius 1611; Blondel 1654 [8. 245–265]; Humboldt 1813 [3, IV. 83]). The exact points in time dividing the three epochs from one another were for a long time not precisely defined. Within the Holy Roman Empire and among Catholic historians, the emphasis was rather on the continuity between 'Antiquity' and the time thereafter for political and religous reasons (→ SACRUM IMPERIUM). The three categories of the historical periods in the contemporary sense did not find general acceptance until the threshold of the 18th cent. with Cellarius [1] [8. 165–175]. According to this division, the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages occurred during the period of time between Constantine the Great and the end of the Roman Empire in the West in the 5th cent., and the modern era began in the 15th–16th cents. Since the Enlightenment, the victory of Christianity with Constantine's conversion is considered to mark specifically the end of Antiquity. This can be seen in Hölderlin's model of history [9]. L. v. Ranke defined 'ancient times' as the 'Greco-Roman world', i.e., the Mediterranean as 'it had been assembled through conquest' and 'united through culture'. The rise of non-Roman states through the great migrations and the Arab invasion, the uniting of the Roman-Germanic world, the end of Rome as the centre of things and the victory of Christianity mark the end of Antiquity. The 'modern age' begins when the lack of religious liberty of the Middle Ages was overcome and the New World was discovered [2]. Determining the exact border between Antiquity and the Middle Ages remains both difficult and controversial because it depends on the criteria used and whether they derive from political or cultural considerations, or are based on literary history [7]. Thus the culture of feudalism, for example, has been identified with the Middle Ages, while the modern era has been defined as beginning when an economy based on payment in kind was replaced by early capitalism. The division of history into three eras is problematic

because of its geographical restriction to Western European cultural areas as the continuation of Latin Antiquity.

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Antiquity, Romance set in see → EPIC, → ADAPTATION

Anti-Semitism see→ Judaism

Aphorism The short, pithy form of the aphorism holds, in its core, the potential togo beyond the bounds of any system. Consequently, in recent scholarship less emphasis has been placed on the pointed wording [1] as the main characteristic of the aphorism, than on the inherent conflict between the singular and the general, between the sensual and the intellect [9. 829ff.]. The aphorism is defined by a 'thinking in fractures'. It is 'nonconformist' [6. 7f.], which also gives it its its special licence. In the modern age, the aphorism can be conceived of as a 'form of playing' or a 'playing with concepts' [2. 22ff.; 3. 99f.], i.e. as an instrument to explore the scope between thinking and the self in society. Thus, it often employs rhetorical figures of contradiction, such as paradox, antithesis, paronomasia, antinomia and contrafacture, but it is also close to the joke and to irony [12. 188ff.; 2. 114ff.; 3. 99ff.; 8. 305ff.]. As a witty idea, and in contrast to the proverb, it seeks to distance itself from common usage [12. 248f.; 4. 140ff.]. The aphorism is marked by its 'contextual isolation' [4. 10]. It exists on its own, which makes it capable of being quoted. Whoever cites it, partakes of the social prestige of the invention and of the enigmatic nimbus of the aphorism as an 'oracle' (La Bruyère) [11. 1116f.]. The aphorism, like F. Schlegel's 'fragment', is complete unto itself 'like a hedgehog' (F. Schlegel, 'Fragmente', *Athenäum. Eine Zeitschrift von August Wilhelm Schlegel und Friedrich Schlegel*. Vol. I/2, 1798, 230), but it often appears in 'swarms of aphorisms' [9. 829], in collections or in diary-like notebooks such as G.Ch. Lichtenberg's *Sudelbücher*.

The aphorism adopted from Hippocrates and Tacitus (on the history of the term, cf. [1; 8. 215]) experiences its Golden Age in Spain and France in the 17th cent. and in England and Germany in the 18th cent. [4]. An independent literary genre and a specific aphoristic style evolves in combination with the aphoristic style derived from Seneca and the Horacian dictum *aut prodesse aut delectare*. Up until quite recently, two tendencies prevailed: on the one hand, an ethical/moral subject matter; on the other, an attitude critical of metaphysics and knowledge. Under the influence of the Spanish reception of Tacitus, in B. Gracián's *Oráculo manual*, the dramatization of the intelligent, quick-witted self, as it is also demanded by B. Castiglione in *Il Cortegiano* ('The Courtier'), becomes a yardstick for measuring social status [8. 413ff.]. In his *Maximes et réflexions*, the French moralist La Rochefoucauld develops the aphorism from the conversations of the drawing-room culture, on whose ethical foundations he reflects ironically at the same time. La Bruyère, Chamfort, Montesquieu and Vauvenargues continue in the moralistic vein [5. 33ff.]. Goethe's maxims, Lichtenberg's satirical aphorisms and Schopenhauer's *Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit* ('The Wisdom of Life' [^{11}1911] and 'Counsels and Maxims' [^{2}1891], trans. by T. Bailey Saunders)can be counted among them, as well as the sharp-tongued, socio-critical aphorisms of K. Kraus in the 20th cent. In the Anglo-Saxon world, O. Wilde, M. Twain and G.B. Shaw can be named as representatives of the ethical tradition [7. 311, 319ff.]. Humanist and existentialist variants can be found in the 20th cent. in E.M. Cioran and A. Camus.

Based on Erasmus and F. Bacon, the aphorism that is critical of knowledge and has the power to explode the system is brought forward, for instance, in B. Pascal's *Pensées* as an open form of theodicy, in Lichtenberg's rationalism as a rupture in positivistic thinking, but also in in the contemplation of aesthetic principles in the relation between poetics and philosophy by F. Schlegel and Novalis. In the 20th cent., R.M. Rilke and Paul Valéry [5. 160ff., 257ff.] continue the aesthetic self-reflection within the genre of aphorism. As 'fractured knowledge' [8. 27], the aphorism is also the appropriate form of expression for F. Nietzsche's critique of metaphysics [6. 76ff.]. In the 20th cent., the aphorism shows an affinity towards being absorbed by the aphoristic style that is related to the essay, as in R. Musil [10. 69ff.]. At the same time, a return of gnomic forms is noticeable in surrealism and in 'image aphorism', e.g. in R. Char [5. 103ff.]. The boundaries to experimental literature and to the joke now become doubtful, where – as already in Lichtenberg's *Hofbandit* (*Court Bandit*) –

the conflict so essential to the aphoristic form is reduced to compounds [3. 48f.]. Ultimately, the modern age questions the very consistency of the literary genre: P. Válery proposes the phantasy term 'rhumb' [2. 47] as a new name for the 'family resemblances' of the aphorism [3. 189]. The apophthegm, an often historically founded saying that is ascribed to a public figure and related to the anecdote, and the gnome as a maxim couched in verse form or rhythmic prose, also belong to this family. In contrast to the original idea and the exceptional nature of the aphorism, the *sententia* is allocated to the realm of rhetoric and considered to be generally valid and of an authoritative character. As a rule of life it emphasizes the ethical aspect, much like the rather individual maxim that is often used as a synonym for aphorism in French. Designations such as *pensée*, 'splinters of thought' and 'reflection' accentuate the theoretical aspect of the aphorism. A vulgarized form of the quotation-like aphorism is the proverb. Joke and riddle ultimately resolve the tension inherent in aphorism, whereas the fragment and the essay continue its openness in narrative form.

→ Chreia; → Gnome
→ Dicta

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Apollonian/Dionysian The polarity between Apollo and Dionysus and the phenomena linked with these gods was introduced into modern aesthetic discussion by Friederich Nietzsche. Nietzsche understood the 'duplicity of Apollo and Dionysus' as a fundamental opposition of Greek aesthetics: *An ihre (sc. der Griechen) beiden Kunstgottheiten, Apollo und Dionysus, knüpft sich unsere Erkenntnis, daß in der griech. Welt ein ungeheurer Gegensatz, nach Ursprung und Zielen, zw. der Kunst des Bildners, der apollinischen, und der unbildlichen Kunst der Musik, als der des Dionysus, besteht* ('it is by those two art-sponsoring deities, Apollo and Dionysus, that we are made to recognize the tremendous split, as regards both origins and objectives, between the plastic, Apollonian arts and the nonvisual art of music inspired by Dionysus', The Birth of Tragedy, Chap. 1). In the process, Nietzsche adds further pairs of opposites to this polarity: night and day, dream and intoxication, visual and emotional. In this polarity, Nietzsche links the opposition between the plastic arts and the musical, which had been important since Romantic aesthetics and which Schopenhauer, for instance, had set up as the principle of dividing the arts as such, with the names of the two Greek gods.

Their relation was by no means unambiguous in ancient theological speculation, especially during the period of the Empire; yet they were occasionally brought into relation with one another. Thus, as two forms of the sun-god, they could be regarded as ultimately identical (Macrobius, *Sat.*, 1, 18, 1, with reference to Ps.-Aristotle *Theologoumena*) while at the same time Apollo could be distinguished as the daytime sun, and Dionysius as the nighttime sun of the Underworld (*ibid.* 1, 18, 8). The opposition alluded to in this differentiation takes on central importance in Delphic theology, which places Apollo and Dionysus in opposition to one another (Plut. *De E* 9). Neoplatonic speculation adopted the opposition as that between creative division (Dionysus) and creative, harmonic unification (Apollo), to which the allegorical interpretation of the Orphic myth of Dionysus also contributed (Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum 35 b, vol. 2, p. 197 Diehl). Unlike other Neoplatonic concepts, this one was not really taken up in the Renaissance, yet Friedrich Creuzer, in particular, returned to the Neoplatonic exegesis of Orpheus and spoke of the 'opposition of the religion of Apollo and Bacchus', which includes an opposition between solar and darkly ecstatic conceptions of religion, reconciled in another 'School of Orphics'. F. Chr. Baur and J. J. Bachofen followed Creuzer. On the one hand, Bachofen went back beyond Creuzer to take up the opposition between the nocturnal solar god Dionysus and the day god Apollo of Late Antiquity, and set up Dionysus–as feminine-substantial and chthonic against a masculine-spiritual, celestial Apollo–in his evolutionary scheme ('Das Mutterrecht – [An English Translation of Bachofen's Mutterrecht (Mother right) (1861): A Study of the Religious and Juridical Aspects of Gynecocracy in the Ancient World', abridged and translated by David Partenheimer, 2003]). Nonetheless, he held fast to the coexistence of both as world-rulers, basing his view on the Neoplatonic interpretation of Orpheus (*Die Unsterblichkeitslehre der orphischen Theologie*, repr. 1967). Baur, on the other hand, understood both (based ultimately on Plato's doctrine of *mania* in the *Phaedrus*), as being linked to two kinds of ecstasy: pure spiritual contemplation (Apollo) and the sensual 'drunken ecstasy'. When he likewise linked two kinds of music and poetry with both [gods] – the harmony of poetry versus the rapture of the dithyramb – he prepared the way for the musical-poetic categorization set forth by Nietzsche's academic teacher Friedrich Ritschl, according to which Apollo was connected with Greco-Dorian stringed-instrument music, and Dionysus with un-Greek, Phrygian flute music. This opposition, which Nietzsche presupposed, became a commonplace in classical studies. However, no influence between Nietzsche and Bachofen should probably be assumed.

In the following period, the pair of contraries coined by Nietzsche played a much larger role outside philological research than it did within. In particular, German literature, beginning with the turn of the century, took it up in ever-new metamorphoses. However, even classical philology could not completely escape Nietzsche's coinage, insofar, for instance, as Apollo was understood as 'the most Hellenic of all the gods', or, in a fruitful transcendence of earlier opinions, the Dionysian was seen 'as a mighty, ultimate source of that which is Greek' (W.F. Otto).

→ Apollo; → Dionysus

→ Ancient languages, teaching of

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FRITZ GRAF

Apologos see→ Fable

Apophtegm see→ Aphorism

Apotheosis Although apotheosis as such contradicts the principle of monotheism and therefore cannot occur in Christianity, Christian society from the time of Constantine found ways to maintain the elevation of the ruler above the mortal plane and into the sphere of divinity. In addition, individual forms of apotheosis can be observed again and again, intended either to correspond precisely to this need or to exemplify Christ's ascension. A type of the latter, which shows Christ being wafted away in a mandorla, flanked by two angels (reliquary, Jerusalem, 7th/8th cent., Vatican, Museo Sacro; ivory, Metz, *c.* 1000, Paris, Lv Inv. no. OA 6000: Reichenauer Evangelary, 11th cent., Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz Cod. 78A2; cover page of the Evangelary of Abbess Theophanu, Stift Essen, Treasury; Spiez, apse of the romanesque castle church; Barnaba da Modena, Ascension, 14th cent., Rome, KM) goes back to the representation of the divinized Roman emperor in a medallion, flanked by two winged figures (ivory from 306, Constantine, Paris, LV) continued in Byzantine imperial diptychs of the 6th cent. (Basel, Historisches Museum; Paris, LV; Milan, Castell Sforzesco [19 nr. 48–50]), and ultimately to the kind of representation of the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, without a medallion, but in the same arrangement between two flying eagles (base of the column of Antoninus Pius from 161, Rome, VM). This type was transferred to the Assumption of Mary (cf. Florence, S. Maria del Fiore, Porta della Mandorla, 1414–1421) and later served for the representation of the resurrection or ascension of ordinary mortals, for instance, *c.* 1100, on the sarcophagus of Doña Sancha in Jaca [6]. More frequent in the Western cultural sphere was the representation of the hand of God, raising Christ skywards [15.270f.].

The emperor Constantine, who sought to maintain his status through recourse to Christianity, like his divine predecessors, drives in the representations of his consecration coins a quadriga towards heaven, but is simultaneously seized by a divine hand. The obligatory eagle-flight was abandoned, and finally Constantine's mortal remains, uncremated, were buried, according to Christian custom [12. 518–523]. Constantine found his tomb 'amid the Apostles', probably as the 13th Apostle [13]. Eusebius knew how to replace the peculiar status of the Roman emperor as *divus* with that of a *Vicarius Dei divus* of the one God, who shares in the heavenly Kingdom (De laudibus Constantini 3,4–5; 5,1).

Henceforth, Christian rulers legitimized themselves as *vicarii Christi* or *Vicarii Dei* (in particular Charlemagne), as *alter Christus* and *Christus Domini*. Their status with regard to the people remained peculiar: around 1100, the Norman Anonymous, like Eusebius, conceived of the king as *Deus per gratiam*; that is, by the grace of God like unto God [10.69f.]. Landulfus Sagax remarked with regard to Augustus, that he was not undeservedly considered to be particularly like God (7, 21). Following Exodus 7: 1, Innocent III designated the Pope as *vicarius Iesu Christi, successor Petri, Christus domini, Deus Pharaonis*, and saw himself as standing between God and mankind, and could only be judged by God alone (4,294f. = PL 217, 657C–658A). Emperor Frederick II compared himself with Christ, and was designated by his chancellor as an 'imperial Christ' [4.433]. Pope Boniface VIII, who understood himself as *Christ* on earth and God of gods [4.433], was accused of black magic and of leading people into idolatry, among other reasons because of his statues [16.73].

One current of transmission, from Suetonius via Isidore of Seville down to Petrus Diaconus – another runs from Suetonius through Orosius, Historiarum adversus paganos 6,22,4, to Otto von Freising, Chronica 3,4 – knew of Augustus's refusal of apotheosis, although it was not reported that he meant this to apply only to his lifetime. According to the Mirabilia Urbis Romae, Augustus acknowledged Christ's lordship after Mary appeared to him with her child, and he therefore declined his apotheosis [18].

Louis XIV of France was designated as the living image of God [5.21, 55, 63], which can probably already to be assigned to the domain of allegory. Whereas the occasional designation of the medieval ruler as *divus* (→ Ruler) utilized ancient imperial titles, and with that an element of Emperor-apotheosis (Dante to Henry VII; [4. 324]; Carmen de gestis Frederici I. in Lombardia, v. 71, for Frederick Barbarossa), identifications with ancient gods during the Middle Ages (for instance Jupiter and Apollo in [2]), and especially in the

Baroque must be considered as allegories. Thus, Louis XIV was represented as the Sun, Apollo, Jupiter, Hercules, and Neptune [5. 39, 46, 137] and also as hurling thunderbolts in a Roman war-chariot, accompanied by Minerva, Hercules, Gloria and Victoria [5. 112].

Not only were pagan elements of the exaltation of mortals maintained along with the victorious march of Christianity, but also a general need for 'divine men' was met. A. Angenendt speaks persuasively of a 'structural kinship' and 'analogy' between Greek heroes and Christian saints [3. 22]. Whereas the reasons for the exaltation of gentle martyrs must have been alien to pagan thought, the holy rulers, lawgivers (Stephen the Holy of Hungary) and warriors who were soon to follow them thoroughly resembled ancient divine men and divinized humans in their function for the dynasty. They were not merely elevated above the mass of mortals, but differed from them essentially, through the immortality they achieved. If [2. 50, v. 1605, 233] Frederick II was designated as living eternally, so were prominent ancestors considered as saints, long before formal papal canonizations, e.g. in Serbia [9], Norway (Olaf, who fell in battle in 1030, died, similarly to Knut of Denmark, of a spear wound like Christ, and was known as *rex perpetuus*, [8. 281ff.]) and Bohemia (Wenzel was considered an eternal prince of the land, [7. 340]). Through their living on after death, they thereby ensured for their descendants the necessary sacral aggrandizement and continuity. A proper procedure of canonization was in use among the Holy Emperors of the medieval Roman Empire, so for Henry II by Pope Eugene III (1146), and for Charlemagne at the instigation of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1165). To a certain extent, burial in proximity to saints replaced, as it had already done for Constantine, the eagles' flight of the Roman emperors' apotheosis. In the process, a particular sanctifying force is ascribed to the tomb of the holy first ancestor, as it was to Alexander the Great for the Diadochs. Last not least, a more modern relative of a ruler's apotheosis can be found in the neo-classical fresco on the rotunda of the US Capitol, *The Apotheosis of George Washington*, painted in 1856 by Constantino Brumidi.

→ Consecratio; → Ruler; → Ruler cult

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Arabic Medicine

A. Origins B. Translations before AD 700 C. The Age of Hunain D. The Translations E. Arabic Galenism F. Criticism G. Yunani Medicine

A. Origins

By AD 500, Greek medicine had become largely Galenic → Galenism. Alternative medical theories no longer flourished, and even pragmatists like Alexander of Tralles did not reject Galenic ideas entirely. In Alexandria, and elsewhere in the Byzantine world that followed Alexandrian traditions, e.g. Ravenna, there was a teaching syllabus of Galen, the so-called 16 books – *Summaria Alexandrinorum*, and of Hippocrates that was commented upon by lecturers who expected of their audience also a grasp of Aristotelian philosophy. A division thus grew up between formal medicine, expressed in terms of books studied, and other types of healing. Those who had studied formal medicine were increasingly reluctant to call those who had not 'doctors'.

B. Translations before AD 700

The first translations of medical texts from Greek into a vernacular language of the Middle East were done by the priest-doctor Sergius of Resaena (d. 536), who translated at least 37 works of Galen into Syriac, five of them twice, as well as other non-Galenic medical tracts. Other Greek medical writings may also have been translated into Pahlavi at about the same time, while David Anhacht (*c.* 500), who had studied in → Alexandria, conveyed Galenic medical ideas in his Armenian philosophical writings. [1] Authors, writing in Syriac, also further developed Galen's medicine either in specific tracts, e.g. that by Sergius on dropsy, or in large compendia of general medicine, like the Pandects of Ahrun or those of Theodokos (7th cent.). This medicine was far more sophisticated and wide-ranging that that practised by the Muslim Arab conquerors

themselves in the 7th cent., and it is not surprising that Christian physicians and a Christianised Galenic medicine continued to hold sway for several centuries.

C. The Age of Hunain

Information is scanty, however, before the 9th cent. Then, with the strong encouragement of caliphs like al-Ma'mūn (d. 833) and wealthy courtiers, like Djibril ibn Bakhtishu' (d. 827), himself a doctor and a (poor) translator, a massive wave of translations occurred, usually first into Syriac, and then into Arabic. The leading spirit in this was Hunain ibn Ishaq (d. 873), assisted by his son Ishaq (d. 910), and his nephew Hubaish (d. c. 900), working in Baghdad, but there were others like Theophilos of Edessa (d. 785) and Job of Edessa (Ayyub al-Ruhawi, d. after 832), who were active elsewhere, especially in the largely Christian frontier region of Northern Syria. By 900, over 129 treatises of Galen were available in Arabic, some of them in several different versions, including works on logic and philosophy as well as on medicine. [2] A smaller proportion of the Hippocratic Corpus was translated into Syriac or Arabic, sometimes only indirectly via the lemmata to Galen's commentaries, but the Arabs possessed more works by Rufus of Ephesus than survive today, as well as the encyclopedists of Late Antiquity, Oreibasius, Aetius, and Paulus, and a variety of productions by late Alexandrian writers like Palladius. [3,4,5] Dioscorides and those authors writing on physiognomy and agriculture were also available in Arabic. The *Summaria Alexandrinorum* were also translated into Syriac and into Arabic (and, much later, into Hebrew, by Shimson ben Shlomo in 1322). From Arabic, in turn, translations were made into Armenian (9th/10th cents.), Pahlavi, and Hebrew (e.g. by Samuel ibn Tibbon, fl. 1200), and, from the late 11th cent. onwards, into Latin. There is even a report that some of Galen was translated, or at least transcribed, from Arabic into Chinese.[6]

D. The Translations

The quality of the translations by Hunain and his school in the 9th cent. is remarkably high. Hunain himself in his *Risala* detailed his own careful methods of collation and translation, preferring to keep the sense of a passage rather than the exact word order, and at times confessing his inability to translate a word because of its rarity and its lack of context. Wherever possible, Hunain followed closely the Greek, only making occasional modifications to avoid offending religious sensibilities or to omit some of Galen's etymological comments that would be meaningless in Arabic. How far his methods were followed elsewhere is unclear, since many of the translations of others have been lost, but one should not necessarily believe Hunain's dismissive descriptions of his competitors' abilities. Modern historians of ancient medicine depend on these versions in a variety of ways.[7] (→ Medicine) Some ancient writings survive only in Arabic or Hebrew, e.g. Galen's treatise *De examinando medico* or his commentary on the Hippocratic treatise 'On the Environment'. Others, no longer extant in full, are cited in part by Arabic or Jewish authors, e.g. Rufus of Ephesus' writing on melancholy in the adaptation of Ishaq ibn Imran (d. 907), or Galen's work on the avoidance of grief as found in the version by ibn Aknin (fl. 1300). other works, like Galen's treatises on the eye, formed the basis for subsequent development in Arabic authors, although what is development and what represents the Greek original is not clear. Even when the Greek survives, the Arabic often permits a view of the text, thanks to the remarkable accuracy of Hunain and his school, at an earlier and often less corrupt stage in the process of → transmission.

E. Arabic Galenism

Most significant is the overall Galenic nature of formal Arabic medicine. Galen's perspective dominated all others, and its monotheistic ideas on causation and purpose made it attractive to Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike, even if they rejected some of Galen's own doubts about the nature of God or creation. Learned doctors studied Galen with their masters, following the Alexandrian syllabus, and it is no coincidence that many of the great names in Arabic and Jewish medicine, like Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980?–1037) and Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1138–1204) were, like Galen, famous as philosophers as much as doctors. But the sheer size of the Galenic Corpus, even in translation, was daunting. Ibn Ridwan (d. *c.* 1068) was already unusual in his day for the breadth of his knowledge of Galen, and few followed him in his insistence that an acquaintance with Galen's own writings was far more beneficial to the practitioner than any reading in subsequent handbooks. His opponent in a celebrated controversy, Ibn Butlan (d. *c.* 1068) took a more pragmatic line, relying on contemporary writings in the Galenic tradition. [8] Both sides had a point. Summaries and handbooks were effective in presenting the main outlines of Galen's theories, but the process of abridgment inevitably left out Galen's hesitations and much of his empirical evidence. Authors like al-Majusi (Haly Abbas, d. *c.* 999) and Ibn Sina, above all in his *Canon*, provided logically constructed syntheses that took Galen's ideas, e.g. on the three *spirits* (→ Pneuma), far beyond what he had written. Writers on → pharmacology and → dietetics, like Ibn Butlan in his 'Tables of Health', applied Galen's incomplete theory of different degrees of efficacy of Arabic pharmacology systematically to a wide range of substances. But, while impressive in their organisation and clarity, these handbooks lost some of the energy and immediacy of Galen's original. The best Arabic medicine often begins with a Galenic or Hippocratic model, but goes far beyond it. Ibn Ridwan's treatise, 'On thePrevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt' (eds. A. S Gamal, M W. Dods, 1984), develops ideas from the Hippocratic writing on the environment; al-Razi 's (Rhazes, 865–925) treatise on smallpox and measles refines Galen's nosology, while his

experiments on animals recall those of Galen. The surgeon al-Zahrawi (Albucasis, *c.* 936–1013) constantly proclaims his debt to Galen, while describing many new operations and techniques.

F. Criticism

Arabic authors saw themselves as building upon solid foundations. While Galen's theology and philosophy came in for vigorous attack, criticism of the Greeks in medical matters took the form of adding new information rather than abandoning the old.[9] Abd-al Latif al-Baghdadi's (d. 1231) discovery from examining skulls that Galen had wrongly described the human jaw did not lead to widespread criticism of Galenic anatomy – and dissection of humans was almost impossible. [10] Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288) discovered the passage of blood from one side of the heart to the other via the lungs by a mixture of observation (presumably of an animal heart) and meditation on the words of Galen in a thought-experiment. Although his discovery, expressed in his commentary on Ibn Sina, was often reported in later texts, it was merely placed without further comment alongside Galen's alternative theory, and ibn an-Nafis himself did not draw further conclusions from it.

G. Yunani Medicine

Greek humoralism in Arab dress, Yunani medicine, came under attack from religious fundamentalists from the 10th cent. on who sought to impose on Muslims the so-called Medicine of the Prophet, but it was never entirely replaced as the primary medicine of the educated doctor until the 19th and 20th cents. Western→ Renaissance discoveries in anatomy, physiology and Paracelsian medical chemistry were assimilated where necessary [11]. Only with the advent of colonialism and the imposition of modern Western medicine did Yunani medicine come to be seen, at least by the ruling classes, as inferior and ineffective.[12] Nonetheless, as mediated through Ibn Sina's 'Canon of Medicine', it still remains today an important medical tradition in Pakistan and elsewhere in the Muslim world (including in Western Europe), and scholars trained in that tradition are ready to use the latest of modern Western technology or pharmacochemistry to prove the validity of recipes and diagnoses that go back to Galen, if not to Hippocrates.

Anatomy; → Galen; → Hippocrates; → Pharmacology; → Training (medical)
→ → Arabic-Islamic Cultural Sphere

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VIVIAN NUTTON

Arabic Studies

A. Definition B. The Beginnings of Arabic Studies in Europe C. Changes in the Image of the Orient in the 18th Cent. D. Development in the 19th Cent. until the First World War E. Between the Two World Wars F. Post–1945

A. Definition

'Arabic studies' (AS) designates the philological investigation of the Arabic language and of the works composed in that language. As a linguistic discipline it is a part of → Semitic studies; as a cultural discipline, it is the central focus for Islamic studies.

B. The Beginnings of Arabic Studies in Europe

Although a number of works of AS as well as religious writings were translated into Latin by the school of translators founded by Alfonso X the Wise (1252–84), this did not lead to the creation of institutions where Arabic was taught. Many translators came from the parts of Spain that had been or still were under Arab domination. Where others, like Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) or Robertus Ketenensis (the first translator of the Koran, d. *c.* 1160) had obtained their knowledge of Arabic is unknown. Knowledge of the Arabic language could only have been obtained from native speakers who had been driven to Europe, or in lands of the Orient itself. The founders of AS at the universities belonged to the latter category: Guillaume Postel (1510–1581, Paris), Jacob Golius (1596–1667, Leiden) and Eduard Pocock (1604–1691, Oxford).

In the 17th cent. collections of Arabic manuscripts were made at Heidelberg, Leiden, and Rome, later at the Escorial and elsewhere. The leading Arabists taught at Leiden: Johann Jacob Erpenius (1584–1624) wrote the first methodical presentation of the Classical Arabic

language; Jacob Golius created the first usable lexicon. It was there that Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774), the most significant Arabist of the 18th cent., found the manuscripts for his editions of texts and translations; he did not, however, get the recognition he deserved during his lifetime.

C. Changes in the Image of the Orient in the 18th Cent.

As a result of the growth of the economic and military interests of European powers, the Orient entered public awareness ever more strongly near the end of the 18th cent. Under the influence of the → Enlightenment, Europe's image of the Orient was transformed from that of a world of infidels needing evangelization to that of a world with its own cultural achievements. Antoine Galand's (1646–1709) translation of *The Thousand and One Nights* (1704–1717) had great influence on the creation of a romantic image for the Orient. J.G. Herder (1744–1803) understood Europe's contact with Spanish-Arabic culture to be one of the sources of the European Enlightenment.

D. Development in the 19th Cent. until the First World War

With the new image of the Orient, conditions were ripe for the blossoming of AS. An initial summary of what had been accomplished up to his own time was provided by Christian Friedrich Schnurrer's *Bibliotheca Arabica* (1811). The first learned Orientalist Societies arose: the *Société Asiatique* in Paris in 1821, the *Royal Asiatic Society* in London in 1823, and the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* in Leipzig in 1845. Other countries soon followed their example. At the beginning of this development stood Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) in Paris and Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) in Vienna.

Trained as a so-called 'language-student' in Vienna, Hammer-Purgstall knew the Orient first-hand. In order to make the literature of the Orient known, he founded the first specialized journal, *Fundgruben des Orients* in 1809. His achievements were largely in the field of Persian literature, whereas as an Arabist he was subjected to fierce criticism. His student Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866) far surpassed his teacher as a philologist. His translations, like that of Ḥarīrī 's *Maqāmen*, skillfully imitated the originals and became part of German literature. His translation of the Koran (ed. A. Müller 1888, H. Bobzin 1995) transmits not only the meaning, but also the rhetorical form of the text.

De Sacy molded AS into a strictly philological discipline. Many orientalists of the first half of the 19th cent. were his students. Whereas subsequent French Arabists mainly placed themselves in the service of colonial interests as translators, or pursued historical interests as scholars, philological foundations were developed by, among others, De Sacy's student Heinrich L. Fleischer (1801–1888, Leipzig) and his students. They developed lively editorial activity, adopting the text-critical methods developed in classical philology. Arabists from Germany like Georg Wilhelm Freytag (1788–1861), Gustav Flügel (1802–1870), Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1808–1899), but also Dutch, English and French scholars – for instance Reinhart P. Dozy (1820–1883), William Wright (1830–1889) and M. Jan de Goeje (1836–1909) – participated in this process. At the same time, an ever more exact knowledge of the texts was achieved, as more and more knowledge was gained concerning the use of works of the Islamic scholarly tradition. Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) wrote his epochmaking *Geschichte des Korans* (History of the Koran 1860, frequently new and revised editions 1909–2000). Scholars like Wilhelm Ahlward (1828–1909), Th. Nöldeke and Charles J. Lyall (1845–1920) made the difficult texts of Old Arabic poetry accessible. The edition, undertaken in common by European Arabists, of the great historical work by Ṭabarī provided sources that enabled more profound presentations of history, exemplified by the works of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). R. Dozy devoted himself to the history of Spain under Arab domination. The reception of ancient scholarship in Islam found its first editors in Fr. Dieterici (1821–1903) and Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1909). The latter also presented the contribution of Jewish authors to Arabic literature (*Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 1902–the Arabic literature of the Jews). Those who resided for longer periods in Arab lands often devoted themselves to the study of local dialects. French Arabists founded Arabic dialectology on a linguistic level; their work concerned primarily the vernaculars of North Africa and Syria.

Many works of this period are still valuable tools today, for instance Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (1874) or C. Brockelmann's (1868–1956) *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (history of Arabic literature 1898–1902; 3 Supplemental volumes 1937–1942), where Arab authors that had become known up until that time were listed together with their works. The problem of a dictionary compiled from texts remained unsolved. Ed. William Lane (1801–1876) was not able to complete his Arabic-English lexicon, which he began in Cairo in 1842, and which still relied on works of Arabic lexicography. A dictionary planned by August Fischer (1865–1949), in which the *Academy of the Arabic Language* in Cairo later also participated, was not completed because the flood of newly-edited texts pulled the rug out from under the project. After World War II, this project was pursued once again by Jörg Kraemer (1917–1961) and Helmut Gätje (1927–1986); in it they took up where Lane had left off (*Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, 1957ff.- Dictionary of the classical Arabic languages). Driven by personal experience of the Orient, there arose a tendency to make the investigation of the history of Islamic culture its special task. These foundations were laid by Alfred von Kremer (1828–1889, Vienna) with his *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* (history of Oriental culture und the Caliphs, (1875–1877), and the

Hungarian-born Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), who introduced the methods of → Historicism into AS. In his *Muhammedanische Studien* (1889–1890 [Eng.: Muslim Studies, 1966]), he showed the effect of the power struggles in early Islamic times on the genesis of the traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīṯ*), which earned him bitter criticism from Islamic scholars. Henri Lammens (1862–1937), who taught at the Université St.-Joseph in Beirut, went a step farther in the direction of source-criticism; he put forth the thesis, which is still defended today, that the biography of Mohammed was fabricated out of the Koran and is largely legendary. Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933, Prussian Minister of Culture from 1925–1930) gave Islamic studies in Germany the prestige they already had in other nations, and which found expression in the jointly-edited (by German, English and French scholars) *Encycloapedia of Islam* (1908ff., 2nd English and French edition 1954ff.).

E. Between the Two World Wars

The close connections that had existed among Europe's Arabists were broken off by the First World War. In most European countries, Islamic studies now predominated, represented by a few eminent personalities, like the versatile D.S. Margoliouth (1858–1940, Oxford), or in France by Louis Massignon (1883–1962), who became prominent with studies on Islamic mysticism. The *School of Oriental and African Studies* was founded in 1917 in London, and the first to represent AS there was Theodor W. Arnold (1864–1930). The philological school was continued by C.A. Nallino (1872–1938, Naples), and in Germany by August Fischer (Leipzig). His student, Gotthelf Bergsträßer (1886–1933, Munich), made important contributions to the linguistic history of Arabic. Joseph Horovitz (1874–1931, Frankfurt) had a decisive influence on AS at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, founded in 1925. Helmut Ritter (1892–1971), a student of Carl Heinrich Becker, made the manuscript treasures of Istanbul accessible. Because of the limited possibilities for contact with other scholars available to German Arabists, an important position was the holding of the Guest Professorship for Semitic scholars at the University of Cairo; it was administered by G. Bergsträßer, A. Schaade (1883–1952) and E. Littmann (1875–1958). Some of the most able Arabists were forced to leave Germany during Hitler's years in power, including Richard Walzer (1900–1975) and Joseph Schacht (1902–1969), who found new avenues for their activity in England, and Gustav E. von Grunebaum (= Grünebaum, 1909–1972) and Franz Rosenthal, who built up important centers of Islamic studies at Los Angeles and Yale.

F. Post–1945

German AS gained international attention with two outstanding works: Johann Fück's (1894–1974) *Arabiya, Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte* (»Arabiya: Studies on the History of Arabic Language and Style«, 1954), which gave rise to a lively discussion about the history of the rise of Classical Arabic, and the *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, compiled from the sources (known internationally in its English version *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, ⁴1994).

Whereas AS had previously been a phenomenon of European scholarly activity, after 1960 it spread as far as Japan. Arabists who had studied in Europe, and later also in the USA, and had assimilated the methods of modern scholarship, taught, to an increasing degree, at Arab universities. Since that time text editions have been prepared predominantly by Arabists from Arab countries. New centers of AS have also arisen in Europe and the USA. Larger-scale projects could thus be undertaken, such as the cataloguing of oriental manuscripts in Germany, initiated by Wolfgang Vogt (1911–1982), or the continuation of Brockelmann's work by Fuat Sezgin (*Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1970ff.). At the same time, research horizons were broadened by the inclusion of contemporary themes, such as modern Arabic literature, as well as questions of political science and sociology. Sojourns in Arab countries, necessary for such studies, were supported by research support-centers like the Orient Institute of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* in Beirut and similar institutions in other lands. The result of these developments has been a stronger specialization in research.

→ Linguistics; → Semitic Studies

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Arabic-Islamic Cultural Sphere, the

I. The Near East II. Al-Andalus

I. The Near East

A. Origin and Development of the Arabic-Islamic Cultural Sphere B. The Survival of Antiquity among the Syrians C. Arab Reception D. Migrations of Narrative Materials E. The Greco-Arabic Field of Research and its Implications

A. Origin and Development of the Arabic-Islamic Cultural Sphere

In a power vacuum between Byzantium and Persia, the prophet Mohammed founded a new theocratic and militant state on the Arabian peninsula in 622. Within less than a century, it extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus. These conquests were facilitated by mild taxation laws and tolerant religious policies: Jews and Christians, who for the most part belonged to national churches hostile towards the Imperial church, were incorporated into the new society with minimal discrimination; their culture was left untouched. This turned out to be a decisive factor in the survival of ancient knowledge. In the west, the Islamic empire encompassed Spain, North Africa, Sicily, some Greek islands, Egypt and the Syro-Mesopotamian region, which had all been shaped by Greco-Roman culture, and in the east, with Persia and Bactria, areas which had once been included in the conquests of Alexander the Great. Here the Muslims broadened their dominion as far as Khorezm, a river oasis situated where the Oxus (modern Amu Darya) flowed into the Aral Sea, and towards Transoxania with the cities of Bukhara and Samarqand. While incursions towards France and Constantinople met with failure, expansion was carried further towards India from the end of the 10th cent. on. North of the Mediterranean, Islamic conquests created a precondition for a European self-consciousness that would not dawn until the → Renaissance and the → Enlightenment – a consciousness no longer oriented towards the Roman Empire and its reestablishment, but to the liberation of the Greeks from Islamic domination and towards an exclusive spiritual kinship with them. The result of this expansion was the creation of a relatively homogeneous cultural area, to which many peoples brought their cultural assets. Among these, the Syrians contributed their cultivation of Greek → Medicine and science. The remarkable mobility of scholars and a book trade that flourished thanks to the adoption of Chinese paper led to a lively exchange between regions. Moorish Spain [117. 376–381] retained its own peculiar characteristics. Pre-Islamic Arabs had enjoyed a remarkable linguistic culture, poetic literature with complicated metres, and an essentially non-religious view of man and the world, which continued to be highly regarded (cf., for instance, the role of Homer in Byzantium). A tendency towards purism restricted the introduction of foreign words, even in translated literature. Some of the terms adopted from the Greek by the older language included: *failasūf* (philosopher, also used in popular speech for 'infidel charlatan',), *hayūlā* < ὕλη ('matter'), *usṭuqus* < στοιχεῖον ('element'), *sūfisā ī* ('Sophist', in a pejorative sense) [117. 146–150]; from Latin: *barīd* ('post') < *veredus* ('post-horse'), *iṣṭabl* ('stable') < *stabulum*, *ṣirāṭ* < *strata*, as in the first Sura for the 'straight path' which the faithful must follow. The Jewish heritage included the Koran's strict monotheism and the prohibition on depicting living beings [117. 130–137], which limited the survival of ancient elements in the visual arts, at least in public. Inoffensive geometrical and vegetal decorative forms like the so-called arabesque, already found at → Pompeii, lived on in Islamic art. The wall mosaics of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus (*c.* 715) depict trees and architectural scenery in the tradition of ancient fantasy landscapes. In the private realm, representations of living beings remained permissible, and specifically Greek material found entrance, for instance, in the constellations and the allegorical figures in the frescoes of the Umayyad desert castles [12; 36. 30–35].

B. The Survival of Antiquity among the Syrians

The transmission of ancient scholarship to the Muslims did not occur through the Latin-speaking Christians of North Africa, who gave up their religion and language after the 11th cent. [79], and only to a very negligible degree by way of the Copts and the Spanish Christians. A favorable factor was the relocation of the centre of power into the cultural area marked by Syrian and Greek Orthodox Christianity, first to Damascus, and then in 750, after the bloody overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasids, to Iraq, where al-Mansur founded his capital Baghdad in 762. The Syrians, who were active as merchants, did not lag behind the Byzantine Greeks in their zeal to accummulate knowledge. Divided along religious and political lines between the Persian empire and Byzantium, they now found themselves united under the rule of Islam. The Syrian language had taken on many foreign elements, Hellenisms, and had thus become a useful means of expression for the various disciplines. Under Islam, cultured Syrians gradually abandoned their ancient Greco-Syrian bilingualism in favor of a Syro-Arabic one; hence the need for translations arose. The belles lettres of Antiquity, together with the whole of Latin literature, were excluded from the Syrian syllabus. Of their compatriot Lucian, Christian Syrians only translated his essay: *Ne facile credenda calumnia*. Syrian reception provided a filter upon which the Arab reception depended. The ancient Academy in → Alexandria, with its emphasis on Galenic medicine and Aristotelian philosophy in Neo-Platonist interpretation [124], still existed at the time of the Arab conquest of 641. Arab reports point to a solidly-structured educational organization [65]. The school was tightly linked to the Greek settlement, and received no backing from the Copts after the Arab con-

quest. Accounts claiming that the academy then, stage by stage, relocated to Baghdad, where its survival depended on the succession of individual teachers, are fictional [78; 117. 313–322]. Rather, the Academy had held a strong pre-conquest influence over the Syrian clergy and its schools in Edessa and Nisibis. The eminent translator Sergius of Rēšʿainā (Theodosiopolis) (d. 536) had studied in Alexandria under John Philoponus [10. 167–173; 64. 121–143; 113. 92f.]. Medical instruction was attached to the hospital in Persian Gundishapur. It gained particular importance, since the most competent Syrian doctors were called to the court in Baghdad because of their geographical proximity. The image of the ancient pre-Christian world was partially dependent on Christian chronicles of a popular nature [62]. One often encounters an astonishing knowledge of details. For instance, the Christian translator Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. *c.* 912) knew the story of the compilation of Homeric verses under Peisistratus, and used it to raise doubts about the authenticity of the Koranic suras in his correspondence with his Muslim patron [104. 640–643]. In addition to the Christian Syrians, a role was played by the Sabians of Ḥarrān (ancient Carrhae), who were known in Baghdad as proponents of Greek science and ancient paganism. Their Old Babylonian star-cult was amalgamated with Neoplatonic theology and Hermetism: they worshipped Hermes, Agathodaimon and Pythagoras, among others, as their prophets. At a temple in Ḥarrān, the writer al-Masʿ. 956) was shown a door-knocker with the inscription of a saying by Plato: 'He who knows himself becomes divine' [50. 166f.]. Their cult, which survived into the 11th cent., also influenced the Muslim conceptions of ancient pre-Christian religion; the encyclopedic scholar al-Bīrūnī (973–1048) believed that Socrates was condemned because he refused to call the planets gods [112. 155].

C. Arab Reception

1. Social Conditions 2. Translation Methods 3. Branches of Learning 3.1 Medicine and Pharmacology 3.2 Philosophy 3.3 Mathematics 3.4 Astronomy and Astrology 3.5 Geography and Geodesy 3.6 Optics 3.7 Mechanics and Statics 3.8 Zoology and botany 3.9 Magic and Alchemy 3.10 The Interpretation of Dreams 3.11 Economics

1. Social Conditions

In the 9th and 10th cents., a vibrant intellectual life developed in Baghdad as money flowed in from the provinces. The institution of the *mağlis* ('session') included lectures given in private homes on theology, medicine or philosophy, as well as debating clubs in which Christian Aristotelians met Arabs and Persians to argue, for instance, about whether or not the earth is cone-shaped [112. 132f.]. This too aroused a desire for Arabic translations. Some Caliphs promoted learning: Al-Ma'mūn (reigned 813–833) maintained a so-called

'House of Wisdom', a kind of academy-cum-library, which devoted itself primarily to astronomy and mathematics [9]. He fitted out an expedition to measure degrees of latitude by Eratosthenes' method [112. 84f.], and tried in vain to hire the Byzantine mathematician Leon [51. 74f.]. Attitudes were still highly receptive in the 9th cent.: significant in this regard is an aphorism by the Syrian court physician Yūḥannā ibn Māsawaih: 'If Galen and Aristotle agree on a subject, then that is the way things are. When they are of different opinions, it is very difficult for the intellect to determine the right one' [67. 116]. On the other hand, this faith in authority fostered the problem of pseudepigraphy, which continued from Greek Antiquity into the Syrian and Muslim Orient. There was an academic proletariat that lived on transcription, and the temptation was great to augment one's income by producing rarities. Critical judgements on authenticity were scarce. In subsequent times, the Greek heritage was cultivated by court secretaries, doctors, and astrologers whose positions and offices had been increased in the course of political decentralization. Much depended on the whims of the sovereign, or the pressure put on him by orthodox preachers and the popular masses they incited [46]. Later on, however, theologians active in the *madrasas* ('schools') made considerable contributions in religiously inoffensive disciplines. An awareness of the the indigenous nature of the ancient tradition allowed people to speak without bias of the 'books of the ancients'. Only their opponents preferred the label 'Greek' in order to denigrate them as foreign. A broader, somewhat simplistic reception of the Neoplatonism of Late Antiquity existed among heretical movements such as the Ismailis and the 'Pure Brethren' of Basra [8]. In their efforts to fuse religion and philosophy through an allegorical exegesis of the Koran, they provoked the resistance of their orthodox opponents. The decisive blow against Neoplatonic philosophers was dealt by al-Ġazālī (d. 1111) in reaction to their denial of the world's beginning within time and the resurrection of the dead. He saw no conflict, however, with rational Galenic medicine [115. 140f.] and Aristotelian logic, which still in the 19th cent. was experiencing scholastic hypertrophy in individual *madrasas* [117. 358–362]. Symptomatic of an intellectual stagnation was, among other things, the continued study and copying of translated Greek literature– even down to most recent times– instead of note being taken of European innovations.

2. Translation Methods

We possess instructive reports about the master translator Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq (808–873) [3], a Nestorian Arab who probably acquired his perfect knowledge of Greek during a lengthy period of study in Constantinople. He could even recite Homer, without, of course, daring to attempt a translation [113. 95f.]. In a *Risala* (letter) on the various *translations of Galen*, he gave an account of his predecessors and colleagues, and of his own philological methods [11]. He bought the majuscule manuscripts that he collated and then translated

into Syrian and Arabic in the course of his travels throughout the entire Near East [113. 91, 97]. As a rule, they were several centuries older than the ones that have come down to us. The importation of Byzantine books played a minor role. Ḥis translations reveal an insightful understanding; they were not, however, done word for word and are easy to read. Unfortunately, secondary stylistic editing by scribes can often be determined. Half the recorded Arabic translations of Galen were prepared by a student following Ḥunain's previous Syrian translation [113. 100]. Also noteworthy are accumulations of synonyms, that is, the replacement of one expression in the source by two in the target language [118]. Perhaps in this case, allowance was being made for the client's literary taste despite the translator's desire for precision [11. 25]. Names of peoples and countries appear modernized; thus, for instance, the Scythians as Turks [117. 272–277]. Another peculiarity is the monotheistic distortion of all specifically pagan statements, already observable in earlier Syrian translations [117. 219f., 227–262]. The corruption of foreign proper names except for those that had taken on an Arab look, e.g. Arisṭū, Baṭlamiyūs, Buqrāṭ or Ǧālīnūs, must be attributed to scribes.

3. Branches of Learning

3.1 Medicine and Pharmacology

The pronounced historical interest on the part of Muslims found rich nourishment in translated medical literature, e.g. in the myth of Asclepius [97. II, III], the pseudo-Hippocratic correspondence or the scattered autobiographical reminiscences in Galen [115. 136–138]. Hippocrates stood entirely in the shadow of his commentator Galen; although Ḥunain had also translated the Hippocratic works separately, the surviving Arabic Hippocratic texts were put together from the lemmas of the commentaries [117. 71–73, 219]. In the market official's manuals one finds the regulation that doctors, upon opening their practice, must take the → Hippocratic Oath; for the first time, then, this document of ancient guild-ethics was taken up by a state institution for the protection of patients [117. 216]. Dioscorides *Materia medica* received a full Arabic edition, complete with illustrations and the frontispiece portrait of the author [36.; 107. III. 58–60; 119; 122. 257–264]. Owing to the pre-eminence of the Alexandrian School, Byzantine and Islamic doctors formed a single Galenic sect (→ Galenism). Writings by adherents of other medical schools are preserved only in a few Arabic fragments [107. III. 51–68; 120; 122. 69–79]. Thanks to Ḥunain and his students, the Galenic corpus was almost completely translated; hence some material lost in Greek has been preserved in Arabic [113. 102–105]. Post-Galenic authors like Oribasius, Nemesius of Emesa, Palladius and Paulus of Aegina were highly esteemed and translated because they were followers and compilers of Galen [107. III. 152–170; 122. 83–87]. With his conception of homogeneous ('homoiomeric') bodily parts formed from the four elements earth, water, air and fire, and his rejection of → Atomism, Galen was in agreement with Aristotle. However, Arab Peripatetics opposed him because he had gone beyond Aristotle in his anatomical investigations, for instance with regard to the functions of the heart and the brain [15; 130]. His copious writings demanded a pedagogical summary that practitioners could handle, and one such project was begun with the Alexandrian canon of 16 Galenic works and their shortened adaptation, extant only in Arabic: the *Summaria Alexandrinorum* [65]. Systematization reached its peak in Avicenna's (d. 1037) *Qanun fil tibb* ('Canon of Medicine'). Galenic humoral pathology, with its four bodily humors of blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile seems to indigenous practitioners today to be something genuinely Islamic and, in contrast to mechanized Western medicine, to be the 'medicine of the future' [71. 89].

3.2 Philosophy

Pre-Socratic material is preserved only in quotations [20; 113. 28–42], in the doxography of Aetius [19] and in collections of sayings and anecdotes, the so-called gnomologies. Of the latter, several collections are extant, some of them illustrated [36.; 73. I. 289]. Their content is identical only in part with that of the Greek transmission. However, the all-pervasive confusion of names should warn us to view the historicity of either version with skepticism [53; 55; 99; 113. 43–49]. Tendentiously falsified doxographies are found among the heretical writers, who constructed a tradition of age-old wisdom from them [101]. The atomism of early Islamic theology, in which even time is atomized and the atoms are mere points in space, was probably inspired more by Indian than by Greek sources [7]. Another atomism, more oriented towards Greek thought, was proposed by Rhazes (d. 925 or 932), who was significant as a physician and rationalistic alchemist. It is not clear to what extent the Platonic dialogues were translated [96. II; 125]; they were available in Galen's *summaries*, in which their dialogic character was abandoned. In a quotation from the summary of *The Republic* or the *Phaedo* [45] there is an interesting remark about Christians, who believe in myths but live a philosophical life – this obviously being a contemporary analogy to the education of the guardian caste. Thanks to his description in the Platonic dialogues, Socrates, who as a result of some confusion in the gnomologies was assigned Diogenes' tub as his dwelling-place, became a cult-figure for Muslim intellectuals. Rhazes, who depicted the prophets of revealed religions as frauds, chose him as his imam. Even Khomeini could appreciate him as an ascetic and preacher of monotheism, though al-Ġazālī had classed him among the heretics [1; 69. 78–89; 113. 50–58]. Apocryphal sayings of Socrates are found in inscriptions on a mausoleum of the Timurid family in Samarqand [113. 59–61]. In the Alexandrian tradition, the greatest authority was enjoyed by Aristotle: the 'example' which, in the words of Averroes (1126–1198) 'nature devised in order to exhibit the ultimate human perfection within matter' [5; 24; 126]. Except for the *Politics* [13], the Aristotelian corpus was available in a

complete translation; additional material exists in the shape of a letter to Alexander the Great, the authenticity of which is still a matter of debate [91]. In contrast to the Greek tradition, the *Organon* included the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*; the form of the latter, owing to the translator's lack of familiarity with the field, is not entirely masterful. Because of Aristotle's authority, a particularly large number of forgeries came to be associated with his name [29. 53f.; 84. 55–75]. In the course of Neoplatonic interpretation, endless room for discussion was provided by the allusions in *De anima* 3,5 (430 a 14–25) to the role of an 'active intellect', coming from outside, in the awakening of human thought [68]. Avicenna finally defined it as a stage of emanation connected with the Ptolemaic sphere of the moon: from the inspiring union with it, a blessed immortality was granted to the individual soul [47. 123–183]. He was thus contemplating ideas approaching the essence of prophethood. This led to a renewed flourishing of Neoplatonic philosophy in Shi'ite Persia of the 16th and 17th cents., which continues to reverberate to this day in the ideology of the Ayatollahs [18. 725–757; 63].

The work of Theophrastus is preserved in fragments; among them the *Meteorology*, lost in Greek [23; 26; 54]. The principal philosophical work 'On demonstration' (Περὶ ἀποδείξεως) of Galen, who was also valued outside medical circles as a proponent of practical causal thought, is preserved in Arabic citations which go beyond the remnants of the Greek text; they are especially numerous in Rhazes' *Doubts about Galen* [111]. Galen most likely communicated some doctrines of the Stoa as well, of which nothing else was translated. His opponents among the Peripatetic philosophers invoked the commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias, who was considered to be authoritative, and who was said to have personally argued with Galen at Rome; Galen's writings would seem to confirm this [25. 294; 39; 40; 49]. Alexander's work *On the Principles of the Universe*, preserved only in Arabic, contains in rudimentary form the hierarchy of the planetary souls in the Ptolemaic heavenly spheres, which reached full development with al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Avicenna. Plotinus was highly influential, without being known by name, through a forgery that probably first appeared in the 9th cent.: the *Enneads* 4–6, slightly adapted, had been published as the 'Theology of Aristotle' [4; 29. 53; 60]. Here, the doctrine of the eternity of the world was already linked to the notion of creation; nevertheless, it remained a constant annoyance to the orthodox factions. A paraphrase of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and a letter to the Emperor Julian the Apostate by the philosopher and rhetor Themistius are extant only in an Arabic version [6. 100ff., 166–180; 109]. Proclus, an extract from whose commentary on the *Timaeus* is preserved in Arabic [85], was known as a defender of the eternity of the world [6. 60–73, 119f.; 127]. Also known was the polemic directed against him by the Christian professor John Philoponus. The latter was valued by many because of his theory of creation, which agreed with that

of Islam, as well as for his kinematics, which went beyond Aristotle, and with which he came close to the modern theory of gravitation [117. 168f.]. Another tendency of Late Antiquity that influenced certain groups in Islam was Hermetism. The Sabians must be considered as its intermediaries, together with the circle around al-Kindī (d. after 870), tutor to the young prince and 'first philosopher of the Arabs' [43].

3.3 Mathematics

Greek → Mathematics was united in a fruitful way with a comparatively strong Indian tradition; however, positional notation with a zero was accepted more readily among merchants than among the learned who, following the Greek model, stayed with an alphabetical notation for a long time. Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* was translated several times and amply commented upon; his *Data* was also available. Other translated authors, some of whose texts only survive in Arabic, included Apollonius of Perga, Menelaus, Pappus, Archimedes, Heron of Alexandria and Theo of Alexandria and Diophantes, whose arithmetical algebraic approach paved the way for Indian methods. A mystically-tinged Neopythagorean conception of numbers was imparted by the *Introduction to Arithmetic* (Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή) of Nicomachus of Gerasa [102; 107. V. 81–186; 110].

3.4 Astronomy and Astrology

Here there was an initial competition with an Indian tradition that for its part had taken up elements of pre-Ptolemaic Greek astronomy. Of the early Greek astronomers the following were available in translation in the 9th cent.: Aristarchus with 'On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon' (*Περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀποστημάτων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης*), while his heliocentric concept remained unknown [83. 37–45]; others were Autolycus, Hypsicles, Theodosius and Menelaus [107. VI. 73–81]. The standard work, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, was translated into Arabic several times in the 9th cent. [76. 17–34]; Copernicus still used the Latin version by Gerard of Cremona that was based on it. The *Planetary Hypotheses* and the *Phaseis* are fully preserved only in Arabic. The latter work catalogues the heliacal risings of stars, which also played a part in popular Arab starlore. The *Handy Tables* were also translated [88; 107. VI. 83–96]. The program formulated by Ptolemy of reducing the complicated movements of the heavenly bodies to the simplest possible kinematic models with epicycles, eccentrics, *punctum aequans* and so forth, were continued by several generations of Muslim astronomers. The goal pursued in the *Planetary Hypothesis* of representing mathematical constructs as physical realities was also further developed by some scholars. The return to Eudoxus model of homocentric spheres, picked up by Aristotle and chiefly posited by Spanish philosophers, could not compete [87]. In order to improve the accuracy of observations it became necessary to increase the size of the instruments, some of which were of Greek origin. The astrolabe, a precision mechanical instrument, served more for private use; in its

common planispheric variant, the fixed stars of the celestial dome had to be projected onto a plane [57]. The Romans had no practical application for it, but by the year 1000 it had been introduced into Western Europe by way of Northern Spain. With the reproduction of the celestial spheres, the Greek constellations were also taken over [105]; to facilitate their understanding, Aratus *Phainomena* were translated [107. VI. 75–77]. The sequence of images drawn on paper by Abd ar-Raḥmān aṣ-Ṣūfī (d. 986) was also used in the West to illustrate the list of fixed stars of the *Almagest*, since it was more precise than the miniatures of the Latin Aratus tradition [116]. Astrology, scorned by orthodox religious thinkers and by most philosophers but highly valued at the courts, relied on a combination of Persian and Greek traditions. Among the better-known names were Teucrus of Babylon, Dorotheus of Sidon, Vettius Valens and Ptolemy with his *Tetrabiblos* [107. VII. 30–73; 123. 278–286].

3.5 Geography and Geodesy

The requisite orientation of mosques towards Mecca was a motive for the reception and further development of spherical trigonometry. Ptolemy's geography and system of climates, with its division of peoples into 'northern' and 'southern', was adopted all the more readily, as the Muslim territory extended primarily over the central fourth climate. Interest was also stimulated by Hippocrates' treatise 'On Airs, Waters, Places' (*Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*), on which a commentary by Galen, lost in Greek, is preserved [113. 113–117]. Greek methods of determining longitude and latitude were adapted for solving cartographical tasks [70]; the astronomers surrounding al-Maʾmūn introduced improvements to Ptolemy's world map, which found their way through Byzantine intermediaries into maps of the Renaissance, where they were ascribed to Ptolemy [107. X–XI; 108].

3.6 Optics

The conflict between Euclid's extramission theory of sight that has the ray of light emanating from the eye, and the correct theory of intromission inspired by Aristotle, was decided experimentally by Ibn al-Haytam (d. 1039). In addition to Euclid's 'Optics', texts by Pseudo-Euclid, Heron, Ptolemy, Theo of Alexandria and Anthemius of Tralles were also available [93. 643–729; 103].

3.7 Mechanics and Statics

Following Philo of Byzantium and Hero, the art of engineering also turned its attention to the construction of music boxes and Tantalus' cups, as well as to the investigation of the laws of leverage and the construction of scales, including hydrostatic ones following the model of Archimedes [61; 92. 65–75, 132–140; 100].

3.8 Zoology and botany

Aristotles books on animals were included in his translated corpus. His and Theophrastus' lost botanical writings were worked up into a book by Nicolaus of Damascus that is extant in Arabic [27]. In addition, there was a rich literature of a more agricultural, medical and magical character [107. IV. 310–312; 123. 8–18].

3.9 Magic and Alchemy

Late ancient magic lived on in the popular, non-literary tradition, accompanied by a primitive literature of largely pseudonymous character. A *Book of Stones* supposedly by Aristotle had already been recognized as a false attribution by al-Bīrūnī [123. 96–114]. The existence of a similar non-literary tradition must be assumed for alchemy, which was largely rejected by mainstream philosophy. The attendant literature indulges in vague allusions and aliases; pseudepigraphy included names like Hermes, Pythagoras, Democritus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Apollonius of Tyana [2; 90; 107. IV. 31–104; 123. 151–163; 129]. Zosimus was known as a genuine author of alchemical treatises; it is in his work that the concept of an elixir (*al-iksīr* < ξηρόιον, 'dry powder') [121] is first attested, which by merely being scattered was supposed to transform various base metals into gold or silver. This miracle transformation was performed in a cleverly staged fraud by the emperor Constantine V Copronymus in the presence of an ambassador of the Caliph al-Manṣūr [113. 147f.].

3.10 The Interpretation of Dreams

In view of the belief in revelation through dreams, widespread in the Orient, it is not surprising that the standard work by Artemidorus was also translated. Here the translator was often overwhelmed by the details of daily life in Antiquity [106].

3.11 Economics

In addition to Aristotle's thoughts on the subject, one made use of a treatise, attributed to the Neopythagorean Bryson and now preserved only in Arabic, on the subject of money, slaveholding, marriage and the raising of children [89].

D. Migrations of Narrative Materials

Sura 18, 60–98 contains vague reminiscences of the Alexander Romance. In Persian → epic poetry, Alexander the Great appears as the illegitimate descendant of the Persian royal house [16; 35]; this falsification of history was censured by al-Bīrūnī [112. 117]. Elements of the Latin tradition in turn permeated Andalusian versions of the Alexander legend [42. LX-LXVI]. Material from novels, whose circulation in the Syrian region is attested by mosaics, found its way into Arabic and Persian literature [56; 117. 174–181], and Hellenistic or pan-Mediterranean narrative matter is a component of the stories from the *Thousand and One Nights* [51. 376–405]. Animal fables resurface in the corpus attributed to Aesop [98], for which one may assume both an oral and a literary transmission. The same holds true for jokes, where there is a blurred transition to the pithy anecdotes of the gnomologies [81; 99].

E. The Greco-Arabic Field of Research and its Implications

After Western European scholasticism had profited from the Greek scholarship preserved in Arabic, the Renaissance painted this path of transmission in a negative light; doctors who swore by Galen were particularly eager to engage in polemics [72]. Out of an interest in the history of science, the demand for the reconstitution of a text lost in Greek was addressed by Frederick the Great to J.J. Reiske, the founder of German Arabic studies. The work in question was Heron's *Baroulcus* [117. 516f.]. Since the end of the 19th cent., so-called Graeco-Arabic studies have functioned as an ancillary discipline to classical philology and philosophy, as well as the histories of medicine and science. The goal has been a text-critical evaluation, or else, where the original version is lost, to produce an Arabic edition with facing translation into a European language. This, for instance, is the program of the *Supplementum Orientale* to the Berlin *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. The creation of a lexical aid particularly for works in translation has now been undertaken by a team organized around D. Gutas and G. Endreß in Bochum [33]. An ideologically explosive issue is the fate of the Greek heritage in Islam and why, after such a promising beginning, it did not lead to the same results and breakthroughs as it did in Western Europe, but finally atrophied, so that → universities in Muslim lands, unable to connect to an indigenous tradition in the relevant disciplines, are condemned to perpetually catch up with European and American research. Among Muslim intellectuals and lesser-informed European commentators, this has led to resentment-filled distortions, insofar as those innovations which are unquestionably present are exaggerated, and a kindling effect for subsequent Western European developments is ascribed to them. This claim, however, disregards the fact that Christian→ Scholasticism, because of its initially limited incorporative capability, relied on basic handbook knowledge which was, generally speaking, of Greek origin. On the basis of this latter phenomenon, philologists of a Eurocentric mindset pronounce judgement on Arabic-Islamic culture as a whole, which is equally mistaken. After racist explanations [37; 94. IIIf.] and those stemming from a deterministic view of the rise and fall of civilizations [74] can be considered outdated, reasons as to why the potential present in the Greek legacy did not undergo a development in Islamic regions analogous to that in Europe are being sought by more recent Oriental Studies in a particular intellectual development within Islamic society [14; 66. 231; 82]. Muslim intellectuals regret that Averroes' option of a rationalist Aristotelianism, seized upon in Western Europe, missed its calling in Islam [75]. Vis-à-vis these explanations oriented towards the history of ideas, the deterioration of social and economic conditions must also be taken into consideration [114]. Parallels may be drawn with the Byzantine pattern of development.

→ Aristotelianism; → Geography; → Occultism; → Natural sciences; → Platonism; → Pythagoras [2]
→ Alexander Romance

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GOTTHARD STROHMAIER

II. Al-Andalus

A. The Name B. Historical Outline C. The Reception of Hellenistic Culture in Al-Andalus D. The Reception of Greek Antiquity via the East E. The Translation Movement in Medieval Spain

A. The Name

The Arabs always called that part of the Iberian peninsula that was under Islamic domination by the name Al-Andalus, thus its borders fluctuated considerably

between 711 and 1492. The modern place-name Andalucía is derived from this usage, and designates a particular Spanish region with strictly defined geographical borders. In etymological terms, Al-Andalus has traditionally been associated with the presence of the Vandals in Spain, but a Gothic origin has recently been proposed [1]. The name appeared fairly quickly after the Arab conquest on bilingual (Latin-Arabic) coins as a synonym for Hispania [2], and from then on denoted the Islamic part of the Iberian Peninsula.

B. Historical Outline

The conquest of what had until then been Visigothic Spain was accomplished between 711 and 712 by contingents of Berber and Arab troops. It was part of the large-scale Islamic expansion towards Egypt and North Africa, which had the consequence of integrating North Africa into the Islamic world. The conquerors encountered surprisingly little resistance among the indigenous population, which had apparently suffered from oppressive taxation and political and economic instability under the last Visigothic kings. The conquest was followed by the rule of approximately 23 Arab governors who had to deal with numerous instances of tribal unrest among the Arab and Berber troops. Because of this unstable situation, a number of Visigothic noblemen were able to maintain some amount of regional independence (e.g. Tudmīr in Murcia). A period of relative peace only began with the arrival of Abd-ar-Raḥmān (756), an Umayyad prince who had escaped the Abbasid massacre of his family. With the help of his Syrian troops, he transformed the remote province of Al-Andalus into an Emirate, now with the capital at Cordoba, that was *de facto* independent from the Abbasids and which was modeled on the former Syrian Umayyad Caliphate. A specifically Spanish-Arabic culture arose, whose urban character resembled that of the Muslim Orient, and whose centers – the valleys of the Ebro and the Guadalquivir – coincided with those of Roman Spain. Because of the dynastic-political opposition to the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, the period of the Umayyad Emirs (756–929), a phase of relative political calm, was characterized at first by a stronger cultural continuity with the Late Roman-Visigothic heritage. From around 830 a slow opening towards Eastern learning set in, and with it came a gradual reception of Hellenic culture that had already taken place in the East. The cultural and political zenith was reached in the time of the Umayyad Caliphate (929–1030), which began with Abd-ar-Raḥmān III's self-proclamation as Caliph. He organized his government and army on Oriental models, and centralized the Emirate, which was threatened by separatist tendencies when he assumed power. His reliance upon Berber mercenary troops would in time have fatal consequences for the state. Above all under such rulers as his bibliophile son al-Ḥakam II (961–976), who as a patron of the arts and sciences, made important contributions to the reception of Greek knowledge, Al-Andalus, now

repacified, achieved a cultural flourishing that has scarcely been equaled since. Beginning in 1002, the Caliphate fell into a period of disorder similar to a state of civil war, in which Berbers, slaves, new Moslems and Arabs fought against each other in shifting alliances. Finally, in 1030 the era of the Taifa kings began, small regional princes who were organized after the model of the former Caliphate. Seeking to reproduce the bygone glory of Caliphate Cordoba at their courts, they promoted the arts and sciences. However, the consequence of this decentralization of political power was that in the course of the Reconquista (recapture of previously Visigothic territories) the Christian kingdoms in the north were successful for the first time in winning back extensive territories, and some Islamic kingdoms were forced to pay them tribute.

The recapture of Toledo (1085) finally forced the Taifa kings to call for help from the Berber Almoravids, who had established themselves as a force in North Africa. After defeating the Christians at Sagrajas (1086), the Almoravids assumed power in Al-Andalus. Being members of a fiercely rigorist sect, they were responsible for a phase of cultural stagnation and showed themselves to be highly intolerant toward liberal ideas as well as toward Christians and Jews. The same holds true for the Almohads, who succeeded them around 1150. Many leading intellectuals left Al-Andalus and resettled in the east of the country, while many Jews and Christians emigrated to the Christian north, where they played an important part in the Western reception of Oriental culture. The Almohad dynasty, which collapsed as a result of successful Castilian and Aragonese expansion in the 13th cent., was followed by the kingdom of the Nasrids in Granada, which was considerably reduced in territory and included the southeast portion of what is now Andalucía. It continued to pay tribute to the Christians and survived only because of a lack of unity among the Christian kingdoms, until it was finally conquered by the Catholic monarchs in 1492.

C. The Reception of Hellenistic Culture in Al-Andalus

1. Social Conditions 2. The Late Roman-Visigothic Substratum

1. Social Conditions

The specific composition of the population of Al-Andalus formed one of the most important determining factors for the transfer of knowledge: the indigenous population was comprised of a) Christians, who spoke a Romance dialect and used Latin as their cultural language, which from the 9th cent. on, was increasingly replaced by Arabic (= Mozarabs < *mustaʿribūn*, i.e. 'Arabized' Christians); b) Jews, a large community of whom had already been living under the Visigoths, and whose numbers increased still further through immigration, owing to the relatively favorable Muslim legislation; c) a steadily growing contingent of new Muslims (Spanish *muladíes* < Muwalladūn); d) initially, an unknown number of pagan non-Christians, who probably quickly converted to Islam.

The ruling class consisted mainly of a) Arab tribes, which were partly of Yemenite, partly of Syrian origin; b) Berber tribes; and c) an ever-increasing number of slaves of European origin. It is worth noting that the first two groups established themselves in extended family networks and therefore scarcely mixed, at least at first, with the indigenous population [3]. Embeddedness in Arabic culture and the use of written Arabic as the language of prestige soon were a common feature of at least the educated strata of these population groups: either the Romance dialect or else popular Arabic served as the vernacular. These linguistic conditions rendered communication possible across cultural and/or religious bounaries, creating a climate favorable to the processes of acculturation.

2. The Late Roman-Visigothic Substratum

Our insights into the cultural circumstances at the time of the first governors are limited by the dearth of available sources. Abd-ar-Raḥmān I was the first to attempt an orientalization of the region by introducing the fine arts as well as theological and judicial learning [4]; yet dynastic opposition to the Abbasids in Baghdad led to considerable isolation inside the Islamic world. Thus one was dependent on the knowledge of the indigenous population, which, however, was primarily acquainted with the encyclopedic knowledge of Isidore of Seville, so that one only enjoyed a reduced access to ancient learning. The issue of the translation and reception of Latin works in Al-Andalus is highly contentious, and closely linked to the question as to which ancient works were still known at all in Visigothic Spain. Our knowledge of Latin literature under the Visigoths [5] points to a strong predominance of ecclesiastical literature (hagiography, Latin Patristics) over profane literature. As a rule, ancient authors were known only through anthologies and drastically abridged summaries that were drawn from a very slim canon of mainly poetic authors. The monumental work of Isidore, who had probably not read ancient works in the original [6], became henceforth the foundation and filter through which knowledge of Antiquity reached the Spanish Christians.

Since the linguistic Arabization of indigenous Christians was already far advanced in the 9th cent. [7], it is not surprising that many works, such as the Gospels [8] and Eusebius' *Chronicle* [9. 38], were translated into Arabic. More significant was the reception of these translations by Muslim scholars. Thus, the Arabic translation of Orosius' *Historia adversos paganos* [10], of which fragments are preserved together with other works of Church history, also left traces in Islamic works. From Ibn Ǧulǧul's history of scholars, written in the time of the Caliphate [9. 37–43], we learn that up until the beginning of the 9th cent., the most important physicians in Al-Andalus were Christians, whose knowledge was based on a book entitled *Aphorismoi*

(Isidore's *Etymologiae*?), which was later translated into Arabic. Native traditions also seem to have lived on in astrology. In contrast, the reception of Latin works on agriculture, e.g. those of the Roman agronomist Columella, who is allegedly cited as Yūnīyūs in Andalusian geoponic writings [12], remains deeply controversial. Since we have scarcely any written sources available for this period, and the knowledge later imported from the East almost completely superseded this line of reception, we are more or less reduced to speculation. As far as engineering is concerned, Roman models apparently prevailed in the field of water management [13]. In the arts, not only were elements of Visigothic art taken over via the use of → SPOLIA, but there were also more creative adaptations: the horseshoe arch as a formative stylistic element is part of the Visigothic/ancient Spanish architectural heritage.

ISABEL TORAL-NIEHOFF

D. The Reception of Greek Antiquity via the East

Quite isolated until about 830, Al-Andalus began to open to Eastern influences in the 9th cent., adopting the Graeco-Hellenistic knowledge that had already been absorbed in the East. It must nevertheless be borne in mind that the consequence of Al-Andalus' peripheral situation with regard to the rest of the Islamic world was that, compared to the developments of the more central Islamic lands, it appeared as a) backward and provincial; b) because of its isolation, often surprisingly original; c) sometimes, as a dead end within the Islamic world. This situation was eventually reflected in the works that were translated into Latin and came to influence Medieval European thought. Three vehicles of this acculturation have been determined: 1) Official patronage of the respective sovereigns, who for the most part supported cultural transfer. 2) The initiative of private scholars, who by way of pilgrimage or business travel established contacts with Eastern colleagues and disseminated their new knowledge in Al-Andalus. 3) Eastern scholars and artists who, for a wide variety of reasons, had ended up in Al-Andalus.

1. Medicine and Pharmacology 2. Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics 3. Agriculture and Botany 4. Philosophy

1. Medicine and Pharmacology

According to the historian of science Ibn Ǧulǧul (10th cent.), Hellenistically-oriented → MEDICINE had already been introduced into Al-Andalus at the beginning of the 9th cent. As in the East, the Galenic tradition in its late ancient abridged form and the Byzantine doctors like Paulus of Aegina and Oribasius were predominant, while Hippocrates was, to be sure, known, but far less popular [14]. The decisive impulse for medical science in Al-Andalus emanated from a new adaptation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*: thanks to a copiously illustrated manuscript given to the Caliph in Cordoba in 948 by his ally the Byzantine emperor, a more precise

translation could be undertaken. This research left its mark on Andalusian pharmacology, giving it a botanical orientation. It occupied a large number of scholars who figure among the scientific mentors of Al-Andalus, including Sulaiman Ibn Ǧulǧul (mentioned above), author of the first Arab history of medicine, as well as the famous surgeon Abū al-Qāsim az-Zahrāwī (Lat. Abulcasis, d. 1002) of Cordoba. Of Arab physicians, especially ar-Rāzī (Lat. Rhazes, d. 950) enjoyed great popularity in Al-Andalus during his lifetime; later the medical writings of Ibn Sīna (Lat. Avicenna, d.1037) were also held in high regard.

2. Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

An important factor in the development of Andalusian astronomy [15], and a symptom of the backwardness of Al-Andalus in this field of knowledge, was the preponderance of an Indo-Persian tradition that reflected a pre-Ptolemaic stage of astronomy (following the 'Sindhind' method), as it is embodied in the Tables of al-Ḫwārezmī. Before the arrival of Greek-oriented astronomy, the Indo-Persian tradition became known in Al-Andalus in the 9th cent., and in the 10th cent. Maslama al-Maǧrīṭī revised the *Ḫwārezmian* Tables, converting them to the meridian of Cordoba. It was this version that was then translated by Adelard of Bath and had a great influence in medieval Europe. A more detailed version of the Sindhind came to Al-Andalus in the 11th cent. through the commentary of Aḥmad ibn al-Muṭannā, and formed the basis of the Toledan Tables, which were compiled later that same century with contributions from the historian of science Ṣāʿid of Toledo and az-Zarqālī (Lat. Azarquel). The Alphonsine Tables were in turn derived from these.

Greek astronomy was available in the shape of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. However, Arab astronomers in the Greek tradition, like al-Battānī, Ibn Yūnus and Ibn al-Hayṭam, enjoyed no widespread recognition. In the field of mathematics, one noteworthy development was the beginning of positional notation.

3. Agriculture and Botany

In Al-Andalus, this area of science reached a peak that was never achieved in the East [16]. It was based on 1) Greek sources such as Vindanius Anatolius of Beirut (known to the Arabs in direct translation under the name Anaṭūlīyus, and through a Syriac translation under the transmogrified name Yūnīyus, who was falsely identified with Junius M. Columella), Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus and finally Bolus Democritus of Mendes; 2) possibly Latin sources, although this is disputed, since the Latin geoponic writers were scarcely known in the Visigothic period; 3) Arabic sources like the so-called 'Nabataean Agriculture'. It should be noted, however, that this textual genre – because it also absorbed many popular traditions – reflects a pre-Islamic substrate. Particularly representative of this tendency is the 10th cent. peasant calendar from Cordoba [17].

4. Philosophy

Here Al-Andalus did not catch up with developments in the Orient until comparatively late. This delay can be attributed to the repressive attitude of the predominantly Mālikite legal scholars, always highly suspicious of speculative thought. It is apparent in the following: a) the relatively quick and successful absorption of Neoplatonic thought (→ Neo-Platonism) via the Muʿtazila and the epistles of the Iḫwān as-Safā (Brethren of Purity). The most important representative of this philosophical strand was Ibn-Masarra (883–923), who constructed a synthesis of Muʿtazilite doctrines and the mystical theories of Ḏū-l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. His school had considerable influence on the development of Andalusian mystics like Ibn ʿArabī. b) a fairly late reception of the *Arabic Aristotle* and the so-called *falāsifa*, that is, Arab adherents of Hellenistic philosophy like al-Kindī, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīna.

Initially, all that was known of Aristotle were his works on natural history and fragments of his *Organon*. In the course of the 11th cent., this knowledge was deepened, while the works on logic, together with Porphyry's *Isagoge*, were finally adopted and eagerly applied. However, the *Metaphysics* and the *Physics* remained excluded; first knowledge of them is attested in the 12th cent. The period of the great Andalusian philosophers began in the 12th cent., its first exponent being Ibn Bağğa (1070–1138, Lat. Avempace), who was responsible for the fruitful reception of the Eastern *falāsifa*, particularly Ibn al-Fārābī. His ideas had a considerable impact on, among others, Ibn Ṭufayl (born *c.* 1110), the author of the *Philosophus autodidactus* and successor of Ibn Sīna. The most important thinker of Al-Andalus, representing the summit of medieval → Aristotelianism, was Ibn Rušd (1094–1168, Lat. Averroes). He was a universal scholar who was also successful as a physician. His philosophy signifies a radical break with the Neoplatonic Aristotelian synthesis of Ibn Sīna and the establishment of philosophy as an independent discipline. In the Latin Middle Ages, he was understood first and foremost as a commentator on Aristotle; His enormous influence on Thomas Aquinas and the development of medieval Aristotelianism is a well-known fact. In the Islamic East, by contrast, his views found no successors.

The great historian and philosopher of history Ibn Ḫaldūn (1332–1406) deserves to be mentioned as the last significant thinker: though he lived in North Africa and Egypt, he was of Andalusian descent. He did not become known in the West until the 19th cent., at which time he was enthusiastically celebrated as a sociologist and theoretician of history; nevertheless, he exercised no influence on the development of European thought.

E. The Translation Movement in Medieval Spain

In conjunction with the fruitful reception of Hellenistic ideas, the peculiar makeup of the Andalusian population (see above) provided the most important precondition for the move towards acculturation. Those Christians who were strongly Arabized, both linguistically and culturally, could thus act as middlemen between the two cultural regions, while the Jews could exercise their classic function as those who move between two worlds. Only a very cursory survey of the extent and effects of this momentous translation movement can be given here [19]. The first epicenter was the former Spanish March in northeastern Spain, where the immigration of Mozarabic Christians occurred in an environment that also allowed close contact with Gaul. A most important piece of evidence for this contact is a 10th cent. astrological treatise from the convent of Santa María de Ripoll [20].

In the 12th cent., through the patronage of the archbishop Raimund of Toledo, the focal point for these activities shifted to the former Visigothic capital. We are indebted to the translators of this generation for making ancient natural sciences known in the West, long before recourse to Greek originals was available. Mozarabs and Jews often prepared intermediary translations into Castilian, which then served as the basis for Latin versions. Important representatives were Plato of Tivoli (*c.* 1140), Juan of Sevilla (fl.1135–1153), Hermann the Dalmatian (fl. 1138–1143) and Adelard of Bath (*c.*1070–*c.* 1142). However, the most significant personality of the 12th cent. was Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187), whose translations covered all fields. By the time of his death, therefore, the great majority of ancient works transmitted by way of the East were available in Latin.

In the field of philosophy, it was the works of Aristotle, above all, that came to the West in this way, along with some pseudepigraphica, such as the so-called *Liber de causis*, which was based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. Of Arab philosophers, works by al-Kindī, Ibn Sīna and al-Ġazzālī (Lat. Algazel) were translated. In mathematics, the translation of Euclid's *Elements* by Adelard of Bath stands out, as does that of a book by al-Ḫwārezmī entitled *Liber Algebras et almucabola*, which brought Europe into contact with a heretofore unknown field of knowledge and a fully developed terminology to go with it. In astronomy, in addition to the relevant books of Aristotle, works by Euclid, Theodosius, Autolycus, Archimedes, Aristarchus, and Menelaus were translated, and finally Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathematica*, under the title *Almagest*. In astrology, Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* was translated by Plato of Tivoli. Medical works include some treatises by Galen and works by many Arab doctors, particularly ar-Rāzī (Rhazes) and the *Qānūn* ('Canon') of Ibn-Sīna (Avicenna).

The 13th cent. in Spain was marked by the patronage of King Alfonso X of Castille, his role as a supporter of translations from Arabic into Spanish was frequently praised. Many Jews who were fluent in Arabic were in his service, as were converted Arabs or Mozarabs. Important Eastern works of belles-lettres were introduced into Europe through this channel (e.g. *Kalila*

wa-Dimna), but also scientific treatises, chiefly on astronomy, from which the Alphonsine Tables were developed (see above). The most important translations from Arabic into Hebrew also fell into this period (especially those of the Ibn Tibbón family in southern France); some of these were then immediately translated into Latin.

In philosophy, more Aristotelian works were translated (*De anima* and the *Metaphysics* by Michael Scotus), along with pseudo-Aristotelian ones (*Liber de pomo*) and a revised version of Plato's *Phaedrus*. Doxographical collections like the book entitled *Bocados de oro* (Lat. *Bonium*), translated under Alfonso X, found their way into Europe. Proposed by Peter the Venerable, a corpus of Islamic theological writings as well as of the Koran were produced, which played an important role for later Christian, anti-Islamic polemics. There were also a large number of medical translations, although the names of the translators are for the most part unknown. From the the 14th cent. on, this translation activity rapidly declined, until finally in the Renaissance the original Greek sources became available, and the Arabs were unjustly condemned as flawed translators and transmitters of works of the ancients.
→ Hispania, Iberia; → Isidorus [9]

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Arcadianism

A. The Ancient Model B. Arcadianism in Antiquity C. The Rebirth of Arcadianism D. Arcadianism in Painting E. The Institutionalization of Arcadianism F. Arcadianism in Modern Times

A. The Ancient Model

Arcadia, the mountainous landscape in the center of the Peloponnesus, played only an insignificant role in Antiquity. The foundation of Megalopolis in 368–67 BC underlined its civic independence, which until then had been only limited. Beginning with the second half of the 3rd cent. BC, the Arcadian poleis joined the Achaean League, whose fate was sealed by the Roman victory at Pydna in 168.

B. Arcadianism in Antiquity

Since very early times, Arcadia signified more than a mere geographical entity: it was an 'intellectual landscape' [2. 257] that embodied a cultural idea, upon which various ideals were based in the course of time. However, this development was linked not so much with Arcadia as with Sicily, where in the Hellenistic period the→ Bucolic emerged in the form of charming, unrealistic pastoral poetry. The fact that Bucolic poetry and Arcadianism came to be seen as almost equivalent, can be traced back not to a Greek poet, but to the Roman national poet Virgil (70–19 BC). Virgil knew the historical work of Polybius, with its affectionate description of his Arcadian homeland, which the Roman used as the backdrop for his *Bucolica* (Eclogues), set far from worldly events and therefore unobjectionable to the government in power.

C. The Rebirth of Arcadianism

The theme of Arcadia awoke to full vigor at the time of the Renaissance. A precursor in this process was Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) with his posthumously published *Bucolicum carmen*, which showed Virgil's influence, but which failed to achieve a broad impact because of its meager poetic value. The true founder of modern Arcadianism therefore did not appear until the following century in the person of the Neapolitan Jacopo Sannazaro (1456–1530) with his *Arcadia*, published around 1480. This pastoral novel borrowed abundantly from ancient classical authors, especially Virgil. It distanced itself from the daily routine of a shepherd's life even more than its predecessors, insofar as it gave form to the Arcadian idea as a vision of the 'Golden Age', which left no room for the Christian concept of Paradise. On the contrary, Sannazaro's Arcadianism included an anti-Christian, ancient concept of free love. *Arcadia* made an impressive effect both on its own time and in subsequent centuries, and far beyond Italy. A few striking examples of this phenomenon may be cited.

In 1590, Giovanni Battista Guarino (1538–1612), a nobleman from Ferrara, professor of literature and dip-

lomat, composed with flawless poetic technique his tragi-comic pastoral novel *Il Pastor fido*, which became the model of its genre; this is even attested by a version in Vulgar Greek. Guarino's Arcadianism was based on a strict moral code, and, as he set out in his Prologue, on a moderate degree of freedom; the Golden Age is not introduced until near the end of the work. Characteristic for Spain in this context were Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–1536) with his Eclogues, Lope de Vega Carpio (1562–1635) with his pastoral novel *Arcadia*, and, last but not least, the great Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), with his pastoral novel *La prima parte de la Galatea*, which met with little success at the time. In 1565 in France, Rémy Belleau, a younger member of the poetic circle known as the *Pléiade française*, published his poems under the title *Bergeries*; here, high-ranking personages in shepherds' garb debated public events in allegorical phrases. Similarly, the Dutchman Johan van Heemskerck (1597–1656) in his *Batavische Arcadia*, offered chatty conversations dealing with history and bygone customs. The Englishman Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) went even further, following established forms by setting forth Renaissance views on politics, society, morality, religion, and the fine arts in his *Arcadia*, posthumously published in 1590. A poetically gifted author, Sidney inserted sonnets and songs into his prose text. A German translation appeared in 1629, which was revised by the language reformer Martin Opitz (1597–1639) and published posthumously in 1642. Furthermore, drawing on ancient and humanistic sources, German literature of the 17th cent. developed an Arcadianism of a distinctive character. The desire for harmony and balance, peace and quiet were reflected in the pastoral novels and poetry of the turbulent period of the Thirty Years' Wars and its effects, as was the increasingly strong reaction to the unnatural character of courtly life. In his *Trutz Nachtigal*, only published after his death in 1639, the Jesuit Friedrich Spee (von Langenfeld; 1591–1635) combined spiritual themes with a bucolic setting. In the Pegnitz Order (named after the rivulet Pegnitz), founded by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–1658), Nuremberg patricians embraced the pastoral allegory-on the model of Harsdörffer's *Arcadia*-which made use of affected speech comparable to that of Italian Marinism. The emblem of the Pegnesians was the panpipe; in their activity, they sought to distance themselves from the bourgeois guild poetry of the Meistersinger.

D. Arcadianism in Painting

In addition to this varied literary Arcadianism, whose fundamental characteristic, despite all distance from reality, obviously contained elements of the ancient affirmation of worldly existence, there stood, largely independent from it, an Arcadianism of the visual arts and of no less importance; but it was, in contrast with the former, almost exclusively connected with the city of → Rome. It grew out of the newly-awakened sense of nature in the Renaissance, which

was reflected, on the one hand, in an inclination towards the heroic, and, on the other, in an idyllic tendency, in which gods and nymphs disported themselves, and shepherds watched over their flocks and otherwise gave themselves over to song and dalliances. The way for this trend was prepared by the Venetian Giovanni Bellini (*c.* 1430 to 1516), who was of course primarily concerned with Biblical subjects, but provided detailed depictions of flora and fauna; and by Bellini's student Giorgio Giorgione (*c.* 1477–1510) with his famous *Tempestà* (in the Accademia in Venice). The blossoming of artistic Arcadianism is linked with the Frenchman Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), who lived almost continuously in Rome from 1624 on. Two of his paintings bear the epitaph 'Et in Arcadia ego' as a symbol of the fact that death is constantly present, even in utopian Arcadia; his *Les bergers d'Arcadie* hangs in the Louvre. Claude Lorrain (1600–1682) painted Greek temples, palaces and magnificent trees, and became a model for Classicism and other components of 18th cent. art, although he could not base his vision on a first-hand knowledge of what he was representing. Authentic representations of Arcadia first occur in travel literature in the early 19th cent.

IRMSCHER (†), JOHANNES

E. The Institutionalization of Arcadianism

Beyond literature and art, Arcadianism strove towards institutionalization. The most important of these foundations was the *Accademia degli Arcadi* in Rome. The former Queen Christine of Sweden (1626–1689), who resided primarily in Rome after her abdication in 1654, made her Palazzo available for meetings of literati and scholars. The aforementioned → Academy, which was constituted in due form in 1690, arose from this; its spokesman was the canonicus Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (1663–1728). This institution saw its main goal as restoring Italian poetry, which in the view of the Academy members had become barbarized. Here the charge was directed against the above-mentioned Marinism, the bombastic, baroque form of poetry named after Giambattista Marini (1569–1625), which, moreover, by no means disdained to make use of bucolic themes. The Academy countered with a call for stylistic simplicity and naturalness of content. Crescimbeni himself composed a novel *Arcadia*, as well as an impressive *Istoria della volgar poesia*. The members of the Academy adopted Arcadian names and gathered in the Bosco Parrasio. They came from the upper classes of society; remarkably, women were also accepted into their circle. *Mala carmina et famosa, obscoena, superstitiosa, impia* were excluded from readings. In 1711, under Pope Clement XI, the Academy counted 1195 members, and in 1725 King John V of Portugal erected a building for them on the Gianicolo. The Academy exercised its influence by promoting a formal Classicism; in 1807 it chose Goethe as a member, who prefaced the second part of his Italian travel journal with the motto 'I too am in Arcadia!'. The Academy survived

periods of decline, and still has influence today as the *Accademia letteraria italiana dell'Arcadia*. There was also a short-lived Arcadian society in Germany, under the title of Phylandria. It was founded by the young Hessian nobleman Ernst Karl Ludwig Ysenburg von Buri (1747–1806), later an officer and dramatist. The Phylandria was initially a small group devoted to the performance of pastoral plays; it temporarily achieved a certain influence in its surroundings, and was later absorbed into the Freemasons. In 1764 Goethe, who was then still in Frankfurt, requested membership in the Phylandria, but is said to have been rejected for lack of virtue.

F. Arcadianism in Modern Times

The revolutions of the 19th cent. and the radical social, economic, and technological transformations in their aftermath caused the decline of Arcadianism. Not until recent decades has a return to the Arcadian idea of an organic union between nature, art, and human society manifested itself in Greece, supported by local associations as well as the Arcadian Academy at Athens, which devotes itself to regional concerns and the protection of the environment.

→ Vergilius

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Archaeological Institute of America

A. History B. Activities C. Publications and Research

A. History

The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) was founded in 1879 in Boston, with the aim of encouraging archaeological research and American publications. The driving force behind the foundation and its first president, from 1879 to 1889, was Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1928), professor of Fine Arts at Harvard University. The organisation soon expanded outside Boston and became a national association. A network of local associations emerged in several cities, which were linked in a loose nationwide organization. The first local associations were founded in New York (1885), Baltimore (1885) and Philadelphia (1889). Gradually local associations gradually emerged in the whole country. An association was founded in Los Angeles in 1904, the first Canadian local association was founded in 1908. In the same year Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, was the first president of the AIA who did not come from the Eastern States of the USA. In December 1998 there was a total of 101 local associations. From the beginning, the membership in the local associations united professional and part-time archaeologists. In 1906 the AIA was recognized as a corporate body by a law of the US Congress.

B. Activities

One of the first projects of the AIA was to encourage field research in the Old and the New World. Norton was of the opinion that Americans had to contribute creatively to archaeological field research. The first great project in the Mediterranean region were the excavations from 1881 to 1883 in Assos, conducted by John Thacher Clarke (1856–1921) and Francis H. Bacon (1856–1940). In the New World Adolph Bandalier studied in the 1880s Amerindian sites from the US Southwest and Mexico. The AIA financially supported from 1884 to 1885 the field research of William H. Ward in Mesopotamia. In the years up to World War I, AIA subsidized some small projects. In 1882, under the leadership of Charles Eliot Norton, AIA had a decisive role in the founding of the *American School of Classical Studies* in Athens. Thus the American students were able to use a study center in Greece. AIA was also involved in the founding of the institutes in Rome (1895), Jerusalem (1900) and Santa Fe, New Mexico (1907). These institutes soon developed their activities independently from the AIA and gradually took over its research activity. The expansion of the archaeological research of North American scholars made it imperative for the AIA to provide a journal for its publication.

C. Publications and Research

The first issue of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (AJA) was published in 1885, with Arthur L. Frothingham Jr. (1859–1923) as chief editor and Norton as advisory editor. In the beginning the journal was published by Frothingham and his colleague Allan Marquand. In 1897 the AJA was reorganized. The official publisher was now the AIA and John Henry Wright from Harvard was the editor. Whereas at the beginning, the AJA published a lot of non-classical materials, its contents, up to the years after Word War I, was limited mainly to materials from the Near East, Greece and Rome. In order to unify an organization made of local associations scattered over a large continent, the AIA instituted a national program with lectures and annual meetings. Within the framework of the national lecture program, organized in 1896, scholars were sent to the local associations, to present the most recent archaeological discoveries. The program was reinforced by the endowment of the Charles Eliot Norton Lectureship, instituted in the memory of the AIA founder by the archaeological philanthropist James Loeb. During its first years this lectureship served mainly to invite famous Europeans to the United States. D.G. Hogarth, Christian Huelsen, Franz Cumont and Eugenie Strong were

only some of the first Norton Lecturers. Now AIA offers each local association three lecturers every year. The first Annual Meeting of the AIA took place in 1899, in New Haven, Connecticut, with lectures on the archaeology of the Old and of the New World. The aim of this meeting was to offer the members of a still fragmented American archaeological community the opportunity for a yearly exchange of information. The annual meeting quickly became the main communications center for professional activities and for the presentation of the most recent research results. Since 1905 it has been held together with the *American Philological Association*.

The AIA was always conscious of the necessity to speak both to professional and to amateur organizations. In 1914 the AIA inaugurated the publication of *Art and Archaeology*, a journal for the general public. It published articles on all archaeological and art historical fields, wishing to appeal to a readership of educated laymen. *Art and Archaeology* appeared until 1934, when lack of funds, caused by the Great Depression, and quarreling over marketing policy inside the AIA led to the demise of the journal. AIA certainly needed a publication for its non-professional members. In 1948 the journal *Archaeology*, which until then was very successful, took the place of *Art and Archaeology*. In the years between the World Wars the AIA faced several internal and external problems, which seriously weakened the organization. It became more and more difficult to set up research projects. The American archaeological research in the Mediterranean region was now run mainly by universities and overseas institutes. The last great American excavation financed by AIA was the Cyrene expedition from 1911. It ended with the assassination of Fletcher deCou, one of the members of the excavation crew, and the Italian invasion of Cyrenaica. Archaeologists who worked outside the Mediterranean area and the classical period increasingly looked for their identity outside the AIA. This led in 1912 to the founding of the *College Art Association*, and in 1936 of the *Society of American Archaeology*. The narrowing of the focus of the AIA was reflected in the research reports at the annual meetings and in the articles published in *American Journal of Archaeology*. The AIA was split between ideological and political standpoints. A group, led by Ralph Magoffin (1874–1942) from New York University, advocated the view that the AIA should strengthen its social backing by supporting such projects as *Art and Archaeology*. The other group, led by William Dinsmoor (1886–1973) from Columbia University, who was its president from 1937 to 1945, argued that such efforts would weaken its humanistic mission, which ought to concentrate mainly on the publication of articles in *American Journal of Archaeology*. The Great Depression severely weakened the organization and forced it to stop the publication of *Art and Archaeology*, to limit the conference program and to reduce the circulation of AJA.

After World War II, Sterling Dow (1903–1993) from Harvard brought the AIA to a new flourishing, during his presidency from 1946 to 1948. The journal *Archaeology* provided for a general respect, the financial situation improved and the lecture series was relaunched. The intensive work of the American archaeologists in the Mediterranean area after the war offered rich material for the A.J.A. and for the program of the annual meetings. Since the beginning of the 1960s the AIA has been offering modest financial support for student research. In 1983 the AIA moved is head office and the A.J.A. its offices at the Boston University.

Currently the number of the members is over 10,000, mostly laymen. AIA still supports national lectures and continues to publish the already mentioned two journals. Beside scholarships for graduates it offers a series of educational services.

→ United States of America

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Archaeological Methods and Theories

A. Concept and Contents B. The Development of Archaeological Methods C. Contemporary Archaeological Methods

A. Concept and Contents

Archaeology is concerned with all aspects of human life in the past. Primarily it makes use of material remains which, for most of human history, from the Paleolithic to modern times, represent the only evidence. If at the beginning of archaeological research, focus was placed on individual objects, particularly ancient works of art, the framework was then broadened on the one hand by the inclusion of all kinds of material evidence from settlement systems to microanalyses of the contents of dwellings, and on the other by the expansion of the research question to include explanation of social change. The multiplicity of research topics led to the development of various archaeological disciplines, most of which were defined by space and time. Determined by their own research history, various issues were identified and developed and, connected with the latter, theories and archaeological methods based on them. In each instance, these questions reflect contemporary modern interests in and theories about past societies and as well as their proximity to the present. For want of other sources, most archaeological methods and theories were developed with a focus on the remains of non-literate societies. Their application to literate societies, particularly those of Classical Antiquity, took place only hesitantly due to their concen-

tration above all on individual objects and art-historical and chronological issues. The ever-increasing importance which is attributed to the explanatory power of material remains, both as a corrective and as a supplement to written sources, and the increasing utilization of both kinds of evidence – on an equal footing – yield particularly rich results, help to subject both kinds of evidence to the necessary criticism and also to evaluate the validity of many archaeological methods. The variety of archaeological traces and monuments corresponds to a variety of archaeological methods used for their interpretation. Many methods, for instance settlement-geographical and scientific investigations (archaeometry), were borrowed from other disciplines or based on their concepts, and then applied to archaeological matters. They are therefore methods within archaeology rather than archaeological methods. Conservation methods, museum studies and the conservation of monuments also belong to these.

B. The Development of Archaeological Methods

The history of archaeological methods developed with the question of the possibility of interpreting material culture, which ranges alongside memory, narration and textual sources as tangible evidence of the past. The history of archaeology and its methods has been marked by different notions of the proximity to Antiquity and, following from this, the possibility of insight into ancient thought and actions.

1. 15th–18th Century: Collecting
2. Mid–18th to Mid–19th Cent.: The Comparative Gaze
3. From the Mid–19th Cent.: Collecting and Ordering
4. The Early 20th Cent.: The Will behind the Material
5. The Mid–20th Cent.: Humans in the Environment
6. The 1960s: Social History
7. The End of the 20th Cent.: Understanding the Ancient Lifeworld

1. 15th–18th Cent.: Collecting

Archaeology requires an historical awareness, which presumes, on the one hand, a distance from the past and its otherness, as well as its contemporary significance. Archaeology therefore developed, both in the train of the early Enlightenment and its renewed interest in the literature, architecture and art of Greco-Roman Antiquity, and with growing patriotism in northern Europe [21, 45–52]. As early as the 15th cent., excavations were undertaken, especially in Rome, aimed at statues whose aesthetics were admired. In the Baroque period, scholarly interpretation of details superseded a more intuitive enthusiasm [3. 29]. Antiquarians put together catalogues of thousands of antiquities, without further classification or interpretation.

In northern Europe, too, interest in Classical and indigenous antiquities rose sharply in the 16th–18th cents. [21. 45–67]. In Britain, Sweden and Denmark, by around 1600, national antiquities such as runic stones

were systematically catalogued and grave finds even drawn on site. Already in 1697 O. Rundbecks not only began to draw sections, but also to speculate that barrows had developed through succeeding soil deposits [17. 200–3]. This was the beginning of the archaeological method of stratigraphy, which can be defined as reverse discovery and systematic description of stratification, that is, the accumulation of layers. Antiquities were granted a place in curiosity cabinets, along with geological and zoological oddities.

2. Mid–18th to Mid–19th Cent.: The Comparative Gaze

The establishment of archaeology occurred with the introduction of the 'comparative gaze' as an archaeological method. For Classical archaeology, this was linked to the application by J.J. Winckelmann (1764) of the concept of 'style' used in literature. 'Style' described those formal qualities that are common to works of art of a specific nation, era, workshop or artist [3. 32]. Winckelmann classified ancient art geographically and chronologically according to style and he hypothesised a succession of growth, acme and decline. For Winckelmann, art and political and social conditions were directly related. The zenith of art lay in a time of political freedom, the time of the Attic democracy, and ought to be a timelessly valid norm and model for the present time. Thus in its beginnings,→ Classical archaeology was art history and normative aesthetics. However, this sense of an aesthetic norm disappeared in the 19th cent. in favour of the descriptive function of the concept of style. Based on C. Heyne and J. W. Goethe, a procedure developed early on that combined intensive description, classification according to such aspects as technique and material, as well as inspection of originals against imitations and the use of other sources for interpretation. Whereas Winckelmann's use of literary sources had opened up new possibilities in the interpretation of representations (iconography) as Greek myths, this was increasingly reversed, by the sculptures obtaining their meaning as illustrations of the texts.

A breakthrough in the field of archaeological dating methods was achieved by C. Thomsen in 1819, during his classification of the Danish collection of antiquities. He concentrated his efforts on find complexes, particularly of 'closed finds', i.e. finds from graves that had been deposited together. He first separated artefacts by material into stone, bronze and iron. Within each group of artefacts, for instance knives or pins, he then compared the objects according to form and decoration and separated them into types. The differences between them he interpreted in terms of chronology. He compared his typologies using closed finds and thereby identified parallel development of types. Based on this he came up with a chronological sequence for find complexes, in which all finds were classified according to material, form, decoration and context (types of graves). Thus he introduced seriation as an archaeological method. The 'Three-Age system' of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, which he developed as a conse-

quence, has since been successfully applied throughout the world. With stylistic analysis, typology and stratigraphy the basic archaeological dating methods had now been developed.

In 1859 C. Darwin opened up new perspectives in the search for early humans with his Theory of Evolution which was based on the survival of the best-adapted beings. However, by finding human bones and the bones of long-extinct animals in the same geological layers J. Boucher de Perthes had proven as early as 1841 that the age of humankind had to reach back beyond the time-span calculated using the Bible. By the mid–19th cent., therefore, the foundations for the investigation of archaeological cultures beyond Classical Antiquity had been laid by Thomsen, Boucher des Perthes and Darwin.

3. From the Mid–19th Cent.: Collecting and Ordering

The second half of the 19th cent. was characterized by the development of a universal archaeology, which embraced all time periods, and defined societies by their artefacts. The above-mentioned archaeological methods were refined. This was especially true of excavation techniques. The focus was no longer on art objects, but on contexts. Introduced by E. Curtius at → Olympia and A. Conze at Samothrace from 1873 onwards, all kinds of objects were increasingly surveyed three-dimensionally and on site, and stratigraphic relationships were documented. Excavations became scientific experiments, featuring experimental setups and exact observations. With a growing material assemblage from excavations and catalogues, artefacts were classified spatially and temporally, as in a periodic table. Works of art were ordered according to style and other artefacts according to typology. While Thomsen's typology had still been fairly crude, O. Montelius now compiled more detailed artefact typologies based on form, material, production technique and decoration. His typological method presupposed, on the one hand, that the products of a specific time and region were similar, and, on the other, that transformations were necessarily gradual and that these could help to identify developments. By seriating closed finds he established more exact spatial and temporal distributions of types and developed regional (relative) chronologies for the whole of Europe. He interpreted similarities between the artefacts from various regions as adaptations from more highly developed civilizations (of the Orient). He obtained absolute dates for non-literate cultures, for instance, from finds of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt in contexts that were precisely datable with the names of kings.

Antiquity and its investigation became more and more complex. Stylistic analysis, typology, iconography, the study of portraits and stratigraphy were used for the classification and attribution of objects. The historising approach diminished the ideational proximity of Classical Antiquity. Positivistic → historicism, which dominated cultural studies above all in Germany and, influenced by the emigrant F. Boas, also in the United States, increasingly emphasized the peculiarities and differences between individual societies.

4. The Early 20th Cent.: The Will behind the Material

Once artefacts could be dated and located by archaeological methods, the question of the meaning behind them moved into the foreground. A. Riegl turned against mere classification, connection with literary sources and the approach of G. Semper, who in the context of materialistic access to the world ('form is determined by materials'), sought to objectify and limit stylistic and formal investigations. Riegl understood the creation of objects as the result of a definite, deliberate will towards art, which asserted itself in its struggle with functionalism, raw material and technique. The development of art was therefore autonomous, albeit part of the transformation of successive world views. The content of art had to be discovered in the internal context of development and in a process of historical interpretation and every phenomenon had to be evaluated according to its own criteria. For H. Wölfflin, too, style reflected the atmosphere of the time and its attitude to life. The goal therefore had to be the pursuit of worldviews specific to a society and its development. According to E. Panofsky, however, these were not the cause of style, but rather phenomena of it; they did not provide an explanation, but required one. In the 1930s Panofsky therefore developed a threefold interpretative system, which was initially mainly taken in in the USA. The first, pre-iconographic stage was when formal and stylistic description was undertaken. In the second stage, the iconographic analysis, that which was represented was identified with the help of other sources and integrated into a typological history of the theme, and in the third, iconological stage, it was related to its philosophical, aesthetic, religious and political background.

Whereas iconology takes content as its starting point, in order to grasp the meaning behind art, structural studies, beginning in the 1920s, turned its attention to form. The nature and preconditions of a work of art were identified through its structure, that is, the internal organization of its form, its conception of space and shape, which was the expression of a supra-individual will to form and the bearer of the idiosyncrasy of its creation. This nucleus of art – supra-temporal constants of form and basic symbolic forms, which were assumed to be linked to regions and populations or races – was supposed to be objectively perceptible, even in modern times.

Beyond classical archaeology, archaeological cultures, defined as specific types of archaeological material constantly recurring together [21. 161–7], were now linked to ethnic groups. By mapping cultures defined in this way, G. Kossinna (1911) thought he could identify the settlement areas of specific ethnic groups. With his so-called settlement-historical method, he aimed to prove migrations of ethnic groups with typo-

logically comparable finds. Kossinna's often absurd arguments were utilized particularly in Nazi Germany, in order to justify claims to land in eastern Europe. However, a positive contribution was that he drew the spatial dimension, i.e. the distribution of artefact types, into the discussion, and above all that he focused attention away from the pure development of artefacts towards the underlying historical processes. With his so-called historical approach, G. Childe further developed archaeological methods to represent archaeological cultures on distribution maps and in comparative chronological tables. Thus, human beings and the culture-historical development of various ways of life, rather than artefacts, became the subjects of archaeology. Childe turned away from the ethnic explanations of cultural differences and toward seeing the reasons for cultural change in the transformations of artefact technology and methods of production. His hypothesis of two revolutions which originated in the Near East and were of similar importance to the industrial revolution was of particular importance: 1. the transition from hunting and gathering to controlled agriculture and animal husbandry, the 'Neolithic revolution', and 2. the step from village-based subsistence farming to complex urban societies, the 'urban revolution'.

5. The Mid–20th Cent.: Humans in the Environment

In the 1930s to 1950s, in a search for the conditions for the emergence of specific artefacts, L. White and J. Steward in the USA and G. Clark in Great Britain began to study the processes by which a society adapts itself to its natural and social environment. Their interest shifted from the investigation of individual cultures towards the relationships between types of evolutionary changes in the form and the function of material culture. From this they inferred a general cultural history of humanity, which White saw as linear, but Steward envisaged as multilinear. In archaeological methods, the focus was on describing central cultural attributes such as technology, subsistence and the organization of property, since economic organization was most closely connected with the variance of the environment. Artefacts were therefore interpreted functionally, regarding their adaptation to the environment. Foreign civilisations were no longer necessary for bringing about change, and internal transformation was possible through adaptation. Stewart saw settlement systems as an essential sign of a society's adjustment to its environment. He therefore initiated archaeological survey as an archaeological method, where all settlements traces in a region are recorded. Individual sites are dated by surface finds, and their size at different times is determined as closely as possible. With the reconstruction of settlement systems according to the sizes of sites, which point to their differential importance, ancient landscapes and the transformations in the intensity of their settlement become visible. This method was first applied by G. Willey in Peru from 1948 on and by R. McAdams in Iraq from 1955. Based on the increasing complexity

and centralization of settlement systems, they were able to observe the growth of political and social hierarchization. The settlement history of entire regions thus became accessible.

6. The 1960s: Social History

In the 1960s, the further development of these ideas by the so-called 'New Archaeology' also brought about progress in the development of archaeological methods. Its proponents, now usually called processualists, turned against the traditional fixation with chronology, the assumption of change through diffusion or migration, the denial of internal differences of societies and of historical particularism. Archaeology was able to and had to explain, not describe similarities and differences between societies. Supra-cultural developmental processes (later also: laws of human behaviour), not historical events, ought to be of central interest [2. 2; 4. 12]. On the basis of systems theory societies were described as systems where alterations in one subsystem caused alterations in another, so for example in technology, which had an effect on the division of labour and thereby also on social relations. This made it possible to explain changes as internal to a system or brought about by external impetus, as multicausal rather than monocausal and as chronologically different from their causes. Long-term consequences of earlier decisions could then be discovered through simulations, that is, through experimental changes to models, intended to explain the origins of archaeological finds [1. 124–9]. However, the complexity of real life was greatly reduced by definitions of subsystems and essential variables and results were sometimes pre-determined.

The explanation of the processes, that is, of the dynamic relationships between the components of a system or of a system and its environment, which led to a social, political and economic evolution, was intended to take place by means of explicit archaeological methods and theories. This was the goal of the 'hypothetic-deductive' approach [1. 49–64], where hypotheses were first formulated on the basis of theories, then archaeological implications were deduced, and finally these were tested against the archaeological material, e.g. by excavation, whereas, traditionally, the excavation results and finds had been the starting points for further reflections (the inductive method). Methodological progress resulted in particular from the search for the archaeological correlations to social or economic developments, which helped to understand contexts that were not directly observable. For instance, if uniformity between the pottery production of different modern societies was linked to the tempering of clay, the forms and firing processes, then, with all due caution, it would be possible to deduce the manufacture, distribution and underlying methods of production from ancient pottery. As in this example, hypotheses and explanations were derived from analogies with modern populations based on so-called ethnoarchaeological investigations. Particular emphasis was

placed on a society's internal differences. Tombs or architecture were no longer important for dating and questions of religion, but instead as indicators of social structure and organization, by focusing on the differences in the effort required for building them and the differences in their grave goods and their spatial organization. Great value was placed on the exclusion of random variation, e.g. in typologies, spatial distributions or in the agreement of analogies. In accordance with the claim of being scientifically rigorous, statistics and the probability theory were included in the argumentations. The approach of New Archaeology was generally positivistic: the answers lay in the material, and all one had to do was to ask the right questions. The point was not to try to adopt the internal ('emic') perspective of ancient societies, but to take up a neutral external ('etic') perspective, which also enabled cross-cultural comparisons.

A further essential development, which took place at the same time, was the question about the development of an archaeological context, a kind of archaeological source criticism. The explanation of formation processes, i.e. of the mechanisms by which an archaeological feature developed from a living system through human activity (discarding, redistribution of debris, abandonment, etc.) or natural conditions (erosion), has now become an independent branch of archaeology [16]. While it had been thought traditionally that finds came from contexts related to their use, it was now clear that most material that did not stem from tombs or conflagrations had already been discarded in Antiquity. This meant that the contexts of things during their period of use, that is, their actual historical context, had to be reconstructed. Correspondingly, ethnoarchaeological investigations were concerned with the frequency of the breaking and replacing of objects or with how societies discarded their refuse. Independently from the New Archaeology, interest in the organization of labour and trade also grew in Classical archaeology; construction crews were identified and quarries and mines were studied.

7. The End of the 20th Cent.: Understanding the Ancient Lifeworld

From the end of the 1970s, New Archaeology came under pressure from various sides. Marxist anthropologists emphasized its failure in considering the internal contradictions in social groups as transformative forces. Structuralist and contextual archaeologists criticized its lack of interest in the symbolic dimension of artefacts. However, whereas the former were seeking to find cross-culturally valid rules of the structure of cultural phenomena, contextual archaeologists emphasized the variety of culturally contingent meanings of material culture [9]. As a result of engagement with the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, and with Foucault and Derrida, the representation of the past as the logical preliminary stage for modernity was criticized as an ideology that had to be challenged. The 'etic' perspective was recognized as being subjectively constructed. The context-dependency of every interpretation, even the investigation of empirical data, was emphasized as being a physical practice in the present [19]. However, this criticism was also made possible by the progress of the New Archaeology, which enabled further research questions even in the case of non-literate societies through its archaeological methods, and thus contributed to a convergence of archaeological disciplines.

Critical archaeologists now unanimously agree that things do not simply have innate meaning, but that a contemporary interpretation is produced by re-contextualizing them with archaeological methods. This leads some to focus interpretations as a creative act less on explaining than on understanding or making 'sense of things', which results in a multiplicity of equally-justified interpretative possibilities. Although this approach is intended to be emancipatory, it can also excuse traditionally racist or nationalistic interpretations. In contrast, other approaches, particularly cognitive archaeology [14. 369–402], explicitly do not exclude explanations and promote progress on the path of the processualists by including symbolic dimensions. This coincides with widespread hermeneutic approaches, which aim to determine the original meanings of finds and features from the contexts in which they were created. However, often this is necessarily a process where the conditions for its creation are interpreted from the very material whose meaning they are intended to explain. Only when additional information is available, e.g. through analogies or literary sources, do the questions bear fruit. Thus in the case of representational art, questions are asked less about style or iconography than about iconology, about connotative meaning, implicit ideology and the effects that works of art had. This holds for statues as well as for burial contexts or temple inventories, which are no longer understood as the products of autonomous artists or founders, but as complex systems of signs, which were created within their general cultural and art-specific contexts, by producers and sponsors for specific purposes and effects. Artefacts thus become actors within the communicative process, as part of a visual sign language and at the same time they are part of an ideational system, with which society orients itself in the world and gives meaning to its actions. This focuses on the lifeworld-based context of the emergence of archaeological remains, where Husserl's concept of a *Lebenswelt* ('lifeworld') is to some extent used as a modern variation on the concept of culture.

C. Contemporary Archaeological Methods

The multiplicity of archaeological methods focuses on regional analyses and the discovery of archaeological sites, on their investigation, also through excavation, as well as on the analysis of excavation material and finds without context. On the level of finds, a distinction can be made between artefacts, i.e. things pro-

duced by human beings, such as statues or pottery, and ecofacts, i.e. organic and inorganic natural remains such as bones, plant remains and soil deposits. The former provide evidence for dates, origins, contacts, social structures and world-views. The latter also document diet, ecological conditions and human activities by means of their spatial distribution. Analogies, statistics [20] and the natural sciences [4; 15] assist in their interpretation.

1. Regional Surveys 2. Finding Sites 3. Non-Invasive Methods 4. Excavations 5. Stratigraphy and Formation Processes 6. Intra-site Analyses 7. Typology 8. Chronology 9. Analogies and Ethnoarchaeology 10. Social Organization 11. Trade and Exchange 12. Meaning 13. Natural Sciences

1. Regional Surveys

Systematic archaeological surveys were introduced in the 1950s. In an archaeological survey, ideally the location and extent of all sites and artefact distributions of a region are documented with their surface finds. Instead of a complete record of all finds, which would be too time-consuming and expensive to create, a representative sample is taken [14. 70–5]. The results are plotted on maps to show the extent and intensity of settlement over time. The methods for the analysis of settlement systems came partially from economic geography. According to Christaller's theory of central places, specific sites assumed centralised political, economic and religious functions. Various hierarchic levels developed, depending on the complexity of the system. Places on the same level were, in theory, evenly distributed, although in practice this situation was modified by natural conditions such as mountains and rivers. The spheres of influence of central places have been described by Thiessen polygons [1. 153–80]. From the settlement areas determined in this way, population numbers could be estimated by analogies with modern or transmiied numbers for the same region; however the population density could vary with the size and age of the settlements.

2. Finding Sites

Whereas in the Mediterranean and in the Near East archaeological sites are predominantly recognizable as standing remains or rubbish deposits, other archaeological sites, north of the Alps almost as a rule, are covered by topsoil. Since settlement traces such as walls or ditches influence the moisture balance of the soil, they stand out on aerial photographs taken from specific angles, because of changes in vegetation or differential melting of snow on fields. In addition, stereoscopic and infrared photography, as well as satellite photography are nowadays available [11; 18]. An initial overview of the archaeological sites of a region can thus be obtained. The input of all known archaeological sites with their coordinates into GIS (Geographical Information System) [11], a database linking various thematic levels

of data such as terrain, rivers, roads or finds with their spatial location, represents an important source for registering monuments or else can serve as preparation for a more detailed archaeological survey. GPS (Global Positioning System), which provides up-to-date coordinates via satellite, is increasingly used for orientation in the terrain or even, to some extent, for drawing up plans.

3. Non-Invasive Methods

Work on a site always begins with the preparation of a topographical plan and a survey grid, in which the location of all finds and features can be recorded. Non-invasive surface studies have become increasingly important. They depend on (regional) conditions of preservation. Stone structures, e.g. Greek temples, are still to some extent so well-preserved that they can be directly subjected to a standing buildings survey. Plans, especially of single-phase settlements, can be obtained through techniques that measure anomalies caused by ancient walls or ditches in the electrical conductivity or the magnetic properties of the soil. In this process, electric resistance is measured based on the fact that damp soil is a better conductor than dry soil and that archaeological features can cause anomalies by being of a different composition to the surrounding soil. A magnetometry survey relies on the observation that structures, particularly those that have been burnt or fired, contain measurably greater concentrations of magnetic iron oxides [4. 543–53; 15. 319–52]. In the case of multiphased settlement mounds, a more precise urban survey can help with the analysis of changes in population over time or with determining the functions of certain areas and places of production.

4. Excavations

Excavations shape the image of archaeology and lend it an air of 'adventure', yet they make up only a small proportion of all archaeological activity. Since excavation always means that the original features are destroyed, it should only be undertaken in a clearly defined way and to answer concrete questions. On a practical level, most excavations worldwide are carried out as rescue or salvage excavations, now more commonly called contract archaeology or cultural resource management (CRM). They prevent the uncontrolled destruction of archaeological sites as a consequence of the building of roads, dams, etc. Since the documentation is all that remains and takes the place of the find, all archaeological units and finds have to be recorded, drawn and photographed with the greatest care. Historically, two excavation systems have primarily been used. An earlier system, the box grid, retained permanent sections across a site, which corresponded to the squares of the site grid. Baulks separating the squares were left standing so that a total stratigraphic record could be kept by drawing the sections. This meant, however, that a proportion of the site was permanently obscured by the baulks. This greatly impeded the efficient progress of the excavation and the interpretation of the site. With the more wide-spread use of single context record-

ing systems, where each archaeological feature and deposit is recorded as a separate stratigraphic unit, and the introduction of the Harris matrix [7] in the 1970s, which provided an easy-to-understand and comprehensive record of the stratigraphy of a site, the box grid excavation was mostly supplanted by open area excavations. Here sections are more flexibly retained, recorded and removed where they are needed to facilitate an understanding of the stratigraphy of the site. This excavation system works particularly well in conjunction with the use of total stations for surveying the site as the excavation progresses.

5. Stratigraphy and Formation Processes

Archaeological sites mostly developed as complex sequences of use, abandonment and re-use. This process is called stratification, that is, the deposition of various archaeological contexts. Primarily, contexts are all three-dimensional features such as soil or refuse deposits or walls. The retrospective description of the entire three-dimensional feature during its excavation and the analysis of its development over time is called stratigraphy. Conclusions are drawn from the relationships of contexts with each other about the sequence of their formation. The basic assumption is that a context that is above or cuts another context is more recent. Stratigraphy therefore is the transposition of the spatial dimension into a temporal one. Thus it makes sense also to consider cuts, e.g. of a pit, which take up no physical space but have a place in the chronological development of a site, as separate contexts [7].

The definition of contexts also created units useful for seriations. The context is the key to the reconstruction of past activity and for interpreting the meaning of the objects that were found. During excavation the contexts therefore have to be described exactly: their dimensions, their composition, their relationships with other contexts and their formation. A distinction is made between culturally determined formation processes caused by the activities of people (building houses, separating garbage) and non-cultural, natural formation processes, such as wind erosion, each of which leave behind specific traces [16]. Micromorphological analyses [6] of deposits provide further information about their formation or the use of space, particularly on the basis of organic residues. Special finds are measured in three dimensions, while other finds, e.g. pottery, are collected separately according to their context, to enable the reconstruction of past activities. Contexts are investigated horizontally to determine various past activities and vertically to gain an understanding of changes through time, and are combined into layers.

6. Intra-site Analyses

The methods of → archaeological structural research are essential and integral components of archaeological methods. They include intra-site analyses, e.g. of the distribution of public and private buildings and of settlement plans, the interpretation of architecture, its elements and decoration and statistical analyses of the distributions of finds to study the different uses of individual buildings and sites.

7. Typology

Artefacts from excavations or the art market can be classified typologically and stylistically. Typology as general classification is one of the oldest archaeological methods (see above). Although it was first only used to determine the spatial and temporal distribution of artefacts and the state of technology, its use today is highly diversified. In spite of the debate about the right methods for obtaining typologies and their exact value as evidence [1. 207–30], they are compiled based on the fact that specific attributes of objects, e.g. raw materials, colour, size and proportions, are important for answering specific questions. The concrete form of a typology thus depends on the research questions. This is best demonstrated in the case of pottery, since it is ubiquitous, can be shaped in an infinite variety of ways, is quickly produced and easily broken. Pottery therefore displays high rates of replacement and changes in shape and decoration. Ceramic typologies are based on wares, defined by clay type, temper, production technique and firing, or by shapes and possible decoration. Wares point to clay deposits and modes of production, shapes point to use, decoration to artists, messages and social contacts, and all three indicate dates and areas of origin [13]. There are, therefore, many meaningful possibilities for classification, although only in a few cases, for instance in that of Greek prize amphorae, is it certain that today's types correspond to ancient classifications.

8. Chronology

Stratigraphy, typology, studies of style and seriation are archaeological methods for obtaining relative chronologies. Relative chronologies determine the chronological relationships of two or more archaeological contexts or objects. Absolute chronology, on the other hand, gives a precise date, by texts and coins, for example. The latter provide the contexts in which they were found with a date after which the contexts must have been created (*terminus post quem*). Most absolute dates rely on comparisons with securely dated objects. Through long archaeological practice a dense network of dates has thus been developed for almost all objects. Since the time of Thomsen, seriation (see above) has been one of the methods used in this. While at that time individual objects and generalised formal trends were compared, the method has become more precise with more finds from excavations. Since specific types developed, gained in popularity and fell out of fashion, no longer only their presence, but also their frequency is included in the seriation. With the Brainerd-Robinson matrix of 1951 [20], not only similar proportions of types in various units but also their differences were taken into account. Both were placed in relation to each other, and the percentage of similarity between any two units was thus compared. Since then, various coefficients of similarity and other statistical methods (cluster analysis) have been introduced to describe similarities between groups of artefacts.

