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Appropriating Peri hypsous : interpretations and creative adaptations of Longinus' Treatise On the Sublime in Early Modern Dutch Scholarship

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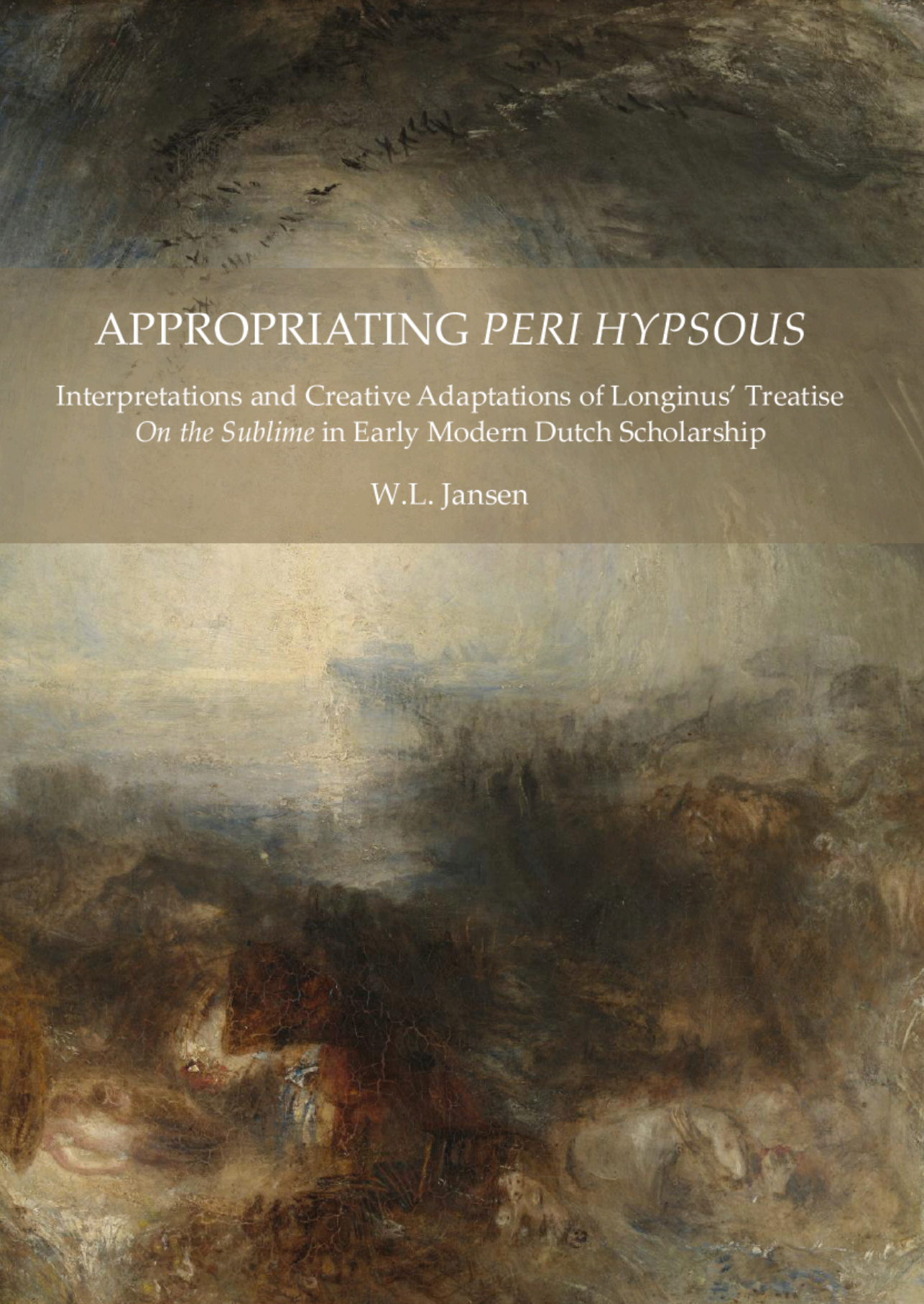


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APPROPRIATING *PERI HYPSOUS*

Interpretations and Creative Adaptations of Longinus' Treatise *On the Sublime* in Early Modern Dutch Scholarship

W.L. Jansen

Appropriating *Peri hypsous*

Interpretations and Creative Adaptations of Longinus' Treatise *On the Sublime* in Early Modern Dutch Scholarship

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CONTENTS

List of illustrations ..... **vii**

Acknowledgments ..... **ix**

Introduction **1**

I. Topic and aims 1

II. Longinus, *Peri hypsous* 3

III. Studies and controversies 6

Uncovering the fortunes of *Peri hypsous* in early modern Europe 6

Boileau's double sublime 10

Methodological implications 14

IV. Scope of this study 17

Intellectual context 18

Sources 20

V. Outline 24

Chapter One – Footprints of Longinus **27**

1.1 Introduction 27

1.2 The early modern dissemination of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* (ca. 1450-1550) 29

1.2.1 MS Parisinus Graecus 2036 and its fifteenth-century copies 29

1.2.2 The manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* in the sixteenth century 32

1.3 Printed editions and translations of *Peri hypsous* (1554-1663) 36

1.3.1 The first editions of *Peri hypsous* (Robortello, Manuzio, Portus) 37

1.3.2 A book on the grand style in writing 41

1.3.3 Bilingual editions, notes, commentaries (De Petra, Langbaine, Le Fèvre) 43

1.4 Readers of Longinus before 1600 48
1.4.1 Longinus, Sappho, Catullus 49
1.4.2 The dissemination and reception of *Peri hypsous* in sixteenth-century scholarly networks 54
1.5 *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic (1600-1650) 58
1.5.1 The printed book sales catalogue in the Dutch Republic 59
1.5.2 *Peri hypsous* in Dutch Book Sales Catalogues 1599-1650 60
1.5.3 The earliest reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic 64
1.6 Conclusion 69

Chapter Two – Defending the poet 71
2.1 Introduction 71
2.2 Art, nature and criticism in *Peri hypsous* 73
2.3 Daniel Heinsius and *Peri hypsous* 77
2.4 Julius Caesar Scaliger on Vergil versus Homer (and Hesiod) 80
2.5 Grammarian versus poet 85
2.6 The faulty genius and the decay of literature 88
2.7 The corruption of simplicity 95
2.8 The defence of the poet in context 98
2.9 Conclusion 107

Chapter Three – *Fiat Lux* 109
3.1 Introduction 109
3.2 The reference to Genesis in *Peri hypsous* 9 111
3.2.1 Textual form and authenticity 112
3.2.2 Representations of 'the divine' 116
3.3 The Praise of a Pagan 120
3.3.1 An early reference? 'Longinus' on Scripture in John of Sicily 121
3.3.2 Rhetoric: Caselius, Vossius, Keckermann, Caussinus 123
3.3.3 Biblical scholarship: Chamier, Casaubon 130
3.3.4 Simplicity and the rejection of corrupted eloquence: Grotius, Heinsius, De Petra 133
3.3.5 Pagan testimony and Christian apologetics: Grotius and Du Plessis-Mornay 140
3.4 Biblical scholarship in the *Querelle du Fiat Lux* 143

3.4.1 From sublime to simple 144
3.4.2 The connection with Augustine in the Port-Royal Bible 147
3.4.3 Huet's objections and Grotius' *De veritate religionis Christianae* 149
3.4.4 Huet and Le Clerc (1706), Boileau's *Réflexion X* (1713), and Tollius 155
3.5 Conclusion 160

Chapter Four – Imagination, technique and judgment 163
4.1 Introduction 163
4.2 Junius, *De pictura veterum* and Longinus 166
4.3 Imitation and the human imagination (*DPV* 1) 172
4.3.1 Observation and visualisation (*DPV* 1.1 and 1.2) 173
4.3.2 Tradition and innovation (*DPV* 1.3) 176
4.3.3 *Phantasia* in poetry and painting (*DPV* 1.4) 179
4.4 The historical development of the visual arts (*DPV* 2) 188
4.4.1 Success and decline (*DPV* 2.1 and 2.9) 188
4.4.2 Boldness and care (*DPV* 2.11) 189
4.5 From visual metaphor to technical precept (*DPV* 3.2-5) 194
4.6 Magnificent invention (*DPV* 3.1.15) 203
4.6.1 The echo of a great mind 203
4.6.2 "Gantsch treffelicke ende waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd" 209
4.7 Grace and judgment (*DPV* 3.6 and 3.7) 215
4.7.1 Art, nature, and observation 217
4.7.2 Mistakes and admiration 221
4.7.3 Simplicity and the ineffable 225
4.8 Conclusion 228

Chapter Five – Between textual and literary criticism 231
5.1 Introduction 231
5.2 Jacobus Tollius, Isaac Vossius and Longinus 233
5.3 Isaac Vossius' textual criticism of Longinus' text 238
5.3.1 Catullus and Sappho 239
5.3.2 De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) 241
5.3.3 Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) 246
5.3.4 Vossius' notes in Tollius' edition 250
5.3.5 *Liber vetustissimus* 256

5.4 Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous* 260
5.4.1 Contents of Tollius' edition 261
5.4.2 Critical observations on Longinus 264
5.4.3 Predecessors and imitators 266
5.4.4 A book for corroborating judgment 271
5.5 Conclusion 273

Conclusion 275

Appendix 281
Appendix 1. References to *Peri hypsous* in printed media (1550-1600) 281
Appendix 2. Dutch Book Sales Catalogues containing *Peri hypsous* (1599-1650) 285
Appendix 3. References to *Peri hypsous* in Franciscus Junius' *De pictura veterum*. 287
Appendix 4. Letters exchanged between Jacobus Tollius and Isaac Vossius 289

Bibliography 291
A. Early modern sources 291
B. Modern literature 299

Nederlandse samenvatting 321

Curriculum Vitae 331

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1	Stemma of the early modern manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*	31
Fig. 2	William Marshall, Engraved title page to G. Langbaine, *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi loquentia sive sublimi dicendi genere* (Oxonii: G. Webb, 1638). Image ©Trustees of the British Museum	45
Fig. 3	Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 65 and facing blank page	241
Fig. 4	Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 39 (facing blank page)	242
Fig. 5	Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. D 69 (Vossius to Graevius)	242
Fig. 6	Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), flyleaf	243
Fig. 7	Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 36 and facing blank page	244
Fig. 8	Parisinus Graecus 2036, fol. 179^{r}	244
Fig. 9	Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 51 and facing blank page	245
Fig. 10	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 A.gr.b. 858, (Tollius, 1694), flyleaf	258
Fig. 11	Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist, Engraved title page to J. Tollius, *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1964).	262

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INTRODUCTION[1]

Character magnificus varias, cum apud Latinos, tum Graecos, appellationes sortitus est. (…) Denique Dionysio Longino, Rhetori κριτικωτάτῳ, qui sub Aureliano Caesare de hoc charactere ablectum et plane aureolum reliquit libellum, appellatur ὕψος (G.J. Vossius).[2]

Il faut donc sçavoir que par Sublime, Longin n'entend pas ce que les Orateurs appellent le Stile Sublime: mais cet extraordinaire, et ce merveilleux qui frappe dans le discours, et qui fait qu'un Ouvrage enleve, ravit, transporte (N. Boileau-Despréaux).[3]

I. Topic and aims

The reception of Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous* (*On the Sublime*) is characterized by paradox and ambivalence. The lacunary treatise itself poses interpretative challenges and ambiguities, and its argument has been interpreted in a multitude

[1] The research leading to the results presented in this dissertation has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement n° 312306. This research is part of the project *Elevated Minds: The Sublime in the Public Arts in 17th-century Paris and Amsterdam* (2013-2018) led by S.P.M. Bussels.

[2] G.J. Vossius, *Commentariorum rhetoricorum sive oratoriarum institutionum libri sex* (Leiden: J. Maire, 1630), II, 432-433: "The grand style is called by many names, in Latin as well as Greek. (…) By Dionysius Longinus, a most critical rhetorician, who in the time of Caesar Aurelian wrote an excellent and truly golden booklet on this particular style, it is called 'sublimity'." Throughout this book I cite early modern sources in their original format and spelling, unless a modern edition has been used, in which case this had been indicated.

[3] N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours* (Paris: De la Coste, 1674), 'Traité du Sublime', iiii^{v}: "One must therefore understand that by 'sublime' Longinus did not mean that which the orators call the 'sublime style', but the extraordinary and marvellous which is striking in writing, and which makes that a text lifts up, ravishes, transports."

of ways ever since its rediscovery in Renaissance Italy. Modern scholars moreover hold rather divergent views on how, when, and why certain interpretations of Longinus' treatise came into being or disappeared over the course of its history.

Peri hypsous, written by an anonymous author in the first or third century AD, was practically unknown until a tenth-century copy of the treatise emerged in Italy around 1450.[4] In the following century a dozen copies of the treatise were made in Italy.[5] After the publication of the first printed editions by Francesco Robortello (Basel, 1554) and Paolo Manuzio (Venice, 1555) the treatise received increasing interest, first from Italian scholars, but – as a result of its wider dissemination – also from French, Dutch, English, Spanish and German scholars.[6] In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Longinus' treatise played a role in various scholarly contexts and was adduced for a multitude of reasons. Some scholars used *Peri hypsous* for the citations of classical authors that were preserved in the treatise, such as an otherwise lost poem of Sappho and fragments of Greek tragedies. *Peri hypsous* was also frequently mentioned in general works on rhetoric, and its arguments played a role in discussions on literary style and taste. Longinus' reference to Genesis (*Peri hypsous* 9.9) moreover sparked the interest of several biblical scholars. As the seventeenth century progressed, scholars continued to make new editions and (vernacular) translations of *Peri hypsous*, resulting in an ever-increasing readership of the treatise. This development culminated with the publication of a French translation of *Peri hypsous* by the French critic Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux in 1674, which had a great bearing on the treatise's influence and interpretation.

By analysing discussions of and references to *Peri hypsous* in seventeenth-century Dutch scholarship, the present study seeks to elucidate crucial aspects and factors of the early modern reception of *Peri hypsous*, such as the dissemination of the text and its contents, as well as the motives behind certain interpretations and applications of the work. Focusing on one particular text, area and period, this investigation functions as a case study within the field of classical reception

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[4] C.M. Mazzucchi, 'La tradizione manoscritta del Περὶ Ὕψους', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 32 (1989), 205-226: 205-210. See also C.M. Mazzucchi, *Dionisio Longino. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commentario a cura di Carlo Maria Mazzucchi* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2010), xxxix-xliv.

[5] Mazzucchi (1989), 205-226 (210-223).

[6] An overview of such references can be found in Appendix 1.

studies and the history of scholarship. It moreover adds to existing scholarship on the reception of Longinus by investigating an area and period that have not been discussed fully in studies of this topic. The rise of popularity of Longinus' treatise in early modern Europe is often connected to the French translation of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux. Recent scholarship however has shown that *Peri hypsous* has received significant attention well before Boileau's translation.[7] Such studies however hardly discuss the Dutch involvement in the reception of Longinus treatise in the seventeenth century.[8] The present book will add to existing scholarship in three ways: 1) It will focus on the hitherto undisclosed reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. 2) By discussing material that has not been studied comprehensively in this context, the present book also serves to test claims and observations that have already been made for the early modern reception of Longinus in other countries. 3) Given the international nature of scholarly activity and intellectual networks in the early modern era this study moreover highlights trends in the early modern reception of *Peri hypsous* that transcend one particular geographical area. In this introduction I shall briefly discuss the contents of *Peri hypsous*, provide a critical overview of existing scholarship, discuss my sources and methodology, and highlight relevant aspects of the historical context.

II. Longinus, *Peri hypsous*

The ancient treatise *Peri hypsous* (*On the Sublime*) aims to describe the effects of 'the sublime' (ὕψος) in literature, and to demonstrate how it can be attained. The treatise was probably written in the first or third century AD, although the exact

[7] For instance in M. Fumaroli, 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte: remarques sur la perception européenne du *traité Du Sublime* au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle', *Révue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 86 (1986), 33-51; E. Gilby, *Sublime Worlds. Early Modern French Literature* (London: Legenda, 2006); C.A. van Eck, M. Delbeke, S.P.M. Bussels, and J. Pieters (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime. The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus'* Peri Hupsous *in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[8] The study of C. Madelein, *Juigchen in den adel der menschlijke natuur. Het verhevene in de Nederlanden (1770-1830)* (Gent: Academia Press, 2010) is concerned with the Low Countries, but focuses on a later period.

date of creation, as well as the identity of the author are uncertain.[9] The oldest extant copy of *Peri hypsous* (MS Parisinus Graecus 2036, tenth century), presents divergent speculations about the authorship of *Peri hypsous*.[10] The table of contents on fol. 1^{v} attributes the work to 'Dionysius or Longinus', whereas the heading of the work on fol. 178^{v} ascribes it to 'Dionysius Longinus'. On the basis of this ambiguous attribution, the author of the treatise was called 'Longinus' or 'Dionysius Longinus' throughout the early modern period, and was often identified with the third-century rhetorician and philosopher Cassius Longinus (213-273 AD). In the nineteenth century this identification has been rejected.[11] The anonymous author is nowadays conventionally called Longinus or Pseudo-Longinus, and the treatise is usually situated in the intellectual context of the Augustan period or the first century AD.[12] Throughout my dissertation I will refer to the author of the treatise as Longinus.

According to Longinus, ὕψος (sublimity) is a quality of language that incites wonder and amazement (ἔκπληξις) in readers or listeners. Longinus' prime examples of sublimity are Homer, Plato and Demosthenes, and in general *Peri hypsous* takes its illustrations from the classical Greek canon, with the notable exceptions of Genesis and Cicero.[13] The treatise is addressed to a Postumius

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[9] See D.A. Russell (ed.), *'Longinus' On the Sublime. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), xxii-xxx, M. Heath, 'Longinus On Sublimity', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 45 (1999), 43-74, and Mazzucchi (2010), xxix on the authorship of *Peri hypsous*.

[10] Russell (1964), xxii-xxiii.

[11] Russell (1964), xxiii; Heath (1999).

[12] Russell (1964), xxv; C.C. de Jonge, 'Dionysius and Longinus on the Sublime. Rhetoric and Religious Language', *American Journal of Philology* 133 (2012), 271-300.

[13] On the structure and contents of *Peri hypsous* see Russell (1964), x-xxii and xxx-xlii, D.A. Russell, 'Longinus Revisited', *Mnemosyne* 34 (1981), 72-86, D.A. Russell, 'Introduction', in: S. Halliwell, W.H. Fyfe, D.A. Russell and D.C. Innes (eds.), *Aristotle, Poetics. Longinus, On the Sublime. Demetrius, On Style* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 145-158: 148-154, D.C. Innes, 'Longinus: Structure and Unity', in: J. Abbenes, S. Slings, and I. Sluiter (eds.), *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1995a), 111–124, R. Hunter, *Critical Moments in Classical Literature: Studies in the Ancient View of Literature and Its Uses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 128-168, Mazzucchi (2010), xi-xviii, S. Halliwell, *Between Ecstasy and Truth: Interpretations of Greek Poetics from Homer to Longinus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 327-367, and J.I. Porter, *The Sublime in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Terentianus, probably a Roman citizen of high rank.[14] Chapters 1-2 introduce the topic and position the treatise as a critical response to Caecilius of Caleacte, who had also written on the sublime.[15] In chapters 3-5 Longinus discusses the stylistic vices that result from false attempts at creating sublimity. Chapters 6-7 further define ὕψος as a universal phenomenon that impresses audiences from all times and backgrounds. The greater part of the treatise is dedicated to a discussion of the five sources that may lead to sublimity, which are introduced in chapter 8. For Longinus these sources are 'greatness of thought', 'emotion', 'figures of speech', 'diction', and 'word arrangement'.[16] Chapters 9-15 are dedicated to 'greatness of thought', and discuss the divine aspects of elevated subject matter (chapter 9), the selection of the most powerful elements in a narrative (chapter 10), amplification (chapters 11-13.1), the attainment of greatness through imitation and emulation of the great classics (chapters 13.2-14), and φαντασία, which is the vivid imagination and representation of the events described (chapter 15). In chapters 16-29 Longinus discusses various figures of speech. Chapters 30-38 present a discussion of elevated diction, which is interrupted by a lengthy digression, in which Longinus expresses his preference for writers whose greatness causes them to make mistakes, over flawless mediocrity (chapters 33-36). The fifth source of sublimity, word arrangement, is discussed in chapters 39-42. After an addendum on diction (chapter 43), the final chapter of the treatise laments the loss of true sublimity in the author's time (chapter 44).[17]

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[14] See W. Allen, 'The Terentianus of the Περὶ ὕψους', *The American Journal of Philology* 62.1 (1941), 51-64.

[15] See D.C. Innes, 'Longinus and Caecilius: Models of the Sublime', *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002), 259-284 on the sublime according to Caecilius and Longinus.

[16] In the treatise (as it is preserved) there appears to be no separate discussion of the source of 'emotion'. See Russell (1981), 72-86 Innes (1995a), and D.C. Innes, 'Longinus, Sublimity and the Low Emotions', in D.C. Innes, H. Hine and C. Pelling (eds.), *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical essays for Donald Russell on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995b), 323-333 on emotion in *Peri hypsous*.

[17] Throughout this book Greek citations from *Peri hypsous* are taken from D.A. Russell (ed.), *'Longinus' On the Sublime. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). Translations of Longinus' text are adapted from W.H. Fyfe and D.A. Russell in: S. Halliwell, W.H. Fyfe, D.A. Russell, and D.C. Innes (eds.), *Aristotle, Poetics. Longinus, On the Sublime. Demetrius, On Style* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999).

III. Studies and controversies

Uncovering the fortunes of Peri hypsous *in early modern Europe*

The early modern reception of Longinus became a research topic in its own right in the early twentieth century. Studies like those of F.M. Kilburn (1912), A. Rosenberg (1917), A.F.B. Clark (1925), T.R. Henn (1934), and E. Nitchie (1934 and 1935) were among the first to investigate the fortunes and influence of *Peri hypsous* in early modern criticism.[18] These studies focused on late seventeenth-century (English) critics, and mainly looked at the influence of Longinus through Boileau's French translation of the treatise. Samuel Monk's influential study *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-century England* (1935) likewise starts from late seventeenth-century debates and takes Boileau's translation as a starting point for his discussion of the influence of *Peri hypsous*.[19]

These first studies of the early modern reception of Longinus tended to downplay the importance of Longinus' treatise before 1674, a tendency that prevailed throughout the twentieth century.[20] This may have resulted from an initial lack of knowledge about the history of the treatise before Boileau's translation. Bernard Weinberg started to fill this gap with studies on the early editions and translations of Longinus' treatise (1950, 1962, 1971), and his discussion of Longinus in his massive two-volume work on Renaissance literary

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[18] F.M. Kilburn, *The Influence of Longinus in the Seventeenth Century* (Diss. University of Illinois, 1912), A. Rosenberg, *Longinus in England bis zum ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Diss. Berlin, 1917), A.F.B. Clark, *Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England 1660-1830* (Paris: Champion, 1925), T.R. Henn, *Longinus and English Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), E. Nitchie, 'Longinus and Later Literary Criticism' *The Classical Weekly* 27.16 (1934), 121-126 and 'Longinus and the Theory of Poetic Imitation in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England', *Studies in Philology* 32.4 (1935), 580-597.

[19] S.H. Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935).

[20] This tendency is for instance visible in R. Macksey's qualification of Longinus' treatise as a 'slow starter' in 'Longinus Reconsidered', *MLN* 108 (1993), 913-934: 926, and the remarks of J. Logan in his article 'Longinus and the Sublime', in: G.P. Norton (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. Vol. 3. The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 529–539: 530: "(…) until Boileau's translation was published, Longinus remained virtually unknown to all but a handful of scholars and writers, most of whom were interested in the treatise chiefly for its great philological treasure, the ode by Sappho that is preserved in it and in it alone."

criticism (1961).[21] In addition, Demetrio St Marin's 1967 bibliography of *Peri hypsous* provided an extensive overview of all early modern versions of *Peri hypsous*, including the manuscripts, editions, and translations, as well as commentaries and secondary literature on Longinus' treatise.[22]

Boileau's translation nonetheless long remained the primary point of interest in studies on the reception of Longinus. Brody (1958) is among the first to provide an overview of pre-1674 references to *Peri hypsous*, but as Brody's study is primarily concerned with Boileau's reading of Longinus' treatise, the main purpose of his overview of references to *Peri hypsous* is to demonstrate that the earlier reception of Longinus' treatise was of little importance.[23] In more recent studies too Boileau's translation is taken as a convenient starting point for the discussion of the sublime and/or the reception of Longinus in early modernity, as for instance in Doran (2015).[24] As a result of this tendency there is ample literature discussing the concept of the sublime and the reception of Longinus in the second half of the seventeenth century, especially in French criticism, such as the studies of Litman (1971), Wood (1972), Saint-Girons (1993), Hache (2000), Kerslake (2000), and Cronk (2002), while

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[21] B. Weinberg, 'Translations and commentaries of Longinus' *On the sublime* to 1600, a Bibliography', *Modern Philology* 47 (1950) 145-151; idem, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, 2 Vols.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961); idem, 'Une traduction Française du *Sublime* de Longin vers 1645', *Modern Philology* 59 (1962), 159-201; idem, 'ps. Longinus, Dionysius Cassius', in P.O. Kristeller, F.E. Kranz (eds.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1971), 193-198.

[22] D. St. Marin, *Bibliography of the Essay on the Sublime (ΠΕΡΙ ΨΠΣΟΥΣ)* (Bari, 1967). Later studies of this kind are G. Costa, 'The Latin Translations of Longinus's *Peri hupsous* in Renaissance Italy', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis. Proceedings of the Fourth international Congress of Neo-Latin studies* (Binghampton, 1985), 225–38; Mazzucchi (1989); and E. Gilby, *Pseudo-Longin. De la sublimité du discours. Traduction inédite du XViie siècle introduite, éditée & annotée* (Paris: Chambéry, 2007).

[23] J. Brody, *Boileau and Longinus* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1958), 9: "Isaac Casaubon, one of the few Renaissance scholars to know the Robortello edition, suggests that Longinus' early fortunes were indeed meager"; p. 10: "The circumstances surrounding the publication of Tollius' edition provide still another index of the relatively small popularity of Longinus' treatise as late as the final quarter of the seventeenth century"; p. 12: "With the publication of the Boileau translation in 1674 the dotty Longinian trace on the map of European letters swelled out into a broad, continuous line whose subsequent course and contours have been charted by several students of eighteenth-century criticism."

[24] R. Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), contrary to what its title suggests, does not discuss ideas about sublimity prior to Boileau.

large-scale studies that focus on the reception of Longinus and the concept of the sublime before 1674 have long been lacking.[25]

An increasing amount of scholarship however has turned towards the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century reception of *Peri hypsous*. In 1986 Marc Fumaroli broke a lance for the pre-1674 reception of Longinus' treatise in his article 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte', by drawing attention to Longinian ideas in French and Italian criticism.[26] Around the same time Dorothy Coleman discussed echoes of Longinus in Montaigne's *Essais*, and Gustavo Costa published two articles on the sixteenth-century reception of Longinus in Italy.[27] English influences of Longinus' treatise have been discussed by Nativel (1994), Norbrook (1999), Van Eck (2010), and Cheney (2018).[28] In recent years several monographs on the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century reception of Longinus' treatise appeared. Emma Gilby (2006) discusses the works of Corneille and Pascal against the background of the influence of *Peri hypsous* in mid-seventeenth-century France.[29] Dietmar Till (2006) traces the history of the sublime in early modern

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[25] T. Litman, *Le sublime en France (1660–1714)* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1971); T.E.B. Wood, *The Word 'Sublime' and Its Context: 1650-1700* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972); B. Saint-Girons, *Fiat Lux. une philosophie du sublime* (Paris: Quai Voltaire, 1993); S. Hache, *La langue du ciel. Le sublime en France au XViie siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2000), L. Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime. Analyses of French Writings on the Sublime from Boileau to La Harpe* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), N. Cronk, *The Classical Sublime: French Neoclassicism and the Language of Literature* (Charlottesville VA: Rookwood Press, 2002).

[26] Fumaroli (1986). Earlier studies that focus on the reception of *Peri hypsous* before Boileau are W. Ringler, 'An Early Reference to Longinus', *Modern Language Notes* 53 (1938), 23-24, and T.J.B. Spencer, 'Longinus in English Criticism: Influences before Milton', *The Review of English Studies (New Series)* 80 (1957), 137-143.

[27] D.G. Coleman, 'Montaigne and Longinus', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 47 (1985), 405-413; G. Costa 'Paolo Manuzio e lo Pseudo-Longino', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 161 (1984), 60–77; Costa (1985).

[28] C. Nativel, 'Le Traité "Du sublime" et la pensée esthétique anglaise de Junius à Reynolds', in R. Schnur (ed.), *Acta conventus neo-latini hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin studies* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994), 721-30; D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); C.A. van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); P. Cheney, *English Authorship and the Early Modern Sublime. Fictions of Transport in Spenser, Marlowe, Johnson, and Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[29] E. Gilby, *Sublime Worlds. Early Modern French Literature* (London: Legenda, 2006).

German scholarship while discussing many aspects of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reception of Longinus in an international perspective.[30] Klaus Ley (2013) provides a broad overview of the reception of Longinus' treatise in Europe, from the appearance of the treatise in the circle of cardinal Bessarion up until Boileau and beyond.[31] Several recent edited volumes, such as Costelloe (2012), Van Eck *et al*. (2012), and special issues of *Journal for Historians of Netherlandish Art* and *Lias: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* in turn explore the multifaceted reception of Longinus' treatise in various domains of early modern culture; from rhetorical theory to the visual arts, theatre, music and architecture.[32] The early modern Dutch involvement with Longinus' treatise however has yet received relatively little attention in these studies.[33]

One could say that modern scholarship on the reception of Longinus pivots around Boileau's 1674 French translation of the treatise, which has long been deemed the starting point of the reception of *Peri hypsous*, but which is nowadays seen as the culmination of two centuries of reception and interpretation of

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[30] D. Till, *Das doppelte Erhabene. Eine Argumentationsfigur von der Antike bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2006).

[31] K. Ley, *Longin - von Bessarion zu Boileau. Wirkungsmomente der "Schrift über das Erhabene" in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag 2013).

[32] T. Costelloe (ed.), *The Sublime. From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); C.A. van Eck, M. Delbeke, S.P.M. Bussels, and J. Pieters (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime. The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus'* Peri Hupsous *in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); S.P.M. Bussels and B. van Oostveldt (eds.), *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art 8.2* (*Special Issue*) (2016); S.P.M. Bussels, B. van Oostveldt and W.L. Jansen (eds.), *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 43.2 (*Special issue: The Sublime in Early Modern Theories of Art and Literature*) (2016). Besides studies that discuss direct or indirect influence of *Peri hypsous*, there are also those that take Longinus' theory as a key to understanding early modern art: C. Nau, *Le Temps du sublime. Longin et le Paysage Poussinien* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005); M. Delbeke, 'A Matter of Material and Scale. The Sublime, Pandemonium and the Baldacchino', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 43.2 (2016), 281-296; F. Sierhuis, 'Therapeutic tragedy: compassion, remorse, and reconciliation in the Joseph plays of Joost van den Vondel (1635–1640)', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 17 (2010), 27-51.

[33] Exceptions are C. Nativel, 'Lectures du *Traité du sublime* par Franciscus Junius F.F.', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 43.2 (2016), 263-279 and S.P.M. Bussels, 'Theories of the sublime in the Dutch Golden Age. Franciscus Junius, Joost van den Vondel and Petrus Wittewrongel', *History of European Ideas* 42 (2016), 882-892.

Longinus' treatise.[34] That Longinus' treatise did receive significant attention before 1674 is hardly contested in recent literature. Instead, controversy has now shifted to questions about the nature of the Longinian sublime and the accuracy of the early modern interpretations of *Peri hypsous*. The following sections will be dedicated to this debate, as it entails serious methodological implications for the study of the early modern reception of Longinus' treatise.

Boileau's double sublime

The origins of this debate are usually traced back to the remarks that Boileau made on *Peri hypsous* in the preface to his *Traité du sublime* (1674) and the elaboration of his opinion in his *Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rheteur Longin* (1694-1713). In the preface to his translation Boileau stated that Longinus is not just a rhetorician and that 'the sublime' (*le sublime*) is not the same as the 'elevated' or 'grand style' (*le stile sublime*) in rhetorical theory.[35]

> Il faut donc sçavoir que par Sublime, Longin n'entend pas ce que les Orateurs appellent le Stile Sublime: mais cet extraordinaire, et ce merveilleux qui frappe dans le discours, et qui fait qu'un Ouvrage enleve, ravit, transporte. Le Stile Sublime veut toujours de grands môts: mais le Sublime se peut trouver dans une seule pensée, dans une seule figure, dans un seul tour de paroles. Une chose peut-estre dans le Stile Sublime et n'estre pourtant pas Sublime; c'est à dire, n'avoir rien d'extraordinaire ni de surprenant. Par example. Le souverain Arbitre de la Nature d'une seule parole forma la lumiere. Voilà qui est dans le Stile Sublime: cela n'est pas néanmoins Sublime: parce qu'il n'y a rien là de fort merveilleux, et qu'un autre ne pût aisément trouver. Mais. Dieu dit: Que la lumière se fasse, et la lumière se fit. Ce tour extraordinaire d'expression qui marque si bien

[34] See for instance K. Axelsson, *The Sublime. Precursors and British Eighteenth-Century Conceptions* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 30-36, and Doran (2015), 97-99 for the idea of a turning point brought about by Boileau.

[35] Although the full title of Boileau's *Réflexions* implies that Boileau took Longinus to be a *rhetor*, his *Préface* states the opposite: "Pa là on peut voir que Longin n'estoit pas seulement un habile Rheteur, comme Quintilien et comme Hermogene; mais un Philosophe capable d'estre mis en parallele avec les Socrates et les Catons" (Boileau, 1674, 'Traité du Sublime', iii[r]).

> l'obéissance de la Créature aux ordres du Créateur est véritablement Sublime et a quelque chose de divin.[36]
>
> One must therefore understand that by 'sublime' Longinus did not mean that which the orators call the 'sublime style', but the extraordinary and marvellous which is striking in writing, and which makes that a text lifts up, ravishes, transports. The sublime style always demands grand words: but the sublime can be found in a single thought, in a single figure of speech, in a single phrase. Something can be set in the sublime style, while not being at all sublime itself; that is to say, having nothing extraordinary or amazing. For example: 'The sovereign ruler of Nature has created light from a single word.' This is set in the sublime style, yet it is not sublime, because there is nothing miraculous in it, and nothing that someone else couldn't have thought of. But. 'God said: "Let there be light, and there was light."' That extraordinary way of expressing, which describes so well how the Creation obeys the rules of the Creator is truly sublime and has something divine.

Boileau argued that sublimity can be produced without using lofty expressions, and illustrated this by adducing a passage from Genesis 1 (quoted by Longinus in *Peri hypsous* 9.9) as an example of elevated subject matter expressed in simple words.[37] Boileau elaborated on this point in his *Réflexion X* (1713) and argued that it is *simplicity itself* that makes for the sublimity of this particular passage.[38]

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[36] Boileau (1674), 'Traité du Sublime', iiii[v].

[37] Elsewhere in his *Préface*, Boileau speaks of critics who do not understand that sublimity may well be found in a simple passage, which does not please the eye, but rather touches the soul: "Ils chercheront souvent le Sublime dans le Sublime, et peut-estre se mocqueront-ils des exclamations que Longin fait quelquefois sur des passages, qui, bien que tres sublimes, ne laissent pas d'estre simples et naturels, et qui faisissent plustost l'ame qu'ils n'éclatent aux yeux"(Boileau, 1674, 'Traité du Sublime', iiii[r]).

[38] N. Boileau-Despréaux, 'Réflexion X', in: N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres de Nicolas Boileau Despréaux. Nouvelle Edition, revenuë & de beaucoup augmentée. 2 Vols.* (Paris: E. Billiot, 1713), 279-280: "Longin n'entend pas ce que nous appelons le stile sublime; mais cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux qui se trouve souvent dans les paroles les plus simples, et dont la simplicité même fait quelquefois la sublimité." See Porter (2016), 47-49 for a discussion of the misconstruction of 'simplicity' as an element of the Longinian sublime (since Boileau). The early modern debate about Longinus' *Fiat Lux* will be discussed in Chapter Three.

According to Boileau's *Préface* and *Réflexion X* the Longinian sublime is the creation of a gifted mind rather than a skilled rhetorician, and it should be valued according to its effect ("it ravishes, transports," etc.) rather than its adherence to stylistic precepts (as expressed in the rule that "the grand style always uses grand words").

Modern scholars often contrast Boileau's interpretation with the categorisation of *Peri hypsous* as a treatise on the 'grand style' (*genus sublime* or *grande*), which can be found in a number of early modern rhetorical works, as well as in the Latin title given to the treatise by its first editors: *liber de sublimi genere dicendi* ('book on the elevated style of writing').[39] The non-rhetorical and the rhetorical interpretation of Longinus' treatise are often seen as mutually exclusive.[40] It has been argued that the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century association of *Peri hypsous* with the *genera dicendi* actually inhibited the non-rhetorical interpretation of the treatise.[41] Boileau in turn is credited as one of the first critics who freed *Peri hypsous* from its rhetorical confines, and read the treatise 'as it was meant'.[42]

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[39] Antonius Lullus for instance mentions Longinus as an authority on *sublimitas* in his discussion of the various 'types of style' (*ideae*), while Pedro Juan Nuñez adduces Longinus in the sections 'on greatness in discourse' and 'on splendor' (*de orationis magnitudine* and *de splendore*): A. Lullus, *De oratione libri septem, quibus non modo Hermogenes ipse totus, verumetiam quicquid fere a reliquis Graecis ac Latinis de Arte dicendi traditum est, suis locis aptissime explicatur* (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1558), 448-453; P.J. Nuñez, *Institutionum rhetoricarum libri quinque* (Barcelona: S. à Cormellas, 1593), 304. Gerardus Joannes Vossius refers to Longinus in his chapters on the 'grand style' (*grandis character*): Vossius (1630), II, 446. The title page of the edition of Franciscus Portus (Geneva: J. Crispinus, 1569), in which Longinus' text is combined with rhetorical works of Aphthonius of Antioch and Hermogenes of Tarsus, presents these three ancient authors as 'excellent teachers in the art of rhetoric' (*praestantissimi artis rhetoricae magistri*). See also D. Till, 'Der "rhetorisierte" Longin. Medienstrategien zur "Klassierung" eines Autors', in: K.A.E. Enenkel and W. Neuber (eds.), *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 257-284, and Till (2006), 21-41.

[40] See Porter (2016), 10 on the idea of a 'non-rhetorical' approach to *Peri hypsous* in modern scholarship.

[41] Dietmar Till and Bernhard Huss argue that the rhetorical framing of Longinus' treatise in the sixteenth century had a stifling effect on its interpretation: Till (2005), 274-275; Till (2006), 23-25; B. Huss, 'Anmerkungen zur Rezeption von Longins 'Erhabenem' im Cinquecento', *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 62 (2011), 165-187.

[42] Brody (1958), 88: "It took the kind of critical insight of which Boileau boasted to see that *Peri hupsous* was less a manual of rhetoric than an essay in esthetics."

Boileau's categorical division between 'the sublime' and 'the sublime style' and his focus on simplicity (or rejection of stylistic embellishment) strongly resonate in modern scholarship on Longinus and often take a central place in discussions of the nature of Longinus' theory of the sublime. Donald Russell for instance explicitly sets Longinus' idea of ὕψος apart from discussions of sublimity or the 'grand style' as they appear in other ancient works on rhetoric and literary criticism, stating that "Boileau was right" in categorising ὕψος as an effect of discourse, rather than a type of style.[43] A similar opinion is voiced by Dietmar Till, who stated that "[Boileau] was among the first to recognize that Longinus's category of ὕψος was not identical to the grand style of the three *genera dicendi* […]".[44] Likewise, Emma Gilby's definition of the Longinian sublime is a direct echo of the definition found in Boileau's *Préface*: "In no sense is the Longinian sublime to be confused with a discussion of the 'sublime style' in the tradition of a rhetoric of stylistic gradation: a style characterized by complex figurative language".[45] In applying Boileau's distinction to *Peri hypsous*, modern scholars tend to downplay the stylistic aspects of Longinus' theory of sublimity and to set the treatise apart from its ancient rhetorical and literary critical background.

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[43] Russell (1964), xxxvii. Porter (2016), 9n.22 gives an overview of scholars who adopted Russell's definition.

[44] D. Till, 'The Sublime and the Bible: Longinus, Protestant Dogmatics, and the "Sublime Style"', in: C.A. van Eck, M. Delbeke, S.P.M. Bussels, and J. Pieters (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime. The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 55-64: 55.

[45] Gilby (2006), 1. Similar statements are found in Doran (2015), 6n.20 (Boileau "is […] the first interpreter to truly understand Longinus's theory of sublimity"); Logan (1999), 530; Till (2006), 21-41, and H. Gründler, 'Orrore, terrore, timore. Vasari und das Erhabene', in: C.A. van Eck, M. Delbeke, S.P.M. Bussels, and J. Pieters (eds.), Translations of the Sublime. The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' *Peri Hupsous* in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 83-116: 89. The idea that simplicity is an (essential) element of Longinus' theory is for instance found in: Brody (1958), 91: "Simplicity is not merely a characteristic of the Sublime: it is its essence", Saint-Girons (1993), 232: "La révolution longinienne consistera (…) dans la suppression de l'opposition traditionelle entre simple et sublime, ou, plus exactement, dans la réhabilitation de la simplicité, non pas à côté du sublime, mais en son coeur même" and Gilby (2006), 1-2: "Indeed, sublime experience can be - although is by no means always - triggered by the simplest discourse, as with the Fiat Lux. Simple, everyday language can produce the revelatory, transformative experiences with which Longinus is concerned."

Methodological implications

The assumption that Boileau's interpretation is 'the right one' is however quite problematic. Lawrence Kerslake and Francis Goyet have pointed out that Boileau's definition of the sublime differs substantially from the definition(s) that *Peri hypsous* offers.[46] Longinus' treatise itself does not explicitly separate sublime effect from sublime style; neither does it deny the importance of style for the creation of the sublime, or include simplicity as a source of sublimity.[47] Longinus' concept of ὕψος embraces both subject matter and style.[48] In *The Sublime in Antiquity*, James Porter has recently argued that Boileau's reading has had a distorting effect on later interpretations of the original Greek treatise.[49] According to Porter, Longinus is inherently part of the ancient rhetorical tradition, and is not, as modern scholarship has often characterized him, "the first Romantic critic".[50] Building on Porter's argument I suggest that Boileau's redefinition of the Longinian sublime not only had a great bearing on later interpretations of *Peri hypsous*, but also on modern evaluations of the early modern responses to the treatise.

Two methodological issues are of importance here. Firstly, in keeping with Boileau's dichotomy between the sublime and the sublime style, early modern responses to Longinus' treatise are often either categorised as misguided attempts to incorporate the treatise into rhetorical theory, or as interpretations that 'do justice' to the Longinian sublime as a phenomenon that defies the rules of rhetoric.[51] These categorisations are however only necessary if one adheres to a

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[46] F. Goyet, 'Le pseudo-sublime de Longin', *Études littéraires* 24 (1992), 105-120; Kerslake (2000), 26-63.

[47] The importance of stylistic aspects speaks from Longinus' extensive discussion of dignified figures of speech, diction and word arrangement (*Peri hypsous* 16-43). The tension between art and nature in *Peri hypsous* and the implications of this tension for early modern interpretations of Longinus' treatise will be discussed extensively in Chapter Two.

[48] See Porter (2016), 7-17.

[49] Porter (2016), 36-51.

[50] R.A. Scott-James, *The Making of Literature* (New York: Holt, 1929), 80. See Porter (2016), 9-10 for a discussion of this tendency.

[51] See for instance Fumaroli (1986); K. Ley, 'Das Erhabene als Element frühmoderner Bewusstseinsbildung. Zu den Anfängen der neuzeitlichen Longin-Rezeption in der Rhetorik und Poetik des Cinquecento.' In: H. Plett (ed.), *Renaissance-Poetik / Renaissance poetics* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 241–259; Till (2006), 21-41; Huss (2011); Gründler (2012), 89. Porter (2016), 9-10 also calls this the 'post-rhetorical' interpretation of *Peri hypsous*.

strict division between a 'non-rhetorical sublime' and a 'sublime style in rhetoric'. This paradigm may be sensible for discussions of the sublime from the eighteenth century onwards, but it is anachronistic in the case of (the early modern responses to) *Peri hypsous*.[52] Early modern critics before Boileau hardly (if ever) comment on a distinction between the sublime as an effect and the sublime as a type of style when discussing Longinus' treatise.[53] Distinguishing strictly between discussions of 'the sublime' and 'the sublime style' in early modern literary criticism is moreover inherently difficult because of the mutual affinity of these concepts and their common vocabulary. Both 'the sublime' and 'the sublime style' can appear in or as a characteristic of discourse, both aim at impressing readers or listeners, and both are described with metaphors of greatness and height.[54] When analysing early modern responses to Longinus' treatise we therefore cannot simply rely on the interpretative paradigm that Boileau's binary opposition provides. Secondly, the presumed unicity of *Peri hypsous* within the context of ancient and early modern literary theories often too easily leads to the identification of ideas similar to

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[52] As for instance for Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1759). See R. Gasché, '… And the Beautiful? Revisiting Edmund Burke's "Double Aesthetics"', in: T. Costelloe (ed.), *The Sublime. From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 24-36.

[53] Porter (2016), 17: "Longinus' earliest readers saw no reason to distinguish sublimity from grandeur." Boileau is the critic most famous for this interpretation. Boileau is preceded by Tanneguy Le Fèvre's remarks in his edition of 1663; T. Le Fèvre, *Dionysii Longini philosophi et rhetoris* Περὶ ὕψους *libellus* (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1663). I know of no other early modern critic (before Boileau) who explicitly distinguishes between the (Longinian) sublime and the sublime style. See Cronk (2002), 96-97, Till (2006), 27 and 129-132. On Le Fèvre, see also section 1.3.3.

[54] C. Kallendorf, C. Zelle, C. Pries, 'Erhabene, das' in: G. Ueding (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik, Band 2* (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1994), 1357-1361. Porter (2016), 15-17 argues that a distinction between the sublime and the sublime style (or between sublimity and grandeur) can hardly be deduced from differences in terminology, as neither can be connected to one specific word from the wide spectrum of terms that are used in this context. Likewise, Cronk nuances the idea (as proposed by Monk, 1935) that the word *sublime* was first used as a rhetorical term, and shifted to the realm of aesthetics after Boileau. Instead, Cronk shows that seventeenth-century French critics used a variety of terms to denote the sublime style (other than *sublime*), and that the word *sublime* appeared in various contexts and was not strictly used as a rhetorical term in the early seventeenth century (Cronk, 2002, 82-90).

Longinus' as direct echoes of *Peri hypsous*.[55] Longinus' treatise however belongs to a wider ancient tradition that commented on sublimity, and the diverging responses to *Peri hypsous* in early modernity moreover indicate that Longinus' theory of sublimity was by no means interpreted straightforwardly or unanimously by its early modern readers.[56] As such, it is difficult if not impossible to ascertain direct influence of *Peri hypsous* if neither the treatise nor the author are mentioned by name.

In order to avoid these pitfalls and to do justice to the fluidity of responses to Longinus' treatise in early modern criticism, I have chosen to focus on explicit references to *Peri hypsous*. These references are in turn discussed against the background of the text of *Peri hypsous* itself (as printed in early modern editions and translations), and the works in which they appear. I have tried to refrain from making *a priori* assumptions about the nature of the Longinian sublime or about the way early modern scholars interpreted *Peri hypsous* (either rhetorical or non-rhetorical). Instead I have aimed to reconstruct how early modern scholars used elements from Longinus' treatise and for what purpose. After all, Boileau too had

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[55] An often-used method is to identify elements resembling Longinus' theory in the works of a particular author on the basis of his proximity to copies of *Peri hypsous* and hence his possible knowledge of the treatise. Examples of this approach are Coleman (1985), on the influence of Longinus on Montaigne's *Essais*, and Steppich (2006), on echoes of Longinus in the work of the Swiss scholar Vadian: C.J. Steppich, 'Inspiration through *imitatio/mimesis* in *On the sublime* of 'Longinus' and in Joachim Vadian's *De poetica et carminis ratione* (Vienna, 1518)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 55 (2006), 37-69. In the case of Montaigne a different approach is chosen for instance by D.L. Sedley in 'Sublimity and Skepticism in Montaigne', *Modern Language Association* 113 (1995), 1079-1092 and in *Sublimity and skepticism in Montaigne and Milton* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005) 9-10. Instead of tracing certain ideas in the *Essais* back to Montaigne's (possible yet uncertain) acquaintance with *Peri hypsous*, the author attributes reminiscences of Longinus' treatise to Montaigne's interest in cognate Neo-platonic ideas that were current in the sixteenth century. As Sedley argues, Montaigne's interest in the sublime may not be a result of the increasing popularity of *Peri hypsous*, but may well be a symptom of the current trends that also contributed to the rediscovery and dissemination of Longinus' treatise. See also Porter (2016), 37-43 on 'Longino-centric' tendencies in modern scholarship on the sublime.

[56] Porter (2016), 18-34 (and passim) discusses several traditions and manifestations of the sublime, before and after Longinus, which can be found not only in rhetoric and literary criticism, but for instance also in poetry and philosophy. Ideas of sublimity existed already before *Peri hypsous* was written, as well as during the period in which the treatise suffered complete oblivion. See Porter (2016), 18-25: 'The sublime without Longinus', as well as Innes (2002) on the sublime in Caecilius of Caleacte, and De Jonge (2012) on the sublime in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

particular motives for defining the Longinian sublime in the way he did. Boileau published his translation in a period in which literary critics debated the question whether art can adequately be described by rules, and how classical literature should be valued.[57] Boileau's separation of the 'sublime' from the 'sublime style', and his suppression of the rhetorical aspects of the Longinian sublime in the preface to his translation, served the purpose of presenting Longinus' treatise as a text that could provide an answer to these questions.[58]

In my case studies (which will be introduced in the next section) I have tried to reconstruct and shed light on the motives of several Dutch scholars whose interests in Longinus' treatise appear to have been motivated by the scholarly debates of their time. Each of these case studies shows that *Peri hypsous* was not simply 'read' or 'studied' in early modernity, but that it was at the same time appropriated, adapted and/or transformed. One might argue whether there is such a thing as 'pure' reception, in which a text is read or interpreted in its 'true' or 'original' sense.[59] In the case of *Peri hypsous* it is evident, as will appear from the case studies, that the interest of its early modern readers was not primarily to do justice to the actual meaning of the treatise, but rather to select particular elements and aspects of the treatise and to adapt them creatively to the purpose they had in mind. In analysing these processes I have thus sought to explain why particular interpretations of Longinus' treatise gained momentum over the course of the seventeenth century.

IV. Scope of this study

The present book explores the reception of *Peri hypsous* by studying various ways in which the treatise was studied, interpreted an appropriated in the Dutch Republic. I have investigated the dissemination of copies of *Peri hypsous* in the

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[57] Extensive discussions of the seventeenth-century critical debates in which *Peri hypsous* was appropriated will be given in Chapters Two, Three and Five.

[58] E. Borgerhoff, *The Freedom of French Classicism* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 200-212; See Cronk (2002), 1 and 146-152, as well as Gilby (2006), 132-142 on the role of *Peri hypsous* and the sublime in the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*. See also Porter (2016), 46-47.

[59] See for instance the discussion of Charles Martindale in 'Reception', in: Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Dutch book trade, analysed (explicit) references to the treatise in the works of Dutch scholars, and examined Dutch contributions to the textual criticism of Longinus' treatise. My study will cover the whole seventeenth century, from the earliest appearance of copies of and references to Longinus' treatise in Dutch scholarly circles around 1600, up until the publication of Jacobus Tollius' edition of Longinus' treatise (Utrecht, 1694).[60] In the next sections I will discuss the scope of my investigation, by elucidating my focus on a particular scholarly network as well as my choice of source material.

Intellectual context

My investigation of the active reception and dissemination of *Peri hypsous* has yielded a corpus of primary sources that mainly consists of (Neo-Latin) scholarship, literary criticism, and classical philology, and which mainly focuses on the Northern Netherlands. *Peri hypsous* is hardly if ever mentioned in works that are not of a scholarly or theoretical nature. References to the treatise in the vernacular are moreover quite rare compared to its reception in early modern Neo-Latin writings.[61] The almost exclusive appearance of *Peri hypsous* in the context of Neo-Latin scholarship is probably due to the specialist and somewhat arcane nature of *Peri hypsous* and the topics it addresses.[62]

The early modern reception of Longinus' treatise in the Low Countries is moreover divided along a geographical border: it appears that the reception of Longinus' treatise was largely limited to the Northern provinces, while hardly any

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[60] J. Tollius, *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque, quæ reperiri potuere Jacobus Tollius e quinque codicibus mss. emendavit; novamque versionem suam Latinam, & Gallicam Boilavii, cum ejusdem, ac Dacierii, suisque notis Gallicis addidit* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1694).

[61] Exceptions being the English and Dutch translations of Franciscus Junius' De pictura veterum (1638 and 1641), the quarrel between Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac and Jean Goulu in the 1620s. On this debate, see E. Gilby, 'Where to draw the line? Longinus, Goulu and Balzac's Lettres', Lias Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources 43.2, 2016, 225-240). References to Longinus' discussion of the Fiat Lux moreover also appear in English sermons in the 1640s. See M. Lazarus, 'Sublimity by fiat: New Light on the English Longinus', in: G. Alexander et al. (ed.), The Places of Early Modern Criticism (2019, forthcoming).

[62] Fumaroli (1986) and Till (2006), 22-24 observe that the reception of *Peri hypsous* took place mainly among the intellectual elite, and did not play a role in educational contexts.

traces of the reception of *Peri hypsous* are found in the Southern provinces.[63] Compared to the Southern provinces, it seems the North had a better momentum for the dissemination and reception of *Peri hypsous*. The separation of the Northern and Southern Netherlands and the turbulent reconquering of the South by the Spanish in the 1570's and 1580's caused many scholars to seek a safe haven in the Northern provinces.[64] When the first printed editions of Longinus' treatise became available and started to circulate in Europe (in the second half of the sixteenth century), the Southern intellectual centres were declining, while the newly founded University of Leiden experienced an influx of scholars from all over Europe, who brought with them a wealth of scholarly knowledge and books.[65] Leiden University, as well as the numerous other academic institutions that were founded in the Northern Netherlands from 1575 onwards, provided fertile ground for the development of classical philology, biblical scholarship, rhetoric and literary criticism.[66] In this context Longinus' treatise, which offered a thought-provoking evaluation of ancient literature, contained a wealth of unique textual

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[63] Exceptions to this geographical division are the textual studies of the brothers Willem (1542-1575) and Dirk Canter (1545-1616) (see also Chapter One), and a few books containing references to Longinus that were printed in Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century, such as the edition of Scaliger's *Castigationes in Catullum* (which casually mentions *Peri hypsous*), printed by the Antwerp printer Aegidius Radaeus (Gillis van den Rade, c. 1555-1615). When the Spanish forces captured Antwerp in 1585, Radaeus fled and moved his printing house to Franeker. J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630)* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1974), 393-399.

[64] J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806 (Oxford History of Early Modern Europe)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 219. J. IJsewijn, 'Humanism in the low countries' in: G. Tournoy (ed.), *Humanism in the Low Countries, by Jozef IJsewijn. A collection of Studies selected and edited by Gilbert Tournoy (Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia XL*) (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015), 391-453: 394-395.

[65] A large number of professors appointed at Leiden University in the first decades of its existence were not born in the Northern Netherlands. See J. Waszink, 'Classical Philology', in: Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1975), 161-175, and Israel (1995), 569-575.

[66] IJsewijn (2015), 391-397; Israel (1995), 575-577. See also R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship. From 1300-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 124-129 on classical scholarship in Holland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and H.-J. van Dam, 'Humanist Centres – Leiden and Philology', in: P. Ford, J. Bloemendal and C. Fantazzi, *Brill's Encyclopedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 988-990.

fragments, and presented a controversial reference to Scripture, was sure to attract scholars' attention.

As my study will show, the reception of Longinus in the Northern Netherlands took place in a close-knit network of scholars who belonged (over a longer span of time) to the same intellectual circle, which was formed by family ties, friendships, and shared academic affiliations, particularly (but not exclusively) around Leiden University. This circle included Daniel Heinsius (Gent, 1580 – Leiden, 1655), Hugo Grotius (Delft, 1583 – Rostock, 1645), Gerardus Joannes Vossius (Schönau, 1577 – Amsterdam, 1649), Franciscus Junius F.F. (Heidelberg, 1591 – Windsor, 1677), Isaac Vossius (Leiden, 1618 – Londen, 1689), and Jacobus Tollius (Rhenen, 1633 – Utrecht, 1696).[67]

Sources

My analysis is based on three types of sources: 1) manuscripts and editions of Longinus' treatise, and their dissemination as attested in Dutch book sales catalogues; 2) references to Longinus' treatise in the writings of Dutch scholars; 3) annotations and textual criticism of Longinus' text by Dutch scholars.

Manuscripts, editions and book sales catalogues. A study of the early modern reception of Longinus' treatise benefits from an investigation of the form in which the treatise became known to its readers. The famous rediscovery of a Byzantine manuscript (Parisinus Graecus 2036) containing *Peri hypsous* by Basilios Bessarion in the mid-15th century marks the beginning of the early modern dissemination of Longinus' treatise.[68] While the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* never seem to have reached the Dutch Republic, their existence and availability in European libraries is nonetheless of importance for the reception of Longinus in the Dutch Republic.

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[67] Pfeiffer (1976), 128 observes how classical scholarship in the Dutch Republic was often passed on from one generation to another. D. van Miert visualises the Dutch scholarly network as an 'intellectual family tree' in his article 'The French Connection: From Casaubon and Scaliger, via Saumaise, to Isaac Vossius', in: E. Jorink and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689). Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 15-42 (17-18). C.S.M. Rademaker's biography of Gerardus Joannes Vossius presents family trees that illuminate the relationship between the Vossius and Junius families. See C.S.M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981), 440-442, 445.

[68] Mazzucchi (1989), 205-211; Mazzucchi (2010), xxxix-xl.

Firstly, a study of the dissemination of the manuscripts in Europe (mainly in Italy) until 1600 provides us with the 'prehistory' of the dissemination of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. Secondly, these manuscripts formed the basis for the editions of Longinus' treatise that did become available in the Dutch Republic. Thirdly, the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* play an important role in the textual criticism of Isaac Vossius and Jacobus Tollius in the second half of the seventeenth century. The manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* will be discussed in Chapters One and Five.

The early modern editions of Longinus' treatise differ in scope and contents. Some only presented the Greek text, such as the early editions of Robortello (1554) and Manuzio (1555). Others contained notes, commentaries, or (multiple) translations, in Latin or the vernacular, such as the editions of Gabriele de Petra (1612) and Gerard Langbaine (1636). Just like Boileau's preface had a bearing on later interpretations of Longinus' treatise, so too did earlier editions sometimes influence readers of the treatise, through the various paratextual materials they contained, as well as editorial choices that engendered different interpretations of the Greek text.[69]

The Dutch book trade had brought editions of Longinus' treatise to the Northern Netherlands around 1600 at the latest. Dutch printed book sales catalogues provide a record of book sales and private collections from 1599 onwards, and give insight in the availability and circulation of editions of Longinus' treatise the Northern Netherlands. In 1601 Lowijs (I) Elzevier auctioned the vast library of the wealthy merchant Daniel van der Meulen (1554-1600). The auction catalogue, printed by Christophorus Raphelengius, lists almost 1200 books, among which the following entry appears: "Aphtonius & Dionysius Longinus Gr. Gen. 69". This entry indicates an edition of Greek texts by a certain 'Aphtonius' and a 'Dionysius Longinus', which was published in Geneva in 1569.[70] This must have been the edition prepared by Franciscus Portus, which contains works by Aphthonius of Antioch and Hermogenes of Tarsus, as well as the text of

[69] An example of this is Heinsius' interpretation of *Peri hypsous*, which makes more sense when one takes into account certain textual variants in the early editions of Longinus' text (see Chapter Two).

[70] F. Portus, *Aphthonius, Hermogenes & Dionysius Longinus, praestantissimi artis Rhetorices magistri* (Geneva, 1569).

Peri hypsous.[71] The auction catalogue of Van der Meulen's collection is the oldest printed Dutch book sales catalogue that mentions Longinus' treatise. Assuming that this copy entered Van der Meulen's library prior to his death on July 25, 1600, we are provided with a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of the first physical copy of *Peri hypsous* in the Northern Netherlands. From the record of Dutch book sales catalogues we can thus deduce which scholars owned a copy of *Peri hypsous*, and which editions of the treatise were available to them.

References. The dissemination of the contents of *Peri hypsous* (as opposed to the dissemination of physical copies) is witnessed by references to the treatise and the incorporation or appropriation of its ideas in the writings of early modern scholars. These references vary from an incidental remark on *Peri hypsous* or (Cassius) Longinus, to citations or paraphrases of passages from the treatise, as well as more extensive discussions of the treatise's contents. The earliest references to Longinus' treatise in printed books appear in the mid-sixteenth century, around the time when the first editions of Longinus' treatise were published. Explicit (or identifiable) references to and comments on *Peri hypsous* are our best evidence for exploring the early modern reception of Longinus treatise, as they allow us to make a detailed analysis of the way in which early modern readers used (parts of) Longinus' treatise, and what meaning or value they attributed to it.[72] Early modern authors may also have used their knowledge of the treatise without *explicitly* mentioning it. For methodological reasons (as explained in section III of this introduction) I have chosen not to speculate about possible influences of *Peri hypsous* in cases where it is unnecessary to assume an author's indebtedness to Longinus.[73] The explicit or identifiable references to Longinus' treatise in the writings of Dutch scholars are rich enough; their analysis may provide a solid contribution to our knowledge about the way in which early modern scholars read

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[71] The name of the first author is more commonly spelled 'Aphthonius' than 'Aphtonius'.

[72] See Appendix 1 for an overview of the references to *Peri hypsous* before 1600. An example of implicit but identifiable references to *Peri hypsous* is Daniel Heinsius' use of passages from the treatise in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod; see Chapter Two.

[73] An exception is Daniel Heinsius' paraphrase of passages from Longinus' treatise in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod (1603). The name of Longinus is never mentioned, but Heinsius' indebtedness to *Peri hypsous* is almost indisputable, as has been observed by other scholars, and as my analysis in Chapter two will again demonstrate.

and used Longinus' treatise. The largest part of this study is dedicated to the analysis of several significant cases of reception of *Peri hypsous* in early modern Dutch scholarship. These include Daniel Heinsius' elaborate utilisation of arguments from Longinus' treatise in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod's poetry (1603), the discussion of Longinus' reference to Genesis by Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius, Franciscus Junius' adaptation of passages from Longinus' treatise in his *De pictura veterum* (1637), and Tollius' reflections on Longinus' treatise in his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum gustus* (1677).[74]

Scholarship and textual criticism. The early modern reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic culminates with the 1694 edition of the text made by Jacobus Tollius. In making his edition Tollius was heavily indebted to Isaac Vossius, whose studies of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* provided the basis for the new critical Greek text. Isaac Vossius' manuscript studies are preserved in two annotated copies of Longinus' treatise.[75] The contact between Tollius and Vossius is moreover documented in several letters they exchanged between 1666 and 1677.[76] A study of these materials gives insight in an episode in the history of the textual criticism of *Peri hypsous*.

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[74] D. Heinsius, 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', in: *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant, cum Graecis scholiis Procli, Moschopuli, Tzetzae, in* Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέρας: *Io. Diaconi & incerti in reliqua* (Leiden: ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1603); G.J. Vossius, *Oratoriarum Institutionum libri sex* (first ed. Leiden: A. Cloucq, 1606); H. Grotius, *Meletius sive de iis quae inter christianos conveniunt epistola* (ca. 1611), published by G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (ed.), *Hugo Grotius, Meletius sive De iis quae inter Christianos conveniunt epistola* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); D. Heinsius, *Aristarchus sacer, sive ad Nonni in Johannem metaphrasin exercitationes* (Leiden: B. and A. Elsevier, 1627); F. Junius, *De pictura veterum* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1637), *On the Painting of the Ancients* (London: R. Hodgkinsonne, 1638), *De Schilder-konst der Oude* (Middelburg: Z. Roman, 1641); J. Tollius, 'Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum gustus', published in J. Tollius, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia. Jacobus Tollius emendavit, notulisque, & expositione rhetorica illustravit* (Leiden: D. Gaesbeeck, 1677) and J. Tollius, *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque, quæ reperiri potuere Jacobus Tollius e quinque codicibus mss. emendavit; novamque versionem suam Latinam, & Gallicam Boilavii, cum ejusdem, ac Dacierii, suisque notis Gallicis addidit* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1694).

[75] G. De Petra, *Dionysii Longini de grandi sive sublimi genere orationis* (Geneva: J. Tornaesius, 1612), Leiden, UB: 756 F 10; T. Le Fèvre, *Dionysii Longini philosophi et rhetoris Peri hypsous libellus* (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1663), Leiden, UB: 755 F 8. Another edition of Longinus' treatise in the Leiden University Library contains annotations of Gerardus Joannes Vossius: F. Portus, *Aphthonius, Hermogenes & Dionysius Longinus, praestantissimi artis Rhetorices magistri* (Geneva, 1569), Leiden, UB: 756 F 11.

[76] An overview of these letters can be found in Appendix 4.

V. Outline

My dissertation aims to investigate the role of Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous* in early modern Dutch intellectual history. By examining the arrival and circulation of editions of *Peri hypsous* in the Northern Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century and working out several case studies which together span the first decades of the seventeenth century up until the publication of Tollius' edition in 1694, I hope to present a comprehensive image of the various ways in which Longinus' treatise was read in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century.

Chapter One provides a prehistory of the seventeenth-century reception of Longinus' treatise, and reveals the network in which the Dutch reception of Longinus' treatise took shape. By discussing the creation and circulation of the manuscripts and early editions of Longinus' treatise, as well as the earliest references to the treatise, this chapter offers insights on how and when *Peri hypsous* became known in Europe and the Dutch Republic. A study of Dutch Book Sales Catalogues moreover provides a unique perspective on the circulation of physical copies of the treatise in the Dutch Republic. While the circulation of copies of *Peri hypsous* increased, references to Longinus' treatise also appeared in Dutch scholarship. Three case-studies (**Chapters Two** to **Four**) provide an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the treatise was read and used by Dutch scholars from the early seventeenth century onwards. Chapters Two and Three constitute a pair, as they both demonstrate how Dutch scholars derived an idea of 'sublime simplicity' from Longinus' treatise in the context of the scholarly debates of their time. **Chapter Two** investigates how Heinsius uses Longinus' digression on Rules and Genius (*Peri hypsous* 33-36) to make a case for the appreciation of the simplicity of Hesiod's works (in his *Prolegomena on Hesiod*, 1603). **Chapter Three** analyses how Dutch scholars used Longinus' reference to Genesis (*Peri hypsous* 9.9) in discussions about (the sublime simplicity of) the Bible, in relation to the seventeenth-century debates of this topic. **Chapter Four** focuses on Franciscus Junius' work *De pictura veterum* (1637), which not only applies Longinus' theory to the visual arts, but also provides material for a study into the vernacular terminology of the sublime, as Junius translated his work into English (1638) and Dutch (1641). In **Chapter Five**, I will give an account of the scholarly efforts made by Isaac Vossius and Jacobus Tollius in preparation of Tollius' 1694 edition of *Peri*

hypsous: the first edition of the treatise to be published on Dutch soil, and a pinnacle of scholarship on Longinus' treatise. In this final chapter I will look at the handwritten annotations to *Peri hypsous* that are preserved in Isaac Vossius' Library, analyse the contents of Tollius' edition and relate Vossius' and Tollius' efforts to the wider European context. My **conclusion** will bring together the Dutch contributions to the early modern interpretation of Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous*.

CHAPTER ONE

FOOTPRINTS OF LONGINUS

THE DISSEMINATION OF *PERI HYPSOUS* IN EUROPE AND THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

1.1 Introduction

Peri hypsous suffered almost complete oblivion during Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and only one copy of the treatise seems to have survived until the fifteenth century.[1] From the mid-fifteenth-century onwards an increasing number of copyists, booksellers, translators and scholars became involved with the dissemination of the treatise and the examination of its contents. In this chapter I aim to shed light on two aspects of the fortunes of *Peri hypsous* in early modern Europe. I will examine the circulation of copies of the treatise (manuscripts and printed books) in scholarly networks, and analyse the reception of the treatise in the works of early modern scholars. A central element of my analysis will be the interaction between the physical dissemination of Longinus' treatise and the reception of its contents.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first and largest part (sections 2-4) discusses the dissemination and reception of Longinus' treatise in Europe,

[1] The only exception is the alleged reference to *Peri hypsous* in the commentary to Hermogenes' *On Ideas* by the Byzantine scholar Johannes Siceliotes (10th-11th century). His reference to Genesis as well as a 'Longinus' could indicate the commentator's familiarity with Longinus' discussion of Genesis in *Peri hypsous* 9.9. See Russell (1964), xxv-xxviii, C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Longino in Giovanni di Sicilia', *Aevum* 64 (1990), 183-198, and Heath (1999), as well as section 3.3.1.

(mainly) before 1600. The second part (section 5) is dedicated to the reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic, which (with a few exceptions) starts around 1600. Section 2 discusses the rediscovery of *Peri hypsous*, as well as the creation and dissemination of manuscript copies of the treatise in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy (1450-1550). Section 3 will be dedicated to the characteristics of the early modern editions of Longinus' treatise, from the *editio princeps* of Francesco Robortello (Basel, 1554), to the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre (Saumur, 1663). Section 4 sheds light on the earliest reception of Longinus' treatise in scholarly media between 1550 and 1600, in order to provide a European backstory to the reception and dissemination of the treatise in the Dutch Republic. Section 5 will discuss the dissemination of *Peri hypsous* on the basis of a study of Dutch book sales catalogues from 1599 until 1650, and investigate the involvement of Dutch scholars with Longinus' treatise.

By giving a broad overview of the fortunes of *Peri hypsous* in the early modern period, this chapter aims to show that the processes of dissemination and reception of Longinus' treatise are intrinsically linked and that both are developing along the same lines. As my analysis will show, the reception of *Peri hypsous* goes hand in hand with the availability of copies of the text in a given milieu, while the active study of the treatise in turn positively affects its dissemination.[2] Modern scholarship has already addressed some aspects of the early modern dissemination and reception of Longinus' treatise (see section III of my Introduction). The present chapter combines these insights (for instance on the manuscript tradition and early editions of *Peri hypsous* in section 1.2 and 1.3) and extends them by discussing material that has not yet been discussed extensively in studies on the reception of *Peri hypsous*, such as the references to *Peri hypsous* before 1600 (section 1.4. and Appendix 1). My investigation of the dissemination and reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic (section 1.5), as witnessed in Dutch Book sales catalogues and scholarly works in the early seventeenth century, moreover constitutes an entirely new addition to the modern scholarship on the fortunes of Longinus' treatise in the early modern period.

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[2] The *exemple par excellence* of this interplay between dissemination and reception is Marc-Antoine de Muret's discovery of Sappho's *fragment* 31 in *Peri hypsous* (see section 1.4.1) and Isaac Vossius' involvement with Sappho's poem as well of the text of *Peri hypsous* (see section 5.3.1).

1.2 The early modern dissemination of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* (ca. 1450-1550)

1.2.1 MS Parisinus Graecus 2036 and its fifteenth-century copies[3]

The advance of the Ottomans in Byzantine territory in the fifteenth century brought about a large influx of Greeks into the Western Mediterranean, among which many learned men from the intellectual circles in Constantinople. These scholars brought with them advanced knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and were an important factor in the dissemination of Byzantine manuscripts preserving ancient Greek texts.[4] It is among these intellectual immigrants that *Peri hypsous* was rediscovered. A tenth-century Byzantine manuscript (MS Par. Gr. 2036), containing both Ps.-Aristotle's *Problemata physica* and Longinus' *Peri hypsous* (fols. 178-207), surfaced in the circle of Cardinal Basilios Bessarion (Trebizond, 1403 – Ravenna, 1472) in the mid-fifteenth century. Bessarion, who had come to Italy in the late 1430s, and who played an important role as a patron of Greek exiles in Italy, donated a large collection of Greek and Latin manuscripts to the Library of St Mark in Venice in May of 1468.[5] Among the donated manuscripts was a manuscript containing *Peri hypsous*, a copy of the Parisinus Graecus 2036.[6] This copy (MS Marc. Gr. 522), bears Bessarion's signature and was most likely commissioned by the Cardinal himself. The Marc. Gr. 522 was

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[3] For the history of the textual transmission of Longinus' treatise the most important sources are Mazzucchi's article on the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* and his edition of *Peri hypsous*: Mazzucchi (1989), 205-226, and Mazzucchi (2010), xxxix-xliv. These studies serve as the basis for my observations in sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, in which I have reframed and expanded Mazzucchi's observations (which are primarily geared towards establishing the origins and characteristics of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*), with observations about the circulation of the MSS in Renaissance Italy and their arrival in the libraries in which they have been kept until the present day.

[4] J. Harris, *Greek Émigrés in the West, 1400-1520* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1995), 122. D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1962), 13-40. N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 9-38.

[5] Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

[6] The *Problemata* (MS Marc. 215) came to Venice later. MS Marc. 522 bears Bessarion's signature: *L(iber) B(essarionis) card(inalis) Sabinen(sis) antea Tusculani.* "A book of Bessarion, cardinal of Sabina, formerly of Tusculum." See Mazzucchi (1989), 211.

probably made in the beginning of 1468 and hence provides a *terminus ante quem* for the rediscovery of *Peri hypsous* in Renaissance Italy.[7]

Two other manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* were made in Bessarion's circle in the fifteenth century. A copy of Par. Gr. 2036 (Par. Gr. 2974) was made in Firenze in 1476, probably by Bessarion's *protégé* Demetrius Chalcocondylas (1423-1511).[8] A manuscript containing the first chapters of *Peri hypsous* (up to section 2.3), as well as a part of Aristotle's *Problemata physica* and several medical texts, was made between 1450 and 1470 by someone in the circle of John Argyropoulos (1415-1487).[9] This manuscript (MS Par. Gr. 985) appears to descend from the Par. Gr. 2036 via an intermediate source.[10] All other extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* are descendants from either MS Marc. Gr. 522 (Bessarion's copy), MS Par. Gr. 2974 or MS Par. Gr. 985. See fig. 1 for an overview of the extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* and their interrelations. Modern editors regard the Par. Gr. 2036 as the ancestor of all other extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.[11] Although the Par. Gr. 2036 is in many respects the best source for the text of *Peri hypsous,* some of its copies preserve parts of the text that the oldest manuscript lacks. The text *of Peri hypsous* has several major lacunae, which are largely due to the loss of several pages and quires in the Par. Gr. 2036.[12] Most of these losses occurred before the extant copies of the Par. Gr. 2036 were made, and are therefore found in both the model and its copies. The lacuna in *Peri hypsous* 8 and 9 (between fol. 182^{v} and 183^{r}) however partially occurred *after* the first copies of the Par. Gr. 2036 were made. Between chapters 8 and 9 the Par. Gr. 2036 has lost a complete quaternion (four bifolia or eight

[7] Mazzucchi (1989), 210-212, Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

[8] Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

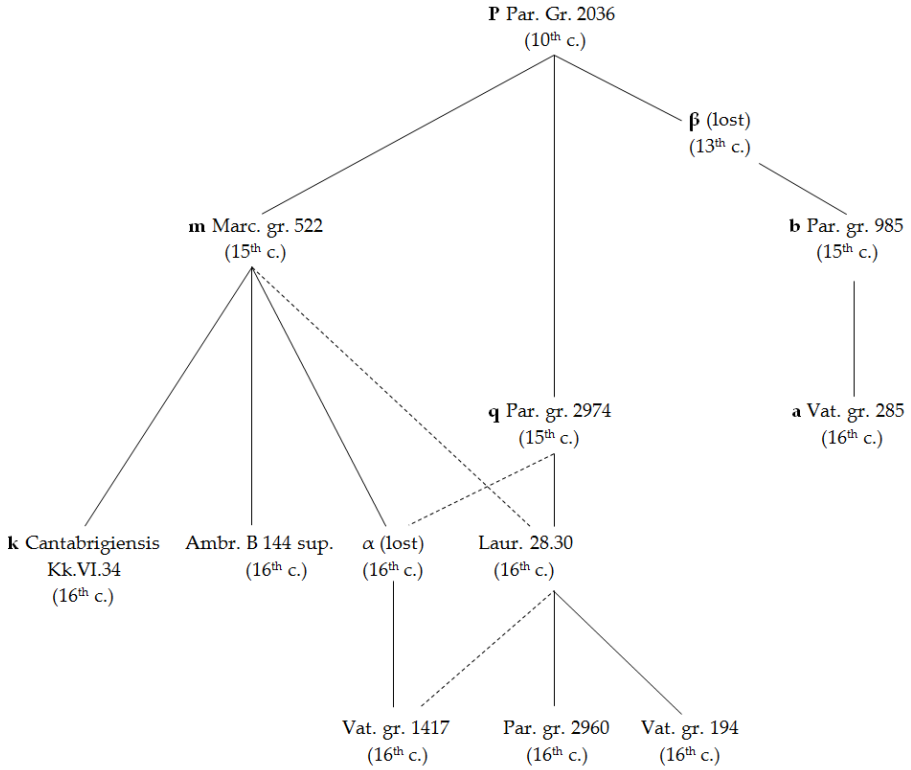
[9] Mazzucchi (1989), 219-221.

[10] An analysis of the characteristics of the text in Par. Gr. 985 indicates that its ancestor was probably made in the thirteenth century, and, like its apograph, only contained the first sections of *Peri hypsous*. See Russell (1964), l, and especially Mazzucchi (1989), 219-221.

[11] Since the end of the seventeenth century scholars have agreed that the Par. Gr. 2036 is indeed the archetype of all extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*. See for instance W. Rhys Roberts (ed.), *Longinus, On the Sublime: The Greek Text Edited After the Paris Manuscript, with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles and Appendices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), 168.

[12] See Mazzucchi (1989), 206 and (2010), xxxix for an overview of the lost parts of the treatise.

Fig. 1. Stemma of the early modern manuscripts of Peri hypsous[13]



leaves).[14] When the first copies (Marc. Gr. 522 and Par. Gr. 2974) were made, three bifolia (six leaves) were already missing. After these copies had been made another bifolium was lost (the two outside leaves of the missing quaternion).[15] Another part

[13] This stemma, which I have included for clarity, is based on Mazzucchi (1989), 224. I have added the full signatures and dates as given by Mazzucchi. The continuous lines indicate direct transcription, whereas the dashed lines indicate the insertion of collations (in the relationship between Marc. Gr. 522 and Laur. 28.30 as well as Laur. 28.30 and Vat. Gr. 1417), or contaminations (in the relationship between Par. Gr. 2974 and the lost manuscript '*α*').

[14] Russell (1964), xlix.

[15] These pages were therefore lost after MS Marc. Gr. 522 and MS Par. Gr. 2974 had been made (in the second half of the fifteenth century). Russell notes that the pages must have been lost before Pietro Vettori made his collations (which are preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: BSB Cod. graec. 235. See Russell (1694), xlix. Mazzucchi notes that Pietro Vettori consulted MS Par. Gr. 2036 in 1559, before it was shipped to France (Mazzucchi, 2010, xl). If Vettori indeed made his collations around 1559, the manuscript probably lost the additional two pages before 1559.

of *Peri hypsous* is only preserved in the Par. Gr. 985. Although this manuscript only contains the first chapters of *Peri hypsous*, it does contain a fragment that is absent in all other extant manuscripts, and which is now known as the *Fragmentum Tollianum*, named after Jacobus Tollius, the first scholar to include this fragment in an edition of Longinus' text.[16]

1.2.2 The manuscripts of Peri hypsous *in the sixteenth century*

Over the course of the sixteenth century most of the manuscripts found their way into the libraries that hold them to the present day.[17] The production and circulation of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy is largely connected to the community of Greek immigrants around Bessarion, among whom Janus Lascaris (1445-1534) and the merchant Antonio Eparco (1491-1571).[18]

Janus Lascaris fled from Constantinople in 1453 and studied in Italy under the patronage of Basilios Bessarion.[19] After Bessarion's death in 1472, Lascaris became a manuscript hunter to Lorenzo I de' Medici.[20] In this capacity Lascaris was able to lay his hands on a great number of Greek manuscripts, including two manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*: the Par. Gr. 2036 and the Par. Gr. 2974.[21] After his death in 1535,

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[16] Tollius includes the fragment in his 1694 edition of *Peri hypsous*: *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque, quæ reperiri potuere Jacobus Tollius e quinque codicibus mss. emendavit; novamque versionem suam Latinam, & Gallicam Boilavii, cum ejusdem, ac Dacierii, suisque notis Gallicis addidit* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1694). The edition of Jacobus Tollius wil be discussed in Chapter Five.

[17] The Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Par. Gr. 2036, 2960, 2974, 985), the Vatican Libraries (Vat. Gr. 1417, 194 and 285), the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (Marc. Gr. 522), the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Ambr. 144 B sup), the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Laur. 28.30). The manuscript now in Cambridge (Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34), became part of the library in the early eighteenth century. It was owned by John Moore (1646-1714), before being purchased and donated to the library by King George I. See W. Rhys Roberts, 'Note on a Cambridge Manuscript of the 'De Sublimitate'', *The Classical Review* 12.6 (1898), 299-301: 301.

[18] Mazzucchi (1989), 222-223.

[19] Harris (1995), 101.

[20] Wilson (1992), 98.

[21] The Par. Gr. 2974 bears Lascaris' monogram and is mentioned on his inventory of Greek manuscripts. See P. de Nolhac, 'Inventaire des manuscrits grecs de Jean Lascaris', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 6 (1886), 251-274: 258 and D.F. Jackson, 'An Old Book List Revisited: Greek Manuscripts of Janus Lascaris from the Library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi', *Manuscripta* 43-44 (2003),

Lascaris' library was passed over to cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.[22] After the cardinal's death in 1550 the collection came into the possession of Ridolfi's relative Caterina de' Medici, queen consort of Henry II, king of France.[23] When Caterina's collection was incorporated into the newly founded library in Fontainebleau, the Par. Gr. 2036 and the Par. Gr. 2974 ended up in what was to become the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[24]

The person who produced and dispersed the greatest number of manuscript copies of *Peri hypsous* was the successful merchant Antonio Eparco.[25] Six of the extant early modern manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* passed through his hands, four of which were probably commissioned by him.[26] A relative of Janus Lascaris, Eparco was probably responsible for making a copy of the aforementioned Par. Gr. 2974, while it was still in Lascaris' possession (presumably around 1530). Eparco enriched this copy (Laur. 28.30) with collations from the Marc. Gr. 522 in Venice, and later sold it to Cosimo I de' Medici in 1568, to be incorporated into the Biblioteca Laurenziana.[27] Between 1540 and 1550 Eparco had moreover commissioned a double copy of the Laur. 28.30, resulting in the Par. Gr. 2960 and the Vat. Gr. 194. The latter Eparco sold (together with the Vat. Gr. 285) to the Vatican library in 1551. The Par. Gr. 2960 was possibly sold in the Veneto region and appears among the manuscripts that were sold to the library at Fontainebleau in 1542 by Francesco d'Asola.[28] Another 16th-century manuscript of *Peri hypsous*, the Vat. Gr. 1417, which is probably a descendant of Bessarion's copy, was made using the same paper as the copies of the Laur. 28.30 that were commissioned by Eparco,

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77-133: 78-79, 108. One of the flyleaves of the Par. Gr. 2036 contains an epigram probably written by Janus Lascaris. See Mazzucchi (1989), 209.

[22] Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

[23] D.F. Jackson, 'A first inventory of the library of Cardinal Niccolo Ridolfi', *Manuscripta* 45-46, (2001-2002), 49-77: 49. These manuscripts were probably not shipped to France before 1559, for in that year they were consulted in Rome by Pietro Vettori and Ugolino Martelli. See Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

[24] Mazzucchi (1989), 209-210.

[25] A detailed description of Eparco's trade is provided by Mazzucchi (1989), 222-223.

[26] As Mazzucchi (1989), 223 notes, only the Par. Gr. 2036, the Marc. Gr. 522 and its two extant copies (the Eliensis and the Ambr. B 144 sup.) and the Par. Gr. 985 have *not* been in Eparco's hands.

[27] Mazzucchi (1989), 213, 222-223.

[28] Mazzucchi (1989), 222. H. Omont (ed.), *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François Ier et Henry II* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889), xxv.

suggesting that this manuscript too was part of Eparco's trade.[29] Before entering the Vatican library in 1602 this manuscript was owned by the humanist and scholar Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600).[30]

Three manuscripts that did not pass through Eparco's hands are the Par. Gr. 985 and the offspring of Bessarion's copy: the Ambr. B 144 sup and Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34. The Par. Gr. 985 originated in the circle of John Argyropoulos between 1450 and 1470 and possibly became part of the French royal collection already before 1500. Henri Omont lists the Par. Gr. 985 as part of the collection of books and manuscripts that had been seized by Charles VIII of France from the kingdom of Naples during the first Italian War (1494–98).[31] Ambr. B 144 sup belongs to the *fondo principale* of the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan and became part of the collection in the seventeenth century.[32] Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34 contains the Greek text of *Peri hypsous* with numerous (Italian) notes and a transcription of the ode of Sappho (*Peri hypsous* 10.2). Modern scholars assume that this manuscript is the same as the manuscript referred to by Gerard Langbaine in his 1636 edition of *Peri hypsous*.[33] In his *notae ad Longinum* Langbaine speculated that this manuscript was probably made by the Hungarian

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[29] Mazzucchi (1989), 222.

[30] The manuscript appears in Orsini's catalogue: P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini. Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1887), 348. Orsini bequeathed his books to the Vaticana: De Nolhac (1887), 112-117. See also Mazzucchi (1989), 214 and Costa (1985), 225-226.

[31] Omont (1989), ii-iii, xxiv, 21; K. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Petrarch to Michelangelo* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; Houten: Hes & De Graaf Publishers; Athens: Kotinos, 2012), 194. Some of the texts in the composite manuscript appear to have been transcribed by Constantine Lascaris (1434 – 1501), a student of Argyropoulos (see Omont, 1889, 21). As Lascaris was summoned to Naples by Ferdinand I in 1465, the manuscript may have travelled with him and may thus have entered the collection of the Kingdom of Naples. See T. Martinez Manzano, *Konstantinos Laskaris: Humanist, Philologe, Lehrer, Kopist* (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 1994), 17-19. A pre-1500 arrival of the Par. Gr. 985 in France however conflicts with the dating of its copy Vat. Gr. 285 (which is of Italian origin) to the middle of the sixteenth century (Mazzucchi, 1989, 221).

[32] See G. Costa, 'Longinus's treatise 'On the Sublime' in the age of Arcadia', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* I (1981), 65-86: 73n.39.

[33] Langbaine, G., *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi loquentia sive sublimi dicendi genere* (Oxford: G. Webb, 1636), 'notas ad Longinum', 115. Langbaine reports that a librarian, Patrick Young, had provided him with a manuscript of *Peri hypsous* that contained marginal notes in Italian.

scholar Andreas Dudith.[34] In his 1935 study of Dudith Pierre Costil however argued that the transcription and annotations were probably not made by Dudith, but that it was more likely made by the Greek-Italian scholar Franciscus Portus, who made an edition of Longinus' text in 1569, and, perhaps more importantly, was involved with the publication of Paolo Manuzio's edition of *Peri hypsous* in 1555.[35]

Besides the transcriptions of the Greek text of *Peri hypsous*, several manuscript translations of the treatise were made in the sixteenth century. The mid-sixteenth-century Vat. lat. 3441 (fols. 12^{r}-31^{r}) contains a Latin translation of the entire treatise and bears the *ex libris* of Fulvio Orsini.[36] Pierre Costil has argued that the Vat. Lat. 3441 was a translation commissioned by Paolo Manuzio to be incorporated in his edition of *Peri hypsous*. According to Costil, Manuzio gave a copy of *Peri hypsous* to Marc-Antoine de Muret in order to be translated into Latin.[37] Muret announced his intended translation of *Peri hypsous* in his 1554 edition of Catullus, but it seems that this translation was never made.[38] According to Costil, Manuzio may then have directed his request to Andreas Dudith, who indeed made a similar announcement in the preface to his edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Thucydides* (printed in by the Aldine press in 1560), and hence may have been responsible for the translation of *Peri hypsous* in Vat. lat. 3441.[39] Gustavo Costa has however argued

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[34] Langbaine ruled out the French scholar Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus) as the possible maker of the manuscript because of the Italian marginalia, and pointed at the Hungarian scholar and diplomat Andreas Dudith (1533-1589), who spent quite some time of his life in Italy and had announced to make a translation of *Peri hypsous*; Langbaine (1636), 'notas ad Longinum', 115. Dudith had indeed promised to translate Longinus' treatise, but this translation of *Peri hypsous* was never made or has been lost (Weinberg, 1950, 145). W. Rhys Roberts too deemed it possible that Dudith was the maker of this manuscript, as Dudith travelled to England in the sixteenth century and may well have brought the manuscript with him (Rhys Roberts, 1898, 301).

[35] P. Costil, *André Dudith, humaniste hongrois 1533-1589: Sa vie, son oeuvre et ses manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935), 278-284; Mazzucchi (1989), 216.

[36] Costa (1985), 225.

[37] Costil argues that this copy is to be identified as the English manuscript of *Peri hypsous* (Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34), which, according to Costil, was made by Franciscus Portus. See Costil (1935), 283 and above.

[38] Weinberg (1950), 145. Muret's study of Longinus will be discussed in more detail in section 1.4.1.

[39] A. Dudith, *Dionysii Halicarnassi De Thucydidis Historia iudicium* (Venice: Aldus, 1560), B2^{v}-B3. See Costil (1935), 223-4, and 278-284.

that Fulvio Orsini, whose *ex libris* the manuscript bears, made this translation himself, possibly from the Vat. Gr. Vat. Gr. 1417 that was also in his possession.[40] Around 1575 Giovanni Da Falgano made an Italian translation of *Peri hypsous*, which he dedicated to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany: *Libro della altezza del dire di Dionysio Longino rhetore, dalla greca nella Toscana Lingua*.[41]

In summary, the creation of the early modern manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* took place in two periods of increased activity. Between 1450 and 1480 three copies (two complete and one partial transcription) of *Peri hypsous* were made in the circle of Greek scholars around Basilios Bessarion. Six copies of *Peri hypsous* and one Latin translation of the treatise were made in the middle of the sixteenth century within a few decades (in any case after 1530 and before 1580). Between 1450 and 1600 the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* circulated (mainly in Renaissance Italy), before they were taken up in the libraries that have preserved them until the present day. Closely connected to the second period of manuscript production (ca. 1530-1580) is the publication of the first editions of *Peri hypsous*, which will be discussed in the next section.

1.3 Printed editions and translations of *Peri hypsous* (1554-1663)

While the handwritten versions of *Peri hypsous* spread through Italy, the first movable-type printing presses were assembled and put into use in many Western European cities. By 1500, various Greek types had also been developed and were used throughout Western Europe.[42] The technological advancements of the printing press made it possible to produce books on hitherto unprecedented scale.[43] With the appearance of the first printed editions of *Peri hypsous* the treatise started to be disseminated more widely, within Italy, as well as north of the Alps.

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[40] Costa (1985), 224-228. Weinberg (1950), 145-146 describes Dudith's translation as 'lost'.

[41] MS Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Magl. VI, 33. The text has been edited in Ley (2013). See also Costa (1985), 232. Another early modern manuscript translation of *Peri hypsous* is a mid-seventeenth-century French translation that originated in the circle of Cardinal Mazarin. See Weinberg (1962) and Gilby (2007).

[42] N. Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the development of Greek script and type in the fifteenth century* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 21-42.

[43] A thorough discussion of the implications of book printing is given by E.L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 46-101.

In the following sections I will focus on the publication of the first editions of *Peri hypsous* in the sixteenth century (1.3.1), discuss some of their characteristics (1.3.2), before turning to the seventeenth-century editions of *Peri hypsous* (1.3.3). For reference I here provide an overview of all printed editions and translations of Longinus' treatise before Boileau (1674).

- Robortello, F., *Dionysii Longini praestantissimi liber de grandi sive de sublimi orationis genere* (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1554).
- Manuzio, P., *ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ. Dionysii Longini de sublimi genere dicendi* (Venice: P. Manuzio, 1555).
- Pizzimenti, D., *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi orationis genere* (Naples: J.M. Scotus, 1566).
- Portus, F., *Aphthonius, Hermogenes & Dionysius Longinus, praestantissimi artis Rhetorices magistri* (Geneva: J. Crispinus, 1569).
- Paganus, P., *Dionysii Longini de sublimi dicendi genere* (Venice: V. Valgrisi, 1572).
- De Petra, G., *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi sive sublimi genere orationis* (Geneva: J. Tornaesius, 1612).
- Langbaine, G., *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi loquentia sive sublimi dicendi genere* (Oxford: G. Webb, 1636).
- Pinelli, N., *Dionigi Longino Retore, Dell'altezza del dire* (Padua: G. Crivellari, 1639).
- Aromatari, G., *Degli autori del ben parlare, opere diverse, tomo V: Degli stili et eloquenza* (Venice: Salicata, 1643).
- Manolesius, C., *Dionysii Longini Cassii, Graeci rhetoris De sublimi genere dicendi libellus* (Bologna: ev. Ducciae, 1644).
- Hall, J. H., *Peri hypsous: or Dionysius Longinus of the height of eloquence. Rendred out of the originall* (London: Roger Daniel for Francis Eaglesfield, 1652).
- Le Fèvre, T., *Dionysii Longini philosophi et rhetoris* Περὶ ὕψους *libellus* (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1663).

1.3.1 The first editions of Peri hypsous *(Robortello, Manuzio, Portus)*

Robortello's *editio princeps* of *Peri hypsous* (Basel, 1554) and Manuzio's subsequent edition (Venice, 1555) were published against the background of a scholarly

quarrel in Venice in the 1550s. The humanist and philologist Francesco Robortello was a prolific editor of ancient texts and had an active teaching career at the universities of Lucca, Pisa, Venice, Bologna and Padua.[44] His publications include editions of classical texts, as well as the first early modern commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* (1548), and a treatise on textual criticism, *De arte sive ratione corrigendi veteres authores* (1557), which advised on the proper methods for editing ancient texts.[45] Robortello held the chair of Latin at the Scuola di San Marco in Venice from 1549 until 1552.[46]

Paolo Manuzio had taken over his father's famous printing house in Venice, the *Officina Aldina*, in 1533, and was active as a printer as well as a scholar. Manuzio published several works of Cicero and hand-corrected many of the texts that were printed in his publishing house.[47] The Aldine press had a long-standing reputation of publishing first editions of ancient (Greek) texts from the manuscript collections of the Biblioteca Marciana.[48] Manuzio planned to publish a bilingual edition of *Peri hypsous*, with the help of Marc-Antoine de Muret (1526-1585) for the Latin translation, and Franciscus Portus (1511-1581) for corrections of the Greek text.[49] The French scholar Marc-Antoine de Muret enjoyed a flourishing academic career in France, until accusations of heresy forced him to flee his homeland.[50] Muret came to Venice in the mid-1550s and worked together with Paolo Manuzio on the publication of several ancient authors, among which the works of Catullus (1554), Horace and Terence (1555) and Cicero's *Catilinarians* (1556) and *Tusculan disputations* (1557).[51] The Cretan-born scholar Franciscus Portus was educated in

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[44] K. Sier, "Robortello, Francesco", in: *Brill's New Pauly Supplements I - Volume 6: History of classical Scholarship - A Biographical Dictionary*, Edited by: Peter Kuhlmann, Helmuth Schneider, Brigitte Egger. Consulted online on 07 February 2018 (http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-8647_bnps6_COM_00611).

[45] K. Vanek, *"Ars corrigendi" in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur Geschichte der Textkritik* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 24-29; B. Richardson, *Print culture in Renaissance Italy. The Editor and the Vernacular Text: 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1994), 110.

[46] Vanek (2012), 18.

[47] P.J. Angerhofer, M.A.A. Maxwell, and R.L. Maxwell, *In aedibus Aldi: the legacy of Aldus Manutius and his press* (Friends of the Harold B. Lee Library of Brigham Young University, 1995), 89.

[48] Angerhofer, Maxwell and Maxwell (1995), 66-67.

[49] Mazzucchi (1989), 215-218.

[50] C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret: Un professeur français en Italie* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1881), 46-61.

[51] K.M. Summers, *The Juvenilia of Marc-Antoine de Muret. With a translation, introduction, notes and commentary* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006), xxi.

Greece and came to Venice for the first time in 1527. After having held professorships at the academies of Ferrara and Modena, Portus resided in Venice from 1554 until 1558.[52] Portus was responsible for several editions of ancient Greek texts.[53]

Francesco Robortello engaged in heated polemics with several of his contemporaries.[54] In his *De arte corrigendi* Robortello explicitly criticises the philological methods of Paolo Manuzio and Marc-Antoine de Muret, a dispute that certainly was not eased by the fact that they were working on Longinus' treatise around the same time.[55] Robortello and Manuzio probably used the same Venetian manuscript for their respective editions of *Peri hypsous*: Marc. Gr. 522, which had been donated to the Biblioteca Marciana by Basilios Bessarion.[56] The dispute with Manuzio may have motivated Robortello to publish his edition outside Italy.[57] In the autumn of 1554 Robortello published his edition in Basel with Joannes Oporinus, thus outpacing Manuzio's enterprise.[58] Manuzio eventually published his edition without a Latin translation.

After these two first editions of *Peri hypsous*, Franciscus Portus, who had already been involved in the publication of Manuzio's edition, published the third edition of Longinus' treatise. Fearing prosecution for his sympathies with Calvinism, Franciscus Portus was forced to leave Italy and eventually settled in Geneva, where he remained until his death in 1581.[59] Franciscus Portus remained involved with Longinus' treatise and published an edition of *Peri hypsous* in 1569 in Geneva. Portus is moreover the author of the first commentary on *Peri hypsous*,

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[52] M. Manoussakas, 'L'aventure vénitienne de François Portus', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, XVII (1982), 299-314: 300.

[53] Such as the works of Homer, Pindar and Sophocles: *Homeri Ilias Postrema editio* (Geneva: E. Vignon, 1580); *Commentarii in Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia* (Geneva: J. Sylvius, 1583); *Francisci Porti Cretensis in omnes Sophoclis tragoedias* προλεγόμενα (Bern: J. Le Preux, 1584).

[54] Vanek (2012), 30.

[55] Vanek (2012), 40-43.

[56] Mazzucchi (1989), 210-212.

[57] Vanek (2012), 41. Robortello did publish his Aeschylus in 1552 in Venice, but not at the Aldine press.

[58] The dedication in Robortello's edition is dated August 5, 1554.

[59] Weinberg (1971), 198; Logan (1999), 533.

which however was not published until 1733.[60] Portus' edition is more elaborate than the editions of Robortello and Manuzio. The edition structures the text by dividing it into chapters and contains an index.[61] Portus published Longinus' text together with the *Progymnasmata* (rhetorical exercises) of the 4th century author Aphthonius of Antioch, as well as several works by Hermogenes of Tarsus (2nd century).[62] Portus also included two biographical descriptions about the third century rhetorician and philosopher Cassius Longinus (from the *Suda* and Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers*).[63] With the inclusion of these biographies, Portus

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[60] Zacharias Pearce, who printed the commentary for the first time in 1733, attributed it to Portus. See Weinberg (1950), 149, and Z. Pearce, *Dionysii Longini de sublimitate commentarius* (Amsterdam: R. and J. Wetstenius and G. Smith, 1733).

[61] Portus' index terms are to a large extent based on Robortello's marginal headings. In Portus' edition the text is divided into (unnumbered) sections for the first time.

[62] The works of Hermogenes published in Portus' edition are Περὶ στάσεων (*On Issues*), Περὶ εὑρέσεως (*On the Invention of Arguments*), Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου (*On Types of Style*) and Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος (*On the Method of Forcefulness*). The *epistula ad lectorem* briefly introduces all three authors, but Longinus' treatise, which appears last in order, has a separate title page and page numbering. A modern edition and translation of the works of Hermogenes and Aphthonius is M. Patillon, *Aphthonius, Sophista; Hermogenes, Tarsensis Vols I-V* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008-2014). On Hermogenes see also C. Wooten, *Hermogenes'* On Types of Style (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), and A.M. Patterson, *Hermogenes and the Renaissance: seven ideas of style* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

[63] Portus (1569), 1: Λογγῖνος, ὁ Κάσσιος, φιλόσοφος, διδάσκαλος Πορφυρίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, πολυμαθὴς καὶ κριτικὸς γενόμενος. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀνῃρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς σύμπνους Ζηνοβίᾳ τῇ Ὀδυμνάθου γυναικί. ἔγραψε Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου, Ἀπορήματα Ὁμηρικά, Εἰ φιλόσοφος Ὅμηρος, Προβλήματα Ὁμήρου καὶ λύσεις ἐν βιβλίοις β', Τίνα παρὰ τὰς ἱστορίας οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὡς ἱστορικὰ ἐξηγοῦνται, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ πολλὰ σημαινουσῶν λέξεων δ', Ἀττικῶν λέξεων ἐκδόσεις β', εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Λέξεις Ἀντιμάχου καὶ Ἡρακλέωνος: καὶ ἄλλα πολλά ("Longinus, Cassius. Philosopher. Teacher of the philosopher Porphyry; a polymath and critic. He lived in the time of the Caesar Aurelian, and was executed by him for having conspired with Zenobia, the wife of Odynathus. He wrote: *On the Natural Life*; *Difficulties in Homer*; *Whether Homer is a Philosopher*; *Homeric Problems and Solutions* (2 books); *Things Contrary to History which the Grammarians Explain as Historical*; *On Words in Homer with Multiple Senses* (4 books); *two publications on Attic diction* (they are arranged alphabetically); *Lexicon of Antimachus and Heracleon*; and many other works") (Translation: Heath, *Suda Online*). 2: *Eunapius ait Porphyrium Longini fuisse discipulum: deinde addit*, Λογγῖνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον, καὶ κρίνειν γε τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐπετέτραπτο, καθάπερ πρὸ ἐκείνου πολλοί τινες ἕτεροι. *Addit et alia de eodem nonnulla valde honorifica* ("Eunapius wrote that Porphyrius was a pupil of Longinus, and added: 'At that time Longinus was a living library and a walking museum; and moreover he had been

is among the first to identify the author of *Peri hypsous* as Cassius Longinus, an identification that would be taken over by early modern editors of *Peri hypsous* (such as De Petra, Langbaine and Tanneguy Le Fèvre) and which would prevail until the early nineteenth century. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars alternately refer to the author of *Peri hypsous* as (Cassius) Longinus or as Dionysius Longinus. Some authors explicitly attribute *Peri hypsous* to Cassius Longinus, by including biographical accounts of the third-century *rhetor* in their references to the treatise. Others refer to the author as (Dionysius) Longinus, without reflecting on the treatise's authorship. There appears to have been no active debate about the validity of the attribution.[64]

1.3.2 A book on the grand style in writing

The MS Marc. Gr. 522, which provided the basis for the editions of Robortello and Manuzio, and indirectly for Portus' edition as well, refers to Longinus' treatise by two different titles.[65] In Bessarion's handwritten index on the first pages of the manuscript (fol. IV^{v}) Longinus' text appears as Περὶ ὕψους λόγου ('On the sublimity of speech'), while it is titled Περὶ ὕψους ('On sublimity') at the beginning of the text itself (fol. 211r.), in keeping with the title given to the treatise

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entrusted with the function of critic of the ancient writers, like many others before him.' And he added other most honorable things about him") (translation: W.C. Wright, 1921).

[64] See for instance Russell (1964), xxii-xxiii and Heath (1999), on the falsification of the hypothesis that Cassius Longinus is the author of *Peri hypsous*. According to Weinberg (1950), 147-148 the edition of Pizzimenti (1566) already printed a *Vita Longini*, which could have been the biography from Eunapius or the *Suda* that is also printed in Portus' edition. The *Adagia* of Hadrianus Junius (1558, on which see below sections 1.4.2, 1.5.3 and 2.6) discuss various passages from *Peri hypsous* (whose author Junius refers to as 'Dionysius Longinus'), as well as Eunapius' designation of Cassius Longinus as a 'living library' (βιβλιοθήκη ἔμψυχος). The occurrence of these references in one work might have encouraged the identification of the author of *Peri hypsous* as Cassius Longinus. Likewise, Francesco Robortello describes in his *De artificio dicendi* (Bologna: A. Benacci, 1567, p. 36^{v}) how the author of *Peri hypsous* was known as a 'library' because of his erudition, thereby connecting the author of *Peri hypsous* with Eunapius' testimonium on Cassius Longinus.

[65] Mazzucchi (1989), 224 says that Manuzio and Robortello used the same manuscript for their editions, the MS Marc. Gr. 522, whereas Ley (2013) argues that Robortello used the Par. Gr. 2974. Weinberg mentions the opinion of Fabricius, who states that Robortello used the Par. Gr. 2036, as well as the opinion of Jahn, who maintains that Robortello must have used an autograph: Weinberg (1950), 147.

in the Par. Gr. 2036.[66] Robortello's edition presents the title of the treatise as ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ('book on sublimity'), largely following the heading on fol. 211[r], while Manuzio and Portus opted for ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ('on the sublimity of speech') and ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ('book on sublimity of speech') respectively, following the title in Bessarion's index. The addition λόγου ('of speech') explicitly identifies the treatise as pertaining to language and literature. The association of *Peri hypsous* with rhetorical theory is also marked by Portus' publication of the text together with works of Aphthonius and Hermogenes. On the title page of the book, Portus presents the authors as 'excellent masters/teachers in the art of rhetoric' (*praestantissimi artis rhetoricae magistri*).

The Latin titles that the first editors gave to the treatise render its subject with elaborate circumscriptions.[67] The editions of Robortello, Manuzio and Portus, as well as the Latin translations of Pizzimenti (1566) and Pagano (1572) present the treatise's subject as one of the *genera dicendi*/*orationis* ('styles of writing').[68] Robortello's periphrastic description of the treatise's subject as *grande sive sublime orationis genus* ('grand or elevated style'), which is also found in Portus' title, indicates some difficulty in rendering the Greek word ὕψος. A similar periphrasis is found in the title of the Latin manuscript translation that belonged to Fulvio Orsini (Vat. Lat. 3441), which gives the title *De altitudine et granditate orationis* ('On the height and grandeur of discourse'). The combination of words denoting 'height' and 'grandeur' in these Latin titles likely stems from Longinus' frequent usage of synonyms in the treatise, among which terms like ὕψος and μέγεθος.[69]

It seems that the first editors of Longinus' treatise made an effort to introduce the treatise to possible readers in familiar terms. By rendering the rather abstract ὕψος (λόγου) as *genus grande* or *sublime*, and by identifying the author as a *rhetor*, the editors made it clear that this was an instructive treatise on elevated writing.[70]

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[66] A detailed description of this manuscript is given by Mazzucchi (1989), 210-211.

[67] As noted for instance by Costelloe (2012), 4, who remarks that for the first editors of *Peri hypsous* the rendering of a title for the treatise was not a straightforward choice.

[68] Pizzimenti and Paganus use similar titles. Pizzimenti uses the same title as Robortello, but drops the word *grandis*.

[69] Porter (2016), 16.

[70] Till (2005), 267.

Most of the seventeenth-century editions of Longinus maintain this vocabulary in the titles they give to the treatise.[71]

1.3.3 Bilingual editions, notes, commentaries (De Petra, Langbaine, Le Fèvre)

The seventeenth-century editions of *Peri hypsous* are characterised by an increasing amount of paratexts and and explicit structuring of Longinus' text.[72] The editions of De Petra, Langbaine and Le Fèvre organise the text of *Peri hypsous* by way of chapter numbers and headings, and frame the treatise with more extensive biographies, dedicatory epistles, notes and commentaries.[73]

Gabriele De Petra, a minister and professor of Greek at the academy of Lausanne, published an edition of *Peri hypsous* in Geneva in 1612.[74] With this Genevan edition De Petra in some respect followed in the footsteps of Franciscus Portus and Isaac Casaubon, who were professors of Greek at the Academy of Geneva and were actively engaged in the study of Longinus' treatise.[75] De Petra probably based the Greek text of his edition on that of Franciscus Portus.[76] De Petra's edition presents the text in two languages, giving the Latin translation a more prominent position on the page than the Greek original, with extensive notes in the margins that summarise the text's contents. De Petra's chapter division runs almost parallel to that of Portus, with added chapter numbers.[77] The volume

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[71] Le Fevre (1663), however, chooses to print only the Greek title of the treatise, without a Latin translation, as will be discussed in section 1.3.3.

[72] Dietmar Till, adopting Gerard Genette's terminology of 'paratexts', observes this development from the *editio princeps* by Robortello (1554), through the bilingual edition of Le Fèvre (1663), and the translations by Boileau (1674, French) and Heinecken (1737, German). See Till (2005), 257-284.

[73] In the following account I will focus on editions of Longinus' treatise containing the Greek text. The Italian translation of Niccolò Pinelli (1639), the English translation of John Hall (1652) and the reprinted Latin translations in Aromatari (1643), and Manolesius (1644) will therefore not be discussed separately.

[74] W. Heubi, *L'Académie de Lausanne à la fin du XVIe siècle: étude sur quelques professeurs d'après des documents inédits* (Lausanne: Librarie F. Rouge, 1916), 271.

[75] Isaac Casaubon was Portus' successor in Geneva. See M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1875, repr. 2011).

[76] Weinberg (1950), 149 notes that Portus' text formed the basis of many of the later editions of Longinus.

[77] The early modern editions have chapter divisions similar to the modern editions of *Peri hypsous*. In modern editions the treatise is divided into 44 chapters. The editions of De Petra and Langbaine do not divide between chapters 2 and 3, 18 and 19, 30 and 31, 37 and 38, and hence have 39 chapters. The

contains several (dedicatory) epistles: a dedication to the Swiss magistrates Alberto Manuel and Abraham Sturler, and a letter from De Petra to Stephanus a Castrobello (Estienne de Beauchasteau, De Petra's predecessor at the Academy of Lausanne and minister in Lutry), as well as letters to De Petra from Jacobus ad Portum (Jacob Amport, professor of philosophy and theology in Lausanne) and Stephanus a Castrobello.[78] De Petra's edition contains a biography of the author (Cassius Longinus), which is based on testimonies from the *Suda*, Porphyry's *Vita Plotini* and from the *Historia Augusta* (Flavius Vopiscus) about Cassius Longinus.[79] The edition moreover presents a synoptic preface to the treatise, an essay comparing Hermogenes and Longinus, as well as a schematic table, which summarises Longinus' rhetorical system. The paratexts in De Petra's edition thus contextualise *Peri hypsous* with biographical material and elucidate the contents of the treatise with prefatory essays and comments, unlike the much more modest editions of Robortello, Manuzio and Portus.

Gerard Langbaine (1609-1658) reprinted De Petra's edition and translation, as well as its additional materials, in Oxford in 1636 and 1638.[80] Langbaine's edition contains a new set of notes and index to the treatise, as well as an ingenious title page (see fig. 2). The engraving by William Marshall constitutes a sophisticated reflection on the contents of Longinus' treatise. It presents a varied imagery with several mottos that relate to the contents of *Peri hypsous* and anchor its subject in the context of classical literature pertaining to 'eloquence' and 'sublimity'.[81] The centre of the engraving shows Mercury, flying in the sky and uttering the words: *graiis dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui* ("the Muse gave the Greeks [the gift of]

editions of Portus and Le Fèvre do not divide between chapters 18 and 19, 30 and 31, 37 and 38, and have 40 chapters. From the edition of Jacobus Tollius (1694), onwards, *Peri hypsous* is divided into 44 chapters. See section 5.4 on the edition of Jacobus Tollius.

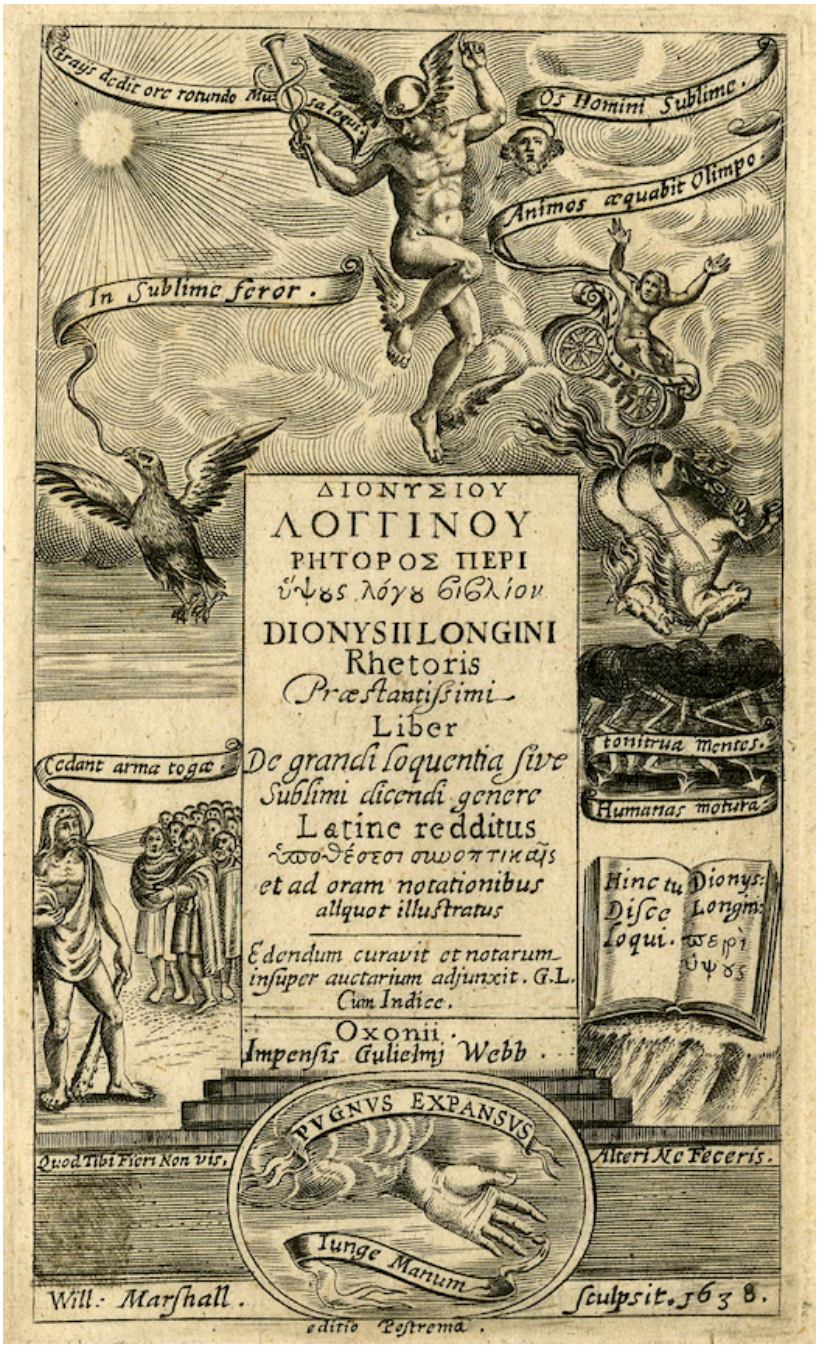
[78] The theological background of the editor and the persons addressed in the prefatory materials, and its implications for the interpretation of *Peri hypsous*, will receive more attention in Chapter Three of this book.

[79] De Petra (1612), 20-24.

[80] Weinberg (1950), 151; St. Marin (1967), 9-10.

[81] See also L. Hamlett, 'The Longinian Sublime, Effect and Affect in "Baroque" British Visual Culture', in: Van Eck (2012), 187-220: 204-206, and Cheney (2018), 26-28, who do not seem to have observed that the Latin phrases are in fact, for the greatest part, citations from classical literature.

Fig. 2. William Marshall, Engraved title page to G. Langbaine, Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi loquentia sive sublimi dicendi genere *(Oxonii: G. Webb, 1638). Image ©Trustees of the British Museum.*



speaking with well-rounded mouth") (Hor. *A.P.* 323).[82] To his lower left an eagle is depicted, saying: *in sublime feror* ("I am being elevated").[83] The eagle's counterpart is formed by Phaethon (who is discussed in *Peri hypsous* 15) falling from the sky in the Sun's chariot, saying *Animos aequabit Olimpo* ("[…] he levels minds with Heaven") (Verg. *Aen*. 6.782).[84] A head in the clouds (identified as Jupiter by Hamlett, 2012) speaks the motto: *Os homini sublime* ("uplifted face to man") (Ov. *Met*. 1.85).[85] The lower half of the frontispiece shows Hercules, proclaiming before a group of people *Cedant arma togae* ("arms will give way to the toga") (Cicero, *De officiis 1.77*)[86], as well as a thunderstorm, which is accompanied by the citation *Tonitrua mentes humanas motura* ("Lightning, moving the human mind" (Ov. *Met*. 1.55; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* II.1.1-2).[87] By playing on the themes of 'being

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[82] Horace, *Ars Poetica* 323-324: *Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo / Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris* ("To the Greeks the Muse gave native wit, to the Greeks she gave speech in well-rounded phrase") (translation: Rushton Fairclough, 1926).

[83] Cf. Horace, *Ode* 1.1.34-35: *quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres, / sublimi feriam sidera vertice* ("But if you rank me among the lyric bards of Greece, I shall soar aloft and strike the stars with my head") (translation: Rudd, 2004).

[84] Verg. *Aen*. 6.781-4: *en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma / imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo, / septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces, / felix prole virum* ("Lo, under his auspices, my son, shall that glorious Rome extend her empire to earth's ends, her ambitions to the skies, and shall embrace seven hills with a single city's wall, blessed in a brood of heroes") (translation: Rushton Fairclough and Goold, 1999). On the Phaethon theme in the reception of *Peri hypsous*, see section 4.3.3.

[85] Ov. *Met*. 1.85-6: *os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre / iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus* ("he gave to man an uplifted face and bade him stand erect and turn his eyes to heaven") (translation: Miller and Goold, 1977).

[86] Cic. *De Officiis* 1.77: *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi* ("Yield, ye arms, to the toga; to civic praises, ye laurels") (translation: Miller, 1913).

[87] Ov. *Met*. 1.55: *illic et nebulas, illic consistere nubes / iussit et humanas motura tonitrua mentes / et cum fulminibus facientes fulgura ventos* ("There did the creator bid the mists and clouds to take their place, and thunder, that should shake the hearts of men, and winds which produce lightning and thunderbolts") (translation: Miller and Goold, 1977). Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* II.1.2: *Secunda pars tractat inter coelum terramque uersantia. Haec sont nubila, imbres, niues, et "humanas motura tonitrua mentes"; quaecumque aer facit patiturue. Haec sublimia dicimus, quia editiora imis sunt* ("The second division deals with phenomena occurring between the sky and the earth, such as clouds, rain, snow, wind, earthquakes, lightning, and 'thunder which will move the mind of men'; and whatever the atmosphere does or undergoes. Such phenomena we call *sublimia* because they are higher than the low phenomena on earth") (translation: Corcoran, 1971). See G. Williams, *The Cosmic Viewpoint: A Study of Seneca's Natural Questions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 24-26 for a discussion of these two passages.

elevated' (Jupiter), 'rising up and falling down' (Phaethon), 'eloquence' (Mercury and Hercules) and 'overwhelming experience' (the lightning bolts) and using citations from classical works, the engraver has creatively illustrated various aspects of Longinus' theory of the sublime, and situated the treatise within a broader tradition of sublimity in classical literature.[88]

The 1663 bilingual edition of the French scholar Tanneguy Le Fèvre (1615-1672) is based on the Greek text of Portus, De Petra and Langbaine, and reprints the Latin translation of De Petra.[89] Le Fèvre's edition contains testimonies about Longinus and a commentary to Longinus' text, as well as an essay that compares Longinus' concept of ὕψος with Hermogenes' category of μέγεθος. In this essay, Le Fèvre states that Longinus does not discuss the *genus tertium* (the third, most elevated style), an argument that appears to be a prefiguration of Boileau's statements about the separation of the sublime from the sublime style.[90] Dietmar Till has argued that Le Fèvre's opinion on the nature of the Longinian sublime is reflected in his choice of the original Greek title (Περὶ ὕψους), without further additions or even a Latin translation. Although it is remarkable that Le Fèvre is the first editor since the *editio princeps* who refrains from making any reference to language, literature, or the *genera dicendi* in the title of the treatise, his choice of title appears to be inspired (at least in part) by a rather pragmatic consideration. In his commentary to the treatise, Le Fèvre explains that the title Περὶ ὕψους λόγου is false, because it is self-evident that λόγος is the rhetorician's subject matter. When discussing a type of style, it suffices to name the style, without adding a further clarification. If a rhetorician announces he will speak about 'thinness' (ἰσχνότης) or 'sublimity' (ὕψος), it is evident that 'thinness of speech' or 'sublimity of speech' is meant.[91] Le Fèvre's choice to drop the addition *logou* from the title of Longinus' treatise appears not to have been induced by a desire to avoid associations with

[88] This creative incorporation of Longinus' treatise in ancient ideas about the overwhelming power of words as well as natural phenomena might be seen as an early modern example of the approach taken in James Porter's *The Sublime in Antiquity*, which explicitly relates and traces Longinus' ideas back to other ancient discussions and manifestations of the sublime. See also Cheney (2018), 28.

[89] Weinberg (1950), 151. Le Fèvre says in his *Ad Lectorem* that he did not study manuscripts of Longinus' text, but instead consulted the editions of Portus, De Petra and Langbaine. The edition of Le Fèvre will also be discussed in section 5.3.3.

[90] Cronk (2002), 96-97; Till (2006), 129-132.

[91] Le Fèvre (1663), 237-238.

rhetoric, but was rather engendered by the fact that the word is redundant in a rhetorical context. Even if Le Fèvre makes a distinction between the sublime and the sublime style, the rhetorical aspects of Longinus' treatise are not altogether abolished in his edition.

The seventeenth-century editions of *Peri hypsous* are thus marked by an increase in paratextual materials.[92] Although earlier translations had been made, De Petra's edition is the first bilingual edition of Longinus' treatise. *Peri hypsous* is moreover contextualised with the addition of biographical material, prefatory essays, notes and commentaries. As such, the seventeenth-century editions add a dimension to the scholarship of *Peri hypsous* that is largely absent from the earlier editions as well as from the reception of the treatise before 1600: by studying the contents of *Peri hypsous* in their own right, the seventeenth-century editors of Longinus started a discussion of the nature of the Longinian sublime that runs parallel with the appropriation of treatise in seventeenth-century literary criticism.[93]

1.4 Readers of Longinus before 1600

The reception of *Peri hypsous* in the writings of early modern scholars starts in close connection with the publication of the first editions of Longinus' treatise in Italy. There seems to be no mention of the treatise in any scholarly publication before 1554.[94] The lack of active scholarly engagement with Longinus' treatise before the publication of the first editions of *Peri hypsous* is an indicator for the importance of these editions for the dissemination of its contents. As I will argue in section 1.4.1, the rediscovery of Sappho's *fragment* 31 in *Peri hypsous* and its 'reunification' with Catullus' adaptation of the poem (*carmen* 51) by Marc-Antoine de Muret in 1554, constitutes a telling example of how the contents of *Peri hypsous* remained obscure to even the greatest Renaissance scholars until the treatise first appeared in print. The case of Sappho's poem moreover exemplifies one of the reasons why *Peri hypsous* sparked the interest of Italian as well as Dutch scholars in the late sixteenth

[92] See Till (2005), 260-262 on this development in early modern editions of *Peri hypsous*.

[93] This will be worked out in more detail in Chapters 2-4.

[94] Besides (handwritten) catalogues, or possibly manuscripts and letters. The reference a 'Longinus' by Pietro Vettori in 1548 does not relate to the author of *Peri hypsous*, but to another Longinus. See my section 1.4.2 of this chapter.

and early seventeenth century: its preservation of fragments of ancient texts. Section 1.4.2 discusses the interplay between the dissemination and reception of *Peri hypsous,* by showing how the earliest references to *Peri hypsous* are related to the circles in which *Peri hypsous* was first published. Both of these sections demonstrate how the reception of *Peri hypsous* hardly evolved independently from the circulation of printed copies of the treatise, and thus illustrate how an investigation of the dissemination of *Peri hypsous* provides a valuable starting point for the study of its reception. (A similar approach underlies section 1.5, which discusses the earliest dissemination and reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic.)

1.4.1 Longinus, Sappho, Catullus

Among the many citations in Longinus' treatise we find part of a poem of the Greek poetess Sappho (ca. 660 BC).