Scientific methods provide absolute dates. Various methods are based on the measurement of the rates of decay of radioactive material. Of these, radiocarbon (14C) dating [4. 23–34] can also be used in historical periods. This method is based on the principle that living organisms absorb small quantities of radioactive 14C along with air. The difference between the quantity of 14C in dead organisms and that in living ones can be calculated in years by means of the known half-life of 14C. However, since the concentration of 14C has varied over the course of the earth's history, the dates have to be calibrated. This is done using dendrochronology [4. 35–46], which is based on growth rings of trees forming differently each year because of climatic variations. By comparing tree ring sequences, pieces of wood can be dated to a specific year, in central Europe as far back as *c.* 10,000 BC. Wood samples can, on the one hand, help with the calibration of 14C dates, while on the other hand, they can provide the date when the tree was felled, e.g. for the construction of a house. Thermoluminescence is a method for dating objects with mineral content, especially pottery. Here the radioactivity that has been absorbed since firing is released and measure by heating the sample to a high temperature [4. 46–62; 10. 398–418].

9. Analogies and Ethnoarchaeology

To be able to answer more specific questions of social and economic or functional history, archaeology makes intensive use of analogies, which are often obtained through ethnoarchaeology. From the beginnings of archaeology, artefacts were described using analogies, which were taken from ethnological observations, especially of one's own culture. This is as true of the identification of ceramic pottery vessels as jugs, as it is for that of sculptures as art. Ethnoarchaeology developed in the 1960s as a reflexive method out of dissatisfaction with the subjectivity and lack of consistency of analogies. Archaeologists themselves now studied behaviours in societies in specific ecological and social circumstances, in order to close the gap between archaeological finds and features and the past activities that had led to their creation. In the process, the demands that were made of analogies have grown constantly [1. 85–108]. The combination of various analogies aims to explain complex political and social relations, e.g. the behaviour of nomads between major polities.

10. Social Organization

The centrality of social organization as a topic in archaeology has been variously addressed above. The levels of social organization are inferred from settlement systems (see above) and communal building projects, e.g. temples and canals, and potential conflicts from fortifications. The intra-site comparison of the architecture and furnishings of private dwellings and the comparison of tombs and of their funerary furnishings enable more detailed analyses. The organization of labour may be inferred from the degree of specialization within settlements and in the manufacturing process, e.g. in its

standardization. Thus, it has been possible to distinguish the hands of different craftsmen on Greek temples or on the reliefs of Persepolis, and the organization of group labour has been clarified. The reconstruction of ancient technologies is a separate, quite diverse area, which ranges from the study of ancient mines and smelting to the analysis of tool traces and casting processes, or the production rate of pottery.

11. Trade and Exchange

An important aspect of social organization is how symbols and goods were exchanged [14. 335–68]. This includes limited exchange on a local or socially equal level (*peer polity interaction*) as well as super-regional trade. This is attested, e.g. by the discovery of imports and imitations of objects as well as of shipwrecks by underwater archaeology. Special cases are identifiable workshops of Greek vase-producers or stamped Roman amphorae, whose distribution as receptacles of the actual traded goods can be traced perfectly. Trade is represented on distribution maps. In the case of trade with Roman pottery the supply areas of specific workshops can be distinguished using distribution maps that incorporate quantified data. A multitude of scientific analyses of the compositions of the material [14. 343–50] can help to identify the provenance of metals, glass and pottery. The type of trade, i.e. direct, via middlemen or on a market, can be inferred from the distribution and manufacture of objects. The sum of these observations leads to the identification of general exchange mechanisms, which in economic history are separated into reciprocal exchange, redistribution and market exchange.

12. Meaning

As in the case of texts, the reception history of objects begins with their completion. Even their functional meaning can often be determined only by the contexts in which they were used. Function frequently varies with the contexts, e.g. as a cultic object or as an object of everyday use. However, new interpretative possibilities are opened up when, for instance, several statues in context receive a new meaning as a collective programme. Variation of meaning also holds for pictorial motifs, which are often considered to have represented explicit messages, but which may take on different meanings in the context of a grave or a household. Motifs may even have been chosen deliberately because of their ambiguity, or on the other hand by chance. A multitude of meanings certainly arises in past and, even more so, in modern interpretations, by incorporating different kinds of background knowledge. Antique pictorial motifs in Christian interpretation may serve as an example. Thus, interpretation is possible only within a broad concept of iconology. The symbolic, e.g. magical content of objects or meaning relevant to status, can, if at all, only be reconstructed through reflexive hermeneutic processes that make use of as many varied sources as possible (see above).

13. Natural Sciences

Zooarchaeology and archaeobotany are concerned with ecofacts, while physical anthropology and human osteology deal with human remains. Diet, domestication of animals and the development of agriculture can be inferred from the identification of animal bones and plant remains as well as from tooth wear. Bones of wild animals, mollusks and pollen analyses enable an extensive reconstruction of environmental conditions. Pollen cores attest to variations in climate. Slaughtering practices, identified by the age of slaughtered young animals, help to determine whether settlements were used seasonally. Vessels are increasingly studied for remains of their contents.

In addition to the scientific dating and prospection approaches, diverse methods of material analysis are available for identifying metal alloys or techniques. Specific combinations of minerals in ceramics facilitate the identification of the origin of clay. These combinations can be identified with thin section analysis or neutron activation analysis, where smallest quantities of ceramics are fired at with neutrons, which activate the trace elements [13. 140–50]. However, all too often scientific methods are not employed or remain unconnected alongside discourse in the humanities. A new example of the latter is the debate surrounding genetic analyses, which are used, e.g. for ascertaining kinship in burial grounds. But they are also used for determining ethnic relationships between ancient and modern peoples. In contrast, sociology and ethnology emphasize the socially constructed nature and changeability of ethnic definitions of foreignness and sameness, which have nothing to do with genes. This debate is part of a renewed discussion about whether humans are determined by biology or by culture which has accompanied the development of archaeological methods and theories since the 19th cent.

→ Antiquities collections; → Classical Archaeology; → Cultural anthropology; → Epochs, concept of; → Near Eastern archaeology; → Prints, books containing; → Style, Style analysis, Stylistic analysis; → Underwater archaeology;

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Archaeological Park

A. Basic Concept B. Precursors C. Important Archaeological Parks D. Contemporary Uses

A. Basic Concept

The Archaeological Park (AP) concept is not well-defined, and how the AP differs from great excavation areas, with many restored, rebuilt or reconstructed buildings (such as → Athens, the agora with the stoa of Attalus; Ephesus, the library of Celsus; Pergamon, Traianeum) is not clear. The concept emerged for the first time in Germany at the beginning of the 1970s. Inspired by the methodological and theoretical discussions taking place at that time in the field of museum publicity, those in charge of managing archaeological cultural resources also started to reflect on their aims, subject matter and possible didactic initiatives. All this was further stimulated by the obvious growth of the interest of mass tourism in archaeological sites. The view developed that excavations should not be oriented only towards scientific goals and that, along with the necessary protection of building remains, the archaeological sites should meet the expectations of larger categories of visitors. A central role was assigned to the demand for visual realism. In many Mediterranean countries, because the remains of ancient buildings are better preserved, this is attainable by reusing original building parts in the reconstruction (*anastylosis*).

By contrast, more comprehensive forms of visitor-oriented treatment of the *in situ* remains are necessary in Central Europe. The AP concept pursues a particularly imaginative form of visualization. Exponents of traditional management of cultural resources, some of whom apply A. Riegl's categories of the monument value of the historical buildings also to AP, are critically opposed to this.

An AP does not just restrict itself to presenting the original foundations of buildings left visible in the field which it then usually protects with a little restoration masonry. Rather, it is characterized by an ensemble of wholly or partially reconstructed buildings on the historical site, i.e. superimposed on the original *in situ* finds which have usually only been minimally preserved (see *infra* on the concept of reconstruction). Both of these characteristics distinguish an AP from the usual open air museum, which mostly consists of a series of historical monuments, moved out of their original con-

texts, or freely adapted structures, i.e., those reconstructed on another site (Alphen a.d. Rijn/Holland, Archeon; Augst/Switzerland, the Roman House; Berg en Dal/Holland, the Bijbels Openluchtmuseum; Malibu/USA, the J.P. Getty Museum; Unteruhldingen/Germany, pile dwelling settlement). The reconstruction over the original finds is sometimes criticized as a violation of Art. 15 of the Venice Chart (1964), which only allows the use of *anastylosis* on archaeological sites. The surroundings of the buildings in an AP are usually created though landscape gardening; trees and hedges may partly serve as substitutes for previously existing architectural structures (Fig. 4). These attributes can be found already in the *castellum* from Saalburg im Taunus, which was partially rebuilt towards the end of the 19th cent. and can be seen as an early forerunner of the AP. Some older open air museums, organized especially on pre- and protohistorical settlement sites (such as those in Biskupin/Poland, Eketorp/Sweden, Gro(Raden/Germany) also show traits related to the AP. Finally, even before the 1970s, some archaeological sites, such as those in Magdalensberg/Austria, Schwarzenacker/Germany or sections from Hadrian's Wall/Great Britain, were shaped through comprehensive reconstruction, restoration and landscaping measures, and thus all have the characteristics of the present-day AP Isolated elements can be found also on archaeological sites of the Mediterranean area (Ampurias/Spain).

B. Precursors

Saalburg/Germany (reconstruction begun in 1898; full reconstruction of fortification wall, of the *principia*, of the *horreum*, and of two barracks; partial reconstruction of the *praetorium*); Magdalensberg/Austria (begun in 1949; full reconstruction of approximately 25 houses and trade shops), Römermuseum Schwarzenacker/Germany (begun in 1966; full and partial reconstruction of several houses.)

C. Important Archaeological Parks

The Xanten AP (begun in 1973; representation of the ancient road system in the environs; partial reconstruction of the amphitheater and of the port temple; full reconstruction of the guest house with protruding portico and baths, a section of the city wall with several towers and the northern city gate; protective building over the public baths, Fig. 3); the Cambodunum AP/Germany (begun in 1983; full or partial reconstruction of several sacred buildings and of the *portico* of the Gallo-Roman temple area); the Carnuntum AP/Austria (begun in 1988; full reconstruction of the Diana temple with protruding portico; partial reconstruction of the amphitheater planned).

The construction techniques and materials for the reconstructions of AP follow, as closely as possible, the ancient models. The compatibility of the modern additions with the construction materials used in the original finds is seen as an important criterion in the execution of the building. The dividing line between the original finds and the reconstructions is made recognizable mostly by the use of various visible means (protruding edges, a lead band, or rows of bricks). Besides the thorough analysis of the archaeological context, the preserved construction parts and other significant evidence, similar and better preserved buildings of the same type and, where appropriate, ancient written sources, such as M. Vitruvius Pollio are used as well in the reconstruction. The goal is to achieve the maximum of scientifically-founded realism and authenticity. Finally, an indirect goal of the reconstruction is a knowledge of ancient building techniques that can only be gained from practice. Nevertheless, no such replica can ever be an exact copy in every detail of its model: the knowledge gaps regarding many details admit alternative solutions. The necessity of deciding on one of several conceivable possibilities is inevitably a simplification that can only have the nature of an approximation. Thus the similarity of the replica to the ancient model varies. While the reconstruction of Mediterranean sacral architecture, because of its canonical use of forms, is possible even in great detail on the basis of a few significant building parts and can receive further authentication through comparison (Xanten, the port temple; Carnuntum, the Diana temple), the reconstruction of secular buildings, such as houses, trade shops, baths and the like, and also of indigenous sacred buildings is burdened with considerably greater uncertainty. That is why the reconstructions in AP are frequently better described as models at a 1:1 scale.

The model character of the reconstructions is especially obvious in those details carried out to achieve immediate didactic purposes: only partially plastered wall surfaces and wall segments (Xanten, amphitheater; Schwarzenacker, House 3; Kempten, the hall of the Gallo-Roman temple area), columns in various stages of completeness, and sections where polychromy is indicated (Xanten, the port temple), cut or half-finished walls (Xanten, city wall; Magdalensberg, houses from the south slope) are supposed to offer insights into ancient construction techniques and indications of the architectural characteristics of the original buildings. Finally, seared beam stumps and broken down walls are attempts to include in the reconstruction even the historical dimension, in this case, the destruction of the building (Schwarzenacker, house 16–17, Fig. 1).

Because of mostly fragmentary knowledge, the arrangement of the interior in full reconstructions is usually patterned on finds from better preserved sites and has, therefore, the character of an ideal type; also supplying the rooms with furniture, utensils, etc. is frequently accomplished by introducing copies of finds from other places or free imitations fashioned with the aid of pictorial representations. The wall paintings usually follow models from geographically neighbouring regions and from the same time period (Xanten, the guest house; Fig. 2), to which, in some cases, the similar function of the building is added (Xanten, the baths of the guest house). The reconstruction and organization

Fig. 1: Schwarzenacker, recreated wall of House 16–17.
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Fig. 2: Xanten, Archeological park: guest rooms at the park inn.
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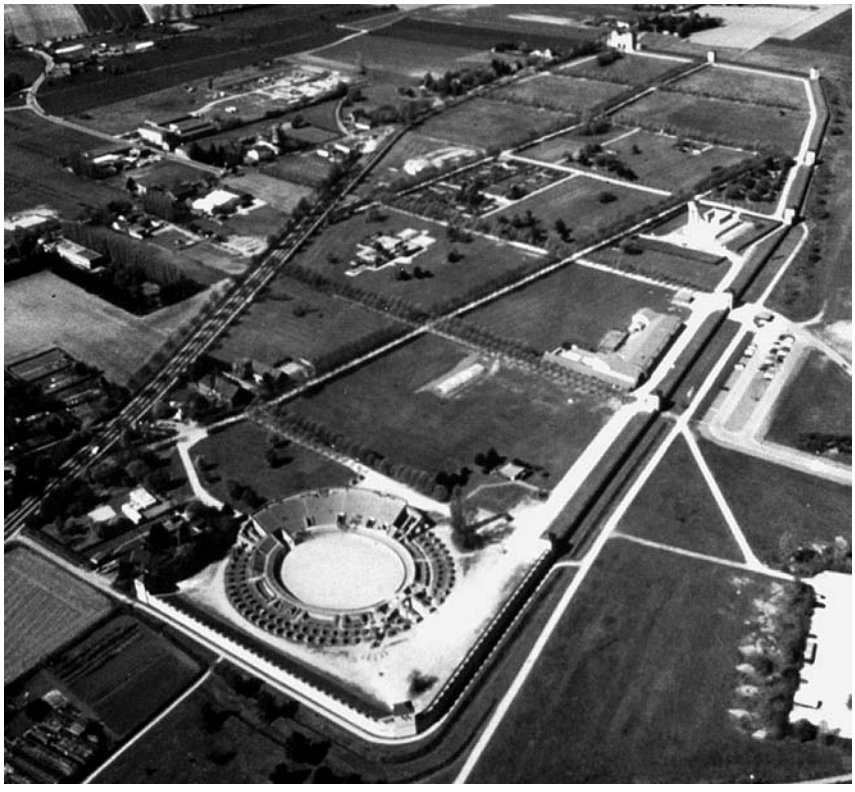

Fig. 3: Xanten, Archaeological park: amphitheatre, inn, city wall, towers and gates.
With Permission of the author

Fig. 4: Kempten, Archaeological park: sacred buildings.
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of space used for trade, such as *tabernae* or *thermopolia* is mostly based on well preserved counterparts from Ostia and from the towns near Vesuvius (Xanten, *thermopolium* in the guest house; Schwarzenacker, *taberna* house 1). These locations also offer the models for reconstructions of functional bath installations and windows true to the original (Xanten, the *thermae* from the guest house). A special case is the protective building over the public baths in Xanten which, although constructed of contemporary glass and steel, reproduces the overall appearance and size of the ancient building.

D. Contemporary Uses

The reconstructed buildings are used in various ways. The most immediate connection between the ancient site and the reconstruction is realized when the contemporary building serves both to protect and to display the original remains (Xanten, the port temple: the podium extends freely over the foundation slab). But they may be also used as exhibition spaces (Magdalensberg; Saalburg), as halls for various kinds of performances (Xanten, Amphitheater) or for the housing of gastronomic facilities (Xanten, the Guest House; Schwarzenacker, House 1).

Publicity for the AP offers a wide range of information, geared to the needs of individual visitors, visitor groups, as well as special groups (short guides, display panels, visits guided by professionals, guided tours to the excavations, audio guides, special tours for the disabled, special events etc.). The possibility of actively engaging the visitor is greatly valued (Roman board- and skill games in the Xanten AP).

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HANS-JOACHIM SCHALLES

Archaeological Structural Research

A. DEFINITION B. HISTORY C. FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

A. DEFINITION

The concept of structural 'research' was coined by Armin von Gerkan in 1924 to denote the field of activity of architects working exclusively or predominantly on the history of monuments [2]. The historical period to which the architect devoted his research was initially irrelevant here. Thus, von Gerkan himself left behind a scientific body of work stretching from Neolithic burial structures to medieval churches, although the main focus of his interest was Classical antiquity. Since the career designation architectural 'researcher' is now used officially by building physicists in modern civil engineering, the term 'archaeological structural researcher' has become customary to designate building historians who concern themselves with the science of excavation. In contrast to a purely art-historical approach to structures, for structural research the building itself, with all its details, is the source of more advanced historical knowledge. This means that the graphic reconstruction of a building in its individual developmental phases takes place by means of observation, measurement, and the drawing of all parts of the building, the catalogued pattern and interpretation of which is obtained by plotting both ground plan and cross section [7] stone by stone, including deformations. Only when the global concept of a historical building has been obtained in this way does architectural evaluation take place. The optimal precondition for such a working procedure is architectural training, since the architect, by means of his prior knowledge of practical construction and his trained capacity for spatial representation, is best able to evaluate complex structural ensembles, through their transposition into two- and three-dimensional representations. Needless to say, prior knowledge of measurement techniques and statics is essential here [3].

B. HISTORY

Architectural structural research (ASR) appeals to the confrontation, already attested many times in Antiquity, between architects and the architectural historical development prior to their time, as in the case of the Roman architect Vitruvius in his 10 volumes *De architectura*. It is with the resumption of the paradigmatic nature of ancient architecture in the → RENAISSANCE, that we know of the earliest detailed technical drawings by architects of ancient buildings and parts of buildings [4] (Fig. 1). With the triumphant march of → CLASSICISM in European architecture in the mid–18th cent., architects enthusiastic for Antiquity, primarily from England and France, sallied forth more and more often to Italy and the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean, still under Ottoman rule, in order to study, measure, and reconstruct the ruins of Classical Antiquity. Their publications were eagerly received throughout Europe, to serve as models of accomplished architectural art for contemporary architecture [5] (Fig. 2). In the 19th and 20th cents., until the outbreak of the First World War, knowledge of ancient architecture was the uncontested goal of architectural training, even long after other historicist building forms had come into fashion. From the outset, architects had assumed a leading role in the great national excavations on classical soil, which were not undertaken in Germany until after the foundation of the Empire in 1871. In particular, students from the Berlin *Bauakademie* refined their structural investigations, and also contributed in no small measure to the development of excavating techniques. As the architect Wilhelm Doerpfeld, having been trained since 1877 at → OLYMPIA, eventually took over as responsible leader of various excavations in Greece and on the west coast of Asia Minor, so, since 1898, the excavations of the → DEUTSCHE ORIENT-GESELLSCHAFT at → BABYLON under Robert Koldewey, and subsequently at Assur under Walter Andrae, were initially purely the domain of architects. In Egypt as well, the architect Ludwig Borchert led numerous digs since 1907, in particular the state excavation of Tell Amarna.

After 1918, excavation activity on classical soil was completely disrupted, and the unfortunate circumstance that ASR was not yet recognized as a fully-fledged discipline of classical studies alongside the investigation of classical architecture led to difficult times for many ASR professionals. This situation was criticized by Armin von Gerkan in his polemical essay [2], which led in 1926 to many ASR professionals to form the *Koldewey-Gesellschaft, Vereinigung fur baugeschichtliche Forschung,* in order to promote the recognition of their field and to support new talent.

Following some initially heated confrontations, the association largely achieved this goal upon the resumption of the foreign excavations, especially since there was not yet any lack of teachers and students in the Departments of the history of architecture at the technical colleges, who were interested in ASR and were ready to become engaged in it. This did not change immediately after 1945, although foreign excavations initially came to a standstill once again. Owing to the reconstruction of the destroyed cities, however, research interests in German architectural training shifted drastically. Research on medieval architectural monuments, preservation of historical monuments and theory of architecture were then urgent concerns in the face of dwindling historical interest[8] for which reasons ASR was rolled back in most Institutes of architectural history. The → DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT (DAI) therefore established a Architecture Section at its head office in Berlin in 1973, with permanent positions for researchers, in order to take charge of the promotion of new talent, particularly in ASR, to meet the needs of the excavation activities of its institutions, alongside the Koldewey-Gesellschaft, now functioning effectively, and several Chairs in architectural history (Fig. 3). Only France, with the establishment of the

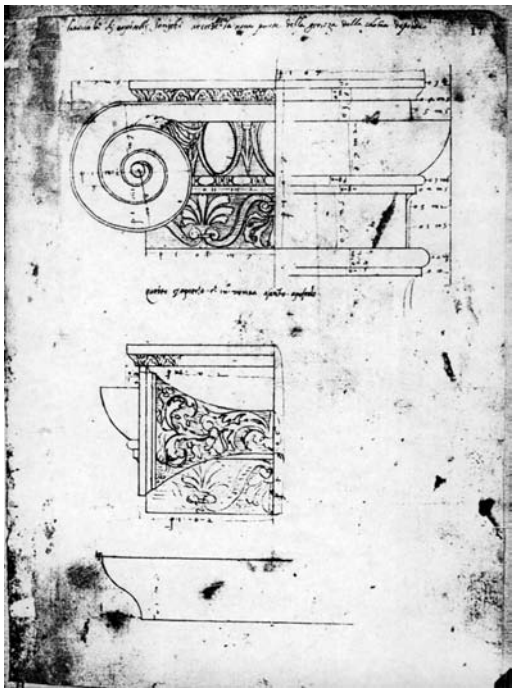

Fig. 1: Ionic capital in Rome, Santi Apostoli. Anonymous scale drawing, first half of the 16th cent.
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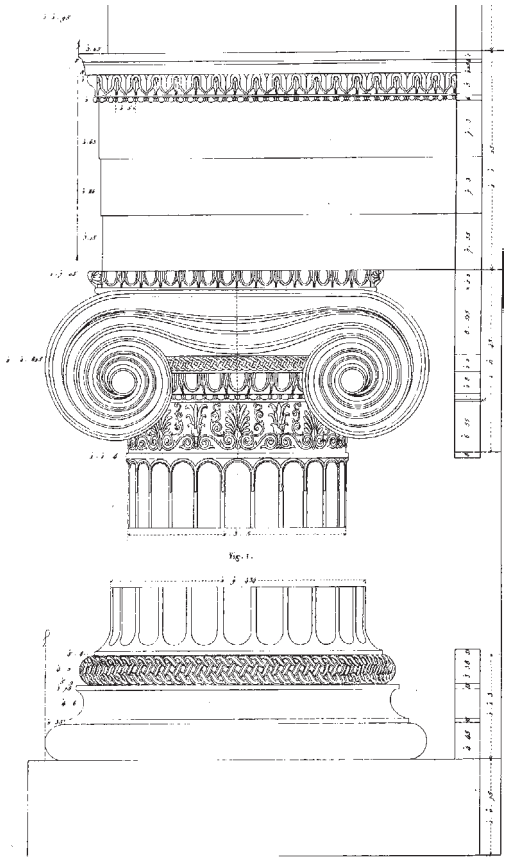

Fig. 2: Athens, Acropolis. Scale drawing of the Erechtheum 1752

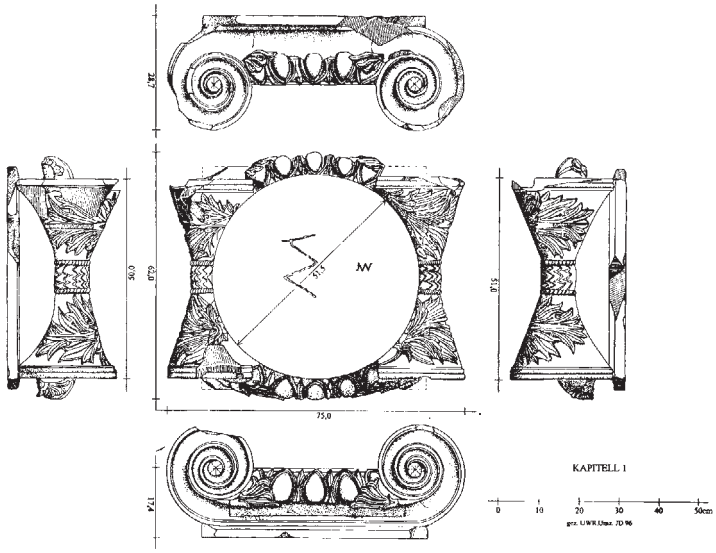

Fig. 3: Ionic capital from Aezani, first cent. AD. Drawing from the Aezani excavation.
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Institut de recherche sur l'architecture antique du CNRS, has gone beyond this attempt to render ASR more independent of the waning interest of the technical universities.

C. Fields of Activity

The widespread specialization and autonomization of many fields of Classical studies scarcely affected ASR, since the trained architectural researcher always approaches historical buildings from the most various eras and cultural circles with the same method. In addition, training in ASR additionally provides a basis for work in the conservation of monuments and in restoration projects. The breadth of the versatility of ASR is shown, for instance, by the DAI, under whose aegis work is being carried out by ASR specialists in the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hittite, Greco-Roman, Early Christian-Byzantine and Islamic cultural spheres. In recent times, they have been joined by ASR specialists who deal with the Pre-Hispanic architecture of America and the Eurasian cultural area. Essential to their profession is that they view themselves as researchers who work in cooperation with other branches of classical studies to illuminate the cultural history of ancient periods through the investigation of individual monuments, buildings, settlement layouts, and colonial structures, utilizing the most obvious heritage of ancient cultures, architecture. The coherence of ASR in German-speaking lands is promoted by the *Koldewey-Gesellschaft* with its biennial *Tagungen für Ausgrabungswissenschaft und Bauforschung* [6], and the Architecture Section of the DAI, with an informal series of colloquia on ASR [1].

→ Amarna; → Assur; → Babylon; → Olympia; → Vitruvius

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ERNST-LUDWIG SCHWANDNER

Archaic period see→ Epochs, concept of

Archaicism see→ Classicism

Architectural Copy/Citation

A. Introduction B. Middle Ages C. 15th–17th Cent. D. 18th and 19th Cents. E. Post-Modern period

A. Introduction

The terms 'copy' and 'citation' are not clearly defined or conceptually separated as far as their usage in the discipline of architectural history is concerned. While the literal adoption of a text or part of it is termed 'citation' in literature, the exact reproduction of a building or an architectural motif is referred to mainly as 'copy' in architecture. On the other hand, 'citation' tends to refer to the creatively modified adoption of individual elements and of forms taken out of a coherent whole, although the deliberate reference to the model must remain recognizable. The boundaries in relation to other methodologies of architectural reception and of the appropriation of forms from the architecture of previous periods cannot always be clearly defined.

B. Middle Ages

In spite of the continued use of individual Classical architectural elements such as columns, and apart from the special case of the Pantheon, it was the early Christian architecture of Late Antiquity that became particularly significant in the Middle Ages as a citable point of reference from the time of Antiquity. Reference to the architecture of early Christianity always aimed at the religious or political meanings attributed to these buildings, and thus was barely or only secondarily motivated by aesthetics. In general it can be said that the model was not replicated *in toto* but was recalled through the citation of a few architectural characteristics. Consequently, in the Middle Ages there were no copies in the sense of exact replicas of early Christian models from Late Antiquity; 'copying' occurred through citations, through the adoption of significant architectural features of the model [16]. This could be done by simply having the same number of columns as the model, a similar ground plan, a comparable sequence of space or through other such means.

The group of monuments that were taken as models was relatively limited. The buildings most frequently drawn upon were the early Christian basilicas of Rome, particularly St. Peter's, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, both established by Constantine. The architectural features adopted from San Vitale in Ravenna (526–547) [2] (Figs. 1, 2), which left their mark on the architecture of the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen (786–800), still represent a

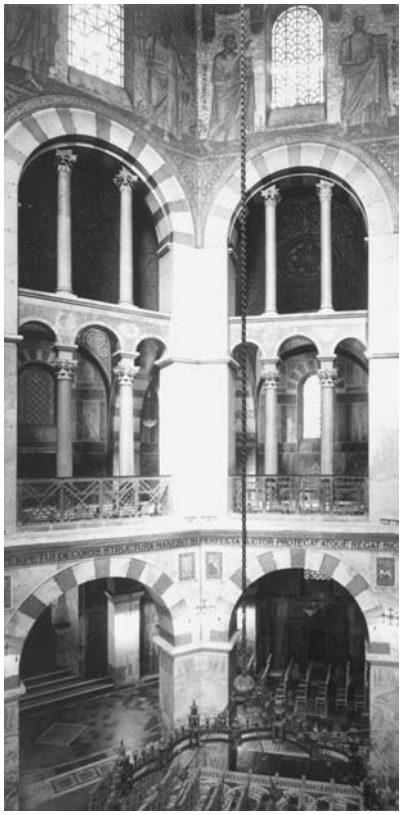

Fig. 1: Interior of the Palatine Chapel (now Cathedral) in Aachen

Fig. 2: Interior of San Vitale in Ravenna

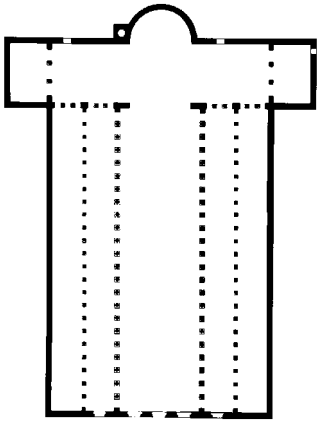

Fig. 3: Plan of Old St Peter's in Rome. *Reproduced with Permission of A. Arbeiter*

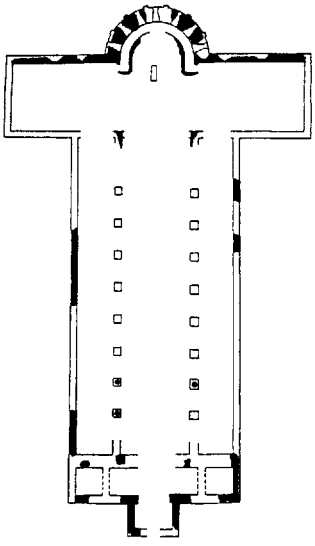

Fig. 4: Plan of the Carolingian abbey church of Saint Denis. *Copyright by Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte (Aachen/Basel)*

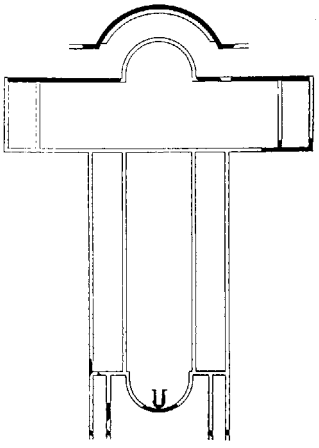

Fig. 5: Plan of the Abbey Church in Fulda. *Copyright by Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte (Aachen/Basel)*

unique case. The motivations for this choice of model, however, cannot be determined clearly, especially as other models besides the church of Ravenna were available to the Carolingians. Moreover, these architectural citations – octagonal central building with a two-storey gallery or the two-storey column arrangement with a triple arcade – were in this case expanded into a complex interlacing of references to the past through material borrowing in the form of *spolia* from Rome and Ravenna.

In the early Carolingian period the basilica in St. Denis (768–775) started the orientation towards the model of old St. Peter's, illustrated by the continuous transept of the Roman model and the imitation of the ring crypt of the tomb of Peter [14; 17] (Figs. 3, 4). The layout of a transept, especially a transept situated towards the west (e.g. Fulda *c.* 802–819, Fig. 5), and more generally the western orientation adopted from St. Peter's instead of the otherwise usual easterly direction, as well as an altar also situated in the west and dedicated to St. Peter, can since then be regarded as a reference to the Roman model. Even ifthe column or pillar arcades of Gothic cathedrals are, on the other hand, understood as allusions to early Christian basilicas [21. 22], then this is not so much in terms of a concrete building as a model; rather, this pillar motif more generally cites the model of the pillar basilica as a visualization of a concept of the early Christian and Roman Church. In spite of the respective time-specific differentiations, it is generally possible to relate the orientation towards Roman models and especially towards St. Peter's Basilica to the web of ideas of the universal primacy of Rome in political, religious or cultural life.

The same procedural methods of copying can be demonstrated for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem [4; 10. 84–101]. The ground plan of a central building with an internal annular support structure, the number of columns, the expansion of the central building by means of three apsides – these architectural features alone or in combination can guarantee the reference to the model. In addition to these citations that identified a church as a replica of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the urban layout was able to portray the sacred topography of Jerusalem [19]. Such an architectonic visualization of the holy sites was suggested by the idea that the life Christ was reenacted in the liturgy during the Church year.

C. 15th–17th Cent.

→ Humanism and the studies of Antiquity conducted since the 15th cent. fundamentally changed the conditions for a recourse on the part of contemporary architecture to that of Antiquity. The architectural discovery of Classical buildings, their survey and recording that are already attested for Filippo Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti and that reached their high point in Pope Leo X's plan for Raphael to make an inventory and reconstruct the entirety of ancient Rome, had as a consequence a considerable increase in the knowledge of Classical architecture. The direct engagement with Classical edifices, the recording of ground plans, elevations or details of architectonic ornamentation are thus documented for just about every architect of the quattro- and cinquecento [12]. In the 17th cent. this architectural research became even more intensive [3].

The systematic scrutinization of traditional Classical architecture was ultimately motivated by the search for principles and standards of Classical architectural creation [6. 276f.]; Classical architecture was also reflected accordingly in the architectural theory of this period. The third book of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise (*Il terzo libro ... nel quale si figurano e descrivono le Antichità di Roma*, Venice 1540) and the treatment of Classical buildings in the third and fourth book of Andrea Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice 1570) contributed significantly to the spreading of this practice. In this way the study of Antiquity had its place in the context of an art-theoretical discourse on the aesthetic conditions of architecture. In connection with this the model of Antiquity was primarily discussed in terms of the extent to which Classical architecture was able to set rules and standards which had to be emulated or even changed and surpassed [20].

Imitation of nature or Antiquity became a fundamental postulate of art and architectural theory that created – compared with the Middle Ages – completely new prerequisites for the adoption of Classical architectural styles whether through imitation or even through copying. This practice was no longer guided by occasional adoptions of meaning but developed into the normal case which was justified by aesthetics: architectural language that had been Classically trained made use of Classical vocabulary. First and foremost this included the system of Classical pillar arrangements as supports and the subdivision of walls, a system that with its elements – columns, wall pillars, cornices, architraves and triangular gables – had a determining influence on the outward appearance of architecture right through to the 19th cent. [11]. As the extant Classical pillar arrangements could not be made to conform to a standard pattern common to all of them and were not in keeping with the descriptions in Vitruvius, they became subjects that were constantly discussed anew in the debate surrounding the search for a rule and that were evaluated in varying ways with regard to form and proportions. So even when it repeatedly came to citations that were more or less faithful to the details, in terms of the application of this Classical system of form, [6] – Alberti already adopted the arrangement of wall pillars from the entrance to the Pantheon for the portal niche of Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1458/78) [22. 268; 25.41] (Fig. 6+7) – in the end it was more a matter of assimilation and 'improvement', of eclectic and innovative interpretations of Classical models [1; 5]. The same applies for the orientation towards Classical building types, ground plans and spatial solutions

Fig. 6: Portal of the Pantheon in Rome

Fig. 7: Portal of Santa Maria Novella in Florence

like those that are used in Raphael's Villa Madama (1518) project [7. 391ff.]. In contrast to what might perhaps be expected, exact copies of Classical buildings therefore play no part in Renaissance and Baroque architecture.

In view of the close correlation between 'citation', emendation and assimilation it is thus quite difficult to decide the extent to which recourse to a model was more generally aimed at the Classical architectural system or whether it referred to a concrete work instead [1. 556ff.]. The same is true for the extent to which the reference to a model therefore possibly also, at least occasionally as in the Middle Ages, had iconographic implications or was intended to be meaningful.

BRUNO REUDENBACH

D. 18TH AND 19TH CENTS.

It was not so much the search for rules as the fascination with the simple, pure form and the orientation towards this ideal (imbued with moral and pedagogical impulses) that determined the attitude of 18th- and 19th-cent. Classicism or Neo-Classicism towards Classical architecture [15]. Hand in hand with this went the discovery of Greece as 'true' Antiquity; knowledge of the Doric order (without a base) as the original order was for instance closely linked to the growing acquaintance with Greek temples in → PAESTUM from the middle of the 18 cent. [9; 23; 24]. Ruins and buildings from Greece itself were investigated at the same time and disseminated throughout Europe by means of the publication of engravings, primarily by Julien-David Le Roy's *Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758) and through *The Antiquities of Athens* (4 bks., 1762–1816) by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, probably the most famous and influential work of its kind.

Fig. 8: The 'Tower of the Winds' in Shugborough

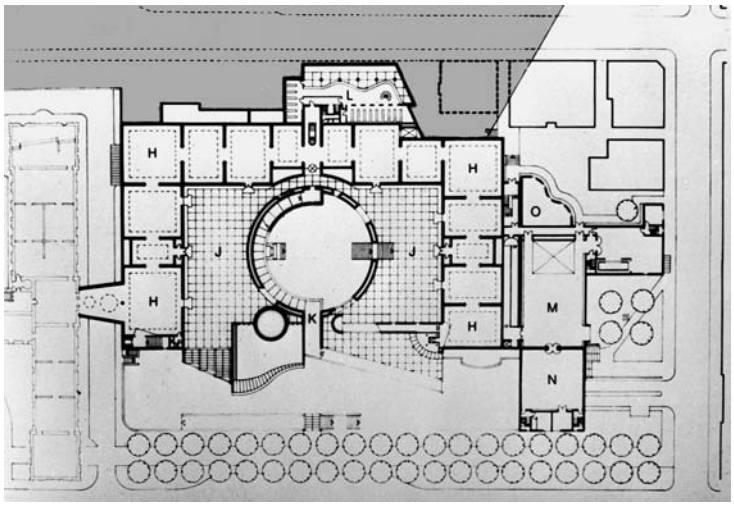

Fig. 9: Stuttgart, New State Gallery, plan of a gallery floor (J. Stirling)

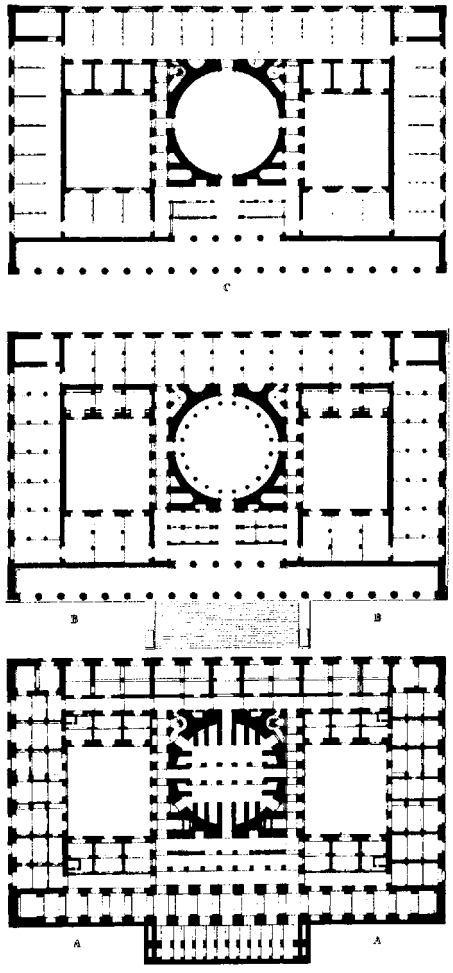

Fig. 10: Berlin, plan of the Altes Museum (R.F. Schinkel)

With regard to the question of architecture, the classicizing attitude towards Antiquity gave rise to a changed framework. Inasmuch as interest was directed at the authentic Classical form, archaeologically researched and disseminated in engravings, we probably owe to Classicism and the → Greek Revival the most faithful copies of Classical architecture. The influence that emanated from the publications of engravings can be demonstrated in many ways, both in terms of details of architectonic ornamentation and the replication of entire parts of buildings or complete edifices [24. 36–46]. The *Tower of the Winds* close to the Acropolis, for instance, depicted in the first volume of Stuart's and Revett's work (Fig. 11), was adopted by Stuart himself as a model for a garden building in Shugborough (1765) (Fig. 8), whilst James Wyatt identified the top part of the tower of the Radcliffe Observatory in Oxford (1773–1794) as a copy of the Athenian tower (Fig. 12).

However frequently such architectural citation was also adopted into the architecture of → Classicism, the development of a 'Classical' architectural language that then spread throughout the whole of Europe and the USA was even more momentous. It was characterized less by the copying of concrete buildings than by the alignment with Classical stylistic imagery that showed itself particularly in the adoption of temple architecture, and here above all the temple façade as a portico with a triangular gable [15]. Although we can repeatedly see faithful adoptions of form in architectural terms, the reception of Antiquity as practiced by classicizing architecture and culminating in this omnipresent motif has to be understood as stylistic copy rather than as concrete architectural citation.

The garden buildings of the landscaped gardens, the *fabriques*, were of great importance for the popularization and implementation of the concept of different styles whose sequence determined the history of architecture and which lead to the phenomenon of → Historicism [18]. These follies conveyed meaning and

Fig. 11: Athens, Tower of the Winds

Fig. 12: Oxford, Radcliffe Observatory

ambience in the various layouts of natural creations of gardens and depending on their style they were meant to induce different effects. Apart from exotic, Medieval or ruined buildings, use was also made of classicizing architectures, particularly that of Athens. Stuart, for instance, designed for Shugborough not only a replica of the Tower of the Winds but also additional copies of famous buildings in Athens, such as the Doric Temple which was modelled on the Theseion (*c.* 1760), Hadrian's Arch (1769) and the Monument of Lysicrates (1771) [8.56f.].

E. Post-Modern period

In the architecture of the so-called post-modern period, the playful or ironic adoption of classical architectural vocabulary and Classicist forms became a leitmotif, and this is already employed by a pioneer of this architecture, Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans (1975–80). This architecture with its stance against the abstract, geometric planning grid of the International Style, reactivated semantic options for architectonic forms and to this extent delighted in working with copies and even more so with defamiliarized citations. The open internal rotunda in James Stirling's extension to the state gallery in Stuttgart (1977–83), for example, can be regarded as such (Fig. 9). It is inspired by the central rotunda in Karl Frierich Schinkel's Museum of Classical Antiquities (1823–30) in Berlin that for its part alludes to the Roman Pantheon (Fig. 10). The reproduction of the Villa dei Papiri in → Herculaneum which now houses a part of the Getty collection (Malibu, end of the 1960s) owes more to the eccentricity of a billionaire than to an architectural concept in itself.

→ Basilica; → Forum/Square

1 H. H. Aurenhammer, Multa aedium exempla variarum imaginum atque operum. Das Problem der imitatio in der italienischen Architektur des frühen 16. Jahrhundert, in: Intertextualität in der Frühen Neuzeit (Frühneuzeit-Stud. 2) 1994, 533–605 2 G. Bandmann, Die Vorbilder der Aachener Pfalzkapelle, in: Karl der Große, Bd. 3, 1965, 424–462 3 A. Blunt, Baroque architecture and classical antiquity, in: Classical Influences on European Culture AD 1500–1700, 1976, 349–354 4 G. Bresc-Bautier, Les imitations du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (IXe-XVe siècles), in: Rev. d'histoire de la spiritualité 50, 1974, 319–342 5 T. Buddensieg, Criticism of ancient architecture in the 16th and 17th centuries, in: Classical Influences on European Culture AD 1500–1700, 1976, 335–348 6 H. Burns, Quattrocento architecture and the antique: some problems, in: Classical Influences on European Culture AD 500–1500, 1971, 269–287 7 Id., Raffaello e quell'antiqua architectura in: Raffaello architetto, 1984, 381–404 8 A.v. Buttlar, Der Landschaftsgarten, 1989 9 J. M. Crook, The Greek Revival, 1972 10 W. Erdmann, A. Zettler, Zur Archäologie des Konstanzer Münsterhügels, in: Schriften des Vereins f. Gesch. des Bodensees 95, 1977, 19–134 11 J. Guillaume (ed.), L'emploi des ordres dans l'architecture de la Ren. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours (1986), 1992 12 H. Günther, Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hoch-Ren. (= Röm. Forsch. der Bibliotheca Hertziana 24), 1988 13 W. Jacobsen, Gab es die karolingische 'Renaissance' in der Baukunst?, in: Zschr. für Kunstgesch. 51, 1988, 313–347 14 Id., Die Abteikirche von St.-Denis als

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Architectural theory/Vitruvianism

A. CHARACTERIZATION B. VITRUVIUS STUDIES, ITALY C. VITRUVIUS STUDIES, FRANCE

A. CHARACTERIZATION

Architectural Theory (AT) was an essential component of the architectonic culture of the 15th–18th cents. It was a result of the striving for greater scientific input and systematization that is generally characteristic of the → RENAISSANCE. Moreover it followed the ancient idea that lived on in the Middle Ages that the architect, much more than the artist, should also be well-versed in theory. In post-Medieval architecture, most of the architectonic decor and a considerable part of the layout can only be understood with reference to AT. In spite of this AT, as a whole usually had only a limited role in construction practice. It was directed first and foremost at patrons of the arts and an educated audience. Its actual purpose at precisely the period of its characteristic formation during the early Renaissance can only be partially established. From a pragmatic point of view, we can only concur with Francesco di Giorgio Martini when he criticized the epoch-making architectural treatise of L.B. Alberti (1452, published in 1485) because it was written in Latin and was not illustrated. For in this way, those for whom it was actually intended, the architects, could not understand it because of their lack of literary education while it remained closed to the literarily educated because of their lack of architectonic knowledge. Alberti, who was an exception in that he combined in one person the skills of a man of letters and those of an architect, did not take his own AT into account properly in the buildings which he himself designed.

In the course of the 16th cent., knowledge of AT spread. Humanistic treatises on architecture like that of Alberti long since ceased to originate in Italy. However, initially, similar works on AT, especially those of Philibert de l'Orme (1561/1567/1568) were again part of the reception of the Renaissance on the other side of the Alps; Albrecht Dürer's *Unterweisung der Messung* (1525) is worthy of mention here despite its more mathematical and scientific orientation. However this scholarly writing then also subsided on the other side of the Alps. Column books that could be used in an increasingly practical way dominated the field for a century (the most widespread being by Hans Blum, from 1550). From the late 17th cent. on, France again produced a wealth of scholarly writings on AT. The writings were now even further removed from practice than before; the authors were often laymen in matters of architecture. Again the areas of interest were, especially, general questions about basic architectonic principles, the value of artistic standards, the dependence of taste on the individual disposition of the observers or the relationship between feeling and reason in the evaluation of architecture.

AT was only partly oriented towards contemporary conditions and needs. In the Renaissance it even postulated a conscious break with the traditions that had evolved, and, instead, conjured up Antiquity, from where it took its guidelines, sometimes without much consideration of the extent to which they could really be implemented. Only very hesitantly did it venture to adapt, in a purposeful manner, the ancient set principles to modern conditions, to expand or even to adjust them. There was however an indirect form of adaptation of Antiquity: namely in the way in which one interpreted its ancient monuments. Mostly it was probably in a rather automatic manner that people visualized how conditions were during Antiquity, on the basis of the conditions to which they themselves were used and they therefore more or less consciously adapted Antiquity to their own circumstances. To be sure, this also was probably a significant prerequisite for their daring in carrying out the great experiment of the renaissance of Antiquity.

Ancient architecture was normally described in theory as exemplary. But what constituted ancient architecture, was determined in a different manner than it is today. Even Romanesque or Byzantine buildings were on many occasions considered to be ancient. In building practice, ancient architecture was usually imitated only in details (especially column arrangements) and in truth this by no means adhered perfectly to the principles of the Renaissance. Even the buildings that were considered to be the most beautiful monuments of Antiquity, the Pantheon and the Templum Pacis of Vespasian (nowadays the so-called Basilica of Constantine), showed striking defects according to the standards of the Renaissance. The discrepancy between such ancient works and the principles of the Renaissance come to light through the comparisons of the structures

and drawings from the Renaissance that correct the defects as far as possible. The discrepancy was only rarely stated in the AT of the Renaissance. One of the few exceptions was Book III of the *L'Architettura* of Sebastiano Serlio (1540) that expressly aimed to teach people how to differentiate between good and bad architecture.

AT was primarily based on ancient writings. Its most important source was the treatise on architecture by Vitruvius that was already famous during Antiquity. Only copies are extant [1]. The best is a Carolingian codex (London, BM, Harleianus 2767). But the illustrations to which Vitruvius's text refers have, in many cases, been completely lost. Only one early Medieval manuscript (in Sélestat, Alsace) contains several illustrations but they do not appear to be ancient.

B. Vitruvius Studies, Italy

Vitruvius's text continued to be well known throughout the entire Middle Ages. It was discussed at the court of Charlemagne by Alcuin and Einhard. Provost Goderamnus of St. Pantaleon studied it when his abbey church of St. Michael was built in Hildesheim (dedicated in 1022). Petrus Diakonus copied it at the end of the 11th cent. when he built the abbey of Montecassino. Vitruvius appears to have been highly regarded in northern Europe even more than in Italy. Albertus Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais and others refer to him. Many German, French or English → Libraries owned copies of the treatise or copied it. The new interest in Antiquity that was awakened around 1350 in the Petrarch circle increasingly included Vitruvius as well. Petrarch and his friends, Boccaccio and G. Dondi, owned Vitruvius manuscripts.

In 1416 Poggio Bracciolini, the enthusiastic collector of ancient writings, discovered a Vitruvius manuscript in St. Gallen that in his time was probably considered to be ancient (unidentified, possibly Harleianus). In about 1485 G. Sulpicio in Rome edited and published Vitruvius for the first time. A re-emended text was printed in 1496 in Florence and in 1497 in Venice. After studying for decades, the Humanist, architect and engineer Fra Giocondo published a completely newly revised version of the text with 136 illustrations in Venice in 1511. This has been a basis for the emendation of Vitruvius [11] up to the present time.

One would assume that the early Vitruvius studies were centred in Florence. However, of these, only a few scattered attestations have come down to us: Vitruvius excerpts by Lorenzo Ghiberti and his grandson Buonaccorso [25. 30ff.] or Cronaca's illustration of Vitruvius's Doric portal [17]. At the court of Naples at the end of the 15th cent. a Vitruvius translation was prepared for F. di Giorgio. He copied it in his own hand and made excerpts from it as a basis for the second version of his treatise on architecture [14]. A manuscript by Pellegrino Prisciani, the librarian of d'Este who taught Isabella d'Este architecture as early as 1491 [21], bears testimony to early Vitruvius studies in Ferrara. The old ties between Alberti and the house of d'Este and then Isabella's link with Gian Cristoforo Romano must have reinforced this interest. In Milan the work on Vitruvius had already been documented in the Medieval cathedral stonemason's lodge. It was continued by Bramante, Gian Cristoforo Romano and others [17]. Studies of such kind gave rise to the splendidly produced translation of Vitruvius that Cesare Cesariano, who described himself as a student of Bramante, had printed in 1521 in Como. It comprises not just the translation but also numerous illustrations and a detailed commentary. At the beginning of the Renaissance the debate about Vitruvius at the Roman Curia (Alberti, Niccolò Perotti, G. Sulpicio and others) was particularly intensive. Around 1515/1520 Fabio Calvo translated Vitruvius at Raphael's house [13]. The high quality of this translation, occasional commentary and interpolations testify to the fact that extensive preliminary studies preceded this work. Notes written in Raphael's handwriting about the translation show that Humanists and artists discussed together the problems raised by Vitruvius. Around the same time as Raphael, Antonio da Sangallo also began studying Vitruvius [15; 17]. An enormous bundle of sketches and notes very vividly makes one aware how Antonio thought through difficult passages and looked for comparisons in ancient architecture. In 1531 and again in 1541 he planned to illustrate Vitruvius. But he did not get beyond a foreword. His brother Giovanni Battista realized the project on a more modest scale. In 1542 a group of Humanists formed in Rome with the aim of working on Vitruvius, re-emending his works, providing commentaries on them and illustrating them (*Accademia delle Virtù*). However only a carefully formulated programme was developed [26; 22]. None of these studies was published. Most influential in Italy were the Venetian studies of Vitruvius. The notes on architecture made by Albrecht Dürer during his stay in Italy, which are remarkably substantial for their time [12. Bk. II, 58–73], must be viewed against the background of the intensive studies of Vitruvius in Venice. The Venetian Humanist Silvano Morosini in particular is said to have completed a commentary on Vitruvius in 1495. The best Vitruvius commentary of the Renaissance was provided by the Venetian Humanist Daniele Barbaro in collaboration with the great architect Andrea Palladio, who did the illustrations (appeared from 1556 in many and varied editions in Venice). The voluminous and comprehensive, scholarly treatise on architecture published by Vincenzo Scamozzi in Venice in 1615 represents a certain end point in Vitruvius studies.

A new generation of French Vitruvius disciples profited from the flourishing antiquarian studies in Rome when they studied Antiquity there: Guillaume Philandrier (Vitruvius n., Lyon 1544) and de l'Orme. The Vitruvius editions that appeared on the other side of the Alps during the Renaissance were however not very independent. They were based to a large extent on Fra Giocondo and Cesariano (French Vitruvius translation

by Jean Martin 1547, Philandrier's Vitruvius edition 1552, Walter Ryff's German Vitruvius translation in 1543 etc.).

After the misunderstandings of the early phase, expert knowledge of Vitruvius developed set forms in the early 16th cent. Fra Giocondo's edition, Calvo's translation and Antonio da Sangallo's studies are the most important evidence of it. Now for the first time differentiated knowledge of column arrangements was disseminated. They had been used for 100 years according to the model of mainly ancient buildings –mostly without being distinguished from one another – and they formed by far the most striking element of the reception of Antiquity. Only now did people gradually accept that an element as exotic as external porticos of columns represented a typical element of temples. Then people developed a diagrammatic concept of the Vitruvian house that has essentially been preserved right through to today although it is questionable whether it is actually in keeping with Vitruvius's concept.

Around the middle of the 16th cent. the studies of Vitruvius and of Antiquity again made significant progress overall. On the one hand with the publication of the great collected works, they became much more widespread. On the other hand, with Barbaro and Palladio, Venetian studies took prominence over the central Italian ones. With the increasing distance from Antiquity, the temptation for the architect to reflect his own tradition back on to it diminished.

Despite the transformation in style in the 17th cent. AT did not change significantly. The aesthetic guidelines were borrowed from Antiquity as before. With the growing progress in engineering and science and the increasing conviction that the ancient level had been regained, the social importance of the Vitruvius studies waned and the innovative spirit that had initially inspired them likewise subsided. Stereotypical paraphrases of the known results were highlighted while discussions withdrew to specialized corners of the field.

C. Vitruvius Studies, France

Colbert initiated a revival of Vitruvius studies and of AT. The revival was part of the broadly and systematically laid out framework of cultural and educational policy that was aimed at stylizing France as the leading cultural nation in the West (illustrated Vitruvius translation with a commentary by Claude Perrault, 1684). On the one hand, interest in the high civilization of Rome now declined in favour of a return to Greece as the root of Western art. Vitruvius himself makes it clear that he is based very much in the Greek tradition. On the other hand, through Colbert, people rediscovered the Gothic style as their national heritage. Even the Vitruvius edition of Perrault testifies to this. It was essential to combine these two components so as to develop an AT appropriate for France. The basic laws of statics formed the connecting link. They appeared to be realized as much in Gothic style as in the Greek temple. However the Italian Renaissance was criticized for not having taken these into consideration. Discussion about this brilliant combination lasted well into the 18th cent. It was linked with building projects of national significance: initially with the city façade of the Louvre and ultimately with the church of St. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris

Colbert was already ensuring that Classical art works in Greece were recorded. However only in the course of the 18th cent. did large-scale expeditions to Greece begin. The French protagonist was Julien-David Le Roy who, on behalf of the French king, documented Greek buildings and published exact records of them for the first time (1758). Around the same time the temples of → Paestum were also rediscovered. Although these are well preserved and are situated in a prominent location, they were ignored throughout the whole of the Renaissance. The reason for the omission of the concrete manifestation of Greek architecture from the Western consciousness lay in the fact that – measured against what people knew, namely the Roman heritage – it appeared to them to be exotic and correspondingly repulsive. This can be seen in many reactions to the discovery of Greek architecture. One recognized that Vitruvius partly referred to this exotic architecture.

The disappointment about the true manifestation of Greek architecture (but also of the fine arts) intensified the dissolution of normative aesthetics that started to develop just before 1700. The distance from Vitruvius therefore grew. Increasingly he was transformed from a model to an archaic object.

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HUBERTUS GÜNTHER

Argumentation Theory

A. Definition B. Ancient Rhetoric C. History of Influence

A. Definition

Argumentation theory analyzes and describes the structures and methods of argumentation, in particular, rhetorical argumentation. In Antiquity, persuasion was generally regarded to be the purpose of a speech, and argumentation, in turn, was seen as an instrument of persuasion (cf. Plato's definition of rhetoric as *peíthus demiurgós* – 'master of persuasion', Gorg. 453 a). Its primary tasks are to identify what is probable and to generate plausibility. The ethical implications of the fact that persuasive speech is not necessarily identical with truthful speech (Plat. apol. 17a) have been discussed in argumentation theory ever since sophistic rhetoric in the 5th cent. BC demonstrated the psychological power of the spoken word (*Gorgias*). Within the rhetorical system of the ancient world, which divided the composition of a speech into five stages of production (*officia oratoris*), argumentation theory is part of the first two phases: the discovery (*inventio*) and arrangement (*dispositio*) of the arguments, and thus precedes, in terms of the chronology of the system, linguistic expression (*elocutio*), memorization (*memoria*) and delivery (*pronuntiatio*). It forms the starting point for the speaker in terms of content. Argumentation is the framework for presenting the speaker's case; however, its full effectiveness depends on an appropriate linguistic formulation (Quint. inst. 5,12,6): *inventio/dispositio* (content) and *elocutio* (form) were regarded in the ancient world as integral and inseparable components of rhetoric; argumentation theory is firmly rooted in the system, both as a guideline for putting forth an argument (applied rhetoric) and for analyzing argumentation (theory of rhetoric).

B. Ancient Rhetoric

1. Greek 2. Roman

1. Greek

As far back as sophistic rhetoric, techniques of argumentation were developed that were often aimed solely at achieving a rhetorical victory, without regard for truth or morality 'turning the weaker into the stronger'.

This gave rise to heated discussions of the possibilities, purposes and responsibility of rhetoric (Plato; Isocrates). It was not until Aristotle's structural analysis that argumentation theory first became the subject of scholarly study. In his 'Rhetoric', Aristotle made what remains today the most significant contribution in the history of ancient argumentation theory. The oldest existing textbook, the 'Rhetoric' of Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*c.* 340 BC), provided specific practical aids for argumentation in diverse situations; there was at the time no systematic treatment of the material. Soon thereafter, Aristotle developed in the first volume of his 'Rhetoric' a detailed theory of argumentation, starting with a critique of his predecessors whose writings failed to examine the most important subject: the presentation of evidence (Greek *pisteis*), a term that may mean either 'evidence/evidentiary procedure' or 'means of persuasion') (rhet. 1,1,1354 a 11ff.). He immediately identified a structural analogy between rhetoric and dialectics, whose procedures are examined in 'Topics' and 'Analytics'). Both provide ways of finding arguments, and both, in principle, utilize the same system of inference (1,2,1356 a 34ff.). Those familiar with dialectical inferences are already familiar with rhetorical inferences as well. They need only be aware of specific differences. Rhetoric was regarded as a specialized discipline within dialectics, while argumentation theory was a core element within rhetoric. The primary task of rhetoric is to identify what is convincing and plausible. That, in turn, must be based on what is generally recognized to be true; its subject is the realm of the doubtful and disputed ('things that may be a certain way but also otherwise'. 1,2,1357 a 1ff.). Aristotle distinguishes between two types of proof: the 'inartificial' (*átechnoi*), such as witnesses' testimony, written documents and the like, and the 'artificial' (*éntechnoi*), arguments that still have to be found. This distinction has also been adopted by Roman rhetoric (Cic. orat. 2,27,116; Quint. inst. 5,1,1). Persuasion through speech can occur in three ways: through the plausible self-presentation of the speaker (*ethos*), by creating an emotional mood (*pathos*) and through rational evidentiary processes (*logos*). Although objective-logical and emotional argumentation work together, it is *logos* that occupies a primary position when Aristotle draws upon the instruments of logic to describe and define the processes of argumentation.

All evidentiary processes are based either on inductive or deductive inferences. An inductive inference in dialectics has its rhetorical equivalent in an inference drawn from an example (*paradeigma*), while the dialectical deduction (syllogism) corresponds to the rhetorical enthymeme (1,2,1356 b 2ff.), a three-step process consisting of argument, inference and conclusion[29. 73ff.]. Aristotle attributes the highest degree of evidentiary value to this enthymeme. Unlike the syllogism, however, the aim of the enthymeme (also referred to, particularly in its expanded form, as epicheirema) is not to arrive at strictly logical proof of truth but, by

deducing from a generally recognized opinion, it seeks to determine what is probable (*eikós*); but not all of its steps must be carried out in their entirety. In addition to *paradeigma* and *eikos*, evidence is the third basis of inference. Using these distinctions, 'Aristotle carried out an analysis of the logical structure of argumentation that clearly remains valid today'[16. 919].

An important auxiliary discipline for rhetorical/dialectical inferences is the theory of topics or commonplaces. This is a link between logic and rhetoric which provides an inventory of argumentation patterns and plays a significant role in the further history of argumentation theory. Topoi (Latin *loci*, according to Quint. inst. 5,10,20, the *sedes argumentorum* – places where arguments are found) are based, according to Aristotle, on generally recognized values and patterns of thought that one may repeatedly refer to during the process of argumentation. With the help of normed categories, such as the topos from 'more or less', from an alternative action, from an analogy, or arguing from authority (rhet. 2,23,1397 b 14ff.), the theory of 'commonplaces constitutes' a store of conventionalized inferences that offers the speaker a labour-saving alternative to individual argumentation (Cic. orat. 2,130f.) [29. 87].

Because of the fragmentary nature of the rhetoric handed down from the Hellenistic and imperial periods, it is possible to construct only a rough sketch of the development of the theory of commonplaces and of argumentation theory after Aristotle's time. Theophrastus extended Aristotle's rhetorical teachings in the field of argumentation theory by compiling specific treatises on rhetorical inferences (enthymeme, epicheireme, *paradeigma*) (Diog. Laert. 5,2). Subsequently, questions of argumentation theory were taken up by a variety of disciplines: first, within the field of forensic rhetoric, Aristotle's rather general theory became more specialized, with increasing numbers of categories and a more finely tuned organization of the material. Here the influence of Hermagoras of Temnos (2nd cent. BC) was particularly felt, as his doctrine of *status* had a strong influence on Roman rhetoric.

This doctrine offered a kind of pattern [17. 103], consisting of questions (*status*, Greek *staseis*) one could pose in a juridical context to clarify the goal of the argumentation. They dealt with such issues as identification of the perpetrator; details of the incident, judgement regarding the deed and admissibility of the complaint or action. Moreover, argumentation theory maintained its close links to philosophical logic in the linguistic philosophy of the Stoa, who subdivided logic into rhetoric and dialectics, as disciplines with related aims, while excluding *pathos* as a means of rhetorical persuasion. The theory of syllogistic inference was further developed primarily by Chrysippus [30. 49ff.].

2. Roman

Although Roman rhetoric was based to a large degree on the Greek system and also retained much of the Greek terminology, there are nonetheless significant trends characteristic of Roman rhetoric. First, the specialization of legal rhetoric continued. The *status* doctrine became an integral part of rhetoric, and argumentation theory was adapted to meet legal needs. At the same time, the speaker's personality became a more central focus (Cicero), which led to a decline in the importance of logical argumentation.

A more practical orientation is apparent as early as Cicero's 'Rhetoric for Herennius' (*c.* 86–82 BC). Here argumentation theory is presented as a guide for argumentation in a forensic speech (2,2): 'which arguments, referred to by the Greeks as *epicheiremata*, should be selected and which should be avoided'. At the center is the *status* doctrine with the evidentiary commonplace (1,18–2,26), followed by a division of the argumentation into five sections: *propositio* (subject or putting forth the thesis), *ratio* (arguments based on logic and reason), *rationis confirmatio* (supporting arguments for the *ratio*), *exornatio* (additional embellishments) and *complexio* (summary) (2,27–46). Similarly, Cicero (inv. 1,57ff.) distinguishes propositio, *propositionis adprobatio* (proving the thesis), *adsumptio* (inference), *adsumptionis adprobatio* (proving the inference)and *complexio* as parts of the *ratiocinatio* or epicheirema). This, in turn, corresponds to a deductive argumentation, extending, in effect, the Aristotelian enthymeme by adding two supporting elements providing additional confirmation that are adapted to meet the needs of a forensic speech. Later, Quintilian reduced this number to three, or at least two elements (inst. 5,14,5f.). Unlike Aristotle, the theory of commonplaces in the *Rhetoric for Herennius* does not offer universal patterns of argumentation, but specializes in legal matters. Where Aristotle examined the logical structure of argumentation, the 'Rhetoric for Herennius' describes its linear progression and reveals a tendency toward segmentation and the development of new branches.

For Cicero, learned and systematic argumentation theory is of less importance than the persuasive power of the speaker's personality. (The ideal is the *orator perfectus*). The best arguments are not predetermined by a system of theories but are found through reasoning and experience (orat. 2,175). A great deal depends on powers of judgement. Referring to the Stoa, Cicero separates the *ratio iudicandi* (assessment of arguments), which corresponds to dialectics, from the heuristics of the theory of commonplaces (*ratio inveniendi*) (top. 2,6). Persuasion is a complex process whose elements *probare* (logical proofs), *conciliare* (arousing the audience's sympathy) and *movere* (moving the audience) reestablish the Aristotelian triad of persuasive means (orat. 2,115), albeit with a different emphasis. *Ethos* and *pathos*, for Cicero, are part of the profile of a persuasive speaker who seeks to win over the audience for his entire person. They serve to produce sympathy and/or to rouse the audience to action and form a second level of persuasion beyond argumentation in a narrower sense (part. 46; orat. 128). Accordingly, a significant share of rhetorical reflection (orat. 2,178ff.) is fo-

cused on the *captatio benevolentiae* (gaining good will) (inv. 2,22) and on controlling the emotions of the audience.

In the 1st cent. AD, Quintilian considers the question of argumentation theory in detail, although not always with terminological precision. He adopts the division into *probatio* (logical argumentation) and *adfectus* or *ethos/pathos* (inst. 6,2,4ff.). The *probatio* occurs through *signa, argumenta* or *exempla* (inst. 5,9,1; cf. the Aristotelian division into sign, *eikos* and *paradeigma* argumentation), and its logical structure is based on four basic patterns (inst. 5,8,7). For Quintilian, the concept *argumentum* corresponds to the Greek terms enthymeme, epicheireme and apodixis; its function is to clarify disputed questions by using undisputed facts (5,10,1ff.). Quintilian's analyses are also geared to practical goals; accordingly, his catalogue of topoi, with its fine distinctions, is concretely pragmatic (5,10,37ff.).

C. History of Influence

1. Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 2. Renaissance and the Modern Age 3. Modern Times

1. Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

The authors of Late Antiquity handed down the tenets of argumentation theory to the Middle Ages, sometimes as part of a complete system of rhetorical theories that was based mainly on the works of Cicero and Quintilian (Martianus Capella; Chirius Fortunatianus; Iulius Victor; Emporius). Sometimes, in the context of related disciplines such as dialectics or logic, it was above all Augustine and Boethius who were of far-reaching significance. Both were rooted in the tradition of ancient systematics and paved the way for further developments. Augustine influenced mainly the rhetoric of the Middle Ages, while Boethius, who studied argumentation theory in the field of dialectics, was the principal source for medieval logic.

Augustine (AD 354–430), who laid the groundwork for medieval sermon rhetoric (*ars praedicandi*) in the fourth book of *De doctrina christiana*, dealt in his early systematic works with argumentation theory (*Principia dialecticae; Principia rhetorices*), as the Stoa had before him, with the distinction between rhetoric (*scientia bene dicendi*) and dialectics (*scientia bene disputandi*), without subordinating the former to the latter. In Christian rhetoric, argumentation theory, in the narrow dialectical sense, became less important because the system in ancient times had developed a theory of proof and disproof (pro and con argumentation) that no longer seemed easily applicable to the goals of Christian homiletics.

Emotional influence, which Cicero had already placed on an equal footing with logical argument, was now considered to be of greater importance. Boethius (AD 480–525) also distinguishes between dialectics and rhetoric; however, he does not view them as equally important but rather postulates the primacy of dialectics. In his *De topicis differentiis* (PL 64, 1174) he distinguishes between argument (content) and argumentation (formal structure) and, on the basis of the ancient definition of topos as a place in which arguments are found, he divides the theory of commonplaces into a dialectical (Books One and Two) and a rhetorical system (Book Four). Dialectical topoi are used for the purpose of discussing general questions (*théseis*), rhetorical topoi for examining specific cases (*hypothéseis*). This conception of the theory of commonplaces owes more to Roman than to Aristotelian thought. It follows, then, that dialectics is more universal than rhetoric, which applies dialectical methods only to concrete cases. However, this means that the structural analogy drawn by Aristotle continues to be valid.

The perpetuation of ancient argumentation theory in separate disciplines was preceded by the development of argumentation theory, first, in the narrow, logical sense, which leads to dialectics and ultimately to scholastic logic; and second, in a complex sense, encompassing *ethos* and *pathos*, leading to medieval sermon theory. The 'Aristotelian school' [27. 42] of argumentation theory became part of medieval philosophy, as in the works of John of Salisbury, through the mediation of Boethius, who devoted himself primarily to Aristotle's logic and systematic writings. The development of the medieval theory of disputation, as expressed, for example, in the works of Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologica*, 1267–1273), is influenced in particular by the logic and systematical writings of Aristotle (top.; soph. el.), while the theories of argumentation logic contained in his 'Rhetoric' until William of Moerbeke's Latin translation (1270), survive only in the tradition of Arabic commentary. Thus, for example, Al-Farabi distinguishes in his commentary on Aristotelian rhetoric in the 9th cent. *logica demonstrativa, tentativa, sophistica, rhetorica* and *poetica*) [27. 91f.]. In contrast, the Roman Ciceronian school becomes a model for the applied rhetoric of the Middle Ages.

In his treatise *Metalogicus* (1159) [3], which owes much to the rhetoric and dialectics of the ancient world, John of Salisbury addresses questions of argumentation theory but does not treat rhetoric as an independent discipline. He defines argumentation in the classical tradition as proof or disproof of a disputed issue (2,4) and distinguishes, following Boethius, between analytical logic (*logica demonstrativa*) and rhetorical, dialectical logic (*logica probabilis*). Logic as an overarching concept is defined as *loquendi vel disserendi ratio* (1,10); hence it fulfills the tasks which ancient theoreticians assigned either to rhetoric or dialectics. Grammar serves a propaedeutic function for logic. While here the task of achieving plausibility, which was part of ancient argumentation theory, is still present in a subcategory of logic, later medieval treatises on logic shift their focus to purely analytical logic, in which the communicative aspect of rhetorical argumentation is no longer significant.

With the emergence of new genera, the significance of argumentation theory and the theory of commonplaces, which became simply catalogues of commonplaces, both decline in medieval instruction in rhetoric; practically no further theoretical development occurs. Within the trivium, rhetoric is considered less important than grammar and dialectics; indeed, it is frequently not taught at all as an independent discipline. The ancient system of theories is broken down and assigned to different fields, and '... classical rhetoric as a theory of public argumentation did not exist in the Middle Ages' [16. 950].

2. Renaissance and the Modern Age

Among the numerous Renaissance treatises on rhetoric (between 1400 and 1700 some 2,500 were published) there are, in addition to works in which argumentation theory is an integral part of the system, also those that consciously exclude argumentation theory, as well as others in which it is overshadowed by thematic specialization. Abundant production leads to a variety of types, dominated by three basic ones: first, argumentation rhetoric, represented by the 'humanistic-philological' type, which preserved the classical canon of Roman rhetoric; second, the rhetorical-dialectical type, *elocutio* rhetoric, which concerns itself exclusively with the linguistic-stylistic side of rhetoric; and third, specialized rhetoric, which concentrates on certain fields, such as sermons, letters, or poetry [16. 960f.; 14. 119ff.]. One model in particular, Cicero's ideal speaker, did not require a systematic argumentation theory. General rhetoric increasingly became stylistic rhetoric, and questions of argumentation theory are frequently excluded from rhetoric. Important in the history of argumentation theory is Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* (1485 – 1515) [1], which develops a dialectics that refers back to the rhetorical argumentation theory of the ancient world and treats parts of a speech, *dispositio*, parts of the argument and the theory of emotion. The theory of commonplaces is also dealt with in detail. For Agricola argumentation belongs in the context of a situation requiring communication and seeks to achieve plausibility. The most important task is to inform the listener, and this is to be achieved by means of convincing and plausible argumentation. He classifies *inventio* and *dispositio*, as aspects of argumentation under dialectics, a consequence of the overlapping of the content of rhetoric and dialectics. Even in the ancient world this had caused classification problems for theoreticians.

Like Boethius, Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), in his writings on rhetoric and dialectics (*Elementa rhetorices; Erotemata dialectices*) [5; 6], distinguishes between the two disciplines based on specialization (rhetoric), on the one hand, and universality (dialectics), on the other, but regards *inventio* as part of both sciences. The rhetorical *inventio* refers to the four types of speeches: forensic, advisory, praise and didactic. Under dialectical *inventio* he treats general questions. It is primarily in dialectics that he discusses structural problems of argumentation theory, such as the relationship of enthymeme and example to syllogism and induction, while in his rhetorical treatise argumentation theory is given far less attention compared to the more comprehensive treatment of the components of a speech and the *elocutio*. For Melanchthon, the theory of commonplaces is, above all, an important instrument for biblical exegesis. As in Roman rhetoric, from which it derives, Melanchthon distinguishes between object topoi (*loci rerum*) and person topoi (*loci personarum*).

Finally, some Renaissance rhetoricians confine rhetoric to *elocutio* and *actio*, completely excluding argumentation theory, following the tradition of medieval logic. Others, with direct links to the ancient world, such as humanists venerating Cicero, seek to maintain the complete system of rhetorical theories, of which *inventio* and *dispositio* are integral parts.

A central role in this split was played by Peter Ramus (1515–1572), who in a polemic against Quintilian (*Rhetoricae distinctiones in Quintilianum*) sought to prove that argumentation theory should not be part of rhetoric. *Inventio* and *dispositio* are exclusively a subject of dialectics (*dialecticae partes propriae*) [7. 30]. Since every science has its own subject, argumentation theory cannot be part of both rhetoric and dialectics. Here Ramus clearly expresses his view on a problem of classification that has been present at some level throughout the history of argumentation theory. It is rooted above all in the dual function of argumentation theory, which is both to analyze the material and to provide practical guidelines. His *Dialectique* (1555) [8], equates dialectics (*disputer*) and logic (*raisoner*) and contains many elements of ancient argumentation theory, such as the treatment of unartifical evidence and rules for the use of means of rhetorical persuasion.

Ramus, Melanchthon and Agricola are part of the Aristotelian-scholastic tradition and thus find themselves confronted with a problem that is rooted in Aristotle's conception. His treatment of dialectics and rhetorical *inventio* as structurally equivalent led to the question whether argumentation theory is part of rhetoric at all. But Aristotle had built the structure of rhetoric on the foundation of argumentation theory, while argumentation theory had now become completely divorced from rhetoric.

Ramus and his successors, Audomarus Taleaus and Antoine Fouquelier, provided an impulse leading to the rise of many stylistic rhetorics that were limited to *elocutio*. The rhetoric taught in the schools, however, was still primarily the Classical rhetoric that handed down elements canonized by the ancient world. In Baroque theory, argumentation theory was again considered part of rhetoric. The definitive works of the period were the *Ars rhetorica* (1560) of Cyprian Soarez, which provided the foundation for Jesuit rhetorical teaching, and the *Rhetoric* of Gerhard Johannes Vossius (1605). Both relied on authorities in Antiquity, quoting from Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. In seeking to establish a complete system, however, they tended to be strongly

schematic. The ancient system found support from B. Gibert, who in his 1725 outline of ancient and modern rhetoric, *Jugemens des Savans sur les auteurs qui ont traité de la Rhétorique*, in contrast to Ramus, conceded to rhetoric its own *inventio* and *dispositio*, because it focused not only on persuading the intellect, as is dialectics, but also on steering the will (182f.). Accordingly, regarding *inventio* and *dispositio* as parts of dialectics does not rule out the possibility that rhetoric has such components as well.

The Enlightenment brought about a general devaluation of rhetoric, particularly of rhetorical argumentation theory. Influenced by Descartes' (1596–1670) theory of knowledge, the view gained prominence that rhetorical argumentation did not serve the search for truth but rather deception and manipulation. It was felt that inferences leading only to plausibility failed to deliver precise results and were incapable of yielding knowledge [29. 143]. This meant a clear shift in values from the beliefs of the ancient world. Procedures that were meant to produce plausibility in matters admitting of no ultimate certainty and thus to offer help in reaching a decision were now viewed as an instrument that deliberately obscured the truth. In his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* Kant sharply denounced rhetoric as the *Kunst, ... durch den schönen Schein zu hintergehen ... als Kunst sich der Schwächen der Menschen zu seinen Absichten zu bedienen, ... gar keiner Achtung würdig* ([the] 'art ... of deceiving by a beautiful illusion .... The art of the orator, as the art of making use of human weaknesses for one's own purposes... is worthy of no respect whatsoever') [53]. The type of logic that was developed at the Cistercian convent at Port-Royal continued the tradition in which argumentation theory was viewed as part of dialectics. Angélique Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, in their *La logique ou l'art de penser* (1662/1683) [2], criticized the theory of commonplaces as being of no use to logic. Their aim was to free argumentation theory from all rhetoric in the classical sense, since such rhetoric serves not logic, but other interests. Instead, they championed *véritable rhétorique* (true rhetoric), a purely analytical-logical process guided by the search for truth.

Bernard Lamy, who dealt in his work *De l'art de parler*,(1676) [4], first with *elocutio* (*l'art de parler*), then with argumentation theory (*l'art de persuader*), attempted to reconcile rhetoric and the rationality of the Enlightenment by giving special attention to *ethos* and *pathos*. In addition to rational argumentation, he considered it necessary to arouse emotion, thus enabling it to perform its cathartic function and liberate the spirit, encouraging it in its search for the truth. However, Lamy shared the view that the theory of commonplaces is useless for argumentation, since its procedures cannot replace real knowledge, and he argues in favour of profound familiarity with facts instead of a range of methods in argumentation (279ff.). The theory of commonplaces was then rehabilitated by Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), who argues that in human intellectual development discovery precedes judgement. In his view the theory of commonplaces, or *ars orationis copiosae* ('the art of verbose speech'), should be distinguished from critique, or *ars verae orationis* ('the art of truthful speech') [9. 28f.]. The commonplace method corresponds to human nature; 'the theory of commonplaces is the discipline that makes the intellect creative, while criticism makes it precise' [10. 101]. However, despite this attempt and others to enhance the status of argumentation theory, or at least some portions thereof, it never regained the position it had occupied in the ancient system.

3. Modern Times

Along with the general decline of rhetoric that began in the mid-eighteenth cent., construction of new theories largely ceased; argumentation theory now existed almost exclusively as a subject for logic and linguistic philosophy. It was not until the 'renaissance' of rhetoric in the 20th cent., starting in the 1930s in the United States with the *New Rhetoric* and after the war in Europe, that rhetorical argumentation theory was rediscovered as a scholarly discipline. It was of essential importance in this context that concepts such as consensus or 'universally accepted opinion' gain recognition as intellectually valid operational factors. This had been denied them by the scientism of the previous century in its focus on precise verifiability. Many modern theories assume that argumentation is necessary for consensus and decision-making ability as a basis for human society, which legitimizes argumentation theory as a intellectual discipline. Modern argumentation theory is the subject of various disciplines that are related to or touch on rhetoric, such as philosophy, sociology, communication science, political science, law, linguistics and literary scholarship. Many new concepts and perspectives are emerging, but they frequently contain elements of ancient argumentation theory, sometimes in the form of specific references, sometimes in analogies inherent to the material.

Of fundamental importance for legal, as well as general argumentation theory is Theodor Viehweg (*Topik und Jurisprudenz*, 1954), who, starting from criticism of traditional legal axioms, describes an inventive theory of commonplaces ('Tēchné des Problemdenkens') as a methodological basis for jurisprudence. His theory draws on the theory of commonplaces of the ancient world (Aristotle; Cicero). The Viehweg school gave rise to topos catalogues in the realm of jurisprudence, but their meaning has been called into question [11; 34]. If Viehweg's approach is geared to practical use, then that of another basic work of modern argumentation theory, *Traité de l'argumentation* by Chaim Perelman und Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958), is structurally analytical. Contemporary argumentation theory, too, retains the ancient differentiation between guidelines and analysis. Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca attempt to construct a kind of argumentation logic from the procedures used in the Humanities and in jurisprudence to examine the structure of everyday argu-

mentation, whose basic pattern, as with ancient enthymeme, is deductive. They develop a consensus theory, with consent of the universal audience being the gauge of the success of an argument, and they posit that a good argument leads inevitably to general consent. They also discuss the premises of argumentation, i.e.,the classification of *accords*, or generally conceded views, values and facts, as well as its techniques, such as linking and dissociating concepts as ways of drawing inferences.

Important in the realm of linguistic argumentation theory are the studies by Stephen Toulmin (*The Uses of Argument*, 1958), which, while not based on the rhetorical tradition, show considerable resemblance to ancient argumentation theory. Toulmin distinguishes between deductive *warrant-using arguments* and inductive *warrant-establishing arguments*, similar to M. Kienpointner's 'inferential-rule-using' and 'inferential-rule-establishing' argumentation patterns [23], which correspond to the Aristotelian enthymeme or *paradeigma* inference. The triad of argument, inference (in modern argumentation theory, inferential rule) and conclusion (according to Toulmin, *grounds, warrant, claim*) is supplemented by an element (*backing*) that provides additional reasons or support for the inference and thus serves a function comparable to that of *rationis confirmatio* or *adsumptionis adprobatio* (additional confirmation) of the ancient *epicheirema* (cf. Rhet. Her. 2,28ff; Cic. inv. 1,57ff.). New aspects in Toulmin's work are 'modality,' which allows for fine linguistic nuances (reinforcement or qualification) and *rebuttal*, in which any necessary limitations are formulated. In more recent years, a radicalization of linguistic argumentation theory can be observed, in which speaking and argumentation are considered the same (e.g. in the work of O. Ducrot). Certain concepts tempt one to draw certain inferences, and to this degree language is always argumentative. This approach 'implies that the vocabulary of a language is conceived as an area within the theory of commonplaces in which the topoi attached to each word are organized in their structural relationships' [16. 984].

Argumentation theory is viewed from an ethical standpoint in the communication theory of Jürgen Habermas. Habermas, too, sees the aim of argumentation in eliminating dispute or producing consensus and calls for 'rationally motivated agreement'. He lists four universal requirements for validity in argumentation: that it be understandable, sincere, true and correct. In this regard, any statement can be examined for its acceptability [19]. The language must be understandable, the speaker sincere, the statement accurate in substance and normatively correct, i.e., in keeping with the value system of the interlocutor. In ancient rhetoric, these requirements are divided among the areas of *elocutio, ethos, logos* and, insofar as value norms are at issue, the theory of commonplaces.

Examples of links to the Aristotelian theory of argumentative inferences are found in recent times in the work of G. Öhlschläger (*Linguistische Überlegungen zu einer Theorie des Argumentierens*, 1979) and M. Kienpointner (*Alltagslogik*, 1992). The latter sees the enthymeme as the prototype of every argumentation process. Kienpointner has also undertaken a classification of topoi that includes main and sub-classifications. Its content is based in large measure on the ancient theory of commonplaces. Ancient argumentation theory, like ancient rhetoric as a whole (particularly Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian), is of definitive authority even today in introductory or descriptive works that seek to acquaint the reader with the substance and systematics of rhetoric in general [29]. Rhetorical argumentation theory in this context is usually presented in the form of ancient argumentation theory.

→ Argumentatio
→ Ciceronianism; → Figures theory of; → Logic; → Rhetoric IV.

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Aristocracy see→ Constitution, types of

Aristotelianism

A. Introduction B. Greek Aristotelianism C. Arabic Aristotelianism D. Latin Aristotelianism of the Middle Ages E. Renaissance Aristotelianisms F. Modern Aristotle Research G. Reception of Aristotle in the 20th Cent.

A. Introduction

The term 'Aristotelianism' refers to a particular form of philosophy, named after Aristotle, that was already developed during Antiquity and that has had adherents up through the modern era. Aristotelianism emphasises the theoretical sciences over the practical ones and the synthetic representation of knowledge as a system derived from principles that are already known as opposed to the analytical search for principles of synthetic representation. In this sense, Aristotelianism is a highly developed form of the reception of Aristotle's philosophy that is much narrower in scope than the set of references – whether marginal or central – to aspects of Aristotle's teachings and to his individual writings. In the history of philosophy, Aristotelian theories have been, and to some extent still are, employed and discussed in → logic, → metaphysics and → natural philosophy as well as in → practical philosophy and political philosophy; this does not, however, mean that such discourses can be described as instances of Aristotelianism. Aristotelian → rhetoric and poetics (→ Tragedy) have also had an inestimable influence on those disciplines.

B. Greek Aristotelianism

By focusing on empirical research in the sciences of nature, ethics and politics, the older representatives of Peripatos carried forward an approach to scientific inquiry that was grounded in the co-operative search for concrete data. From around the beginning of the Common Era, however, the encyclopaedic aspect of Peripatetic philosophy became increasingly important as a result of new scientific activity during late Antiquity. As a result of the Neoplatonic understanding of Aristotle as an introduction to the higher wisdom of Plato, the Aristotelian encyclopaedia of science was transformed into a closed system. Proclus (*c.* 410–485), in his *Elementatio theologica* and *Elementatio physica*, presents his conclusions, with regard to the forms of substance according to the geometric method proposed by Aristotle and carried out by Euclid, in such a way that they form the 'elements' of a continuous chain. This 'synthetic' descent from principles to conclusions assumes, according to Proclus, an 'analytic' ascent behind all hypotheses to the sole principle of everything. However, by using the Platonic *Hen* as the first principle, Proclus broke with the fundamental axiom of Aristotelian science according to which all insight proceeds from previously existing knowledge.

At approximately the same time, Aristotle's logic was expanded by Neoplatonic authors in such a way as to include his *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as well. In this way, Simplicius (6th cent.), the last important representative of the school of Athens, was able to regard poetic, rhetorical and dialectical argumentation as different stages of participation in the ideal of absolute demonstration. The Neoplatonic understanding of Aristotle gave rise to a rich tradition of commentary in the Greek and Syrian languages.

C. Arabic Aristotelianism

Aristotle's works appeared in Islam as early as the second half of the 8th cent. The Arabic reception of Aristotle was based on an interest in Greek medicine. Aristotle's categorisation of science presented a structure in which classical authors like Hippocrates and Galen, Euclid and Ptolemy all had a place. With the founding of the *bayt al-hikma* ('House of Wisdom') in Bagdad in the year 830 by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mûn (786–833), practically the entire corpus of Aristotelian works that had been preserved (except the *Eudemian Ethics*, *Magna Moralia* and *Politics*) became available, along with its Greek commentators. This corpus laid a uniform foundation for Islamic Aristotelianism from Persia to Spain. In Baghdad there was, up until the 10th cent., an established tradition of the study

of the logic and of the natural philosophical writings. Few commentaries on practical philosophy were written, since Aristotle's works were seen primarily as propaedeutics for the study of medicine [31].

The synthetic representation of an area of inquiry was, in accordance with Aristotle's and Euclid's methodology, used with great success in Arabic natural philosophical works, e.g. in the *Optics* by Alhazen (965–c. 1040) [2]. The shift in the Aristotelian theory of science in the direction of a first principle, which goes back to Proclus, was not followed in Islam. Even though the 'Book of Causes '(Lat. *Liber de causis*, *c.* 9th cent. [3]), which was erroneously attributed to Aristotle and which described the universe's structure according to the method of logical deduction from a first, highest principle, posited a creator god in place of the Platonic Hen, it had no effect in Islam.

From the beginning, Arabic philosophers understood Aristotle's books about natural philosophy and metaphysics as parts of a larger philosophical framework. Arabic Aristotelianism arose from the contact between this 'rational' science and the 'traditional scholarship of the Arabs' (Koran, Arabic language and dialectical theology = *kalâm*). *Kalâm* had come into being in the 9th and 10th cents. as an answer to heresies that were arising in Islam. It was the theologians' task to provide believers with logical evidence for their faith. The first attempt to integrate the 'science of the Arabs' into the Aristotelian categorisation of knowledge was undertaken by Alfarabi (*c.* 870–950) in his *Catalogue of Sciences* [1]. While the philosophical theory of God was being incorporated into the speculative science of metaphysics, *Kalâm* as practical science served to defend the tenets of faith. A century later, Avicenna (980–1037) undertook a reform of theology according to the Aristotelian theory of demonstrative science. He tried to understand *Kalâm* not solely as apologetics but rather as Aristotelian metaphysics. He accordingly listed those types of premises that are permitted in the various forms of argumentation. If the theory of God is to be presented scientifically (that is demonstratively, not dialectically or rhetorically), then only axioms, sensory data and the unanimous agreement of Islamic tradition can serve as principles.

Aristotelianism in the strict sense of the word came into full flower with Averroes' (1126–1198) commentaries. In Averroes' opinion, Aristotle's demonstrative arguments lead to true and certain conclusions. The Aristotelian writings, Averroes stated, synthetically represented philosophical truth; just as Euclid completed geometry, so had Aristotle completed the speculative sciences. In cases in which the evidence leads to conclusions that clearly contradict Islamic theology, it was necessary to differentiate, according to Averroes, between a more exoteric meaning for the many and an esoteric meaning that is comprehensible only to a small elite. Philosophy was the profession of this intellectual elite, whose God-given task was to freely strive for truth. By the 14th cent., however, this elite as well as its scientific writings disappeared in Islam.

Aristotelian science was also used in medieval Judaism. In Spain and southern France, Hebrew translators made accessible the Islamic corpus of Aristotle's work as well as the associated commentaries by Averroes and the medical works that accompanied them. When conflicts arose between philosophy and the Jewish faith, some thinkers, among whom Moses Maimonides (1135–1204) is the most significant, argued that philosophical thought must proceed in accordance with the theory of demonstrative science without regard to theological teachings. In spite of this view there was in the 14th cent. within Judaism an increasingly critical evaluation of Aristotelian teachings in light of faith, and this in turn contributed to the development of a new scientific worldview.

D. Latin Aristotelianism of the Middle Ages

In the Latin West, Aristotle's works were made accessible and dealt with in three clearly differentiated phases. 1. The first phase began in the 6th cent. with the translation of the Aristotelian writings on logic by Boethius (*c.* 480–*c.* 524); in the monastic schools these were understood primarily as an introduction to the study of the Bible. 2. The 'scholastic' phase of Latin Aristotelianism began in the 12th cent. with gradual translation, first from the Arabic and later from the Greek, of practically the entire corpus of the science of Antiquity. In this phase the reception of Aristotle was greatly influenced by Averroes' synthetic understanding of science. 3. The last phase fell within the Renaissance era. It focused largely on addressing the irregularities that made the one-sided scholastic concept of science increasingly untenable [26].

In the scholastic Phase, Aristotle's works were received in connection with a comprehensive attempt to absorb the worldly knowledge of Greece, Judaism and Islam. The translations of the 12th and 13th cents. contributed significantly to the overall store of knowledge in the Middle Ages: Euclid, Ptolemy, Hippocrates and Galen, but above all Aristotle's books together with Averroes' commentaries. Already prior to translation of the Aristotelian corpus, the *magistri* of the new urban schools were led by Boethius in their search for a scientific conception that would include a systematic representation of philosophical and theological knowledge. Boethius understood science in the Aristotelian sense as a teaching that starts from first principles and proceeds by means of strict proofs to true and certain conclusions. Early scholastic authors were motivated by Boethius, and later by Euclid as well, to develop a general theory of scientific method from that model.

At the beginning of the 13th cent., Aristotle's natural philosophical books (including *Metaphysics* and *Liber de causis*) were available in the Latin West. But already in 1210 and 1215 the *libri naturales* were condemned in Paris. It seems as if these condemnations were not only directed at individual teachings of Aristotle's such as that of the eternity of the world, but also at the Proclian

idea of a science based on first principles that had been transmitted by the Islamic *Liber de causis*. The *Regulae caelestis iuris* by Alain von Lille (d. *c.* 1203) resembles the axiomatic approach to inquiry. However, since that work – like 'De causis' – does not presuppose any axioms or postulates at the outset, Alain created the impression that his work was an attempt to prove articles of faith that were unprovable for Christians.

The fact that these condemnations between 1215 and 1255, when the Aristotelian corpus finally found acceptance in Paris, were for the most part observed, means that those 40 years were of decisive importance for the formulation of the scholastic method. Since Aristotle's logic was explicitly excluded from the condemnations, the *magistri artium* increasingly directed their attention to the theory of science of the *Second Analytics*. They worked on an axiomatic representation of the disciplines of the Quadrivium (especially on optics as a science subordinated to geometry), while the theologians for their part were seeking to justify their subject area not on the basis of *regulae* like those of Alain, but rather on the basis of articles of faith as axioms that were evident through revelation – unprovable, to be sure, yet certain nonetheless [24].

The foundation for the scientific progress of the 13th and 14th cents. was laid in the year 1255, when Aristotle's logic, natural philosophy and ethics were required for lectures at the Faculty of Arts in Paris. From that point on, Aristotle's works determined the structure of the philosophical teachings at the medieval → UNIVERSITIES. One of the first to pay attention to the entire corpus of Aristotelian knowledge was Albert the Great (*c.* 1200–1280). His paraphrases of all of Aristotle's basic works prepared the way for the extensive commentary literature by means of which the Middle Ages appropriated Aristotelian thought.

In the course of the next century extraordinary progress was made in natural philosophy. Aristotelian physics provided both the philosophical principles and the encyclopaedic structure for this development. The newly translated commentaries of Averroes, who understood Aristotle's works as a synthetic representation of philosophical truth, contributed to the solidification of Aristotle's rank as il maestro di color che sanno (Dante, Inferno 4,131). The progress extended to Aristotelian practical philosophy. New translations of *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* from the Greek opened up a new way of perceiving human purpose and of conceiving of the state as secular [20].

The theologians, for their part, sought to justify a *concordia* between revealed teachings and the philosophical truth as represented by Aristotle and Averroes. Thomas of Aquinas (1225–1274) claimed, for apologetic purposes, that Aristotelian science on the one hand and the teaching of Christian revelation on the other were basically in agreement with one another. The acceptance of Christian doctrine was supposed to appear rational, since it agreed with basic philosophical suppositions like the existence of God and the immortality of the human soul, both of which, for example, Aristotle was assumed to have proven.

In the year 1277, however, the bishop of Paris (Etienne Tempier) condemned 219 tenets, most of which represented Aristotelian positions [5]. For this reason, the condemnation had far-reaching effects on both theology and philosophy in the late Middle Ages. The fact that many of Aristotle's ideas contradicted Catholic teachings – his determinism, his theory of the eternity of the world as well as the uncertainty of his theory regarding the immortality of the soul – made it possible for philosophers to free the science of nature, to a certain degree, from its close adherence to Aristotle's authority in philosophical questions [17].

With that condemnation as a backdrop, Joannes Duns Scotus (1265–1308) defined the subject of Aristotelian metaphysics as a theory of being in such a way that it became a critique of the Aristotelian theory of speculative science. Whereas Aristotle was able to draw conclusions solely within the realm of physics, Scotus claimed that the first object of reason was not sensory reality but rather being as such. This determination makes possible the investigation of physical reality in a metaphysical manner, as finite being subject to change (*ens mobile*), in contrast to the consideration of the *corpus mobile* in physics as understood by Aristotle.

By means of these and similar modifications of Aristotle's theory of speculative science it became possible for the philosophers of the 14th cent. to go beyond Aristotle in the natural sciences. Thinkers like Johannes Buridan (*c.* 1295–*c.* 1358) were able, with the support of the Aristotelian idea that all science is autonomous within its own field, to develop theories in → PHYSICS, like the theory of the movement of a projectile, that were not dependent on Aristotle's views. Meanwhile, mathematicians like Nikolaus Oresme (*c.* 1320–1382) were able to turn their attention to areas that Aristotle had neglected and to develop, for example, new theories of proportions and infinite series [28].

E. Renaissance Aristotelianisms

The Aristotelianism of the clerical elite of the Middle Ages was based on a unified view of the wold that completely fell apart with the rise of new social groupings in the → RENAISSANCE, meaning that we must speak not of *one* Aristotelianism but rather of *various* Aristotelianisms for the period of 1450–1650 [12].

This third phase of Latin Aristotle reception began in 1438 with a treatise by the Byzantine philosopher Georgios Gemistos Pletho (*c.* 1360–1452) about Plato's precedence over Aristotle [6]. Pletho accused the Latinists of erroneously interpreting Aristotle as if his teachings agreed with Christian theology. Pletho stated that there was no idea of a provident creator god or of the immortality of the human soul to be found in Aristotle. He traced the Latinists' mistakes back to the Arab Averroes, who had claimed that Aristotle's works represented the completion of natural philosophy. In the Renaissance, Pletho's reproaches brought about a revolu-

tion in the Latin understanding of Aristotle. Facilitated by Byzantine thinkers who brought to Italy an Aristotle as yet unknown to the scholastics, Latin scholars from the middle of the 15th cent. onward produced new editions of the Greek text of Aristotle as well as new Latin and vernacular translations of his works. They furthermore created Greek editions and Latin translations of practically the entire corpus of ancient Greek commentaries. [26]. Finally, they wrote new commentaries on the Aristotelian corpus. It is noteworthy that the number of Latin Aristotle commentaries that were written during the century between Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) and Galileo (1564–1642) is greater that that of those written during the entire millennium from Boethius to Pomponazzi.

In the 16th cent., new scientific interests led various scholars to consider individual works by Aristotle without taking into account his overall organisation of science. In Italy professional philosophers at the universities turned their attention to the natural philosophical and the zoological writings (→ ZOOLOGY). Humanistic scholars took up Aristotelian moral philosophy, while those who were interested in literature studied the 'Poetics'. Scholars concerned with constitutional reforms referred to Aristotelian logic in order to find new ways to interpret their legal doctrines. The Aristotelian *Politics* received new attention all over Europe, practically without any reference to other components of Aristotle's works [19].

1. CATHOLIC ARISTOTELIANISM 2. SECULAR ARISTOTELIANISM IN ITALY 3. BAROQUE SCHOLASTICISM 4. LUTHERAN ORTHODOXY 5. CALVINISTIC ARISTOTELIANISM

1. Catholic Aristotelianism

With the end of the Council of Basel (1437), a new phase in the history of Catholic interpretation of Aristotelian science had already begun. The idea of a Christian Aristotelianism, as had been developed by the *via antiqua*, arose primarily at the northern European universities. Around the middle of the 15th cent. it was also brought to Italy. A fundamental transformation of Aristotelian science resulted from the meeting between Christian Aristotelianism and its secular counterpart in Italy.

Conflict arose in 1516 with the publication of Pietro Pomponazzi's *Tractatus de immortalitate anima*e [7]. He claimed that according to Aristotle the theory of the soul was part of physics, albeit as a part of the theory of the animated body (*corpus animatum*). Since the soul was a material form, it was also transitory. The attempts to meet this challenge, which were undertaken primarily in the mendicant orders, were based on the search for metaphysical rather than physical proof of the soul's immortality. The Scotist definition of metaphysics as a science of uncreated and created being made it possible to regard the human soul and the world as metaphysical objects. This possibility, however, in turn implied the necessity of a systematic reinterpretation of Aristotelian philosophy in agreement with the principles that were considered to be its true principles – that is, those which led to conclusions that accorded with Catholic doctrine.

The first step in this direction was taken by Benito Perera (*c.* 1535–1610), a professor at the *Collegio Romano* of the newly founded Jesuit order. Perera claimed that the theory of the soul belonged to metaphysics. Since that science can only regard non-physical reality as a cause, however, he suggested subdividing traditional metaphysics into two special sciences: 'divine science', which addressed God, the intelligences and the soul, and 'primary philosophy', which reflected on 'being' as such.

The project of rewriting Aristotle was primarily undertaken at Iberian universities. The major systematic works of Spanish scholasticism attempted to represent metaphysics *per modum doctrinae*, that is, as an organic whole derived from the first principles of philosophy. The Jesuit Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), in his famous *Disputationes metaphysicae*, found the basis for his Christian reinterpretation of Aristotelian thinking in the relationship of finite reality with the infinite creative power of God. Finite being is being that can be constituted in its present being by means of God's absolute power because its essence does not contain any contradictory elements. The god that is recognised by means of natural reason is the principle of a system that descends through the various divisions of finite being [18].

2. Secular Aristotelianism in Italy

Because the faculties of arts at Italian universities were oriented toward medicine rather than toward theology, members were less concerned with metaphysics than with Aristotle's natural philosophical works. However, under pressure from the discoveries of Copernicus, Columbus and Galileo, from the various ancient philosophical schools- → PLATONISM, → STOICISM, → EPICUREANISM –, which had received increasing attention since the middle of the 15th cent., and from the enormous amount of scientific material that was uncovered during the Renaissance, Aristotelian authors sought to situate Aristotle's theory of science within a more all-inclusive context.

Whereas the Aristotelian tradition had since Proclus focused primarily on the compositive (synthetic) side of Aristotelian teachings about science, secular Aristotelianism in Italy rediscovered the – likewise Aristotelian – method of resolution (analysis) [13]. Understanding of these methods developed in the context of a theory of scientific *regressus*, which is made up of two moments. First one moves from a known effect to a confused recognition of the existence of the cause; then one apodictically proves the effect by means of a recognition of the essence of the cause, a recognition that has been acquired through a difficult *examen mentale*. By taking recourse in the *examen* to experimentation and mathematical deduction, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)

contributed to the formulation of modern science theory.

Toward the end of the 16th cent., the Paduan Aristotelian Jacopo Zabarella (1533–89) in his text De methodis (1578) [8], the sources of which are Aristotle's Analytica posteriora, Galen's Ars parva and Averroes' commentary on Aristotelian physics, related the theory of the *regressus* clearly to the Aristotelian differentiation between theoretical and practical science. The compositive method derives conclusions from first principles; the resolutive method takes as its point of departure the goal of an action and tries to discover the means and principles by which the goal can be attained. In Zabarella's opinion, however, it is necessary to differentiate 'methods' from 'orders' of representation. 'Methods' lead to the recognition of something that is unknown from something that is known; 'orders' pass on knowledge that has already been attained through human efforts. The two 'orders' correspond to the two 'methods': the compositive order represents the object of knowledge entirely as conclusions proceeding from first principles; the resolutive order sets up a system of *praecepta* and *regulae* for practice according to which a given goal can be attained [29].

3. Baroque Scholasticism

In the 17th cent. the ideas of both Christian and Italian secular Aristotelianism continued to be influential in the schools of Europe. The Christian Aristotelianism of the Catholic schools sought to defend a worldview in which acceptance of revelation seemed reasonable. From their teachings there arose a new literary form, the *cursus philosophicus* – e.g. the *Cursus conimbricensis* (1592–98) of the Jesuit order [14] and the summaries of scholastic philosophy by Eustachius a S. Paulo O.Cist. (d. 1640) and Johannes a S. Thoma O.P. (d. 1644). Suárez' division of reality into *ens infinitum*, *ens creatum immateriale* and *ens creatum materiale* provided a foundation for the *cursus*. It included the division of metaphysics into (what were later termed) the fields of *theologia naturalis*, *psychologia rationalis* and *cosmologia*. While the increasing need for independent treatment of the problem of God could thereby be addressed, it meant that the intensifying crisis of Aristotelian physics as a science of the *corpus mobile* became irrelevant for the Baroque scholastics.

4. Lutheran orthodoxy

Even though Aristotle and the scholastic mixture of theology and philosophy were rejected by Martin Luther, the Aristotelian conception of science became the primary one at Protestant universities in the 16th cent. [32]. In the areas that were oriented toward Luther in denominational terms, Aristotelian metaphysics was considered a suitable basis for the unity of doctrine needed by the Lutheran orthodoxy [25]. German philosophical textbooks, for example *Exercitationes metaphysicae* (1603–04) by Jakob Martini (1570–1649) and *Metaphysica commentatio* (1605) by Cornelius Martini (1568–1621) turned against disciples of Calvin and Melanchthon, but also against radical Lutherans who claimed that some aspects of the doctrine of faith, like that of the trinity, contradicted reason, and toward Suárez' idea of a possible, denominationally neutral world that could be accepted by anyone who accepted the idea of the creation. Even though there were Lutheran objections to the idea of natural knowledge of God, the theologians soon conceded, for apologetic purposes, the necessity of a natural theology. Already in 1621 a *Theologia naturalis* was published by Johannes Scharf (1595–1660). The Lutheran orthodoxy also tried to systematise the theology of revelation in agreement with the Aristotelian theory of practical science. Georg Calixt (1586–1656) applied Zabarella's idea of the analytical order to theology in his 1619 *Epitome theologiae*.

5. Calvinistic Aristotelianism

In the areas that leaned toward Calvinism, dogmatic theology was considered to be a speculative science that followed a synthetic method. Like Perera, reformed theologians differentiated between two metaphysical sciences. One considered God; the other was a general science of being that was definitive for the principles of the individual sciences. 'Ontology', according to Rudolphus Goclenius (1547–1628), who was the first to use the word, has the task of assigning to each of the various scientific disciplines its own place within a new encyclopaedia of knowledge. The idea of a systematic totality of knowledge was fundamental to Calvinistic thinking. In this vein, Bartholomäus Keckermann (1571/73–1609), Clemens Timpler (1567–1624) and Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) published, in the early 17th cent., systems of the various *artes*. In these systems the disciplines were understood not as sciences in the Aristotelian sense but rather as *artes liberales*, free arts, that are governed by *technologia* [33].

F. Modern Aristotle Research

The great number of Aristotelianisms in the Renaissance and the revolutionary understanding of science in the modern era put an end to Aristotelianism, in the strict sense of the word, around the middle of the 17th cent. Although individual works – *Logic*, the *Zoological Tracts*, *Politics*, *Poetics* – still attracted students, the scientific revolution of the 17th cent. evoked an entirely new way of thinking about the sciences. From the Enlightenment onward Aristotle was considered not so much the founder of a hierarchical system of science as one of those scholars who sought to understand reality by means of empirical research in individual disciplines. In the philosophy of the 19th cent., and particularly in 'German idealism', the break with the Aristotelianism that had until that time been dominant went hand in hand with intensified attention to the Platonic tradition (→ Platonism).

The publication of *Aristotelis opera* by the Berlin Academy between 1831 and 1870 and its edition of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* between 1882 and 1909, as well as the edition of Aristoteles Latinus that was begun in 1939 by the *Union Académique Interna-*

tionale for the medieval Latin translation laid the foundation for modern research on Aristotle and the tradition of his philosophy.

→ Aristotle, commentators on; → Aristoteles

→ Arabic-Islamic Cultural Sphere, The

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G. Reception of Aristotle in the 20th Cent.

1. Introduction 2. Anglo-Saxon Philosophy 3. The German-Speaking Region

1. Introduction

The reception of Aristotle in the 20th cent. can best be characterized in terms of its critical objective. The intent is to overcome, through Aristotle, the narrowing of modern philosophy since Descartes. Aristotle is not read as a systematist; rather, individual aspects of his philosophy are selected and further developed from the perspective of contemporary concerns. The following instances are especially noteworthy: a) the critique of rationalism and of idealistic speculations using Aristotle's method; b) the critique of empiricism using Aristotelian realistic ontology; c) the increased awareness that theoretical and practical reason cannot be traced back to one another and that simple formalism is insufficient for the justification of moral norms. The two main branches of reception will be sketched out here, and a) and b) will be considered more closely; c) will be addressed under → Practical philosophy.

2. Anglo-Saxon Philosophy

In opposition to Neo-Hegelian idealism, a renaissance of Aristotelian philosophy begins in Oxford with the work of the classical philologist and philosopher John Cook Wilson (1849–1915). Aristotle is viewed as a methodical example: Philosophy must be based on normal language and work out the multiple usage of words (which Aristotle demonstrates in exemplary fashion in Metaph. 5 using terms including that of 'being', 5, 7). Gilbert Ryle (1900–1976) differentiates, with the help of the theory of categories, meaningful from meaningless statements and thus solves philosophical dilemmas. With his method of 'linguistic phenomenology', John L. Austin (1911–1960), who like Wilson particularly values the 'Nicomachean Ethics', clarifies philosophical concepts – for example, via an investigation of the daily practice of making excuses, the concepts of action and freedom. Staying with the Aristotelian focus on the language of daily life, Peter Strawson, in *Individuals* (1959), differentiates between 'descriptive' and 'revisionary' metaphysics. Whereas revisionary metaphysics seeks to bring about a better structure, descriptive metaphysics is satisfied to describe the actual structure of our thinking about the world; in this way it shows that material individual objects, Aristotle's first substances, are fundamental to the ontology of our everyday language.

In Aristotle, Οὐσία (*ousía*) stands not only for substance but also for essence or form (*eídos*), which is indicated by sortal terms, e.g. 'person', 'leopard', 'water', 'gold'. For Aristotle, essence is a reality that is

independent of our thinking and speaking. In contrast to the nominalism that harkens back to the Vienna Circle, denying the existence of such a real essence and recognising only conventions of speech, Saul A. Kripke, *Naming and Necessity* (1972), Hilary Putnam, *The Meaning of Meaning* (1975), David Wiggins, *Sameness and Substance* (1980) and others represent an Aristotelian realism. Sortal terms contain an indexical moment. They refer to reality; we can recognise their meaning only by investigating a natural specimen. The priority that Aristotle gives to the category of *ousía* is affirmed by the fact that the various aspects of our relationships with individual objects (counting, identifying, statements of existence) presuppose an ability on our part to understand the individual object as an instance of its kind, the second *ousía* of the Aristotelian writing on categories.

3. The German-Speaking Region

Repelled by the speculations of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, Franz Brentano (1838–1917), under the influence of his teacher Adolf von Trendelenburg, devoted himself to the study of Aristotle. Important ideas for 20th cent. philosophy came from Brentano: He was Husserl's teacher and thus marks the beginning of phenomenology; he also decisively influenced contemporary ontology. Because of his method of linguistic-logical investigation he is close to analytical philosophy. Brentano is above all interested in analysis of psychological phenomena for which 'intentionality', that is the relationship to something, is essential, and in ontology. Both areas of inquiry are inspired by Aristotle. Brentano's dissertation investigates the four meanings of 'being' that Aristotle differentiates in Metaph. 5,7; his postdoctoral thesis deals with Aristotelian psychology; and the theology of Metaphysics XII [1] is at the heart of his later, comprehensive exposition of Aristotle.

Brentano's dissertation influenced Heidegger; his courses on Aristotle from the 1920s [2; 3] constitute the decisive impulse behind a new interest. According to Heidegger, philosophical historical interpretation has the task of destruction; it should lead to an original interpretation of tradition. Heidegger's relationship to Aristotle is ambivalent. For Heidegger, Aristotle determined the anthropology of the Greco-Christian understanding of life; therefore, Aristotle must be viewed critically with an eye to the kind of being that he saw in human life: 'The material realm that supplies the original meaning of being is that of objects that are fabricated and commonly used' [4. 253]. In Gadamer's judgment, Aristotle is for Heidegger more of a 'figure of tradition that had a masking function and prevented his own Western thinking from coming into its own' [5. 232]. But in the interpretation of the meaning of being that has been cited here, Aristotle represents for Heidegger simply the culmination of previous philosophy. In his physics, which is for Heidegger the centre of Aristotelian thinking, Aristotle is seen as achieving a new basic approach: the explication of Being in the How of its being moved 251].

Inspired by Heidegger's interpretations, other writers including Hans-Georg Gadamer, Hannah Arendt and Joachim Ritter fruitfully used ideas of Aristotle's for their own philosophy. The origins of Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* (1960; Eng. 'Truth and Method', 1975) reach back to a seminar of Heidegger's in Freiburg about the sixth volume of the *Nicomachean Ethics* [5. 230f.], in which Aristotle differentiates among different forms of knowledge and truth. Practical knowledge is for Aristotle not reducible to the theoretical and the technical. It is not a knowledge that is object-based and that simply ascertains; rather, the knower is himself affected by this knowledge. It prescribes to him what he must do. Practical knowledge always has to do with the concrete situation; the culmination of practical knowledge, phronesis, is thus the ability to pass judgement, which can not be done according to a formula. Read as a renewal of Aristotelian phronesis, Gadamer's hermeneutics is a critique and demarcation of scientific-technical reason. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1958), in a critical discussion of the impoverishment of social relationships in the modern world, wants to restore to the Aristotelian concept of action (*práxis*) its full meaning. From among the three forms of the Vita activa, labour, work and action, Arendt, along with Aristotle, grants the highest status to action, in which human beings develop themselves as life forms who are gifted in speech and destined for the polis, and which contains its goal within itself. Action takes place directly between people in the medium of language and without involvement of matter and things; it is life in the actual sense, for life means 'being among people'. It is an expression of human plurality and at the same time of the irreproducible uniqueness of the individual. In contrast to an abstract (Kantian) morality, Joachim Ritter, *Metaphysik und Politik. Studien zu Aristoteles und Hegel* (1969), refers to Hegel's morality to rehabilitate Aristotle's concept of the ethical, a category that includes custom, tradition and institution as well as virtue. In order to be effective, practical reason in his view must take on a concrete historical form, as it did for Aristotle in the polis.

→ Aristoteles

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Arithmetic see→ MATHEMATICS

Armenia

A. INTRODUCTION B. MIDDLE AGES C. MODERN PERIOD

A. INTRODUCTION

Armenia (A.) is one of the cultural regions of the Middle East shaped by Hellenism where the process of reception had already occurred in ancient times. The Temple of Garni, built in the 1st cent. AD and dedicated to the sun god Mihr (Mithras), is, as the only preserved pre-Christian temple in the area of A.- together with its 15–colour thermal bath mosaics with Greek inscriptions and mythical figures,– an impressive symbol of this process.

A., which was divided between the great powers and was struggling for its identity, had no intention of being assimilated either by the Iranian – later the Arabian or Russian – or the Greco-Roman/Byzantine – later the Turkish/Mongolian culture groups. Thus, in its volatile history, in addition to attempts at cultural synthesis, clearly conflicting tendencies appear in the case of the adoption of the prevailing cultural elements. A cultural type was nurtured or rejected, depending on whether it contributed to the protection of Armenian identity or represented a danger to it. This criterion also applied to Classical Antiquity and conditioned the history of its influence in A.

The history of the reception of Greco-Roman Antiquity in A. has experienced three highpoints that will, in the following, be paradigmatically characterized in the reception of literature: 1. The period of the flourishing of Hellenistic culture after the victory of Alexander the Great (334 BC) when the kingdom of A. achieved its independence from the Medes and Persians and the emancipation of the Orontidic Dynasty added a new Hellenistic dimension to the old Iranian component of Armenian culture. At that time the Armenian state fell within the circle of influence of ancient Greece, Hellenistic Syria and Cappadocia. The traces of these effects can be observed throughout the entire Middle Ages and beyond; 2. The period of the first Armenian cultural renaissance (11th–13th cents.); 3. The period of the second renaissance (17th–19th cents.), which also represents a reaction to various risks to identity (in the first case, through invasions from the east, in the second, through loss of the governmental organisation). Models taken from national classicism (following Classical Antiquity) were revived as bearers of the ideals of a promising future with regard to hopes for national independence.

B. MIDDLE AGES

As a result of the meeting of cultures in this region, a highly developed, typically Armenian culture arose which found its continuation in the early formation of Armenian Christianity. This was closely followed in the early Christian-Armenian period by translations of Greek-language ancient and patristic works. In this complex culture, the authority of the ancient world played a large role. It was no coincidence that the final spiritual formation of the key figure of this culture, St. Grigor Lusaworič (Gregory the Illuminator), who determined the basic structures of Armenian Christian culture in close correlation with the Cappadocian-Eastern Roman culture, occurred in Cappadocian Caesaria at the end of the 3rd cent. Also, the Armenian alphabet, invented in the 5th cent. and conceived of as a prelude to an extensive cultural programme, follows quite consciously the Greek alphabet's phonetic principles and direction of writing. This alphabet became a symbol of Armenian Christian literature and the basis for the whole of medieval writing. The first Christian Armenian writers like Agat'hangełos and P'awstos of Byzantium (5th cent.) state that they wrote their works in Greek, which, after Aramaic, was the second language of administration and culture. In this way, even the beginnings of Armenian written language and literature relects a Graecophile tendency which will be seen in later phases of the history of Armenian literature: in the 8th cent. (second Graecophile school, e.g. trans. of *Corpus areopagiticum*), in the 12th cent. (cf. the works of Grigor Magistros) or in the 18th–19th cents. (cf. the poems, tragedies and epic poems utilizing Greek prosody or the historical, geographical and scientific works of the Classicist school among the Mechithrists written in Classical Armenian in imitation of Latin scientific treatises). The Greek cultural centres of Athens, Caesaria, Edessa, Constantinople and Alexandria were also

centres of Armenian education and precursors of Armenian educational centres from the region of eastern A. to Cilicia and Jerusalem. But even in the later Armenian study centres, important works in the old tradition – in Armenian translation – remained the basis for education throughout the centuries, for instance the *Grammar* of Dionysios Thrax (2nd cent. BC) or the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonios (4th/5th cent. AD).

The philosophical and theological works of the Greeks in the original and in translation (among others Aristotle, Plato, Proclos, Porphyrios, Iamblichus with their numerous interpretations, some of which were local – cf. Dawit' Anyałt', *David the Unconquerable* – as well as Aesop's *Fables*) were copied by several generations right through to the late 17th/18th cent. An example of this creative reception process is the work of Yovhannēs Sarkawag (1045/50–1129, also called 'Sophestos/Philosophos' and 'Poetikos') from the monastery of Hałpat who interpreted ancient and Christian authors in his writings and, among other things, also produced the Armenian variant of the Table of Pythagoras as well as the works of the above-mentioned Grigor Magistros, the translator of Euclid's *Elements* (Armenian: 'Principles') and admirer of ancient Greek mythology, poetry, philosophy, music theory and grammar. By working on these topics he attempted to revive interest in the art and culture of the ancient world. A further example is the creative work of Xačatur of Kečaris (1260–1331) who reconstructed the Armenian variant of the Alexander romance (Armenian: *Life of Alexander*) of Pseudo-Callisthenes, made 18 copies of it and illustrated them. The ancient tradition was adapted in a particularly lively fashion by the Armenian Chalcedonites, e.g. in the group centred around Simēon (1188–1255) from the monastery of Płnjahank', modern Achtala in the Lalwar Mountains, where the *Institutio theologica* of Proclos Diadochos, the writings of John of Damascus, the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Klimakos and the Byzantine liturgical books were translated into Armenian (→ Adaptation).

C. Modern Period

It is in the modern period that the reflective, scholarly reception of Antiquity in the Armenian world has begun, especially through the work at the centres of Armenian science and culture in Constantinople (within the framework of the attempt by the learned Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Yakob Nalean, 1706–1764, to build a theological bridge in 18th cent. Istanbul between Orthodox churches of various traditions) and in Venice (later also in Vienna) among the Mechitharists, the colleagues and successors of the founder of the order, Mxit'ar of Sebaste (1676–1749). Particularly in their circle were laid the foundations for the Armenian cultivation of Ancient Studies and Classical philology, with the concept of Graeco-Roman Antiquity being so closely connected with the Classical period of Armenian culture that Armenians have continued to confuse the actual Graeco-Roman aspect of this field with that of Classical Armenological studies, right up until the present time.

In 1651 the *Institutio theologica* by Proclos Diadochos, translated in the 12th cent., was edited by Simēon of J̌uła, Bishop of Garni, and provided with a new commentary. The latter was later used as a school book. The fact that the Armenian scholar Step'annos of Lemberg translated the work *Liber de causis* in 1661 from Latin into Armenian under the title 'From the Book of Causes of Aristotle or as it is called by others, of Proclos', with reference to the parallel passages in Proclos, attests to the great interest in this work in the 17th and 18th cent among Armenians. It was published in 1750 in Constantinople. Xačatur of Ērzrum (1666–1740), a philosopher and scholar with encylopaedic knowledge and the spiritual father of Classicism in Armenian culture, wrote part of his philosophical, theological, rhetorical, geographical, geological, mathematical and scientific works in Latin (also in the polemics against Thomas Aquinas). In his two-volume work *A Short Outline of Philosophy* (Venice 1711) he portrays the image of man's sublimity, of the simplicity, harmony and symmetry of form and content, and links the progress of society with the educational role of art and culture. The concern for the cultivation of the Armenian language is mirrored in the publication of numerous grammar and language books for Old and Modern Armenian parallel to the compilation of Latin and Greek grammars, as well as multilingual dictionaries. Typical of the quality of philological work in this area is the two-volume Classical Armenian dictionary that is still highly significant today – *Nor bařgirk' haykazean lezui* (ed. by Gabriel Awetik'ean and Mkrtič Awgerean, Venice 1836/37, reprint Erevan 1979/1981) with Greek-Latin equivalents, etymological notes and references.

A further example of the appropriation of classical sources and European Classicist works and theories is *L'Art poétique* by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1674), which was discussed by Xačatur of Ēzrum in his abovementioned work. However other authors besides him wrote actively utilizing the genres and the metrics of ancient literature (cf. the three-volume edition of the Classicist poetic works of the Mechitharist Patres, 1852–1854) and were at the same time researchers of Classical Antiquity. They were often Constantinopolitans who either continued their career with the Mechitharists or worked in close academic collaboration with them there, e.g. Geworg Dpir of Palat (1737–1811) who rescued the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* for later scholars and supplied the Mechitharists with many other, often unique copies of Classical works. From his pen came numerous translations from Greek and Latin that remain unedited among the Armenian manuscript collections in Jerusalem, Istanbul, Venice and Erevan (among others the first translation of Homer's *Iliad*).

Armenian Classicism, which began with Mxit'ar of Sebaste, Step'annos Agonc' (*Rhetoric*, Venice 1775),

Petrus of Łap'an (died in 1784) and was continued by the authors of the Classicist tragedies, Łukas Inčičean (*Historical Geography of Armenia*, Venice 1822), Manuel J̌axǰaxean (trans. of Fénelon's *Continuation of the Fourth Book of Homer's Odyssey or the Adventures of Telemachus, Son of Odysseus*, Venice 1827) among others, reached its mature period in the work of famous admirers of Antiquity and creators of Classicist masterpieces like Arsen Bagratuni (epic poem *Hayk Diwc'azn* and the translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, Venice 1847, and of works by Sophocles, Aeschylus, Demosthenes and Cicero). This was the time of the editorial activities of Yovhannēs of Vanand (1772–1841) and Eliay T'ovmačanean (translation and comparative studies of the *Homilies* of Johannes Chrysostomos in two volumes, Venice 1818, of the 'Parallel Biographies' by Plutarch in six volumes, Venice 1843–1848, as well as many metrical translations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Old Armenian). Eduard Hiwrmiwzean made the literary world of ideas of Antiquity accessible to the Armenian reader (*Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, Venice 1839, 'Mythology' as well as a description of the flora of A. modelled on Virgil's *Georgics* entitled *Burastan. The Fragrant Land*, Venice 1851). Mkrtič Awgerean alias J.B. Aucher translated from Latin into Old Armenian, e.g. Cicero's *De officiis* (Venice 1845), the *Dialogi* by Seneca (Venice 1849), as well as from Armenian into Latin, e.g. from the Armenian version of *Sermones* by Philo Judaeus lost in the Greek original or the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesaria. Aside from the *Art of Rhetoric* (Venice 1832), Ep'rem Set'ean wrote works on Armenian law, discussing the body of thought in Graeco-Roman legal history.