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν	He seems as fortunate as the gods
ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι	to me, the man who sits opposite
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-	you and listens nearby to your
σας ὐπακούει	sweet voice
καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν	and lovely laughter. Truly that sets
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν.	my heart trembling in my breast.
ὠς γὰρ ἔς σ' ἴδω βρόχε', ὠς με φώναισ'	For when I look at you for a
οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει·	moment, then it is no longer possible for me to speak;
ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα †ἔαγε· λέπτον δ'	my tongue has snapped, at once a
αὔτικα χρῳ̃ πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν·	subtle fire has stolen beneath my
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ-	flesh, I see nothing with my eyes,
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι·	my ears hum,
†εκαδε μ' ἴδρως ψυχρὸς† κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ	sweat pours from me, a trembling seizes me all over, I am greener

παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας	than grass, and it seems to me that
ἔμμι· τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης	I am little short of dying.
φαίνομαι ...	
ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, †ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα†[95]	But all can be endured, since . . . even a poor man . . ."[96]

The ode, which is now known as *fragment* 31 (after the edition of Voigt) or *Phainetai moi* after its first words, is nowhere preserved as fully as in Longinus' treatise (*Peri hypsous* 10.2).[97] Sappho's poetry does not have a manuscript tradition of its own, and her poems were unknown during the Middle Ages.[98] In the Renaissance, fragments of Sappho's poems were rediscovered as citations in other works (such as *Peri hypsous*). From the 19th century onwards many other fragments were discovered on papyrus.[99] It seems that the Greek text of Sappho's *fr.* 31 had been unknown to Renaissance scholars until Marc-Antoine de Muret discovered it as a citation in the treatise.[100] In the 1550s Muret was working simultaneously on a translation of Longinus and an edition of Catullus.[101] While studying Longinus' text, Muret was able to establish that Catullus' *carmen* 51 was in fact based on a poem of Sappho, a part of which had been preserved in *Peri hypsous*.[102] Muret triumphantly reveals this discovery in his 1554 edition of Catullus, in which he included the Greek text of Sappho's ode.

> Libet autem hoc potissimum loco singularem gratiam inire ab ijs omnibus, qui antiquitatis studio, & delicatorum versuum suauitate capiuntur. Etenim

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[95] Sappho, *fr*. 31 (= *Peri hypsous* 10.2). The Greek text is based on the edition of Russell (1964).

[96] Translation: Campbell (1982).

[97] One stanza of the poem has later also been found papyrus (*fr*. 213B Voigt). See D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 112-116. The first papyrus fragments of Sappho were discovered in the 19th century. See M. Williamson, *Sappho's Immortal Daughters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 34-59.

[98] Page (1955), 112-116.

[99] A history of the transmission of Sappho's poetry is given by Williamson (1995), 34-59.

[100] J.H. Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 164.

[101] See my discussion of the publication of Manuzio's edition in section 1.3.1.

[102] Gaisser (1993), 162-5.

> cum Dionysij Longini libellum Περὶ ὕψους, qui nondum à quoquam editus est, hortante eodem, qui me ad haec scribenda impulit, singularis doctrinae, eximiaeque uirtutis uiro, Paulo Manutio, Latine interpretari coepissem, ut eodem tempore optimus liber & Graecus, & mea opera Latinus factus ederetur, cum alia in eo sane plurima deprehendi digna, propter quae liber ipse communi omnium elegantium hominum desiderio expetatur, tum oden suavissimam poetriae Sapphus, quam ijs, qui proxime antecesserunt, versibus maxima ex parte Catullus expressit.[103]
>
> It is a pleasure in this place to earn the particular gratitude of all who are fascinated by the study of Antiquity and the charm of tender and sensuous poetry. For when I had begun to translate Dionsyius Longinus' work *Peri hypsous*, which has never been edited by anyone, into Latin, commissioned by the same man, who urged me to write this commentary, a scholar of exceptional learning and great excellence, so that this outstanding book would be published simultaneously in Greek, and, through my efforts, in Latin, I not only noted in it many things worthy of discovery, which make the book itself an undisputed *desideratum* among all men of good taste, but also the most charming lyric of the poetess Sappho, which Catullus has largely translated in the preceding verses.[104]

The connection between Sappho's *fr.* 31 and Catullus' *carmen* 51 – nowadays an established and well-known fact[105] – was noticed by none of the editors of Catullus prior to Muret, even though scholars were aware that several of Catullus' poems were inspired by Greek precursors.[106] The first edition of Catullus' *carmina* was

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[103] M.-A. de Muret, *Catullus et in eum commentarius* (Venice: P. Manuzio, 1554), 57[r-v].

[104] Translation partly based on Gaisser (1993), 164.

[105] See for instance C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 218-221, 407-408.

[106] In both Sappho's *fr.* 31 as well as in Catullus' *carmen* 51, the persona observes a conversation between his loved one and someone else. Catullus' translation follows the text quite closely, except for the last strophe, which takes an altogether different turn than Sappho's poem. A discussion of similarities and differences between both poems is given by P. Miller, 'Sappho 31 and Catullus 51: The Dialogism of Lyric', *Arethusa* 26 (1993), 183-199.

published by Wendelin von Speyer (Vindelinus de Spira).[107] The late fifteenth century saw the appearance of several commentaries on Catullus' poetry, which often elaborated on the influence of Greek poetry on Catullus' *carmina*. Angelo Poliziano for instance was among the first to notice that Catullus' *carmen* 66 was in fact a translation of Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice*.[108] Yet neither Poliziano, nor other fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century commentators acknowledge a connection between Catullus and Sappho. This suggests that none of these scholars had sufficient knowledge of or access to Longinus' treatise in order to be able to discover this particular scoop. As we have seen, *Peri hypsous* circulated in only a handful of manuscripts before 1500.[109] The fact that Sappho's ode was not visibly presented as a poem or marked as a citation may moreover have inhibited its discovery.

Sappho's *fr.* 31 did not only escape the notice of the editors and commentators of Catullus. Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus), who was the first to publish some poems of Sappho, was unaware of its existence as well. In 1554 Henri Estienne published a collection of lyric poetry, which included two poems of Sappho. These two poems, a hymn to Aphrodite (*fr.* 1 Voigt) and Δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα (*fr.* 168B Voigt), had been preserved as citations in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Composition* (Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων) and Hephaestion's *Handbook On Metre* (Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ μέτρων), texts that had become available in print in 1547 and 1553 respectively. Still unaware of the existence of Sappho's *fr.* 31 in 1554, Henri Estienne however did include the poem in his second edition of Anacreon, which appeared in 1556. By 1556, Estienne could have discovered

[107] Wendelins edition also contained works of Tibullus and Propertius, as well as Statius' *Silvae*. See D.F.S. Thomson, *Catullus. Edited with a textual and interpretative commentary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 43.

[108] Poliziano (*Miscellanea*, 1489) was one the first Renaissance scholars who paid extensive attention to identifying the Greek models of Latin works. See for instance A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 67-8 and Gaisser (1993), 73.

[109] Mazzucchi (1989) dates a total of four manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* (including the Par. Gr. 2036) before 1500.

Sappho's poem in a number of printed sources: the editions of *Peri hypsous* by Robortello and Manuzio, as well as Muret's edition of Catullus.[110]

After Muret's discovery, other scholars started to discuss Sappho's *fr.* 31 and to comment on the dependence of Catullus 51 on Sappho's ode. The Greek text of Sappho's ode was for instance printed or discussed by Francesco Robortello, Willem Canter and Fulvio Orsini.[111] The discovery however does not seem to have impacted all corners of the scholarly world immediately. In 1577 Josephus Justus Scaliger published an edition of Catullus with notes to the text, which did not mention any connection between Catullus' *carmen* 51 and Sappho's *fr.* 31.[112] In a 1582 reprint of this same edition the commentary of Muret is added, including his remark on the dependence of Catullus' *carmen* 51 on Sappho's fragment. This suggests that Muret's discovery reached Scaliger with some delay.[113]

The case of Sappho's *fragment* 31 illuminates two aspects of the reception and dissemination of Longinus' treatise in early modern Europe. Firstly it illustrates the importance of printed media for the dissemination of knowledge. Only when *Peri hypsous* was being prepared for publication, and when Marc-Antoine de Muret published his discovery, did other scholars learn about the existence of Sappho's poem and Catullus' dependence on it. Secondly this case illustrates that the dissemination of knowledge is not always immediate, as can be concluded from the fact that J.J. Scaliger referred to Sappho only in his second edition of Catullus. References to Longinus in other contexts likewise paint a picture of a gradual dissemination and reception of *Peri hypsous* in European scholarship. As we will

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[110] Henri Estienne possibly used several editions for his Greek text of Sappho's *fr.* 31, according to M. Morrison, 'Henri Estienne and Sappho', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 24.2 (1962), 388-391.

[111] F. Robortello, *De convenientia supputationis Livianae ann. cum marmoribus Rom. quae in Capitolio sunt. Eiusdem de arte, sive ratione corrigendi veteres authores, disputatio* (Padua: I. Olmus, 1557); W. Canter, *Novarum lectionum libri octo. Editio tertia, recens aucta* (Antwerp, 1571); F. Orsini, *Carmina novem illustrium feminarum* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1568).

[112] Scaliger does however discuss to Longinus' use of the word *nanoi* (*Peri hypsous* 44) in the commentary (Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Properti, nova editio. Ejusdem in eosdem castigationum liber*, Paris: M. Patisson, R. Estienne, 1577, 247). Since Scaliger does not seem to have read the whole treatise (for otherwise he would probably have mentioned Sappho's fragment), his knowledge of this particular passage is probably derived from Junius' *Adagia* (1558), in which *Peri hypsous* 44 is quoted on p. 800. See also section 1.4.2 and 1.5.3 on Hadrianus Junius' references to *Peri hypsous*.

[113] J.J. Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Properti, nova editio. Ejusdem in eosdem castigationum liber* (Antwerp: A. Radaeus, 1582), 69.

see in section 1.5.3 the fragments preserved in *Peri hypsous* also played a key role in the earliest reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic.

1.4.2 The dissemination and reception of Peri hypsous *in sixteenth-century scholarly networks*

Between 1554 and 1600 *Peri hypsous* is mentioned in the works of some two dozen scholars, most of which are of Italian origin or worked in Italy.[114] *Peri hypsous* is actively discussed for the first time by Marc-Antoine de Muret in his edition of Catullus (Venice, 1554), as I have discussed in the previous section. The reference to a 'Longinus' in Pietro Vettori's 1548 commentary on Aristotle's rhetoric is not, as Klaus Ley, Hanna Gründler and Dietmar Till assume, a reference to the author of *Peri hypsous*.[115] Vettori writes as follows: *Longinus vero quidam magister dicendi magni nominis, Plotini auditor, affirmavit numerum hunc oratorium esse metri spiritum* ("Longinus, a certain teacher of rhetoric of great renown, a student of Plotinus, confirms that this oratorical rhythm is the origin of metre").[116] This remark does not correspond to any part of *Peri hypsous*, but instead refers to the *Prolegomena* to Hephaestion's *On Metre*, which were attributed to the third century rhetorician Cassius Longinus.[117] Although *Peri hypsous* was ascribed to Cassius Longinus in the Renaissance, this attribution was not made before the 1560s.[118] Even if Vettori did assume that *Peri hypsous* and the *Prolegomena* to Hephaestion's *On Metre* were written by one and the same Longinus, his remarks in 1548 surely refer to Longinus in his capacity as the author of the *Prolegomena*, rather than *Peri hypsous*.

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[114] In the appendix to this book I have provided an overview of all references to Longinus before 1600 that I have come across in my research. This list is based on information gathered from the secondary literature and searches in databases of early modern books.

[115] Ley (1994), 241; Till (2006), 21; Gründler (2012), 91.

[116] Vettori (1548), 513.

[117] See T. Gaisford, *Hephaestionis Alexandrini Enchiridion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1855), 141-153 for the text of Longinus' *Prolegomena*. The immediate context of Vettori's remark corresponds to sections 1 and 5 of Longinus' *Prolegomena* on Hephaestion (Gaisford, 1855, 142, 144).

[118] In the 1560s a biography of the author of *Peri hypsous* is included by Domenico Pizzimenti and Franciscus Portus in their publications of the treatise. None of the other references to Longinus before 1560 (that I have seen) explicitly identifies the author of *Peri hypsous* as Cassius Longinus. See above section 1.3.1.

In other (later) works Pietro Vettori however did refer to *Peri hypsous*, which will be discussed shortly.

In the two decades after the publication of the *editio princeps* Longinus appears in the works of Marc-Antoine de Muret (1526-1585), Francesco Robortello (1516–1567), Franciscus Portus (1511-1581), Andreas Dudith (1533-1589), Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), Henri Estienne (1528-1598), Pietro Vettori (1499-1585), Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575), Antonius Lullus (1510-1582) and Johannes Caselius (1533-1613). Since Marc-Antoine de Muret was closely involved with the publication of Manuzio's edition of *Peri hypsous* in 1555, is it not surprising to find evidence of his engagement with Longinus' text in one of his publications. The same holds true for Francesco Robortello and Franciscus Portus, as well as the (alleged) translators of the treatise Andreas Dudith and Fulvio Orsini. As discussed in section 1.4.1, the French scholar Henri Estienne included Sappho's *fr.* 31 (= Longinus 10.2) in his 1556 edition of Greek lyric poetry, and referred to Longinus several times in his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in 1572.[119] When the first editions of Longinus' treatise appeared, Estienne was in Italy to collect texts and manuscripts, and on that occasion he may well have come across Sappho's fragment in Longinus' text (see section 1.4.1 for an extensive discussion of this discovery). The Florentine scholar Vettori (already briefly discussed at the beginning of this section), mentioned Longinus in several of his works, and collated his copy of Robortello's edition of *Peri hypsous* with the Par. Gr. 2036, which was still in Italy at that time.[120] Vettori was a close colleague of Francesco Robortello. They exchanged letters in the 1540s and frequently worked on similar subjects, such as the tragedies of Aeschylus, and Aristotle's *Poetics*.[121] The German scholar Johannes Caselius, who included Longinus in his *Pro arte poetarum oratio* (1569), was closely connected to Italian scholarly circles: he spent time in Florence, Bologna and Pisa between 1563 and

[119] H. Estienne, *Anacreontis Teii antiquissimi poëtae Lyrici Odae, ab Helia Andrea Latine facta* (Paris: R. Estienne, 1556), and H. Estienne, *Thesaurus graecae linguae: in quo, praeter alia plurima, quae primus praestitit* (*paternae in thesauro latino diligentiae aemulus*), *vocabula in certas classes distribuit, multiplici derivatorum serie ad primigenia tanquam ad radices unde pullulant* (Paris: H. Estienne, 1572), 5 volumes.

[120] See also section 1.2.1 and Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

[121] Vanek (2012), 45.

1566 and maintained a close relationship with Carlo Sigonio, who in turn was a friend of Paolo Manuzio and an academic enemy of Francesco Robortello.[122]

Outside Italy *Peri hypsous* first gained publicity in Basel (where the *editio princeps* was printed) as can be concluded from the references to Longinus' treatise in works of the Spanish scholar Antonius Lullus Balearis and the Dutch scholar Hadrianus Junius. Lullus mentioned Longinus in his *De oratione libri septem* (Basel, 1558).[123] The *Adagia* (Basel, 1558) of Hadrianus Junius include several proverbs and wisdoms from Longinus' treatise.[124] One of the emblems in Junius' *Emblemata* (1565) is moreover based on a passage from *Peri hypsous*.[125] Both Lullus and Junius had active contact with Basilean book printers as they each published several books in Basel in the 1550s. Four books of Antonius Lullus were published in Basel between 1549 and 1558, three of which by Joannes Oporinus, who also printed the *editio princeps* of *Peri hypsous* in 1554. Hadrianus Junius published six books with various Basilean printers between 1553 and 1558.[126] Lullus and Junius would

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[122] P.D. Omodeo, *Duncan Liddel (1561-1613): Networks of Polymathy and the Northern European Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 154. See also G. Bertolucci, 'Carlo Sigonio and the 'Respublica Hebraeorum': A Re-evaluation', *Hebraic Political Studies* 3.1 (2008), 19-59: 34. In 1585 Caselius moreover discussed Longinus' reference to Genesis in his *Phalereus, sive de elocutione liber* (Rostock: Myliander, 1585) (see also section 3.3.2).

[123] Lullus (1558), 432.

[124] H. Junius, *Adagiorum centuriae VIII cum dimidia, per Hadrianum Iunium medicum conscriptae* (Basel: J. Froben, 1558), A3^{v}, 396, 690, 787, 800, 844, 847. Some of Junius' *adagia* based on passages from *Peri hypsous* are also included in Paolo Manuzio's *Adagia, quaecumque ad hanc diem exierunt* (Venice: ex unitorum societate, 1585).

[125] H. Junius, *Hadrianii Iunii Medici Emblemata* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1565), 62, 146-7. See also A. Wesseling, 'Devices, Proverbs, Emblems: Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* In The Light Of Erasmus' *Adagia*', in: D. van Miert (ed.), *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 214-259: 231-232. See sections 1.4.2 and 2.6 for a discussion of Junius' use of *Peri hypsous* 44 in one of his emblems. Junius' emblems were translated into Dutch by Marcus Antonius Gillis in *Emblemata Adriani Junii Medici, overgheset in Nederlantsche tale deur M.A.G.* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1575), 60. The Dutch version does not mention Longinus.

[126] D. van Miert, 'Introduction: Hadrianus Junius And Northern Dutch Humanism', in: D. van Miert (ed.), *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1-15: 9. In Basel Junius published his *Lexicon Graecolatinum* (Basel: H. Petri, 1548), *De anno et mensibus* (Basel: H. Petri, 1553 and 1556), *Animadversa* (Basel: M. Isengrin, 1556), and *Adagia* (Basel: J. Froben, 1558), as well as editions of Eustathius (Basel: J. Froben, 1558) and Martial (Basel: P. Perna, 1559).

certainly have inquired after any recent publications that may have been of interest to their massive compilations of rhetorical theories and *adagia* respectively. Their Basilean network thus probably played an important role in their discovery of *Peri hypsous*.

Between 1554 and 1600 *Peri hypsous* is seldomly studied in its own right. Besides the editions and translations, the treatise is often cited as a subsidiary source in classical scholarship. Most notably *Peri hypsous* has provided scholars with Sappho's *fr.* 31, the model for Catullus' *carmen* 51, as well as fragments or alternative readings of Aeschylus, Hecataeus, Theopompus, and Xenophon.[127] In several instances Longinus is explicitly adduced as an authority on the highest of the *genera dicendi* in rhetorical theory.[128] Passages from *Peri hypsous* are sometimes included as *loci paralleli* in commentaries on other classical texts on rhetoric or poetics, such as Aristotle and Demetrius.[129] Longinus is moreover oftentimes referred to, among other ancient critics, for his judgements about ancient Greek authors.[130] Longinus' views on the effects of literature are used quite extensively by Francesco Patrizi in his discussion of 'wonder' in his *Della poetica* (1586), which possibly constitutes the most elaborate discussion of Longinus' ideas on the sublime in the sixteenth century.[131]

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[127] See Appendix 1.

[128] For instance in Lullus (1558), 432, L. Carbone, *De elocutione oratoria libri IIII* (Venice: J. Ciottus, 1592), and Nuñez (1593), 699.

[129] P. Vettori, *Commentarii in librum Demetrii Phalerei de elocutione* (Florence: Giunti, 1562), 1, 77, 87, 105, 236, 246, 268; P. Vettori, *Commentarii in tres libros Aristotelis de arte dicendi* (Florence: Giunti, 1579), 572, 575, 579, 614, 733.

[130] J. Caselius, *Pro arte poetarum oratio* (Rostock: J. Lucius, 1569), c2^{v}-c3^{r}; H. Estienne, *De criticis veteribus Graecis et Latinis* (Paris, 1587), 18, 296; J. Mazzoni *Della difesa della Comedia di Dante* (Cesena: B. Raverii, 1587), preface, 678, 686; J. Meursius, *Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra, poëma obscurum* (Leiden: L. Elzevier, 1597), 268 (notes to pp. 56-57).

[131] Weinberg (1962), II, 784-785; D. Aguzzi-Barbagli, (ed.), *Della poetica: di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso. Edizione critica, a cura di Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli, 3 Vols.* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento, 1961-1971), I, viii; P.G. Platt '"Not before either known or dreamt of": Francesco Patrizi and the power of wonder in Renaissance poetics', *The Review of English Studies* 171.1 (1992), 392-393. A similar case is Lorenzo Giacomini, who adduces Longinus' ideas on *phantasia* in his *Discorso del furor poetico* (published in *Orationi e discorsi*, Florence: Sermartelli, 1597). See E. Refini, 'Longinus and Poetic Imagination in Late Renaissance Literary Theory', in: C.A. van Eck, M. Delbeke, S.P.M. Bussels, and J. Pieters (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime. The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 37-48.

The dissemination of *Peri hypsous* through the first printed editions, as well as the reception of the treatise's contents in sixteenth-century scholarship started in Italian scholarly circles, but gradually spread North of the Alps, to Germany, the Low Countries, France, England and Spain. Among the sixteenth-century readers of Longinus are several Dutchmen, most significantly Hadrianus Junius, who had learned about *Peri hypsous* as early as 1558, the brothers Willem and Dirk Canter and Josephus Justus Scaliger.[132] Their interest in *Peri hypsous* marked the start of the dissemination and reception of Longinus' treatise in the Dutch Golden Age.

1.5 *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic (1600-1650)

As we have seen, the reception of Longinus' treatise in Europe is closely connected to the publication and dissemination of printed editions of the text. Likewise, the dissemination of the text of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic and its reception in intellectual networks go hand in hand. While the reception of Longinus' treatise can be traced by studying references to the treatise in works either produced by Dutch scholars or printed in the Dutch Republic, the actual dissemination of copies of the treatise can be studied through a type of source material that is particular to the Dutch context: the printed book sales catalogue. As the Dutch book market grew, merchants and booksellers started to advertise book auctions and their supply of books via printed book sales catalogues, which provide a record of book auctions from 1599 onwards. In the present section I will examine the presence of *Peri hypsous* in private collections, which forms the basis for the identification of early modern Dutch owners of *Peri hypsous* and their interests in the treatise. The evidence is gathered from a comprehensive study of about 250 extant Dutch book sales catalogues from the period 1599-1650. Though this material leaves a gap in the period between the first printed edition of Longinus (1554) and the oldest extant printed sales catalogue (1599), the corpus nevertheless yields much information about the earliest dissemination of Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic. After an introduction of the corpus of book sales catalogues (section 1.5.1) and a discussion of the findings in these catalogues concerning the

[132] Other Dutch scholars involved with *Peri hypsous* before 1600 are Janus Dousa filius and Johannes Meursius. See the next section and Appendix 1.

dissemination of *Peri hypsous* (section 1.5.2), I will focus on the individuals who owned copies of *Peri hypsous* and discuss their scholarly involvement with Longinus' treatise (section 1.5.3).

1.5.1 The printed book sales catalogue in the Dutch Republic

Around 1600 the Dutch book trade witnessed the introduction of a new invention: printed sales catalogues of private libraries.[133] The history of the printed auction catalogue has been studied extensively by Bert van Selm.[134] His Dutch Book Sales Catalogues project has created a database of all known extant copies, which are scattered throughout European libraries.[135] The oldest extant printed sales catalogue is the catalogue printed for the auction of the collection of Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, held in The Hague by Leonard Casembroot in 1599. For my research I have consulted 247 catalogues from the period between 1599 and 1650.

The corpus of extant book sales catalogues provides a wealth of information on the ownership and circulation of books in the Dutch Republic, but also has certain limitations one should be aware of. Dating from 1599 onwards, the catalogues firstly provide no information on the period between 1554 (when the first printed editions of *Peri hypsous* entered the book market) and 1599. The Dutch involvement with Longinus' treatise in that period can be supplemented from the evidence found in the published writings of Dutch scholars.[136] Secondly, the corpus of book sales catalogues in principle only provides information about which books were put up for sale. It does not yield information about the actual sales, neither does it provide conclusive information about the composition of the private collection that is put on sale, as it was not uncommon for auctioneers to put up additional books

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[133] B. Van Selm, 'The introduction of the printed book auction catalogue. Part I', *Quaerendo* 15.1 (1985a), 16-53: 28, 34.

[134] See especially Van Selm (1985a), B. Van Selm 'The introduction of the printed book auction catalogue. Part II', *Quaerendo* 15.2 (1985), 115-149, and B. van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijcke Boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: Hes, 1987).

[135] The database is available online: *Book Sales Catalogues Online - Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500-ca. 1800*. Advisor: Brill, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.
http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online.

[136] See sections 1.4.2 and 1.5.3.

from their own stock for auction, or for family members to keep certain items for themselves.[137] Nonetheless, the corpus does provide some interesting evidence on the presence of Longinus' treatise in the Dutch Republic and the networks in which it circulated, as well as which editions were most available to Dutch scholars.[138]

1.5.2 Peri hypsous *in Dutch Book Sales Catalogues 1599-1650*

The corpus of 247 catalogues that I have studied consists of 193 private collections, 53 inventories of booksellers and publishers, one memorial catalogue and an institutional catalogue (of Leiden University Library). My investigation of these 247 catalogues has yielded a total of 35 collections that held one or more copies of Longinus' treatise. Among these collections are 28 private libraries, 6 stock catalogues and the catalogue of the Leiden University Library. Appendix 2 provides an overview of these 35 collections containing copies of *Peri hypsous*. In each of these cases I have tried to identify which edition of *Peri hypsous* the book sales catalogue refers to. As auction catalogues were usually for single time use, they often did not receive the care that was usually given to other printed books.[139] They often present a minimum of information and many contain typographical errors. The editions present in the corpus of the Dutch Book Sales Catalogues (between 1599 and 1650) are the following:

Editor	**Place of publ.**	**Date**	**Contents**	**Total**
Manuzio	Venice	1555	Greek text	1
Portus	Geneva	1569	Greek text (also Aphthonius and Hermogenes)	24
Petra	Geneva	1612	Greek, Latin translation, introductory material	5
Langbaine	Oxford	1636	Greek, Latin translation, introductory material	5
Pinelli	Napels	1639	Italian translation	1
Manolesius	Bologna	1644	Greek and triple Latin translation	1
Unidentified	n/a	n/a		4
Total				**41**

[137] Van Selm (1987), 93-98.

[138] To my knowledge no other scholar has addressed the early modern dissemination of *Peri hypsous* through an extensive study of book sales catalogues. Cheney (2018), 13 mentions that the edition of Franciscus Portus was probably on sale in a Cambridge bookshop in 1578.

[139] Van Selm (1987), 88-92.

There are four cases in which a certain identification of the edition of *Peri hypsous* has not been possible on the basis of the entry in the catalogue. These cases are found in the catalogues of Ludolf Potter, Cornelius Wynand, Eusthathius Swartius, and an anonymous collector (See appendix). I will now briefly discuss each of these cases, not only to show why it is not possible in these cases to establish which edition of *Peri hypsous* was auctioned, but also to exemplify the type of entries found in the auction catalogues. [140]

Ludolf Potter's collection, which was auctioned on April 4, 1612 is said to have contained the following lot:

> *Dionys. Longinus* Περὶ ὕψους *Aristaeneti Epistolae gr. Plant. Bruti Epist. Gr. Paris. Oppianus de venat. Paris. Dionis Chrysost. Orationes IIII. Gr. Paris. Theophr. De causis plantarum gr. De lapidibus gr. Lat. Typus Regiis. Virgilii Pollio Ecloga 4. gr. per Euseb. Pamph. Orphei sive Mercurii ter maximi prognostica* περὶ σεισμῶν. *Item Empedoclis Sphaera gr. apud Morellum, cum aliis.*[141]

The edition by De Petra (which was published in 1612) could not yet have been obtained by Potter, who died in 1611. As it would be highly unlikely that Portus' edition (which first contains texts by Aphthonius and Hermogenes) would be listed under Longinus' name or the title of his treatise only, this leaves us with the editions of Robortello (1554), Manuzio (1555), Pizzimenti (1566) and Pagano (1572). The editions by Pizzimenti and Pagano carried a Latin title, which did not contain the Greek words περὶ ὕψους. Although further identification may not be possible, we can conclude that Ludolf Potter possessed an early Greek edition of *Peri hypsous*, either the edition of Robortello or of Manuzio.[142] Interestingly, in the same year a very similar package appears in the auction catalogue of the collection of a Cornelius Wynand.[143] As the auctions of Potter's and Wynand's library were both

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[140] It is very likely that one copy of Longinus' text was successively present in several Dutch book collections. This table therefore does not show a total of *unique* books present in the Dutch Republic in the period 1600-1650, but a total of *identifications* of an edition in Dutch collections.

[141] See Appendix 2, no. 7.

[142] This slightly nuances the idea put forward by Brody (1958), 10 that the early editions of *Peri hypsous* were altogether unknown in the early seventeenth century.

[143] Appendix 2, no. 8.

arranged by the same auctioneer, Joannes Maire, it is likely that these entries refer to the same package and that Maire, when the lot was not sold in the April auction, decided to include it in a later auction.[144]

The auction catalogues of Eusthatius Swartius (1649) and an anonymous collector (1650) both mention a bilingual edition of Longinus' treatise:

> *Longinus de grandi genere Orationis gr. lat. Schotti Quaestiones Tulliani. Mekerchus de pronunciatione ling. lat.* (Swartius, 1649).[145]

> *Dionysius Longinus gr. lat.* (anonymous, 1650).[146]

Swartius' catalogue gives the author and an (abbreviated) Latin title, as well as the languages of the edition (Greek and Latin). The edition is said to be bilingual, which eliminates all editions except De Petra (1612), Langbaine (1636) and Manolesius (1644). The given title (*de grandi genere Orationis*) most resembles De Petra's title, making this edition the most plausible identification in this case. The catalogue of the anonymous collector only gives the name of the author and the languages of the edition (Greek and Latin), which may apply to the editions of De Petra and Langbaine as well as to the edition of Manolesius.

Although the identification of the aforementioned cases may be inconclusive, we may draw some observations from them. The lot that is mentioned in the catalogues of Ludolf Potter and Cornelius Wynand contained an early edition of Longinus (Robortello or Manuzio), and Eusthathius Swartius possibly possessed the edition of De Petra. The anonymous collection contained a bilingual edition (De Petra, Langbaine or Manolesius).[147]

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[144] This practice was not uncommon. See Van Selm (1987), 95-97.

[145] See Appendix 2, no. 29.

[146] See Appendix 2, no. 32.

[147] Another mysterious case I have found in the 1637 auction catalogue of Franco Burgersdijk's collection: *Hermogenes & Longinus de arte orotoria* [sic]. *Colo. Allo. 1614.* There was indeed an edition of *Peri hypsous* published in Colonia Allobrogum (Coligny/Geneva), though not in 1614, but two years earlier, in 1612. An edition of Hermogenes was published in the same place in 1614, but this edition did not contain the text of *Peri hypsous*. The fact that Portus' edition combined texts of Hermogenes and Longinus as well as the presence of an essay comparing Hermogenes and Longinus in the edition of De Petra, may have contributed to the confusion in this entry. The title 'de arte oratoria' seems to point at Hermogenes' edition (1614), but leaves problematic how Longinus' name ended up there.

Returning to the total of identified cases, what strikes the eye is the dominance of the edition of Franciscus Portus (1569). The relatively frequent appearance of this edition (when compared to other editions of Longinus) is probably due to its combination of the works of three authors, and, more importantly, due to the popularity of Aphthonius and Hermogenes in the Renaissance.[148] Of all three authors present in this edition, Aphthonius was the most popular. Of his *Progymnasmata* about 122 editions appeared before 1620.[149] Hermogenes' works too were edited multiple times: before 1620 nine editions appeared of his complete rhetorical works, as well as about 38 editions of separate works attributed to him.[150] In the Dutch Republic, Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* were widely used in the Latin Schools.[151] Although Portus' edition of Aphthonius is far from intended as a schoolbook, it is not unlikely that the use of Aphthonius as a school text would increase the overall popularity of his work. The popularity of Aphthonius (and Hermogenes) may well have been a key factor in the relative success of Portus' edition.

The prominence of Portus' edition in the record suggests that it is mainly through Portus' edition that *Peri hypsous* entered Dutch book collections and became known in the Dutch Republic. This hypothesis is reinforced by the temporal distribution as shown in the following table:

	Manuzio	**Portus**	**Petra**	**Langbaine**	**Pinelli**	**Manolesius**	**Unidentified**
1599-1610	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
1611-1620	-	4	-	-	-	-	2
1621-1630	1	5	2	-	-	-	-
1631-1640	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
1641-1650	-	6	1	4	1	1	2
Total	**1**	**24**	**5**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**4**

[148] On the great number of early modern editions of Hermogenes, see Patterson (1970), 219-220. See also section 1.3.1 on the edition of Portus.

[149] P. Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380-1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 27.

[150] Mack (2011), 26. Some of Hermogenes' works are nowadays no longer attributed to this author.

[151] The School Ordre of 1625, issued by the States of Holland and West-Friesland, for instance commissioned that a new school text of Aphthonius (among other Greek and Latin authors), was to be realised. See E.J. Kuiper, *De Hollandse 'schoolordre' van 1625. Een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Groningen, Diss. Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1958), 58, 76-77, 134-137.

This table shows that Portus' edition has been appearing in Dutch book sales catalogues very regularly, and that it especially dominates in the first decades of the 17th century, while the editions of Robortello and Manuzio only seem to play a minor role in the Dutch reception of Longinus. Although the record of book sales catalogues only covers the period from 1599 onwards, we may infer from the above that the wider dissemination of Longinus in the Dutch Republic probably took off after the publication of Portus' edition in 1569, given the limited presence of Robortello's and Manuzio's edition in the record.

Out of the 41 editions of Longinus put up for sale between 1599 and 1650, 28 were sold in Leiden (and virtually all of them were sold in the province of Holland). Many of the previous owners of these editions were moreover inhabitants of Leiden. This cluster is partly due to the fact that the corpus of book sales catalogues is very much focussed on (large collections in) Leiden, as the intellectual circles around Leiden University constituted the perfect climate for book auctioning.[152] The relatively high number of copies of *Peri hypsous* put up for auction in Leiden may however also indicate that Longinus' treatise was circulated mainly in the academic circles of Leiden. This pattern is reflected in the earliest reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch scholarship, which takes place among a close-knit network of scholars around Leiden.

1.5.3 The earliest reception of Peri hypsous *in the Dutch Republic*

The first generation (until approx. 1610) of scholars in the Dutch Republic who actively studied Longinus' treatise includes Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575), Willem Canter (1542-1575) and Dirk Canter (1545-1616), Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), and Janus Dousa filius (1571-1596). A second generation could be identified as those scholars who were active roughly between 1600 and 1650, and includes Janus Rutgersius (1589-1625), Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649), Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and Franciscus Junius (1591-1677).

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[152] Van Selm (1985a), 26. The academic community not only harboured numerous possible buyers, but also fuelled the book market with the sales of large private libraries. Whereas printing catalogues for smaller book collections was relatively unprofitable, the profits from selling a large collection at a broadly advertised auction easily outweighed the initial investments of printing the catalogue. See Van Selm (1985a), 38-39.

The scholars Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), and Jacobus Tollius (1633-1696), whose combined efforts resulted in the publication of an edition of *Peri hypsous* (Utrecht, 1694), may be defined as a third generation, and represent the Dutch involvement with *Peri hypsous* in the second half of the seventeenth-century. The activities of Daniel Heinsius, Hugo Grotius, Franciscus Junius, Isaac Vossius and Jacobus Tollius will take centre stage in chapters 2-5 of this book. In the present section I will shed light on the earliest reception of *Peri hypsous* in Dutch scholarship, and discuss the references to Longinus' treatise in the works of Hadrianus Junius, the Canter brothers, Josephus Justus Scaliger, Janus Dousa filius, Janus Rutgersius and Gerardus Joannes Vossius.

Hadrianus Junius, arguably one of the greatest Dutch scholars of the sixteenth century, represents the continuity of Dutch humanism between the death of Erasmus in 1536 and the founding of Leiden University in 1575.[153] Junius, who had a close friendship with Janus Dousa senior, had been appointed professor at Leiden University, but died in the year of its foundation.[154] For Junius, as for many of his Dutch contemporaries, the absence of reputable printers in the Northern Netherlands compelled him to work with printing houses abroad. Hence Junius had established good contact with several printers in Basel, with whom he published six books between 1548 and 1559.[155] In section 1.4.2 I have argued that Junius probably learned about *Peri hypsous* through his connections in Basel. Junius' references to Longinus in his *Adagia* do not pertain to Longinus' overall theory, but consist of a selection of citations, suggesting that Junius combed through the treatise in search of remarkable expressions and proverbs in order to expand his collection of *adagia*. Junius for instance cited the saying "there's naught so dry as dropsy" (quoted by Longinus in *Peri hypsous* 3.4), as well as the proverb "slavery is a cage for the soul" (*Peri hypsous* 44.5).[156] The latter passage Junius also used in his book of emblems (*Emblemata*, 1565), in a small distich: *Luscinia veris*

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[153] C. Heesakkers 'From Erasmus To Leiden: Hadrianus Junius And His Significance For The Development Of Humanism In Holland In The Sixteenth Century', in: D. van Miert (ed.), *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 16-37: 27-32. Van Miert (2011), 1-2.

[154] Heesakkers (2011), 35-37.

[155] Van Miert (2011), 9.

[156] Junius, *Adagia* (1558), A3^{v}, 396, 690, 787, 800, 844, 847.

nuncia, / Mutescit inclusae caveae. / Est servitus crinium animi, Linguamque vinclo praepedit. ("A nightingale, harbinger of spring, / falls silent when caught in a cage. / Slavery is a box for the soul, / it binds and obstructs the tongue.").[157] Junius thus succinctly paraphrased the argument in *Peri hypsous* 44.5 that eloquence cannot flourish under tyranny, and that slavery is like a constraining casket. This powerful metaphor from *Peri hypsous* also played an important role in Daniel Heinsius' *Prolegomena* on Hesiod, as will be discussed in chapter 2 of this book. Heinsius' attention may well have been drawn to this particular passage by Junius' *Adagia* or *Emblemata*.[158]

The interests in Longinus of the brothers Willem and Dirk Canter were primarily philological. Originally from Utrecht, Willem and Dirk Canter studied in Paris, and came to Leuven in 1567. Willem Canter also travelled in Italy in the 1560s.[159] The Canter brothers had a particular interest in philology, and studied Longinus' treatise for the fragments it preserved. Willem Canter discussed Longinus' citations of Sappho and Theopompus in his *Novarum lectionum libri octo* (Antwerp, 1571).[160] Dirk Canter included Longinus' fragment of Euripides' *Phaethon* in his unpublished *Fragmenta poetarum Graecorum* (Oxford: BL MS D'Orville 121, ca. 1570).[161] Dirk Canter probably left Leuven and returned to Utrecht in 1569; Willem Canter died in Leuven in 1575.[162] Among the books sold in 1617 from Dirk Canters' collection, is the edition of Franciscus Portus.[163]

Josephus Justus Scaliger and Janus Dousa filius likewise studied *Peri hypsous* because of their interest in the fragments preserved in the treatise. Just like Marc-

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[157] Wesseling (2011), 231-232.

[158] It is possible that Junius' contacts in Basel, where the *editio princeps* appeared, provided him with a copy of *Peri hypsous*. We do not know whether Junius owned a copy of *Peri hypsous*, since the sales catalogue of his book collection was lost. See D. van Miert, *Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575). Een humanist uit Hoorn* (Hoorn: Publicatiestichting Bas Baltus, 2011), 134.

[159] Vanek (2012), 53.

[160] *Fr*. 263a (*FrGrHist*); Canter (1571), 142-143.

[161] *Fr*. 779 (Nauck). See C. Collard, 'Two Early Collectors of Euripidean Fragments: Dirk Canter and Joshua Barnes', *L' Antiquité Classique* 64 (1995), 243-256, and J.A. Gruys, *The early printed editions (1518-1664) of Aeschylus: a chapter in the history of classical scholarship* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1981), 297.

[162] See J.A. Gruys, *Theodori Canteri Epistolæ: brieven (1570-1614) van Dirck Canter over klassieke en middeleeuwse teksten in handschrift en druk* (Amsterdam: AD & L, 1997), 3-13.

[163] See Appendix 2, no. 10

Antoine de Muret in 1554, Scaligers' and Dousa's work on Catullus drew them towards Sappho's poem in *Peri hypsous* 10.2.[164] Both Scaliger and Dousa moreover possessed Portus' edition of *Peri hypsous*, according to their book sales catalogues.[165]

The philologist and diplomat Janus Rutgersius (1589-1625) owned no less than three different editions of *Peri hypsous*. His auction catalogue lists the editions of Manuzio, De Petra, and Portus:

> *Dionysius Longinus de sublimi genere dicendi. Gr. Venet apud Aldum. 1555.*
>
> *Dionysius Longinus de sublimi genere Orationis, Gr. Lat. Genevae, 1612.*
>
> *Aphthonius, Hermogenes & Dionysius Longinus, Graece, Illustratus a Francisco Porto. Crispin. 1569.*[166]

Janus Rutgersius had studied literature in Leiden, became Doctor of Law in Orleans and was diplomat at the Swedish court from 1614 onwards. In 1618 he published his *Variarum Lectionum Libri Sex* (*Six books of Various Readings*), a collection of small essays about a variety of subjects, among which the recovery of fragments of ancient texts. Rutgersius' interest in the text of Longinus stems from his study of fragments of Euripides. In section 1.10 of his *Variae Lectiones*, Rutgersius discusses a fragment from Euripides' *Phaethon*, which is preserved only in Longinus' treatise.[167] Rutgersius quotes De Petra's translation and refers to a variant reading of the Greek text that was proposed by Franciscus Portus. Both Portus and De Petra's editions appear to have have been useful to Rutgersius and were actually referred to in this section of the *Variae Lectiones*. Manuzio's edition would probably have served for a comparison of textual variants in the Euripidean fragment.

Gerardus Joannes Vossius was an avid reader of *Peri hypsous*, as appears from his annotations to a copy of Portus' edition of *Peri hypsous*. Although most of his notes consist of transcriptions of the printed notes in Robortello's edition and/or

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[164] See also section 1.4.1.

[165] See Appendix 2, nos. 2 and 5.

[166] See Appendix 2, no. 14.

[167] J. Rutgersius, *Variarum Lectionum libri sex* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1618), 46-49.

the index terms in Portus' edition, Vossius' annotations reflect a thorough study of the entire treatise.[168] Vossius' handwritten book catalogue moreover lists the edition of De Petra (1612).[169] Gerardus Joannes Vossius refers to *Peri hypsous* in several of his works, most extensively in his *Oratoriarum institutionum libri sex* (first ed. Leiden: J. Maire, 1606), *De historicis graecis libri quatuor* (first ed. Leiden: J. Maire, 1623), and his *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (Amsterdam: L. Elzevier, 1649).[170] In Vossius' scholarship, *Peri hypsous* is taken up in the vast body of ancient texts from which Vossius built his scholarly works. Vossius did not subject *Peri hypsous* to the extreme appropriation that we will see in the case studies that I will discuss in Chapters Two-Five. Some of his references will however be also discussed in Chapters Three and Four. Gerardus Joannes Vossius was moreover closely connected to each of the main players in my case studies. A colleague of Daniel Heinsius, friend of Hugo Grotius, mentor and brother-in-law of Franciscus Junius F.F., father of Isaac Vossius, the elder Vossius was at the centre of the network of Dutch scholars that were involved with *Peri hysous*.[171]

From the above it is clear that the earliest beginnings of the reception of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic are to a large extent rooted in classical philology. The Canter brothers, Josephus Justus Scaliger, Janus Dousa and Janus Rutgersius (all of which owned copies of *Peri hypsous*) studied Longinus' text for the fragments it preserved. In the case of Hadrianus Junius we do not know whether he actually owned a copy of Longinus' treatise, as the auction catalogue of his

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[168] Several notes on the flyleaves of the volume (Leiden, UB: 756 F 11) indicate that the book had been given to Vossius' son, Franciscus Junianus Vossius (1608-1645), and that it later came in the possession of Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681). The same hand that connects the book to Heinsius noted that the notes in the book were transcribed by Vossius from a book of Isaac Casaubon (*quae adscripta sunt huic codici, ea Gerardus Jo. Vossius ex Casauboni libro excerpsit*). The British Library holds a copy of Robortello's edition with notes by Isaac Casaubon (LBL 1088.m.2), but these do not concur with Vossius' notes.

[169] UvA, hs. III D 11.

[170] On the contents of Vossius' *Commentarii Rhetorici* (*Institutiones Oratoriae*), see Mack (2011), 192-196. On Vossius' *Poeticae institutiones*, see J. Bloemendal, *Gerardus Johannes Vossius, Poeticarum institutionum libri tres / Three Books on Poetics* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). Some references to *Peri hypsous* also appear in Vossius' *De imitatione cum oratoria, tum praecipue poetica deque recitatione veterum liber* (Amsterdam: L. Elzevier, 1647) and his *De artis poeticae natura ac constitutione liber* (Amsterdam: L. Elzevier, 1647).

[171] See Rademaker (1981) for Vossius' connections in the Dutch scholarly milieu. The Tollius family was moreover also closely connected to the Vossius family (see Chapter Five).

private collection was lost.[172] Junius' interest in Longinus too was primarily driven by his search for interesting proverbs and expressions. Over the course of the seventeenth century, however, the Dutch interest in *Peri hypsous* would also extend into other domains, such as literary criticism, biblical scholarship and art theory (which I will discuss in chapters 2-4).

1.6 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have discussed the dissemination and early reception of *Peri hypsous* in Europe, as well as in the Dutch Republic (which took place mainly in the academic circle around Leiden), from the production of manuscript copies in fifteenth-century Italy until the beginnings of the Dutch reception of *Peri hypsous* in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. We have seen that the reception of Longinus' treatise in Italian networks intensified with the appearance of the treatise in printed form. Likewise, *Peri hypsous* gradually became known to Dutch scholars as copies of the treatise started to circulate in the Dutch Republic. The sixteenth-century scholarly involvement in *Peri hypsous* was to a large extent driven by an interest in the fragments preserved in the treatise. Although philology would remain an important factor in the Dutch involvement with Longinus' treatise (as will be discussed in Chapter 5), some of its arguments would take centre stage in seventeenth century Dutch scholarship (as I will discuss in Chapters 2-4). An especially intriguing example is the creative adaptation of arguments from *Peri hypsous* by Daniel Heinsius in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod (1603), which will be the first of my case studies.

[172] Van Miert (2011), 134.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFENDING THE POET

THE RECEPTION OF *PERI HYPSOUS* IN DANIEL HEINSIUS' *PROLEGOMENA* ON HESIOD[1]

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter One I have shown that late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century scholarship showed a particular interest in Longinus' treatise for its preservation of several fragments of ancient Greek writers, rather than the argument of the treatise itself. A notable and early exception is Daniel Heinsius' incorporation of Longinus' ideas in the *Prolegomena* to his edition of Hesiod (1603). In the *Prolegomena* Heinsius builds on Longinus' ideas about innate talent and (artistic) freedom (*Peri hypsous* 33-36 and 44) as well as Longinus' discussion of stylistic faults (*Peri hypsous* 3-5). Heinsius uses Longinus' arguments to make the point that Hesiod's poetry is marked by an inborn and genuine simplicity, and to defend Hesiod from critics who disapproved of Hesiod's unpolished style. In doing so, as I will argue in this chapter, Heinsius employs the Longinian sublime as a quality of literature that subverts traditional rules of rhetoric and literary style. This subversive interpretation of Longinus' treatise is usually attributed to Nicolas

[1] An earlier version of this chapter was published in *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources*: W.L. Jansen, 'Defending the Poet. The Reception of *On the Sublime* in Daniel Heinsius' *Prolegomena* on Hesiod', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 43.2 (2016), 199-223. Some of the background on the seventeenth-century reception of *Peri hypsous* (as described in the article) is now covered in my Introduction. Section 2.8 of this chapter is a new addition.

Boileau, who is said to be the first to 'recognise the true potential' of Longinus' treatise.[2] The case of Daniel Heinsius however makes it clear that this kind of reading was possible well before Boileau presented his definition of the Longinian sublime in 1674.[3]

In my Introduction I have argued that the relationship between Longinus' ideas and the early modern interpretations of Longinus' treatise is not uncontroversial. It has often been said or tacitly assumed that Nicolas Boileau is (among) the first to read *Peri hypsous* in its 'proper' sense. Boileau's interpretation is moreover seen as the culmination of a chronological development, which consists of a shift from a predominantly rhetorical interpretation of *Peri hypsous* to the definition of the Longinian sublime as a phenomenon that is opposed to rhetorical rules and precepts. In this chapter I will argue firstly that both interpretations of *Peri hypsous* are to some extent warranted by the treatise itself, and secondly that it is not only the chronological development that dictates which reading of *Peri hypsous* was possible at a given point in time. Instead I propose to take another factor into account: the purpose that a particular early modern scholar had in mind when reading, interpreting, and incorporating Longinus' ideas. As I will show, Daniel Heinsius was driven by a particular motive (the defence of Hesiod) when using *Peri hypsous* in his *Prolegomena* to his edition of Hesiod, which resulted in a rather creative adaptation of some of Longinus' arguments.

This chapter will first examine the balance between art and nature – or genius and rules – in *Peri hypsous* (section 2.2). After a brief introduction of Daniel Heinsius, his intellectual network, as well as his acquaintance with *Peri hypsous* (section 2.3), I will discuss the backdrop against which Heinsius' argument in the *Prolegomena* took shape: Julius Caesar Scaliger's criticism of archaic poetry (section 2.4). Heinsius' appropriation of Longinus' terminology and ideas will be discussed in three sections, which cover the opposition between grammarians and poets (section 2.5), the defence of the faulty genius and the pernicious effects of rules and

[2] See for instance Dietmar Till: "The potential of *Peri hypsous* to break [the norms of the three canons of style] was not discovered until the end of the 17th century" (Till, 2012, 55). See my Introduction for a discussion of the modern understanding of the influence of Boileau on the interpretation of *Peri hypsous*.

[3] Fumaroli (1986) has argued that Longinus treatise was already read in an anti-rhetorical way before 1674, but provides no examples in which a rejection of rhetoric is *explicitly* connected to *Peri hypsous*.

precepts (section 2.6), and the role of simplicity (section 2.7). In the final section of this chapter (section 2.8) I will contextualise Heinsius' use of Longinus by discussing similar appropriations of *Peri hypsous* in the first half of the seventeenth century.

2.2 Art, nature and criticism in *Peri hypsous*

"Can 'the sublime' be taught or learned?", Longinus asks in the introductory sections of his treatise (*Peri hypsous* 2.1). Some have argued, Longinus says, that great things do not spring from teaching, but come naturally, and that works produced by natural talent are spoiled if they are reduced to technical instructions (*Peri hypsous* 2.1). Longinus however objects that nature too operates according to certain laws, and that natural ability (φύσις) sometimes needs the moderation of art (τέχνη) (*Peri hypsous* 2.2). Presenting an instructive treatise on sublimity, Longinus must convince his readers that the sublime consists – at least partly – of teachable elements, and that sublimity is also advanced by art or skill.[4] In his introduction, Longinus therefore insists on the cooperation of talent and skill, a synergy that also underlies Longinus' definition of five sources of the sublime in *Peri hypsous* 8.1. According to Longinus, two of these sources spring from the writer's natural talent ('greatness of thought' and 'emotion'), whereas the other three ('figures of speech', 'diction', and 'word arrangement') belong to the domain of skill.[5] The larger part of the treatise (chapters 9-32 and 37-43) is dedicated to the

[4] Longinus' insistence on the cooperation between art and nature for instance resembles the discussion of this topic by Quintilian (*Institutiones Oratoriae* 2.19), who asserts that teaching (*doctrina*) may enhance the qualities already present in nature (*natura*). See also Porter (2016), 60-83 on the paradoxical relation between art and nature in *Peri hypsous.*

[5] Longinus presents his five sources of the sublime in *Peri hypsous* 8.1: Ἐπεὶ δὲ πέντε, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πηγαί τινές εἰσιν αἱ τῆς ὑψηγορίας γονιμώταται, (…) πρῶτον μὲν καὶ κράτιστον τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἁδρεπήβολον, (…)· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν δύο αὗται τοῦ ὕψους κατὰ τὸ πλέον αὐθιγενεῖς συστάσεις, αἱ λοιπαὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ τέχνης, ἥ τε ποιὰ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις (δισσὰ δέ που ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν νοήσεως, θάτερα δὲ λέξεως), ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ γενναία φράσις, ἧς μέρη πάλιν ὀνομάτων τε ἐκλογὴ καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ πεποιημένη λέξις· πέμπτη δὲ μεγέθους αἰτία καὶ συγκλείουσα τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἅπαντα, ἡ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις· ("There are, one may say, some five most productive sources of the sublime in literature (…). The first and most powerful is the power of grand conceptions (…) and the second is the inspiration of vehement emotion. These two constituents of the sublime are for the most part congenital. But the other

discussion of these five sources.[6] In chapters 33-36 of *Peri hypsous*, Longinus however breaks up his discussion of 'diction' (one of the technical sources of the sublime) and raises the question which kind of writer should be preferred: one who is sublime but makes mistakes, or one who is faultless, but remains mediocre. The immediate occasion for this discussion is the disapproval of Plato's lavish use of metaphors by critics who ruled that no more than three metaphors should be used in one sentence.[7] According to Longinus the critic Caecilius of Caleacte likewise condemned Plato and preferred the orator Lysias.[8] In reaction to this judgment, Longinus argues that a writer's excellence should be measured according to the greatness rather than the flawlessness of his works.[9] Longinus thus asserts that, despite their shortcomings, Plato's writings eventually outshine

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three come partly from art, namely the proper construction of figures - these being of course of two kinds, figures of thought and figures of speech - and, over and above these, nobility of language, which again may be resolved into choice of words and the use of metaphor and elaborated diction. The fifth cause of grandeur, which gives form to those already mentioned, is dignified and elevated word-arrangement").

[6] The second source, 'emotion' is however not discussed systematically. On the place of 'emotion' in *Peri hypsous*, see Innes (1995a) and Innes (1995b). See also section II of my Introduction.

[7] *Peri hypsous* 32.1: Περὶ δὲ πλήθους [καὶ] μεταφορῶν ὁ μὲν Καικίλιος ἔοικε συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ νομοθετοῦσι τάττεσθαι ("As to the proper number of metaphors, Caecilius seems on the side of those who rule that not more than two or at the most three may be used together"); and *Peri hypsous* 32.7: ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα οὐχ ἥκιστα διασύρουσι, πολλάκις ὥσπερ ὑπὸ βακχείας τινὸς τῶν λόγων εἰς ἀκράτους καὶ ἀπηνεῖς μεταφορὰς καὶ εἰς ἀλληγορικὸν στόμφον ἐκφερόμενον ("Indeed it is for these passages in particular that critics pull Plato to pieces, on the ground that he is often carried away by a sort of Bacchic possession in his writing into harsh and intemperate metaphor and allegorical bombast").

[8] In his introductory remarks, Longinus presents *Peri hypsous* as a response to a (now lost) work by Caecilius of Caleacte on sublimity, who – according to Longinus – had discussed the subject inadequately. That Caecilius' ideas are an important starting point for Longinus in his treatment of the sublime in literature has been discussed by Russell (1981), Innes (2002), and Porter (2016), 183-195.

[9] *Peri hypsous* 33.1-5. In chapter 34 Longinus stresses that the quality of literary virtues is more important than their quantity. Thus while Hyperides may surpass Demosthenes in the amount of merits in writing, he is in turn surpassed by Demosthenes – despite the latter's shortcomings – in forcefulness (34.1-4). Chapter 35 explains that great authors have despised accuracy in writing due to the natural inclination of the human spirit towards the contemplation of greatness in nature (35.1-5).

the flawless speeches of Lysias.[10] In order to refute Caecilius, Longinus paints a contrast between 'immensely great natures', whose greatness causes them to make faults, and 'humble and mediocre natures' who avoid mistakes and never attain sublimity.[11] Longinus thus categorises Caecilius' criticism of Plato and the adherence to technical precepts (such as the one dictating the appropriate number of metaphors in one sentence) as the opposite of sublimity.

The discussion in sections 33.1-36.3 has been labelled a 'digression', because of its deviation from the main argument of the treatise.[12] This is further marked by the fact that Longinus concludes the passage by pointing out that natural greatness and art should cooperate nonetheless (36.4).[13] With this remark, Longinus rehabilitates the balance between talent and skill as proposed in the opening chapters of the treatise, in order to resume the discussion of the two remaining 'technical' sources of the sublime: diction (continued in *Peri hypsous* 37, 38, and 43) and word arrangement (*Peri hypsous* 39-42).[14] While the aim of *Peri hypsous* as a

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[10] *Peri hypsous* 32.8 and 35.1. See also Russell (1981), Innes (2002), and C.C. de Jonge, 'Longinus 36.3: the faulty colossus and Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Trends in Classics* 5 (2013), 318-340 on the comparison between Plato and Lysias in *Peri hypsous*.

[11] *Peri hypsous* 33.2.

[12] The passage is sometimes referred to by the title *Regel und Genie* ('rule and genius'). The title 'Regel und Genie' was given to this section by the German classicist Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in his anthology of noteworthy Greek texts: U. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch 2 Vols.* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1904), II, 377-382.

[13] *Peri hypsous* 36.4: ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τέχνης ἐστὶ κατόρθωμα, τὸ δ' ἐν ὑπεροχῇ, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμότονον, μεγαλοφυΐας, βοήθημα τῇ φύσει πάντη ποριζεσθαι τὴν τέχνην· ἡ γὰρ ἀλληλουχία τούτων ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ τέλειον ("since impeccable correctness is, generally speaking, due to art, and the height of excellence, even if erratic, to genius, it is proper that art should always assist nature. Their cooperation may well result in perfection").

[14] The oldest extant commentary to Longinus' treatise, written by Franciscus Portus presumably around 1581, calls Longinus' remark in 36.4 a 'correction': προσήκει δ' ὅμως] *Correctio*, καὶ λύσις τοῦ ἀντιπ[ίπτοντος]. *Quid igitur Longine? Excludis artem a natura dicentis et scribentis? Non excludo, inquit. Ratio: quia conjuncta arte cum natura opus fit absolutum et perfectum. Confirmatio: nam si natura labatur interdum, ars corrigit et facit melius, in quo illa peccavit* ("A correction, and solution of the objection. What then, Longinus? Do you exclude art from the nature of a speaker or writer? I do not exclude it, he says. Reason: because when art is combined with nature a work becomes absolute and perfect. Confirmation: for if nature sometimes makes a mistake, art corrects it and improves that in which she has sinned"). The text of the commentary is cited from Pearce (1733), 344.

didactic treatise dictates cooperation between natural talent and learned skill, the digression in chapters 33-36.3 subverts this balanced view.

This discrepancy can be understood from the fact that *Peri hypsous* serves various functions. Besides a didactic aim, Longinus' treatise also serves an apologetic, accusatorial, as well as an encomiastic function, according to Donald Russell, who uses this division to explain why *Peri hypsous* only partly follows the scheme as laid out in section 8.1 of the treatise.[15] Building on Russell's observations, I suggest that Longinus' opinion that nature and art should cooperate belongs to the didactic function of *Peri hypsous*, whereas the digression in 33.1-36.3 fulfils the other three objectives of the treatise: to defend Plato, to refute Caecilius, and to demonstrate the sublimity of great writers (such as Plato, Homer and Demosthenes).

Peri hypsous is sometimes seen as a treatise that exclusively celebrates genius and divine inspiration and altogether rejects the means of rhetoric.[16] A substantial part of the treatise however corresponds to general principles of ancient rhetorical theory: it discusses the stylistic means (figures, diction and word arrangement) that are appropriate for creating sublimity, and advocates a balance between natural talent and technical skill.[17] Readers of *Peri hypsous* may therefore find in the treatise arguments for the cooperation of natural talent and rhetorical skill, as well as a subversion of the same notion. Categorisations of the treatise as a discussion of the highest of the *genera dicendi*, as well as a rejection of stylistic norms are both to some extent legitimised.[18]

One might moreover say that the ambiguity that underlies the argument of *Peri hypsous* touches upon one of its central elements: the ability to form a critical judgment about literature.[19] On the part of the author as well as the critic, a proper

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[15] Russell (1981), 74.

[16] Porter (2016), 9-10 discusses the tendency in modern scholarship to describe the Longinian sublime in these terms.

[17] See Porter (2016), 83-93 for a discussion of *Peri hypsous* against the background of ancient rhetorical theory.

[18] Cf. James Porter's discussion of art and nature in *Peri hypsous* and the relation of *Peri hypsous* to ancient theories of rhetoric: Porter (2016), 20-83 and 83-93.

[19] See for instance Hunter (2009), 128-168 and Porter (2016), 183-184 on the aspects of polemic and judgment in *Peri hypsous*.

literary judgment results from the observance of a basic set of rules, as much as from intuition in determining when certain stylistic boundaries may be crossed. Longinus for instance makes it clear that in some contexts the excessive use of metaphors is excusable, or even essential for the effect of a certain passage.[20] Elsewhere Longinus however criticises extravagant metaphors.[21] This method not only allows the critic to form a careful judgment about a certain passage or author, but also to refute the literary opinions of other critics. *Peri hypsous* is a treatise on sublimity in writing and literary judgment as much as a critical reaction to Caecilius' ideas about literature. Besides ideas about genius or stylistic precepts, *Peri hypsous* also provides its early modern readers with a set of tools to validate or invalidate the literary judgments of other critics.

2.3 Daniel Heinsius and *Peri hypsous*

Daniel Heinsius spent formative years of his education among the most eminent Dutch scholars of his time. Heinsius was born in Ghent in 1580 as the son of Flemish Protestants.[22] In 1583 the Heinsius family fled the Calvinist Republic of Ghent (which was to surrender to Spanish rule only one year later) and sought refuge in the Northern Netherlands. Daniel Heinsius was educated at the Latin School in Vlissingen. In 1596 Heinsius was sent to Franeker University to study law. Heinsius' interests however developed differently. When his father sent him to Leiden in 1598 in the hope that he would take more interest in his legal studies, Heinsius only developed an even greater passion for poetry and literature, and in 1600 he was officially enrolled as a student of letters.[23] During these years Heinsius came into contact with several eminent scholars of his time. From 1600 onwards

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[20] Such as in the case of Plato's lengthy metaphoric description of the human body in the *Timaeus* (65C-85E), which Longinus praises in *Peri hypsous* 32.5-6.

[21] Especially in *Peri hypsous* 3-5.

[22] This biography of Daniel Heinsius is based on J.H. Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius: A Study of the Development and Background of his Views on Literary Theory and Criticism During the Period from 1602 to 1612* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1984) and A. Duprat, 'Daniel Heinsius (1583-1655)', in: C. Nativel (ed.), *Centuriae latinae: cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat* (Geneve: Librarie Droz, 1997), 417-425.

[23] Meter (1984), 11-12.

Heinsius actively corresponded with Isaac Casaubon, while he was tutored in Leiden by Bonaventura Vulcanius and Josephus Justus Scaliger. Scaliger stimulated Heinsius in developing his skills in critical textual interpretation: already in 1600 and 1601 Heinsius made two editions of classical texts.[24] During his student years Heinsius also dedicated himself to writing poetry, under the supervision of Janus Dousa. In 1603 (the same year in which the *Prolegomena on Hesiod* were published) Heinsius was appointed extraordinary professor of poetry at Leiden University.

In the same period, Heinsius had already become familiar with Longinus' treatise. In his *De tragoediae constitutione*, which was published for the first time in 1611, Heinsius remarked that "every poet of tragedy should learn Longinus' treatise by heart".[25] The auction catalogue of Heinsius' private library reveals that Heinsius possessed at least two different editions of Longinus' text upon his death in 1655.[26] It is also worth noting that the aforementioned scholars who played a role in Heinsius' student and early career years (Scaliger, Vulcanius, Dousa and Casaubon) also owned copies of Longinus' text.[27] Heinsius therefore had ample opportunity to learn about *Peri hypsous* in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

Heinsius extensively uses Longinus' ideas in the introductory essay to his edition of Hesiod (1603). This edition contains the Greek text and a Latin translation of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the *Shield*, the *Theogony*, and the Hesiodic fragments, as well as commentaries on Hesiod's writings of Proclus (412-485 AD), Johannes Tzetzes (c. 1110-1185 AD) and Manuel Moschopulus (13th-14th century).

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[24] Silius Italicus' *Punica* and *Crepundia Siliana*, respectively.

[25] D. Heinsius, *Danielis Heinsii De tragoediæ constitutione liber: in quo inter cætera, tota de hac Aristotelis sententia dilucide explicatur* (Leiden, J. Balduinus, 1611), ch. XVI. See also section 2.8 of this chapter.

[26] The catalogue lists the edition of Manuzio (1555) and Portus (1569). See *Catalogus Variorum & Exquisitissimorum Librorum, Nobilissimi Doctissimique Viri Danielis Heinsii, D. Marci Equitis, &c. Quorum Auctio habebitur in aedibus Petri Leffen, Bibliopolae sub Signo Phoenicis, Die Martis 14. Martii, & seqq. Anno 1656* (Leiden: P. Leffen, 1656), 116-117.

[27] As I have shown in Chapter One, copies of *Peri hypsous* were circulating in the academic circles of Leiden at least from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Book sales catalogues from the first decade of the seventeenth century reveal that Scaliger, Vulcanius and Dousa all owned the 1569 Genevan edition of Franciscus Portus. Casaubon's annotated copy of *Peri hypsous* is preserved in the British Library: LBL 1088.m.2.

Heinsius' introduction, fully titled *In Hesiodum Prolegomena; in quibus poëtae character a Grammaticorum calumnijs vindicatur* ("Preface on Hesiod; in which the character of the poet is freed from the scorn of the grammarians"), is a polemical essay in which the author rebukes the criticism of earlier commentators on Hesiod and sets out his views on poetics.[28] The text of the *Prolegomena* can be divided roughly into three sections, followed by a conclusion.[29] In the first section, Heinsius addresses the development of the ancient poetic tradition, and argues that the simplicity of the earliest poets (Homer and Hesiod) should not be measured against Vergilian standards. In the second section, Heinsius discusses (the authenticity of) the Hesiodic corpus, and addresses the question whether Hesiod should be called a rhapsode or not. In the third (and longest) section of the *Prolegomena* Heinsius discusses the style of Hesiod's poetry, and develops an argument that is centred on the contrast between *ars* and *ingenium*, to the end of defending Hesiod's simple style.

Longinus' ideas play a crucial role in Heinsius' argument, especially in the first and third section of the *Prolegomena*. Heinsius' indebtedness to *Peri hypsous* has been discussed by Jan Hendrik Meter (1984), Irene Polke (1999), Korbinian Golla (2008) and Volkhard Wels (2013). Meter has pointed out that the *Prolegomena* react to the views of Julius Caesar Scaliger (not named in the *Prolegomena*), and Johannes Tzetzes (who is mentioned explicitly by Heinsius).[30] Meter also showed how Heinsius' argument builds on "the dichotomy of a) archaic and later poetic art, b) between Greek and Roman poets, and c) between *ingenium* and *ars*."[31] Polke discussed Heinsius' *Prolegomena* in the context of her study of eighteenth-century judgments about Hellenistic poetry.[32] Polke and Meter both discussed the central role of *Peri hypsous* 33-36 (the defence of the flawed genius) in the *Prolegomena*.[33]

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[28] A discussion of the contents of the *Prolegomena* can be found in Meter (1984), 74-86.

[29] The divisions of the text proposed by me are as follows: 1. *Nihil ex antiqua* […] (α1^{r}) – […] *Graecis vulgata sunt* (α2^{r}). 2. *Sed ad Hesiodum* […] – […] *characteribus distinguendum curavimus* (α2^{r} – α3^{v}). 3. *Stylus caeterum* […] – […] *Caecum eum appellant* (α3^{v} – β2^{r}). Conclusion: *Sed de his* […] (β2^{r}) – […] *disputamus, audire posses* (β2^{v}).

[30] Meter (1984), 79-84.

[31] Meter (1984), 75.

[32] I. Polke, *Selbstreflexion in Spiegel des Anderen. Eine Wirkungsgeschichtliche Studie zum Hellenismusbild Heynes und Herders* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1999), 103-110.

[33] Meter (1984), 75-79; Polke (1999), 106-109.

Golla discussed Heinsius' emphasis on 'simplicity' in relation to Heinsius' epigrams on Hesiod.[34] Wels argues that the *Prolegomena* show that Heinsius was an advocate of the (obsolete) idea of *prisca sapientia* ('primordial wisdom').[35] The following discussion adds to these observations in the sense that it clarifies the factors that occasioned the incorporation of *Peri hypsous* in Heinsius' arguments, while elucidating its implications for our understanding of the reception of Longinus' treatise in the early seventeenth century.

2.4 Julius Caesar Scaliger on Vergil versus Homer (and Hesiod)

In order to understand the structure of Heinsius' argument, and to grasp why Longinus' treatise was so fit for Heinsius' purposes, we must consider a debate that took place in the sixteenth century and which centred on the comparison between the poetry of Homer and Vergil.[36] The comparison between these two authors goes back to classical antiquity. Quintilian for example stated that Homer had a 'heavenly and immortal nature', while Vergil exhibited more 'care and diligence'.[37] The observation that Homer's poetry excels in nature (*natura*), while Vergil's poetry excels in art (*ars*), led to divergent conclusions in the early modern comparisons of Homer and Vergil.[38] Some argued that Homer was the better poet, because of the power and purity of his poetic invention, while Vergil was a mere

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[34] K. Golla, 'Daniel Heinsius' Epigramme auf Hesiod', in: E. Lefèvre and E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius. Klassischer Philologe und Poet* (Tübingen: Narr, 2008), 31-55: 31-39.

[35] V. Wels, 'Contempt for Commentators. Transformation of the Commentary Tradition in Daniel Heinsius' Constitutio tragoediae,' in K.A.E. Enenkel and H.J.M. Nellen (eds.), *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400-1700)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 325-346.

[36] Discussions of the comparison between Homer and Vergil in early modern scholarship can be found in A. Wlosok, 'Zur Geltung und Beurteiling Vergils und Homers in Spätantike und früher Neuzeit', in: E. Heck and E. Schmidt (eds.), *Res humanae – res divinae: Kleine Schriften/Antonie Wlosok* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1990), 476-498, and G. Vogt-Spira, 'Ars oder Ingenium? Homer und Vergil als literarische Paradigmata', *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 35 (1994), 9-31.

[37] Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae* 10.1.86. On the importance of Quintilian's remarks for later judgments of Homer and Vergil, see Wlosok (1990), 480-483.

[38] Wlosok (1990), 476-480.

imitator. Others however stated that Vergil surpassed Homer, because he had refined Homer's primitive art.[39]

An important voice in this debate is Julius Caesar Scaliger, Heinsius' implicit opponent in the *Prolegomena*.[40] In the *Poetices Libri septem* (first edition in 1561), Scaliger argued that Roman poetry is far superior to its Greek precursor, and assigned Vergil a position of superiority among the classical poets.[41] Scaliger envisioned the history of poetry as a cyclical process, in which progression and decline alternate.[42] In the first book of the *Poetics* (titled 'Historicus') Scaliger presents three stages in the development of Greek poetry. Of the pristine and uncultivated first stage only the name of Apollo, the inventor of poetry, remains.[43] To the second and most venerable phase belong the mythical poets Orpheus, Musaeus and Linus.[44] Homer is the founder of the third – decadent – stage, to which Hesiod also belongs.[45] In the sixth book of the *Poetics* (the 'Hypercriticus') Scaliger discusses the history of Latin poetry, which he divides into five subsequent periods. After the first and second phase, the 'infancy' (*infantia*) and 'adolescence' (*adolescentia*), comes the third and most powerful period, which flourishes (*viget*) with Terence, Catullus, Tibullus and Horace, but which shines most brightly (*luculenter splendet*) with Vergil. The fourth stage is a period of decline, and the development of poetry eventually comes to a staggering halt with the poetry of late antiquity. After a long period of standstill, the poetry of Petrarch

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[39] See Wlosok (1990), 488-493, Vogt-Spira (1994), 9-31, and D. Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 124-142 for an overview.

[40] Meter (1984), 79-83. Meter has pointed out that Heinsius in the *Prolegomena* reverses the arguments of J.C. Scaliger in the *Poetics*. When Heinsius was writing his *Prolegomena*, Scaliger's *Poetics* was one of the most famous examples of comparative literary criticism.

[41] S. Rolfes, *Die lateinische Poetik des Marco Girolamo Vida und ihre Rezeption bei Julius Caesar Scaliger* (München: Saur Verlag, 2001), 169-186.

[42] See M. Bizer, 'The Genealogy of Poetry According to Ronsard and Julius Caesar Scaliger', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 43 (1994), 304-318, for a discussion of Scaliger's periodisation of poetry in the *Poetics*.

[43] J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Geneva: P. de Saint-André, 1594), 11: *Vetus illud priscum, rude, incultum: et sui tantum suspicionem sine nominis memoria reliquit nisi in eo tanquam principem, Apollinem censeamus*.

[44] Scaliger (1594), 11: *Alterum illud venerandum, a quo primum Theologia et Mysteria. Inter quos Orpheus, Musaeus, Linus: Olympum quoque inter vetustos Plato nominat.*

[45] Scaliger (1594), 11: *Tertij seculi Homerus author et parens: Hesiodus quoque et alii*.

then marks the beginning of a new adolescence of poetry (*nova adolescentia*).[46] In the *Poetics* Scaliger thus assigns Homer (and Hesiod) to a period of decline, while Vergil is presented as the pinnacle of ancient poetry.

The judgment about the relative merits of Homer and Vergil, which is implicitly present in Scaliger's periodisation of poetry, is made explicit in the fifth book of the *Poetics* (titled 'Criticus'), in which Scaliger argues that a critical evaluation of poetry is necessary in order to define which poets are most worthy of imitation. Scaliger unequivocally deems Vergil to be a better example for imitation than Homer.[47] His judgment starts from the observation that poetry consists of subject matter and form (*res et verba*).[48] While Homer's talent (*ingenium*) is very great, his artistic skill (*ars*) seems to be 'found' rather than 'cultivated'.[49] Julius Caesar Scaliger thus presents Homer as a primitive and uncultivated poet who excels in 'nature', while Vergil is a master of both nature *and* art.[50] Vergil has taken the rough poetics of Homer to the highest level of perfection and thus corrected his predecessor, 'like a schoolmaster'.[51] Hesiod is compared to Vergil in an even more unfavourable way: Scaliger explicitly leaves Hesiod out of the discussion in book five of the *Poetics*, as Hesiod's entire oeuvre is easily surpassed by any verse from Vergil's *Georgics*.[52] Scaliger develops the antithesis of simplicity and refinement

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[46] Scaliger (1594), 764-5: *Unde perargentum primum, deinde per aes ad hoc usque ferrum, quo nunc cuum miserrime transigimus, deducti sumus, vitae vero nostrae curriculum longe alia dimensione ab infantia inchoatum, stataque aetate perfectum, declinat eo usque dum rursus exolescat, at ipsam poesim multo diversa metimur ratione. Namque rudimenta quaedam primi illius exortus agnoscimus: flexumque aetatis tanquam per adolescentiam, a Livio atque Ennio, per Accium, Naevium, Plautum ad consummatum florensque transmissum robur, quod in Terentio, Catullo, Tibullo, Horatio viget, in Virgilio etiam luculenter splendit, a quo, ad Martialem, Juvenalem, Silium, Statium devergens, paulatim efflorescit. Tum autem quarto veluti decurso spatio, haesit in senii vestigiis cum Sereno, Sidonio, Severino, Ausonio.*

[47] G. Vogt-Spira (1990), 'Über Homer und Vergil', *Modern Language Notes* 105 (1990), 409-431: 409-412; Rolfes (2001), 169-86.

[48] Scaliger (1594), 538: *Duo igitur cum sint quibus constat poesis, res et verba, de rebus primum videamus.*

[49] Scaliger (1594), 538: *Homeri ingenium maximum, ars eiusmodi, ut eam potius invenisse quam excoluisse videatur.*

[50] Scaliger (1594), 538: *Quare neque mirandum est, si in eo naturae idea quaedam, non ars exstare dicatur.*

[51] Scaliger (1594), 538: *Virgilius vero artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectioris naturae studiis atque iudicio ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis.* And 598: […] *a natura proposita Homero argumenta, quasi dictata discipulo emendat Virgilius tanquam magister.*

[52] Scaliger (1594), 627: *Omisso Hesiodo, cuius universa opera ne cum uno quidem versu Georgicôn sunt comparanda* […].

even further by bringing Musaeus into the comparison. Scaliger qualifies the verses of Musaeus as neat (*castigatus*) and without nonchalance (*licentia*), as well as compliant with metrical rules.[53] Even though Musaeus' works predate those of Homer (according to Scaliger), they are much more polished and refined.[54]

Scaliger's ideas about the history of poetry and the relative merits of Homer and Vergil constitute an important starting point for Heinsius' argument, even though the critic is not mentioned by name.[55] In the opening section of the *Prolegomena*, Heinsius addresses the matter of periodisation, and argues that the simplicity of ancient Greek poetry has withered after Homer and Hesiod.[56] Whereas Scaliger presented the history of poetry as a cyclical process, Heinsius puts forward the idea of a gradual decline of poetry, which enables him to place Homer and Hesiod at the top of the poetic tradition.[57] Vergil and the other Roman poets are assigned a secondary position. Their poetry may surely be appreciated for its elegance, Heinsius argues, as long as it is clear that they are the students, not the teachers of those who actually taught them.[58] The poetry of Homer and Hesiod on the other hand is marked by an "undiminished norm of language, inborn and genuine simplicity of diction, a pure, balanced fabric of speech, which shines because of its own virtue, and which is unadorned by foreign ornaments of things

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[53] Scaliger (1594), 540: *In quibus nullam vides licentiam, omnia castigata. Nam et rarissimum admittit hiatum et lectis utitur verbis et versus claudit bisyllabis trisyllabisve maxima ex parte.*

[54] Scaliger confuses the mythical poet Musaeus with the fifth-century composer of the poem *Hero and Leander*. See G. Vogt-Spira (ed.), *Julius Caesar Scaliger. Poetices Libri Septem. Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst, Band IV: Buch 5* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1998), 50-51.

[55] Meter suggests that Heinsius' close relationship with the elder Scaliger's son, Josephus Justus Scaliger, may have been reason for Heinsius to suppress Scaliger's name, see Meter (1984), 79-84. Even if Scaliger is not Heinsius' direct opponent, his *Poetics* constitute an important representative of the ideas that Heinsius aims to refute.

[56] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', $\alpha 1^{r}$: *Nihil ex antiqua Graecorum simplicitate iniuria temporum, crudelissima magnorum ingeniorum noverca, nobis reliquum fecit; praeterquam Hesiodi pauca, et Homeri non ita multa.*

[57] Meter (1984), 77; Wels (2013), 332-334.

[58] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', $\alpha 2^{r}$: *Habeant sane venustates suas illi Romuli nepotes, dummodo ne se patres eorum profiteantur, quorum filii sunt, nec eos doceant, a quibus didicerunt*. This is a direct reaction to Scaliger's remark that Vergil corrected Homer 'like a schoolmaster' (Scaliger, 1594, 598).

or words."[59] Hesiod's simplicity moreover has not been given its due appreciation, because of the perverse tendency to measure Greek authors according to Roman standards.[60] Just like Scaliger, Heinsius picks up the idea that the works of Homer (and Hesiod) are 'natural', while Vergil's writings are 'refined'. Since Scaliger had used this basic assumption to argue for the superiority of Vergil over Homer, one of Heinsius' most important objectives in the *Prolegomena* is to turn this observation on the archaic Greek poets into something positive again.

As it so happens, Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous* provides a set of arguments fit for Heinsius' purpose. The treatise exhibits a great fondness for archaic poetry, and presents Homer as a prime example for imitation.[61] It also describes a gradual decay of literature and the disappearance of the truly great and elevated minds of earlier times (*Peri hypsous* 44).[62] Most importantly, as we have seen, it rejects stylistic overelaboration (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), and places the erratic outbursts of genius above flawless perfection (*Peri hypsous* 33-36). Moreover, Heinsius and Longinus had a very similar purpose: to defend their favourite authors from criticism. There are however also some significant differences between the arguments of Longinus and Heinsius. The poetry of Hesiod does not belong to Longinus' examples of the sublime. In fact, the only occasion on which Longinus discusses Hesiod, the verdict is negative. In *Peri hypsous* 9.5 Longinus adduces a passage from Hesiod's *Shield of Herakles* (Ἀσπὶς Ἡρακλέους) as a counterexample

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[59] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', α1r: *In Homero vero et Hesiodo illibata illa sermonis norma, dictionum nativa genuina simplicitas, purum, aequale, et virtute sua elucens orationis filum, nullis aliunde ascititiis rerum verborumque ornamentis adumbratum, aeternam posteritati aemulandi affectandique occasionem, scribendique materiam reliquit*.

[60] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', α1r: *Nec me fallit tamen, quam fastidiosa haec Hesiodi praesertim simplicitas arrogantibus aliquot et delicatulis hominibus esse soleat, qui cum de poëtice bene iudicare videntur, de lingua et idiomate pessime sentiunt. Eo enim deventum est, ut ad amussim Romanarum, si diis placet, elegantiarum Graeci exigantur*.

[61] *Peri hypsous* 13.3: μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὅ τε Ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ κείνου νάματος εἰς αὑτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχετευσάμενος ("Was Herodotus alone Homeric in the highest degree? No, there was Stesichorus at a still earlier date and Archilochus too, and above all others Plato, who drew off for his own use ten thousand runnels from the great Homeric spring"). Homer is also Longinus' prime example of 'greatness of thought (*Peri hypsous* 9), and features prominently in the digression on the 'flawed genius' (*Peri hypsous* 33-36).

[62] *Peri hypsous* 44.

of sublimity: "Quite unlike this is Hesiod's description of Gloom, if indeed we are right in adding the Shield to the list of Hesiod's works".[63] Longinus' treatise is moreover concerned with sublimity, not simplicity. As we will see, Heinsius is not bothered by these differences, as he selects those elements from *Peri hypsous* that support his defence of Hesiod, and creatively adapts them to bolster his own argument.

2.5 Grammarian versus poet

After the discussion of the Hesiodic corpus in the first half of the *Prolegomena*, Heinsius moves on to the topic of Hesiod's style. Heinsius describes the style of Hesiod's *Works and Days* as simple (*facilis*), fluent (*lenis*) and uniform (*uniformis*; *constans sibi*), and "redolent of antiquity" (τᾶς ἀρχαίοτατος ὄσδων), thus again emphasising its pristine aspects.[64] On this topic Heinsius however has another adversary to fight besides Scaliger: the Byzantine scholar Johannes Tzetzes, whose commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days* was also included in Heinsius' edition of Hesiod.[65] In his commentary, Tzetzes not only ridiculed the commentary of his predecessor Proclus, but also criticised numerous mistakes in Hesiod's writing.[66] Tzetzes for instance remarked how clumsy Hesiod's versification was.[67] Heinsius in turn does not hide his indignation for Tzetzes' criticisms: "He [Tzetzes] dares to

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[63] *Peri hypsous* 9.5: ᾧ ἀνόμοιόν γε τὸ Ἡσιόδειον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀχλύος, εἴγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα θετέον· τῆς ἐκ μὲν ῥινῶν μύξαι ῥέον· οὐ γὰρ δεινὸν ἐποίησε τὸ εἴδωλον, ἀλλὰ μισητόν. Modern scholars no longer attribute the *Shield* to Hesiod. Longinus' doubt about the attribution is mentioned by Johannes Meursius in his commentary on Lycophron's *Alexandra* (1597). Heinsius discusses the matter of the attribution, but still ascribes the work to Hesiod and includes it in his edition of 1603.

[64] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', α3ᵛ: *Stylus caeterum* των Ἔργων *facilis, lenis, uniformis est, constans sibi, et revera, ut Dorice loquar*, τᾶς ἀρχαίοτατος ὄσδων.

[65] Tzetzes produced many philological treatises as well as verse compositions, among which the *Chiliades* ('Thousands') and *Theogony* (after Hesiod). See H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, 2 Vols.* (München: Beck, 1978), 59-63.

[66] See M.L. West (ed.), *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 69-70 for a brief overview of ancient and Byzantine commentaries on Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

[67] Johannes Tzetzes, commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, in: Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 105: ἐκ δὲ τῶν τριῶν περισσῶν κε εἰ δέ κεν ἀπόκεν, καὶ σφύραν, κεν, ἀδυναμίην πολλὴν μετρικὴν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου καταγνώσκειν ἐστί ("From those three superfluous elements 'ke', 'ei de ken', 'apoken', and 'sphyran ken', one can recognise Hesiod's incapability in the art of metrics").

object to the free use of one syllable or another. I don't see who could be convinced by this man, who indiscriminately neglects all measures of syllable quantities as well as charm of language in his writings. That's how we know that a grammarian (*grammaticus*) is something completely different – that is, trivial, futile, wordy, and garrulous – than a supreme poet."[68] Heinsius moreover states that Tzetzes' own writings are inferior to Hesiod's poetry, in purity and simplicity, just like a prostitute is inferior to a chaste virgin.[69]

By ridiculing Tzetzes' work and portraying him as a garrulous grammarian, Heinsius seeks to invalidate his criticism of Hesiod's poetry: "I can think of no other reason why Tzetzes has such a bad opinion of Hesiod, than the fact that he is a grammarian."[70] The characterisation is all the more pertinent, since Tzetzes *was* commonly referred to as 'the grammarian', especially with regard to his commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days*.[71] In Heinsius' eyes, grammarians "hunt letters like beggars are picking their lice" and proclaim a triumph, as soon as they have spotted a metrical abnormality.[72] Heinsius finds it unacceptable that grammarians are forcing rules on the same poets from which they have formed their standards.[73] Heinsius' 'grammarians' take the place that Caecilius of Caleacte

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[68] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', α4ᵛ: *Licentiam syllabae unius aut alterius obiicere audeat; in eo homine ferri qui possit non video, qui et omnia promiscue quantitatum tempora, et linguae venustates in suis negligere consuevit. Quod nisi longe aliud sciremus Grammaticum esse, id est levem, futilem, verbosum, garrulum, quam summum poëtam.*

[69] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', α4ᵛ: […] *qui tanto Hesiodo puritate sermonis, et simplicitate inferiores sunt, quanto prostibula impurissima, virgine castissima.*

[70] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', α4ᵛ: *Ac de Hesiodo quidem cur male sentiat causam reperire nullam possum, quam quod Grammaticus sit* […].

[71] Hunger (1978), 59. Henischius' edition of Tzetzes' commentary to Hesiod (Basel: Oporinus, 1574) as well as another Basel edition of the commentary from 1542/44 present Tzetzes as a 'grammaticus', probably referring to his capacity of teacher (*grammaticus*) at the Byzantine court. See F. Hieronymus, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen. Katalog der frühen griechischen Drucke aus Basel in Text und Bild*, http://www.ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/gg/, accessed 16 June 2016.

[72] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1ʳ: *Qui hac forte nati sunt, ut literas venentur, sicut mendici in sole pedunculos suos. Quod si alibi vel miseram literulam tempore immutatem, vel syllabam claudicantem inveniunt; satis est, Triumphum postulant* […].

[73] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1ʳ: *Quod vero iis negocium facessunt, eos in ordinem cogunt, iis molesti sunt, e quibus canones suos technici, e quibus compedes ingeniorum, cancellos naturae formarunt, ferri nec potest, nec debet.*

(among others) held for Longinus: as critics who discredited an author on the grounds of certain rules and precepts.[74]

Heinsius' rejection of a grammatical approach to poetry also extends to the renunciation of poets who are also grammarians.[75] The poet Musaeus for instance, whose writings were praised for their precision and metrical accuracy by Scaliger, is commonly known as *grammaticus*.[76] In the *Prolegomena*, Heinsius describes Museaus' poetry as very polished and refined, and objects to the opinion (which was held by Scaliger) that Musaeus outranked Homer.[77] Another 'grammarian' that Heinsius discusses is the Hellenistic poet Callimachus. Heinsius' starting point is Ovid's judgment of Callimachus in *Amores* 1.15. In the elegy Ovid describes Callimachus as weak in inspiration (*ingenium*), but powerful in technical skill (*ars*).[78] In the *Prolegomena* Heinsius recounts that many illustrious scholars of his time disagree with Ovid and think that Callimachus *does* possess ease of invention (*inventionum facilitas*) and a keen mind (*acumen*).[79] Heinsius however, siding with Ovid, considers Callimachus a grammarian rather than a poet and emphasises that Callimachus is not 'devoid of talent', because 'talent' is not a

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[74] Recall the rule that Caecilius and other critics adhered to (*Peri hypsous* 32.1): that no more than two or three metaphors mays be used in one sentence.

[75] To some extent this is also the case for Tzetzes, who commented upon Hesiod's works, but also composed a *Theogony* in emulation of Hesiod. See Hunger (1978), 59.

[76] In several manuscripts of Musaeus the author is called *grammaticus*; see C.A. Trypanis, T. Gelzer and C.H. Whitman, *Callimachus. Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments. Musaeus. Hero and Leander* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 297.

[77] Scaliger's idea that Musaeus even antedated Homer is ardently rejected by Heinsius, see *Prolegomena* $\alpha 4^{r}$.

[78] Ovid, *Amores* 1.15.13-14: *Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe / quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet* ("The son of Battus (Callimachus) shall be sung throughout the world; although he does not excel in genius, he does excel in art").

[79] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', $\beta 1^{r}$: *Parum videlicet plerique et hac aetate viri praestantissimi perceperunt, cur ingenium Callimacho detraxerit Naso: ita ut nonnulli litem ei intendere veriti non sint: cum neque inventionum facilitate, inquiunt, neque acumine, quantum ratio scribendi admittit, destituatur poëta ille, et quaedam apud eum talia sint ut ingeniosissimo homine non inferiora videantur.* Heinsius probably reacts to the remarks of Henri Estienne in his edition of Callimachus (*Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni et Epigrammata*, Geneva: R. Estienne, 1577). To Ovid's assertion that Callimachus does not excel in talent, but in skill only, Estienne objected that Callimachus *does* have some talent, even if his technical skills outweigh his natural abilities. The position of Estienne in the debate about Callimachus is discussed lucidly by Polke (1999), 92-96.

category that is at all applicable to him.[80] For the same reasons Heinsius finds fault with Ovid's inclusion of Callimachus in a list of poets.[81] For Heinsius the opposition between grammarian and poet is essentially one of *ars* versus *ingenium*. Just like Longinus in *Peri hypsous* 33-36 rebuked Caecilius by (temporarily) diminishing the role of art and focussing almost exclusively on natural talent as a prerequisite for the sublime, Heinsius refutes the judgment of grammarians by advancing *ingenium* or *natura* as the only criterium according to which a poet should be judged. As we will see shortly, Heinsius takes Longinus' arguments even one step further.

2.6 The faulty genius and the decay of literature

Continuing his discussion of Ovid's remarks, Heinsius argues that the difference between a grammarian and a poet is the absence or presence of *ingenium*, an argument that relies heavily on *Peri hypsous* 33 and 44.

> Ingenium vocavit τὴν ὁρμὴν: quo saepe peccant poëtae: grammatici ne hoc quidem possunt. Si quis itaque ex me querat, quem Graecorum poëtarum primum existimem: dicam, primum esse, qui peccavit saepissime: secundum, qui proximus esse audendo meruit. Ita & Homerus non nisi generose peccat, et Pindarus, et Archilochus et Sophocles: Eratosthenis contra Erigone sine vitio habita est. Apollonius autem et Callimachus, quod ubique artem sequantur, ne hoc quidem meruerunt, ut magnifice peccarent: itaque ἄπτωτοι, & ἀδιάπτωτοι a veteribus dicta sunt, quod errare nescirent.[82]

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[80] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1^{r}: *Pro eo nos respondemus. Neque ingenio destitutum fuisse poëtam illum: neque id esse quod in eo desideramus: nisi quatenus ingenio eum destitui arbitramur, qui arte peccat*. See M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 444-449 about Callimachus' status as a grammarian.

[81] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1^{r}: *Summus itaque poëtarum Naso, cum de reliquis poëtis egisset, tandem Callimachum recenset, non sine praefatione mehercule: neque enim debet, qui Grammaticum poëtis adiungit.*

[82] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1^{r}- β1^{v}.

> With the term talent [Ovid] designated "the impulse", which is the reason why poets often make mistakes; grammarians are not even capable of that. If someone were to ask me thus, which one of the Greek poets I would regard the first: I would say, that the first is the one who makes mistakes most often: and the second is the one who as a result of his courage deserves to be the next. Thus, Homer does not make mistakes, unless nobly, as do Pindar, and Archilochus, and Sophocles: Eratosthenes' *Erigone* on the other hand is considered to be flawless. But Apollonius and Callimachus, because they follow art everywhere, are not worthy even of this, namely of making mistakes magnificently. Therefore they are called "faultless" and "impeccable" by the ancients, because they don't know how to make mistakes.

Heinsius explains that *ingenium* is Ovid's term for the Greek word ὁρμή. In Stoic writings the word ὁρμή commonly denotes the irrational faculty of the soul, which is distinguished from reason.[83] The term is found in a similar sense in Longinus' treatise, albeit not in the modern critical editions of *Peri hypsous*. The *editio princeps* of Robortello (1554) and the edition of Portus (1569) both have a version of *Peri hypsous* 33.5 that includes the word ὁρμή in the description of Archilochus' inspiration: "And what of Eratosthenes in his Erigone? Wholly blameless as the little poem is, do you therefore think him a greater poet than Archilochus with all his disorganized flood and his 'impetus' (ὁρμή) from the outburst of divine inspiration, which is so troublesome to bring under any rule?"[84] According to

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[83] See e.g. Cicero, *De officiis* 1.101: *Duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura; una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est orme Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit* ("Now we find that the essential activity of the spirit is twofold: one force is appetite (that is, ὁρμή, in Greek), which impels (*rapit*) a man this way and that; the other is reason, which teaches and explains what should be done and what should be left undone") (Translation: Miller, 1913). See also M. Winterbottom, 'On impulse', in: D.C. Innes, H. Hine, and C. Pelling (eds.), *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical Essays for Donald Russell, on his Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 313-322, on the term *impetus* in ancient literary criticism.

[84] The sentence runs perfectly well without the word ὁρμή. See for instance B. Weiske, *Dionysii Longini de sublimitate, Graece et Latine* (Leipzig: Ioa. Aug. Glo. Weigel, 1809), 407 and 607 for the variant readings of this passage. It is most likely that Heinsius' consulted the edition of Portus (which has ὁρμή), as this edition circulated in his milieu.

Heinsius, this 'impetus' is what constitutes the difference between a grammarian and a poet, while it is also the phenomenon that causes poets to make mistakes. Therefore, Heinsius regards the poet who makes mistakes most often to be the best of all. The idea that faults and genius are intrinsically linked is clearly derived from *Peri hypsous* 33.[85] Longinus argues that the best writer is the one whose excellences are the greatest, rather than the one who has the greatest number of excellences, or than the writer whose works are faultless.[86] This also includes an element of danger: avoidance of risks may result in flawlessness, but may never attain the height of sublimity.[87] Heinsius however pushes his defence of the flawed genius even further than Longinus, by making the number of mistakes proportional to a poet's success: "the more mistakes, the better." In doing so, Heinsius turns what was regarded a flaw by critics such as Scaliger and Tzetzes into a strength. Any mistakes they have pointed out only corroborate the idea that Hesiod and Homer are poets with great *ingenium* rather than petty grammarians.

Another significant borrowing from Longinus' treatise is found in Heinsius' selection of exemplary authors. In section 33.4-5 of *Peri hypsous*, Longinus illustrates his preference for the flawed genius over flawless mediocrity by

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[85] Also pointed out by Meter (1984), 77-78 and Polke (1999), 106-109.

[86] *Peri hypsous* 33.1: Φέρε δή, λάβωμεν τῷ ὄντι καθαρόν τινα συγγραφέα καὶ ἀνέγκλητον. ἆρ' οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι διαπορῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου καθολικῶς, πότερόν ποτε κρεῖττον ἐν ποιήμασι καὶ λόγοις μέγεθος ἐν ἐνίοις διημαρτημένον ἢ τὸ σύμμετρον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ὑγιὲς δὲ πάντη καὶ ἀδιάπτωτον; καὶ ἔτι νὴ Δία πότερόν ποτε αἱ πλείους ἀρεταὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐν λόγοις ἢ αἱ μείζους δικαίως ἂν φέροιντο; ("Suppose we illustrate this by taking some altogether immaculate and unimpeachable writer, must we not in this very connection raise the general question: Which is the better in poetry and in prose, grandeur flawed in some respects, or moderate achievement accompanied by perfect soundness and impeccability? And again: is the first place in literature rightly due to the largest number of excellences or to the excellences that are greatest in themselves?").

[87] *Peri hypsous* 33.2: ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν ὡς αἱ ὑπερμεγέθεις φύσεις ἥκιστα καθαραί· <τὸ> γὰρ ἐν παντὶ ἀκριβὲς κίνδυνος μικρότητος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν πλούτοις, εἶναί τι χρὴ καὶ παρολιγωρούμενον· μήποτε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ, τὸ τὰς μὲν ταπεινὰς καὶ μέσας φύσεις διὰ τὸ μηδαμῆ παρακινδυνεύειν μηδὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἄκρων ἀναμαρτήτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρας διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἐπισφαλῆ δι' αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος ("Now I am well aware that the greatest natures are least immaculate. Perfect precision runs the risk of triviality, whereas in great writing as in great wealth there must needs be something overlooked. Perhaps it is inevitable that humble, mediocre natures, because they never run any risks and never aid at the heights, should remain to a large extent safe from error, while in great natures their very greatness spells danger").

comparing a number of authors that represent one or the other side of the opposition. Both Apollonius, who is a faultless poet (ἄπτωτος ποιητής) in the *Argonautica*, and Theocritus, who is most successful in his bucolic poetry, cannot hold up against Homer. Eratosthenes' flawless poem *Erigone* is contrasted with the 'disorganised flood' of Archilochus, while Bacchylides is contrasted with Pindar and Ion with Sophocles. Longinus concludes that even though in these pairs the first ones are considered to be impeccable (ἀδιάπτωτος), the latter ones are still to be preferred.[88]

Heinsius takes over Longinus' Greek terms ἄπτωτος and ἀδιάπτωτος (both meaning 'faultless' or 'impeccable') into his comparison of the flawless and faulty writers. Although Heinsius' selection of authors largely overlaps with Longinus' selection, there are some differences. In *Peri hypsous* 33.4 Longinus mentions Apollonius together with Theocritus, whereas Heinsius speaks of Apollonius and Callimachus. As we have seen, Heinsius' discussion of *ingenium* takes Ovid's *Amores* 1.15 as a starting point, and particularly Ovid's criticism of Callimachus. By excluding Theocritus and including Callimachus, Heinsius conflates both

[88] *Peri hypsous* 33.4-5: ἐπείτοιγε καὶ ἄπτωτος ὁ Ἀπολλών<ιος ἐν τοῖς> Ἀργοναύταις ποιητής, κἂν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁ Θεόκριτος ἐπιτυχέστατος· ἆρ' οὖν Ὅμηρος ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐθέλοις γενέσθαι; τί δέ; Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῇ Ἠριγόνῃ (διὰ πάντων γὰρ ἀμώμητον τὸ ποιημάτιον) Ἀρχιλόχου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνοικονόμητα παρασύροντος, κἀκείνης τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου πνεύματος ἣν ὑπὸ νόμον τάξαι δύσκολον, ἆρα δὴ μείζων ποιητής; τί δέ; ἐν μέλεσι μᾶλλον ἂν εἶναι Βακχυλίδης ἕλοιο ἢ Πίνδαρος, καὶ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ Ἴων ὁ Χῖος ἢ νὴ Δία Σοφοκλῆς; ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ γλαφυρῷ πάντη κεκαλλιγραφημένοι, ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὁτὲ μὲν οἷον πάντα ἐπιφλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀτυχέστατα. ἢ οὐδεὶς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἑνὸς δράματος, τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, εἰς ταὐτὸ συνθεὶς τὰ Ἴωνος <πάντ'> ἀντιτιμήσαιτο ἑξῆς ("Apollonius, for instance, is an impeccable poet in the Argonautica, and Theocritus – except in a few extraneous matters – is supremely successful in his pastorals. Yet would you not rather be Homer than Apollonius? And what of Eratosthenes in his Erigone? Wholly blameless as the little poem is, do you therefore think him a greater poet than Archilochus with all his disorganized flood and those outbursts of divine inspiration, which are so troublesome to bring under any rule? In lyrics, again, would you choose to be Bacchylides rather than Pindar, or in tragedy Ion of Chios rather than Sophocles? In both pairs the first named is impeccable (ἀδιάπτωτος) and a master of elegance in the smooth style, while Pindar and Sophocles sometimes seem to fire the whole landscape as they sweep across it, though often their fire is unaccountably quenched and they fall miserably flat. The truth is rather that no one in his senses would give the single tragedy of Oedipus for all the works of Ion together").

accounts.[89] Heinsius' omission of the poets Ion and Bacchylides from the selection moreover results in a selection with a distinct temporal division: the archaic and classical poets Homer, Archilochus, Pindar, and Sophocles are contrasted with the Hellenistic poets (and scholars) Eratosthenes, Apollonius and Callimachus. This division corresponds to Heinsius' argument that the first, pristine poetry is better than its later derivatives.[90]

Heinsius continues his defence of the flaws of genius by discussing the pernicious effects of rules and precepts:

> Atqui sicut in proelio non minus laudem consequitur, qui pro patria cadit, quam qui salvus evadit; contra vero ignavissimus habetur, quem superstitem metus fecit: ita ne vitio quidem poetae dignus est Grammaticus, quem pessundat ubique putida praeceptorum observatio. Sicut arcae illae in quibus Nanos, et Pygmaeos suos reges nutriunt non modo corporum eorum incrementis obesse solent, sed et ipsa membra in arctum cogunt: tale revera animal est Grammaticus, cum maxime sibi in arte sua arridet. Poeta cum periculo audet aliquid, καὶ τολμηρόν τι χρῆμά ἐστι, καὶ αὐτῆς της Σπάρτης ἐλευθερώτερον. Itaque ut veteres dicendi magistri servum ad omnia idoneum esse dicunt, praeterquam ut Rhetor sit, ita et nos negamus Grammaticum poëtam esse. Sed enimvero fleant Grammatici, nos cum Pindaro exclamemus, τὸ φυᾷ πᾶν ἐπιπρέπει.[91]

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[89] That Heinsius was to publish a new edition of Theocritus in 1604, may also have contributed to his exclusion of the author from his account of infallible but mediocre writers. Heinsius' fondness for the Greek author Theocritus is moreover reflected by the pseudonym that Heinsius used in his collection of love emblems: Theocritus à Ganda ('from Ghent'). The Greek name 'Theocritus' can be interpreted as a translation of the Hebrew name 'Daniel' ('God is my judge'). See B. Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius* (Boston: Twayne publishers, 1978), 57 and Wesseling (2011), 242n.60.

[90] The contrast of 'Classical vs. Hellenistic' already lurks behind Longinus' comparisons. According to Fantuzzi and Hunter "'Longinus' too treats Ion and Bacchylides as 'Hellenistic poets' *avant la lettre* […]" (Fantuzzi and Hunter, 2004, 446). Modern scholars have wondered why Longinus did not mention Callimachus at this point, since he reacts to a distinctly 'Callimachean' ideal. We may consider Heinsius' inclusion of Callimachus in this context to be precursor of the modern interpretation of this passage. See for instance R. Hunter, *On Coming After: Studies in Post-Classical Greek Literature and its Reception. Part 1: Hellenistic Poetry and his Reception* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 549-556 on this question.

[91] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1ᵛ.

> And as if one who dies for his country in a battle would be praised no less than who escapes unharmed; on the contrary, we deem most cowardly, whom fear has made a survivor: therefore a grammarian, whom the exorbitant scrutiny of precepts spoils, is not even worthy of a poet's mistake. Just like those cages, in which kings keep their dwarves and pygmies, not only tend to damage the growth of their bodies, but they also force their very limbs in a narrow space: truly such an animal is the grammarian, especially when he praises himself in his artifice. When a poet dares something to his own risk, "it is a bold thing, and even more free than Sparta herself".[92] Therefore, just like the ancient masters of rhetoric say that a slave is apt for everything, except for being an orator, so we too deny that a grammarian is a poet. But indeed, let the grammarians weep; and let us exclaim with Pindar: "everything stands out by nature."[93]

Ingenium, Heinsius argues, is harmed by cautiousness, and grammarians are incapable of making mistakes because they fear to break the rules, even though they have formed these rules themselves. In order to illustrate this, Heinsius adapts the simile of the 'caged pygmies' from chapter 44 of *Peri hypsous*. In this chapter Longinus presents a dialogue between himself and an anonymous philosopher, about the decay of literature.[94] The philosopher explains the trend of

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[92] The quotation is taken from Maximus of Tyre, *Oration* 20.2: Διόπερ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις πάνυ τι ἐπιχωριάσαι τὰ τοῦ ἔρωτος. ὅπου γὰρ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος δουλεύει, τὸ δὲ ἄρχον δεσπόζει, τὸ διὰ μέσου ἐνθένδε ἐξήρηται, τὸ ἰσήγορόν τε καὶ ἰσότιμον καὶ ξύννομον. ὁ δὲ ἔρως οὐδενὶ οὕτως πολεμεῖ ὡς ἀνάγκη καὶ δέει, καὶ ἔστιν χρῆμα γαῦρον καὶ δεινῶς ἐλεύθερον καὶ τῆς Σπάρτης αὐτῆς ἐλευθερώτερον. ("It is for this reason, I believe, that true love does not have a proper home among foreigners. Where the mass of the population is enslaved and rule is despotic, all the middle ground where equal rights to speech and status, and sociability, can flourish is removed. Love, on the other hand, has no worse enemy than compulsion and fear; it is a haughty creature and terribly independent, more so indeed even than Sparta herself") (Text: M.B. Trapp, *Maximus Tyrius. Dissertationes*, Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994; translation: M.B. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). Heinsius published an edition of Maximus of Tyre in 1607.

[93] The quotation is taken from Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 8.44-55: φυᾷ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα. ("By nature the noble resolve from fathers shines forth in their sons") (Translation: Race, 1997).

[94] See for instance C.P. Segal, Ὕψος and the Problem of Cultural Decline in the De sublimitate', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64 (1959), 121-146, J. Bause, 'Περὶ ὕψους, Kapitel 44', *Rheinisches Museum*

decadence by pointing at the current repressive regime, which poses an impediment to the development of free spirits, just like cages stunt the growth of pygmies and dwarfs.[95]

Hadrianus Junius, whose work was well known to Daniel Heinsius, had already discussed Longinus' simile of the caged pygmies in his *Adagia* (1558), as well as in his *Emblemata* (1565), thereby drawing particular attention to this section of Longinus' treatise.[96] In the *Adagia*, Junius included the proverb *animae scrinium servitus*, which translates a phrase in *Peri hypsous* 44.5: ψυχῆς γλωττόκομον δουλεία ("slavery is a cage for the soul").[97] Junius paraphrases and discusses the passage at length, explaining Longinus' argument that liberty is a prerequisite for eloquence, and discussing the Greek term γλωττόκομον ('cage'; lit. 'tongue-binder').[98] In his *Emblemata* (1565) Junius connects Longinus' proverb with the adage of the nightingale that does not sing when caged, in a double distich titled *Animi scrinium servitus* ("Slavery is a box for the soul").[99] Daniel Heinsius was quite

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123 (1980), 258-266, T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire. The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 66-71, and C.C. de Jonge, 'The Attic muse and the Asian harlot. Classicizing allegories in Dionysius and Longinus', in: J. Ker and C.H. Pieper (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World: Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 388-409, for a discussion of the two positions presented in *Peri hypsous* 44 and their meaning for the understanding of Longinus' treatise.

[95] *Peri hypsous* 44.4-5: διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἕξεις καὶ εἰς οἰκέτας πίπτειν ἔφασκε, δοῦλον δὲ μηδένα γίνεσθαι ῥήτορα. […] 'ὥσπερ οὖν, εἴ γε' φησί 'τοῦτο πιστόν ἐστιν ἀκούω, τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι δὲ νᾶνοι τρέφονται, οὐ μόνον κωλύει τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων τὰς αὐξήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ϯσυνάροι διὰ τὸν περικείμενον τοῖς σώμασι δεσμόν, οὕτως ἅπασαν δουλείαν, κἂν ᾖ δικαιοτάτη, ψυχῆς γλωττόκομον καὶ κοινὸν ἄν τις ἀποφήναιτο δεσμωτήριον.' ("This is the reason, he alleged, that while all other faculties are granted even to slaves, no slave ever becomes an orator. […] 'And so,' he adds, 'if what I hear is true that not only do the cages in which they keep the pygmies or dwarfs, as they are called, stunt the growth of their prisoners, but enfeeble them by the bonds applied to their bodies, on the same principle all slavery, however equitable, might well be described as a cage for the soul, a common prison'").

[96] Junius, *Adagia* (1558), 800-802; *Emblemata* (1565), 62 and 146-147. On Hadrianus Junius' interest in Longinus see also section 1.4.2 and 1.5.3.

[97] See Wesseling (2011), 231-233.

[98] The term γλωττόκομον can refer to the mouthpiece of an aulos-player, but is also used to denote a 'cage' or 'casket'.

[99] Junius, *Emblemata* (1565), 62 (emblem no. 56): *Luscinia veris nuncia / mutescit inclusa caveae: / est servitus scrinium animi / linguamque vinclo praepedit*. ("A nightingale, harbinger of spring, / falls silent when caught in a cage. / Slavery is a box for the soul, / it binds and obstructs the tongue."). Junius explains

familiar with Junius' emblems, as he studied them for his own collection of love emblems (*Quaeris quid sit amor?*) of 1601, and several of Heinsius' emblems are derived from Junius' collection.[100] Just like Junius had incorporated Longinus' simile of the caged pygmies in his *Adagia* and *Emblemata*, Heinsius exploited the passage in his *Prolegomena*.

Heinsius' phrasing *sicut arcae* […] *cogunt* is an almost literal translation of the passage in *Peri hypsous* 44.5. Whereas *Peri hypsous* however presents this image to illustrate the detrimental effect of a political regime, Heinsius uses it to describe the harmful effects of strict rules on poetic production.[101] Underlying both Longinus' and Heinsius' use of the metaphor however is the idea of an idealised past versus a later, deteriorated period. The anonymous philosopher states how truly great minds are no more to be found[102], whereas Heinsius (as is clear from the opening sections of the *Prolegomena*) describes how the genuine simplicity of Hesiod and Homer has vanished. Heinsius' adaptation of Longinus' image of the 'caged genius' as well as his comparison of archaic and classical authors to later, Hellenistic authors (as I have shown above), both serve to support Heinsius' representation of the development of poetry as regressive, *contra* Scaliger, who had envisioned it as a cyclical process.

2.7 The corruption of simplicity

Perhaps the most striking adaptation of terminology and ideas from Longinus' treatise is found in Heinsius' description of simplicity as the greatest virtue of literature:

> Simplicitas est quam in his veneramur, simplicitas est quam suspicimus, simplicitas est quam omnibus dicendi figuris opponimus, καὶ ἡ καθαρότης. Ex quo enim Sophistica illa καινοσπουδία genuinam simplicitatem invasit,

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the adage in the notes on p. 146-147 of his book. See Wesseling (2011), 231-233 for a discussion of Junius' conflation of these two *adagia*.

[100] D. Heinsius, *Quaeris quid sit amor?* (Amsterdam: H. De Buck, 1601). See Wesseling (2011), 241-243.

[101] The victim of these rules is the grammarian, whose *ingenium* is stunted in its development and hence cannot rise up to talent of a poet.

[102] *Peri hypsous* 44.1.

> secutum est in sublimi dicendi genere τὸ μειρακιῶδες, vitium ridiculum, & τὸ κορυβαντιῶδες: τὸ μικροχαρὲς denique των νοήσεων, & τὸ πεποιημένον: in humili τὸ ψυχρὸν, et similia.[103]
>
> Simplicity is what we revere in these [writings], simplicity is what we admire, simplicity – and "purity" – is what we place against all figures of speech. For ever since that sophistic "strive for novelty" has attacked genuine simplicity, "puerility" has followed in the sublime style of writing, a ridiculous fault, and "a wild frenzy": eventually "pettiness of thoughts" and "contrived expression" [have followed]: in the low [style of writing] "frigidness" is produced, and similar things.

In this passage, which follows right after Heinsius' discussion of the grammarians' vicious attacks on Hesiod, simplicity is contrasted with 'figures of speech' (*dicendi figurae*), and equated with 'purity' (καθαρότης). This genuine simplicity has been attacked by a 'sophistic strive for novelty of expression' (*sophistica illa* καινοσπουδία), which produces all kinds of vices.

The Greek terms that Heinsius uses in this passage are a rearrangement of the terminology of stylistic vices used by Longinus in chapters 3-5 of *Peri hypsous*.[104] In the third chapter of *Peri hypsous* Longinus discusses several types of 'failed sublimity', among which the faults of 'tumidity' and 'puerility'. While tumidity is an overly inflated form of sublimity, 'puerility' (το μειρακιῶδες) is its opposite: 'mean spirited' (μικρόψυχος), a 'studied fabrication' (σχολαστικὴ νόησις), which leads to 'frigidity' (ψυχρότης; 'coldness' or 'aridity'), and which is caused by an attempt to be 'exquisite' (πεποιημένος).[105] In *Peri hypsous* 4, Longinus discusses

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[103] Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascraei opera quae extant* (1603), 'In Hesiodum Prolegomena', β1ʳ.

[104] The correspondences with *Peri hypsous* 3-5 have also been suggested by Meter (1984). 77.

[105] *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἰδοῦν ὑπεραίρειν βούλεται τὰ ὕψη, τὸ δὲ μειρακιῶδες ἄντικρυς ὑπεναντίον τοῖς μεγέθεσι· ταπεινὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅλου καὶ μικρόψυχον καὶ τῷ ὄντι κακὸν ἀγεννέστατον. τί ποτ' οὖν τὸ μειρακιῶδές ἐστιν; ἢ δῆλον ὡς σχολαστικὴ νόησις, ὑπὸ περιεργασίας λήγουσα εἰς ψυχρότητα; ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον ("But, while tumidity seeks to outdo the sublime, puerility (τὸ μειρακιῶδες) is the exact opposite of grandeur; utterly abject, mean spirited (μικρόψυχος), and in fact the most ignoble of faults. What then is puerility (τὸ μειρακιῶδες)? Is it not obviously an idea born in the classroom (σχολαστικὴ νόησις), whose overelaboration ends in

examples of 'frigidity' (το ψυχρόν) in Timaeus, who is keen on criticising others, though he himself lacks stylistic sense.[106] Not only Timaeus, but also the 'demi-gods' Xenophon and Plato occasionally lapse into 'fondness for cheap effects' (τὰ μικροχαρῆ).[107] The fifth chapter of *Peri hypsous* marks the end of the discussion of failed sublimity and explains the common origin of all the vices described in chapters 3 and 4: that 'passion for novelty of thought' (τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόσπουδον), which people nowadays 'are so crazy about' (κορυβαντιῶσιν).[108]

Longinus and Heinsius describe a similar process: a 'strive for novelty' (το καινόσπουδον or καινοσπουδία) results in stylistic vices, such as 'puerility' (το μειρακιῶδες) and 'frigidity' (το ψυχρόν). Whereas Longinus however presents these faults as failed attempts at sublimity, for Heinsius they spring from the corruption of *simplicity*. As such, Heinsius' incorporation of Longinus' terminology serves the greater scheme of the *Prolegomena*: to rewrite the history of the

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frigid failure (ψυχρότης)? Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite (πεποιημένος), and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation").

[106] *Peri hypsous* 4.1: Θατέρου δὲ ὧν εἴπομεν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, πλήρης ὁ Τίμαιος, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἱκανὸς καὶ πρὸς λόγων ἐνίοτε μέγεθος οὐκ ἄφορος, πολυΐστωρ, ἐπινοητικός, πλὴν ἀλλοτρίων μὲν ἐλεγκτικώτατος ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνεπαίσθητος δὲ ἰδίων, ὑπὸ δὲ ἔρωτος τοῦ ξένας νοήσεις ἀεὶ κινεῖν πολλάκις ἐκπίπτων εἰς τὸ παιδαριωδέστατον ("The second fault of which we spoke above is frigidity (τὸ ψυχρόν), of which there are many examples in Timaeus, in other respects a capable writer and sometimes not at all badly endowed for greatness of style, learned, and full of ideas. Yet while keenly critical of other's faults, he is blind and deaf to his own, and his insatiable passion for starting strange conceits often lands him in the most puerile effects").

[107] *Peri hypsous* 4.4: <καὶ> τί δεῖ περὶ Τιμαίου λέγειν, ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ ἥρωες ἐκεῖνοι, Ξενοφῶντα λέγω καὶ Πλάτωνα, καίτοιγε ἐκ τῆς Σωκράτους ὄντες παλαίστρας, ὅμως διὰ τὰ οὕτως μικροχαρῆ ποτε ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλανθάνονται; ("But why speak of Timaeus when those very demi-gods, Xenophon and Plato, for all their training in the school of Socrates, yet sometimes forgot themselves in their fondness for such cheap effects (τὰ μικροχαρῆ)?"

[108] *Peri hypsous* 5: Ἅπαντα μέντοι τὰ οὕτως ἄσεμνα διὰ μίαν ἐμφύεται τοῖς λόγοις αἰτίαν, διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόσπουδον, περὶ ὃ δὴ μάλιστα κορυβαντιῶσιν οἱ νῦν· ἀφ' ὧν γὰρ ἡμῖν τἀγαθά, σχεδὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὰ κακὰ γεννᾶσθαι φιλεῖ. ὅθεν, ἐπεὶ φορὸν εἰς συνταγμάτων κατόρθωσιν τά τε κάλλη τῆς ἑρμηνείας καὶ τὰ ὕψη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ἡδοναί, καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, καθάπερ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας, οὕτως ἀρχαὶ καὶ ὑποθέσεις καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων καθίστανται ("However, all these lapses from dignity in literature spring from the same cause, namely that passion for novelty of thought (τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόσπουδον) which people nowadays are so crazy about (κορυβαντιῶσιν). For our virtues and vices spring from much the same sources. And so while beauty of style, sublimity, yes, and charm, too, all contribute to successful composition, yet these same things are the source and groundwork no less of failure than of success").

development of poetry and to present Hesiod's (and Homer's) simplicity as the highest poetical virtue. The invasion of simplicity by 'striving for novelty' is then to be interpreted as the corruption of poetic style after Hesiod and Homer, which resulted in the artificial approach to poetry of later poets and critics (or poet-critics), such as the Hellenistic poets Callimachus, Apollonius and Eratosthenes, but also (by implication) the Homeric imitator Vergil, Scaliger's champion. Interestingly, Heinsius discerns a dual development: the corruption of simplicity by 'strive for novelty' leads to 'puerility' and other vices in the 'elevated style' (*in sublimi genere dicendi*), whereas in the 'low [style]' (*in humili [genere dicendi]*) it leads to 'frigidity'. The implication is that 'simplicity' can be a characteristic of the high style as well as the low style in writing. It appears that for Heinsius at this point 'simplicity' is not the same as the 'low style' in rhetorical theory, but rather an absence of artificial contrivances – the opposite of 'figures of speech'.[109]

Heinsius' interpretation of Longinus' words as an outright rejection of figures of speech can be explained from a textual variant that is present in the editions of Manuzio and Portus. In *Peri hypsous* 3.4, where Longinus discusses 'puerility' (το μειρακιῶδες), Manuzio and Portus read τροπικόν ('figurative') as a correction of the nonsensical manuscript reading τὸ ῥοπικόν ('inclined'): "Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and instead drift into figurative speech (τροπικόν) and bad taste." In this context the reading τροπικόν ('figurative') would implicate that there is a direct link between 'figurative speech' and the stylistic vice of 'puerility'.[110] In his argument, possibly motivated by a textual variant, Heinsius thus redefines simplicity from being an insult ('crude, unrefined') into a virtue that trumps stylistic devices.

2.8 The defence of the poet in context

Heinsius' adaptation of Longinus' ideas in his *Prolegomena* constitutes a remarkable and original response to *Peri hypsous* in the context of the late

[109] *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον.

[110] Since the edition of Tollius (1694) most editions have τὸ ῥωπικὸν: "Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation (τὸ ῥωπικὸν)". See also section 5.3.3 on this emendation in Tollius' edition.

sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century reception of the treatise. Heinsius was not, unlike many of his contemporaries, interested in the fragments preserved in the treatise, but instead used Longinus' ideas on artistic freedom and literary judgment to make a radical point about the appreciation of archaic Greek poetry. In the final section of this chapter I will contextualise Heinsius' use of Longinus' ideas by highlighting some other contexts in which these particular aspects of Longinus' treatise drew the attention of early modern scholars, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century.

A particularly relevant example is found in Daniel Heinsius' *De Tragoediae Constitutione* (1611). Heinsius reiterates his arguments from the *Prolegomena* in a slightly different form in his chapter on diction, or expression (*dictio, sive elocutio*).[111] When discussing the proper use of metaphors, Heinsius elaborates on a statement from Aristotle's *Poetics*:

> Sicut autem recte ac feliciter transferre felicis, ut praeclare dictum Philosopho, nec mediocris iudicium naturae est, ita et translationes, cui sint peculiares elocutioni, ut oportet, judicare, non cuiusvis est. (…) Plurimum a Pindaro desumam, quaedam ejus sapienter vitem, ac praesertim quae ad dithyrambum, sive vocum compositione sive audacia translationum proxime accedunt. Ne dum gravitatem aut sublimitatem nimiam affectem, neque illam assequar, et in tumorem alibi incurram.[112]
>
> But just as to hit on good and lucky metaphors is, as was very well said by the Philosopher [Aristotle], a sign of a luckily gifted, not an ordinary, nature, so properly to judge of the metaphors that are peculiar to this sort of expression does not fall to the lot of everyone. (…) I should borrow many [metaphors] from Pindar, but would be wise to avoid some of his, and especially those that (whether through combination of words or boldness of metaphors) come as close as possible to the dithyramb, lest while affecting

[111] Heinsius, *De Tragoediae constitutione* (1611), ch. 16; A. Duprat (ed.), *De constitutione tragoediae: La constitution de la tragédie, dite La poétique d'Heinsius* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 2001), 292-337.

[112] Text: Duprat (2001), 310.

> high seriousness or exceeding sublimity, I fail to attain it and fall into swelling in other respects.[113]

Heinsius discusses Aristotle's remark that the proper use of metaphors is a matter of natural giftedness (εὐφυΐα).[114] His subsequent advice on the moderate use of metaphors touches upon a matter that Heinsius also addressed in the *Prolegomena*, and which is ultimately derived from *Peri hypsous*: extravagant figures of speech may result in 'swelling' (*tumor*).[115] Heinsius then proceeds with a defence of excessive metaphors and faults in the writings of the ancient authors.[116]

> A quo vitio plerunque triviales absunt animae, quales apud Graecos Eratosthenes et Ion memorantur, quorum scripta, quia extra reprehensionem, intra mediocritatis laudem stare putabantur; pulchrae autem ac excelsae vix hoc evitant, et plerunque amant, animae. Ne Homerum quidem veteres excipiunt, aut Sophoclem. Quorum utrunque generose et ut Phaetontem e coelo labi ajunt. Cum in terra caeteri subsistant.[117]
>
> Ordinary spirits are generally free of this vice. Among the Greeks, Eratosthenes and Ion are spoken of as being of this sort – their writings were thought to earn mean praise because they deserved no censure. Beautiful

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[113] Translation (slightly adapted): P.R. Sellin and J. McManmon (trans.), *Heinsius, On Plot in Tragedy* (Northridge, California: State University Northridge, 1971), 121.

[114] Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459a: διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ποιεῖ τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτικὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦτο ἠγνόει. ἔστιν δὲ μέγα μὲν τὸ ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰρημένων πρεπόντως χρῆσθαι, καὶ διπλοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ γλώτταις, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι. μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο οὔτε παρ᾽ ἄλλου ἔστι λαβεῖν εὐφυΐας τε σημεῖόν ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ εὖ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ ὅμοιον θεωρεῖν ἐστιν ("Because absent from standard speech, all such expressions make an out-of-the-ordinary impression; but Ariphrades failed to realise that. It is important to use aptly each of the features mentioned, including double nouns and loan words; but much the greatest asset is a capacity for metaphor. This alone cannot be acquired from another, and is a sign of natural gifts: because to use metaphor well is to discern similarities") (Translation: Halliwell, 1999).

[115] See also *Peri hypsous* 3.4 and my section 2.7.

[116] This ties in with Longinus' discussion of the excessive metaphors used by Plato (*Peri hypsous* 32), and his subsequent defence of the flawed genius in *Peri hypsous* 33.

[117] Duprat (2001), 310 (*DTC* 16).

> and lofty spirits, on the other hand, scarcely avoid this, and for the most part are fond of it. Indeed, the ancients make no exception of Homer or Sophocles, both of whom, they say, fall from the vault of heaven in a noble fashion like Phaethon, whereas all the rest tarry on earth.[118]

Heinsius' defence is derived from Longinus' argument that avoiding mistakes leads to mediocrity, while lofty spirits are noble in their errors, and includes two of Longinus' examples of faultless writers (Eratosthenes and Ion). This reference to *Peri hypsous* 33.4-5 corresponds to Heinsius' argument in *Prolegomena* β1^{r}- β1^{v}.[119] In this particular passage of *DTC* Heinsius moreover compares the authors Homer and Sophocles to the mythical figure of Phaethon, whose dangerous ride in Helios' chariot becomes a metaphor for the risks associated with striving for sublimity in writing, an insight that also underlies Longinus' own discussion of Euripides' tragedy *Phaethon* in *Peri hypsous* 15.4.[120] Heinsius expands his argument with an example of a faulty, yet sublime writer: Pindar.