A.'s long tradition of theatre, which goes back to Antiquity, was reconstructed in the works of Sargis Tigranean (1812–1875) and Petrus Minasean (1799–1867). From the pen of the former came the first complete investigation of the history and theory of Armenian theatre (in the light of Dawit' Anyałt's interpretations of tragedy and comedy) in which the first Armenian Classicist tragedy *The Blessed Virgin Hrip'sime*, (1668), which was supposed to serve to enlighten and educate the people, was also discussed. Hambarjum Limončean (1768–1839) and Minas Bžškean (1777–1851) dedicated their efforts to the investigation of Armenian medieval musical notation (*Chazen*) and its reproduction in the European notation system, with Limončean having Greek teachers for Greek Psaltarian theory and Byzantine neume study. Greek-Hellenistic elements are also found in Armenian book illumination.

Systematic research into the influence of Classical Antiquity on various fields of Armenian scholarship and culture is clearly required. Investigations in this regard are being carried out in the context of Armenological studies in the Republic of A. at the Academy of Sciences at the State University of Erevan and at the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Mesrop-Maštoc'-Matenadaran) as well as in the cultural centres of the Armenian diaspora. There is no special centre in A. for research into Graeco-Roman Antiquity (e.g. no chair in Classical philology at Erevan University). However the mosaics of the neo-Classical Mesrop-Maštoc'-Matenadaran on the hill above Erevan, produced in the 1960s and 1970s can be regarded as waves of an Armenian renaissance that continue to be observed into the present.

→ Armenia

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ARMENUHI DROST-ABGARJAN

Art Works, Acquisition of/Art Theft

A. Definition B. Reasons for the Acquisition of Art C. Acquisition, Gift-giving, Dedication D. Acquistion by Force (Art Theft) in Historical Succession E. Legal Issues

A. Definition

The acquisition of art/theft of art is necessarily linked to the idea of a specific object as a work of art. The prerequisite of an awareness of something as art is given only when an object is not primarily viewed for its material or political/religious value.

There is no word in Greek for 'work of art' or 'artist' in the contemporary sense. To the Greeks 'our' artist was a *bánausos*, a wage labourer in social terms, a *technítēs* in terms of his technical skills. Therefore, technites could be gods like Athena or Hephaestus when they produced something artistic, as well as cobblers, gold- and silversmiths, carpenters, weavers or doctors. Artistic works and valuable possessions are *keimḗlia*, cimelia (Hom. Il. 6,47; 9,330). Good workmanship was described by Homer as *kalos*, beautiful or as *daidále/os*, 'Daedalian'/skilfull, regardless of whether he refered to woven materials, buckles, brooches, necklaces, ear pendants, furniture for sitting, cauldrons or weapons (Hom. Il. 18,400–401). Homer described smiths from Sidon as *polydaídaloi*, as 'having many skills' (Hom. Il. 23,743).

The Greek term 'technítēs' is in contrast to the Latin 'artifex', the maker of artistic works; it is closer to the meaning of our word 'artist'.

B. Reasons for the Acquisition of Art

Motivations were primarily the perceived material or artistic value of an object, piety or demonstrations of power.

From early times, pious donations turned sanctuaries into museum-like compounds (in Greece, e.g. Delphi, Olympia; in Rome, e.g. the Capitol and the Temple of Fortuna).

Demonstrations of power became evident, when in a war specific statues from locally important deities or founding heroes were carried off (Paus. 8,46,1–4) or saved (Aeneas/Troy). Before a city was captured, the protective gods were invoked to leave the city (*evocatio deorum*: Plin. HN 28,18), and after capture the cult image was taken away (Paus. 8,46,1–4). That the Persians took the Athenian group of the tyrannicides (Paus. 1,8,5) was probably also a demonstration of power; otherwise it would be almost impossible to explain why several statesmen were appointed to secure their return to Athens: Antiochus (Paus. 1,8,5), Alexander (Plin. HN 34,70) and Seleucus (Val. Max. 2,10,ext.1).

Planned art collections only emerged in Hellenistic times, initially in connection with the libraries of the royal residences (Alexandria, Pergamon), but then also by private citizens (Cicero's Tusculum; Herculaneum, House of the Papyri; Lucian, Nigrinus 40).

In the the late Republic, demands were made that works of art ought to belong to the public (Agrippa: Plin. HN 34,9; Asinius Pollio: Plin. HN 36,33). Such demands were not again made with such consistency until the time of Napoleon.

Large numbers of works of art, similar to those of modern museums, were publicly exhibited in theatres (in Athens as early as the 4th cent. BC), public places, porticoes, gardens and baths.

C. Acquisition, Gift-giving, Dedication

Objects could be acquired directly from the manufacturer. This was how Thetis obtained the weapons she had commissioned from Hephaestus, the god of blacksmiths, for Achilles (Hom. Il. 18,368ff.). They could be given as private gifts or donated to sanctuaries (statues to Delphi as a tithe of war booty: Hdt. 8,27). They could awarded to to a person or be distributed as a prize (Hom. Il. 23). The same object could thereby serve completely different purposes: an ornate silver cauldron from Sidon originally was a gift given by a guest, then ransom for a prisoner and finally a prize in a competition (Hom. Il. 23,740–749).

In Roman times, fraud (and fraudulent borrowing) and public proscription increasingly featured alongside purchase, gift-giving and theft (also under torture: Polyb. 4,18) as a means for acquiring works of art. Not only the notorious Verres but also Augustus used proscription (Suet. Aug. 70).

D. Acquistion by Force (Art Theft) in Historical Succession

Looting and theft are already attested in early mythological times: At Troy Achilles conquered twelve towns by sea and eleven by land and in doing so looted numerous treasures (*keimḗlia*). The booty belonged to all Greeks in common and it was up to the army commander to distribute it. (Hom. Il. 9,328–337).

During the Persian wars, a Persian raid to plunder Delphi was unsuccessful only because of a miracle (Hdt. 8,35–39), other sites, including Athens, were plundered by the Persians/Greeks in 480 BC.

Although the Greeks often averred their respect for sanctuaries and temples, reports of looting appeared again and again: in 382 BC Dionysius I of Syracuse plundered a temple full of votive offerings in the Etruscan city of Argylla; the value of the booty was 1,000 talents, the profit from its sale was 500 talents (Diod. 15,14). In 381/80 BC, Titus Quinctius looted Praeneste and transported a statue of Jupiter to Rome where it was placed on the Capitol. An associated inscription however turns this statue into evidence for his personal triumph (Liv. 6,29,8–9). In 347 BC, the Phocian general Phayllus smashed up statues in Delphi to obtain money to pay mercenaries (minting?) while in the Temple of Apollo Phalaecus and other generals dug in the area near the hearth and tripod to find a legendary treasure; the excavation was only stopped because of an earthquake (Diod. 16,56). That same year the Athenians captured a ship with gold and ivory statues which Dionysius I had intended for the sanctuaries in Delphi and Olympia. When the ship's captain inquired as to the fate of the statues, the Athenians replied that it was not his business to ask what belonged to the gods, but rather what was important for the army (Diod. 16,57). When the Romans captured Capua in 211 BC, the priests' college in Rome was given the power to decide which of the looted bronze statues were deemed holy and which ones profane (Liv. 26,34,12).

The handling of captured works of arts varied. At the conquest of Volsinii in 264 BC, 2,000 Etruscan statues were taken (Plin. HN 34,34); when Dion and Dodona were plundered by the Aetolians in 221 BC, 2,000 statues were overturned and destroyed, with the exception of the images of gods (Polyb. 5,9). At the conquest of Syracuse in 212 BC, Marcus Marcellus robbed the town of its gods, while Fabius Maximus in 209 BC let Tarentum keep them (Liv. 27,16). After Scipio Africanus Minor captured Carthage in 146 BC, the soldiers who had taken part in the looting of the Temple of Apollo did not receive a share of the booty and Scipio also returned some of the booty previously taken by the Carthaginians to the Sicelian towns (App. Pun. 133).

When Marcus Marcellus captured Syracuse, paintings were also among the loot, as well as sculptures. Allegedly the value of (Greek) works of art was now recognised in Rome for the first time and from then on theft specifically for the sake of art was increasingly

undertaken (Plut. Marc. 21; Liv. 25.40,1–3). More and more often paintings were also mentioned in connection with booty: 197 BC in Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (Polyb. 22,13), 197/194 BC in T. Quinctius Flaminius (Liv. 32,16,17).

With the triumphs of Lucius Scipio ('Asiaticus') over Antiochus and of Gnaeus Manlius Volso over the Asiatic Gauls, the first 'Asiatic luxury items' appeared in Rome in 189/187 BC: engraved silver vases, bronze beds, gold work from Pergamon, rugs, monopodia, costly gaming tables. 'With this triumph, luxury found its way to Rome' (Liv. 39,6,7; Plin. nat. 37,6,12).

Triumphs became more and more lavish, the looted art more and more costly. At Aemilius Paullus three-day triumph for defeating the Macedonian Perseus in 167 BC, statues and paintings on 250 wagons were displayed on the first day alone. This was booty from 77 destroyed towns (Plut. Aem.Paul. 32–33).

A new chapter opened in 146 BC with the destruction of Corinth by L. Mummius ('Achaicus'). Mummius had no understanding of art, yet filled Rome and the surrounding area with looted statues (Plin. HN 24,36; Vell. 1,13,4; Polyb. 40,7). Included in the loot were Corinthian bronzes, which from then on were sold in Rome at great cost (Plin. HN 34,6). Mummius placed a painting by Aristides, for which Attalus offered to pay 600,000 sesterces, in the Temple of Ceres; it was allegedly the first publicly displayed painting by a foreign artist in Rome. From then on, paintings by (Greek) artists were highly prized (Plin. HN 34,24).

Greece suffered terrible destruction at the hands of Sulla in 87/86 BC. He laid waste to the Acropolis and commandeered the temple treasures from Delphi, Olympia and Epidaurus (Sall. Catil. 11; Diod. 38,7,1; Plut. Sulla 12; Plin. HN 36,45). He was resented for displaying (commissioned?) paintings of many cities of Greece and Asia Minor in his triumph, but not a single one of a Roman city (Val. Max. 2,8,7).

The worst looter of art was C. V. Verres, who plundered Cilicia, the Greek islands, Asia Minor, Achaea and, above all, Sicily for his personal enrichment (73–71 BC; Cic. Verr. 2,1,49–51.81; 2,4,1; [1. 66–75]). Cicero acted for the prosecution in the case brought against him in Rome in 70 BC; the speeches for the prosecution make up the most extensive existing document about Classical misuse and theft of art.

In the meantime, professional art thieves had emerged, such as Tlepolemus who sculpted in wax, and the painter Hieron, who both worked for Verres (Cic. Verr. 2,4,30–31), and art dealers and agents like Atticus, Gallus, Damasippus, Junius, who worked for Cicero (Cic. Att.; Cic. fam. 7,23,1–3). In addition to declarations of value, the names of artists themselves became ever more important.

Scaurus, the stepson of Lucullus, spent great sums on building public spaces and art collections; 3,000 statues were displayed on the stage wall of a temporary theatre which he had erected (Plin. HN 34,36). He preferred paintings from Corinth; in Sicyon he requisitioned publicly owned pictures for Rome (Plin. HN 35,127). Murena and Varro had wall paintings removed from Sparta and sent them to Rome in wooden frames to decorate the Comitium (Plin. HN 35,173).

Scarus was the first person in Rome to build up a collection of gems, a dactyliotheca, Pompey donated a collection of gems from the booty of Mithradates to the Capitol, Caesar gave six dactyliothecae to the Temple of Venus Genetrix (Plin. HN 37,11; 37,6). Pearls and gems became treasured collectables in Rome following the Asiatic triumph of Pompey (Plin. HN 33, 151).

While Corinth was being rebuilt under Caesar/Augustus, painted earthenware vases, so-called Necrocorinthia (*nekrós*; Greek: corpse,) were found in graves. They became fashionable in Rome and this initiated systematic grave robbery (Strab. 8,6,23).

After defeating Mark Antony at Actium, Augustus took three obelisks and exotic works of Egyptian art back to Rome as well as other items. The Egyptian style was quickly integrated into local art. With Augustus the great interaction between art theft and study came to an end. Art continued to be stolen, but it did not have a transforming effect since one already knew and had everything.

Caligula had statues of gods of artistic or religious value taken from Greece, he intended the gold and ivory image of Zeus from Olympia to be transported to Rome and he had the heads of stolen (portrait) statues knocked off and replaced with his own image (Suet. Calig. 21. 57; Cass. Dio 59,28,4–5). Later this became common practice.

Nero ordered numerous Greek statues to be brought to decorate his Golden House (Plin. HN 34,84). When he visited Olympia, he had all (portrait) statues toppled and thrown into the latrines to expunge the memory of previous victors (Suet. Nero 24).

After the capture of Jerusalem, Vespasian and Titus politically demonstrated Rome's power in the display of the richest treasures at the triumph in AD 71. (Jos. BI 7,5,132ff.).

While Rome had long been the centre for stolen art, Byzantium/Constantinople came into focus at the end of the 2nd cent. AD and particularly when Constantine moved the imperial residence there in AD330. Under Constantine statues were brought from Athens, Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Sicily and Greece for public buildings, especially the Baths of Zeuxippus and the Hippodrome; 60 of the statues at the Hippodrome came from Rome.

In Late Antiquity an awareness of the inherent value of art was lost more and more. In looting its material value was of primary concern and many works of art were deliberately smashed or destroyed because of religious sanctions against anything pagan.

When the Hagia Sophia was rebuilt in the 6th cent., during the increasing Christianisation of the empire under Justianian I, 427 predominantly Greek statues were removed from the church.

In 1204 Constantinople was sacked by the Crusaders and with that the last existing collection of Classical art was looted and destroyed.

Among the Crusaders, the Venetians more nearly seemed to have an understanding of art. Apart from gold and silver cimelia and reliquaries, they also brought Classical statues back to Venice. It was not until the Renaissance that the art collection became popular once more in Rome. Old style art theft only reappeared in the Thirty Years War, undertaken especially by the Swedes. Germany and Bohemia were particularly affected.

Large scale, systematically organised art theft was undertaken under Napoleon, who reached out as far as Italy, Spain and Egypt (1794–1814; Wescher [10]). In doing so he always also pursued scholarly goals; he planned a large public central museum, later the Musée Napoléon (today the Louvre), and had catalogues prepared for publication. Napoleon had an advisory staff of scholars and artists; the works that were to be taken were specified in lists before the robbery and comprehensive records were kept throughout the process. From Italy, in addition to works of art, he also took the famous archaeologist E. Q. Visconti back to Paris.

In opposition to Napoleon's motivation that art and science should be the accessible property of all, the motivation for the next systematic plundering of the art world, by the Nazis, was to a large extent characterised by primitive ideas and archaic brutality. Just as in Antiquity, private property in particular was completely expropriated either as war booty or proscription but without directed selection; much that was stolen never came into the possession of the state, but remained in the hands of individual members of the party elite.

E. Legal Issues

Legal questions in connection with art theft are contentious. More and more frequently countries in which certain works of art originated, demand that European museums should return them: The Pergamon Altar (Turkey), the Elgin/Parthenon Marbles (Greece), African and Latin American art, Schliemann's finds from Troy (Turkey and Germany). However, the question of repatriation can probably not be answered, as long as large central museums remove finds from regional sites (internal art theft) within the different countries.

→ Damnatio memoriae I. Historical

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Artemis of Ephesus see→ Diana of Ephesus

Artes liberales

A. Concept B. Carolingian Educational Reform C. Humanism until the 18th Century

A. Concept

The Artes liberales (AL) describe a group of usually seven of study, 'worthy of a free man' (Seneca epist. 88; i.e.: grammar, logic/dialectics, rhetoric and arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy). They originate from the Greek educational programme of the *enkyklios paideia*, which were passed on to the Latin Middle Ages through the encyclopaedias of Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, and Isidor of Seville. They are usually divided up into groups of three and four; since Boethius the group of four is (*De arithmetica* 1,1) called *quadruvium* or *quadrivium*; the group of three kept the name *trivium* which probably appeared for the first time in the marginal notes of Horace (*Scholia Vindobonensia ad Horatii artem poeticam* 307, ed. J. Zechmeister, Vindobonae 1877, 36f.). The regular use of both expressions has only been documented from since the start of the 9th cent. [1. 183ff., 184 Note. 8; 3. 4–36]. The names *artes* or *scientiae sermocinales* (for the *trivium*) and *artes* or *scientiae reales* (for the *quadrivium*) became customary at the Faculty of Arts from the first half of the 13th cent. at the latest [4. 58ff.]. These names clarify the factual connection between the *artes*: the *trivium* deals with reality from the point of view of language. The *quadrivium* deals with reality from the point of view of the object in so far as it can be reduced to a mathematical structure on which it is based. This division of the *seven* AL in language- and object-based sciences goes back to the distinction Augustine made in *De doctrina christiana* 1,2 (= CCL 32, 1962, 7): 'omnis doctrina de rebus vel de signis'. The *artes* are classified correspondingly; for instance by Hugh of St. Victor (*Didascalicon. De studio legendi*, 2,20, ed. Offergeld, *Fontes christiani* 27, 1997, 192.): The *trivium* deals with words enunciated, the *quadrivium*, however, deals with thoughts or concepts grasped mentally [5]. The same distinction applies to what Bernard of Chartres (*The Glosae super Platonem of Bernard of Chartres*, ed. P. E. Dutton, *Studies and Texts* 107, 1991, 143) calls the *studia humanitatis*: they differ (according to Calcidius) through the 'flourishing mind' (*animus florens*) for the *trivium* and the 'outstanding acumen' (*ingenium excellens*) for the *quadrivium*. As William of

Conches (*Glosae super Platonem/Accessus ad Timaeum*, ed. É. JEAUNEAU, 1965, 62 and 65) emphasizes with reference to Horace, this is a matter of an integrative knowledge with regard to everything that 'humans can possibly know'.

B. CAROLINGIAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The Carolingian educational reform [6. 80off.] → CAROLINGIAN Renaissance, associated with the names of Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus, entrusted the monastery schools and cathedral-schools → MONASTERY SCHOOLS with the task of providing adequate education for the understanding of the Scriptures. The free arts are the 'pillars' and 'steps' on which 'wisdom' (*sapientia)* rests – according to Alcuin in his Opuscula didascalica 1 (MPL 101, 853 C). Hugh of St. Victor (*Didascalicon* 3,3 ed. OFFERGELD, p. 228) describes the liberal arts as 'secondary school' and 'elementary school', as a road by which the active mind enters the secrets of wisdom: the 'foundation of all education (*omnis doctrinae*) lies in the seven free arts' (*Didascalicon* 3,4 ed. OFFERGELD, p. 235). His assertion: 'these are so interrelated and in their content so mutually dependent that, should only one of them be missing, all the others would not suffice to educate someone to be a philosopher', is no longer considered valid for the 13th and subsequent centuries. Even for the 12th cent. this view is questionable. It contributes more to making the educational system of the *arts* appear as an ideal than as a mirror of actual conditions. The knowledge of Aristotelian *Physics* and above all *Metaphysics*, and, further, of Arab sciences only adds to the dissolution of the uniform educational system.

The *trivium* [7. 279–302] describes the basic educational path in the Latin Middle Ages; the *quadrivium* follows it [8. 303–320; 9. 25ff., 120off.]. In this respect, the educational system of the seven free arts is a unified whole, working in the background, from and in contrast to which, the individual sciences developed over the course of the 12th and 13th cents. [12. 151–184]. New sciences came up from outside, particularly natural philosophy, ethics and metaphysics. The seven free arts – according to Thomas Aquinas (*Expositio super Librum Boethii De trinitate* q. 5, a. 1 ad 3) -no longer suffice as divisions of theoretical philosophy. The history of AL is characterized by the dissolution of the uniform encyclopaedic educational system which in the beginning could be equated with a philosophical education: the individual *artes* became independent [13. 1–20]. The subjects of the *quadrivium* experienced a similar dissolution [14. 1736–1739]. The independence of the individual subjects of the *artes* was, in any case, decisive for their cohesion. Their common features consisted in the preparatory task. The faculty of arts as the indispensable preparation for higher study is a clear sign of the dissolution of the old *artes* structure. With the emergence of the university in the 13th cent., encyclopaedic general knowledge gives way to scientific specialist knowledge.

C. HUMANISM UNTIL THE 18TH CENT.

The revival of the *studia humanitatis* is the dominant viewpoint in humanism and in the Renaissance [15; 16; 17]. Language [18. 135ff.] becomes the object of human education. The *trivium* undergoes a revaluation: it is no longer simply propaedeutic, but to be understood as the goal of the moral education of man. The *studia humanitatis* and the *eruditio moralis* are very closely related; as in Philipp Melanchthon's work [19. 146ff.]. To the subjects of the *trivium* are added: poetics [20], history [21], and moral philosophy. [22]. Dante Alighieri (*Convivio* 2,13,8; [23. 174f.]) and also Francesco Petrarca have to be mentioned: the study of language and moral education go hand in hand. Grammar becomes historical philology – as for example with Gulielmus Budaeus. Logic and dialectics show a historical, humanistic trait [25]. The *Dialecticae disputationes* by Lorenzo Valla attempts to base them on language. Rudolf Agricola and particularly Petrus Ramus continue in this direction. Nonetheless, traditional logic is pursued further [26]. On the whole, rhetoric gains the upper hand. In contrast to the *quadrivium*, the *trivium* of the faculty of arts managed to hold its ground in the face of the new challenges [16. 372f., 377]. Whereas the *quadrivium* consisted of a juxtaposition of the four mathematical and physical disciplines and not of a uniform science of nature, the *trivium* possessed that integrated viewpoint in language, which now became effective. In addition to Latin, Greek and Hebrew became recognised university subjects as did rhetoric in addition to logic. Petrus Ramus deals in his *Scholae in liberales artes* (1569) with the classical subjects of the *trivium*; physics and metaphysics take the place of the subjects of the *quadrivium*. The inadequacy of the *quadrivium* was as apparent as the outstanding position of the *trivium*. This is also evident in Juan Luis Vives' *De causis corruptarum artium*. He retains the disciplines of the *trivium*; the *quadrivium* has disappeared. The 'historical-philological Ciceronianism' [17. 398ff.] refers more to the *artes* than to the *scientia*.

Thus, the *trivium* marked in the 16th and 17th cents. the educational path at the academic secondary schools in contrast to the philosophical faculties of the universities., i.e. the faculty of the arts. This is demonstrated by the curriculum adopted in 1586 and amended in 1599, the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum SJ*, which remained in force until 1773. The educational path at the Jesuit gymnasiums centred on the constitutions of Ignatius of Loyola [27]. The 'J'ai été nourri aux letters' (Descartes) represents education in the *studia humanitatis*, i.e. grammar, history (*historia*), poetics and rhetoric. [28. Vol.4, 100f., 112ff., 117f.]. Logic was often a subject on the upper level of the gymnasium and represents the entry into philosophy. One should understand logic here rather as dialectics – as Descartes noted critically [29. 116f.] and Michel de Montaigne (*Essais* 1,26; [30. 162, 280]) had already criticized – 'teaching us to talk about everything' (*disserere*) and thus 'distorting' rather than 'confirming' the *bon sens*, instead of logic,

which 'provides proofs'. No longer is the *trivium* as a whole important but specialised knowledge. The original trinity of the *trivium* no longer exists. The Jesuit college in La Flèche, opposed by René Descartes in his *Discours de la méthode*, is an example of the organisation of knowledge along school lines. The *trivium* barely managed to survive as preparation for the secondary schools and as such does no longer belong at the university. It constitutes the entry level of philosophical education and is of propaedeutic character, as is normally the case these days at the so-called classical-humanist gymnasiums and the Grammar Schools. The *quadrivium* already stopped playing a role at the end of the Middle Ages. The AL became part of general education. General education and scholarship., gymnasium and university, split apart although the latter remains dependent on the former. Scholarship appears to be hardly possible without general education.

→ Artes liberales; → Education / Culture; → Enkyklios paideia

→ Ancient languages, teaching of; → Education/ Culture; → Encyclopaedia; → Jesuit schools; → Philosophy; → University

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JAKOB HANS JOSEF SCHNEIDER

Artists, Legends concerning

A. Subject Area B. Written Information about the Artist from Antiquity to the Modern Age C. The Most Common Stereotypes D. The Court Artist E. The 'Unappreciated Genius' of the modern period F. The Construct of the Artist

A. Subject Area

Anecdotes about artists have been passed down to us in fragmentary form via Duris, the tyrant of Samos (around 300 BC) and the student of Theophrastus (FGrH II A Nr 76). C. Plinius Secundus the Elder took up some of these in his notes about artists in the *Naturalis historia* (NH), that form the core of the legends about artists. The anecdotes convey less about the actual personality of the artist than about his role in society. They generally characterize him as the embodiment of 'human wit' (see below). The legends about artists show that there are certain stereotypes that are constantly repeated in changed forms and that are attributed to individual artists. The tradition of legends about artists moved through three historical high points: in the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial periods, in Humanism of the 15th and early 16th cents. as well as between Romanticism and the Classical Modern period (19th/20th cents.). Their relative importance changes in each case when the social position of the artist undergoes a change.

In Antiquity the clever artist proved through his wit that his ability exceeded mere technical competence. The artist in the Humanistic period, setting himself off from the artist-craftsman of the guild, wished to prove himself worthy of the court because he is a god-like creator who is by nature gifted and talented. The modern artist has shaped the legend of the unappreciated genius who – despite a philistine audience in a period of capitalism and industrialization – works on his posthumous fame.

B. Written Information about the Artist from Antiquity to the Modern Age

The ancient historians and philosophers took almost no notice of the fine arts. Aristotle and Plato ranked them below poetry and music. Painting and sculpture were not assigned a Muse because they sprang from the craft of artisans whose rank was low in a society of slaveowners. In the Hellenistic period the attitude started to change. Pliny reported that it was thanks to the influence of Pamphilos, the teacher of Apelles, that painting became a subject taught to freemen (NH 35,77). It is certainly not true that slaves were forbidden to practise it, but this assertion of Pliny is the basis of the Humanist view of the supposedly high status of fine artists in Antiquity. Anecdotes to the effect that artists received no money for their work were meant to demonstrate their independence from the paid work of the *bánausoi*, the artisans. Polygnotos painted the temple of Delphi and the Poikile of Athens free of charge (NH 35,59). Zeuxis distributed his works with the remark that they were priceless (35,62).

If information about artists backed up by written evidence is lacking for the Middle Ages, this does not mean that their work was held in low regard. Inscriptions from the 11th cent. on testify to pride in their finished work. At the beginning of the 15th cent., however, it was not just the works but also the artists themselves who were again held in higher esteem. Competition between the courts developed as to who could keep the most famous masters, and they were wooed with privileges, stipends and aristocratic titles. As had already been the case in Antiquity, writers only gradually attended the social rise of artists. The novellas of the 14th cent. by Giovanni Boccaccio and Franco Saccetti tell of the amusing and droll nature of artists. Three verses in Dante's *Divine Comedy* helped to lift the fine arts to the high rank of poetry: 'Cimabue believed himself to be the master of the field of painting but now Giotto is enjoying such popularity that the fame of the other one is being obscured' (purg. 11,94–96). Commentaries about Dante regarding this tercet developed in the 15th cent. into the first independent biographies of artists. Giorgio Vasari's descriptions of the lives of artists, first published in 1550, established the genre of artists' biographies.

C. The Most Common Stereotypes

1. Conspicuous Behaviour 2. Wit and Cleverness 3. Friend of Princes 4. The 'Other God' 5. Childhood and Discovery 6. Unworldliness 7. Melancholy

1. Conspicuous Behaviour

According to Pliny, Zeuxis is said to have worn his name in gold letters on his clothing in Olympia (NH 35,62) and Parrhasios called himself 'habrodíaiton', a foppish rake (35,7). Giovannantonio of Vercelli was nicknamed 'Sodoma' because of his allegedly notorious association with catamites; to this was added the extra title of 'Mattaccio', arch-fool, because of his pranks while painting in the monastery of Monte Oliveto (Vasari 4,343ff.).

2. Wit and Cleverness

Artists proved their worth in rhetoric and art competitions with their counterparts and the audience. The competition in drawing outlines between Apelles and Protogenes in Rhodes (NH 35,81ff.) and the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasios involving painting illusions (NH 35,5) are famous. In the modern age the competition idea continued in paragone literature with respect to the claim for priority ranking among the genres of painting and sculpture. There are countless testimonials to the quick-wittedness of artists. Apelles corrected a painted sandal whose representation was found by a shoemaker to be faulty. When the latter now claimed to have also noticed another mistake in a leg, he received the response which is still a familiar phrase today: 'Shoemaker, stick to your last!' (NH 35,85).

3. Friend of Princes

The Humanists traced equality of birth with the ruling classes back to a saying of Parrhasios, who is said to have called himself 'Prince of the arts' (NH 30,71). Apelles enjoyed the high regard of King Alexander who visited him in his workshop (NH 35,85ff.). Emperor Charles V felt that he was the 'Alexander' of Titian, his 'Apelles', and for whom, according to Carlo Ridolfi (*Meraviglie*, 1648), Charles picked up the fallen paintbrush. According to Carel van Mander (*Schilder-Boeck*, 1617), Emperor Maximilian I held the ladder for the artist Dürer while he worked.

4. The 'Other God'

Divine inspiration through the Muses was reserved for writers during Antiquity; not until Humanism was it also attributed to fine artists. Marsilio Ficino (*De vita triplici*, 1489) adopted Plato's concept of the *enthousiasmós* (in *Phaidros*) of divinely inspired madness, an idea which Giordano Bruno (*De eroici furori*, 1585) developed further in the sense of a modern concept of genius. The divine source of creativity was substantiated by the view that the artist himself was an '*alter deus*', 'another god' (according to H. Janitscheck, L. B. Alberti's minor writings on the theory of art, 1877, 90f.). Accordingly, great artists had no teacher to foster their talent: the painter Eupompus said that it was nature itself that had inspired him to imitate it (NH 34,61). This 'quality of talent' that that grew from nature itself is also emphasized by Vasari in the introduction to many of his biographies.

5. Childhood and Discovery

There are no ancient anecdotes about the childhood of artists. The topos developed together with the concept of the artist as the 'Other god'. The modern legends about artists therefore take over the ancient myths of gods and heroes like Zeus, Bacchus and Hercules, who, abandoned by their parents, are fed and raised by animal foster-mothers like goats, wolves and bears. Similarly the artist grows up in impoverished circumstances as a shepherd boy as in the case of Giotto, Domenico Beccafumi, Andrea Sansovino, Andrea del Castagno and Francisco de Goya. In his likeness to a god the boy-artist is similar to the young Christ, who was also born in a stable. Like the twelve-year old Jesus in the temple, the artist must assert this spiritual mission despite the lack of understanding from his natural parents. According to Ascanio Condivi (*The Life of Michelangelo Buonarotti*, 1553, trans. by R. Diel, 1939) the boy Michelangelo was beaten by his father out of hatred for the artistic career. But the one who is by nature gifted and talented asserts himself, practising untiringly, despite all his difficulties.

6. Unworldliness

The artist, by forgetting the everyday world through his work, comes to resemble the philosopher. The painter Protogenes who lived in Rhodes in his summer-house outside the city wall is said not to have interrupted his painting during the storming of the city (NH 35,105). Paolo Ucello, unconcerned about profitable

orders that could have alleviated his poverty, supposedly brooded about rules of perspective night after night while his wife called him to bed in vain (Vasari 2,81ff.). Aside from the 'unworldly creative rage' there is also the opposite-case scenario: Pontormo did not work for days on end; his living and working area on the first floor were accessible via a ladder that the artist pulled up after him so that he could protect himself from uninvited guests (Vasari 4,234ff.; 260).

7. Melancholy

Aristotle (problemata 30,1) concluded that everyone who was outstanding in philosophy, politics, writing and the fine arts was subject to melancholy. While the theologians of the Middle Ages castigated Melancholy as a disease, even as the vice of *acedia* ('lethargy'), the black bile temperament is again ennobled by Marsilio Ficino and others (*De vita triplici*, 1489). The melancholic was born under the star of Saturn. His character is like that of the dog: of a troubled brooder, a faithful sniffer seeking out truth. The concept of the intellectual and the artist as a melancholic developed into a platitude (R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621).

D. The Court Artist

In the 17th cent. legends of artists became unfashionable. The profession adjusted to the etiquette of the court. Parallel to the tendency for art to be more academic was the move towards rationalism in philosophy, in which was the basis of René Descartes' *Discours de la méthode* (1637). Central to Baroque art literature were rules and style, not the whims of the artist. In his behaviour and clothing the artist demonstrated that he was an educated gentleman with good manners. Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640), a founding member of the Roman Academy, appeared in public girded with a dagger and mounted high on a steed. A tendency towards parvenu-like behaviour continued via the Dandyism of the 19th cent. until today. The ideal of the courtier was perfected in Peter Paul Rubens: the artist, diplomat and multilingually educated man was happily married twice, good-looking and a man of the world in his interaction with kings and scholars – an *uomo universale*.

E. The 'Unappreciated Genius' of the modern period

The translation of Vasari's biographies in the early 19th cent. coincided with the rebirth of the artist as an eccentric. Modern melancholy was transformed into the wanderlust of the German Romantics, the '*ennui*' ('boredom') of the Parisian poets in the Baudelaire circle and the affectation of the English dandies. The old topos of the unworldly brooding artist was reinvigorated under the conditions of the age of industrialization. Once again the legends about artists provided means of coping in an epoch of radical social change. The artist, released from the proscriptions, but also from the protection of the guild and the court had to prove his worth in the free market. The 'unappreciated

genius' prevailed against the envy of his colleagues and the philistinism of his contemporaries. An ancient precursor motif is the anecdote of the slandering of Apelles at the court of King Ptolemy by his rival Antiphilus (D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles*, 1981). Rembrandt – as an artist whose talent was supposedly not valued in a fitting manner by his contemporaries and whose work only became more highly regarded as a result of his posthumous reputation – retrospectively became the prototype of the unappreciated genius. Suffering from the prevailing conditions in the world is a condition of creativity. Friedrich Nietzsche's *Ecce Homo* (1908) alludes to the scourged and mocked Christ of the Passion. William Blake, Paul Gauguin, Marc Chagall, James Ensor, Salvador Dali and Joseph Beuys present themselves as 'suffering Christs' who take up the cross for the sake of their revealed art. Certainly it is also possible here to trace a topos back to the late Middle Ages: in this way, for instance, Thomas a Kempis' (1380–1471) work *Imitatio Christi* influenced the religious motivation of the painters in the 15th cent., but in the modern period mystic self-abandonment became artistic role playing. The avant-garde artist was imbued with his messianic mission to gather humanity behind him in order to change the world. The modern artist as the suffering saviour also has as his models ancient titans and demigods: Prometheus, who brought fire to humans and for this was chained to the Caucasus by Zeus; Orpheus, who descended into the underworld to free his beloved Eurydice from Hades.

F. The Construct of the Artist

In the 1960s there was great discussion about the 'death of the author'. Post-structuralism replaced the artist with the observer who creates the image. Michel Foucault (*Qu'est-ce que c'est, un auteur?* 1969) sees in the author the interface of a function that, through the mask of a person, illustrates the existence, operation and circulation of discourses in society. The figure of the artist as a man passed down over the centuries contributes to the difficulty of populating legends of artists with females, since, according to tradition, the role of the Muse was intended for women. Art History has remained humanistic in its recording of artists' monographs. Any association between life and work involuntarily arranges the facts according to the pattern of the legends of artists; they provide the structural principle for that which we usually call 'the author', that figure in which we see the origin of ingenious ideas and of artistic skill.

→ Apelles

→ Ekphrasis; → Melancholy; → Mimesis, myths about

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WYSS, BEAT

Assyriology see → Ancient oriental philology and history; → Near Eastern archaeology

Astrology see → Natural sciences

Astronomy see → Natural sciences

Atheism see → Religion, critique of

Athens

I. History and interpretation II. Agora III. Acropolis IV. Kerameikos V. National Archaeological Museum VI. Other museums

I. History and interpretation

A. Introduction B. The Sources from the Classical Period – Firm Reference Points in Dealing with the History of Athens C. On the History of Athens and Interest in Athens and Its Ancient Legacy D. Characteristics and Tendencies in the History of Classical Studies E. Athens and the Creation of its Image

A. Introduction

Among the great places of antiquity that are of decisive importance for the culture and heritage of the western world, Athens (A.) plays a most important role. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the historical influence of → Rome is greater. Since time immemorial → Jerusalem, in particular, has been in competition with A. with respect to the question of which city was the foundation of history and culture and which should be regarded as such. → Sparta, on the other hand, was considered already in antiquity to be the politically more attractive counter-model and it did not completely lose this fascination even after the Second World War. Even the ancient states of the federation, particularly the Achaean Confederacy, are regularly assigned a role in the course of historically comprehensive discus-

sions in the field of political thought. Undoubtedly → Atlantis (often connected with A.) then inspired utopian dreams particularly strongly.

The suggestive power of the symbol of A. to provide historical, political, social or cultural orientation always depended on what could be ascertained with certainty about A. based on the ancient sources and the information and images of A. provided by them. Likewise, the essential classifications of the symbols associated with A. are already to be found in the ancient sources.

B. The Sources from the Classical Period – Firm Reference Points in Dealing with the History of Athens

The core of what in all eras has been considered to be the history of A. essentially goes back to the numerous testimonials from the Classical age as well as to the ancient tradition of dealing with these testimonials [15; 23]. The history of A. is present in the mythological world of imagery (especially important: Athena, Theseus), in the texts of the philosophers (above all of Plato and Aristotle) and of the historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon), in the works of the Atthidographers, authors of works on the myth, religion, history, culture, literature and topography of A. and Attica, in the works of the Attic orators (especially Isocrates and Demosthenes) above all in the eulogies to A., particularly to the fallen soldiers of the city, a tradition which was alive in the Roman Imperial period from Aelius Aristides to Himerius or Libanius and was drawn upon by Leonardo Bruni in 1428 to praise the fallen Florentine general Nanni Strozzi as well as Florence [2].

Yet more important perhaps are the Athenian structures of the Classical period (see [7; 8]) and the stories skillfully recorded by Plutarch and even more so his biographies of citizens of Athens with their enormous effect on future images of A. The tragedies and comedies that arose in A. kept the knowledge of the city, its institutions and peculiarities alive. Art works – in the form of vase painting, tomb reliefs and, especially, sculpture – played a more important role in the cultural heritage than the inscriptions.

Of course, a Pausanias in the 2nd cent. AD certainly knew to consult inscriptions. However it was not until the modern age that these were systematically re-evaluated and even in the 20th cent. important new discoveries were still recorded. The first article by Allen Brown West and Benjamin Dean Merritt in 1924, e.g. on the Attic tribute lists (edited by B.D. Merritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, M.F. Mac Gregor, 1939–1953) represented a breakthrough. Without the preliminary work of various scholars, the great systematic collections of inscriptions and the development of the casting technique – all present since from the beginning of the 19th cent. – this would not have been possible.

The *Athenaion Politeia* that is attributed to Aristotle and most certainly originated in his school was still known in the Imperial period, to be sure, but it was not

until 1891 that its rediscovery was made known. In the same year Frederic George Kenyon produced the *editio princeps*. Since then [6] the text has been one of the most important points of reference in the study of Athenian democracy.

C. On the History of Athens and Interest in Athens and Its Ancient Legacy

[19; 21; 27; 29; 30] In the Roman Imperial and in the late Roman periods [14; 18] A. was a provincial city whose ancient remains were damaged especially by the Herulian's storming the city (AD 267). Nonetheless, as a cultural centre it was held in high regard, not least because the Neoplatonic Schools still exerted a considerable influence. The fact that – several decades before the closure of the Academy – Athenais (after her baptism: Eudocia), the poet daughter of the philosopher Leontius, became a Christian empress as the wife of Theodosius II testifies to the co-existence of Christian and pagan culture as well as to the significance of A.

The influential Irene (sole ruler from 797 to 802) and shortly afterwards her relative Theophano were further empresses from A., as Theophanes reports. The city was plundered by the Slavs in 582 but remained in Byzantine hands. Positive effects for the city were felt because Emperor Constantine II stayed there in 662/3 during his campaign against the Slavs [18. 117]. Certainly in the subsequent period people in Byzantium tended rather to regard A. in an unfavourable light because of its declining culture which was still pagan. In 1018 Basilius II celebrated his victory over the Bulgarians at St. Mary's Church in the Parthenon (John Skylitzes 364, 80–83 ed. Thurn).

Of the bishops (since the beginning of the 9th cent. archbishops) of A., Michael Akominatos (Choniates) of Chonai in Phrygia showed the greatest amount of enthusiasm for the Classical past of A. and in his first sermon as the metropolitan in 1182 he reinterpreted it for his own purposes: whatever remained in the impoverished city of the former splendour and was obviously still known to the Athenians was to be surpassed in the present through the Christian way of thinking [1]. There are indeed numerous churches from the 11th/12th cents. – each one, however, with a small sanctuary. Moreover, in a similar manner to Michael Choniates, Pope Innocent III in Rome also respected the ancient greatness of A. [19. 227f.]: 'Antiquam Atheniensis gloriam civitatis innovatiogratiae non patitur antiquari'.

Nonetheless, as early as 1204 the Byzantine provincial dynast of Nauplia had devastated the lower part of the city of A. The 4th Crusade (1198–1204) led to the dismantling of the Byzantine Empire. A. was conquered and became a Frankish feudal duchy. Rule over the city, primarily by the Burgundian family de la Roche (1204–1311) and the Catalanian Compagnie (1311–85), was followed by the Florentine Acciaiuoli, during which the city in 1394 fell for a very short time into the hands of Venice. The links with Italy were significant for the rise

of the Renaissance. In 1446 the city again passed to Byzantium, but then fell in 1456 to the Turks with only the fortress holding out until 1458.

Apart from a series of isolated medieval references, we do not have coherent and more detailed descriptions of the ancient monuments until the end of the 14th cent., and from the 15th cent. from Cyriacus of Ancona, among others, who visited A. in 1436 and 1437 [13]. In medieval and early modern A. itself there was a certain interest in the ancient legacy, as the imaginative naming of ancient monuments attests. Sultan Mehmet II, the Ottoman conqueror of the city, treated A. generously, inspected the antiquities with interest and allowed A. to remain undamaged. The Athenian Laonicus Chalcocondylas (*c.* 1423–*c.* 1490) who grew up in Mistra reports in this regard in his history work but in view of the historical development he focuses on the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Regardless of this he belongs to the tradition of the great Athenian historians.

A revival of A. after 1456 was only of short duration. The city degenerated into just a provincial town. The time of Turkish rule was furthermore troubled because of the constant battles with Venice and this brought terrible destruction in the 17th cent., for instance to the Parthenon.

In the 17th cent. the French began to study the antiquities in A. The Jesuits and the Capuchins, who had been residing in A. since 1658 and who bought the Monument of Lysicrates, the so-called Lantern of Demosthenes from the Turks, and built their monastery there (Fig.1), had an important role in this. The expedition of the physician from Lyons Jacques Spon – together with George Wheler – led in 1678 to the publication of the first scientific topography of A. that continued to be of great significance for about a century.

After the French it was primarily the English who investigated A. The high point of their research was the work of the English architect James Stuart and of Nicholas Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* [4] that goes back to a mission – surpassing the rival French undertaking of Julien-David Le Roy – which the *Society of Dilettanti* that was founded in 1732 in London had inspired. The ambassador for the High Gate, Lord Elgin (Thomas Bruce), in 1816 suggested to the English government that it buy the sculptures from the Parthenon which he had shipped to London. The antiquities were to serve as models for his contemporaries and be 'beneficial to the progress of the Fine Arts in Great Britain' (Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, 1816, 2).

Philhellenism and Classicism, promoted by the hunt for art treasures, by travelers and scholars, museums and collections, images and books as well as a broad literary, artistic and intellectual movement, were not solely an aesthetic phenomenon. They went hand in hand with reforms in education and they had their social and political dimensions.

With the Greek War of Independence of 1821–1830, Greece and A. became central to interests in this regard. In 1833 A. which had been heavily destroyed became the capital city of the newly established Greek kingdom, which in view of the miserable condition of the city was by no means a matter of course. In this matter it needed the assistance of the Wittelsbach Ludwig I and his architect Leo von Klenze. Two until then unknown architects, students of Karl Friedrich Schinkel – the German Eduard Schaubert and the Greek Stamathios Cleanthes – drew up a city plan that emulated the Classical models (Fig.2). Bavarian, Prussian and Danish architects played an important part in the development of the city [25].

Directly after the wars, systematic investigations of the ancient monuments began: Greek legislation, the Central Archaeological Museum (already in the Theseion in 1833), later the Athenian National Museum that was completed in 1889, a Greek archaeological service – all of these contributed to conditions favourable as a framework to research. Worthy of mention here as well are individuals who were repeatedly important. In 1840 K.O. Müller (1797–1840) died in A. at the age of only 43; he was a scholar with great charisma who certainly also had a disastrous effect because of his descriptions of the nature of Ionians and Dorians. The Greek Archaeological Society (1837), the École Française d'Athènes (1846), a German Archäologisches Institut (1874), the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (1882), the British School at Athens (1886), in 1898 a centre of the Austrian Archäologisches Institut, in 1909 the Scuola Archeologica Italiana in Atene, in 1946 a Swedish institute and other institutions important for research have since then provided powerful momentum for investigations of ancient A. In addition to the excavations in A., the foreign schools also organized and financed scholarly activities in the Greek region – often on a grand scale.

D. Characteristics and Tendencies in the History of Classical Studies

[16; 24] According to Walther Judeich [21. 16] modern Athenian local knowledge had grown slowly; this assessment was based not least on a seminal older work by L. Comte de Laborde (1854), in other words, works that are still used today did not appear until the 19th cent. Much faster progress was indeed made in the evaluation of the literary sources. An outstanding work was written in Italy in the 16th cent.: besides key books about Rome and Bologna, Carolus Sigonius (1523–1584) wrote a seminal as well as pioneering depiction of the Athenian state institutions [3], which went through many printings in subsequent cents. (*Gronovii Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*, 13 Vols. Fol., Leiden 1697–1702, see Fig.3). French and Dutch philologists were also leaders in the field. The synoptic depiction of Greek state constitutions by the Frisian Ubbo Emmius (1547–1625) was of great influence. Eduardo Corsini (1702–1763), who came from a Florentine patrician family, published the *Fasti Attici* in 1744–56.

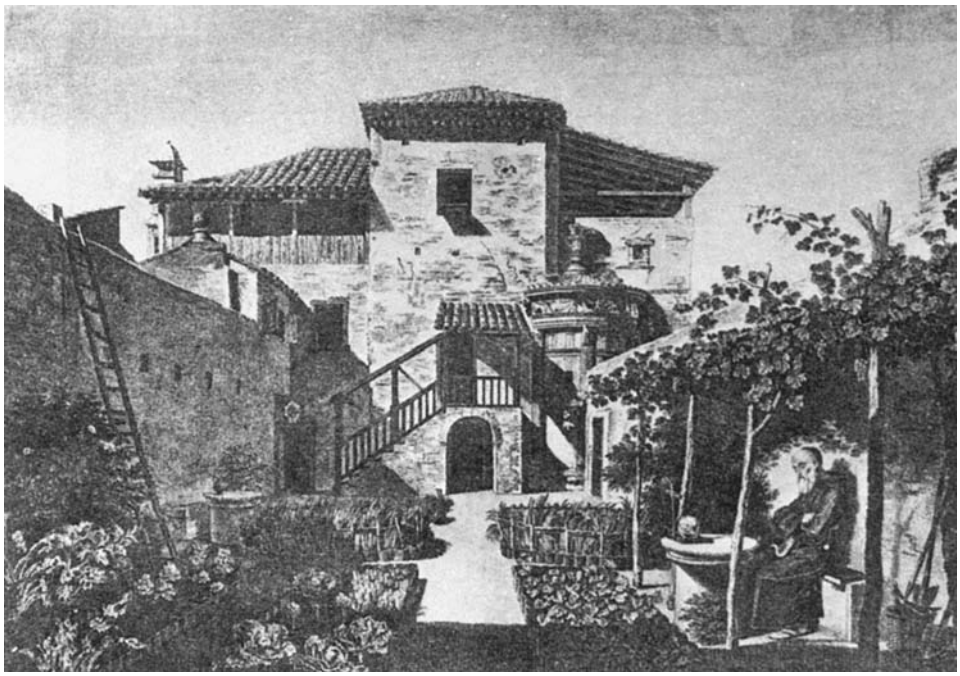

Fig. 1: The monument to Lysicrates with the Capuchin monastery. Engraving after a drawing of 1751

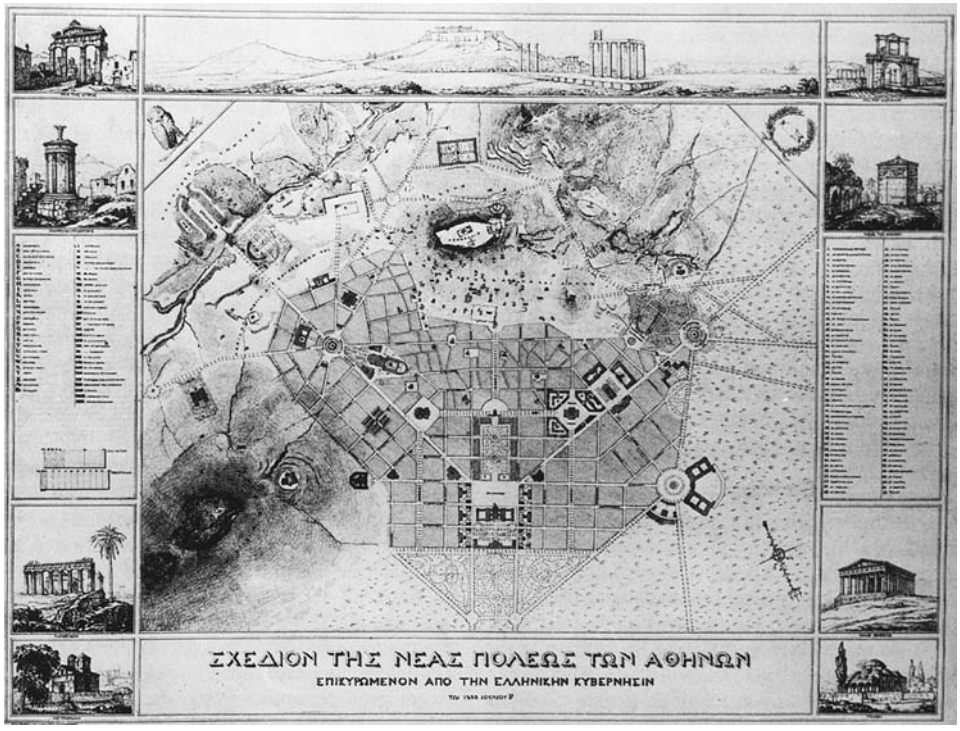

Fig. 2: Plan by St. Kleantes and E. Schaubert

Fig. 3: C. Sigonius, *De republica Atheniensium*, 1564. Title page of the 1736 reprint

In the 17th cent. it became a prerequisite that the exact philological method used in the study of manuscripts be applied to inscriptions, coins and images. The groundbreaking life work of August Boeckh (1785–1867) whose *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (State Finances of the Athenians, [5]) is not only a pioneering work but still of fundamental importance; it is based on his interest in historical interpretation and evaluation of all sources, including the inscriptions, in particular. A number of large scholarly projects in the research of Antiquity such as the *Realenzyclopädie* from 1837 onward goes back to the 19th cent., in which in the same way as in the numerous collections and museums worldwide A., of necessity, always assumes a central place. In addition there are text editions and commentaries, inscription editions as well as numerous other works about archaeology and numismatics as well as the grand historical syntheses.

Propelled and directed by A. Boeckh, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* began to appear: The request of Boeckh to the Academy was made in 1815, and it was published from 1825 with the dating from 1828 to 1877. This was followed by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* from 1873 and the *Inscriptiones Graecae* from 1903. *L'Année égraphique* (Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris) continues to publish classical, including Attic, inscriptions. An important evaluation of the sources and basis for further research was Johannes Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* (1901–1903). Alexander Christian Leopold Conze (4 Vols., 1893–1922) attended to a corpus of the Attic grave reliefs. Ernst Curtius (1814–1896) was a key figure in topography. Unsurpassed, as before, is the *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* (History of the City of Athens in the Middle Ages, [19]) by Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821–1891), which he wrote primarily in Munich after his important work on Rome [19], at a time when Byzantine studies were receiving considerable attention. Great syntheses about the Attic festivals (e.g. L. Deuber, 1932) or Attic law (e.g. J.H. Lipsius, 1905) in the 20th cent. have their precursors in corresponding works from the 19th cent. In the 20th cent. John Davidson Beazley and John Boardman, in particular, promoted research on Attic vase painting centered on painters, schools of painting and images.

The excavations begun by the Greeks in 1882 in → Eleusis that were first Greek, then from 1913 German in the Ceramicus and the American excavation of the Agora (from 1931) are especially worthy of mention; the latter was impressive because of its immense organisational achievement and led to fundamental publications whose significance extends far beyond the Agora and A.

The depiction of the history of A. in the growing number of *Greek histories* since the 18th cent. but particularly since the 19th cent. always had a wide audience and regularly inspired discussions. One of the most influential authors was George Grote (1794–1871), even though the *Griechische Geschichte* by his later rival Karl Julius Beloch (1854–1929) is regarded more highly from an academic point of view. In Grote's *A History of Greece*, Athenian democracy is viewed as a form of government in which individuals were spurred on to the highest possible achievements, which consequently they were able to accomplish for the common good, thanks to the existing freedom.

Fig. 4: The Propyläen in Munich

The discussions about the advantages and disadvantages of Athenian democracy as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the state as an historic power took place however even in connection with the figures of Pericles, Socrates [22] and Demosthenes [28]. The comparisons between ancient and modern conditions have often unleashed great emotions. The moralizing impetus when using the ancient *exempla* was just as important here as the opportunity, with the aid of ancient A., to discuss the basic organization of the state.

In this point. scholars of Antiquity always had a wider audience in mind, for example the opponents of democracy Julius Schvarcz in the 19th and Hans Bogner in the 20th cent., who today are deemed to be interesting at most from the point of view of the history of the discipline, as well as great scholars of their discipline like Engelbert Drerup and even more importantly Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Alfred Croiset crossed swords with the Action Française in 1909. In 1921 Arthur Rosenberg portrayed A. from a Marxist point of view. Moses I. Finley's plea for a democracy with broad participation (*Democracy Ancient and Modern*, 1973) is highly regarded. The German Jochen Bleicken, the French scholar Jacqueline de Romilly, the American Jennifer Talbert Roberts [26], the Finnish diplomat and expert in constitutional law, Tuttu Tarkiainen, and many others are worthy of mention. The Dane Mogens Herman Hansen dealt most comprehensively with the institutions of democracy, particularly in the 4th cent. BC, regularly drawing comparisons with modern democracy [9].

The excessive attention paid to Attic democracy and even more to a plaster cast version of A. reduced totally to Classicism has often been criticized (programmatic, for instance, is the title of a book by Hans-Joachim Gehrke, *Jenseits Athen und Sparta. Das Dritte Griechenland und seine Staatenwelt*, 1986, [Beyond Athens and Sparta: The Third Greece and its States]; but also the earlier work by Paul Nerrlich, *Das Dogma vom klassischen Altertum in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 1894, [The Dogma of Classical Antiquity in its Historical Development]). There are however several prominent and impressive studies with a perspective not confined to Classicism. A perfect example of this is Christian Habicht's synthesis of Hellenistic history [10] or Hans Lohmann's study of the demos Atene based on the archaeology of settlements (1993).

E. Athens and the Creation of its Image

[15; 20; 23; 24; 26] In Athenian self-depiction as well as in the ancient images of A., the city of A. was epitomized by its importance for education, science and culture, law and philanthropy, freedom, trade and prosperity, and for a brief period of considerable empire-building as well as for its religiosity [15; 23]. The dimensions of the symbol of A. are repeatedly being reformulated and become apparent in their diversity whenever A. is correlated with modern cities: the 'Spree-A.' Berlin, Dresden, Florence, the 'A. of America' La Paz, London, the 'Isar-A.' Munich (Fig.4), Paris or the 'Limmat-A.' Zurich (in the 18th cent.). Recurring allusions to science and philosophy take on shape with

the use of words like 'Academy', 'academic' or 'Athenaeum', and Pallas Athene still stands as a symbol of academic institutions.

A. as the first democracy has had a particular significance in connection with the processes of radical political change in the modern age, the English Glorious Revolution, the American and French Revolutions, as well as in modern thinking with regard to politics and the state. In a similar way as in Antiquity, reservations toward democratic institutions were very prevalent until the Second World War. Viewed from an historical perspective, those involved in 1993/94 in the 2500–year celebration of the introduction of democracy in A., Paris and Washington [11] have been supporting new positions. Moreover, the fact that Cleisthenian isonomy was so strongly foregrounded in the process of the development of democracy, was not previously the common perspective, although Cleisthenes, albeit in addition to Theseus and Solon, had already been mentioned regularly in the ancient tradition (Herodotus. 6,131).

The rediscovery of the *Politics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle in the 13th cent. greatly increased the number of references to A. but not the positive evaluation of democracy. Of primary importance remained the orientation towards the best possible constitution, as had already been outlined by Aristotle. This tendency was greatly reinforced by and ultimately culminated in the utopias, influenced by the Platonic Dialogues. The image of Athenian democracy as seen in the early modern period is, to an extent, a counterpoint to the lovely painting by Raphael 'School of A.', with Raphael reminding the viewer much more strongly of Roman thermal baths than of the Athenian environment, for here we are still far removed from the aesthetic turning point in the time of Winckelmann. The dynamic elements in Athenian democracy, above all the troubles which issued from the demos, repeatedly were viewed as negative factors. The fickle nature of the demos, its ingratitude in the rapid turning away from politicians and intellectuals or the unrest among the citizens – all of this was frequently criticized – likewise however also the change in the laws as well as a number of factors that were interpreted as evidence of moral and political decline, the most prominent of these being the defeat suffered in the war against the Macedonians.

Quite apart from this, Roman law and the history of Rome provided more detailed starting-points from an historical perspective, as can clearly be seen in Niccolò Machiavelli, for instance. Interest in the great texts from A. as the epitome of Greek education and science per se first grew gradually and probably not least because a return to the pre-Roman and pre-Christian periods opened up freedoms so that it was very possible at the same time to claim authority by an orientation towards tradition and that which was canonically valid.

Modern Republicanism liked to refer to the ancient examples and Thomas Hobbes already referred in a famous passage in his Leviathan (2,21) to this connection. He, like the American Founding Fathers or the revolutionaries in France, regularly commented on the shortcomings of Attic democracy, which meant that criticism of democracy certainly could be closely intertwined with an admiration for A. as the epitome of culture. It has been repeatedly stated that praise and high regard for the Classical model were ultimately used to substantiate one's own ideas. This is demonstrated in a number of academic studies in the history of the discipline on the treatment of Antiquity in the period of the American (M. Reinhold 1984; P. Rahe 1992; S.F. Wiltshire 1992; C.J. Richard, 1994) and French Revolutions (H. Parker 1937; J. Bouineau 1986; C. Mossé 1989 – as well as L. Guerci [20] and P. Vidal-Naquet, N. Loraux [31. 95ff.]).

Ancient texts are always used in this connedtion, and the most important are probably the philosophers Aristotle and Plato, the Attic dramas and the parallel biographies of Plutarch, then Herodotus and, since the 19th cent., Thucydides. Of course, great modern authors like Bodin, Hobbes and Montesquieu, and certainly not least the writers and thinkers of German Classicism became even more important, as did historical summaries – within the framework of great historical works, in lexica or as historical outlines in literature.

In political debates, speeches on festive occasions or in addresses to universities and grammar schools, A. is mentioned regularly. In the 19th cent. it became a set component of bourgeois education [31]. Always popular was the comparison with Sparta. When on March 22,1877 the great philologist Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff spoke on the emperor's birthday of the 'splendour of the Attic Empire', he saw in the First Attic Delian League a successful federal state and a state in which the rule of law prevailed, whose common ground with Germany he believed to detect in the mind and thinking of the people.

A. always played a part when the humanities were called upon in the service of the nation during the World Wars as well as in discussions about the sociopolitical structuring in numerous countries [24]. In an atmosphere of such kind in 1926, the former French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau had a *Démosthène* published (written by Robert Cohen). The *mater liberalium litterarum et philosophorum nutrix*, as it was called by Isidore of Seville (orig. 14,4,10) at the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, remained even in the 20th cent. a central reference point for the history of culture and lack of culture.

→ Atlantis; → Rome; → Sparta
→ Bavaria; → Democracy; → Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; → École française d'Athènes; → Revolution

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II. Agora

A. Introduction B. Excavations to 1930 C. Excavations after 1930

A. Introduction

The Athenian Agora, as a political, religious, social and economic centre of the city, is one of the most historic locations in Greece. To be sure, the remains of its buildings cannot directly relate its significance, since the only outstandingly well preserved building is the Hephaisteion from the Age of Pericles (second half of the 5th cent. BC) that was protected from destruction and dilapidation by a timely transformation into a Christian church (Fig. 1). Because of its symbolic value, the Agora awakened archaeological interest at an early stage. As however fewer remains of buildings known through literature are recognizable today than formerly, the history of excavation has for a long time been marked by controversy. Only the excavations after the Second World War reduced the amount of leeway for speculation. The excavation of Agora was for a long time considered to be the special task and also the privilege of Greek researchers.

B. Excavations to 1930

Immediately after the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829), two outstanding architects, S. Cleanthes and E. Schaubert, were commissioned by the Greek government in 1832 to design a plan for the development of Athens as the capital city of the new kingdom. They recommended limiting the new site to the area north of the Acropolis so that the region of the ancient cities of Theseus and Hadrian would be available for later research. Initially financial difficulties prevented the systematic implementation of this plan but the Greek Archaeological Society took advantage of every opportunity that emerged in order to research individual buildings.

Their greatest contribution was the uncovering of the Stoa of Attalus (Attalus Hall) during a long series of excavation campaigns (1859–1862, 1874 and 1898–1902). Initially the archaeologists linked the remains with various names known from Antiquity (among others Stoa Poikile, Gymnasium of Ptolemy) that also found expression in the modern names of nearby streets. In 1861 however an inscription was discovered through which the building could be identified clearly as the Stoa of Attalus II of Pergamum (159–138 BC)

Fig. 1: The Agora and surrounding area from the southwest, with the Lycabettus Hill in the background (after Joseph Thürmer, 1819)

Fig. 2: Model of the Agora from the northwest

that had previously only been known from Athenaios 5, 212f.

Also the now so-called Gymnasium of the Giants (1859, 1871 and 1912) and parts of the western Agora (1907–1908) were excavated by the Greek archaeologists. The huge marble figures in these remains of the building were still known in the 15th cent. (mentioned by the 'Viennese Anonymus', 1456–1458, in [6 vol. I.732] as statues of Zeus; a drawing of a statue as mermaid by Cyriacus of Ancona in 1436 or during the 1440s:), but they were then built over. Only after the destruction of these buildings in the Greek War of Independence did the large figures again become visible (now in the Agora Museum) and they gave occasion for much speculation. The German scholar Ludwig Ross, for instance, considered the group to be a reconstruction from Roman times of the eponymous heroes (heroes after whom the 10 phylae were named). After the excavations of the Archaeological Society, the row of statues proved to be part of a larger layout, whose purpose and time of origin however remained obscure. Only after the area had been completely uncovered in the 1930s was one able to determine that the Giants adorned the northern entry to a large Gymnasium from Late Antiquity.

In 1890–1891, for the construction of a railway section from Athens to Piraeus, a ditch with a width of *c.* 15 m was dug through the northern part of the Agora that brought to light extensive remains of ancient buildings and sculptures; these were measured and sketched by German archaeologists. The ditch, for the most part, ran through the square and therefore did little damage to the ancient buildings. Nevertheless remains at the north-western edge of the Agora fell victim to the construction of the railway. From 1891 to 1898 the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* began systematic excavations under the direction of Wilhelm Dörpfeld with the aim of investigating the exact site of the Agora. Between the Areopagus and the Pnyx (site of the people's assembly) the German archaeologists excavated a large area with private houses and small sanctuaries. These excavations allow a vivid insight into a residential area in ancient Athens.

In 1907–1908 the Greek Archaeological Society took over the area below the Temple of Hephaistos (Hephaisteion). In particular, they uncovered remains of the Temple of Apollo Patroos, remains of additional temples, of the Metroon (Sanctuary of μήτηρ θεῶν = Cybele; State Archive), of the Buleuterion (meeting chamber of the *búlē*, 'Council') and the four long stone seats on the eastern slope of the Colonus. The first identifications, primarily made by Dörpfeld, often proved to be wrong.

C. Excavations after 1930

The increase in population in Athens after the First World War and the influx of refugees from Asia Minor after 1922 forced the Greek government to decide between a continuation of the large scale excavations on the one hand and a loosening of the regulations and permission to build on the land on the other. Under the leadership of the Greek archaeologist Alexander Philadelpheus, a movement arose in support of the continuation of the diggings. After a corresponding draft bill put to the Greek parliament had initially failed, foreign archaeological institutions were asked for sponsorship. The American School of Classical Studies that received financial assistance from John D. Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Foundation, successfully supported the excavations. The Greek parliament in 1930 passed a bill by which the American School of Classical Studies, after compensating the property owners, was entitled to excavate the area and to publish the results; after the conclusion of the excavations the area was to be landscaped. All funds had to remain the property of the Greek government in Greece. At that time the land was almost completely developed. The area had over 300 houses in which about 5000 people lived. Although the position of the site had been established with great precision (two boundary stones that marked the exact extension of the site were found in 1938 and 1968), there was very little agreement about the precise locations of the individual buildings known from the ancient writings. Only the Stoa of Attalus had been clearly identified at this point.

The excavations began in 1931 and were continued until 1940 in annual digging campaigns lasting four to five months. The modern buildings for whose construction ancient materials had often been used first had to be demolished carefully and up to 12 m of silt and rubble had to be cleared away. By the outbreak of the Second World War, most of the area had been uncovered and the outline of the ancient site could be defined.

After the discovery of the Tholos (building for the Prytanes, 1934) which was clearly identifiable because of its round shape, the buildings situated to the north of it could also be identified with the aid of the list in Pausanias. (1,3,1ff.): the Bouleuterion, the Metroon, the Temple of Apollo Patroos (the discovery of a colossal statue of Apollo by the Greek Archaeological Society had already indicated in 1907 that there was a temple) and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. The discovery too of the Altar of the Twelve Gods founded by Peisistratus the Younger in 521/20, whose central position in the ancient city's topography was known from literary sources, facilitated the identification and dating of its surroundings. In 1933 parts of the late ancient city wall that until then had been called the Valerian Wall were excavated south of the Stoa of Attalus. Through stratigraphic tests the wall could be dated to the period shortly after the Herulian destruction (AD 267). The fact that the entire wall had been constructed from recycled building materials explains the extremely derelict condition of the older buildings on the Agora. From 1935 more and more burial places were found that throw light on the early settlement of Athens and the burial rites: a family tomb mainly from the late 8th cent. BC south of the Tholos (1935), a Mycenaean chamber

tomb on the northern slope of the Areopagus (1939, 1947), other Mycenaean burial places between the north-eastern and the north-western part of the ancient site (1949–1953), a cemetery from the early Geometric Period at the north-western foot of the Areopagus (1932, 1967) and an enclosed burial ground on the western slope of the Areopagus that was used from the 8th to the late 6th cents. BC (1939). In the mid–30s the major buildings on the southern side of the Agora were also excavated and identified: the Middle Stoa, the Odeum of Agrippa and a gymnasium from about AD 400 (Gymnasium of the Giants). After the north-eastern corner of the site had been cleared of late Roman and medieval rubble, a peristyle house from the late 4th cent. AD, a round well-house from the mid 2nd cent. AD and the 'Orators' Tribune built for the Roman generals' ('Bema', Ath. 5,212F) came to light, as well as a small columned hall that had for a long time been known as the North-eastern Stoa but in 1970 was identified as an extension to the large basilica that had been positioned past the site.

Further west, under the rubble, the Temple of Ares was discovered in 1937, whose proximity to the Odeum corresponded to Pausanias' description (Paus. 1,8,6; 14,1). The discrepancy between its superstructure which clearly comes from the mid 5th cent. BC and its foundation walls from the late 1st cent. BC can be explained by the practice in the 1st cent. of moving famous old temples from rural districts of Attica to the Agora. Once the actual Agora had, for the most part, been uncovered, archaeologists turned to the area between the southeastern corner of the square and the northwestern edge of the Acropolis. Here in three excavation campaigns between 1937 and 1939, the exact course of the Panathenaea road could be determined. The Eleusinium (Temple of Demeter), about whose position literary sources provide only imprecise information, was uncovered and identified.

The excavation of the northern slope of the Areopagus was begun in 1939. While researchers prior to the excavations mostly were of the opinion that many public buildings of the Agora must have stood on this slope, it now turned out that throughout Antiquity it was mainly covered with private houses with only sparse remains left. The Second World War interrupted the work but did not do any notable damage. After the war the work was resumed with the goal of uncovering the entire area up to the level it had had in Antiquity. This second series of excavation campaigns lasted from 1946 to 1960. At that time all the major buildings were explored according to the provisions of the original excavation permit and numerous probes were taken from deeper layers. A large part of the earliest layers remained untouched intentionally. It is true that, as a result, many early tombs, wells and minor monuments remained undiscovered but this method of proceeding made it possible to check through new diggings the conclusions of the first excavators.

The original excavation permit of 1930 allowed for investigations of the major part of the western Agora as well as the entire east and south sides. The north side of the ancient square had not yet been discovered. It had to lie north of the railway track to Piraeus that formed the northern boundary of the first excavation permit. The search for the north side began in 1969 in collaboration with the Greek government. The most recent excavations in this area led to the discovery of the Stoa Basilius at the farthest northwest corner of the square as well as a basilica at the northeast corner. The decorative addition of colonnades on the Panathenaea road, which are mentioned by ancient authors could now be understood with the aid of the finds. A series of modest houses, partly with shops from the Classical period, showed that the site was expanded on the east side only later. In the early Roman period these buildings were replaced by a stoa with a southerly orientation. The construction of a large and splendidly decorated basilica demonstrates both the reflourishing of Athens under Hadrian (Paus. 1,20,7) and the influence of Roman predilections in the architecture of public buildings on the old Greek city. New excavations along the north side of the Hadrian Road since 1980 have brought to light the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Stoa Poikile north of the square. Excavations in this area are still going on.

Just as the historical and architectonic development of the Agora in the Classical period of Athens became clear, so too did interest grow in the relationship between the ancient square and the large Roman buildings on its east side, the market of Caesar and Augustus and the library of Hadrian. Here too important excavations could be carried out from 1971 on. Originally, a museum was to be built between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs to house the finds from the excavations. This area however proved so rich in finds that a large new building seemed impossible. Instead of this it was decided in 1948 to reconstruct an ancient building as a museum. The Stoa of Attalus appeared to be the best suited because of its size and the possibility of exact reconstruction. From 1949 on the land around the Stoa on the east side of the square was therefore investigated first. In 1953 the work began on the reinforcing of the ancient foundation walls and on rebuilding the Stoa. The museum, opened in 1956, houses all the moveable objects found on the Agora since 1931 as well as several outstanding finds from earlier excavations, e.g. the statues of Apollo Patrous and the head of a Triton from the Gymnasium of the Giants. All the documentation from the most recent excavations is also stored here.

In the 1950s conservation of the excavations, as required by the law of 1930, as well as the laying out of a park began. Plantings are restricted to plants native to Greece and where possible they follow literary and archaeological notes with regard to ancient cultivation.

→ Athens
→ Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

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III. Acropolis

A. History of the Influence and Significance of the Acropolis – General Overview B. Post-Antiquity: History of the Monuments to the Early 19th Cent. C. The History of Research, Excavation and Restoration in the 19th and 20th Cent. D. The Acropolis as Model and Epitome of Classicism

A. History of the Influence and Significance of the Acropolis – General Overview

As early as the turn of the 5th to the 4th cent. BC, the Acropolis took on a museum-like character in that its collection of monuments was of increasing symbolic significance due to its reference back to the 'great age' of Athens. Even though the Acropolis, in subsequent centuries, continued to remain the target of construction processes and monument dedications, the history of its reception nevertheless begins in Greek Antiquity. This is demonstrated by the few monuments that the autonomous polis of Athens had built on the Acropolis after the defeat at Aegospotamoi (for instance, dedications for the nauarchs Conon and Timotheus in 394 and 375 BC) and by the use of the Acropolis as a backdrop, for instance for the Theatre of Dionysos built in the mid 4th cent. BC on the southern slope in the massive stone technique of architecture.

Hellenistic and later Roman regents used the Acropolis intensively as a background for the staging of ostentatious productions, frequently insinuating an historical military reference to Athens' role in world politics in the 5th cent. BC Notable examples are Alexander's arms dedication from the Persian booty after the Battle of Granicus in 334 BC together with the bronze inscription on the epistyle of the Parthenon alluding to Athens' victories against the Persians in 480/79 BC (transmitted in Arr. Anab. 1,16,7); the incorporation of Roxane in the world of gods and heroes of Athens gathered in the Erechtheion; the Pergamene dedications (Eumenes' column in front of the Propylaeum in 178 BC as well as the 'small' Gallic anathema on the castle wall in front of the Parthenon that probably originated during the reign of Attalus II); the redesignation of the Eumenes' column to Agrippa in 27 BC; the building of the Monopteros for Roma and Augustus in front of the Parthenon; the honours for Nero (a statue with an accompanying inscription on the epistyle of the Parthenon); the construction of an Odeum by the patron of the arts, Herodes Atticus, on the southern slope of the Acropolis (in the Hadrianic period) as well as the erection of two portrait statues, rich in allusions, of Julia Domna directly beside the Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon and the Athena-Polias-Xoanon in the Erechtheion (early 3rd cent. AD). A no less relevant part of the ancient history of the reception of the Acropolis is represented by the robberies and plunderings of the site, beginning with the desecration of the Erechtheion by Demetrius Poliorcetes (304 BC) and the tyranny of Lachares (297/96 BC), culminating in the subsequent capture of the city by the Herulians in AD 267; the dismantling of the immense sculptures of Athena Promachos and Athena Parthenos, presumably in the late 4th or 5th cent. AD (both sculptures were presumably taken to Constantinople and were lost there); and the willful, Christian-motivated destruction of numerous metopes of the Parthenon, probably in the 5th cent.

To the same extent that Athens was marginalized in the eastern Roman and later in the Byzantine Empire, the importance of the Acropolis declined. The Parthenon and Erechtheion were transformed into Christian churches although the Acropolis with St. Mary's Church in the Parthenon as a centre did not become an bishopric until the 9th cent.; in eloquent words, Archbischop Michael Choniates in 1145 lamented the decline of Athens. The military turmoil of the 12th–15th cents. (Frankish, Byzantine, Catalan, Florentine and Venetian conquests) as well as the progressive fixation of the world historical perspective on Byzantium and the Holy Land almost erased the city from memory so that in 1573 the Tübingen scholar, Martin Crusius (Kraus), even came to question the existence of the city; depictions of Athens, for instance in the Flemish Chronicle of Jean de Courcy (1473) or in Hartmann Schedel's World Chronicle (1493), are visual topoi of Gothic style without any specific details of the place and are not based on any close and rigorous examination. For an important inventory of buildings and depictions of the Acropolis immediately before the Turkish-Ottoman conquest (1457/58) we are indebted to the merchant Cyriacus di Piccicolle of Ancona, who visited Athens in 1436 and 1447, copied numerous inscriptions and among other things made sketches of the Parthenon.

In the almost 400 years of the Ottoman-Turkish occupation of Athens (1458–1827) the Acropolis was the centre of the local public administration; the ancient buildings were used in new contexts (the church in the Parthenon was transformed into a mosque and the Erechtheion into a harem) but it was by no means willfully destroyed. The area around the Acropolis itself experienced an increasingly dense settlement. Various views of the 17th–19th cents. (especially in Stuart-Revett and Dodwell) and reports like those of Jacques Spon (1678) describe uninhibited use of the Acropolis, the busy part of the city of Athens. The destruction of parts of the ancient monuments was to a large extent

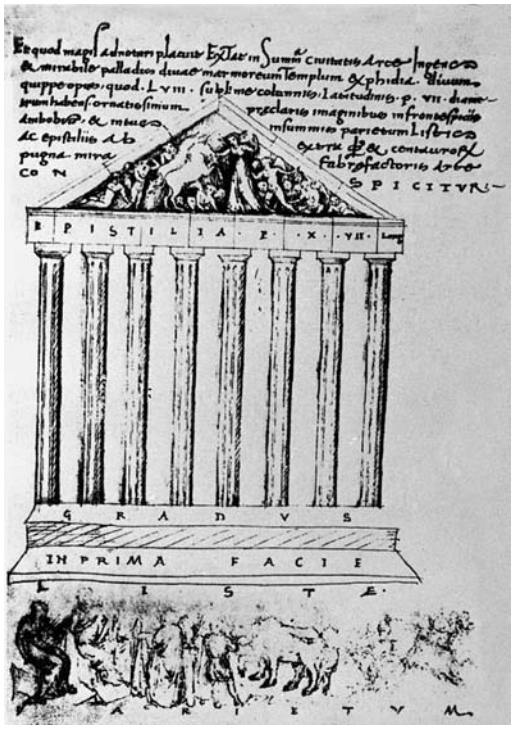

Fig. 1: Sketch of the western side of the Parthenon. From the records of Cyriacus of Ancona, 1447

the product of acts of war (explosion of the gunpowder magazine in the Parthenon after the Venetian bombardment in 1687; the use of the Propylaeum and Nike Temple in entrenchments), as well as the consequences of targeted art theft. Since the 18th cent., in the course of the 'Rediscovery of Greece' (→ Classicism; → Greece), the Acropolis with its buildings and artifacts became synonymous with and a paradigm of idealized Classicism. The process of appropriation by the European cultural elites ranged from diagrammatic copying (among others LeRoy; Stuart-Revett) to seizure of property, via dismantling and robbing (among others the expeditions of Comte Choiseul-Gouffier 1787 and Lord Elgin in 1800–1803; → Museum), to the extensive copying and refunctioning of [the ancient] buildings and art in Europe and America (see below) and the reconstruction on several occasions of the ancient ruins on site according to the respective standard of popular notions en vogue at that time (see below).

B. Post-Antiquity: History of the Monuments to the Early 19th Cent.

(Figs. 1–4) An important turning-point in the history of the tradition of the Acropolis monuments is the dissolution of the pagan sanctuaries and the forced Christianization of Greece in the early 5th cent. The Parthenon and Erechtheion were transformed into churches, probably as early as the 5th or the early 6th cent. Especially at the Parthenon, the restructuring left clear traces

Fig. 2: Bombardment of the Acropolis and explosion of the Parthenon in 1687. Illustration from Francesco Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, Venice 1707 (after a contemporary drawing)

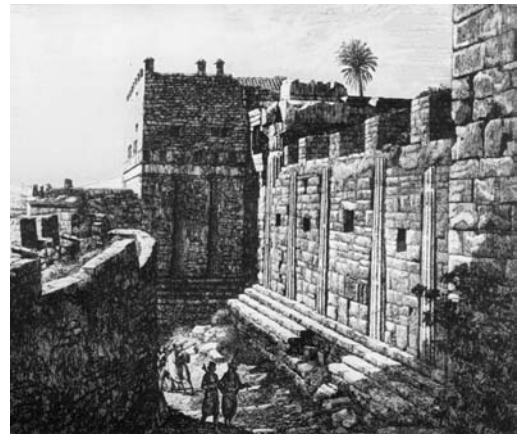

Fig. 3: Ascending to the fortified Acropolis: castellated defense walls, towers, and the walled-up intercolumnia of the Propylaea serve to secure access to the castle mount. Etching after a drawing by Joseph Türmer (1819/1825)

Fig. 4: The inhabited Acropolis, *c.* 1800. Aquatint plate in: Edward Dodwell, *Views in Greece from Drawings*, 1821

(moving of the entrance to the west side; finishing of the east side with an apse that was externally encased in a rectangular structure; installation of an altar; opening between the cella and opisthodomos – as well as side window openings?–; extension of the cella together with the galleries into a two-storey basilica with three naves; painting of the interior with Christian frescoes; destruction of various metope reliefs considered to be offensive because they were pagan). The reorientation and installation of an apse are also attested for the Erechtheion. In the Pinacoteca and the other annex buildings of the Propylaeum, formal rooms for church and secular dignitaries were provided (and they remained such, with interruptions, until the early 19th cent.). The actual Propylaeum complex continued to serve as a monumental gateway; because of its smallness as a building, the otherwise relatively unusable Temple of Nike, was utilized initially as a warehouse. The other buildings of the Acropolis became dilapidated. Their remnants were reused and the marble rubble was frequently burnt into lime. In the turmoil of the 13th and 14th cents. the Acropolis was extended into a fortress, the walls were raised with battlements and the Propylaeum was secured by the Franks with a solid fortified tower (which until its demolition in the 19th cent. was a landmark building in Athens). With the Ottoman-Turkish conquest, the Erechtheion was reorganized as a harem with the removal of all the Christian installations and building alterations (which left the external appearance of the building to a large extent untouched, although the interior with its many rooms was significantly changed); at the Parthenon the Christian frescoes were whitewashed, the altar was dismantled and the pulpit and prayer niche were installed, oriented in a strictly easterly direction towards Mecca, and a high minaret was added.

A second, highly significant turning-point occurred with the besieging, bombardment and conquest of the Acropolis by the Venetian troops of Francesco Morosini in 1687. As a defensive measure on the part of the garrison, the Nike Temple was completely demolished and used in the construction of fortification walls; at the same time the Intercolumnium of the Propylaeum was closed by being solidly walled up. The attempt by the Venetians to undermine the rock of the Acropolis and to completely blow it up failed. The key to the (short-lived) conquest of the Acropolis was a hit on the powder magazine in the Parthenon (26 September 1687); the explosion triggered by this devastated vast areas of the castle and cost the lives of over 300 soldiers who were defending it. The Parthenon which until then had largely been preserved as a building was blown apart and left lying in ruins in which after the retreat of the Venetians and after the return of the Turks a small, domed mosque was built. The drawings by Jacques Carrey of 1674 (now in the British Museum), which were carried out in the context of the Acropolis expedition of Marquis de Nointel, provide a priceless record of the building ornamentation of the intact Parthenon, although to this day their details have been considered controversial and are the subject of debate among scholars.

Together with the Venetian conquest of the Acropolis began the modern history of its wanton plundering. Numerous fragments of sculptures were carried off as souvenirs (which later ended up in many different museums throughout the world). The attempt by the conqueror Morosini, to follow the tradition of the Byzantine conqueror Enrico Dandolo and dismantle the central group of the western gable of the Parthenon as a trophy of war came to nothing; the group of figures fell to the ground and was smashed to pieces (only a few fragments have to date been retrieved and properly assigned). The plundering reached its peak with the expedition of Lord Elgin – first started as an enterprise to obtain plaster casts – who, with a permit of the Sublime Porte, between 1800 and 1803 dismantled almost half of the frieze, 14 metope plates and 17 gable sculptures from the Parthenon, as well as a column and a Caryatid from the Erechtheion; gathered up frieze plates from the Nike Temple and other sculptures lying on the ground; and took them to London (where the Elgin Marbles later were to become an important nucleus of the British Museum; → London, British Museum).

Unlike the fate of the relatively well-documented history of the buildings, that of the free standing marble, bronze and gold ivory sculptures of the Acropolis is unknown. The Athena Parthenos and presumably also the colossal bronze Athena Promachos were shipped to Constantinople and destroyed there, at the latest in the inferno of sacking of 1204. The precious metal, bronze and ivory that were left on site went, as was generally the case, toward post-classical production; different from the archaic sculptures which were levelled and buried in the 'Persian rubble' after 479 BC and were thus inaccessible, marble sculptures are preserved only to a small extent; most of them were burnt into lime in the course of the century.

C. The History of Research, Excavation and Restoration in the 19th and 20th Century

(Figs. 5–8) As early as 1834, i.e. only one year after the Acropolis was surrendered by the capitulating Turkish garrison to a Bavarian contingent of troops, the Acropolis was cleared by decree of all settlement, and after controversy and discussion on the future of the area that was now under the decisive influence of the Bavarian Leo von Klenze, it became the exclusive sphere of activity of archaeologists. Greeks and primarily Germans now worked on it together; within a few weeks, all existing, non-Greek ancient buildings were demolished. There is consensus among scholars today that the first excavation campaigns conducted until 1890/1891 are among the greatest disasters of modern field archaeology. The knowledge of excavation techniques that had been greatly refined in the 19th cent. were barely applied here; in the treasure hunting mentality of the 18th cent. people had, within a short

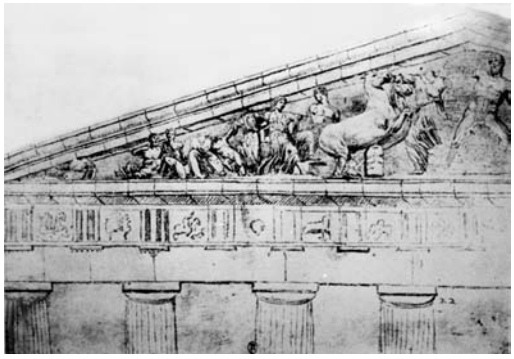

Fig. 5: Drawing of the western pediment of the Parthenon by Jacques Carrey, 1674

Fig. 6: Rebuilding the Temple of Nike 1835/36, in: L. Ross, E. Schaubert, Ch. Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen I: Der Tempel der Nike Apteros*, 1839, frontispiece

Fig. 7: Excavations on the Acropolis in the 1880s

Fig. 8: Anastylosis work in the Parthenon 1988. *With Permission of the author*

time, dug right down to the rock and shifted the obstructive excavated material from place to place (and finally dumped it right off the Acropolis). There was practically no documentation of the findings at all. The consequences of these actions have been the subject of archaeological controversy down to the present, since key problems like the exact dating and the order of the layers of the 'Persian rubble' (with their effect on the entire chronology of Greek art) have to date remained just as unclarified, as the timing, the sequence and sometimes even, as in the case of the → Parthenon, the precise number of building phases of individual architectures. The symbolic power and fame of the Acropolis of Athens still to this day contrast remarkably with the extremely scanty knowledge of its topography; even the meticulous analysis of photos and diary notes of the excavators conducted by J. Bundgaard in the 1970s could not contribute to the clarification of important facts in many instances. The collected finds from these campaigns have been housed to date in the Acropolis Museum that was constructed in 1874 on ground that had previously been probed only cursorily (a new building outside the plateau and demolition of the old museum are currently under discussion).

An additional problem of scholarly investigations of the Acropolis that has only recently been taken seriously – not only from a technical point of view – concerns the restorations of the Parthenon, Propylaeum, Nike Temple and Erechtheion, which at no time had followed objective historical criteria but were always the product of a desired ideal of the classical nature of the site. The goal not only of the excavations but also of the restoration efforts was the Acropolis of the 5th cent. BC; all other historical phases and constellations were not taken into account from the outset (and therefore their relics and traces were irretrievably wiped out to a large extent). What finally evolved through excavations and anastylosis measures was a skeleton construct of Classicism, a sight of the Acropolis that today seems self-evident but that did not exist in this form at any time before the 19th cent.

Immediately after the settlements on the acropolis hill were disbanded, one began to gather up scattered structural components and to reallocate them for the architectural structures. The greatest anastylosis measures of the 19th cent. were the complete reconstruction of the Nike Temple on the ancient bastion (1835/36 and 1843/44), utilizing the structural components salvaged from the entrenchment walls, and the restoration of the Caryatid porch of the Erechtheion (finished in 1844). More extensive restoration was carried out under N. Balanos: the Parthenon (1898–1902 and 1922–1933) was supplemented with vast parts of the peristasis shattered in 1687; on the Erechtheion (1902–1909) parts of the wall construction were restored; the Propylaea (1909–1917) were cleared of all non-Classical remnants; and the Nike Temple (1935–1939) was finally totally dismantled again and completely 'rebuilt'. It was not only the use of iron bars (which corroded in the course of time, burst the marble and in this way caused further damage) that proved problematic but also the lack of uniformity in the methods of restoration as a whole. The aim was to 'beautify' a ruin, certainly to restore it but not to refine its completion properly; nonetheless new material was often used (and not only, for instance for reasons of authenticity, ancient material) and visually 'adapted' by purposely damaging the surface so that today it can barely be distinguished from the original building stone. The restoration project of the 1980s and 1990s, frequently discussed and controversial, was technically motivated because of the damage done in the Balanos restoration work, although it was fundamentally in the same Classicist tradition: Its reference point, with some exceptions, was to a large extent Classicism as an historical category; it also had as its goal the 'beautification' of the ruins, but not a completion of the main parts of the buildings, carried out in a methodically, theoretically and technically possible manner.

D. The Acropolis as Model and Epitome of Classicism

(Figs.9–12). Already in Antiquity, the Acropolis with its buildings and art works became a model, a universal ideal of Classical art and architecture, which was adapted and disseminated in the form of copies and reconstructions. A copy of Athena Parthenos decorated the library of Pergamum; copies were made of the Caryatids (Rome, Forum of Augustus; Tivoli, Villa Hadriana), of the ornamentation on the buildings (likewise on the Forum of Augustus) and of the Ionian column order of the Erechtheion (on the Monopteros for Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis itself) as well as extensive adaptations of building structures ('large' Propylaea in → Eleusis as a partial duplicate of the Mnesicles-Propylaea of the Acropolis). Of the Classical Greek sculptures preserved in Roman copies, quite a large number belong to the sculptures of the Acropolis.

In the course of the 'Rediscovery' of Greece, the Acropolis again became the paradigm of a Classical ideal. Detailed study of the ruins has become a basis for our own building activity. On numerous occasions, architectural motifs of the Acropolis, primarily the central part of the Propylaeum, the eight-pillar front of the Parthenon and the west wall of the Erechtheion have recently been adapted as ennobling citations with greater or lesser degrees of authenticity in Europe and North America (→ Greek Revival). Here the building records made on site (in addition to Stuart and Revett, the widely disseminated and frequently translated one-volume compendium by LeRoy, and later many and varied derivatives of these models) and occasionally also casts, guaranteed the imparting of shapes and proportions. Simultaneously, in the early 19th cent., the Acropolis in the context of → Romanticism became a popular travel destination. Idyllic, bucolic visions that artistically interweave the landscapes and folkloric ambience with the silhouette of the Acropolis are to be

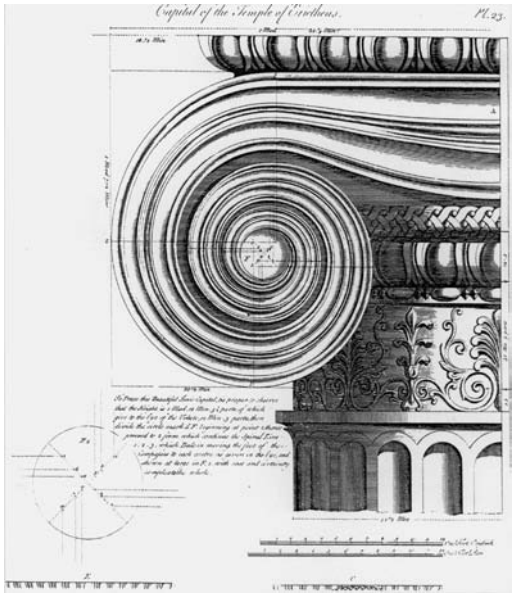

Fig. 9: Drawing of the Ionic order of the Erechtheum, in: Julien David LeRoy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, 1758*

Fig. 10: The Parthenon as a decorative motif on the business card of the American architect J.H. Dawkin, 1833

Fig. 11: Erechtheum Korai adorning the 0176 of the boutique 'Hyper, Hyper' in London, Knightsbridge, 1988. *With Permission of the author*

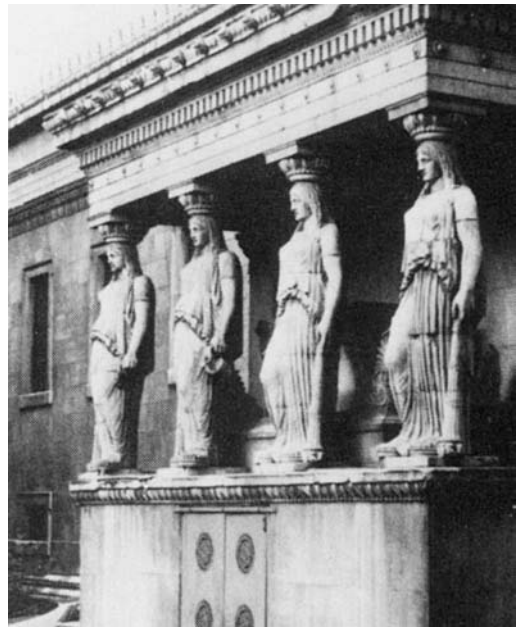

Fig. 12: Copy of the Porch of the Maidens at St Pancras Church, London, by W. H. and W. Inwood, 1819–1822. *With Permission of the author*

found in great numbers as visual and textual topoi not only in printed graphics and the travel reports of the 19th cent., which were closely connected with these but also in poetry (e.g. Hölderlin's *Hyperion*), theatre and music (e.g. Beethoven's overture *Die Ruinen von Athen* composed to an opera fable of Kotzebue); dominant in all these manifestations is a mixture of authentic antiquity, freely invented ancient mythology and the timelessly transfigured world of the ancient Greeks. Visual adaptations of Acropolis motifs are still to be found in great numbers today and these are predominantly kitschy.

For the modern state of Greece the Acropolis and hence the Classical epoch of Pericles has since the foundation of the state assumed a significant role as a national symbol, often reproduced in whole or in part on coins, notes, stamps and other materials that bear sovereign images. However, with regard to the national identity of Greece, a virulent shift in emphasis has occurred to early Hellenism and the region of Macedonia -not least rooted in foreign policy-with the discovery of the royal tombs of Vergina in 1977.

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IV. Kerameikos

A. Introduction B. History of the Excavation C. Kerameikos Museum and Restoration Measures D. Significance of the Finds for the History of Research E. Reception of the Monuments

A. Introduction

The Kerameikos is an → Archaeological park situated between Piraeus and Hermes Roads in Athens (Fig. 1: plan of the excavations 1997). Its name is derived from the potters' quarter of the ancient city. In the lowlands of the Eridanus river now uncovered by the excavations, important roads ran to the Piraeus harbour, to Boeotia and to the Peleponnes. Graves had been plotted on the river banks since the Bronze Age, and from the Sub-Mycenaean Period until Late Antiquity the area was continuously used as a cemetery. After the building of the Themistocleian city wall (478 BC) the Classical cemetery of Athens occupied the grounds in front of the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon. Some of its monuments are still mentioned in Pausanias (Paus. 1,2,4; 1,3,1; 1,14,6). The archaeological site embraces a section of the city's defense system: the city walls with two gates and an outer wall and moat (proteichisma), also buildings within the city walls (Pompeium and private houses) as well as sanctuaries, public graves as well as private family graves, a bath and work-

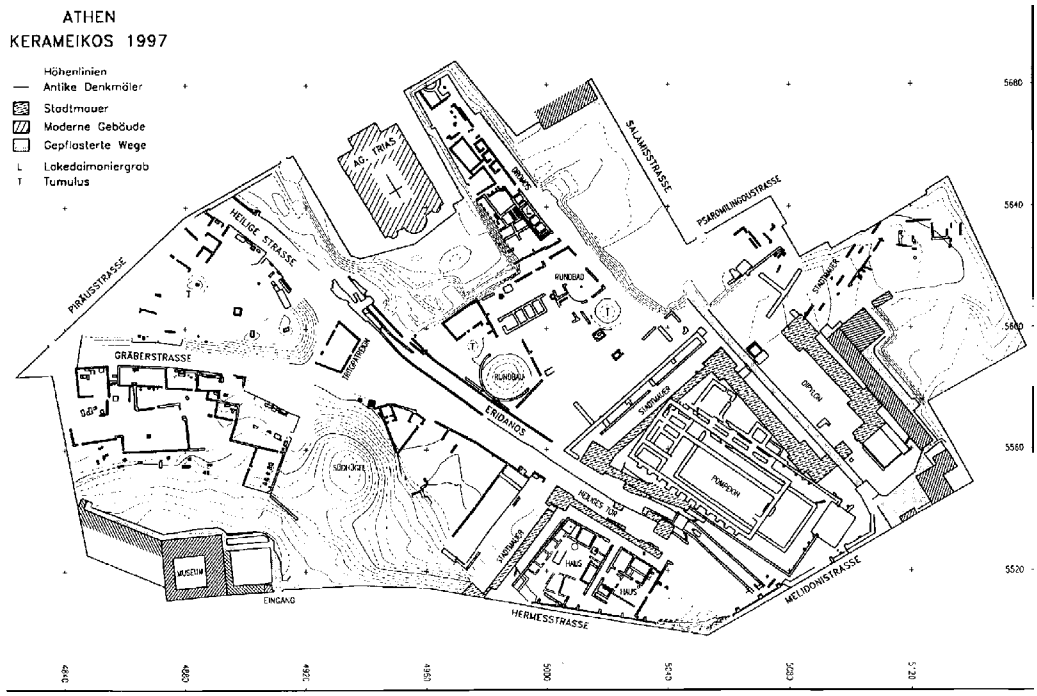

Fig. 1: Overview of the excavation site in the Kerameikos (1997).
Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Kerameikos excavation

shops outside the walls along the roads. Excavations brought to light monuments dating from the late 3rd millennium BC to the 7th cent. AD. In the 19th cent. a small church of the Hagia Trias stood on the grounds in front of the Porta Morea of the Turkish city wall [47]. In 1931 the church was torn down so that the excavations could be carried out. It was replaced in 1957 by a large new building which now dominates the archaeological site (Figs. 3: Church of the Haghias Trias and 4: The modern church 1995).

B. History of the Excavation

The archaeological exploration of the Kerameikos was preceded by a collection of sources compiled by the scholar Joannes Meursius (1579–1639) and published in Utrecht in 1663 [20a]. The first excavations were undertaken at the beginning of the 19th cent. (for the excavations of the French ambassador, L.-F.-S. Fauvel, see [54. 13, 33], also [16. 415]). K.S. Pittakis (1798–1863) began documenting the finds from the Kerameikos and its neighbouring areas in 1838. Classical funerary reliefs were discovered during construction work for the new Piraeus Road (1860). In 1861 P. Pervanoglu (1833–1894) and St. A. Kumanudis (1818–1899) each led investigations in the vicinity of the Hagia Trias. K.S. Pittakis then conducted excavations in the area between the church and the new Piraeus Road, unearthing large quantities of human skeletons as well as a number of potters' workshops [50a; 36. 22]. The chance discovery in 1863 of the akroterion stele (Kerameikos, Inv. I 245; IG II2 No. 8551) in the precinct of a family from Heraclea Pontica provided the impetus for a systematic study of the area. The stele still stood upright within the walls of the family precinct. These investigations along the Street of the Tombs were conducted by A.S. Rhusopulos (1823–1898) under the leadership of the Archaeological Society of Athens.

Several well-preserved family tombs were discovered, aligned side by side, and the find was understood as an opportunity to reconstruct on this site an Attic cemetery of the Classical period. Despite or rather precisely because of the political crisis in Greece at the time [11. 82, 264], the discoveries attracted particular public attention (cf. [36. 38]). The first comprehensive publication of the Street of the Tombs appeared as early as 1863 [55]. The Archaeological Society resumed the excavations in 1870 and with interruptions continued until 1913. The monuments on the Street of the Tombs were explored, as well as a large section of the city wall including the two city gates and parts of the Pompeium. Prominent politicians supported the research activities during this time: in 1889, the Minister of the Interior St. Dragoumis (1842–1923) made it a point to personally determine the routes for new roads along the excavation area, and in 1890 Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis (1832–1896) spoke out in favour of continued investigations along the Street of the Tombs.

In 1913 the Kerameikos excavation was handed over to the → Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, after years of fruitful collaboration between

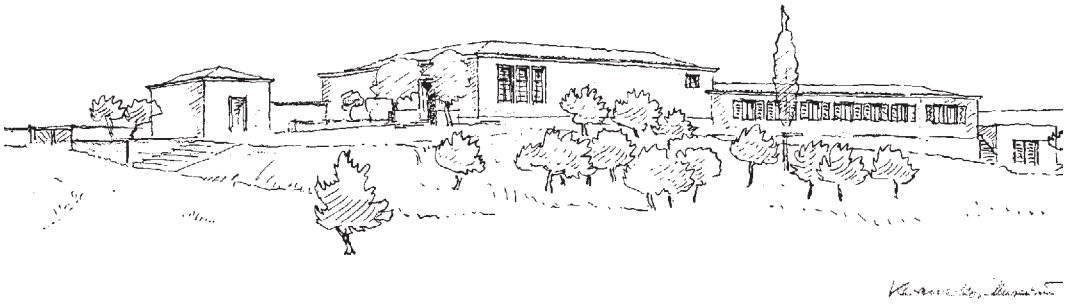

Fig. 2: Sketch of the proposed Kerameikos Museum by H. Johannes (1936)

Fig. 3: The Street of Tombs and the old Haghia Trias Church, view from the west (late 1909).
Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, KER 149

Fig. 4: City wall from the Kononian phase and the modern Haghia Trias Church (1995).
Photo J. Stroszeck

German and Greek archaeologists ([9; 45; 14; 46]; A. Brückner 's *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* of 1909 is dedicated to Paniotis Kavvadias (1850–1928), the First Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens). A. Brückner (1861–1936) and H. Knackfuß (1866–1948) had last excavated at the Kerameikos on behalf of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften with the assistance of the Archaeological Society [61]. Brückner led the excavations from 1913 to 1916 and, after the interruption of WWI, from 1926 to 1930. During this period archaeologists began excavating the Classical dromos [6; 59] between the Dipylon and the Academy described by Paus. 1,29,1ff. Excavations also continued along the Sacred Way, at the Dipylon and at the Pompeium. Among the most significant finds was the public tomb of the Lacedaemonians (Xen. Hell. 2,4,33; [7]) who had fallen in battle in 403 BC. K. Kübler (1897–1990) led the excavations from 1930 to 1943. He successfully explored the Sub-Mycenaean necropolis under the Pompeium and the burial mound under the Hagia Trias church. In a parallel campaign, K. Gebauer investigated the grounds in front of the two gates and the vicinity of the dromos. From 1926 to 1936 the excavation was financed by the German-American industrialist, G. Oberländer (1867–1936). The finds were published in the new series *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* ('Kerameikos: Results of the Excavations') created by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, the first volume of which appeared in 1939. After the interruption on account of WWII (1943–1955) the excavations were reopened in 1956 by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. The first director was D. Ohly (1911–1979), who resumed work on the necropolis and the Themistocleian wall and dug a cross section through the dromos next to the tomb of the Lacedaemonians [46a]. He was followed by F. Willemsen (1910–1999), who oversaw the exploration of the area in front of the central and northern segments of the proteichisma from 1961 to 1974. Excavations were also conducted on South Hill, the Dipylon and the Sacred Way. Among the most important finds from these years are several thousand ostraka from the Athenian ostracism [5a; 63a; 63b]. From 1974 to 1995 U. Knigge (b. 1930) directed excavations on South Hill and investigated a grave mound on the Sacred Way as well as private houses behind the Sacred Gate. The investigation of the private houses is still ongoing [31a]. A sensational new find was unearthed during a survey of the Sacred Way outside the Sacred Gate in 2002 [45a].

Fig. 5: Stele of Lysanias in the Kerameikos.
Photo J. Stroszeck

Fig. 6: Grave stele of the archaeologist H.G. Lolling. Athens, First Cemetery.
Photo J. Stroszeck

Fig. 7: Grave stele of the archaeologist W. Reichel. Athens, First Cemetery.
Photo J. Stroszeck

Fig. 8: Kerameikos, grave precinct of a family from the deme of Potamos.
Photo J. Stroszeck

Fig. 9: Grave column in the First Cemetary of Athens.
Photo J. Stroszeck

C. Kerameikos Museum and Restoration Measures

[32] A number of finds from the first, private explorations of the Kerameikos are now held by European museums [51; 62]. The finds from the excavations of the Archaeological Society remained on site or – through various intermediaries – made their way into the National Museum or the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (Museum at the Theseium: [24]; the small finds from the 1864 excavations were handed over to the ministry and on 23 July 1885 to the National Museum, while the finds from the excavations of 1890 were first exhibited at the Polytechneion before they went to the National Museum) [12; 22; 23; 31a]. After 1863 a guard was employed at the site and a cottage built for him on South Hill that temporarily also functioned as a museum. A makeshift museum did exist from 1881, and in 1915 there was a museum room behind the Dipylon ([8; 25a]; still in use today as an excavation storeroom), to which another storage building was added in a pre–1931 extension. The construction of a new museum became possible in 1936 with a donation from G. Oberländer; it was planned by the German architect H. Johannes (1901–1945) and dedicated in October 1938 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Archaeological Society of Athens (Figs. 2: Architect's sketch of the Kerameikos Museum 1936 and 10: Interior of the Archaeological Museum 1933 and 11: Interior of the Archaeological Museum 1968). The museum has seen several expansions since the post-war period.

Fig. 10: Interior of the excavation museum (1933) *Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*

Fig. 11: Interior of the Oberländer Museum (1968). *Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*

An overall extension and modernization of the exhibition concept was implemented in 2003/2004. The new display, which also features the sculptures found in 2002, was opened in time for the 2004 Olympic Games.

It appears that the German architect E. Ziller (1837–1923) carried out the first restoration work on the naskoi paintings in 1863. For the reconstruction of the Classical necropolis, many ancient sculptures were at first left in place or returned to their original location (e.g. the 1884 re-installation of the bull from the district of Dionysius of Collytus by the sculptor Lazaros Phytalis (1831–1909); cf. Praktika 1884, 23). In order to protect the monuments from the increasing environmental pollution, D. Ohly initiated a restoration programme which involves removing the ancient sculptures to museums and replacing them with casts. The programme continues to the present day.

D. Significance of the Finds for the History of Research

The Kerameikos excavations have been instrumental in clarifying crucial areas of the topography of ancient Athens [21; 59a; 60]: the course of the Eridanus before and after the installation of a sewage system under Themistocles, the development of the necropolises on its banks and on both sides of the arterial roads, furthermore the course and the various building stages of the city walls and fortifications [46] and the correct location of the two city gates (Sacred Gate and Dipylon) [2]. The Pompeium was identified and the history of its construction clarified [1; 19]. The closed grave-contexts of the Kerameikos cemetery have formed the basis for the study of Attic ceramics from the Sub-Mycenaean to the late Roman period. The first and largest Sub-Mycenaean (1100–1000 BC) cemetery known to date was excavated in the Kerameikos in 1927 and 1937/8 and the findings published by W. Kraiker and K. Kübler

[25. vols. I and IV]. Study of the Kerameikos material is still a prerequisite today for any further work on this period. The same is true of Attic Geometric pottery: the 'Dipylon style' was named after a group of Geometric vases found in 1873/74 at a nearby site on Piraeus Road, initially assumed to be the location of the Dipylon [5; 9; 52]. The funerary monuments of the Kerameikos ([10; 13; 15; 33; 53; 57]; re the Dipylon Head, Athens NM 3372: [18; 26; 40. 173ff.]) are of equal importance; they are milestones in the development of Archaic and Classical sculpture. Enquiries into ancient sociology are as unthinkable without the insights gained from the Kerameikos grave-contexts as is the study of Attic funerary customs [3; 4; 35; 43; 44; 63]. The finds from the rubble left after Sulla's destruction of Athens (86 BC; Paus. 1,20,4ff.; Plut. Sulla 14) provided a chronological reference point for the dating of the First Style of Roman wall painting [64]. And finally, the Kerameikos excavations have yielded material for the study of various artisan trades, esp. the pottery and foundry trades [3a; 31b; 42a; 66]. The epigraphical evidence from the Kerameikos (boundary markers, funerary inscriptions, ostraka, curse tablets) is important for the history of the city of Athens; it has helped shed light on the practice of Athenian ostracism as well as the prosopography of Athens [48]. Extensive new finds including columellae, trapezai and ostraka are still awaiting publication.

E. Reception of the Monuments

Reception of the Kerameikos and its monuments has been two-fold: both individual famous monuments, esp. the grave reliefs of Hegeso (Fig. 12: Funerary relief of Hegeso) and of Dexileus (Fig. 13: Funerary relief of Dexileus), as well as the district itself, in particular the Street of the Tombs with its interplay of sculpture and nature, have been a source of inspiration for modern artists. The planting of the area after the completion of the excavations played an important role.

The discovery of the Classical cemetery with its funerary sculptures along the Street of the Tombs had a direct impact on the design of late 19th cent. cemeteries and their monuments. The increased incidence of classicistic grave steles in cemeteries all over Europe at the time must be seen as a response to the excavations in the Kerameikos. The modern reception of individual monuments was brought about by the publications about the Kerameikos cemetery and the ready availability of copies: in 1875 the Italian sculptor Napoleone Martinelli began to offer plaster casts of Greek sculptures to customers world-wide, including casts of sculptures from the Kerameikos [38; 39]. Some classicistic grave monuments in the First Cemetery of Athens are reproductions of monuments from the Kerameikos. The palmette akroterion from the stele of Lysanias of Thoricus [42], for instance, was used for the graves of the archaeologists H.G. Lolling (1848–1894) and W. Reichel (1858–1900) and that of the botanist Th. von Heldreich (1822–1894) (Figs. 5: Stele of Lysanias and 6: Stele of H.G. Lolling and 7: Stele of W. Reichel). Similarly, the grave column as a funerary monument can be traced, e.g., to the columns found in the precinct of a family from the deme of Potamos [31] (Figs. 8: Grave Precinct of the family from Potamos and 9: Stele in the First Cemetery).

Fig. 12: Tomb relief of Hegeso. Athens, National Museum Inv. 3624.
Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Kerameikos excavation KER 80

The funerary relief of Dexileus (Fig. 13: Funerary relief of Dexileus) was the model for several modern works of art. It lent itself for re-application in war memorials, e.g. in a monument to the fallen of WWI in Coburg (Fig. 14: Coburg Monument). A large-format relief of 150 ceramic tiles laid out in six rows by Dimitris Mytaras (b. 1934) and the ceramicist Voula Gounela incorporates elements of the Dexileus relief in a montage symbolizing the link between the historical city of Athens and the modern capital. The artwork measuring 3 x 11 m has been on display in the Daphni metro station since 2000 (Fig. 15: Metro relief). Kerameikos monuments even found their way into the arts and crafts industry and into advertising. The bull from the precinct of Dionysius of Collytus (Fig. 16: Bull of Dionysius of Collytus) adorns the logo of the state-owned Greek ceramics factory 'Kerameikos' (Fig. 17: Kerameikos logo).

Fig. 13: Tomb relief of Dexileus (Kerameikos, Inv. P 1130).
Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Kerameikos excavation KER 5976

Fig. 14: Coburg, Memorial for the Fallen of 1918.
Photo R. Kosellek

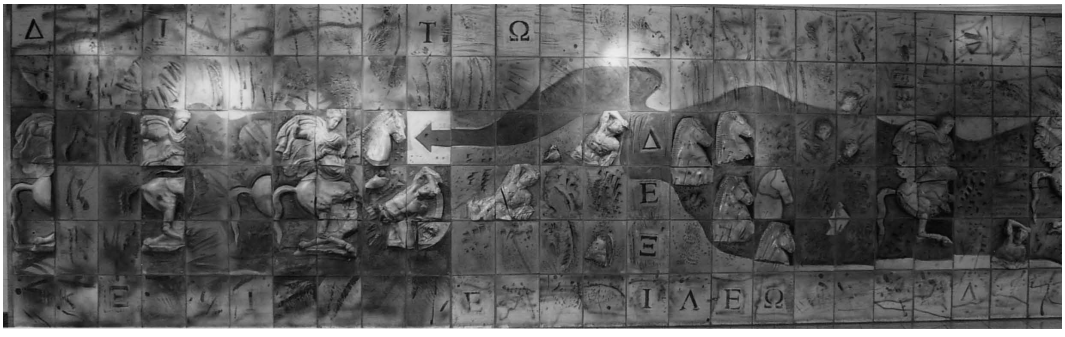

Fig. 15: Ceramic relief by D. Mytaras and V. Gounellá (2000) in the Athenian underground station Daphni.
Photo J. Stroszeck

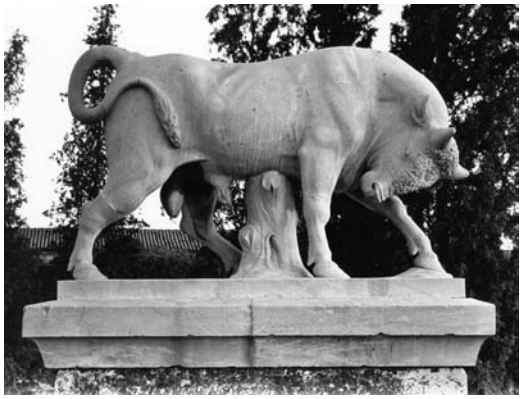

Fig. 16: Kerameikos. Bull sculpture from the grave district of Dionysus of Collytus (Kerameikos, Inv. P 689). *Archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Kerameikos excavation KER 6001.*

Fig. 17: Kerameikos bull. Logo of the Greek porcelain factory 'Kerameikos'. *Photo J. Stroszeck.*

The Street of the Tombs in its entirety, parts of it, or individual monuments of the Kerameikos provided motifs for painters and water colour artists, particularly in the decades between the end of the 19th cent. and World War II, when artists' impressions were sought after as souvenirs by tourists and Athenians alike. Representative examples are the water colours by Corcyra native Angelos Giallina (1857–1939) from 1891 [50], those by the Stuttgart art professor Otto Zaberer from 1912 [31. Fig. 162], or those by the Russian painter Alexander Barkoff from 1933–1934 [33a]. More recently, a new generation of painters has returned to the Kerameikos: in the 1990s Sarantis Karavousis (b. 1938) created a series of Kerameikos-themed oil paintings [41].

The period leading up to Word War II also saw notable photographers capturing views of the Kerameikos and its monuments, e.g. the brothers K. and A. Rhomaidis [14a; 20]. Walter Hege's (1893–1955) photographs were taken in the 1920 and 1930s; one series is held in the Kerameikos Archives of the *DAI* at Athens. Another photographer working with motifs from the Kerameikos at the time was Nelly, i.e. Elli Souyoultzoglou-Seraidari (1899–1998) [3b]. In 1991 the compound was chosen as a setting for the film adaptation of *Homo Faber* (US title: 'Voyager').

The monuments and excavations in the Kerameikos were primarily seized upon by modern Greek lyrical poets. As with the visual arts, the literary reception can be broken down into two distinct phases: the time before World War II and a more recent period beginning in the 1970s. In lyrical poetry, too, it was the grave reliefs of Hegeso and Dexileus – probably the two most famous grave reliefs of all – which elicited the strongest response. In 1892, the poet Kostis Palamas (1859–1943) dedicated famous verses to these two monuments; they also figure in poems, e.g., by Lili Iakovidi (1899) and Glafkos Alithersis (1897–1965). Other grave steles have received comparatively little attention and remain largely shrouded in anonymity [46b]. The excavations of Kurt Gebauer in the precinct of Theonichos form the framework for a 1943 short narrative by Ilias Venezis (1904–1973), *ΘΕΟΝΙΧΟΣ και ΜΝΗΣΑΡΕΤΗ* ('Theonichos and Mnesarete', 1943). Occasionally, the Kerameikos or its monuments appear in the works of German poets, e.g. Pia Burger (b. 1897) and Durs Grünbein (b. 1962) [18a].

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JUTTA STROSZECK

V. National Archaeological Museum

A. Introduction B. Foundation and Objective C. The Building D. The Exhibition Concepts

A. Introduction

The National Archaeological Museum (NAM) is the largest archaeological museum in Greece and for Greek Antiquity the most important museum in the world. It houses an inestimable number of original works of every genre, a collection that for the most part comes from excavations in all regions of Greece from the period between the 5th millennium BC and the 5th cent. AD.

B. Foundation and Objective

On the basis of the archaeological legislation of the newly established state of → Greece, the museum was founded in 1834 as the 'Central Museum of Antiquities' at the time when the capital city was moved from Nau-

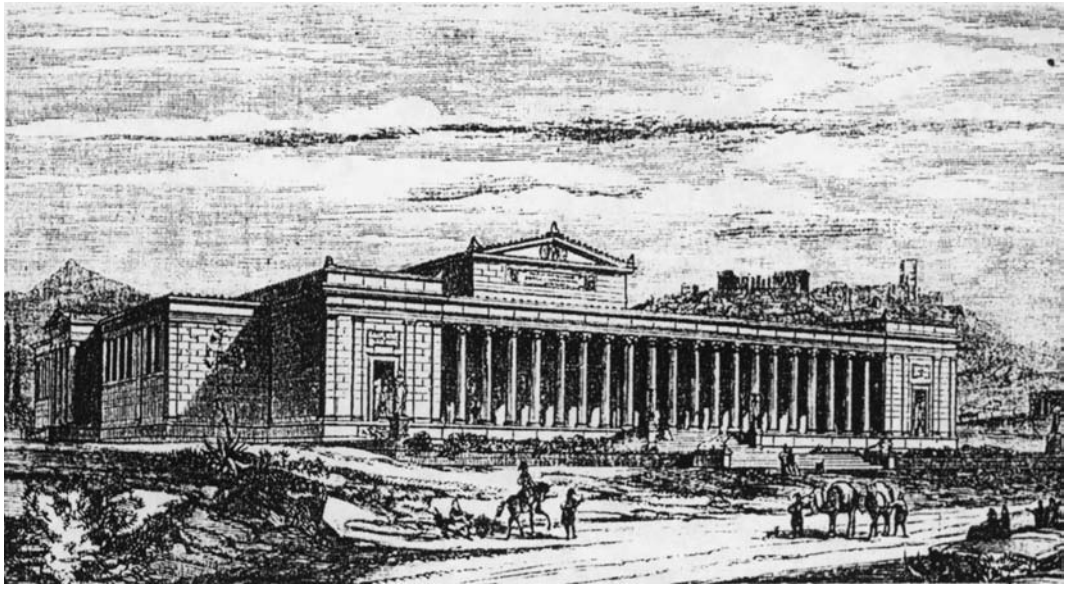

Fig. 1: The National Archaeological Museum (NAM). Drawing by L. Lange, 1860.
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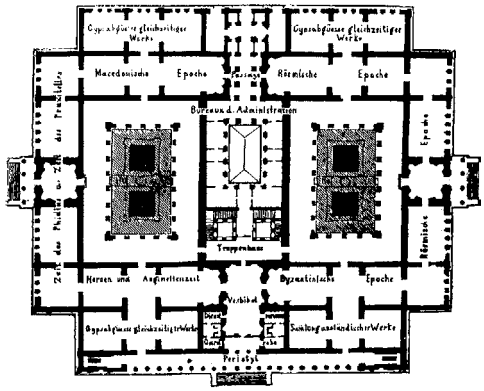

Fig. 2: NAM. Plan drawn by L. Lange, 1860.
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plion to Athens. This had been preceded around 1829 by the foundation of the National Archaeological Museum on → Aegina, the majority of the antiquities of which were now taken to Athens. The museum in Athens was not renamed the 'National Archaeological Museum' until 1888. Its designated aim was to collect 'the rarest antiquities ever discovered' that according to the above-mentioned law were considered to be 'works by the ancestors of the Greek people and the property of all Greeks'. The decision reflects the influence of → Humanism on the newly awakened national consciousness; an influence that in the last years of Turkish rule had already led intellectuals to seek effective protection of the plundered ancient sites. The scientific and didactic nature of the NAM was defined in 1893 when the setting up of the collections and their function were established by law: It was to serve the study and teaching of the field of archaeology, the dissemination of archaeological knowledge among the Greeks and the nurturing of interest in the fine arts. The consequence of the concentration of the antiquities discovered throughout the whole of Greece that was decreed by law and the postponement of the establishment of provincial museums, earmarked since 1834 but put off for many decades for reasons of cost, was that the NAM developed into a centre of outstanding importance for the study of the history of ancient art and life. After 1910 the collection of antiquities was mainly limited to finds from Attica, and after the Second World War collection activity came to a standstill with the development of the provincial museums. Enrichment of the NAM museum holdings now depended solely on gifts and purchases. The view that archaeological art works are not luxury articles, of interest only to a small group of experts, but are also interesting for broad circles of people became the ideological basis after the reopening of the NAM, which had been closed during World War II. The conviction that the museum as a social institution could also contribute to the education of young people in things national and in art also played a part in this [3; 6. 27–56, 201].