> A quibus diversissimus, si quisquam, Pindarus, qui cum non incedat sed feratur, non offendit alibi, ut alii, sed cadit. Ut praeclare, si quis veterum, Longinus, cujus de sublimitate scriptum Tragico poetae ediscendum putem. (…) Nam et generosum spiritus immensi impetum, et sublimitatem majorem usitata, et in verbis copiam, et in sermone toto suppeditat splendorem.[121]

> Pindar, if anyone, is very different from those [on the earth]. Since he marches with no stately gait but is borne aloft, he does not blunder elsewhere like other poets, but yet he falls, as Longinus (if any among the ancients) very well observes – whose treatise *On Sublimity* I consider necessary for the tragic poet to have by memory. (…) He affords the noble

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[118] Sellin and McManmon (1971), 121-122.

[119] See section 2.6.

[120] Porter (2016), 344-345. In the context of the *De tragoediae constitutione* the reference to Euripides' tragedy *Phaethon* moreover gains additional relevance.

[121] Duprat (2001), 310 (*DTC* 16).

> vehemence of a boundless spirit, and a loftiness much greater than the ordinary, and richness in words, and magnificence in all speech.[122]

Heinsius is inspired by Longinus' appraisal of Pindar and Sophocles as poets who "fire the whole landscape as they sweep across it, though often their fire is unaccountably quenched and they fall miserably flat" (*Peri hypsous* 33.5).[123] The metaphor of the sweeping fire caused by Pindar's poetic flow neatly ties in with the image of Phaethon's ride on the sun-chariot that Heinsius adduced earlier. In this passage Heinsius explicitly acknowledges his indebtedness to Longinus' argument and stresses the relevance of *Peri hypsous* for any tragedian. Heinsius' terminology resonates with Longinus' as well as his own words in the *Prolegomena*. Pindar is said to have the 'noble vehemence of a boundless spirit', echoing the importance of *impetus* to the central argument of the *Prolegomena*, as well as Heinsius' remark that Homer errs nobly (*generose peccat*).[124] The expression 'boundless spirit' may well be a rendering of Longinus' (ὑπερμεγέθεις φύσεις; 'immensely great natures') as for instance in *Peri hypsous* 33.2.[125]

Heinsius' use of the word sublimity (*sublimitas*) highlights a significant difference with his line of reasoning in the *Prolegomena*, and illuminates a crucial aspect of Longinus' argument about the faulty genius. Heinsius used the same arguments from *Peri hypsous* to defend the simplicity of Hesiod's style in the *Prolegomena*, as well as to defend the extravagant metaphors of poets like Pindar in the *DTC*.[126] In both cases Heinsius' argument is a matter of literary judgment,

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[122] Sellin and McManmon (1971), 122.

[123] *Peri hypsous* 33.5: (…) ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὁτὲ μὲν οἷον πάντα ἐπιφλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀτυχέστατα. It is interesting that Heinsius here chooses Pindar rather than Sophocles for illustrating sublime diction in tragedy.

[124] See also section 2.6.

[125] Duprat (2001), 310 (*DTC* 16): *nemo enim tam ignavus est ac deses, quem non ille rapiat, inflammet, accendat, semper concitatus, ac plerunque subito, ut, cum minime id expectes, divino quodam motu, coelum non tam petat, quam transcendat*. ("There is no one so sluggish and idle that Pindar does not seize him, inflame him, kindle him; he is always vehement, and for the most part unexpectedly so, with the result that when you least expect it, he not so much reaches for heaven as (with a kind of divine impulse) transcends it") (Sellin and McManmon, 1971, 122).

[126] Another difference between Heinsius' method in the *Prolegomena* and *DTC* is the fact that in the *Prolegomena* the source of the argument (*Peri hypsous*) is not mentioned explicitly. I would suggest that this difference can be explained from the fact that Heinsius' subject in the *Prolegomena* deviates more

which takes 'genius' as its primary criterion and hence allows to be applied to any genre or style. The origin of the separation of the Longinian sublime from the system of the *genera dicendi* may hence be traced as far back as the first decades of the seventeenth century, in Heinsius' *Prolegomena* and *DTC.*

Outside Heinsius' works Longinus' ideas on genius *versus* rules found fertile ground in the works of other early modern scholars as well. Before Heinsius' *Prolegomena*, the apologetic elements of *Peri hypsous* had been briefly signalled by Vettori (1560) and Caselius (1569).[127] In his edition of Persius' *Satires* (1605) Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) defends Persius in a way that is very similar to Heinsius' defence of Hesiod. In the *Prolegomena* to his edition, Casaubon reacts to the criticism that Persius' language is overly obscure, and defends the author by referring to Longinus' condonation of Plato's harsh and intemperate metaphors.[128] In the *Prolegomena* to the third book of his *De Respublica Hebraeorum* (1617), Petrus Cunaeus (1586-1638), explains that his work included some criticism of the mistakes and oversights of earlier scholars, whom he nonetheless holds in very high esteem.[129] Cunaeus pardons his predecessors by adducing Longinus' point

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from Longinus' treatise, which does not praise Hesiod, nor discuss simplicity. In *DTC* 16 Heinsius discusses the sublimity of Homer, Sophocles and Pindar, all of which belong to Longinus' canon. A reader of the *Prolegomena*, an essay praising the simplicity of Hesiod, would be surprised to find a reference to a treatise on sublimity, whereas a reader of the *DTC* (as Heinsius suggests), could find in *Peri hypsous* some interesting ideas to supplement his studies of the nature of tragedy.

[127] Vettori, *Commentarii in I librum Aristotelis de arte poetarum* (Florence: Giunti, 1560), 295 and Caselius (1569), c2^{v}-c3^{r} mention that Longinus stated that some passages in Homer can be defended by interpreting them allegorically (cf. *Peri hypsous* 9.7).

[128] I. Casaubon, *In Persii Satiras liber commentarius* (Paris: A. & H. Drovart, 1605), 'Prolegomena', ei^{v}; cf. *Peri hypsous* 32.7. On p. ei^{v} of the *Prolegomena*, Casaubon repeats his argument and defends Persius' obscurity by referring to Longinus' statement that "figurative writing has a natural grandeur and that metaphors make for sublimity: also that emotional and descriptive passages are most glad of them" (*Peri hypsous* 32.6). In the commentary (p. 56-7; 111), Casaubon refers to Longinus' discussion of stylistic vices (e.g. 'tumidity'; *Peri hypsous* 3-5), and cites Longinus' of literary imitation with the inspiration of the Pythian priestess (*Peri hypsous* 13.2). See P.M. Medine, 'Isaac Casaubon's *Prolegomena* to the *Satires* of Persius: An Introduction, Text, and Translation,' *ELR* 6 (1976), 271-277, for a discussion of Casaubon's *Prolegomena* to Persius.

[129] Cunaeus, *De Respublica Hebraeorum libri III* (Leiden: L. Elzevier, 1617), 358-359.

that it is sometimes necessary to make mistakes, since avoidance of faults leads to mediocrity.[130]

Another striking case is the polemic exchange between Jean Goulu (1576-1629) and Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597-1654). As Emma Gilby has shown, Goulu adduced *Peri hypsous* in his *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste* (1627-1628) in order to criticise Guez de Balzac's stylistic extravagancies.[131] Much like Heinsius, Casaubon and Cunaeus, Goulu used *Peri hypsous* to make an argument about what should be

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[130] Cunaeus (1617), 359-361: *Hallucinamur omnes, alij gravia, alij leviora. Nec est quisquam, qui tam bene animum suum disciplinis obfirmavit, ut nihil fugere eum possit amplius, aut fallere. Adde quod interdum vitij loco est, nusquam peccavisse. Quod de Apollonio Rhodio Dionysius Longinus pronuntiavit, cum significare vellet artem et diligentiam in eo summam fuisse, at ingenij vim negatam illi esse. Spernit anxiam curam animus, simulac illum implevit rei majestas. Miserum est ferme et jejunum, quicquid ab illis speratur, qui sese intra limitas quosdam et praescripta spatia claudunt: qui sensa sua torquent, et de singulis rebus in consilium eunt: quorum hic exitus est, ut, quum toto anno, per omnes dies, magno molimine unum librum extuderint, vitavisse potius reprehensionem, quam meruisse laudem videantur. Quare idem ille acerrimi vir judicij Longinus maximos homines ab omni aevo, cum luculentissima quaeque dicerent scriberentque, errores interdum in minimis usque adeo non effugisse ait, uti in quosdam etiam sponte delati sint. Nimis angusta res est, non errare. Quod cui contigit, is solicite quidem cuncta ad normam exegit, sed tamen extra culpam duntaxat est. At vero, qui per generosos lapsus omnia soluto impetu pervadit, hic et hominem esse se, cadendo docet, et, quia nihil mediocre concupiscit, proximus tenenti summa est. Est aliqua laus, magnis excidisse ausubus*. ("We all make mistakes, some bigger, others smaller. And there is no one, who has strengthened his mind through studies to such an extent, that nothing could escape or deceive him. Add to this a phenomenon that sometimes takes the place of faults: to never make mistakes. This is what Dionysius Longinus said about Apollonius Rhodius, when he wanted to explain that this writer's art and diligence are excellent, while he lacks the power of natural talent. When the mind despises anxious care, the greatness of the subject matter fills it up completely. It is quite miserable and poor, whatever is expected from those, who keep between the lines and limit themselves to prescribed spaces. They twist and turn their ideas and overthink every detail: as a result it seems that they, having finished one book with immense effort after working on it every single day for a whole year, rather would escape censure than earn praise. For this reason that same sharp-witted critic Longinus explained that great men from every era, in composing and writing their most excellent works, sometimes hardly avoided mistakes, or even not at all, so that they end up making mistakes spontaneously. It is a very stifling matter, not making mistakes. Someone who is subject to this fate may execute everything according to the rules, but he is blameless only in this respect. On the other hand, who pervades everything with unimpeded vigour through noble faults, proves he is human in making mistakes, and, because he strives for nothing mediocre, is closest to the one who attains the highest glory. It is an honour to fall from a great undertaking").

[131] J. Goulu, *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste. Où il est traité de la vraye & de la bonne Eloquence, contre la fausse & la mauvaise du Sieur de Balzac* (Paris: N. Buon, 1627 and 1628). See Gilby (2016). Goulu especially used Longinus' criticism of stylistic faults in *Peri hypsous* 3.

considered an acceptable transgression of certain norms, but instead of defending Balzac, Goulu used Longinus to demonstrate precisely where Balzac had crossed the line. Furthermore, Leone Allacci (c. 1586-1669) made Longinus' discussion of the faulty genius a central theme of his *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo* (1635). In the dedication of his work, Allacci explains that he has become fascinated by the idea of a faulty sublime and faultless mediocrity.[132] Longinus' allowance of faults is moreover adduced by Franciscus Junius in his *De pictura veterum* (1637) (as will also be discussed in chapter 4), when he explains how 'negligence' may actually enhance an artwork's charm.[133]

In the late seventeenth century Longinus' treatise was used once more to subvert stylistic criticism and defend artistic freedom. John Dryden, for instance, adduced Longinus' arguments to defend Milton (among others) in his *Apology for Heroique Poetry and Poetic Licence* (1677).[134] Jacobus Tollius, who made the first edition of Longinus' treatise in the Low Countries, compared various ancient authors to the end of proving the superiority of certain (earlier, Greek) authors over other (later, Roman) authors in his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (1677).[135] Nicholas Boileau defended Pindar from the criticism of Charles Perrault in his *Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du Rhéteur Longin* (1694). Samuel Cobb referred to Longinus' defence of Homer in his *On Liberty in writing* (1707).[136] Alexander Pope moreover included Longinus' rejection of flawless mediocrity in his *Essay on Criticism* (1711).

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[132] Allacci, referring to *Peri hypsous* 33.2, calls it *quaestio de oratione sublimi, nonnumquam tamen errante, et de mediocri, quae nullas labes haberet, sed splenderet* ἀναμάρτητος ("the question of the sublime style, which is nonetheless sometimes faulty, and the mediocre style, which is faultless, but shines unerring") (L. Allacci, *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo,* Rome: Mascardi, 1635, p. 2). On Allacci and Longinus, see M. Fumaroli, 'Crépuscule del l'enthousiasme au XVIIe siècle', in: J.-C. Margolin (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis. III^e Congrès international d'Etudes Néolatines, Tours 1976* (Paris: Vrin, 1980), 1279–1305 and Fumaroli (1986), 33-51 (esp. 39-40).

[133] Junius, *De Pictura Veterum* (1637), 120 (section 2.11.7). See Natvel (2016), 263-279 and Chapter Four.

[134] Dryden's apology appeared as a preface to *The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man: an Opera* (London: printed by T.N. for Henry Herringman, 1677), a stage adaptation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

[135] Tollius, *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (1677), published as an appendix to an edition of Cicero's *Pro Archia*. See Chapter Five for a discussion of Tollius' work on *Peri hypsous*.

[136] Cobb's *On Liberty in writing* appeared in *A Collection of Poems on Several Occasions* (London: printed for R. and J. Bonwick, 1707).

The recurring use of this particular motive from *Peri hypsous* may indicate some indebtedness of one scholar to another. In the case of Dryden, Cobb and Pope we may trace their interest in these elements of Longinus' treatise back to Boileau, whose translation of and observations on *Peri hypsous* made the treatise widely known among English critics.[137] It is unlikely that Heinsius' use of Longinus in the *Prolegomena* of 1603 exerted great influence on later interpretations of *Peri hypsous*. The treatise or its author are not mentioned explicitly, and the *Prolegomena*, as part of an edition of Hesiod's complete works, probably had a fairly limited audience. This may have been different in the case of Heinsius' *De tragoediae constitutione* (first ed. 1611), which was quite influential in seventeenth-century poetics.[138] Particularly interesting moreover are Heinsius' direct connections to Isaac Casaubon and Petrus Cunaeus, and his more indirect connections to Jean Goulu and Franciscus Junius. In the early seventeenth century Heinsius actively corresponded with Casaubon.[139] Heinsius and Cunaeus both worked in Leiden on the *Dionysiaca* of the late-antique Greek author Nonnus.[140] In his *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste* (1627-1628), which made use of *Peri hypsous*, Jean Goulu polemicised against Jean Louis Guez de Balzac, who had in turn studied under Heinsius in Leiden.[141] Franciscus Junius F.F. moreover studied at Leiden University from 1608 onwards, while Heinsius held the chairs of poetry and Greek.[142] Even if

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[137] See Clark (1925) and Monk (1935).

[138] See for instance E. Kern, *The Influence of Heinsius and Vossius upon French Dramatic Theory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949) and P.R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England* (Leiden: Oxford and Leiden University Presses, 1968).

[139] Meter (1984), 23-24.

[140] Cunaeus' and Heinsius' observations to the *Dionysiaca* were published in *Nonni Panopolitae Dionysiaca. Petri Cunaei Animadversionum liber. Danielis Heinsii Dissertatio de Nonni Dionysiacis et ejusdem Paraphrasi. Josephi Scaligeri Coniectanea* (Hanau: C. de Marne and heirs of J. Aubry, 1610). See also W.G. Heesakkers-Kamerbeek, 'Petrus Cunaeus' in: J. Bloemendal en C. Heesakkers, eds., *Bio-bibliografie van Nederlandse Humanisten. Digitale uitgave DWC/Huygens Instituut KNAW* (Den Haag 2009). www.dwc.huygensinstituut.nl.

[141] In the 1630s Guez de Balzac however ended up in a heated literary dispute with his former teacher. See M. Somos, *Secularisation and the Leiden Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 143-148.

[142] See C. Nativel (ed.), *Franciscus Junius, De pictura veterum: édition du livre I* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), 33-38, C.S.M. Rademaker, 'Young Franciscus Junius: 1591-1621', in: R.H. Bremmer (ed.), *Franciscus Junius F. F. and his circle* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 1-18 and section 4.2 on Junius' early education.

Casaubon, Cunaeus, Goulu, and Junius do not owe their knowledge of this particular part of *Peri hypsous* directly to Heinsius, we may conclude that they were dealing with similar or common issues, to which a creative adaptation of *Peri hypsous* could provide an answer.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that *Peri hypsous* allows for a 'subversive' as well as a more traditional, rhetorical reading. By advocating, on the basis of Longinus' treatise, a quality of literature that cannot be measured or judged according to technical rules, and which takes 'genius' as one of its primary criteria, Daniel Heinsius exploited the treatise's potential to subvert traditional norms of literary criticism, allowing for a highly subjective judgment of (ancient) literature. The same line of reasoning is moreover found in the works of numerous other seventeenth-century scholars. The fairly widespread reception of Longinus' argument on artistic freedom and literary judgment in the first half of the seventeenth century calls for a reconsideration of the idea that a 'subversive' interpretation of *Peri hypsous* was possible only after Boileau had expressed his views on the nature of the Longinian sublime. Numerous scholars before 1674 exploited Longinus' rebuttal of Caecilius' criticism in various contexts. A common characteristic of these responses is the fact that almost all of them used Longinus' arguments to prove a certain point about the proper way to judge literature, and to ward off criticism. Their use of *Peri hypsous* is in the first place utilitarian and opportunistic: they applied its arguments to whatever purpose they were serving at the moment, be it rebuking stylistic criticism, arguing *pro* or *contra* a particular literary judgment, or defending the right to make mistakes. In this respect it seems unnecessary to assume a strictly chronological development that culminated in Boileau's redefinition of the Longinian sublime. The subversive aspects of *Peri hypsous* were noticed long before Boileau, and resulted from the need for an answer to the question what makes 'great' literature.

Heinsius connected Longinus' theories to the idea of 'simplicity', even though the treatise itself does not. In order to refute Scaliger's negative assessment of Homer and Hesiod as 'simple' and 'uncultivated', Heinsius advanced simplicity as the greatest virtue in writing in the *Prolegomena*. In Chapter Three I will shed light

on the prehistory of the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*, which also revolved around the idea of 'simplicity' in relation to Longinus' treatise, and show how the interpretation of Longinus' reference to Genesis as an example of 'sublime simplicity' was rooted in Dutch biblical scholarship: most notably in the works of Hugo Grotius and, again, of Daniel Heinsius.

CHAPTER THREE

FIAT LUX

SUBLIME SIMPLICITY IN DUTCH BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP

3.1 Introduction

The paraphrase of Genesis 1.3-9 in *Peri hypsous* 9.9 is certainly one of the most intriguing examples adduced in Longinus' treatise. The appearance of a reference to Scripture in a treatise that is primarily concerned with classical Greek literature and probably written by a pagan, as well as the textual form and argumentative function of the example have fascinated readers for ages.[1] In the late seventeenth

[1] The earliest discussion of (the authenticity of) the passage is found in the commentary to *Peri hypsous* of Franciscus Portus (first published by Zacharias Pearce in 1733). Discussions of the place an meaning of the passage in *Peri hypsous* and its ancient context include K. Ziegler 'Das Genesiscitat in der Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ', *Hermes* 50 (1915), 572-603, H. Mutschmann, 'Das Genesiscitat in der Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ', *Hermes* 52 (1917), 161-200, E. Norden, 'Das Genesiszitat in der Schrift Vom Erhabenen', in: *Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse fuŸr Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954), 5-23, Russell (1964), 92-4, M.L. West, 'Longinus and the Grandeur of God', in: D.C. Innes, H. Hine, and C. Pelling (eds.), *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical essays for Donald Russell on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 335-342, M.D. Usher, 'Theomachy, Creation, and the Poetics of Quotation in Longinus Chapter 9', *Classical Philology* 102 (2007), 292-303, Mazzucchi (2010), 174-77, De Jonge (2012), and Porter (2016), 107-16. The early modern reception of Longinus' Genesis citation is discussed by Till (2006 and 2012), Saint-Girons (1993), 43-49, G. Declercq, 'Boileau-Huet: la querelle du Fiat Lux', in: S. Guellouz (ed.), *Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630-1721). Actes du colloque de Caen (12-13 November 1993)* (Paris: Biblio, 1994), 237-262, T.A. Litman, 'The sublime as a source of light in the works of Boileau', *Analecta Husserliana* 38 (1992), 111-119, Kerslake (2000), 41-63, A. Ossa-Richardson, 'Sublimity as Resistance to Literary Form in the Early Modern Bible', in: Prickett, S.

century Longinus' citation of the *Fiat Lux* became the focal point in a fierce scholarly debate, which is nowadays known as *La Querelle du Fiat Lux*.[2] Nicolas Boileau and the biblical scholars Pierre-Daniel Huet and Jean Le Clerc disputed over the question whether the Mosaic account of the creation of light could be called 'sublime'. Longinus' citation of Genesis emerged from the debate as an example of 'sublimity through simplicity'.[3] It has been argued that Boileau's critical essays from that period, by emphasising the importance of simplicity in Longinus' argument, brought out a hitherto overlooked aspect of *Peri hypsous*.[4] Lawrence Kerslake and James Porter however pointed out that *Peri hypsous* itself does not present simplicity as an aspect of the sublime, and argued that this interpretation is to be regarded as a modification of Longinus' theory on the part of Boileau.[5] The *Fiat Lux* became the epitome of simplicity in Longinus' theory and influenced interpretations of *Peri hypsous* ever since.[6] While Boileau's critical essays played an important role in diffusing the idea that simplicity is an essential aspect of the Longinian sublime (a topic recurrent in modern scholarship on Longinus as well), the first appearance of this idea however long predates the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*. The present chapter will show how early seventeenth-century scholars already proposed the idea that Longinus' citation of Genesis connected sublimity

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(ed.), *The Edinburgh Companion to the Bible and the Arts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 69-87, Doran (2015), 115-120, and Lazarus (2019, forthcoming). John of Sicily's alleged reference to Longinus' *Fiat Lux* is discussed by Mazzucchi (1990), and I. Männlein-Robert, *Longin: Philologe und Philosoph. Eine Interpretation der erhaltenen Zeugnisse* (München: Saur Verlag, 2001), 599-608.

[2] Declercq (1994), 237-262 and Kerslake (2000), 41-63 provide insightful, chronological reconstructions of the *Querelle*. C. Henn, *Simplizität, Naivetät, Einfalt. Studien zur ästhetischen Terminologie in Frankreich und in Deutschland 1674-1771* (Diss. Zürich, 1974), 1-35 reflects on the meanings of 'simplicity' in the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*.

[3] The *Querelle* will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.

[4] An extensive list of modern scholars adhering to this idea is given by Porter (2016), 107-116. To his list of examples may be added Brody (1958), 91: "Simplicity is not merely a characteristic of the Sublime: it is its essence" and Saint-Girons (1993), 232: "La révolution longinienne consistera (…) dans la suppression de l'opposition traditionelle entre simple et sublime, ou, plus exactement, dans la réhabilitation de la simplicité, non pas à côté du sublime, mais en son coeur même."

[5] See Kerslake (2000), 41-63 and Porter (2016), 107-116.

[6] For a brief discussion and overview of 18th-century critics commenting on Longinus' *Fiat Lux*, see F. de Bruyn, 'Fiat Lux', in: D.L. Jeffrey (ed.), *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 275-278. James Porter (2016), 36-51 discusses the importance given to the idea of 'simplicity' in modern Longinian scholarship.

with simplicity, a ahift that is also visible in Daniel Heinsius' use of *Peri hypsous* in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod (see Chapter Two).

The *Querelle du Fiat Lux* was shaped against the background of biblical scholarship, a field that had discovered – and exploited – Longinus' praise of Scripture already more than half a century earlier, as Longinus' reference to Genesis had sparked the interest of (biblical) scholars as early as the first decade of the 17th century. The purpose of this chapter is to explore what occasioned the early modern interpretation of Longinus' quotation of Genesis as an example of 'sublime simplicity', and to reconstruct this development over the course of the seventeenth century. Section 3.2 will discuss Longinus' citation of Genesis in the context of the treatise and examine some of its significant characteristics. Section 3.3 will discuss the earliest reception of Longinus' citation of Genesis and explore how biblical scholarship influenced interpretations of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* already in the first decades of the seventeenth century, especially in the works of Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius. Section 3.4 will investigate the interpretative shift that took place during the *Querelle du Fiat Lux* and shed light on the contributions to the *Querelle* from the field of biblical scholarship. This chapter will thus demonstrate how the popular interpretation of Longinus' praise of Genesis as an example of 'sublime simplicity' was in fact rooted in early seventeenth-century (Dutch) biblical scholarship.

3.2 The reference to Genesis in *Peri hypsous* 9

From the sixteenth century onwards scholars have speculated about the function and authenticity of Longinus' reference to Genesis in *Peri hypsous* 9.9. Some have earmarked it as a later interpolation; others have used it to make claims about the background of the author of the treatise, or discussed its correspondence to the overall argument of *Peri hypsous* 9.[7] The present section will give an overview of

[7] Franciscus Portus questioned the authenticity of the passage in his commentary on *Peri hypsous* (published in 1733 by Zacharias Pearce), as did Ziegler (1915). Mutschmann (1917) and Norden (1954), 5-23 argued that a pagan writer might well have known a passage from Scripture. West (1995), 335-342, Usher (2007) and De Jonge (2012) have moreover contributed to our understanding of the argumentative function of the passage in *Peri hypsous*.

the scholarship on Longinus' citation of Genesis and highlight some of its most important features.

3.2.1 Textual form and authenticity

The example appears in the context of Longinus' discussion of 'greatness of thought' (the first source of sublimity, which is covered in chapters 9-15 of the treatise), amidst examples from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

> ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων "εἶπεν ὁ Θεός", φησί, —τί; "γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο."[8]
>
> So too, the lawgiver of the Jews [Moses], not just any man, after he had formed a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, writing at the very beginning of his Laws, declared: "God said"- what? "'Let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth', and there was earth."

Although the passage is presented as a citation, it is in fact a paraphrase of the first verses of Genesis. The structure of Longinus' version differs substantially from the Scriptural text, compared for instance to the Greek text of the Septuagint.[9]

> 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. 2. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. 3. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω

[8] Longinus, *Peri hypsous* 9.9.

[9] The text of the Septuagint is included for comparison, but Longinus did not necessarily take his reference from the Septuagint, as other Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible were also circulating in the first centuries AD. See N. Fernández Marcos and W.G.E. Watson, *The Septuagint in context: introduction to the Greek version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 109-173. See Mazzucchi (2010), 174 for a discussion of the textual differences between the Septuagint and Longinus' version. Slight or even major modifications to cited passages are not uncommon in *Peri hypsous*. See especially Usher (2007) on Longinus' methods of citation. See Porter (2016), 107-114 on Longinus' emphatic interjection τί; in the middle of the citation.

φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. (…) 9. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά. 10. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν καὶ τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσεν θαλάσσας. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.[10]

1. In the beginning God made the sky and the earth. 2. Yet the earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was over the abyss, and a divine wind was being carried along over the water. 3. And God said, "Let light come into being." And light came into being. (…) 9. And God said, "Let the water that is under the sky be gathered into one gathering, and let the dry land appear." And it became so. And the water that was under the sky was gathered into their gatherings, and the dry land appeared. 10. And God called the dry land Earth, and the systems of the waters he called Seas. And God saw that it was good.[11]

A striking departure from the text of Genesis is the parallellism that Longinus constructed in his paraphrase of God's creation of light (Gen. 1.3) and earth (Gen. 1.9-10).[12] In his paraphrase, Longinus compressed the events of the creation into one formula: "God said: 'let there be [x], and there was [x].'"[13] Another remarkable

[10] [LXX] Genesis 1-10; text: A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935 [9th edn.]).

[11] Translation: R.J.V. Hiebert, 'Genesis', in: Pietersma, A., Wright, B.G. (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[12] This parallellism may also have been inspired by Genesis 1.1: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth" (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν); the sequence 'heaven' – 'earth' (Gen. 1.1) could have prompted the construction of the parallellism 'light' – 'earth' in *Peri hypsous* 9.9 from Genesis 1.3 and 1.9-10.

[13] This compressed formula is also found in the commentary to Hermogenes' Περὶ ἰδεῶν by John of Sicily (10th-11th century), which also refers to a 'Longinus'. On this passage see Mazzucchi (1990), Männlein-Robert (2001), and section 3.3.1 below. Quite intriguing parallels for this way of citing Genesis are found in Augustine and in the apocryphal books of Ezra. In *De Genesi ad litteram* 1.13, wondering when the creation of water and earth took place exactly, Augustine asks: *Cur non scriptum est: Dixit Deus: Fiat terra, et facta est terra; item: Dixit Deus: Fiat aqua; et facta est aqua; vel utrumque communiter, si una quasi lege loci infimi continentur: Dixit Deus: Fiat terra et aqua, et sic factum est?* ("Why

feature of the biblical verses as they appear in *Peri hypsous* is Longinus' emphatic – and interrupting – insertion of the words "[Moses] declared" (φησί) and "what?" (τί;) right in the middle of his quotation.[14]

Serious doubts about Longinus' quotation of Genesis were already put forward in the 16th century. Franciscus Portus noted in his commentary to *Peri hypsous* that the reference to Genesis must have been inserted into the text at a later stage.[15] Modern scholars too debated the authenticity of the reference. In 1915, Konrat Ziegler argued that the inclusion of a reference to Scripture in a text on Greek classical literature addressed to a Greek pupil – and as early as the 1st century AD – is very unlikely, and that the example breaks up the series of examples from

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do we not read, "God said: 'Let there be earth,' and earth was made"; and "God said: 'Let there be water,' and water was made"? Or, if the whole lower order of creation was included in one act, the sacred text might have read: "God said: 'Let there be earth and water,' and so it was done""). Text: J. Zycha, *Sancti Aureli Augustini De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, eiusdem libri capitula; De Genesi ad litteram inperfectus liber; Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri septem* (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), translation: J.H. Taylor (trans.), *The Literal Meaning of Genesis. Ancient Christian Writers 41-42* (New York: Newman Press, 1982). See also Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 11.34. A similar parallellism is also found in 6 Esdras 55-56: *ecce Dominus cognoscit omnia opera hominis et adinventiones illorum et cogitatum illorum et corda illorum. qui dixit: fiat terra, et facta est, fiat caelum, et factum est.* ("Behold, the Lord knows all the actions of a person, and their designs and their intention and their hearts. He (is the one) who said, "Let there be earth," and it appeared; "Let there be sky," and it appeared"). Text and translation: T.A. Bergren, *Sixth Ezra: The Text, Origin and Early History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998).

[14] The syntax of the whole sentence is complex, and in any case the combination of "writing… [Moses] declared" (γράψας … φησί) seems redundant (Porter, 2016, 109). I take φησί, following Mazzucchi and Porter, to refer to Moses introducing God's utterance (and not to God's utterance itself). See Russell (1964), 92-93, Mazzucchi (2010), 174 and Porter (2016), 109-11 for a discussion of the syntactic complexity of the sentence. According to Porter, Longinus thus heightens the anticipation of his readers and draws attention to the textual structure of God's utterance (Porter, 2016, 111).

[15] Franciscus Portus in: Pearce (1733), 301: *Hic locus est mihi suspectus admodum. Non constat mihi Longinum Christianum fuisse; itaque verisimile mihi est, eum non fuisse versatum in Sacris Literis, nec usurum fuisse exemplis Christianis. Suspicor itaque aliquem Monachum inter legendum addidisse de suo hoc exemplum in margine, librarium deinde imperitum ex margine in codicis contextum transtulisse. Haec est mea suspicio; judicium tamen liberum omnibus relinquo.* "I find this passage highly suspicious. To me it is all but certain that Longinus was a Christian; hence it seems likely to me that he was not versed in the Holy Scripture, and that he would not have used Christian examples. I therefore suspect that some monk, while reading, has added this example on his own in the margin, and that an ignorant librarian has inserted it in the main text of the book. That is my suspicion; yet I leave the matter open for all to judge."

Homer's works adduced in chapter 9 of *Peri hypsous*.[16] Ziegler's article was soon followed by a study of Hermann Mutschmann that systematically refuted Ziegler's arguments and which broke a lance for the coherence of the argument in *Peri hypsous* 9. Mutschmann concluded (quite boldly) that the passage should be seen as a first step in the broader appreciation of Scripture and thus of the global advent of Christianity.[17] Eduard Norden in turn argued that a pagan writer of the first century may well have known Scripture as a result of cultural and intellectual contact in the first centuries AD, a view that is also held by Russell and Stern, and reinforced by Van Kooten.[18] De Jonge has moreover argued that the religious terminology used by Longinus ties in very well with the ideas of other first-century critics, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[19]

The presence of a reference to Genesis has led scholars to situate the author of *Peri hypsous* in a Jewish context. It has been pointed out that the Suda refers to Caecilius of Caleacte, Longinus' predecessor and target, as a Jew, and that the reference to Genesis could therefore have been borrowed from Caecilius' lost treatise on the sublime.[20] Goold has suggested that Longinus himself was "in some sense a Jew."[21] Stern however argued that it is unnecessary to assume that the author of *Peri hypsous* was Jewish, and points out that the writer refers to his own 'Greekness' several times in the treatise.[22] Van Kooten moreover argued that the

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[16] Ziegler (1915).

[17] Mutschmann (1917).

[18] Norden (1954), 19-23; Russell (1964), 94; M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism. Vol. 1: From Herodotus to Plutarch* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976), 361-3; G.H. Van Kooten, 'Moses/Musaeus/Mochos and his God Yahweh, Iao, and Sabaoth, seen from a Graeco-Roman perspective', in: G.H. van Kooten (ed.), *The revelation of the name YHWH to Moses: Perspectives from Judaism, the pagan Graeco-Roman world, and early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 107-138: 129. Norden's study connects Longinus with the circle of Philo Judaeus, and suggests that the anonymous philosopher whose arguments are presented in *Peri hypsous* 44 could be identified with Philo.

[19] De Jonge (2012), 276-289.

[20] Suda κ 1165 (s.v. Κεκίλιος). This argument is put forward for instance by Russell (1999), 190-1 and Innes (2002), 275.

[21] G.P. Goold, 'A Greek Professorial Circle at Rome', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 92 (1961), 168-192: 177.

[22] Stern (1976), 361-3. An emphasis on 'Greekness' however does not preclude a Jewish background, as for instance in the case of the author Philo Judaeus. On Longinus' adherence to the Greek classical tradition see also Whitmarsh (2001), 68-69, and De Jonge (2014), 398-407.

figure of Moses was quite well known in the Graeco-Roman world.[23] The scholarly consensus now seems to be that the author of *Peri hypsous* was a pagan, possibly (but not necessarily) with some connection to Jewish intellectual circles, and that he was active in the 1st century AD.[24] As we will see, questions of authenticity and the cultural background of the author also fuelled the 17th-century debates about Longinus' *Fiat Lux*.

3.2.2 Representations of 'the divine'

The question of the coherence of the argument presented in chapter 9 of *Peri hypsous* has been taken on by Martin West and by Mark Usher, who have argued that the citations adduced in chapter 9 of his treatise, including the quotation of Genesis, form a consistent series of examples that illustrate the literary expression of 'divinity'. West argued that the citations in *Peri hypsous* 9 form a cluster of creation myths that have a common origin in the Near Eastern mythological tradition. Usher, building on West's article, has elucidated the intertextual links between the quotations in *Peri hypsous* 9, thus uncovering a coherent train of thought that binds all examples together.[25]

What function does the biblical example serve in the context of *Peri hypsous* 9? The ninth chapter of the treatise belongs to Longinus' discussion of 'great thoughts', the first and most important source of the sublime.[26] The chapter can be roughly divided into three sections.[27] In 9.1-4 Longinus explains how great thoughts constitute the primary criterion for sublimity.[28] After a lengthy lacuna the remainder of section 9.4 and sections 9.5-11 illustrate 'great thoughts' by discussing various passages from Homer and the citation of Genesis. In sections 9.11-15 the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are compared. In the series of predominantly Homeric examples that appear in *Peri hypsous* 9.4-11 the reference to Genesis certainly

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[23] Van Kooten (2006), 129.

[24] See also my Introduction on the dating of *Peri hypsous*.

[25] West (1995), 335-342; Usher (2007).

[26] Longinus presents his five sources of the sublime in *Peri hypsous* 8.1. See Russell (1981), 72-86, Innes (1995a), and Porter (2016), 60-83 on the structure of Longinus' treatise and the role his five sources of the sublime. See also Chapter Two (section 2.2) for a brief discussion of this element of *Peri hypsous*.

[27] I follow the division as proposed by Russell (1999), 150.

[28] *Peri hypsous* 9.2: ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα ("sublimity is the echo of a noble mind").

stands out. What binds these passages together, however, is that they all represent a manifestation of divine power. Longinus presents his readers with passages that illustrate, consecutively, the supernatural size of the goddess Eris, the revolting image of Achlys (the personification of 'gloom'– a counterexample; *Peri hypsous* 9.5: Ps.-Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles* 267), the striding horses of heaven (*Peri hypsous* 9.5: Hom. *Il*. 5.770-2), the Battle of the Gods (*Peri hypsous* 9.6: Hom. *Il* 21.388, 20.61-5; and *Peri hypsous* 9.8: Hom. *Il*. 13.18, 20.61, 13.19, 13.27-9), the creation of light and earth (*Peri hypsous* 9.9: [LXX] *Gen*. 1.3, 9-10), Ajax' prayer for light (*Peri hypsous* 9.10: Hom. *Il*. 17.645-7), and the raving War-god Ares (*Peri hypsous* 9.11: Hom. *Il*. 15.605).

The stature of Eris (9.4) and the great leap of the horses of heaven (9.5) illustrate a typically sublime feature: supernatural magnitude.[29] The passage taken from the *Shield* serves as a counterexample: the repulsive description of Achlys (9.5) is anything but lofty.[30] The conflated passage in 9.6 depicts the Battle of the Gods (Theomachy), and the earth-shaking force of Poseidon. Longinus however remarks that although the passages from Homer's Theomachy are very powerful, they "are utterly irreligious and do not follow the rules of propriety, unless they are taken allegorically" as Homer has made the gods look too human-like in his depictions (9.7). Longinus continues with an example that in his eyes "represents the divine in its true nature: as something undefiled, great and pure": a depiction of Poseidon, shaking the woods and travelling over the parting waves (9.8), followed by the Biblical creation of light and earth (9.9).[31] The theme of 'light' recurs in connection with heroism in the next passage (9.10), which portrays Ajax in his darkest hour praying to Zeus for daylight. The raving War-god Ares in the next example (9.11) is in itself a depiction of divine power, but is used by Longinus to illustrate the force of Homer's writing.[32]

The examples that Longinus adduced to illustrate his first source of the sublime thus centre on several themes: supernatural size, the power of the gods, light and

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[29] De Jonge (2012), 278. The quotation of the passage about Eris has disappeared for the most part in the lacuna in 9.4, but Longinus' remarks make it clear that the passage referred to is Hom. *Il*. 4.442.

[30] Russell (1964), xv.

[31] Usher (2007), 299 has pointed out that the parting of the waves in the example from 9.8 may have triggered an association with Moses' parting of the Red Sea in Exodus.

[32] De Jonge (2012), 281.

darkness, and the inspiration of the author.[33] Porter recently argued that most of these passages also express the idea of a cosmic void.[34] The example from Genesis appears to fit its immediate context very well, as it combines most of these themes. Longinus presents Moses as an inspired author, calling him "not just any man" (οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ), and one who has "formed a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it".[35] The creation of light and earth – the universe – invokes a sense of vastness, while the aspect of divine power as well as light and darkness are omnipresent in the citation.[36]

The *Fiat Lux* and its surrounding examples thus illustrate various majestic subjects or ideas. Within the context of Longinus' discussion of 'greatness of thought', emphasis is placed on subject matter, while aspects of style are largely left out. This is however not necessarily an indication that dignified expression could not play a role in creating sublimity, or that Longinus meant to designate Moses' words as 'simple'.[37] One could however say that Longinus does leave room for such an interpretation. The citation is made up of quite ordinary words and short sentences. At the same time, the spondaic rhythm, created by the long syllables in γενέσθω φῶς … γενέσθω γῆ, as well as the parallellism in the citation may be regarded as stylistic characteristics that confer greatness.[38] Throughout *Peri hypsous* Longinus does not (explicitly) present simplicity as an aspect of his

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[33] See escpecially De Jonge (2012), 277-80 for a discussion of the themes of the divine and the inspired author in *Peri hypsous* 9 and Innes (1995a), 117-119 for a discussion of the imagery of 'light' in *Peri hypsous*.

[34] Porter points out that Eris' supernatural size is *measured* and that it is this interval that amazes the reader. Likewise the spatial gap of the giant leap of the horses of heaven, the parting of the waves, the separation of light from shadow, even the insertion of τί; ("what?") into the quotation of Genesis are meant to invoke a sense of emptiness and vastness; see Porter (2016), 161-70.

[35] De Jonge (2012), 279.

[36] Porter (2016), 160-73.

[37] Porter argued that Longinus probably presented the *Fiat Lux* just as much for its literary and rhetorical qualities as for its inherent greatness: "Longinus is concerned to describe the poetics of divinity, not divinity tout court" (Porter, 2016, 112).

[38] See moreover Porter (2016), 107-114 on Longinus' emphatic insertion of τί; ('what?') in the middle of the citation. Dionysius of Halicarnassus categorises spondees as rhythms that confer grandeur and dignity in *De compositione verborum* 18, while Hermogenes associates them with his category of 'solemnity' (σεμνότης). See C.C. De Jonge, *Between Grammar and Rhetoric: Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language. Linguistics and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 346, and Wooten (1987), 24 and 26.

concept of the sublime.[39] His description of Hyperides as talking 'plainly' (μετὰ ἀφελείας), and having the ability to portray a character with 'charm' (γλυκύτης) and 'simplicity' (λιτός) in *Peri hypsous* 34.2, for instance rather points at the opposite: Hyperides' polished style is contrasted with Demosthenes' chaos and forcefulness, to the end of presenting Demosthenes as an example of a flawed but sublime genius, and Hyperides as a perfect but mediocre writer.[40] As James Porter has argued, early modern interpretations of Longinus' quotation of the *Fiat Lux* have been the main driver behind the emphasis on simplicity in Longinus' theory of sublimity, even though the treatise itself does not make this connection.[41] In section 3.3 of this chapter I will elaborate on this point, and show that the emphasis on (divine, majestic) subject matter that underlies Longinus' quotation of Genesis, to some extent invited the characterisation of the passage as an example of 'sublime simplicity' in early modern scholarship.

Despite its curious textual form and debated origins, the Genesis example does fit into the overall structure and meaning of *Peri hypsous* 9.9. Nevertheless, even if one fully accepts its place in the treatise, the passage inevitably stands out amidst the surrounding Homeric examples. As we have seen, the peculiarity of the passage has prompted scholars to either explain or denounce its presence in *Peri hypsous*. The conspicuousness of the example may however constitute an essential part of its illustrative function. The Genesis citation, being a passage taken from beyond the realm of the familiar, illustrates that the sublime is so self-evident and overwhelming that a reader would even recognise 'greatness of thought' in a text that does not belong to the canon of his or her own cultural tradition.[42]

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[39] The inherent grandeur of the 'bare thought' (ψιλὴ ἔννοια) of Ajax's silence in the *Odyssey* (*Peri hypsous* 9.2) as well as the use of 'ordinary words' (κοινὰ ὀνόματα, Peri hypsous 40.2), could be regarded as pointing towards an element of 'simplicity' in Longinus' theory. As we will see in section 3.3 Longinus' criticism of 'tumidity' and like faults in *Peri hypsous* 3-5 was interpreted by early modern scholars as a plea for simplicity.

[40] Porter also points at Longinus' remarks in *Peri hypsous* 18.1: "Stated simply (ἁπλῶς ῥηθέν) [i.e., without rhetorical artifice, here that of a figure], the matter would have been much inferior" (Porter, 2016, 116n.139).

[41] See also Porter (2016), 114-116.

[42] West (1995), 338. Cf. Longinus' view about the universal nature of the sublime in *Peri hypsous* 7.4: ὅλως δὲ καλὰ νόμιζε ὕψη καὶ ἀληθινὰ τὰ διὰ παντὸς ἀρέσκοντα καὶ πᾶσιν. ὅταν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων βίων ζήλων ἡλικιῶν λόγων ἕν τι καὶ ταὐτὸν ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπασι

3.3 The Praise of a Pagan

Longinus' reference to Genesis is signposted in various ways in early modern editions of the treatise. Robortello's 1554 *editio princeps* of Longinus' text indicates the Genesis citation in *Peri hypsous* with a marginal note: *Laudat Moisen Judaeorum Legumlatorem, quod de DEO honorifice sit locutus* ("He [Longinus] praises Moses, the Lawgiver of the Jews, because he has spoken magnificently about God").[43] Portus' 1569 edition (which incorporates most of Robortello's notes), includes an index term that is very similar to Robortello's note: *Moses Judaeorum Legislator laudatur, quod de Deo honorifice sit locutus*.[44] In his commentary (ca. 1581) Portus casts doubt on the authenticity of the Biblical reference in *Peri hypsous*.[45] Portus speculates that the quotation may be a later interpolation, as he finds it unlikely that a non-Christian author would use an example from Scripture. From the late sixteenth century onwards the passage is discussed in rhetorical theory and biblical scholarship. It appears in Johannes Caselius' edition of Demetrius' treatise *On Style*, and in the rhetorical compendia of Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Bartholomeus Keckermann and Nicolas Caussinus, as well as in the biblical scholarship of Isaac Casaubon, Daniel Chamier, Hugo Grotius, and Daniel Heinsius. In addition, biblical scholarship plays a role in the 1612 edition of Longinus' treatise by Gabriele De Petra. In the present section I will first discuss the alledged reference to *Peri hypsous* 9.9 in the work of the Byzantine scholar John of Sicily, and then examine the appearances of Longinus' citation in early modern rhetoric and biblical scholarship.

δοκῇ, τόθ' ἡ ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκατάθεσις τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θαυμαζομένῳ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν λαμβάνει καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον ("To speak generally, you should consider that to be beautifully and truly sublime which pleases all people at all times. For when men who differ in their pursuits, their lives, their tastes, their ages, their languages, all agree together in holding one and the same view about the same writings, then the unanimous verdict, as it were, of such discordant judges makes our faith in the admired passage strong an indisputable").

[43] Robortello (1554), 17.

[44] Portus (1569), index to *Peri hypsous*. Manuzio's edition does not signal the presence of individual citations in the treatise. De Petra's edition (1612), notes that Longinus does not quote Genesis verbatim: De Petra (1612), 59: τὴν ἔννοιαν κοινῇ *spectavit Dionys. non verba. Vide Genes. 1.*

[45] See above n. 15 for a full quotation of Portus' observations.

3.3.1 An early reference? 'Longinus' on Scripture in John of Sicily

Possibly the earliest reference to Longinus' citation of Genesis (and to *Peri hypsous* at all) may be found in the work of the eleventh-century Byzantine rhetorician John of Sicily (Johannes Siceliotes). In his commentary to Hermogenes' Περὶ ἰδεῶν, John of Sicily notes:

> καὶ ὁ Μωϋσῆς· εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθῇ τόδε, καὶ ἐγένετο τόδε, ὅν οὐ μόνον Χριστιανῶν ἐκθειάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἄριστοι, Λογγῖνος, καὶ ὁ ἐκ Φαληρέως Δημήτριος.[46]
>
> And as Moses said: "God said: 'Let there be this, and there was this'", words that not only the best of Christians, but also the best of the Greeks worship, namely Longinus and Demetrius of Phalerum.

This passage is situated in John of Sicily's discussion of Hermogenes' idea of σεμνότης ('solemnity', 'majesty'). As an example of the depiction of divine matters, Hermogenes adduced Plato's *Timaeus*, and Hyperides' *Deliacus*. In his commentary, John of Sicily added to this a reference to the 38th *Oration* of Gregory of Nazianzen.[47] These three examples, each concerned with divine birth and creation, are followed in John's commentary by the remarks on Moses' account of creation and the reference to 'Longinus'.[48]

It is uncertain whether John of Sicily actually refers to chapter 9.9 of *Peri hypsous*, although the reference to a Greek writer called 'Longinus' and a positive appraisal of Genesis 1.3 is certainly conspicuous.[49] At several places in his

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[46] John of Sicily, *Commentary to* Περὶ ἰδεῶν, ch. 6: C. Walz (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci VI* (Stuttgart: Cott, 1834), 211).

[47] See the discussion of the context in Männlein-Robert (2001), 599-600.

[48] Plato's *Timaeus* describes the creation of the universe; Hyperides' (lost) *Deliacus* narrates how Leto gave birth to Apollo and Diana; in his 38th *Oration* Gregory of Nazianzen hymns how the Christian God did not originate from (human) birth.

[49] It is equally uncertain which text John of Sicily had in mind when referring to Demetrius of Phaleron in this context. John possibly refers to Demetrius' involvement with the creation of the Septuagint, which is reported in the second-century *Letter of Aristeas*. See D. De Crom, 'The Letter of Aristeas and the Authority of the Septuagint', *Journal for the study of the Pseudepigrapha* 17.2 (2008), 141-160.

commentary the Byzantine scholar however clearly refers to works ascribed to the third-century rhetorician Cassius Longinus, which suggests that this particular passage could also originate from a work of Cassius Longinus, rather than from *Peri hypsous* (assuming that Cassius Longinus is not the author of *Peri hypsous*).[50] Mazzucchi notes that the oldest manuscript of *Peri hypsous* was produced only a little earlier than the period in which John of Sicily was active, which indicates that in John's time there was some interest in the treatise. It is therefore possible that John of Sicily could have had direct knowledge of *Peri hypsous*.[51] Alternatively, Mazzucchi suggests that John of Sicily does refer to the third-century rhetorician Cassius Longinus, who in turn may have borrowed the passage from *Peri hypsous*.[52]

Männlein-Robert, who includes the passage in her edition of the fragments of Cassius Longinus, argues that the passage in John's commentary is different from the passage in *Peri hypsous* 9.9, because John of Sicily, unlike the author of *Peri hypsous*, discusses the Biblical account of the Creation in terms of a general formula.[53] I would however contend that the abstract representation of the phrase εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθῆ τόδε, καὶ ἐγένετο τόδε ("God said: 'Let there be this, and there was this'") in John of Sicily rather very much *resembles* the conspicuous parallellism that Longinus constructed in his presentation of the creation of light and earth, which is likewise modelled after a general formula. Even if the question remains unanswered whether John of Sicily actually referred to *Peri hypsous*, there are two aspects to this example that merit our attention. The first is the context in which it is mentioned. By including the example in his commentary on

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[50] Irmgard Männlein-Robert takes John's remarks about Genesis to be a reference to Cassius Longinus and includes the passage in her edition of Cassius Longinus' fragments: Männlein-Robert (2001), 599-608. Russell (1964), xxv-xxviii and Porter (2016), 3-4 consider the reference of John of Sicily insufficient evidence to settle the matter of the treatise's authorship. See also the Introduction for a discussion of the date and authorship of *Peri hypsous*.

[51] Mazzucchi (1990), 192.

[52] Mazzucchi suggests that the reference to a 'Longinus' praising Genesis could have been part of the commentary tradition on Hermogenes' *On Types of Style*, and hence ended up in John's commentary. Cassius Longinus could in turn have borrowed the citation directly from *Peri hypsous*, or from a common source, possibly Caecilius of Caleacte (Mazzucchi, 1990, 192).

[53] Männlein-Robert (2001), 603. The edition of Cassius Longinus by M. Patillon and L. Brisson (*Longin. Fragments. Art rhétorique*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001) does not include this fragment.

Hermogenes' *On types of style*, John uses it as reflection on (biblical) stylistics.[54] Secondly, John of Sicily stresses the fact that Longinus and Demetrius are not Christians, but Greeks. Their pagan background makes their positive appraisal of Moses' words all the more remarkable. As I will show in the following sections, the elements of 'Biblical style' and 'pagan praise of Scripture' are central to the early modern discussion of *Peri hypsous* 9.9.

3.3.2 Rhetoric: Caselius, Vossius, Keckermann, Caussinus

The earliest reference to Longinus' citation of Genesis in early modernity is found in the work of Johannes Caselius, professor of eloquence at the university of Rostock.[55] In his commentary to Pseudo-Demetrius' treatise *On Style*, Caselius includes Longinus' remarks on Genesis in the context of Demetrius' discussion of 'short sentences' (*On Style* 7):

> Longinus etiam magister dicendi eximius et acerrimus censor scriptorum, Mosen laudat, qui verbo omnia condidisse memoriae prodiderit. ταύτῃ, inquit, καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε[56], κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων, εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, φησί, τί; γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο: γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. Etsi monumenta Mosis nequaquam hausta sunt ex humanae sapientiae aut eloquentiae fontibus.[57]

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[54] The appearance of the example in relation to Hermogenes' discussion of σεμνότης moreover resembles the way in which early modern scholars compared Longinus' idea of ὕψος with Hermogenes' category of σεμνότης, such as in the commentary of Franciscus Portus, and the rhetoric of Gerardus Joannes Vossius, which will be discussed shortly.

[55] Johannes Caselius spent time in Italy in the 1560s and probably got to know Longinus' through his Italian scholarly contacts. See section 1.4.2 on Caselius' involvement with *Peri hypsous*.

[56] The editions of Russell (1964) and Mazzucchi (2010) have ἐχώρησε; the variant ἐγνώρισε is found in the margins of the Cambridge manuscript (Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34), supposedly added by Paolo Manuzio (see Russell, 1964, 12, and Mazzucchi, 2010, 24). Both variants were current in the early modern editions of Longinus' treatise. Robortello's edition (Basel, 1554) has ἐχώρησε ('to form a conception of'; 'to conceive'), while the editions of Manuzio (Venice, 1555), Porto (Geneva, 1569), and De Petra (Geneva, 1612) have ἐγνώρισε ('to gain knowledge of').

[57] Caselius (1585), c4^{r}-c4^{v}.

> And furthermore Longinus, an excellent teacher of eloquence and sharp-witted critic of writers, praises Moses, who related that [God] created everything with his word. So too, he says, the lawgiver of the Jews, not just any man, having gained knowledge of a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, wrote a the very beginning of his Laws: "God said"- what? 'Let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth,' and there was earth." Even if Moses' account by no means originates from sources of human wisdom or eloquence.

In the context of Caselius' commentary, Longinus' citation serves to illustrate the power of brevity in writing. Caselius probably chose it because of the short clauses in (Longinus' rendering of) Genesis 1.3-10, but also adds that Moses' words are not a product of human rhetoric, thereby probably anticipating criticism of his discussion of a biblical example in the context of pagan rhetoric.

In 1606 Vossius published the first edition of his *Commentarii Rhetorici* (also known under the title *Institutiones Rhetoricae*), which was followed by augmented editions in 1609, 1630 and 1643.[58] In this massive work on rhetorical theory Vossius includes a discussion of the various *characteres* ('types of style'), among which the *character grandis* ('grand style').[59] In this context, Vossius discusses 'what kind of subject matter makes discourse grand' (*quae sententiae grandem reddant orationem*), such as, for instance, 'divine matters' (*res divinae*).[60] These are illustrated with a reference to Longinus' citation of the Bible:

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[58] See Rademaker (1981), 356.

[59] See Mack (2011), 192-196 on the structure of Vossius' *Commentarii Rhetorici*.

[60] Vossius (1630), II, 446. In this chapter and throughout this book I have cited from the 1630 edition of Vossius' work. The editions of 1606 and 1609 are significantly smaller than the edition of 1630. The main text in the edition of 1606 (in octavo) has 420 pages, while the main text in the edition of 1609 (in octavo) has 930 pages. The edition of 1630 is printed in quarto, in two volumes of 431 and 527 pages respectively. In the edition of 1609 the Genesis citation is quoted on p. 848-849. I have not been able to consult the very rare 1606 edition of Vossius' *Commentarii* (a copy is present in the Bodleian Library: 8° V 33 Art.). Thus I could not ascertain whether Vossius' quotation of *Peri hypsous* 9.9 is already present in the 1606 edition. Given the fact that the 1606 edition of his *Commentarii* is already divided into six books (as are the later editions), it is not unlikely that this particular part of the *Commentarii* could also have been included in the first edition. See also note 66 below.

> Certe Mosen, quod de Deo magnifica oratione sit usus, laudat pago deditus Longinus, impii illius Porphyrii praeceptor, ut Eunapius et Suidas tradunt, ac Porphyrius ipse agnoscit. Verba Longini afferam: ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε, καὶ ξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων, Εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· φησί τί; Γενέσθω φῶς· καὶ ἐγένετο· Γενέσθω γῆ· καὶ ἐγένετο. Iccirco Iudaeorum quoque legislator, vir haut vulgaris, quandoquidem divini numinis virtutem pro dignitate cognovit ac divulgavit; statim in ingressu atque initio legum scribens, Dixit Deus; quid inquit? Fiat lux; et facta est; Fiat terra; et facta est.[61]
>
> Certainly, Moses, because he has spoken magnificently about God, is praised by Longinus, a pagan, the teacher of that impious Porphyry, as Eunapius and the *Suda* report, and Porphyry himself declares. Let me cite Longinus' words: So too, the lawgiver of the Jews, not just any man, having gained knowledge of a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, wrote a the very beginning of his Laws: "God said"- what? 'Let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth,' and there was earth" [followed by a Latin translation of the Greek].

In Vossius' *Commentarii* Longinus' citation appears in a context that is similar to the context of the reference in John of Sicily. In this section of his work, Vossius invokes Hermogenes' discussion of σεμνότης ('solemnity'), including Hermogenes' reference to Plato's *Timaeus*.[62] Vossius divides 'divine subject matter' into two different species. The *Timaeus* serves as an example of philosophical subject matter, whereas Longinus' *Fiat Lux* is adduced as an example of theological subject matter. Vossius explicitly dwells on the fact that Longinus is not a Christian, labelling him *pago deditus* ('pagan'). His explicit mentioning of this fact can be interpreted rhetorically: if even a pagan praises Scripture, its power must be universal. Vossius thus reverses the argument in *Peri hypsous*: by referring to the

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[61] Vossius (1630), II, 446.

[62] Vossius (1630), II, 446. Vossius' rhetorical system is based to a large extent on Hermogenes' work Περὶ ἰδεῶν (*On types of style*). See D. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 161-163, Till (2006), 119, and Huss (2011).

Bible, Longinus could argue that sublimity is a universal phenomenon that exists outside classical Greek literature. By referring to a pagan's praise of Scripture, Vossius in turn illustrated how the bible contains subject matter that is universally acknowledged as 'grand'.

In the *Systema rhetoricae* (1608) of Bartholomeus Keckermann (d. 1609), professor in Gdansk, we find a rendering of Longinus' quotation of Genesis that is almost identical to that in Vossius' *Commentarii rhetorici*.[63]

> Et sane Mosen quod de Deo magnifica oratione sit usus, laudat homo paganus Longinus, impi illius Porphyrii vel praeceptor ut vult Suidas, vel discipulus, ut tradit Eunapius in vitis Philosophorum. Verba. Long. ex Graeco sic sonant; idcirco Iudaeorum quoque Legislator, vir haud vulgaris; quandoquidem divini numinis virtutem pro dignitate cognovit ac divulgavit, statim in ingressu legum suarum scribit: Dixit Deus fiat lux, et facta est. Fiat terra, et facta est. Illud quoque operaeprecium fuerit hic monuisse, quod idem Longinus scribit, debere nos animum assuefacere ad concipiendas res magnas. Oritur enim orationis sublimitas ex animi magnitudine. Quibus vero animus semper humi repit, neque assurgit ad res grandes, ii neque grandem conficient orationem.[64]
>
> Longinus, a pagan man, either the teacher of that impious Porphyry (according to the *Suda*) or a student (according to Eunapius in the *Lives of the Philosophers*) praises Moses, because he has spoken magnificently about God. The Greek words of Longinus are as follows: 'therefore the lawgiver of the Jews, not just any man, when he had gained knowledge of a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, wrote a the very beginning of his Laws: "God said"- what? 'Let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth,' and there was earth."' It is moreover worthwile to give the following advice (which Longinus himself also writes) that we should accustom our mind to conceiving great things. For sublimity in

[63] On Keckermann's life and work see J.S. Freedman, 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomäus Keckermann (d. 1609)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141.3 (1997), 305-364.

[64] B. Keckermann, *Systema rhetoricae. In quo artis praecepta plene et methodice traduntur* (Hanau: G. Antonius, 1608), 578.

> writing originates from greatness of mind. But those people, whose minds always crawl close to the ground and never rises op towards great things, will never produce great writing.

Like Vossius, Keckermann mentions the citation in the context of Hermogenes' idea of solemnity.[65] Keckermann probably derived Longinus' citation from Vossius' *Commentarii rhetorici*. Throughout his work, Keckermann refers to Vossius' *Commentarii* several times, and his introduction of Longinus' reference resembles that of Vossius.[66] In any case, both Vossius and Keckermann adduce Longinus' citation as an example of 'grand subject matter', and explicitly mention Longinus' pagan background.

The focus on grand subject matter is even more prominent in the discussion of Longinus' citation by the French Jesuit Nicolas Caussin (1583-1651). In the preface to the first book of his *Eloquentia sacra et humana*, a rhetorical work that covers sacred as well as pagan oratory, Caussin discerns three types of eloquence: divine, heroic, and human.[67] Under divine eloquence, Caussin considers a kind of eloquence that does not spring from teaching, but which is caused by an inspiration from God that makes men into orators instantly. It has the power to bring everyone to the light of Christ, to subdue Kings and to turn peoples' minds towards love for religion. Moses is presented as a prime example of this divine eloquence, as his writings were admired by the highest pagan rhetoricians. Longinus' praise of Moses in *Peri hypsous* serves as an example of this:

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[65] Shuger (1988), 161.

[66] Shuger (1988: 83), remarks that Keckermann has derived this material from Vossius, but concludes that Vossius' *Commentarii* must have been published already in 1605, as she assumes that Keckermann's *Systema* was published in 1606. The *Systema* was however published for the first time in 1608. It was based on a lecture given in 1606, according to a note on the title page of the work, but Keckermann may well have expanded his lecture notes with additional material from Vossius and others before publishing the *Systema* in 1608. Keckermann's remarks following Longinus citation (*Illud quoque* […] *conficient orationem*) are identical to a passage in Vossius' *Commentarii* (p. 447), and thus appear to be a borrowing from Vossius' *Commentarii*, which is reinforced by the fact that Keckermann explicitly refers to the *Commentarii* in his work.

[67] Shuger (1988), 88.