C. The Building

Internationally renowned architects who at that time were, in any event, occupied with the municipal planning of Athens and the construction of public buildings were commissioned to work on the planning and site allocation of the NAM. In 1836 Leo von Klenze

Fig. 3: NAM. Exterior design by E. Ziller, 1889.
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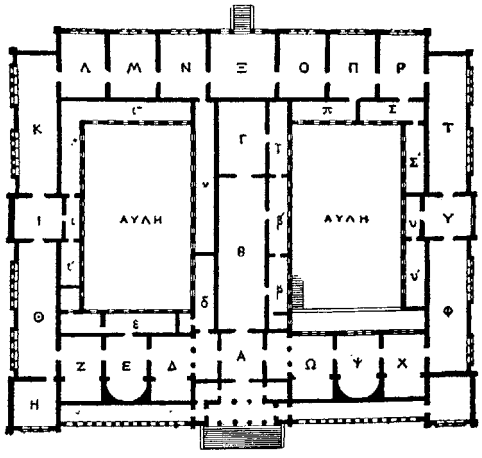

Fig. 4: NAM. Plan reflecting the changes made by E. Ziller, 1889.
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presented the first plans in which he initially set aside a site on the Acropolis for the NAM and, later, one on the Ceramicus. In 1859 Theophil Hansen proposed that the museum be built to the left of the university and then in 1887, rejecting the NAM that was now already being built, the architects returned to plans for the south slope of the Acropolis. In 1860, after the rejection by a committee of the Munich Academy of all 14 designs from an architecture competition that had been announced in 1858, one of the members of this very committee, Ludwig Lange, presented plans in which he suggested that the site for the construction of the museum be the Ceramicus (Figs.1 and 2). Around 1866 the building of the museum commenced according to the plans of Lange, made possible by the transfer of the property of Mrs. Eleni Tositsa on Patision Street and a donation from Dimitrios Bernardakis (1856) – not without objections on the part of some experts and the citizenry. However, the architect Panagis Kalkos altered Lange's designs for cost reasons; the planned row of columns for the facade was cancelled. The design of the facade in the neo-Classical form visible today goes back to Ernst Ziller who in 1887/88 took over the completion of the NAM with additional changes to the plan in the interior, above all in the central wing (Figs.3 and 4). The interior of the building remained unadorned apart from the mosaic floors and the mural decorations in the rooms of the Mycenaean and Egyptian collections designed by G. Kawerau. The building fixtures and fittings were completed through donations from the Archaeological Society and the government. The first extension was built in 1903–1906 with three adjacent

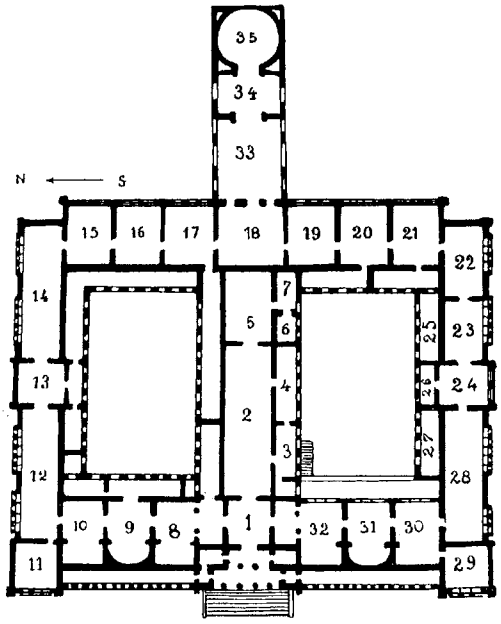

Fig. 5: NAM. Plan of the building after addition of the east wing. Drawing by A. Metaxas, 1903–1906. *With Permission of the Ministry of Culture, Hellenic Republic*

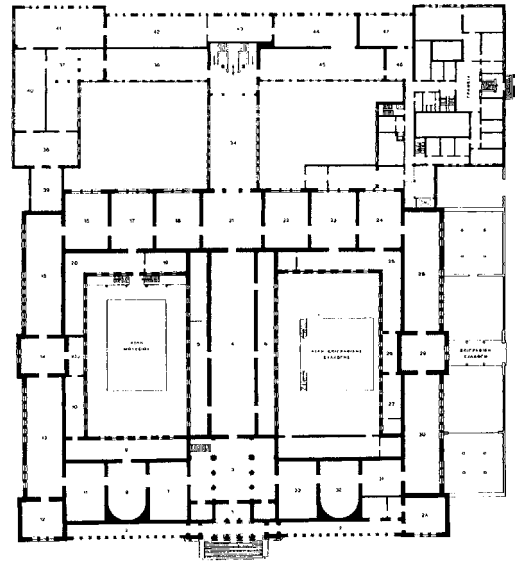

Fig. 6: NAM. Ground floor plan with the extensions by G. Nomkos and P. Karadinos (NAM Archives). *With Permission of the Ministry of Culture, Hellenic Republic*

rooms in the centre of the east wing according to the plans of Anastasios Metaxas (Fig. 5). In 1932 it was decided to build a two-storey extension on the eastern side by limiting the garden area, thereby tripling the exhibition space. The plans pertaining to this, in the neo-Classicist style, are by Georgios Nomikos. After World War II, the architect Patroklos Karadinos – parallel with the repairs that had become necessary and in order to set up the underground storerooms beneath the old building – changed the vestibule of the entrance into its present form. In addition he planned the extension of the premises of the Epigraphical Museum in the south wing (Fig. 6). The NAM, in this form, is now recognized as a monument worthy of preservation [3; 6. 201–246, 250–258].

D. The Exhibition Concepts

Antiquities have been housed in the courtyard of the NAM from as early as the laying of the foundation stone. The first exhibition was set up in the west wing after it had been completed in 1874. However, it was criticized by the press and experts [3; 6. 246–250]. In his work *Die Museen Athens* (1881), A. Milchhöfer describes antiquities still lying on the ground. In 1885 the Director General Panagiotis Kavvadias began to organize the antiquities that continued to be accumulated in the building, which was only partly finished. In 1893 the NAM was completed and handed over to the public. The works, installed according to art genres and following their chronological development, contained an Egyptian collection and two rooms with Byzantine antiquities. The latter two were later moved to a different place. Set up in accord with the mentality and aesthetics of its time, the exhibition attained the high regard of scholars, although the arrangement of the objects on the wall surfaces of the rooms made rather a decorative impression in their layout [3; 4; 8]. In the course of subsequent years, the continued expansion of the collections and the inclusion of every important ancient object impaired the initial design of the exhibition and tended to make the NAM appear like a storehouse (Figs. 7 and 8).

Preparations for new installations in 1939/40 were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II that then also necessitated the complete clearing of the NAM and the hiding of all the antiquities. When in 1945 the building that had been used by various public authorities during the German occupation was reassigned its original purpose, it required the work of many years to restore and modernize the building as well as to unpack the crates and identify and restore the antiquities, which had been buried under the floors. For educational reasons, the responsible directors of the NAM, Semni and Christos Karousos, as early as 1947, organized a temporary exhibition in the rooms of the new east wing with the most representative works from the collections (Figs. 9 and 10). This exhibition, in concept and appearance, was trend-setting with regard to the new museum era that began all over Europe in the post-war period [3; 7]. The final refurbishing of the post-war NAM is associated with the work of a married couple by the name of Karousos, and took an entire decade (1954–1964). The

Fig. 7: Tomb relief room. Design of the exhibition by P. Kavvadias, 1883 (NAM Archives).
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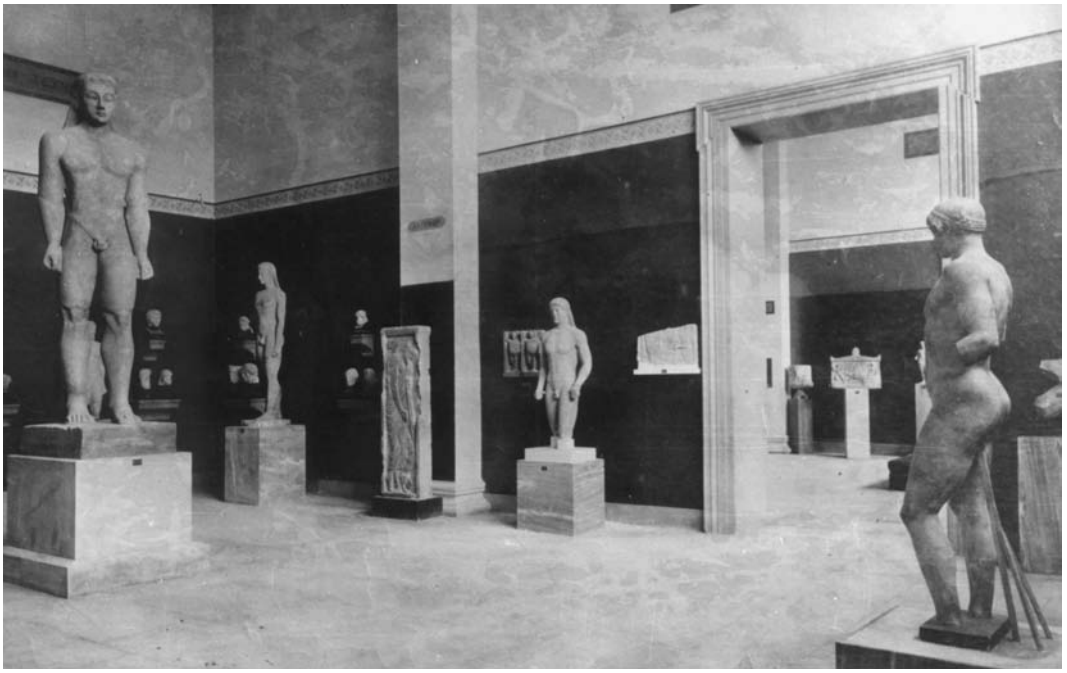

Fig. 8: Archaic sculpture room. Design of the exhibition by P. Kavvadias, 1883 (NAM Archives).
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Fig. 9: Temporary display, 1947.
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Fig. 10: Temporary display, 1947.
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installation preserved the historic sequence according to art genres but attempted to link the didactic nature in the presentation of every artwork, i.e., the aesthetic display of the exhibits in the room. In principle, it was thought that at a time when the artifact itself was foregrounded at the expense its humanistic educational claim, emphasis on the artistic value of every work of art would promote the understanding and interpretation of the works [1; 2; 3; 5; 6]. The installation concept was directed at the circumspect and attentive visitor and not at the usual 'cultural consumers' who nowadays are often in a hurry. After 35 years the modern concept and the museum -based constraints led to the tackling of a new extension to the NAM and the reorganization of its exhibitions.

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EOS ZERVOUDAKI

VI. Other museums
see → Greece III Museums

Atlantis

I. The Platonic Myth II. Influence

I. The Platonic Myth

A. Name B. Introductory Scenario C. Scenario of Destruction D. Nature and Civilization of Atlantis E. Power and Decadence of Atlantis

A. Name

The island of Atlantis (A.) (Ἀ. νῆσος) is introduced in Plato's 'Timaeus' (Tim. 24e–25d) and described in the 'Critias' fragment (Critias 113b–121c). No tradition independent of this is attested [4]. Plato derived the name from Atlas' descendants (Critias 114a). This is etymologically correct. A. is derived from Atlas and τλῆναι = to bear or endure/to carry. Analogous terms are *A.* Μαίη (Hes. theog. 938), A. *thálassa* (Hdt. 1,202,4) and the Atlantes people (Hdt. 4,184,3–4). However, A. as 'the large/nameless island' can also be derived from the Egyptian [16; 8].

B. Introductory Scenario

The prologue to *Timaeus* by Plato begins with Socrates' desire to see a city that adheres to the ideal of the Platonic state by proving its worth in war (Tim. 17a–

20c). The statesman Critias recollects in this regard a tale, according to which 9,000 years before Solon a primeval Athens existed that embodied this ideal and repelled an invasion from A. (Tim. 20d ff.). This A. lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules and was bigger than Asia and Libya together (Tim. 24e). Critias' account claims not to be invented myth but true logos (Tim. 26e). Critias reports first a story of his grandfather by the same name (Tim. 21e–25d), who learned from Solon what priests at Sais read in 8,000 year old writings (Tim. 23e). Later, however, Critias refers to notes, allegedly a translation of the Egyptian report by Solon (Critias 113a-b). The Egyptian origin of the logos is probably a signal that it was fictional (cf. Phaidr. 275b), although it may at the same time indicate the use of Egyptian mythologems [8]. Egypt also becomes the paradigm of the Platonic state. For many institutions, which once the goddess Athene-Neith had taught the Ur-Athenians and then the Egyptians (Tim. 21e; 24a-d), are said to be located there. In the opinion of the Hellenistic exegete Crantor, Plato reacted here to those who mocked him with the reproach that his *Politeia* was merely an imitation of ancient Egyptian institutions (Proclus, In Timaeum 24 a-b p. 76 Diehl) [4]. This probably also relates to Isocrates' 'Busiris' [5. 183ff., 208ff.].

C. Scenario of Destruction

At a later time A. and the army of the Ur-Athenians are said to have sunk within one day (Tim. 25c-d) as victims of the third world-wide destruction before the Deucalionian Flood (Critias 112a). Such catastrophes occur periodically and annihilate all culture. Only in the protected Nile Valley could knowledge of prehistory be preserved (Tim. 22c–23c). Plato was fond of the idea of cyclical world catastrophes (polit. 269c–274d; leg. 3,677a ff.). He appears to allude concretely to the destruction of the city of Helice and its Temple of Poseidon in 373/2 BC [7]. The hypothesis that Plato as well as Pindar (fr. 38 Bowra) had used recollections of the Bronze Age Thera catastrophe remains mere speculation [15. 86ff.].

D. Nature and Civilization of Atlantis

A. is fascinating because of the juxtaposition of luxuriant nature and the highest civilization. There is an abundance of water, wood and precious metals, fruits and fragrances. Fauna is rich and exotic. There are even elephants (Critias 114d–115b). The cultivated land is divided into precise lots and supplied by a network of canals (Critias 118c-e). The image of the capital city is also characterized by strictly geometrical shapes. Concentric rings of land and water surround the acropolis. There a central sanctuary adorns the hill on which Poseidon and Cleito procreated and brought forth the royal house of A. (Critias 113d–114c; 116c). Next to it rises a colossal Temple of Poseidon. It is covered in gold, silver and unrefined ore and surrounded by golden votive statues. The cult image shows the god on a cart that is pulled by six winged horses and encircled by a hun-

dred Nereids riding on dolphins (Critias 116d-e). Four ring walls, covered in gold, unrefined ore, tin and copper enclose the central sanctuary, the acropolis and the inner and outer residential city (Critias 116a-c). The residential areas for the rulers, their guards, the warriors and the citizens are arranged running from the centre in the direction of the periphery. Roofed canal cuttings, bridges covered with coloured stone and houses, cold and hot basins and sporting facilities for people, horses and draught animals lend beauty to the metropolis (Critias 115d–116b; 117a-c). A large trading port, the outermost of three harbours, indicates lively foreign trade (Critias 117d-e).

E. Power and Decadence of Atlantis

Power had been distributed by the god Poseidon among ten kings (Critias 114a-c). Atlas' descendants ruled the capital city. They commanded 10,000 war chariots, 60,000 light wagon teams, each had 120,000 Hoplites, archers and catapulters as well as a garrison of 240,000 men for 1,200 ships (Critias 119a-b). There were also the armies of the nine other kings (Critias 119b). A.'s power extended to many other islands in the huge ocean and parts of a mighty mainland that encircled it (Tim. 24e–25a). In the Mediterranean A.'s power extended to Tyrrhenia and Egypt (Tim. 25b; Critias 114c). Its further expansion failed because of the resistance of Ur-Athens (Tim. 25b-c). The debacle was meant to punish A.'s hubris (Tim. 24e; Critias 120e; 121 c). For a long time A.'s kings had known how to ensure that their rule was harmonious. An archaic bull sacrifice brought them together at a sanctuary of Poseidon in the middle of the island where they swore oaths to their fathers' statutes which were engraved on a stele of unrefined ore (Critias 119c–120d) [10]. With the disappearance of the divine portion of the inheritance in the house of the descendants of Atlas, they were corrupted. While they appeared outwardly handsome and happy, the hearts of the masters of A. were already full of desire for unlawful possessions and power (Critias 121a-c).

The Persian empire is reflected in this image of A. if one imagines it projected onto an imaginary West. Ur-Athens' merits are reminiscent of the deeds at Marathon and Salamis. In keeping with this is the legendary number of 1,200 enemy battle ships. The polychromatic ring walls of A. hark back to Herodotus' image of Ecbatana, an archetypical despotic city (Hdt. 1,98). In this way A. can be partly interpreted as an 'ideated Orient' [6. 214ff.]. In A.'s temples, harbours and wharves, its walls and its inordinately large war machine, however, characteristics can be found of what, according to Plato, became of Athens after the Persian Wars: a hybrid naval power whose external shine no longer corresponded to its internal strength. In this way, A. is also a memorial to the decline, experienced by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War [19. 222ff.; 2].

II. Influence

A. Antiquity B. Early Modern Period C. 19th and 20th Cents.

A. Antiquity

The reaction to the story of A. was initially purely literary. Theopompus parodied it in his tale of the land of Meropis on the true mainland on the other side of the (Atlantic) Ocean and of the military campaign of the ten million warriors of Machimos (FGrH 115 F 75c = Ael. VH 3,18). Euhemerus, on the other hand, gave his utopian island of Panchaea (Diod. Sic. 5,41–46; 6,1) characteristics reminiscent of Ur-Athens as well as A. [1. 191ff.]. However natural science posed the question whether A. should be regarded solely as a *plásma* and its decline only as a poetic device or whether it would not be worth assuming its actual existence (Posidonius in Str. 2,3,6). It is uncertain whether the history of such doubt goes back to Aristotle (deduced from the comparison of Str. 2,3,6 and 13,1,36). Pliny in any case shows that he still doubts the existence of A. (nat. 2,92,205). Plutarch leaves open the qualification logos or myth but takes as his starting point the Egyptian origin of the story (Plut. Solon 31). Later authors use A. without reservation as a geological or historical paradigm (Tert. Apol. 40,4; Amm. Marc. 17,7,13; Arnob. adv. gentes 1,5) [14. 194f.]. However, in the 6th cent. Cosmas Indikopleustes was still recording the fictional nature of the A. story (Topographia Christiana 12 p. 452c-p. 453b; p. 456c-d Migne). He thought it significant that Timaeus had based his report on the OT story of the Flood and had transferred the catastrophe to the west [18. 9].

B. Early Modern Period

The myth of A. had 'quietly survived' the Middle Ages [20. 72]. Its fascination as a → Utopia did not immediately appear with the Renaissance either. Thomas Morus declared his *Utopia* to be the rival of the *Civitas Platonica* [12], taking as a model a disciplined, exemplary state without, for instance, referring to A. [9]. The *Città del Sole* of Tommaso Campanella assumed to be on Taprobane (Ceylon) which with its seven concentric ring walls, the position of the buildings and the large temple is initially reminiscent of A. [9. 117ff.], is distinguished by strict regulations regarding even the most intimate spheres of life and so makes us think of Plato's *Nomoi* rather than the exuberant life on A. Only Francis Bacon, with his optimistic view of the ability of modernity even to surpass the admired model of the ancients with regard to civilization, made Nova A. into an explicitly utopian project: on the (fictitious) island of Bensalem in the South Seas, Christian Solomon-like wisdom directs a scholars' fraternity eager to experiment and thirsty for knowledge. Bacon took up – not without irony – the tradition of the old A. in which fairytale elements mingle with truth. Supposedly A. existed previously where America lies. A great flood had annihilated its arrogant power apart from the present day descendents of the few survivors [9. 188ff.].

Bacon, in pinpointing the location of A., paid tribute to fashion. From the 16th cent. onwards, a large number of variations with regard to geographical and geological speculation about A. had developed. The remains of the sunken continent were discovered, first following the Platonic text, in diverse islands in the Atlantic Ocean, then also in America, Africa and even in the South Seas [13. 361ff.]. This even provided justification for the claims behind Spanish Conquistador policy [20. 77ff.]. But soon there was more at stake. A. appeared to represent the origin of civilization as such. Its traces were now discovered as a cultural legacy at the most varied of places, nurtured national myths and stimulated the ambitions for great power. In this way, Olaus Rudbeck, toward the end of the 17th cent., elevated the Goths of Sweden to the rank of descendants of the Atlantians and linked A. with Upsala [18. 18ff.; 20. 81ff.]. On the other hand, as the cradle of culture, A. could also be projected into the far distance without severing the connection with the place of the observer. In the era of the French Revolution – through Jean-Sylvain Bailly – even Siberia was discovered as the country of origin of culture itself and associated with the tradition of A. [18. 28f.]. Such speculation lent a pseudo-historical normativeness to current cultural-ideological needs and contained a portentous tendency in its world view: the Jewish-Biblical tradition of Creation and history was to give way to a pseudo-ancient tradition [18; 20].

C. 19th and 20th Cent.

With the advancement of historical-antiquarian research to a higher scholarly level, the paths of those academics who pinpointed the location of A. merely in a world of thought parted from those in the mainstream with their enthusiasm about A. The *Dissertation de l'Atlantide* by Thomas Henri Martin (1841) marks a milestone on this path and elevated the search for A. simultaneously to a topic for research. [13]. In recent times this search was enriched above all by aspects of reception research, ideological criticism and discussions about the phenomenon of the trivial popularization of the A. material. This meta-research on A. has a lot to do. The search for cultural traces of A. had in the late 19th cent., for instance, also taken hold of the Maya tradition and – through Le Plongeon – become mixed up with the fantastic story of the land of Mu and subsequently with speculation about a Lemuria sunk into the Pacific – a topic that became popular in occult circles [17. 34ff.; 3. 136ff.]. Claims that geological pseudo-knowledge about A. could be used beneficially also proved rich in tradition. Ignatius Donnelly who claimed to have discovered the legacy of A. in numerous ancient high cultures attained great popularity; of prime importance for him was the influence of Indo-European-Aryan peoples [17. 36ff.]. Speculation in National Socialist circles had an analogous racist basis. Alfred Rosenberg, for instance, in *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* had the waves of 'Nordic blood' that he regarded

as a probable legacy of A., streaming so far that even Jesus became an Aryan in a Semitic environment. Such speculation was also purposefully instrumentalized by National Socialist institutions [20. 91f.; 3. 140off.]. The discovery of A. near Helgoland popularized since the 1950s by Jürgen Spanuth is still rooted in 'Nordic enthusiasm' but emphasized above all the link between the catastrophe of A. and the migrations of sea peoples during the late Bronze Age [3. 157ff.; 20. 92]. This connecting line also dominates the tradition that – spurred on by the national-patriotic speculation of Spyridon Marinatos – transplants A.'s decline to the Aegean Bronze Age and associates it with the Thera catastrophe [20. 90f.; 17. 41ff.]. The linkage between A. and Homer's Troy, which Eberhard Zangger endeavoured to establish, also sought the model for Plato's tale in the history of the late Aegean Bronze Age [11]. The joy of discovery had led Adolf Schulten even further down the timeline when he postulated that the legendary city of Tartessus was a model for Plato's A. and sought to find it at the mouth of the Guadalquivir [3. 172ff.].

From this trend with its speculation that was becoming increasingly more scholarly, a movement can be delineated after the Second World War in which preoccupation with the catastrophe of A. appears to be a reaction to crises of modernity. In the 1950s, for instance, A. becomes for Otto Muck a monument to a cosmic-planetary catastrophe (supposedly June 5, 8498 BC) whose dreadful scenario evokes the image of atomic destruction and the catastrophic effect of poisonous gas. Fear of a threatening decline of values through alien cultural influences in the late period of the Economic Miracle and the era of the Cold War was likewise able to induce people to conjure up A. as an admonitory example, as in the 1980s the fear of the ecological self-destruction of humanity did [2]. On the other hand, the historical eclecticism of post-modernity is reflected in the project of Léon Krier to build a new A. on Teneriffa with the aim to rescue our planet through the humanitarian spirit. A. is still alive as a utopian project in the sense of Francis Bacon.

→ Myth

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REINHOLD BICHLER

Atomism

A. INTRODUCTION B. MIDDLE AGES C. REDISCOVERY IN THE RENAISSANCE D. IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE E. RECEPTION IN PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

A. INTRODUCTION

Democritus' bold idea of a theory of atoms, which was taken up by Epicurus in a modified form and described in detail by Lucretius, was not accepted during Antiquity. Even through there are traces of a continuation of Atomism in the work of some Hellenistic physicians (Erasistratus, Asclepiades) and engineers (Philon of Byzantine, Heron) [7], the theory of atoms was to a great extent displaced by the overwhelming influence of Aristotle, of the Stoa and later of Christianity [8]. Criticism (such as Cic. Nat. D 2,93; Lactant. Div. inst. 3,17; Aug. contr. Acad. 3,23; Civ. 8,5) was directed less against an atom-based conception of matter than against the materialistic worldview connected with it, in which there was no room for *providentia* ('providence') and which therefore seemed close to atheism.

B. MIDDLE AGES

Besides these critical judgements by widely-read authors, only two brief and more neutral outlines of the theory of atoms were accessible during the Middle Ages. They were found in two widely available collected works: *Etymologiae* by Isidor of Seville (13,2, around AD 600) and in the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (s.v. ἄτομα, around AD 1000). Lucretius, who already during Antiquity was not widely disseminated, was lost. For that reason, the theory of atoms was, except for a few traces, for example in William of Conches (*c.* 1080–1154) [6], largely forgotten. The word 'atom' itself had lost any meaning in physics and referred to the smallest unit of time (C. Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis 1,462). In the Arabic realm, there was considerable interest in the theory of atoms, especially in the cosmology of the so-called Mu'tazilites of the 8th–10th. cents., but there as well it was later mostly pushed aside [2].

C. REDISCOVERY IN THE RENAISSANCE

The history of the reception of Atomism begins with Poggio's discovery in 1417 [9] of a manuscript by Lucretius that caused quite a stir and of which multiple copies were made immediately. Lucretius, whose writings already appeared in print in 1473, was one of the first Latin authors to be accessible; with his work as well as the Latin translation of Diogenes Laertius that was edited in 1470, the most important source texts on Atomism had become available to a broader audience at the end of the 15th cent. One of the oldest instances of the renewed usage of the term 'atom' in the physical sense is then found in a tract by Leonardo da Vinci, written around 1500, that speaks of the *minutissimi e insensibili attimi* of the air (Cod. Leicester fol. 4r). The first more detailed reference to Antiquity's theory of atoms, in which the ancient corpuscular theory is used with reference to Democritus, Epicurus and Lucretius to explain material processes, can be found in the Italian physician Girolamo Fracastoro (de sympathia et antipathia rerum, Cap. 5, 1545).

D. IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE

After these first references to the atomistic conceptions of matter held during Antiquity, which tended to be rather selective, a more fundamental debate then came to the fore in which Atomism, along with its implications for a certain worldview, was contrasted with the Aristotelian view of the world that was for the most part supported by the Church. Giordano Bruno paid for his bold criticism of Aristotle and his references to Lucretius (such as de triplici minimo 1,9,1ff.) for the purpose of propagating the theory of atoms in 1600, when he was burned at the stake. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) [3] and Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), who only accepted elements of Atomism but rejected its tendencies toward a certain worldview (materialism, randomness) were more careful.

E. RECEPTION IN PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

Outside of natural philosophy the reception of Atomism plays an important role primarily in the area of → PHYSICS. Galileo had already taken a stand in favour of Atomism in his *Discorsi* (Leiden 1638) (1st Tag, 8,85f., Edizione nazionale). Credit for having paid careful attention to the theory of atoms and for having moved it, by means of his own observations, beyond that which was known by the ancients, goes to the German physician and chemist Daniel Sennert (1572–1637). In his text *De consensu ac dissensu chymicorum cum Galenicis et Peripateticis* (Wittenberg 1619) and in *Hypomnema physicum* (Wittenberg 1636) he disproved the Aristotelian theory of transmutation and plead-

ed for the theory of atoms, which seemed more suitable for explaining physical-chemical processes – such as dissipation and concentration of matter – (Hypomnema 3,1 de atomis). J. Jungius argued in a similar fashion in his *Praelectiones physicae* (around 1630). The discussion regarding Aristotle reached its high point in the programmatic text by Joh. Chrys. Magnien, *Democritus reviviscens* (Pavia 1646), in which a first calculation of the size of an atom was presented (Disputatio 2,3). With Newton, who stated his belief in an atom-based understanding of matter in the 23rd Propositio of his *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (London 1687), and J. Dalton, who referred to that 23rd Propositio in his epoch-making lecture on January 27, 1810, the connection to modern atomic physics was established.

→ Atomism; → Democritus; → Lucretius
→ Epicureanism; → Natural sciences

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Augustinism

I. Definition II. Reception

I. Definition

Augustinism is defined as the adoption and development of the basic teachings of the Church Father Augustine. As there was until the mid–13th cent. no serious theological alternative, it is possible to describe all theological thinkers up to this time as Augustinians. This is particularly apposite in regard to the doctrine of grace, theological epistemology, teachings on the nature of the Church and mysticism. Even after the 13th cent. Augustinism proved to be the most potent theological and philosophical current of the Middle Ages and modern times, asserting itself independently alongside Aristotelian and neo-Platonic thought. Augustinism in a narrower sense refers to a philosophy/theology concerned with three fundamental problems pervading the entire Augustinian canon: *beatitudo, ratio*, and *auctoritas*. In terms of content, the discussion of these three fundamental problems is formally determined by the

hermeneutics of thing and sign (*res et signum*) developed in *De doctrina christiana*. Augustinism, being founded on these three problem areas and the hermeneutics associated with them, is, therefore, a highly distinctive phenomenon and manifests itself in characteristic ways in different thinkers. In a broad sense, the term *Augustinism* is used in the field of anthropology to refer to the teaching that grace takes precedence over nature and free will.

II. Reception

A. Formal Aspects B. Aspects of Content

A. Formal Aspects

Owing to its unsystematic character and to the enormous range of writings it engendered, Augustine's thought has never been subjected to investigation as a coherent whole. Soon after Augustine's death (430), around 450, Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine wrote a *Liber sententiarum ex operibus Sancti Augustini delibatarum* (CCL 68A, 221–252), which was an overview of Augustinian theology. He followed this with a *Liber epigrammatum ex sententiis Sancti Augustini* (PL 51, 497–532).

Before 550 Eugippius collated the comprehensive *Excerpta ex operibus Sancti Augustini* (CSEL 9), which was widely used during the Middle Ages. Alongside this, the most important mediaeval work was the *Aurelii Augustini milleloquium veritatis* (Brescia 1734) of Bishop Bartholomew of Urbino (d. 1350), which presented some 15,000 selected passages. This tradition of florilegial anthologies continues to this day, as F. Moriones' *Enchiridion theologicum Sancti Augustini* (1961) shows. The great complete editions of J. Amerbach (Basle 1506), Erasmus (Basle 1528/29) and the Maurines (Paris 1679–1700), as well as the reprint of the Maurines edition in PL 32–46 (1841/42), provided the basis for the widespread studies of Augustine in modern times.

B. Aspects of Content

1. Early Christianity. Four strands of Augustine's influence can be discerned in Early Christianity: 1. The not uncontroversial adoption of the Augustinian doctrine of grace. In the struggle against Pelagius and Julian of Eclanum, the Augustinian doctrine of grace prevailed and gained Church approval. At the Second Council of Orange in 529, it was ratified. In Lérins, a monastic settlement near Marseilles, and at Hadrumetum (North Africa), however, it met with resistance. What actually survived was an attenuated form of Augustinism (semi-Pelagianism). 2. Fulgentius of Ruspe, in his *De fide ad Petrum*, created the first systematic summary of Augustinism, which prefigured the scholastic *summa* tradition. He thus prepared the way for the development of the mediaeval system. 3. The acceptance by Western theology of Augustine's teachings on the sacraments and the nature of the Church was greatly aided by Leo the Great and Gregory the Great. Subsequent Western

ecclesiology has not developed in any essential way beyond the thought of Augustine. 4. In the development of the → ARTES LIBERALES tradition, Augustine is an important link to Boethius, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville,. In *De doctrina christiana* he prepared the ground for a Christian reception of the culture of Antiquity.

2. Middle Ages. Mediaeval Augustinism was primarily a matter of defining and developing Augustine's fundamental theses, but such development was often a question of reacting against various individual Augustinian teachings. Mediaeval Augustinism developed in two directions. 1. The philosophical Augustinism of the high Middle Ages was begun by Anselm of Canterbury who continued the Augustinian programme of *fides quaerens intellectum* and Augustinian epistemology. However, the Augustinism of the 13th cent. was a diverse movement which ranged from the Victorines to the School of Chartres and William of Auvergne and further to Bonaventure. It is possible to characterize this process as the formation of a Platonic-Christian anthropology. The more strongly theological Augustinism of the later Middle Ages, as represented by Thomas Bradwardine, Gregory of Rimini and Wyclif, paved the way for the alienation from the church as an institution, and thus for the Reformation. 2) Political Augustinism can only claim Augustine's *De civitate dei* as a source in a qualified sense since Augustine himself viewed history as a history of salvation but expressed no thoughts on specific forms of government. Aegidius of Rome is, along with Wyclif and Richard Fitzralph, the prime advocate for the concept of priestly and royal authority, which aimed, first and foremost, at securing more influence for the papacy.

3. Reformation. Luther's understanding of Augustine was shaped by the Augustinism of the Augustinian hermits [7]. He became acquainted with this form of Augustinism in the writings of Gregory of Rimini, Jacobus Perez and Johann von Staupitz. Luther's direct access to Augustine can be demonstrated by his work with the *Enarrationes in psalmos*, the commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians and his *De spiritu et littera* [4]. Although Luther found central concepts of his theology already present in Augustine, he read Augustine entirely in the light of his own understanding of Paul. The other conceptions of Augustine from the time of the Reformation (Karlstadt [10], Zwingli, Calvin [19]) are still largely unexamined.

4. Modern Era. In modern times Augustine has received most attention from Catholic circles. Various strands of his thinking, to some extent overlapping, can be shown to be present. 1. The Spanish Jesuits, specifically Luis de Molina, spoke out in opposition to strict Augustinism, which puts heavy emphasis on the doctrines of original sin and grace. What the Spanish Jesuits propounded was, in fact, a kind of semi-Pelagianism, emphasizing the power of the human agent in attaining salvation. 2. Their views were most strongly felt in the Netherlands and France, where, in opposition to them, the book *Augustinus* by Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres (d. 1576) was published posthumously. It was the Augustinism of Jansen, not the historical Augustine, which shaped the modern conception of Augustine. One of the most prominent proponents of Augustinism was B. Pascal. 3. Modern research into Augustine was greatly facilitated by the great Augustine edition of the Maurines, published from 1679 to 1700. All modern editions are based upon it.

5. Contemporary Era. Through the 20th cent. the philosophy of Augustine was present in the work of thinkers such as Max Scheler, who drew on the Augustinian concept of love and its view of bliss in his moral philosophy [6]. A basic text for understanding the contemporary view of Augustine is H. Arendt's work on the Augustinian concept of love [2]. Probably the most significant appropriation of Augustine was that of M. Heidegger. His work *Sein und Zeit* ('Being and Time') (1927) could be described as a variation on the Augustinian concept of time and on the Augustinian categories of existence of 'Verfallenheit an die Welt.'[1].

With the diminishing importance of scholastic thinking in Catholic theology, Augustine has regained considerable influence. This influence is tangible, above all, in ecclesiology and sacramental theology. The 'existential' components of theology, clearly evident after *Vatican II*, with their emphasis on experience and mysticism, allowed Augustine once more full play. In contemporary Protestant theology, thanks to the legacy of the Reformation, Augustine is a constant presence. The conception of Augustine in the present is based substantially on the portrayal by A. von Harnack, who valued Augustine as a reformer of Christian piety and portrayed Augustinian thinking as the only system justified in Christianity [8]. Harnack's portrayal was corrected and expanded by Karl Holl [9]. These two authors heralded a period of intensive work on Augustine, during which the question of the Hellenization of the Christian faith and the problem of Augustine's personal conversion have been prime subjects of discussion.

→ Augustinus, Aurelius (Augustine)

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WILHELM GEERLINGS

Austria

I. Middle Ages to the 18th Cent. II. 19th Cent. and Outlook III. 20th Cent.

I. Middle Ages to the 18th Cent.

A. The Name Austria B. Severin and the Non-End of the Roman Empire C. Salzburg as a Centre of Early Medieval Culture D. The High Middle Ages E. Late Middle Ages F. Reformation and Counter-Reformation G. 17th and 18th Cents.

A. The Name Austria

The form *ostarrichi*, which underlies the modern German name, is first found in a document of Otto III addressed to the diocese of Freising and dated 1 November 996. It describes a small territory around Neuhofen/Ybbs in western Lower Austria. In the following decades, Latin equivalents such as *terra* (*marchia, plaga, regio*) *orientalis* are encountered. The form *Austria* (A.), which underlies the modern term in English and the Romance languages, first occurs in a document drawn up by Conrad III for Klosterneuburg, dated 25 February 1147. With the rise of the Habsburgs as the ruling dynasty, terms such as *domus Austriae, casa d'Austria* ('the House of Austria') became established [23. 43].

B. Severin and the Non-End of the Roman Empire

1. The Northern Frontier of the Roman Empire 2. Contacts with the Interior of the Empire

1. The Northern Frontier of the Roman Empire

Against the backdrop of the end of Rome's supremacy and the harbingers of the Great Migrations, the *homo omnino latinus* Severin (d. 482) appeared in the three provinces of Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia, located in what is now modern A. Probably of noble Roman descent, he maintained relations with the powerful of his age (Odoacer). In times of crisis, he cared for the spiritual and physical well-being of the inhabitants along the Danube frontier. He spent most of life at Favianis, modern Mautern an der Donau in Lower A. The *Commemoratorium vitae sancti Severini*, written

in 511 by Eugippius, a monk and student of Severin's, is a source of exceptional quality for the study of Late Antiquity in the region of the Danube and the eastern Alps [21; 30.; 31].

2. Contacts with the Interior of the Empire

Close military contacts not only existed between individual Roman forts along the Danubian frontier; the economic dependence of the border areas necessitated continuous communication with the interior as well. Disruption or failure of communication resulted in disaster. Despite the evacuation of the Danubian provinces by Odoacer in 488, part of the rural Roman population remained in the country and passed on the cultural traditions of Antiquity and in some instances Christian teachings to the immigrating and passing *gentes* of the Great Migrations. Continuity into the 6th cent. of the Christian era is evident in the Roman town of Teurnia (modern St. Peter in Holz, Carinthia) in interior Noricum, which, as *metropolis Norici*, became an episcopal see. The floor mosaic, donated by the *vir spectabilis Ursus* and his wife *Ursina*, in the former cemetery church combines motifs of ancient and pagan influences with Christian images based on the *Physiologus*. The last dated Roman funerary inscription from the entire Austrian region was found in the immediate vicinity of Teurnia: it is the headstone of the deacon Nonnosus (d. 532) of Molzbichl [9; 21; 30; 31].

C. Salzburg as a Centre of Early Medieval Culture

1. The Question of Roman Continuity 2. Abbots and Bishops 2.1 Carolingian Reform 2.2 Elevation to the Status of Archbishopric 2.3 Education

1. The Question of Roman Continuity

During the chaos of the Great Migrations, the territory of modern A. was crossed and temporarily inhabited by a number of *gentes* (Huns, Avars, Lombards and Rugians) [24]. The areas partially abandoned by the Romans were not only settled by the remnants of these peoples but in particular by the Baiuvari from the NE and Slavs from the SE. The proximity of these peoples is reflected in place names, though the romanization of pre-Roman toponyms must also be considered. The issue of continuity is clearly exemplified in the cases of *Iuvavum*/Salzburg and, in a similar manner, of *Lauriacum*/Lorch (near Enns, Upper A.), which was a bishopric in the time of Severin but at the time of Rupert of Salzburg (d. 715/16) appeared too exposed for the re-establishment of the bishopric because of its location on the river Enns (the boundary with the Avars) [6; 30]. The large number of *Romani tributales* in the Salzburg sphere of influence on the rivers Salzach and Inn formed a special group whose members, in spite of their economic dependence, were personally free and could improve their status [31. 295–297]. There was also Roman continuity in the Carantanian territory (mod-

ern Carinthia and Styria), which was missionized by Salzburg, and the Danubian areas of modern Upper and Lower A., as numerous toponyms prove [29].

2. Abbots and Bishops

Salzburg became a partner of the Agilolfingian dukes of Bavaria as well as a spiritual and intellectual centre under the first abbots and bishops of the monastery in St. Peter, which was founded around 700 by Rupert [19a].

2.1 Carolingian Reform

Even before the reforms of Charlemagne, Salzburg developed into a local centre of medieval literature, both by creating texts of its own and preserving ancient and Christian Latin works. Rupert's most important successor was the Irishman Virgil (746/47–784), whose influence probably inspired the earliest hagiographic document of A., a *Vita Ruperti* of the mid–8th cent., preserved today in two versions (*Gesta Hrodberti*; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* cap. 1) [19]. Virgil also encouraged Arbeo of Freising to engage in literary activity. Perhaps the so-called *Aethicus Ister* is Virgil's own work, as suggested by the Irish colouring in its style [26]. The Irish insular influence is also evident in the Cuthbert Gospel of the late 8th cent., the most famous manuscript from the Austrian Middle Ages, along with the *Codex millenarius maior* of Kremsmünster (*c.* 800). Virgil also provided the impetus for building the first Salzburg cathedral. After the fire under archbishop Conrad III in the late 12th cent., one of the largest Romanesque cathedrals north of the Alps was erected in its place. Santino Solari ultimately modelled the present-day early Baroque cathedral on Il Gesù in Rome (1614–1628).

2.2 Elevation to the Status of Archbishopric

Virgil's successor Arn, consecrated in 785, maintained close contacts with Charlemagne's court and with Charlemagne himself, a factor in Salzburg's elevation to the status of archbishopric in 798. The significance of Salzburg as promulgator of the Carolingian reforms is evident in Arn's correspondence with Alcuin. A lively exchange of students and manuscripts occurred between Salzburg, the court and Frankish monasteries (St. Amand, Tours). Under archbishop Arn the scriptorium of St. Peter grew by 150 volumes [3; 8]. Arn also gave his name to two estate surveys he initiated that demonstrate the monastery's economic significance. The edition and collection of the Latin poems now known as the *Carmina Salisburgensia* was written in the first half of the 9th cent. It constitutes an example of Carolingian utilitarian and occasional poetry [12. 32; 19a. 116–119]. Two poems of a cycle of the months based on models from Antiquity and Late Antiquity are deserving of note. They represent the literary accompaniment to an image cycle contained in a Salzburg Codex (now National Library, Vienna, cvp. 387). The last example of early medieval literary production in Salzburg is the probably genuine letter of Theotmar to the pope in which he and the Bavarian clergy complain about transgressions against Salzburg's sphere of missionary activity [19]. Theotmar died in or shortly after the battle of Preßburg against the Hungarians in 907. This defeat and the ensuing turmoil of the first half of the 10th cent. constituted a clear discontinuity in the cultural production of what is now modern A. [12. 36].

2.3 Education

Salzburg and other monasteries such as Mondsee (founded in 748) and Kremsmünster (founded in 777; the chalice donated by its founder Tassilo, the oldest communion chalice in the southern German region, is of considerable art-historical significance) were centres of missionary activity and thus the prime beneficiaries of measures undertaken to improve educational standards. These improvements became necessary because of the clergy's poor knowledge of Latin and the resulting problems (e.g., dispute between Virgil and Boniface over the validity of the baptismal formula *in nomine patria et filia*) [30. 255–257]. Up until the 8th cent., the only education available on Austrian soil had been on an elementary level. Rupert established a school at St. Peter, first the *schola interior* (*interna*) for training monks, later a *schola exterior* (*externa*) for youths of all classes but mainly of the nobility. Based on the pastoral instruction that every bishop must have a school in his city, Virgil transformed the Benedictine → monastery schools at St. Peter into a cathedral school (*schola ecclesiae cathedralis*). The school's large catchment area is indicated by the students' geographical origins, which were linked to Salzburg's mission in the southeast of the empire. Although nothing is preserved of the curriculum of the→ cathedral school, it is likely to have included special training for the mission among the Slavs [7. vol. 1. 101–105]. Around 870, a conflict with far-reaching consequences arose between Salzburg and Methodius, who in the course of his educational activies had developed a Slavic script (Glagolica) with his brother Cyrillus. Their efforts were thought to infringe upon Salzburgian interests. The creation of the 'Freising Manuscripts' (the oldest source for the Slovene language, written in the 2nd half of the 10th cent.) has also been connected to Salzburg [12. 34].

D. The High Middle Ages

1. The Ottonian Reform 2. The Age of the Investiture Contest 3. From the Elevation to Duchy to the Beginning of Habsburg Rule (1156–1278)

1. The Ottonian Reform

Despite the victory over the Hungarians on the Lechfeld in 955 and the enfeoffment of the Babenbergs in 976 with the Eastern March, the reform movement of the Ottonian period was virtually ineffective in the dioceses of Salzburg and Passau, which along with the archbishopric became increasingly active in the 9th cent. as the carriers of missionary activities especially in modern eastern A. [12. 49]. Again, it must be noted that after the 9th cent. it was primarily the clergy who re-

tained the remaining basic principles of a late Roman education on this side of the Alps; their knowledge of Latin helped them form an intellectual elite. As in the Carolingian period, they were educated in cathedral schools, which were complemented by parochial schools at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th cent. [7. vol. 1. 110]. The curriculum can be reconstructed from the manuscript indices, however, some loss is to be expected. A vivid account of the teaching matter and method is contained in the first book of the metrical *Vita sancti Christophori* of Walther von Speyer (the so-called 'Scolasticus', 982/83), which is dedicated *ad collegas urbis Salinarum* Liutfrid, Benzo and Frederick. It is probably safe to assume that the canon of works and authors named in it (*Ilias Latina*, Martianus Capella, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Boethius, Statius, Terence, Lucan, Virgil, Porphyrius, Plato, Cicero) was also used at Salzburg, provided the manuscripts in question were available [12. 36, 43].

2. The Age of the Investiture Contest

The internal Church reforms and the conflict between temporal and spiritual powers in the 11th and 12th cents. resulted in numerous monastic foundations in the territory of what is modern A. (Lambach 1040/1056, Gurk 1043/1123, Admont 1074, Reichersberg/Inn 1080/1084, Göttweig 1083/1094, Melk 1089, Millstatt 1080/1090, St. Paul im Lavanttal 1091, Klosterneuburg 1100/1133, Rein 1129, Heiligenkreuz 1133, Zwettl 1138, Seckau 1140, Wilhering 1146, Vienna/Schottenkloster 1150, Vorau 1163, Lilienfeld 1202). These foundations also became centres of cultural life and Latin literary production [12]: Reichersberg with the works of Gerhoh; Admont with sermons, exegesis and prose hagiography; Göttweig with a *Vita Altmanni* that was important for both the formation of a national identity and the knowledge of ancient mythology. The 11th cent. saw an early version of the Vita of the Irish pilgrim Coloman, who suffered martyrdom in modern Lower A. in 1012. The Babenberg margrave Henry I. had his body transferred to Melk, and Coloman went on to become A.'s first patron saint. After 1485 he was joined by the patron saint of Vienna, Lower and Upper A., Leopold III, who ultimately replaced him in 1663. The network of interdependency in Austrian annalism is widespread. Small works of verse poetry are traceable. The *Carmina Runensia* (named after the Cistercian monastery Rein in Styria, Ms. 20) holds a special position. It consists of six fragments of 93 verses making extensive use of ancient and late ancient models that may have been created at Rein. The treatment of these Classical literary models, as well as their content, places it in the proximity of goliardic literature [12. 89f.].

3. From the Elevation to Duchy to the Beginning of Habsburg Rule (1156–1278)

Otto of Freising, who was born in 1112 as the son of the Babenberg margrave Leopold III, reports this event in the history of his nephew, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (Gesta Friderici 2,54f.). He cites ancient

(Cicero, Virgil, Lucan) and late ancient authors by name as he does in the historical and philosophical passages of his work *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, which was influenced by Augustine of Hippo. Otto became Bishop of Freising in 1138, after studying in Paris. Despite some criticisms, his writings belong in the corpus of Austrian ecclesiastical historiography [35. 104]. The collection of the *Carmina Burana* was came into being in the 1st half of the 13th cent. in the area of southern A. (Seckau in Styria, Carinthia), or in neighboring southern Tyrol [12. 407f.].

E. Late Middle Ages

1. The First Habsburgs

1. The First Habsburgs

In 1246 the male line of the Babenbergs became extinct with Frederick II. The territory of modern Lower and Upper A. as well as parts of Styria (which the Babenbergs had acquired in 1192, as a result of the the so-called Georgenberg Pact) initially came under the rule of the Bohemian king Ottokar II Premysl. In 1278, after the battle of Marchfeld, they fell to Rudolf of Habsburg, who in 1282 enfeoffed his sons Albrecht I and Rudolf II with the Austrian lands and founded the Habsburg rule, which only ended in 1918. With the acquisition of Carinthia (1335) and Tyrol (1363), the 'House of Habsburg' became the 'House of Austria' (*domus Austriae*).

1.1 The Privilegium maius

In reaction to not being included among the electors in the 'Golden Bull' of Charles IV, his father-in-law, in 1356, the Habsburg Rudolf IV had some documents forged in his chancellery in 1358/59 (collectively known since the mid–19th cent. as the *Privilegium maius*, as an extension of the *Privilegium minus*), with which he demanded certain privileges for his house. As historical proof of the ancient special status of A., he had two letters by Caesar and Nero inserted into a forged charter of Henry IV of 1058 [14]. Petrarch unmasked them as brazen forgeries in an appraisal commissioned by Charles IV [22]. Nevertheless, the provisions of the *Privilegium maius* were confirmed under the Habsburg Emperor Frederick III in the mid–15th cent. and resulted, for example, in the title of 'Archduke' being established for the Habsburgs, which Rudolf had invented as a contrast to the rank of elector [20. 138]. This seemingly odd invocation of Caesar, however, has a long tradition: for example, the place-name Melk/Medelicha was derived from the phrase *Mea dilecta*, which was attributed to Caesar. A similar folk etymology exists for the name Vienna, where Caesar supposedly stayed for a *biennium* [27. 144]. Caesar also led the series of real and fictional ancestors of the Habsburgs, as is evident, for example, in the figures on the tomb of Maximilian at Innsbruck [27. 309]. Likewise, in terms of regal virtues such as *clementia*, the Habsburgs considered themselves to be the heirs of the Julio-Claudian dynasty [27. 129].

1.2 The Founding of Universities

The founding of the → University of Prague by his father-in-law Charles IV in 1348 led Rudolf IV to found a university in Vienna. On the model of and with the help of scholars from the Parisian Sorbonne, the *Alma mater Rudolphina* was established in 1365. But the new university did not flourish or draw in new students until the theological faculty, originally rejected by the pope but established in 1384, caused an increased influx of professors from the Sorbonne in the late 14th cent. Teaching and learning methods conformed to the concerns of scholasticism [7. vol. 1. 203–215]. The clerically-oriented statutes were in force for almost 170 years. Only with the *Nova reformatio* of Emperor Ferdinand I of 1 January 1554 were they brought more closely in line with the objectives of the state [7. vol. 2. 349–373]. At Salzburg, a university had been proposed in the 15th cent., but it was Prince Archbishop Paris Lodron who finally opened the new institution in 1622. In 1585, Archduke Charles II of Inner A. founded the University of Graz and placed it under the supervision of the Jesuit order. The University of Innsbruck was founded in 1669 by Emperor Leopold I and remained under the influence of the Jesuits until 1773.

1.3 The Transition to Humanism

The tension between the old principles of Scholasticism and the new ideas of Humanism still informs the rich and diverse literary oeuvre of Thomas Ebendorfer of Haselbach (1388–1464) [15]. After studying at the artistic and theological faculties, he became a teacher, dean and rector at the University of Vienna; in 1421 he was ordained as a parish priest and then participated in the Council of Basel as well as various imperial diets. Apart from theological writings, the main body of his work is concerned with historiography (*Cronica Austrie*, *Cronica regum Romanorum*) and reveals great dexterity in the use of Latin [15. 97–123]. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464), a scion of Tuscan nobility, may well be considered a trailblazer of humanism in A. He arrived at the court of Emperor Frederick III in 1437 and was crowned *poeta laureatus* in 1442. In addition to speeches, letters and poems he, too, composed historical works, among which the *Historia Austrie (Australis) seu Friderici III* remains a major source of contemporary history. In 1455 he left the imperial court, became a cardinal a year later and in 1458 was elected pope as Pius II [20. 382–385]. In Tyrol the eminent early humanist Nicholas of Kues (Cusanus), while Bishop of Brixen, was a political opponent of Duke Sigmund the Rich. Maximilian I (emperor 1493–1519) brought many distinguished humanists into the country: Konrad Celtis (1st lecture on Tacitus' *Germania* in Vienna), Johannes Cuspinianus and Konrad Peutinger. The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, named after the latter, is a 6.82 m long and 34 cm wide copy of a road map of the Roman Empire last revised in the 5th cent. Purchased in 1720 by Prince Eugen and acquired after his death by the National Library in Vienna, it is a unique source of Austrian topography [28]. Maximilian himself was glorified in the account of his life 'Weiß Kunig', which was stylistically modelled on Caesar's *Commentarii*, and the *Austrias* of Riccardo Bartolini (c. 1475–1529), an epic based on classical precursors such as Virgil and Homer [10; 11].

F. Reformation and Counter-Reformation

1. The Broadening of Perspective 2. The New Orders

1. The Broadening of Perspective

The expansion of the Habsburg territories in the 16th cent., in conjunction with the Humanists' endeavours, fostered a growing interest in foreign cultures. In 1555, the Habsburgs' political adversaries at the Ottoman court, twice defeated outside Vienna (1529 and 1683), received an embassy from Ferdinand I. In Ankara, the Austrian diplomats led by the Fleming Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq then discovered the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, a copy of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus [35. 240]. Johannes Kepler's (1571–1630) scientific work is closely associated with A. (Graz, Linz; the university there is named after him), and the study of alchemy was conducted in earnest at the Prague court of Rudolf II (1552–1612). Villach, Salzburg, Innsbruck, Vienna and Klagenfurt were stations in the life of the controversial physician and natural scientist Theophrastus Bombastus of Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus (d. 1541).

2. The New Orders

In the 16th and 17th cents., the Austrian educational system was characterized by the religious disputes from which the Counter-Reformation emerged as the victor over Protestantism. When the Jesuits were founded in 1534, their significance on Austrian territory was first and foremost focused on the educational sector: schools established by Jesuits pursued the objective of an elitist education; they later developed into a highly organized form of grammar (secondary) school, the Gymnasium [7. vol. 2. 137]. Secondly, Jesuit theatre, which presented Latin plays by Classical and contemporary authors as part of the school curriculum, greatly influenced the development of stagecraft in A. One of their number, Nicholas Avancinus (1611–1686), who wrote sumptuous plays (*ludi Caesarei*) for the Imperial Court, also composed parodies of Classical authorities such as Horace [32. 1181–1189]. From the second half of the 17th cent., a large number of schools were operated by the Order of the Pious Schools (*Patres scholarum piarum*). Unlike the Jesuits, the Piarists, founded in 1597 by Joseph von Calasanz, put greater emphasis on an elementary education [7. vol. 3. 25–28, 34–38].

G. 17th and 18th Cents.

The → Baroque period saw the culmination of court culture under the Emperors Leopold I (1658–1705), Joseph I (1705–1711) and Charles VI (1711–1740), as evidenced in the buildings designed by Johann

Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Lucas von Hildebrandt, Jacob Prandtauer and Josef Munggenast.

1. Baroque Literature 2. The Reforms of Maria Theresia

1. Baroque Literature

The Latin literature of the Baroque retained its close affiliation with Antiquity; it was mostly written by members of the orders, and often served the ruling house. The Benedictine Simon Rettenbacher (1634–1706), who wrote about 6,000 Latin poems and plays (*Demetrius*, *Atys*, *Perseus*, *Ulysses*) may be considered a significant and prolific representative [7. vol. 3. 19]. The Augustinian Abraham a Santa Clara (Johann Ulrich Megerle, 1644–1709) enjoyed particular popularity on account of his mastery of language and witty wordplay.

2. The Reforms of Maria Theresia

Under the rule of Maria Theresia (1740–1780) dramatic changes occurred in the education sector. In 1760 the Court Commission on Education (*Studienhofkommission*) was set up as the central regulating authority for universities and Gymnasien, and later for the entire educational system. Schools were to be removed from the influence of the Catholic Church and tied into the administration of the state. Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724–1788), who was called to Vienna in 1774, completely reorganized Austrian elementary schools with the General School Order (introduction of compulsory education in A.). The network of schools was expanded and more strongly adapted to regional requirements. At the ordinary and secondary schools Latin was only taught to those who wished to become surgeons or pharmacists, and those who wished to enter a Gymnasium [7. vol. 3. 102–118].

→ Odoacer

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FRITZ LOŠEK

II. 19th Cent. and Outlook

A. Austrian Classicism B. Literary Josephinism C. The Habsburg Myth D. The Viennese Popular Theatre E. Outlook

A. Austrian Classicism

A study and a drama on the Greek poetess Sappho were published almost simultaneously: in 1816 Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker wrote *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreyt* [20], and Franz Grillparzer's blank verse tragedy *Sappho* premiered on 21 April 1818. The fair copy having been finished in August of 1817, it was first published in 1819 by J.B. Wallishausser in Vienna [9. 730ff.]. The writing of the tragedy was not preceded by a thorough study of the sources. At this point, Grillparzer (1791–1872) still obtained most of his knowledge of Greek life and thought from the works of Christoph Martin Wieland: *Geschichte des Agathon* (Agathon between the aging priestess Pythia and the young Psyche) and *Aristipp* (Lais at age 40 falls in love

with a young Thessalian, who betrays her with Phryne). Only the poem to the goddess of love in Grillparzer's drama (I,6) is a free adaptation of a Sappho fragment [21. 4ff., No. VI]. Grillparzer's tragedy illustrates the embourgeoisement of the classical ideal of art, while suggesting in its formal composition an affinity with Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. Sappho's mission as an artist, however, has been modified to accommodate Biedermeier notions of bliss: in Grillparzer's interpretation, the sole purpose of her art is to praise 'quiet domestic joys' (v. 96). Underneath the trappings of Antiquity we encounter (the values of) the early 19th cent. Viennese bourgeoisie. And yet, Sappho's death – her leap from the cliffs of Leucas – negates her dedication to ordinary life and restores the original artistic ideal, according to which the poet partakes of the divine.

Lord Byron praised the tragedy as a magnificent and sublime 'work of art': Grillparzer, he wrote, 'was great, ancient, not as simple as the ancients but very simple for a modern' [6. 46f.]. By contrast, the Viennese popular theatre immediately parodied the successful Burgtheater play, as e.g. in Franz Xaver Told's (von Toldenburg) 'comic melodrama' *Seppherl* [7. 46f.]. Friedrich Gottlob Welcker's study of Sappho's house as a school of the muses and boarding school for girls [20. 58ff.] influenced Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Sappho und Simonides. Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker* (Berlin 1913). Welcker claims he felt compelled to respond to the *unsägliche Gemeinheit, welche sich oft, vordem und neuerlich, über die Sappho ausgesprochen hat* ('despicable meanness often expressed, in former times and recently, against Sappho', [20. 6]). He cites Plato, who called the poetess the tenth muse, and others who called her a female Homer. His prime concern was the rehabilitation of Sappho's *eros*, this he accomplished by lifting from it the air of scandal that had hung about her ever since she had been caricatured by the writers of Old Comedy. The cult of friendship and beauty surrounding Sappho is balanced by a love without desire on her side which, according to Grillparzer, is confirmed by her social reputation.

His elegy on ruins, *Campo vaccino* (1819), earned him a run-in with the censors: the poem had to be removed from all available copies of the pocketbook edition of *Aglaja*, after it was published in 1820. In court circles the conservative Grillparzer was now considered a 'Jacobin', because in his poem he had dared to play off the ancient sign system against Christian symbols.

Grillparzer's dramatic work is a focal point for the reception of Antiquity in 19th cent.-A. The dramatization of the legend of the Argonauts and that of the Hero and Leander myth illustrate his 'receptive' stance. His psychologizing approach is evident in the recurring opposition between processes of transgression and defiant postures of limitation. In his 1820/21 treatment of the legend of the Argonauts in the trilogy *Das Goldene Vlies*: *Der Gastfreund*, *Die Argonauten* and *Medea*, the material is reworked as a historical and philosophical tragedy involving society's Humanitarian ideals. The

characters' actions in history are being subjected to a judgment that must justify itself before the wisdom of the gods at Delphi: Delphi as the origin of the Humanitarian idea and Apollo as the divine symbol and protector of humanitas [16]. When Medea, after her deed, decides to take the fleece to Delphi and face the judgment of the priests there, she submits the totality of her actions to be judged by the Apollonian divinity, to be measured up against her commitment to the humanitarian ideal – in the full knowledge that the historical consequences of our actions may often stray far afield from this ideal. Grillparzer's epigram on the *Weg der neuern Bildung* (1848) rendered expression to his pessimism in the formula, *von Humanität durch Nationalität zur Bestialität* ('From humanity through nationality to bestiality', [9. 808]). The tragedy of *Medea* already traces this trajectory: first there is Delphi, followed by the contrast between Greeks and Colchians, finally the infanticide. Externally, the Fleeece creates a continuity between the parts of the trilogy, and functions as a leitmotif or a floating signifier. The Fleece trilogy also is a tragedy of words because their misinterpretation precipitates the catastrophe. Deviating from his previous practice with *Sappho*, Grillparzer conducted extensive preparatory studies for the trilogy. Once again, it was Wieland who provided the initial impulse (*Novelle ohne Titel* in *Hexameron von Rosenhain*). A.W. Schlegel's critique of Euripides' *Medea* in his lectures *Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* stimulated Grillparzer's reading of the the Greek tragedy. His ancient sources were Seneca's treatment of the Medea myth, the Argonaut epics of Valerius Flaccus and Apollonius Rhodius, excerpts from Strabo and Hyginus, as well as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (7th book) and the *Heroides* (e.g., Medea's letter to Jason). Grillparzer knew the *Medea* adaptations of Julius von Soden and Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter, played at the Burgtheater in 1815 and 1817, and the opera by Luigi Cherubini. He obtained a comprehensive understanding of the material from the *Gründliches mythologisches Lexikon* of Benjamin Hederich (1770 ed.), which he read in the summer of 1818.

Grillparzer's tragedy *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* (1831) revolves around the individual identities of the two lovers Hero and Leander. Hero's evocation of the *Glück des stillen Selbstbesitzes* ('bliss of quiet self-possession', v. 392) states the central theme of the work: the ability to preserve one's sense of self. Hero flees from an oppressive family environment to discover her true self in the service of the goddess. Leander, through his love for Hero, is freed from an all-powerful maternal bond that had left him with his dead mother's memory as the sole purpose in his life. Ultimately, it is the prohibition of love imposed on priests, and the desire for love that that trigger the tragic conflict. Tragedy can only be avoided if 'Sammlung' (gathering), one of Grillparzer's primal words, becomes a maxim of everyday life. The diffuse expressions of human life are to be gathered, so as to form the basis of a more securely

balanced and clearly focused, purposeful existence. Externally, Hero's tower dominates the stage as a symbol of all things solid and limited by their physical body, the male/phallic, while the sea represents that which is flowing, oceanic, feminine. In a poetics of space, the human figures are each linked to that section of the scenery which symbolizes the exact opposite of their personal nature: the tower is Hero's home, the sea becomes Leander's grave. Transgressions and violations of boundaries are an essential part of the action in this late Romantic tragedy of love. The plot is based on the Alexandrian fable of Hero and Leander, which shows parallels to the myth of Amor and Psyche. Grillparzer used as his sources Ovid's *Heroides* (letters 17 and 18), the epic of Musaeus *Hero and Leander*, Euripides' *Ion*, Schiller's ballad and Christopher Marlowe's fragmentary verse narrative of Hero and Leander, also the folk song *Es waren zwei Königskinder*.

B. Literary Josephinism

Authors such as Grillparzer liked to call themselves' Josephinians' – enlightened thinkers and dedicated to the policies of emperor Joseph II. The transition from Maria Theresia to her son Joseph II (1765–1790) marks the end of the Baroque period and the ascendancy of the literary Enlightenment in A. Wit, satire, travesty, criticism and a literature that could be both questioning and polemic were the trademarks of the age [5]. One representative example is Aloys Blumaur's (1755–1798) travesty of Virgil's *Aeneis* (1782/1788), which parodies the Roman epic by applying it to the founding of the Roman church and its opposition to the Emperor (*Abenteuer des frommen Helden Aeneas oder Virgils Aeneis travestiert*). Blumauer's Aeneas is the founder of both Rome and the Vatican. In his boat, he travels past fire-spewing mountains that disgorge hoods, rosaries, torture instruments and burnt human flesh. His descent into Hell leads to encounters with Luther, Hus and Rousseau and straight into the papal dens of iniquity. The entire travesty is an attack on the Catholic Church, the papacy and the Jesuit Order from the perspective of the Josephine Enlightenment. The hero Aeneas sheds all heroic traits along the way; at one point he gives one of Helen's petticoats to Dido as a gift. Blumauer's unfinished comic verse epic ties into Wieland's *Komische Erzählungen* (1765), which were in turn inspired by the spirit of Lucian [4; 15].

C. The Habsburg Myth

The 'Austrian Plutarch' of Josef von Hormayr (1781–1848) played a significant role in the genesis of the Habsburg myth after the historical changes of 1806. Between 1807 and 1812 his *Österreichischer Plutarch oder Leben und Bilder aller Regenten und der berühmtesten Feldherren, Staatsmänner, Gelehrten und Künstler des österreichischen Kaiserstaats* was published in 20 parts. It recounts the history of A. as the gradual growing-together of the individual nations of the Danubian monarchy under the auspices of the House of

Habsburg. Poetry, the author argues, is ideally suited to address these interdependencies and points of contact. In his work, therefore, he wishes to provide examples and inspirational material for this (new) kind of Austrian literature. His parallel biographies in the tradition of Plutarch, he says, are his contribution to the creation of a single Austrian identity and common culture. Hormayr was prompted to write his biographical work by Johannes von Müller, the Swiss historian who became custodian of the Viennese Court Library after 1800. Hormayr himself was made director of the House Court and State Archives in Vienna after 1808, and in 1816 Emperor Franz II appointed him Imperial Historiographer. Vol. 15 of the 'Austrian Plutarch' contains the history of the Bohemian king Przemisl Ottokar II; it became one of Grillparzer's primary sources for his Ottokar drama. Both Hormayr's and Grillparzer's work must also be read in the context of their Napoleonic experience [19].

The dramatist Heinrich Joseph von Collin (1771–1811), writer of 'Baroque national plays' ('barocker Staatsdramen', [9. 637]), celebrated successes as a classicistic orator-playwright. In his dramatic works, Collin gave voice to the Austrian imperial idea of nationhood in ancient dress: the continuity of the Austrian nation was to be built on the diversity of its peoples, guided by German education and Roman *virtus*. In a literary debate with Josef Schreyvogel, Collin expressed the opinion, entirely in line with Schiller and the Romantics, that the plot of tragedy illuminates the victory of freedom over necessity. The audience, representing mankind, benefits spiritually from the joyous triumph of their dignity. *Regulus* (1801) established Collin's reputation as the 'Austrian Corneille' among his contemporaries [17]. In 1802 his *Coriolanus* was performed at the Burgtheater. His source was the *Lives of Plutarch*, which Shakespeare had also used for his *Tragedy of Coriolanus*. Coriolanus stands accused of disregarding the will of the people. Enraged about his sentence, he severs all ties with home and country to enter the service of Rome's enemies. Torn between his oath of loyalty and a rekindled patriotism, Coriolanus seeks death as a stranger in the world. Beethoven's *Coriolanus Ouverture* (1807) was composed for Collin's tragedy. Collin's appreciation of and attitude towards Classical Antiquity is evident in his tragedy *Die Horatiansier und Curiatier*, which he composed for the emperor's name day [12].

D. The Viennese Popular Theatre

The theatre decree of 22 March 1776 marks Emperor Joseph's II attempt to reorganize the Viennese theatre. He appointed the Burgtheater as the court and national theatre and the Theater am Kärntnertor as the venue for travelling troupes and popular entertainment. This laid the groundwork for the separation of spoken and musical theatre. The cultural opposition between (metropolitan) Burgtheater and suburban popular theatre remained fairly significant: the Burgtheater per-

formed classical spoken pieces, which were then parodied on the suburban stage. The Viennese popular theatre thrived on this contrast and, aside from the Baroque improvement play ('Besserungsstück') and farce, counted parody among its main genres [13; 14]. The Classical material was laced with contemporary allusions and further customized through the liberal use of stage machinery and typical Volkstheater allegory. Classical reminiscences, allegories (often Lady Fortune), Greek and Roman heroes relocated to Vienna, comic reworkings of ancient sources, these were all devices employed by authors ranging from Adolf Bäuerle, Joseph Alois Gleich and Karl Meisl to Ferdinand Raimund and Johann Nestroy – much to the pleasure of their largely petty-bourgeois audiences [7]. Set in Vienna, the 'mythological caricatures' of Karl Meisl, and in particular his *Orpheus and Euridice* (1813), are just one representative example.

E. Outlook

19th-cent.-Austrian authors drew on Classical themes to gain, from the opposition between 'ancient' and 'modern', an insight into their own sense of tradition, and to stimulate self-reflection. Psychologizing of the myth is as much part of the Austrian reception of Classical Antiqutiy as is parody. Within the context of historical legitimization processes, both Greek and Roman literature was utilized to support timeless truths. However, the reference to the ancient world could also signal a critical detachment from the present. Some of these modes of reception are later found among Austrian authors of the 20th cent., who continued the practice and expanded upon it. A case in point are the Greek plays of Hugo von Hofmannsthal [11] and Hermann Broch's novel *Der Tod des Virgil* [18; 10]. Egon Friedell's *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums* (1936) is a profound testament to the ironic subjectivity of a final, comprehensive overview. Most recently, Christoph Ransmayr has evoked an imaginative vision of antiquity in a contemporary setting in his Ovid novel *Die letzte Welt* (1988) [8; 2; 3].

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HELMUT BACHMAIER

III. 20th Cent.

A. Education B. Classical Studies: Teaching and Research C. Psychoanalysis D. Literature

A. Education

After 1848, the efforts of the Austrian Empire in reforming universities and the Gymnasium were aimed at eliminating the deficits that existed in the Austrian educational system compared to standards in Prussia and, from 1871, in the German Empire. In essence, this meant a modified adoption of the Humboldtian reforms and a stronger differentiation within the scientific and technological secondary school system (10 to 17 or 18 years of age). This was accomplished, e.g., by establishing the 'Technisches Gewerbemuseum' (now Technologische Gewerbeschule = Technological Grammar School) in 1879. Another measure was to enforce Latin and Greek instruction in the Gymnasium (eight to six hours of Latin on average): the lower grades were required to translate exclusively from German into Latin or Greek, but the same restriction still applied for the Matura examination. Fierce debates in the last decade of the 19th century about the value of the → teaching of Ancient languages led to the removal of this requirement and a gradual reduction in the number of hours. An indication of the nature of the debate is the collection of statements published by Robert Scheu in 1898, *Was leistet die Mittelschule?* ('What are the benefits of the secondary school?') Aside from the assessments of eminent philologists, it also contained contributions from natural scientists, who argued vehemently for a departure from the Humanist educational ideal. Until WWI, only the humanist Gymnasium provided unrestricted university access. After 1918, Otto Glökkel's (1874–1935) school reforms fundamentally changed the education system; these meritorious

reforms emphasized the active participation of the pupils and pushed the formation of philological skills into the background. Latin and Greek continued to be taught in the humanist Gymnasium, but the *Realgymnasium* became the most popular school type between the world wars: Latin was compulsory from year three, and graduates could enter most branches of study, including *Jus* (= law) and medicine. This practice continued after 1945 in the so-called Second Republic. Before the school reform of 1965, the Humanist Gymnasia in Western Austria (Upper Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Vorarlberg) taught Latin from year one and Greek from year three, while in Eastern Austria Latin was taught from year three and Greek from year five in an eight-year curriculum; from the mid–1960s onwards, the Eastern Austrian solution became the norm for all of Austria. By the end of the millennium, a number of school reforms had caused further sharp reductions in the teaching of ancient languages, but even at the beginning of the 21st cent., the amount of ancient language teaching in Austria remains persistently above the European average.

B. Classical Studies: Teaching and Research

The rise of Classical studies in Austria in the second half of the 19th cent. was largely due to Hermann Bonitz (1814–1888) and Wilhelm von Hartel (1839–1907; 1900–1905 Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs), who were intent on reforming the teaching of Classical Studies at the university. There was a particular interest in Christian Latin literature, which led to the establishment of the series *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The Vienna Department of Classical Philology gained prominence first and foremost through the figure of Theodor Gomperz (1832–1912), who first made a name for himself as a papyrologist and was later known primarily for writing the standard work *Griechische Denker* ('Greek Thinkers'). The first edition was serialized from 1893 to 1909 and was recognized far beyond the confines of its immediate discipline. Gomperz' versatility is exemplified in his admiration for the social philosophy of John Stuart Mill, whose works he published in German (one volume, for instance, was translated by S. Freud, who counted *Griechische Denker* among his ten most important books). For his analysis of the Greek natural philosophers Gomperz sought to draw on the scientific thinking of his time (e.g. Helmholtz and Mach), displaying an anti-idealistic streak typical of Austrian intellectual traditions. The appointment of Ernst Mach to a chair in 'Geschichte und Theorie der induktiven Wissenschaften' ('History and Theory of the Inductive Sciences') was in no small way facilitated through the initiative of Gomperz and his son Heinrich. Gomperz, descendant of a wealthy Jewish family from Moravia, was a central figure of the social and intellectual life of his time. His son Heinrich Gomperz (1873–1942), subsequently Professor of Philosophy in Vienna, can be seen as one of

the most stimulating influences on the members of the Vienna Circle gathering around Ernst Mach. Among his many pupils was Karl R. Popper, whose epoch-making work *Die offene Gesellschaft und ihre Feinde* ('The Open Society and its Enemies', 1945/1958) is indebted to Th. Gomperz' *Griechische Denker* not so much in terms of that book's vehement criticism but rather its interpretation of Plato; Popper also referred to it in his studies of Parmenides. The Austrian physicist and Nobel Prize laureate Erwin Schrödinger cited Gomperz in his publication *Die Natur und die Griechen* (The Greeks and Nature, 1956), arguing against Ernst Mach and for the importance and relevance of studying the writings of Pre-Socratic philosophers, even though they may no longer be valid from a scientific point of view.

The fact that in his youth Heinrich Gomperz wrote a *Grundlegung der Neusokratischen Lehre* (1897) is a significant illustration of the philosophical tendencies among the young intelligentsia in *Gründerzeit* Vienna: indeed, there was a *Klub der Neusokratiker* ('Neo-Socratic Society'). While its general attitude approached schoolboy humour, the club's first maxim was never to take anything seriously, since everything was the result of play, and God had created the world merely for the sake of play. Because he had been a stroller, like the Viennese, Socrates was made patron of the society. This was all thanks to a turn against Nietzsche, who had decried Socrates as a buffo and a caricature. Later on, Heinrich Gomperz advocated interpreting the Pre-Socratics according to psychoanalytical principles.

In the inter-war years, two eminent philologists were appointed from Germany: Ludwig Radermacher (1867–1952) and Hans von Arnim (1859–1931), one of whose areas of research was ancient tragedy. Another luminary in this particular field was Albin Lesky (1896–1980), whose *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (*History of Greek Literature*, 1957) was translated into several languages, and who spoke out in favour of ancient language teaching at the Gymnasium during critical phases.

C. Psychoanalysis

The re-interpretation of ancient myths in the 20th cent. often bears a signature borrowed from the intellectual realm of psychoanalysis. And conversely, it is not absurd to ask what psychoanalysis owes to ancient thought and ancient literature. Above all, its founder Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) had enjoyed a solid classical education, which is reflected in his writings. The reference to the Oedipus model (affection of the son towards the mother and jealousy towards the father) first appears in a letter from 1897 addressed to W. Fließ and contains a self-analysis by Freud. This momentous theory was published with a detailed interpretation of Sophocles' drama in the *Traumdeutung* (*Interpretation of Dreams*, 1899; recte 1900). As has been expounded on numerous occasions, Oedipus was Freud's identification figure *par excellence*. Another such figure was the (Semitic) hero Hannibal, whose hatred of Rome he

saw in analogy to his own aversion against the Catholic Church with its seat in Rome. In his essay *Zeitgemäßes über Krieg und Tod* (Thoughts for the Times on War and Death, 1915) Freud supported his rejection of the Christian view of an afterlife with Achilles' words from the *Odyssey*, according to which he would rather be a day labourer on earth than a Prince of Shadows. A passionate collector of archaeological objects, Freud admired Heinrich Schliemann and often compared his own work to that of an archaeologist, uncovering layer after layer in the speculative attempt to reconstruct that which has been destroyed. Appropriately, Freud's most extensive literary interpretation is dedicated to Wilhelm J. Jensen's novella Gradiva (1907), of which large parts are set in → Pompeii The close link between → Psychoanalysis and Antiquity is further illustrated by the emergence of terms such as 'Electra complex' and 'narcissism'. And the fact that the concept of both a male and female disposition being present in every individual, proposed by Otto Weiniger (1880–1930) in his controversial yet phenomenally successful *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character, 1903), specifically extracted by him from the narrative of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*, is yet another example of the pervasiveness of ancient philosophy and literature in Vienna at the turn of the century.

D. Literature

The enthusiastic exploration of ancient → mythology and literature was to a certain degree pre-conditioned by a familiarity with the material many authors had acquired in school: Sigmund Freud, Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), Richard Beer-Hofmann (1866–1945), Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931), Rudolf Kassner (1873–1959), Karl Kraus (1874–1936), Egon Friedell (1878–1938) as well as Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), all graduates of the Humanistic Gymnasium, were the last generation of literary authors committed to and shaped by this educational ideal. While many writers did take account of more recent insights in the study of Antiquity, perception of the subject-matter is often distorted through multiple refractions. Especially Nietzsche's concept of the Dionysian and Freud's psychoanalysis have left considerable marks. Even before Nietzsche's *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (*The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*, 1872), Dionysus was one of those deities providing particular inspiration to poets. In Robert Hamerling's (1830–1889) epic poem *Ahasver in Rom* (1866), for instance, Nero appears as Dionysus. Under the rule of Dionysus as the god of ecstasy, moral norms are suspended – a notion also found in Arthur Schnitzler's one-act play *Das Bacchusfest* ('The Festival of Bacchus', 1915): the poet Felix Staufner invents an ancient festival, which allows unrestrained promiscuity to every man and woman for one night. Upon returning to everyday-life, the night's partners had to suppress their memories and were forbidden to continue their relationship. This fiction only served Schnitzler as a stylish cloak for his own unfaithfulness and that of his wife. A dark festival dedicated to the goddess Astarte and characterized by an oppressive sexual licentiousness, is created by Richard Beer-Hofmann in the second chapter of his short novel *Der Tod Georgs* (1897/1900); in his descriptions, Beer-Hofmann drew on Lucian's treatise *De Dea Syriaca,* which had been brought to his attention by C.J. Burckhardt.

The most complex appropriation of ancient patterns is found in Hofmannsthal, who wrote an adaptation of Euripides' *Alcestis* (1893) while still attending the Gymnasium. In it, Admetus appears as a king in a fairy tale who promises his subjects a bright future through the death of his wife. He is thus freed from accusations often levelled against him on account of his wife's sacrifice. Egon Wellesz based his libretto for an opera (1923) on Hofmannsthal's version. His very free adaptation of Sophocles' *Electra* was a success on the Berlin stage in 1903. Set to music by Richard Strauss in 1909, it became a part of the standard operatic repertoire. In the stage directions, Hofmannsthal stipulates that *jene antikisierenden Banalitäten, welche mehr geeignet sind, zu ernüchtern als suggestiv zu wirken* ('those faux-antique banalities which are more likely to have a sobering rather than a suggestive effect') be avoided. Elements of the Archaic period, employed to avoid the merest hint of → Classicism, gave a special quality the depiction of hysteria. The influence of Freud was already palpable for literary critics at the time. Ancient myths seemed perfectly suited to convey archetypal themes. Of the *verborgenen schuldigen Fluß-Gott des Blutes* ('hidden, sinful river-god of blood') we read in Rainer Maria Rilke's third *Duineser Elegie*; his *Sonette an Orpheus* and many of his poems speak of a profound immersion in Classical mythology. The striking alterations in Kafka's prose sketches *Prometheus* and *Das Schweigen der Sirenen* are succinct yet impressive manifestations of *Arbeit am Mythos* (Work on Myth, H. Blumenberg). The myth of Demeter forms the substrate of Herman Broch's (1886–1951) *Bergroman* (Mountain Novel). Begun in the 1930s and first published as *Der Versucher* (the Tempter) in 1954, it describes the goings-on in an alpine village at the eve of → National Socialism, and the struggle between good and evil chthonic powers. Broch's novel *Der Tod des Vergil* (*The Death of Virgil*, 1945), meanwhile, examines the relationship between the artist and authority: the Emperor Augustus demands from the poet, who senses his approaching death, the work that its creator sees *als erschreckend ungetan* ('as terrifyingly undone') and therefore wants to destroy. A similar motif underlies Christoph Ransmayer's (b. 1945) novel *Die letzte Welt* (1988): Ovid has destroyed his Metamorphoses before leaving Rome; in Tomi, Maximus Cotta does not find the poet, but the characters (e.g., Arachne, Ceys, etc.) from his work. Ransmayer's original intention, following a request from Hans Magnus Enzensberger, to re-tell Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, proved to be an impossibility. The novel, considered to be one of the most outstanding

post-modern works in the German language, owes its peculiar tension to its portrayal of the exile's situation (the poet is banished by the authorities on nebulous grounds and, as a character in the novel, eludes all further investigation) and the principle of subjecting the narrative string of transformations itself to one more transformation. The novel's success may also be explained in light of the newly re-awakened interest in mythology in the 1980s. Written in direct opposition to Gustav Schwab, Michael Köhlmeier's (b. 1949) re-narrated mythological tales from Classical Antiquity (*Das große Sagenbuch des klassischen Altertums*, 1999) were a popular feature on Austrian radio. Köhlmeier is also engaged in an effort to fashion from the *Odyssey* a cycle of four novels, but the parts published so far would seem to indicate that the sheer volume of material is bound to exceed the proposed scope of the project. The first two novels, *Telemach* (1995) and *Kalypso* (1997), follow the respective portions of Homer's original, but by introducing pronounced anachronisms not unlike those used by Ransmayr, for instance, they distance themselves from a reconstruction of the archaic world of the myth. In his wholly unchallenged adaptations of Sappho, Archilochus, Catullus and Propertius published under the title *Die Erfindung der Poesie* (1997), Raoul Schrott has attempted to place ancient literature in a contemporary context. Of a different type are the translations by Peter Handke (b. 1942) from Aischylus (*Prometheus gefesselt*, 1986) and of Sophocles' *Oidipus auf Kolonos* (2003): they are rubbing and chafing against their originals. Handke's reflections continually take their departure from Classical literature, invoking Pindar, Lucretius, Homer and especially Virgil. The latter in particular is given canonical status with his *Georgica*, for an appropriation of nature that both preserves the essence of and applies a human measure to the natural world (cf. the novel *Die Wiederholung*, 1986). With his emphatic rejection of Kafka as the antithesis of Virgil, and his allegiance to Homer, Handke could also be provocative: *Kein Jesus soll mehr auftreten, aber immer wieder ein Homer* [4. 7].

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WENDELIN SCHMIDT-DENGLER

Autobiography

A. Introduction B. Middle Ages C. Humanism and Renaissance D. Representational Forms of Modern Autobiography

A. Introduction

Because autobiography is not considered to be a traditional literary genre, it does not follow a normative stylistic model. The *Confessiones* by Augustine are a product of Late Antiquity and therefore never achieved the status of a prescriptive model. The work was rarely imitated directly. Only individual elements (story of conversion, mystical ascent of the soul, meditation on memory) that Augustine himself had adopted from traditional early Christian contexts served as objects of imitation. [3]. The combination of different representational patterns in the *Confessiones* coupled with the lack of a normative model have contributed to the emergence of a multiplicity of autobiographical forms. Various forms such as the self-justification of a public person (Caesar), the biographical portrait (Suetonius, Plutarch), Stoic self-analysis (Seneca, Marcus Aurelius), and the philosophical *consolatio* (Boethius) all offer thematic as well as formal starting points for modern literary self-portrayals. Certain parts of research into autobiography favour a narrow definition of the genre which limits autobiography to the retrospective narration of one's own life [7. 14] but this view fails to do justice to the broad range of variation in representational patterns or to the complex history of their literary influence.

B. Middle Ages

Only a few autobiographies have survived from the period between the 7th and 11th cents. They do not follow Augustine's model but are oriented towards hagiography instead [8. 310–317]. Finally, during the → renaissance of the 12th cent., an intensified study of the literary and philosophical heritage from Antiquity sparked a new interest in problems surrounding self-portrayal. The autobiographies of the High Middle Ages were written in a culture of increasing inwardness which manifests itself in more and more profound presentations of the sacrament of penance and in innovative, moral-philosophical approaches that place a higher value on freewill decisions than on actions [9]. The tendency to regard sin as subjective characterises the autobiography by the French abbot Guibert de Nogent, who was the first medieval author to consistently follow the model of the *Confessiones* in his *vita* (*c.* 1115) though he rejected Augustine's balance between

the confession of sins and praise of God in favour of the *confessio peccatorum*, thus moving self-portrayal closer to the act of private confession [17. 185]. Another path was chosen by the early scholastic theologian Peter Abaelard, who took up the ancient tradition of *epistolae consolatoriae* in his *Historia calamitatum mearum* (*c.* 1132). The consolation letter's form allows him to grant exemplary status to his tale of suffering and to combine it with an apology of his philosophical work. Although for the Middle Ages it presents an unusually complex picture of the personality, this picture is not presented for its own sake. The portrayal of individual life serves to confirm a given type, thus fulfilling a didactic and devotional function [2]. This is also the case with the numerous mystical stories of souls which appear in the 13th and 14th cents., outstanding among them being the autobiography of the Dominican monk Heinrich Seuse (1295–1366). The *vitae* of mystics offer *exempla* of a methodically trained discipline of the soul that aims for a divine, self-transcending experience.

C. Humanism and Renaissance

In the autobiographies of the Renaissance period, the individual becomes increasingly detached from religiously sanctioned models of interpretation. While Dante again raises the question whether it is morally appropriate to speak about oneself in the 1st treatise of the *Convivio*, thus once again subordinating self-portrayal to the purpose of edifying exhortation, the autobiographers of the 14th to the 16th cents. grant the individual its own worth [4; 16]. A sophisticated representation of personality becomes possible because the humanistic turn to the ancient culture of Antiquity-beyond the models of Augustine and Boethius quoted in Dante-opens up a diversity of representational patterns. Thus Petrarch uses the form of Cicero's → DIALOGUE in his *Secretum*. Enea Silvio Piccolomini follows ancient accounts of deeds in his *Commentarii*. Girolamo Cardano refers to Marcus Aurelius' example in his autobiography. Montaigne's essayist style orients itself towards the informal reflections in Seneca's letters and in the *Moralia* by Plutarch. The emancipation from religious methods of conveying meaning begins with Petrarch [13]: The *Secretum* (= *De secreto conflictu curarum mearum*, 1342) dramatises the process of self-analysis in the form of a dialogue between the autobiographer and the Church Father Augustine, who appears as the symbolic representation of Christian autobiography but fails to convince his dialogue partner to renounce all worldly goods. Conversion does not take place–the autobiographer deliberately remains caught in the inner conflict of his earthly existence. A secular perspective is even more apparent in the *Epistola ad posteritatem* (*c.* 1370) [6], where Petrarch offers a portrayal of an ideal humanist life, falling back on Suetonius' biographical structure. A similar tendency towards self-glorification aimed at securing future fame is prevalent in the *Vita* (1558–66) by the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, although the latter does not center his life story around learning and erudition but on the artistic *ingenium* and on *virtù* as opposed to *fortuna*. Cellini's naïve self-glorification clearly stands in contrast to Petrarch's reflective attitude. It forms an even stronger contrast to the sceptical image of humanity that lies at the basis of Cardano's *De vita propria* (1575–76) and of Montaigne's *Essais* (published in 1580–95). The latter both take into account the finality of human existence by avoiding any form of idealisation. The narrative creation of a coherent image of life is abandoned; instead, these self-portrayals are organised according to topics, emphasising the idea that the self is incongruous [1. 113–126, 316–319].

D. Representational Forms of Modern Autobiography

In the 17th and early 18th cents., secular self-portrayals lost status vis-à-vis religious autobiographies. The Puritan movement in England as well as German Pietism supported a culture of introspection, again referring to the example of the *Confessiones*. However, the followers of Augustine differ in their approaches: While the Spanish mystic Teresa de Jesus combines a retrospective narrative with meditative self-analysis in her *Libro de su Vida* (1562–65), the Protestant autobiographers (John Bunyan, George Fox, August Hermann Francke) emphasise the aspect of conversion, with the result that the narrative component becomes predominant in autobiography. Other factors that contribute to the success of retrospective autobiography toward the end of the 18th cent. are the secularisation of the Protestant story of the soul (Adam Bernd, Karl Philipp Moritz) [11. 62–75], the dominance of empiricist psychology in Enlightenment thinking which regards human memory as essential in personal identity, and the development of new representational forms in the genre of the novel [10]. In J.-J. Rousseau's *Les Confessions* (published in 1782–89), all of these threads are joined together. Rousseau, who in the title of his self-portrayal directly refers to the work of his ancient precursor, reverses Augustine's schema: His 'conversion experience' (the moment of inspiration at the gates of Vincennes described in the 8th book) does not reflect God's merciful intervention but instead the individual's disastrous entry into an alienated way of life within society; his childhood does not illustrate the weakness of the human being marked by original sin but is appreciated for the first time as an independent part of life that shapes his personality. In contraposition to the *Confessiones*, Rousseau's autobiography dramatises the liberation of the autonomous subject which adopts the divine attributes set forth by Augustine [5]. This new personality model is then enriched further by the dimension of external history in J.W.v.Goethe's autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (published in 1811–33): For Goethe, the purpose of autobiography lies in providing insights about how personality develops through the interaction between individual disposition and historical circumstances [15].

Rousseau and Goethe bestow a level of authority to this type of retrospectively narrated life story that remained uncontested all through the abundance of autobiographical literature of the 19th cent. (F.R. de Chateaubriand, Stendhal, J.S. Mill, J. Ruskin, Th. Fontane). While this style is still widely used in the 20th cent., it comes under increasing pressure from the more advanced representatives of literary modernism [12; 14]: The narrative recall of past life events is exposed as a mystification (A. Gide, J.-P. Sartre), resolution is replaced by fragmentary self-portraits that take up essayist traditions (M. Leiris); comprehensive memory is replaced by the decipherment of traces and documents (W. Benjamin); the ethos of sincerity gives way to a playful treatment of writing conventions (G. Stein, V. Nabokov) and to a deliberate blurring of the boundary between truth and fiction (A. Robbe-Grillet). A characteristic feature of 20th cent. autobiographical literature is a new diversity of representational forms.

→ Autobiography; → Biography; → Consolatio as a literary genre
→ Biography

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CHRISTIAN MOSER

Automata see→ Technology, history of

B

Baalbek

A. Introduction B. Research and Excavation History C. The Significance of the Excavations in Scientific and Political Context D. Aspects of Conservation

A. Introduction

Baalbek, located in the fertile Beqaa plain northeast of Beirut, has been the site of an indigenous Baal cult since ancient times. The foundation of the Roman veteran colony presumably began in AD 16 with the construction of the sanctuary, whose monumental construction lasted until the 3rd cent. AD. The old cult remained alive among the population of the new colony. The sanctuary continued to be used even when transformed by new cults in the Christian and Byzantine periods. In the 12th cent., the Ayyubids turned it into a citadel. From this time on, the resident population has called the cult site Qalaa. The well-preserved monumental buildings, of which the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is the largest known sacred building of the Roman world, have made Baalbek a much visited attraction and place of commemoration. To mark the 100th anniversary of the visit by the German imperial couple, Wilhelm II and his wife Auguste Victoria, to Baalbek on 10 November 1898, the newly built museum in the passages of the lower floor of the altar court and the south tower of the citadel was opened on 7 November 1998 [6].

B. Research and Excavation History

As early as in the post-Classical period the Roman ruins of Baalbek received significant attention. The earliest known written testimonies come from Arab historiographers and geographers of the 10th–14th cents. Their writings lauded the beauty and monumentality of the buildings and their decoration. Without considering the historical context, the monuments were praised as very ancient buildings. The historiographer Dimashki, who was born in 1256 in Damascus, even believed that the sanctuaries originated in the period of Abraham, Moses and Solomon [1]. Starting in the early 16th cent., European travellers visited Baalbek with increasing frequency. One of the first Europeans known by name was the knight Martin Baumgarten, who visited the site on 13 January 1508 [6]. In December 1647 Balthazar de Monconys came to Baalbek and drew the first views of the sacred buildings and the defences [9]. The first scientific documentation of the ruins of Baalbek came from R. Wood, who together with his colleague J. Dawkins produced detailed drawings of the buildings in 1751 [16]. In the early 18th cent., L. de Laborde, W.H. Bartlett and especially D. Roberts Veduten also drew the buildings of Baalbek [11]. However, the scientific aspect was less important than the nostalgia evoked by the ruins. Beginning in the mid–19th cent., the monuments became a focus of archaeological examinations, with attention concentrating on the architectural aspects. F. de Saulcy made significant discoveries during his stay in Baalbek in March 1851 [13]. He was the first to recognize the large church building in the sanctuary's altar court and was able to identify it with the Theodosian basilica mentioned in the *Chronikon paschale* (1,561). He assigned the monumental podium wall of the Jupiter temple to the predecessor building. He also examined the city wall and the north slope of Sheik Abdallah, which was formerly the site of a temple dedicated to Mercury. The visit of the German emperor Wilhelm II in Baalbek on 10/11 November 1898 initiated a new phase of scientific study of the town. The ruler was so impressed by the ruins that he had an extensive and systematic excavation of the buildings carried out. Sultan Abdul-Hamid II granted permission for the project on 18 November. From 27 December 1898 to 16 January 1899 the architects R. Koldewey and W. Andrae conducted preliminary investigations in Baalbek. As a precondition for excavating the site, the land needed to be acquired first. The excavations began in September 1900 under the direction of O. Puchstein with cooperation from B. Schulz and D. Krencker. In four years, 150 workers using a field railway freed the buildings from the debris, which was several meters thick in some locations. Investigations were initially limited to the Jupiter temple, but also the so-called Bacchus temple, the 'Venus temple', as well as the later Christian and Muslim architectural insertions and conversions were recorded. The results were scientifically documented in maps, plans, sections, reconstructions and numerous photographs. Complementary surveys for the study of the site's Roman period were also conducted. The buildings examined included the town wall with its gates, the water supply system, the necropolises outside the town and the quarries. Twice during the excavation campaigns in Baalbek, comparative studies on temples in Syria and Lebanon were carried out with the results being published in a separate monograph [8].

World War I interrupted the research until 1917 when work in Baalbek resumed under Th. Wiegand and K. Wulzinger, who finally published the excavation results [15]. From 1930 to 1935 French archaeologists worked in the altar court of the Jupiter sanctuary. In 1933 P. Collart and P. Coupel completely removed the ruins of the Theodosian basilica in order to uncover and partially reconstruct the two altars [5]. In 1938 D. Schlumberger discovered the monumental stairway leading to the temple of Mercury on the north slope of Sheik Abdallah, which presumably also functioned as a procession route in Antiquity [14]. During the excavations of 1961/62, remains of a significantly older settlement mound were found in the area of the 'small altar' in the court of the Jupiter sanctuary. In the Sueidiye

Fig. 1: Steps of the Jupiter Temple with foundations of the western apse of the Christian basilica

Fig. 2: Bustan al-Khan, building with a twelve-column portico, view from the north

Fig. 3: Citadel, south tower and remains of the dismantled wall on the southern side of the steps to the 'Temple of Bacchus'

quarter of the city Lebanese archaeologists excavated a Roman villa where polychrome floor mosaics were uncovered [2]. The most famous mosaic, a representation of the 'Seven Sages' found in the house of Patricius, is

now located in Beirut (National Museum). The Lebanese Antiquities Service conducted important excavations in an area south of Qalaa called Bustan al-Khan, which presumably was located outside the gates of Roman Baalbek [7].

This work, begun in 1967 and disrupted in 1975 by the civil war, resulted in the unearthing of monumental buildings. The assembly includes a building with a twelve-column portico, probably a profane representational building, a semi-circular stage-like facility (perhaps a council house or bouleuterion), the ruins of several residential buildings and a colonnaded street. The whole area remained in use until the Umayyad period. In the modern period the central court in front of the porticos was used as a khan (inn) for caravans, which is why the area is now called Bostan al-Khan, the Garden of the Khan.

C. The Significance of the Excavations in Scientific and Political Context

The German excavations provided a first scientific assessment of the Baalbek monuments from the Imperial to the medieval period. The objective of the work was a comprehensive documentation of the architectural state of the ruins. This publication remains the foundation of all architectural research on Baalbek. To be sure, the authors did not limit themselves to a systematic inventory of the buildings but also carried out a typological and stylistic examination of the structural and decoration types. Based on this method, a relative chronology of the buildings was established for the first time, according to which the temple of Jupiter was under construction in the 1st cent. AD, the altar court and the 'Bacchus temple' were completed in the 2nd cent. AD, the hexagonal court and the propylees in the 3rd cent. AD. The Christian basilica of the 4th cent. AD and the conversion of the sanctuary as a citadel in the Ayyubid period (12th cent.) constitute some of the later insertions. The research also contributed fundamental insights regarding the construction of a local sanctuary during the Roman period in the East. Elements, such as the temple with the inner sanctuary (*adyton*), the various precincts with their enclosures, the lustration pools and the altars are common cultic facilities that had specific functions in the performance of local rites. The later inserts of the Christian and Islamic periods attest to the continual use and functional transformation of the cult site. The studies also supplied important information on the ancient settlement and its environs. From the remains of the ancient and medieval town wall, the rhombic layout and 70 hectar area of Roman Baalbek were reconstructed. Study of the ancient water lines provided information on the town's water supply system. A survey conducted in the two ancient quarries located outside of Baalbek yielded new insights on quarrying technology as well as the transportation and setting of the stones during construction.

The German excavations in Baalbek became possible because of a change of German and Ottoman for-

Fig. 4: The 'Temple of Bacchus'

Fig. 5: Restored commemorative tablet in the cella of the 'Temple of Bacchus'

eign policy and, therefore, are themselves an event in cultural politics. After his ascent to the throne the emperor Wilhelm II forcefully pursued contact with the Ottomans and engaged in friendly relationships especially with Sultan Abdul Hamid II. A memorial plaque that was set up on the occasion of the German imperial couple's visit to Baalbek on 10 November 1898 in the cella of the 'Bacchus temple' attests to this relationship. The text emphasizes the 'permanent mutual friendship' of the two rulers. Wilhelm II took a particular liking to the 'Bacchus temple', because it was completed under the rule of the emperor Antoninus Pius, whom Wilhelm II idealized as the Roman ruler to be a model for the German empire; and thus the decision was made to place the plaque into this sacred building. After World War I the English General Allenby ordered the plaque removed from the temple and the names and titles of the imperial couple erased. The plaque was nevertheless kept by the then owner of the Hotel Palmyra, M. Alouf, where it was found in the early 1970s by the German ambassador H.C. Lankes, who had the names restored and the plaque returned to its original site [12].

D. Aspects of Conservation

The German excavators carried out a series of measures to consolidate the monuments of Baalbek. They developed a concept for scrupulous conservation. Securing and supplementing work was only performed on buildings with a sufficient original construction substance. Supplementation should not imitate the original but should be marked as repairs. The original building substance was to be changed as little as possible so that the buildings' value as historical evidence was not diminished. One of the most important measures required was lifting the keystone of the door lintel above the portal of the 'Bacchus temple' into its original position because it threatened to collapse. During the French mandate in Lebanon, extensive restoration work was undertaken on the 'Bacchus temple' [10]. A tower from the Arabic period that stood on four columns over the temple's southeast corner was removed. Starting in 1934 all nine columns and the beams resting on them on the north side of the temple were returned to their original positions and consolidated. Using brackets and concrete, the subsequently reworked frieze and beam blocks were realigned. In 1935 the final clean-up work was performed in the temple's interior. Just before WW II the Ayyubid wall immediately in front of the temple was removed to permit an unencumbered view of the facade. A controversial decision that cannot be justified by the standards of modern conservation was the removal of the Christian basilica in the altar court, which was ordered by P. Collart and P. Coupel [5]. This measure was carried out to excavate and partially reconstruct the two altars [3; 4] but it would not have been necessary to demolish the west apse, with its two smaller apses, above the open staircase to the Jupiter temple, especially because it would not have impaired the work on the altars. This struc-

ture, which had been erected over the pagan sanctuary's central site of worship, was considered first rate historical evidence for the old site's continued use even though conversions and insertions for the new Christian cult resulted in an altered appearance. Since 1991 the Lebanese Antiquities Service has been concerned with an intensive consolidation of the buildings in Baalbek.

→ Baalbek

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KLAUS STEFAN FREYBERGER

Babylon

A. Preliminary note B. Introduction C. Geography and History of Research D. Monuments as Symbol E. Babylon as Argument

A. Preliminary note

The name Babylon (B.) can refer to both the city and the country of the same name. Ancient Assyria can also be included under the latter. It is not always possible to distinguish between these meanings.

B. Introduction

In the first centuries AD, the ancient city of B. increasingly lost significance. Although the evidence of the Tabula Peutingeriana (3rd cent.) indicates it was still part of ancient travel routes (see map TAVO B S 1.2), Classical, Talmudic and Arabic sources record its decline [1. 136–145; 2. 44–60]. The available references to B. in the sources of subsequent centuries refer, on one hand, to the size of the city and country in the distant past, and on the other, consist of efforts to describe and locate the exact geographical position of the ruins of the present. Above all, two text categories form the fundamental points of reference for reception until the end of the 19th cent.: Biblical tales, of which the Tower of Babel and confusion of tongues (Gen. 11: 1–9), the visions of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of John are of particular importance, and descriptions of the city and Tower by ancient authors (Hdt. 1,178–187; Diod. Sic. 2,7–10; Str. 16,1,5–7; Curt. 5,1,24–35; Arr. Anab. 7,17). There are also numerous other links: Ninus, Nimrod, Semiramis, Nitocris, Belsazar, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Susannah.

C. Geography and History of Research

Besides the ruins of B., Talmudic sources speak of 'Nebuchadnezzar's House' (remains of the palace?) and the 'bridge of B.' The location of the tower described by the rabbis as the 'House of Nimrod' in Borsippa and the equation of this location with B. already indicate a very early impression of a formerly enormous city. A small Jewish community also appears to have settled in the ruins [2. 59f., 103]. Early Arabic sources also mention a small village Bābil in addition to a district (*ṭassūj*). They record visits to the Den (*ǧubb*) of Daniel by Jewish and Christian pilgrims. The image of the ruins remains vague. The identification of the antiquities shows the influence of the Jewish Diaspora (Tower: Birs Nimrūd; Bridge: Jisr Bābil [2. 59 n. 41; 1. 23f., 83, 132ff.], see map TAVO B S 2). This is also still evident in the first Western European description by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1178). The growing significance of the preserved ruins of ancient B. in occidental awareness is shown by notations in medieval maps of the world [33. 58, 126f.; 18. 56] as well as the mention of the Tower and city in fictitious or compiled travel reports by William of Boldensele (1336), Jean de Mandeville, and Hans Schiltberger (1475). At the end of the 16th cent., a new identification of the Tower with the ruins of ʿAqar Qūf, as opposed to Birs Nimrūd, was suggested (Leonhard Rauwulf), which found numerous adherents (Gasparo Balbi, John Eldred, Anthony Sherley, Thomas Herbert, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Jean Otter), but also opponents (Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina di Siena, Carsten Niebuhr, Domenico Sestini, Joseph de Beauchamp). However, the location of the city of B. by Pietro della Valle (beginning 17th cent.) at the site of the Arab village Bābil became generally accepted. Not much later, Johannes Kepler attempted to determine the precise geographical latitude of B. in the *Tabulae Rudolphinae*, using information from Ptolemy's *Almagest* [8. 504f.]. Claudius James Rich conducted the first systematic land survey, connected with an excavation and description of the ruin mounds in 1811. Further excavations were carried out in 1827 by Robert Mignan, and in 1850 by Austen Henry Layard. From 1852, a French expedition under Fulgence Fresnel worked in B. Meanwhile, the thesis equating Birs Nimrūd with the Tower of B. gained broad acceptance. Supported by the report of Herodotus, Julius Oppert developed in 1853 the idea of a 'Greater B.', which included Borsippa. Between 1899 and 1917, the territory of the ancient city was

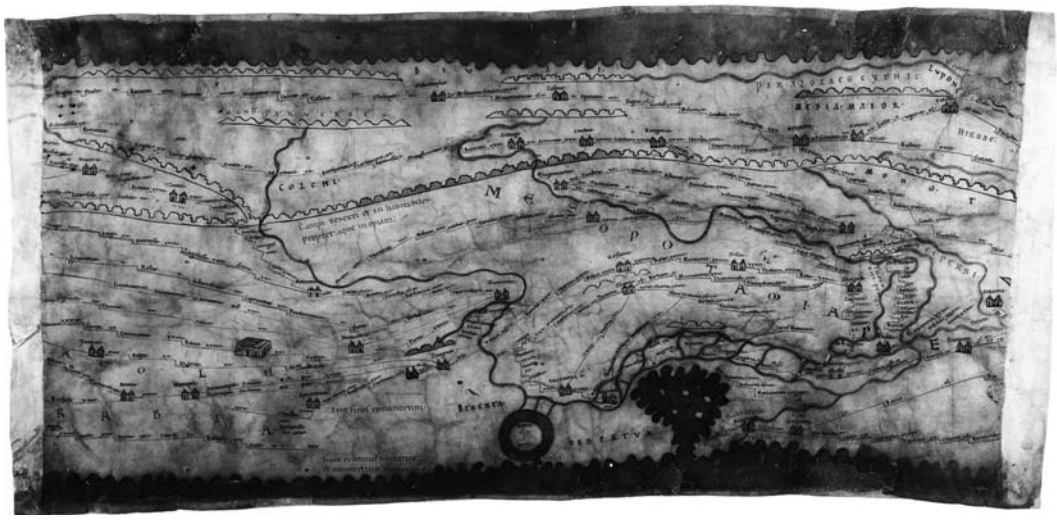

Fig. 1:Tabula Peutingeriana.
Austrian National Library, picture archives, Vienna: Cod. 324. Segm X

systematically excavated by Robert Koldewey [15; 28; 38; 43; 50. 182–184, 195–200].

D. Monuments as Symbol
1. The Tower of Babel 2. The Hanging Gardens and the Walls of Babylon

1. The Tower of Babel

In both the early Jewish-Hellenistic and the rabbinic traditions, the story of the building of the tower in Gen. 11:1–9 was broadly commented on and paraphrased. The theme of the building of the city, which dominates the original Biblical text, was suppressed in favour of numerous thematic enhancements. Among these are the destruction of the Tower and Nimrod as the first king, tyrant, and builder (Ios. Ant. Iud. 1,109–121), with Abraham set next to him as a contrasting figure of the 'just man' (Antiquitates Biblicae 6f.). The story of the Tower became interpreted and instrumentalized in a variety of ways. The Hellenized Diaspora connected it with the battles of the Titans in Greek myth as an outstanding event of early human history, and thus connected their own past to that of the ancient world (SamAn, OrSib 3). Philo interprets the event allegorically and documents the interest in the theme of the 'confusion of tongues' (*De confusione linguarum*). Early Christianity adopted the Jewish tradition and provided it with new patterns of interpretation. These allowed both a positive interpretation (tower as a symbol of the monolithic unity of the early Church, Shepherd of Hermas) and a negative (Church as an antitypical *turris corporis Christi*, Ephraim the Syrian *De nativitate* 1,44). Starting with the close of the 2nd cent., a moralizing point of view became more common. The building of the Tower and *superbia* were noticeably closely interwoven (Iren. Demonstratio 23; Tert. ad Prax. 16). At the same time, the story of the Tower was defended as historical with respect to the heathen world. From the 4th cent., the text was connected with the Pentecost miracle Acts 2, and the harmony of the Christian community was contrasted with the building of the tower, which was seen as wicked. This interpretation grew stronger through the equation by the Talmudic rabbis of the Tower with the ruins of a ziggurat. While the Septuagint and Old Latin Bible are silent about the location of the building of the Tower in B., it was authoritatively introduced by the Vulgate, through which the interpretation of B. as a godless realm given in Rev. 17 also was reinforced in connection with the Tower, and this ultimately became a *turris superbiae* (Jer. in Zech. 1,5,99.11). This point of view remained alive through the Middle Ages and into the 19th cent. (e.g. Isidore of Seville, Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Rupert of Deutz, Albertus Magnus, M. Luther, H. Zwingli, J. Calvin, K. Barth) [9 II/1. 446ff., 476ff., 488ff., 514ff.; II/2 647ff., 718, 807ff.; III/1 1062ff., 1081ff., 1131ff.; 10. 119–144; 50. 255–273]. Supported by the theses of Gerhard von Rad, modern exegesis sees the story of the building of the Tower as the high-point of a Yahwist hamartiology, later expanded by the concept of human hubris [50. 273–290].

Not only the Christian, but also the Muslim tradition was strongly influenced by early Jewish ideas. The Koran takes up the story of the city, but does not name B. (Sura 16,28f.). The confusion of tongues and human hubris determine the point of view. Nimrod appears as a builder, the Tower itself as the first building after the Flood. A unique interpretation suggests the Tower as the 'palace of Nebuchadnezzar' [1. 138–141]. To a large extent, the Middle Ages and modern era fall back on ideas developed in Antiquity and shape them further. Thus, the Tower of Nimrod appears in the

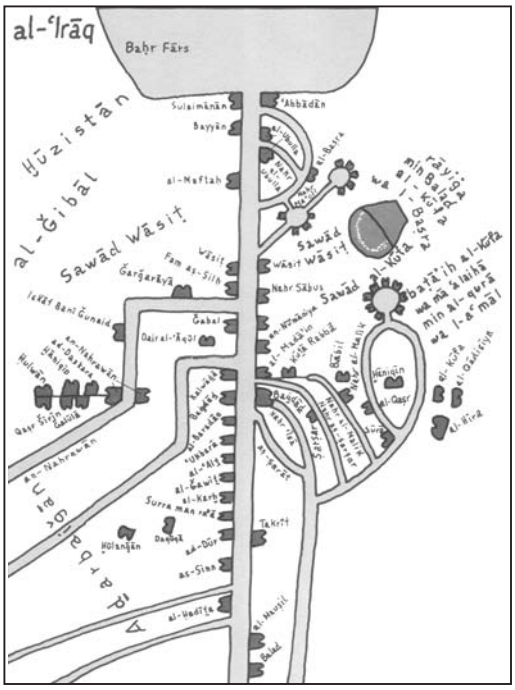

Fig. 2: Babylon as shown on the map of Ibn Haugal (late 10th cent.)
TAVO B S 2 Die Karten des Ibn Hauqual..., Gaube/Volle, 1982 © Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden

'princes' mirrors' [9 II/2. 706ff.] as a negative type, which is also suitable for characterizing a papacy which both Petrarch [9 III/1. 959ff.] and Zwingli [9 III/1. 1081] considered despicable. On the other hand, the Counter-Reformation was able to brand heretical reformers with this image [9 III/2. 1266]. Rationalism and the Enlightenment emphasized the positive features of the king, who thus rose to be the first Grand Master of the Freemasons [9 III/2. 1404].

The pictorial representation of the Tower of B. has been extensively documented since the High Middle Ages. The wrath of God, overweening human pride, and the destruction of the Tower remained the predominant themes into the 15th cent. After that an 'archaeological-historical' point of view began to displace the 'moral-theological' one. The reports of ancient authors, above all Herodotus, became important foundations for reconstruction. In the 16th and 17th cents., the Tower was positively interpreted as an expression of human creativity and the beginning of architectural history. Stonemasons and bricklayers looked back on the Tower as the beginning and supreme achievement of their guild. Divine intervention was rationalized as the limit of human possibilities prescribed by natural law. At the same time, with the strengthening of national identity and the positive revaluation of national languages, the multitude of languages and, thus, the building of the Tower, were positively connoted [52]. For example, Franciscus Irenicus (1518) says that the reason for the high status of the German language is that it goes back to Nimrod, whose grandson Trebeta brought it from B to Trier [45. 305]. Its representation reached a high point in Dutch art between 1550 and 1650 (J. and P. Brueghel the Elder, H. and M.van Cleve, L.van Valckenborch, T. Verhaecht). The interpretation of this phenomenon as an expression of Calvinist criticism of the Roman Catholic demands of the Spanish crown in the context of the Netherlands' struggle for freedom (1568–1648) [53; 18. 63–65] did not remain unchallenged [52]. Beginning in the 17th cent., the Tower entered the language of contemporary architecture as the epitome of human and divine wisdom (Trinity Church in Copenhagen by J. Scheffel 1637–1656; lanterns of Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza in Rome by F. Borromini 1642ff.). At the same time, there was a growing effort to represent both the Tower and other buildings in B. as components of a well-designed city layout which could be reconstructed in reality, with some contemporary colour added. A first high point in this development is found in the engravings of Coenrat Decker in the work *Turris Babel* by Athanasius Kircher (1679, Fig.1), and a bit later in those of Johann Andreas Pfeffel in the work *Physika Sacra* by Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1731). New accents were set by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf zu einer historischen Architektur* (1721–1723) (Design for an historical architecture). The Tower appears as part of a giant city, which appears to be a Versailles of early history [18. 60f., 67f; 48. 503f.]. This development led to the first scientific, reconstruction attempts in the 19th cent., which represent a component of a lively discussion up into the present [43. 25–46; 6].

The Tower is present in the literature (A. Austin, *Tower of Babel*, 1874; P. Emmanuel, *Babel*, 1952), operas, and oratorios of the 19th and 20th cents. (C. Franck, *La Tour de Babel*, 1865; A. Rubinstein, *Der Turm zu Babel*, 1858/72; R. Barbier, *La tour de Babel*, 1932; I.Stravinsky, *Babel*, 1944/52). At the beginning of the 20th cent., the Tower became part of an ever more complex metaphorical symbolism, characterized by secularization and plurality. It was able to include both the fascinating possibilities of human creativity and the threat of an extravagant civilization. The Tower stood for human progress (A. Rodin's uncompleted design for a Monument du travail 1898), the fascinating possibilities of a new political order (V. Tatlin's design for a monument to the 3rd International 1919/20), as a pacifist signal for the reunification of a splintered humanity (S. Zweig's short text *Der Turm von Babel*, 1916), or as an image of biting social criticism, a symbol of discord, and sign of a political-ideological antagonism up until the most recent past [47. 49f., 126, 143, 144ff., 171ff.]. In the visual arts, it appears as part of a nuclear reactor by Pierre Brauchli (1979); as a structure in an urban metropolis by Jules C. van Paemel (1931), Hans Escher (1960), and Dominique Appia (1978); as a symbol for the history of human-

ity and its conflicts by Maurits Cornelis Escher (1928) and Cobi Reiser (1967). It serves as a stimulus and starting point for modern architectural fantasies and high-rise architecture (L. Mies van der Rohe, H. Scharoun, O. Schubert, O. Kohtz, R. Tschammer, H. Ferris, Le Corbusier, H. Poelzig, A. Loos, F.A. Breuhaus de Groot), as a medium of political satire, as an artifact in the film industry (*Metropolis* by F. Lang, *The New Babylon* by G. Kosinzev and L. Trauberg, *The Bible* by J. Huston), or as a curiosity in contemporary amusement parks up to a lucrative brand-name product [33. 95f., 99f, 103, 254f., 259, 265, 269f., 273f., 275f.; 47; 49; 18. 70–89].

2. The Hanging Gardens and the Walls of Babylon

Since the earliest lists of the wonders of the world (→ Wonders of the world) in the Hellenistic era, the walls and the Hanging Gardens of B. have, for the most part, been part of those lists, only rarely being replaced by other *miracula*. To be sure, other structures in B. can also appear in addition to them, such as the obelisk of Semiramis (Diod. Sic. 2,11,5) or the bridge of B. (Curt. 5,1,24ff.). Ever since their description in Diod. Sic. 2,7,2ff., which goes back to Ctesias, the mighty walls of B. have been connected with Semiramis. The ancient lists were handed on through Late Antiquity to medieval authors (Nicetas of Heraclea, 11th cent.; Eustathius of Thessalonica, 12th cent.; the anonymus author of the Codex Ambrosianus gr. 886 fol. 180v, 13th cent.; Giorgio Sanguinato, about 1450). In this way the number of 'showpieces' were able to be extended to 30 (Codex Vaticanus gr. 989 fol. 144r, about 1300). The Renaissance led a return to the canonical number seven, and to an especial popularity of the ancient wonders of the world: Angelo Ambrogini vulgo Politianus (end of the 15th cent.), Hadrianus Iunius (about 1550). At the same time, they were also represented pictorially and interpreted contemporaneously: Maarten van Heemskerck (1572), Crispijn de Passe the Elder (1614). Only since this period have the Hanging Gardens also been connected with Semiramis [12. 9–20, 35–57, 92–117].

E. Babylon as Argument

1. General 2. Apocalyptic and Eschatological Concepts 3. World Empires and Ages of the World 4. Babel-Bible Controversy and Panbabylonism

1. General

For both the Islamic and the western worlds, the symbolic use of B. independent of theological interpretation is noticeable quite early on. Mandaean incantations repeatedly mention B. and a king of B. [13]. Tales of Sanherib ('King of Babylon'), Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, and Belsazar found their way into Islamic legends of the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) [25]. The only mention in the Koran (Sura 2,101f.) connects B. with the fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt and depicts the location as an eerie, gloomy place, just as it is encountered elsewhere in the early Islamic tradition [1. 187ff.]. A Shiite tradition has the ground of B. cursed [2. 59 n. 40]. At the same time, a positive connotation for B. can be perceived, which might go back to Persian sources. There, B. appeared as one of the seven great kingdoms of the world (*kišwar-iqlīm*), which exhibited both ideal climatic and cultural characteristics and whose borders were thought at times to extend to China. This idea was ultimately adopted by the Abbasids for their ruling ideology [1. 116–127].

Already in Late Antiquity, the capital of the Sassanids, Ctesiphon, was equated not only with ancient Susa (Lib. Or. 12,100; Ep. 331,2; Or. 18,243), but also with B. (Lib. Ep. 513, 2; 1452, 1; Or. 18,2,124; 1,136; 24,37); so also for the twin city Koch (Veh-Ardashir)-Ctesiphon (Lib. Or. 18,244). This tradition continued in the Middle Ages, where B. was used as a synonym for Baghdad (William of Boldensele, Hans Schiltberger [50. 195–197], Ludovico de Varthema [3.190]) or, in a fabulous context, even appears as a part of the Kingdom of Prester John ('Babilonem desertam iuxta turrim Babel' [4. 910:12]). The fantastic notion of a distant city of the Orient, mixed with realistic geographical knowledge (B. in Cairo), found its way into the *Spielmannsepik*, where Ymelot of Desert-Babylonia appears as the opponent of the western heroes in König Rother [11. 288–290]. In early modern magic, B. appears as an enticing place of enchantment, where three wells stand, from which flow poison, 'milk und red blood' [7]. Baroque theatre, musical drama, and oratorio put a Babylonian scenario on the stage with Calderón's *La cena del rey Baltasar* (1632), Metastasios' *Semiramide* (1729), and Händel's *Belshazzar* (1745). With the expansion of the geographic and historical horizon, as well as a generally emerging fascination with the Orient beginning in the early 18th cent., B. also becomes the projected image of Enlightenment social criticism. Voltaire's *Zadig* presents a contemporary Paris in B. (1747). In the tragedy *Sémiramis*, Ninus appears alongside the queen (1748), while Belus and Nimrod are characters in *La Princesse de Babylone* (1768). In addition, the young Goethe left behind a Belshazzar fragment (1767), and with Lord Byron, emotional Romanticism made use of the subject. In the *Hebrew Melodies* (1815), the Babylonian captivity of the Jews becomes a political allegory directed against exile and foreign domination (*On Jordan's Banks*, *To Belshazar*, *Vision of Belshazar*). Similar themes are found in Heinrich Heine's *Romanzero* (1851). The theme remains present throughout the whole of the 19th cent. It is taken up on the stage (J. Péladan's drama *Babylone*, 1895), in opera (plans by Mozart and Beethoven for a piece *Semiramis* and *Die Ruinen von Babylon* respectively; Verdi's *Nabucco*, 1842), and the visual arts (J. Martin, *Das Fest des Belsazar*, 1826, *Der Fall Babylon*, 1831; J.M.W. Turner, *Babylone*, 1834; Ed. Long, *The Marriage Market of Babylon*, 1875) [48. 358, 507f.; 30. 72–74, 77f.]. B. retains its complex network of semantic nuances into the present time. Franz Grillparzer polemi-

zed against [the use of] large projects as a symbol of German unity (poem *Kölner Dombau*, 1842), Roger Caillois used it as a means of linguistic criticism (*Babel*, 1948). Alfred Döblin's *Babylonische Wanderung* (1932) transported Marduk, cursed by the prophet Jeremiah, into the 20th cent. as Konrad. Jorge Luis Borges used the subject of B. in two stories in his *Ficciones* (1944): *La loteria en Babilonia* and *La Biblioteca de Babel*. Friedrich Dürrenmatt took up the theme in a political satire of power and divine mercy: *Ein Engel kommt nach Babylon* (three versions: 1953, 1957, 1980). The theme has been used simultaneously in modern criticism of the big city (J. Ponten, *Der babylonische Turm*, 1918; F.S. Fitzgerald's *Babylon Revisited*, 1931; F. Rosso's film *Babylon*, 1980) and in exactly the same way by its counterpart, the fascinating characterization of a pulsing metropolis (New York as 'New Babel'), which makes broader and more universal use of the metaphor [18. 77–88; 47. 214ff.]. Pop culture and esotericism have likewise resorted to B. Finally, B. has been given significant status in its role of identity creation in the politics of modern Iraq [14].

2. Apocalyptic and Eschatological Concepts

At the end of the 6th cent. BC, the term B. took on abstract characteristics in the prophecies of the Hebrew scriptures and became a symbol for powers hostile to Yahweh. In Isaiah 47, the female metaphor connected with Zion is transferred to B. ('Daughter of Babylon'). This image is strengthened in the Septuaginta Nahum 3: 4–5 (Niniveh as 'whore', *pórnē*) until one arrives at the concept, aimed at Rome, of B. as 'mother of whores' (*hē métēr tōn pórnōn*), as it is met in Rev. 17: 5 and which found wide circulation in Jewish-Christian circles [32; 40; 51]. Origen's and Augustine's interpretation of B. as a city of the devil had a great influence on patristic exegesis [17. 1131–1133; 34].

3. World Empires and Ages of the World

In addition, B. was judged in a more complex way in the Old Testament in connection with the idea of the four world empires (Dan. 3 and 7), of which B. figures as the first and Nebuchadnezzar becomes a believer in Yahweh (Dan. 4). This idea gained great effectiveness. Starting with Sulpicius Severus (about 400), the four world empires find their way into Christian salvation history, and can be traced through Orosius (417), Jordanes (about 550) to well into the Middle Ages: e.g. Frutolf of Michelsberg (1101), Hugh of Fleury (1110), Sigebert of Gembloux (1111), Honorius Augustodunensis (about 1135), and Otto of Freising (1157) [24; 26. 123–179; 35. 186] (→ Sacrum Imperium).

B. also played a vital role in various ideas about the division of world history into seven ages; since, in a tradition stemming from Augustine and which held great sway in the Middle Ages, the Babylonian Captivity represented the boundary between the fourth and fifth ages of the world [44; 46].

4. Babel-Bible Controversy and Panbabylonism

In 1902 and 1903, the Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch gave two lectures before an imperial audience with the programmatic title *Babel und Bibel* which led to a fierce dispute that drew in the greater public. Delitzsch based his arguments on the theological results of the discoveries brought about by the findings of the yet new field of cuneiform script, pointing out not only the Babylonian thought in Biblical literature, but also ultimately taking a position against the ecclesiastical concept of divine revelation. A public statement by Wilhelm II (*Hollmannbrief*) was perceived by the reading public as a reprimand from the emperor and the controversy was laid aside[23; 29].

Panbabylonism encompasses an attitude which is indirectly connected with the Babel-Bible controversy, which emerged around the turn of the century and was represented by noted Assyriologists with clearly different emphases. These included both scholars who strove to explain the mythology and world-view of all other peoples through diffusion from an astral-mythological system tracing back to B. (H. Winckler, H. Zimmern, E. Schrader, A. Jeremias), and those who attempted to interpret characters and narrative materials from the Old and New Testaments by means of literary influence originating in the Gilgamesh epic (P. Jensen) [23. 265–290; 29. 38–48].