> Dionysius enim Longinus, qui librum de sublimi eloquentia scripsit, Moysen legens miratur in eo, non quidem inane locutionum choragium, sed notionum (ut ipse ait) mentis praepotentem et exaggeratam sapientiam, τὸ κράτιστον καὶ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον, hac inquit excellentia praestabat ὁ Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε κἀξέφηνεν, Iudaeorum ille Legislator non fuit vir de trivio, qui numinis virtutem pro dignitate cognovit, et verbis explicavit.[68]
>
> For when reading Moses, Dionysius Longinus, who wrote a book on sublime eloquence, indeed admired in his writings not the hollow decoration of discourse, but the powerful and elevated wisdom (as he himself says) of the mind's thoughts: "the power of grand conceptions"; in this excellence, he says, "the Lawgiver of the Jews stands out, not just any man, when he had worthily gained knowledge of the divine power and given expression to it"; [followed by a Latin paraphrase of the Greek].

Longinus, being the only critic that is quoted at length in the preface, fulfills an important function in this context, as his praise of Moses constitutes a bridge between sacred and pagan rhetoric that also underlies Caussin's work as a whole. Caussin stresses the context in which Longinus referred to Moses' writings: as part of Longinus' discussion of 'greatness of thought' (τὸ κράτιστον καὶ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον, as announced in *Peri hypsous* 8.1), thus emphasising that Longinus admired Moses' writings not because of their style, but because of their exalted contents. Caussin takes his interpretation of the citation a bit further than Vossius and Keckermann, as he explicitly differentiates it from 'hollow decoration of discourse' (*inane locutionum choragium*), thereby judging negatively about 'grandeur' that only springs from phrasing or style.

Caussin refers to Longinus' quotation of Genesis a second time in his work, in his discussion of the ninth *fons inventionis* ('source of invention'): the source of sacred writings. According to Caussin, the most important source for the faithful Christian is the marvellous loftiness and marvellous humility of Scripture itself

[68] N. Caussin, *Eloquentiae sacrae et humanae parallela libri XVI* (Paris: S. Chappelet, 1619), 2.

(Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* 2.151). Caussin notes that he has found only two passages in the works of 'eminent pagans' (*insignium Ethnicorum*), who acknowledged the majesty of Scripture. The first is the Neoplatonic philosopher Amelius Apamensis, who discussed the opening of the Gospel of St John. Caussin's second example is Longinus:

> Alter est Dionysii Longini in libello Περὶ ὕψους, priori libro memoratus, ubi maiestatem notionum mentis, et sensuum commendans, citat ex Homero Neptunum aurigantem, quem locum a poëta gravissime pertextum ostendit, nam τρέμε δ᾽ οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕληποσσὶν ὑπ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος.[69] Mox Moysen cum Homero comparans, ait illum Iudaeorum legislatorem non fuisse virum de trivio, qui tam sublimem de Deo notionem habuit, ut de eo scriberet: Dixit Deus, fiat lux, et facta est lux; fiat terra, et facta est. ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων· εἶπεν ὁ Θεός φησί, τί γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο."[70]
>
> The other is Dionysius Longinus in his booklet *Peri hypsous*, which I mentioned already in the first book, where he, commending the greatness of the mind's ideas, and of the subject matter [of a text], cites from Homer Neptune driving his chariot – he presents the passage very interweaved by [other verses of] the poet – namely: "and the high mountains trembled and the woodland beneath the immortal feet of Poseidon as he went." Then comparing Moses with Homer, he says that this lawgiver of the Jews was not an ordinary man, as he held such an exalted notion of God, that he wrote about him: "God said, let there be light, and there was light; let there be earth, and there was earth." [Followed by Longinus' full citation in Greek: 'So too, the lawgiver of the Jews, not just any man, having gained knowledge of a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to

[69] Homer, *Iliad* 13.18-19.

[70] Caussin (1619), 137. Caussin does not translate Longinus' insertion τί; ('what'?)

it, wrote a the very beginning of his Laws: "God said"- what? 'Let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth,' and there was earth."']

Caussin's treatment of Longinus' citation of Genesis indicates a thorough knowledge of the treatise, which is also attested by Caussin's frequent references to *Peri hypsous* throughout the *Eloquentia Sacra*.[71] In this particular case Longinus is adduced as one of two examples of pagan writers who admired the majesty of Scripture.[72] Even more than Vossius and Keckermann, Caussin exploits Longinus' pagan background to underpin the universal power of Scripture. Longinus' citation offers a conspicuous reconciliation of the religious and pagan domains, which is especially relevant for Caussin's work on sacred and human eloquence, and, as I will show next, in theological debates as well.

3.3.3 Biblical scholarship: Chamier, Casaubon

The scholars that cite Longinus' quotation of the *Fiat Lux* in their rhetorics all mention that Longinus is not a Christian, which enables them to make the claim that the Bible is universally admired. Even more than in the rhetorical works, this type of claim has a bearing on discussions about the value of Scripture in biblical scholarship. In the same year in which the first edition of Vossius' *Commentarii rhetorici* appeared, the French huguenot theologian Daniel Chamier (1564/5-1621) published his *Panstratia Catholica, seu Corpus Controversiarum adversus Pontificios*, a discussion of the controversies between catholics and protestants, primarily aimed at the counter-reformer Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621). When addressing the question whether the Church should present Scripture in the vernacular (a practice that Bellarmine rejected) Chamier argues that the greatness of the bible's teachings may be grasped from any version, since:

> Maiestas non pendet a vocabulis, sed a rebus ipsis. Nihil enim Sanctum est, quod non habeat suam maiestatem, non adventitiam, et accidentariam, sed sibi insitam. Itaque, quancunque in linguam transferantur, ab ea destitui non possunt. Sic Longinus περὶ ὕψους, quamquam Mosen Hebraice non

[71] See also Shuger (1988) for a discussion of Caussin in the context of biblical stylistics.

[72] Amelius however is less positive than Longinus, as he calls John a 'barbarian'.

legisset, tamen observavit in Graeco idiomate, eius styli maiestatem: usque est tanquam illustri granditatis exemplo, ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης (inquit) οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε, κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων, εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, φησί, τί, γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο, γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. Iudaeorum legislator, non quivis homo, cum numinis vim pro dignitate cognoscendam tradidisset, et illustrasset, statim in legum exordio, Dixit Deus, inquit, quid? Fiat lux, et facta est: fiat terra, et facta est.[73]

Greatness does not depend on words, but on the things themselves. For nothing is sacred, which does not have its own greatness; not greatness which is newly found, or accidental, but inherent to the thing itself. Thus whenever something is expressed in language, it cannot be separated from it [i.e. its greatness]. So Longinus, in his treatise *Peri hypsous*, even though he did not read Moses in Hebrew, was still able to observe its greatness of style in the Greek language, and he has used a famous example of greatness: 'the Lawgiver of the Jews', he says, 'not just any man, having gained knowledge of a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, wrote a the very beginning of his Laws: 'God said'- what? ''Let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth,' and there was earth' [followed by a Latin translation of the Greek].

That Longinus could recognise the greatness of the *Fiat Lux* despite the fact that he read Moses in Greek serves to underpin Chamier's argument that the Bible's power is not lost in translation. For this purpose, Chamier (like Vossius, Keckermann and Caussin) stressed the fact that Longinus used the quotation from Genesis to illustrate greatness as an inherent characteristic of certain subject matter (rather than a characteristic of verbal expression).

The classical scholar and humanist Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) used Longinus' citation of Genesis against the views of Counter-Reformers. Casaubon already referred to Longinus' praise of Moses in his edition of the *Historia Augusta* (1603),

[73] D. Chamier, *Panstratiae Catholicae, sive controversiarum de religione adversus pontificios corpus* (Geneva: Roverianus, 1606), 389 (11.2.12).

but does so again in his *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes* (1615). In this work Casaubon reacts to the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (published between 1588 and 1607) of Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538-1607), as well as other Catholic theologians. In one of the comments to Baronius' *Annales*, Casaubon responds to the views of counter-reformers who refuted the Protestant principle of *sola Scriptura* and argued that the Christian faith is based on the apostolic tradition as well. Cardinal Robert Bellarmine had stated in his *De Verbo Dei scripto et non scripto* (first edition 1586) that the apostolic tradition is essential for proving the divine nature of Scripture. It is not sufficient evidence that the Scriptures themselves attest of their divine origin, for the same can be found for instance in the Quran, which is not considered holy among Christians.[74] Casaubon responds to this by saying:

> Nunquam, opinor, id facturus, si tantopere verbi divini Majestatem esset admiratus, ac fecit olim Criticus insignis, Paganus tamen homo, Dionysius Longinus, cuius extat aureolus περὶ ὕψους libellus.[75]
>
> I think he would never have done this [comparing the Bible to the Quran], if he had admired the greatness of the divine word as much as once an eminent critic did, even though he was a pagan, Dionysius Longinus, of whom the golden booklet *Peri hypsous* has been preserved.

Casaubon uses Longinus as a testimonium that the greatness of the Scriptures is universally evident, while sneering that even a pagan could admire in Scripture, what Bellarminus (and the counter-reformers in general) could not. Interestingly, Casaubon spoke quite differently about Longinus in his edition of the *Historia Augusta* (1603). In his notes to Flavius Vopiscus, an author who mentioned Cassius Longinus in the *Historia Augusta*, Casaubon suggested that Longinus must have been a 'semi-Christian', because he praised Moses' writings in his treatise.[76] Twelve

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[74] Bellarminus, *De Verbo Dei scripto et non scripto* (Sedan: J. Jannonus, 1618), 317.

[75] I. Casaubon, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI* (Frankfurt: J. Bringerus, 1615), 110.

[76] Flavius Vopiscus is one of the authors of the *Historica Augusta*, a collection of Roman historical writings. In his notes to Vopiscus' text (which mentions Longinus), Casaubon remarks: *Extat hodieque Longini* Περὶ ὑψους *libellus vere aureolus: ex quo semichristianum fuisse, non male fortasse colligas, propter*

years later, in his *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes*, Casaubon presents Longinus as a pagan, a designation that would have been much more conducive to his polemical argument.

Both Casaubon and Chamier make a point about the value of the Bible in translation: Longinus' praise of Moses is an indication that the greatness of Scripture may be grasped from any version, as it is located in subject matter and is independent from its verbal expression.

3.3.4 Simplicity and the rejection of corrupted eloquence: Grotius, Heinsius, De Petra

In the rhetorical works of Caselius, Vossius, Keckermann and Caussin, as in the biblical scholarship of Chamier and Casaubon, Longinus' citation of Genesis stands out as a non-Christian judgment about the Bible. All of these scholars present the citation as an example of elevated subject matter, in keeping with the function of the passage in *Peri hypsous*. The treatment of Longinus' citation in the context of biblical stylistics however invites a more radical interpretation that is not necessitated by the treatise itself, as I will show in the present section. In the biblical scholarship of Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius Longinus' citation of Genesis is connected to the stylistic ideal of 'simplicity', and thus becomes an example of elevated subject matter that is expressed in simple language. At the same time, the passage is interpreted as a rejection of stylistic decoration as a source of genuine sublimity, an interpretation that was already attached to Longinus' treatise by Daniel Heinsius in the *Prolegomena* to his edition of Hesiod (which I discussed in Chapter Two). The opposition between corrupted and pure (Biblical) rhetoric also plays a role in one of the dedicatory epistles in Gabriele De Petra's edition of *Peri hypsous*, which will also be discussed in the present section.

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illud quod facit de Mosis scriptis iudicium ("Of Longinus a truly golden booklet 'On the Sublime' has been transmitted until the present day: from which one could deduce, perhaps rightly so, that he was a 'semi-Christian', because of this judgment he provided on the writings of Moses"). I. Casaubon, *Historiae Augustae scriptores sex*, Paris: A. & H. Drovart, 1603, 511-512. In his annotated copy of *Peri hypsous*, Casaubon praised Longinus for his excellent judgment about Moses and indicated the page number of the citation on the title page of his copy (British Library 1088.m.2). Casaubon also mentioned Longinus in his personal notes when discussing the obscurity of the language of the prophets. See A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue": Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 105-108.

Longinus' citation of Genesis played an interesting role in Hugo Grotius' unpublished essay *Meletius sive de iis quae inter christianos conveniunt epistola*. The *Meletius*, which can be regarded as a preliminary study of Grotius' famous work *De veritate religionis Christianae*, was written around 1611, when Grotius was Advocate General of the States of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland.[77] In the *Meletius* Grotius presents the Bible as a universally connecting factor, and he uses Longinus to make a point about the Bible's authority:

> Adde iam simplicitatem summam dictionis cum maiestate coniunctam. Dionysius Longinus rhetor qui Περὶ ὕψους (de sublimi dictione) scripsit, ait id ὕψος, id est, quod de rebus divinis convenit, optime observatum a Iudaeorum legislatore, quem vocat ἄνδρα οὐ τὸν τυχόντα, ἐπειδὴ, inquit, τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων "εἶπεν ὁ Θεός", φησί, τί; "γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο, γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο." (Virum non e vulgo, divinam enim virtutem ex dignitate comprehendit explicuitque, cum in ipso legum scripsit initio, "Dixit", inquit, "Deus, fiat lux et facta est. Fiat terra et facta est"). Simplicitas autem praeterquam quod pars magna est maiestatis etiam huc pertinet, ut omnes, etiam indocti, ibi sine circuitu inveniant id quod saluti pariendae sufficiat.[78]
>
> Add to this the highest simplicity of diction, connected with greatness. Dionysius Longinus, the rhetorician who has written *Peri hypsous* (on sublime diction), calls this ὕψος, that is, which deals with divine matters, which has been observed perfectly by the Lawgiver of the Jews, whom he calls 'not just any man; when', as Longinus says 'he has formed a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, writing a the very beginning of his Laws: "God said"- what? 'let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth,' and there was earth"' [followed by a Latin translation of the Greek]. Simplicity however not only constitutes a large

[77] The *Meletius* shares with the *De veritate* its apologetic approach, see Posthumus Meyjes (1988), 22-26.

[78] Grotius, *Meletius* (ca. 1611), §54-55. Text: Posthumus Meyjes (1988). Grotius does not translate Longinus' insertion τί; ('what'?).

part of magnificence, but also belongs to this, namely that all people, even those without learning, can find in that place what is necessary for gaining salvation.

In order to emphasise the authority of the Bible, Grotius points to 'the highest simplicity of diction, connected with greatness'. Like several other scholars and theologians (such as Keckermann, Caussinus, and Chamier), Grotius takes Longinus' quotation as an example of greatness of thought (*majestas* or ὕψος), but also connects it to a characteristic feature of biblical style: simplicity.[79] By adducing *Peri hypsous* 9.9 as an example of 'the highest simplicity of diction, connected with greatness' (*simplicitas summa dictionis cum maiestate coniuncta*), Grotius attaches to the passage an idea that is not present in Longinus' treatise: the concept of 'sublime simplicity'. Grotius' reasons for including Longinus' citation in this particular context are to be sought in the discussion of biblical style in the work of one of Grotius' predecessors: the *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1983) of Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, which I will discuss in more detail in section 3.3.5 of this Chapter. Grotius also referred to Longinus' citation of Genesis in various editions of his *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1627, 1640) as well as his *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641) and in his *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644). As I will discuss in section 3.4.3 of this Chapter, Grotius' reference to Longinus in the *De veritate* moreover played a role of significance in the development of the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*.

A similar point about simplicity is made by Daniel Heinsius in his commentary on Nonnus' paraphrase of the Gospel of St John (1627). In the commentary to Nonnus' text, Heinsius disapproves of Nonnus' strange style of writing, which differs so much from the Gospel of St John itself. The beauty of the Gospel is in turn illustrated with a reference to Longinus' quotation of Genesis.

[79] In the manuscript notes that served as the preparatory study for the *Meletius*, Grotius already noted down some of his arguments. Under "Dion Longinus" Grotius noted down *veritas, antiquitas, consensus, utilitas, simplicitas, gratia necessaria*. See G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Some Remarks on Grotius' Excerpta Theologica, Especially Concerning His Meletius', in: H.J.M. Nellen and E. Rabbie (eds.), *Hugo Grotius Theologian. Essays in Honour of G.H.M. Posthumus Meyes* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1-17: 12.

> Itaque, quemadmodum Longinus, autor nobilissimus, profanus tamen, qui de sublimitate orationis scripsit, quamvis Mosen Graece legisset, dicendi tamen characterem admiratus est: (unde et οὐ τυχόντα ἄνδρα, non vulgarem virum, vocat) ita in Scriptore nostro, in sermone ἀφέλεια, in sensibus est ὑψηλότης.[80]
>
> Just like, for instance, Longinus, a most noble writer, though a pagan, who wrote about the sublimity of speech, even though he read Moses in Greek, still admired his style of writing (hence he calls him "not just any man"), so in our Writer we find simplicity in the language, and sublimity in the thoughts.

Heinsius too uses Longinus to make a point about simplicity of words (ἀφέλεια), combined with sublimity of meaning or thought (ὑψηλότης). Heinsius adapts Longinus' remarks on Genesis to the context of biblical scholarship by relating them to ideas about the simple and unpretentious style of the bible.[81]

In the preface to his edition of Nonnus Heinsius moreover adduces Longinus as an expert judge on stylistic faults.[82] In criticising Nonnus' style Heinsius refers to Longinus' remarks about bombast in *Peri hypsous* 3.

> Denique, ut idem sapiens Longinus paucis dixit, τεθόλωται γὰρ τῇ φράσει καὶ τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασίαις μᾶλλον ἢ δεδείνωται id est, confusa elocutione, et turbulentis imaginibus ac sensibus, de gravitate orationis ac splendore minus sibi quam oportuit prospexit. qui character, optime φλοιώδης, ψυχρὸς, κομπώδης, ὑπόχυλος, μετέωρος, ab iisdem, quibus nunquam elegantia verborum ac translationum defuit, non sine causa nuncupatur.[83]

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[80] Heinsius, *Aristarchus sacer* (1627), 230-231.

[81] The use of Longinus' quotation of Genesis gains special relevance here since the opening of St John's Gospel mirrors the first verses of Genesis: "in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth" (Genesis) versus "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (Gospel of St John). Longinus' praise of Genesis is a sensible example in this context.

[82] Heinsius, *Aristarchus sacer* (1627), *****4^{v}.

[83] Heinsius, *Aristarchus sacer* (1627), *****4^{v} - *****5^{r}.

> Finally, as that same wise critic Longinus explained briefly: "the phrasing is turbid, while the images make for confusion rather forcefulness", which means: through confused diction and chaotic images and ideas, he provides himself with less gravity and splendour in discourse than he should. This style of writing, is rightfully called very "bombastic, frigid, ostentatious, fake, and inflated", by those who are well endowed with elegant words and translations.

In the preface and commentary to his edition of Nonnus Heinsius adapts *Peri hypsous* to the context of biblical scholarship in two ways: Longinus' citation of Genesis (which in itself invites an incorporation in the domain of biblical studies), is used to illustrate two key characteristics of the Gospel: simplicity in style, majesty in subject matter. Like Grotius, Heinsius exploits the potential of *Peri hypsous* 9.9 to be used as an 'external' judgment about Scripture. Heinsius moreover uses Longinus' discussion of failed sublimity (*Peri hypsous* 3) to illustrate Nonnus' muddled style and to underline the difference with the original text of the Gospel. His use of *Peri hypsous* and other ancient sources on rhetoric and literary criticism indicates that Heinsius did not perceive it as problematic to intertwine pagan rhetoric and biblical style.

A confrontation of these two domains is also present in the dedicatory epistle of Gabriele De Petra's edition of *Peri hypsous*. The dedication is addressed to Abraham Stürler and Albrecht Manuel, magistrates of Bern. Several other letters that are included in the edition moreover attest to De Petra's discussions about Longinus with two colleagues at the Academy of Lausanne: Estienne de Beauchasteau, Professor of Greek in Lausanne and minister in Lutry, and Jacob Amport, professor of philosophy and theology in Lausanne. The theological affinities of De Petra's milieu, as well as De Petra's own position as a minister, seem to have prompted a rather apologetic passage in his dedicatory epistle, which frames Longinus' ideas in the context of St Paul's criticism of rhetoric in the Corinthian epistles.

In his dedication, De Petra presents *Peri hypsous* as a gift, which 'opens the gates to the innermost sanctuaries of rhetoric'. The magistrates Stürler and Manuel in turn are called the defenders of 'that sublime eloquence' (*sublimioris istius eloquentiae vindices),* against two kinds of people: firstly, those who adorn petty

thoughts with grand words, like a child wearing a tragic mask (*Peri hypsous* 30), and secondly, those who corrupt great subject matter with mean and base expressions.[84] De Petra compares the second category to the false prophets (ψευδαπόστολοι) that St Paul describes in his second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Corinthians 11.13):

> In posterioris generis censu prodeunt ὀγκηροί τινες et garruli Sophistae, sublimitatis ornamenta ἀκαίρως καὶ ἀλόγως subinde usurpantes, ut hoc pacto apud imperitam multitudinem sapientiae laudem et gloriam aucupentur. Quo vitio, communi huius aevi plurimis Rhetorculis, laborasse ψευδαποστόλους tempore Pauli, Philosophorum placita et hujus generis alia οὐχ ὑψηλὰ, ἀλλὰ μετέωρα[85] loco νοήσεων Evangelicarum, in quibus vera sublimitas, urgentes audimus: quales hodie sunt omnes illi quos simplicitatis textus Evangelici quum pudeat, ad alia (si diis placet) sublimiora ἄνδρες φλοιώδεις confugiunt, ut verbi gratia, inepti illi qui pro fide persuasionem dicunt, pro Evangelio caelestem P[h]ilosophiam, et id genus alia, quibus evangelicam puritatem et eloquentiam corrumpunt:

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[84] De Petra (1612), dedication: *Ac prioris quidem generis sunt non modo omnes illi qui apertum suum in Eloquentiam et Eloquentiae studiosos odium, quavis occasione frigidum suum virus evomentes, telumque imbelle sine ictu coniijientes, profitentur: sed illi omnes quos* ψιλοὺς καὶ ψυχροὺς *vocant Graeci nostri, quorum* φρόνημα ταπεινὸν *et* ἀγεννὲς, *quales sunt mancipiorum et abjectissimorum servitiorum cogitationes, et hujus generis aliorum infelicium hominum* μικρὰ καὶ δουλοπρεπῆ μόνον φρονούντων (ἑρπετὰ ζῶα *verius dixeris*) *qui siquando assurgere volunt, tum* μικροῖς πραγματίοις μεγάλα καὶ σεμνα ὀνόματα περιτιθέμενοι *infantissimos sese produnt. Perinde enim id esse Longinus dicit, ac siquis puero aut infanti tragicam magnamque personam accomodaverit. Vel contra* τοῖς μεγέθεσι νοήσεων μικρὰ καὶ δουλοπρεπῆ ὀνοματα ἐφαρμόσαντες *res magnas verborum exilitate deprimunt atque corrumpunt.* ("And of the first kind are not only all those who openly express their hate aimed at Eloquence and those who study Eloquence, although vomiting out their frigid poison when the occasion arises, and hurling an unwarlike weapon without a blow: but all those who our Greeks call dry and frigid, whose thinking is base and low-born, like the thoughts of slavery and abject servitude, and of that kind of other unhappy people thinking mean and slavish thoughts (creeping creatures I should call them), who, whenever they want to rise up, always show themselves to be most childish, as they adorn small, trifling matters with grand and solemn words. For Longinus says that it is like this, just like when one accomodates a tragic, grand character to a boy or child. Or conversely, those who join mean and slavish words with greatnesses of thought depress and corrupt great things with poorness of words"). These faults as described by De Petra resemble Longinus' discussion of puerility and tumidity in *Peri hypsous* 3.

[85] *Peri hypsous* 3.5.

quem στόμφον tum in verbis tum in sententiis ὑπεροχῆς λόγου καὶ σοφίας verbo intelligit Apostolus. πλὴν περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλος ἀπόκειται τόπος.[86]

Among the second type we find pompous people and garrulous Sophists, who use the ornaments of sublimity unfittingly and foolishly, so that in doing so they harvest praise and glory from people who are inexperienced in wisdom. We have heard with great concern that false prophets in the time of St Paul were afflicted with this vice, which is common to our age of many little rhetoricians, and that doctrines of Philosophers, and other things of this kind, which are not sublime but highfalutin, came in the place of the contents of the Gospels, in which true sublimity is to be found: of the same kind are all those in present times, who, because they are ashamed of the simplicity of the text of the Gospel, seek their refuge in other (if you will), more sublime things, being superficial men, just like, for example, those impertinent people, who say 'persuasion' instead of 'faith', 'heavenly Philosophy' instead of 'Gospel', and similar things, with which they corrupt the purity and eloquence of the Gospels. This is the type of bombast that the Apostle meant to indicate in either words or subject matter with the expression 'loftiness of speech or wisdom'. For those things however another place lies open.

De Petra describes how false apostles (*pseudapostoloi*) disparaged the true sublimity (*vera sublimitas*) of the Gospels, just like in present times bombast (στόμφον) is valued over purity and simplicity.[87] The phrase ὑπεροχῆς λόγου καὶ σοφίας ('loftiness of speech or wisdom') is an allusion to 1 Corinthians 2:1: "and I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God."[88] De Petra refers to St Paul's attitude towards rhetoric in the Corinthian letters, which, in De Petra's argument, is

[86] De Petra (1612), dedication.

[87] The complaint that the present time is full of petty rhetoricians (*rhetorculi*) also recalls Longinus' discussion of the decay of literature and disappearance of true sublimity in *Peri hypsous* 44.

[88] 1 Corinthians 2:1 (Septuagint): κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί ἦλθον οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ("And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God").

centred on two oppositions: firstly between pagan philosophy and the Gospels, and secondly between bombastic eloquence and simplicity.[89] The purpose of De Petra's argument is to demonstrate that Longinus' treatise (like the Corinthian Epistles) does *not* teach this hollow rhetoric, but instead deals with 'true sublimity'. De Petra thus frames *Peri hypsous* as a treatise that is not incompatible with Christian ideas about rhetoric, and may also be relevant in discussions of biblical stylistics.[90]

While Grotius and Heinsius brought Longinus into biblical scholarship, De Petra used passages from Scripture in his edition of *Peri hypsous* to frame the treatise as a text that transcends mere pagan rhetoric (without even mentioning Longinus' praise of Genesis). Each of these treatments of *Peri hypsous* in some way touches upon the confrontation between pagan and Christian rhetoric, and between bombastic eloquence and simplicity. *Peri hypsous* is used as a testimony of the majesty *and* simplicity of the bible, as well as a rejection of 'false sublimity' or stylistic excess. As such the discussion of Longinus' citation of Genesis and the reception of *Peri hypsous* in the context of biblical scholarship contain much of the ingredients that brought this debate to a boiling point in the (in)famous *Querelle du Fiat Lux* in the second half of the seventeenth century. Before moving on to the *Querelle*, I will elaborate on the question why Longinus' reference to Genesis was able to fulfil such a valuable argumentative function in biblical scholarship, by comparing the apologetic works of Hugo Grotius and his predecessor, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay.

3.3.5 Pagan testimony and Christian apologetics: Grotius and Du Plessis-Mornay

In his *Meletius* (and later in *De veritate religionis Christianae*), Grotius adduced Longinus' citation of Genesis as pagan testimony about the Bible. In compiling extraneous evidence for the Christian faith, Grotius followed an approach that other biblical scholars before him had already used. Among these scholars is Philippe du Plessis-Mornay (1549-1623), whose *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*

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[89] See B.W. Winter, *Philo and Paul among the sophists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145-228 about Paul's attitude towards rhetoric, as well as (pagan and Christian) sophists.

[90] That *Peri hypsous* was actually used in sermons in the seventeenth century has been demonstrated by Micha Lazarus (2019, forthcoming).

(1583) was one of Grotius' sources.[91] Du Plessis-Mornay adduces the pagan testimonies about Scripture in order to underpin its greatness and veracity.[92] In the context of these testimonies, Du Plessis-Mornay responds to the objection, raised by certain adversaries of the Christian faith, that if the Scripture were truly divine, it would surely not have been written in such a simple language.[93] Du Plessis-Mornay however asserts that:

> Certe, quo igitur Lex simplicior, eo etiam aeterno Deo, rerumque Creatori convenientior: quippe quae, quo simplicior est, eo vocem eius, qui omnia potest, melius exprimit. Sed quod amplius est, quo simplicior, eo populo accommodatior quoque: nam quae omnibus promiscue data est, cibi quotidiani, seu mavis panis cibarii instar esse debet, ad omnium gustum, ad omnium palatum, accommodati: Quid si haec Scriptura in illa humilitate plus altitudinis habet, in illa simplicitate plus profunditatis, in illa nuditate plus illecebrarum, in illa ruditate plus vigoris et acuminis, quam quas maxime laudamus et miramur? Attende primum caput Geneseos: "Deus in principio creavit caelum et terram. Deus dixit, et aquae segregata sunt a terra, Deus iussit, et herbae producta sunt": Non est idiota quisquam, non rudis adeo ullus, qui haec non intelligat, quantum, inquam, ad salutem necesse est.[94]
>
> Surely, the simpler the Divine Law, the more convenient it is to the eternal God, the creator of all. Considering that the simpler she [the Law] is, the more apt she is at expressing his voice, which is almighty. But more

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[91] J.-P. Heering, 'Hugo Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*', in: H.J.M. Nellen, and E. Rabbie (eds.), *Hugo Grotius Theologian. Essays in Honour of G.H.M. Posthumus Meyes* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 41-52: 46; Posthumus Meyjes (1988), 70. Not every part of Grotius' work can be traced back directly to Du Plessis-Mornay, but both works do contain a particular argument about the relation between the Bible an pagan rhetoric.

[92] P. Du Plessis-Mornay, *De veritate religionis Christianae* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1583), 559-596 (chapter 26, titled: *Quod quae in nostris Scripturis maxime mirabilia videntur, ab Ethnicis auctoribus confirmantur. Item praecipuae Obiectiones dissoluuntur*).

[93] Du Plessis-Mornay (1583), 562: *Harum Scripturarum stylus, simplex, nudus, rudis est. Si a Deo essent, longe aliter loquerentur*.

[94] Du Plessis-Mornay (1583), 563-564.

> importantly, the simpler she is, the more suitable she is for the people as well. For what is given to all without distinction, should be like daily food, or rather like common bread: suitable for everyone's taste, everyone's palate. If this Scripture in her humility has more elevation, in her simplicity more depth, in her bareness more charm, in her roughness more strength and acumen, what could we praise and admire more than these characteristics? See for instance the first chapter of Genesis: "God in the beginning created heaven and earth. God spoke, and the waters were separated from the earth; God commanded, and plants were created. There is no layman, no one so uncultivated, who would not inderstand these things, to the extent necessary for his salvation.

Du Plessis-Mornay argued that the Bible gains its strength from its very simplicity with an argument that dwells on the apparent paradox of humility and elevation, simplicity and depth, bareness and charm, roughness and strength. In order to illustrate this, Du Plessis-Mornay referred to the first words of Genesis, which any man could understand. Du Plessis-Mornay furthermore explained that the simplicity of the Bible is important for conveying the divine truth.[95] While Du Plessis-Mornay could use pagan testimonies to the veracity of Bible's contents, he needed to defend the simple style of the Bible from pagan adversaries.

The discussion of pagan testimonies in relation to biblical stylistics, of which Du Plessis-Mornay, being one of Grotius' sources, is an important representative, constitutes the background against which Grotius included Longinus' quotation of Genesis in his *Meletius*. In the *Meletius* we find an argument very similar to that of Du Plessis-Mornay. Grotius adduced pagan testimonies about (the veracity of) the Bible, and argued that the style of the Bible is simple, so that it can be understood by anyone to the extent that is neccesary for one's salvation.[96] Both Grotius and Du Plessis-Mornay moreover referred to the first verses of Genesis to illustrate their argument. Whereas Du Plessis-Mornay however defended Biblical simplicity from the criticism of pagan adversaries, Grotius could adduce a pagan source that

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[95] Du Plessis-Mornay (1583), 564: *Adeo Scripturae simplicitas efficax est, tum ad humilium instructionem, tum ad confusionem superborum. In Bibliis habemus historias. In historia quid maxime laudamus? Veritatem. Est enim historiae essentia veritas: Veritatem vero quid magis indicat quam simplicitas?*

[96] Grotius, *Meletius* (ca. 1611), §55.

actually praises the style of the Bible. Grotius' interpretation of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* as an example of 'sublime simplicity', is thus to be explained from its appearance in this particular context: by widening Longinus' emphasis on 'great subject matter' to include 'simplicity of style' Grotius could defend Biblical simplicity by adducing the praise of a pagan.[97]

Longinus' reference to Genesis appeared in the writings of at least eight early modern scholars (not counting the editions of *Peri hypsous*) between 1580 and 1650.[98] The conspicuousness of the example would suffice to attract special attention from anyone reading Longinus' treatise. The reference may however have enjoyed some fame as an autonomous example as well. While Caselius, Vossius, Caussin, Casaubon and Heinsius for instance refer to other parts of *Peri hypsous* as well (indicating their knowledge of more than just *Peri hypsous* 9.9), the appearance of Longinus' praise of Genesis in the works of Chamier, Keckermann and Grotius is quite singular and might indicate that the example gained prominence independently of Longinus' treatise. As I will argue in the next section, the works of Hugo Grotius contributed to the fame (or notoriety) of Longinus' praise of Genesis in and outside biblical scholarship, and thus played a role in the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*.

3.4 Biblical scholarship in the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*

The central role that Boileau gave to Longinus' citation of Genesis in his definition of the Longinian sublime, and the heated debate it spurred in the final decades of the seventeenth century, made the example into a *locus classicus* in critical discussions of the sublime. As I have shown in the previous section, the connection of 'greatness in subject matter' with 'simplicity or artlessness in expression' in this particular example was made explicit in early seventeenth-century biblical scholarship, especially in the works of Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius. As I will show in the present section, the early seventeenth-century treatment of Longinus' citation of Genesis not only predated the *Querelle du Fiat Lux,* but also played a role in the development of its arguments. In order to do so, I will examine the various

[97] See also Till (2006), 133-165 on scholars like Flacius, Glassius, and Gerhard, who also reflected on the simplicity of the Bible.

[98] The appearances range from Caselius (1585) to Heinsius (1627).

stages of the *Querelle* and highlight the interpretative shifts that took place over the course of the debate, while reconstructing the quarrel's indebtedness to biblical scholarship, and particularly the work of Hugo Grotius.[99]

3.4.1 From sublime to simple

The preface to Boileau's French translation of *Peri hypsous* (*Traité du sublime*), which featured Longinus' paraphrase of Genesis, was expanded and reissued multiple times in the decades after its first publication in 1674.[100] In the preface Boileau used the Genesis citation to elucidate Longinus' definition of 'the sublime'. The example served to illustrate the point that *le sublime* is not the same as *le stile sublime*. While the 'sublime style' requires grand words, the 'sublime' does not, as sublimity can be found in a single thought or phrase.[101] Boileau illustrated this point by contrasting the *Fiat Lux* with a paraphrastic description of the biblical creation of light:

> Par example. Le souverain Arbitre de la Nature d'une seule parole forma la lumiere. Voilà qui est dans le Stile Sublime: cela n'est pas néanmoins Sublime: parce qu'il n'y a rien là de fort merveilleux, et qu'un autre ne pût aisément trouver. Mais. Dieu dit: Que la lumière se fasse, et la lumière se fit. Ce tour extraordinaire d'expression qui marque si bien l'obéissance de la

[99] For an extensive reconstruction of the *Querelle du Fiat Lux* I refer to the discussions of Declercq (1994), 237-262 and Kerslake (2000), 41-63.

[100] Boileau's *Oeuvres*, which included the *Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours traduit du Grec de Longin,* were augmented in subsequent editions. In the 1683 edition Boileau had expanded his preface to the treatise to include a response to Pierre-Daniel Huet's criticism of Longinus. In 1694 an edition of the *Oeuvres* was published which included nine *Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rhéteur Longin*. In the 1701 edition the preface to the *Traité* was again extended with additional textual examples. In 1713 another three *Réflexions* (written around 1710) were added to the *Oeuvres*, including the famous *Réflexion X* about the sublime simplicity of the *Fiat Lux*. Later editions, such as the one published in 1718 also included the lengthy essay of Pierre-Daniel Huet and Jean Le Clerc on the subject (*Examen du sentiment de Longin sur ce passage de la Genese: et Dieu dit: que la lumiere soit faite et la lumiere fut faite, par Mr. Huet, ancien Evêque d'Avranches*), as well as Jean Le Clerc's *Remarques* on Boileau's *Réflexion X*.

[101] Boileau (1674), 'Traité du Sublime', iiii^{v}. See also my discussion of this passage in the Introduction.

> Créature aux ordres du Créateur est véritablement Sublime et a quelque chose de divin.[102]
>
> For example: 'The sovereign ruler of Nature has created light from a single word.' This is set in the sublime style, yet it is not sublime, because there is nothing miraculous in it, and nothing that someone else couldn't have thought of. But: 'God said: "Let there be light, and there was light."' That extraordinary way of expressing, which describes so well how the Creation obeys the rules of the Creator is truly sublime and has something divine.

By comparing these two accounts of the creation of light, Boileau aims to demonstrate that the biblical passage gains its power from something else than grand words, namely from a special quality that makes it marvellous and divine: the sublime. The element of simplicity is not yet explicitly attached to Longinus' *Fiat Lux*, although Boileau discusses the combination of sublimity and simplicity elsewhere in the preface, when discussing critics of his time who do not appreciate what Longinus estimates the most:

> Ils chercheront souvent le Sublime dans le Sublime, et peut-estre se mocqueront-ils des exclamations que Longin fait quelquefois sur des passages, qui, bien que tres sublimes, ne laissent pas d'estre simples et naturels.[103]
>
> They often seek the sublime within the sublime, and they perchance mock the observations that Longinus sometimes makes about passages that, although they are very sublime, do not cease to be simple and natural.

By implication, Boileau's separation of 'the sublime' from 'the sublime style', allows for the combination of simple words and elevated subject matter.

Boileau would be prompted to elaborate on his interpretation of Longinus' Genesis citation by the critical remarks of the biblical scholars Pierre-Daniel Huet

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[102] Boileau (1674), 'Traité du Sublime', iiii[v].

[103] Boileau (1674), 'Traité du Sublime', iiii[r].

(1630-1721) and later also Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736). In his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679) Huet included Longinus' citation of Genesis in a list of pagan testimonies about the books of Moses, and objected to the critic's interpretation of the passage as 'sublime'. According to Huet, Longinus had quoted the Genesis example as an example of 'sublime and figured' words (*sublimia et* ἐσχηματισμένα), in order to illustrate 'fullness of style' (*styli* ἁδροτής). Huet objected that although the subject matter is very great, the style of Genesis is very simple. Huet therefore suspects that Longinus has quoted this example from an intermediate source, for he would have grasped the simplicity of the passage if he had studied the book of Moses himself.[104] Huet thus rejects the validity of Longinus' interpretation of the *Fiat Lux*, by saying that it turns the opening of Genesis erroneously into a an illustration of rhetorical artistry and thus fails to appreciate the simplicity of Scripture. Huet attributes this lack of understanding to Longinus' inadequate knowledge of the books of Moses, which he probably did not read in the original Hebrew.

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[104] Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Paris: S. Michallet, 1679), 54: *Longinus, Zenobiae Palmyrenorum reginae à consiliis et studiis, criticae artis princeps, in aureolo libello* Περὶ ὑψους, *eximio Mosem elogio exornat, nam Dei potestatem pro dignitate cognovisse et elocutum fuisse ait: quippe qui, inquit, initio legum Deum dixisse scribat: Fiat lux, et facta est, fiat terra, et facta est. Verumtamen quae hic tanquam sublimia et* ἐσχηματισμένα *affert è Mose Longinus, ut ejus styli* ἁδρότητα *approbet, simplicissima sunt. Rem quidem narrat Moses longe maximam, sed stylo* λιτῷ. *Atque hinc adducor ut credam, haec aliunde Longinum accepisse: nam si ad ipsos recurrisset fontes, et Mosis libros evolvisset, summam deprehendisset ubique* χαρακτῆρος ἰσχνότητα, *quam persecutum esse Mosem puto, propter dignitatem materiae, quae doceri contenta respuit omnem ornatum* ("Longinus, teacher of the crtical arts to Zenobia, queen of the Palmyrenes, through advice and scholarship, has celebrated Moses in his golden booklet 'On the Sublime' with extraordinary praise, for he said that he [Moses] had recognised and expressed the power of God, since he, says Longinus, wrote at the beginning of his laws that God had said: 'Let there be light', and there was light; 'let there be earth', and there was earth. However, these words, which Longinus here quotes from Moses as being sublime and figurative, to illustrate the fullness of this style, are in fact very simple. Moses may be recounting the grandest subject matter, but he does so in a plain style. And hence I am inclined to believe that Longinus has taken these words from another source: for if he would have turned to the sources themselves, and read Moses' books, he would have recognised the highest simplicity of style everywhere, which I think Moses has sought to use, because of the dignity of the subject, which, because it is eager to be tought, rejects every ornament").

3.4.2 The connection with Augustine in the Port-Royal Bible

Boileau responded to the statements that Huet made in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* in an expanded version of his preface to the *Traité du sublime* (1683).[105] Boileau elaborated on his interpretation of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* and explained that he incorporated the citation in his preface because Longinus praised it too, even though he is a pagan.[106] Boileau expressed his astonishment that a scholar from his own time (Huet) would dare to reject Longinus' testimony about Scripture in a book that aims to demonstrate the truth of the Christian religion (Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica*).[107] Boileau found himself supported by the makers of a recent translation of Genesis (*Port-Royal Bible*, *La Genèse traduite en François*, 1682) who included Longinus' pagan testimony in their preface.[108] Indeed, the preface to this translation provides a discussion of Longinus' citation of Genesis in the context of the 'sublime simplicity of the bible' (*simplicité sublime de l'Écriture*). The authors cited Boileau's statements on the *Fiat Lux* (as they appeared in 1674) and elaborated on them by referring to Augustine:

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[105] Boileau-Despréaux, N., *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, 1683), K 6^{r-v}.

[106] Boileau (1683), K 6^{r}: "J'ai raporté ces paroles de la Genese, comme l'expression la plus propre à mettre ma pensée en son jour, et je m'en suis servi d'autant plus volontiers que cette expression est citée avec éloge par Longin mesme, qui au milieu des tenèbres du Paganisme n'a pas laissé de reconnoistre le divin qu'il y avoit dans ces paroles de l'Ecriture."

[107] Boileau (1683), K 6^{r-v}: "Mais que dirons-nous d'un Sçavant de ce siecle qui quoi qu'éclairé des lumieres de l'Evangile, ne s'est pas apperceu de la beauté de cet endroit, a osé, dis-je, avancer dans un Livre qu'il a fait pour démonstrer la Religion Chrestienne, que Longin s'estoit trompé lorsqu'il avoit crû que ces paroles estoient sublimes?"

[108] Boileau (1683), K 6^{v}: "J'ai la satisfaction au moins que des personnes non moins considerables par leur pieté que par leur grand sçavoir, qui nous ont donné depuis peu la traduction du Livre de la Genese, n'ont pas esté de l'avis de ce Sçavant, et dans leur Preface, entre plusieurs preuves excellentes qu'ils ons apportées pour faire voir que c'est l'Esprit saint qui a dicté ce livre, ont allegué le passage de Longin, pour montrer combien les Chrestiens doivent estre persuadez d'une verité si claire, et qu'un Payen mesme a sentie par les seules lumieres de la raison." The translators of Genesis refer to Longinus in their preface (§2.3), as well as in the notes to Genesis 1.3: *La Genèse traduite en François. Avec l'explication du sens litteral & du sens spirituel* (Lyon: Anisson & Posuel, 1682), 13. See also Declercq (1994), 259-260 on this French translation of the Bible in the context of the *Querelle*.

> On a rapporté ailleurs ce que S. Augustin a dit de l'excellence et de la majesté du stile des auteurs sacrez. Ils ont esté éloquens, dit ce Saint, sans penser à l'estre. Leur élevation a esté simple, et leur simplicité élevée. La grandeur de leurs pensées a donné du poids et de la dignité à leurs paroles. Ils ont trouvé moyen de faire admirer, et ce qui est encore plus, de faire réverer ce qu'ils disoient, sans qu'il paroisse aucune trace de la moindre étude dans leurs discours; et au lieu que les hommes du monde ont suivi l'éloquence, l'éloquence a suivi ces hommes de Dieu.[109]
>
> We have reported elsewhere what St Augustine has said about the excellence and majesty of the style of the sacred authors. They were eloquent, without actively reflecting on it. Their elevation was simple, and their simplicity elevated. The grandeur of their thoughts has given their words weight and dignity. They have found a way to induce admiration, and even more, to induce great respect for what they said, without showing a trace of any education in their speech; and instead of the men of the world following eloquence, eloquence has followed these men of God.

The writers of the preface are referring to the view of St Augustine in his work *De doctrina Christiana*, in which the author applied and adjusted pagan rhetoric (especially Cicero's *Orator*).[110] Augustine applies the three *genera dicendi* that Cicero assigned to three *officia oratoris* (*probare, delectare, flectere*) to the three domains of Christian rhetoric: the low style is reserved for exegesis, the middle style for praise, blame and admonition, and the high style for stirring the emotions.[111] Augustine however abolishes the principle of *aptum* that Cicero adhered to and which dictates congruence between subject matter and style – since the subject matter of Scripture is always great, it may well occur that something majestic is set in a

[109] *La Genèse traduite en François* (1682), preface, §2.3.

[110] See for instance Till (2006), 57-60.

[111] Cicero, *Orator* 69; *De doctrina Christiana* IV.74-77. See R.P.H. Green, *Augustine.* De Doctrina Christiana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), xx-xxi and 231-229; Till (2006), 57; G.A. Kennedy, *Classical rhetoric & its Christian & secular tradition from ancient to modern times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 114.

simple style.[112] The translators of the Port-Royal Bible thus interpreted Boileau's statements in terms of Augustine's ideas about sublime simplicity.

That Boileau was receptive to this interpretation as well as to Huet's remarks is visible in Boileau's elaborations in the subsequent editions of his preface to Longinus' treatise. In the 1683 edition Boileau additionally mentioned that Longinus was a pagan, a point that had been emphasised by Huet in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Furthermore, in the 1701 version of the preface Boileau elaborated on the point of (sublime) simplicity, which had been important to Huet as well as the translators of the Port-Royal Bible. In this edition Boileau sought to substantiate his claim about the division of *le sublime* from *le stile sublime* with another example (besides the *Fiat Lux*), taken from a contemporary author: Pierre Corneille. Boileau quotes a passage from Corneille's tradegy *Horace*, in which the old Horace, angered by the cowardly deeds of his son, utters the wish: Qu'il mourût! ("That he had died!").[113] For Boileau the sublimity of these words springs from their simplicity and naturalness.[114] In thus expanding his preface, Boileau increased the emphasis on the connection between sublimity and simplicity.

3.4.3 Huet's objections and Grotius' De veritate religionis Christianae

Huet's remarks have often been interpreted as a direct response to the preface of Boileau's *Traité du sublime*. In their discussions of the 'Querelle' Jules Brody, Robert

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[112] Debora Shuger's work *Sacred Rhetoric* (1988) is an important contribution to the study of early modern discussions of biblical stylistics. In her book she traces the development of the 'passionate plain style' as part of the 'Christian grand style' in the early modern period.

[113] Corneille, *Horace*, Act III, scene 6. For a discussion of the *qu'il mourût* in Boileau, see Doran (2015), 120-123.

[114] N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours* (Paris: D. Thierry, 1701), 'Traité du Sublime', 12-13: "il n'y a personne qui ne sente la grandeur heroïque qui est renfermée dans ce mot 'Qu'il mourût', qui est d'autant plus sublime qu'il est simple et naturel, et que par là on voit que c'est du fond du coeur que parle ce vieux Heros, et dans les transports d'une colere vraiment Romaine. De fait la chose auroit beaucoup perdu de sa force si au lieu de 'Qu'il mourût', il avoit dit, 'Qu'il suivist l'exemple de ses deux freres', ou, 'Qu'il sacrifiait sa vie à l'interest et à la gloire de son pays'. Ainsi c'est la simplicité mesme de ce mot qui en fait la grandeur." The comparison with a paraphrase of the quotation in the sublime style mirrors Boileau's paraphrase of the *Fiat Lux* for the purpose of demonstrating that its sublimity does not spring from the use of elevated words.

Doran and Anthony Ossa-Richardson for instance suggest that Huet's objection to Longinus' interpretation of the *Fiat Lux* was *prompted* by Boileau's treatment of the passage.[115] The reconstructions of the 'Querelle' presented by Gilles Declercq and Lawrence Kerslake however assume that the debate started only when Boileau took notice of Huet's remarks in the *Demonstratio*.[116] So was the publication of the *Traité* Huet's primary incentive to criticise Longinus' interpretation of the *Fiat Lux*?

It surely deserves to be noticed that Huet neither mentions Boileau, nor the *Traité*. Another, more pressing issue is the fact that Huet's remarks seem to be a rather inadequate response to Boileau's interpretation of the *Fiat Lux*. Boileau had used the Genesis citation to illustrate that 'the sublime' is something else than 'sublimity of style'. Boileau and Huet, we may speculate, would actually have agreed that the passage from Genesis is powerful *not* because it uses stylistical devices, but because it conveys something great and dignified. According to Huet however, Longinus has used the Genesis citation to illustrate 'fullness of style' (styli ἁδροτής), thereby failing to appreciate that they are actually set in a 'plain style' (stylus λιτός) and exemplify 'simplicity of style' (χαρακτῆρος ἰσχνότης). By reading Longinus' treatise as a discussion of the high style in writing, Huet completely misses the point that Boileau was making, namely that Longinus' notion of sublimity is something *else* than the 'sublime style'.[117] We may suspect that Huet would have constructed his argument somewhat differently if he only meant to refute Boileau.

Some years later, in his letter to Le Duc de Montausier (1706), Huet expressed his bewilderment about Boileau's attack, and said that he would never have thought that their intellectual paths would cross.[118] He knew that Boileau had

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[115] Brody (1958), 50; Doran (2015), 116; Ossa-Richardson (2014), 75.

[116] Declercq (1994), 238; Kerslake (2000), 45.

[117] That Boileau and Huet are missing each other's points has been noted for instance by Litman (1971), 89, Ossa-Richardson (2014) and Doran (2015), 115-120.

[118] Huet, P-D., 'Lettre de M. Huet à M. le Duc de Montausier, Dans laquelle il examine le sentiment de Longin sur le passage de la Genèse: Et Dieu dit: Que la lumière soit faite, et la lumière fut faite', in: Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1706), vol. 10, 211-260: 216-217: Ainsi à dire la veritè, je fus un peu surpris, lorsqu'ayant trouvé l'autre jour sur votre table la nouvelle Edition de ses Oeuvres, à l'ouverture du Livre je tombai sur ces paroles ... [followed by a citation of Boileau's attack on Huet]. Je fus surpris, dis-je, de ce discours, Monseigneur; car nous avons pris des routes si différentes, dans le païs des Lettres,

worked on Longinus, but he was surprised to learn that Boileau had taken his critical note on Longinus as a personal offence.[119] Moreover, in the letter Huet also explained why he commented upon Longinus in the first place. Ever since Huet had first read Longinus, he was shocked that the author had chosen the *Fiat Lux* as an example of the sublime.[120] Huet came across Longinus' citation of Genesis while studying the ancient testimonies about the book of Moses, and found it necessary to refute Longinus' interpretation publicly as it seemed clear to him that the critic had mischaracterised the Mosaic account of creation.[121] Even if Huet's astonishment about Boileau's polemical reaction is feigned, and his discussion of Longinus in the *Demonstratio* was indeed meant as a reaction to Boileau's preface, Huet at least formulates a second incentive for his statements about *Peri hypsous* 9.9: the presence of Longinus' citation among the ancient testimonies about Scripture, and Longinus' (perceived) mischaracterisation of Moses' text.

In Huet's time, Moses and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch had recently become a hotly debated issue after the publication of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670). In the *Tractatus*, Spinoza had argued that Moses could not have been the author of the Pentateuch, and that the Mosaic law was rather the political law of the Israelite society, rather than a truly divine law.[122] As such,

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Mr. Despréaux et moi, que je ne croyois pas le rencontrer jamais, dans mon chemin, et que je pensois être hors des atteintes de sa redoutable Critique.

[119] Huet, 'Lettre', in: Le Clerc (1706), 215-216: Quoique je susse bien que Mr. Despréaux avoit travaillé sur Longin, que j'eusse même lû son Ouvrage, et qu'après l'avoir examiné soigneusement, j'en eusse fait le jugement qu'il mérite, je ne crus pas qu'il eût pris cet auteur sous la protection, et qu'il se fut lié si étroitement d'interêt avec lui, que de reprendre cet Auteur ce fût lui faire une offense; non plus qu'à trois ou quatre Savans Hommes, qui l'ont traduit avant lui.

[120] Huet, 'Lettre', in: Le Clerc (1706), 213: Dès la première lecture, que je fis de Longin, je fus choqué de cette remarque, et il ne me parut pas, que le passage de Moïse fût bien choisi, pour un exemple du Sublime.

[121] Huet, 'Lettre', in: Le Clerc (1706), 214: aïant entrepris le dénombrement des Auteurs Profanes, qui ont rendu témoignage à l'antiquité des Livres de Moïse, je trouvai Longin parmi eux, et parce qu'il ne rapportoit ce qu'il dit de lui, que sur la foi d'autrui, je me sentis obligé de tenir compte au Public de cette conjecture, et de lui en dire la principale raison; qui est, que s'il avoit vû ce qui suit et ce qui précède le passage de Moïse, qu'il allègue, il auroit bien-tôt reconnu qu'il n'a rien de sublime.

[122] B. De Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Hamburg: H. Künraht [= J. Rieuwertsz], 1670). See S. Frankel, 'The Invention of Liberal Theology: Spinoza's Theological-Political Analysis of Moses and Jesus', *The Review of Politics* 62-63 (2001), 287-315: 293-297.

Moses was rather a secular leader than a divinely inspired prophet. In this context a reference to Moses by a pagan in a rhetorical work is somewhat tricky, as it (seemingly) brings Moses into the sphere of pagan rhetoric and political shrewdness, rather than divine inspiration. According to Huet, Longinus presents Moses' words as 'elevated and figurative' (*sublimia et* ἐσχηματισμένα), characteristics that befit secular rhetoric more than the simplicity and perspicuity usually attributed to the Bible. Huet therefore argued that Longinus must have adopted the citation from an intermediate source and not from a direct reading of the original Hebrew. One of Huet's claims in the *Demonstratio Evangelicae* is that the Old Testament, including the Books of Moses are authentic.[123] Huet underpins this by presenting an extensive list of pagan authorities, including Longinus. In trying to demonstrate convincingly that the Old Testament is authentic, Huet needed to separate the problematic evidence from the reliable sources. Ignoring Longinus' citation altogether moreover was not an option. Partly because of the increased attention it would have gotten from Boileau's preface, but certainly also because it had already acquired a firm place among the ancient pagan testimonies about Scripture in biblical scholarship, the most famous example of which would be Hugo Grotius' *De veritate religionis Christianae*.

Grotius' *De veritate religionis Christianae*, probably his most famous work in the seventeenth century, was conceived in 1620 as a didactic poem in Dutch, while Grotius was imprisoned at Loevestein castle for his remonstrant views.[124] The first Latin edition (in prose) of the treatise was published in 1627, and was followed by many reprints, new editions and translations in the subsequent decades.[125] The work, apologetic in nature, presents a variety of proofs for the truth of the

[123] Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* was at least partly a reaction to Spinoza's assertions. See H.G. Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation, Volume 4: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 110-122 and J. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 453-456.

[124] Heering (1994), 42-44.

[125] See J.J.V.M. de Vet, 'Jean Leclerc, An Enlightened Propagandist of Grotius' 'De veritate religionis Christianae', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 64.2 (1984), 160-195: 160-161 and the bibliographical index of J. ter Meulen, and P.J.J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1950), 467-536.

Christian faith.[126] A part of Grotius' evidence consists of pagan testimonies about Scripture. The 1627 latin edition of *De veritate* included Longinus in a list of pagan testimonies about Moses.[127] The edition of 1640 is expanded with an appendix of explanatory notes (*annotata*) to the text of *De veritate*, in which Longinus' citation of Genesis is quoted at length.

> Et post eos Dionysius Longinus] Vixit is tempore Aureliani Imperatoris gratus Zenobiae Palmyrenorum Reginae. Is in libro de sublimi dicendi genere, cum dixisset de Deo loquentes curare debere, ut eum nobis magnum sincerumque et impermixtum exhibeant: ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων· εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, φησί· τί; γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. Sic egit et is qui Iudaeis leges condidit, vir minimae vulgaris ingenii, ut qui Dei potestatem digne et conceperit et elocutus fuerit, statim in principio legum haec scribens. Dixit, ait, Deus. Quid? Fiat lux: et facta est. Fiat terra: et facta est.[128]
>
> And after them Dionysius Longinus] He lived in the time of Emperor Aurelian, as a protégé of Zenobia, Queen of the Palmyrenes. He wrote this in his book 'On the sublime', when he had stressed that those who speak about God should make sure that they present him to us as great and pure and uncontaminated: So too, the lawgiver of the Jews [Moses], not just any man, after he had formed a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, writing at the very beginning of his Laws, declared: "God said"- what? "'let there be light,' and there was light, 'Let there be earth', and there was earth" [followed by a Latin translation of the Greek].

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[126] De Vet (1984) 161-162, and J.-P. Heering, 'The Sources of Grotius's *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*', *Grotiana* 35 (2014), 53-65.

[127] H. Grotius, *De veritate religionis Christianae* (Paris: J. Ruart, 1627), 28: *Meminerunt Mosis et Diodorus Siculus, et Strabo, et Plinius, Tacitus quoque, et post eos Dionysius Longinus de sermonis sublimitate* ("Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus too, and after them Longinus in 'On the Sublime' have reported about Moses").

[128] H. Grotius, *De veritate religionis Christianae* (Leiden: J. Maire, 1640), *annotata ad librum I*, 122-123.

Grotius moreover also mentions Longinus' quotation of Genesis in his *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641) and in his *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644).[129] Grotius' *De veritate religionis Christianae* was translated into several languages and widely disseminated throughout Europe.[130] In 1636 and 1644 for instance two different French translations of the *De veritate* were published.[131] Grotius may hence have been one of the main disseminators of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* in seventeenth-century biblical scholarship.[132]

Huet refers to Grotius' work several times in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* and his incorporation of a list of ancient sources about the Bible harkens back to Grotius' overview of testimonies in *De veritate religionis Christianae*. We may recall that Huet himself said that he came across Longinus' citation when studying the ancient testimonies about the Books of Moses.[133] Grotius' work would be a logical place to start such an investigation. It seems very likely therefore that Huet's rejection of

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[129] H. Grotius, *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (Amsterdam: J. and C. Blaeu, 1641), 170: *Nam et Moses creationem ita descripserat: Et dixit Deus fiat lux et facta est lux: quibus in verbis majestatem esse miram et σεμνότητα λόγου recte animadvertit paganus homo Longinus rhetor cujus haec sunt verba*: ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων "εἶπεν ὁ Θεός", φησί, —τί; "γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. H. Grotius, *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (Paris: S. and G. Cramoisy, 1644), I, 2: *Dixitque Deus: Fiat Lux et facta est lux] De his verbis vide Dionysii Longini locum, quem in dictis Annotatis protulimus*.

[130] De Vet (1984), 160-161 and Heering (1994), 42-44.

[131] H. Grotius, *Traicté de la verité de la religion chrestienne. Traduit du Latin de l'auteur* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1636); H. Grotius, *La vérité de la religion chrestienne* (Paris: P. Moreau, 1644). See Heering (2004), 223-227.

[132] That Grotius' reference to Longinus was quite widely known can for instance be deduced from a remark of Tanneguy Le Fèvre in his edition of Longinus' text (Saumur, 1663). In his note to Longinus' citation of Genesis Le Fèvre referred to Hugo Grotius, who had written ἐχώρησε (to contain; to comprehend) instead of ἐγνώρισε (to make known; to discover) in his rendering of the citation, and translated the Greek accordingly. Le Fèvre (1663), 282: ἐγνώρισε κἀξέφηνεν] *Vir illustrissimus et harum litterarum longe maximum decus Hugo Grotius, in lib. de veritate Religionis Christianae, hunc ipsum locum producens, non* ἐγνώρισε, *ut ubique scribitur*, sed ἐχώρησε, *legerat. Ita enim convertit* [followed by a quotation of Grotius' translation]. The textual variant renders different Latin translations: Le Fèvre translates ἐγνώρισε with *notam fecit* (*notam facere*; 'to make known), while Grotius translates ἐχώρησε with *conceperit* (*concipere*, 'to comprehend'). Interestingly, both variants are found in Grotius' works, too: we find ἐχώρησε in *Meletius* (ca. 1611) and *De veritate* (1640), but ἐγνώρισε in the *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641). See also note 56 above.

[133] Huet, 'Lettre', in: Le Clerc (1706), 214, see above note 121.

Longinus' interpretation of the *Fiat Lux* in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* is the result of a discussion that started with Hugo Grotius' inclusion of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* in the *De veritate*.[134]

3.4.4 Huet and Le Clerc (1706), Boileau's Réflexion X *(1713), and Tollius*

The quarrel progressed as Jean Le Clerc published a reaction to Boileau's statements in his *Bibliothèque choisie* (1706), which included a letter on the subject written in 1683 by Pierre-Daniel Huet.[135] Le Clerc quotes Huet's letter while interweaving comments of his own. Their objections can be summarised in three main points: **1.** Christians have appropriated Longinus' appraisal of the Genesis passage in their own evaluations of Scripture, because they thought it wrong not to appreciate those aspects of Scripture that even a pagan admired.[136] Huet and Le Clerc however depict Longinus as someone who had no knowledge of Scripture at all, and who had borrowed the Genesis passage from an intermediate source, which they considered to be evident from the deviant form in which Longinus presents the citation.[137] Longinus' mischaracterisation of the *Fiat Lux* is thus attributed to his pagan background. **2.** Both Le Clerc and Huet take Longinus' treatise to be a treatment of the sublime style in writing and hence cannot accept his (and Boileau's) reference to Genesis as 'sublime'. They consider Longinus' rhetorical approach to Scripture as inadmissible, since the Bible's divine message transcends human instruments such as rhetorical skill, as has been argued for

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[134] Huet mentions Grotius several times in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*. That the primary issue in biblical scholarship was Longinus' authority, rather than his characterisation of the biblical text as sublime, is corroborated by a note added to the reissued edition of Grotius' *De veritate* by Jean Le Clerc (1709): *Serius vixit Longinus, quam ut ejus auctoritate niti possimus, praeterquam quod ab Epistolis fuit Zenobiae, mulieri Judaeae* ("Longinus lived too late for us to rely on his authority, except for what is known from the letters of Zenobia, a Jewish woman").

[135] Huet, P-D., 'Lettre de M. Huet à M. le Duc de Montausier, Dans laquelle il examine le sentiment de Longin sur le passage de la Genèse: Et Dieu dit: Que la lumière soit faite, et la lumière fut faite', in: Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1706), vol. 10, 211-260.

[136] Le Clerc, Huet, 'Examen du sentiment de Longin sur ce passage de la Genese: & Dieu dit: que la lumiere soit faite et la lumiere fut faite, par Mr. Huet, ancien Evêque d'Avranches' in: Le Clerc, J., *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1706), vol. 10, 211-260: 222-225.

[137] Le Clerc, Huet, 'Examen', in: Le Clerc (1706), 225 and 231-234. It is stressed repeatedly in the *Examen* that only someone who has read Genesis in the original Hebrew, can appreciate it properly.

instance by Augustine (*De doctrina Christiana*) and St Paul (2 Corinthians).[138] Longinus is accused of reading rhetorical devices into the passage and even adding a figure of his own, by inserting τί; ('what'; French: 'quoi') into the citation. Huet and Le Clerc argue that anyone studying Genesis in Hebrew would have seen that the passage is made up of ordinary words and that the repetition ("God said: 'let there be [x], and there was [x]'") is a common occurrence in the Hebrew Bible (and even the Quran).[139] The fact that Longinus did not read the Genesis passage in the original Hebrew, but in Greek, thus led him to mistake the passage for a figured expression. For Huet and Le Clerc the application of Greek rhetorical theory to the Bible is plain wrong. **3.** On top of this, Huet (seconded by Le Clerc) argues that Longinus' idea of sublimity is entirely inadequate. According to Huet, four types of sublimity should be discerned: i. *Le sublime des termes* (sublimity resulting from the choice of beautiful and grand words); ii. *Le sublime du tour d'expression* (sublimity resulting from the striking arrangement of words); iii. *Le sublime des pensées* (sublimity springing from the author's lofty thoughts); iv. *Le sublime des choses* (sublimity inherent to the subject matter).[140] Huet asserts that it is a common mistake to confuse these different types of sublimity. Longinus, Boileau *and* the Dutch scholar Jacobus Tollius (who had refuted Huet in his 1694 edition of Longinus) are then accused of confusing *le sublime des choses* with *le sublime de l'art* (which includes *le sublime des termes, du tour d'expression* and *des pensées*), and of mixing up inherent sublimity with rhetorical sublimity.

The Dutch scholar Jacobus Tollius (1633-1696) (whose work will be discussed more extensively in Chapter Five), incurred the criticism of Huet because of his discussion of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* in his edition of Longinus (1694). In the commentary to Longinus' text, Tollius endorsed Boileau's opinion:

> Dixerat Longinus sectione octava inter quinque sublimitatis fontes esse primum et praestantissimum τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἁδρεπήβολον; in quo τοῖς ἐσχηματισμένοις nullus locus est, sed sola respicitur dignitas

[138] This point also relates to the question whether god actually spoke when creating heaven and earth (the idea of *anthropopatheia*). See Ossa-Richardson (2014) for the role of Longinus' reference to Genesis in the late seventeenth-century discussion of this topic.

[139] Le Clerc, Huet, 'Examen', in: Le Clerc (1706), 239-241.

[140] Le Clerc, Huet, 'Examen', in: Le Clerc (1706), 245-254.

sententiae ad rei magnitudinum convenienter expressae. Potest autem etiam in tenui genere saepe occurrere sententia sublimis et elata, quam non tam studium, quam ipsa rei magnitudo exprimat. Distinguendum vero inter quaesitam dedita opera, arteque arcessitam sublimitatem, et illam, quae judicio exquisito, ubi res poposcerit admittitur. In hoc igitur Moysis loco et res maxima est, et ex merito a Moyse expressa. Non consistit hic in elocutionis, seu potius verborum, amplitudine τὸ ὑψος, (verba enim εὐτελέστατα sunt) sed in ipso sensu: et hoc est, quod Longinus volebat, Moysem dignum ipsa rei magnitudine sensum protulisse: cujusmodi sensum etiam nudum sine verbis nonnumquam, ut in Ajacis silentio, sublimem esse dixerat.[141]

Longinus has said in his eighth chapter that the first and foremost of the five sources of sublimity is the power of forming great conceptions; in which there is no room for embellishments. Instead, one should observe the dignity of the thought which is expressed in a way fit for the magnitude of the subject. But it is possible that even in a simple style a sublime and elevated thought often occurs, which is not so much expressed through effort but rather by the very magnitude of the subject. Indeed, there is a difference between sublimity sought after by diligent labour or obtained by art, and that kind of sublimity which is admitted by ripe judgment whenever the subject matter demands it. In this passage of Moses thus the subject matter is not only great itself, but it is also worthily expressed by Moses. In this case sublimity does not spring from the copiousness of its style, or rather words (for the words are extremely simple), but from its very meaning: and this is what Longinus meant, namely that Moses has brought forth a worthy thought because of the greatness of the subject itself. For this reason he asserted that even a bare thought without words, like Ajax' silence, is sometimes sublime.

Tollius, following Boileau and explicitly refuting Huet's claim that Longinus portrayed the words of Moses as ἐσχηματισμένος ('figured', 'embellished'), states

[141] Tollius (1694), 62.

that the Longinian sublime does not spring from diligent labour or art (*dedita opera* or *ars*), but from a great thought that worthily expresses the greatness of the subject matter. This is not due to the copiousness of its style, or words (*elocutionis seu verborum amplitudo*), but rather the meaning itself (*sensus ipse*). Sublimity can therefore also be set in a simple style (*genus tenue*). Tollius supports his interpretation with evidence from Longinus' treatise itself. He points out that, according to Longinus, 'greatness of thought' is the most important of the five sources of the sublime (*Peri hypsous* 8.1), and adduces Longinus' assertion that "judgment in literature is the ultimate fruit of ripe experience" (*Peri hypsous* 6).[142] Tollius moreover states that Moses' words are extremely simple (or even 'very cheap'), and supports this claim by referring to Longinus' treatment of Ajax's refusal to speak to Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (*Peri hypsous* 9.2).[143] Tollius' treatment of this passage, which harkens back to Boileau's explanation and likewise mixes up the various *genera dicendi* (*genus tenue* and *genus sublime*) exemplifies how the reconciliation of simplicity and sublimity (or the separation of the sublime from the sublime style) found its way into Longinian scholarship.

In the *Examen* Huet and Le Clerc thus argue that the Genesis passage is simple in diction and style, yet grand in subject matter, and that Longinus could not understand this combination because he is a pagan rhetorician. Although Huet's points are in fact not that far removed from the ideas of his adversaries – Longinus, Boileau and Tollius all stress in some way that the sublimity of the Genesis passage arises from its subject matter –, Huet simply cannot accept that the *Fiat Lux* could be presented as an example of the 'sublime' in a treatise that, in his eyes, discusses the rules of Greek rhetoric.

Spurred on by the criticisms of Huet and Le Clerc, Boileau made his interpretation of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* even more explicit in his *Réflexion X* (written in 1710 but published in 1713). In this essay Boileau again emphasises that the *Fiat Lux* is not sublime in a stylistical sense (*le stile sublime*), but in terms of its effect, while the idea of 'sublime simplicity' is made even more explicit. Addressing Le Clerc[144], Boileau writes:

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[142] *Peri hypsous* 6: ἡ γὰρ τῶν λόγων κρίσις πολλῆς ἐστι πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα.

[143] Hom. *Od*. 11.543-67.

[144] Boileau explains that he addresses Le Clerc in his *Réflexion X* because he respects Huet so much, see Boileau, 'Réflexion X' (1713), 277.

> N'avois-je pas prévenu votre objection, en assûrant, comme je l'assûre dans cette même Préface, que par Sublime, en cet endroit, Longin n'entend pas ce que nous appelons le stile sublime; mais cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux qui se trouve souvent dans les paroles les plus simples, et dont la simplicité même fait quelquefois la sublimité?[145]
>
> Did I not anticipate your objection by emphasising, as I have emphasised in that same preface, that by 'sublime' Longinus did not mean what we call 'the sublime style'; but that extraordinary and marvellous quality which is often found in the simplest of words, and of which the simplicity itself sometimes makes for the sublimity?

Boileau here repeats the point that he has made in the preface to the earlier editions of the *Traité*, but with a modification: Boileau now explicitly states that the sublime can be found in simple words, and that simplicity itself may contribute to the sublimity of a given passage. Boileau's *Réflexion X* thus provides an explicit elaboration of the idea of 'sublime simplicity'.[146]

The combination of 'simple' and 'grand' or even of 'sublimity *through* simplicity' gained increasing prominence as the *Querelle* developed. Boileau did not yet analyse the *Fiat Lux* explicitly in terms of 'simplicity' in the first edition of his preface to the *Traité* (1674). Pierre-Daniel Huet however, in his criticism of Longinus in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679) refuted Longinus' interpretation of the Genesis passage as 'sublime' by asserting that the *Fiat Lux* is characterised by 'a grand simplicity' (*une grande simplicité*). The preface to the 1682 translation of Genesis in the Port-Royal Bible in turn connected Boileau's statements about the *Fiat Lux* with Augustine's ideas on the elevated simplicity of the sacred authors: "their elevation was simple, and their simplicity elevated" (*leur élevation a esté simple, et leur simplicité élevée*). Boileau's next edition of the *Traité* (in 1683)

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[145] Boileau, 'Réflexion X' (1713), 279-280.

[146] See also: Boileau, 'Réflexion X' (1713), 279: "Car si vous l'aviez lû, si vous l'aviez examiné un peu de près, me diriez-vous, comme vous faites, pour montrer que ces paroles, "Dieu dit", etc. n'ont rien de sublime, qu'elles ne sont point dans le stile sublime; sur ce qu'il n'y a point de grans mots, et qu'elles sont énoncées avec une très-grande simplicité?" Boileau, 'Réflexion X' (1713), 280: "Le sublime n'étant point opposé au simple, et n'y aïant rien quelquefois de plus sublime que le simple même."

responded to Huet's statements in the *Demonstratio* and referred to *La Genèse traduite*. In the 1701 edition of the *Traité* Boileau added an example from Corneille's *Horace*, and argues that "the very simplicity of the passage makes for its grandeur" (*c'est la simplicité mesme de ce mot qui en fait la grandeur*). Provoked by Le Clerc's publication of the *Examen* (1706), which included a letter by Huet on the subject, Boileau responded with a lengthy essay on the topic, his *Réflexion X* (1713), in which 'simplicity' becomes an almost indispensable prerequisite for the sublime.[147]

In late seventeenth-century scholarship, the inclusion of simplicity as an element of the Longinian sublime thus resulted to a great extent from the influence of biblical scholarship. The translators of the Port-Royal Bible made a connection with the sublime simplicity as described by Augustine, while Huet, urged by Grotius inclusion of Longinus' praise of Moses among pagan testimonies on the Bible, as well as Spinoza' rejection of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, also stressed the simplicity of Moses' account of creation.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated that Longinus' reference to Genesis was interpreted as an example of 'sublime simplicity' already in the first half of the seventeenth century. The early seventeenth-century connection of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* with simplicity was enabled because of its place in the treatise itself, as an example of 'greatness of thought', and developed under the influence of discussions in biblical scholarship about the simplicity of the Bible. Early seventeenth-century scholars used Longinus' reference to Genesis as an example of greatness of thought, as well as pagan testimony about the Bible. In using Longinus' quotation of Genesis to support a certain argument in their biblical scholarship, Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius drew attention to the fact that in Longinus' theory sublimity and simplicity can be combined.

This interpretation of *Peri hypsous* is usually associated with Boileau's discussion of the *Fiat Lux* in the preface to his translation of Longinus' treatise (1674), and the debate that took place in subsequent decades between Boileau and the biblical scholars Pierre-Daniel Huet and Jean Le Clerc. Considering the

[147] See also Kerslake (2000), 41-63 for the increasing importance of simplicity in the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*.

reception of Longinus' *Fiat Lux* in early seventeenth-century scholarship, this development already took place decades earlier when Longinus' citation of Genesis was discussed by Grotius and Heinsius. As I have moreover argued in this chapter, Hugo Grotius' reference to Longinus' citation of Genesis in the *De veritate religionis Christianae* played an important role in the early stages of the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*. Incited by Grotius' inclusion of the passage in *De veritate*, Pierre Daniel Huet refuted the validity of Longinus' judgment, which in turn elicited a response from Boileau and set off the *Querelle du Fiat Lux.*

This chapter has set forth how the influence of Longinus' treatise extended beyond the realm of rhetoric and poetics, and took centre stage in debates between biblical scholars. In the next Chapter, I will discuss how *Peri hypsous* played a significant role in yet another domain: the theory of visual arts of Franciscus Junius (1591-1677) in his *De pictura veterum* (1637).

CHAPTER FOUR

IMAGINATION, TECHNIQUE AND JUDGMENT

REFERENCES TO *PERI HYPSOUS* IN FRANCISCUS JUNIUS' *DE PICTURA VETERUM*[1]

4.1 Introduction

In the seventeenth-century reception of Longinus' treatise the *De pictura veterum* of Franciscus Junius F.F. (1591-1677) constitutes a compelling case. First published in Latin in 1637, the work was translated by the author into English (*The painting of the Ancients*, 1638), and Dutch (*De Schilder-konst der Oude*, 1641).[2] In the *De pictura veterum* (*DPV*) Franciscus Junius discusses the nature (book I), development (book II) and basic principles (book III) of the visual arts, by bringing together a wealth of citations from a variety of sources.[3] Since extensive discussions of the visual arts are relatively scarce in ancient literature, Junius also draws heavily on ancient poetics and rhetorical works. The *De pictura veterum* includes material from sources

[1] Parts of this chapter (especially from sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.6) have been published as W.L. Jansen, 'Translations of Longinus' sublime terminology in Franciscus Junius' *De pictura veterum*', in: M.-C. Heck (ed.), *Des mots pour la théorie, des mots pour la pratique. Lexicographie artistique: formes, usages et enjeux dans l'Europe moderne* (Montpellier: PULM, 2018), 387-400.

[2] *De pictura veterum libri tres* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1637); *The painting of the ancients, in three bookes: declaring by historicall observations and examples, the beginning, progresse, and consummation of that most noble art, and how those ancient artificers attained to their still so much admired excellencie* (London: R. Hodgkinsonne, 1638); *De Schilder-konst der Oude, begrepen in drie boecken* (Middelburg: Z. Roman, 1641).

[3] See C. Nativel, 'Franciscus Junius et le *De pictura veterum*', *XVIIe siècle* 35 (1983), 7-30 for a concise discussion of the contents of the *De pictura veterum*.

that contain technical discussions or descriptions of artworks, such as Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, Vitruvius' *De architectura*, and the *Eikones* of Philostratus the Elder and the Younger, but also extensively builds on the rhetorical theories of Quintilian and Cicero – which in fact constitute the lion's share of citations in the *De pictura veterum* – as well as the *Poetics* of Aristotle and Horace's *Ars Poetica*.[4]

Longinus' treatise is mentioned quite frequently throughout the *De pictura veterum*, and with about thirty explicit references *Peri hypsous* constitutes an substantial part of Junius' argument.[5] The role of *Peri hypsous* in Junius' theory of the visual arts has received quite some attention in modern scholarship, most importantly in the work of Colette Nativel. Her edition of the first book of the *De pictura veterum*, as well as several articles on Junius' readings of Longinus in the *De pictura veterum*, have already demonstrated the significance of *Peri hypsous* for various aspects of Junius' argument.[6] Nativel has for instance shown that Junius

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[4] See for instance K. Aldrich, P. Fehl and R. Fehl (eds.), *Franciscus Junius, The Literature of Classical Art: The Painting of the Ancients (De pictura veterum) and a Lexicon of Artists and their Works (Catalogus Architectorum...), 2 Vols.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), lxiv; Nativel (1983) and C. Nativel 'Peinture, rhétorique et philosophie: la lecture de Cicéron dans le *De pictura veterum* de Franciscus Junius', *Revue des Etudes latines* 70 (1992b), 245-261 on the role of Cicero in the *De pictura veterum*. See C. Nativel, 'Quelques sources antiques du *De Pictura Veterum* de Franciscus Junius', *De zeventiende eeuw* 5 (1989), 33-49; C. Nativel, 'Partes orationis et partes pingendi: rhétorique antique et peinture au XVIIe siècle dans le *De Pictura Veterum* de Franciscus Junius', in: Dalzell, A., Fantazzi, C., and Schoeck, R.J. (eds.), *Acta conventus neo-latini Torontonensis. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991a), 529-538 and C. Nativel, 'Rhetorique, poetique, theorie de I' art au XVIIe siecle: Marino et Junius', *Rhetorica* 9.4 (1991b), 341–369 on several rhetorical sources of the *De pictura veterum*. See also C. Nativel, 'Neo-Latin and the Plastic Arts in Northern Europe', in: P. Ford, J. Bloemendal and C.E. Fantazzi, *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 559-572 and Nativel (2016), 263-265.

[5] See appendix 3 for an overview of all references to *Peri hypsous* in the *De pictura veterum.*

[6] A. Ellenius, *De arte pingendi: Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and its International Background* (Uppsala/Stockholm: Lychnos-Bibliotek, 1960), 76-78 points out that Junius is probably the first to apply Longinus' ideas to the visual arts. Nativel's article Le Traité "Du Sublime" et la pensée esthétique anglaise de Junius à Reynolds' (1994) discusses the influence of *Peri hypsous* in Reynolds through Junius' work. Nativel discusses several references and allusions to *Peri hypsous* in her edition of the first book of the *De pictura veterum* (Nativel, 1996). J. Dundas, *Sidney and Junius on Poetry and Painting: From the Margins to the Center* (Cranbury: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 227-233 comments on the role of Longinus' idea of *phantasia* in the *De pictura veterum*. Nativel's article 'Lectures to *Traité du sublime* par Franciscus Junius F.F. (2016) gives a rather comprehensive view of Junius' involvement with *Peri hypsous* in the *De pictura veterum*. Thijs Weststeijn comments on the role of

especially draws on Longinus' ideas about *phantasia* ('imagination') and *ingenium* ('natural talent', 'genius').[7] Other scholars have recently analysed the influence, through Junius, of Longinus' ideas on sublime experience in seventeenth-century art.[8] In the present chapter I will give a comprehensive analysis of the references to *Peri hypsous* in Junius' *De pictura veterum* and shed light of aspects of Junius' appropriation of Longinus that have not yet been studied extensively. By examining the appropriation of *Peri hypsous* throughout the *De pictura veterum*, I aim to shed light on three functions that Longinus' treatise fulfills in Junius' work. Junius did not only build on Longinus' ideas about *phantasia* and *ingenium*, but also creatively adapted metaphorical passages from Longinus' treatise to his reconstruction of the ancient views on the visual arts, and repeatedly referred to *Peri hypsous* as a source on the intricacies of critical judgment. In short, we could say that Junius appropriates *Peri hypsous* to describe psychological, technical and critical aspects of the visual arts.[9] With this chapter I aim to provide an illuminating case study of the seventeenth-century reception of Longinus, and to add to our understanding of the ways in which *Peri hypsous* was used and appropriated by its early modern readers.

I have chosen to largely follow the structure of Junius' argument in presenting my analysis of the role of *Peri hypsous* in the *De pictura veterum*. This approach enables us to follow Junius' train of thought in using *Peri hypsous*, to examine the relationship between *Peri hypsous* and Junius' other sources, and to understand what meaning and interpretation Junius attached to the treatise. I will moreover

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Longinus in the *De pictura veterum* in *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591–1677)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), and his article 'The Sublime and the "Beholder's Share": Junius, Rubens, Rembrandt' (2016).

[7] See for instance Nativel (1994), and Nativel (2016).

[8] See especially the articles of Caroline van Eck, Johanna Sheers Seidenstein and Hanneke Grootenboer in vol. 8.2 of the *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* (2016), as well as the introduction 'The Sublime and Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Art' by Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt in the same issue, on the influence of Longinus via Junius. E. de la Fuente Pedersen, 'The Sketch and the Unfinished – Franciscus Junius and the Young Rembrandt', in: L. Bøgh Rønberg *et al*. (ed.), *Rembrandt? The Master and his Workshop* (Copenhagen: Statens Museum For Kunst, 2006), 150-166, discusses the place of rhetorical sources (especially Quintilian) in Junius' discussion of grace, and relates this to Rembrandts early paintings.

[9] I have borrowed the term 'psychological' for these aspects of the *De pictura veterum* from Nativel (2016), 165.

also relate Junius' reading of Longinus to seventeenth-century interpretations and applications of *Peri hypsous*, and analyse Junius' translation of Longinus' terminology into Latin, English and Dutch. After a brief introduction of Franciscus Junius and the genesis of the *De pictura veterum* (section 4.2), I will systematically analyse Junius' references to *Peri hypsous*, and relate them to the three functions that Longinus' treatise fulfills in the *De pictura veterum*: the psychological, technical and critical aspect of the visual arts. In Section 4.3 I will discuss Junius' Junius' appropriation of Longinus' ideas about *phantasia* in Book I. Section 4.4 will examine how Junius used *Peri hypsous* in the context of his discussion of the development of the visual arts in antiquity in the second book of the *De pictura veterum*. Sections 4-5-4.7 will focus on Book III of the *De pictura veterum*. In section 4.5 I will discuss Junius' creative adaptations of metaphors from *Peri hypsous*. In section 4.6 I will examine Junius' references to Longinus' treatise in the context of his discussion of 'magnificence' in art (*DPV* 3.1.15), and analyse the terminology of sublimity in the English and Dutch translations of this part of the *De pictura veterum*. Section 4.7 will be concerned with the role of Longinus' treatise in Junius' discussion of grace and judgment (*DPV* 3.6 and 3.7).

4.2 Junius, *De pictura veterum* and Longinus

Franciscus Junius the Younger was born in 1591 in Heidelberg.[10] Upon his father's acceptance of the chair of theology at Leiden University in 1592, the family moved to Leiden. Junius was educated at the Latin School in Dordrecht and tutored by Gerardus Joannes Vossius, rector of the Latin School, especially after Junius' father had died in 1602.[11] From 1608 Junius studied at the university of Leiden, and immersed himself in a wide variety of subjects, among which classical philology and philosophy, as well as mathematics, oriental languages, biblical exegesis and

[10] A biographical account of Junius' younger years is provided by Rademaker (1998). See also the introductions in Aldrich, Fehl, and Fehl (1991), xxvi-xlix, and Nativel (1996), 25-86. Franciscus Junius the Younger is identified with the addition *Francisci Filius* (F.F.) to distinguish him from his father, Franciscus Junius the Elder (1545-1602) and his nephew, Franciscus Junius F.N. (*Francisci Nepos*, died in 1678).

[11] Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xxix-xxx; Rademaker (1998), 4-7; Nativel (1996), 33-35.

theology.[12] After his studies, Junius became a minister in the small town of Hillegersberg in 1617.[13] Junius' ecclesiastical career however was short-lived: as a result of the conflict between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, which came to a boiling point with the Synod of Dordt in 1619, Junius, who refused to take sides in the debate, was suspended from his office.[14] He left the Netherlands and moved to England, where he became librarian to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.[15] Commissioned by the Earl, Junius set out to compile a catalogue of artists and artworks known from antiquity.[16] In preparation of this catalogue, Junius collected ancient ideas about the visual arts. The catalogue was published posthumously in 1694, together with a second edition of the *De pictura veterum*, by Johannes Graevius in 1694, as the *Catalogus* […] *artificum et operum* (catalogue of artists and works), while the 'introduction' to the catalogue, which had become a rather comprehensive overview of ancient art theory, was published in 1637 as the *De pictura veterum*.[17]

The *De pictura veterum* belongs to a long early modern tradition of art theory, such as Leon Battista Alberti's *Della pittura* (1435) and its Latin version *De pictura* (1439-41), *De re aedificatoria* (1454) and *De statua* (1462); Pomponius Gauricus' *De sculptura* (1504); Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (1568; *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*); Giovanni Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (1584); Karel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* (1604); as well as Julius Caesar Bulengerus' *De pictura,*

[12] Rademaker (1998), 8-9; Nativel (1996), 35.

[13] Rademaker (1998), 12-15.

[14] Junius was accused of siding with the Remonstrants, who had turned away from certain aspects of Calvinist doctrine. On the conflict between the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, see Israel (1995), 450-477. On Junius' entanglement in the dispute, see Rademaker (1998), 14-15 and Nativel (1996), 36-38.

[15] See Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xxxi-xxxvii and Nativel (1996), 42-56.

[16] Junius commenced his project as early as 1628, as is witnessed by a letter to Gerardus Joannes Vossius. See Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xxxviii and Nativel (1996), 87-88.

[17] The books were published in 1694 with the full title *De pictura veterum libri tres, tot in locis emendati, et tam multis accessionibus aucti, ut plane novi possint videri; Catalogus, adhuc ineditus, architectorum, mechanicorum, sed præcipue pictorum, statuariorum, cælatorum, tornatorum, aliorumque artificum, & operum quæ fecerunt, secundum seriem litterarum digestus* (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1694). See C. Nativel, 'A Plea for Franciscus Junius as an Art Theorician', in: R.H. Bremmer (ed.), *Franciscus Junius F. F. and his circle* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 19-33.

plastice, statuaria libri duo (1627).[18] Junius' method of reconstructing a history of ancient art by compiling citations from various ancient texts, as well as his heavy reliance on rhetorical sources, moreover indicate a close affinity with (especially Neo-Latin) rhetorical works of his time, such as Gerardus Joannes Vossius' *Commentarii Rhetorici* (first ed. 1606).[19] The *De pictura veterum* was quite widely known in the seventeenth century, and influenced other art theoreticians, such as Roger de Piles, Roland Fréart de Chambray, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Samuel van Hoogstraten and Gerard de Lairesse.[20] Junius appears to be the first to use *Peri hypsous* outside the domain of literature and to apply its ideas to the visual arts.[21]

In Junius' time Longinus' treatise was available in the Netherlands.[22] In his intellectual network the presence of several copies of Longinus' treatise is attested: both Gerardus Joannes Vossius and Franciscus Gomarus, who tutored Junius in his Dordrecht and Leiden years, for instance owned copies of the text.[23] In England

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[18] Nativel (2014), 564-566.

[19] Junius incorporated observations from Vossius' *Commentarii*, for instance in *DPV* 1.4.6 (see section 4.3.3). Junius' discussion of the vocabulary of magnificence (*DPV* 3.1.15), resembles Vossius' discussion of this terminology in the *Commentarii* (see section 4.6.2). Vossius in turn used parts of the *De pictura veterum* in his essay *De Graphice*, in his work *De Quatuor Artibus Popularibus: de Philologia, Et Scientiis Mathematicis* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1650). See Nativel (2014), 566-568.

[20] Weststeijn (2015), 329-357 presents a chronological overview of references to Junius' *De pictura veterum* (and its English and Dutch versions) in letters, manuscripts and printed books between the 1630s and 1809. See C. Nativel, 'Rubens, Franciscus Junius, Roger de Piles', in: Chr. Mouchel, and C. Nativel (eds.), *République des Lettres, République des arts, Mélanges offerts au Professeur Marc Fumaroli, de l'Académie Française* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2008), 561-579 and C. Nativel, 'Ut pictura poesis: Junius et Roger de Piles', *Dix-septième siècle* 245/4 (2009), 593-608 on Junius' influence on De Piles, and C. Nativel, 'Quelques apports du *De pictura veterum libri tres* de Franciscus Junius à la théorie de l'art en France', *Revue d'esthétique* 31/32 (1997), 119-131 on Junius' reception in French art theory. See T. Weststeijn, *The Visible World. Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 17-21 and *passim* on Van Hoogstraten's indebtedness to Junius. Ellenius (1960), 92-96 and Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), lxiv-lxxx discuss the reception of the *De pictura veterum* and the relation with contemporary art.

[21] See C. Nativel 'La comparaison entre la peinture et la poesie dans le *De Pictura Veterum* (I, 4) de Franciscus Junius 1589-1677', *Word and Image* 4 (1988), 323-330 and Nativel (2009) on the relationship between poetry and painting in the *De pictura veterum*. See Nativel (2014) on the place of the *De pictura veterum* in the tradition of early modern art treatises.

[22] See section 1.5 on the dissemination of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic.

[23] The auction catalogue of Franciscus Gomarus lists the Portus edition of 1569. The handwritten *Catalogus Librorum* of Gerardus Joannes Vossius lists the edition of De Petra (1612), while the Leiden

Longinus' treatise circulated as well.[24] In 1636 Gerard Langbaine published an edition of *Peri hypsous*, which was based on the 1612 edition of Gabriele de Petra, indicating that this edition was also available in England.[25] Letters moreover indicate that Junius had contact with Gerard Langbaine.[26]

Throughout the *De pictura veterum* Junius builds on the idea that painting and poetry or oratory are sister arts, and he freely adapts poetical and rhetorical theories to describe the visual arts.[27] We can discern three ways in which Junius applies passages from Longinus' treatise to the visual arts. Firstly, Junius uses elements of Longinus' theory that pertain to general aesthetic principles, and hence are valid for literature and the visual arts alike, such as imagination, artistic judgment, magnificence. Secondly, Junius adjusts passages by replacing words pertaining to 'literature' or 'text' with words pertaining to 'painting' or 'visual art'.[28] Thirdly, Junius turns visual metaphors from Longinus' treatise (passages in which Longinus for instance compares text to architecture or the human body), into actual technical precepts. Because of the scarcity of ancient sources on the visual arts, Junius uses these metaphors as actual evidence for the ancients' aesthetic views.[29] Most of Junius' references to *Peri hypsous* are explicit, in which case the reference consists of a Greek citation with Latin translation and a

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University Library preserves a Portus edition that is annotated by Gerardus Joannes Vossius (Leiden, UB: 756 F 11).

[24] Nativel (2016), 267-268.

[25] See section 1.3.3 for a discussion of the editions of De Petra and Langbaine. The citations from *Peri hypsous* correspond to the text of De Petra. See Nativel (2016), 266n.13.

[26] Junius' preserved correspondence contains letters exchanged with Langbaine (in the 1650s) and several other English scholars. A part of Junius' correspondence with Langbaine however has not been preserved. See S. van Romburgh (ed.), *'For my worthy friend Mr Franciscus Junius': An Edition of the Correspondence of Francis Junius F.F. (1591–1677)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 10 and 15, and Nativel (2016), 268.

[27] Junius describes this method in *DPV* 1.4. For a discussion of the connection between rhetoric and painting, see Nativel (1991a), and Nativel, 'Ut pictura poesis: Junius et Roger de Piles', *Dix-septième siècle,* 245/4 (2009), 593-608.

[28] An example of this is found in *DPV* 1.4.6, where Junius, citing *Peri hypsous* 15.8, substituted the word ῥητορική ('oratory') with ζωγραφική ('painting'). See also section 4.3.3.

[29] In *DPV* 3.2.4 and 3.9.20 Junius quotes Longinus' statement that "tumours in bodies are bad" (*Peri hypsous* 3.4), which is used metaphorically by Longinus, but which is turned into an artistic precept by Junius. See section 4.5.

specification of the paragraph in *Peri hypsous*.[30] Latin translations (as well as Latin citations) in the *De pictura veterum* are usually printed in italics to distinguish them from Junius' own words.[31] Sometimes however Junius paraphrases his sources without explicitly referencing them, in which case the citation or paraphrase is printed in roman and cannot easily be distuinguished from Junius' argument. This applies only to only a few references to *Peri hypsous*.[32]

Longinus' treatise features prominently in Junius' discussion of *phantasia* in the first book of the *De pictura veterum* (especially *DPV* 1.2.1, 1.3.11 and 1.4.6), and in Junius' discussion of 'magnificence' and 'grace' in the third book of the *De pictura veterum* (*DPV* 3.1.15 and *DPV* 3.6-7). The references in *DPV* 2.11.7 and *DPV* 3.2-5 however also merit our attention, as these respectively provide a revealing insight in Junius' use of Longinus' treatise in matters of creativity and artistic judgment, as well as Junius' method of creatively adapting metaphorical passages from literary sources.

Junius is not only the first to apply Longinus' theory to the visual arts, but also the first to translate parts of *Peri hypsous* into English and Dutch.[33] The Latin version of his work could rely on the available Latin translations of the treatise.[34] A full English translation of *Peri hypsous* however did not appear before 1652, while a

[30] See also Nativel (2016), 265-266 on Junius' method of citing.

[31] In the passages cited in my chapter I have maintained Junius' typographical distinction between Latin citations and translations (in italics) and Junius' own words (in roman).

[32] An example is Junius' reference to Longinus' analysis of Euripides' *Phaethon* (*Peri hypsous* 15.4) in *DPV* 1.4.6. See below section 4.3.3. See Appendix 3 for an overview of all references to *Peri hypsous* in the *De pictura veterum.*

[33] See Spencer (1957), Nativel (1994), 721, 726-730, and Nativel (2016), 265-268 on Junius' introduction of Longinus into English criticism.

[34] Several Latin translations of Longinus' treatise had already appeared in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century; see Weinberg (1950), 145-151 for an overview. Nativel (1996), 96-97 notes that some of the translations of Greek citations were made by Junius' nephews Gerardus Vossius jr. and Isaac Vossius. Junius probably revised his translations for the second edition of the *De pictura veterum*. In this chapter I will present the Latin translations as they appeared in the edition of 1637, and indicate any differences with the 1694 edition, which, in the case of Longinus, are largely stylistic and do not mark significant interpretative changes.

Dutch translation of the treatise was published only in 1719.[35] Junius' *De pictura veterum* together with its vernacular translations thus presents Longinus' terminology in four different languages: Greek, Latin, English and Dutch. *The painting of the Ancients* (1638) and *De Schilder-konst der Oude* (1641) were meant to make the collected materials accessible to a wider audience that was not versed in Latin.[36] In these vernacular editions, which are slightly abbreviated versions of the first Latin edition, complex terminological or philological digressions are sometimes left out or shortened. They do however contain some additional explanations and paraphrases.[37] In the case of Longinus, the Latin edition usually presents a Greek citation with a Latin translation, whereas the vernacular versions only give a translation and sometimes present paraphrases rather than full quotes from the treatise.[38] The Latin versions include 32 explicit references to *Peri hypsous*, while the vernacular versions of the book include only about twenty references to Longinus' treatise.[39]

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[35] J. Hall, *Peri Hypsous, or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence* (London: R. Daniel, 1652) and P. Le Clercq, *D. Longinus, Verhandeling over de Verheventheit en Deftigheit des Styls* (Amsterdam: gedrukt voor de Compagny, 1719).

[36] This aim is put forward in Junius' preface to his English translation and in Jan de Brune de Jonge's preface to the Dutch edition. The English version of the *De pictura veterum* was made at the request of Lady Arundel. See also Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xxxix-xl, and Nativel (1996), 100. Thijs Weststeijn sees Junius' translation activities as part of broader attempts to emancipate the Dutch language; see Weststeijn (2015), 19-20. The Dutch edition was reissued twice, as *Schilder-boeck behelsende de schilder-konst der oude, begrepen in dry boecken. Nu wederom met een bequaem register vermeerdert* (Middelburg: Z. Roman, 1659) and *Begin, heerlijcke voortgangh, en grootdadigh vermogen der wijdberoemde schilder-konst der antycken* (Middelburg: W. Goeree, 1675).

[37] See also Nativel (1996), 100-106. The Latin version contains four more chapters in book three (*DPV* 3.8-3.11), which are concerned with beauty, ugliness, and the material to be used for statues. See Nativel (1983), 30. See Weststeijn (2015), 103-107 for a comparison of the Latin, English and Dutch versions of the *De pictura veterum*, and 358-368 for a schematic overview of the major differences between the English and Dutch versions.

[38] Colette Nativel has established that Junius' citations from *Peri hypsous* are congruent with the Greek text of De Petra's 1612 edition. Some of the Greek passages in the *DPV* were translated by Gerardus Joannes Vossius' sons (nephews of Junius), Gerardus jr. and Isaac. See Nativel (1996), 96-97 and Nativel (2016), 269n.30.

[39] Nativel (2016), 265n.8 notes six references to Longinus in the *Schilder-konst der Oude*, but this number is actually higher and equals the number of references in the English translation. See Appendix 3 for an overview of all citations from *Peri hypsous* in the Latin, English and Dutch versions of the *De pictura veterum*.

The English and Dutch versions in turn also differ from one another. The Dutch version of Junius' book contains additional explanations and paraphrases of quotations that are also found in the Latin edition, but which had been omitted from the English version. This indicates that Junius perused his collected materials again when preparing his Dutch edition, rather than simply translating the English version of his book.[40] Junius' endeavours to find appropriate translations for Longinus' vocabulary reveal how the Greek rhetorician's concept of 'the sublime' posed a terminological as well as interpretative challenge to early seventeenth century readers. This will be discussed in more detail in section 4.6.2.

Throughout this chapter I will refer to the 1637 Latin edition of *De pictura veterum* (*DPV*) unless stated otherwise.[41] The English and Dutch editions will be referred to as *On the Painting of the Ancients* (*TPA*) and *Schilder-konst der Oude* (*SDKO*) respectively. References to any particular part of Junius' work usually indicate the book, chapter and section number (e.g. *DPV* 1.1.1), or book and chapter number only (e.g. *DPV* 1.1).[42] Junius refers to individual chapters of *Peri hypsous* with the chapter numbers in the edition of De Petra. I have kept the original numbering in my transcriptions, and added the chapter numbers according to modern edition of *Peri hypsous* between brackets (e.g. §4 [5]).

4.3 Imitation and the human imagination (*DPV* 1)

Before Franciscus Junius, Longinus' ideas on *phantasia* had already been discussed and used by two Italian scholars: Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597) and Lorenzo Giacomini (1552-1598). Patrizi related Longinus' concept of *phantasia* to the idea of

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[40] See also Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xl.

[41] I will present the Greek citations as printed in the *De pictura veterum*. I have provided the passages that I discuss in this chapter with an English translation of my own, or with Junius' English translation of 1638 (in which case this is indicated). The edition of 1694 reproduces the edition of 1637, with the insertion of some new citations, as well as chapter summaries. See Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xv. The Latin translations have been slightly updated by Junius, which, in the case of Longinus does not lead to significant interpretative changes. See also Nativel (2016), 269n.30.

[42] The section numbers in the Latin editions and the English and Dutch translations run almost completely parallel. In the case of incongruencies between the section numbers of the passages cited in this chapter I have indicated this. See also Appendix 3 for an overview of the sections in which *Peri hypsous* is cited or paraphrased.

meraviglia in his *Della poetica* (1586).[43] Lorenzo Giacomini refers to Longinus in his *Discorso del furor poetico* (1587), which presents imagination as one of the most important elements in the creation of poetry.[44] Junius' approach (not only in the case of *phantasia* Longinus, but in his work in general) is remarkable because of its application of concepts from rhetorical and poetical theory to the visual arts. The visual aspects of Longinus' discussion of *phantasia* moreover provided a particularly suitable basis for Junius' discussion of imagination.

*4.3.1 Observation and visualisation (*DPV *1.1 and 1.2)*

The first book of the *De pictura veterum* is dedicated to the 'beginning' (*initium*) of the visual arts, which Junius locates in human nature itself. Central to Junius' argument in the first book are the human inclination to imitate nature (*ingenitum mortalibus omnia imitandi studium*), and power of imagination (*imaginativa facultas*).[45] *Peri hypsous* is adduced several times in the first book of the *De pictura veterum*, especially in Junius' discussion of 'imagination' (*phantasia*).

In section 1.1.1 of the *De pictura veterum*, Junius describes how the human mind is naturally inclined to contemplate and study nature, to measure the earth, count stars, and to be amazed by thunderstorms and lightning bolts.[46] Junius constructs his argument from a variety of sources, citing or paraphrasing their contents, and sometimes, but not always, providing a reference.[47] Paraphrasing Seneca the Elder and Longinus, Junius states that:

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[43] See C. Vasoli, 'Schede patriziane sul *De sublime'*, in G. Casertano (ed.), *Il sublime. Contributi per la storia di un'idea* (1983), 161-174.

[44] Giacomini's references to Longinus are not made in the context of his discussion of *phantasia*, but his ideas on this topic do resemble Longinus' argument. See Refini (2012), 37-43.

[45] *DPV* (1637) *argumentum libri primi*, p. 1. Nativel's commentary (1996, 413-596) gives an extensive discussion of the contents of Book I of the *De pictura veterum*.

[46] The lightning bolts as mentioned by Junius in *DPV* (1637) 1.1.1 (p. 1) belong to a paraphrase of Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* 1, *praefatio* 14-15, but they also echo Longinus' comparison of the sublime to a lightning bolt in *Peri hypsous* 1.4 and 12.4.

[47] The annotated text in Nativel (1996) gives an extensive overview of all sources cited and paraphrased by Junius in Book I.

> Curiosus naturae speculator singula rimatur, omnia haec ad se pertinere iudicat[48]; imo scit se in amplissimum hoc theatrum spectatorem praeconemque tantorum operum introductum.[49]
>
> The inquisitive observator of nature examines every single detail, thinks that everything is relevant to him; yes indeed he knows that he was brought to this magnificent theatre as the spectator and herald of such great works.

Junius refers to *Peri hypsous* 35.2, in which Longinus explains why some authors have always aimed for the highest achievements in literature.[50]

> πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἡ φύσις οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῷον οὐδ' ἀγεννὲς †ἐ..κρινε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς μεγάλην τινὰ πανήγυριν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐπάγουσα, θεατάς τινας τῶν ἄθλων αὐτῆς ἐσομένους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἀγωνιστάς (…).[51]
>
> This above all, that Nature has judged man a creature of no mean or ignoble quality, but, as if she were inviting us to some great gathering, she has called us into life, into the whole universe, there to be spectators of her games and eager competitors (…).

This passage from Longinus' treatise is a fitting addition to Junius' explanation why humans have a natural tendency to observe nature.[52] In its original context, the passage serves as an analogy to explain why eminent writers of the past have always striven for greatness in their works. In the *De pictura veterum*, the metaphor of humans witnessing nature's spectacles however acquires a more literal

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[48] Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 1, *praefat*. 12-13.

[49] *DPV* (1637) 1.1.1, p. 1-2.

[50] The passage from *Peri hypsous* 35.2 is not cited but paraphrased. Junius identifies the passage with a reference at the end of section 1.1.1.

[51] *Peri hypsous* 35.2.

[52] The idea of humans as observers of the universe is a common theme in ancient philosophy. In *DPV* Junius has brought together and paraphrased several passage that deal with this theme. See Nativel (1996), 417-426.

meaning, as Junius applies it to the human capacities of (visual) imagination and imitation.[53] Junius' use of this passage is typical of his method in the *De pictura veterum*. Junius illustrates different aspects of the visual arts by interweaving passages from a wide array of sources, which are often adapted from their original (literary) context to fit Junius' discussion of the visual arts.

In the first book Junius pays a great deal of attention to the notion of *phantasia*, or the capacity to form mental images. In *DPV* 1.2 Junius distinguishes between two types of imitation. The first is called *eikastikos* ('copying') and represents objects true to nature; the second is called *phantastikos* ('based on imagination'), and creates images from the mental visualisation of things that are not visible to the human eye.[54] Regarding the second type of imitation (*DPV* 1.2.1), Junius asserts that "the power of this kind of imitation lies in 'visualisation' (*phantasia*), or in the capacity of imagination, which some call 'image productions' (*eidolopoiia*)."[55] Junius here refers to the definition of *phantasia* in *Peri hypsous* 15.1, in which Longinus uses the concept to analyse very vivid passages, where an author himself 'sees' the events in his minds eye and brings them vividly before the eyes of his audience.[56]

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[53] Natível (2016), 269 observes that Junius' argument in *De pictura veterum* 1.1.1 closely resembles another passage from *Peri hypsous* (35.2-3): … ἄμαχον ἔρωτα ἐνέφυσεν ἡμῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δαιμονιωτέρου ("… and she therefore from the first breathed into our hearts an unconquerable passion for whatever is great and more divine than ourselves").

[54] *DPV* 1.2.1, p. 8. See Natível (1996), 455-465 on Junius' definition of *phantasia* in *DPV* 1.2.1. Natível has noted that Junius' definition of this second type of imitation (*phantastikos*) is based on a creative reading of Plato's *Sophist.* On this interpretation see especially C. Natível, 'Le triomphe de l' Idée de la peinture: la phantasia chez Junius et Bellori', in: Heck, M.-C., *et al., Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l'Europe du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIIe siècle (acts of an international colloquium, Lille 2000)* (Lille: Édition du Conseil Scientifique de l'Université Charles- de-Gaulle-de Lille 3, 2002), 219-231: 221-224.

[55] *DPV* 1.2.1, p. 8. *Atque hujus imitationis tota vis in phantasia, sive in facultate imaginative, quam nonnulli* εἰδωλοποιίαν *dicunt, consistit*. Junius references Longinus with a marginal note. See G. Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought* (Galway: Galway University Press, 1988), 66-68 for a discussion of Longinus' notion of *phantasia* against its Stoic background.

[56] *Peri hypsous* 15.1. Ὄγκου καὶ μεγαληγορίας καὶ ἀγῶνος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὦ νεανία, καὶ αἱ φαντασίαι παρασκευαστικώταται· οὕτω γοῦν <ἡμεῖς>, εἰδωλοποιίας <δ'> αὐτὰς ἔνιοι λέγουσι· […] ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ τούτων κεκράτηκε τοὔνομα ὅταν ἃ λέγεις ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ πάθους βλέπειν δοκῇς καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν τιθῇς τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ("Weight, grandeur, and urgency in writing are very largely produced, dear young friend, by the use of 'visualizations' (*phantasiai*). That at least is what I call them; other call them 'image productions'. […] The word has now come to be predominantly used of passages where,

Longinus' discussion of *phantasia* in *Peri hypsous* 15 is used more extensively in *DPV* 1.3.11 and especially *DPV* 1.4.6, as I will discuss in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.

*4.3.2 Tradition and innovation (*DPV *1.3)*

In the third chapter of his first book, Junius discusses how visual art started as simple representation of physical objects, and how artists gradually improved it through constant imitation and emulation of their predecessors.[57] Successful emulation of previous artists, Junius argues, lies in an artist's ability to be innovative, which is engendered by *phantasia* (*DPV* 1.3.9). In following their imagination and striving for artistic innovation artists must dare to take risks (*DPV* 1.3.10).[58] *DPV* 1.3.11 marks a *caveat*, as Junius, using a combination of several passages from *Peri hypsous* and Seneca's *Controversiae*, argues that artists must observe some restraint as well:

> Fraenis tamen hic indigebunt artifices[59] πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον ἔχοντες.[60] Neque enim leve periculum erit[61], ne modum

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inspired by strong emotion, you seem to see what you describe and bring it vividly before the eyes of your audience.").

[57] *DPV* 1.3.1-8. See Natível (1996), 485-506.

[58] See Natível (1996), 507.

[59] *Peri hypsous* 2.2: δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς κέντρου πολλάκις οὕτω δὲ καὶ χαλινοῦ ("For genius needs the curb as often as the spur").

[60] *Peri hypsous* 12.3: ὅθεν, οἶμαι, κατὰ λόγον ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ ἅτε παθητικώτερος πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον ἔχει καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον, ὁ δέ, καθεστὼς ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σεμνότητι, οὐκ ἔψυκται μέν, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐπέστραπται ("I should say then that in point of style the orator [Demosthenes], being more emotional, has abundant warmth and passionate glow, whereas Plato, steady in his majestic and stately dignity, is less intense, though of course by no means frigid.").

[61] *Peri hypsous* 33.2: ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν ὡς αἱ ὑπερμεγέθεις φύσεις ἥκιστα καθαραί· <τὸ> γὰρ ἐν παντὶ ἀκριβὲς κίνδυνος μικρότητος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν πλούτοις, εἶναί τι χρὴ καὶ παρολιγωρούμενον· μήποτε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ, τὸ τὰς μὲν ταπεινὰς καὶ μέσας φύσεις διὰ τὸ μηδαμῆ παρακινδυνεύειν μηδὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἄκρων ἀναμαρτήτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρας διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἐπισφαλῆ δι' αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος. ("Now I am well aware that the greatest natures are least immaculate. Perfect precision runs the risk of triviality, whereas in great writing as in great wealth there must needs be something overlooked. Perhaps it is inevitable that humble, mediocre natures, because they never run any risks and never aid at the heights, should remain to a large extent safe from error, while in great natures their very greatness

teneant ardentissima copiosissimaque praestantium artificum ingenia, inescata fallaci promptissime subeuntium imaginum illecebra. Περὶ το καινόσπουδον μάλιστα κορυβαντιῶσιν οί νῦν· ἀφ' ὧν γὰρ ἡμῖν τἀγαθὰ, σχεδὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὰ κακὰ γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ.[62] *Ob novitatis studium ii, qui nunc sunt, maxime insaniunt.*[63] *A quibus enim ipsa bona nobis, ferme ab iis ipsis, quae mala sunt, ortum suum habere solent*. Dionys. Longinus Περὶ ὕψους, §4 [5]. Videas itaque aridos ac jejunos artifices fidelius fere, quod proposuerant, premere. Nihil enim eos sollicitat, nulla novae Inventionis dulcedo alicunde subrepit.[64]

Yet artificers "who have abundant warmth and passionate glow", will also need some restraint. For it is a great danger that the most ardent and gifted talents of eminent artificers have no moderation, enticed by the deceptive charm of images entering their mind's eye. "People nowadays are quite crazy about being innovative; in fact, our virtues and vices spring from much the same sources." Dionysius Longinus, *Peri hypsous* §4 [5]. Conversely, one can see how dry and faint artificers firmly hold on their proposed layout. For nothing stirs them, no charm of a new idea comes over them from anywhere.[65]

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spells danger"). See also Nativel (1996), 508 for the identification of *Peri hypsous* 33.2 as the subtext of *DPV* (1637) 1.3.11.

[62] *Peri hypsous* 5: Ἅπαντα μέντοι τὰ οὕτως ἄσεμνα διὰ μίαν ἐμφύεται τοῖς λόγοις αἰτίαν, διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόσπουδον, περὶ ὃ δὴ μάλιστα κορυβαντιῶσιν οί νῦν. ("However, all these lapses from dignity in literature spring from the same cause, namely that passion for novelty of thought which is the particular craze of the present day").

[63] The 1694 translation replaces *ob* with *circa* (*DPV*, 1694, 1.3.11, p. 20).

[64] *DPV* (1637) 1.3.11, p. 22. Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.1.24: *Et illi tamen qui sibi abstinentiam conviciorum imperaverant non bene praestiterunt; aliquos sententiae dulcedo subrepsit, cui non potuerunt obsistere. Aridi declamatores fidelius quos proposuerunt colores tuentur: nihil enim illos sollicitat, nullum schema, nulla sententia* ("Yet even those declaimers who committed themselves to abstaining from abuse did not keep to their promises very well; some were lured on by the delights of epigram, and could not resist. It is the dry declaimers who keep more faithfully to the colours they have laid down. There is nothing to bother them, no figure, no epigram") (translation: Winterbottom, 1974).

[65] That is, they simply carry out their artistic plans from beginning to end without being open to new ideas. (Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.1.24).

Junius refers to *Peri hypsous* 5, but also uses passages from *Peri hypsous* 2.2 (*fraenis tamen hic indigebunt artifices*), and 12.3 (πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον ἔχοντες), and hints on the intrinsic risks of striving for sublimity that Longinus' describes in *Peri hypsous* 33.2 (*neque enim leve periculum erit*…). In the edition of 1694, which includes short summaries of each section, the summary of *DPV* 1.3.11 includes a Latin paraphrase of *Peri hypsous* 33.2, as noted by Colette Nativel, corroborating that this chapter of *Peri hypsous* has indeed been an important subtext of Junius' argument in *DPV* 1.3.11.[66]

These passages from *Peri hypsous*, together with a reference to Seneca's *Controversiae*, illustrate the fine line between the dangers of unbridled imagination and the dullness of sticking to a pre-existing plan. Junius' reference to *Peri hypsous* 3-5 (Longinus' critique of stylistic vices) and 33 (the defence of the flawed genius) corresponds to a broader interest in these two passages of Longinus' treatise in Junius' time.[67] Especially the combination of these passages in early modern scholarship merits our attention. In Daniel Heinsius' *De tragoediae constitutione* (1611) for instance, the combined reference to *Peri hypsous* 3-5 and 33 serves to explain which metaphors in ancient literature should be imitated, and which ones should be avoided.[68] In the *De pictura veterum* these two passages illustrate the proper amount of freedom or restraint to be exercised in matters of imagination

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[66] *DPV* 1.3 (1694), p. 13, summary of §11. *Unde frequenter usu venit, ut in hac arte minus offendant angusti jejunique pectoris homines, quam quos largae laetiorisque naturae hilaritas vocat ad majora: quandoquidem hos fidentior animus periculis obiicit, illos vero nimia sui diffidentia deducit in tutum* ("Therefore it often occurs that those with a faint and anxious heart seem to blunder less than those who are called to greater things by the geniality of their grand and cheerful nature: this is because the latter are thrown into danger by their confident mind, while the others are compelled to seek safety by their extreme lack of confidence." Cf. *Peri hypsous* 33.2 (cited above in note 61). See Nativel (2016), 273.

[67] *Peri hypsous* 3-5 is for instance used by Daniel Heinsius in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod (1603), *De tragoediae constitutione* (1611), and *Aristarchus Sacer* (1627), by Isaac Casaubon in his commentary to Persius' *Satires* (1605), Nicolas Caussin in his *Eloquentia Sacra* (1619), Gerardus Joannes Vossius in his *De Historicis Graecis* (1623), and by Goulu in his *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste* (1627-1628). References to *Peri hypsous* 33 appear in Heinsius' *Prolegomena* (1603) and *De tragoediae constitutione* (1611), Casaubon's edition of Persius (1605), Petrus Cunaeus' *De Respublica Hebraeorum* (1617), and Leone Allacci's *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo* (1635). See also Chapter Two.

[68] See section 2.8 for a discussion of this passage in Heinsius' *De tragoediae constitutione*. In the *Prolegomena* on Hesiod Heinsius combinates these passages to not only condemn excess, but to reject figures of speech entirely, in favour of undefiled simplicity (see section 2.7).

and invention. Both Heinsius and Junius thus play on the dual character of Longinus' argument in *Peri hypsous*: whereas *Peri hypsous* 3-5 advises to avoid certain stylistic vices, *Peri hypsous* 33 in turn rejects the avoidance of faults. When taken together however this paradoxical combination actually sums up one of the central issues of *Peri hypsous*: the ability to walk the line between excess and dullness.[69] The reference to *Peri hypsous* 2.2, in which Longinus argues that natural talent and learned skill should complement each other, supports this point. In *DPV* 1.3.11 Junius applies this idea to the balance between accurate representation and innovative imagination. In *DPV* 1.4.6 Junius moreover makes a similar argument about the balance between verisimilitude and imaginative licence, in his discussion of the differences between painting and poetry.[70]

4.3.3 Phantasia *in poetry and painting (*DPV *1.4)*

In *DPV* 1.4 Junius reflects on the relationship between the visual arts and poetry. As part of this comparison, Junius discusses how both arts are advanced through imagination (*DPV* 1.4.6.), with a selection of passages from Longinus' discussion of *phantasia* (*Peri hypsous* 15). Even though Longinus and Junius focus on different media, their idea of *phantasia* is constructed along similar lines. Both in literature and the visual arts the artist needs to imagine the events described in order to present them vividly, either in text or in painting, either before an audience or before spectators.[71]

In *DPV* 1.4.6 Junius discusses the painter's imagination, by contrasting it to the imagination of poets, much like Longinus contrasts the *phantasia* of poets and orators in *Peri hypsous* 15. When describing how poets are sometimes enthralled by the vividness of their own 'phantasies', as if they are swept away by enthusiasm or prophetic fury, Junius for instance refers to Ovid's description of Phaethon's fall in the *Metamorphoses*, and to Longinus' discussion of the same events in Euripides'

[69] See Chapter Two for an extensive discussion of this theme.

[70] Junius' use of Longinus in *DPV* 1.3.11 also ties in with other references to Longinus in the *De pictura veterum*. Junius also refers to *Peri hypsous* 33 in relation to judgment in 2.11.7 (see section 4.4.2). Junius' use of Longinus in relation to 'invention' moreover foreshadows the discussion of invention in *DPV* 3.1, which makes extensive use of *Peri hypsous* (see section 4.6.1).

[71] See also A. Sheppard, *The Poetics of Phantasia. Imagination in Ancient Aesthetics* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 19-46 on *phantasia* as 'visualisation' and as a means of producing vividness in ancient thought.

lost tragedy *Phaethon*.[72] Referring to Ovid, but actually paraphrasing Longinus, Junius explains that the passage is so vivid that it seems as if the author himself has witnessed the events.

> Ovidius certe, ut unum uberrimi Poetae exemplum pro omnibus sit, cum describit improvidum iuvenem Solis equis per aethera hac illac raptatum, an non videtur tibi una cum ipso Phaethonte praesens quasi conscedisse currum, et volucrium equorum indomito ardore abreptus in medio quoque discrimine versatus esse? Nunquam enim vel minimam tam multiplicis confusionis umbram imaginando assequi potuisset, nisi temerarium aurigam ab ipsis carceribus animo prosecutus, et ancipiti periculo veluti immixtus, in tanto tamen turbine singula exitiabilis ausi momenta, ut deprehenderat oculis, enotasset.[73]
>
> Surely when Ovid, – so that one passage of this rich poet may serve as an example for all cases – describes how that careless young man was swept back and forth through the skies by the horses of the Sun-god, does it not seem to you as if he is standing next to Phaethon himself, like he has mounted the chariot, and, carried away by the unrestrained ardour of the flying horses, is present in the middle of the catastrophe? For never could he have obtained the slightest shadow of such great confusion through imagination, had he not followed the heedless charioteer from the very beginning, and, like being immersed in hazardous peril, recorded in such great turmoil the single moments of his fatal attempt.

In this analysis Junius translates a passage from *Peri hypsous* 15.4 (*an non videtur tibi*…; "does it not seem to you…", etc), in which Longinus cites from and

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[72] *Peri hypsous* 15.4. Ov. *Met*. 2.150-328. Eur. *Phaethon*, *fr*. 779 (Nauck).

[73] *DPV* (1637) 1.4.6, p. 36; *Peri hypsous* 15.4: "[…] ἐκεῖσ' ἔλα, τῇδε στρέφ' ἅρμα, τῇδε." ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ γράφοντος συνεπιβαίνει τοῦ ἅρματος καὶ συγκινδυνεύουσα τοῖς ἵπποις συνεπτέρωται; οὐ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἐκείνοις ἔργοις ἰσοδρομοῦσα ἐφέρετο, τοιαῦτ' ἄν ποτε ἐφαντάσθη. ("'Now, drive on there, now this way wheel your car, this way.' Would you not say that the writer's soul is aboard the car, and takes wing to share the horses' peril? Never could it have visualized such things, had it not run beside those heavenly bodies").

comments on Euripides' *Phaethon*. This passage in Longinus' treatise drew the attention of other early modern scholars as well. Janus Rutgersius discussed the fragment of Euripides in his *Variae Lectiones* (1619), while Heinsius used the passage to illustrate the risks of sublime writing in his *De tragoediae constitutione* (1611).[74] The title page of Gerard Langbaine's edition of Longinus included Phaethon's fall, as a reference to the passage *Peri hypsous*, as wel as an illustration of sublime hazard.[75] For Longinus, Heinsius, Langbaine, as well as Junius, the story of Phaethon embodies the ultimate attempt at sublimity, as it illustrates the moment in which the line of sublimity is crossed and leads to failure, while it also constitutes a compelling example of sublime vividness in writing.[76]

The creation of vividness through visualisation of and mental 'presence' at the events described is moreover not only relevant to poets, but to painters as well, as Junius explains in the same section (*DPV* 1.4.6), while twice alluding to Longinus' definition of *phantasia* as the visualisation of events "as if seeing them before one's eyes" (*coram quasi; quasi praesentes*) (*Peri hypsous* 15.1).[77] Junius however also emphasises the differences between *phantasia* in painting and poetry.

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[74] Rutgersius (1618), 46-49. Heinsius, *De tragoediae constitutione* (1611), ch. 16 (Duprat, 2001, 310).

[75] G. Langbaine, *Dionysii Longini rhetoris præstantissimi liber De grandi loquentia sive sublimi dicendi genere* (1636, 2nd ed. 1638), title page. See fig. 2 in section 1.3.3 for the title page and a discussion of its contents. The imagery on Langbaine's title page contains several references to Longinus' treatise (See also Chapter One, section 3.3). The references to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (though not to book 2) on the title page of Langbaine's edition moreover align with Junius' association of Longinus and Ovid in the *De pictura veterum*. Langbaine's edition of Longinus and Junius' *De pictura veterum* were published within one year.

[76] On Phaethon's flight as a foil for the poet' attempts at sublimity, see Porter (2016), 157-159 and 344-345. See also Bussels (2016), 884-889 for a discussion of Vondel's *Phaethon* in relation to the *De pictura veterum*.

[77] *DPV* (1637) 1.4.6, p. 36: Etiam Pictor pari modo omnia haec, atque his maiora quoque, coram quasi contuetur, non aliud interim foetae mentis levamentum inveniens, quam ut profundae imaginationis obvia sibi lineamenta propero partu in tabulam egerat atque transfundat. Liquet ergo quod is tantum Artifex, qui res de quibus acturus est, quasi praesentes contuetur, efficax esse possit, et naturae rerum, quas sibi proponit, haud dissimilis ("The painter likewise sees all these events, and greater things as well, as if they appear before his eyes, finding no other relief for his productive mind, than to place and transfer with a swift delivery of his boundless imagination those lines on the panel that have appeared to him. It is therefore clear that only the artificer who reports the events that he is describing as if they appear before his mind's eye, can be powerful, and stay true to the nature of the things that he imagined").

Hoc tantum curent hic Artifices, ne plus quam par est hac in parte sibi indulgeant. Πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐνθουσιᾶν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες, οὐ βακχεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ παίζουσι.[78] *Saepissime cum videantur sibi divino correpti et incitati furore, non bacchantur, sed nugantur pueriliter*.[79] Praesertim cum Poeticae phantasiae finis sit ἔκπληξις, Pictoriae vero ἐνάργεια.[80] Καὶ τα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ποιητικαῖς, ut loquitur idem Longinus, μυθικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ὑπερέκπτωσιν, καὶ πάντῃ τὸ πιστὸν ὑπεραίρουσαν· τῆς δὲ ζωγραφικῆς φαντασίας κάλλιστον ἀεὶ τὸ ἔμπρακτον καὶ τὸ ἐνάληθες.[81] *Quae apud Poetas reperiuntur, fabulosiores continent et modum omne fidemque superantes casus*.[82] *At vero in pictoria phantasia praestantissimum semper actionis possibilitas est, et insita veritas*.

In this regard Artificers should be careful not to indulge in this more than what is appropriate. "For often when they think themselves inspired, their supposed ecstacy is merely childish folly." Especially since the aim of poetic imagination is "astonishment", while the aim of visual art is "vividness". "And these examples from poetry show an exaggeration which belongs to fable and far exceeds the limits of credibility, whereas the perfect effect of visualisation in painting is always one of reality and truth."