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Baltic languages

A. INTRODUCTION B. LITHUANIAN C. LATVIAN D. OLD PRUSSIAN

A. INTRODUCTION

The term Baltic languages (BL) refers to an independent branch of the Indo-European family of languages, a branch that includes Lithuanian, Latvian and Old Prussian, the last of which died out c. 1700. Trade contacts between the Baltic peoples and the Romans (→ TRADE/TRADE ROUTES) had existed as early as Antiquity along the Amber Road, but evidence of linguistic contact at that early time does not exist. The Baltic peoples do not enter into the light of European history until the 13th cent. Church Latin at first had no direct influence on the vernacular languages, but Latin and Greek → LOAN WORDS were adopted by way of intermediary languages, that is, Lithuanian received words mostly from Polish and Belorussian, while Latvian and probably Old Prussian received them from German. The Reformation resulted in the increased influence of the Church, and beginning in the 19th cent., numerous → INTERNATIONALISMS from the areas of science, culture, technology or medicine entered into Lithuanian and Latvian, primarily through Russian.

B. LITHUANIAN

Among the loanwords that entered into Lithuanian by way of Polish and Belorussian beginning in the 13th/14th cent. were, for example, *adventas* 'advent' < Polish *adwent* from Latin *adventus*, *apaštala* 'apostle' < Polish *apostoł* from Greek ἀπόστολος, or *arnotas* 'ornate' < Polish *ornat* from Latin *ornatus*. Several borrowings that were mediated through German also fall into the same period, such as *mūras* 'Mauer' < Middle Low German *mūr* from Latin *murus* or *kalkės* 'Kalk' < German *kalk* from Lat. *calx*. In the course of the nationalist movement of the 19th cent., the vocabulary was expanded by internationalist terms that were adopted following Russian models, cf. the missing initial sound in *istorija* 'historia' < Russ. *istorija*. Furthermore, foreign words were usually adjusted to the specific linguistic circumstances of Lithuanian. In the areas of orthography and articulation, *ph* is changed to *f*, as in *filosofas* 'philosopher', *x* is replaced by *gz*, as in *egzaminas* 'exam', *qu* by *kv*, as in *kvadratas* 'quadrate', *y* by *i*, as in *gimnastika* 'gymnastics'. Stress is usually placed on the penultimate syllable as in *advokātas* 'advocate'. For the purpose of integration into the morphological system, masculine nouns usually receive the endings *-as* or *–(i)us* as in *docentas* 'docent' or *profesorius* 'professor', while

-a is the characteristic marker for feminine nouns, as in *problema* 'problem'. Common suffixes are *-ija* for feminine nouns as in *amnestija* 'amnestia' or *revoliucija* 'revolution' or *-izmas* for masculine nouns as in *komunizmas* 'communism'. Latin feminine nouns ending in *-as* are rendered with the masculine suffix *-etas, as in fakultetas* 'faculty', or *autoritetas* 'authority'. Adjectives usually end in *-us* (masc.) or *-i* (fem.), e.g. *konkretus/-i* 'concrete' or *momentanus/-i* 'momentary'. Adjectives are often formed with Lithuanian suffixes as well, for instance *-iškas/-a* as in *diplomatiškas/-a* 'diplomatic', or with *-inis/-ine* as in *kultūrinis/-e* 'cultural'. Verbs usually receive the infinitive ending *-uoti*, as in *emigruoti* 'to emigrate'.

C. Latvian

Latin or Greek words first entered Latvian via Middle Low German, for instance *alūns* 'alum' < Middle Low German *allûn* from Latin *alumen*, *ārsts* 'doctor' < Middle Low German *arste* (highly distorted) from Greek ἀρχίατρος or *pulveris* 'powder' < Middle Low German from Lat. *pulvis*. In the course of the movement of national awakening, the 'young Latvian movement' fought for the development of a literary language from the middle of the 19th cent. on, a movement which regarded the emergence of internationalist terms as unavoidable. Thus, beginning in 1863, foreign terms following Russian and German models were regularly introduced and explained in the newspaper 'Pēterburgas Avīzes'. In foreign words, the stress is always placed on the first syllable, as is common in Latvian, thus *pólitika* 'politics' or *'students'* student. Orthographically and phonetically, lexemes are adjusted as well, in that vowel lengths are marked by strokes, and *g* and *k* preceding high vowels are replaced by *ģ* or *ķ*, as in *kolēģis* 'colleague'. Double consonants are unknown, and *ph* is represented by *f*, *qu* by *kv*, *x* by *ks,* and *y* by *i*, as in *ksilofons* 'xylophone'. On the whole, the changes in the Latvian language are greater than those in Lithuanian. Foreign words are integrated into the linguistic system by adding *-s* or *-is* endings to masculine nouns and *-a* or *-e* to feminine nouns. One of the most common suffixes is *-ija* as in *koncentrācija* 'concentration'. Beginning in the 19th cent., this method was also used to form the names of countries, for instance *Francija* 'France' or the newly formed term *Latvija*. In this function, *-ija* was probably adopted from the Russian, where, in turn, it is of Latin origin, cf. Russian *Italija* 'Italy' Adjectives are often formed with the Latvian suffix *-isks/-a*, as in *fonētisks/-a*, while verbs usually end in *-ēt*, as in *integrēt* 'to integrate'.

D. Old Prussian

The few preserved texts consist of glossaries and three translations of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus* from the 16th cent. These texts hardly allow an understanding of the vernacular language, but a number of loanwords can be identified. The latter include church terms such as *altari* 'altar', *bīskops* 'bishop', *catechismus* 'catechism', or *euangelion* 'gospel', as well as terms for cultural goods that might have been borrowed through German or Slavic, such as *kelks* 'chalice' from German Kelch < Latin *calix*, *kamenis* 'chimney' from Polish *komin* < Latin *camīnus,* or *knapios* 'hemp', probably from the older **kanapš̄* from Greek κάνναβις.

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BERTHOLD FORSSMAN

Baltimore Walters Art Gallery see → USA: MUSEUMS

Barberini Faun

A. Object B. Discovery and history of the Sculpture C. Reception

A. Object

The so-called Barberini Faun is a 2.15 m high Greek sculpture from the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. BC. A youth is portrayed slumbering in a half-seated pose. The youthful, naked, muscular body of the BF reclines relaxed but not enfeebled on an animal skin spread over rocky ground, which combined with the ivy and corymbs in its hair suggests a Dionysian context. It reflects its inherent semi-animality less in its physicality than by → Aalen its openly displayed sensuality. Presumably the BF was originally set in a cultic context. The precise period of its transfer to Roma is unknown. Reuse of the statue during the Imperial Period is probably associated 'setting' with itssfdsto a secular on a fountain as decoration for a Roman villa [7].

B. Discovery and history of the Sculpture

It may be concluded from the inventory of Cardinal F. Barberini, completed between 1632 and 1640, that the BF was discovered in the course of structural works at Castel Sant' Angelo under the Barberini Pope Urban VIII between 1624 and 1628. The record of the transportation of a statue on May 5, 1627 to the Palazzo Barberini could relate to it. Its restoration by A. Gonelli is attested in 1628, the outcome being recorded in an engraving by H. Tetius [8. 181–184, 215] (fig.1). In a further restoration in 1679 G. Giorgetti and L. Ottoni developed legs and arm in stucco [3. 163–169; 227] and altered the pose to a half-seated one. The base was configured as an overgrown rock and the BF provided with a musical instrument. Engravings (by Maffei before 1704 [2. 87, XCIV], by B. Montfaucon in 1719 and by L. Deplaces after C. Natoire between 1720 and 1730) and copies document these additions. In spite of being the indisputable property of the Barberini family, in July 1799 the BF was sold to the sculptor V.Pacetti for 4000 scudi. Pacetti executed the missing limbs in mar-

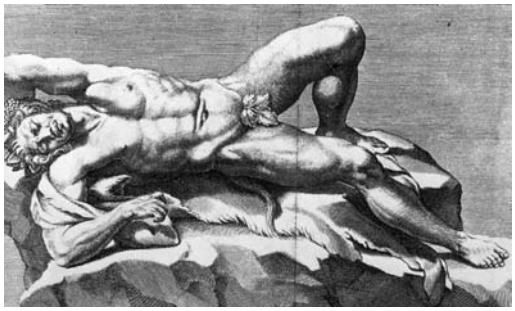

Fig. 1: Barberini Faun, engraving by H. Tetius (before 1642)

Fig. 2: Faun by Johan Tobias Sergel, 1774. *Photo: The National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm*

Fig. 3: Bozzetto by Bernini (in private ownership)

Fig. 4: Pencil drawing by Adolf von Menzel, 1874. *Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, Inv. Nr. 1975: 18 Z*

Fig. 5: Marble copy by Edme Bouchardon. Between 1726 and 1730. *With permission of Musée du Louvre, Paris*

ble, not without altering the posture, especially by a turning of the right leg toward the outside. This circumstance is shown in the 1874 pencil drawing by A. Menzel (fig.4). In a dispute about the ownership of the BF Pacetti had to return it to the Barberinis, who in 1814 sold it through the agent M. von Wagner to Ludwig of Bavaria for 8000 scudi. After a delay in obtaining export approval it eventually reached Munich in 1820, to take up the space reserved for it in the Glyptothek in 1827. In 1965 the additions, with the exception of the left leg with its original fragments, were removed, and in 1983 K. Vierneisel gave a new shape to the right leg. A differing attempt at completion was carried out on the plaster cast in 1959/60 by H. Walter and E. Luttner [9].

C. Reception

It is difficult to disentangle the dynamic relationship between reception and reconstruction of the BF Its initial installation as a horizontal reclining figure may be explained by adoption of the concept of the sleeping Endymion, or even of G.A. Montorsoli's 'Barberini Pan', which in the 17th cent. was held to be antique. This reconstruction of the BF was the model for Poussin's sleeping youth in his Bacchanal of 1635–36 [3].

The second restoration, which has come down to us in a small bisque reproduction by G. Volpato and in E. Bouchardon's copy of 1726 (today Paris, LV) (fig. 5), was at first ascribed to G.L. Bernini, on account of an entry in an inventory of 1738, as was the case with a *bozzetto*, which may have been a preliminary model for the reconstruction (fig. 3). Various attempts have been made to establish relationships between works by Ber-

nini and the BF Müller [4. 56–60] sees an echo of the BF especially in the Ecstasy of St. Theresa in the sense of an iconic palimpsest. In 1774 J.T. Sergel produced a marble sculpture of a reclining faun, the initial terracotta model of which was more strongly oriented towards the BF than the completed figure, whose pose is concretely associated with insobriety by the presence of a wineskin and grapes (fig. 2). In the first years of the 19th cent. V. Agricola (Bauer) designed a decorative cameo in which he equipped the BF with various accoutrements, including a wineskin and a theatrical mask. The BF figures as decoration on the Nymphenburg Onyx Service of c. 1830 for the Residence in Munich. B. Thorvaldsen cites the pose of the BF in reverse on a Torlonia 'Cameo' designed in 1837 bearing the image of the sleeping Endymion. In 1861 a gilded copy of the BF was installed in the Grande Grotte at the Petershof as part of the sculptural decoration of the Grand Cascade. The BF has been the subject of highly different verdicts [1. 202–205]. When von Stosch judged the statue to be superior to the → Belvedere Apollo, Winkelmann was provoked to damn the BF as a 'Wildman' [10].

Goethe has Paris (Faust II, 6453–6474) fall asleep upon his entrance on stage in living imitation of the pose of the BF He thus thematises the voyeuristic appeal implicit in the sensual quality of the marble youth, whose provocative unseemliness is accentuated to new heights of piquancy, particularly by the reaction of the female viewers.

To sum up, the artistic reception of the BF demonstrates a tendency to 'bestialize' the piece by means of laying superficial emphasis on its satyr-like, Dionysian character, probably in order to justify the portrayal of the naked male figure in such unwonted lascivious passivity.

→ Bacchus; → Dionysus

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PHILINE HELAS

Baron Thesis, the Fifty years ago Hans Baron (1900–1988), who had take refuge from Nazi Germany in the United States, put forth a comprehensive theory to explain the beginning of the Renaissance that anchored Florentine political events in the early 14th cent. into the Classical tradition of republican thought. During its first two generations, Baron argued, Italian humanism had maintained the medieval preference for monarchical government, which was traced back to Julius Caesar and Augustus. The same humanists had favored the contemplative over the active life, which allowed them to remain largely apolitical. By the summer of 1402, however, the thirteen-year-old war with Milan seemed about to overwhelm Florence, leading to a reappraisal of humanism and its role in civic life. Florence was a republic, which, it was felt, was the best form of government for fostering creativity and morality in the individual. Rome had also been a republic; indeed, her decline was due directly to the assault on republican freedoms by Julius Caesar and Augustus. To keep Florence from suffering the same fate at the hands of Milanese tyranny, the principles of classical republicanism must be revived and defended by Cicero's Florentine heirs. Milan was rebuffed, and the new republican ideology, which Baron called 'civic humanism,' received its first articulation a year afterwards in the *Laudatio Florentinae urbis* of Leonard Bruni. Twenty years after its original formulation, Baron's argument received an influential extension by J.G.A. Pocock, who argued that Classical republicanism had passed from Renaissance Florence to Oliver Cromwell's England, then to colonial America, where it formed the ideological foundation for the American revolution. In the 1980s civic humanism again united scholarship in the Classical tradition with active participation in political affairs in a movement called 'communitarianism,' whose sympathizers included William Clinton, Tony Blair, Jacques Delors, and Romano Prodi.

Critics of the Baron thesis have pointed out that the dates Baron has given to some of his key supporting documents are impossible to establish with certainty, that republican ideas can be found in some medieval thinkers, and that the commitment to Classical republican ideals is questionable on the part of both the Florentine state and its humanist defenders, especially Bruni. Other scholars like Paul Oskar Kristeller and Eugenio Garin have searched elsewhere for the origins of the Renaissance. Finally, Pocock's extension of the Baron thesis has led some scholars to argue that Classical republicanism does not constitute a distinct discourse in early modern society, that its various proponents are more different than alike, and that the system is hierarchical, elitist, and racist at its core. In the end, however, the first civic humanists succeeded in fusing scholarship and politics in a remarkable way that gave new life to the ideas of Cicero, Sallust, and Seneca in modern times.

CRAIG KALLENDORF

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Baroque

I. GERMANY II. GREAT BRITAIN III. ROMANCE COUNTRIES IV. ART AND PAINTING

I. GERMANY

A. THE CONCEPT AND ITS HISTORY C. LEARNING, EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE D. INSTITUTIONS OF CULTURAL SOCIETY

A. THE CONCEPT AND ITS HISTORY

The term, baroque, probably derived from the Portuguese word for an off-round, irregular pearl (*barroco*), appears from the 18th cent. on as a synonym for such terms as 'bizarre, bombastic, irregular.'

In its sense as a stylistic term or expression describing a cultural period, baroque did not come into use in the world of art-historical discourse until the second half of the 19th cent. – for the first time with J. Burckhardt [6], who saw Baroque as a continuing development ('reversion to the wild state' = *Verwilderung*) of stylistic elements of the Renaissance. Of course, the expression had been already extended to literature by Nietzsche (1879) and Borinski (1886); Nietzsche started out from the assumption of the commonality of all the arts and pointed to the close association of baroque style, understood by him as a timeless phenomenon, with rhetoric; Borinski spoke explicitly of a poetic baroque. But further work on the terminology initially remained the domain of Art History. Particular attention should be paid here to the studies of Wölfflin. With the intention of developing formal-analytical descriptive categories for art works, he demonstrated, by means of five contrastive pairs of terms, a fundamental difference between the artistic principles of Renaissance and Baroque, and thus postulated Baroque as an autonomous style. In the wake of Wölfflin, Walzel and Strich established the art-historical term Baroque for the study of literature, and undertook to extend Wölfflin's terminological apparatus to literature, seeing the Baroque as a Counter-Renaissance, and, especially in the case of Walzel, using the term to refer to a timeless type of style as well as a particular period (on the problems involved in the formation of the literary-historical terminology and its heuristic implications [2; 8; 11]).

Nevertheless it can be said that the concept Baroque has become established for German literature between → HUMANISM and the → ENLIGHTENMENT. In any case the boundaries in each direction are fluid, and more recent scholarship, in contrast to older approaches, has emphasised the continuity between the learned culture of the Renaissance and that of the Baroque.

B. BAROQUE NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE SOCIETIES

The significant feature of this period of literature is the propagation of a German literary language, a development that occurred distinctly late in Germany compared to the European norm. Martin Opitz first proclaimed the turn towards a national language in his *Aristarchus sive de Contemptu Linguae Teutonicae* (1617), and in 1624 in the first poetic primer in the German language, *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*. For the content of his book Opitz built, for the most part, on the poetics of Scaliger and Ronsard.

The driving forces promoting the German language were the so-called language societies, which, modelled on the Italian Academy, were devoted to the advancement of the language. The first of these societies was the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, whose foundation in 1617 was brought about by Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen. Other similar institutions were the *Aufrichtige Tannengesellschaft* (Straßburg 1633), the *Deutschgesinnete Genossenschaft* (Hamburg 1643), the *Pegnesische Blumenorden* (Nuremberg 1644) and the *Elbschwanenorden* (Hamburg 1653). The supporters of these societies were the educated nobility and the learned elite, who were in attendance at courts, in cities and universities. They gained increasingly in importance and, with few exceptions, dominated the language societies with their numbers.

Already during the Renaissance, this learned elite viewed itself as part of the European world of learning; its members were continually in contact by means of a highly intense degree of personal communication (letters, travel, study). Contemporary European literature was also eagerly received and translated.

C. LEARNING, EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE

Learning and education were the central elements of the literary elite's self-conception. The members of this group emerged from the educational institutions of the time (Protestant grammar schools, Jesuit secondary schools, → UNIVERSITY and educational institutions for the nobility like the → RITTERAKADEMIE), and were frequently attached to them professionally. An essential component of academic instruction was rhetoric, which was, without exception, based on ancient Classical theory and essentially taught in Latin. Therefore, bilingualism was the rule among writers and in literature, in spite of cultural partisanship on behalf of the German language. Mastery of the cultural canon and the rules of rhetoric, ostentatious display of knowledge and speech rich in allusion became the touchstones of learned competence, and thus an important component of social prestige. Such competence not only worked as an instrument of social advance: It also constituted a space

within which it was possible to gloss over differences of status in the context of shared culture interest.

D. Institutions of Cultural Society

Apart from those rhetorical activities primarily connected with teaching (debate, declamation, Jesuit drama, school theatre), the institutions where scholarly education found practical application and could at the same time be demonstrated in the interests of personal prestige were the court and its ceremonial and festival culture, and above all the culture of conversation of the court and middle-class society.

Conversation therefore not only played a central role in 17th cent. life-style manuals (N. Faret, Baroque Gracián, E. Tesauro), but also motivated the reader's interest in polymathic/encyclopaedic literature, as for example the *Polyhistor Literarius, Philosophicus, et Practicus* of D.G. Morhof (1687). To this category also belong Ph. Harsdörffer's *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele* (1641–1649) and his *Ars Apophthegmatica*, which appeared under the title *Kunstquellen Denckwürdiger Lehrsprüche und Ergötzlicher Hofreden* (1655). Writings of this kind were designed to provide the reader with an arsenal of learned material that could be reproduced in conversation, demonstrating him or her to be a versatile and profound conversationalist with a command of wit and *acutezza*.

Poetic literature too, as a component of learned culture, shares these essential features. *Doctrina*, the art of meaningful expression, stylistic variation and the mastery of literary and learned tradition were understood to be the prerequisites of the art of writing. This found expression inter alia in extensive commentaries on literary texts (e.g. in works by Opitz, Gryphius, Zesen and Lohenstein).

→ Germany

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II. Great Britain

See → Classicism II. Literature (Great Britain)

III. Romance Countries

A. Conceptual Questions and General Remarks B. Adaptation and Aesthetic Exploitation of Ancient Texts in Romance Literatures between Renaissance and Baroque C. Tendencies towards a Deconstruction of Antiquity as a Model and the Beginnings of the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes in the Baroque

A. Conceptual Questions and General Remarks

With regard both to general meaning and particular usage, the concept Baroque as applied to literature today denotes a period of development in literary history, or at least of its essential stylistic aspects, between roughly the second half of the 16th and the 17th cents., but, as controversy shows, can scarcely be defined within coherent chronological limits. Having entered, with varying emphasis, into the historiography of almost all European literatures, the concept Baroque in the most important Romance literatures has led to the definition of literary periods of different lengths. The period defined as preceding the Baroque, with various transitional periods depending on the different national literatures as Mannerism, especially in Italy, is the → Renaissance. It is followed by the more or less coherent (neo-) classicist tendencies (→ Classicism) of the second half of the 17th or (especially in Spain) of the 18th cent.

The retrospective reconstruction of styles or periods intended with the use of the term Baroque has been complicated by the its origins in art-historical debates of the 19th cent. The initial meaning it acquired then was expressive of a derogatory or at the least problematical view of the Baroque period. The term's previous history, stretching back into the 18th cent., demonstrates a range of meanings that includes negative connotations of the irregular, the diverging or the bizarre, taking it beyond the purview of an aesthetic perspective oriented toward rules (cf.: [10. 9f.; 21. 402–419; 25. 55ff.; 27. 69ff.]; also the Romance articles in [15; 20; 22]). Their effect is demonstrated in a famous quotation from Jakob Burkhardt's *Der Cicerone* (1855), where the term Baroque first enters art history: *Die Barock-Baukunst spricht dieselbe Sprache wie die Renaissance, aber einen verwilderten Dialekt davon* (Baroque architecture speaks the same language as the Renaissance, but in a corrupt dialect). Describing a period

Fig. 1: Emanuele Tesauro, frontispiece of *Il Cannocchiale aristotelico*, 1670

Fig. 2: Emanuele Tesauro, title page of *Il Cannocchiale aristotelico*, 1670

of dissolution of the artistic ideal attributed to Renaissance classicism, and (in spite of the artistic qualities of the Baroque, fully recognised since Heinrich Wölfflin, who in the wake of Burckhardt was the true originator of the term Baroque in art history) understanding it as a period of decline: that presents a basic problem in the qualifying use of the term, an obstacle which continues to affect its application to literary phenomena in spite of its increasing use since the 1920s in defining periods in connection with the national literatures of the Romance countries. Thus the important Italian philosopher and literary historian Benedetto Croce reacted to the first literary-historical applications of the concept with the verdict that 'art is never baroque, and what is baroque, is not art' (Foreword to [12. 37]), and as recently as 1980 the influential French literary historian M. Fumaroli warned against a term that was 'imported from Central Europe (and is) loaded with nationalistic prejudices and intellectual ambiguities' (Foreword to [24. 13f.]). The two verdicts have in common a classicist standpoint motivated by differing national literary concerns: from an Italian point of view the Baroque represents the decline of the Renaissance, which is seen as a golden age, while in France the acceptance of such a period threatens the superior status of 17th cent. Classicism.

These considerations already indicate that the use of the term Baroque is laden with value-judgments in which the qualification of the exemplary nature of ancient models, or the way these have been devalued by literary developments, plays a significant role, at least implicitly. While the Baroque is conceived of as a period of rejection of the Renaissance, or of its dissolution – the latter being considered as a locus of harmonious artistic creativity – and in spite of the view developed since Wölfflin of the Baroque as an autonomous artistic constellation, critical assessment of it frequently continues to be determined by the idea of a norm attributed to the Renaissance, an exemplary model of rules, comprising aesthetic laws conceived of as harmonious, while the Baroque, with its lack of orientation and its incoherence, is seen as the dissolution of those rules. To be sure, such a conceptualisation of opposing epochs or styles based on art-historical premises had lost its normative historiographical claims a considerable time ago, esp. with regard to Spanish and Italian literature. This traditional viewpoint, however, is to some extent represented to this day in French scholarship, although here it is not the demarcation against the preceding Renaissance period that is the predominant concern, as it is especially in Italian literature, but a desire to devalue the Baroque in relation to the succeeding Classical period, which is seen as superseding it, the Baroque frequently being referred to in less recent scholarship as *préclassicisme*. That traditional view accentuates the fact that a qualification or devaluation of aesthetic and poetological positions, which are designed by taking recourse to models attributed to Antiquity, constitutes a fundamental problem of the period.

When for example Hugo Friedrich in a famous passage seeks to define the fundamental characteristic of Italian Baroque poetry as a *Überfunktion des Stils* (hyperfunction of style), as *Stilprunk* (stylistic ostentation) aiming at the *Großartigkeit des Scheins* (splendour of appearances) [13. 545ff., 562], then in pursuing such a perspective, which may also be found in many conceptualisations of the Baroque in Romance literatures, he is insisting upon turning away from the poetological ideal of → Mimesis, as it had been newly established during the Renaissance in the interpretation and adaptation of Aristotle's 'Poetics'. This way, however, in line with important trends in scholarship, the concept of the Baroque is given substance mainly through an accumulation of stylistic features deemed to be characteristic of it. Especially representative of this tendency is the work of H. Hatzfeld (cf. summary of research in [16] and more generally in relation to these questions [27. 76ff.; 10. 25ff., 71ff.]). Short of being able to consider such positions here more closely, especially with regard to the question of the relationship between the Baroque and Antiquity, it must be said that setting up a basis for the term Baroque on mainly phenomenological grounds (i.e. with regard to literary texts: stressing primarily those aspects that tend to intensify the *elocutio* and make it absolute), it is not possible to provide a systematising perspective on the contexts relevant to this question. In view of the lack of clear period boundaries, and of the plethora of Baroque texts in the Romance literatures, in some cases and in their stylistic peculiarities presenting an impression of chaos, it seems instead more desirable to provide a conceptualisation that is based less on epochal coherence or shared stylistic characteristics, but has as its goal the reconstruction of general tendencies in the dominant discourse that characterises the texts with widely varying degrees of intensity.

On the basis of a reconstruction of the concepts of Renaissance and Baroque suggested by J. Küpper (the following general reflections are in particular based on [19. 7–35, 230–304; 17]), it is first of all possible to grasp more precisely the much-cited 'discovery' of Antiquity by the Renaissance in terms of historical discourse, rather than to view it primarily as the disintegration of the totalitarianising theological system of discourse (esp. that of → Scholasticism), whose world view had used the ancient texts according to quite different principles – a disintegration that was due to the influence of nominalistic scepticism as well as to the availability of new ways of experiencing the world. This enables us to see the Renaissance as an epoch in which it becomes possible for ancient texts (both newly discovered and already known) to be productively received as locations for an increasingly open diversity of interpretation no longer directed by the hegemony of theological discourse. Humanist optimism has as its purpose the discovery of a multitude of ancient creative works that no longer have to be appropriated and interpreted under the terms of a primary imperative to correct a pagan falsification of revealed, scriptural truth. Although the ancient texts thus become important points of reference in the less than coherent discourse on the modelling of the universe in the Early Modern age, acquiring thereby a new legitimising function, in the context of the religious and political upheavals of the 16th cent. this process of re-evaluation becomes entangled in a crisis that, from the perspective of historical discourse, may be seen as the beginning of the age of the Baroque, namely as a new orientation of aesthetic reflection and literary discourse functions upon that crisis in widely varying ways. The outcome occurs in terms of a phase shift in the Romance countries, extending from the *Sacco di Roma* as the earliest historical focus of crystallisation of a crisis of the Renaissance via the French wars of religion to the beginning of the downfall of the Spanish Empire toward the end of the 16th cent. (cf. the historical panorama of events and mentality sketched by D. Souiller in [24. 20ff.]). As Humanist enthusiasm in drawing up new possibilities of thinking and writing by accessing and reinterpreting ancient tradition proves increasingly impotent in the face of ideological and social change (the philosophical and literary scepticism of a Montaigne or a Cervantes is paradigmatic here), at the same time the Council of Trent instigates efforts of ideological and aesthetic restoration, which also put undirected intercourse with ancient tradition solidly in question. The chaotic diversity of that tradition, which at the beginnings of → Humanism had even been given theological approval (e.g. in conceptions of *prisca theologia* ascribed to the ancients, or of parallel revelation), is henceforth seen as the uncontrollable tendency of a secularised system of thought. This applies not only to traditions such as Pyrrhonism or ancient materialism, which, starting in Italy, had inspired free-thinking philosophical tendencies influential in the Baroque, esp. in France; not only to Tacitus, who was regarded as the most important ancient source for the rationalisation of political theory, a tradition going back to Macchiavelli and widespread during the Baroque, but even to Aristotle, the ancient source of Scholasticism, from whose *Metaphysics* Italian Humanism had already developed arguments against the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

Alongside such general aspects of ideological crisis, the validity of ancient tradition in the Baroque period was also qualified by the development of new strata of the population outside the circle of Humanist scholarship, in the realm of the social elites as well as at the princely courts. This occurred especially in the nation-states of Spain and France, which had become firmly established in spite of the crises of the age.

Although ancient traditions (with regard to both thought and myth) remained an influential cultural context for this new public far beyond the period of the Baroque, their significance waned markedly against the background of new worlds of thought and experience. The intensity of the ideological and political crisis of the period must not be allowed to hide the fact that not only

in France, but primarily there, the Baroque was also a period of social and cultural modernisation. Indicative of the change involved is the fact that such pivotal representatives of Early Modern thought as Galileo and Descartes change from Latin to vernacular languages in their publications, with the strategic intention of reaching beyond the elite republic of scholars (whose language remained substantially Latin into the second half of the 17th cent.) to appeal to new strata of the population. All this was at least as definitive for the development of Baroque literature as the ideological and social crisis or the efforts toward a restoration of theological as well as political dominance over the chaotic diversity of discourse. A highly disparate development resulted in the various Romance literatures and even within individual national literatures from such contradictory premises, while at the same time in the adaptation and recasting of ancient models and texts showing a substantial, common characteristic.

B. Adaptation and Aesthetic Exploitation of Ancient Texts in Romance Literatures between Renaissance and Baroque

Literature oriented itself within the area of conflict, as outlined in a simplified way above, with an awareness of its own worth and special status learned and cultivated in the school of Renaissance Classicism. The resulting tendencies towards autonomy were advanced by qualifications introduced to the mimetic function of literary discourse, and the authority of the poet rendered more absolute. The most revealing measure of this process is the dynamism of poetological debate common to all Romance national literatures, developing from the 'rediscovery' of Aristotle's *Poetics c.* 1500 (first translation into Latin 1498). Upon closer examination it is most probably true that the explosive reception during the 16th cent. of the translation of this treatise, already known in the original Greek text, is itself a result of intensive reflection upon the distinctive status of literary discourse. Commentaries upon and adaptions of the *Poetics*, originating in Italy, as well as increasingly autonomous poetological treatises whose characteristic feature is the discussion and development of genre- and style-related rules capable of generalisation, flourished from the mid–16th cent. The most influential of these treatises across Europe into the 17th cent. is *Poetices libri septem* (1561) of Julius Scaliger, who claims Aristotle as his intellectual predecessor but already relativizes many of his judgements. In his work, Scaliger integrates the Latin poetological and rhetorical tradition and justifies the autonomy of the rules and thereby the poet's significance vis-vis the other *genera dicendi* on the basis of the particular nature of his voice, which enables him to transcend everyday reality and *velut alter Deus condere* [7.3]. Scaliger's tendency to elevate the function of the poet places him at the transition to those – for the most part not particularly systematic – Baroque treatises, in which reflections on the autonomous logic of poetic language increasingly take

the place of the hierarchically structured and mimetically oriented arguments characteristic of normative neo-Aristotelian poetics. This eclectic relativization of the authority of Aristotle shifts poetological argument into aspects of *elocutio* and *persuasio* (*persuasio* being seen primarily as a self-legitimising effect of ingenious stylistic expression, while a subordinate role is allotted to the *ratio dicendi* of tradition, which demands: *ut probemus vera esse, quae defendimus*, Cic. de orat. 2,27,115). The criteria for justifying the quality of literary discourse henceforth clearly move from the postulate of mimesis to the text structure created by the poet since they are more strongly oriented toward ancient tradition, from the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle himself down to Quintilian – sometimes even to Pseudo-Longinus and a Platonically inspired idea of the *furor poeticus* – than they were to that of the *Poetics*. In the perspective presented by Emanuele Tesauro in his *Cannocchiale aristotelico* (1655, Figs. 1, 2) the poet's power of imagination (*ingegno*) is a God-given ability, already approved by the ancients, to create imaginative speech, *argutie* or *argutezze* (with other theorists *acutezze*) in combination with the Latin etyma *acutus* (rhetorically: all forms of metonymic speech) and *argutus* as a characteristic of expressive language entail for Italian theorists of the Baroque the use of surprising, especially metaphorical images and figures (cf. [14. 628f.]); at the same time a privilege given by nature to individuals of genius ([8.83] cf. on this point and on the following [23.128ff.]). In his influential treatise, a kind of summing up of Italian Baroque poetics, Tesauro still ties in his conception of poetry, which fundamentally can be read as a genius-based poetics, with ancient tradition and also with a religious cosmology, using, among other things, the traditional argument for legitimising the importance of poetry: that *argutezze* are a means of revelatory annunciation or a representation of the divine among humans ([8. 1f., 59] et passim). But for him this poetry is no longer obliged to provide the illustration of a truth, but the use of surprising figures (*concetti*) aims at the creation of an effective illusion with great public appeal. Tesauro illustrates his modern intention of combining ancient rhetoric with a scientific world-view by using the bold metaphor embodied in his title and making of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle a telescope (*cannocchiale*), with whose help poetry is enabled to view the sun (at the same time a traditional symbol of Apollo – cf. title-plate: Fig. 2 and [8. 2f.]), an intention also demonstrated by his extreme endeavours to make metaphorical language understandable and thus available. Such tendencies bring him close to other Baroque theorists, esp. Baltasar Gracián, one of the most important Spanish protagonists of a so-called dark poetic style (*conceptismo*), in his *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1648).

The claim of autonomy on behalf of literary discourse discernible in such tendencies of the Romance Baroque is in any case in itself entirely contradictory; the logic of the selective reading and re-interpretation of ancient texts on which it is based becomes understand-

able only when consideration is given to the background of ideological and political tension against which it arises, as described above. This may be demonstrated by reference to the category of the marvellous (*maraviglioso/meraviglia*), which is vital in this context and, not for the first time in Tesauro, plays a central role in the qualification or abnegation of the relationship of poetry to reality; this category of the marvellous may at the same time facilitate a clearer grasp of the tendencies leading to the Baroque's departure from the traditions of ancient poetics (especially those of Aristotle). Although elements of this conception may also be derived from Plato or from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, in the *Poetics* it is accorded, at best, a functionally subordinate significance as against the dominant postulate of imitation (e.g. in the discussion of the Homeric Epic). At the transition between Renaissance and Baroque, in a critical departure from Aristotle, Italian commentaries on him, such as that of Castelvetro (1570) or Patrizi (1586), declared the marvellous to be the real aim of poetry, and precisely with regard to its effect: 'The aim of poetry [...] is pleasure; and it is particularly the marvellous that arouses pleasure' [2. 175]. But the departure from the postulate of mimesis expressed here derives not only from tendencies towards the autonomy of poetry, but also from efforts to restore theological dominance over literary discourse, insofar as the marvellous is capable of becoming a component of a religiously-based structuring of reality.

This is exemplified in the development of the epic, the genre that since the Renaissance (and deviating from the opinion of Aristotle), had been placed at the top of the genre hierarchy. At the same time Virgil gains acceptance as the great master of epic poetry, as opposed to Homer whose language since Scaliger is harshly criticised as uninspired and not sufficiently elaborate (cf. [7. 216ff.]); the critical comparison between the two epic poets, and between Greek and Latin poetry as a whole, which Scaliger made in Books V and VI of his work and where Latin is clearly preferred, remains typical of the reception of ancient literature in the Romance world down to the 18th cent. Whereas Pierre Ronsard, as late as the end of the Renaissance, in his fragmentary *Franciade* (1572) was still seeking to rewrite the *Aeneid* as a history of the foundation of France (supposedly the work of Francus, a putative son of Hector), there was, since Tasso and especially in Italian and French literature, a series of attempts extending across the entire period of the Baroque to remodel the national perspective of the genre in a religious direction. The cosmos of Virgil's text, which constructs a natural unity of divine and human action, is rewritten in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1580/81) based in sacred history where the marvellous plays an extensive role, especially in the machinations of diabolic powers directed against the aims of the crusader army (the question of the extent to which Tasso can be regarded as a writer belonging to the Baroque, which has been the subject of intense academic debate, cannot be given more detailed consideration here; in so far as the history of the genre is concerned, his epic is certainly a seminal text in the development of the Romance Baroque epic). It is certainly the case that the resulting plot strands (especially the enchantment of Rinaldo by Armida, modelled on the Dido episode) acquire their own logic that is difficult to reconcile with the domineering religious perspective (for which reason Tasso, under the influence of Counter-Reformation criticism, then rewrote his work as *Gerusalemme conquistata*). The marvellous, to which Tasso makes halfhearted attempts to give theoretical legitimacy by recourse to Platonism and Christianity (cf. [23. 79ff.]), acquired its own aesthetic dynamic, which, in spite of persistent efforts in all Baroque genres to endow it with a religious function and repeated attempts in the Baroque national religious epic to give it a religious foundation, subjected itself only to a limited degree to the powerful claims of a religious adaptation. Thus the French writer Desmarets de Saint Sorlin, who wrote an epic inspired by Virgil and Tasso on the baptism of the Frankish king Clovis as a scripturally-based foundation myth for the French monarchy, could still say: 'Everything that can be effected by the almighty power of God or by the power of demons is probable according to our religion' [6. 756]. Desmarets' explicit intention is to surpass the 'Aeneid', whose context of pagan foundation he claims is outshone by the light of Christian knowledge that pervades his work (cf. [6. 739f.]). It is, however, undeniable that this claim, present, if to a highly varying extent, in all Romance Baroque literatures, was only to be asserted at the cost of considerable qualification of the validity of poetological and literary texts from Antiquity.

This is shown most clearly in Spanish Baroque drama, which explicitly turns its back on ancient genre models, and, above all in its religiously didactic *autos sacramentales* but also in religiously inspired themes of the secular *comedia*, makes prominent use of elements of the marvellous. The best-known example of this is the first dramatisation of the Don Juan theme by Tirso de Molina (*El burlador de Sevilla o convidado de piedra*, 1630); similarly – in its complex Christian recodification and devaluation of ancient myth – Calderón's famous drama *La vida es sueño* (1636; cf. [18; 19]). Precisely because of the uninterrupted dominance of discourse in Spain by the Church, it is there that the dissolution of the Classical model is particularly pronounced. Even in Spain, however, this development is ambivalent, and must not be allowed to mask the modernising potential innate in Baroque deconstruction of Antiquity, which already contains elements of a → Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. This is in any case present in its nascent state in Spanish debate. Thus a protagonist of the anti-Aristotelian *comedia nueva* founded by Lope de Vega goes so far as to set down reflections designed to legitimise the superseding of the ancients by this genre, postulating a development of thought in the scientific knowledge and the arts as the basis of a constant process of perfection of knowledge,

which in Antiquity was still raw and incomplete. On the basis of this postulate, Antiquity can no longer serve as a model, for, as Aristotle himself is supposed to have said, 'ille melior artifex est, qui naturae propius accesserit'. From such assumptions it follows that it behooves a 'viro docto prudentique' ' ex his quae a maioribus inventa perfectaque sunt eximere multa, addere, mutare'. And, like Tesauro, in order to legitimise this relativizing of Antiquity and even extend it to the realm of ideas in general, he cites technical progress (*Appendix ad expostulationem Spongiae*, 1618, cited in [11. 564]).

C. Tendencies towards a Deconstruction of Antiquity as a Model and the Beginnings of the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes in the Baroque

That the new meaning of the marvellous in Baroque literary discourse bears the seeds of its modernisation is shown with particular clarity at the beginning of the 17th cent. in the work of Giambatista Marino. As the central figure of the Baroque in Italy, in his lyric work Marino plays a complex deconstructive game with the ancient inventory of mythical images and characters (inter alia with the construct of Arcadia, present in all Romance literatures since the Renaissance; cf. [26]). Theoretically and practically, the marvellous as an aesthetic device is in various respects an essential element of his work. Thus, in a not only ironic sally against the author of a religious epic, he calls the worldly-oriented *maraviglia*, which are designed to astonish (*far stupir*), as the aim of the poet [4. 248]; but, in particular, in his *Adone* (1620/1623) he writes a sweeping epic that, in the last analysis, can be understood as a deconstruction not only of the Classical tradition of the genre but also of the religious use of the marvellous (not for nothing was it placed on the Index in 1627!). Building up a religious-cosmological framework that serves only as decor, and starting out from Ovid's greatly expanded text, this work, entirely episodic in structure, cites a broad inventory of mythic elements, which are deconstructed by combining them with fragments of modern world-experience and aesthetic play. To quote only one example: In the fifth book Venus and Adonis watch the story of Actaeon as a stage tragedy, and not only do they as spectators commit the very transgression (watching Diana bathing) whose punishment is the subject-matter of the myth, but in addition, in a transgression of the boundaries of the stage, the world of power represented by the myth is annulled as it invades that of the love of Venus and Adonis and the animals hunted by Actaeon flee into the arms of the loving couple. In an ironic turn against rule-based poetics, Marino calls his epic a 'hodgepodge confection', and explains elsewhere that it was written against the rules, but that the 'true rules' consist in 'breaking the rules at the right time and the right place in order to fit in with the prevailing customs and taste of the age' [5. 206, 397].

It is no accident that this modernising impetus based on the recasting and deconstruction of ancient tradition established the link from Italy to France, where the *Adone* appeared with a dedication to Louis XIII. And it is only a seeming paradox that Jean Chapelain, who later emerged as a theorist of French Classicism, expressly praised the style of this work for its innovations, because 'the light of Antiquity shines everywhere in them, and they wholly pervade the charm of modernity' [3. 82]. For it is the French debates of the first half of the 17th cent., together with the literary orientations of the period, to a large extent attributable to the Baroque, that consistently provide the clearest demonstration in the Romance region of that modernising potential of the literary Baroque, which manifested itself in a break with Humanism and a deconstruction of the Classical model. In the area of literary production, this upheaval is exemplified in the genre, discussed previously, by those very epic parodies which, originating in Italy, flourished in France (especially the *Virgile travesti* of Paul Scarron, appearing since 1648), or, again originating in Italy, by the series of burlesque journeys to Parnassus, to be found in all Romance literatures, and which spare neither Aristotle nor the chief of the Muses, Apollo, the stigma of ridicule (thus e.g. Cesare Caporale, *Viaggio in Parnaso*, 1582, Miguel de Cervantes, *Viage del Parnaso*, 1612, Traiano Boccalini, *De Ragguagli di Parnaso*, 1624; in France, as a later echo, Antoine Furetière, *Nouvelle allégorique ou Histoire des derniers troubles arrivés au Royaume d'Eloquence*, 1656).

But, precisely in French discourse, developments go far beyond a deconstructing dispute with the Antiquity.

Literature's claim to an autonomy no longer reliant on traditional models for legitimation leads *c.* 1630 to a dispute over modernism, and this may essentially be understood as the initial phase of the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. Positioned at the centre of this debate, Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac declares: 'I take the art of the ancients as they would have taken mine if I had been first in this world, but I am no slave to their spirit [...]. On the contrary, if I am not mistaken I am much cleverer in invention than I am in imitation; just as in our time new stars have been discovered that until now have remained hidden, so in eloquence I seek beauties unthought of until now' [1. 147]. Here Antiquity is accorded the status of a past whose material may still be available, but which, faced with the availability of the opportunities for knowledge and invention in the present, has lost its normative significance – and it is no accident that Balzac like Tesauro draws on the paradigm of astronomy for justification. In view of the progress of discovery during the Early Modern age, ancient tradition loses its function as the location for the normative accreditation of knowledge – and precisely thereby it is enabled to become a point of reference for aesthetic speculation and literary construction. In this development too, Baroque deconstruction of the Classical model plays its part. In France, for example, it

constitutes an essential prerequisite for the Classicism of the 17th cent., in which a literary modernity founded on the speculative reconstruction of an idealised Antiquity is able to unfold, having developed only as a tendency within the heterogeneous field of discourse of Romance Baroque literature.

→ Arcadism; → Classicism after Classical Antiquity; → Epochs, concept of; → Poetics; → Rhetoric

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HARTMUT STENZEL

IV. Art and Painting

A. Introduction B. Art Theory and Academies C. Painting and Sculpture D. Architecture

A. Introduction

As in the Renaissance, in the Baroque, too, art oriented itself on ancient models. During the 17th cent. ancient art for the first time underwent systematic examination, which contributed to an increased and more profound knowledge of it. Archaeological research brought many new ancient finds to light, and illustrated publications followed with images of the statues and structures concerned. Findings of ancient art enjoyed increasing popularity in circles of collectors. This was accompanied by a growing interest in ancient literature and history, encouraged, for the most part, by attractively illustrated new editions of ancient authors. The varied opportunities for theoretical as well as practical interaction with the ancient inheritance allowed reception in the Baroque to appear more multi-layered than was the case in the Renaissance. Ancient works of art were not used merely as objects of study and as sources, but, in addition, served as a corrective in the assessment of one's own artistic creation; at the same time, however, the models served to a greater extent than in the previous century as a stimulus for design. There was, however, hardly any consistent differentiation between Greek and Roman antiquities in their reception.

Not only in sculpture but also in the → painting of the Baroque, mainly ancient sculptures were became of interest (statues, busts, tomb reliefs, coins, gems), since these had most frequently survived. The reception of ancient painting did not begin until the discovery of the cities of Vesuvius in the mid–18th cent. Preferences for particular artistic works shifted in the 17th cent. Whereas during the Renaissance the → Belvedere Apollo was the most admired model, the artists of the Baroque oriented themselves more toward the → Laocoon group, the *Farnese Hercules* or the *Medici Venus*. Alongside studies of the originals, reception of the works occurred via copies and casts as well as via → Prints(books containing). Copies and casts in Curiosity Cabinets and → Antiquities collections made access to ancient art possible, also outside Italy. During the Baroque the reception of ancient works enabled the expression of new allegorical content.

During the course of the 16th cent. the ancient authors were translated into modern European languages and thus rendered accessible to artists, who for the most part had no knowledge of Latin or Greek. The number of received authors was, however, relatively small: Ovid, Herodotus, Tacitus, Livy, Flavius Josephus and Plutarch. Themes from Greek and Roman historiography were accorded scant attention by artists. It was Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' and his interpretations of ancient myths that were most often depicted from the 16th to the 18th cent.; at the same time, allegorical interpretations of the 'Metamorphoses' led to their use as

Fig. 1: Nicolas Poussin, *Et in Arcadia ego*.
With permission of Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 1a: François Duquesnoy, *Santa Susanna*.
With permission of the Ministero Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Instituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione

sources of moral exemplars. Mythological themes were increasingly used in the iconographical programs of palaces and villas, entailing acceptance of the sometimes gross offence to Christian sensibilities caused by depiction of the ancient gods; clients wanted to show off their Humanist education by means of clever allusions, even if this often happened at the expense of morality and belief.

Unlike the late 18th cent., the 17th displayed no urge to comprehend Antiquity as a binding stylistic model and to view it in a doctrinaire fashion. As Baroque art did not possess a unified understanding of Antiquity, the approach, too, occurred in various ways: romantic, subjective, and also rational and scientific in manner. In all genres, two main tendencies may be detected: the emotive Baroque and the Classicistic, and these receive Antiquity in different ways. While artists of the Baroque tendency prized spectacular effects, the highest goal of the Classicists was the representation of ideal beauty, which was not to be found in never perfect nature, but was considered to have been achieved in the artworks of Antiquity. The most important representatives of the Classical tendency in the 17th cent. are, in painting, Carracci, Reni, Poussin, Lorrain and Sacchi, in sculpture Algardi and Duquesnoy; their spokesperson is the Italian writer on art and artists, Giovanni Pietro Bellori.

B. Art Theory and Academies

In traditional studios as in the academies founded during the course of the 17th cent., ancient art played a

Fig. 2: Peter Paul Rubens, *Descent from the Cross*. Antwerp Cathedral.
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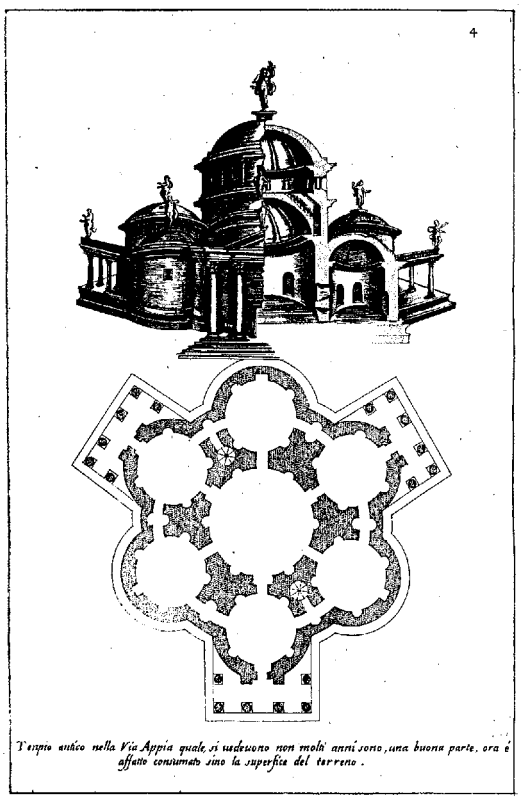

Fig. 3: Giovanni Battista Montano, Tempio antico nella via Appia

vital role in the training of artists, and this in spite of the fact that writers of art treatises appearing in the wake of the Council of Trent (Paleotti etc.) demanded that ancient sculpture be consigned to the studies of the academics. The life-size casts of ancient statues enabled artists to carry out a thorough study of composition, stance, gesture and mimicry, and led them beyond faithful imitation to their own figurative inventions. In his writings Giovanni Pietro Bellori raises the demand for imitation of the ancients to the status of a doctrine. In a lecture on the 'Idea' at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome (1664) he advised artists to imitate not nature itself but the ancient artists, who in their works realised the idea of a perfect nature.

The normative conception of the perfection and beauty of ancient art was further developed in the eyes of Classicists at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture founded in 1648. Antiquity had the status of an insurpassable exemplar, and was regarded as an absolute norm. Nature itself was subject to correction, in their opinion, insofar as it does not measure up to the Greek or Roman ideal of beauty. Jean-Baptiste Colbert in his capacity as Surintendant des Bâtiments and Vice-Protector of the Académie Royale initiated the creation of a → CAST COLLECTION of the most celebrated statues of Rome. Casts of sculptures such as the *Laocoon Group*, the *Antinous*, the → DIANA OF EPHESUS, the *Belvedere Apollo* and the *Medici Venus* served as objects of study, to be drawn by students before they were allowed access to the live model class. The intention was that the proportions of the ancient statues should be transferred to the living models, as the former were regarded as perfect and undisputed exemplars for the representation of human beings. The central theme of the *conférences* held at the Académie Royale was ancient statues. Several *conférences* were devoted to the *Laocoon Group*, which was regarded as an exemplary representation of extreme suffering. During the second half of the 17th cent. a change came about in the assessment of Antiquity: if for Fréart de Chambray in his *Parallèle de l'architecture ancienne et moderne* (1650) it is still the standard by which all things are to be measured, the → QUERELLE DES ANCIENS ET DES MODERNES, pursued at the Académie Royale during the final three decades of the 17th cent., began to question the superiority and exemplary character of ancient art. This assault on the supposed perfection of Antiquity was a consequence of the development of French culture under Louis XIV, the advance of modern science and the promulgation of the modern philosophy of the Enlightenment. A protagonist of the *Modernes* was Charles Perrault, who in his seminal work *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1693) represented the view that the present day was superior to Antiquity in almost all areas of art and knowledge. The most important out-

Fig. 4: Nicolas-François Blondel, Porte Saint-Denis, Paris. *With Permission of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München*

come of the 'Querelles' was the insight that ancient and modern art, being founded on historically different bases, were, thus, not capable of comparison. The questioning of the exemplary character and superiority of ancient art occasioned an historical view of that era, which eventually robbed it of its normative effect on contemporary art.

C. Painting and Sculpture

The spirit of Antiquity may be detected most strongly in painting and sculpture in two motif areas: a) in the representation of gods and heroes of mythology and history and b) in the evocation of the ancient utopia of Arcadia. In numerous paintings, sculptural groups and murals the raw power of gods and heroes is celebrated in allegorical settings that endow it with a flavour of contemporaneity. At the same time, in the complex mythical/allegorical programs of the great ceiling frescoes absolutist rulers are presented in their palaces as heroes fit for divine worship. With Arcadia as a utopia pervaded by bliss and beauty, Antiquity became the definitive irretrievable era, the distant longed-for land, the quintessence of a happy clime to be 'sought with the soul'. Arcadia is set against the civilising constraints of the modern age as a symbol of the longing for Antiquity as a golden age, a imaginary state of harmony and freedom. The longing for original, paradisiacal states finds expression in harmonious landscapes populated with ancient or biblical figures in the paintings of Lorrain and Poussin (Fig. 1).

The fact that the painters oriented themselves closely on celebrated ancient models occasionally led to their figures appearing as unmoving as statues. While, with regard to many of his paintings, Poussin emphasised this as a mark of quality, Rubens reacted to it critically, although at the time he was himself a prominent connoisseur of Antiquity and the owner of an antiquities collection. Rubens, who himself faithfully modelled many of his figures on marble statues (*Seneca*, *Descent from the Cross*; Fig. 2), in his critical study of 1630–1640 *De imitatione antiquarum statuarum* regards the study of antiquities by painters with a certain degree of reserve. Many artists followed his conception in imitating marble instead of flesh, using various colours in their depiction of it. Although close knowledge of the ancient models remained indispensable, at the same time painters had to endeavour to 'endow [those models] with flesh and blood, in such a manner that they in no way smack of stone'. The reception of Antiquity in Baroque sculpture is inseparable from the improving of antiquities. None of the celebrated Roman sculptors of the Seicento confined themselves to close conformity with the formal canon of ancient sculpture; instead, they improved and restored the antiquities in their own realisations, provoked to do this by the very fragmentary nature of the ancient models. In Bellori's estimation, Algardi and Duquesnoy were the only ones capable of reconstructing ancient statues *conforme la buona maniera antica*. A testament to the advanced state of knowledge of Antiquity in the early 17th cent. are the pseudo-ancient reliefs of the *Villa Ludovisi*, which passed for ancient works into our time. For Bernini the antiquities were *reliquie innamorte*, on which he relied so closely, especially in his early works, so that, for example, his *Goat Amalthea* was still at the beginning of the 20th cent. regarded as an ancient work.

D. Architecture

While during the Renaissance theoretical involvement with ancient architecture was expressed in a multitude of treatises referring to Vitruvius' 'Ten Books on Architecture' and to knowledge gained from the writer's own studies of antiquities, such theoretical works by Italian architects of the 17th cent. are scarcely to be found. It should by no means be concluded from this that interest in ancient architecture had declined. It was merely expressed in other ways. Bernini's work for Pope Alexander VII in Rome is shaped by a study of Antiquity; in the oval form of the colonnaded St. Peter's Square, for example, he refers directly to the *Circus Neronianus*, which originally occupied the same space. Bernini's rival in Rome, Borromini, was also a recognised connoisseur of Antiquity; the ground-plan of *San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*, for example, suggests a knowledge of the Roman-Hellenistic architecture of the *Villa Adriana*. In contrast to the reception of Antiquity during the High Renaissance, which – especially in Palladio – consisted in constructing entire buildings in the spirit of the canon that had come down from Vitruvius, the involvement of Baroque architecture with the ancient legacy is characterised by the adoption of individual forms as a basis for innovation. As had already been

the case during the Renaissance, ancient forms such as the central-plan building on a circular plan (→ PANTHEON) were employed and re-interpreted in a Christian sense. While during the Renaissance exact drawings were prepared based on surviving buildings or elements of buildings, in the 17th cent. a new form of appropriation of Antiquity came into play: an outstanding example is Giovanni Battista Montano's *Raccolta de' tempij et sepolcri disegnati dall'antico* of 1624, which was frequently reissued; his designs are not reconstructions in the strict sense, but in part conceptions from his own imagination inspired by ancient models (Fig. 3). Borromini especially was inspired by such designs. Against the meticulous reconstruction of ancient forms during the Renaissance stands the imaginative revival of those forms during the Baroque. Even in the preference for particular orders, differences are evident. During the Renaissance the Dorian/Tuscan and Ionian orders were most frequently used, while now the much richer Corinthian is preferred (Bernini – design for the Louvre). Only the Palladian tradition of the 17th cent. esp. in Northern Europe, remains true to the Ionian order.

French Baroque architecture is inconceivable without its involvement with Antiquity, but this proceeded along essentially more academic lines than was the case in Italy. In 1671 Colbert founded the Académie Royale d'Architecture, placing it under the leadership of François Blondel. Its stated purpose was to work out a binding, systematic architectural doctrine and aesthetic, and to train young architects in it. Central to its teaching was Vitruvius, followed by the recognised Renaissance theorists. Claude Perrault was given the task of producing a new translation of Vitruvius. Travel grants were awarded in order to document ancient buildings in southern France and especially Italy. In his *Cours d'architecture* (1675–1683) Blondel cites the masters and buildings of Antiquity as models, but at the same time he regards it as the duty of architecture to supersede and perfect Antiquity. This culminates in the call for France to have its own national columnar order. French peculiarities are the setting of columns in pairs and the resulting absence of arcades of columns (Claude Perrault, colonnade of the Louvre). Under the aegis of French absolutism, the first → TRIUMPHAL ARCH of Baroque architecture rose 1670–1680 in Paris: an outstanding example is Blondel's *Porte Saint-Denis* in Paris (Fig. 4) – only a monumental form from Antiquity was appropriate for the greatness of the Sun King.

→ ARCADISM; → ARCHITECTURAL THEORY/VITRUVIANISM

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Basilica

A. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITION B. ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN BASILICA

A. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITION

1. PROFANE ARCHITECTURE 2. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

1. PROFANE ARCHITECTURE

In the Italian Renaissance (A. Palladio [11. lib. III, cap. 20]) the term *basilica* was applied to multifunctional communal palaces that contained commercial and meeting spaces (basilicas in Vicenza, Padua, Brescia) thus echoing the function of the ancient Roman basilica as market hall, administrative space, and courthouse.

2. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

The term *basilica* is first attested for church buildings in AD 303, and was regularly used in that sense since Constantine's time. At first the term was not confined to any particular architectural type: *basilica* could refer to both longitudinal and central-plan buildings, and in the early Christian Period even rotundas like S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome or S. Vitale in Ravenna went by the name of basilicas. In the early Middle Ages, the

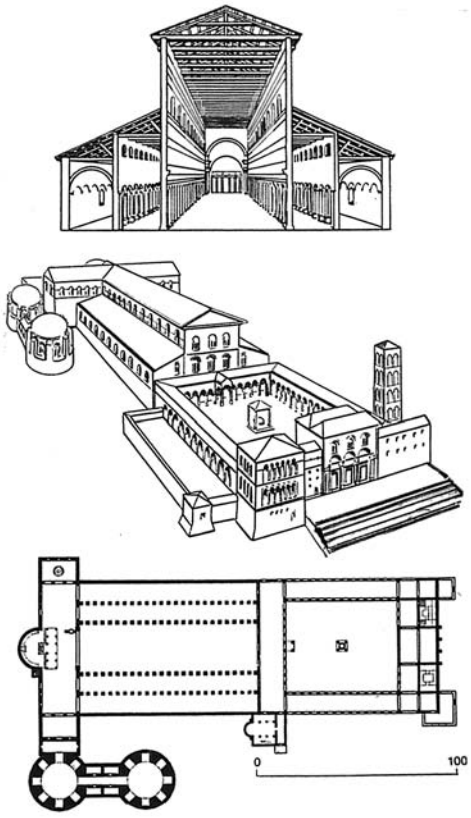

Fig. 1: Rome, Old Saint Peter's. Late Constantinian. Section, external view, plan (reconstruction)

term was used indiscriminately – e.g. by Widukind of Corvey – for churches with both longitudinal and central building plans (*B. Caroli magni, in illa B., in rotundum facta*), SS rer. germ. 43 1935, 65 [21. 910; 28. 213–215]). Its distinct conceptual specification did not emerge until the 15th cent. Based on L. B. Alberti's definition [1. VII, cc. 3, 14, 15] 'basilica' became an established concept of architectural history and typology, and since then designates a longitudinal building, divided by supports into three or more aisles ('pillared basilica', 'columned basilica'); the side aisles are narrow and lower, whereas the nave is wide and higher with windows in the clerestory. If the nave is higher than the side aisles but without its own clerestory, the building is called a 'pseudo-basilica'. If a basilica consists of five or more aisles, with interior side aisles that are higher than the exterior ones, is called a 'stepped basilica'.

In canon law, the title basilica refers to the rank of a church associated with certain privileges ('basilica maior', 'basilica minor'), regardless of its architectural type.

B. Architectural History of the Christian Basilica

1. Early Christian Period 2. Middle Ages 3. Modern Period

1. Early Christian Period

The era of Constantine created the conditions that gave rise to Christian monumental architecture, with the basilica as its most common representative. The basic type of a Constantinian basilica features an axial sequence of spaces with an outer court (atrium), a ves-

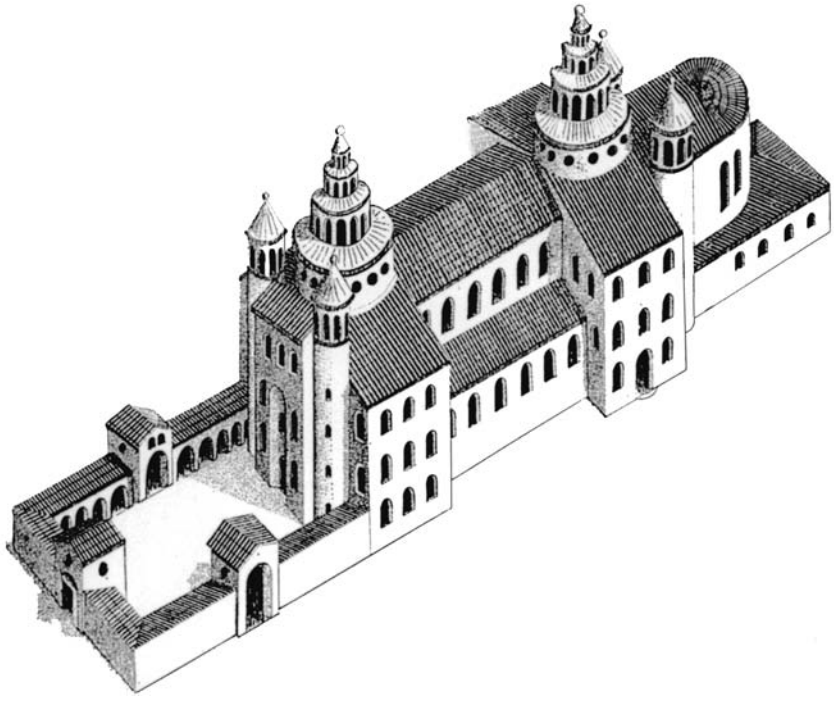

Fig. 2: General view of Saint Riquier, Centula, *c.* 790-799 (reconstruction)

tibule (narthex), an oblong space divided into three or five aisles with a flat wooden ceiling or open roof framework, and an apse sometimes preceded by a transept (Lateran Basilica, St Paul-outside-the-Walls, the Old St Peter, see Fig. 1, all in Rome). In addition, a specialised type developed in the 4th cent.: the three-aisled 'coemeterial basilica' with side aisles continuing as a rounded ambulatory around the choir area and apse (Santi Marcellino e Pietro, San Sebastiano, Santa Agnese, all in Rome). Constantinian basilicas are widely distributed (Palestine, Syria, North Africa), and are to be found in Byzantine art, where they are often conceived as 'galleried basilicas' (Demetrius Basilica/Thessaloniki 412, Johannes-Studios-Basilica, Constantinople 463). In Byzantium and the Christian East, the basilica concept was increasingly supplanted by cross-vaulted churches after the 6th cent. [26; 27. 1249–1259].

2. Middle Ages

The basilica dominated church architecture in the West until the end of the Middle Ages. The Carolingian Period provided the foundation for the concept of the medieval basilica. In the service of the *Renovatio Imperii*, sacred architecture absorbed the model of Constantinian churches (monastery church, Fulda 791, monastery church, Hersfeld 831). Yet the early Christian basilica was modified to meet a succession of new needs (crypts, side chapels) resulting in new terminations for both east and west ends during the Carolingian-Ottonian Period. Among the preferred endings for the choir area were terminals like the square choir, inserted between transept and apse (Reichenau/Mittelzell 799), triapsal constructions (Agliate near Monza, 824), and staggered choirs (Cluny II, 981), as well as ambulatory choirs with radiating chapels (St-Philibert/Tournus 950). Innovations at the western end of the basilica included the development of substantial westwork (St-Riquier/Centula 790, Fig. 2), a two-towered façade (monastery church Hersfeld 831) or an apse at the western end of the church that could serve as a counter-choir in the liturgy (monastery church, Fulda 791, plan of St Gall 820). In addition, the west end could be granted its own transept with a crossing tower (St.Michael/Hildesheim *c.* 1000). With this clear emphasis on the west end, the basilica lost its directed spatial orientation in the Carolingian and Ottonian Period, and was therefore, in contrast to the early Christian basilica, conceived more strongly with a view towards a balance between east and west. With the reform movements of the 11th cent., the early Christian concept of the spatially oriented basilica prevailed once again in Romanesque church architecture (1000–1200): The flat-roofed episcopal churches, which soared to enormous heights (Strasbourg 1015, Speyer I, 1030, Pisa 1063), were based on the classic basilica scheme, as were the abbey churches of the reform orders (Cluniacs, Hirsau movement, Cistercians) whose construction activity in the 11th/12th cents. brought the basilica plan to wide parts of Europe. An innovation in Romanesque church architecture was the complete vaulting of the basilica ('vaulted basilica') that occurs in the late 11th cent. in Germany and France (Speyer II *c.* 1080, Cluny III 1089). With the exception of Italy, where the early Christian tradition of the flat roof was largely kept alive (Torcello 1008, Montecassino 1066), vaulting was accepted into the concept of a basilica. With their tower over the crossing, ambulatory choir, and galleries on the side aisles, buildings like Paray-le-Monial (1090), St-Madeleine/Vézelay (early 12th cent.) or Santiago de Compostela (completed 1128) exemplified the high Romanesque type of the completely vaulted basilica that culminated in French cathedral architecture. Characteristic of the basilica in its Gothic form (Notre-Dame/Paris 1163, Reims 1211) were the emphasis on the west-east orientation, the deliberate concentration of spatial units into one unified space, and the change in proportions of the central nave by increasing its height (from 1:2 at the cathedral in Pisa, through 1:2.5 at Chartres, to 1:3.5 at Beauvais). From France, the basilica spread to Belgian and Dutch regions (Brussels, early 13th cent., Utrecht 1321) as well as to England (Canterbury 1174) and Scandinavia (Uppsala 1270). In the 13th cent., basilicas increasingly appeared in Spain (Leon 1205, Burgos 1221), whereas in Germany its pure form was to be found only in a few large buildings (Cologne 1248, Strasbourg, nave 1250, Prague 1344). From the 13th cent. on, with its first peak in Germany around 1300, the hall church prevailed over the basilica, without ever completely replacing it. A few basilical constructions arose in Italy, in close association with German and French builder's guilds (Milan cathedral 1386, S. Petronio/ Bologna 1390), yet Northern European Gothic cathedrals remained fundamentally foreign to Italian stylistic sensibility. Significantly, important impulses for the post-medieval basilica came from this area [20; 22. 1356–1372].

3. Modern Period

Italy responded to the Gothic style with Renaissance architecture and its new formal canon, oriented towards Antiquity, which was accompanied by a revival of ancient building types, such as the basilica. All affinity to the central-plan building notwithstanding, the classical basilica was legitimized as a building concept for sacred architecture in the treatises (L. B. Alberti [1. lib. VII, capp. 3, 14]; Filarete [5. lib. X, 77r–78r]; F. di G. Martini [6. vol. II, lib. IV, esp. 372]; S. Serlio [16. lib. V, 215–218]), and its disposition and proportion were re-evaluated. After 1419, it was built in many variations: as a flat-roofed columned basilica with three aisles, a projecting transept and radiating side chapels (S. Lorenzo 1419, see Fig. 5, S. Spirito 1436, both in Florence), as a pillared basilica with three aisles and groin vaults with rows of chapels (S. Pietro/Modena 1476) or in the forward-looking shape of S. Andrea in Mantua (1472) where L. B. Alberti, inspired by the Roman Basilica of Maxentius, modified the side aisles to rows of chapels with cross-barrel vaults and replaced the flat ceiling of the central aisle with a huge coffered vault. Alberti's solution paved the way for the church

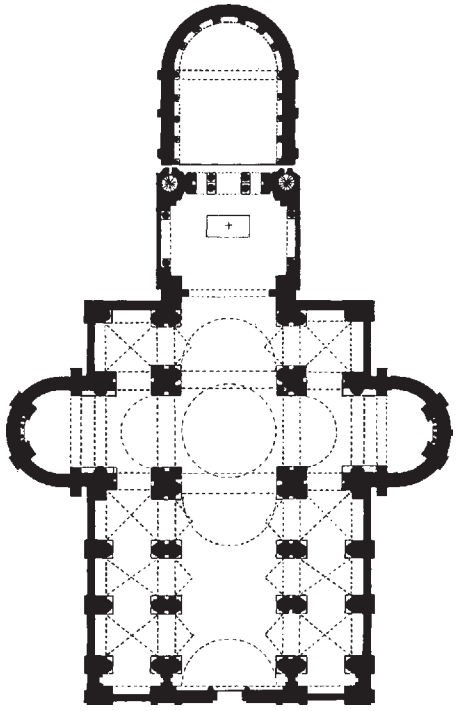

Fig. 3: Plan of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice (begun 1566)

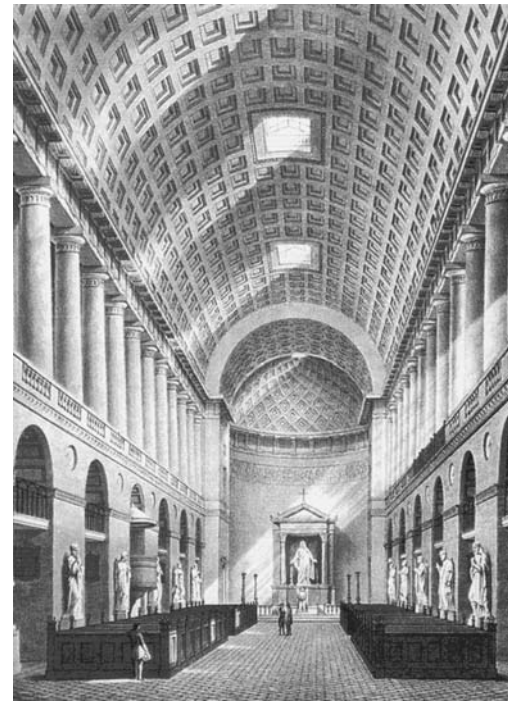

Fig. 4: Interior of the 'Vor Frue Kirke', Copenhagen (begun 1811)

Fig. 5: Interior of San Lorenzo, Florence (begun 1421)

architecture of the Counterreformation (P. Cataneo [3. lib. III pass.]). Modification of the basic scheme of the basilica in accordance with notions of ecclesiastical reform led to the emergence in 1560 of the 'Basilica della Riforma cattolica' [18], which appears in a basic oblong form, with a barrel-vaulted central nave and side aisles transformed into a series of chapels (Jesuit church Il Gesu/Rome), or as a spatial arrangement with several aisles built over a Latin cross (S. Giorgio Maggiore/Venice, Fig. 3). The pioneering longitudinal solution of St Peter/Rome (1607) ended several years of discussion over the conceptual shape of the church (Panvinius [12. 228ff.]; 24]) in favour of the Counterreformation and the basilica concept. These solutions encouraged the spread of the longitudinal basilica in the 17th and 18th cents. over wide areas of Europe (Theatine church/ Munich 1663, Jesuit church/Salamanca 1614, St Nicolas/Prague 1703, convent church Mafra 1717) as a successful alternative to the central-plan and hall buildings of the Baroque and Late Baroque Periods. French religious architecture of the 18th cent. also returned to the basilica scheme. From the middle of the century, the confrontation with ancient architecture and early Christian church construction, which theorists had demanded (J. Cordemoy [4. 193–222]; M. A. Laugier [10. 173–208]; Ch. Percier/P. Fontaine [13. pl. 92, 27]), found its implementation into barrel-vaulted columned basilicas of the classical type with three aisles (St-Symphorien/Versailles 1764, St-Louis/St-Germain-en-Laye 1765, St-Philippe-du-Roule/Paris 1768) [19. 123–136]. Their concept dominated Christian church architecture well beyond France and into the 19th cent. (Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen 1811, see Fig. 4, Dionysios Church/Athens 1848). Building on early 19th cent. scholarly interest in the early Christian basilicas of Rome (for instance, building inventories etc. [7]) and the discussion it engendered, the basilica was pronounced appropriate for contemporary German-speaking lands as well ('The form of the basilica seems to speak most to the present time (...)', G. Moller to Goethe, 1818 [9. 6; 17. 154–223]). Treatises, pattern books and essays (L. v. Klenze [9]; Ch. Bunsen [2], G. Semper [15. 443–467]; H. Hübsch [8]) made the basilica practical for Protestant as well as Catholic church architecture. Theorists demanded a simple oblong floor plan, the basilica scheme, and a spacious central aisle covered either by a barrel-vault or a flat wooden ceiling, and these elements were largely constitutive of the church architecture of the 19th cent. (St Boniface/Munich 1828, Altlerchenfelder Church/ Vienna 1848, Liebfrauenkirche/Zurich 1894) [22. 1372–1394]. The end of the 19th cent. saw the defeat of historicism in church architecture, and the rejection of classical spatial solutions like the basilica, which were replaced by new formal solutions. During the period of → National Socialism the basilica experienced – at least in theory – a *Renovatio* since it was regarded as 'the essence of Nordic spatial experience' (A. Rosenberg [14. 384]). In practice, however, the basilical type remained the exception as compared to the hall church, widespread in the 1930s (Hl. Kreuz/Würzburg 1934, Benedictine Abbey Münsterschwarzach 1935).

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BARBARA KILIAN

Basle, Antikenmuseum and Sammlung Ludwig

A. Introduction B. Sculpture Hall C. The Buildings Housing the Antikenmuseum D. Collection E. Arrangement

A. Introduction

Although the Basle Antikenmuseum was founded only a few decades ago, making it one of the youngest of its kind in Europe, it houses an archaeological collection of great significance. Various genres of visual art are represented by excellent examples both in terms of their significance for cultural history as well as quality. The museum was founded – and continues to be supported – through a joint effort of municipal and private sponsorship. Therefore works on loan from private collectors supplement the museum's exhibits of its own collections to a greater degree than is usually the case in most other public collections in Europe. The humanistic world view of the local bourgeoisie in the 19th cent. created the intellectual climate that led to the foundation of the museum. Aside from private collections this is evidenced by the local tradition of subsequently integrating a → cast collection into the structure of the museum.

B. Sculpture Hall

Around 1830 a collection of casts of ancient sculptures was started in Basle. Initially, after 1849, the cast collection was part of the University Museum until it was moved into the Sculpture Hall at the Basle Kunsthalle in 1887. Finally in 1963, after a varied history, it found another home in a new, specially built sculpture hall that allowed for a suitable display and included studios as well. The Sculpture Hall had regular museum hours and was administrated by the Antikenmuseum. Unlike the cast collection of the 19th cent. its mission no longer was to document a few chosen works but rather to bring together the casts of ancient sculptures that are scattered all over the world. With this objective in mind, the collection of the Sculpture Hall grew multiple times over the past decades; today it comprises several thousand objects and by quantity alone has a leading position internationally. For example, since the 1970s the Sculpture Hall houses casts of almost all of the sculptural remains of the → Parthenon in Athens. In 1982 they provided the focus for a scholarly colloquium on the Parthenon.

C. The Buildings Housing the Antikenmuseum

In 1966 the original collection was made available to the public in a classicist townhouse (House A) and a contemporary annex in the back. The increasing need for more exhibition space was met in the 1980s by expanding into a neighbouring building that dates to the first half of the 19th cent. as well (House B). Today the museum complex provides a structured architectural landscape, preserving a mostly traditional exterior while in the interior new circulation patterns reflect

Fig. 1: Belly amphora, Amasis Painter. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Inventory nr. Kä 420

Fig. 2: 'Basler Arztrelief' (relief depicting a physician). Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Inventory nr. BS 236.

Fig. 3: 'Steinhäuserscher Kopf', replica of the Belvedere Apollo's head. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Inventory nr. BS 205.

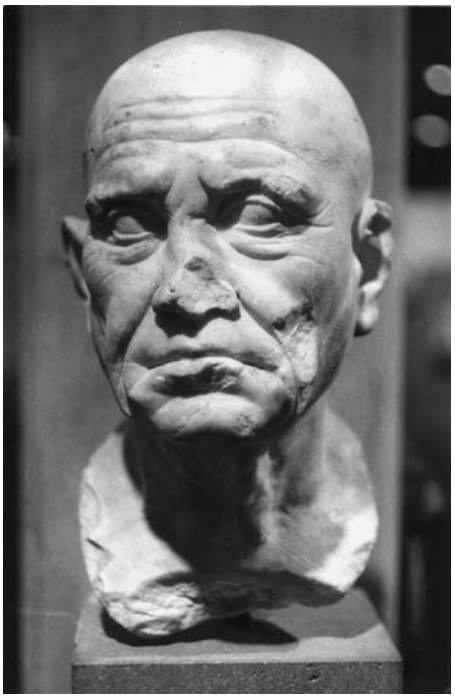

Fig. 4: Portrait of a Republican. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Inventory nr. BS 209.

new usage priorities. Alterations to the structure of the buildings are limited; and in House B. the attempt was made to preserve the bourgeois interior style as much as possible. Around 1980 new construction was discussed, but in the end, renovation was preferred.

D. Collection

When the museum was established, its core was a small and scattered municipal collection; yet between 1960 and the opening of the museum it grew to twice its original size. Donations (especially the collections Käppeli and Züst) were equally represented. Half of the works shown in 1966 – there were *c.* 640 exhibits – came from private collections and were on loan as part of the permanent collection. Today, the collection is about four times as large, with a third coming from gifts. The largest donation, leading to an expansion of the museum, was given by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig. The name *Sammlung Ludwig* was permanently added to that of the museum.

The collection focuses on sculptures, terracotta, vases and coins, but other genres, even weapons, are also well represented. From the outset, considerations of quality determined the acquisition of new objects. Thus the expansion of the holdings underwent a certain development; originally the focus was on Greek art between the 6th and 4th cents. whereas now works of art range from the 3rd millennium BC to the Byzantine period and sometimes include even marginal cultures. Attic vases of the 6th and 5th cents. BC are among the most notable groups or individual works (e.g. an amphora of the Amasis Painter, Fig.1) as are an almost unique Ionic relief from the early 5th cent. with the portrait of a doctor (Fig. 2) and the replica of the head of the Vatican → Belvedere Apollo, considered its best ancient copy (Fig.3). The portraiture of the Roman Republic is also sufficiently represented (Fig.4).

E. Arrangement

Didactically the museum is guided by the principle to offer the visitor additional information in the exhibition halls without causing distraction from the works through an overabundance of specialised information. Individual sections or groups of works are explained on introductory panels. The complex architecture of the building prohibits a singular route through the collection that would lead from one department to the next. Therefore several tours are suggested, starting in the entrance hall of House A. The objects are organised mainly according to genres and within genres according to time periods. For example, Greek sculpture of the Archaic and Classical Periods is exhibited in the top floor of the modern extension with natural illumination from skylights, whereas Hellenistic and Roman sculptures are displayed in a room with artificial light a floor below; vases and objects of the minor arts, divided into groups, are placed on the various floors of Houses A and B. In assigning the vases to the various rooms, regional and chronological considerations were taken into account as well as the character of the particular

rooms, e.g. Attic pottery of the late 6th and early 5th cents. BC- represented in masterworks – was placed into the most dignified rooms of House A. A separate building has been reserved for educational activities.

1 Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig. 120 ausgewählte Werke (120 selected works), 1987 2 E. BERGER, Zur Eröffnung des erweiterten Antikenmuseum in Basel am 3. Mai 1988, in: AK 31, 1988, 29–44 3 Id., Hundert Jahre Skulpturhalle Basel (1887–1987), in: AK 31, 1988, 45–46 4 Id. (ed.), Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig 1–3, 1979–89 5 Id. (et al), Bauwerk und Plastik des Parthenon. – Zur Ausstellung Basel und die Akropolis in der Skulpturhalle, in: AK 23, 1980, 59–65 6 J. J. BERNOULLI, Museum in Basel. Catalog für die antiquarische Abtheilung, Basel 1880 7 R. BURCKHARDT, Die Gipsabgüsse in der Skulpturhalle zu Basel, 1907 8 D. HUBER, M. SCHMIDT, Die Gebäude des Antikenmuseum, 1990 9 Kunstwerke der Antike aus der Sammlung Käppeli, 1963 10 K. SCHEFOLD, Klassische Kunst in Basel, 1955 11 Id., Führer durch das Antikenmuseum Basel, 1966.

DETLEV KREIKENBOM

Battlefields

A. HISTORY OF THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT BATTLES B. INDIVIDUAL BATTLES AND BATTLEFIELDS

A. History of the Reception of Ancient Battles

1. INTRODUCTION 2. MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES 3. MILITARY SCIENCE AND HISTORY IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTS.

1. Introduction

The interest in → WAR in Antiquity encompasses a whole range of areas such as military technology, tactics and strategy, the great generals, as well as the impact of war on historical processes. Although military conflicts cannot be understood in terms of the military operations alone, the compressed events of bloody battle in time and space were seen as a key to the understanding of the history of war. For this reason a book genre came into being in the modern era which deals with European battles in the manner of a catalogue.

Already in 1600 in Venice, Giovanni Saraceni published a combat-historical index *Fatti d'arme famosi successi trà tutte le nationi del mondo* in such a catalogue. In London in 1676, James Health's *Chronicle of the war* [6. 1844f.] appeared. But the genre did not really become established until the 18th cent., when works such as Jean François Pétis de la Croix's *Dictionnaire des sièges et batailles mémnorables de l'histoire ancienne et moderne*, was published in Paris in 1770–71, or the *New Military Dictionary; or, the Field of War* came out in London in 1760.

From the 19th cent. onwards we find catalogues of classical battles as the first part of publications that also cover battles of the Middle Ages and the modern era; they also contain alphabetical and chronological compilations (dictionaries, lexica, encyclopedias, battles of world history, etc) or military-historical depictions.

Fig. 1: Alexandre Evariste Fraognard (1780–1850), *Léonidas*, undated. Paris, Musées de Sens

Older works start off chronologically with Greek history, while those from the 20th cent. begin with the hostilities of the old near eastern empires (Megiddo *c.* 1468 BC or Kadesh *c.* 1285 BC).

2. Middle Ages and Modern Times

Already Charlemagne commissioned the Bendictine monk Herric to locate the battlefields of the Gallic Wars, specifically the site of Alesia. In 1477, in his edition of Caesar, Raimundus Marlianus appended an index of battlefields he had located. Classical reports of battles were often used as models in historiography. For example, in his portrayal of Frederick I's siege and capture of Milan in 1558 (*Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica*, III), Otto von Freising took over almost word for word passages from Flavius Josephus' *Peri tou Ioudaikou polemou* ('Wars of the Jews') more specifically from the Latin translation of Pseudo-Hegesippus (4th or 5th cent. AD). In the same way, the reception of Vegetius accounted for the preoccupation with classical battles, as can be seen in the third book of *De regimine principum* by Aegidius Romanus in 1280, in *L'Arbre des batailles (1386/1390)* by Honoré de Bonet (Honorat Bovet) or the *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* (1410) by Christine de Pisan. In his instruction manual for the military *Le Jouvencel* (1462–1466/67), Jean de Bueil used classical examples like the Battle of Pharsalus (48 BC) and the war with Jugurtha. R. Valturio penned *De re militari libri XII* (Verona 1472), the first war manual to be printed [8. 358–362]. Apart from Vegetius, the author also used Caesar and Ammianus Marcellinus as sources. In addition, he incorporated a pictorial atlas that tried to represent the war machines described by the ancient authors (this atlas was adopted

Fig. 2: Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), *Léonidas aux Thermophyles*, 1814. *With Permission of Musée du Louvre, Paris*

Fig. 3: Colossal statue of Vercingetorix by Aimé Millet (1865) in Alise-Sainte-Reine

by the first translation of Vegetius into German by Ludwig von Hohenwang in 1475). In 1487, the works of Aelian, Frontinus, Modestus and Vegetius were edited in a single redaction called *Veteres de re militari*. As early as 1421, L. Bruni in his work *De militia* tried to transfer classical tactics – for example from Polybius' descriptions of battles – to Florentine military affairs. Thereafter we come across increasingly numerous attempts to make the classical art of war relevant and useful for the present. The accessibility of texts through printing and the expansion of humanistic education, which also found its way into the military academies, could not by themselves have started this process. Among various historical factors, the renewed importance of heavy infantry formations in the 15th cent. is a case in point. Even Niccolo Machiavelli, in his work *Dell'Arte della guerra* (Florence 1521), developed his ideas of tactics and strategy based on classical patterns, inspired by such authors as Polybius, Caesar, Livy, Flavius Josephus, Frontinus or Vegetius. In doing so, he dipped regularly into the catalogue of the great classical battles.

The reform of the armed forces of the house of Orange, introduced by Johann der Mittlere von Nassau-Siegen after 1589, which drew on the classical tradition of war and was additionally inspired by the writings of Justus Lipsius, set new standards for army and battle formation [5; 9]. Further developed by Gustav Adolf, they contributed considerably to Sweden's great success in the 30 Years' War. In the German speaking countries it was Johann Wilhelm Neumair von Ramssla and Wilhelm Dilich who drew the parallels with ancient battles (from the Punic Wars and the time of Caesar) [8. 951–960]. Raimondo di Montecuccoli also repeatedly used examples from the battles of the Second Punic War and the Gallic Wars as evidence in his work.

The reception of Caesar and the preoccupation with battles fought by him was promoted by several European rulers, such as Charles V who annotated his copy of Caesar's writings with marginal notes [8. 448]. In 1575, Baldelli's translation of Caesar's *Commentarii* was enlarged by 41 drawings by Palladio depicting tactical formations or siege techniques. Henri Duc de Rohan created a leadership handbook based on the Gallic Wars, *Le parfait capitaine, l'abrégé des guerres*

de la Gaule des Commentaires de César, which appeared in Paris in 1636. Following the publication in 1741 of *Éclairissements géographiques sur l' Ancienne Gaule*, the geographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d' Anville brought out several works which centred on the locations of battles. In *Art de la guerre, par principes et par règles* (Paris 1748), after considering classical writers on war, J.F. de Chastenet Marquis de Puységur compared the the campaigns of Caesar and Turenne, and also analyzed the siege of Dyrrhachium (48 BC) and Caesar's oblique battle order at Pharsalus. When Jean Charles Chevalier de Folard, in the introduction to his *Histoire de Polybe* (Paris 1727), sparked off an agitated debate about the interpretation and actualisation of battle formations described in Polybius, Karl Gottlieb Guischardt's *Mémoires militaires sur les Grecs et les Romains* (2 vols, Den Haag 1758) countered Folard's theories with arguments which he had developed based on the description of battles in Polybius, Arrian and Caesar [8. 1478ff., 1824ff.]. In his *Traité des Stratagèmes permis à la guerre ou Remarques sur Polyen et Frontin avec des observations sur les batailles de Pharsala et d' Arbelles* (Metz 1765), Paul Gédéon Joly de Maizeroy analyzed the battle order at Arbela (331 BC) and Pharsalus. These debates about the relevance of classical accounts to military technology, above all Caesar but also Polybius, are representative of the central position which classical war and battle reports attained. Frederick the Great claimed to have learned only a few lessons from Caesar, but nonetheless encouraged a thorough study of classical warfare by his generals. His battle deployment of *ordre oblique*, with which he was able to beat much larger armies repeatedly, is reminiscent of the oblique battle order of Epaminondas at Leuctra (371 BC) or at Mantineia (362 BC). Napoleon I, an admirer of both Alexander and Hannibal, penned his *Précis des guerres de Jules César* on St. Helena, in which he analyzed Caesar's campaigns taking as his basis the works of Jean Baptiste d'Anville. Napoleon III appointed a topographical committee to do fieldwork headed by Eugène Stoffel (1861–1865), the results of which served as the foundation for the *Histoire de Jules César* (Paris 1866).

3. Military Science and History in the 19th and 20th Cents.

One cannot speak of military science as a subject in its own right until the 19th cent. Charles-Jean-Jacques-Joseph Ardant du Picq's book *Études sur le Combat antique et Combat moderne* (Paris 1868) analysed the battle of Cannae (216 BC) and Pharsalus as examples, with the accounts of Polybius and Caesar as his starting point, in order to bring out the features of the Classical art of war, such as surrounding and surprising the enemy, and to postulate their use in modern battle. Hans Delbrück's (1848–1929) idiosyncratic, four-volume *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte* (1900–1902) ascribes great importance to ancient battles for their understanding of tactics and strategy. Delbrück also recognized the connection with the political, societal and economic structures. A further innovation and quirk on his part was his distrust of accounts of battles from the ancient world. These should undergo 'critical analysis': Delbrück identified the locations and tried to work out through analogies how certain events could have come to pass. In reaching his conclusions he took into account what was known on the basis of practical military exercises or from the reconstruction of ancient weapons. In particular, he repeatedly suggested that the, in his opinion, overly inflated numbers of soldiers given by Classical authors ought to be reduced. Johann Kromayer and the Austro-Hungarian colonel Georg Veith had at their disposal even more exact topographical knowledge of ancient battlefields. Their book *Antike Schlachtfelder als Bausteine zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte* (1903–1931) features the results of their reconstructions in maps with far-reaching influence.

Wilhelminian Germany was a fertile ground for war studies. The conviction that one could learn from history, coupled with the importance the elite placed on a humanistic education, led to a considerable regard for Antiquity in officer circles, even in the education of officers. The historically educated general – epitomized by Helmuth von Moltke – was absolutely the ideal. The vital role of the Classical history of war is apparent in Bernhard von Poten's overview of the education of officers in the German-speaking world *Geschichte des Militär- Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens in den Landen deutscher Zunge*, 5 vols, Berlin 1889–1897). Thus, the 'History of ancient armies' was taught alongside the 'history of war' and 'general history' at the War School in Berlin (military academy since 1859), at which Moltke and Alfred von Schlieffen had been pupils. The focusing of the course of events in the battle on the performance of the generals, already detectable in Classical reports of war, was adopted. Generals like Epaminondas, Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio or Caesar were given pre-eminent status. The high point of this military and theoretical development was the study of the battle of *Cannae*, published in 1909 by A. von Schlieffen, Chief of the German General Staff. The encirclement of the Roman army carried out by Hannibal at Cannae was at the centre of this work. It peaked with the thesis: 'the decisive battle can today be won according to the same plan that Hannibal had long ago devised'. Accordingly, Schlieffen analysed great battles of European history (from the time of Frederick the Great to the battles for unification) using Cannae as an example. For a future battle against France and Russia on two fronts, he himself planned a swift destruction of the French army via a massive encirclement from the north. At the foundation of such a manoeuvre lay not just Cannae but also the experiences of the wars of 1870/71. The complete failure of the Schlieffen Plan at the beginning of World War I, and especially the devastating effect that this idea had on the conduct of the German high command in the summer of 1914, clearly shows the limits of looking at Classical battles in a com-

pletely theoretical way and their apparent direct transferability to modern political and military circumstances.

It was not just within military theory that ancient battles were afforded considerable significance. Because political history was seen as determined by wars, the 'great' battles of European history were frequently examined in the historical and humanistic disciplines. The notion that the outcomes of ancient battles had set the course for later European development was widespread. J.S. Mill even went so far as to make the exaggerated comment that the Battle of Marathon, as an event, was more important for British history than the Battle of Hastings (*Collected Works*, ed. J.M. Robson, Vol. XI, 1978, 273). The idea that the fate not just of the Greek poleis was at risk in the Persian Wars, but also that of the whole of Western culture is echoed here. The Greek victories at Marathon (490 BC), Salamis (480 BC) and Plataea (479 BC) only attained their importance for world history through such interpretations. In 1851 in London, Edward Sheperd Creasy published *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World. From Marathon to Waterloo*, aimed at the popular market and which soon became a bestseller. Among the 15 battles that he discusses are six ancient ones. The battles of Alexander are seen as the first successful attempt at a conquest of the East by the civilized West. The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest (AD 9) is seen as decisive for the later European divide into the Roman and Germanic cultural spheres of influence. The successful defence against the Huns at the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (also known as the Battle of Chalons) (AD 451) is interpreted as the rescue of European culture.

Arguments based on Classical experiences took completely different forms throughout the 20th cent. In *The Decisive Wars of History* (1929) Basil H. Liddell Hart, using examples of battles, explained the theory of the *indirect approach*, a strategy that did not primarily aim at direct confrontation on the battlefield, but rather, in coordination with politics, looked to undermine the leadership of the enemy. The examples he uses from Antiquity are the campaigns of Epaminondas, Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, Cassander's successful resistance against Antigonos, the Second Punic War and the Wars of Caesar. Characteristic of his analyses is a strong focus on strategy. He devoted a monograph to Scipio Africanus (1938). John Frederick Charles Fuller, in *A Military History of the Western World* (1954–1957), deals with 30 different battles, six of which date from Antiquity. Bernard Law Montgomery's *A History of Warfare* (1968) starts with the Battle of Kadesh and the campaigns of Belisarius, while Chester W. Nimitz's *Sea Power – A Naval History* (1960) deals with the sea battles of Salamis, the Punic Wars and Actium. Edward Luttwak, in *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (1976), sees in the broad security considerations of the Romans a model for American politics. The complex siege of Masada (AD 73/74), in particular, made an impression on him. He sees in this

action a deliberate demonstration of Roman superiority. Chaim Herzog, the future president of Israel, in a book with Mordechai Gichon called *Battles of the Bible* (1978, rev. ed. 1997) articulated the idea 'that the strategic and tactical lessons of the Bible are still applicable and are as relevant as ever'. 'Ancient Military History' is still taught at the US Army War College, and *The Great Battles of Antiquity* (1994) by Richard A. Gabriel and Donald W. Boose covers warfare from the Battle of Megiddo to the fall of Constantinople (1453).

Politological research into the origins of war has occasionally taken Classical evidence into account. Quincy Wright's *A Study of War* (1942) sees in the ancient Near Eastern, or rather early Greek battles the decisive development of occidental warfare from primitive beginnings. In doing so, military and politological literature draws upon a series of much-used older representations, such as Kromayer/Veith. Further new analyses can be found in W. K. Pritchett's *Studies in Ancient Topography* (1965–1982) and *The Greek State at War* (1974–1991). Other well-known modern researchers include Yvon Garlan (*La Guerre dans l'antiquité*, 1972) and Pierre Ducrey (*Guerre et guerriers dans la Grèce antique*, 1985), who have long separated themselves from the narrow view of a history of battle and are taking into consideration the historical, political and societal contexts. In *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (1983) and *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (1989), Victor Davis Hanson revealed that the laying waste of land, much described in Classical authors, was not as serious as had previously been thought.

V. D. Hanson, Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power, 2001; J. E. Lendon, Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity, 2005; J. A. Lynn, Battle: A History of Combat and Culture, 2003

B. Individual Battles and Battlefields

The culture of remembering battles already started in Antiquity. Parallel with the erection of memorials the mythologisation and idealisation of the events of war emerged. Several topoi can be identified, such as the numerical inferiority or the legitimacy of the individual concerns, as well as the memory of those who took part, and especially of those who fell in past battles, the glorification of their deeds and their function as an example. Individual battles always assume metaphorical functions in principal ideological models of explanation.

1. Troy 2. Persian Wars 3. Campaigns of Alexander 4. Punic Wars 5. Numantia 6. Battles of Caesar 7. Battle of Teutoburg Forest 8. Masada 9. Late Antiquity

1. Troy

The Trojan War and the battle memorials associated with it always occupied a leading position → Troy.

2. Persian Wars

Following the broad resonance the Persian Wars had in Greek Antiquity, it was not until the 18th cent. that the battles of Marathon [3], Thermopylae and Salamis reappeared in the general historical awareness. The conflict of the Persian Wars was now linked with the bodies of thought of the → Enlightenment, → Romanticism and → Philhellenism, for example in Jean-Jacques Barthélmy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788), François René de Chateaubriand's *L'itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811) and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *The Battle of Marathon: A Poem* (*c.* 1820). At the centre stood the myth of the struggle for freedom, or even, as in the case of Thermopylae, death for freedom. Numerous paintings addressed these themes, such as the depictions of Leonidas by Alexandre-Evariste Fragonard or Jacques-Louis David (Figs. 1 & 2).

In his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (1833–1836), G. W. F. Hegel assigned to the battles between the Greeks and the Persians a key position in the development of individual freedoms, arguing that oriental despotism and free individualism faced each other from opposing sides. Historiography also saw events in terms of world-historical importance, as articulated by Robert von Pöhlmann or Eduard Meyer.

During the nationalist movements, the Persian Wars took on a new perspective. They became a core myth in the Greek War of Independence. The great sacrifices of the World Wars had the Persian Wars appear in a new light. Self-sacrifice for one's ideals became central (Georg Heym, *Marathon*, 1914). In the period of National Socialism, this approach was continued through the additional integration of the putative virtue and ideals of the Spartans, as can be seen in the writings of Helmut Berve and Franz Miltner. The enthusiasm for all things Spartan during the Third Reich was so great that H. Göring thought he could compare the 'final battle' of Stalingrad to the battle of Thermopylae and misuse it for propaganda purposes: 'When you reach Germany, say that you saw us fighting in Stalingrad, as the law for the protection of our people has ordained' [1. 51f. with comments. 190]. Apostolos Daskalakis still defended Leonidas' sacrifice (1964), although already Karl Julius Beloch in his *Griechische Geschichte* had described the battle of Thermopylae as a destructive defeat to which only later rhetoric could give a false sheen. A memorial to the battle was set up at the pass of Thermopylae in 1955. The barrow at Marathon was restored after 1945. Today the site is an → Archaeological Park, on which were built the facilities for the rowing competitions for the 2004 Summer Olympics.

3. Campaigns of Alexander

The Persian campaigns of Alexander the Great (334–323 BC) were already well-known in Antiquity, and, accordingly, often treated. An impressive pictoral view of the way the Romans saw the battles of Alexander can be gleaned from the Alexander Mosaic in Pompeii (→ Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Fig.3), although it probably does not represent a specific battle.

The broad reception of Alexander in the Middle Ages emanates from the *Life of Alexander* (3rd cent. AD), ascribed to Callisthenes, and Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander* in Latin. One of the most influential works in this respect was the epic *Alexandreis* (1178/1182) by Walter of Châtillon which, in the course of the 13th cent., took on a preeminent position as a school book. In 1185, the final version of the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Alexandre de Paris appeared. Around 1150, Pfaffe Lamprecht wrote the oldest Alexander poem (*Alexanderlied*) in the German language. Rudolf von Ems (*Alexander*), 1230/1250) or Ulrich von Eschenbach (*Alexander*), 1271/1282) continued the tradition of the chivalric Alexander epic. Starting with Thomas of Kent's *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* (second half of the 12th cent.), a tradition of Alexander poems also developed in Britain (among others *Kyng Alisaunder*, *c.* 1300). In these works, the campaigns of Alexander and his battles served as a backdrop against which Alexander was glorified.

In the Renaissance, the works of Arrian and Plutarch were the starting point for the reception of Alexander. A concrete perception of the individual battles became possible from this time on, although medieval traditions continued to have an effect: it was customary to trace back one's genealogy to the Macedonian royal family. The Frankish kings did this, as did the Hapsburg monarchy later on. This resulted in numerous pictorial representations of the Alexander theme as well as the battles. In 1530, Duke Federico Gonzaga decorated the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua with historical motifs for Karl V. We can see Alexander motifs, as well as those of Scipio and Caesar in the Sala del Imperator, as they were also counted among the ancestors of Karl V. Perino del Vaga produced a cycle of frescoes in the Castel Sant' Angelo for Pope Paul III (1545–1547), featuring among others the Battle of the Hydaspes against Porus (326 BC). Wilhelm IV of Bavaria commissioned a cycle of classical battles which includes a painting of the Battle of Issus (333 BC) by Albrecht Altdorfer (1526) (→ War, Fig. 1)

The military successes of Louis II de Bourbon (4th prince de) Condé (Le Grande Condé/The Great Condé) in the 1640s gave the Alexander myth a boost in France. Comparisons were made, for example by Jean Puget de la Serre (*Parallèle d'Alexandre le Grand et de Mons. le Duc d'Anguien*, Paris 1645). After Condé went over to the Fronde, Louis XIV took this as an opportunity to lay claims to Alexander for himself. For this purpose, Charles Le Brun produced a series of Alexander paintings, such as *Le Passage du Granique* (1665), *La Défaite de Porus* or *La Bataille d'Arbèle* (1667–1668). He drew inspiration from the paintings of P. da Cortona, who in 1650 had painted in Rome for Alessandro Sacchetti, then commander of the Pope's forces, the victory of Alexander over Darius. The Battle of Arbela was

the subject of a painting by J. Courtois in 1664. After 1670, a distancing from the Alexander mythology took place, which can be understood in connection with the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. Nonetheless, the motifs of Alexander retained their popularity. In 1693, Jan Brueghel produced a painting of the battle of Issus, and in 1737, Cornelius Troost one of the Battle of Granicus (334 BC).

In Vienna in 1797, Rhegas Pheraios (Rigas Velestinlis) brought out a pamphlet which, by alluding to the campaigns of Alexander, called on the Greeks to rise up against the Ottoman rule. This drawing of a parallel was the beginning of the Alexander reception in the Greek independence movement. With the advent of the Macedonian Question at the start of the 20th cent., the Alexander myth and associated memories of his campaigns became as relevant then as ever.

In Germany, Alexander and his battles came under greater scrutiny at the start of the 19th cent. as a result of the experience of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1833, Johann Gustav Droysen published the *Geschichte Alexanders des Großen* in which the unifying and civilizing elements of the Alexander campaigns were emphasized. Impressions from the German movement for unification come into play here. Eduard Meyer highlighted the connection between the achievements of Alexander and that of the monarchy. K. J. Beloch dismissed Droysen's analysis, but it retained its influence in the 20th cent. nonetheless. During the period of National Socialism, interpretations of the history of the races gained ground. In turn, William Woodthorpe Tarn described the campaigns of Alexander in terms of a civilizing and unifying mission on Alexander's part (*Alexander the Great*, 1948).

4. Punic Wars

The reception of the Punic Wars, for which the deeds of Hannibal and Scipio were central, began in the 14th cent. Petrarch devoted his epic *Africa* to the life of Scipio (1338– *c.* 1350), which describes the hero's deeds from the conquest of Spain to the battle of Zama (202 BC). In 1532, François I. commissioned tapestries with motifs from the Second Punic War. The Battle of Zama was based on an original by Jules Romain (Giulio Romano). Maria, archduchess of Austria, wife of Ludwig II of Bohemia and Hungary, sister of Karl V and governor of the Netherlands, also owned tapestries depicting scenes from Scipio's life (among others the capture of Carthage, the parley between Hannibal and Scipio and the battle of Zama). Emulating Scipio, Karl V. let himself be celebrated as a third 'Africanus' following his victory over the Turks. In 1530, Jörg Breu (the Elder) was commissioned to paint the battle of Zama for a cycle of paintings for Wilhelm IV of Bavaria for which Hans Burgkmair in 1529 painted the battle of Cannae. In general, from the 16th cent. onwards, numerous representations of the Roman general and the Second Punic War were made. Between 1508–1513, Jacopo Ripanda painted a series of frescoes depicting Scipio and Hannibal in the Conservators' Palace in

Rome. In 1515 in the Monastery of St George near Freiburg Ambrosius Holbein created a cycle of paintings about Hannibal and Scipio, which portray the capture of Saguntum and Carthage. In his painting of Napoleon's crossing of the Alps via the Great St. Bernard Pass (1801/02), J. L. David depicts a milestone with Hannibal's name on it in order to emphasize the parallel with Hannibal's alpine crossing (Fig. 3). Jean Desmarets de St. Sorlin's play *Scipion* (1639), Pierre Carlet Mariveaux' *Annibal* (1720) and Christian Dietrich Grabbe's *Hannibal* (1835) all illustrate the popularity of the theme for the stage over the years.

From 18th-cent. travel reports, such as that of Thomas Shaw (1730), we have the first testimonies about the Punic sites in North Africa. However, an archaeological debate did not take place until the 19th cent. In 1807, Chateaubriand travelled to North Africa, visited → Carthage and set out his impressions in his *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811). Gustave Flaubert travelled to Carthage in 1858 and created a strong legend with his novel *Salammbô* (1862). Nathan Davis searched the whole coastline looking for historical sites of the Punic Wars (*Carthage and Her Remains*, 1861). In 1859, Charles-Ernest Beulé started excavations in Byrsa, which were continued from 1875 by Alfred Louis Delattre.

Scholarly debate about the Punic Wars was heavily influenced in the 19th cent. by Theodor Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* (1854). Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, the battle of Lake Trasimene or the battle of Cannae have repeatedly stood at the centre of modern research into battlefields.

5. Numantia

The resistance of the Iberian Celts at Numantia (153–133 BC), which ended with Scipio the Younger taking the town and the suicide of all inhabitants, played an important role in the Spanish view of history. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's tragedy *Numancia* (1580) or Francisco Mosquera's epic *La Numantina* (1609) are the first notable treatments of the theme. In his *Historia de España* (*c.* 1830), Alvarez y Marina established a connection with the Napoleonic wars of liberation. La Motte Fouqué as well as August Wilhelm Schlegel translated Cervantes' tragedy at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Among the numerous illustrations of the last days of Numantia, Alejo Vera y Estaca's *Numantia* (1880) stands out. The erection of a memorial was begun on the hill of Numantia in 1843. In 1879, Eduardo Saavedra created the first sketches of the village, but the excavations, led by Adolf Schulten did not start until 1905 and ran until 1912.

6. Battles of Caesar

The reception of the battles of Caesar is closely linked to Caesar the individual, due to his reputation as an ideal ruler and general, but also because of his literary works. The first aspect stands in the foreground of the reception in the Middle Ages. The glorious commander, which is how he appears in, for example, *Li Fet des Romains* (1213/14), and which draws on Lucan,

Sallust and Suetonius, served as the forebear for medieval rulers, such as the Hapsburgs, the Tudors and the Burgundian dukes. They happily compared their own military successes with those of their famous 'ancestor'. Four carpets were manufactured for the Burgundian court between 1465 and 1470 that show victorious battles and were based on manuscript-illustrations from *Li Fet des Romains*. Commissioned by the Gonzaga in Mantua, Andrea Mantegna created a cycle of paintings depicting Caesar's triumph 1486–1492. In 1533, for a cycle of pictures for Wilhelm IV, Melchior Feselen took the siege of Alesia as his theme. Melchior Steidl's *Die Überschreitung des Rubicon* (1707–1709), in the Kaisersaal of the Neue Residenz in Bamberg, first and foremost serves to glorify the patron, in this case the archbishop and electoral prince Lothar Franz von Schönborn. On the ceiling of the Palazzo Pitti, Giuseppe Bezzuoli depicted the triumvirate as well as the Battle of Pharsalus (1835/36).

Shakespeare's drama *Julius Caesar* (*c.* 1599) has to be seen in the context of the mythologizing of Caesar by the Tudors. The declaration of Caesar's ghost that Brutus was to see him again at Philippi (42 BC), which harks back to Plutarch's account (Caes. 69,7), became a well-known quotation at the hands of Shakespeare (IV,3): 'Why, I will see thee at Philippi then'.

Of course, there was also a tradition that was negatively critical of Caesar. Sympathy for the Republic that vanished with Caesar is noticeable in the 15th cent. in the *cassoni* of the Anghiari Master, with scenes from the Battle of Pharsalus and Caesar's triumphal procession. In France, at the time of the religious wars, Caesar was held responsible for the start of the civil wars as can be seen in Robert Garnier's *Porcie* (1568), *Cornélie* (1574) or *Marc-Antoine* (1578).

In the course of the various independence movements within Europe, individual battles attained specific importance; for example in Switzerland the war against the Helvetii, or in France the battles against Vercingetorix.

The localization of the site of Bibracte (58 BC) was the purpose of repeated searches in the course of the 19th cent. J. G. Bulliot (*Fouilles du Mt. Beuvray de 1867–95*, Autun 1899), Xavier Garenne (*Bibracte*, Autun 1867) or Eugène Stoffel (*Histoire des Jules César*, Paris 1887) decided on a spot at Montmort near Toulon-sur-Arroux. The campaign against the Helvetii, especially the outcome of the battle of Bibracte, has been interpreted in very different ways since the second half of the 19th cent. Napoleon III and Th. Mommsen adopted Caesar's reports. Hans Delbrück interpreted the exodus of the Helvetii as a mercenary expedition against Ariovistus. Guglielmo Ferrero questioned Caesar's great success in this battle and wanted to assume at least an undecided outcome.

Throughout the 16th and even more so in the 17th cent., some works championed Vercingetorix [13], though interest in Caesar dominated as before. Nonetheless, Jacques Cassan in 1621 claimed to trace Louis XIII back to Vercingetorix. In 1752, Jacques Auvergnat (J. Ribauld de la Chapelle) wrote an *Histoire de Vercingétorix* (publ. 1834), which accused Vercingetorix of various mistakes. On the other hand, in Pierre. Laureau's *Histoire de France avant Clovis* (Paris 1786) the deeds of the Gauls were glorified.

At the beginning of the 19th cent. the supporters of the French Republic built up the myth of the strong but oppressed Gauls. During the *second empir*e of Napoleon III, the republican symbols were reinterpreted as nationalistic icons and as such developed their actual effect for the first time. Napoleon III viewed the Roman conquest of Gaul as an essential and civilizing event for the good of France. To be sure, Vercingetorix was regarded as the first hero who died for his fatherland, but his rebellion against the Roman conquest did have characteristics of a fatal reaction against progress. This interpretation changed after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. The Roman conqueror was compared to the victorious enemy, Germany; Alesia was equated with the defeat of 1870/71 (see Louis-Mathurin Moreau-Christophe, *Les Gaulois nos aieux*, Tours 1880; Camille Jullian, *Vercingétorix*, Paris 1901) and was explained as the result of the Gauls fighting among themselves. Vercingetorix had undertaken a first attempt at unification, albeit in vain, and through his surrender offered himself up for the nation. This scene was often treated pictorially, for example by Louis Royer in 1899 (Fig. 4) or Henri-Paul Motte in 1886. The martyr trait of the Gallic chieftain appears impressively in the sculpture *Aux martyrs de l'indépendance nationale* by Emile Chatrousse, exhibited in 1872. Already in 1865, Napoleon III engaged Aimé Millet to construct a monumental statue of Vercingetorix on the battlefield of Alesia (Fig. 5). In 1902, a memorial was erected on the hill of Gergovia and in 1903, a statue of Vercingetorix on a horse by Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi was dedicated in Clermont-Ferrand.

In the 20th cent., in the years between the two world wars, France's extreme right made Vercingetorix into a model. In 1942, the Vichy regime hosted a commemoration at Gergovia in order to celebrate the second anniversary of the French Legion, and at which Vercingetorix' sacrifice for France was underscored. The alliance that was formed after the battle of Alesia between the Roman victors and the defeated Gauls as well as the contemporary defence alliance against a threat from the East in union with Germany were seen as historical parallels. In the same period, the French government-in-exile in London saw Vercingetorix as an archetype of resistance against foreign enemies. The myth of the Gauls lost its dramatic political effect in the post-war years. However, in the *Asterix* comic books he celebrates a new triumphal march (→ Comics).

7. Battle of Teutoburg Forest

The dissemination of Tacitus (primarily through the rediscovery of the *Germania* at the beginning of the 16th cent.) led to a rediscovery of the Germanic past in Germany. Among scholars of the Reformation, the

report of the events in the Teutoburg Forest (Tac. Ann. 1,60) met with significant approval as it seemed to exhibit parallels with the battles against the Papacy. Ulrich von Hutten was the first person to describe the Cheruscan chieftain as the liberator of Germany in his *Arminius* (*c.* 1516/1529). The synonymous labeling of Arminius as Hermann also goes back to its reception during the Reformation. In 1517, Ambrosius Holbein produced an illustration of the *Hermannsschlacht* as the frontispiece for an edition of Velleius Paterculus *Historia Romana*. A woodcut from 1543 by Hans Brosamer for Burkhard Waldis *Reimchronik* shows Arminius with Varus' head in his hand. Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein's novel *Arminius* (1689) continued this patriotic approach.

The subject of Hermann was a much-loved one in the 18th cent.: it can be seen in opera (Johann Adolf Hasse, *Arminius*, 1730) and in literature (Johann Elias Schlegel, *Hermann*, 1743; Justus Möser, *Arminius*, 1748; Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Hermanns Schlacht*, 1769; *Hermann und die Fürsten*, 1784; *Hermanns Tod*, 1784). Möser's and Klopstock's works stand at the beginning of Germany's myth of self-identification that was to become decisive for the 19th cent. Christoph Otto Freiherr von Schöneich's (Schönaich) epic *Hermann oder das befreyte Deutschland* (1753) moves in a similar direction. The decisive impulse to interpret the slaughter in the Teutoburg Forest as a significant event in the history of freedom and independence in Germany came about only through the Napoleonic Wars. Heinrich von Kleist's play *Die Hermannsschlacht* (1808/09, premiere 1860) or Caspar David Friedrich's painting *Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger* (1812/13), in which Arminius' gravestone can be seen gleaming brightly in the Teutoburg Forest, are examples of such interpretations of events under the influence of the Wars of Liberation. Throughout the 19th cent., the battle against Varus remained a central event in German historical awareness. In 1838, Christian Dietrich Grabbe wrote the *Hermannsschlacht*. On the occasion of the opening session of parliament in Frankfurt in 1848 an Arminius memorial coin was issued. The Cheruscan chieftain occupied a prominent position in Ludwig I's Valhalla. Friedrich Gunkel's *Die Hermannsschlacht* (1864) or Wilhelm Lindenschmit the Elder's painting of the same name are striking examples of the vivid visualisation of the motif in this period. In 1875, following the successful war against France and the unification of 1871, a memorial was erected in Grotenburg near Detmold on what was thought to have been the battle site.

In 1871, Theodor Mommsen (*Die Germanische Politik des Augustus*) tried to establish a connection between Arminius' struggle for freedom and German unification, and to attribute the greatest importance to the battle against Varus as a real turning point in Rome's dealings with the Germanic provinces. The acme of this development was reached in 1909 when the battle was commemorated on the occasion of its

1,900th anniversary. That same year, Gottlob Egelhaaf published *Die Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald*, a work that emphasized the nationalistic approach.

If at the start of the war in 1914 the new theatre season opened in Berlin with Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht*, between the acts of which victory announcements were made, the wave of enthusiasm for Arminius was broken after 1918. In the face of the recently suffered defeat, Ernst Kornemann attempted a positive reappraisal of Varus leadership in an article (*P. Quinctilius Varus*, 1922) in order to highlight Arminius accomplishment.

The National Socialist conception of history did not see the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest as a prominent event. Due to of the alliance with Italy it was hardly possible to emphasize antagonism between Germany and Rome. Nonetheless, various works on the theme appeared of which Hans Erich Stier's publications (among others *Die Bedeutung der römischen Angriffskriege für Westfalen*, 1938) was the most important.

In the post-war period, authors such as Hermann Kesting occasionally continued nationalistic interpretations of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest (*Der Befreier Arminius im Lichte der geschichtlichen Quellen*, 1950), but academic research has distanced itself from this point of view.

8. Masada

From the beginning of the 20th cent. onwards, the Jewish uprising against Rome in AD 66–73 has been regarded both by the Zionist movement and then by the state of Israel as a crucial milestone in Jewish-Israeli history. Particularly central to this are the siege of Masada in AD 73 and the collective suicide of the Jewish defenders described by Flavius Josephus (bell. iud. 8,8,6).

In Isaac Lamdan's poem *Masada* (1923–24), the Jewish stronghold is seen as the last place of refuge which must never be allowed to fall. This assertion would later become a leitmotif of the Zionist movement and the Jewish state. The heroes' death of the besieged for the freedom and independence of Israel was seen as the calling for that generation. The myth of Masada reached its high point following the site's first excavation by Yigael Yadin in 1963–64. His excavation report *Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (1967), written for the general public, generated a great deal of interest. The 1,900th anniversary in 1973 resulted in mass rallies at the site. At the same time though, the myth of Masada elicited fierce controversy, and the glorification of the death of the heroes was criticized increasingly (P. Vidal-Naquet, S. Zeitlin).

Apart from Masada, the battles and particularly the siege of Iotapata or Gamala, the latter because of present-day tension due to its position on the Golan Heights, have played an important role. In the same way the destruction of Jerusalem (AD 70) has come to be seen as a core date of Jewish History. The rebellion of the Maccabees as well as the battles around the time of the first temple are also important.

9. Late Antiquity

As far as the battles of Late Antiquity are concerned, there are two models that play a part in collective memory: first, the model of the battle 'Romans against barbarians'; the second, battles resulting in conversion to Christianity. The defeat of the Romans at Adrianople in AD 378, the fall of Rome in AD 410 and 455, as well as the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains in AD 451 that stopped the advance of the Huns, are examples of the first model. Constantine's victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312 is an important example of the second type (→ Historical subjects, paintings of, Fig. 3). The victory of the Franks under Clovis, stylized as the 'novus Constantinus', over the Alemanni became a central event in French history following Gregory of Tours' account which was frequently quoted both in the Middle Ages and the modern era. Gregory is scant with detail on the battle, instead he concentrates on the conversion of the Frankish king in the critical phase of the battle, thanks to which he was able to win. Whether the conversion actually happened during the course of the battle at Zülpich in AD 496, is as questionable as the characterisation of the battle as decisive event between the Franks and the Alemanni. From the 16th cent. onwards, Clovis' conversion during the battle became the basis for the claims of the French Church over the Pope (Gallicanism), as seen in Pierre Pithou (*Traité des libertés de l'église gallicaine*, Paris 1594) or Etienne Pasquier (*Recherches de la France*, vol. 1, Paris 1560). Under Louis XIV the prominent position of the king, chosen alone by God to defend the Church, and justified by Clovis' act, was further emphasized (Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, *Clovis ou la France chrétienne*, Paris 1654). In Daniel's *Histoire de France* which appeared in 1696, Clovis' conversion in AD 496 was seen as the starting point of the French monarchy, and the name of the Frankish monarch was changed to Ludovicus.

While republican circles developed an increasing interest in the Gallic past in late 18th-cent. France, the monarchists saw in Clovis a symbol for their cause. In his opening speech in 1824, Charles X made an explicit reference to his alleged predecessor. At the same time a new interpretation emerged: no longer the conversion but rather the victory over the Alemanni came to the fore. Accordingly, in the course of the 19th cent., numerous paintings of the battle came into being, such as those by Ary Scheffer 1837 or J. Blanc 1874–1882. Especially following the defeat of 1870/71, the king of the Franks was portrayed as the first victor over the Alemanni (Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France illustrée, depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution*, Paris 1911). In 1896, the Catholic party – via Cardinal B. M. Langénieux – played a significant part in the ceremonies for the 1,400th anniversary of the battle. On this occasion an anthology of writings by Catholic intellectuals, *La France chrétienne dans l'Histoire* (Paris 1896), appeared under the aegis of the Cardinal.

The Clovis myth lost its importance after World War I. Nonetheless, the starting point of French history can still be seen to originate from here as a matter of course. The *Histoire Militaire de la France* (ed. Phillipe Contamine) which appeared in 1992–94, starts with Clovis' wars. Numerous publications on the theme were published in connection with the 1,500th anniversary in 1996.

→ Alesia; → Alexander; → Caesar; → Cannae; → Hadrianopolis 3; → Hannibal; → Marathon; → Masada; → Megiddo; → Numantia; → Salamis; → Thermopylae; → Troy; → Tropaion

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Lorenzo Sguaitamatti

Bavaria

A. From Monasteries to Humanism
B. Education and Universities from the 15th to the 19th Cents. C. The Period of Ludwig I
D. The George Circle E. Universities And Institutions in the 19th and 20th Cents.

A. From Monasteries to Humanism

The Carolingian Period in Bavaria is distinguished by an effort to transmit and spread Latin culture. This is born out by the remains of the old → libraries and scriptoria of the episcopal seats (e.g., St. Emmeram, Freising, Prüfening near Regensburg, Passau, Salzburg) and monasteries where pagan as well as Christian authors are documented: Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Sallust, Ovid, Persius, Statius, Terence, Cicero, and Cato [26. 116–124]. However, because of the Hungarian

invasions very little of these libraries has survived. Rebuilding after 955 (victory of Otto the Great) was not without difficulties, but yielded significant achievements until the 11th cent.: Under Gottschalk, Bishop of Freising (994–1005), numerous manuscripts of ancient authors were copied; Bavaria played an important role in the textual tradition of the comedies of Plautus, Hyginus' handbook of mythology, the collection of *sententia* by Publilius Syrus and some of the elegies of Tibullus. Special attention was given to didactic literature, such as Cicero's rhetorical writings and ancient grammars (e.g., Marius Victorinus). In the Middle Ages, the ancient pagan authors were mandatory reading in the monastic schools, although they were only read to facilitate a better understanding of the Christian sacred texts [4]; in general the pagan authors were regarded as dangerous. Thus Othloh of St. Emmeram (*c.* 1010–1070) reports that as a teacher in Regensburg he fell ill after reading Lucan with too much enthusiasm and now feared divine punishment (PL 146, 347A–353D). His collection of *Proverbia* was intended to replace Avian and Cato in introductory courses (PL 146, 299A–338A), the two authors most used for language instruction in the Middle Ages [8].

Latin literary life in Bavaria started with Arbeo, Bishop of Freising (764–782) [8]; around this time the oldest Latin-German glossary was compiled, called *Abrogans*, after the first entry. The earliest evidence of Latin poetry dates to the late Agilolfingian period (555–788): the rhythmic verses by Liutprand in the Salzburg formularies and the church inscriptions from Tegernsee. In the 11th cent., Latin literature in Bavaria reached its pinnacle; noteworthy are *Ruodlieb*, a chivalrous epic of which about 2300 verses in hexameter have survived, and three religious plays – a literary form popular in Bavaria during the 11th and 13th cents. and in part preserved in the famous manuscript of the *Carmina Burana* (13th cent.), found 1803 in Benediktbeuren (Buranus).

The peak of Bavarian Humanism came with the foundation of Ingolstadt University (1472) [43. 350–353; 4]. Martin Mayr (d. 1481), jurist, alderman and one of Germany's first statesmen with a humanist education, commented in his opening address on the political function of education: '... Since Plato, it has been rightly said that only states whose politicians have a philosophical education can be called happy in every respect' (*...a Platone ... recte dictum est, beatas fore respublicas, quarum gubernatores vel sapientes sunt vel sapientiae studio tenentur*). Education should not aim at preparing for a profession, but at forming the personality: 'This is the only way to improve the situation of humankind' (*una ... superest via, qua meliora et laetiora acquiretis tempora, ut scilicet vobis animos faciatis meliores, quod sine virtute seu litteris fieri nequit*, [49. II 8, 10]). From 1491 to 1492 and 1494 to 1497, Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), an important poet of German Humanism and editor of Tacitus' *Germania* (1500), taught in the faculty of the Liberal Arts at Ingolstadt. His biographer Ulrich von Hutten called him an 'archhumanist'. With his inaugural lecture he established humanist studies in Germany. He committed himself to reviving ancient poetry, the knowledge of Greek and Roman history and German antiquities. A number of his students, such as Andreas Stiborius (d. 1515), Georg Tannstetter (Collimitius, 1482–1535), Johann Stabius (d. 1522), and Jakob Ziegler (*c.* 1470–1549), who also wrote commentaries on several ancient scientists, tried to systematically combine the *studia humanitatis* with mathematics and astronomy. Celtis' successor Jacob Locher (Philomusos, *c.* 1470–1523) became the first German editor of Horace (1498). A vehement controversy erupted between him and the theologian Georg Zingel, a proponent of scholasticism, who fought the pagan poets as 'lascivious and obscene corrupters of morale'. This was the last conservative resistance Humanism faced. Once Johannes Eck (1486–1543) succeeded to Zingel's chair at the university (1519), Humanism flourished, attracting students from all over Europe [4]. When the Reformation overshadowed humanist ideals, drawing almost all life out of the universities, Ingolstadt became an active centre of Catholicism and intellectual opposition to the Reformation. From 1520 to 1521 Johann Reuchlin lectured at Ingolstadt on Aristophanes' comedies and taught Hebrew grammar. A few decades later the Bavarian abbot Wolfgang of Aldersbach said that, in addition to Latin, knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was 'so common that without it nobody could be called a scholar' (cited in [43. 352]). Ingolstadt continued to play a central role, although theological disputes often threatened to take precedence over the interest in Antiquity. Hubert Gyphanius, editor of Lucretius (1566/1595) and Homer (1577), Matthias Rader, commentator of Martial (1602) and Curtius Rufus (1615), were active at Ingolstadt. Humanism gave new impulses to the monasteries as well. The monastic libraries acquired humanist literature. Learned monks and abbots were involved in establishing an *eruditio christiana*, a Christian education (e.g., the Emmeram abbot Leonhard, died 1540, and Wolfgang Haimstöckl, died 1509, provost of the Rohr monastery).

Gradually the interest of the Court in Humanism grew as well. In 1508 Duke Wilhelm employed Johannes Turmair, also called Aventinus (1477–1534), a pupil of Celtis, to tutor Princes Ludwig and Ernst. Aventinus wrote a Latin grammar for them, published 1512 in Munich. Its explanations in German make it the first Latin-German grammar, and for a long time it was the definitive textbook at the university. Aventinus sought to win political support for his humanist ideals: in 1516 he founded a learned society in Ingolstadt, the *Sodalitas litteraria Boiorum*. As the 'father of Bavarian history' (G.W. Leibniz), he initiated a re-evaluation of historical sources: 'We need a new way of looking at sources', he wrote, 'and to understand the new we must refer to the old' [16. 17]. For Aventinus 'sources' were no longer strictly textual (chronicles, official docu-

ments, legends and poetry), but also included inscriptions, coins, monuments and archaeological finds. As his teacher Celtis, he viewed Tacitus' *Germania* as an idealised model for the German people. In 1558 the Munich Hofbibliothek (court library) was founded, for which Duke Albrecht V acquired the libraries of the Humanist Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (d. 1557) and that of the great collector Johann Jakob Fugger (d. 1575). In addition to the library, Albrecht V built the Antiquarium, Germany's first museum, giving rise to Munich's reputation as a cultural city of international rank. The core of the collection also came from the property of J.J. Fugger and was supplemented with acquisitions from Italy. The Bavarian court modelled its activities on those of the Italian nobility and the pope, for whom a collection of antiquities was an expression of *nobilitas* (aristocratic lifestyle). Museum architecture would later return to the principles involved in the design of the building and the arrangement of the collection [29. 310–321].

In 1532 Simon Scheidenreisser (Minervius) became teacher of poetics and city chronicler in Munich; in 1537 he completed the first German Homer translation 'in powerful unaffected Bavarian prose, capturing amazingly well 'Homer's serene unpretentiousness' '(Joseph Nadler). This was an important turning point in the reception of the ancient epic; Scheidenreisser's translation even had a profound effect on the narrative prose of the 17th cent. Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) came from Eichstätt. Along with Erasmus and Reichlin he was one of the most distinguished Humanists, and in the words of Emperor Maximilian 'the most learned doctor to be found in the Empire'. In Landshut, the preeminent publishing town in Bavaria (the first book was printed in 1482), editions of the classics were published along with translations of Sallust, Cicero, Seneca and Lucian by Dietrich of Plieningen (*c.* 1450–1520), one of the principal precursors of the reception of Antiquity in Germany [4].

In the late Middle Ages, Bavaria only reluctantly embarked on the intellectual journey from monastery to university, and from Scholasticism to Humanism; Franconia and Swabia, however, took that route faster and more vigorously [21. 141]. In the early Humanistic period, Franconia did not yet have its own university; talented students had to matriculate at other universities before taking employment as scholars with princes or in cities. This situation allowed Franconian Humanists to put their stamp on the overall intellectual climate in Germany: Johann Müller, also called Regiomontanus (1436–1476), the greatest astronomer of his time, discovered the mathematical writings of Diophantes in Venice; with Johannes Cuspinian (1473–1529) came the critical appreciation of ancient historiographic sources (most important works: *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis*, 1540; *De Consulibus Romanis Commentarii*, 1553); Johannes Cochläus (1479–1552), a vehement opponent of Luther, wrote introductions to the language and culture of Antiquity and published the cosmography of Pomponius Mela with the famous appendix *Brevis Germaniae descriptio* (1514). Ivo Wittich (d. 1507), editor of the *Epitomai* of Lucius Florus, was Livy's first translator; Georg Dont (d. 1537), editor of Seneca's *De vita beata* (1496), translated Aristotle into Latin; between 1510 and 1516 Veit Werler (born after 1480), edited Plautus, Lucian, Valerius Maximus and Cicero. Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) came from Franconia as well (Bamberg).

B. Education and Universities from the 15th to the 19th Cents.

In Bavaria, Franconia and Swabia, esp. in the imperial cities, → Latin schools were established in addition to the old cathedral and → Monastery schools in the late Middle Ages (after *c.* 1200). They taught Latin, as it was indispensable for singing in the choir, serving as altar boy and for reading prayer books. After *c.* 1500, school regulations revealed the influence of Humanism. In Munich (1489), Freising, Ingolstadt and Nuremberg poets' schools (*Poetenschulen*) were established, in which Greek was also taught. They were typical humanistic educational institutions and, being elitist, they soon found themselves in conflict with scholastic Dominicans as well as poorer Latin schools. In the cities the Humanists themselves operated secular Latin schools. Classical authors were harshly criticised especially by Protestants. In a Bavarian school document from 1548 we read that 'the pagan windbags who deal in pagan fantasies and idolatry' turned the young minds away from God (quoted in [41. 354]). With the abovementioned poets' schools the Humanists created a concept of classical literary education that for the next two centuries would shape instruction at the Gymnasium. The Jesuits finally integrated the Humanistic educational ideal into their system of Catholic instruction. The Jesuit schools, in their Greek and Latin language classes, concentrated on fostering an appreciation for the beauty of language and its practical application.

In Bavaria, as elsewhere in Germany, the majority of schools remained Church schools at first. In the Duchy, and later the Electorate of Bavaria, the Jesuit Gymnasium grew to be the prototype for an institution of higher learning until the middle of the 18th cent. [43. 370–372], while the number of monastic schools also increased from the 17th cent. on. In 1773, when the *Societas Jesu* was dissolved, the responsibility for secondary education (*Lyzealwesen*) in Bavaria was transferred from the Jesuits to the state, and for the first time in its history of 150 years it became a source of constant controversy [46. 33]. Accordingly, the time from 1773 to 1830 is called 'a period of storm and stress in the Bavarian school history' [41. 1]. A tendency towards pedagogical realism is noticeable as early as the 17th cent., with demands to include more 'practical' subjects and modern languages. A vehement dispute erupted between the proponents of the pedagogical ideals of philanthropism and the Enlightenment and those who advocated → New Humanism. The central figure was a

pupil of Christian Wolff, J.A. von Ickstatt (1702–1776), since 1744 Rector of Ingolstadt University, where he attracted a circle of scholars to pursue the ideals of the Enlightenment in Bavaria. He called for vocationally oriented schools and emphasised mathematics and the 'secular disciplines'. Reacting against Jesuit and Latin schools, in his plan for reform (1774) Ickstatt attempted to diminish the importance of Latin grammar in teaching.

Following a suggestion by Johann Georg Lori (1723–1787), a jurist and member of the circle around Ickstatt, the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Bavarian Academy of Sciences) was founded in 1759, forming the centre of the movement for school reforms [31]. One of Ickstatt's rivals was Heinrich Braun (1732–1792), whose aim it was to cultivate German language studies – a position more closely associated with Neohumanism. Braun, who in 1765 became Professor of German Language and Rhetoric at the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, edited Horace and Ovid and Latin grammar handbooks. His policy for schools, a 'milestone of Bavarian school history' [50. 952], introduced Realschulen (secondary schools) as schools for the middle class in Bavaria; the Gymnasium, however, was envisioned as a school for students wishing to enter the university. At the Gymnasium, teaching focused on the old languages. In the introduction of Braun's *Lateinischen Sprachkunst* one finds: *Lektüre! Lektüre der Alten unter der Aufsicht und Erklärung eines geschickten Lehrers, dies ist das einzige Mittel, nicht nur die Sprache der Alten zu erlernen, sondern sich durch ihre Ausdrücke in ihre Denkungsart hineinzudenken, das natürlich Feine ihres Geschmacks zu fühlen, sich ihre Wendungen nicht nur im Lateinischen, sondern durch das Lateinische auch im Deutschen geläufig zu machen* ('The reading! The reading of the ancientswith the supervision and help of a skilful teacher, is the only way to learn the language of the ancients, and, through their expressions, to learn to think the way they did, to sense their naturally refined taste, to become conversant with their phrases not only in Latin, but by means of Latin in German as well'). Like Johann Matthias Gesner (1691–1701) before him, he considered the study of language not merely a 'memory business' but an 'occupation for the mind itself'. Even in Braun's curriculum two thirds of the teachers were still Jesuits, and although instruction in the ancient languages, namely Latin, prevailed, the final goal was always 'oratorical proficiency' as demanded by the Jesuits. From 1781 on the prelacy was again responsible for the Mittelschulen (secondary schools). In the new school policies from 1782 the most important issue is translation from Latin into German. At the Lyzeum, Latin was the language used in exams, in instruction and lectures; exercises in rhetoric and poetics were conducted in Latin as well. The Greek language was cultivated on a much more superficial level; its command – as the wellspring of all science and scholarship – was encouraged only in theory.

Philology as an independent subject was introduced only late at Ingolstadt (1788). Even at the university it was limited to the study of language, and was supposed to remedy the deficient command of language resulting from instruction at the Gymnasium. Although Latin no longer was the lecture language, those in logic, metaphysics and physics were still conducted in Latin. *Was im vorigen Jahrhundert (in der Philologie) geleistet wurde, ging nicht über die damals gefordeten Bedürfnisse der Schule, welche gering genug waren, hinaus; von eigentlicher Philologie hatte man keinen Begriff* ('The achievements of the previous century (in philology) did not go beyond what was required by the schools at the time, which was very little; philology proper was not really understood'), wrote Leonhard Spengel in 1854 (quoted in [34. 13]). After Ingolstadt University was moved to Landshut in 1800, Anton Drexel, the new Professor of Philology, complained that in Bavaria scholarly study of the ancient languages was a rarity, and that in the instruction attention was given to 'things' rather than grammar. In 1799 Bavaria, too, saw the beginning of the government-supported battle against language schools and against Latin in general. The Kantian Kajetan Weiller (1762–1826), a headmaster in Munich, had been involved in drawing up the curriculum of 1804 and was a proponent of the pedagogy of the Enlightenment, while opposing its encyclopedism. In his opinion, the Latin language was not required for every cultivated person, only for scholars, and even not necessarily for those. It was much better to read the ancient classics in translation. He asked: *Schlägt man mit allem Latein in der Welt eine Armee? Stillt oder hindert man damit einen Aufruhr? Bekehrt oder verscheucht man damit das Laster und seinen Unglauben?* ('Will all the Latin of the world defeat an army? Will it quench or prevent an uprising? Does it reform or drive away vice and its lack of faith?' in: [41. 24]). A new *Lehrplan für alle kurpfalzbayerischen Mittelschulen* (*Curriculum For All Secondary Schools in the Palatine-Bavarian Territory*) by Joseph Wismayr (1767–1858), Studiendirektionsrat in Munich, was published in 1804. In this curriculum, Sachunterricht (social studies and science) outweighed languages, among which Greek apparently fared worst [41. 26; 50. 957]. J.H. Voß, who was offered a new philological seminar in Würzburg by the Bavarian government, rejected the new curriculum and wrote in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*: *Offenbar ist der Wismayrische Studienplan darauf angelegt, die freiere Ausbildung der menschlichen Natur, welche aus den freien Künsten und Wissenschaften der alten Klassiker hervorgeht, mit wohlwollender Miene zurückzuhalten. Seine Zöglinge, wo nicht eigene Kraft sich über die Schranken schwingt, sind noch verdorbener für die alte Humanität als die vormaligen Jesuitenschüler* ('Apparently Wismayr's curriculum intends to curb – with a benevolent smile – the liberal education of human nature that comes from the liberal arts and from studying the ancient classics. Its students, unless their own ener-

gy propels them over boundaries, are even more corrupted for the old Humanitarianism than the former Jesuit students'...,cf. [41. 25–27]).

In 1805, Friedrich Ast came from Jena, a centre of Neohumanism, to Landshut University, where he became Professor of Classical Philology, Philosophy and Aesthetics. In his opening address, *Über den Geist des Altertums und dessen Bedeutung für unser Zeitalter* (*On the Spirit of Antiquity and Its Significance for Our Time*), he revealed himself as a 'philologist with philosophical training and a romantic neohumanist' [34. 54]: 'Just as ... Antiquity is the foundation on which rests the modern period ... Classical Antiquity is the true model of our education. Educate yourself the Greek way'! *Bilde dich griechisch!* was his motto. In the addendum to his inaugural speech, Ast developed a plan for establishing the Philology Department at Landshut. Ast saw the Greeks in an aesthetically normative and quasi-religious way, but not yet from a historical perspective. The ancient world was the model for any future education; ancient culture was regarded as the only remedy that would lead to an independent national culture ([25] with bibliography; [63]). Ast stood in the older tradition of hermeneutics, yet in his writings (as in August Friedrich Wolf's) new problems and issues emerged, especially the need for a philosophical foundation of philology.

Another member of the *Jena Circle*, Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer (1766–1848), was asked by Minister Montgelas to draw up a new curriculum. In 1804 he received a position in Würzburg, and by 1808 he held the position of Studienrat with the *Geheimes Ministerium des Inneren* in Munich. In 1808 he published his first programmatic essay *Der Streit des Philanthropinismus und des Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit* (*The Dispute Between Philanthropinism and Humanism in the Educational Theory of Our Time*) (repr. in [48]). With this essay he defined the term 'humanism' while attempting to reconcile the differences between humanism and philanthropinism [11; 19]. The main idea was that Humanism cultivates the intellectual and rational aspects of a person. His essay, therefore, advocates the didactic-philological reform movement. Not only was his criticism directed against the utilitarian and eudemonistic pedagogy of the Enlightenment with its encyclopedism, but also against an idealising concept of Humanism that does not adequately take into account factual reality [50. 958–959]. *Die Ideen Niethammers sind ein Gemeingut der neuen klassisch-deutschen Geistesbewegung; die lebendigere Sprachauffassung geht auf Herder und Humboldt zurück, die begriffliche Formulierung auf Schelling und Hegel* ('Niethammer's ideas are part of the new classical German intellectual movement; Herder and Humboldt were responsible for the more vital concept of language, whereas Schelling and Hegel created the theoretical framework'), and his work marked the *Beginn der Verschulung (des Humanismus) im humanistischem Gymnasium und seiner Verwissenschaftlichung in dem großartigen Entwurf von F.A. Wolf, (Darstellung der) Altertumswissenschaft (1807)* ('the beginning of ('Humanism') as an educational concept in the humanistic Gymnasium, and its emerging scholarly dimension as found in the splendid outline of F.A. Wolf, (*Darstellung der*) *Altertumswissenschaft* (1807)', cf. [11. 322], with bibliography). According to Niethammer, no field was more suited to provide material for instruction than Antiquity, *indem unleugbar wahre Classicität in allen Arten der Darstellung des Wahren, Guten und Schönen in ihrer größten Vollendung nur bei den classischen Nationen des Alterthumes angetroffen wird* ('since' 'undeniably only the classical nations of Antiquity were able to present in any manner truth and beauty in the greatest perfection of true classicism'). In this context the specialised vocational education that was central to instruction at the Philanthropines) was relegated to secondary status. On 3 November 1808 the so-called Niethammersche Normativ (*Allgemeines Normativ der Einrichtung der öffentlichen Unterrichtsanstalten in dem Königreiche Baiern*) was published: In addition to the Progymnasium and Gymnasium it also envisioned a Realschule and a Realinstitut. In Niethammer's concept, the Lyzeum, although it offered only a fraction of the material covered at the university, was the highest-ranking educational institution, second only to the university. Bavarian Lyzeen were typical Catholic products of the Baroque era, derived from the Council of Trent, to foster the scholarly education of a new generation of priests. They were 'early or specialised (semi-) academic institutions, fulfilling both the mission of the Gymnasium along with scholarly propaedeutics and the *studium generale* of a university' [35. 642–643].

A significant outcome of Niethammer's education policies were appointments of important personalities: Hegel was appointed to the Ägydiengymnasium in Nuremberg. On 7 December 1807 Friedrich Jacobs began his activities in Munich with the address, *Vom Zwecke der gelehrten Schulen* (*Of the Purpose of The Learned Schools*): 'To educate the youth the right way means to educate them for humaneness – for humanitarianism'. The safest route to this high goal was the study of Antiquity. Jacobs took the responsibility the government had imposed on him very seriously: to promote classical literature, especially Greek. He objected to Wismayr's curriculum: *Mitleid muß es einflößen zu sehen, daß Leute, die nicht eine Seite im Plato oder einem anderen alten Philosophen verstehen, über die Geschichte der Philosophie und die größten Männer mit einer Keckheit von Hörensagen aburteilen, die sich kein Kenner erlauben würde* ('One has to feel pity when one sees people who do not understand one page in Plato or any other old philosopher pass judgement over the history of philosophy and the greatest men, based on hearsay and with a boldness no expert would dare to assume', cf. [58. 63–65]).

Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1860), a pupil of Gottfried Hermann and Ch.G. Heyne, was transferred from

Göttingen to Munich [20; 36; 40; 61]. In 1811, he was appointed to a chair at the Lyzeum and to head the Philological Institute; through a royal decree of 1812 he received a fixed fund for scholarships and a philological library: Thiersch transformed his private courses into a philological seminar. The ministry gave him permission to publish the *disputationes* of the young members of his seminar. These appeared under the title *Acta Philologorum Monacensium* and contained contributions from Jacobs and Thiersch as well. In the foreword, Thiersch claimed the only route to Classical Studies was the critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. The *Acta* ended in 1828 with the first fascicle of the fourth volume. After 1819 Joseph Kopp (1788–1842) was co-director of the seminar, and after 1823 Leonhard Spengel (1803–1880); on December 14, 1823 the Philological Institute was separated from the Lyzeum and affiliated with the Academy of Sciences. In addition to Munich, the Philological Seminar Erlangen became a training institution for teachers for the Gymnasium. After 1819 J. Ludwig Döderlein (1791–1863), and after 1842 Karl Friedrich Nägelsbach were active in Erlangen [60].

Niethammer's *Normativ* and its proponents from the north encountered vehement opposition from conservative Catholic forces and from the old Bavarian Patriotic Party: Thiersch even suffered an assassination attempt (cf. [20. 438]). Niethammer's new curriculum (1824) put even greater emphasis on the ancient languages, esp. Latin (higher standards in the curriculum). According to Wieland you learned to write well, even in German, 'from Cicero' [50. 962]. Thiersch's school regulation (1829) stipulated that in the Gymnasium other subjects should be 'subordinated in every aspect' to the ancient languages and their literature. This regulation, albeit in a more 'lenient' version of 1830, shaped the Bavarian Gymnasium throughout the 19th cent. (for statistics, see [56]). At Munich University the contingent from Jena, Schelling and Niethammer especially, defended an idealistic concept against the enlightened pragmatism of the ministerial bureaucracy. In 1826 the old Landesuniversität (Bavarian State University) was moved to Munich so that the capital would, in the words of Eduard von Schenk, advisor to Ludwig I on cultural politics, have a 'dominant influence on all of Germany' in intellectual matters. The King was especially influenced by Thiersch's programmatic essay *Über Gelehrte Schulen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayern* (*On Learned Schools With Special Respect to Bavaria*), published by Cotta between 1826 and 1831.

C. The Period of Ludwig I

Like the cultural politics of Ludwig I, Thiersch's neohumanistic programme focussed on art. Ludwig's Italian journey (1804/1805) was a formative experience that awakened his love for ancient art. Ludwig would later remember: I*ch war in Schwetzingen erzogen und keineswegs Kunstfreund, aber die scheußlichen Figuren im Hofgarten von Nymphenburg machten mich der Skulptur abgeneigt, bis ich nach Venedig kam und es mir vor Canovas Hebe wie Schuppen von den Augen fiel* ('I was brought up in Schwetzingen and not an art lover at all; the ghastly statues in the Nymphenburg Hofgarten made me dislike sculpture until I came to Venice where, standing in front of Canova's *Hebe*, the scales fell from my eyes', [29. 23]). In Rome, Ludwig drew up a plan for a collection of antiquities (→ Antiquities collections); he was influenced by the Palatine painter and poet Friedrich Müller (1749–1825), who belonged to Goethe's circle. Only a few months after his return, Ludwig started acquiring works of art. Until 1810 Müller was his first agent in Rome; other advisors of the crown prince were the sculptor Konrad Eberhardt, the painter Johann Georg von Dillis [33], who later became a gallery director in Munich, and the sculptor and painter Johann Martin von Wagner (1777–1858) of Würzburg. 'In Munich we need what they call *museo* in Rome' – these words of Ludwig signified the birth of the Glyptothek (→ Glyptothek), a collection which 'should distinguish itself by its quality', as Ludwig wrote to von Wagner (1777–1858) in 1810 [66]. Ludwig only searched for 'the classical', works 'for eternity whose value will only increase with each century'. Ludwig's project combined ideas of Winckelmann and the French Revolution, for the planned exhibition was to serve the artistic education of the people as well [66]. At the same time the crown prince wanted to alleviate a deficiency of German and Bavarian art and support sculpture. 'Glyptothek' is a neologism and refers to an exhibition space for sculptural works of art [29]. The building was intended as a symbol for the rebirth of ancient art, for a new Periclean epoch in Munich. It was 'a bit ridiculous' (*ridikül*), wrote Heinrich Heine in his *Reisebilder*, 'to call the entire city a new Athens' (*Sämtliche Schriften* III 320). The museum was supposed to prove the exemplary character of Antiquity. Nothing could help the project more than ownership of Greek originals. Almost the entire sculpture collection of the Glyptothek was purchased at Ludwig's expense during the time he was crown prince (for a detailed acquisition history, see R. Wünsche in [18]). Max I could not understand what his son liked about these *zerbrochenen schmutzigen Puppen* ('broken dirty dolls', [29. 9]). Once construction started, the strange building became known as the 'crazy house of the crown prince'. In 1811 Ludwig made it known he planned to look in Greece for 'excellent beauty'. He wrote to Carl Haller von Hallerstein (1774–1817), who had been in Greece on a Bavarian scholarship, wanting to hire him as his agent. In the spring of the same year, Haller and the English architect Charles Robert Cockerell (1788–1863) discovered the famous pediment sculptures of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina; six months later the first fragments of the frieze at Bassai were unearthed.

These discoveries were reported in the European press and made the excavators famous. But the central interest of Haller von Hallerstein and his friends (O.M.

von Stackelberg, P.O. Bröndsted, G. Koes, J. Linckh) was scholarly research. Bröndsted writes: *Wir haben uns vereint zu einer graphischen und historischen Darstellung des Besten von dem, was wir in verschiedenen Teilen von Griechenland gesehen, erfahren und gelernt haben* ('We have come together to produce a visual and historical account of the best of what we have seen, experienced and learned in the various parts of Greece', cited in K. Fräßle in: [3. 22]). Cockerell wanted to expand and improve the *Antiquities of Athens* (4 vols., 1762–1816) [3. 48–49]. Haller wanted to fight 'barbarism', e.g., that of the famous British ambassador Lord Elgin, who had the sculptures of the Parthenon removed and taken to England. Under Haller's influence Ludwig made it his ambition not only to own Greek monuments, but to protect them as well. These two principles can be found in the first *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (*Description of the Glyptothek*). Future excavation plans were put on hold by Haller's death, but not the museum project, for which Haller had left sketches in his own hand, and which made him the founding father of archaeological classicism in Germany. In 1814 a competition was held for the museum project, demanding that 'the whole and the parts [be] in the purest ancient style' (wording of the announcement of the competition in [29. 98]). Eventually, the architect Leo von Klenze (1784–1864) won the bid [32]. In Klenze's view, the mission of the museum was to teach a historical understanding of all ancient art. He wrote: *Der Grund, welcher uns als der mächtigste für die Wahl einer historischen Ordnung bestimmt, ist die Entfernung unserer Kunstideen von denen der Alten, denen die Idealcharaktere ihrer Götter als religiöser und pantheistischer Grund, der stets lebendig, vor der Seele schwebte. Da diese Aussicht uns aber entrückt, so glauben wir, daß nächst des artistischen Genusses die Verfolgung der historischen Ordnung, und der daraus entspringenden Entwicklung des Ganges der Kunst, uns lebhafter ergreifen muß, als eine unvollkommene Reihe von Idealen, welche unsere religiösen Begriffe verwerfen* ('The most important reason for us in choosing a historical order is how far removed our artistic ideas are from those of the ancients, who constantly had before their soul the ideal characters of their gods as a living religious and pantheistic foundation. Since we are removed from this world view, we think that, in addition to the artistic pleasure, the pursuit of the historical order and the evolution of art that sprang from it should touch us more vigourously than an incomplete series of ideals, which our religious notions condemn', cf. [18. 38]). The museum was opened in 1830; however, it was not until 1862 that the last figure was placed in an alcove. Artists reacted to the building with criticism: the tradition of German architecture appeared to have been betrayed. Ludwig's ambition was to have examples of all architectural styles in Munich, and to transplant 'to one spot', as von Klenze wrote to him, 'an image of pure Hellenism' [64]. The result was a 'mishmash of monuments of all periods' (F.Ch. Gau), a 'building ... completely devoid of style, without any consequence, on which immense sums of money are wasted' (Friedrich Schelling, quoted in [29. 286]). A 'stone catalogue of styles' was created, as Anton Springen put it in 1845. Inspired by Haller's sketches, Klenze built the Walhalla between 1830 and 1842 (Regenstauf on the Danube, 11 km east of Regensburg); Ludwig I had commissioned the reproduction of the → PARTHENON, the Acropolis of Athens, as a hall of fame for notable Germans. Between 1846 and 1862, the Propyläen, modelled on the Propylaia of the Acropolis of Athens, were built at the western side of the Königsplatz in Munich. However, Klenze did not intend merely to copy in Bavaria the Greek originals in their reputedly perfect beauty; instead he attempted a free variation and a transposition of the present ideal. The classicist reference to the Greek models should not be seen simply as an architectural quotation. As an expression of Bildungsarchitektur (educational architecture), its purpose was to showcase the relevance of everything that was associated with Greece.

Klenze's programme, which followed in Haller's footsteps, was articulated in the lecture *Über das Hinwegführen plastischer Kunstwerke aus dem jetzigen Griechenland und die neuesten Unternehmungen dieser Art* (*On Taking Works of Sculptural Art Out of Greece Today and on the Latest Undertakings of That Kind*), delivered on March 31,1821 at the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences (Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). All 'cultural assets, regardless of which nation they belong to', were part of 'the cultural heritage of all humankind'; the removal of ancient art from Greece, therefore, was not only permitted, it was a responsibility. Klenze planned a German excavation at Olympia, where he hoped to find 'rich treasures of sculpture', the works of Phidias and Miron. C.O. Müller and Friedrich Thiersch took up his plan with great enthusiasm and started raising money. But the end of March 1821 saw the outbreak of the Greek war of independence, in which Bavaria was to play a central role. → PHILHELLENISM is an almost unique example of how an idea was translated into political action [1; 14]. It is inconceivable without German classicism and its worship of Greece. Ludwig I turned the political idea into a reality. Through its practical and intellectual impulses, Bavaria gained a central position in the German Hellenistic movement. Friedrich Thiersch's projects, and especially his publications, supplemented by Emmerich Carl von Dahlberg's expansions and implementation efforts, were largely responsible for the pioneering character of the Bavarian initiatives, both in their practical realisation as well as in their idealistic concept. [59. 255]. From 1814 Thiersch was working with *Hetairie der Philomuse*, an organisation that provided young Greeks with scholarships to come to Germany. Also in that year he founded the *Musenverein* in Vienna, to support Greek culture and the fight for independence. In Munich he founded the *Atheneum*, a study centre for young Greeks. In 1821 he headed the

Münchner Griechenverein; in addition, he corresponded extensively with the patriot and philologist Adamantios Korais and with Johannes Capostria. Thiersch was the first German scholar to attempt a scholarly treatment of Modern Greek literature and culture; in 1831 and 1832 he promoted the election of the young Otto in Greece. This made Bavaria the starting point and the centre of philhellenism. A second wave of philhellenism rose in Bavaria after Otto was elected King of Greece. But the Greek revolution of 1843 put an end to the so-called 'bavarocracy' (*Bavarokratie*). Against this backdrop, the tradition of studying Middle and Modern Greek was established at Munich University in the early 19th cent. Among its 19th cent. luminaries was Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), pioneer of Byzantine studies and founder of the Middle and Modern Greek Seminar, who wrote the *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (1891, ²1897) and initiated the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892), the first scholarly journal of the discipline.

The classicism of Ludwig's time had literary repercussions as well [22]: the King himself wrote poetry [22; 57] and gave financial support to the main representative of the classical style, August von Platen, who was very successful in Munich. After his *Romantischer Oedipus* was published in 1829, he was celebrated as the 'German Aristophanes' in the journal *Aurora*. The work, it claimed in a lengthy review, stands 'like a sculptural work of art of the highest perfection, well-rounded and complete in all its parts. It affects our aesthetic sensitivity with a serenity as only the most beautiful ancient marbles can' – Winckelmann's interpretation of Greek sculpture is clearly echoed. The article culminates in a plea for the necessity of a 'developed form' as opposed to romantic 'error' and 'barbarism'. To fulfill this requirement, a 'thorough classical education' was required – not to be confused with 'the pedantic textbook-knowledge of narrow-minded philologists'. Without such an education 'no real salvation' could be expected for art [22. 68–69]. An epigonic classicism continued to prevail in literary output and literary theory under Max II (especially with Paul Heyse).

D. The George Circle

At the end of the 19th cent., a new understanding of Antiquity emerged, largely due to the influence of the poet Stefan George. In the ninth installment of the *Blätter für die Kunst* he celebrated the manifestation of the divine in the perfect body as 'the Hellenic miracle'; in the early 20th cent. this powerful model of archaic art along with the unusual poetry of George had a strong influence on the generation of archaeologists, historians and religious historians who were members of George's circle of friends [54]. For instance, in 1935 Horst Rüdiger saw in George's revival of Antiquity a way for a 'German renewal' [53]. George helped create a deeper understanding of pre- and post-classical art [44; 54]. The sentiment for Antiquity in George and his circle is anything but classicist: it is a new religious experience. This provided a fresh approach for archaeological research, and for Religious Studies and Classical Studies in general, i.e. the realisation that great art has a religious component. 'Art has not always been 'art'' – the opening sentence of *Vom Sinn der griechischen Standbilder* (*On The Meaning of Greek Statues,* 1980) by Ernst Buschor (1942, ²1977), one of the most remarkable personalities of 20th cent. archaeology (cf. K. Schefold in: [24. 183–203; 54. 94]), had been anticipated in George's poetry. The title of Walter F. Otto's book *Die Götter Griechenlands* (1929) already marks it as a 'Gestalt' book in the style of the George Circle: *Nicht 'die Religion der Griechen', sondern Gestalten und Mythen, Göttergeschichten, theologia im alten Sinne also, verspricht dieser Titel, dichterische Schau, von Hölderlin und von Schillers Wesen aus dem Fabelland inspiriert, nicht Historismus, nicht altphilol. Emsigkeiten oder gar Ideologiekritik* ('This title does not promise the 'religion of the Greeks', but rather characters and myths, stories about gods, *theologia* in the old sense, a poetic vision, inspired by Hölderlin and by Schiller's *Wesen aus dem Fabelland*, not historicism, not the zeal of Classical Philology or even Ideologiekritik' [11. 140–141]). It is no coincidence that the 'Bachofen renaissance' of the 1920s had its origins in Munich, or rather in the circles of the so-called Münchener Kosmiker [55], who wanted to lead a 'pagan' life, i.e. a natural and archaic life that was not controlled by the intellect. The major figure of this new paganism, this 'metaphysics of life', was Ludwig Klages. Rainer Maria Rilke and the young Thomas Mann gravitated towards the movement, and in 1926 C.H. Beck published the anthology: *Bachofen. Der Mythus von Orient und Occident*. It was edited by Manfred Schröter, with a long introduction by Alfred Baeumler, the theorist of National Socialism. Baeumler emphasised the significance of the near-eastern 'symbol' as opposed to the classicistic concept of Greek art. Baeumler and the Munich 'Kosmiker' viewed Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858), the author of *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (Symbolism and Mythology of the Ancient Peoples) (1812, ³1836), as having paved the way for this anti-classicistic view of ancient art and mythology.

E. Universities And Institutions in the 19th and 20th Centuries

At Bavarian universities historical research had always been of great importance [15; 65]: Leopold von Ranke was a teacher and friend of Max II, and a number of his pupils were appointed to chairs at Bavarian universities between 1848 and 1864. The *Historische Kommission* at the Academy of Sciences, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [27], which counted the palaeographer Ludwig Traube among its collaborators ([27]; on Traube: [6; 9]), the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, the *Osteuropa-Institut*, and the *Südost-Institut* are all Munich institutions of crucial importance for the historical disciplines. A pre-eminent champion of

Ancient History in Munich was Robert von Pöhlmann (1852–1914). As an expert in political economy he examined social conditions in the ancient world and destroyed the classicistic and neohumanist myth of an ideal ancient society [12]. In his *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus* (2 vols., 1893 and 1901), after the second edition entitled *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt* (*History of the Social Question And of Socialism in The Ancient World*), he consistently applied the economic and social categories of the 19th cent. to his subject, and was criticised for his modernist view of Antiquity. A third, expanded edition appeared in 1925 with an addendum by Friedrich Oertel [24. 316f.].

From 1918 to 1941 Walter F. Otto was Professor of Ancient History in Munich. He had a command of the major languages of the Ancient Orient and a universalist concept of the study of Antiquity. Otto played a unique role in the history of interpretations of Hellenism, which he suggested should include the entire Roman period as well. For Otto, Hellenism was a common Greek culture; with his teacher Ulrich Wilcken he shared the idea that the Hellenistic triumph over political particularism could be instructive for Germans [24. 298f.]. To this was added his hope for an 'all-conquering popular leader', a leader who would bring about the 'revolution', and who has taken concrete shape [24. 304]. Otto was also a major scholarly organizer and published the fundamental *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (started by Iwan Müller who taught in Munich and Erlangen).

After Walter Otto, Hermann Bengston (1909–1989) held the Chair for Ancient History in 1942. Bengston also revised the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* and published seminal overviews of Greek and Roman history; in the winter semester of 1943/1944 Helmut Berve relocated from Leipzig to take up an appointment in Munich. For a long time, Classical Philology in Munich was represented by Wilhelm Christ (1831–1906) [13], editor of the *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, which still belongs to the 'enduring core of standard literature in our field' [13. 28], and by Eduard Wölfflin (1831–1908), the founder of the → Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, as it had been envisioned by Friedrich Ritschl. Martin Schanz (1842–1914), a Plato scholar (*Novae commentationes platonicae*, 1871), taught in Würzburg. He was the author of the entry on the history of Latin literature in the above-mentioned *Handbuch* (1890–1914 in various editions, revised by Carl Hosius) [17]. To appreciate the significance of Greek Studies in Munich, we only need to remind ourselves that Eduard Schwartz, 'one of the most imposing figures of Classical Studies ... of all times' (R. Pfeiffer), was professor in Munich [51]. He was succeeded by Rudolf Pfeiffer, who held the chair until the autumn of 1937 [45]. When in March 1946 the heavily damaged university in Munich was reopened, the three professors, Franz Dirlmeier, Richard Harder and Rudolf Till, were removed from office [23]. Albert Rehm (1871–1949) was appointed as temporary Rector – a position he had already held in 1930, when he overcame radical right-wing student unrest [30; 62]. In his inaugural speech of 1930, *Neuhumanismus einst und jetzt, auf den Spuren von Gesner, Niethammer, Humboldt* (*Neohumanism, Now And Then, In the Footprints of Gesner, Niethammer and Humboldt*), Rehm emphasised the need for a classical education starting with the Gymnasium. Among his great achievements after the war was the salvaging of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* project: an international Thesaurus commission was set up on 7 April 1949. Since he also had credentials as an epigrapher, Rehm expressed interest in an institution for the advancement of epigraphy. His plans were put into practice when the Munich Ancient Historians Alexander Graf Schenk von Stauffenberg, Hermann Bengston and Siegfried Lauffer established the *Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik* in 1951 [10]. Since 1959 the *Kommission* has published several volumes in its two occasional series, *Vestigia* and *Staatsverträge des Altertums*, and since 1971 the journal *Chiron*; it also supervises the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland* (started by H. Gebhardt and K. Kraft).

→ Greece; → Humanist Gymnasium; → Philhellenism

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SOTERA FORNARO

Beauty see→ Body, attitudes towards;→ Proportions, theory of

Belarus see→ Belorussia

Belgium see → Netherlands and Belgium

Bellum iustum see→ War

Belorussia

A. Introduction B. Literature and Translations C. Language D. Theatre E. Law F. Ancient Studies (Philosophy and History)

A. Introduction

Belarussian culture evolved under the clear influence of Antiquity as a result of the interaction of two cultural

traditions – Byzantine (→ BYZANTIUM) and Western European. By adopting the Greek version of Christianity, Belarussian lands became part of a world-wide historical process. The influence of Classical Antiquity became even stronger after the formation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Orientation towards ancient and Western European cultural traditions became an indispensable part of Belarussian culture from the end of the 15th century onwards. A socio-political doctrine emerged (Jan Zamoysky, *De senatu Romano*, 1563; Andrei Volan, *De principe et proprius eius virtutibus*, 1608; Kazimir Lyshchinski, *De non existentia Dei*, 1686). The role of translated secular literature expanded. Among works transcribed into Old Belarussian in the 15th and 16th cents. were *Alexandria*, *History of Attila*, *History of the destruction of Troy* and *the Legend of the three Royal Soothsayers* by Johann of Hildesheim. Interest developed in novels of chivalry and in stories of wars. The 16th cent. Chronicle *Origo regis* was transcribed from Old Belarussian into Latin. In Catholic, Uniate and Jesuit schools and colleges Greek and Latin were studied alongside the 'seven liberal arts' (→ ARTES LIBERALES), Latin also being used as the everyday language. In the Orthodox schools Latin was studied alongside Church Slavonic and Greek. This made it possible for young Belarussian men to study at Latin-speaking universities in Western Europe. The development of printing and the construction of libraries were of particular advantage when it came to education in the Latin language.

B. LITERATURE AND TRANSLATIONS

The influence of ancient poetry and poetics is reflected in the Latin-language literature of Belarus and in the Bellum Prutenum (1515) by Jan Vislitsky (1480–1520), as well as in N. Gusovskiy's lyric-epic poem (*c.* 1480 – after 1533) *Carmen de statura feritate ac venatione bisontis* (1523). The first Belarussian printer and educator F. Skaryna (1490 – no later than 1551) was a true connoisseur of classical culture. In his Old Belarussian translation of the Bible he referred to the legacy of the ancients. Exceptional service to the spread of Latin education was rendered by Simeon Polotsky (1629–1680), whose work contains many examples from ancient history, literature and mythology. Ancient subjects, which were used in two anonymous poems of the 19th cent., represent the start of a new era in Belarussian literature (*Eneida navyvorod*, *Taras na Parnase*). The tradition of using ancient models and subjects was continued by Belarussian writers and poets, e.g. M. Bagdanovich (1891–1917), Janka Kupala (1882–1942), I. Shamiakin (1921), V. Karatkevich (1930–1984) and others. Artistic translation from Classical Languages into Belarussian began with M. Bagdanovich, who translated Virgil and Ovid. Julian Dreyzin (1879–1942) was another who worked on the translation of ancient writers, including *Antigone* by Sophocles (Minsk, 1926) and the 6th book of the *Iliad*. Fragments of translations of Homer by B. Tarashkevich have been preserved. A translation by L. Barshchevsky of the work *Prometheus in Chains*, ascribed to Aeschylus, appeared in 1993. Neo-Latin literature (N. Gusovsky, *Song of Wisent*) was translated by J. Semeshon (Minsk 1980) and V. I. Schaton (Minsk 1994). The *Prussian War* by Jan Vislitsky was translated in 1997 by Shanna Nekrashevich.

C. LANGUAGE

At the time of the → RENAISSANCE and even earlier, processes were taking place in the Old Belarussian language which would result in linguistic mixing in both the everyday and literary language. Legal, medical, diplomatic and bureaucratic specialist terms evolved. The effect of the use of Latin in a Belarussian environment was the step by step loss of internationally-held standards for Latin, leading to the development of a Belarussian variant. The influence of Latin and Greek is also evident in foreign and loanwords.

D. THEATRE

The culture of Classical Antiquity in Belarus in the 18th cent. was popularized and proliferated in the theatre. The repertoire included both works by ancient authors and plays based on ancient subjects. Some were performed in Old Belarussian and others in Latin. The plays were performed in teaching institutions. The theological school of Schuchin was famous for these, as was the Jesuit College in Novogrudok, where the tragedy *Artaxerxes* and the comedy *Jupiter* were performed. In modern Belarussian theatres, plays by ancient authors such as *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes still run successfully, as do works by modern authors based on ancient subjects, such as *Spartacus* by A. J. Chachaturian, *Penelope* by A. Shurbin, *The Fox and the Grapes* by G. Figeyred and others.

E. LAW

The legal system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania evolved under the influence of → ROMAN LAW. This is attested by a statute dating from 1588, one section of which (family and marriage relationships) is based on the principles of Roman law. This statute was translated into Latin in 1619. The tradition was not new; a statute of 1529 had been translated into Latin in 1530, another one dating from 1566 was translated in the same year.

F. ANCIENT STUDIES (PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY)

A remarkable researcher of ancient Greek philosophy was the Belarussian O. A. Makovelsky (1884–1969). His main works are *The Morality of Epictetus* (Kazan 1912) and 'Pre-Socratics' (Kazan 1914–1919). Original works treating ancient Greek philosophy were written by B. B. Viz-Morgules (*Democritus*, Moscow 1979; *Diogor Melosskiy*, Grodno 1996). Interest in the study of ancient history is apparent in works by authors of the 18th and 19th cents. (M. S. Kutorga, 1809–1886:

History of the Republic of Athens, St. Petersburg 1848; *The Persian Wars*, St. Petersburg 1858; *Athenian Politics*, 1896; D. N. Azarevich, 1848–1912: *Patricians and Plebeians in Rome*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1875). Scholars in the 20th cent. continued to work on ancient history. The following professors all founded schools of ancient history in White Russia: F. M. Nechay (1905–1990; Monographs: *Rome and the Italic Peoples*, Minsk 1963; *The Founding of the Roman State*, Minsk 1972) and G. M. Livshitz (1909–1986; Monographs: *Class War in Judaea and the Revolt against Rome, Origin of Christianity in the Region of the Dead Sea*, Minsk 1976). The tradition of the Belarussian school of ancient history was continued by: M. S. Korzun (*Sociopolitical Strife in Athens between 444–425 BC*, Minsk 1975); K. A. Revyako (*The Punic Wars*, Minsk 1988). A chair of Classical Philology (Professor, G. Shevchenko) was established at the Belarussian State University in Minsk in 1995.

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Galina Ivanovna Schevtschenko

Belvedere Apollo

A. Significance B. Renaissance C. Baroque D. Classicism E. Modern era

A. Significance

The Belvedere Apollo (BA) (223 cm, marble, *c.* AD 130–140, Rome, MV) held the greatest fascination for artists and scholars until well into the 19th cent. and has been replicated in numerous works of world art. The Roman copy was probably made after a bronze sculpture by Leochares (*c.* 320/330 BC), which Pausanias describes in the temple of Apollo Patroos in Athens [9. 150]. It has never been possible to verify details about the time and place of the discovery (near Anzio or near Grottaferrata) [4. 44–47]. The two earliest drawings of the BA (Fig.1) are contained in the Codex Escurialensis (library of the Escorial, Madrid), a sketch book dated at 1491 from the studio of Domenico Ghirlandaio [6. 130; 154]. This documents both its state of preservation at the time and its original erection in the garden of S. Pietro in Vincoli (on fol. 53) or else near the titular church of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who was the owner of the statue.

Soon after the start of his pontificate as Julius II (1503–13), he transferred his collection of antiquities to the Belvedere in the Vatican, which Bramante had redesigned into a statue gallery. This is first attested by Albertini in his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (1509/1510) [2. 27]. In situ – erected in a niche flanking the → Laocoon group – the BA acquired a central role in High Renaissance enthusiasm for antiquities. Due to information from the *Liber Pontificalis* (6th cent.) and Andrea Fulvio's poem *Antiquaria Urbis* (1513) one was led to believe that St. Peter's Basilica had been erected near a temple of Apollo. Raphael's fresco of Parnassus in the *Stanza della Segnatura* (1508, Rome, MV) therefore symbolizes the Belvedere as Apollo's hill of muses of [7. 111; 113]. Also associated with the BA is the metaphor of the return of the Golden Age (*Aetas aurea*), used by Julius II to promulgate a legitimization of his pontificate based on historical mythology [2. 27, 28].

B. Renaissance

Graphic sketches of the BA were already so widespread by 1500 that Dürer was able to base his early studies of proportion on them [13]. The first large sculptural version in Germany, the Apollo Fountain by Peter Flötner, 1531/32 in Nuremberg, came about via this route (Jacopo de' Barbari). In the subsequent period Renaissance graphics tended to reproduce the still mutilated statue as though physically complete, as in the case of Baccio Bandinelli, Marc Anton Raimondi and Agostino Veneziano. The measure of the success of the restoration by Michelangelo's pupil Montorsoli in 1532/33 – he completed the right lower arm and the left hand with the piece of bow (removed again in 1923) – is highlighted by Francesco d'Ollanda and Marten van Heemskerck, et al, in their sketch books [17].

The earliest bronze reduction, closely orientated to the model and partially gilded, by Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi (called Antico) emerged as early as 1497/98 by commission of Cardinal Lodovico Gonzaga (Frankfurt, LH; Fig.2). The silver inlays of the eyes and the perfection of the treatment of the surface are indications of Antico's training as a goldsmith. There was lively production of small bronzes after the BA until well into the 19th cent. Encyclopaedic terms for antiquities were used to label statuettes of this kind in private collections [2. 323–328].

Francis I had more ambitious plans. In order to found a virtual second Rome in Fontainebleau, in 1540 he commissioned Primaticcio to cast the Vatican sculptures. Copies of the BA still acted as courtly displays during the periods of the Baroque and Classicism or were indispensable components of the art academies: Important casts found their way, for instance, in 1549 for Maria of Hungary, to Binche Castle in the Netherlands, in 1650/51 via Velazquez for Philip IV, to Madrid and, *c.* 1760 through the agency of R. Adam, into the vestibule of Syon House in Middlesex ([9. 4, 32, 87–89]; cf. also the cast in the Round Room at Wörlitz).

The first independent monumental sculpture after the ancient model is Baccio Bandinelli's *Orfeo che placa*

Fig. 1: Drawing of the Belvedere Apollo in the Codex Escurialensis, studio of Domenico Ghirlandaio, 1491

Fig. 2: Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, bronze reduction of the Belvedere Apollo, 1497/98

Fig. 3: Bertel Thorvaldsen, Jason with the Golden Fleece, 1803/1828. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum Library *Photographer: Ole Woldbye*

Fig. 4: Jacopo Sansovino, bronze figure of Apollo, 1541–1546. Logetta, Piazza San Marco, Venice

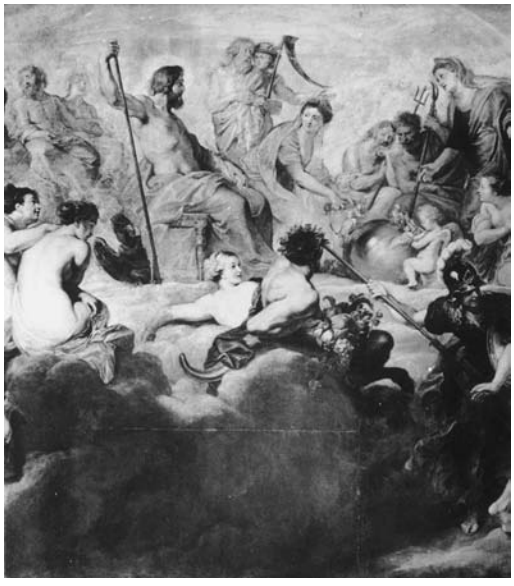

Fig. 5: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Council of the Gods* (detail), 1622–1625. From the Medici Cylce. *With Permission of Musée du Louvre, Paris*

Fig. 6: Giorgio de Chirico, *Love Song*, 1914. *Beeldrecht Amsterdam 2006. Digital Image © (2005) The Museum of Modern Art, NY/Scala, Florence*

Cerbero col suo canto (1516/17) in the inner courtyard of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence – a humanist-inspired work commissioned by the Medici pope Leo X. [11]. The BA was reinterpreted for the public domain by Jacopo Sansovino (Fig.4). His classically elegant bronze figure at the Logetta on St. Mark's Square in Venice (1541–1546) is endebted to a Raphaelesque, yet androgynous ideal of beauty [3. 76].

C. Baroque

The ability of emerging Baroque art to convert the BA in ways that were both naturalistically dynamic and allegorical is shown by Gian Lorenzo Bernini's masterpiece *Apollo e Dafne* (Rome, Villa Borghese) for Cardinal Scipio Borghese (1623/25) [10. 59]. At the same time Rubens was creating his Medici cycle. A BA prevailing over vice is illustrated in the painting *The Power of the Queen* (Paris, LV) for the political and moral glorification of Maria de' Medici (Fig.5). Rubens' concern here was to 'bring alive' the marble model [8].

Engravings of the BA in the drawing textbooks of the *Royal Academy of Art* in France served similar purposes [16]. Charles Le Brun, for instance, in his painting *Le Roi arme sur terre et sur mer* (Galerie des Glaces, 1678–86) in Versailles used the characteristic body motif for the imperious gesture of Louis XIV. Francois Girardon's statue group of *Apollon servit par les Nymphes* (1666–1673) also assimilated the BA, to deify the *Roi Soleil* and to stage a 'sun project' in the parklands of Versailles [5. 200]. The BA was also able to lend respectable stature to clothed state and official portraits (cf. H. Rigaud, Louis XIII, 1701, Paris, LV; J. Reynolds, Commodore Keppel, 1752, London, National Maritime Museum).

D. Classicism

Winckelmann's emphatic description of the BA as the highest 'ideal among all works' in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of Ancient Art, Dresden 1764) established classical taste [1. 309, 310]. His hymnic poetic phrasing characterizes the classical concept of physical and spiritual perfection. His words made a lasting impression on both Goethe (Italian Journey, 9.11.1786) and Schiller, who had seen a cast of the BA in the antiquities gallery in Mannheim [15]. An expression of this attitude is *Perseus* in the manner of the BA painted by Winckelmann's friend, A. R. Mengs (St. Petersburg, Hermitage).

The best example of the orientation of the epoch towards late Classical or Hellenistic sculptures is the work of Canova. His *Perseus* (1797–1801, Rome, MV), in its pose alone and in the movement motif, returns to the BA, though differs from it both in iconography and in its sensually soft modelling. The sculpture was bought in 1801 by the papal authorities to replace the BA taken by Napoleon to the Museé Central des Arts in Paris as a victory trophy (1797–1815). The sculpture of *Jason* by Bertel Thorvaldsen (Fig.3, 1803 in plaster, until 1828 in marble, Copenhagen, TM), produced in competition with Canova, replicated the ancient statue again in a purely formal respect. The BA had thus become related to modern sculpture, which in the eyes of an educated public laid claim to the same artistic rank. After the return of the BA to the Vatican (1816) interest shifted to an archaeological dispute [12. 187].

E. Modern era

The last important position in the history of its reception is held by Giorgio de Chirico. The head of the BA appears in his *Love Song* (1914, New York, Museum of Modern Art) contrasted with symbols of an alien world (Fig.6). The myth of Apollo, which for de Chirico has identificatory significance, clashes in his *Pittura Metafisica* with the disparate reality of modern man [14. 50].

→ Apollo; → Leochares; → Parnassus; → Pausanias
→ Antiquities collections

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FRIEDHELM SCHARF

Fig. 1: The Altes Museum
at the Lustgarten (*c.* 1900).
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 2: The Altes Pergamon Museum
(*c.* 1905)
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 3: Pergamon Museum,
ancient sculpture collection,
room number three (*c.* 1965)
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Berlin

I. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Collection of Antiquities
II. Vorderasiatisches Museum
III. Ägyptisches Museum

I. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Collection of Antiquities

A. Early History B. The Collections of Antiquities after 1830 C. The Collection of Antiquities after 1901 D. The Collections of Antiquities since World War Two

A. Early History

The origin of the Berlin Collection of Antiquities goes back to the 16th cent. It was probably the elector Joachim II of Brandenburg who laid the foundations of the holdings of the Curiosity Cabinet in the Schloss in Berlin, during his reign (1535–1571) and also had antiquities purchased. This first stock was almost completely lost during the Thirty Years' War, but was replaced after 1640 by new acquisitions (inventories of ancient coins, 1649, and sculptures, 1672). Building an independent section for antiquities and medals, separate from the art and natural history rooms, was set in motion in 1698 by the purchase of the Bellori Collection. It comprised more than 200 antiquities and was made public by Lorenz Beger, the head of the Curiosity Cabinet. According to Beger the electoral, from 1701 royal, holdings were also made accessible to an interested public.

The stock of antiquities in the Berlin Schloss suffered serious setbacks again under the reign of the 'Soldier King' Friedrich Wilhelm I (1710–1740). Coins of precious metals were melted down; the most important sculptures were given away to other rulers, mainly to August the Strong (→ Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen). The situation changed fundamentally under Friedrich II (reigned 1740–1786). With the intention to endow the park and the buildings of Potsdam-Sanssouci, but first Schloss Charlottenburg near Berlin, the king obtained numerous works of art, with ancient sculptures playing a leading role. The most comprehensive collection, which he purchased soon after the beginning of his reign, was that of Cardinal Polignac. In addition to other collections financed by royal moneys and individual works such as the Praying Boy (Fig. 5), the collection of his sister Wilhelmine of Bayreuth came to Sanssouci as an inheritance. The exhibition of antiquities of the time, today extant only in a few parts or restored, within the Palace buildings at Potsdam-Sanssouci demonstrates that Friedrich II on the one hand strove to compete with other residences, primarily with Dresden, and to that end adapted current representational models of Absolutism; on the other hand he endeavoured to present an ideal world derived from the French Enlightenment. This was realised – a few years before Winckelmann's writings – in the idealized depiction of a view of Greece, which took shape in the inner rooms of the pleasure palace of Sanssouci as a social utopia turned private. In the antiquities set up in the park and after the Seven Years War in the Neue Palais, however, the customary absolutist reference frame of Imperial Rome remained relevant (Fig. 9). Expectations of civic enlightenment were met by the opening of the galleries to an interested public. For visitors there were catalogues of the works of art in list form, compiled by the gallery inspector Matthias Oesterreich. Furthermore, in accord with contemporary demands for a museum, in 1770 an original ancient temple was constructed, which made reference equally to English garden buildings and various conceptions of museums, especially those of Dresden.

In the post-Friedrich era the Prussian royal acquisition of antiquities declined noticeably. A significant new phase of acquisition began in the 19th cent. with the crown prince, later the king Friedrich Wilhelm IV. But these objects have remained almost without importance to the history of the Berlin Museums, as, in contrast to the majority of objects collected in the 18th cent., they were not transferred to the capital, but with few exceptions were integrated into and remained in the classicistic-romantic ambience of Friedrich Wilhelm IV's buildings in Potsdam-Sanssouci until today (especially Schloss Charlottenhof and the Roman baths).

B. The Collections of Antiquities after 1830

Attempts to institute an art museum in Berlin go back to the 18th cent. In 1810 Friedrich Wilhelm III decided to make available the most distinguished parts of the royal possessions by contributing them to a public collection. However, one had to wait for the return of the holdings which were taken to Paris in 1806, before the plans could assume concrete form. In 1822 Karl Friedrich Schinkel was given a free hand in siting and constructing an adequate building for them. The Museum am Lustgarten was dedicated (Fig. 1), and Eduard Gerhard received a position there in 1833 (from 1855 Director of Ancient Sculptures). Programmatically built opposite the Berlin Schloss on the Spree Island with a wide entrance hall opening on to the square in front, the main floor was given over to ancient as well as more modern sculptures. In the central rotunda statues of gods were placed, which had previously been located in Potsdam-Sanssouci. The collections of antiquities also included the Antiquarium on the lower level: a collection of minor art which had been systematically extended since the 1830s, primarily by the purchase of Greek vases, in 1885 already numbering 4221 according to Adolf Furtwängler's *Beschreibung*. Moreover, numerous bronzes were added, primarily from the excavations at → Olympia, and the *Hildesheimer Silberfund*, which was transferred by royal decree in 1869.

The Museum am Lustgarten, however, proved from the beginning to be too small. Therefore, in 1855 the Neues Museum, designed by Friedrich August Stüler,

Fig. 4: Pergamon Museum, statue of an enthroned goddess.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

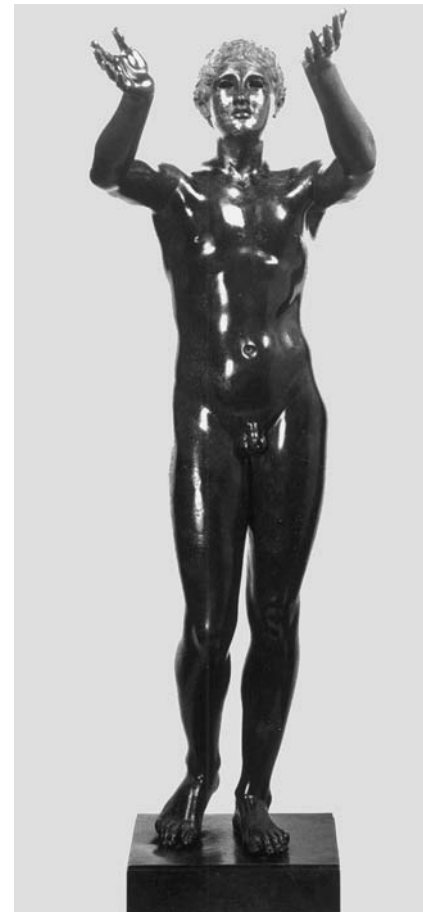

Fig. 5: The Altes Museum, statue of the Praying Boy.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 6: Pergamon Museum,
small frieze from the Pergamum Altar,
Hercules discovering Telephus.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

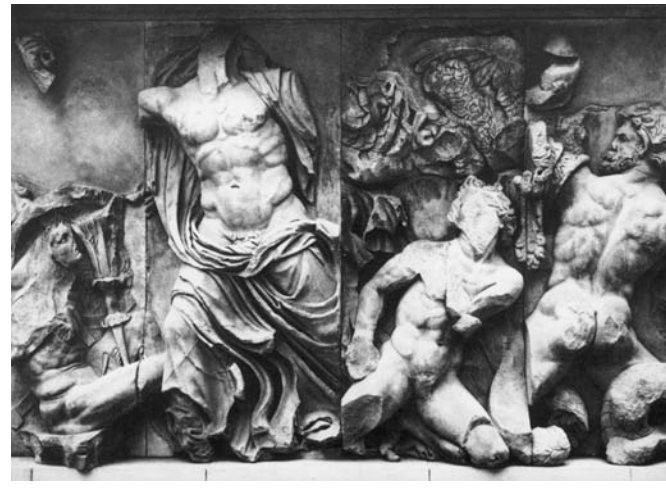

Fig. 7: Pergamon Museum, Pergamum Altar, large east frieze, Zeus panel.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

was built at the rear of the Schinkel building, which has subsequently become known as the Alte Museum. The plaster casts, the vases (Fig. 11) and the painted mummy portraits of Fayyum were gradually moved here. In 1911, when Theodor Wiegand took over the directorship of the Department of Antiquities in the Berlin Museums, the plaster casts were transferred to the ownership of the University and set up there in 1921.

C. The Collection of Antiquities after 1901

The history of the antiquities collections in Berlin entered a new phase after the → Pergamum Altar was discovered in 1873. Together with the collection of sculptures, extended by finds from excavations conducted by the Museum, the frieze panels of the Pergamum Altar (Figs. 6 and 7), which had been brought to Berlin, prompted the planning of a new museum on the 'Museum Island'. The only short-lived first Pergamonmuseum (Fig. 2), built by Fritz Wolff 1897–1899 in late-classicist style, was opened in 1901. The idea of replicating the front of the Pergamum Altar inside the building more or less completely was accomplished only during the construction process. However, the Museum did not receive the support of Kaiser Wilhelm II on account of its less than representational appearance. In fact its planning concept was too small and there were faults in its foundations, so that already in 1908 it was pulled down. The imperial demand to set off the Pergamum Altar in its full height was met in 1907 by the architect Alfred Messel with plans for a new building, which was realised under the direction of Ludwig Hoffmann and dedicated in 1930 at the centennial celebrations of the Berlin Museums. The graecising neoclassical three-wing structure was, however, externally still not complete in all parts. The main entrance, in which a glass hall supports an Attic-style structure instead of the intended pediment, was finished only in 1980.

The opening in the year 1930 was preceded by lively controversy in the press about the costs, in which the discussion was about not only the spending on the building itself, but also the money raised for the purchase of art works. In the case of the acquisitions owed to Theodor Wiegand, for example, there were important archaic sculptures essentially enriching the holdings, such as the *Enthroned Goddess* (Fig. 4) and the *Kore with Pomegranate*, which could be secured for Berlin in 1916 and 1925 respectively. The sculptures were still exhibited in the Alte Museum together with the Antiquarium (terracottas, metal works, gems and glassware) until the outbreak of the Second World War.

The speciality of the (new) Pergamonmuseum was its orientation towards ancient architecture. Building monuments were entirely or partially reconstructed in skylit rooms. In addition to the front of the Pergamum Altar, it was mainly the Market Gate of Miletus (2nd cent. AD, Fig. 8) that fulfilled the requirement to illustrate the proportions and dimensions of ancient architecture. No less impressive is the reconstruction of the Babylonian Ishtar Gate (6th cent. BC) in the Middle Eastern Department (from 1953 the Vorderasiatische Museum) of the Museum.

D. The Collections of Antiquities since World War Two

During the War the Pergamonmuseum stayed closed. The movable antiquities from all parts of the collection (Alte Museum, Neue Museum, Pergamonmuseum) were evacuated and the fixed installations of the Pergamonmuseum were protected as far as possible. The latter measures, however, proved to be inadequate in the face of British and American bombing raids, so that in 1945 the Market Gate of Miletus (Fig. 8) was seriously damaged. A number of objects, including almost the whole collection of glassware, fell victim to a fire in a Berlin bunker.

The evacuation caused a division of the objects in post-War history. Those that had been moved to western Germany, about half of the Antiquarium including the majority of the vases (Fig. 10) and the *Hildesheimer Silberfund*, were concentrated by the British and American occupation forces, initially in Wiesbaden and Celle, then in 1957/1958 transferred to West Berlin. In 1960 they were given a place there in a garrison built in 1851–1859 by Friedrich August Stüler in front of Schloss Charlottenburg. Set up in 1961 as a Department of Antiquities under the administration of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, for about three decades the later Museum of Antiquities was a counterpart to the Egyptian Department or the Ägyptisches Museum, which was accommodated in a matching building by Stüler opposite the first. The old stock of the Museum of Antiquities was gradually increased by more than 600 new acquisitions and gifts. The initially very plain furnishings of the cabinet-style rooms, modelled on the taste of the 1950s and 1960s, were made more efficient in 1974 with a striking system of showcases and a mixture of artificial and natural light. The visitors especially favoured the treasure room in the basement. The need for space during the last years of the Museum of Antiquities was alleviated by the annexation of rooms in a neighbouring building.

The more extensive stock which in 1945 remained on East German territory was initially moved to the Soviet Union (the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg and the Pushkin Museum in Moscow), and in 1958 for the most part returned to East Berlin, where it was immediately set up in the Pergamonmuseum, preceded by intensive efforts to refurbish the war-damaged architectural rooms. The building, which was made part of the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin by the government of the → GDR in 1951, was partially reopened in 1954. Until 1965 the refurbishment of further rooms followed. The combination of all genres within one building followed a new concept: whereas Wiegand's arrangement was preserved in the architectural rooms, Carl Blümel, who had been actively responsible for the Pergamonmuseum

Fig. 8: Pergamon Museum, the 'Market Gate of Miletus'

before the war and as its Director since 1947, saw to it that in the sections of the north wing, dedicated to the history of sculpture, the strict lining up of exhibits was abandoned, in favour of forming thematic and chronological ensembles (Fig. 3). The principle of loosening up and concentrating on focuses of content, became even more apparent with the reorganisation of some of the rooms in 1982/1983. While small works of art had also been integrated into the sequence of the sculpture rooms by 1959 and more so in 1982/1983, there was still a predominant classification by genres, with architecture and large sculpture occupying the main floor and minor arts and Roman portraits (Fig. 9), in contrast, concentrated on the upper floor.

The political changes of 1989/1990 led to various considerations of how to consolidate in space and organisation the holdings of the State Museums, divided between the two halves of the city. With regard to the stock of antiquities the decision was soon made to 'reunite' all the works on Museum Island. The Museum of Antiquities in Charlottenburg (West Berlin) was dissolved and from 1995 the building was used for other museum purposes. The present plan of the Museum is of a distinctively restorative character, in that it aimed at directly connecting to the pre-War situation: efforts were made to divide the holdings in the medium term among the Alte Museum, the Neue Museum and the Pergamonmuseum. The tendency to show respect to the old conception can be traced back to the history of the GDR, as the rotunda of the Alte Museum, which was reconstructed for the 150th anniversary of the Berlin Museums the 1980, had already been completed with ancient statues in imitation of its original following its original design. Since 1998 the main floor of the Alte Museum has housed, until the completion of the renovation, a temporary exhibition of objects of minor arts from Charlottenburg (Fig. 11), augmented by works from the Pergamonmuseum, among which there are also some large-format sculptures. The centre of this presentation is the *Praying Boy* (Fig. 5). The largely chronologically-ordered objects, can be viewed on a walk through the museum with a comprehensive supply of didactic material available.

→ Antiquities collections; → Greece

1 Antikenmuseum. Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Kunst der Welt in den Berliner Museen), 1980 2 Antikenmuseum. Berlin. Die ausgestellten Werke, 1988 3 Die Antikensammlung. Altes Museum, Pergamonmuseum. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, ²1988 4 W. Arenhövel (ed.), Berlin und die Antike. Katalog und Aufsätze, 1979 5 Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen. Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin 1891 6 C. Blümel, Die archaischen griechischen Skulpturen, 1964 7 Id., Die klassischen griechischen Skulpturen, 1966 8 A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium, 2 vols, Berlin 1885 9 U. Gehrig et al., Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. Führer durch die Antikenabteilung, 1968 10 G. Heres, M. Kunze, Antikensammlung I. Griechische und römische Plastik (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR, Führer durch die

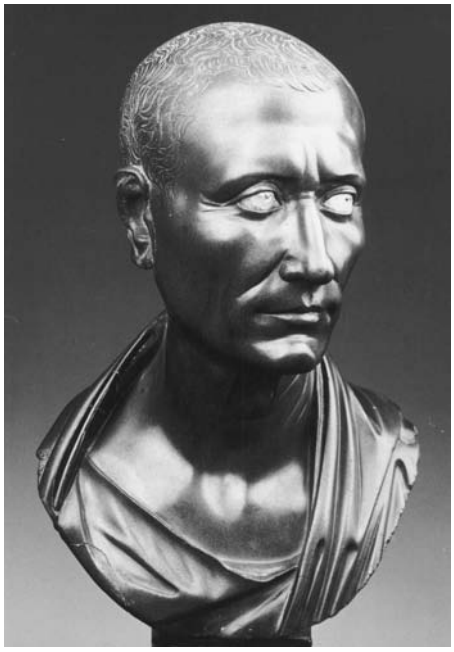

Fig. 9: The Altes Museum, bust known as 'Caesar'.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 10: The Altes Museum, calyx krater by Euphronius.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 11: Display of ancient vases in the Neues Museum (currently housed in the Altes Museum).

Ausstellungen), 1984 11 H. Heres et al., Griechische und etruskische Kleinkunst. Römische Porträts (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR, Führer durch die Ausstellungen des Pergamonmuseums, Antikensammlung III), 1985 12 V. Kästner, Pergamonmuseum. Griechische und römische Architektur, 1992 13 H. Kauffmann, Zweckbau und Monument. Schinkels Museum am Berliner Lustgarten, in: Eine Festgabe für Ernst Hellmut Vitts, 1963, 135–166 14 D. Kreikenbom, Die Aufstellung antiker Skulpturen in Potsdam-Sanssouci unter Friedrich II., in: Wilhelmine und Friedrich II. und die Antiken, in: Schriften der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft 15, 1998, 43–99 15 M. Kunze, V. Kästner, Der Altar von Pergamon. Hellenistiche und römische Architektur (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR, Führer durch die Ausstellungen des Pergamonmuseums, Antikensammlung II) 16 E. Rohde, Griechische und römische Kunst in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1968 17 A. Rumpf, Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen, 1928 18 C. Theuerkauff, Zur Geschichte der Brandenburgisch-Preußischen Kunstkammer bis gegen 1800, in: Die Brandenburgisch-Preußische Kunstkammer. Eine Auswahl aus den alten Beständen, 1981 19 H. Wrede (ed.), Dem Archäologen Eduard Gerhard 1795–1867 zu seinem 200. Geburtstag (Winckelmann-Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2), 1997.

DETLEV KREIKENBOM

II. Vorderasiatisches Museum

A. Introduction B. Early History C. History D. The Stock of the Collection E. Concept of the Exhibition

A. Introduction

The Vorderasiatisches Museum (VAM – Near Eastern Museum) known until 1953 as the Vorderasiatische Abteilung (Near Eastern Section), was founded in 1899 as part of the Royal Museums of Berlin. It is one of the great archaeological museum collections of old Oriental cultures and in Germany is the only one of its kind. Today the VAM is located in the south wing of the Pergamonmuseum, where, together with the reconstructions of the Ishtar Gate and the Procession Road of Babylon (see Fig. 3), it is one of the main attractions.

B. Early History

The development of the Berlin collection of antiquities of the Orient was closely connected with growing German interest in ancient Oriental cultures. Until 1885 the ancient Orientalia were preserved distributed among the Antiquarium, the Collection of Antiquities and the cast collection of the Berlin Museums. Whereas only some stamp seals were moved from the Royal Curiosity Cabinet to the Alte Museum, opened in 1830, the Berlin collections also profited from the large British and French excavations (1842) in Mesopotamia from the beginning. Cylinder and stamp seals were then acquired in well-directed purchases by the Antiquarium. Above all, however, in 1855 and 1858 the acquisition for the Collection of Antiquities of a series of Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud and Nineveh was achieved and they were put on view together in the Assyrian Room of

the Alte Museum in 1860. The cast collection also ordered plaster casts of ancient Oriental finds from London and Paris. After the end of the first wave of excavations (*c.* 1855) interest in ancient Orientalia initially declined even in Berlin. This was changed by the founding of the Reich in 1871, as the Berlin Museums now competed with the collections of the other capitals of Europe. The ancient Oriental collection also profited from this, especially since Assyriology now received general recognition as a scholarly discipline in Germany with the establishment of the first chair at the University of Berlin in the year 1875. In 1885 this initially led to the consolidation of the ancient Orientalia in the Ägyptische Abteilung (Egyptian Section) of the Neue Museum, where in 1889 the first comprehensive exhibition of Near Eastern antiquities was opened. The section director Adolf Erman (1854–1937) endeavoured, together with the general director Richard Schöne (1840–1922), to increase the holdings of the collection. To this end he initiated the first German expedition to Mesopotamia in 1886/1887, which was financed by the cotton dealer Louis Simon. However, this undertaking did not lead to the originally planned excavation in Mesopotamia. Instead, the *Deutsche Orient-Comité*, a private promotional cooperative founded in collaboration with Erman in 1888, organised its first dig in Sendshirli in northern Syria (see Fig. 1). It was the aim of the *Orient-Comité* to sell the finds which reached Germany to the Museums to cover the costs of the excavation. However, this financial concept failed, since the Museums were able to pay off the high costs only in installments and with difficulty, so that the *Orient-Comité* were unable to operate after the first three campaigns. In addition to the expeditions Erman managed to make some spectacular purchases, e.g. a considerable part of the tablets from Amarna and a number of Ur-Artaean and southern Arabian objects. The plan for an excavation in Mesopotamia to augment the collection could only be realised after Germany's entry into 'World Politics' (1897) and its growing economic and political influence in the Ottoman Empire. In 1897/1898 the Museums dispatched a new expedition to identify promising excavation sites. Shortly afterwards, in January 1898, the → Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG) was founded in collaboration with Erman and Schöne as representatives of the Museums and through the commitment of James Simon (1851–1932). As the first joint project of the Museums and the DOG excavations in → Babylon were opened in March 1899.

C. History

Parallel with preparations for excavations, efforts were made to found an independent Vorderasiatische Abteilung (VA) of the Berlin Museums. This finally became possible with the appointment of Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) as professor of Assyriology at the University of Berlin in the spring of 1899, since the post was combined with that of director of the new

Fig. 1: Relief of Barrakib with scribe, from Sendshirli.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 2: Bird of Prey, from Tall Halaf.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 3: Reconstructions of the Ishtar Gate and Processional Way of Babylon.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

department. This joining of offices was to guarantee close collaboration between academics and museum. At first the collection was moved out of the large exhibition rooms in the Neues Museum to a rebuilt warehouse on Museum Island. The confined spaces were not open to the public. Instead, a large part of the Assyriological research and teaching took place there. The first years of the VA, until the First World War, were shaped by the targeted development of a collection through large-scale digs. To this end the DOG and the Berlin Museums in cooperation organised excavations in Babylon (1899–1917), Assur (1903–1914), Fara and Abu Hatab (1902/1903), Kar Tukulti-Ninurta (1913/1914), Uruk (1912/1913), Hatra as well as in Palestine. A great part of these projects was financed not by the DOG members' dues, but by imperial subsidies and by the Prussian state. The German Reich's good relations with the Ottoman Empire enabled it to secure not only the appropriate excavation permits but also, and primarily, the sharing of finds. Helpful here was the 'sharing agreement' concluded in 1899 between the Berlin Museums and the Ottoman Empire, which stated that the Museums were entitled to half of all the finds from their excavations. However, the latter was properly applied only to the division of the Assur finds in 1914. In addition to the DOG excavations, in this period finds also arrived in the Berlin VA from a another campaign by the *Orient-Comité* in Sendshirli, from the Hittite Boghazköy and from the excavations at Tall Halaf (see Fig. 2). Although a great part of the finds from Assur and Babylon, because of the outbreak of the First World War, did not arrive in Berlin until 1926/1927, a plan had been in existence since 1907 for a large VAM in the south wing of the building, today known as the Pergamonmuseum. Here, from the beginning, the reconstructions of the Ishtar Gate and the Procession Road of Babylon, which were composed of thousands of reliefed brick fragments (Fig. 4), played a central role. Because preparations for construction were beginning, the exhibition sheds had to be emptied, with the result that the VA was accommodated in the basement of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (now the Bode Museum) from 1911 until the final allocation of rooms in the new museum building in 1927. The economically and politically altered situation during the Weimar Republic permitted excavation projects only to a rather limited extent. At this point the excavation of Uruk should be emphasised. Its first campaign in 1912/1913 was followed from 1928 by further campaigns, financed by the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft*. The most important task of the Museum's department, from 1918 under its first principal director Otto Weber (1877–1928), was the assessment of the results and finds of the excavations in the period up to the Second World War.

This work took place in close cooperation with the DOG and was also supported by the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft*. Particularly prominent were the preparations for the great exhibition of the VA

Fig. 4: Brick fragments found in Babylon, spread out on long tables in preparation for the reconstructions of the Ishtar Gate and Processional Way.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 5: Museum view of the reconstructed stone cone mosaic temple façade from Uruk.
Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz

in the Pergamonmuseum, the arrangement of which was taken over, after the death of Otto Weber in 1928, by Walter Andrae (1875–1956), the former excavator of Assur. The central axis, with the Ishtar Gate and the Procession Road, could be opened in 1930. The other rooms were not finished until 1936, but had to be closed again in 1939 because of the outbreak of the War. Owing to Andrae's opposition to the planned evacuation, the holdings remained almost completely together until 1945. Building damage and theft due to the War threatened the collection in the first post-War years. Furthermore, in 1946 valuable objects were carried off by the Soviet occupation forces. In the following years repair and restoration work had priority, from 1951 led by Gerhard Rudolf Meyer (1908–1977). In May 1953 all 14 rooms of the collection, now renamed the VAM, were finally reopened. In 1958 the objects brought back from the Soviet Union could be reincorporated into the collection. The following years were

Fig. 6: Middle Assyrian tablet of laws

given over principally to further assessment of excavation results, with special concentration on editions of cuneiform texts. Simultaneously, in cooperation with the Akademie der Wissenschaften, the VAM took part in smaller excavation projects and field research in Iraq and Syria. After 1989 collaboration with the DOG resumed, manifested in particular in the Assur Project, i.e., joint assessment of the finds and results from Assur. Furthermore, today the VAM seeks to cooperate with research institutes and museums and to pursue a broader outreach program. As part of the current process of restructuring the museum landscape of Berlin, changes were also imminent at the VAM.

D. The Stock of the Collection

In all, the stock of the collection of the VAM amounts to about 70,000 archaeological objects and 26,500 written historical documents. A large part of the holdings stems from the large excavations in Mesopotamia, northern Syria, Palestine and Anatolia. Furthermore, a series of significant purchases was successfully made. In addition to sculptures and everyday objects, above all the great collection of clay tablets should be mentioned, encompassing about 25,000 tablets. Prominent among these, in addition to tablets from Babylon, Assur (see Fig. 6) and Fara, are those from Amarna and Boghazköy. It is because of the latter that the Museum became a centre of Hittitological research. While a large portion of the objects are from the

period up to the end of the ancient oriental empires, a number of objects are also of more recent date, such as objects from the Parthian period and from Palmyra and southern Arabia.

E. Concept of the Exhibition

The basis of the the VAM exhibition today corresponds to Andrae's concept, with the reconstructions of architectonic contexts corresponding to the idea of a museum of architecture playing a decisive role. Thus the Ishtar Gate and the Procession Road are at the centre of the exhibition. The exhibits in the other rooms are arranged primarily geographically. Whereas the great room, facing the Kupfergraben, is dedicated to finds from Syria and Anatolia, the rooms to the left and right of the central passage are divided between northern and southern Mesopotamia. Within the chronological order of the rooms the architectonic reconstructions, such as a room of an Assyrian palace and a part of the Stifmosaic facade from Uruk (Fig. 5), are also prominent. To explain the (culturally) historical contexts the originals are augmented by plaster copies, such as the replica of the Code of Hammurabi and the large Lamassu Figures. Large wall paintings utilising the oversized height of the rooms illustrate the situation at the place of excavation.

→ Assur; → Babylon; → Ḥatra; → Ḫattusa
→ Cast; Cast collections; → Ancient Near Eastern philology and history (Assyriology); → Antiquities collections; → Near Eastern archaeology

1 N. Crüsemann, Vom Zweistromland zum Kupfergraben. Vorgeschichte und Entstehungsjahre (1899–1918) der Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Berliner Museen vor fach- und kulturpolitischen Hintergründen, (unpublished thesis) 1999 2 J. Marzahn, Die Keilschriftsammlung des Vorderasiatische Museums zu Berlin, in: H. Klengel, W. Sundermann, Ägypten-Vorderasien-Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften, 1991, 30–50 3 J. Renger, Die Geschichte der Altorientalistik und der Vorderasiatischen Altertumskunde in Berlin von 1875–1945, in: W. Arenhövel (ed.), Berlin und die Antike, Aufsätze, Ergänzungsband zum Katalog der Ausstellung 1979, 151–192 4 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Das Vorderasiatische Museum, 1992 5 G. Wilhelm (ed.), Zwischen Tigris und Nil. 100 Jahre Ausgrabungen der → Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Vorderasien und Ägypten, 1998. NICOLA CRÜSEMANN

III. Ägyptisches Museum

A. Definition of Contents B. Legal Form C. History D. Current Situation

A. Definition of Contents

The official designation 'Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz' describes the range of the content and the organisational structure of the largest collection of ancient Egyptian art and culture in the German-speaking countries. The Ägyptisches Museum

Fig. 1: Charlottenburg Egyptian Museum, Column Hall of Sahurê (1994).
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 2: August Stüber, The Egyptian Courtyard in the New Museum (1862).
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

(ÄM) unites within itself an archaeological collection of classical style and one of the largest collections of papyruses in the world (about 50,000 texts). Whereas the former concentrates on ancient Egypt from the Palaeolithic until the Roman Imperial period, the latter ranges from the early Christian into the Islamic period and has at its disposal, in addition to texts in the ancient Egyptian language from the Old Kingdom until the Graeco-Roman period (written in hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts), an extremely comprehensive stock of documents in Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Coptic, Pahlavi and Arabic on papyrus, parchment and ceramic and limestone ostraca. In the field of philology the papyrus collection also represents the collection areas of the Collection of Antiquities, the Museum of Late Antiquity and Byzantine Art and of the Museum of Islamic Art and so constitutes a multidisciplinary element of the archaeological museums. The archaeological part of the ÄM comprises with about 40,000 objects the whole material culture of ancient Egypt. The artworks from the Old Kingdom and the Amarna period give the Museum its special character.

B. Legal Form

Formally one of the Royal Museums of Berlin, today the ÄM is one of the 17 institutions of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, which are subordinate to the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz as the legal successor of Prussia. The Foundation (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz) is financed as a federal authority jointly by federal and state governments.

C. History

The first Aegyptiaca arrived in 1698 with the antiquities of the Bellori Collection from Rome in the Brandenburg Electoral Collections. It may be called a special Egyptian Collection only when in 1822, under Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, the collection of Freiherr Heinrich Menu von Minutoli was acquired for the Antiquarium, which he had assembled on his royally commissioned trip to the Orient. Part of this collection sank on sea transport in the estuary of the Elbe and is still lost today. In 1828 the collection of the Trieste merchant Giuseppe Passalacqua was acquired at the instigation of Alexander von Humboldt. Passalacqua himself became the first principal director of collections and he installed the first independent ÄM in Schloss Monbijou (opposite the Spree Island, today known as 'Museum Island'). The motivation of the Prussian royal house to set up an Egyptian museum by means of the targeted purchase of complete collections lay in the significance of representative collections of art as part of political self-representation and followed the model of other museums: the Louvre in → Paris, the British Museum in → London, the Museo Egizio in Turin, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, and finally also the Vatican Museums. The 1842–1845 expedition sent by the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV to Egypt and the Sudan under the leadership of Richard Lepsius may also be considered an act of sovereign representation. With the approval of the viceroy Mohamed Ali, Lepius brought 1500 objects, from small sculptures to whole burial chambers, back to Berlin. During this trip Lepsius formulated his concept for the content of a future Egyptian museum for which the housing conditions had been created by the architect August Stüler with the construction of the Neue Museum on the Museum Island in 1840. The plans of Passalacqua, the director of the collection until 1865, were not taken into consideration by the Director General Olfers or by the king. Lepsius understood the Museum as a monumental representation of the history and religion of Egypt in the medium of large wall paintings following ancient Egyptian models, as they had been documented by his expedition to Egypt and published in *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia). The original objects served as evidential material for this dominant didactic concept, which had already been heavily criticised immediately after the opening of the 'Egyptian Section' (Ägyptische Abtheilung) in the Neue Museum. Subsequently Lepsius considered his interest to be less the Museum than his historical and philological research; his appointment as Director of the Royal Library distanced him further from the work of the Museum. Only under the direction of Adolf Erman (1884–1914) did the Museum undergo a relevant expansion by means of purchases on the art markets of Europe and Egypt. The scholarly standing of the Museum was established world-wide by the project *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Dictionary of the Egyptian Language), initiated by Erman, which, just like the academic area of → Egyptology, was housed in the Museum. During Adolf Erman's directorship, the great excavation projects of the → Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, financed by James Simon, were carried out in Abusir (Pyramids and 5th Dynasty Sanctuary of the Sun) and in Amarna, Akhenaton's and Nefertiti's capital. The objects allotted to James Simon by the division of finds were later transferred as gifts to the ownership of the ÄM. Through the Amarna finds, especially the bust of Queen Nefertiti, the ÄM earned unique status in the sphere of great Egyptian collections, even if the presentation in the rebuilt Greek Court of the overcrowded Neues Museum could in no way do justice to the quality of the collection. The significance of the ÄM for the art history of ancient Egypt was advanced for some time to come by Erman's successor Heinrich Schäfer (Director 1914–1935), whose seminal studies on the art of Egypt were largely based on Berlin material. In 1939 the Museum was closed; while large objects were secured on site against threatening war-damage, the bulk of the holdings were evacuated in and around Berlin. The Neues Museum was partly destroyed by bombing in 1944. In 1945 the evacuated holdings were safeguarded by the Western Allies and the Red Army and taken to Frankfurt am Main (later to Wiesbaden) and Celle or to Moscow and (the then) Leningrad. On their return in the 1950s they were placed in the divided city,

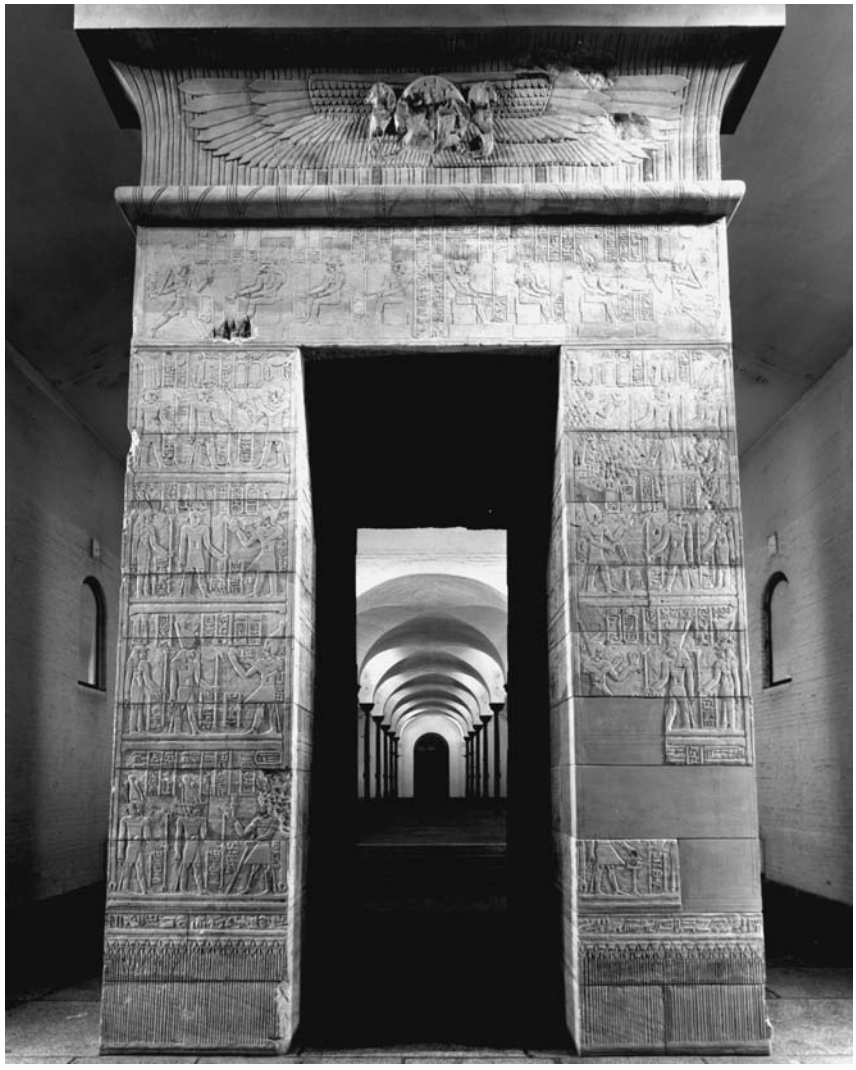

Fig. 3: Charlottenburg Egyptian Museum, Kalabsha temple gate.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Fig. 4: Charlottenburg Egyptian Museum, Rotunda (1998).
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

partly under the aegis of the *Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Hauptstadt der DDR*, on the Museum Island in a temporary exhibition in the Bode Museum. It continued to be updated until 1989 and remained accessible until 1998. The other part became an institution of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* in Charlottenburg, where since 1967, initially in the eastern part of the Stüler Building, afterwards in the adjoining Royal Stables, a sub-museum existed which, with the bust of Nefertiti, became a magnet for the public. The Temple Gate of Kalabsha (Lower Nubia), presented by the Republic of Egypt to Federal Republic of Germany in 1963 in gratitude for its participation in the rescuing of Nubian antiquities, was given a place in Charlottenburg; together with the columns, reerected in an annex in 1989, from the Sahure pyramid complex, which was to be installed on the Museum Island already around 1910, it conveys, from a museological point of view, a unique impression of ancient Egyptian monumental architecture.

D. Current Situation

Since the reunification of Germany in 1991 the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz has been the umbrella organisation for the former Eastern and Western institutions of the State Museums. The ÄM will return to the Neues Museum on Museum Island (after 2006) and will become an essential component of a complex, as a *Museum der antiken Welt*, presenting the archaeological collections as a whole with emphasis on the overlapping aspects of disciplines. The Kalabsha Gate and the Sahure Court will become, in the context of the Pergamonmuseum, elements of a museum of architecture, stretching from Egypt through Mesopotamia and Hellenism to the Roman Empire. This integrated concept of archaeological museum will attempt to overcome conventional presentation of strictly separate cultural areas and the particularism of administrative organisations. The tradition of field research in Egypt is being continued in a long-term excavation project in Sudan.

→ Amarna

1 J. Althoff, Das Ägyptische Museum, 1998 2 W. Kaiser (ed.), Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, 1967 3 K.-H. Priese (ed.), Das Ägyptische Museum Berlin, 1991 4 D. Wildung, Ägyptische Kunst in Berlin, ²1999.

DIETRICH WILDUNG

Bible see → Theology and the Christian Church

Bibliotheca Corviniana The Bibliotheca Corviniana (BC), set up in the castle of King Mathias I (Corvinus; 1458–1490) in Buda (today part of Budapest), was in its time, after the Vatican Library, the second largest and most valuable royal Humanist library. The king strove to amass as complete a collection of valuable literature as possible, mainly the classics of antiquity with particular emphasis on Greek authors. A Greek-Latin duality was a characteristic of the library. To give the precious contents an appropriate form, the king employed the best Italian, mainly Florentine, scribes and illustrators, particularly in the second half of his reign. He also set up a studio in his castle in Buda that produced books of a quality equivalent to those of the Italians in every respect. The number of codices can be estimated at about 2000–2500. In 1526, Sultan Suleiman, who after the battle of Mohács first temporarily captured Buda, took the library as booty, along with other treasures, to Istanbul. Here, with the exception of a few items, its contents disappeared during the following centuries. Sultan Abdul Hamid II gave back what was left at the end of the 19th cent. The fact that only about a tenth of the former material was preserved can be attributed to the fact that under the weak successors of King Mathias foreign humanists, particularly imperial ambassadors, acquired and removed many codices. The authentic codices of the BC known today are scattered over 51 libraries in 43 cities.

→ Library; → Humanism; → Codicology; → Scriptorium; → Hungary

1 Ilona Berkovits, Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest, 1964. 2 Cs. Csapodi, The Corvinian Library. History and Stock, Budapest, 1973 3 Csaba Csapodi, Klara Csapodi-Gardonyi, Bibliotheca Corviniana. The Library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, New York, 1969; 3rd rev. German ed., Budapest,1982; greatly expanded 4th ed. only in Hungarian: Budapest, 1990. 4 Guglielmo Fraknoi, Bibliotheca Corvina, Luigi Zambra (trans.), Budapest, 1927

CSABA CSAPODI

Biography

A. Introduction B. Middle Ages C. Renaissance, Humanism, Reformation D. 17th and 18th Cents. E. 19th and 20th Cents.

A. Introduction

Biography is one of the oldest literary genres and is divided into many different types, among them biographies of heroes, politicians, orators, artists, etc. The various functions and ways in which biographies are presented gave rise to various designations such as individual, collective, parallel, and social or societal biographies, among others. Furthermore, there are several modern biographical genres such as biographical essay, novel, novella, film. Also included under biographics – the term having established itself as a generic concept – are character study, profile, interview, etc. Biography is always a mirror of the currently prevailing notion of individuality. In the case of biography, the history of the genre is marked by the social history of individuation. From Antiquity to Renaissance, the term biography was not used, and it did not become popular until the 17th cent. Before that time, terms such as *vitae, libri de viris illustribus, commentarii de vita* or *rebus gestis, declamationes, epistolae demonstrativae, elegiae,* etc., were common [3. 3]. Up to the Renaissance, biography was strongly influenced by ancient models; the most

important and influential ones were Cornelius Nepos' *De viris illustribus* (*c.*36 BC), Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* (*c.* AD 120), Plutarch's *Bioi parállēloi* (AD 105–115), and Tacitus' *De vita Iulii Agricolae* (98 AD). Furthermore, the tradition of encomia and praise (*enkomion, panegyrikos, laudatio funebris*) was preserved until the 18th cent. (cf. apotheosis, elogium, necrology etc.)

B. Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages, the ancient tradition of the biographies of philosophers, authors, and rulers gave way to the tradition of hagiography. The notion of history as a divinely guided order inspired an interest in the exemplary life stories of saints who turned themselves into God's 'vessels' on earth. The tendency towards hagiography also coloured the vitae of rulers which were still being written as well. Even Einhart's *Vita Karoli Magni* (eds. G. H. Pertz, G. Waitz, O. Holder-Egger, ^{6}1911) written in *c.* 830 – a work which was unique for the Middle Ages in how closely it was modelled after Suetonius emperors' *vitae* – refers in its prologue to the famous *Vita S. Martini* by Sulpicius Severus from the late 4th cent. (ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1, 1866; ed. J. Fontaine, 3 vols., 1967–1969). Otherwise, individual emperors' *vitae* – in so far as they were not saints' *vitae* to begin with – managed to maintain a certain independence by their deliberate focus on secular and political aspects along with religious themes (such as the *Histoire de Saint Louis* by Jehan de Joinville written in 1305/06; ed. N. de Wailly, 1874). Abbots' *vitae* also tended at times to go beyond the hagiographical framework under the mantle of recording monastic history [1. 272–326]. However, as far as the holders of ecclesiastical or secular offices are concerned (those not revered in a cult-like manner), *vitae* are, on the whole, less common than chronicles or annals, in which only official deeds are selected and related to other thematic contexts.

Beginning with Tertullian, the saints worthy of *vitae* were divided between martyrs and confessors. In the Middle Ages, the martyrs' *vitae*, having grown out of the early Christian *Acta martyrum,* continued to be produced or revised because of martyrdom's significance, although the confessors began to take the lead in number after the persecution of Christians came to an end. In the latter, the focus on the sacrificial death is replaced by recurring and extensive proofs of sainthood spread out between birth and (natural) death. Structurally, these confessors' *vitae* go beyond the model of early Christian, encomiastic biographies [1st vol. 1; 3. 43–59] and refer back to the structural rules established by ancient rhetoric (such as Quint. Inst. 3,7) for the praise of an individual [4. 33–45]. In substance, the various depictions of lives are channeled into highly prominent topics. As a result, the *vitae* appear to be narrative embellishments of a religious catalogue of virtues and make the saints immediately recognisable as such despite historical variations in emphasis. The tendency towards collections of *vitae* is further evidence of the desire to view saints as exemplary representatives of the *Communio sanctorum*. The best known example of this is the *Legenda aurea* (ed. Th. Graesse, ^{3}1890, repr. 1965) by Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298). On the other hand, medieval saints' *vitae* are characterised by a remarkable flexibility at the discursive level. This flexibility is especially apparent in multiple revisions that present the story of a saint's life – no matter how stereotypical it may be – in varying ways specific to the function or audience at hand, thereby exploring the stylistic spectrum between *sermo humilis* and *sermo grandis*. In this sense, saints' *vitae* should not simply be dismissed as naive legends but instead can be regarded – under the premise of an historical understanding of genre – as a specifically medieval manifestation of biography

C. Renaissance, Humanism, Reformation

Although the Renaissance brought about a new self-awareness for the individual, biography still operated under the principle of → imitatio or *aemulatio,* that is, models were found as well as constructed. Biographers continued to write collections of works about famous men and women, often following C. Nepos, Suetonius, and Plutarch. The best known collections are by Vasari, *Le Vite de piū eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1550) and K. van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck* (1604). Furthermore, the first biographies of individuals emerged such as Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* (1373), Machiavelli's biography of Castruccio Castracani, the tyrant of Lucca (*c.* 1500), W. Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More* (after 1535, ed. 1626), and C. Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (between 1554 and 1557). The translations of Plutarch into French by J. Amyot (1559) and into English by Th. North (1579) made these parallel biographies into the most commonly used sources from Antiquity [2. 129–156]. At first, this resulted in a focus on individual ethics, but the appreciation of political, artistic, scientific, or spiritual activities gradually gained ground as well (cf. R. Agricola's *Vita Petrarchae c.* 1473/74 or the biographical letters and speeches by Erasmus and Melanchthon) [2. 23–96].

D. 17th and 18th Cents.

Models of ancient biography continued to be used in these centuries and even experienced a new peak: the literary market was dominated by the type of *De viris illustribus* (cf. esp. Brantômes *Vies des Dames illustres* and *Vies des Hommes illustres*, written in 1584–1604, ed. 1665/66) [2. 97–128] as well as by collected biographies of academic professionals, and, above all, by biographical panegyrics (elogium, necrology, dedicational poetry). In France, J. de La Bruyère's translation (1688) of the *Charakteres ethikoi* by Theophrastus (372–287 BC) sparked an interest in anthropological types which also influenced the biographies of actual persons. In the 18th cent., great biographies of individuals were composed in France (cf. Voltaire) and England (cf. S. Knight), the most successful of which was J. Boswell's

Life of Samuel Johnson (1791), because it was the first one to attempt a comprehensive portrait of a life based on intimate personal knowledge and a wealth of documents. Germany saw, above all, the development of a biographical essay (G. Forster, J.G. Herder, Chr.M. Wieland) which would offer new models for the bourgeois public, in particular those from the 16th and 17th cents. Gradually, a new type of biography established itself which placed a life within the broader perspective of cultural history (cf. Goethe's *Winckelmann*, 1805) [7. 9–53].

E. 19TH AND 20TH CENTS.

The 19th cent. became the era of great biographies of individuals that try to offer well-rounded portraits with multiple facets. In addition, the triumph of a new → HISTORIOGRAPHY led to an enhanced appreciation of the genre of biography. A discussion emerged about the position of biography between art and science (cf. J.G.Droysen, *Historik*, 1858; ed. R. HÜBNER, 1937). In 1869, in the introduction to his biography *Geschichte Wallensteins*, Leopold von Ranke refers to Plutarch's distinction between 'history' and 'biography' (in *Alexander*). Biography was therefore still understood to be committed to the ethics of living. Nonetheless, an abundance of historical biographies were composed in Europe as well as in America (cf. R.W. Emerson, *Representative Men*, 1850), which either aimed to glorify (e.g. Th. Carlyle, *The History of Friedrich II of Prussia*, 1858–65) or subjected biography to nationalistic interests (cf. the 'Prussian school' with J.G. Droysen, G.H. Pertz, H. Lehmann, R. Koser, H. v. Treitschke). On the other hand, the 18th cent. tradition of humanistic biographies was continued; examples are the great biographies of individuals by W. Dilthey, Schleiermacher (1870), R. Haym, Herder (1880–85), E. Schmidt, Lessing (1884, 1892). Furthermore, biographers such as C. Justi (Winckelmann, 1866–72) and H. Grimm (Goethe, 1877) produced biographies with a focus on art history and cultural history for the educated classes. The second half of the 19th cent. saw a wealth of biographical essays (O. Gildemeister, H. Grimm, K. Hillebrand, L. Speidel). The genre of biography reached its peak in the era of positivism when biographies combined the interpretation of works with the presentation of a life story ('biographism'). Biographical novels also became very popular with audiences in Europe and continued to develop through the end of the 20th cent. (the *biographie romancée* by A. Maurois, St. Zweig, int.al.).

The early 20th cent. saw the production of a broad spectrum of biographies: → PSYCHOANALYSIS opened up the possibility of a new, 'intimate' type of biography (cf. E. Ludwig, L. Strachey, St. Zweig) first explored by S. Freud in *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci* (1910). Positivist biography stood in contrast to the new 'mythography' created by Stefan George's circle (cf. E. Bertram, *Nietzsche*, 1918; G. Gundolf, *Goethe*, 1916; E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, 1927). In the 1920s and 1930s, biography experienced a boom in the form of biographical novels (*int. al.* H. Broch, A. Döblin, L. Feuchtwanger, H. Mann, Th. Wilde, M. Yourcenar, V. Woolf), biographical essays (e.g. H. and Th. Mann, St. Zweig), and 'historical fiction and poetry', that is, a form of biography that tried to be a form of art and of scholarship at the same time (H. Eulenberg, F. Hegemann, E. Ludwig int. al.). In the late 1920s, a dispute erupted between writers and historians regarding biography (*Historische Zeitschrift* 1928: A. Maurois, Die Biographie als Kunstwerk; E. Ludwig, *Historie und Dichtung*, 1929; S. Kracauer, *Die Biographie als neubürgerliche Kunstform*, 1930 *int. al.*). This conflict between art and scholarship dissipated in the late 1920s as historians recognised that historiography is always a literary construct as well (cf. the debate about narrative in the 1970s and 1980s). Since historical studies have focused increasingly on mental, social, and structural history, the genre of biography has been revitalized, particularly by writers who place the genre on the boundary between art and scholarship, or between subjectivity and objectivity. An example of this, in France, is J.P. Sartre's great study of Flaubert *L'Idiot de la famille* as *roman vrai* (1971/72). In Germany, Dieter Kühn (*Ich Wolkenstein*, 1977), Peter Härtling (*Hölderlin*, 1976), and Wolfgang Hildesheimer (*Mozart*, 1977) represent a new type of biography in which they explore an 'open-ended' kind of writing in analogy to the modern novel while still trying to satisfy demands for verifiable truth. In the 1990s, a new scholarly type of biography was established which followed the same technique and renounced the usual teleological development of life in favour of a complex, discontinuous, and at times narrative representational technique.

→ Biography

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Böckh-Hermann Dispute, the

A. Significance and Origin of the Method Dispute B. Gottfried Hermann C. August Böckh

A. Significance and Origin of the Method Dispute

The long-lasting dispute between Gottfried Hermann and August Böckh (regarding spelling [5. 15 n.11]) is a part of the general considerations concerning methods [1. 15] in the study of Classical Antiquity that arose in the 19th cent., triggered by the question of how Classical philology viewed itself and its place in scholarship. The opposing positions of Böckh, who was the greater systematist and who continued the work first begun by A. Wolf [2. 80f.] to put Classical philology on a new footing as the scholarship of all Antiquity, and Hermann, the more conservative scholar who insisted on the intrinsic value of Classical philology, were recognised even in the lifetime of the two men as a significant debate over methods; their positions found a place in the history of this field of knowledge under the terms historical-antiquarian philology of objects, or reality-oriented philology (*Real-* or *Sachphilologie*), and grammatical-critical text philology (*Wortphilologie*) [11. 117 n. 44; 5. 102 n. 112]. Although these programmatic abbreviated forms were already current in the 19th cent. to characterise the two camps, and although they do cite key words in the dispute, they must nevertheless be rejected as misleading because an exclusive opposition between an either/or, i.e. 'between object philology or word philology' was never a point of discussion (cf. G. Hermann, *Über Herrn Professor Böckhs Behandlung der griechischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1826, 3).

The relationship between Böckh and Hermann, initially based on mutual respect, first began to falter [11. 111] as a result of their differing opinions regarding meter; the actual dispute, however, did not break out until 1825 when Hermann reacted to the first fascicle of the *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* with an unusually sharp review in which he accused the editor Böckh of superficial research and declared him incompetent of accomplishing such a demanding task. This devastating and cutting criticism provoked an full-blown exchange of writings and rejoinders (detailed discussion in [3. 48–62]). The quarrel, which was shared by the two men's respective students [4. 44] as well and continued into the 1830s, escalated (due mainly to Hermann) into such sharp attacks that doubts arose as to whether, as they averred, it was always about professional differences *sine ira et studio* doubts that were affirmed by the fact that a reconciliation occurred in the 1840s without a settling of the scholarly controversy itself. The actual points of difference are at times difficult to ascertain, not only because of the personal vehemence but also because of the differing emphasis and elaboration of methodology: Hermann could not and did not want to oppose Böckh's complex theoretical approach (*Enzyklopädie und Methodenlehre der philologischen Wissenschaft*, 1809–1865; cf. [9. 68]), which had been worked out in many years of teaching. (Hermann's most important treatise on this is *De officio interpretis*, 1834). He critiqued merely individual points of Böckh's concept of philology but never the systematic structure as a whole.

B. Gottfried Hermann

Gottfried Hermann (born 28 November 1772 in Leipzig, studied Classical languages in Leipzig and the philosophy of Kant in Jena, professorship in 1803 in Leipzig, died 1 January 1848) viewed the Classical languages as 'the most important thing of all, as the propylaea, so difficult to reach, to all Classical Antiquity' (*Über Herrn Professor Böckhs Behandlung der griechischen Inschriften*, Foreword, 8), through which alone 'everything else that is characteristic of a people can be felt and understood' (ibid 4). The task of philologists, therefore, consists in the careful study, interpretation and criticism of the texts of Antiquity (*interpretatio* and *emendatio*, *De officio interpretis*, 5), whereas in non-linguistic approaches (e.g. archaeology), the danger lies in looking down and, from a 'bird's eye view', seeing, to be sure, many things which, however, remain blurred, as well as in losing oneself in sonorous but fatuous loquacity (*vana ostentatio aut stulta garulitas*, *De officio interpretis*, 102). Correct understanding of a text verifies the timeless human *ratio* (influence of Kant), which connects the philologist with the concerns expressed in the texts, whereas 'congeniality' is necessary for a translation to be outstanding [11. 116]. Because of his rationalistic and Enlightenment-inspired conviction concerning the ahistoricity of reason, Hermann explained the process of interpretation as a unilineal one.

C. August Böckh

August Böckh (born 24 November 1785 in Karlsruhe, studied Classical languages in Halle, professorships in 1809 in Heidelberg and 1811 in Berlin, died 3 August 1867) turned against the limitation to the formal realm of grammar, narrow exegesis of text and textual criticism. He believed that such 'syllable- and letter-criticism' (*Der Staatshaushalt der Athener*, Berlin 1817, XIX) could only lead to narrow-minded specialisation. Just how much more broadly he understood the term philology, which at first for him [5. 73f.] included modern philology, and how intensely he incorporated the question about the essence of scholarship in general into his thinking, is shown by his now-famous definition of philology: *das Erkennen des vom menschlichen Geist Producierten, d.h. Erkannten* ('knowledge of

what has been produced by the human spirit, i.e. of what is known', *Encyclopaedia*, 101). This formula – knowledge of what is known –, in which Platonic and Aristotelian views are commingled with those of neo-Humanism and German Idealism, assigns to the philologist not the primary but rather the secondary step toward knowledge: the philologist's task is not for example to accomplish Plato's philosophical work process of understanding, but rather to recognize that which Plato himself understood (*gigṓnoskei, anagigṓskei*). On the other hand, by applying the expression 'things produced' equally to all cultural monuments and historical events, Böckh defined philology as [a part of] historical studies. And by positing ideas as the foundation of each work-*lógoi* that the scholar must discern –, he characterised philology to a large extent as philosophy (Schleiermacher, Schlegel, cf. [5. 32, 41]: *Denn man kann das Erkannte nicht erkennen ohne überhaupt zu erkennen und man kann nicht zu einer Erkenntnis schlechthin gelangen, ohne, was Andere erkannt haben, zu kennen* ('for one cannot recognize that which is known without knowing in general, and one cannot come to knowledge without knowing what others have come to know', *Encyclopaedia*, 17). Through this theoretical definition of philology as *universae antiquitatis cognitio historica et philosopha* (historical and philosophical inquiry into all of Antiquity), the significance of language, though still of utmost importance, is relativised insofar as it is no longer the sole key to understanding Antiquity (*Encyclopaedia*, 54): In this way, language becomes merely one thing among others. Moreover, Böckh believed that philology shared the fate of every true science: because of the infinity of the subject matter, only approximate results can be offered: 'Where infinity stops, science is at an end' (*Encyclopaedia*, 15). The approximative character of philology is augmented through the hermeneutic circle: the accomplishments of single interpretations, whether individual, grammatical, historical or generic [10. 94f.], condition one another mutually, so that neither an understanding of a text without knowledge of the subject nor knowledge of the subject without an understanding of a text can succeed (cf. Hermann's unilineal concept of interpretation). Only the 'divinatory power of the mind' (*Encyclopaedia*, 184) can break through this circle [9. 70f.]; with this notion of genial aesthetics [2. 93f.] Böckh draws close to Hermann's concept of congeniality.

By seeing the legitimation of Classical philology in the fact that 'Greek and Roman culture is the basis of our whole culture' (*Encyclopaedia*, 21), Böckh's argument of foundation goes beyond the argument of the model character, prevalent up to that time, without giving up the pedagogical normative function of the discipline: For 'nowhere does a higher spirit prevail than in Antiquity' (*Encyclopaedia*, 31). The separation embedded here between → HISTORICISM (subject as object of research) and → HUMANISM (subject content as norm) is transcended inasmuch as research is understood as a philosophical, truth-oriented process toward knowledge [4.50].

The methodological dispute between Hermann and Böckh ('language as the only right way to knowledge'; 'language as one way among others') guided Classical philology in its further development in the 19th cent., without however the sharp confrontation of the two camps being maintained, as some histories of scholarship would have us believe [11.117ff.].

→ NIETZSCHE-WILAMOWITZ CONTROVERSY; → ANCIENT LANGUAGES, TEACHING OF I. GERMANY

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Body culture

A. CONCEPT B. HISTORY

A. CONCEPT

1. DEFINITION 2. REFERENTIAL DISCOURSES

1. DEFINITION

In this context, body culture (BC) describes the reflexive contemplation of the human body and attitudes toward the human body with reference to Greek and Roman Antiquity. Furthermore, this definition is based on a broad concept of culture, comprising not only culture as the collective practice of social groups – life styles, models of interaction, the formation of gender roles, etc. –, founded on and structured by various sets of norms and values, mindsets, and interpretations of

the world [17. 9ff.], but also 'high culture', i.e. works of art (and their reception) which were perceived as such [21. 539ff.]. In the following, BC will therefore be described both in the context of social and individual practice as well as that of historically evolved horizons of meaning.

2. Referential Discourses

a) BC correlates with the discourse on a new definition of the nature of humans as individual and socializable beings who relate to the world they live in;

b) BC correlates with the discourse on education;

c) BC correlates with the discourse on the role and social position of men and women;

d) Since the 18th cent., BC has correlated in the aesthetic discourse with the concept of gestalt;

e) Within the political-sociological discourse, BC correlates with the notion of *kalokagathia*.

Beyond the contexts already mentioned, BC has been assigned additional levels of significance that need to be taken into account: bodies as subjects and objects of power (political level); bodies as constituents of the process of civilization and of social interaction (social level); bodies as the media for personal interaction and bearers of meaning (cultural level).

B. History

1. Middle Ages: 5th–15th Cents. 2. Modern Times: 15th–18th Cents. 2.1 Renaissance/Humanism 2.2 Enlightenment and Neo-Humanism 2.3 19th and 20th Cents.

1. Middle Ages: 5th–15th Cents.

In the Early Middle Ages, the human body was initially seen as a token of the transience of human existence, a place of pain and death, a contemptible prison of the soul. The body was tangible evidence of the distance between men and God as a result of Adam's fall from grace [11. 13]. The ideal life was seen as that of the ascetic monk, withdrawn from the world in a community of like-minded people, who in chastity, poverty, and obedience worked physically and spiritually towards the salvation of their souls. The aim was to discipline the body, whose requirements were to be subordinated to spiritual salvation by means of grinding ascetic toil. Even the king, anointed as *rex et sacerdos*, was ideally expected to live like a monk.

The body of a ruler was at the same time also the body of power, as stipulated by the doctrine of the two bodies of a king – one natural and one of salvation, granted by the grace of God, and a part of divine nature. And yet, the king's mortal body was inseparable from his political body. For this reason, the body of a king is not only a symbol of power, it *is* power. After the Investiture Contest and as a consequence of the reception of Roman law in the High and Late Middle Ages, the notion of the sovereign's salvific body belonging to the sphere of the divine shifted to that of the sovereign's salvific body as an aspect of the law and finally one of the state [16].

In the rurally dominated culture of the Early Middle Ages, the ascetic, body-denying ideal of the monk determined the culture of the body. The body at work, at war, or persisting in prayer was a symbol of the divine order of the world on a hierarchical scale of significance (*oratores*, *bellatores*, *laboratores*). In the visual arts, bodies were bearers of signs, they pointed to the transcendental world, shrouded and rigid.

The High Middle Ages saw the development of new social spheres like feudal courts and cities. At the municipal institutions of learning, the universities, Greek (espicially Aristotle) and Arab authors were studied alongside the traditional Latin ones; they were re-edited, using the tools of scholasticism, and translated into Christianity [18. 156]. Based on this premise, Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and Peter Abaelard (1079–1142) were among those who introduced reason as a means to perceive God, and combined it with a new evaluation of the individual as an autonomous, thinking subject [12. 191ff., 211ff.].

Gothic art as the art of the new cities liberated itself from the anti-corporeal dogmatism of the early medieval period. Against the backdrop of the spiritual reforms of the High Middle Ages, humans and their bodies received new connotations. In the sculptures of Gothic cathedrals and in paintings, male and female bodies now stood for the perfection of divine creation, which revealed itself in the beauty of nature. The idealized bodies of saints exemplified the harmony of the world and the human position within the cosmos, with humans now seen as self-confident beings enlightened by the grace of God [11. 263ff.]. This reappraisal of the human body occurred as a result of the incipient reception of ancient sculptures. Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1133) described the reception of ancient sculptures as an opportunity to recognize the ideal nature of man [14. 117ff.]. The representation of the beautiful body thus also gained an educational dimension. The Bamberg Horseman (*c.* 1235) and the figure of Mary in the Visitation group on the western facade of Reims Cathedral (*c.*1250) are two examples of high medieval body images that were modelled on the ancient ideal.

Within the framework of courtly culture, the body became the object of a process of civilization and education and thus the bearer of social identity. Referring to the ideal of the just and peacemaking ruler created by Cicero and Augustine (*rex iustus et pacificus*), virtues (such as piety, wisdom, munificence, benevolence) were formulated for rulers, which in the visual culture of the Middle Ages became imprinted upon the body, and were then to be splendidly displayed in ritualized gestures and interactions [9. 385ff.]. Aside from the kings of the Bible, the models for this kind of rulership were the ancient emperors Augustus and Trajan, as well as Alexander the Great. The feudal system, in its ideal of *hövescheit* (courtliness), developed an educational programme for rulers and their courts that was a body-oriented code of conduct and a catalogue of virtues rolled into one [9. 425ff.]. Courtly BC, concretized in

courtly love service, created a complex system of behavioural norms, gestures, appearance, communication, and interaction, which could only be achieved through physical training; it demanded of both sexes a newly reflective approach towards their own bodies. It was particularly through the virtues of *mâze* (moderation, avoidance of extremes) and *staete* (constancy, adhering to good), associated with both men and women, that bodies became sensitized to social and interpersonal relationships, while at the same time, as courtly bodies, they remained socially distinct from their environment [9. 416ff.]. Courtly BC resulted in a new definition of masculinity and femininity; this coincided with the tendency of releasing women from their negative typification as daughters of Eve; they were now serenaded as figures of emotional and actual power [9. 451ff.]. The impact of this ideal of courtly life on the everyday reality of feudal gender relations outside of courtly poetry and festivities is difficult to determine.

2. Modern Times: 15th–18th Cents.

2.1 Renaissance/Humanism

Rooted in the urban way of life of the late medieval period and further developing that period's philosophical currents, the authors of European Humanism radicalized the already changing medieval image of man. Within the context of Upper Italian city states and republics, they defined man's mission as a struggle for self-improvement, and the continual improvement of his environment – almost to the extent of man offering to serve as God's assistant on earth [20. 44ff.]. 'We have made you neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, so that you may, as the free and extraordinary shaper of yourself, fashion yourself in the form you will prefer' (*Nec te celestem neque terrenum, neque mortalem neque immortalem fecimus, ut tui ipsius quasi arbitrarius honorariusque plastes et fictor, in quam malueris tute formam effingas*, G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, 1486 [text and translation: http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/pico/text/bori/frame.html]). 'But men, I believe, are not born, rather they are moulded' (*At homines, mihi crede, non nascuntur, sed figuntur, Erasmus of Rotterdam*, *De pueris*, 1529). Breaking with the medieval tradition, Humanists no longer simply re-interpreted Antiquity to fit the Christian world picture. They imitated it constructively as a normative historical model in poetry, philosophy, and as a way of life [7. 2].

The Humanists considered language to be the medium through which humans could achieve education, and which also sets them apart from animals. Language facilitated socialization and allowed man to participate in and shape the world around him. At the heart of the Humanist education were the *studia humanitatis* (Cicero) – scholarly studies –, with the purpose of bringing to full fruition all of man's good aptitudes. The most important element were the ancient authors, who were approached e.g. by means of dialogue, as Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) did in his letters to Classical authors [7. 1ff.]. Rhetoric as an educational programme combining thought, speech and action dominated the Humanist educational canon. Rhetorical training was to strengthen the autonomy of the individual and aid in his or her socialization. Rhetorical education was more than just a comprehensive linguistic training; as in antiquity, it also aimed to educate the body in the acquisition of a language of gestures which was liberated but moderate, appropriate to the personality of the speaker and the speech situation. Intellectual conversation thus moved away from the scholastic dialogue between teacher and pupil towards a free form of speech based on the models of the Greek agora or the Roman Forum. Like their ancient predecessors, the Humanists were convinced that cultured conversation between individuals or groups required the free movement of the body in space, in the street, or in an urban square [23. 66ff.]. For the Italian Humanists, the relationship between the human body and the republic was as important as that between the body of the king and monarchy in medieval times. Consequently, the Humanist *Specula principum* advocated a programme of physical education for rulers, which made physical and spiritual schooling a prerequisite of just rulership.

The idea of independent self-motivated study as a means of education initially led to the imposition of a new discipline on the body: whether standing, sitting, reading or writing in studious zeal, the body remained motionless, and only differed from that of a medieval copyist in the element of self-determination and the (educational) goal of its actions. Furthermore, the city as the Renaissance stage for social interaction liberated the body from the rigid medieval system of gestures and rituals, which had also served to create recognizable meaning in a world of rare encounters. Both postures -the motionless and the moving body – also point to the controversy and debate amongst Humanist scholars regarding the ideal form of life, i.e. *vita contemplativa* or *vita activa*, the choice of which they left to the individual. Yet, even the *vita contemplativa* was put in relation to the political community, to whose benefit the scholar was to search for truth [7. 5f.].

The Renaissance catalogue of virtues was modelled on Aristotle's *Ethics* and followed the Greek ideal of *kalokagathia*, which combined ethical and aesthetic values. A human being was noble and good if within him the education of the body and that of the mind were combined in visible harmony. Thus beauty became a moral category, insofar as it described a successful process of education [13. 278ff.]. According to Humanist thought, man as a *zoon politikon* (Aristotle) was obliged to socialize. He was no longer to do this merely within a network of rituals, but with an increasing degree of self-organization, while still adhering to the ideals of moderation, usefulness, and virtue, as applicable to the duties of the members of a political commonwealth.

Against this backdrop, Renaissance BC demanded highly sophisticated performances from both male and female bodies on the public stage. Refined table man-

ners, a finely honed rhetoric and a socially adroit demeanour, as well as self-assured role-play and a sense of power grew in importance as urban life became increasingly mobile and complex. Families such as the Borgia and Medici in Italy and the Fugger in Germany are examples of a society that had become mobile. At the same time, however, the family and the state remained the two reference points of the Humanist conception of the world; the individual was not released into a self-regulating society.

In the visual arts, the 'rebirth of man' is celebrated in realistic portraits and in male and female nudes, signaling the return to nature rediscovered in the spirit of ancient models. The human form was measured in both arts and sciences and in its perfect harmonic development elevated to the signum of the new golden age [8. 124ff.]. Examples of this new understanding of the human body are Michelangelo's 'David' in the Florence Uffizi Galleries and Raffael's 'The School of Athens' in the Vatican Museum.

Even though idea of 'new man' still held mainly male connotations, Humanism also brought with it a reappraisal of women. In principle, they were given the same access to Humanist education as men, and female education became a topic of Humanist educational tracts. A woman educated in the arts and sciences was no longer seen as nightmarish, but as part of the new ideal of *humanitas*. However, the male and female spheres remained separate; female education was to be associated with female virtues, with modesty and with care for the family and the house, which were projected as the natural female spheres [8. 18f.].

2.2 Enlightenment and Neo-Humanism

In the corporative society of the Ancien Régime, the body was bound by a complex system of rules and restrictions. Human nature, described as selfish and pleasure-seeking in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651), was to be subjected to rules which were to make it possible for humans to live together. A system of gestures and signs in, as well as on, the body was intended to serve as a manifestation – and as a reminder – of the political structure of the community. The codes for dress, marriage, and work of that period reflected this notion. The body thus provided orientation and helped define the individual, whom it also bound firmly to the social order of his birth [24. 86ff.]. As a result of the increasing social mobility of late 17th and 18th cent. society, these codes became less distinct; new social groups evolved that were difficult to integrate into this system of body codes, such as the elite functionaries of the absolutistic state. Against this background, Enlightenment philosophy and pedagogy developed concepts for the relationship between the state and the individual, which encouraged the dissolution of corporative structures or made allowances for them. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) saw human nature characterized by 'unsocial sociability'. Because every human strives for the best possible development of his natural aptitudes, but is only able to achieve this in confrontation with other humans, interaction with others is the only way for an individual to achieve the highest degree of self-development (*Ideen zur allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*, 1784). By granting to every human being both reason and the potential for development, Kant shattered the absolutistic notion of an unchangeable order of the world instituted by God (*Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?*, 1784). Yet, even the philosophers of the Enlightenment remained convinced that humans required governance in order to regulate individual egotism. They entrusted the state with the task of regulating the commonwealth – the maintenance of which would be enshrined in the education of its subjects. Accordingly, Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786) in his *Lettres sur l'amour de la patrie* (1779) described the Roman Republic as the paradigm of heroic civic virtues, which had established the political community as the highest value in the life of every individual. Regrettably, this 'line of masculine souls, these men of nerve and virtue, seem to have become extinct. Love of glory has been replaced by effeminacy. Idleness has taken the place of watchfulness, and sordid self-love is destroying the love of the fatherland' [8. 338]. Forty years earlier, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, (1689–1755) had come to a similar conclusion regarding France in his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (1734); he, too, saw in the civic education of the people a main reason for the greatness of the Greek and Roman past [8. 336ff.].

It was not least through the reception of Roman Antiquity that the philosophy of the Enlightenment also posited the equality of all (male) bodies within the state. The body was gradually democratized, while the privilege of the aristocratic body, legitimized by its aristocratic blood, was increasingly questioned [10. 74ff.]. Aristocratic body posture and body language, which had developed into a socially distinctive system of rules governing steps, gestures, and any form of interaction, finally became the butt of ridicule in the French Revolution. The Roman Republic was seen as the role model for a political commonwealth of free men, whose bodies had cast off the constraints of the Ancien Régime. The new freedom of humanity is evident in the expansive gestures on contemporary paintings: Marianne is depicted in a running pose, bearing the flag and leading the crowd.

Through the 'expansion of publicness' [15. 19] in the French Revolution, clothing, too, gained political importance. The Phrygian cap, a short jacket, and long, wide-cut trousers, the attire of the Sansculottes, comprised the uniform of the true Republican [15. 22]. At the same time, mass rallies were staged based on the Roman model, symbolically presenting the people as a single body. In 1794, the Convention asked the painter Jacques Louis David to submit suggestions for a national costume. David drew civic costumes consisting of a 'short, open tunic, held together at the waist with a sash, tight-fitting trousers, short boots or flat-soled

shoes, a kind of beret, and a three-quarter length coat' [15. 24f.], an imaginative combination of ancient and Renaissance dress styles. While these designs turned the male body into a representative of the new order and minimized the private sphere as a possible location for counter-revolutionary activity, women and their clothing were carefully excluded from this politicalization to preserve the 'natural order' of the genders. Political displays on the female body were largely restricted to wearing the cockade. In posture and dress, the female body was expected to conform to female 'nature', which was associated with the privacy of home and family and, in contrast to the male sphere of public life, seen as largely ahistorical, i.e. immutable [15. 24f., 29].

On the eve of the French Revolution, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in his *Discours* described the historical development of human existence from the natural state to civilized society (Gesellschaft) as a secular Fall of Man. Man in his natural state is good; civilized society causes him to develop negative qualities. For that reason it is the task of a future political commonwealth to return to the closest possible approximation of the natural state (*Du Contrat social*, 1762). In Rousseau's educational novel *Emile* (1762), man is led to happiness by his instincts, and the child develops his mental and physical abilities without coercion. Emile gains much from reading ancient authors: 'it is their simplicity of taste, which speaks directly to the heart' [8. 341]. In this instance, the attractiveness of Antiquity lies in its proximity to the natural state.

This connection was taken up above all by the German Neo-Humanists, linking the reception of Greek Antiquity with a reappraisal of nature and a renascence of art, culture, and community. Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) formulated the basic principles of this new ideal in his essay *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795): *Die Griechen beschämen uns nicht bloß durch eine Simplizität, die unserm Zeitalter fremd ist; ... Zugleich voll Form und voll Fülle, zugleich philosophierend und bildend, zugleich zart und energisch sehen wir sie die Jugend der Phantasie mit der Männlichkeit der Vernunft in einer herrlichen Menschheit vereinigen* ('The Greeks not only put us to shame by a simplicity which is alien to our age; ... Combining fullness of form with fullness of content, philosophizing as well as educating, both tender and forceful, we see them unite the youth of fantasy with the manliness of reason in a splendid humanity', [5. 150]). Education, the idea at the centre of Neo-Humanism, implied the active shaping of aptitudes, innate to the individual, into a comprehensively erudite, reflective, and unique personality. Education always involved the 'whole' person; it was to set targets, overcome regional and religious barriers, and advance the political permeation of bourgeois society. After the experience of the French Revolution, the reform of the polity was conceived as starting with the individual whose comprehensive education, comprising reason, emotion, and sensuality, was seen as the precondition for a free constitution of the state. Wilhelm von Humboldt's (1767–1835) anthropological argument of the malleability of men (*Theorie der Bildung des Menschen*, *c.* 1793, [4. 237]) described this same wholeness: ... *in ihm sind mehrere Fähigkeiten, ihm denselben Gegenstand in verschiedenen Gestalten, bald als Begriff des Verstandes, bald als Bild der Einbildungskraft, bald als Anschauung der Sinne vor seine Betrachtung zu führen* ('... [present] in him are various abilities, [enabling him] to present the same subject for his contemplation in different manifestations, be it as a notion of reason, or as an image of fantasy, or as an intuition of the senses'). In order for education to take place, an object needed to be found which could ideally represent the 'oneness and universality' ('Einheit und Allheit', [4. 237]) of the world. For the Neo-Humanists this was Greek Antiquity, in the sense of a cultural peak that embraced all aspects of human life. Through its appropriation and constructive imitation, their own era, too, was to be led to a cultural renewal.

In the aesthetics of the German classicists, the concept of gestalt became the correlative to the 'unity and universality' of Greek Antiquity. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) developed the concept of gestalt (aesthetic form) in his treatise on Greek sculpture via a theory of empathy ('Einsfühlung'), a feeling of being at one. In a 'curious correlation of sculpture and sense of touch', the sculpted figure and that of the observer become as one, as through tactile exploration the sculpted figure virtually becomes that of the observer: 'my form walks with Apollo', [25. 542]. Thus, the form, through sensual pleasure, opens the way to the experience of a higher level of art. In Friedrich Schiller's view, aesthetic form was predominantly the expression of the formal drive as part of the aesthetic consciousness. In the same way the sensual drive of the aesthetic consciousness was focused on life, the formal drive was tied to the aesthetic form. Schiller understood aesthetic consciousness as a *whole* as referring to the 'living form' (*lebende Gestalt*,[25. 542]): *Solange wir über seine (eines Menschen) Gestalt bloß denken, ist sie leblos, bloße Abstraktion; solange wir sein Leben bloß fühlen, ist es gestaltlos, bloße Impression. Nur indem seine Form in unsrer Empfindung lebt und sein Leben in unserm Verstande sich formt, ist er lebende Gestalt, und dies wird überall der Fall sein, wo wir ihn als schön beurteilen* ('As long as we only think of the aesthetic form (of a human being), it remains lifeless, a mere abstraction; as long as we only feel his life, it remains formless, a mere impression. It is only when his form lives in our feeling, and his life in our understanding, he is the living form, and this will everywhere be the case where we judge him to be beautiful', [25. 542]). In Schiller's eyes, aesthetic 'form' is conceivable as a human being and also as a work of art; both can be the object of a holistic contemplation. The German classicists' concept of gestalt expresses the balance of opposing forces within a successful aesthetic form; it is therefore not only an expression of art's claim to autonomy, but also one of the

successful educational processes of the individual. Neo-Humanist and Classical Antiquity thus established an indissoluble link between the production and reception of art and the human body, on the levels of representation and reception within the educational process. Furthermore, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) declared the study of the naked body the very origin of art in ancient Greece: *da zeigt sich die schöne Natur unverhüllt zum großen Unterricht der Künstler. Die Schule der Künstler war in den Gymnasien, wo die jungen Leute ... ganz nackend ihre Leibesübungen trieben ... Diese häufigen Gelegenheiten zur Beobachtung der Natur veranlaßten die griech. Künstler noch weiter zu gehen: sie fingen an, sich gewisse allg. Begriffe von Schönheiten sowohl einzelner Teile als ganzer Verhältnisse der Körper zu bilden, die sich über die Natur selbst erheben sollten; ihr Urbild war eine bloß im Verstande entworfene geistige Natur* ('... beautiful nature revealed itself unveiled for the great instruction of artists. The school of artists was the gymnasium, where young people ... performed their physical exercises entirely in the nude ... The frequent opportunities to observe nature prompted Greek artists to pursue this further: they began to formulate certain general principles of beauty of individual parts as well as entire interrelationships between bodies, which were to rise above nature itself; their archetype was a spiritual nature designed only in the mind', *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 1755, [8. 347f.]). Nature and culture are thus combined in the aesthetic form, whose beauty, as in the Renaissance, also contains a moral postulate, as Schiller explained in his *Über Anmut und Würde* (1793) with regard to the beautiful soul: *In einer schönen Seele ist es also, wo Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, Pflicht und Neigung harmonieren, und Grazie ist ihr Ausdruck in der Erscheinung* ('Thus it is in a beautiful soul that sensuality and reason, duty and inclination harmonize, and physical grace is its outward expression', [5. 75]). Beauty and goodness were joined according to the Greek concept of *kalokagathia*.

While this meant the beautiful body was considered to be the product of a process of education, it also acquired a social connotation as a bourgeois body. In contrast with aristocratic BC, the bourgeois body (male *and* female) was seen as the result of an inner shaping of the human being, as a work of education undertaken by the emerging economic and academic middle classes. In the early 19th-cent. bourgeois catalogue of norms and values, individual achievement and civic freedom became the yardstick for social reform. The 'perfect posture' as a means to avoid extreme gestures and to initiate interaction on an equal footing was no longer an expression of social class, but of character, and was initially seen as equally important for men and women [10. 88ff.; 19. 80ff.]. At the same time, male and female bodies were subject to different educational ideals and rules of movement: *Im Kreise der (griechischen) Göttinnen begegnet uns das Ideal der Weiblichkeit zuerst in Dionens Tochter. Der kleine und zarte Gliederbau, welcher jeden schmeichelnden Liebreiz vereint, ... der sehnsuchtsvoll geöffnete Mund, die holde Sittsamkeit ... und die himmlische Anmuth, die, gleich einem Hauche, über ihre ganze Gestalt ausgegossen ist, kündigen ein Geschlecht an, das auf seine Schwäche selbst seine Macht gründet. ... Der eigentliche Geschlechtsausdruck ist in der männlichen Gestalt weniger hervorstechend ... sie (die Natur) verstattet ihr mehr Unabhängigkeit von dem, was nur dem Geschlecht angehört ... Je mehr Kraft und Freiheit auch die Gestalt des Mannes verräth, desto männlicher erklärt ihn selbst das alltägliche Urtheil. ... Daher wird die männliche Schönheit immer in dem Grade erhöht, in welchem die Kraft gestärkt wird, und sinkt immer um so viel herab, als man dem Genuss Uebergewicht über die Thätigkeit verstattet* ('It is within the circle of (Greek) goddesses that we first encounter the ideal of femininity in *Dione's* daughter. Her delicate and lithe build, a combination of all that is graceful, ... her mouth longingly opened, her sweet modesty ... and her divine gracefulness, poured like a breeze over her entire body, announce a gender whose power and strength is founded upon its very weakness. ... The actual expression of gender is less prevalent in the male form ... (nature) grants it greater independence of that which is merely associated with gender ... The more strength and freedom the male form betrays, the greater his maleness in everyday perception. ... For that reason, male beauty is always increased to the same degree that its [the male body's] power is strengthened, and lowered to the same extent, as pleasure is given predominance over occupation', W. von Humboldt, *Über die männliche und weibliche Form*, 1795, [4. 298ff.]). Whereas female gracefulness was associated with nobleness of the heart, male strength was linked to the rational disciplining and shaping of the body. This view of the body has found artistic expression in the *Doppelstandbild der Prinzessinnen Luise und Friederike von Preußen* (double statue of the Princesses Luise and Friederike of Prussia, 1795–1797) by Johann G. Schadow (1764–1850) in the Alte Nationalgallerie Berlin, or in Karl Friedrich Schinkel's (1781–1841) painting *Blick in Griechenlands Blüte* (Glimpse of Greece's Golden Age) (1825), Nationalgallerie Berlin, Gallerie der Romantik.

2.3 19th and 20th Cents.

In the course of the 19th cent., the middle-class 'perfect posture' led to the cultivation of an increasingly standardized and ever more disciplined body. The growing importance of the middle classes lent exemplary significance to the presentation of the body and its gesticular expressions and it turned into an instrument of social distinction. While Humboldt had still developed his body ideal from the naked body, this became increasingly taboo in the middle class BC of the 19th cent. Moral standards were written into the bourgeois body language [10. 93ff.]. Bourgeois attire in the 19th cent. gradually began to cover the entire body to the extent that, eventually, even the glimpse of a female ankle could be taken as an erotic signal.

Only at the turn of the century in 1900 did the body undergo a reappraisal as part of the critique of civilization and the life reform movement. Naturism, dress and diet reform, Youth Movement, naturopathy and the temperance movement, gymnastics and dance – all of these converged in the emphasis of the natural beauty of the (also naked) body. However, it was not just a simple matter of returning the body to nature, but of re-educating it towards a new naturalness. Like the Neo-Humanists before them, the reformers saw the forerunners of this beauty, which was cultivated through education, in the statues of Greek Antiquity – an era, which was to be detached from scholarly study and, at the same time, to be tied once again to art and daily life as the royal road to education.

The programme was set out in 1894 by Paul Gérardy in his treatise on *Geistige Kunst* (Spiritual Art), published in Stefan George's (1868–1933) *Blätter für die Kunst*: *Diese worte sollen für diejenigen gelten die einen abscheu empfanden am tage wo das zwanzigste jahr sie aus dem land der fabel in die lebende wirklichkeit versezte. trotz der schulmässigen umhüllung leerer rednerei hatte der schauer vor der geahnten pracht des Altertumes unsre vor bewunderung bleichen stirnen gebeugt, und als wir kühn den göttl. formen zueilen wollten stiessen wir uns an dem leichnam der jahrhunderte* ('These words are addressed to those who loathed the day, when the twentieth year propelled them from the realm of fables into the reality of life. Despite being obscured by the emptiness of schoolmasterly words, the thrill of the splendour of Antiquity, which we could barely sense, bent our foreheads, pale with admiration. But when we boldly rushed towards these divine forms, we stumbled against the corpse of centuries', [3. 111]). Gérardy describes a conflict that has both literary-ideological and inter-generational implications. A new Antiquity, seen through the eyes of youth at the *fin de siècle*, became the symbol of a cultural renewal: *denn die werdende jugend wird darüber lächeln und den vom alter tot zurückgelassenen formen in unerwarteter weise neues und glühendes leben einhauchen* ('because rising youth will smile on this and in unexpected ways breathe new and glowing life into the forms left for dead by the old', [1. 19]). The 'new man' was to be full of beauty and grace; in contrast with the fragmentation and pace of metropolitan life, he was to find a new holistic unity, to discover his 'body-soul' (*Körperseele*). The liberation of the body became part of an ideological framework, combining the new naturalness with a claim to morality, which, originating in an altered perception of the body, could be expanded to include novel concepts of state and society.

The body concept of a new natural femininity was justified through the female body's specific closeness to nature, which led to the assumption not only of a natural biological motherhood but also to that of a 'spiritual motherhood', thus assigning to women a general responsibility for the education of society as a whole. At the same time, the nature of femininity was to be explored and reshaped by naturism and new forms of dance, which were modelled on nature's own rhythms [22].

While the new femininity was largely based on a reinterpretation of 'Deutschtum' ('Germanness', i.e. indigenous culture), it was often imagined in sharp contrast to the male body, which was modelled on ideals drawn from Antiquity, and in rejection of a 'feminized' society (Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft. Eine Theorie der Staatsbildung nach Wesen und Wert*, 1917). The male body was to find its own way back to a unity of body and mind through physical exercise in male communities. Legitimized by the reception of Plato's dialogues, and the Politeia, the male body served to promote a new concept of culture, expressed in terms of all-male fellowships by the Youth Movement, male propagandists of naturism, and also the George Circle. Within the George Circle, the beautiful male body became the vehicle for comprehensive reform plans. Starting from the notion of *kalokagathia* as physical, spiritual and social primacy, beauty as the harmonic union of physical and spiritual education became the aspirational ideal for Stefan George's followers. They also considered it a token of the creative power and the potential for development in those young men who were chosen. Ideals concerning the production of poetic/philosophical works, educational aims, body ideals and ideas of social reform were combined and given full expression within the theorem of the aesthetic form (Gestalt) central to the Circle's ideology. In Heinrich Friedemann's (1888–1915) *Platon. Seine Gestalt* (1914), 'the experience of the opportune moment' (Greek *kairos*) ultimately leads to the perfect poetic or statesmanly work: *Der kairos aber ist die schöpferische stunde, die das chaos zur gestalt zwingt: ... und die gestalt ist als fuge von maass und chaos des kairos bleibendes kind* ('*kairos*, though, is the creative moment which forces chaos into aesthetic form: ... and the aesthetic form as the juncture of restraint and chaos is the lasting progeny of *kairos*', [2. 40f.]). The authors of the George Circle see the 'living form' of the 'whole human being' as the 'founder of the spiritual empire', whose creative impulse was aimed at the receptive male youth: *An euch, knaben und jünglinge, ergeht unser ruf, soweit in euch noch die reinen feuer des lebens brennen. ... Die ewige wahrheit erscheint nur als gestalt und nur im sinnenhaft begrenzten zeigt sie ihre gesetze, eben als gesetze der besonderen leiblichen einheit: darum ist der grösste mensch die tiefste wahrheit, ja der held und herrscher allein ist wahr!* ('We call you, boys and young men, provided that the pure fires of life still burn within you. ... Eternal truth only appears in manifest form, and only in the moderation of the senses does it reveal its laws, precisely as laws of a special physical unity: for that reason the greatest of humans is the deepest truth; yes, only the hero and ruler alone is true!', [6. 151]). The George Circle took up the sharp profile given to the gestalt concept by the German Classicists and bent it towards cultural criticism. Free-

dom as the precondition of education and its firm establishment within society was replaced by the subordination of the individual to the demands of the group. A fellowship-like community concept was developed to counter that of industrial society.

Whereas in the first three decades of the 20th cent. BC was once more defined by the recourse to Antiquity, present-day BC seems to rely solely on set-pieces. The statues of ancient gods and heroes are only playfully reflected in the male body ideal of body builders and their poses, and female BC is opening up to what used to be exclusively male body ideals. The blurring of physical gender contours also opens the way for a playful interaction with previously normative models. However, present day BC is no less subject to a powerful standardization by a society and its ideals, which claims to recognize in a young, slim, and physically fit body an assertive, mobile, creative and flexible personality. In this way, the Greek ideal of *kalokagathia* has indeed found its way into present-day BC, albeit under a different set of norms and values.

SOURCES: 1 Einleitungen und Merksprüche, 3rd series, vol. 4 (1896), in: Blätter für die Kunst. Eine auslese aus den jahren 1892–98, 1899 2 H. FRIEDEMANN, Platon. Seine Gestalt, 1914 3 P. GÉRARDY, Geistige Kunst, in: Blätter für die Kunst. Eine auslese aus den jahren 1892–98, 1899, 111–114 4 W. VON HUMBOLDT, Schriften zur Anthropologie und Geschichte Werke in 5 Bänden, vol.1, 1960 5 F. SCHILLER, Über das Schöne und die Kunst. Schriften zur Ästhetik, 1975 6 F. WOLTERS, Mensch und Gattung, in: F. GUNDOLF, F. WOLTERS (eds.), Jahrbuch für die geistige Bewegung, vol. 3, 1912, 138–154

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CAROLA GROPPE

Bohemia see → CZECH REPUBLIC

Bonapartism see → CAESARISM

Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum and Akademisches Kunstmuseum

A. INTRODUCTION B. HISTORY OF THE RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM C. HISTORY AND PRESENTATION OF THE RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM D. HISTORY OF THE AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUSEUM E. COLLECTION AND PRESENTATION OF THE AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUSEUM

A. INTRODUCTION

The two Bonn museums that house examples of ancient art developed from common historical circumstances. They did not arise from older court collections, but owe their existence indirectly to the Berlin government, after the Rhineland became annexed to the Prussian state in 1814. The preconditions and bases of the museums' foundation may be considered, on the one hand, as positive effects of Prussia's 'bourgeois' reforms after the Wars of Liberation. On the other hand, they also bear witness to a definite cultural policy, with which the central power tried to promote its ideals within the new province, which was Catholic and by no means well disposed towards Prussia.

B. HISTORY OF THE RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM

In 1820, Chancellor Hardenberg decreed that a collection of regional monuments should be created in Bonn as the *Museum Rheinisch-Westfälischer Alterthümer*. From 1823 to 1874, its holdings were organizationally linked to the University, which was housed in the Bonner Schloss. From 1841 on, the *Verein von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Society of the Friends of Antiquity in the Rhineland), founded as a citizens' initiative and to some extent strongly marked

Fig. 1: Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum,
tomb relief of Marcus Caelius.
Landesverband Rheinland/
Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn

Fig. 2: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum,
view of the exterior with former entrance (*c.* 1990).
Photo: Akademisches Kunstmuseum

Fig. 3: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum,
calyx krater by the 'Copenhagen Painter'.
Photo: Akademisches Kunstmuseum

Fig. 4: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum,
portrait of Arsinoe.
Photo: Akademisches Kunstmuseum

by regional patriotism, emerged with its own collection efforts. These collections were combined into the *Rheinisches Provinzialmuseum*, which was subject to provincial authority and moved into its own building in 1893. An extension was added in 1909, and its name was changed to *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* in 1934. The buildings suffered extensive war damage in 1943, while the holdings were, by and large, able to be preserved by being moved to safety. The objects were made accessible to the public once again in 1969.

C. History and Presentation of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum

Antiquity occupies only one segment in the building, albeit an important one. All in all, the time span of the works exhibited in modern-designed rooms extends from the Stone Age to the present. The common denominator of all the objects is their regional connection.

Archeological monuments are not set up primarily as works of art, but as historical evidence. To be sure, aesthetic and stylistic categories also come into play, but on a subordinate level. Although the main room, the skylight hall, is visually dominated by a mosaic set in the floor, some stone sculptures grouped around the centre, and a display of arcades from Aachen, works of other genres, down to simple objects for daily use, likewise find suitable consideration. An outstanding group of monuments with high value as sources for the history of Roman Germania are the gravestones of military personnel, including the well-known relief of Caelius from Xanten (Fig. 1), who fell as a captain in Varus' campaign. A few Altars of the Matronae testify to religious peculiarities and regional cultic traditions. Roman portraiture is represented mainly by a youthful head from Zülpich, from the early Empire, and a bronze head of Emperor Gordian III (reigned AD 238–244).

D. History of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum

After King Friedrich Wilhelm III had a Prussian university built in Bonn in 1818, it was rapidly decided to establish an archaeological museum at the university as well. Its founder Georg Friedrich Welcker – formerly tutor in the household of Wilhelm von Humboldt at Rome and then the holder of the Chair for Classical Studies – sought to assemble a collection that should awaken 'a sense of appreciation for the essence of the fine arts'. This goal was served less by the collection of originals, initially modest, than by the → cast collections of ancient sculptures. For several decades, the *Akademisches Kunstmuseum* was developed parallel with the *Museum Rheinisch-Westfälischer (bzw. vaterländischer) Alterthümer* (Museum of Rheinish-Westphalian (or patriotic) Antiquities), which was also affiliated with the university. Close connections had also existed since 1841 between the University and the *Society of Friends of Antiquity*; yet after 1860 this cooperation changed to rivalry and conflict. At the same time, the common administration of both museums at the University broke apart. The official separation was carried out in 1870.

The size of the collection of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum, and especially moisture damage to the casts, increasingly made accommodation in separate quarters a necessity. In 1884 the move, which included the Archeological Seminar, to the former anatomy building (Fig. 2) took place, which, built in 1824 in strictly Classical style, was adapted to its new function and enlarged, on which occasion the question of appropriate lighting by means of a skylight or high sidelight played an important role. The annex, which definitely had more surface-space than the old wing, hosted to the cast collection.

However, as also happened elsewhere, during the second half of the 19th cent., appreciation of the cast collection decreased. Around the turn of the 20th cent., preferences within the Museum shifted entirely in favour of originals, and their numbers were systematically increased. However, since the First World War, new purchases have been drastically curtailed, owing to lack of resources.

E. Collection and Presentation of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum

The cast collection, begun in 1820, is today among the world's largest. Due to limited space, only a selection of the approximately 900 pieces is presented. Yet even the approximately 250 statues shown in the Annex are exhibited close together.

If initially the cast collection was meant to fulfil a task of aesthetic education, with the emphasis on Classical Greek sculpture, this area of the Museum has evolved to provide an overall view of the history of ancient sculpture, albeit necessarily limited. Its function has been primarily that of an educational collection. This also holds true of the collection of originals. Thus, ceramic production from all phases of Antiquity is documented almost uninterruptedly by characteristic pieces, sometimes only in the form of inconspicuous shards, mostly kept in storage. At the same time, there are outstanding monuments from a wide variety of genres, which deserve interest even outside of university instruction. Let us merely mention a Cycladic idol from the 3rd millennium BC, a portrait of the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoe II (3rd cent. BC, Fig. 4), and an Attic red-figured bell krater by the so-called Copenhagen Painter (*c.* 470–460 BC, Fig. 3).

Since 1968, the Museum has striven to attract a broader public. Over the last few years, activities have intensified with a view to achieving recognition as an official educational institution, as well as towards integration into Bonn's 'Museum Mile'. This was the goal of an ambitious special exhibition in the early 1990s, carried out with international cooperation. At the same time, proposals were submitted as to how the institution's premises could be better put to use, in order, on the one hand, to reduce the overcrowded profusion of the permanent exhibitions, and, on the other, to set aside space for changing presentations.

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Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

A. Institution B. History of the collection C. Museum Activities

A. Institution

The organization responsible of the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), which was founded in 1870, is a private foundation (address: MFA, 465 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115–5523, USA).

B. History of the collection

Together with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and others, the MFA is one of the pioneering American museum institutions of the 19th cent.

The Museum was founded on February 4, 1870, and its opening in the building on Copley Square took place on July 4, 1876. In 1909, the rapidly-growing museum moved to its present location, which since then, through extensions built by I.M. Pei, among others, has reached its current dimensions. Europe, with its cultural and, above all, educational ideals, served as model in the museum's conception [1].

The M.F.A.'s collections are indebted to 'genial art'. All areas of world art were collected, among which the collections of ancient, European, and Asian art held a high rank. In sculpture, in addition to originals, plaster casts of representative works were also included initially, since in general 'originals would either remain inaccessible, or else have little value, or else be of doubtful authenticity' [1].

The Department of Antiquities forms a separate department within the MFA: the *Department of Classical Archaeology*, today the *Department of Classical Art*, which was set up in 1885 under the direction of Edward Robinson. It began with, among other objects, a collection of Cypriot sculptures, purchased in 1872 from Luigi Palma di Cesnola, future Director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In 1876, for the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the United States, Charles Perkings made a gift of a group of reliefs which he had evidently brought back from Rome. They included a fragment of the so-called Capaneus from Phidias' shield of Athena Parthenos. Other elements of the collection (1884) came from Assos in Turkey, in the

form of objects which the MFA received in return for its participation in excavations at that site. Slightly later, finds from the Greek colony Naucratis in the Nile Delta came to Boston by this route.

Robinson began the selective purchase of originals of objects such as vases, terracottas, and sculptures. True to the Museum's manifesto, its first publication was the catalogue of casts from 1887 [2]. The ancient pieces were presented in 1893 in a vase catalogue with over 600 entries and fragments from Naucratis [3].

The personal interests of a series of benefactors were decisive for the composition of the collection [4]. Among them, E.P. Warren, who actively contributed to broadening the antiquities collection, particularly stands out. Financial donations enabled the selective purchase of Classical art, so that between 1895 and 1904 the collection grew by more than 4000 objects, including more than 1000 Greek coins, as well as sculptures, vases, bronzes, terracottas and gems.

Between 1908 and 1944, the curator L. D. Caskey left his mark on the Antiquities department: it was under his aegis that, for instance, the *Boston Throne* (1908), the Carter collection of ancient glass (1916–1931) and the E.P. Warren collection of ancient gems (1927) were acquired. In 1918, part 3 of the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis found its way to Boston. Portraits, Etruscan art, and prehistoric Greek art were also acquired in large numbers [4]. This acquisition activity was selectively continued by Caskey's successors. Completed by donations and gifts, the Boston collection impresses today mainly by its breadth, and offers a wide-reaching overview of ancient art, from prehistory to early Byzantium.

C. Museum Activities

Among the best-known objects is the *Boston Throne*, which, however, was probably created as a counterpart to the Ludovisi Throne in Rome in the 19th cent. (Fig. 1). There has been a lengthy debate about this relief, which can serve as an excellent example of a fundamental dilemma of antiquities collecting: the difficulty of recognizing → forgeries or new creations as such. The acknowledged highlights of the collection include: the post-Geometric statue of Mantiklos from Boeotia, impressive by its 'modern' simplicity (Fig. 2), the fine head of the young Arsinoe II of Egypt (Fig. 3), an example of the important series of ancient portraits, which runs into Late Antiquity. A classic of Greek vase painting is the amphora by the Andokides Painter, which marks the beginning of red-figure vase painting. A large number of outstanding examples of this genre of art and craft, such as the bell krater by the Pan Painter with Artemis and Aktaion (Fig. 4), enable their history to be followed down to the time of Alexander the Great.

In addition to large sculpture and vase painting, the MFA also possesses an impressive collection of minor arts, in which gems, gold jewellery, and small bronzes are represented as much as are coins and medals. Here, too, a broad historical spectrum opens before the visi-

Fig. 1: 'Boston Throne', in the style of the 5th cent. BC, 19th cent. Italian

Fig. 2: Statue with votive inscription to Apollo, donated by Manticlus, from Boeotia, *c.* 700 – 650 BC

tor, which extends from the Bronze Age to the early Byzantine era.

The MFA. has presented part of its collection in a series of scholarly publications. These include the first catalogue of sculptures [4] by L. C. Caskey; who also published the ceramics, partly in collaboration with Sir John D. Beazley [5]. Already in 1916, G.H. Chase had presented the Arretine sigillata [6], and in 1928 A. Fairbanks had made the Greek and Etruscan vases accessible [7]. A series of further catalogues for individual special disciplines show the progress of work on the Museum's holdings in recent times [8–17]. In addition, the MFA is collaborating on a series of scholarly standard works [18; 19]. It also participated in an excavation on Cyprus, on which occasion it harked back to the archaeological tradition of the 19th cent. [20].

→ Andocides Painter.

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WOLF RUDOLPH

Botany

A. Introduction B. Agriculture C. Medicine and Pharmacy D. Pure Botany E. Astrology and Magic

A. Introduction

The term was introduced as early as 1663 by Schorer as *Botanic oder Kräuterwissenschaft* (botany or herbal science), following *botanik-́e* (sc. *epist-́emē*) and Neo-Latin *botanica* (sc. *scientia*) [32] and is encountered in the limited sense of a plant system in 1694 in the title of the *Elemens de Botanique* by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort. Only in the 19th cent. did botany gain the comprehensive meaning of all scientific disciplines involving plants [29]. Before this, botany can only be spoken of in a very limited way.

B. Agriculture

In earliest times, human interest in the surrounding flora was focussed on becoming familiar with and collecting edible plants in order to still their hunger. Trees and bushes bearing fruit and berries, as well as types of grass used to feed animals, were thus the first known. The knowledge was also passed on orally by the various waves of Greek tribes which emigrated from Central Europe. No specialist literature for agricultural botany has been preserved, even from Classical Greece. Traces can be found only in Theophrastus, but hardly any names are connected with them [33. 14–30]. Some older information has been included in the *Geoponica* from the 10th cent. AD and in the works of Latin agricultural authors such as Cato, M. Terentius Varro, Columella and Palladius. In his work *De vegetabilibus libri VII*, Albertus Magnus (about 1200–1280) frequently falls back on Palladius, who was well-known throughout the Middle Ages. Then in the 14th cent. in Germany, Gottfried of Franconia refers to him explicitly in describing old and new grafting techniques for achieving better varieties of fruit and wine. His Pelzbuch continued to have major influence in a (to date unedited) Latin and several German editions. In his *Opus ruralium commodorum*, Petrus de Crescentiis (about 1233 – about 1320) also drew from numerous ancient agricultural works, e.g. that of Palladius, and from his own experience as a country landowner. Other Latin treatises (ed. Kiewisch) are based more on personal experience than on the reception of ancient texts.

C. Medicine and Pharmacy

The second most important significance for plants was in medicine. However, before Hippocrates who, like Diocles of Carystus later, placed great value on diet, we have no written medical lore. According to W. Jaeger [31. 164, 181–185], the *Rhizatomika* of Diocles was the first, evidently groundbreaking work in pharmacological botany, which presumably was used tacitly by Theophrastus (Hist. pl. Book 9) as well as by Dioscorides, Nicander, and Pliny (cf. [39]). Jaeger took Diocles to be a Peripatetic who lived *c.* 340–260 BC. We do not know whether, as a probable contemporary, he had a closer connection with Aristotle (384–322 BC). From Crateuas, who worked about 100 BC at the court of Mithridates VI, we are aware of only ten fragments from the famous illustrated Greek codex of Dioscorides from 512, prepared for the imperial daughter Julia Anicia, which was donated from the library in Constantinople to the imperial court library in Vienna; they are probably from the scientific πιζοθομικόν and not from the popular herbal with coloured illustrations. In the 1st cent. AD, the Greek physician Pedanius Dioscorides, who used Crateuas as a source, provided many good descriptions along with the discussion of plants as drugs in his pharmacopoeia de *materia medica* (περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς) in five books. As the so-called *Dioscorides Longobardus*, the work is preserved in the vulgar Latin form of the 6th cent. in the Codex Latinus Monacensis 337 in Munich. The second Latin translation in alphabetical order was attributed to Constantinus Africanus (2nd half of the 11th cent.) and revised by Petrus de Abano in the 14th cent. Together with the Greek text first published in Venice [36. 69ff.] in 1499, it then formed the basis for pharmacological instruction (*materia medica*) at medieval universities and was frequently commented in Latin, e.g. by Valerius Cordus in 1561. In its dispute with the botanical information of Dioscorides, botany developed into an independent science from the 16th cent. on. His second work *De simplicibus medicamentis* (περὶ ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων), on the other hand, encompassed only two books and had little effect. Dioscorides was a contemporary of Plinius Secundus (AD 23–79); in the latter's *Naturalis historia* many books are filled with all types of botanical knowledge. Pliny's encyclopaedia was very well-known, particularly after the 12th cent., at first in the form of epitomes, such as the *Defloratio naturalis historiae Plinii* of Robert of Cricklade [first edition: *Roberti Crikeladensis Defloratio Naturalis Historie Plinii Secundi*, Bodo Näf (ed.), 2002], furthermore through numerous publications after 1469 [36. 80], commentaries, and Renaissance works both in support of and in opposition to it. [36. 81–86].

D. Pure Botany

We have only 147 fragments of Aristotle's lost work on plants, which he himself quotes for comparison in some places in the *Historia animalium* and other works. Theophrastus of Eresus (372–285 BC) on the island of Lesbos was a Peripatetic and direct student of Aristotle. He appears to have already possessed botanical knowledge before meeting Aristotle, but it was their daily interaction that enabled him to represent his views systematically in two works. These are a) his botany corresponding to the Aristotelian zoology (*Historia plantarum*) and b) the causes of plants (*De causis plantarum*), which according to Wöhrle [40. 11] corresponds to Aristotle's work *De generatione animalium*. With these two works, Theophrastus became the founder of a scientific botany.

G. Senn [37] arrived at the view – not accepted by scholars – that Botany was compiled from approximately nine individual works of Andronicus about 80 BC, while Wöhrle [40] demonstrates that each book fits well into the plan of the complete work. The organization of a) is [40. 2–3] as follows: Book 1, ch. 1–4: Definition of plant parts and general statements about the most important of them, as well as distinguishing contrasting pairs, such as fruit-bearing and nonfruit-bearing, coniferous and deciduous. At the same time, Theophrastus not only defines many terms precisely, but also creates new terms [37]. Furthermore, the influence of a plant's location on its habitus and characteristics are discussed. Ch. 5–14: The differentiation (διαφοραί) of the parts into trunk or stem, bark, wood, pith, leaves, roots, etc., taking into account the most important types of plants (tree = δένδρον, shrub = θάμος, undershrub = φρύγανον, herb = πόα). 'The tree is considered the ideal case, as the 'model' for the discussion of plants' [40. 149–153]. Book 2, ch. 1–4: The (non sexual) reproduction of various types of plants (the μέγιστα ἔιδη). Ch. 5–8: The cultivation and care of 'domestic' (ἥμερα), i.e. fruit-bearing trees (δένδρα). Book 3: The 'wild' (ἄγρια) trees and shrubs. Book 4: The occurrence of trees and other plants in various locations, also discussing plants in lakes, rivers and oceans (cf. [40. 105–108]). In Hist. pl. 4,4,4, Theophrastus describes the Indian banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*) with its mighty aerial roots based on reports from Alexander's expedition [30]. The lifespan of plants, diseases and other negative influences on plants are also discussed [34. 107–120]. Book 5: The various types of wood and their use. Books 6–8: The undershrubs and herbs in detail, including the cereals in Book 8. Book 9: Plant fluids, but also the production of balsam, resin and pitch, as well as the medical-pharmaceutical use of plant parts. b) The work on plant physiology deals with the motive causes of botanical reproduction in six books and is organized as follows [40. 43–46]: Book 1: The types of reproduction, annual sprouting, and fructification. Book 2: The influences of nature, particularly wind, rain and soil conditions, on sprouting and fructification. Books 3–4: The influence of humans on the plants they cultivate. Book 5, ch. 1–7: Uninfluenced, unnatural processes and human efforts for specific results, such as seedless fruit. Ch. 8–18: Plant diseases and plant death. Book 6: The origin of plant fluids and their taste and odour as influenced by location.

In both works, Theophrastus demonstrates thorough botanical knowledge, both theoretical and practical. He knew the agricultural procedures for growing plants [40. 46–51] as well as the various qualities of standard commercial types of wood. Also striking – as with Aristotle in regard to animals – is his excellent geographical knowledge of plants. However, he would not admit the sexuality of plants, i.e. the necessity of pollinating the female style with pollen from the male stamen to produce seeds and fruit. Though he, he had actually been on the track of this process, which parallels animal reproduction based on the artificial pollination of table figs and date palms (Caus. pl. 2,9 and 3,18), he was nonetheless wary of a corresponding generalization [35. 141–194, 166–169]. The work *De plantis* by Nicolaus of Damascus (1st cent. BC) in two short books was long considered to be the lost Aristotelian work. In the Occident, at first, it was of influence only in its incomplete Latin translation (about 1200) from the Arabic by Alfredus Anglicus (de Sareshel) and was translated into Greek from this 100 years later by an unknown Byzantine. Authors of Latin natural history encyclopaedias (13th–15th cent.) occasionally cited it under the name of Aristotle. Following a discussion of the difference in how life is expressed in plants and animals, the author reviews the components of plants, such as wood, pith and bark, parallels the shedding of leaves in winter with the change of coat in some animals, and discusses the differences of plants in their morphological development, their locations, and their reproduction, as in part dependent on humans and meteorological influences. Some types of plants are named as examples.

E. Astrology and Magic

From the Byzantine period there are smaller works extant in which certain plants, such as the mandrake, are interpreted and applied in magical ways [38]. This section includes the translation into Latin of the *Cyranides*, which are cited, for example, around the middle of the 13th cent. by Thomas of Cantimpré in his *Liber de natura rerum*, and the related *Compendium aureum*.

→ Columella; → Diocles [6] of Carystus; → Pedanius Dioscurides

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Bücher-Meyer Controversy, the

A. Introduction B. Historical and Political Pre-Conditions C. Bücher's Theory of Economic Development D. Eduard Meyer's View of the Economy in Antiquity E. Agreement and Criticism – Subsequent Contributions to the Discussion

A. Introduction

The debate that went on between 1893 and 1902 over the basic features of the economy in Classical Antiquity is referred to in more recent scholarly historical literature, both in Ancient History as well as the history of the discipline, as the Bücher-Meyer Controversy (BMC). The origin of this discussion was the publication in 1893 of a book entitled *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* ('Industrial Evolution', 1907) by the economist Karl Bücher promulgating the view that a dominance of a home economy was characteristic of Classical Antiquity. At the third meeting of German historians in Frankfurt in 1895, historian Eduard Meyer took a detailed stand vis-à-vis Bücher's thesis in a lecture entitled *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums* ('Economic Development in Antiquity'), in which he emphasised the modernity of the economic conditions in those times. The historical significance of the BMC for scholars lies essentially in the fact that Meyer's position, despite critical objections by individual historians in the field, was widely accepted and left its stamp on economic studies of Antiquity well into the years following World War II; as recently as 1972, Meyer's work was recognised by Karl Christ as having the 'status of a definitive synthesis'.

B. Historical and Political Pre-Conditions

Eduard Meyer's exceedingly sharp criticism of Bücher's theories on the history of economics can be understood only against the background of the methods debate among German historians and the education policy after 1890. Shortly before 1895, the attempt of Karl Lamprecht in his *Deutsche Geschichte* to realise a new conception of historiographic presentation through the reception of sociological theories of varying origins and through the inclusion of both the material and the intellectual culture of a people were met with rejection by many historians; the prevailing view at that time was expressed by Georg von Below in 1893 in a critical review in which he accuses Lamprecht of having neglected the political history while at the same time he (Below) affirmed the primacy of the history of political events: 'from a work of history we just want to learn what happened and to be informed about political events and persons'. Politically important was

the fact that Below called Lamprecht an 'adherent of the materialistic and physiological way of viewing history that is now flourishing', thereby making him appear as an outsider in the rather more conservative fraternity of historians. For Classical Studies at this time the outcome and consequences of the School Conference of 1890 were sobering: the number of (weekly) instruction hours in Greek and Latin had been reduced as well as those in Ancient History within the overall subject of history. That Wilhelm II himself had supported these changes was felt to be especially problematic. In the opinion of the classical historian Robert von Pöhlmann, the challenge in this situation was to emphasise the topicality of Classical Studies and their relevance for the present, on the one hand, and, on the other, to reject any model of a socialist interpretation of Antiquity. Revealing for an evaluation of the BMC is the fact that Pöhlmann dismissed the notion that humanity passes through 'certain stages in accordance with a strict law of history' as the 'historical dogma' of socialist scholarship. Under these conditions, historians of Classical Antiquity could not be interested in approving a theory that postulated economic primitivity in ancient times based on the idea of economic stages.

C. Bücher's Theory of Economic Development

Bücher's remarks were directed primarily against theoretical assumptions of the historical school of German national economy; he attempted to show that the categories derived from modern economics could not be applied to earlier economic periods, but that national economy is instead a product of historical development. To distinguish the economy of previous epochs, Bücher assumes the economic stages: closed home economy, city economy, and national economy. The postulation of such economic stages is for him an 'indispensable methodological tool'. Characteristic of the closed home economy, in Bücher's view, is the fact that 'the entire economic cycle, from production to consumption, takes place in the closed sphere of the home', so that 'production of goods and consumption of goods' merge. Identification of this economic stage with the economic conditions in Greece, Carthage and Rome was decisive for the ensuing debate. Drawing support from the works of Johann Karl Rodbertus, Bücher was easily able to list an array of arguments for his theory; especially important was reference to the distinct tendency to self-sufficiency on the big Roman estates; the existence of long-distance trade is not denied, but in Bücher's view this trade was limited to 'rare natural products' and handcrafted commodities of high value and was therefore largely insignificant for the economic structure: 'Impetus and direction for every single economy always come from the needs of its members; it must produce whatever it can produce itself to satisfy those needs'.

D. Eduard Meyer's View of the Economy in Antiquity

For his lecture in Frankfurt, Meyer chose an economic-historical topic because he believed that in this way the 'significance, which even now in the present contains a correct understanding of the problems which affect ancient history, could emerge clearly', and because he wanted to 'combat as erroneous' the views formulated by Rodbertus and Bücher, which in his opinion were 'an obstacle in the way of a correct understanding not only of Antiquity but also of historical development in the world in general'. Basic to Meyer's view of history was the idea that the Homeric Age in Greece could be conceived as the 'Greek Middle Ages'. Since the beginning of colonisation, then, according to Meyer, maritime trade developed and, as a result, an 'industry working for export'; at the same time, slave labour and a money economy gained in significance. In the Aegean realm, 'distinct trade- and industrial cities existed everywhere', the policies of Athens were 'completely governed by commercial interests', and because of its local textile production, Megara appears as an 'industrial state' in Meyer's writings. As such conclusions show, Meyer saw clear parallels between economic development in antiquity and that of modern times; he even postulates direct correspondences between the two periods: 'In their development, the seventh and sixth centuries in Greek history correspond to the fourteenth and fifteenth cents AD in modern times; the fifth to the sixteenth'. Recapitulating, Meyer says of Hellenistic Greece that 'in every respect this epoch cannot be thought of as modern enough', that to all intents and purposes it can be compared to our 17th and 18th cents. The causes of the collapse of the Roman Empire are to be found, according to Meyer in a general disintegration, in a cultural decline rather than in economic factors, among which, however, the 'growth of big business' and the 'full development of capitalism' are specifically noted; they led to the ruin of the rural population and, in the end, to the destruction of prosperity and culture. With the return in Late Antiquity to a barter economy, however, the 'cycle of development in Antiquity' is again completed. Eduard Meyer argued this complex of topics once again in 1898, in his lecture *Die Sklaverei im Altertum*, in which he repeated his criticism of Bücher's theses. Here, too, he was essentially concerned about the reference to present time: 'And so it is only natural that economic development in Antiquity is granted only a historic interest today; if its conditions were truly fundamentally different from ours in this respect, then it would be self-evident that our times can no longer learn anything from them'.

Meyer's remarks are based largely not on his own research but rather follow most notably the views of Büchsenschütz, who as early as 1869 described extensively the expansion of commerce and industry in the post-Homeric period and specifically pointed out factors that inhibited the development of trade and industry, as for example widespread production for domestic

consumption and 'deficiency in the means of transportation'.

E. Agreement and Criticism – Subsequent Contributions to the Discussion

Meyer's modernistic view of Antiquity found concurrence in Julius Beloch, who in his essay *Die Großindustrie im Altertum* (1899) assumed, similar to Meyer, that a number of factories and large firms existed in Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries BC; Italy, according to Beloch, never became 'an actual industrial country'. Bücher's attempt to continue the discussion in his essay *Zur griechischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Festschrift Albert Schäffle, 1901) went largely unnoticed in the field of Ancient History; in a short reply in 1902, Beloch made convincingly clear that data from ancient times pertaining to the custom duties at the port of Piraeus constitute quite sufficient evidence for the volume of exchanged goods in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Likewise, the considerably expanded version of Bücher's essay (*Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1922) had no further influence on research in the field of Classical Antiquity, despite a number of substantial objections to Meyer's interpretation of the sources.

Nonetheless, other scholars raised critical objections to Meyer's position; here, Ludo Moritz Hartmann must especially be mentioned; in a discussion of the Frankfurt lecture, he emphatically concluded that the view 'that the ancient economy was not essentially different from the modern' contradicts the 'facts that are known'. Hartmann himself was of the belief that no single economic system dominated in Antiquity; rather that 'several types of economy' existed in parallel. Max Weber, finally, who as early as 1896 had expressed the opinion, in clear contradiction to Meyer, that 'little or nothing [could be learned] from the history of Antiquity for the social problems of today', interprets Bücher's remarks in his 1909 article *Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum* as an 'idealised construct of an economic constitution' and at the same time notes the absence of any evidence for the existence of factories in ancient Greece. Summing up, he says that nothing could be 'more dangerous than imagining the conditions of Antiquity as 'modern''. While later authors such as M. Rostovtzeff (1929–30) and W.L. Westermann (1935) in important works took up the theses of Meyer and Beloch and thus influenced our modern image of the economy in ancient times, a reflection of the critical position can be found in the works of Johannes Hasebroek.

After 1970, with growing interest in economic-historical questions, greater attention was once again paid to the BMC. In 1972, Michael Austin devoted a longer section to it in *Économies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne*, and in 1979, Moses Finley, whose concept of ancient economy was strongly influenced by Max Weber and Karl Polanyi, edited the most important contributions of all to the BMC. In the most recent economic-historical research there is no longer any debate about alternative positions like subsistence economy or market

production, but rather an attempt to include all the diverse economic forms and their regional and temporal distribution in a differentiated model of the economy in Antiquity.

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HELMUTH SCHNEIDER

Bucolic/Idyll

A. Scope of the Topic B. The Development of Bucolic Poetry during the Renaissance and the Baroque C. Renewal of the Genre of Modern Idyllic Poetry D. Directions of Development in the Idyllic Literature of the 19th and 20th Cents.

A. Scope of the Topic

E.R. Curtius designated Virgil's First Eclogue as a 'Schlüssel zur literarischen Tradition Europas' (key to the literary tradition of Europe) [4]. In order to describe the tradition thus inaugurated we have to begin by justifying why it is identified here with the two concepts, bucolics and idyll. Bucolics (also pastoral poetry) refers to the poetry associated with those poems of Theocritus, authentic or just attributed to him, which evoke a pastoral world. The term idyll, although derived from the designation of the texts of Theocritus as *eidýllia*,

must be understood more broadly, namely from the perspective of reception history. Essential is the representation of a limited space, which allows the cultivation of the arts, particularly of poetry and music, and the cultivation of intense human relationships, particularly erotic. Idyllic poetry in this sense can be found already before Theocritus (i.e., in Homer) and developed from the 18th cent. onwards increasingly independent from the pastoral setting. Considering both poetry forms, however, requires the explicit or implicit connection of even the most modern and individualistic idyllic poetry to the ancient models. Decisive for the bucolic-idyllic tradition remains a fundamental structure, which is already present in the ancient models: a tension between the deliberate fictionality of the texts, which shows itself through various signals, and episodes which imitate reality. Since Virgil, the contemporary reality outside the text has often been introduced through allegoric references. Thus in each case an interplay of various textual levels develops, whose unfolding design gains great liberty from the absence of classical normative poetics for this genre which emerged late. However, the ascription of it to the *genus humile*, which has long been established in the various poetics, is important. During the reception history, related ancient motifs from other genres merge with the bucolic elements: the depiction of country life (Virgil's *Georgics*), the praise of simple life (Horace's 2nd *Epode*), the Golden Age (the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*).

B. The Development of Bucolic Poetry during the Renaissance and the Baroque

From the rich variety of the Virgilian bucolics (song, poetry, love, friendship, scenery, myth), ancient bucolics ends in the Carolingian period with references to personal and political states of affairs and problems; and it is with these that it starts again in the 14th cent., albeit without continuity. The absence of a comprehensive Christian transformation of ancient bucolic poetry in medieval literature has complex reasons [5]. The new beginning took its place in the dispute between Latin and Italian as literary languages. In a letter composed as a hexameter eclogue, the grammarian Giovanni di Virgilio asked Dante to leave aside his preference for the *volgare* and celebrate the great contemporary events in Latin and to found with him a community of poets in Bologna, proposals which Dante rejected, also using the form of a Latin eclogue transcribed in the bucolic mode (1319/1320). Boccaccio (1347/1348) adopted this new form of the letter-eclogue and published in 1357 a *Bucolicum carmen* consisting of 16 eclogues. In his work, as in the Petrarch's poetry collection of the same name, the bucolic disguise becomes a medium of political opinion regarding the power struggles in Italy. An evasive move away from political reality led the lyric poet Petrarch to the foundation of an important tradition: bucolic-idyllic solitude poetry. Until well into the 17th cent., the allegorical eclogue remained a favoured form of learned discussion. Particularly influential was the Carmelite Mantuanus (Baptista Spagnuolo), who has the herdsmen discuss in dialogues a wide range of traditional and current topics in his collection *Adulescentia* (1500). Also in Germany, Latin bucolic poetry of the Reformation (Euricius Cordus, Eobanus Hessus, et al) attests to the close theoretical association of idyll and satire, which would be established by Schiller (*Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, 1795). In a parallel development, eclogues were conceived also in the vernacular, e.g. in French by Pierre Ronsard. A particularly complex example of allegorical bucolic poetry is that of Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). By dedicating an eclogue to each month in a cycle rich in poetic forms and quotations, Spenser introduced to bucolic poetry the motif of the seasons, central for future idyllic poetry. Added commentaries explicitly point to the existence of current reference levels, which are superimposed to an extent that allows multiple readings of the text. [6. 76–92].

Renaissance bucolics developed vigorously in the forms of the pastoral novel and drama. Most important was the Neapolitan poet and courtier Jacopo Sannazaro [10]. In his prosimetric poem *Arcadia* (1502/04), the first-person narrator Sincero wanders, with unhappy love on his mind, through the charming pastoral country Arcadia, where he shares the life and songs of the shepherds, until the homesick hero is at last brought back to Naples by a nymph. In this poem, clouded by the decline of the Neapolitan kingdom, there are references to the historical situation; at the same time though, the pastoral country acquires a coherent fictional existence, characterized by the beauty of the landscape, by a life of leisure, by concentration on love and singing. The name 'Arcadia', which is reminiscent of Virgil's repeated mention of this region as the home of singing, will become from now on the code name for an artistic and textual world situated at the margins of the empirical. With this meaning it appears in Tasso's *L'Aminta* (1573), a drama close to tragedy, about the turning of an Amazon-like shepherdess to love. Its famous choral song on the Golden Age of free love places Arcadia close to blessed primordial times. Guarini's *Pastor fido* (1590) presents an antithetic answer to Tasso's ideal of erotic liberty. Together with the dramas and operas promoted by court culture, numerous pastoral poems and novels would be created during the following two centuries. In the structure of the latter, bucolic love troubles are entwined with the intrigues of adventure novels and with political allegories. The most important are: Jorge de Montemayor's *Siete libros de la Diana* (1559), Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's *Galatea* (1585), Lope de Vega's *Arcadia* (1598), Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590/93) and Honoré d'Urfés *Astrée* (1607/27). The *Schäferromane* (pastoral novels) translated into German in the 17th cent. contributed to the connection of German literature to European; compared with the latter, the late independent production of novels in Germany attained only limited importance. In contrast, the newly developing Christian bucolic

poetry, not only in the Spanish lyric of Juan de la Cruz which was inspired by the Song of Songs, but also in the intimate Christ poems of his German disciple, Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld, reached a high point. The superimposition of the the pastoral world on the empirical took place until the end of the 18th cent., also in a real way: in the court performances of pastoral plays and operas, as well as in the poetic societies. The strong presence of bucolic motifs in the cultural life, however, brought about a trivialization which contributed to the necessity of a renewal of this poetic genre.

C. Renewal of the Genre of Modern Idyllic Poetry

The renewal started in France, in the context of the → Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. In his *Discours sur l'Eglogue* (1688), Bernard de Fontenelle demanded for the contemporary author the right to adapt his depiction of the pastoral world to the modern taste. However, he still maintained an idealization justified by the placement of the pastoral life in a more perfect, primordial time. The first decades of the 18th cent. are marked by the dispute between those who defended what should remain in principle a fictional Arcadia and the advocates of a stronger presence of elements that imitate reality [11]. The latter came especially from England, where in 1713, in *The Guardian*, an extensive discussion about the orientation of pastoral poetry could be read. Motivating the demand for the introduction of local elements were a new sensibility toward nature and a growing awareness of the real life of the country people. However, their misery becomes noticeable precisely when they are entering Arcadia. The impossibility of such an integration was the main argument of those who insisted on fictionalisation. The revaluing of work in the Protestant countries weakened the old bucolic component of leisure and allowed the influence of the *Georgics* on the idyll to become stronger, as the influential poem *Die Alpen* (1729) by Albrecht von Haller shows. The tangled literary situation was decisively changed by the idyllic poetry of Salomon Gessner (1756; 1772), which, unusually quickly and successfully translated into numerous languages, defined the image of bucolic-idyllic poetry until the end of the century. Gessner participated in the new, specifically German, enthusiasm for Antiquity, which, compared with the traditional scholarly conception of Classical literature, aimed at a more lively understanding of it. His model is Theocritus, who, misunderstood as the original poet of nature, became in the last decades of the 18th cent. the guiding star of the renewed idyllic poetry. Thus the term idyll, which refers back to Theocritus, grammatically constructed as feminine from a plural form, prevailed against competing designations and influenced poetical practice through its misinterpretation as 'small image'. Gessner created variations on the form used by Theocritus in musical prose. Coming from the school of ancient bucolics, he drew up a pastoral world, still indicated as fictional by the use of Greek names, gods and topography, whose inhabitants show, however, a contemporary sensibility toward nature and morality. With the new type of literary text that he created, the relations between the textual levels changed. Whereas in classical bucolic poetry the references to the extra-textual world were made by single elements imitating reality and by allegorical pointers, the latter now fade away and the potential political content is mainly conveyed implicitly. Thus the social structure of Gessner's idyllic world reveals a communal existence of persons of more or less equal status, among whom friendship and helpfulness dominate and the difference between the sexes plays a minor role. Although modern episodes of labour and family are now integrated [3], there is space left for love, song, conversation and story telling. Thus a world is built that stands in contrast to the luxury of the courts and cities as well as to aggressive heroism.

The implicit process allows readers to interpret the idyllic world either as a stimulus toward social change or just as an enticement to evasion – a vagueness which stimulated scholarly discussions, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s. With his classicistic bucolic paintings, Gessner continued the tradition of pastoral painting (Figs. 1 and 2), which started in Italy, and had under the influence of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and the *Rural Concert*, earlier attributed to Giorgione but now mostly to Tizian, and Poussin's *Les Bergers d'Arcadie*, created perfect images of the ideal Arcadia. In *Faust II* it is shaped once more into great poetic form. In Goethe's diverse idyllic poetic works the close relation to Antiquity repeatedly emerges. With the hexameter poem *Hermann and Dorothea* (1797), he tries to regenerate – in the reduced form of the idyll – the former epic shaping of the fates of the world. The contrast laid bare here between the quiet, small town life and the fundamental upheaval brought about by the consequences of the French Revolution owes its nature to a model linked to Virgil's first eclogue. Because of his political implications, Virgil is, together with Theocritus and Homer, important for Johann Heinrich Voss, for a long time the most popular German author of idyllic poetry. In his early work, replete with social criticism, Voss, an aggressive promoter of the Enlightenment, utilized the hexameter to emphasize the barbaric character of feudal dominance by means of the bucolic model, as André Chenier did by using ancient scenery (*La Liberté*, 1787). On the other hand, in Voss's descriptions of country and bourgeois life (*Luise*, 1795) the Classical model strengthens the illusion of his contemporary readers that here a new humane culture was already in existence

D. Directions of Development in the Idyllic Literature of the 19th and 20th Cents.

The opening up of settings and occupations, explicitly legitimated around 1800 by Herder and Jean Paul, became decisive for the further development of the

idyll. This favoured the variety of a more encompassing form of the idyll, allowing its instrumentalisation for the presentation of more complex themes. Thus the authors could compensate for their dissatisfaction with the limitations of the bucolic-idyllic subject matter, which caused Schiller to argue that instead of leading people back to an 'Arcadia' of simple ways of life, the idyll should lead them forward, into the 'Elysium' of greatest development. From the abundance of examples only a few characteristics can be indicated here which reveal, how much the bucolic models remained in the awareness, despite all modern liberties. Even though rural life was now depicted with realism, emphatically free of illusion, this is precisely what often evokes the background of the earlier bucolic poetical depictions. Variously enhanced by modern attributes, the *locus amoenus* and other characteristics of the idyll reappeared in the peasant world (Balzac, George Sand, Jeremias Gotthelf, George Eliot). Particularly in the argument against modernity, protected spaces are evoked as counterimages: gardens, small towns, cozy corners in big city neighbourhoods (Dickens, Hugo, Zola, Keller, Raabe and others). Their endangerment and destruction is a constant topic of the 19th cent.; however the destruction does not come only from the outside, but also from the tensions born in a small enclosed world. Since Romanticism, growing psychological acumen finds in the layout of such realms a form for the description of narcissistic or morbid states of mind (Tieck, Stifter, Tennyson). In lyric poetry the Petrarchistical idyll of solitude unfolded again, a solitude that became the origin of reflection and art (Leopardi, Mörike, C.F. Meyer, Pascoli). As a modern eclogue poet, Baudelaire observed closely the awaking city in the form of the programmatic poem of his *Tableaux parisiens* (1857 and [complete] 1861), but he also constructed within the lyric a topical idyllic world.

In the 20th cent. the position of bucolic-idyllic poetry is closely connected to historical events and mentality transformations, particularly in Germany. The instrumentalisation of the love of nature and of rural poetry by National Socialist ideology (→ NATIONALSOCIALISM) left behind a distrust of the idyll as an expression of an evasive, if not an entirely conformist attitude. This situation changed, at least in literary studies, during the left wing intellectual movement of the 1960s, when the political potentialities of the bucolic-idyllic counterimages were discovered. The genre, disregarded for some time – not least because of its trivialization during the 19th cent. – benefited from the new ecological impetus. However, more important for its persistence is the almost 'quiet' practice, as it were, of idyllic writing, from Léon-Paul Fargue to Philippe Jacottet, from the miniatures of Robert Walser to Musil's *Bildern*. Peter Handke and Gerhard Meier developed in their idyllic prose a new interplay of textual levels from the tension between enclosed space and comprehensive reflection and fantasy, both related at the same time fictionally and to the extratextual world.

→ Bucolics; → Vergilius
→ ARCADIANISM

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Bulgaria

A. General B. Middle Ages C. 15th–17th Cents. D. 18th–20th Cents.

A. General

The region corresponding to the territory of the modern Republic of Bulgaria had been on the near periphery of the ancient world since the end of the 8th cent. (colonisation) and had, to various extents, been Hellenised, Romanised and, as a hinterland of → BYZANTIUM in Late Antiquity, exposed to strong Byzantine influence. There is no evidence that at this time ethnic and cultural groups of the former indigenous Thracian inhabitants existed to a significant degree.

B. Middle Ages

In the 6th and 7th cents. AD, when first Bulgars, then larger groups of Slavs, later followed by smaller bands of Turkic peoples, all of whom were to some extent already familiar with Byzantine culture, settled in the territory of modern Bulgaria, they came upon a thinly settled, largely Christianised land with a population in which ancient traditions were also continued. Although these were largely destroyed, driven away or assimilated, a number of elements of the ancient culture continued to exist: the Romance linguistic element persisted among the Wallachians, and Greek among the population of the cities of the Black Sea (chiefly Mesambria, Sozopol and also Philippopolis inland). Various ancient elements of the cult and the tradition which had survived Christianisation are still retained in the folklore. Nevertheless, the migrations of the Bulgars and

Slavs meant a new cultural beginning, so that ancient cultural elements had to be reacquired, in part by way of Byzantium.

The Greek language was officially recognised and used by the Bulgarian Khans: the inscriptions described as 'Proto-Bulgarian' are all in good contemporary Greek; imported with them were terms relating to the state. Greek was widely disseminated among the higher classes of the Slavonic Bulgarian state after Christianisation under Tsar Boris I (from 864). The Latin language was little known and experienced only a short flourishing between 866 and 870, when Roman clerics came to the country. So far three Latin inscriptions have been found, in Pliska and Preslav.

All higher state and Church dignitaries of the First Bulgarian Kingdom had a Hellenic education. Slavonic literature, which began in the 9th cent. actually strengthened the teaching of Greek in the church schools, because it had to be translated out of Greek. After the parallel use of Bulgarian and Greek in the earliest Old Slavonic literature, the spread of bilingualism at the end of the 9th and in the 10th cents. increased. The true creators of Old Slavonic literature, Brothers Constantine (Cyril, 826/7–869) and Methodius, had received a high level of Greek education in the Magnaura School in Constantinople etc., and also under Photios, who in 850 taught philosophy at the same school. Probably in 855 he created a Slavonic writing system, known as Glagolitic, based on Greek minuscules with the addition of letters for specifically Slavonic phonemes. The Cyrillic alphabet however, which had already developed through the use of Greek uncials in state chanceries before the introduction of Slavonic writing, began to displace Glagolitic towards the end of the 9th cent.; replacement was total in the 10th cent. Old Bulgarian inscriptions are recognised by their mixture of Greek and Glagolitic letters. As a highly educated man, who in the course of the early Byzantine pre-Renaissance knew the Ancient Greek authors and the Byzantine programme of education, Cyril allowed this archaising style to influence his Old Bulgarian writings. It then also influenced Old Bulgarian literature and its language and all the Old Slavonic literatures that developed from it. At the end of the 9th cent. and towards the beginning of the 10th, Old Bulgarian literature developed mainly in the literary schools in Preslav and Ohrid. It flourished during the reign of Tsar Symeon (893–927). Most of the works of these schools were translations of Greek ecclesiastical literature, though original Old Bulgarian books were also written. The most important representatives of this new generation of authors were Kliment Ohridski, Chernorizec Hrabar, the bishop Konstantin Preslavski etc. Tsar Symeon himself was a highly educated man who had also studied in Constantinople and actively supported these schools both with commissions and with his own authorial activities. Through him many important early Byzantine works were disseminated in Old Bulgarian translations covering the whole of Slavonic literature, such as e.g. On Poetic Figures by Georgios Cheiroboscos. At his behest Chernorizec Hrabar wrote collections, compilations and translations of similar Byzantine collected works on e.g. problems of rhetoric, philology, and natural history. He wrote, among other things, a history of the alphabet, in which he showed a very good knowledge of ancient literature and philosophy. Konstantin Preslavski was the author of a short history from the creation of the world up to the year 894, which itself had Byzantine models. In 906 the four 'Speeches Against the Arians' by Athanasius of Alexandria were translated and copied. John Exarch was another representative of the Preslav School, a philosopher, dogmatist, priest, translator, author and poet. The upper educated classes in particular applied themselves to his writings. Problems of ancient natural history and philosophy became better known through his translation of the *Theologia* of John of Damascus. He expounded on his knowledge of ancient pagan writings primarily in his *Shestodnev* Hexameron. The most important model for this was Basil the Great. The description of nature, animals and people was extensively influenced by Aristoteles (hist. an.), even if he worked from the summary by the monk Meletios. In it he mentioned a series of ancient authors, such as Thales, Democritus, Parmenides etc., who do not appear in this version but were added by John Exarch, as were the quotations from Plato. This work became the basis for further development of natural history and anthropology in the Slavonic languages.

Byzantine language and culture had even greater influence in the years 1018–1186, after the first Bulgarian kingdom was destroyed by Basileios II and the territory of what is modern Bulgaria fell to Byzantium. Greek was not only the official language, used predominantly by the Church, which in many places suppressed Slavonic, but also widely used by the people, particularly in urban areas. By placing itself at the service of Byzantium the Bulgarian upper class received an obligatory Greek education. There were Greek schools not only in the cities on the Black Sea coast but in all of the larger cities such as Plovdiv, Vidin, Tarnovo etc. More and more people bought Greek books. From the the Byzantine side also came stirring cultural propaganda against 'barbaric Slavdom'. This massive cultural invasion from Byzantium did encounter resistance however, and a countermovement came into being: in the Old Bulgarian Apocryphal Literature of the time, which was largely dependent on the Byzantine, moments of Bulgarian history were depicted with evident propagandist purposes. Ancient and early Byzantine achievements were not mentioned; everything being ascribed to the Bulgars, such as e.g. the founding of Drastár (Durostorum) etc. During the second Bulgarian kingdom (1186–1393) the recognised cultural standing of Greek education also remained high and developed according to the contemporary Byzantine pattern. The Greek schools continued to be popular among the higher social classes, all the more because in contrast to the

purely ecclesiastical Bulgarian schools they also taught secular knowledge: basic natural science and particularly the writings of ancient Greek philosophers. In the library of Bachkovo monastery at the time of the second Bulgarian Kingdom there were also collected editions of ancient Greek literature, e.g. with excerpts of the works of Sophocles and Euripides. There are Greek inscriptions on icons, stone inscriptions and even Greek marginalia in Old Bulgarian manuscripts (Tomichov Psalter from the middle of the 14th cent.). Large parts of the population spoke Greek to some extent: the southern parts of the country were Greek-speaking, and in the churches Greek and Bulgarian were taught and spoken. Outstanding authors of this time, such as Teodosiy Tarnovski, Grigoriy Camblak, Kyprian etc, who were educated and influenced by the Tarnovo School in particular, had full command of the Greek language. Noteworthy in these works, too, are efforts to push individual views and tastes. Following on the growing interest of Byzantium in ancient Greek culture and particularly in ancient Greek philosophy, these evidently received wide circulation in Bulgaria. This is shown by the appearance of their type of rationalism in Bulgarian works (*The Theory of Varlaam and Akindin*) and by the Church's polemic against such occupations (e.g. an anathema from the Synod of Borilov: 'Those who occupy themselves with Hellenic erudition and learn it not only for their education but follow its unreasonable thoughts and hold them to be true (...) and sometimes even draw others to them and instruct them in it: may they be cursed!'). The works of Pseudo-Caesarius, Kosmas Indikopleustes and others, which had been translated by the 8th and 9th cents., received wide circulation in both languages. The Bulgarian Tsars set the trend for this tendency in their own way: Ivan Alexander (1331–1371), for example, owned a significant private library, for which he commissioned works and which contained both Bulgarian translations and Greek originals. One of the most informative of these manuscripts is the Tomichov Gospel. At the wish of the Tsar the story of the Trojan War was added to the Vatican's manuscript of the Manassi Chronicle. Stories of heroic history were generally much loved, and this is shown in the Bulgarian translations of the Greek originals. From Antiquity in particular there were modernised Byzantine versions of the Trojan War and the Romance of Alexander. The latter in the Bulgarian versions bears especially strongly nationalistic traits: the king of Macedonia is portrayed as a Bulgar, and Tsar Ivan Alexander is named 'the second Alexander of the ancient period'. Aesop's fables were also circulated as models for new folklore stories (Hităr Petăr).

Though the first Proto-Bulgarian and Slavonic settlements and buildings were primitive and modest, they changed very quickly with the formation of the Bulgarian Slavonic state. Both under the influence of Byzantine architecture and, no less, under that of chanced upon remains of late Antiquity, urban building developed very quickly (see particularly Preslav and Pliska, where Late Antiquity building materials come from the nearby cities of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis on the Danube). To decorate the new imposing buildings not only were Hellenistic and Roman buildings (capitals, columns etc.) utilised, but these architectonic elements were also mixed with ones both Byzantine and newly created, so that a unique decorative sculpture came into existence. There was a similar development in monumental sculpture, for which the 9th cent. *The Madara Horseman* is particularly representative: judging by its iconography it is very close to the Thracian equestrian hero from the Imperial period. The art of jewellery similarly adopted both contemporary Byzantine and ancient elements on the basis of an early mediaeval nomadic style, widespread in the Eurasian steppes. By about 864 churches had begun to be built, often on top of pagan sanctuaries, wholly following Byzantine tradition and frequently using late ancient foundations for new buildings. The church of Saint George in Sofia for example, a square domed building with murals from the 9th–10th cents., stands on much older foundations. From time to time such ancient ground plans also influenced the architecture of other churches.

C. 15TH–17TH CENTS.

The Turkish conquest of Bulgaria put an end to the independent development of cultural creativity and education. The clerical and political upper class, if not destroyed, emigrated (mostly to Italy), also taking valuable manuscripts out of the country. The Bulgarian Church was placed under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Whereas Slavonic cultural assets were poorly cared for in some monasteries (by making copies etc.), Greek education was preserved to a limited extent, primarily in the Black Sea cities (particularly Sozopol, Nesebar, and the somewhat smaller Varna), whose inhabitants were mostly Greeks. A book of Pindar's Odes together with *scholia* appeared in 1515; in 1557 one of the tragedies of Aeschylus. Books with works by Aristotle, Thucydides, Apollonius Rhodius and others have been found in these cities. Greek was also spoken and taught in some churches and monasteries in Southern Bulgaria, where the mostly Greek clergy was active. Some interesting murals from the end of the 16th and 17th cents., found in monasteries, show that, despite everything, a living knowledge of the ancient heritage remained intact. The refectory of Bachkovo monastery was decorated in 1643 with murals provided with Greek inscriptions. In addition to various ecclesiastical and religious subjects the composition *The Stem of Jesse* and the depiction of 12 ancient Greek philosophers and poets can be seen here, with names indicated, if not always correctly written. Like Christian saints they are each holding a scroll, on which Greek apocryphal and prophetic inscriptions can be read. Similar depictions can also be seen in the Church of the 'Nativity' in Arbanassi.

In the 16th and 17th cents. Catholic influence in Bulgaria grew, initially in the town of Chiprovci. The

Catholics founded several schools, at which Italian Humanists also taught. Through them the mastery of Latin also spread to a modest extent. The connexion with Italy and the opportunity for younger Bulgarians to acquire a classical education by studying at Italian schools and universities were important. Latin works were written at this time by P. Bogdan, P. Parchevich, and F. Stanislavov. P. Bogdan was the Bulgarian Catholics' most significant leader in the 17th cent. He had studied in Rome and had a command of Latin and Italian. In his work he utilised and cited ancient authors. Furthermore, owing to his interest in ancient inscriptions and sites of ruins, he can be described as the first Bulgarian archaeologist and epigraphist.

D. 18TH–20TH CENTS.

The 'Period of Bulgarian Rebirth' began with the 18th cent. Its roots lie primarily in modern Greek cultural rebirth, which was due to the influence both of the church and of the Greek part of the population in the country. The first libraries and → SCHOOLS of a secular character were Greek, and the mastery of this language again became a prerequisite for a better education. These institutions imparted both ancient Byzantine heritage and ideas of Western Enlightenment. Ancient Greek language and literature were among the obligatory subjects. A great number of leading politicians, authors and journalists of this period went through such schools, e.g. I. Dobrovski, G. Rakovski, Seliminski. With the opening up of their country, rather isolated for so long, Bulgarians went abroad; Russia, France and Austria being the most important countries where young people sought education. N. Bonchev, who was one of the most passionate proponents of classical education in Bulgaria at the time, studied in Russia. Bonchev, Parlichev and others at first translated excerpts from Homeric epic into Bulgarian. Neither was the connexion with Italy broken. For example, the metropolitan Ierotej studied medicine in Padua at the beginning of the 18th cent. before teaching at the Bej Academy in Bucharest. His successor, the metropolitan Athanasis, worked on translations of ancient Greek authors and also brought the writer Palaeologis from Constantinople to teach there. The Academy of *Saint Sava* also played no small role in Bucharest at the beginning of the 18th cent. It was there that Partenij Pavlovich, for example, had heard parts of Aristotelean theory and many influential Bulgarian authors and scholars received their education. Enlightenment scholars such as L. Photiadis, Nikola Pikolo and A. Bogoridi taught Ancient Greek poetry and philosophy there. Sofronij Vrachanski, who translated Aesop's fables into Bulgarian and also introduced readers of the time to ancient Greek philosophy, also studied there. His writings, defined by or borrowing from Greek ones, have had a lasting influence on modern Bulgarian literature. It is characteristic of this period of rebirth that all leaders who had enjoyed a good education saw it their primary task, to raise the general level of education in their country by building schools and publishing newspapers and books in order to give classical education the importance that it enjoyed in other countries. From the 1850s to the 1870s the influence of modern Greek culture and language disappeared because of the struggle by the Bulgarians for the permanent restoration of their autonomous Church. 'Greek' acquired a pejorative sense. Modern Bulgarian literature developed only later and relatively slowly in comparison with that of the other Balkan peoples; this was due on the one hand to the rather long lasting Turkish rule and on the other hand to major geographically conditioned isolation. Since its main themes were national liberation and a glorious past and it borrowed heavily from folklore in its form, fitted itself to the level of education of the people and abandoned Greek elements on account of the ecclesiastical campaign mentioned above, ancient elements were only seldom to be found, although many of the great poets and authors of the period of rebirth had received a classical education. Nevertheless, in some of the works of I.Vazov, G. Rakovski, S. Mihailovski, Pencho Slavejkov and others, assonances and associations with ancient literature were apparent. After spiritual (1870) and political (1878) freedom was obtained, the need for classical education grew rapidly. By the early years Humanist gymnasiums had been founded. At first → SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS were translated (mostly from German), but these were also soon replaced by original compositions. In 1888 a college came into being in which ancient Greek and Latin were taught. Teachers were recruited from abroad to satisfy the additional demand. The Czechs I.Brožka, K.Jireček, the brothers K. and H. Škorpil and Dobruski were primarily responsible for laying the foundations for ancient history and archaeology in Bulgaria. Apart from their teaching activities their painstaking research work also made extraordinarily great advances. In 1921 the college mentioned above became the University of Sofia, at which classical philology was taught from the year of its foundation.

The next generation of teachers and professors was made up of Bulgarian scholars. Classical education continued to spread only because of the schools. In 1937 a journal of classical philology *Prometheus* was founded, which also made ancient culture accessible to other classes of people. Its editor-in-chief was A. Balabanov, a professor of Classical philology, author and translator of several Greek tragedies, lyricists and quite a large part of the Homeric epics and for his time, generally one of the most important figures in the cultural life of Bulgaria. Scholars such as A. Milev, D. Dechev, V. Beshevliev and others wrote textbooks of Classical philology. Thorough research into the early history of Bulgaria on the basis of ancient authors was written primarily by G. Kacarov, J. Todorov and others, driven by the ancient archaeology of B.Filov and I.Velkov. In the spheres of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period I. Dujchev led the way. This high esteem for the ancient heritage led to every educated Bulgarian learning Greek and Latin.

This influenced literature to a certain extent (in form and aesthetics) until the Second World War.

After the 'Socialist Revolution' abolished the humanistic gymnasiums in 1944, schooling was reformed in accordance with the Soviet model. Work on Antiquity was forced into the background as ideologically irrelevant and even harmful. Research on ancient times was confined to Bulgarian history: Thracians, Proto-Bulgarians and Slavs were in the forefront. Ancient history proper was treated as a backdrop. Although the general availability of Classical education and its influence on culture declined greatly, and despite the isolation of the country, i.e. the absence of opportunities for communication, the lack of scholarly literature and the ideological restrictions, the works of individual scholars of this time were path-breaking, mainly those of the philologists, historians and epigraphists V.Beshevliev, B. Gerov, D. Dechev, G. Mihailov, Chr. Danov and V.Velkov. The study of Classical languages was obligatory only for the study of medicine; the Chair of Classical philology was barely occupied and the field continued to exist with only a minimum of student enrolment. Indeed it was only there that the students learnt Classical languages, and for this they received a very broad introduction to the study of ancient times, which included history, epigraphy, historical grammar, history of culture, history of literature etc. Apart from this chair, ancient studies had only the history of the Thracians and Bulgarians as topics. Collections of sources (*Sources for Bulgarian History*, *Sources for Thrace and the Thracians*) and numerous series (*Thrakia, Studia Thracica, Terra Antiqua Balcanica* etc) came into being. Only at the beginning of the 1970s did humanistic education again slowly gain a more positive assessment, through numerous initiatives by L. Zhivkova, the daughter of the Communist head of state. An Institute for Thracology (1972) and a Classical Gymnasium (1977) were founded in Sofia, and knowledge of a Classical language became obligatory for the study of history. Greek and Latin authors also began to be translated intensively again. In this connexion the State promoted to a great extent from the beginning archaeological research in an attempt to bring to light the material culture of the past and with it primarily the cultural achievements of the Thracians, Proto-Bulgarians and Slavs. By means of systematic excavations the Greek Cities on the Black Sea (Dionysopolis, Odessos, Anchialos, Mesambria, Apollonia etc.) and inland (Kabyle, Philippopolis etc.), Thracian settlements (Seuthopolis, Sveshtari etc.), Roman cities and forts on the Limes (Oescus, Novae, Durostorum, Iatrus etc.) and in the interior (Abritus, Nicopolis ad Istrum), early Byzantine centres (Marcianopolis, Serdica etc.) and the Old Bulgarian settlements and cities (Pliska, Preslav etc.) were researched. Every city, and even most villages, have an archaeological museum or at least a collection. Since the political change in 1989 humanistic education has again received greater significance, as is evidenced by numerous new translations of Greek and Latin authors, original works on ancient culture and philosophy and a more noticeable inclusion of ancient elements in contemporary Bulgarian art. At the private *New Bulgarian University* founded in 1992 there is a faculty of ancient history and culture.

→ Alexander Romance; → Alexander [4] the Great; → Bulgari
→ Humanist Gymnasium; → University

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IRIS VON BREDOW

Burlesque see→ Adaptation

Byzantine Studies

A. From 1453 to the 18th Cent. B. 19th and Early 20th Cents. C. The Most Recent Period D. Art-Historical Research E. Museums

A. From 1453 to the 18th Cent.

Soon after the Fall of → Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman advance stimulated interest among the scholars of Central Europe in Byzantine historians as a

source of the history of the Turks. Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580) had published historical works by Niketas Choniates and Nikephoros Gregoras with precisely this aspect in mind; he was also the first to recognise the intrinsic value of the Byzantine world, fixing its conventional range as the period from Constantine the Great to Constantine XI (1453) and also inventing the term 'Byzantine'. This he did regardless of the fact that the so-called Byzantines had always understood and described themselves as Romans (ῥωμαῖοι). Other stimuli for the study of Byzantine culture, in particular theological matters, arose with the Reformation, and the interest developed by both denominations in Orthodoxy as an opponent or a potential comrade-in-arms.

An elective affinity of European Absolutism with the uniquely Byzantine synthesis of Romanness, imperial authority, Christian nation and religion, had a positive effect on the development of Byzantine Studies (BS), especially in France, Germany and Russia. In Paris in 1648 an appeal was made to the international scholarly community to help compile a complete edition, a *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae*, under the patronage of Louis XIV and Jean Baptiste Colbert. The project had already been started three years earlier, significantly with a historical work by a crowned author, John VI Cantacuzenos (1292–1383). In this Paris Corpus there were 42 volumes in total. The image of the Eastern Roman Empire that is still present in the consciousness of many educated people today and which is limited to the sequence of emperorships and to the medieval imperial capital of Constantinople, was first conceptualised by the jurist Du Cange (1610–1688), one of the collaborators on the Paris Corpus. With his two-part work *Historia Constantinopolitana* he created the first history of the emperors and the first compendium on the development and topography of Constantinople [1]. However, this pioneering achievement also aimed at conferring an historical past on Absolutism. Du Cange projected the ideas of his time about the power of the French monarch and his capital city of Paris on → BYZANTIUM, but scarcely acknowledged the cultural achievements of the Eastern Roman Empire as a mediator of ancient culture and as a world of thought whose own power helped shape Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

Moreover, by compiling a Middle Greek lexicon which incorporated extensive colloquial material from predominantly unedited works available in manuscript form at the Paris Bibliothèque Royale, Du Cange supplemented the *Thesaurus linguae graecae* (→ LEXICOGRAPHY I. GREEK) of H. Stephanus [2]. Scholarly collections of Greek manuscripts, which had been built up by ecclesiastical or secular princes (primarily the Vatican, Paris, London, Venice, Milan, Cambridge, Oxford, Saint Petersburg, Leiden), generally enabled the expansion of BS. At the same time diplomatics (Jean Mabillion, 1632–1707 [3]) and → PALAEOGRAPHY (Bernard de Montfaucon, 1655–1741 [4]) came into being, and these were applied to ecclesiastical and legal historical sources. Disdain for the Eastern Roman Empire proved persistently influential, on the one hand, with the philosophers of the Enlightenment, who arbitrarily equated Byzantine autocracy with despotism and decline, and on the other hand with the interpreters of world history according to schemes of cultural spheres, who either looked to Byzantium for an identity-forming counterpart to a Europe inspired by Charlemagne, or suspected Byzantium behind the Russian colossus. In this context Edward Gibbon and his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* [5] should be mentioned, and also the ingenious publicist Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who believed he had recognised a cultural thread originating in Byzantium and uniting the Orthodox peoples against the West [6]. The negative statements of renowned personalities of the → ENLIGHTENMENT, including a remark by Voltaire about Byzantium as a 'stain on humanity', are legion [7]. It is important to note, however, that such a distorted image was able to emerge because the Byzantine imperial archives, which would certainly have conveyed a more realistic view of *homo byzantinus* than that which had been derived from theological literature, had been lost.

B. 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTS.

In any case, the untenable view that Byzantium had been a symbol of cultural decline for a millennium found few adherents among early proponents of → HISTORICISM. In 1828 Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831), Classical philologist, Classical historian and influential functionary in the up-and-coming state of Prussia, published the works of Agathias, initiating the Bonn *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, which was to encompass 50 volumes (in part reprints from the Paris Corpus). The historical critical method, the new opportunities for archival research (Athos monasteries, Venice) and the general political climate together led to a resurgence of BS.

The Humanists' turn to Byzantine themes (unavoidable since access to Greek Antiquity was possible only through Byzantium) had led to Byzantine philology in particular becoming an offshoot of Classical philology and taking over its methods. The organisation and institutionalisation of BS as an independent study of the culture and history of the Eastern Roman Empire was eventually accomplished by Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909). Krumbacher wrote the first history of Byzantine literature [8], founded the scholarly journal of the discipline, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (still a most important journal), which, with great foresight, he arranged according to the organisation of BS, and he turned the world's first university institute for BS (*Institut für Mittel- und Neugriechische Philologie*) that was set up for him in Munich into a centre for international research. Another prime concern of his at the time was the establishment of a corpus of medieval Greek documents; this undertaking took on a more diverse character after the World Wars: in addition to various subprojects, work on the Byzantine imperial documents

continued in Munich [9], while members of the Assumptionist Order took on the records of the Constantinople patriarchy [10]. Responsibility for an edition of the documents in the archives of the Athos monasteries was handed over to France [11].

Already in the 19th cent., there was a tendency in Russian BS to construe from Byzantine sources evidence for an alleged early Slavic influence on land distribution in Byzantium, i.e. the early formation of states among Eastern Slavs independent of Byzantium and the Normans (Vasiliy G. Vasilevskiy, 1838–1899) – a trend that could also be observed in Soviet times. The conceptual vocabulary of Marxist BS (→ MARXISM) proved to be inadequate in the 20th cent., simply because it was shaped by feudal conditions, but stress on economic and socio-historical aspects did have a productive effect. In France, the turn to agrarian and socio-historical issues was due to the influence of the Annales School; in the United States this turn resulted from the application of quantitive methods.

C. The Most Recent Period

The 20th cent. boom of BS in the United States was in part precipitated by scholars of European descent emigrating to the US or seeking refuge there, either as established scholars or at a younger age (especially P. Charanis, F. Dvornik, H. Grégoire, E. Kitzinger, A.A. Vasiljev, K. Weitzmann [12]). In addition to engaging in basic research, now as natural for American scholars as it is for those of other cultured nations, it was hoped that BS in the United States would provide better insights into supposedly Byzantine-influenced cultures such as that of Russia. In the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Byzantine sources have occasionally been interpreted in terms of national history to serve a contemporary political agenda. A greater role and responsibility, particularly for the preservation and the accessibility of the archaeological remains of Byzantine culture has fallen to Byzantine scholars in Turkey.

Fortunate circumstances also helped BS prosper in the 20th cent. Notable examples are the activities of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss in the United States and Herbert Hungers in Vienna. The culturally-minded Blisses established the → DUMBARTON OAKS Centre in Washington, D.C., furnished it with a rich collection and put it under the control of Harvard University. Dumbarton Oaks has become one of the world's leading Byzantine research institutes [13]. The Classical philologist Hunger came to BS by way of cataloguing the Greek manuscripts of the National Library in Vienna. Against the backdrop of the traditional interest of Austrian scholars in Southeastern Europe he built an Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Vienna and a Commission for BS at the Academy of Sciences there, both of which are producing outstanding achievements in the systematic preparation of sources for the discipline's core areas of philology and the history of thought, but also in its ancillary disciplines.

The international character and the openness of BS is exemplified in the fact that the most significant project to date is now called the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, and a number of centres in the Old and New World are working on it simultaneously. The diverse initiatives, the firm establishment of BS in the canon of academic subjects worldwide (not least through the flourishing of archaeology and art history [14]), the internationalisation of research and the combination of tradition and modern methodology contribute to an ever more thorough understanding of the fundamentals.

→ Byzantium

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D. Art-Historical Research

Interest in Byzantine art, as in medieval art generally, only emerged – somewhat hesitantly – at the end of the 18th cent.: after all, the art of Byzantium had also fallen under the classicistic verdict, not least determined by Johann Joachim Winckelmann but also following a

Fig. 1: Fragment of a chancel screen (?), Saint Peter in a Miracle Scene; Constantinople, last third of the 5th cent. *Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*

Fig. 2: Two relief icons: Maria Orans and the Archangel Michael; Constantinople, third quarter of the 13th cent. *Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*

Fig. 3: Winged altarpiece (triptych): Crucifixion of Christ, Apostles, Constantine and Helena, Church Fathers; Constantinople, 11th cent. *Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*

Fig. 4: Frieze panel, Christ on Horseback Accompanied by Two Angels; Egypt, 6th/7th cent. *Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*

communis opinio, according to which art had been in a state of steady decline since the end of Antiquity. Nevertheless, there is evidence quite early on for an occasional burgeoning of interest in collecting art of the 'Eastern Church'. It clearly differed from the medieval acquisition of relics, although it must be assumed the owners were not aware of the art-historical provenance of the objects (icons, ivory and soapstone reliefs etc.). At least from the end of the 16th cent., a considerable amount of travel literature about the Christian Orient provided ever more detailed reports of the buildings and monuments of Byzantium, some supplemented by celebrated views of the city that were of great topographical value [4].

The conscious perception of 'Greek portraits of saints' began in the 17th cent. The *Acta Sanctorum*, first published by the Bollandists in 1643, contained numerous engravings of icons and miniatures of the Eastern Church to illustrate the saints' lives. The first antiquarian study in German of a Russian *vita* icon of Theodoros Stratilates in the church at Kalbensteinberg (Franconia) was offered by Heinrich Alexander Döderlein in 1724 [3. 251–253; 6]. The Roman cardinal Alessandro Albani had the *Menologion* by Basileios II published in a three-volume edition in 1727, in which some 400 miniatures were reproduced in astonishingly faithful copper engravings (*Menologium Graecorum iussu Basilii imperatoris graece olim editum tres vol.*, Urbini). In 1756, the Arabist and philologist Johann Jakob Reiske, to whom we owe the discovery and first edition of the ceremonial book of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, published a (since lost) Byzantine soapstone relief with important observations on the iconography and hagiographical significance of the saints depicted on it [3. 253–255]. Perhaps the most interesting art-historical treatment of Russian art was attempted by the Göttingen art scholar Johann Dominikus Fiorillo [3. 255–257]. Arguably the most comprehensive catalogue of early Christian and Byzantine art is offered in the monumental work of the French autodidact Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, which appeared – for the most part posthumously – in six volumes between 1811 and 1824 (*Histoire de l'art par les monuments, depuis sa décadence au IVme siècle jusqu à son renouvellement au XVIme*, Paris, 1825). It contained scores of engravings, albeit in rather curious combinations [2]. The term 'Byzantine', from the time of Hieronymus Wolf (1515–1580) used in a strictly historiographical sense, was first applied to the art of Byzantium in the correspondence between Goethe and Sulpiz Boisserée exchanging their views on art in 1810. It eventually replaced other words in use at the time, such as 'graecizing' and 'ancient Greek' etc. [1]. Further initiatives of note towards a serious occupation with Byzantine art can be found in the German Romantic movement (e.g. Friedrich Schlegel). Art historiography, which started in the early 19th cent., (Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, Anton Springer, Franz Theodor Kugler and others) gradually overcame the unfavourable judgment of Byzantine art and thus drew closer to a systematic and comparative review of the art of the Middle Ages.

The actual scholarly treatment of Byzantine art set in between the end of the 19thand the beginning of the 20th cent. in Germany, England (O.M. Dalton), France (Ch. Diehl, J. Ebersolt) and Russia (F.I. Uspenskiy, D.V. Aynalov, N.P. Kondakov), and, for the most part included the Christian monuments of Late Antiquity that until then had been the exclusive domain of denominational → Christian Archaeology. The standard work *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, published by Oskar Wulff between 1914 and 1918 (two volumes, 1914–1918; with a bibliographical critical supplement, 1935), presents an overview of the development of Christian art from the end of the Roman imperial period to the end of the Byzantine empire (1453). It is distinguished by great expertise and may even today be considered a milestone in the exploration of Byzantine art.

By the middle of the 20th cent. Byzantine art history had established itself as an independent branch within the general study of art history, and branched out into several specialised fields (study of architecture, sculpture, monumentalisation, book illustration, ivory carving etc.). This was due not least to a considerable growth in monuments that were systematically recorded, archaeologically recovered or saved through large-scale restoration projects. An international community of scholars is engaged in its study. Nevertheless, a historical survey of the discipline, its intentions and methods is still lacking.

E. Museums

In the late 1880s Wilhelm von Bode began building a systematic collection of early Christian and Byzantine art in the Berlin museums. The first public exhibition followed in 1904 at the newly opened Kaiser Friedrich Museum (now the Bode Museum), where it formed the 'Sculptures of Christian Epochs section' (now the Sculpture Collection and Museum of Byzantine Art of the → Berlin State Museums). This marked the first time Byzantine art was recognized as a 'museum-worthy' period in art history. Primarily, the museum holds outstanding pieces of rare 5th to 11th cent. figurative stone sculptures from Constantinople, Asia Minor and Greece (Figs. 1 and 2) as well as exceptional examples of architectural sculpture, ivory carvings (Fig. 3) and one of the world's largest collections of Coptic art (Fig.4; [7]).

In other European countries and the United States, Byzantine collections of similar importance were created as separate entities or added to existing museums (Athens: Benaki Museum, Byzantine Museum, Istanbul: Archaeological Museum, → London: British Museum, Paris: → Louvre; St. Petersburg: Hermitage Museum, Washington: → Dumbarton Oaks Collection et al.). Outstanding objects of Byzantine art have been held in many European church treasuries and libraries, some without interruption for nearly 1,000 years.

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ARNE EFFENBERGER

Byzantium

I. History II. Literature III. Art

I. History

A. Introduction B. Reception of Antiquity C. Transmission of Ancient Culture

A. Introduction

The term Byzantium (B.) initially denoted the eastern part of the Roman Empire, from the foundation of → Constantinople by the emperor Constantine the Great as a 'second Rome' on the extended territory of the town of Byzantion on the Bosporus in AD 330. After the end of empire in the western part of the Roman Empire in the late 5th cent., it designated the Roman Empire as it continued to exist in the East until 1453.

The rediscovery of Classical Antiquity in the 18th and 19th cents. had as a result that for a long time, scarcely any independent value was attributed to the culture of the Byzantines; instead, they were essentially credited with only the preservation and transmission of ancient tradition. More recent research, however, has given a more positive evaluation of B.'s own contribution, which it sometimes provided also in confrontation with the ancient 'heritage' [13]. However, it is indisputable that it made an essential contribution to the preservation and transmission of this heritage, especially to the West. At any rate, for every Byzantine period the qualification holds that intellectual life as a whole, and consequently also the reception of Antiquity, was sustained only by a small social group. At the least, a basic linguistic and rhetorical education, oriented towards the ancient standard, was always the shared property of a broad subgroup of persons, which primarily included the extensive State and Church bureaucracy.

The first phase of Byzantine history falls within Late Antiquity (4th–6th cents.), a period when urban culture flourished, and was clearly still shaped by the ancient educational canon. Under the pressure of external catastrophes for the Empire in the 7th cent., above all the victorious march of Islamic Arabs into the eastern provinces, and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Slavs and Bulgarians of Turkish descent, it experienced a drastic decline, which affected almost every cultural domain. An exception in some cases was theological literature, where ancient philosophy lived on at a high linguistic level in Christian garb (e.g. in the works of Maximus Confessor, John of Damascus). However, an increased recourse to the cultural tradition, which initially followed models of Late Antiquity, had already begun towards the end of the 8th cent. [19].

This current emerged in about 840 as a phase of Byzantine cultural history that extended till the late 10th cent., which has been described as the 'Macedonian Renaissance'. The term Renaissance was correspondingly also used for later Byzantine periods [22]. However, whereas the Western Renaissance of the 15th and 16th cents. can be understood as a new cultural point of departure, in B. the continuity of the connection with ancient culture in the four spheres of language, script, literature and fine arts was never wholly interrupted [18]. In any case, around the middle of the 9th cent. works by authors of Antiquity and Late Antiquity began to be systematically collected and copied; at the same time, the development of the fine arts was influenced by recourse to stylistic forms from Late Antiquity [24].

Following this phase of collection, scholars of a later period (11th–12th cent.) turned to the content of ancient texts more intensely, made a conscious choice in the reception of materials, and varied the forms of confrontation. Thus, for instance, the realities of everyday B. were illustrated by ancient examples, or allusions to Antiquity were used for ironic distancing [13]. The period from about 1250 until the end of the Empire (1453) was indeed characterised by progressive political decline, but also by a renewed, particularly intensive preoccupation with the ancient heritage, whether with the content of texts, with questions of style, or with the textual tradition. Even some works of Classical Latin literature were now made accessible by translation into Greek. This development of intellectual life was in part favoured by the attempt to compete with the high standard of Western learning in the Scholastic period [20].

B. Reception of Antiquity

In what follows, the term reception is used in the sense of a concrete cultural recollection, in the context

of the continuing connection of Byzantine culture with Antiquity, and is considered with regard to the areas of literature, philosophy, law and the sciences, as well as architecture and fine arts.

1. Literature 2. Philosophy 3. Law 4. The Sciences 5. Continuing Influence of Ancient Elements in Architecture and the Fine Arts

1. Literature

Byzantine literature was indebted to the categories of rhetoric established in Antiquity, and therefore always more or less strove for conscious imitation [11] of ancient literature, as it had already been postulated and theoretically grounded in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. In the framework of the ideal of mimesis, particular efforts were made to emulate ancient authors, whether linguistically (Atticism), stylistically, or in merely individual formulations [1]. Byzantine authors quoted from their [i.e., the ancient authors] works (including some particularly beloved standard citations), alluded to individual *loci*, or took over entire passages in more or less altered form. When this happened in historical works, such dependency could lead to falsifying historical reality, though there were also authors who transformed an adopted message so skilfully that the adaptation served to raise the literary level, while the essential points of information remained reliable [12]. Reference was also made to heroes and events of ancient mythology and history, which were often reinterpreted allegorically. Many ancient heroes, such as Hercules, appeared with stereotypical frequency. Some authors, however, also consciously chose allusions to little known personalities and events, like Johannes Tzetzes (12th cent.) in his letters, which he subsequently explained in a poem of 12000 verses [9 vol. 2. 118]. In many authors, especially the historians, the linguistic imitation of Antiquity went so far as to defamiliarise expressions from everyday life, current terms of bureaucratic language or of the calendar, as well as geographical and ethnographical names by means of archaisms [9 vol. 1. 407, 414, 446, 452].

In poetry [9 vol. 2. 87–180], ancient meters were emulated (hexameter, elegiac distichs, iambic trimeters and anacreontics), although this imitation remained quite superficial owing to the loss of distinction in quantity and the transition from tonal accent to stress in Koine Greek. As a result of the linguistic development, the trimeter became the Byzantine dodecasyllable. Many ancient poetic genres were continued in B. in more or less modified form, e.g. mythological, historical and didactic epic, the novel, drama (which were not, however, intended for performance), satires, epigrams and other minor forms. In much Byzantine poetry, ancient verses were cited with such frequency that they approached the form of a *cento* (e.g. in the anonymous Christian poem *Christós páschon*, which is especially indebted to the dramas of Euripides). Again, other authors, particularly the above-mentioned Johannes Tzetzes, annotated or paraphrased works of Antiquity in verse form.

2. Philosophy

[9 vol. 1. 3–62] The influence of ancient philosophy in B. has still not been fully researched. However, at least since the Patristic period, it was always present in Byzantine theology, above all in its outstanding representatives Plato (partly through the intermediary of Neoplatonism) and Aristotle, and in many cases a direct confrontation with ancient philosophy in commentaries and essays can be shown as well. Among those who, following Porphyry and Iamblichus, concerned themselves with Plato were first and foremost the Schools of Athens (Proclus, Damascius) and Alexandria (Ammonius, Olympiodorus) in Late Antiquity, Michael Psellus and his circle in Constantinople in the middle Byzantine period, and in the 15th cent. Georgius Gemistus Plethon in Mistras [28], together with his most important pupil Bessarion, who lived in Italy from 1444 as a Roman cardinal and was an outstanding expert on Platonic dialogues. Plethon, too, stayed in Italy on the occasion of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39). The last Byzantine Platonist, the Athenian Demetrius Chalcocandyles (Chalcondyles), taught in Padua from 1463 and in Florence from 1475. However, the most significant Italian Platonists, such as Marsilio Ficino, tended to be self-taught, and the influence on them of Byzantine philosophers such as Plethon is generally considered insignificant [6].

Porphyry was to become the first mediator of Byzantine Aristotelian studies with his *Eisagoge*. Important Byzantine interpreters of Aristotle in Late Antiquity included Themistius, Simplicius, Johannes Philoponus and the Alexandrians mentioned above; in the 11th and 12th cents. Johannes Italus, Eustratius of Nicaea and Michael of Ephesus, in the 13th cent. Nicephorus Blemmydes and Georgius Pachymeres, in the 14th cent. Theodorus Metochites and Sophonias, in the 15th cent. Georgius Scholarius (later patriarch of Constantinople as Gennadius II), Georgius Trapezuntius from Crete, and Johannes Argyropoulus. The last two worked in their later years as teachers in Italy, Trapezuntius also as a transmitter of Byzantine rhetoric.

3. Law

Byzantine law was based on Roman law, as it was first established and further developed by professional jurists, and later through dispositions by the Imperial Chancery. Roman law achieved a lasting claim to validity through the codifications by Emperor Theodosius II (5th cent., Imperial laws) and above all Justinian I, who in the 6th cent. collected the laws developed by jurists in the *Digests* in addition to the Imperial Laws, and himself amended numerous laws. This validity was reconfirmed by Leo VI's collection of laws (late 9th cent.) known as the *Basilica*. Many decisions of the *Basilica*, however, no longer corresponded to the altered social circumstances, for which smaller legal collections such as the 8th cent. *Ecloge* and judicial practice were better adapted.

4. The Sciences

The sciences (geography, mathematics, astronomy, zoology, botany, mineralogy, medicine, military science) [9 vol. 2. 221–340] in B. were largely indebted to the knowledge of Antiquity, primarily of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. For geography and astronomy Claudius Ptolemaeus (2nd cent. AD) had set standards that were not surpassed until early modern times. No pioneering innovations are to be found in B. in the other sciences mentioned, or in engineering; yet in all these areas transmitted material was keenly studied and handed down in treatises. Military science, which was pursued particularly in the 10th cent., the period of the great victories of the Byzantine armies, was as a rule largely indebted to the ancient tradition (e.g. Onosander, 1st cent. AD), yet in the anonymous work *Perí paradromḗs* (about 965), for instance, we have a handbook of mobile warfare wholly oriented towards Byzantine practice.

5. Continuing Influence of Ancient Elements in Architecture and the Fine Arts

The Byzantine architecture of Late Antiquity takes up earlier building forms. It was primarily the profane building type of the longitudinal → basilica (market or assembly hall) that proved productive in the area of Christian church building [23. 27–31; 3], but so did the form of a domed central building, used in the Imperial period as a mausoleum and often adopted in the Christian period for the tombs of martyrs (*martyria*) and for baptisteries [23. 31f.]. These initiatives underwent further creative development since the 6th cent., so that in the architecture of later centuries ancient elements can be distinguished from innovative ones only with difficulty.

Antiquity had a clearer influence on sculpture and painting [17]. It should be borne in mind that statues of Greek Antiquity, as well as ancient wall paintings in Constantinople and other places had survived intact for many centuries, thus maintaining a living tradition. In Late Antiquity, artists initially adhered to the ancient models: in sculpture, to traditional realistic shaping, and in → painting to such illusionist techniques as chiaroscuro, architectonic perspective and allusions to landscapes. Human emotions were shown in sculpture and painting by means of gestures and expressions. At first, even ancient myths and heroes remained as artistic subjects. We once again find artistic representations of ancient themes from the middle Byzantine period, which however remained restricted to particular areas. Thus, for instance, in a commentary probably composed in the 6th cent. by a certain Nonnus, explaining mythological allusions in the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen to Christians, corresponding illustrations were added to four manuscripts of the 11th–12th cents. Mythology is also found in later centuries as decoration on household objects, textiles, silverware and ivory boxes, but historical and mythological themes of Antiquity were also represented in wall paintings, as is known from numerous descriptions [8]. The resumption of ancient stylistic forms did not remain restricted to the profane; they were also used, primarily in ivory carving and in book illustration, to represent Christian religious themes.

C. Transmission of Ancient Culture

1. The Preservation of Texts 2. The Transfer of the Ancient Heritage to the West

1. The Preservation of Texts

As the successor to the Greek empire of Alexander the Great and his diadochs, the Byzantine Empire was the natural heir to ancient Greek culture. In its territory, ancient Greek texts were essentially preserved, primarily in the great libraries: in → Alexandria (where, after the destruction of the Museum-Library in 48/47 BC, only the Serapeum Library probably remained; its holdings were affected but not destroyed in 391 AD), → Athens, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum and Caesarea/Palestine, and from the 4th cent. also in Antioch and Constantinople. It should be remembered that there were doubtless many smaller, mainly private libraries.

The development from the older customary (cursive) script of the minuscule script, which was used more and more in place of majuscules from about 800, was of great significance for the preservation and transmission of these classical texts in the Byzantine period. Since the minuscule script was more versatile, it permitted faster copying and so increased book production, which from about 900 was also facilitated by the gradual introduction of oriental paper, and later in the 13th cent. still more by the introduction of western paper. With the awakening of intensified antiquarian interest in the period of Leo the mathematician and Photius, the later patriarch of Constantinople, more and more texts from ancient times began to be transcribed into minuscules [7]. Photius himself wrote a collection of reports and excerpts from ancient and late antique works (*Library*), which conveys at least an idea of the content of many texts that no longer exist today [21], and at the same time, he contributed to an improved understanding of ancient texts by compiling a lexicon. In about 900 Arethas of Patras, later metropolitan of Caesarea, commissioned copies of numerous ancient philosophical and other texts, on some of which he commented in his own hand [15. 243–270]. For instance, the earliest manuscripts of Plato's Dialogues include Oxford Bodleian Clark 39 and Vat. gr. 1 (the first ones certain to have been copied by order of Arethas), and Paris. gr. 1807, which may have been copied before Arethas [15. 247–250]. Copying activity in minuscule script was continued in the following cents., and it is responsible for the preservation of most ancient Greek texts down to our own time.

In contrast, the collections of excerpts with moral aims, instigated by the emperor Constantinus VII in the 10th cent., of which only a fragment is extant, concentrated for the most part on authors more recent than

Late Antiquity [15. 323–332]. Both ancient and late antique epigrams are contained in the Byzantine collection compiled by Constantinus Cephalas in about 900, known today as the *Anthologia Palatina*. Maximus Planudes produced a revised edition of this work in 1299, to which he added numerous epigrams, yet he also omitted a series of epigrams, especially those which seemed to him indecent (*Anthologia Planudea*). In the 12th cent. Johannes Tzetzes, the man of letters with antiquarian interests, wrote commentaries and allegorical interpretations in prose and verse on works by ancient authors (Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Lycophron and others) and produced abridged versions of their works, e.g. of Porphyry's *Eisagoge* [9 vol. 2. 59–63]. The most significant Byzantine commentator on Homer, as well as of Pindar and Aristophanes, however, was Eustathius, a contemporary of Tzetzes and later metropolitan of Thessalonica [9 vol. 2. 63–67]. These two authors also influenced the textual history of the works they dealt with. Finally, it should be remembered at this point that southern Italy, which was still partly in Byzantine hands until the late 11th cent., made an independent contribution to the transmission of ancient literature [7].

In 1204, the conquest and the approximately 60-year occupation of Constantinople by Western Crusaders and the Venetians led to the loss of many more ancient texts. However, in the context of the interest in Antiquity, which increased once again from about 1250, a number of Byzantines carried out valuable philological work on the texts of ancient works. For instance, the learned monk Maximus Planudes worked on the poets Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Aratus, and Tryphiodorus; the author of Late Antiquity, Nonnus and the *Anthologia Palatina*, as well as on Plutarch's *Moralia* and Ptolemy's *Geography*. The philological qualifications of his student Manuel Moschopoulus are disputed, yet he did text-critical work on Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides and Theocritus, as well as on Homer and Aristophanes. The most significant philologist of the era (first half of the 14th cent.) was Demetrius Triclinius, who did valuable work on the textual transmission of such poets as Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Euripides and Aristophanes. The philological achievement of his contemporary Thomas Magister is the least valued [20].

2. The Transfer of the Ancient Heritage to the West

By the middle of the 14th cent., Italian Humanists were already showing an interest in learning Ancient Greek from a Byzantine. The first was the poet Petrarch, in about 1340; his teacher was the Calabrese monk Barlaam, who had lived quite a long time in Constantinople [16]. Towards the end of the 14th cent., the Humanist and statesman Lino Coluccio de'Salutati invited the Byzantine man of letters Manuel Chrysoloras [2] to the 'Studium' (University) of Florence, and a series of Italian Humanists studied Ancient Greek under him from 1397–1400, including Leonardo Bruni Aretino, later an important translator of Plato's Dialogues into Latin. On the invitation of Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan, Chrysoloras later taught at Pavia until 1403, before returning to Constantinople. Some of his pupils, like Pier Paolo Vergerio, were themselves later active as teachers of Greek in Italy. From 1414 to 1418 Guarino Veronese transmitted to Italy the knowledge of Greek he had previously acquired in Constantinople. Greek was also taught by Georgius Trapezuntius of Crete at Vicenza from 1420 and at Venice from 1427–1437, and by Andronicus Callistus of Constantinople at Bologna from 1449–1473, and then at Florence for approximately another year.

Contemporary with these linguistic contacts, interest was awakened among the Italian Humanists in the manuscripts of ancient Greek authors, which could be found in abundance in B. [7]. They arrived in large numbers in Italy for the first time when, soon after Chrysoloras's teaching activities in Florence, some Humanists such as Guarino Guarini, Francesco Filelfo and Giovanni Aurispa went from there to Constantinople and began to collect manuscripts systematically. Niccolò Niccoli based his collection on the manuscripts Chrysoloras had brought with him to Italy. Yet Greeks who came to Italy were also active collectors and copyists of Greek manuscripts: for instance, the previously mentioned scholars Georgius Trapezuntius, Bessarion, Johannes Argyropoulus and Andronicus Callistus, as well as in the late 15th cent. Constantinus Lascaris (copyist) and Johannes (Ianus) Lascaris (collector and editor of ancient texts).

The oldest large collection of manuscripts on Italian soil around 1450 was that of the Vatican, thanks to the collecting activity of Pope Nicholas V, who had learned Greek from Filelfo. It was not surpassed until a few years later, by the collection of Bessarion, who since 1455 had engaged Michael Apostoles to buy up Greek manuscripts in Crete. However, he also owed much to the important library of the southern Italian monastery of San Nicola di Casole at Otranto, which had existed since the Middle Ages. He further augmented its holdings with copies, which he commissioned from Johannes Rhosus and others. It was only toward the end of the 15th cent. that Padua and Venice became important trans-shipment centres for Greek manuscripts, when Aldus Manutius began printing ancient Greek texts at Venice in 1494 [5; 27].

In so far as Byzantine art transmitted ancient elements in the manner described above, it also transmitted them to other cultures in the context of overall reception, primarily to the West [4; 14; 25]. The periods of increased absorption of ancient elements, borrowed from B., into Western art, especially in book illustration and ivory carving, were those of Charlemagne and the Ottonians and Salians. This last phenomenon can be explained primarily by the influence and posterity of the presence in the West of Theophano, the influential Byzantine wife of Otto II.

→ Byzantium; → Constantine [1]

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II. Literature

A. Introduction and Remarks concerning Methodology B. The Transition Period and the Early Byzantine Period (4th-mid 7th Cents.) C. The 'Dark Centuries' (mid–7th Cent. – *c.* 800) D. Encyclopaedism and the Reappropriation of Antiquity (9th–10th Cent.) E. Proto-Renaissance (11th-mid–13th Cents.) F. The Era of the Paleologans. Resigned Flourishing and Dissolution (Mid–13th-Mid–15th Cents.)

A. Introduction and Remarks concerning Methodology

As is also customary in the corresponding Classical disciplines, the treatment of the history of Byzantine literature includes, the whole of 'literature', including philosophy, law, medicine and other sciences. This corresponds to the concept of the Byzantines themselves, who subsumed everything having to do with culture, science and 'literature' under the term *lógoi*. By 'Byzantine' we understand the cultural area that, on an ideological level, was shaped by a Christian world view, and on a linguistic one was dominated by Greek (although this hegemony was not exclusive). It was essentially identical to the respective borders of the Eastern Roman ('Byzantine') Empire, albeit with temporary displacements, especially in the Near East (Syria, Palestine) and in Sicily/Lower Italy. Here, Byzantine literature in Greek arose even after the conquest of these lands by the Arabs in the 7th or the Normans in the 11th cent. There are no generally-accepted principles of classification of Byzantine literature; the handbooks' division [4; 5; 9] into literary-profane, colloquial and theological literature is increasingly seen as less than satisfactory [10; 11; 13]. It is extremely problematic to delimit a 'profane' area in a society which, like that of B., was so permeated by Christianity in all its manifestations. Above all, many authors escape such a categorisation; with this method they are perceivable as total literary persons, either not at all or only in parts at any one time. Nor are *levels of style* any longer seen as a simple bipartition into 'literary' and 'colloquial language', but in a much more differentiated way, and in the light of their function in the relationship between author and public [18]. A true history of Byzantine literature has yet to be written. Only in recent times has research begun to evaluate Byzantine literature, at least in part, as an aesthetic phenomenon *sui generis* [1; 13a; 15; 15a], instead of starting out from the prejudice that it consisted only of symptoms of decline and more than a thousand years of sterility. The inner boundaries between individual periods of Byzantine literature are to some extent variously defined; however, there is widespread agreement on its beginning in the 4th cent. (the inauguration of the new residence at Constantinople by Constantine I in AD 330, if one wishes to specify a fixed date of political history), and general agreement on its end point (the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453).

In what follows the individual eras of Byzantine literature will be considered only under the special aspect their reception of Antiquity. Some genres, many of their achievements, and the people responsible for them will therefore be left out of the discussion. In any case, the aspect of the reception of Antiquity includes a central peculiarity. An essential trait of Byzantine literature is → MIMESIS [8] in a dual sense: mimesis of a form of language seen as canonical, as it developed out of Atticism in the Second Sophistic as a written language, and mimesis of literary forms, which had been used by the treasured authors of Antiquity and the imperial period, including Biblical and Patristic models. It is due less to Byzantine literature than to the aesthetic categories of their onlookers that play with these linguistic and literary forms was chiefly evaluated negatively (that is, as uncreative or unoriginal) in the 19th and 20th cents.

B. The Transition Period and the Early Byzantine Period (4th-mid 7th Cents.)

The most important orientation for the whole of Byzantine literature consisted in the fact that despite the new ideological direction of Byzantine society (the adoption of Christianity by Constantine I, Christianity as the state religion under Theodosius I, the struggle against paganism), Greek Antiquity remained the determining cultural force. The emperor Julian (361–363), himself highly educated and productive in various literary genres, tried in vain to exclude Christians by law from the ancient cultural tradition during the short phase of the pagan reaction he led. Rhetoric and philosophy were placed in the service of the new world view. The (*Progymnasmata*) of Aphthonius (end of the 4th cent.), together with the earlier (*Corpus*) of Hermogenes and the two treatises by Menander of Laodiceia on epideictic eloquence, constituted the fundamental rulebooks for Byzantine authors of all periods, which were commented on repeatedly for use in higher education. Throughout the Byzantine millennium, moreover, → ARISTOTELIANISM and → NEOPLATONISM remained the all-determining system of thought. It was crucially important that the great Church Fathers of the 4th cent. (the 'Cappadocians' Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Basil the Great, as well as John Chrysostom) allowed the whole of ancient literature, including poetry and philosophy (particularly Plato, by way of Neoplatonism), to find its way into their system of thought and their literary production. Ancient epideictic eloquence celebrates new triumphs in the preaching of these Church Fathers. The exclusion of contents of ancient literature that contradicted Christianity remained a constant problem, which authors repeatedly attempted to solve through recourse to formal or Euhemeristic/allegorical interpretation. Justinian I sought to counter direct competition from ancient philosophy administratively by closing the philosophical school at Athens (529), while the Christian-oriented variants in Alexandria succumbed to the Arab conquest (642). However, on the road towards the formation of Christological dogma, Aristotle had long since found himself within the fold of Christian literature (his logical writings were also ideologically innocuous). By way of Synesius of Cyrene, Nemesius, Gregory of Nyssa and above all Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita (beginning of the 5th cent.), Platonism was an element of Byzantine thought that was always viewed with mistrust, but henceforth indissociable. In all, literary production was also dominated by the ancient tradition, with its international and also interreligious character, although this diminished towards the end of this period. Latin too still played a role as a literary language in the East: the Antiochan Greek Ammianus Marcellinus wrote his historical work, and the Alexandrian Greek Claudian his panegyric poetic work in Latin, while on the other side Romanus, a Syrian from Emesa, made originally Syrian literary forms fruitful for Greek, as creator and completer of the ecclesiastical poetry of the *Kontákion*. Poetic genres inherited from Late Antiquity such as → EPIC and → EPIGRAM were further cultivated: with his *Dionysiaca* the Egyptian Nonnus (first half of the 5th cent.), who was only one of many poets, created the most extensive epic in the Greek language in particularly rigid and artificially constructed hexameters. Tradition was maintained particularly in the epigram, alongside the new accentual verse of the Byzantine dodecameter (developed from the quantitative ancient iambic trimeter) and anacreontics, also used accentually. The pagan Palladas (of Alexandria, 4th cent.) and the Christian Agathias (of Myrina in Asia Minor, 6th cent.) used the same forms, while Agathias, with his collection of new epigrams, placed himself in the tradition of older collections. Efforts, which are only partially preserved, to exploit ancient, particularly epic, forms for Christian subjects (Apollinaris of Laodiceia in the 4th cent., Nonnus with his paraphrase of Saint John's Gospel, the Homerocentra of Eudocia, 5th cent.) met with limited success at best. Another area was successfully developed further: ancient biography was made useful and transformed to promote a new human ideal. In a radical renunciation of ancient values, life in the solitude of the desert was praised. The *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius of Alexandria (mid–4th cent.) was the prototype at the beginning of a new and extremely fruitful genre, the hagiographic Vita. Continuity and recourse to the linguistic and compositional models of Antiquity were at their most striking in → HISTORIOGRAPHY, the crowing discipline of Byzantine literature. In addition to the newly developed genre of the chronicle, with its emphatically Christian view of a linear course of history (the first work of this type to survive complete is the 6th-cent. Chronicle by John Malalas of Antioch) and the equally new genre of ecclesiastical history (from Eusebius of Caesarea in the 4th cent. to the compilation of his predecessors' work by Theodorus Lector in the 6th cent.), the ancient form of contemporary historical writing continued in style and conception, and was to continue uninterrupted until the end of the Byzantine Empire. From the period of time outlined here, we have,

besides extensive fragments of other authors, the works of Procopius of Caesarea (mid–6th cent.), of Agathias (second half of the 6th cent.), already mentioned as a lyricist, and of Theophylactus Simocattes (beginning of the 7th cent.). Among the literature of this time that absorbed Antiquity in the wider sense, the great collections on individual subjects must be included: medical material in the compilations by Aetius of Amida and Alexander of Tralles, legal material in the (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*) instigated by Justinian I, literature in the sense of *belles lettres* in the excerpts by John Stobaeus, and in the lexicon by Hesychius. In all, ancient → CULTURE was further transmitted in this era; its forms continued to be used or reshaped, and its contents lived on. In so far as they did not flagrantly contradict Christianity, they were successfully integrated.

C. The 'Dark Centuries' (mid–7th Cent. – *c.* 800)

As far as literature on the whole is concerned, the validity of this standard term is disputed or at least limited in more recent research. It remains a fact, however, that in the period after the government of Heraclius (610–641) literary and other 'artistic production' decreased. The older explanatory model, according to which this was causally connected with 'Iconoclasm', which split Byzantine society between 730 and 843 and plunged it into a severe crisis, is evidently false [20]. Even from a chronological point of view, the phases simply do not coincide. Moreover, the controversy over the legitimacy of icon worship had an effect which was stimulating rather than debilitating. Thus, John of Damascus outlined a differentiated theology of icons in his speeches on icons, with the help of Aristotelian thought-categories. Instead, it seems plausible that there was a connection with the general breakdown of ancient urban culture which occurred at this time, as well as with the empire's foreign policy troubles, due to the conquest of the south-eastern provinces (Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia) by the Arabs, and the occupation of the Balkan peninsula by Avar and Slavonic tribes. Nevertheless, the break with tradition in Syria-Palestine was not drastic, even under Arab rule [7]. Quite apart from this, literary creativity did not cease by any means; yet its focus shifted quite clearly to the theological sector. Here it was mainly the genres of liturgical verse, with John of Damascus and Andrew of Crete, the 'inventor' of canon-verse, which replaced the earlier *Kontákion*, and of homiletics, that flourished. In the sermons of Sophronius of Jerusalem, Andrew of Crete and Germanus I, patriarch of Constantinople, it became clear that the ancient cultural tradition had not been uprooted, either among the orators or their public. The same holds true for philosophy. By adopting the ideas of Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita, Maximus Homologetes (580–662) anchored the connection of Aristotelian and Platonic approaches even more firmly in Byzantine theology. The break in the strands of tradition that went back to Antiquity is at its clearest in the narrative genres of historiography and hagiography. The chain of archaising contemporary historians was not immediately continued after Theophylactus Simocattes. The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor (*c.* 760–817/18), which covered the years 285 to 813, could not by any means be considered an example of literature inspired in any way by mimesis of Antiquity. This is less true for the parallel source, the *Historia Syntomos* of the Patriarch Nicephorus I (written in about 780, it dealt with the years 602–769), yet on a linguistic and stylistic level, it remains, like this author's theological writings directed against the Iconoclasts, within the framework of the inherited rhetorical ideal. The same holds true for a few products of hagiography, in general poorly represented, such as the Life of Theodorus of Sicyon and parts of the Life of Symeon Salus by Leontius of Neapolis in Cyprus. In contrast, the majority of this Life, like most of the same author's Life of John Eleemon, follows other linguistic and stylistic tendencies, much more indebted to everyday spoken language. The 'Dark Centuries' of Byzantine literature were not as dark as was long thought; as a cultural force, however, Antiquity is present in the background, rather than as a direct model of literary production or a subject of philological study.

D. Encyclopaedism and the Reappropriation of Antiquity (9th–10th Cent.)

By the end of the 8th cent. there began, timidly at first, a period which then consciously and decisively revived its connection to the late antique tradition prior to the crisis of the 7th cent., and hence to Antiquity itself [12]. It is often designated in modern literature, with somewhat different boundaries, as the 'Macedonian Renaissance'. Yet both components of the term are problematic: the Macedonian Dynasty (so called after the place of origin of Basilius I, founder of the dynasty) ruled from 867 to 1056, and the inflationary use of the term Renaissance is misleading. In the 9th and 10th cents., the looking back to Antiquity did not yet bear any direct connection to the autonomy of the individual or to a radical change of overall world-view [21]. Instead it took place primarily in two areas: the philological and literary study of the texts themselves, as well as a rich neo-classically-oriented literary production in many fields. The edition of ancient texts by the Byzantine philologists of this period was of great importance, not least because almost the whole of ancient Greek literature that has come down to us had to pass through the needle's eye of the so-called *metacharakterismós* (i.e. the transcription from majuscule into minuscule script, which emerged at the beginning of the 9th cent.). Significantly, as in Hellenism, the philologists who did the collecting were often the very ones who were creatively active. The outstanding figures of the first phase, up to the beginning of the 10th cent. were Leo the Mathematician (*c.* 790 to after 869), Photius (Patriarch of Constantinople 858–867 and 877–886) and Arethas

(*c.* 850 to after 932, from 902 Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia) [22]. Leo the Mathematician, who taught at the private academy founded by Bardas in Constantinople after 843 [19], collected primarily mathematical and scientific manuscripts, thereby contributing substantially to the preservation of various ancient writings on astronomy, as well as algebra and geometry (Ptolemy, Euclid, Apollonius of Perga, Diophantus). Yet he can also be shown to have studied Porphyry, Plato and Achilles Tatius. Entire editorial projects of the 9th cent. are known through surviving manuscripts, for instance the so-called *Philosophical Collection* from the middle of the century, containing a nucleus of manuscripts of various works by Plato and commentaries on Platonic and Aristotelian works. At the end of the century, Plato and Aristotle can also be found among the surviving manuscripts in the library of Arethas, flanked, apart from Christian authors, by Lucian, Aelius Aristides and Euclid. From Arethas's autograph *scholia,* a comprehensive classical education, including the tragedians and comedians, is clearly apparent. The most impressive figure in this respect as well, as a scholar with a comprehensive humanistic training, is nevertheless Photius. As an author active in many fields (e.g. dogmatics, exegesis, homiletics, epistolography, constitutional law), his importance for the history of reception of Antiquity lies above all in his lexicon of words of Attic authors, with its treasure-house of numerous invaluable citations from otherwise lost works, and his (*Library*), a literary-historical inventory of 280 codices, recording a total of 386 works of ancient and Byzantine literature. A whole series of ancient historians and other works are known to us only from Photius's reports.

Here and in many other undertakings, does the encyclopaedic spirit of the era become clear. It culminated in the second phase in the figure of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus (born 905, ruled 945–959). Long kept from power, Constantine put into operation a gigantic programme of collecting excerpts: the entire historical literature of Antiquity and the early Byzantine period, classified by subject, geoponics, iatrics and hippiatrics as well as other projects not relating to Antiquity. The collection of imperial biographies by the author known as Theophanes Continuatus can also be traced back to Constantine, and he himself, in a return to the genre of ancient imperial vitae, contributed an encomiastic biography of his grandfather, the dynastic founder Basilius I, in Book V. In the genre of historiography, we find the same neo-classical tendencies in the imperial biographies (for the years 813–886) by the anonymous author conventionally named Joseph Genesius, who also wrote at the court of Constantine, as well as in Leo Diaconus (writing at the end of the 10th cent., on the years 959–976), who was wholly indebted to ancient form. Great general encyclopaedias emerged: in the 9th cent. the *Etymologicum Genuinum* [2] and, probably also in Constantine's circle, the Suda. Both contained a wealth of material from ancient literature. Ancient law was edited for current use through recourse to Justinian's collection of laws in the gigantic (60 volumes) work *Basilica*, begun under Basilius I, and completed under Leo VI, probably in 888 [17]. The same emperor Leo VI emerges as an author of highly rhetorical homilies, in complete conformity with characteristic neoclassical style. Lucianic satire found its rebirth and continuation in the anonymous dialogue Philopatris (10th cent.). Nor did hagiography lag behind. Symeon Metaphrastes (died in about 1000) collected lives of saints, some of which he composed himself, while others he rewrote with a view to raising them to a neo-classicist level of language and style, into a menologion normally organised into 10 volumes, classified according to the Church calendar. The same tendencies are found in the field of poetry: the revival of archaising forms (anacreontics, dodecasyllables taking account of ancient prosody, elegiac distichs) and encyclopaedic collecting. The rules of ancient prosody were observed once again by Theodorus Studites (759–826) in his epigrams, and the most important poet of this entire era, John the Geometer (second half of the 10th cent.) was deeply marked by ancient models. At the beginning of the century, Constantine Cephalas had compiled a large collection of epigrams, which, as was often the case in other fields, united ancient and Byzantine material. His sources were both the great classical anthologies (Meleager of Gadara, Philip of Thessalonica) and the *Cyclus* of Agathias. This collection was reorganised and extended by an anonymous editor (Constantine Rhodius, according to Cameron) a few decades later, and this is the form it which it has come down to us under the modern designation *Anthologia Palatina* [6]. Overall, the revival of ancient linguistic and literary form led to greater productivity. Here we shall omit discussion of new forms that emerged at the same time without recourse to ancient models, e.g. the fifteen-syllable *versus politicus*, which was used in stichic verse for the first time in funerary poems for Leo VI (died 912) [2a], and would later become the main Byzantine and Modern Greek verse form.

E. Proto-Renaissance (11th-mid–13th Cents.)

The term has been chosen to resonate with that of *pre-Renaissance*, coined by Kazhdan [14. 146]. Without it being the case that a genuine Renaissance ensued, there were clear Renaissance-like traits, primarily a wholly new interest in individuality, both that of persons portrayed in literature and of the authors themselves. Interest in ancient literature no longer took the primary form of encyclopaedic collecting, but that of individually creative transformation. This holds for quite different genres: in poetry, the great mystic Symeon the New Theologian stood apart from neoclassical forms in his hymns, with their expression of personal mystical experiences; yet the two other great poets Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropus combined personal statements with archaising forms

[14a]. Historiography sketched individual psychological portraits of its protagonists; the models here were not so much Thucydides and Herodotus as Polybius, Diodorus, and later authors. Here, too, the great master was the universal scholar and statesman Michael Psellus (1018–1079), who shone in almost every field of literature, but especially in his *Chronographia* (for the years 976–1077) [10b; 15b]. In her *Alexias* (on the reign of her father Alexius I Comnenus, 1081–1118), Anna Comnena combined event-focused history, biography and encomium with strong autobiographical elements, using the Homeric *Iliad* as a constant intertextual frame of reference [7a]. Nicetas Choniates, who dealt with the following period (1118–1206), cultivated at the highest literary and intellectual level a mimesis that is quite pronounced on the level of detail. The anonymous *Christus Paschon* wove verses and verse segments from Euripides, Aeschylus and Lycophron together into a new whole. The likewise anonymous dialogue *Timarion* continued the reception of Lucian with an ironic and parodistic tone, even with regard to Christian dogmas. The *Catomyomachia* by the universal man of letters Theodorus Prodromus parodied classical tragedy. Recourse to Platonic-Neoplatonic thought and to Aristotle led to a clash with the guardians of Orthodox belief: Michael Psellus narrowly avoided an accusation, the teachings of his pupil John Italus were anathematised in 1082. In the chivalrous spirit of the era, the Hellenistic novel inspired the revival of this genre, of which four 12th-cent. works survive [1a]. The novelistic epic by Digenes Acrites linked this tradition once again with elements of folk poetry [10a]. Great commentaries on ancient authors were written by Eustathius of Thessalonica (on Homer, Aristophanes, Dionysius Periegeta, Pindar) and by John Tzetzes (on Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, and Lycophron), who also documented their comprehensive classical culture in their rhetorical works. Overall, this era was characterised by the trend towards creative, genre-spanning departures, which made use, in grand style, of stimuli from ancient literature for new purposes.

F. The Era of the Paleologans. Resigned Flourishing and Dissolution (Mid–13th-Mid–15th Cents.)

The political and economic decline of the Byzantine Empire after the conquest of Constantinople by the so-called Fourth Crusade in 1204 was accompanied by an astonishing cultural zenith, whose basically resigned tone is quite unmistakable. In addition to intensive work on Antiquity, which was more philological than literary, new trends began to be sketched: an opening up to non-Byzantine, particularly Western, literature, and a new interest in popular genres (chivalric novels, satirical animal stories). Even authors of Latin Antiquity were absorbed: out of primarily literary interest, Maximus Planudes (second half of the 13th cent.) translated such authors as Augustine, Ovid, Cicero, Macrobius and Boethius, while Demetrius and Prochorus Kydones (14th cent.) translated Thomas Aquinas as well as Augustine and Boethius, mainly out of philosophical interest. This was the high period of Byzantine philology. Particularly outstanding as editors and textual critics were above all Planudes (epigram collections, Plutarch, Aratus), Manuel Moschopoulus (Pindar, Aristophanes), Thomas Magister (Pindar, the tragedians, Aristophanes) and especially Demetrius Triclinius (Hesiod, the tragedians and the comic poets). A remarkable series of great polygraphs, active in various literary fields and interested in science and philosophy, extended from the Empire of Nicaea (1204–1261) into the period after 1453, from Nicephorus Blemmydes (various philosophical works) through his pupils, the emperor Theodorus II Lascaris (1254–1258) and Georgius Acropolites (historian and teacher), Georgius Pachymeres (historian, author of philosophical, mathematical, rhetorical, and juridical writings), Nicephorus Gregoras (historian, author of rhetorical and theological treatises, including philosophical controversies in the form of a Platonic dialogue) to Georgius-Gennadius Scholarius (Patriarch of Constantinople 1454–1456, 1463 and 1464–1465) and his circle of intellectuals interested in philosophy and theology. An important place among these polygraphs was occupied by Theodorus Metochites (1270–1332), who in his numerous writings (including commentaries on Aristotle, essays on philosophical, scientific, historical and literary-historical questions, hexametric poems, and an introduction to astronomy) displayed a comprehensive training in Antiquity. He gave clear expression to the apocalyptic mood, accompanied by a feeling of inferiority with regard to Antiquity [3]. However, Antiquity did not cease inspiring authors, both on a literary and a philosophical level, including those who had not, like Bessarion and many others, gone to the West and played a role there in the Italian Renaissance. Georgius-Gemistus Pletho (*c.* 1360–1452) combined Platonic, Neoplatonic and Zoroastrian ideologies to draft a new religion and political reform based on it. The historians Laonicus Chalcocondyles and Critoboulus of Imbrus moved the Ottomans to the centre of their historical representation. As it had been previously, however, mimesis of ancient authors was constitutive of the literary form of their work: Thucydides for Laonicus; Arrian, first and foremost, along with Thucydides, Herodotus, Flavius Josephus and Aelius Aristides for Critoboulus. Thus, until and beyond the end, a part of Byzantine literature remained focused on Antiquity.

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DIETHER RODERICH REINSCH

III. Art

A. Outside the Byzantine Empire (726–1453)
B. After the Fall of the Byzantine Empire (1453–17th Cent.)

A. Outside the Byzantine Empire (726–1453)

1. Introduction 2. Western Middle Ages (8th–12th Cents.) 3. Italy (11th-Beginning of the 14th Cent.) 4. Balkan countries 5. Kievan Rus' and Russia 6. The Crusader States

1. Introduction

Two kinds of reception of Byzantine art may be distinguished: one contemporaneous with its state of development at a given moment, and another, which first began after its end. However, after the end of Iconoclasm (726–843), Byzantine art returned repeatedly to classical models transmitted by the art of Late Antiquity, both with regard to theme (iconography) and especially to form, and it therefore became usual to speak of a 'Macedonian', 'Comnenian' or 'Palaeologan Renaissance'. Decisive for the influence and posterity of Byzantine art, however, was the fact that it was the determining form in the Christianised regions bordering the Mediterranean (and, to a severely limited extent, in the provinces of Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa, occupied by the Arabs since the 7th and 8th cents.), as well, particularly after the Schism of 1054, as in all the eastern and south-eastern European lands that had joined the Orthodox Church. It could thus wield influence in two respects, insofar as 1) it exported its theologically-based formal canon, and 2) at the same time, it transmitted the ancient heritage, more or less clearly preserved in its complex creation of images, to the recipient lands. Examples include the 'classical' body-clothing scheme, with clearly recognisable echoes of balance, still effective even in expressive or stiffly linear representations of figures; but also such opposing compositional principles as the hieratic manner of presentation (frontality with regard to the viewer; portraits), or narrative description (continuous vs. sequential image sequences; paintings or reliefs of stories), and finally the way of integrating the figure(s) into the surrounding pictorial space (illusionist perspective). In any case, this was certainly a considerable reduction of the ancient tradition, since figurative art in B. had remained essentially limited to the genres of painting (wall and mosaic,

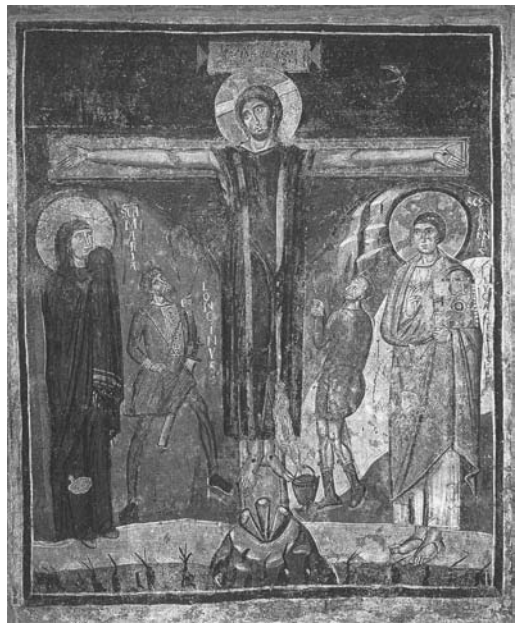

Fig. 1: Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum; fresco in the Theodotus chapel, *c.* 750

Fig. 2: Ivory relief, Christ crowning the emperor Romanus II and Eudocia, *c.* 945. *Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France*

Fig. 3: Ivory relief: Christ crowning Otto II and Theophano, *c.* 982. Paris, Musée Cluny

book illustration, enamelling) and bas-relief (stone relief, ivory carving, shallow casting) and statuary played scarcely any role.

2. Western Middle Ages (8th–12th Cents.)

In the West, the contemporaneous reception of Byzantine artistic forms was never really interrupted. There had been a strong Greek colony In Rome since the 6th cent., while Lower Italy and Sicily, but also Ravenna and Venice, had been under Byzantine rule for a long time, and so remained under the defining influence of Byzantine art. Popes of Greek origin who were sensitive to art and were active as patrons, such as John VII (705–707) and Zacharias (741–752) leant prestige to Byzantine spirituality and art in Rome. Itinerant or, after Iconoclasm, emigrant groups of Byzantine artists, who were active in Rome and Italy, disseminated Byzantine pictorial models and stylistic methods, as is shown by Roman miraculous images of the 7th/8th cents. and the frescos in Santa Maria Antiqua (Fig.1). In addition, Byzantine works of art were brought to the West throughout this period by imperial legations, pilgrims, travellers, and merchants. During the Iconoclastic period, however, it was to be expected that there were scarcely any exports of Byzantine art worth mentioning, owing to the considerable decrease in artistic productivity. One can nevertheless assume, however scant the surviving Byzantine evidence may be, that something like an artistic unity was preserved in East and West in the 'Dark Ccenturies' (*c.* 600–800).

In contrast, the → Carolingian Renaissance which began *c.* 780 out of opposition to Byzantium and in accordance with the consciously pursued idea of a 'renovatio' of the Western Roman Empire, unequivocally took up the art of Western (Latin) Late Antiquity, whose transmitted products (primarily ivory works, illuminated manuscripts, architectonic *spolia*) it appropriated and, as it were, transformed [21]. In contrast, Byzantine art began its significant achievements only gradually, in the late 9th cent. There was a strong influx of Byzantine works of art of beginning with the Ottonian period (mid–10th cent.) into the West (Italy, the Saxon Empire), above all courtly art (illuminated manuscripts, ivory carvings, silk fabrics, and gold, silver and enamel works). This led to a peculiar reception, characterised on the one hand by new forms of reuse (e.g. Byzantine ivory icons as cover decoration for Western liturgical manuscripts) and on the other hand by conscious imitation (Figs. 2 and 3). It had consider-

Fig. 4: Interior of San Marco, Venice

able influence on the development of Western art north of the Alps in the 10th and 11th cents. [2. 434–507].

3. Italy (11th-Beginning of the 14th Cent.)

In Italy the conditions for the reception of Byzantine art were especially favourable. Even during Norman rule (1091–1189) in Lower Italy and particularly in Sicily, the Byzantine canon of forms developed after Iconoclasm remained decisive in mosaic painting [7] (Palermo, Cappella Palatina, 1132–1140, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio, 1143, Monreale, cathedral, 1185–1189) [14]. Venice was a special case, as the city, originally a Byzantine duchy, remained in a tense relationship with B., despite its gradual separation from Constantinople. The Church of San Marco, erected between 1063 and 1094 with decoration continuing until the 13th cent. [8], was in many respects a copy of the Justinian Church of the Apostles in Constantinople, completed in the year 550. It is richly furnished with architectonic and figurative *spolia* of Byzantine origin and with mosaic programmes [9], which, although Venice belonged to the Catholic West, were executed wholly in the sense of Orthodox spirituality (Fig. 4).

The arrival of numerous Byzantine works of art in Italy, France and Germany after the conquest and plundering of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), together with the influx of Byzantine artists, who migrated to the West during Latin rule (1204–1261), led to a renewed confrontation with Byzantine art [2. 441–449]. The Venetian 'proto-Renaissance' of the 13th cent., evidence of which is often hard to distinguish from genuine Byzantine works, was therefore as much a product of the undiminished continuation of Byzantine influence as the 'maniera greca', which dominated Italian panel painting in the 12th/13th cents., mainly in Tuscany, and decisively shaped the artistic creativity of important painters such as Cimabue, Duccio and Giotto [15]. Here, the term 'maniera greca' describes not so much a simple imitation of current Byzantine figurative types, for instance the Byzantine variations on the enthroned Mother of God, as their appropriation and development, and also, not least, the invention of new kinds of supports (e.g. polyptychs, altarpieces, monumental triumphal crucifixes). From the synthesis of the Byzantine model, whose recognised archetypical authority continued to remain influential,

Fig. 5: Sopocani, Church of the Holy Trinity, Dormition of the Mother of God, *c.* 1265.
Sopocani Monastery, Kosovo

also in the new creations, and an altered relation to the image, which grew out of the desire to have the person portrayed turned towards the observer, Italian panel painting gradually overcame Byzantine standardisation [5].

4. Balkan countries

Greece, including the islands (more or less within the modern borders), together with Asia Minor, formed the core region of the Byzantine state since the 7th and 8th cents., after the loss of the eastern provinces to the Arabs. It thus always remained immediately connected to Byzantine art [1] and thereby also influenced the neighbouring regions of the Balkan peninsula (Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia) as far as approximately the lower Danube [4]. From the mid–7th cent., migrating Slavs encountered the culture of the late ancient and early Byzantine population here, and gradually founded their own dominions. The first Bulgarian empire (651–1018) thus emerged out of several ethnic groups (Slavs, proto-Bulgars), whose cultural peculiarities mixed with the influential late ancient and early Byzantine substrate [2. 321–335]. With the acceptance of Orthodox Christianity as a state religion under Boris I (867), the Bulgarian empire fell wholly under the influence of Byzantine art, but preserved many traditional elements (for instance, the basilical type of church: Pliska, Great Basilica, 870–880). With the relocation of the Imperial residence to Preslav under Tsar Symeon (893–927), Byzantine influence was accentuated (e.g. adoption of the type of the cruciform domed church, albeit simplified), yet completely independent creations did emerge (Preslav Round Church, about 900). With the end of the first Bulgarian empire and the re-establishment of Byzantine rule over → Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia (1018–1186), the influence of the art of B. was again reinforced (wall-paintings of Sofia, Saint George Rotunda, *c.* 1000, Bačkovo Monastery, 11th/12th cents.), yet even during the second Bulgarian empire (1186–1396), with its capital at Veliko Tŭrnovo, the characteristics of mediaeval Bulgarian art remained clearly recognisable, particularly in architectural decoration, monumental painting and crafts (Bojana, Church of Saints Nicholas and Panteleimon, 1259; Nessebar, Pantocrator Church, 14th cent.). With the Turkish conquest, the living reception of Byzantine art ended [18] and later merged with the general post-Byzantine development.

Fig. 6: Vladimir Mother of God icon, 11th/12th cent.

In contrast, owing to its geographical position, Serbia was always an area typified by West-East contact [17], especially in 13th/14th-cent. architecture and sculpture, where elements of local forms mix with Romanesque and early Gothic ones (Studenica, Church of the Holy Mother, after 1190, Dečani, Church of the Ascension, 1327–1335). After the Byzantine reconquest of further areas of the Balkans (1018) and the reestablishment of the archbishopric of Ohrid, Macedonia became an important centre of Byzantine culture. Particularly in monumental wall painting, the decisive influence first of the Comnenian style (Ohrid, Saint Sophia's, *c.* 1050, Nerezi, Saint Panteleimon's, 1164, Kurbinovo, Saint George's, 1191), and later also of the Palaeologan style is clearly visible [13]. Under the Serbian Nemanjid dynasty (1168–1371) the Serbian Orthodox Church obtained its independence. Art, however, particularly monumental wall paintings in churches and monasteries, remained indebted to Byzantine art. This was especially true under Latin rule (1204–1261), when the activity of émigré artists from the capital shifted precisely to the Balkan region (Studenica, Church of Saint Mary, 1209; Mileševa, Church of the Ascension, *c.* 1235; Peć, Church of the Apostles, 1235–1250). In Sopoćani (Church of the Holy Trinity, *c.* 1265 etc.) mediaeval Serbian monumental painting reached its summit, and already anticipated elements of the early Palaeologan style (Fig. 5). Under King Milutin (1282–1321), who founded many new churches, schools of painting arose in Serbia and the part of Macedonian territory it had annexed that were contemporaneous with the beginning of the Palaeologan style, some with artists known by name such as Michael Astrapas and Eutychius (Ohrid, Church of Peribleptos, 1297, Studenica, 'King's Church', 1313/14, Gračanica Monastery, Church of the Annunciation, 1321, Dečani, Church of the Ascension, *c.* 1340). Under the Lazarević dynasty (1371–1427) parts of Serbia (primarily Macedonia) were lost to the Turks (Battle of Kosovo, 1398). After the brief interlude of the 'Morava School', henceforth limited to only a small area (e.g. Ravanica: Church of the Ascension, *c.* 1375, Kalenić: Church of the Holy Mother, *c.* 1410), the mediaeval Serbian artistic era came to an end in 1459 [13].

5. Kievan Rus' and Russia

With the conversion to Orthodox Christianity (988) of the archduke Vladimir of Kiev (1015) the development of Old Russian art, initially under decisive influence from Byzantium, began [2. 281–319]. In this process, Byzantine builders, immigrant artists and imported materials determined church architecture [10] as well as the mosaic and monumental painting of the new capital Kiev (Tithe Church, 989–996), which first flourished under Yaroslav the Wise (1015–1054). The nucleus of Sophia Cathedral, erected between 1037 and 1043, a five-nave cruciform domed basilica with five apses, 13 domes and a gallery on three sides (extended in the 12th cent.), already offers a clearly independent reception of Byzantine building forms, while the mosaics and frescos (1043–1046) were executed by immigrant Greek and indigenous artists. Kievan architecture became the model for further centres, such as Cernigov (Church of the Redeemer, 1036) and the far northern cities of Smolensk, Polock (Sophia Cathedral, *c.* 1050), Pskov and Novgorod (Sophia Cathedral, 1042–1052). In the course of the 12th cent., the cruciform domed basilica, built over four columns in brick, or brick and plaster, and with simple decoration, established itself henceforth as the leading form of Russian sacral architecture (Cernigov, Church of Paraskeva-Pjatnica, end of the 12th cent.). Byzantine panel paintings (Fig. 6), illuminated manuscripts, and gold and silver work reached Rus' and other cities, where they acted as models and stimulated a highly developed local artistic creativity. As in mediaeval Serbia, Byzantine and Western Romanesque influences mixed to form a synthesis in the architecture and architectural sculpture of Vladimir-Suzdal', where a further centre of Old Russian art emerged in the 12th cent. (Vladimir, Saint Demetrius Cathedral, 1193–1197). With the Tatar invasion (1237–1241) the first phase of reception of Byzantine art came to an end in almost all Russian principalities, with the exception of the city republics of Novgorod and Pskov, where the entire Byzantine canon of themes and forms was preserved in monumental and panel painting, partly in a clearly local version. Through the influx of Byzantine painters such as Theo-

phanes the Greek (d. 1410), the late Paleologan style reached Novgorod in the 14th and 15th cents., and here initially influenced monumental painting, while the Novgorod Style developed in panel painting. After the victory over the Tatars at Kulikovo (1380), the rise of Moscow to the position of the decisive political and cultural centre of Russia began. It now took over the Byzantine-Russian heritage, which had been preserved and further developed primarily in Novgorod and Pskov. Immigrant Russian and Byzantine painters founded the Moscow School, at whose beginning were Theophanes the Greek and Andrei Rublev (d. *c.* 1427/30), and which reached its acme in Dionisy, after the fall of B. [4. 285–315].

6. The Crusader States

B.-influenced art presents a particular problem in the dominions established by the Crusaders in the Holy Land [11], in Constantinople and in parts of Greece (Antioch, 1098–1268, Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291, Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261, Cyprus, 1275–1291). Works created in these regions by indigenous Greek or Syrian and/or Frankish artists (wall paintings, book illustrations, crafts) often cannot be unambiguously categorised owing to this overlapping network of influences; alternatively, precisely because of the various stylistic components, they show themselves to be typical products of the Crusader period [2. 389–401].

B. After the Fall of the Byzantine Empire (1453–17th Cent.)

1. Introduction 2. Greece and the Greek islands 3. Ottoman architecture

1. Introduction

The literary heritage of Antiquity, which had been preserved almost undiminished in B., was transmitted after the end of the Byzantine Empire (1453) to the West, where it inspired a literary reception, including Byzantine historiography (→ Byzantine Studies). At the same time, the 'national styles' that emerged under Byzantine influence lived on in the art of the post-Byzantine period in the 15th–17th cents., despite Turkish rule, primarily in the Orthodox regions of southeastern Europe (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania). Although one can no longer speak of a living reception of the vanished Byzantine art, a 'Koine' ('Maniera Bizantina') established itself on the basis of the respective artistic traditions, which drew its comprehensive strength, binding the various ethnicities together, from the preservation of Orthodox spirituality. It produced complete innovations in wall painting (Athos, Meteora), yet its characteristic field of activity was in (private) icon painting and in crafts, and no longer displayed any echoes of the classical epochs of Byzantine art [20].

2. Greece and the Greek islands

The island of Crete, which had been under Venetian sovereignty since 1201, occupied a special position within post-Byzantine painting [6]. There had already been a lively artistic exchange with Constantinople during and after the end of Latin rule. After 1453, many artists emigrated from the capital to Crete, where they transplanted the achievements of the 'Palaeologan Renaissance' in wall and panel painting. In the subsequent period, Heraclion/Candia in particular developed into an important spiritual and artistic centre with strong influence on the post-Byzantine painting of the Greek mainland (Athos, Meteora) and the Greek islands (Patmos), primarily through the export of icons. Its influence reached as far as Sinai and Venice. On the other hand, from the end of the 15th cent. Cretan painting took its impetus from the Italian Renaissance, which led to an eclectic style (Italo-Cretan School, 'Maniera Italiana'). Unusually large numbers of the names of artists have been transmitted and are confirmed archivally. The best known are Andreas and Nicholas Ritzos, Nicholas Tzafouris, Theophanes the Cretan, Michael Damascenus, Georgios Klontzas, Emanuel Tzane and, finally, Domenicos Theotocopoulos (El Greco). During the Turkish-Venetian war (1630–1669), many artists abandoned the island, thus contributing to a wide dissemination of characteristic Cretan features, especially in the Ionian islands (e.g. Zakynthos) and the mainland. This development finally culminated in the so-called Heptanesian School, a tendency strongly marked by Western Baroque influences [19].

3. Ottoman architecture

In contrast, a genuinely creative confrontation occurred in the architecture of the Ottoman Empire, namely with the early Byzantine church architecture of the early Justinian period [12]. The model for all great mosques built in Istanbul after 1453 [16] was Hagia Sophia (Fig. 7), whose central main dome, held up by support domes and a system of concealed buttresses, inspired new variations on domed central spaces and solutions to the associated technical and constructional problems. Already in 1462, Mehmet II Fatih had the dilapidated Justinian Church of the Apostles demolished and built in its place the enormous complex of the Fatih Camii. The Beyazıt Camii arose in the years 1500–1506. Under Sinan, the most important Ottoman architect (1490–1588), the Ṣahzade Camii (1543–1548) and, as probably his greatest achievement, the Süleymaniye Camii (1550–1557, Fig. 8) were built one after the other, almost exactly matching Hagia Sophia in their dimensions.

→ Armenia; → Basilica; → Georgia; → Iconoclasm

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C

Caesarism

A. Introduction B. Definition C. Historical Preconditions and Dissemination D. Looking Ahead

A. Introduction

The concept of Caesarism covers only one part, albeit an important one, of the historical reception of Caesar in modern times. Its use in the political discourse of the 19th and early 20th cents. was complemented by scholarly, artistic and literary interpretations (e.g. Thornton Wilder, *The Ides of March*, 1948; Bertolt Brecht, *Die Geschäfte des Herrn Julius Caesar*, 1957, [17. 119ff.; 13. 247ff.] and its adaptation and use in films such as *Little Caesar*, 1930; *Cleopatra*, 1963; and *Asterix and the Laurel Wreath*, from the *Asterix* series, 1972).

B. Definition

The concept of Caesarism was shaped and became influential from the second half of the 19th cent. onwards in reaction to the rule of Napoleon III (President of France 1848, French emperor 1852–1873). It became in many respects synonymous with Bonapartism as 'the new Caesarism' ('... thus Napoleon gives his name to a new Caesarism, to which only he who is most capable and is of the best will is entitled', Heinrich Heine, Französische Zustände von 1832, Bulletin for 20 August, in: H. Heine, Säkularausgabe 7, 1970, 210, [20. 741]) and can thus also include the specific structures of governance under Napoleon I, including his expansionist foreign policy. Caesarism was spread by the writings of French essayist A. Romieu, *L'ère des Césars* (1850) [4]. According to Romieu, Caesarism means, on the one hand, a political dictatorship that is, as was the case with the Roman emperors, based upon a union of the military imperium and tribunicial rule of the people. Thus, to a large extent, it overrides or even supplants entirely traditional power-structures [22. 1814ff.]. On the other hand, this kind of dictatorial rule can become an historical necessity on occasions when the traditional bonds of people and society break down, social crises arise, and civil war threatens, thus calling for an outstanding leader as a saviour. This curious mixture of historical model, contemporary societal processes and new leadership structures guaranteed Caesarism its enigmatic and contentious character. As a contemporary political term it appears in all the major European reference dictionaries and → ENCYCLOPEDIAS of the second half of the 19th cent. (e.g. *Meyers Konversations-Lex.*, 4th ed. 1886 and [1; 9]). Caesarism is defined as an 'absolute monarchy with pseudo-constitutional institutions. The Caesar (emperor) exercises his absolute power as the agent of the people, and his will enjoys equal status to decisions made by the people' [6. 1195]. He is the highest representative of the people and has full responsibility, while the people can make known its will by means of a plebiscite [23. 525]. Depending upon political orientation, Caesarism can approach despotism, → TYRANNIS, dictatorship and totalitarian rule. In all these systems, decision by plebiscite and a military basis for rule are constitutive.

C. Historical Preconditions and Dissemination

The widespread and mostly ideological use of the concept is based upon historical preconditions in the 19th and early 20th cents that were specific to that period. In Europe, the French Revolution had called into question once and for all the role and function of the traditional monarchy and placed the problem of a valid contemporary representation of nation and people on the long-term agenda. The nobility, the bourgeoisie and the gradually developing so-called fourth estate were undergoing significant changes as a result of the industrial revolution. New political and social organisations arose (societies, associations, parties) that needed well-thought out publicity. These far-reaching changes went hand in hand both with a sharper historical awareness, which sought to understand the political and social problems of the age by comparing them with those of the past, especially those of Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as with a complementary counter-tendency towards contemporary → HISTORICISM, which focused upon the individuality and uniqueness of historical phenomena. The example of Caesar, his military successes, his populist politics, his ending of the civil war and his dictatorial one-man rule seemed both to illustrate and to legitimise the rule of Napoleon [28. 120ff.; 15. 135ff.] (cf. figs 1 and 2). In general terms, the Roman Caesardom or imperium represented an important model of reference for Napoleon I in its outward form as well. In Napoleon, Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893) saw 'the Diocletian of Ajaccio, the Constantine of the Concordat, the Justinian of the Civil Code, and the Theodosius of the Tuileries', by whose efforts modern France had taken its shape as an 'exemplary model of the classical spirit' [11. 180, 187]. Thereafter, the Napoleonic or Caesar-based model for rule presented a challenge in theory as well as in practice. A great amount of evidence for this was provided by the coup d'etat of Napoleon III in 1851, which represented the 'birth of Caesarism in France' (Stürmer) (detailed discussion in [19]).

Mommsen's brilliant sketch of Caesar in his Römische Geschichte [vol. 3. 461ff.] also owes its fascination not least of all to its proximity to contemporary Caesarism of the Bonapartist type [30. 3, 636, 649, 651ff.; 14. 151ff.]. In the third edition of his *Römische Geschichte*, Mommsen attempted to correct and distance himself from this widespread impression by inserting a passage

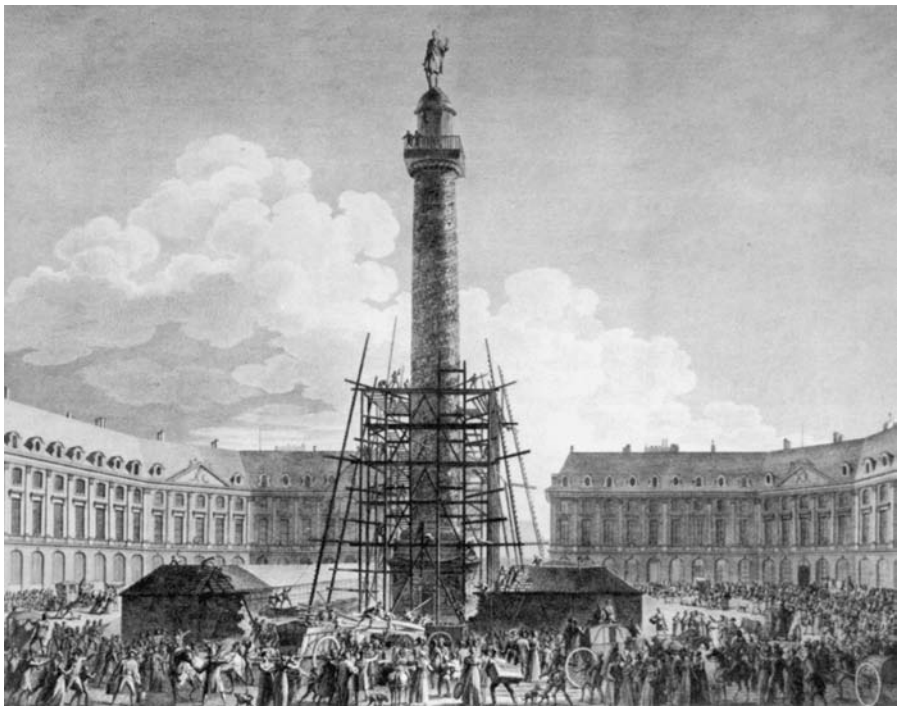

Fig. 1: Place Vendôme, Paris

[3. 477f.] that insists upon the uniqueness of the classical instance; 'where Caesarism develops under other circumstances, it is simultaneously a farce and a usurpation' (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. 3, 478). Nevertheless, Mommsen's picture of a powerful and democratic king who founded a Mediterranean monarchy upon the ruins of decayed aristocratic rule (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. 3, 567f.) had a great effect, not only in France, where Napoleon III himself produced a literary tribute to the brilliant general Caesar (*Histoire de Jules César*, I–II, 1865/6), but also, and to an equal extent, in Italy and in the rest of Europe. The tension between political reality in the figure of Napoleon III and the historical model made Caesarism a highly ambiguous concept that lent itself to use in the debate over the proper political order of Europe. For J. G. Droysen (1808–1884) Caesarism was a symptom of a pan-European crisis and an element of transition in state and society (*Zur Charakteristik der europäischen Krise*, 1854). That radical social changes, tensions in the bourgeoisie itself and the rise of a proletariat provided fertile soil for the growth of Caesarism or Bonapartism was noticed in various quarters (K. Marx, W. H. Riehl and others; for details, see [23. 21f.]), and was interpreted in various ways depending upon political standpoint. In the form of French Bonapartism, modern Caesarism was understood in Germany as a warning against the unrestricted sovereignty of the people and the introduction of democracy ('Caesar-style democracy', Karl Hillebrand, 1873 [20. 763]), which, according to a certain natural logic, would result ultimately in a *Führer*-figure gifted with the instinct for power. In this sense, the 'Caesarism of Caesar' (cf. [16. 275f.]), a fortuitous historical combination of absolute rule and the needs of the people peculiar to its own time, served as a contrast to its modern distortion in the shape of Bonapartism [8; 21. 74f.], whose place in the historical process was seen as a warning sign.

'The main means of advancement for Caesarism is the thought that one would rather be devoured completely by a lion than by ten wolves, or a hundred jakkals, or a thousand rats.' This is according to the interpretation by the economist and historian W. Roscher (1817–1894) in his *Politik* (Geschichtliche Naturlehre über Monarchie, Aristokratie und Demokratie, Stuttgart 1892, 492 [24. 279f.]) of the 'natural' movement from a democracy that has fallen into chaos towards an autocracy by plebiscite (with links to classical theories of circulation: [22. 1808f.; 20. 764ff.]). Roscher's pupil R. von Pöhlmann built on this outline when he spoke about the 'Janus-head of Caesarism', which shows an 'extreme monarchic and an extreme democratic, and even ochlocratic face' [3. 284]. A similar genesis occurs in the related political system of tyranny, i.e. in 'the emergence of a proletarian revolution and in the combination of personal ambition with the power of the fist latent in the masses' [3. 282]. The initial systematisation of Caesarism by Roscher and Pöhlmann forms a bridge to a sociological interpretation [20. 764ff.] and makes it possible to assume the Greek tyrants, the

Fig. 2: Napoléon I as Caesar Imperator: etching of the statue in the Place Vendôme, c. 1810

Roman Caesars, the autocratic rulers of the city states of Upper Italy, Cromwell, Napoleon I and Napoleon III all under the collective term Caesarism and to analyse them using comparable criteria such as populism, eagerness for achievements abroad, building frenzy, personality cult, talent for stagecraft and propaganda, desire to provide for succession, and employment of the military apparatus [5. 491ff.]. In M. Weber's (1864–1920) sociology of rule, Caesarism also grows out of democracy [10. 707], uses mass demagogy, and represents a special form of selection of leaders not only in state organisations [10. 1094f.] It is based upon acclamation and emotional fealty and thus contrasts both with bureaucratic and traditional forms of rule. Caesarism can, therefore, acquire a quite general dimension within modern systems of government. It may be applied to Cavour or Bismarck [10. 1988] just as to the populist Kaiser Wilhelm II, to Hindenburg's presidency, supported as it was by plebiscite [26. 1958], or to modern dictatorships, since it represents a precursor and working parallel for them [19. 73ff.; 26, 233ff.; 12. 161f.]. For Otto Spengler (1880–1936) Caesarism represented a phenomenon associated with decay and apocalypse in cultures that have degenerated to civilisations and a 'formless' rule by 'great men of great action', which uses modern military possibilities to establish personal power without any substantive program [7. 1080ff., esp. 1101ff.]. As the heir of democracy and parliamentarianism, Caesarism moves towards the final battle, to the decisive struggle on the world-historical stage that will be fought out between Caesarism and democracy, between the commanding forces of a

dictatorial plutocracy and the purely political desire for the order of the Caesars [7. 1144]. 'The rise of Caesarism smashes the dictatorship of finance and its political weapon, democracy' [7. 1193]. The suggestion of this dismal apocalyptic vision owes more than a little to the experience of the First World War and the spiritual and political breakdown that it occasioned. Spengler's *Decline of the West* ensured for Caesarism, yet again, a broad resonance, and provided, especially in intellectual circles, for understanding and affirmation of the rising totalitarian dictatorships.

D. Looking Ahead

The word Caesarism is a product of the classically-educated 19th cent. and its understanding of Caesar himself, whose mythically elevated person also seemed to hold abundant remedies for the societal and political crises of the age. In the course of the 20th cent.the concept lost its functionality, its analytical usefulness and its power of self-identification and was largely displaced by dictatorship and the Führer-principle. [22. 1819]. In Italian → FASCISM, Caesar the dictator became once again an important reference figure, who, together with Princeps Augustus, provided a model for military virtue and expansionist foreign policy and helped to form an imperial ideology of Romanità or Italianità [13. 90ff., 249ff.; 14. 267ff.; 19, 5ff.]. This political strand in the reception of Caesar ended in 1945, even though leaders arising from the masses, with a talent for power, continued to exist as a type next to and indeed inside of parliamentary democracies and helped to determine the political landscape of the second half of the 20th cent.

→ Augustus; → Caesar; → Ruler
→ RULER, FASCISM

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HANS KLOFT, JENS KÖHLER

Cairo, Egyptian Museum

A. History B. The Current Exhibition
C. Plans for a New Museum

A. History

A *firman* (decree) concerning the preservation of antiquities was issued in Egypt for the first time in 1835, after the country's monuments had for very many years been plundered by native and foreign treasure-hunters and sent to Europe. At the same time, the scholar Refaa el Tahtawi was commissioned by the Wali (governor) Mohamed Ali to set up a museum for Egyptian antiquities under his supervision, which was to be located in the Ezbakiah Garden in downtown Cairo. Once the museum was completely filled up with monuments, around 1850, the state found another, larger building for these treasures, in the Citadel of Saladin. Five years later the Khedive (viceroy) Abbas Pasha donated the Egyptian collection to Archduke Maximilian of Austria.

The French archaeologist Auguste Mariette, who had been carrying out excavations in Egypt since 1850, was appointed in 1858 as the first director of the commission for overseeing Egyptian antiquities. In 1863, Mariette built a new museum in the former harbour buildings at Bulaq on the banks of the Nile. This museum was under constant threat from fires in the harbour warehouses and workshops. In 1878 it was even inundated during a particularly high Nile-flooding, so that a large number of smaller items were damaged or lost. When Mariette died in 1881, Gaston Maspero was appointed as his successor.

In 1890 the state found a temporary storage site for the monuments in a warehouse near the palace of the Viceroy Ismail Pasha in Giza, until a new museum could be built.

Fig. 1: Scribe. Limestone, Fifth Dynasty. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Fig. 2: Prince Rahotep and his wife Nofret. Limestone, Fourth Dynasty. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

1896 saw the announcement of a world-wide competition for the construction of the new museum, and more than 70 designs were submitted. The submission by the French architect Marcel Dougnon was deemed the most suitable, and the foundation-stone was ceremonially laid as early as 1 April, 1897. The plan of the museum was based on those of Egyptian temples of the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period, although the façade and the inner galleries were still in neo-classical style. While the façade was embellished with statues, decorative features and inscriptions, the reception hall was covered with a massive dome. The galleries, with walls 1.20 metres thick, were connected to make the exhibits easy to visit. The galleries received natural light and sufficient ventilation through skylights on the upper level and large windows at ground level. Concrete was used for the building for the first time in Egypt, in addition to such traditional building materials

Fig. 3: Triad of Menkaure/Mykerinos (?). Greywacke, Fourth Dynasty. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Fig. 4: The dwarf Seneb and his family. Limestone, Fourth/Fifth Dynasty. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

as marble, quartzite, limestone, iron and brick. At the time of its formal opening by Viceroy Abbas Helmi on 15 November 1902, it already contained nearly 40,000 items. Today, the Egyptian Museum shelters more than 160,000 exhibits, about ten per cent of them well exhibited, while the rest are kept in closed cabinets or storerooms.

B. The Current Exhibition

The ground floor holds large sarcophagi, sculptures and reliefs, set out clockwise in chronological order:

1) The sculptures of King Chephren (4th dynasty), found in 1860 by Mariette in the Valley Temple of the king at Giza. The most impressive is a diorite statue of the king on a throne with the falcon of Horus, the sun and sky god, behind his back, spreading out his wings to protect the king. The modelling of the sculpture reflects the king's strong personality, and symbolises the connection between god and man (or king).

2. Three triads of King Mycerinus (4th dynasty) in greywacke, also found in the Valley Temple of the king's pyramid (Fig. 3). Each triad shows the king between two other figures, one of which is the goddess Hathor while the other symbolises the personification of a region or town, with its emblems above their heads. These sculptures bear witness to the great skill of Old Kingdom sculptors, who were able to model the human body in a most impressive way and polish the hard stone to perfection.

3) The wonderful statues of Prince Rahotep, son of Snofru, and his wife Nofret (4th dynasty). These two statues of painted limestone with inset eyes are so lifelike that Mariette's workers were terrified when they found them (Fig. 2).

4) The wooden statue of the lector-priest Ka-aper (better known as Sheikh el Beled) from the 5th dynasty, which was found in Saqqara in 1860. This sculpture is perhaps the finest example of private sculpture in the round from the Old Kingdom. Here the perfection of the sculptor's art is complete, as he successfully reproduces the physiognomy and individualism of Ka-aper (Fig 1).

5) The limestone statue-group of the chief of all the palace dwarfs, Seneb, his wife Sentites and their two children, from the 4/5th dynasty, which were discovered in Giza in 1926–27 (Fig. 4). This group shows the close family relationship, with the man lovingly embracing his wife and the children completing the image of their father.

6) The grave furniture of Queen Hetep-hetres, wife of Snofru (4th dynasty), found in 1924–25 to the east of the great pyramid of her son Cheops in Giza. These objects were recently placed in a gallery of their own between the Old Kingdom rooms. Among them is a baldaquin of particular historical value (including gilded wooden pillars), and a litter.

7) The statue of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre, of the 11th dynasty (*c.* 2061–2010 BC) is of special historical

Fig. 5: Perfume vessel of Tutankhamun. Gold, silver and semiprecious stones. Eighteenth Dynasty. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Fig. 6: Perfume vessel of Tutankhamun with Nile deities. Alabaster, Eighteenth Dynasty. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

and artistic significance, since it represents the king who reorganised and reunited the state after many years of discord between the north and the south. From an artistic viewpoint, this statue, which Howard Carter discovered by accident in 1900, beautifully painted and in very good condition, is particularly valuable on account of its still provincial style.

8) The museum possesses several 12th dynasty sculptures of Kings Sesotris III (*c.* 1878–1842 BC) and Amenemhet III (*c.* 1842–1798 BC), which no longer show the idealised and fine facial features of the rulers of the Old Kingdom, but bear witness to a new style, characterised by a hard and exaggerated severity in the features.

9) The Egyptian Museum has numerous excellent 18th dynasty statues of Queen Hatshepsut (1490–1470 BC) and Thutmosis III (1490–1439 BC). Here, the artists returned to the idealistic and at the same time realistic forms of statuary. The two rulers are portrayed with beautiful features.

10) From the Amarna period (*c.* 1365–1349 BC) the museum has several important sculptures of Akhenaton and Nefertiti and their daughters, which give expression to the new artistic tendency and the new concept of kingship. We may note in this context the characteristic and almost realistic, sometimes even exaggeratedly represented physical features of Akhenaton and his daughters.

11) Numerous sculptures of Ramses II (1290–1224 BC) show the king in massive figures with his individual features. Special mention must be made of the gigantic statue of the falcon-headed Hauron: the king is shown as a squatting child, with his back and head protected by the breast and the beak of Hauron (illustrated in [2. no. 203]). The artist sought to translate the abstract name of Ramses (Ra-mes-su) into pictures, by using the sun's disk (for Ra), the child (mes) and an ear of grass (su).

12) The museum's Greek and Latin manuscripts are kept in two rooms on the ground floor.

Grouped finds and thematic collections are to be found on the upper floor: a) the monuments of Hemaka, a high-ranking official from the period of King Udimi (or Den, 1st dynasty, *c.* 2900 BC), found by the Egyptian Antiquities Commission in 1931 and 1936 in North Saqqara. Various interesting items belong to this find, notably some decorated disks of stone and metal, wooden agricultural tools with copper and flint blades, a wood casket inlaid with other materials, inscribed ebony labels and drawings of animals on limestone fragments. b) The grave-goods of Meketre, chancellor and senior administrator of the 11th dynasty (*c.* 2000 BC), which were found by the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York) at Thebes in 1919–1920. While half went to New York under a division agreement, the other half remained in Cairo. The find con-

sists of artistically painted wooden models, showing a miniature version of Meketre's earthly environment, in the form of grave-goods intended to help him in the afterlife. These include a woman offering sacrifice, Meketre's garden, his workshops (joinery and weaving mill), boats for transport and fishing, and models of his livestock. c). The very important and sumptuous jewellery of the princesses Chnumit, Sat-Hathor, Sat-Hathor-Junit, Ita, Neferuptah, Mereret, and Wereret, from the 12th dynasty (*c.* 1930–1800 BC), discovered in Dahshur, Lahun and Hawara in 1894, 1914, 1920, 1956 and 1994. d) The treasure of Queen Ahhotep, wife of Seqenenre-Taa, beginning of the 18th dynasty (*c.* 1554–1529 BC) found in West Thebes in 1858. e) The finds from the Theban grave of the whisk-bearer Maiherperi, which represent the personal belongings and coffins of a senior official (period of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III) in the 18th dynasty (*c.* 1450 BC). f) The grave goods of Juja and Tuja, the parents of Queen Teje, wife of Amenhotep III, 18th dynasty (*c.* 1400 BC), discovered in the Valley of the Kings (Thebes) in 1905. These include sarcophagi, mummies, papyri, furniture, personal belongings, statues, vessels and a chariot. g) The unique and practically complete collection of items from the grave of Tutankhamun, 18th dynasty (*c.* 1349–1339 BC), found in the Valley of the Kings in 1922. This is an impressive representation of the opulence of a king's grave-goods in pharaonic Egypt (Figs 5 and 6), consisting in more than 4000 objects. Among them are numerous statues, furniture for everyday life and for the afterlife, jewellery and personal belongings, sarcophagi, six ceremonial and war chariots, vessels, toys, clothes, weapons and many other items. Of special note are the golden mask and the solid gold inner coffin. h) The grave furniture of the artisan Sennedjem and his family, from the time of Ramses II (1250 BC), found in 1886 in Deir el-Medinah (west of Thebes). Half of this collection remained in Cairo, while the other half is exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum (New York). i) The collection of mummies of kings of the New Kingdom from the royal repository at Deir el-Bahri (1881) and from the grave of Amenhotep II in the Valley of the Kings (1898). As part of a new presentation, eleven royal mummies are already on view in a climate-controlled room (Seqenenra-Taa, Amenhotep I, his wife Queen Meritamun, Thutmosis II, Thutmosis IV, Setos I, Ramses II, Merenptah, Ramses V, Queen Mutnedjemet and Queen Henut-Tawi). A new gallery is to be provided for sixteen further mummies. j) The sarcophagi of the priests of Amun-Ra and Khonsu, 21–22nd dynasty, from Deir el-Bahri (1891). k) Jewellery and other objects from the graves of kings and dignitaries of the 21–22nd dynasty from Tanis (*c.* 1054–970 BC): Psusennes, Sheshonq, Heqa-Cheper-Re, Undjebau-en-Djed, Hornakht and Amunemopet, discovered in 1939. l) The wooden coffins of various epochs discovered in Deir el-Bahri (West Thebes). m) Statues from various periods and materials found in the celebrated 'Karnak repository'. They are preserved or exhibited in various parts of the museum; originally there were more than 700 stone and 16,000 bronze statues. n) Objects associated with everyday life from the prehistoric and dynastic periods.

The museum possesses an extensive specialised library, as well as workshops for restoration and photography. There is a data-base of the collection, protected by an electronic security system.

At the beginning of the 20th cent., there were no more than 500 visitors daily. Now, with 5,000–7,000 daily visitors, and in view of pollution problems, the Egyptian Museum badly needs state-of-the-art climate-controlled rooms and a lighting system compatible with the most modern demands.

C. Plans for a New Museum

A new museum for the Egyptian monuments will soon be built in Giza, at the beginning of the desert road to Alexandria. The greater part of the Cairo collection will be accommodated here, including the treasures of Tutankhamun and monuments from various places and repositories in Egypt. The museum will make use of the most recent advances in procedures and technology, and will have an area of around 48,000 square metres. There will also be a large library, a research centre and an auditorium.

→ Amarna; → Echnaton; → Mycerinus; → Sesostris; → Thutmosis; → Tutankhamon

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Calendar

A. Traditions B. The Julian Calendar as a System of Calculating Time C. Graphic Form D. The Calendar as a Medium

A. Traditions

Of the many calendar systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity only the Jewish and the Julian Calendars survived in use beyond the late classical period. For many other systems, such as the Gaulish calendar, or that of Coligny, or the conventional lunisolar calendar of the Eastern Mediterranean, there are clear breaks in the tradition after the 4th cent. AD. The Julian Calendar, the system adopted by the Roman administration, was taken over by the Christian Church by the 4th cent. as its sole calendar and was thus continued as a broad-based living institution into the Middle Ages. There have been insufficient studies of the spread and parallel usage of the Jewish lunisolar calendar; it must certainly have been used and disseminated on a continuous basis in religious centres in Palestine. Scholarly work on the

Jewish calendar has been concerned with reconstructing it in detail and examining its popular use (e.g. [1;22]). With the spread of Islam around the Mediterranean there appears in the European history of the calendar after the 7th cent. a further, purely lunar calendar (augmented, it is true, by a system that is linked to the tropic year and based on the rising and setting of stars, *anwâ*, and which is also found in written form in almanacs). In addition, the passing-on of classical astronomical or antiquarian learning ensured that the knowledge of alternative (historical) systems was preserved by specialists.

This article concentrates upon the effects of the Julian Calendar. Alongside the technical aspects, which are typically in the foreground of historical analyses, attention is paid also to the graphic form of the calendar and its insertion within sources.

B. The Julian Calendar as a System of Calculating Time

1. The Middle Ages 2. The Gregorian Reform 3. Acceptance and Criticism 4. Further Attempts at Reform

1. The Middle Ages

With an average year's length of 365.25 days and the automatic insertion of a day every four years, the Julian Calendar represents a fairly precise and easy-to-use system for the calculation of time and seems to have been used without interruption since the time of Augustus. The average excess of 0.0078 days per year did not occasion until the late Middle Ages – from the 13th cent. onward – any significant deviation (bringing forward the start of spring according to the calendar), which then led to various suggestions for reform. The principal problem was the date of Easter, which had been defined by the Council of Nicaea (in accordance with Roman and Alexandrian practices) as the Sunday after the first full moon in spring. Increasingly, this definition could not be brought into line with the dates between which the feast had to occur (i.e. 22 March and 25 April as 'Easter limits'). The intense debates at the Councils of Rome (1412), Constance (1415) and Basle (1434) and finally the reform suggestion of Nicholas of Cusa (Cusanus) all failed, in the face of the increasingly serious problems of the time, to give rise to any organised reform [6. 253]. It was not until the Council of Trent took up the task and after the work of the Calendar Commission (1576) that the reform-decretal was formulated which Pope Gregory XIII promulgated at the end of 1581 (summary of the background to and implementation of the reform in [3]).

2. The Gregorian Reform

The reform itself consisted of several elements. First, to maintain the traditional dates of spring, the accumulated 'deficit' of the solar year vis-à-vis the calendar year was eliminated by shifting the date from the 4th to the 15th of October 1582. This step in the reform had the most unfortunate long-term consequences, in that it led at once to constant differences in setting the date with all those states that did not implement the reform. Also the corrective efforts of the Orthodox Church to establish a more precise length of the year did not fully carry out this reform.

The second element was the modification of the rules for leap years: There was to be no leap year in those years where the century-years (1700, 1800, 1900) were not completely divisible by four. The threatening spread of divergence because of this rule caused many European states to adopt this reform in 1700. Finally, there was a need for regulation in the reckoning of the date of Easter. In this case, the suggestion made by the physician Aloisi Giglio (A. Lilius) in the form of new epact tables was accepted. The basis for this traditional form of reckoning was the ability to calculate the spring full moon from the progress of the phase of the moon at New Year. From a long-term calculation of the cycle, one could determine for every year-for centuries in advance-figures that, with the help of a few rules, permitted calculation of the date of Easter. Associated with the tables were also a number of 'tricks' that, by means of an actually false moving forward of the date of the full moon (on which the Jewish Feast of the Passover, on the 14th of Nisan, was based), permitted Easter to fall on the 14th of Nisan. It was accomplished without this 'quartodecimal' and hence, as the polemical reproach put it, 'Judaising' Easter dating – which was criticised at Nicaea – being noticeable as such in the tables. An empirical alternative, namely the observation of the moon, could not even be be considered in view of problems associated with observation as well as communication.

3. Acceptance and Criticism

A glance at the details shows just how open to attack the scheme of reform actually was. In the century of the Reformation, such a calendar reform, in the discussion of which the Protestant states had not been involved, could not simply be adopted across the board. At soon as this reformed calendar was announced, Protestant polemics began to appear, primarily arguing from the point of view of the astronomical calendar (e.g. Michael Eychler, *Was von dem newen Bäpstischen Gregorianischen Calender zu halten sey*, Lemgo 1584; Lucas Osiander, *Bedencken Ob der newe Päpstische Kalender ein Notturfft bey der Christenheit seie/unnd wie trewlich diser Papst Gregorius XIII. die Sachen darmit meine ...*, Tübingen 1583; Michael Maestlin, *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Bericht ... Sambt erklärung der newen Reformation/welche jetziger Bapst zum Rom Gregorius XIII. in demselben Kalender hat angestellet / und an vilen Orten eyngeführet/Und was darvon zuhalten seye*, Heidelberg 1583). The result was a considerable delay in its acceptance. Whereas most of the Catholic states of Europe immediately accepted the calendar (Spain, Portugal and, to a large extent, Italy and Poland; 1583 in Catholic Germany; Austria, Bohemia and some of the Swiss cantons only in 1584; Hungary in 1587), many of the Protestant states, which used different date-adjust-

ments, followed only in 1700 (especially Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands), England in 1752, Sweden not until 1753 (after experimenting from 1700 onwards). Attempts at an 'improved calendar' that would replace the (imprecise) cyclical changes by using astronomical-empirical methods – which, in spite of the acceptance of the Gregorian Calendar, still sometimes led to different dates for Easter – were abandoned at the end of the 18th cent. The Eastern Orthodox countries only accepted the reform (and sometimes without adjusting the dates) around 1920 (Albania 1913, Russia 1918, Greece 1923, the Greek-Orthodox Church 1924) [6. 266–77; 7. 26–28]. In 1924, the technically more precise orthodox calendar reform stabilised the synchronisation of leap years until 2700. Beyond Europe, the Gregorian Calendar was adopted in 1606 by the United Maronites in Syria (further attempts at negotiation with the Patriarch in Constantinople broke down). Japan introduced it in 1873. Its use began to take hold in China at the start of the 20th cent., and Turkey introduced it on 1 January 1926.

4. Further Attempts at Reform

Criticism of the Gregorian Calendar, which originated with the Reformation and which was, not least of all, based on the diplomatic ineptitude of its introduction, has continued to the present. In 1702, Quidus Ubaldus listed in his *Remonstratio fundamentalis et succincta errorum quibus tam Novum quam Vetus Calendarium graviter laborat. Nec non Remediorum...* a series of older suggestions for reform, including that fixed times be used for Easter (5 April or the first Sunday thereafter). The strongest motivations for reform, apart from the problem of the dates for Easter, were the unstable relationship between days of the week and dates of the months and the unequal lengths of the quartals (see, for example, the *Journal of Calendar Reform* 1ff., 1931ff.). Problems of adaptation to new reforms proved their greatest obstacles.

The sole critical suggestion that was realized to any appreciable extent is represented by the French Revolutionary Calendar, which was introduced on 24 October 1793 (i.e. 3 Brumaire in year 2 of the Republic) by decree of the National Assembly. In this case, a rational criticism of the calendar – albeit in favour of a technically weaker system, starting as it did from an annual average of 365 days – was combined with the organization in calendar terms of ideological alternatives to Christianity. This included the replacement of Sunday by *Décadi* and of the divine service by the cult of reason and by celebrations of the revolution. The claims of the calendar were manifest not only in its regular thirty-day months but also in the systematized roots and suffixes of the names of the months:

Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire (autumn)
Nivôse, Pluviôse, Ventôse (winter)
Germinal, Floréal, Prairial (spring)
Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor (summer).

The structure shows obvious parallels with the German names of the months introduced by Charlemagne (beginning, however, with January, Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* 29):

uuintarmanoth, hornung, lenzinmanoth,
ostarmanoth, uuinnemanoth, brachmanoth,
heuuimanoth, aranmanoth, uuitumanoth
uuindumemanoth, herbistmanoth, heilagmanoth.

These names for the months were widespread in Germany throughout the Middle Ages. The French Revolutionary calendar was modified by the Concordat with the Catholic Church in 1802 and was done away with on 31 December 1805 in spite of ongoing reservations about the Gregorian Calendar.

The French experiment with the calendar made it clear that large-scale interference in private life is linked with the rhythms of the weeks [13]. Experiments in the Soviet Union took this into account in the introduction of continuous five or six day weeks. These provided only for individual rhythms and eliminated a shared day of rest for the whole society. This was intended to increase productivity and at the same time supplant the Christian tradition, which was promulgated on Sundays. Begun in the wake of the massive industrialisation of the 1920s, these experiments were discontinued at the start of the war with Germany. Unlike the much more frequent introduction of new designations for eras (like that of Mussolini in 1922 and also for Nazi Germany), far-reaching calendar reforms had such an effect on the structure of time of individual societies that any possible gain in rationalisation seemed hardly adequate to justify them.

C. Graphic Form

Unlike all other calendar systems of the ancient Mediterranean world, the representational form developed by Rome for its conventionalised months offered (after the Julian reform) an overview of the year in twelve similar columns (→ Calendar). This representation was continued beyond Classical times in the traditional forms of mural painting and monumental inscriptions. The 'Kalendarium marmorense' in Naples, roughly 5.5 meters across and probably from the middle of the 9th cent., provides evidence for this continuation. In terms of content, it summarises several regional lists of saint's feasts and, in particular, martyrdom dates. In religious texts of the high and late Middle Ages, this calendar-form mostly shows the following columns: the 'golden number' (for calculating Easter); the Sunday letter (A-G: the letter, which changed at the the beginning of the year, thus indicated all the Sundays in the year in a calendar that was in principal 'eternal'); numbered days of the month (this form of date notation arises after the early Middle Ages and is the dominant form by the late Middle Ages); Roman date forms; and saints' days. In breviaries, the pitch for the prayers of the canonical hours (*III., IX tonus*) may also be given. As was already the case in classical times, this representation could be augmented by astronomical information (e.g. zodiac signs) or prognostic information (e.g. weather forecasts) – a practice that came to fruition

with the enormous rise of astrology after the Renaissance. In Germany from the beginning of the 15th cent. onward, one encounters large numbers of 'practica' or 'almanacs' in book form (initially as manuscript books). These spread the monthly columns over a double page that gives information in a number of columns about moonrise and sunrise and moonset and sunset as well as information over the movements of the planets. An example of the genre, the *Practica* of Johann Schindel was designed for use over a nine-year (lunar) cycle (1410, 1439; [9. 180]), which remained the norm for book-calendars for a time [23. 365]. Alongside these one also finds broadsheets, for a long time printed as woodcuts, which typically contain only isolated dates and not the whole calendar for the year.

The arrangement of 'one month per page' was not obligatory, and frequently the format is more continuous, with the page-break occuring at a random date. Where the one-page-per-month format was preserved, one often finds in more expensively produced manuscripts a continuation of the classical tradition of representing the months. Mural paintings (e.g. the fasti beneath Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome) or mosaics are older than, or independent of, the written calendars, but the calendar in the Chronograph of 354 is still the oldest known example of the combination in book format. The manuscript tradition of this illustrated calendar (see most recently [18. 249–268], with individual copies from the 6th to the 10 cents. as well as a number of copies from the late 15th to early 17th cents., characterises the interest in the calendar. Breviaries and books of hours continue to carry these representations (alongside monumental forms) through the Middle Ages [4; 23. 364, note 64]. With the start of the 15th cent., the pattern was disseminated across a variety of other secular genres [14. 378] and achieved a great deal of popularity in the 17th cent. [23. 426f.]. A wall calendar combining a picture with the schematic representation of a month is nowadays one of the most popular forms of calendar; admittedly, the pictures often go well beyond the representation of individual months in the narrower sense.

D. The Calendar as a Medium

As a systematic means of conveying information, the calendar, as early as the classical period, went beyond the simple representation of the months. Lists of magistrates (i.e. Roman consuls and also civic officials or officers of societies), which could be expanded into actual chronicles, regularly accompanied Roman fasti [17]. In the Chronograph of 354 there is already a wealth of different materials. The characteristics of individual months (e.g weather and feasts) were treated poetically in single lines of verse, couplets or quatrains – this is also the case in the Chronograph of 354 and in Ausonius (14, 1ff.: *Eclogues*). This tradition continues throughout the Middle Ages [8] and into Renaissance verse (as in Heinrich Ranzovius's *Ranzovianum Calendarium ad elevationem poli 55. Grad.*..., Hamburg 1590). As a mnemonic for the feasts and memorial days of the church year, the Cisio Ianus – named after its first words (*Circumcisio*...) and known in various forms (e.g. that of Philipp Melanchthon) – takes on a similar but almost canonical function. Thus, it is absent from very few of the early printed calendars. The understanding of how to replace a stored memory by the intermediary of writing as memory-store gives way here to the function of writing as a mnemonic auxiliary (on such perception problems, see [5]).

In spite of the numerous variations in classical calendars, the medieval calendars show a great uniformity when, as liturgical aids, they accompany texts of various types, including Bible manuscripts (e.g. Gotha membr, II 65, fol.1r–2v). A particularly important impetus for the extension of the calendric scheme was astrology (→ Natural sciences), which was at its height in Europe from the 15th to the 17th cent. After manuscripts that are clearly older (e.g. the Calendarium of 1305[9. 179f.], astrological predictions constitute, as indicated above, an important part of calendar production ([23. 358, note 50]: *c.* 392 incunabula printings after 1462). The calendar published by Johannes Regiomontanus in 1475 (and reprinted) represents for Germany the start of an abundant production. Calendars of this type combine the astronomical material mentioned with a whole range of prophecies and especially with medical advice. This is the case as early as 1483 with an 84–page untitled calendar from Strasbourg (Gotha, Mon.typ. 1483,4deg.,2 = Hain 9734) that offers extensive systematic discussions and pieces of advice particular to specific months. The various items are ordered according to the astrologically determined days for bloodletting (hence the German term 'Lasszettel' (letting-sheet) for such calendars or for single-page compilations of the appropriate dates [11. 15]; also on further calendar forms). Comparable 'practical' texts form part of popular mass-literature into the 19th cent.

As far as the reception of classical material is concerned, a second line of development, which derives from Ovid's *Libri fastorum*, is more important. Ovid's poetic calendar commentary offered historical explanations and mythological stories associated with the Roman *fasti* in a text that jumped from date to date and failed to include all the days of the year. The work was massively popular and there are more than 170 manuscripts, many of them from the Renaissance. In 1516, Johannes Baptista Mantuanus (G. B. Spagnoli) composed his *Fastorum libri XII*, which was not only an expansion but also an *updating* of Ovid. In 1550, the Wittenberg professor of grammar and later Reformation theologian Paul Eber [21] composed a *Calendarium historicum* of 482 pages under the influence of Ovid – a fact that scholarship has not previously noted but which is suggested by the Praefatio (p. 4: *Sic cernimus in fastis Ouidianis*. (See also the concluding elegy with its imitation of Ovid and its final comment *Cumque tuis forsan Naso mea scripta legentur*.) Eber's work was also influenced by the *Fasti triumphales*,

which was discovered in Rome in 1548 and from which he, beginning with 1 January, frequently took material. After many editions, Eber's sons, Johannes and Martin, expanded it yet again, translated it and published it in German. This text is considered the beginning of the genre of the historical calendar ([23. 369f.;10.47f.] for an opposing view [3]). That genre, by including not only dates associated with a particular year but also by increasingly including short narratives of an historical or legendary nature, stands in direct connexion to the classical calendar stories of Johann Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, Johann Peter Hebel and finally – separated from the overarching genre of the 'calendar' – of Oskar Maria Graf and Bertolt Brecht (on the later development, see [15. 10]). The great interest in the genre of the historical calendar that had derived from the reception of Ovid is clear from the steady flow of new editions and imitations, among which the work of Caspar Goltwurm stands in the first place. Goltwurm followed his secular historical calendar in 1570 with an *Ecclesiastical Calendar*, which offered a series of saints' lives on the appropriate days and appeared a century before the work of the Bollandists. As early as 1551, there appeared in Wittenberg the *Cisio Ianus, hoc est, Kalendarium syllabicum* of Lucas Lossius, which was intended for school use and which offered in question-and-answer format explanations of the contemporary and Roman calendars as well as extracts (*historiae*) from Paul Eber's calendar. The heavy reference to classical history that typifies Eber's calendar was quickly lost in the following period (e.g. Michael Beuther of Carlstadt, *Calendarium Historicum* Frankfurt/M. 1557) when early modern and Reformation period dates came to predominate.

→ Eras; → Chronographer of 354; → Fasti; → Ovidius Naso, Publius

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Campania

A. Introduction B. The Middle Ages C. Renaissance and Humanism D. Geographical and Travel Literature E. Fiction

A. Introduction

The land between the Volturno in the north and the Sorrento peninsula in the south gained in the Roman period a great significance over and above its geographical and political importance. Factors favouring this were: the continuation of Greek culture in the coastal settlement centres (Naples as *Graeca urbs*; Tac. ann. 15, 33, 2; cf. Strabo 5,4,7), the arrival after the 2nd cent. BC of Roman citizens as visitors either for health reasons (thermal springs) or in search of the good life (made very vivid in Strabo 1. c), and as a result the uninterrupted construction of luxury villas and parks along the coastal strip (Strabo 5,4,8)[3]. Added to this is the wealth-producing fertility of the hinterland ('felix illa Campania'): Pliny, Nat. 3, 60) and not least the beauty of the whole region (Pol. 3, 91). The land as a whole, individual places (Capua, Baiae), or their products (Falernian wine, Lucrine oysters) became indicators for a particular mind-set and life-style, most notably of the *dolce vita* (e.g. Sen. dial. 9,2,13). These indicators outlasted the material decline of the area after the 3rd cent. AD (SHA Tac. 7, 5–7; 19,5; Symm. epist. 2,17,2). They also allowed for the literary transfer of Campania (C.) onto other places and areas, to Nomentum (Martial 6. 43), to the Moselle (Auson. Mos. 345–347; 208–219), to the Auvergne (Sidon. carm. 18), and to Istria (Cassiod. var. 12, 22). The comparative basis for this transfer was not the material comparability of the places, but rather the intellectual status which they embodied. The elegant and fashionable spa of Baiae was used as a trope, as antonomasia for any other spa (Sidon. carm. 23, 13; epist. 5,14,1) or bathing-places (Anth. Latina, ed. D. R. Shackelton Bailey 99; 108; 112;169;202;372;CLE 1910;2039). The land became a code for the site of mythical and historical events, but having become a code, it also determined the poetic, oratorical or historical representation of those events. They attached themselves to the

various places as reminiscences, often in a particular literary context. Cumae and Lake Avernus could be seen only through Virgil's (*Aeneid* VI) eyes (Ov. met. 14, 85ff.; Sil. 12, 113ff.; 13, 395ff.; Stat. silv. 4,3,114ff.). On the other hand, the image of Campanian villa culture was formed by various writers: Cicero, Varro, Horace, Seneca, Statius. In each case it was the literary and not the actual landscape in which the literature dealt with Campanian events [15].

B. The Middle Ages

Cassiodorus, without having seen the places concerned, was the last to praise C. in literature (var. 9,6). After him its fame declined, as did the area itself. The nadir is reached when, in a 9th-cent. version of the *Acta Petri et Pauli*, much-praised Baiae appears as 'a place called Baiae' (12) [5]. The use of the thermal springs for bathing on the Campi Phlegraei did continue through the whole Middle Ages [11; 12]. One poetic result of this is the *De balneis Puteolanis* by Pietro da Eboli, probably dedicated to Frederick II before 1220, consisting of 35 epigrams on the healing effects of the individual baths [7: 19]. The work (20 manuscripts of the 13th–15th cents., ten of them illuminated) is the starting point for a rich individual balneological tradition which continued into the 19th cent. and linked with the fame of the Phlegraei Fields in Antiquity [10; 4]. The poetic work itself is practically orientated, and sparing with classical allusions.

C. Renaissance and Humanism

The idea of a memorable journey, offering more to the spirit than to the eyes, was first formulated by Petrarch in the *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum domini nostri Iesu Christi* of 1358. The west coast of Italy is afforded in that work more space than the Holy Land, with the Bay of Naples as the central point in the report. In his preface, Petrarch justifies the imaginary journey through landscapes of the mind on the basis of the impossibility of himself being able to take part in the journey in the actual sense (7–9).The details in the description go back to a visit to the Campi Phlegraei on 23 November 1343, which he describes in a lively fashion, with relevant quotations, in the *Familiares* (5,4). Echoes of Virgil also play a major part here. For Boccaccio (in Naples 1327–39) it is Roman love poetry which is called to mind by the landscape [11. 398–400]. This becomes the dominant theme for an entire collection of poetry during the high period of Aragonese rule in Naples with Giovanni Pontano's (1426–1503) *Hendecasyllaborum seu Baiarum libri duo* (begun in 1490). In this case Baiae certainly represents a spiritual attitude, somewhat one-sidedly that of love and dalliance. But Virgil is invoked as well. He sang – and bathed – here (1,31; 2,6). In the *Arcadia* (first version begun in 1480) of Pontano's friend Sannazaro (1457–1530) the spiritual Arcadia is juxtaposed with a spiritual C. (Prose XII and XIII).

D. Geographical and Travel Literature

Petrach's *Itinerarium* (see above) already established the importance for the geographical and touristic reception of the Campanian landscape of memory. The Campi Phlegraei are the central point of reference, on the one hand as the land of Homer and especially that of Virgil, and on the other as a site of Roman history. To this must be added the rich, leisure loving and educated city of Naples; occasionally, because of Hannibal's winter camp, the once-flourishing Capua; further Capri, rarely visited but rich in reminiscences of Emperor Tiberius; and finally fire-spewing Vesuvius, which, together with the thermal phenomena of the Campi Phlegraei, provides the physical interest in the region. The journey from Rome to Naples was a mental preparation for the visitor rather than for the geographer. Here the traveller was accompanied not only by historical memories, but by those of Horace's *Iter Brundisinum* (sat. 1,5) [16]. The mention of the three aspects by which the land addresses the spirit – poetically, historically and physically – belongs to the topoi of the literature in question. The regions are 'interessant durch die Geschichte, reitzend als Gefilde der Poesie, interessanter noch und reitzender durch die Natur' (interesting for their history, delightful as the fields of poetry, and made still more interesting and delightful through nature) writes Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg in his *Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien in den Jahren 1791–92* (^{2}1822, vol. 2, 367). To be sure, the enthusiasm was nurtured less by a coherent study of the classical texts themselves than by reading various works of historical geography and local guide-books, which appeared in large numbers and presented the ancient sites in a pleasing way. Here, a pioneering effort is represented in the *Italia Illustrata* of Flavio Biondo, produced in 1449–1453 and printed in 1474. It was followed by the *Descrittione di tutta Italia* of Leandro Alberti (1550), and on an entirely new critical level by the *Italia antiqua* of Philipp Clüver (1624). The first guidebook to the transcendent central part of the area, the Campi Phlegraei, appeared in 1570: Ferrante Loffredo's *Le antichità di Pozzuolo et luoghi convicini*. This brief and reliable work was followed by Scipione Mazzella's *Sito, et antichita della citta di Pozzuolo, e del suo amenissimo distretto* (1591), Giuseppe Mormile's *Descirittione dell'amenssimo distretto dell citta di Napoli, et dell'antichita della citta de Pozzuolo* (1617), Giulio Caesare Capaccio's *Il Forastiero* (1630), Pompeo Sarnelli's *Guida de' forestieri* (1685) and many others [6; 15]. Foreign traveler's handbooks and travel-descriptions were influenced by these 'as they influenced each other', so that a tradition of seeing and writing developed which was astonishingly uniform and encouraged the transmission of errors and narrative phantoms [17]. The guidance offered by the *Itinerarium Italiae Nov-Antiquae* of Martin Zeiller (1640), who had never visited Naples, does not differ much from other 'Wahrhafften und curiösen Reiß-Beschreibungen' of the same period.

In spite of the gradual decline, Biondo, who visited the Campi Phlegraei in 1452, was enchanted by the number and the excellent state of preservation of the monuments (fol. L7r), as was Alberti, whose visits were made in the years 1526 and 1536. He saw and described many things which later travellers did not see but described anyway. But even in Petrarch's descriptions there are occasional comments upon the ruinous state of the objects. Set against its one-time glory, these comments gradually build up to form a lament on temporality. Hieronymus Turler, in *De peregrinatio et agro Neapolitano Libri II* (1574, 80) saw the decline as 'evidens argumentum fragilitatis humanae, & quam nihil stabile aut perpetuum sit in vita' (a clear sign of human fragility and that nothing is immutable or permanent in life). The volcanic eruption on 29 September 1538 was fatal: it raised up the almost 140 metre high Monte Nuovo between Lake Avernus and Monte Barbaro, and buried under it the greater part of the sea-inlet which had replaced the Lucrine lake [9]. This struck at the heart of the *regio Baiana*. A large part of its glory was now lost to sight. However, the material loss augmented greatly the spiritual aspects of the landscape. The relationship between object and memory had shifted in favour of the latter. Discussion of C., which had been going on since ancient times, could now increasingly leave reality aside. Richard Lassels (*The Voyage of Italy*, 1670) referred to this as 'Travelers losse' and 'mans comfort' (266). Although most visitors happily went on copying out the classical passages and carried phantom descriptions from book to book, after the turn of the 17th and 18th cent. a minority began to feel cheated by the earthly paradise which C. was supposed to represent. The antiquities of Pozzuoli 'ne sont pas que de vieux bâtimens' (are nothing but old buildings), wrote Charles Bourdin in his *Voyage d'Italie* (1699,224). Perceptive observers like President de Brosse (1709–1777, in Naples in 1739) recognised clearly the underlying situation. Having returned from an expedition into the Campi Phlegraei, he determined 'que tous les grands plaisirs que j'avais goûtés étaient beaucoup plus en idée qu'en réalité' (that all the great delights that I have experienced were more in the idea than in reality); the objects described are, he said 'délicieux par réminiscence et tirent un agrément infini des gens qui n'y sont pas'(delightful through reminiscence and elicit boundless pleasure from the people who are not there: *Lettres d'Italie*, ed. Y. Bezard, 1931, vol. 1, 457). The catalyst for this perception was the rediscovery of the Vesuvius towns (official excavations in → Herculaneum after 1738). For there one could contrast the grandiose realm of memory with the modest, but immediate and visible presence of Antiquity in a Roman country town [18]. Of the antiquities in the Campi Phlegraei, Lady Morgan wrote later that 'there are few sufficiently perfect to interest the general enquirer, by their power of illustrating the internal oeconomy of civil life, like those of Pompeii' (*Italy*, 1821, Vol. 2, 354). In→ Pompeii, on the other hand, Mark Twain was able to determine in the vestibule of a house the place 'where presumably the hat-stand had been' (*The Innocents Abroad*).

The impression of worn-out ruins making a huge claim to be a spiritual landscape gave rise after the end of the 18th cent. to three different reactions: 1. a blind obedience to tradition: 'jeder Blick regt ein classisches Gefühl auf' (every glance inspires a classical emotion: J. I. v. Gerning, *Reise durch Östreich und Italien*, 1802, vol. 2, 181); 2. rejection: August von Kotzebue broke off his visit on the grounds of the 'Ueberdruß, Steinhaufen anzugaffen, die nichts mehr ähnlich sehen [...] Fabeln und Mährchen anzuhören, die nichts bedeuten' (weariness from staring at piles of stone that do not resemble anything [... and] listening to fables and fairy-tales that mean nothing: *Erinnerung von einer Reise aus Liefland nach Rom und Neapel*, 1805, vol. 1, 357f.); 3. sublimation: William Beckford went against the grain of the tradition of sight and memory in his *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents: in a series of Letters, from various parts of Europe* (1783), and placed the spiritual value of the landscape into an overall mood that is hard to grasp; President Dupaty spoke similarly and almost at the same time [14]. These attempts had, however, no successors. What lasted was the feeling of weariness. The landscape, which was no longer able to address the spirit, was condemned for not being picturesque enough. To be sure, C. has survived in a few stereotypical images in recent travel-books and contemporary essays (L. De Crescenzo et al).

E. Fiction

Modern fiction does not distinguish itself in its perceptive mode from geography and travel literature. As far as C. is concerned literature's role is a receptive one. This can be inferred from well-known works such as Wilhelm Heinse's *Ardinghello* (1787), Jean Paul's *Titan*, Hans Christian Andersen's *Improvisatoren*(1835) and many others; it is also easy to see in Mme de. Staël's *Corinne ou l'Italie*(1807), the prose epic *Les Martyrs* of Chateaubriand (1809) or the *Histoire de Juliette* of the Marquis de Sade (1796), since the authors in these case are all following their own travel notes. For guides and travel descriptions, modern literature places itself as a second layer of memory upon the reminiscences about Antiquity. Benedetto di Falco places Pontano and Sannazaro alongside the classical eulogists of the Bay of Naples (*Descrittione dei luoghi antiqui di Napoli e del sua amenissimo distretto*, 1535, passim); for Anna Jameson, Corinne has 'superadded romantic and charming associations quite as delightful, and quite as true' as the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey* (*The Diary of an Ennuyée*, 1836, 91); Felix Mendelssohn claims to have 'had lunch' with the woman from Goethe's *Wandrer* (Letter of 7 May, 1831, (ed.) P. Sutermeister, 1979, 148)

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Canada see → North-America

Cannae see→ Battlefields

Canon Until the dawn of the modern era, the term was unusual in the sense in which it is now used by literary scholars; namely, to mean 'standard', 'rule', or 'model' (first used by D. Ruhnken in 1768 to mean a literary corpus), although the contrasting sense of the 'inspired' canon of the Bible, or religious law and 'apocryphal' writings, was available to suggest an analogy that could be applied to secular items.

Concentration and extent of transmission are indicators of canonicity. As early as the manuscript tradition of, for example, the Greek tragedians, one notes a selection from the entire *oeuvre* (Euripides: 17 of 75 tragedies attested by Varro). With the earliest canon, transmitted from Alexandria or rather Byzantium, of five (later three) tragedians, nine lyricists or ten rhetors, the factor of symbolic numbers, as well as a fixation on author figures (not works), can be seen at work. This is perhaps analogous to the apostolic number of twelve 'old masters' of courtly lyric who were venerated by the mastersingers of the 16th cent. and were later replaced by the same number from their own master craftsmen.

Canon marks the conflict and interplay between continuity and innovation, the tension between *imitatio* and *aemulatio* (or translation [11. 104–126]), in which, for the period between Late Antiquity and the late Middle Ages, stress was laid on the exemplarity of the *auctoritates*. A canon is articulated; its propagation determines textual forms [13. 21–39], such as books of sententiae, accessus, florilegia, library catalogues, lists of writers and even catalogues of literary works that had been circulating from the time of Jerome, Cassiodorus and Bede but more intensively from the Carolingian Renaissance (e.g. Alcuin) on, as the precursor of a literary historiography (Konrad von Hirsau, Hugo von Trimberg) that was always intended to be commendatory in character. Thus, school reading-lists from the 9th to the 12th cents. included only a few *auctores*, and the teaching of grammar within the framework of the *artes liberales* was based on a selection of Classical Latin writers regarded as linguistic-poetic models (epic writers, satirists, writers of comedy; Cicero, the *Ilias latina*; [5. 253–276]). In moralistic writing the fables of Avianus, and later of Aesop, together with the *Disticha Catonis*, play a special role. After the rise of a genuinely Christian-Latin hymnody and narrative literature, the literature of the times from the 12th and 13th cents. on sets itself off more clearly from the literature of Antiquity. The Classical canon survived through its *interpretatio christiana* (Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius). Dante's enumerations (Inferno, IV passim) are both a commendation of Classical Latin poetry and a transition to the emancipation of vernacular poetry. New features at the dawn of the Renaissance are self-canonisation, evident precisely in Dante [13. 139–152], as well as the poet-crowning ritual, based not on texts but rather on authors (e.g. in Petrarch 1341). Humanism reversed the decanonization of pagan writers, as well as the scant attention paid to Greek literature, which had developed distinct strands of reception by way of Byzantium and Arabic translation. At the same time, a negative canon evolved, based on theological criteria, through works being placed on the Index, through censorship and the Inquisition. This yardstick of religious or confessional orthodoxy was not eliminated until the 'Romantic' period, which granted autonomy to aesthetic discourse. By then printing had facilitated the dissemination of the canon, and simply ensuring the survival of what had been handed down was no longer a primary concern.

The criterion of 'timeless' value lies at the heart of any debate about a canon. In the 16th and17th cents. the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* [17] led to a historically relativising point of view that first enabled the paradigm shift of the Romantics. Through their canon of medieval and modern authors (Dante, Cer-

vantes, Shakespeare, Goethe–as supplementary to the literature of Antiquity, which has never been seriously challenged to this day), the Romantics defined themselves as strategically opposed to the Enlightenment. This incursion of medieval and especially modern texts into the domain of Antiquity marks the first questioning of canon in the modern sense. Thus, the genesis of the modern study of literature in the 18th and19th cents. was accompanied by the opportunity to canonize something new. Goethe's notion and concept of 'world literature', with its diverse connotations and political functions of compensation, served as a frame of reference in contrast to the concept of a European Classical literature.

In pluralistic societies a uniform canon that applies to the whole of humanity is difficult to draw up, even in theory. As the product of literary evaluation and manifold filtering, it gets drawn up, experimented on, organized and revised by the practising members of the literary establishment [2. 3–32] and forms a microcosmic portrait of the cultural memory. On the assumption of a difference between normative and descriptive poetics, canon essentially belongs to the former, but all general statements concerning literary theory are also based on bodies of texts.Thus, a canon in its normative function helps determine the future of literature but also has a role in determining what is conserved. If since European Romanticism the semantic background of canon has afforded at least a metaphorical 'sanctification' [1. 114121] of work and artist, even to the point of a cult of genius, there has been a tendency since the First World War, in reaction to this, to destroy such an aura; but that has not diminished the Classical canon in academic circles (cf. the 2000th anniversaries of Virgil's birth and death [19]). Political democratisation and philosophical questioning of authority, hierarchies and centres were currents eating away at traditional canons, especially in the latter part of the 20th cent. The middle-class canon, cultivated in schools and universities and cementing Western cultural hegemony in particular, has been massively called into question in European and American circles from a feminist or minority perspective, but also by those fundamentally sceptical of norms to the point of deconstruction. Whether models of interpretation can also be termed canonical remains a contentious issue. Against this decanonisation, more and more emphasis is being placed on the support function that the canon – insofar as it is not understood restrictively or repressively – can have for the underprivileged. Moreover, the idea of a canon stands right at the centre of any integrative discipline, such as comparative literature, that is dependent on the preservation of a platform for discussion. On another level a canon has this function for all distinct literatures. The provocative [10. 47–59] counter-movement of H. Bloom [3], for whom canon is based on the eternal conflict of authors, appears, when viewed in a historical and philosophical sense, as an automatic, if only temporary reaction. Against a background of universal availability, postmodernism, and the digitalization and globalization of an expanding textual tradition, the usual criteria for a canon, namely, exemplarity, innovativeness, singularity, classicity, and literary-historical relevance (in more recent thinking, the greatest possible universal connective) are largely reduced, in the context of a potentially limitless library, to a choice based on economic constraints but, for the individual, to the time available for reading during a lifetime [12. 9f.]. These insights call for the timely re-canonisation of 'classic writers' in general and the liberalization of the canon in particular.

→ Artes liberales; → Carolingian Renaissance; → Querelle des anciens et des modernes; → Censorship

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Canonists Experts in Church law, and thus of canon(ical) law, were termed 'canonists', from the Greek *kanṓn* = 'rule', in particular, religious rule. The term canonist came into use in the 12th cent., to distinguish them from 'civilists', experts in the Roman *Corpus iuris civilis*, who appeared from that time on in Church courts in competition with canonists.

The word '*canon*' was applied in medieval Latin mainly to excerpts from juridical texts of authoritative writings. *Canones* were taken from the Bible, conciliar decisions, the writings of the early Church Fathers, early medieval books of penitence (*libri poenitentiales*), and from the laws of the Frankish kings (*capitularia*). In addition, papal letters (*litterae decretales*) were also cited. From the late 12th cent. on, these became the most important source of law.

Rules of Church law had actually been collected as early as the 2nd cent., but collections were not officially promulgated until 1210. Of the many collections, the following should be mentioned because they were widely known and influenced others that came later: the Greek *Syntagma Canonum* (2nd half of the 4th cent.), *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua* (*c.* 450), *Collectio Dionysiana* (*c.* 500), *Concordia Canonum Cresconii* (a reordering of the *Dionysiana*), the great Greek *Nomokanones*-collection (*c.* 629, revised in 883 and 1080), *Collectio Hispana* (*c.* 633, revised several times), *Collectio vetus Gallica* (*c.* 600), *Collectio Hibernensis* (*c.* 700), *Dionysio-Hadriana* (sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne in 774), *Dacheriana* (1st half of the 9th cent.). Between 847 and 857 four collections were compiled in France, possibly in Reims, with partly falsified and partly fabricated material. They are known today collectively as 'Ps.-Isidorian', as one them had been attributed to Isidor of Seville (d. 636). Later collections copied many of these falsifications and, to some extent, their questionable *modus operandi* as well; for example, the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata* (*c.* 882, northern Italy) and the *Liber Decretorum* of Burchard, Bishop of Worms (1000–1025). A *Collection in 74 Titles* was compiled about 1075 as a manual for Gregorian reform. It was the basis for the much-used *Collection of Anselm*, Bishop of Lucca (*c.* 1083) and at least five other collections championing the reform. In contrast, the three collections of Bishop Ivo of Chartres (end of the 11th cent.), the *Tripartita*, *Decretum* and *Panormia*, followed a middle path between reform and old Church law. The *Polycarpus* of Cardinal Gregory of St. Chrysogonus (*c.* 1109–1113), on the other hand, was sympathetic to the Gregorian reform.

The 'Collection of Gratian' (of whose life we know nothing reliable) had such resounding success that no other collections of *Canones* were created after it. Its first version appeared in the 1120s. The last version was published immediately after the Lateran Council of 1139. Within a short time canonists everywhere used the *Decretum Gratiani* as a reference work.

Later in the 12th cent. collections of authoritative material 'extra Decretum' were compiled. These collections mainly contained new papal decrees. A collection of decrees promulgated by Pope Gregory IX in five books had from 1234 the status of *Liber Extra*. It drew on five earlier collections of decrees which by then had been repealed (*Compilationes antiquae*). In 1298, Pope Boniface VIII published a *Liber sextus decretaliumas*, a supplement. It was enlarged by a collection of decrees by Pope Clement V (d. 1314) (*Clementinae*) and by *Extravagantes* up until the middle of the 14th cent. This body of texts consisting of the *Decretum Gratiani* and the collection of decrees, taken in its entirety, was termed the *Corpus iuris canonici*.

Later conciliar and papal pronouncements were collected only on a private basis (*Bullarium*). In 1917 canon law was codified. The *Codex iuris canonici* of 1917 was replaced by another in 1983.

Documents about the juridical literary activity of the canonistic → GLOSSATORS of the 12th and early 13th cents. were already using the term *canonist*. Up until the early 16th cent. canonistic writings always significantly exceeded 'civilistic' in quantity and were much more widespread. Especially influential from the middle of the 13th cent. were the *summae* and commentaries of Innocent IV (Sinibald Fliscus), Hostiensis (Henry of Segusio), Goffredus of Trano, Raymond of Pennaforte, abbas antiquus (Bernard of Montemirato), *archidiaconus* (Guido of Baysio), William of Montelauduno, Zenzelinus of Cassanhis, Iohannes Monachus, Iohannes Andreae, Anthony of Butrio, Iohannes of Imola, Iohannes of Lignano, Peter of Ancharano, Baldus of Ubaldis, Dominic of Sancto Geminiano, Iohannes Calderinus, Abbot Panormitanus (Nicolaus of Tudeschis), Franciscus Zabarella, and Felinus Sandeus. For procedural law, the short manual by Egidius of Fuscarariis was most widely used. The procedural law encyclopaedia of *Speculator* (Guilielmus Durantis, end of the 13th cent.) was regarded as a standard work until the 17th cent.

Many canonists served as judges (*officiales*) in the court of an archdeacon or bishop (*officialatus*). These courts had, until the early modern era and in many places even longer, unrivalled jurisdiction over suits against clerics and religious legal persons, as well as over marital cases, the execution of wills and, in general, over any case where the Church saw fit to publicly restrain open sinfulness, when it was thought that the relevant secular authority was not taking effective action against it.

Appeals could be made to the pope against a judgment by a bishop's or archbishop's court. Appeals could be made even against out-of-court decisions, e. g. in matters of administrative law (*appellatio extraiudicialis*). Since the pope could personally adjudicate only a few, especially significant cases, most proceedings were assigned to authorized judges (*iudices delegati*), who conducted the appeal hearings on the pope's behalf. Most frequently, trustworthy persons were selected who lived near the two parties. On the other hand, any trials that were important to the Holy See were allocated to a legal scholar, an *auditor*, at the papal court. This was particularly the case with disputes arising from papal intervention in local affairs, especially the allocation of religious stipends and benefices.

As the number of Church stipends and benefices fluctuated, so did the legal proceedings arising from them. The number of *auditores sacri palatii apostolici* gradually increased from the 12th cent. on to over 30 in around 1335 and then dropped to twelve. Every *auditor* was independently responsible for the trials assigned to him and thus was the sole judge. However, because under canon law no one could decide cases without having first obtained expert counsel, the *auditores* consulted with their colleagues and met regularly for that purpose two or three times a week. In the 14th cent. in Avignon they meet in a circular shaped room (*rota*). The room's name was transferred to the *auditores* who met there. The papal court is still known even today as the *Sacra Rota Romana*.

Collections of rulings by the *Rota* started being published towards the end of the 14th cent. They had an extraordinarily broad circulation and were much used and quoted. A large number of other rulings by the *Rota* were printed beginning in the middle of the 16th cent. Juristic theories often gained authority if the *Rota* assented to them.

Today the *Rota* handles marriage annulment cases almost exclusively, because its former fields of activity have in the meantime been allocated to other papal institutions, above all to the *Signatura Apostolica* and the *Sacrae Congregationes*.

Until the early 16th cent. there were many more canonists than 'civilists'. At universities outside Italy, in particular, it was canon law, not Roman law, which was predominantly studied. There were only a few 'civilist' teaching chairs and even these were intended mainly to educate Church jurists, as Roman law was important in the Middle Ages mainly as an element of Church law. The Church actually followed Roman law, except where it had established its own rules under ecclesiastical legislation. *Canones* and *decretales* extended and interpreted Roman law. All canonists, therefore, learned at least the legal fundamentals of the *Corpus iuris civilis*. There was much more canonical than civil-law writing, and more of its works were widely disseminated. Roman law in Europe was spread mainly by canonists and, indeed, not only by the relatively few fully trained canonists but, for the greater part, by the large numbers of half-trained or partly trained canonists.

Until the 16th cent. not only canonists but also civilists survived for the most part on income from Church benefices. Even secular princes or cities relied on having their legal advisers and office-holders being maintained by the Church. Ordination was not necessary for religious offices that did not involve any pastoral duties (*sine cura*), such as cathedral canons (*canonicatus*).

Even today canon law can be studied at many universities in the world. Only a few students, however, become canonists. Since 1500 canon law has gradually lost its earlier importance. The primary cause has been that over time Church courts have had to relinquish more and more jurisdiction to secular courts and public authorities. Secondly, disputes over religious property and stipends gradually became rarer and rarer. Church property was nationalized. Princes of the Church ceased being secular princes as well. And in the Church, as also in secular offices, office-holders were no longer remunerated by Church stipends but by fixed salaries. Today's canonists are almost exclusively concerned

with internal religious matters and marriage annulment cases.

Canonists from the 12th to the 18th cents. strongly influenced some legal fields that are now regarded as secular law, in particular, procedural law, disciplinary law, marriage law, law of inheritance, insurance law, cheque and currency law, and law concerning 'unjustified profit-making'.

→ Apostolical Constitutions; → Didache

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GERO DOLEZALEK

Capitoline museums see → Rome

Caricature

A. Definition B. The Early Modern Period C. The Baroque D. The 18th Cent. E. The 19th Cent. F. The 20th Cent.

A. Definition

The concept of caricature, which arose around 1600 in Italy, refers first of all to 'loaded', i.e. exaggerated, humorous portrait drawings [7. 346]. Already in drawings of the Middle Ages, however, techniques of exaggeration, distortion and contrast are found [7. 13–17] which are today seen as characteristics of caricature. The objects of Classical caricature are Classical works of art and the themes of Classical mythology, but also the Classical studies pursued by contemporary artists, amateurs and archaeologists. A consideration of the historical context is needed to establish the precise target at which the sharp weapon of caricature is aimed.

B. The Early Modern Period

Copies of the coin portraits of Galba (68–69) appear around 1490, in the context of a type of Leonardo's grotesque heads characterised especially by its variati-

Fig. 1: Leonardo da Vinci, *A fragment: Two Grotesque Profiles Confronted*. Drawing, *c.* 1490. *The Royal Collection © 2006 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*

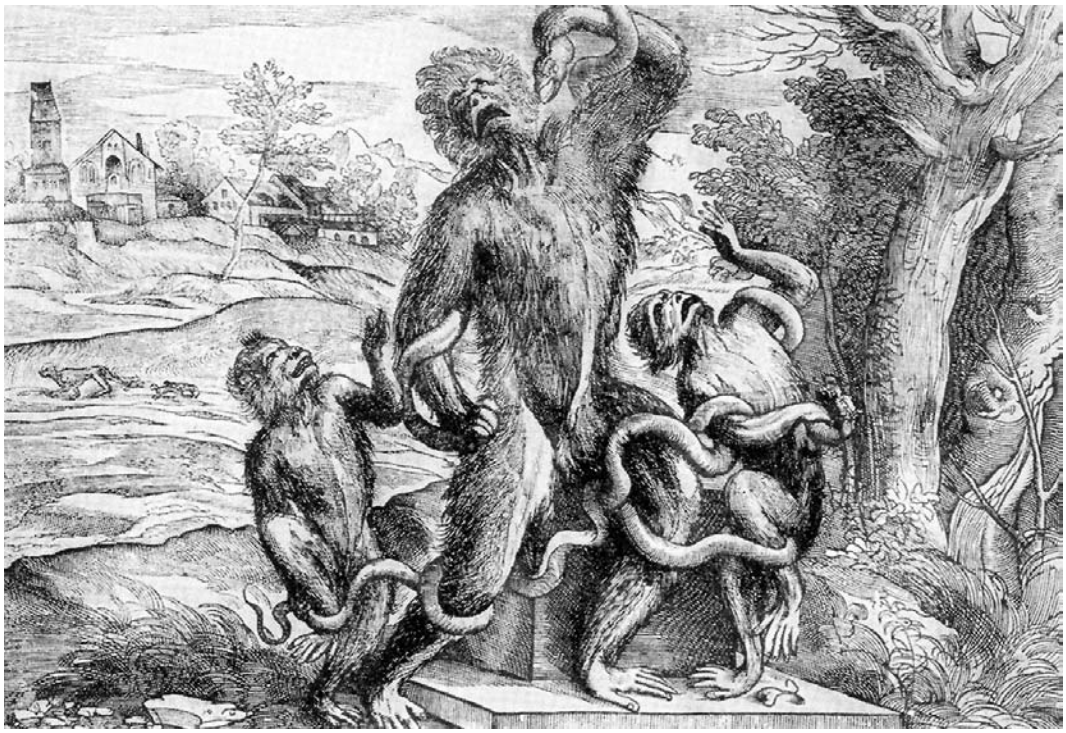

Fig. 2: Niccolò Boldrini, Monkey-Laokoon, after Titian. Woodcut, *c.* 1550.
© *Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington*

ons on the theme of antithetical juxtaposition (Fig. 1) [6]. The precursors of these physiognomic experiments are medieval drolleries, whose themes largely go back to classical times [15]. An extreme example comes from Titian in around 1550 with his → Laocoon group [11] (Fig. 2). The exchange of people for monkeys contrasts the moral and aesthetic force of the Christianised original image with a scene that is ridiculous. Captions and some of the attributes prepare the grotesque heads in Martino Rota's etching (*Pagan Gods*) (before 1583) for the mockery of the Olympians [7. 95].

C. The Baroque

Classical parodies provided material in the 17th cent. for drama and painting [5.113]. In Rembrandt's painting (*The Rape of Ganymede*) (1631) the obvious susceptibility to the force of gravity of the child, who is weeping and urinating in his terror, runs counter to any idealisation [1. vol. 1, 192–95]. Rembrandt thus emotionalises the myth and trivialises its Neoplatonic and indeed astrological connotations [cp. 2. 107f.] The interpretation of Ribera's drawing of a grimacing toga-wearer (*c.* 1625) as a caricature of republican portraits is not sufficiently convincing [16. 215]. The exaggerated orator's pose, which anticipates the caricatures of archaeologists [17] by Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755), speaks more for a contemporary inspiration.

D. The 18th Cent.

Since Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (*Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, 1756), caricature has been defined as an aesthetic category in its own right, one used not least in the battle against the baroque and against absolutism. Thus, the concept could henceforth be applied to all genres of pictorial art and to literature [14. 696]. Justified only ironically in the sense of a 'negative ideal', caricatures were seen as subordinate to high art, and banished to the private worlds of neoclassical artists [4.22]. Private drawings by Füßli and Sergel served as a corrective to the official picture of a calm classical world by exposing voluptuous aspects of Homer [4. 184], and distorted classical formulas of pathos for private tales of suffering [4. 102ff.]. On the other hand, Hogarth's etching (*Boys Peeping at Nature*) (Fig. 3), which presents the academic study of nature in the form of boys as putti and satyrs looking at the statue of → Diana of Ephesus, was intended for the public [8. 142]. The questionability of education along classical lines is already apparent in the comfortable contemporary clothing of the statue. Only the satyr boy is trying to look under the skirts to get the whole truth, but is prevented from doing so. Neither faithful imitation, the putto on the left, nor the imagination, on the right, can truly reveal nature – only satire can do so. In 1731, this sheet was a counterfoil for the cycle (*A Har-*

Fig. 3: William Hogarth, Boys Peeping at Nature. Etching 1730/31, second version. (Caption: 'necesse est Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum dabiturque Licentia Sumpta pudenter. Hor.').
The Royal Collection © 2006 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Fig. 4: Joseph Anton Koch, *The Painter as Hercules at the Crossroads*. Water-colour drawing, 1791.
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart/Graphische Sammlung

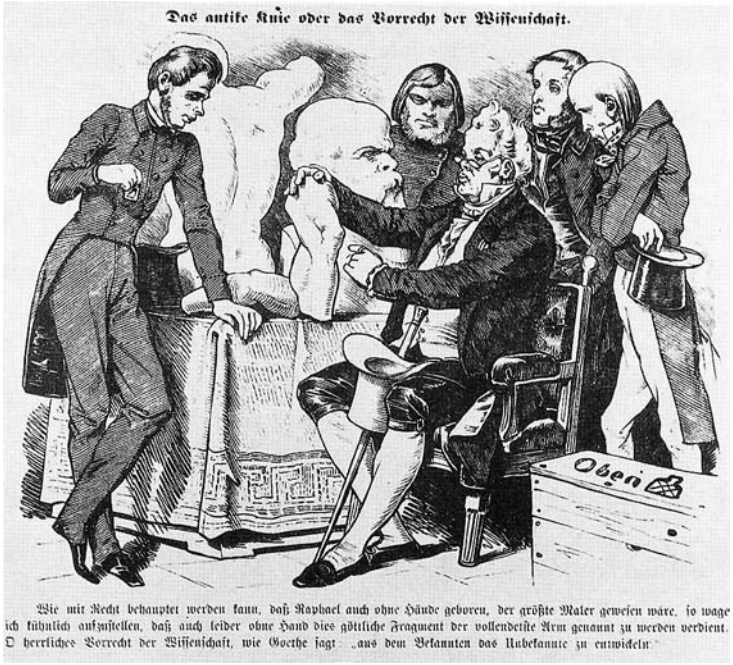

Fig. 5: The Ancient Knee, or The Scholarly Prerogative. Woodcut after Moritz von Schwind, in: Fliegende Blätter, no. 285, vol. XIII, 1850/51. (The caption reads: 'As it can be rightfully claimed that even if he had been born without hands, Raffael would have been the greatest painter, I dare make the bold assumption that even with its hand sadly missing this divine fragment deserves to be considered the most perfect arm. O glorious scholarly prerogative, as Goethe says: 'to uncover the unknown from the known.')

Fig. 6: Honoré Daumier, At the World's Fair – Egyptian Section. Lithography, 1867

lot's Progress), with which Hogarth attempted to depict contemporary everyday life and raise caricature to a higher level [4. 23–25]. This mixture of history and everyday life ushered in a new era of caricature, which now for the first time laid claim to the moral authority of the Classical world. In 1790, literary parody of the world of the Olympians was followed by pictorial burlesque in Chodowiecki's (*Aeneid*) [8. 150]. Koch used the Classical world in two ways in his (*Self-Portrait as Hercules at the Crossroads*) of 1791 (Fig. 4). On the one hand, he turns towards a muse, who is based on a Classical Athena-type, with the caption (*imitatio*). On the other hand, he is chained, in a contorted rococo-pose, to a chimaera, whose body is made up of arabesques, baroque architectural features and the breasts of the Diana of Ephesus. In the repressive feudal conditions of the Stuttgart Academy, Koch took refuge in Winckelmann's image of Greece [12.8]. At the same time, he offers us two opposing artistic distancings from nature and points forward to the 19th century's stylistic battles between Classicism and Romanticism.

E. The 19th Cent.

In the wake of an emerging mass media, and assisted by new reproduction techniques, caricature in the 19th cent. was elevated to a genre of great significance for the modern world. While historical consciousness in post-revolutionary France called into question the use (already present in the *Ancien Régime*) of the Classical world as a model, German and English caricatures used Classical monuments and myths to legitimise the rights of the people. Thus Marx, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which was banned in 1843, was shown as Prometheus in chains [7. 415]. However, with the entry of the Classical world into modern everyday life, some loss of dignity was inevitable. This is visible in 1848, when the 'deutscher Michel' figure is shown as Laocoon fighting against the serpentine princedoms [9, fig. 1]. In 1827/28, Ramberg's *Iliad-cycle*, based on the → Parthenon-frieze, where the serious and the comic are played off one against the other, made fun of the Classical desire for order and hierarchy [5.121ff; 9. 146ff.]. After the failed 1848 revolution, Classical education became associated in France with the forces of reaction, and in Germany too it became synonymous with discipline and order [9. 138f.]. Hence there emerged a mass of burlesque drawings based on the deeds of the Homeric heroes. Unlike Füßli, despairing in 1778 in the face of the greatness of Classical ruins, [13. 265], Moriz von Schwind turned the Classical fragment in 1848 into an emblem of other-worldly scholarship (Fig. 5). Within a circle of respectful dilettanti, and under the gaze of a more-than-life-sized bust of Socrates, an archaeologist lectures on the perfect body to which this fragment of a knee once belonged. The target was not just the positivist claims and habits of a discipline which justifies itself by over-fastidious reconstructions. Behind that stands the debate about the value of Classical education, which Daumier had already examined in his (*Histoire ancienne*) in 1842/3 [10]. Daumier's lithograph (*A l'Exposition Universelle – Section égyptienne*) (Fig. 6) of 1867 juxtaposes the transitoriness of his contemporaries, shown in perspective, with the enduring nature and greatness of the monument. By having the ugly, animal-headed Egyptians admired by visitors who are no more beautiful themselves, the educational value and aesthetics of the ancient world are called into question. At the same time, Daumier rejects the legitimising function of Egyptian art, which was used in France as part of the representation of empire. The Farnese Hercules (12. 92], Mercury [9, Fig. 14], the Three Graces [4. Fig. 111] and the Medici Venus were all knocked off their pedestals in the 19th cent., the last-named verbally by Wilhelm Busch [12. 74]. Daumier replaced them with contemporaries.

F. The 20th Cent.

Although criticism of the Classical world has, together with the commitment to the Humanities, diminished in general relevance, caricatures of the Classical world are still current [12], though nowadays they are more inclined to mock the privileges of a Classical education. Meanwhile, → comics have released students from the burden of classes in Classical history and Latin.

→ Grylloi; → Caricature

→ Grotesque

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Carmen figuratum see→ Figured poem

Carolingian Renaissance

I. Political II. Art III. Old High German Biblical Poetry

I. Political

A. Concept B. The Beginnings C. Political Context D. Ways and Means E. Intentions F. Reception of the Classics

A. Concept

The enormous renewal of Latin writing according to classical models, the extensive copying of classical writings beginning around 780 and extending well into the 9th cent., and not least the intellectual and literary efforts of numerous scholars arising apparently out of nowhere at the court of Charlemagne meant that the term renaissance, chosen by analogy with the 'Italian Renaissance', seemed appropriate. Nevertheless, the concept of a renaissance was also seen early on as inappropriate. As early as 1923 E. Patzelt drew attention to numerous fundamental traits and premises for the Carolingian Renaissance (CR) that had also been present in the Merovingian empire, so that from the perspective of continuity the concept of a CR was not viable. The notion of a renaissance was also called into question in the field of art history. R. Krautheimer demonstrated in 1942 that the decisive models for this 'Carolingian renewal' were not to be found in classical times, but rather in late antiquity and were largely of a religious nature. Already in 1953 J. Fleckenstein provided an overall picture of the 'educational reforms of Charlemagne' which also fitted in with this view of things. P. Lehmann argued in 1954 against the rejection of the concept of a CR, however, and suggested that the notion should be retained, though one should make allowances for differences from the Italian Renaissance. Then, in 1964, P. E. Schramm emphasised the religious aspect of the CR and suggested, taking into account the religious and literary aspects, using the term *correctio*. If it is possible to speak of a CR, then, it is not to be seen as a movement comparable with the Italian Renaissance, but rather, taking full account of its different nature, as a renewal (*renovatio*) brought about with the help of classical knowledge and forms. The great importance afforded to liturgy and theology from the very beginnings of this Carolingian renewal makes it questionable to give a prominent role to the reception of Classical ideas for the CR. Classical Antiquity was not conceived of as a pure model which one should strive to reach; rather, its cultural premises were often seen as a standard which could be bettered and could be placed then in the service of a Christian (that is, a more worthy) society. W. Ullmann (1969) sees the concept of the CR, therefore, also as a description of the renewal of Frankish society and its disposition as a *populus Dei*, to which end the cultural efforts of the Carolingians and thus also their intensive reception of Classical Antiquity were an essential tool.

B. The Beginnings

Pippin the Younger had recognised the importance of the Church and its organisation for monarchic rule and therefore made great efforts in Church renewal. In the area of liturgy and missionary activity, initially principally in the hands of the Irish and Anglo-Saxons, he was above all else concerned to ensure dissemination and standardisation of the Christian divine service. His elevation to King of the Franks (751) made this task easier. But only the strengthening of the monarchy under Charlemagne led to greater successes, first with the reform of the liturgy and efforts to provide a unified monastic rule (continued under Louis the Pious under the supervision of Benedict of Aniane), and then with such undertakings as the revision and dissemination of the *lex Salica* and of other Germanic laws.

C. Political Context

Charlemagne himself may be considered the prime mover in the movement for renewal, and his biographer Einhard attests (Vita Caroli 25) to a special interest on his part in education, and to his understanding of an extremely varied range of other areas of knowledge, which also manifests itself in questions posed by Charlemagne in letters to different scholars. Because of his interest in furthering education, both personally and in his position as a ruler, Charlemagne drew to his court from the end of the 770s onward emigré scholars from all those countries of Europe in which the knowledge of Classical culture had been better maintained than in the Frankish empire. These included most importantly the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin of York (soon after 781), who quickly took over the central task of educational renewal. In addition, there came, for example, the Lombards Paulus Diaconus and Paulinus, the Irishmen Jonas and Dungal, and the Visigoth Theodulf (around 780). In this way a circle of scholars grew up from which the court school also profited. Its members often belonged for a time to the court chapel, which became also a political instrument insofar as it was partly responsible for Charlemagne's chancery. As a result of their service at court a good number of scholars received either a bishopric or the abbacy of a monastery. Thus, for example, Modoin, at Charlemagne's court from 804, was made Bishop of Autun in 815: Paulinus later became Patriarch of Aquileia: and in 798 Theodulf became Bishop of Orleans and Abbot of Fleury.

D. Ways and Means

The most important means by which the reforming efforts were carried out was though the capitularies, in which the most varied matters were determined to be universally binding. The two composed by Alcuin merit special emphasis: the *Admonitio generalis* of 789 (MGH Cap. I, Nr. 22, 52–62), which principally dealt with matters of ecclesiastical politics, and the *Epistola de litteris colendis* on 784/85 (MGH Cap. O, Nr. 29, 78f.), which had as its main aim the renewal of Frankish society by means of educational reform. An essential

Fig. 1: Terence manuscript (probably Aachen, *c.* 825). *BAV Vat. Lat. 3868, author's portrait folio 2 recto*

prerequisite for the CR as educational reform was the exchange of books and letters between key figures, such as the leading bishops and abbots. The monasteries and cathedral schools with their libraries and teachers were the real instruments of the education reforms, not least because they could provided the necessary continuity through their older collections of books. To maintain the new educational levels over a longer period of time it was of some importance that the position of bishop or abbot was in many cases filled from the immediate or extended circle of scholars around Charlemagne and his successors. Their efforts in exchanging and copying books was made considerably easier by the replacement of the insular scripts with Roman scripts, above all others, with the Carolingian minuscule, the Carolingian book script.

E. Intentions

The renewal of monarchical rule and the development of the idea of the state are closely bound together with the renewal of the Frankish church, programmatically designated as *populus Dei* in the *Admonitio generalis*. The renewal of learning was intended to contribute to raising the educational level of the ordinary clergy and thus to influence the education and Christian piety of the populace at large. To this end, too, the number of parishes was increased considerably in Frankish territories under the Carolingians. A particular aim was to disseminate the *Bible* in its entirety and in the most reliable form possible. It was the basis not only for the religious attitudes of the Carolingians, but also for their political views. The rule of the Frankish kings benefited from the heavy emphasis in the books of the Old Testament on almost unrestricted monarchic rule. To this end, Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans in particular undertook to cleanse the text of older copy errors, using their wide-ranging philological, especially grammatical, skills. In essence, Carolingian culture was a Latin culture which may be seen as the opposite of the Greek culture of Byzantium. In this, too, lies the seeds of a re-birth, that of Latinity.

F. Reception of the Classics

It was an essential part of the CR to gather together Latin writings on the widest possible range of cultural and civilizing matters, and above all else efforts were made to copy the writings of the Church Fathers, who were themselves indebted to the cultural heritage of pagan writers; and this led, with a slight delay, to the spread of those texts, too, in greater numbers. Those Classical Latin texts now extant essentially go back to 9th-cent. copies, and preference was given in copying to works by Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence (Fig. 1), Statius, Sallust, Pliny the Elder, Justinian and Vitruvius. Rather rarer were works by Plautus, Lucretius, Livy, Ovid, Tacitus, Columella and Ammianus. Not least important were the extensive efforts made to renew the seven liberal arts (→ Artes liberales). Beside the philological skills, which were demanded above all for the correction of earlier texts and for proper expression in the writers' own principally theological works, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, chronology and architecture were all given special attention. All these sciences, and linked with them the reception of Classical writings, were needed for the recognition and establishment of the divine order, for example, for the reckoning of Easter. In the circle of scholars at the court, biblical names were taken (Charlemagne himself was David), and beside these, also names from famous Classical writers, such as Homer (Angilbert) and Naso (Modoin). Alcuin himself had the name Flaccus. The poetry written in the circle of scholars gathered around Charlemagne and his successors (especially Lewis the Pious and Charles the Bald) was linked both in choice of

vocabulary and in form with Vergil's writings, with a key role played for poetry by Venantius Fortunatus (6th cent.), while the bucolic poets Calpurnius Siculus (1st cent.) and Nemesianus (3rd cent.) also had a certain importance. Beyond the adoption of poetic forms there may, especially in the → PANEGYRIC, possibly be an indication that the Carolingian poets and their poetry looked towards the Augustan court as a model, although it was rather the court of King David that was stressed. (→ RULER)

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II. Art

In the visual arts of the Carolingian period, too, it is true that Classical Antiquity provided less of a model than Christian Late Antiquity; there was a thoroughly critical attitude towards the temptations of the works of art of Classical Antiquity, caused by their strong aesthetic attraction [6]. The *renovatio* of the Classical world was not an end in itself but was grounded in politics and theology, and an approach to the Classical world that was solely aesthetic and self-sufficient in its subordination to art would demonstrate precisely the difference to the reforms [8]. Any recourse to Classical models in art could only be one of various means of putting regulation into effect, and geometric and numerological patterns were also employed [7; 8]. Even

the reception of the Classical world in manuscript illustration clearly had the principal aim of showing the preeminence of the Scriptures [3].

That the CR is not limited to the time of Charlemagne himself is also made clear by the fact that most Carolingian works of art are the products of the 9th cent., just as the reforms only became effective after their wider dissemination in the empire, especially among the West Franks under Charles the Bald (d. 877). The (Constantinian) basilica as a model is first taken up by Fulrad of St Denis for his new church there (consecration 755); here as in Fulda (consecration 819) the basilica of St Peter in Rome is being used as a model. The most important surviving Carolingian building, Charlemagne's Palace Chapel in Aachen, did not only use the architecture of the church of St Vitale in Ravenna (6th cent.) as a model. From that town came the columns and other spoils that were taken for use in its construction. The adoption of Roman names for individual elements in the construction of the Palace Chapel in Aachen ('Lateran') refers back to Christian Rome. The Palace Great Hall, still preserved in modified form in Aachen, is modelled on the type of hall found in Late Antiquity, such as that in Trier. A further early major building is Theodulf's chapel in Germigny-des-Prés (consecration 806). On the other hand, Angilbert's church in Centula/St Riquier (consecration 799), in which the so-called Carolingian 'Westwerk' appears for the first time, has not survived. The Carolingian forerunner of the Cologne cathedral and also the monastery plan of St Gallen (*c.* 820) show the type of church with a double choir. The porch in Lorsch (*c.* 790) imitates triumphal arches such as that of Constantine.

Wall-paintings are rare and survive only in fragmentary form. That great biblical and historical cycles existed is clear from descriptions and especially from captions. Surviving examples come from the second half of the 9th cent. and are found mainly in remote places: Naturns and Mals (Tyrol), Müstair (Graubünden, the most complete example) and Auxerre. The mosaic in the apse of Theodulf's chapel in Germigny-des-Prés depicts the Ark of the Covenant and Seraphim. In Rome the Carolingian mosaics are almost exclusively just copies (triclinium of Leo III, apse mosaic of St Susannah with Leo III and Charlemagne). One fragment from Corvey depicts an unusual motif: Odysseus and Scylla (*c.* 855).

Many works of representational art in Charlemagne's palace at Aachen were imported from Italy,;for example, the equestrian statue of Theoderich from Ravenna, which is no longer extant (and of which there is a critical evaluation by Walahfrid Strabo: MHG Poet. II, 370–378), the Classical she-bear (2nd cent.) and perhaps the pine-cones (Classical or Carolingian) and the Prosperina sarcophagus (2nd cent.) used for Charlemagne's tomb. The attempt has been made to reconstruct a large Carolingian statuary group on the basis of questionable fragments, to which would belong, apart from the works already mentioned, the plaster statue of

Fig. 1: Aachen Book of Gospels, portraits of the four Evangelists. Illuminated manuscript, *c.* 800. Aachen, Domschatz, folio 14 verso.
Photo: Ann Münchow, copyright: Domkapitel Aachen

Charlemagne in Müstair, the plaster statues of female saints in Cividale and the sculpture of a cleric in Seligenstadt [2]. In each case the influence of Late Antiquity is clear. A further surviving image of Charlemagne is a bronze statuette, based on equestrian statues from Late Antiquity (*c.* 860) which is preserved in the Louvre. The court workshop reached a very high level around 800 with the Classical-style bronze screens and doors of the Aachen cathedral. The arts of gemstone-cutting (for example, the so-called Lothar crystal in London, from the mid–9th cent., a gem with scenes from the story of Susannah) and ivory carving were practised along post-Classical lines, and in the case of the latter, Classical pieces were often re-used. Alongside manuscript illumination, works in ivory belong to some of the best-preserved works of art of the period. Examples from Charlemagne's court school include the cover of the *Lorsch Gospel Book* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum and Alba Julia/Romania), and from a later period the plates with scenes from the labours of Hercules on the so-called Cathedra Petri in Rome (*c.* 870) and the ivories of the so-called Liuthard-group (3rd quarter of the 9 cent.). Coins and semi-precious and precious stones are also used as splendid and ennobling additions in the art of the book, especially in the court manuscripts of Charlemagne (e.g. the Gospel Book in Aachen, Cathedral, Fig. 1), in Tours and in the court school of Charles the Bald.

Numerous objects, for example, three of Charlemagne's tables decorated with gold, are known only by description, and the pediment of a cross in the form of a → TRIUMPHAL ARCH known as Einhard's Arch is known only in a later drawing.

Fig. 2: Utrecht Psalter, illustration of Psalm 11. Illuminated manuscript *c.* 830.
Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Ms. 32, folio 6 verso

The predominance of the book and of the Scriptures is evident from how well they are preserved and shows that the book is a central point in the Carolingian *renovatio*; the use of Classical models in images of the evangelists, for example, serves only to underline this predominance [3; 8]. Charlemagne's court manuscripts have a precursor in the *Gundohinus Gospel Book* (Autun, Bibl. mun. 3, Burgundy, after the middle of the 8th cent.), which in spite of its regionally limited character and its modest quality, permits us to recognise in its series of evangelist portraits a similar Classical model. After the 780s, two groups of manuscripts appeared at roughly the same time under Charlemagne's auspices which are of the highest decorative quality (gold and silver inks, purple parchment, whole-page miniatures). The court school of Charlemagne, or 'Ada-group' produced with the exception of the *Dagulf Psalter* (Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl. 1861) only gospel books, such as the *Godescalc Gospel* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1203), the *Harley Gospel Book* (London, Brit. Library Harl. 2788) and the *Soissons Gospel Book* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8850). Sixth cent. codices from Ravenna have been determined as models. A completely different style is that represented by the groups linked with the *Vienna Coronation Gospel Book* (Vienna, Schatzkammer), the work of an Italo-Byzantine artist; the nervous, impres-