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[78] *Peri hypsous* 3.2.

[79] The 1694 translation replaces *saepissime* with *frequenter enim* (*DPV* 1694, 1.4.6, p. 33).

[80] *Peri hypsous* 15.2: ὡς δ' ἕτερόν τι ἡ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία βούλεται καὶ ἕτερον ἡ παρὰ ποιηταῖς οὐκ ἂν λάθοι σε, οὐδ' ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τέλος ἐστὶν ἔκπληξις, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια, ἀμφότεραι δ' ὅμως τό τε <παθητικὸν> ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ τὸ συγκεκινημένον ("That *phantasia* means one thing in oratory and another in poetry you will yourself detect, and also that the object of the poetical form of it is to enthral, and that of the prose form to present things vividly, though both indeed aim at the emotional and the excited."). A note in the margin of the *De pictura veterum* translates the terms ἔκπληξις and ἐνάργεια as *admiratio* and *evidentia*.

[81] *Peri hypsous* 15.8: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μυθικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ὑπερέκπτωσιν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πάντῃ τὸ πιστὸν ὑπεραίρουσαν, τῆς δὲ ῥητορικῆς φαντασίας κάλλιστον ἀεὶ τὸ ἔμπρακτον καὶ ἐνάληθες ("However, as I said, these examples from poetry show an exaggeration which belongs to fable and far exceeds the limits of credibility, whereas the most perfect effect of visualization in oratory is always one of reality and truth").

[82] The 1694 translation replaces *quae* with *quaeque* (*DPV* 1694, 1.4.6, p. 33).

Junius builds his argument on a very creative adaptation of passages from *Peri hypsous* 3.2, 15.2 and 15.8. In *Peri hypsous* 15.2 Longinus explains the difference between poetry and oratory, saying that "the object of the poetical form is to enthrall, and that of the prose form to present things vividly."[83] Instead of translating the word λόγοι ('words', 'oratory'), Junius writes *Pictoria* ('painting'). In the same manner Junius replaced the word ῥητορική ('oratory') with ζωγραφική ('painting') in the passage quoted from 15.8.[84] By simply altering Longinus' text (without signalling it) and thus sketching the differences between painting and oratory, Junius essentially indicates the limits of pictorial imagination, which is bound by verisimilitude more than poetry is. Junius' argument also contains a warning against too much imaginative licence, which is based on a passage from *Peri hypsous* 3.2. This particular passage from *Peri hypsous* is especially applicable not only because of the admonition it entails, but also because it occurs in the context of a discussion of excessive metaphors. In *Peri hypsous* 3.1 Longinus criticises a passage for its misplaced tumidity: "the phrasing is turbid, while the images (*phantasiai*) make for confusion rather than forcefulness."[85] The visual aspect of the extravagant imagery as described by Longinus is very relevant to Junius' argument, and may be one of the reasons why he referred to this particular section from *Peri hypsous* in his discussion of *phantasia*

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[83] *Peri hypsous* 15.2: ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τέλος ἐστὶν ἔκπληξις, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια. See C. Nativel, 'La théorie de l'enargeia dans le De pictura ueterum de Franciscus Junius: sources antiques et développements modernes', *Prospect (Sorbonne Nouvelle sér.)* 1 (1992c), 73-85 on Junius' discussion of *enargeia* in the *De pictura veterum*.

[84] This modification is also present in the English and Dutch paraphrases of Longinus 15.2. *TPA* (1638) 1.4.6, p. 63 (the italics are Junius'): "(…) but make with *Dionysius Longinus* some difference between the Imaginations of Poets that doe intend onely an *astonished admiration*, and of Painters that have no other end but *Perspicuitie*." *SKDO* (1641) 1.4.6, p. 50: "(…) onderscheydt maeckende tusschen de verbeeldens kracht die de Poeten gaende maeckt, en de andere die de Schilders te werckt stelt. De Poetische fantasie en heeft anders gheen ooghenmerck, als een *onsinnigheydt der verwonderinghe* te verwecken: de Konstenaars daer en teghen sijn maer alleen op de *uytdruckelickheydt* uyt." A similar modification is moreover made in *DPV* 3.1.15, where Junius substitutes the word λόγων with ἔργων in *Peri hypsous* 14.2.

[85] *Peri hypsous* 3.1: τεθόλωται γὰρ τῇ φράσει καὶ τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασίαις μᾶλλον ἢ δεδείνωται […].

in painting.[86] The recurrent emphasis on poetic fury (*furor poeticus*) in Junius' argument in *DPV* 1.4.6 moreover ties in with Longinus' mentioning of 'enthusiasm' in *Peri hypsous* 3.2 as well as *Peri hypsous* 15.1[87]

Junius' argument in this section (*DPV* 1.4.6) is quite similar to his point in *DPV* 1.3.11, which also advocates a balance between restraint and freedom of the artificer's imagination.[88] In *DPV* 1.3.11 Junius argued that imagination sometimes needs restraint (*fraenis tamen hic indigebunt artifices;* cf. *Peri hypsous* 2.2), and pointed at the risks of uncontrolled imagination (*neque enim leve periculum erit*…; cf. *Peri hypsous* 33.2), while referring to Longinus' criticism of 'strive for novelty' (καινοσπουδία; *Peri hypsous* 5). In *DPV* 1.4.6, Junius illustrates the unrestrained imagination of the poet with the story of Phaethon, whose chariot rus out of control as if no one is holding the reins (*tanquam nullo fraena tenente*).[89] Phaethon's fatal ride moreover could only be described by a poet who imagined the events as if he were immersed in danger himself (*ancipiti periculo veluti immixtus*; *Peri hypsous* 15.4). Junius however also states that artificers should not indulge in more freedom of imagination than appropriate, and warns that this often leads to childishness (*Peri hypsous* 3). Both in *DPV* 1.3.11 and 1.4.6, Junius uses passages from *Peri*

[86] This also applies to Junius' citation of *Peri hypsous* 5, in *DPV* 1.3.11, which also originates from a discussion of extravagant (visual) metaphors (esp. *Peri hypsous* 4).

[87] *Peri hypsous* 3.2: ἐνθουσιᾶν; *Peri hypsous* 15.1: ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ τούτων κεκράτηκε τοὔνομα ὅταν ἃ λέγεις ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ πάθους βλέπειν δοκῇς καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν τιθῇς τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ("The word has now come to be used predominantly of passages where, inspired by strong emotion, you seem yo see what you describe and bring it vividly before the eyes of your audience"). See Nativel (1996), 543 for the identification of this passage. The example of Phaethon in *DPV* 1.4.6 also illustrates the notion of *furor poeticus*. See Nativel (2016), 270.

[88] The underlying connection between these two passages (*DPV* 1.3.11 and 1.4.6) becomes visible in the 1694 edition of the *De pictura veterum*. In the margin of *DPV* 1.3.12 (which continues the argument in 1.3.11) appears the following note: *Artifices ingenio suo plus quam par est indulgentes, pessime consulunt arti* ("Artificers who indulge in their *ingenium* more than appropriate fail to consider the factor of 'art'"). This note is almost identical to Junius' remark in 1.4.6 that "artificers should be careful not to indulge in this more than what is appropriate" (Hoc tantum curent hic Artifices, ne plus quam par est hac in parte sibi indulgeant).

[89] *DPV* 1.4.6, p. 36.

hypsous to construct an argument around the danger involved with artistic imagination, the vices it could lead to, and the need for (moderate) restraint.[90]

In the remainder of *DPV* 1.4.6 Junius emphasises that in both painting and oratory imagination provides great examples of subject matter that should be imitated. Imagination moreover benefits from the daily observation of actual images, so that in the process of imitation the ideas come almost automatically.[91] It is for that reason, Junius asserts, that "Longinus made *enargeia*, or vividness the aim of *phantasia*".[92] Junius continues his argument with a citation of *Peri hypsous* 15.9.

> Atque hinc etiam liquet, cur Dionys. Longinus phantasiae finem faciat ἐνάργειαν, sive evidentiam; cur itidem tantam tribuat phantasiae potentiam, ut affirmare ibidem non vereatur, orationem ejus, qui vim hanc imaginativam usu assiduo roboraverit, οὐ μόνον πείθειν τὴν ἀκροατὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῦσθαι, *non allicere modo, sed etiam subigere auditorem*.[93]
>
> And therefore it is clear why Longinus made *enargeia*, or vividness the aim of *phantasia,* and why he likewise attributes such great power to imagination that he is not reluctant to proclaim in the same place that the words of someone who has strengthened his imaginative force by constant practice "not only convince the audience, but overpower them as well."

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[90] This argument moreover bears great similarity to Heinsius' discussion of artistic licence in the *De tragoediae constitutione*, which builds on the same passages from *Peri hypsous*. The *De tragoediae constitutione* was published for the first time in Leiden in 1611, when Junius studied in Leiden as well. It is not unlikely that Junius would have known this discussion from Heinsius' *DTC*.

[91] *DPV* 1.4.6, p. 37.

[92] *DPV* 1.4.6, p. 37: Atque hinc etiam liquet, cur Dionys. Longinus phantasiae finem faciat ἐνάργειαν, sive evidentiam. Junius here again refers to *Peri hypsous* 15.2.

[93] *Peri hypsous* 15.9: τί οὖν ἡ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία δύναται; πολλὰ μὲν ἴσως καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς λόγοις ἐναγώνια καὶ ἐμπαθῆ προσεισφέρειν, κατακιρναμένη μέντοι ταῖς πραγματικαῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν οὐ πείθει τὸν ἀκροατὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῦται ("What then is the use of visualization in oratory? It may be said generally to introduce a great deal of excitement and emotion into one's speeches, but when combined with factual arguments it nt only comvinces the audience, it positively masters them").

Junius however not only builds on the text of Longinus, but in fact borrowed this paraphrase of *Peri hypsous* 15.2 and 15.9 from Gerardus Joannes Vossius' *Commentarii Rhetorici* (3rd ed. 1630). In his discussion of the 'subject matter belonging to the grand style' (*sententiae magnifici characteris*), Vossius emphasises that one should accustom one's mind to grand ideas, since sublimity in writing originates in greatness of thought.[94] Imagination (*phantasia*) in turn enables a writer to express events vividly and convincingly.[95]

> Atque hinc liquet, cur Longinus φαντασίας finem ἐνάργειαν[a] esse dicat; cur item tantam vim phantasiae adscribat, ut dicat orationem ejus, qui phantasia omnia, quae rebus insunt, conceperit, non modo πείθειν τὴν ἀκροατὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῦσθαι[b].[96]
>
> [a] evidentiam sermonis.
>
> [b] persuadere auditori, sed etiam ad servilem quandam demissionem eum dejicere.[97]

> And therefore it is clear why Longinus says that the aim of "imagination" is "vividness"[a]; as well as why he ascribes such great power to imagination

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[94] Vossius (1630), II, 447: *Inprimis autem operaepretium fuerit monuisse, quod et Longinus scribit, debere nos animum adsuescere ad concipiendas res magnas. Oritur enim orationis sublimitas ex animi magnitudine* ("It is first of all worthwile to give the following advice (which Longinus himself also writes), that we should accustom our mind to conceiving great things. For sublimity in writing originates from greatness of mind"). Vossius here paraphrases *Peri hypsous* 9.1-2: Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὴν κρατίστην μοῖραν ἐπέχει τῶν ἄλλων τὸ πρῶτον, λέγω δὲ τὸ μεγαλοφυές, χρὴ κἀνταῦθα, καὶ εἰ δωρητὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα μᾶλλον ἢ κτητόν, ὅμως καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνατρέφειν πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη καὶ ὥσπερ ἐγκύμονας ἀεὶ ποιεῖν γενναίου παραστήματος. […] ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα ("Now, since the first, I mean natural, greatness plays a greater part than all the others, here too, even if it is rather a gift than an acquired quality, we should still do our utmost to train our minds into sympathy with what is noble and, as it were, impregnate them again and again with lofty thoughts. […] Sublimity is the echo of a noble mind").

[95] Vossius (1630), II, 447: *Quare debet Orator, quid et de Poëta dictum velim, esse* εὐφαντασίωτος. *Nam* φαντασία *est ea vis, qua absentia consideramus tanquam praesentia* ("That is why the orator – and I would apply this to poets as well – should be gifted with a vivid imagination"). Vossius here refers to Quint. *Inst. Or.* 6.2.29-30, a passage that Junius also references, together with *Peri hypsous* 15.1, in his definition of *phantasia* in *DPV* 1.2.1 (p. 9), Gabriele De Petra likewise connects these two passages of Longinus and Quintilian in the notes to his text of *Peri hypsous* (De Petra, 1612, 78).

[96] Vossius (1630), II, 447-8.

[97] In the margin Vossius gives Latin translation of the Greek terms and phrases.

that he asserts that the words of someone, who conceives all things that are relevant to the subject, with imagination, not only "convince the audience, but overpower them as well".[b]

[a] clearness of writing.

[b] to persuade the audience, but also to bring him under a certain servile submission.

Junius' indebtedness to Gerardus Joannes Vossius is not entirely coincidental.[98] Vossius was Junius' tutor, and was involved with the publication process of the *De pictura veterum*.[99] Vossius' *Commentarii rhetorici*, and Junius' *De pictura veterum* moreover have a similar structure: both present an extensive discussion of a certain topic ('rhetoric', 'visual art'), by thematically assembling Greek and Latin sources. In this particular section of *De pictura veterum* (1.4), which has the *Ut pictura poesis*-theme as its main topic, a connection with a contemporary rhetorical source is moreover not surprising.[100]

Junius' recurrent discussion of 'imagination' in the first book of the *De pictura veterum* quite extensively uses Longinus' ideas on *phantasia* in *Peri hypsous* 15. Junius' discussion of *phantasia* in *DPV* 1.2 effectively commences with Longinus' definition of *phantasia* in *Peri hypsous* 15.1. In *DPV* 1.4.6 Junius constructs an argument about the differences between *phantasia* in poetry and painting by creatively adapting Longinus' statements about the aims and effects of *phantasia* in *Peri hypsous* 15.2, 15.8 and 15.9. Longinus' treatment of the story of Phaethon moreover serves to illustrate *phantasia* as the ability to create mental visualisations that are so vivid that both author and audience believe to have been witness to the events described (*Peri hypsous* 15.1, 15.4; *De pictura veterum* 1.4.6). Junius' discussion of *phantasia* in the first book of the *De pictura veterum* is more than a

[98] Junius borrowed this passage from Vossius, but must also have consulted the Greek text of *Peri hypsous*, since his citation of Longinus includes the Greek words οὐ μόνον ('not only'), which had been omitted from the citation and translated into Latin (*non modo*) in Vossius' *Commentarii Rhetorici*.

[99] Nativel (1998), 19-26.

[100] Vossius' essay *De Graphice,* part of *De Quatuor Artibus Popularibus: de Philologia, Et Scientiis Mathematicis* (1650), is in turn indebted to the *De pictura veterum*. See Nativel (2014), 566-568. C. Nativel, 'La Théorie de l'imitation au XVIIe siècle en rhétorique et en peinture', *Dix-Septième Siècle* 175 (1992a), 157-167 moreover analyses Vossius' and Junius' theories of imitation (in the *De pictura veterum* and Vossius' *De imitatione*, 1647) and argues that Vossius' approach is more traditional, while Junius' approach is more modern in its emphasis on enthusiasm and inspiration.

simple concatenation of ancient citations dealing with the various aspects of imagination. In the case of Longinus, the selection of passages is not limited to Longinus' discussion of *phantasia*. Rather, by including other passages from *Peri hypsous*, Junius involves some of the larger themes of *Peri hypsous* as well, such as the risks associated with producing great art, and the balance between freedom and restraint.[101]

4.4 The historical development of the visual arts (*DPV* 2)

The second book of the *De pictura veterum* is concerned with the historical development of the visual arts, as well as the various factors that played a role in these developments. In Book II Junius for instance discusses the transmission of knowledge, the importance of adapting the education to the student's natural inclination, the proper place of the artist in society, and the process of finishing an artwork.[102]

*4.4.1 Success and decline (*DPV *2.1 and 2.9)*

In tracing the earliest history of the visual arts, Junius in *DPV* 2.1.3 observes that Nature itself is a prolific creator of artworks, as can for instance be seen in the beauty of flowers, the feathers of peacocks or the spots of leopards.[103] Junius underlines this observation by adducing Longinus' remark that "nature succeeds only when it she conceals latent art".[104] When sketching the later development of the visual arts, Junius also discusses societal aspects of artistic production, and observes that art flourished while artists were still valued in society, and endeavoured to achieve fame by producing great artworks (*DPV* 2.9.1-5). As love of money however grew stronger than the love of art, the arts gradually decayed,

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[101] These themes moreover also underlie the combined references to *Peri hypsous* in *DPV* 2.11.7. See section and 4.4.2.

[102] See Natvel (1983) 17-20 for a discussion of the contents of book two of the *De pictura veterum*.

[103] *DPV* (1637) 2.1.3, p. 54.

[104] *DPV* (1637) 2.1.3, p. 54: τότε ἡ φύσις [ἐπι]τυχὴς ὅταν λανθάνουσαν περιέχῃ τὴν τέχνην. *Tunc natura successu est felix, quando latentem continet & tegit artem*. The other half of this remark from *Peri hypsous* 22.1 is cited by Junius in *DPV* 3.4.7 (see section 4.5).

until the great masters had vanished altogether (*DPV* 2.9.6).[105] In this context Junius quotes Petronius' discussion of the decay of painting in his time (*Satyricon* 88), and refers to several sources that discuss the decline of eloquence, among which *Peri hypsous* 44.[106] A common factor in each of these texts is the observation that greed could be a cause for societal regression, and with it the decay of arts and literature.[107]

*4.4.2 Boldness and care (*DPV *2.11)*

Junius defines 'boldness' (*audacia*) as the next step in the development of the visual arts.[108] While the development of the visual arts was first spurred on by the esteem of magistrates and peoples, it was later encouraged by the boldness of the artificer's spirit, which may result in high aims and an ambition to strive for great things (*DPV* 2.10). Junius complements his emphasis on boldness with some pedagogical advice on the diligent care that is also needed in the creation of a work of art (*DPV* 2.11). As part of his discussion of this diligent workmanship, Junius however balances his argument with a warning against *too much* self-criticism in the artistic process (*DPV* 2.11.7):

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[105] *DPV* (1637) 2.9.6, 109: Duravit artificibus generosus verae laudis amor, quam diu regibus populisque artium reverentia mansit. At postquam pecuniae amor eam ex animis hominum ejecit, defecerunt et ipsi artifices. ("The noble love for sincere praise remained in the artists, while they were still held in esteem by kings and peoples. But after the love of money drove her out of the minds of mankind, the artists themselves disappeared.")

[106] Junius gives a full citation of the passage from Petronius' *Satyricon*, and refers (without quoting them) to four other sources (Theocritus, *Idyll* 16, Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 14, Longinus, Seneca, *Controversiae* 1.1, and *Peri hypsous* 44). This can be explained from the fact that Petronius is actually discussing the visual arts, while Theocritus, Pliny, Longinus and Seneca respectively pertain to encomiastic poetry, didactic poetry, declamations, and literary excellence. The reference to Seneca's *Controversiae* is only present in the Latin editions (1637, 1694) of the *De pictura veterum*.

[107] The discussion of the decay of the arts in 2.9.6 ties in with Junius' dedicatory epistle in the 1637 edition of the *De pictura veterum*, which is addressed to King Charles I, and which heralds the King as protector of the arts.

[108] *DPV* (1637) 2.10.1, p. 111: *Evecta supra humanam fidem ars est successu,* inquit Plin. xxxiv,7, *mox et audacia*. Junius argues this on the basis of Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 34.17. Junius explains that *successus* ('success') should be understood as the esteem that art enjoyed from kings and peoples, which spurred on the development of art in earlier times, and which was later replaced by *audacia* ('boldness').

Abunde nunc de iis egimus, quorum festinatio temeritatis crimine laborat: restat ut attingamus etiam eos, quorum nimia cura tarditatis notam subit.[109] Neque enim a praecipiti temerariae festinationis cursu candidatos artis eo inhibui, ut aliquousque iam progressos ad infelicem calumniandi se poenam rursus alligarem. Nam quomodo quaeso tantae arti tandem aliquando sufficient, qui singulis partibus eius insenescunt?[110] Finem hunc spectabit artifex; ut videatur optumum argumentum optume expressisse[111]: et abunde pinxit bene, qui materiae satisfecit.[112]

We have now spoken sufficiently about those people, whose haste suffers the verdict of rashness: it remains that we now also discuss those, whose

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[109] Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 12.9.14: *Nunc, quia varium fere propositum agentium fuit et quorundam cura tarditatis, quorundam facilitas temeritatis crimine laboravit, quem credam fore in hoc oratoris modum tradere non alienum videtur*. ("Advocates have had different approaches: the carefulness of some has exposed them to the charge of slowness, and the facility of others to that of haste. It seems relevant therefore that I should say what I think will be the right balance in this regard") (Translations of Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae* are from Russell, 2002).

[110] Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 10.3.10-11: *Neque enim rursus eos qui robur aliquod in stilo fecerint ad infelicem calumniandi se poenam alligandos puto. Nam quo modo sufficere officiis civilibus possit qui singulis actionum partibus insenescat?* ("On the other hand, I do not think that those who have acquired some strength in writing ought to be tied down to the fruitless punishment of picking holes in their own work. How can a man do his public duty if he lets old age creep on him while he worries about individual parts of his speeches?").

[111] Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 12.9.6: *Verborum quidem dilectus, gravitas sententiarum, figurarum elegantia aut non sunt aut apparent: sed vel propter hoc ipsum ostentanda non sunt, quod apparent, ac, si unum sit ex duobus eligendum, causa potius laudetur quam patronus. Finem tamen hunc praestabit orator, ut videatur optimam causam optime egisse.* ("Choice of words, profundity of reflections (sententiae), and elegance of Figures do not exist if they are not visible. But the very fact that they are so visible itself means that they do not have to be put on show, and, if a choice between the two were necessary, it would be better for the Cause to be praised than the advocate. The orator's achievement, however, will be to have pleaded a very good Cause very well").

[112] Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 12.9.7: *Nec illo fastidio laborabit orator non agendi causas minores, tamquam infra eum sint aut detractura sit opinioni minus liberalis materia. Nam et suscipiendi ratio iustissima est officium, et optandum etiam ut amici quam minimas lites habeant, et abunde dixit bene quisquis rei satisfecit*. ("Nor should the orator be so fastidious as to decline less important Causes, as though they were beneath him, or as if a less grand subject would detract from his reputation. After all, the best justification for taking up a case is obligation, and one must also pray that one's friends' law suits are as little threatening as possible; moreover, anyone who does justice to his subject has spoken more than satisfactorily").

> excessive carefulness bears the mark of dullness. For not have I held the apprentices of art away from the heedless course of audacious haste, so that I may in turn condemn those who have already made some progress to the unhappy punishment of extreme self-criticism. For how, I ask you, can they ever succeed in such great art, if they grow old in practicing its individual elements? An artificer should keep this aim in mind; to have expressed the best argument in the best way: and he who has paid sufficient attention to his subject, has painted more than well enough.

After his discussion of the diligence and care necessary for creating a successful artwork and warnings against artistic heedlessness Junius' now balances his advice with a cautious note. Junius constructs his argument by combining passages from Lucian, Longinus, Cicero and Quintilian:

> Maximamque in eo semper curam ponit, ne curam fassus incidat in κακοζηλίαν ὑπερβαινόντων τὸ μέτρον τῆς μιμήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπιτεινόντων. *Malam affectationem imitationis modum transgredientium, et aequo vehementius eam intendentium*.[113] Lucianus de Saltatione. Neve *nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdat*. Quintil. X.I. Etenim in augustissimis accuratae artis operibus, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν πλούτοις, εἶναί τι χρὴ καὶ παρολιγωρούμενον[114], *quemadmodum in maximis divitiis appetendis, necesse est aliquid ferme neglegi*.[115] Dionys. Longinus περὶ ὕψους §29 [33.2]. Negligentia quaedam appareat[116], et habebit Pictura

[113] Lucianus, *De saltatione* 82: Γίνεται δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν λόγοις, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν ὀρχήσει ἡ πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν λεγομένη κακοζηλία ὑπερβαινόντων τὸ μέτρον τῆς μιμήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπιτεινόντων. ("As in literature, so too in dancing what is generally called "bad taste" comes in when they exceed the due limit of mimicry and put forth greater effort than they should") (translation: Harmon, 1936).

[114] *Peri hypsous* 33.2: see above note 61.

[115] The 1694 translation replaces *maximis* with *nimiis* (*DPV* 1694, 2.11.7, p. 128).

[116] Cicero, *Orator* 78: "[…] *quaedam etiam neglegentia est diligens*." ("[…] There is such a thing even as a careful negligence").

> quandam ex illa vitii similitudine gratiam; ut in cibis interim acor ipse iucundus est.[117]
>
> He [the experienced artificer] is moreover always very careful not to display his carefulness and to fall into "affectation, which belongs to those transgressing the proper measure of imitation and to those stretching beyond what is reasonable". He should moreover "not ruin his true strength by too much self-criticism." For in the most elevated works of elaborate art, "as in great wealth, it is inevitable that something is altogether overlooked". A certain negligence appears, and the painting will have a certain grace arising from that similarity to the vice; just like in food sourness is sometimes pleasant itself.

In this passage Junius uses Longinus' argument that it is natural that a great writer, because of greatness itself, occasionally makes mistakes (*Peri hypsous* 33.2). Junius describes the result of these mistakes (*gratia*; 'grace') with a combination of passages from Cicero's *Orator* and Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae*. The word *neglegi* ('to be neglected') in Junius' translation of *Peri hypsous* 33.2 connects the passage to Cicero's remark on *neglegentia* ('negligence'). By interweaving these passages Junius aims to formulate the perfect balance between boldness and carefulness, which guards artists from excessive self-criticism, as well as unbridled rashness. In Junius' argument in *DPV* 2.11.7, κακοζηλία ('false affectation') paradoxically appears as the result of two opposite faults. On the one hand, Junius presents it as a result of too much care (… *curam fassus incidat in* κακοζηλίαν; "displaying his care the artist falls into false affectation"). On the other hand it may also result from a lack of care, or the failure to observe the limits of propriety, which is defined (in Lucian's words) as a transgression of "the proper measure of imitation" and of "what is reasonable". Junius makes this paradox explicit in his statement that "an experienced artist is always *careful* not to display his *care*" (*semper curam ponit, ne curam fassus…*).

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[117] *DPV* (1637) 2.11.7, p. 120. Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae* 9.3.27: "*Haec schemata* (…) *habent quandam ex illa vitii similitudine gratiam, ut in cibis interim acor ipse iucundus est*." ("These Figures […] acquire some charm from their resemblance to faults, just as bitterness in food is sometimes agreeable in itself").

In *DPV* 2.11.7 Junius essentially describes the critical judgment that an artist needs in order to balance boldness and carefulness, in a way that recalls his argument on the fine line between dullness and excess in his discussion of *phantasia* in the first book of the *De pictura veterum* (*DPV* 1.3.11 and 1.4.6).[118] In each of these passages an element of danger is present: in *DPV* 1.3.11 Junius describes how great minds are at risk of being enticed by their imagination; in *DPV* 1.4.6 the unbridled imagination of poets is exemplified by the fatal ride of Phaethon; in *DPV* 2.11.7 Junius presents his argument on 'care' as a safeguard against the 'heedless course of audacious haste'. In all three of these passages Junius describes how failure inevitably leads to a certain vice, be it 'fondness for novelty' (*DPV* 1.3.11), 'tumidity' (*DPV* 1.4.6), or 'false affectation' (*DPV* 2.11.7). *Peri hypsous* provides an important basis for Junius's arguments in each of these passages. Excerpts from Longinus' discussion of stylistic faults (*Peri hypsous* 3-5) serve to illustrate the vices that artists may incur (*DPV* 1.3.11 and 1.4.6), while the dangers associated with artistic production are described with references to *Peri hypsous* 33 (*DPV* 1.3.11 and 12.11.7) and *Peri hypsous* 15 (*DPV* 1.4.6).[119] In each of these passages Junius describes the balancing act of good taste, which oscillates between boldness and carefulness, between freedom and self-criticism, between innovation and tradition. The result of this judgment, of knowing when to 'overlook something', is *gratia* ('grace'). In section 4.7 I will discuss the role of *Peri hypsous* in Junius' discussion of grace and judgment in *DPV* 3.6 and 3.7.

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[118] See sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.

[119] In *DPV* 2.11.7 Junius does not refer to a passage from *Peri hypsous* 3-5, but instead quotes Lucian on κακοζηλία, a vice that is however also discussed in *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἰδοῦν ὑπεραίρειν βούλεται τὰ ὕψη, τὸ δὲ μειρακιῶδες ἄντικρυς ὑπεναντίον τοῖς μεγέθεσι· ταπεινὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅλου καὶ μικρόψυχον καὶ τῷ ὄντι κακὸν ἀγεννέστατον. τί ποτ' οὖν τὸ μειρακιῶδές ἐστιν; ἢ δῆλον ὡς σχολαστικὴ νόησις, ὑπὸ περιεργασίας λήγουσα εἰς ψυχρότητα; ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον. ("But, while tumidity seeks to outdo the sublime, puerility is the exact opposite of grandeur; utterly abject, mean spirited, and in fact the most ignoble of faults. What then is puerility? Is it not obviously an idea born in the classroom, whose overelaboration ends in frigid failure? Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation").

4.5 From visual metaphor to technical precept (*DPV* 3.2-5)

Throughout the *De pictura veterum* Junius uses elements from ancient rhetoric and poetics for his construction of a theory of the visual arts in Antiquity. In the case of *Peri hypsous* we have so far seen that several of Longinus' remarks on *phantasia* have been made applicable to the visual arts through the replacement of words pertaining to discourse (λόγος, ῥητορική) by words indicating visual art (*pictoria*, ζωγραφική) (*DPV* 1.4.6).[120] Quite often Junius however also draws on general principles that are equally applicable to literature and visual arts, such as methods for invention, emulation of predecessors, or artistic licence (*DPV* 2.11.7). An important element of Junius' method is the fact that ancient rhetoricians and literary critics often employed visual metaphors in their works. Ancient theoretical treatises on oratory and literature for instance comment on 'clarity' or 'obscurity' of language, use architecural terms to describe a text, or compare texts to artworks or the human body.[121] Longinus too compares discourse for instance to sculpting, architecture and painting several times in *Peri hypsous*.[122] In the *De pictura veterum* (Book III in particular) Junius turns several of Longinus' visual analogies into concrete artistic rules by removing their metaphorical dimension.

The third book of *De pictura veterum* deals with the five main principles of the creation of an artwork:

> Observabantur itaque ab antiquioribus in Pictura quinque haec capita: **Inventio** sive Historia; **Proportio** sive Symmetria; **Color**, et in eo Lux et Umbra, Candor et Tenebrae; **Motus**, et in eo Actio et Passio; **Collocatio** denique sive Oeconomica totius operis dispositio.[123]

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[120] For a discussion of this particular passage (*DPV* 1.4.6), see section 4.3.3.

[121] L. van Hook, *The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism* (Diss. University of Chicago, 1905) presents an overview of metaphors in ancient literary criticism. C.B. Menuez, 'Longinus on the Equivalence of the Arts', *The Classical Journal* 36 (1941), 346-353 discusses metaphors in Longinus' treatise. See also J.I. Porter, *The Origins of Aesthetic Thought in Ancient Greece: Matter, Sensation, and Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 355-357 and S. Butler and A. Purves (eds.), *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses* (Durham: Acumen, 2013).

[122] Besides metaphors from the visual arts Longinus also draws on analogies with dancing and music. See Menuez (1941).

[123] *DPV* 3 (1637), *argumentum libri tertii*, p. 130.

> And so the ancients observed in painting these five principles: **invention**, or the events depicted; **proportion**, or symmetry; **colour**, including light and shade, brightness and darkness; **motion**, including action and passion; and finally **collocation**, or the proper arrangement of the entire artwork.[124]

These five principles seem to be inspired by the canons of oratory (*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *pronuntiatio*) as they appear for instance in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*[125], Cicero's *De Inventione*[126], and Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae*[127], as well as the principles of architecture in Vitrivius' *De architectura*.[128]

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[124] The bold typeface in the Latin citation and English translation is mine.

[125] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.3: *Oportet igitur esse in oratore inventionem, dispositionem, elocutionem, memoriam, pronuntiationem. Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant. Dispositio est ordo et distributio rerum, quae demonstrat quid quibus locis sit conlocandum. Elocutio est idoneorum verborum et sententiarum ad inventionem adcommodatio. Memoria est firma animi rerum et verborum et dispositionis perceptio. Pronuntiatio est vocis, vultus, gestus moderatio cum venustate* ("The speaker, then, should possess the faculties of Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, and Delivery. Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing. Arrangement is the ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned. Style is the adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised. Memory is the firm retention in the mind of the matter, words, and arrangement. Delivery is the graceful regulation of voice, countenance, and gesture") (Translation: Caplan, 1954).

[126] Cic. *Inv*. 1.9: *Partes autem eae quas plerique dixerunt, inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio. Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant; dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio; elocutio est idoneorum verborum ad inventionem accommodatio; memoria est firma animi rerum ac verborum perceptio; pronuntiatio est ex rerum et verborum dignitate vocis et corporis moderatio.* ("Parts of it, as most authorities have stated, are Invention, Arrangement, Expression, Memory, Delivery. Invention is the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments to render one's cause plausible. Arrangement is the distribution of arguments thus discovered in the proper order. Expression is the fitting of the proper language to the invented matter. Memory is the firm mental grasp of matter and words. Delivery is the control of voice and body in a manner suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and the style") (Translation: Hubbell, 1949).

[127] Quint. Inst. Or. 3.3.1: Omnis autem orandi ratio, ut plurimi maximique auctores tradiderunt, quinque partibus constat: inventione dispositione elocutione memoria pronuntiatione sive actione (utroque enim modo dicitur) ("The system of oratory, as a whole, according to most authorities, and the best of them, consists of five parts: Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory, and Delivery or Performance (both terms are in use)").

[128] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 1.2.1: *Architectura autem constat ex ordinatione, quae graece* τάξις *dicitur, et ex dispositione, hanc autem Graeci* διάθεσιν *vocitant, et eurythmia et symmetria et decore et distributione, quae*

One could align Junius' principle of *inventio* with Cicero's principle of *inventio*, and Junius' principle of *proportio/symmetria* with Vitruvius' *eurythmia* and *symmetria*. Junius' principle of *collocatio/dispositio* could be linked to Cicero's *dispositio* as well as Vitruvius' *dispositio*.[129] One might also compare Junius' five principles to Longinus' five sources of the sublime, in which case Junius' *inventio* and *motus* could be aligned with Longinus' sources 'greatness of thought' and 'emotion', while Junius' *color*, *proportio* and *collocatio* could be compared respectively with Longinus' 'figures of speech', 'diction' and 'word arrangement'.[130] The resemblance between Junius' five elements and the elements in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as well as the works of Cicero, Quintilian, Vitruvius and Longinus points towards a general principle of ancient literary or artistic theory and is characteristic for Junius' synthetic method. With a combination of oratorical and architectural elements, Junius is able to cover the 'narrative' or 'scenic', as well as the graphic aspects of the visual arts. While *inventio* is concerned with the subject matter of an artwork, the other four principles pertain to artistic technique and execution. Junius dedicates a chapter to each of his five elements (*DPV* 3.1-5). To these five principles Junius adds the additional factor of 'grace' (*gratia*, *DPV* 3.6). I will discuss 'invention' (especially Junius' section on 'magnificence', which draws extensively on *Peri hypsous*) in section 4.6, and grace in section 4.7. The present section will shed light on Junius' adaptation of Longinus' metaphors in DPV 3.2-5.

In his discussion of 'proportion' (*DPV* 3.2), which pertains to the proportions in the picture as a whole, as well as of the individual figures depicted, Junius includes a strategically abbreviated version of Longinus' comparison between successful verbal composition and the human body:

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graece οἰκονομία *dicitur* ("Architecture depends on order (in Greek *taxis*), arrangement (in Greek *diathesis*), proportion, symmetry, Propriety, and economy (in Greek *oikonomia*)") (Translation: Granger, 1931).

[129] See also Nativel (1983), 20 on the five principles of painting in Book III of the *De pictura veterum*.

[130] This alignment is supported by the fact that Junius extensively quotes *Peri hypsous* 9, on 'greatness of thought' in his chapter on *inventio* (*DPV* 3.1). The words *motus* and πάθος both essentially mean 'passion', while *color* or χρῶμα are sometimes used to denote 'character of style'. Both Junius and Longinus moreover define *collocatio*/ σύνθεσις as a principle that forges together the elements of the entire work.

> τῶν γὰρ μελῶν ἓν μὲν οὐδενὶ τμηθὲν ἀφ' ἑτέρου καθ' ἑαυτὸ τι ἀξιόλογον ἔχει, πάντα δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐκπληροῖ τέλειον σύστημα, σωματοποιούμενα τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἔτι τῷ δεσμῷ τῆς ἁρμονίας περικλειόμενα. *Membrorum unum amputatum ab altero per se ipsum nihil quidem retinet laudabile: sed alia cum aliis conjuncta omnia simul totius corporis compagem constituent, & justam ipsi magnitudinem afferent.*[131]
>
> If one of the members is cut off from another it has nothing remarkable by itself, but all together they constitute a perfectly coherent whole, when they are organised through unity and moreover surrounded by the bond of harmony.[132]

Longinus compares the unity of a text (through the proper application of rhythmic elements) to the unity of a body (σῶμα, *corpus*).[133] The original passage however is longer than Junius' citation, as it includes more references to the textual aspects of Longinus' point. Junius also leaves out the introduction of the metaphor (καθάπερ τὰ σώματα…; "just like in the human body…"), thereby implying that the statements are an actual description of the right proportions of the human body, instead of an illustrative simile.[134]

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[131] *DPV* (1637) 3.2.3, p. 156.

[132] Junius' Latin translation is slightly different from the Greek, as it reads: "If one of the members is cut off from another it has nothing remarkable by itself, but all together constitute the structure of a complete body, and convey upon themselves the proper kind of greatness." The reference to *magnitudo* ('greatness') in the Latin translation (which is not present in the Greek passage that Junius cited) is probably derived from Longinus' mentioning of the words μέγεθος ('greatness') and μεγεθοποιέω ('to invest with grandeur') in *Peri hypsous* 40.1 in the immediate context of the passage that Junius cited.

[133] The earliest surviving use of the metaphor 'text as body' is provided by Plato in the *Phaedrus* (264b-d). See M. Heath, *Unity in Greek Poetics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 17-20.

[134] *Peri hypsous* 40.1: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα μεγεθοποιεῖ τὰ λεγόμενα, καθάπερ τὰ σώματα ἡ τῶν μελῶν ἐπισύνθεσις, ὧν ἓν μὲν οὐδὲν τμηθὲν ἀφ' ἑτέρου καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀξιόλογον ἔχει, πάντα δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐκ- πληροῖ τέλειον σύστημα, οὕτως τὰ μεγάλα σκεδασθέντα μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἄλλοσ' ἄλλη ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς συνδιαφορεῖ καὶ τὸ ὕψος, σωματοποιούμενα δὲ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἔτι δεσμῷ τῆς ἁρμονίας περικλειόμενα αὐτῷ τῷ κύκλῳ φωνήεντα γίνεται· καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις ἔρανός ἐστι πλήθους τὰ μεγέθη ("Nothing is of greater service in giving grandeur to what is said than the organization of the various members. It is the same with the human body. None if the members has any value by itself apart from the others, yet one with another they all constitute a perfect system. Similarly

Junius' discussion of proportion in *DPV* 3.2 however ties in with other metaphors that are present in *Peri hypsous* as well as in several of Junius' other sources: the analogy with music, and, on a deeper level, with arithmetics. After an introduction of the concept of proportion and the various terms the ancients used to denote it (such as ξυμμετρία, ἀναλογία, ἁρμονία, *congruentia, compositio*; *DPV* 3.2.1), Junius dwells on the comparison between painting and music, which are both based on 'proportions' and have a basis in arithmetic (*DPV* 3.2.2).[135] In the subsequent section (*DPV* 3.2.3) Junius explains how the universe itself is permeated by harmony and symmetry, which also applies to *the* human body, and explains that, just like natural bodies gain their beauty from having the right proportions, the imitation of natural bodies should likewise follow this principle.[136] Unlike many other parts of *De pictura veterum*, Junius' discussion of proportion hardly draws on the principles of poetry or oratory. Instead, Junius elucidates the importance of proportion by using analogies with music and arithmetic.

In this context Longinus' statement on the unity of the human body (*Peri hypsous* 40.1) is cited without reference to its underlying literary aspect. The musical implications of Longinus' metaphor however do resonate in the context of *DPV* 3.2.3. In *Peri hypsous* 40.1, which, in the first place, is a discussion of the rhythmical qualities of text, the word μέλος can indicate both 'member' (of a body), and 'melody' or '(phrase of a) song'.[137] The expression τέλειον σύστημα, meaning 'perfect coherence', enforces the organic metaphor that is invoked through the words μέλος and σωματοποιούμενα, and hence signifies 'the

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if these effects of grandeur are separated, the sublimity is scattered with them: but if they are united into a single whole and embraced by the bonds of rhythm, then they gain a living voice just by being merely rounded into a period. In a period, one might say, the grandeur comes from the multitude of contributors").

[135] *DPV* (1637) 3.2.2, p. 154. According to Junius (following Pliny), painting borrowed the terms *tonus* ('tone' or 'colour') and ἁρμογή ('tuning' or 'joining') from music (*DPV* 3.2.2, 1637, p. 155).

[136] *DPV* (1637) 3.2.3, p.156: quemadmodum igitur vera naturalium corporum pulchritudo sine hac harmoniae concinnitate nulla prorsus est; ita etiam recta naturalium corporum imitatio in legitima proportionis hujus observatione potissimum consistit. ("Just as there exists no true beauty of natural bodies without that harmonic agreement, so the right imitation of natural bodies above all consists in the proper observation of this proportion").

[137] Elsewhere in *Peri hypsous* it is indeed used in the musical sense: cf. μέλος (*Peri hypsous* 3.1), and ἐμελοποίησε (*Peri hypsous* 28.2).

complete body' (as in Junius' Latin translation). In musical contexts however the expression τέλειον σύστημα is also used to denote a particular harmonic system.[138] Finally, the term ἁρμονία (literally 'joining'), can be a musical term, but can also refer to the 'joining together' of limbs in the right proportions.[139] Junius' repeated reference to 'proportion' with the word ἁρμονία as well his insistence on the relationship between music and painting reveal his musical mindset when constructing his argument on 'proportion' in *DPV* 3.2. It moreover explains Junius' incorporation in this context of *Peri hypsous* 40.1, which combines an organic and musical metaphor.[140]

In the subsequent section of the *De pictura veterum* Junius continues his discussion of proportion by emphasising that artificers should carefully study the shape of the human body in order to depict it properly (*DPV* 3.2.4). As earlier, Junius selects passages from ancient rhetorical treatises that compare text to the human body, and takes them out of their metaphorical context. From Quintilian Junius borrows the advice that bones and sinews should also be covered by flesh, and that a human face should not be portrayed rigidly.[141] In this context Junius also

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[138] See A. Barker, *The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13-17 on the 'perfect system' in Greek musical theory.

[139] The term ἁρμονία in the sense of 'joining together' bears an architectural connotation as well. A conspicuous use of the term ἁρμονία in the context of architecture is found in Vitruvius, *De architectura* 5.4, in which the author gives an extensive summary of the ancient musical theory and terminology that an architect should know for establishing the proper measurements of a theatre.

[140] *DPV* (1637) 3.2.1, p. 154: Invento argumento, proximum est, ut in eo delineando artifex justae Proportionis rationem habeat; quae Philostrato atque aliis passim ξυμμετρία, ἀναλογία, ἁρμονία vocari solent. *DPV* (1637) 3.2.2, p.155: Ἀναλογίας certe et ἁρμονίας voces videntur his artifices mutuati ab ea, quae in numeris Arithmeticis et concentibus Musicis deprehenditur proportione. Neque enim aliud quid est Proportio, quam certa quaedam le numerorum, quam sequuntur artifices.

[141] The original passages contain statements on the proper amount of rhetorical instruction, and on the naturalness of oratory, respectively. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 1.prooem.24: *Nam plerumque nudae illae artes nimiae subtilitatis adfectatione frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in oratione generosius, et omnem sucum ingenii bibunt et ossa detegunt, quae ut esse et adstringi nervis suis debent, sic corpore operienda sunt* ("The familiar dry textbooks, with their striving for excessive subtlety, merely weaken and cripple any generous stylistic tendencies there may be, drain off all the juice of the mind, and expose the bones—which must of course be there, and be bound together by the proper sinews, but which also need to be covered by the flesh"). Quint. *Inst. Or*. 9.3.101: *Et oratio habet rectam quandam velut faciem, quae ut stupere inmobili rigore non debebit, ita saepius in ea quam natura dedit specie continenda est* ("Oratory too has, as it were, its

adduces Longinus' rejection of 'tumours' in writing: κακοὶ δὲ ὄγκοι ἐπὶ σωμάτων ("tumours in bodies are bad" *Peri hypsous* 3.4).[142] In *Peri hypsous* 3 Longinus discusses the vice of 'turgidness' in writing and employs a series of organic metaphors to illustrate his point. Longinus for instance defines tragedy as a 'pompous matter' (πρᾶγμα ὀγκηρόν; lit. 'bulky thing'), which however should not result in 'misplaced tumidity' (τὸ παρὰ μέλος οἰδεῖν; lit. 'to swell beyond moderation') (*Peri hypsous* 3.1).[143] In this context Longinus asserts that "tumours are bad things in bodies as well as in writing". In the *De pictura veterum* these statements are used to underline the need for properly observing the shape and proportions of the human body. Junius refers to the same passage again in his discussion of 'beauty' *DPV* 3.9.20, to illustrate that "a luscious neck does not come from a swollen skin or bulky fatness."[144] Even if Junius here transforms Longinus' words from a metaphorical into a literal statement, the advice runs similar, as both Junius and Longinus indicate the fine line between the type of 'swelling' that is allowed (the grandeur of tragedy; the lusciousness of the human body), and the type that is not (bombastic expressions; bulky fatness).

The third reference to Longinus' treatise in the context of Junius' discussion of 'proportion' (*DPV* 3.2) is derived from *Peri hypsous* 36.3. In *Peri hypsous* 36.3 Longinus compares writing with sculpture, and states that "we expect a statue to resemble a man, but in literature, as I said before, we look for something greater

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natural face, which must of course not be fixed in motionless rigidity, but still should normally be kept looking as nature intended it").

[142] *DPV* (1637) 3.2.4, p. 157: κακοὶ δὲ ὄγκοι ἐπὶ σωμάτων, *mali tumores in corporibus.* Cf. *Peri hypsous* 3.4: κακοὶ δὲ ὄγκοι καὶ ἐπὶ σωμάτων καὶ λόγων οἱ χαῦνοι καὶ ἀναλήθεις καὶ μήποτε περιστάντες ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὐναντίον ("Tumours are bad things whether in books or bodies, those empty inflations, void of sincerity, as likely as not producing the opposite to the effect intended").

[143] *Peri hypsous* 3.1: ὅπου δ' ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ, πράγματι ὀγκηρῷ φύσει καὶ ἐπιδεχομένῳ στόμφον, ὅμως τὸ παρὰ μέλος οἰδεῖν ἀσύγγνωστον, σχολῇ γ' ἂν οἶμαι λόγοις ἀληθινοῖς ἁρμόσειεν ("Now seeing that in tragedy, which is essentially a majectic matter and admits of bombast, misplaced tumidity is nonetheless unpardonable, it is even less likely to suit real speeches").

[144] *DPV* (1637) 3.9.20, p. 274: Succulentiam tamen hanc non putamus consistere in cute distenta nimiaeque pinguedinis mole gravata. κακοὶ δὲ ὄγκοι ἐπὶ σωμάτων, *vitiosi enim funt tumores corporis, ut supra cap. II hujus libri tertii, §. 4, ex Dionysio Longino didicimus* ("Yet we think that lusciousness does not consist in a swelling of the skin, or a heavy bulk of extreme fatness. Tumours in bodies are bad, as we learned above, in chapter two, section 4 of our third book, from Longinus"). The 1694 translation replaces *corporis* with *in corporibus* (*DPV* 1694, 3.9.20, p. 257).

than human".[145] Junius in turn uses the first half of this comparison to stress the importance of similitude in painting in *DPV* 3.4.7.[146] Just like the other references to *Peri hypsous* in *DPV* 3.2, this passage leaves out the metaphorical context from which it originates.

Junius' discussion of 'colour' (*DPV* 3.3), 'motion' (*DPV* 3.4) and 'arrangement' (*DPV* 3.5), likewise draws on metaphors and comparisons from *Peri hypsous*. In *DPV* 3.3.6 (on 'colour') Junius adduces Longinus' remarks on 'highlights' (*Peri hypsous* 17.3), which, like the sublime itself, draw the eye's attention away from the darker parts of a painting.[147] In *DPV* 3.4 Junius discusses 'motion', or the suggested liveliness and emotions of the individuals depicted. Adducing Longinus, Junius asserts in 3.4.7 that "art is then perfect, when it seems to be nature" (*Peri hypsous* 22.1).[148] Junius concludes his discussion of 'motion' with a warning against

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[145] *Peri hypsous* 36.3: κἀπὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντων ζητεῖται τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ὑπεραῖρον, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ("Also we expect a statue to resemble a man, but in literature, as I said before, we look for something greater than human").

[146] *DPV* (1637) 3.2.7, p. 160: ἐπὶ ἀνδριάντων ζητεῖται τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ. *In statuis requiritur quod est simile hominibus.* The 1694 translation replaces *hominibus* with *hominis* (*DPV* 1694, 3.2.7, p. 165).

[147] *DPV* (1637) 3.3.6, p. 168: ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κειμένων ἐπιπέδου παραλλήλων ἐν χρώμασι τῆς σκιᾶς τε καὶ τοῦ φωτός, ὅμως προϋπαντᾷ τε τὸ φῶς ταῖς ὄψεσι καιόμενον ἔξοχον καὶ ἐγγυτέρω παρὰ πολὺ φαίνεται. *Collocatis in eodem plano lineis aequali spatio distantibus, tum umbrae, tum luminis adhibitis coloribus, occurrit imprimis oculis nostris quod luminosum est flagrans vehementer, & propius aspectui multo magis conspicuum apparet.* Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, §15 [17.3]. The 1694 translation os phrased somwhat differently: *Parallelis in eodem plano ductis, atque umbrae luminisque coloribus distinctis, in oculos nostros imprimis incurret flagrans vis luminis, propiusque oculis admota esse videbitur* (*DPV* 1694, 3.3.6, p. 171). Cf. *Peri hypsous* 17.3: οὐ πόρρω δ' ἴσως τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ζωγραφίας τι συμβαίνει· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κειμένων ἐπιπέδου παραλλήλων ἐν χρώμασι τῆς σκιᾶς τε καὶ τοῦ φωτός, ὅμως προϋπαντᾷ τε τὸ φῶς ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ οὐ μόνον ἔξοχον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγυτέρω παρὰ πολὺ φαίνεται. οὐκοῦν κἀπὶ τῶν λόγων τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ ὕψη ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω κείμενα διά τε φυσικήν τινα συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα, ἀεὶ τῶν σχημάτων προεμφανίζεται καὶ τὴν τέχνην αὐτῶν ἐπισκιάζει καὶ οἷον ἐν κατακαλύψει τηρεῖ ("We see something of the same kind in painting. Though the highlights and shadows lie side by side in the same plane, yeet the highlights spring to the eye and seem not only to stand out, but to be actually much nearer. So it is in writing. What is sublime and moving lies nearer to our hearts, and thus, partly from a natural affinity, partly from brilliance of effect, it always strikes the eye long before the figures, thus throwing their art into the shade and keeping it hid as it were under a bushel").

[148] *DPV* (1637) 3.4.7, p. 189: Recte Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους §19 [22.1]: τότε γὰρ ἡ τέχνη τέλειος ἡνίκ' ἂν φύσις εἶναι δοκῇ. *Tunc ars est perfecta, quando natura esse videtur.* Cf. *Peri hypsous* 22.1. In the original passage Longinus states that the deliberate manipulation of the word order in a sentence can render a

'misplaced' emotion (*DPV* 3.4.8), which is derived from *Peri hypsous* 3.5.[149] Junius' discussion of 'arrangement' (*DPV* 3.5.9) includes Longinus' advice to avoid the addition of showy or undignified elements, as they break up the structure like gaps and fissures do in a building.[150]

Throughout his discussion of the four 'technical' principles of painting (*DPV* 3.2-5) Junius creatively adapts metaphorical passages from Longinus' treatise and turns them into technical precepts in his overview of the ancient ideas about the visual arts. In the absence of extensive theoretical treatises from antiquity on the visual arts Junius thus reconstructs a theory of the visual arts from other sources,

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seemingly authentic imitation of excitement or vehement emotion. See also note 104 for Junius' reference to *Peri hypsous* 22.1 in *DPV* 2.1.3.

[149] *DPV* (1637) 3.4.8, p. 189-190: ἔστι δὲ πάθος ἄκαιρον καὶ κενὸν ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ πάθους, ἢ ἄμετρον ἔνθα μετρίου δεῖ. πολλὰ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τινὲς εἰς τὰ μηκέτι τοῦ πράγματος ἴδια ἑαυτῶν καὶ σχολικὰ παραφέρονται. Est autem aliud nihil, *quam intempestiva, inanis, & ubi nihil opus est affectibus, affectuum usurpatio: vel cum sine modo adhibentur, ubi moderati requiruntur. Saepe enim tanquam ab ebrietate nonnulli non jam quidem rerum proprios, sed quos à schola habent, adhibent affectus.* Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, §3 [3.5]. Cf. *Peri hypsous* 3.5: "This is emotion misplaced and pointless where none is needed, or unrestrained where restraint is required. For writers often behave as if they were drunk and give way to outbursts of emotion which the subject no longer warrants, but which are private to themselves and consequently tedious." Weststeijn (2015), 366 notes a digression in *SKDO* (1641) 3.4.8, p. 296 after the citation of Longinus, in which Junius criticises those artists who fail to recognise their own faults, and even take pleasure in such vices as tumidity ('swellende opgheblaesenheyd') and fake greatness ('een schijn groote handelingh').

[150] *DPV* (1637) 3.5.9, p. 195: ἢ φλοιῶδες τι ἢ ἄσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάττοντες διὰ μέσου. λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον, ὡσανεὶ ψήγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικοδομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα. *Aut corticeum, aut indecorum, aut Scholasticum, per medium inserentes. Totum enim haec ipsum labefactant corrumpuntque, tanquam psegmata, aut raritates, & intersitia, quae dum mutual inter se constructa affectione veniunt in constitutionem aedificii, faciunt ut in molem crescat ingentem.* Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, §8 [10.7]. The 1694 translation is phrased somewhat differently: *Aut corticeum quid, aut minus grave, aut scholasticum in medio inserentes. Quandoquidem hac totum opus corrumpunt, tanquam destrigmenta quaedam aut raritates, quae dum mutua inter se affectione ad constructionem aedificii concurrunt, faciunt ut in molem ingentem excrescat* (*DPV* 1694, 3.5.11, p. 194). Cf. *Peri hypsous* 10.7: ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐξοχάς, ὡς <ἂν> εἴποι τις, ἀριστίνδην ἐκκαθήραντες ἐπισυνέθηκαν, οὐδὲν φλοιῶδες ἢ ἄσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάττοντες διὰ μέσου. λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον, ὡσανεὶ ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικοδομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα ("What they have done is to clean up, as it were, the very best of the main points, and to fit them together, allowing nothing affected or undignified or pedantic to intervene. These things ruin the whole, by introducing, as it were, gaps and crevices into masses which are built together, walled in by their mutual relationships").

particularly from rhetorical and literary theory. The visual metaphors that are found in these treatises not only provide insight in the author's view on (the production or effects of) oratory or poetry, but also contain knowledge on how the ancients viewed visual art. Junius interprets the metaphors in *Peri hypsous* as reflections on ancient artistic practice, and hence he uses them prominently in his discussion of the principles of the visual arts.

4.6 Magnificent invention (*DPV* 3.1.15)

4.6.1 The echo of a great mind

The first of the five principles that Junius discerns in the third book of the *De pictura veterum* is *inventio* ('invention'). Junius defines it as the process of imagining what to paint, or the choice of subject matter (*DPV* 3.1.1).[151] As such, invention belongs to the imaginative faculty of the human mind (*phantasia*).[152] For a successful invention, artists should take their own abilities into account, while also refraining from putting too much restraint on their own ideas (3.1.2-5). Invention should moreover be based on solid knowledge of optics, geometry, nature, humans and symbolism, as well as good observation (*DPV* 3.1.6-11). Junius identifies four elements of invention: 'truth' (ἀλήθεια), 'opportunity' (καιρός), 'discretion' (δικαιοσύνη), and 'magnificence' (σεμνότης) (*DPV* 3.1.12-15). Whereas *Peri hypsous* is not mentioned in any other part of Junius' discussion of invention, it plays a significant role in the section on 'magnificence' (*DPV* 3.1.15). Virtually all of the themes that Junius discusses in his section on magnificence are based on passages from *Peri hypsous*. Junius consecutively discusses: the terminology of magnificence; the vices that lie close to greatness (*Peri hypsous* 3.1); the universal approval of magnificent artworks (*Peri hypsous* 7.3-4); the necessity of entertaining magnificent thoughts (*Peri hypsous* 2.1, 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4); and the attainment of magnificence through the emulation of predecessors (*Peri hypsous* 13.2, 13.4 and 14.2).

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[151] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.1, p. 130-131: Artificem ergo ante omnia par est sibi proponere, quid potissimum imitari velit.

[152] Junius states that *inventio* should be quite easy, given the great variety of topics one could choose from, unless one is 'unimaginative' (ἀφαντασίωτος) (*DPV* 1637, 3.1.1, p. 131).

Magnificence, according to Junius, "provides [an artwork] with the greatest charm and authority" (*maximam arti gratiam autoritatemque conciliat*). It should avoid artificial refinement, which bears the suspicion of anxious diligence.[153] Artists should moreover refrain from reaching beyond their abilities, lest they fall into excess:

> Fit igitur interdum, ut valentioris Inventionis laudem sine dubio reportet, ac turgenti germine veluti efflorescat, sicut indomitus ager quasdam quoque laetiores herbas subinde producit; maximum tamen quod est in ipsa Inventione *periculum minus vitat, conaturque perdite: unde evenit nonnumquam ut aliquid grande inveniat, qui semper quaerit quod nimium est. Verum et raro invenit, et caetera vitia non pensat.* Quintil. II, 12.[154] Quae vero a tali animo proficiscuntur, τεθόλωται γὰρ τῇ φράσει καὶ τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασίαις μᾶλλον ἢ δεδείνωται, κἂν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐγὰς ἀνασκοπῇς, ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπονοστεῖ πρὸς τὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον; *turbata et phantasiis exaestuantia potius, quam cum gravitate tractata et exaggerata videntur, etsi unumquodque istorum ad rationis radios inspicias, ex terribili ad vile contemtumque paulatim abcedit*. Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους §2 [3.1].
>
> Consequently it sometimes occurs that someone receives undubitable praise, and seems to prosper through his bloated productions, just like an untilled field from time to time yields some fertile crops; yet he hardly avoids the greatest danger that lies within invention itself, and undertakes hopeless attempts: as a result of which it occurs that he, who always seeks excess, at

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[153] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 147: debet enim Pictura plurimum gravitatis habere, & omnino omnia in se continere, quae pertinent ad amplificandam dignitatem: splendoris tamen, festivitatis, & quaesitae concinnitudinis minimum prae se ferat; propterea quod ex his suspicio quaedam diligentiae nimis anxiae nascitur, quae artifici saepius adimit, quam addit autoritatem.

[154] Quint. *Inst. Or*. 2.12.5: *Illud quoque alterum quod est in elocutione ipsa periculum minus vitat, conaturque perdite, unde evenit nonnumquam ut aliquid grande inveniat qui semper quaerit quod nimium est: verum id et raro provenit et cetera vitia non pensat*. ("The unskilled speaker is also less able to avoid the other danger, which is actually a matter of style: he makes desperate efforts, and hence, just because he is always looking for too much, sometimes succeeds in finding something impressive. But this is a rare piece of luck, and it does not compensate for his other faults").

> some point invents something grand. But this rarely happens, and it does not compensate his other faults. The things that spring from such a mind are turbid in phrasing, and are confused in imagery rather than forceful, and if one examines each in the light of day, it gradually sinks from the terrible to the ridiculous.

Junius again refers to Longinus' discussion of stylistic vices (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), which is adduced several times in the *De pictura veterum*.[155] In this case the passages serves as a reverse definition of magnificence: it does *not* spring from always aiming for excess.

True magnificence however, as Junius argues using Longinus' words, is something that stays in our thoughts forever, and which is esteemed by people with different tastes, ages, and ways of life (the translation is taken from *The painting of the ancients*):

> genuinam magnificentiae ac granditatis notam suggerit nobis Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, §5 [7.3-4].[156] τοῦτο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι μέγα, οὗ πολλὴ μὲν ἡ ἀναθεώρησις, δύσκολος δὲ μᾶλλον δ' ἀδύνατος ἡ κατεξανάστασις, ἰσχυρὰ δὲ ἡ μνήμη καὶ δυσεξάλειπτος. ὅλως δὲ καλὰ νόμιζε ὕψη καὶ ἀληθινὰ τὰ διὰ παντὸς ἀρέσκοντα καὶ πᾶσιν. ὅταν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων βίων ζήλων ἡλικιῶν ἕν τι καὶ ταὐτὸν ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπασι δοκῇ, τόθ' ἡ ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκατάθεσις τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θαυμαζομένῳ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν λαμβάνει καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον. *Illud vere magnum, quod subinde cogitandum considerandumque nobis occurrit, quod vix, ac ne vix quidem, animo excidere potest, sed constanti, firma, ac indelebili memoria retinetur. Denique praeclaram illam demum granditatem & veram esse ducito, quae per omnia & omnibus placeat. Quum enim in oratione aliqua qui moribus, vitae ratione institutis, studiisque & aetatibus differunt, idem simul de iisdem sentiunt omnes, tum a dissidentibus alias &*

[155] *DPV* 1.3.11, 1.4.6, 3.2.4, 3.4.8, 3.9.20. As earlier, Junius points out that artistic invention is essentially a dangerous undertaking (*maximum periculum minus vitat*).

[156] The 1694 translation adds *itaque* after *genuinam* (*DPV* 1694, 3.1.16, p. 155).

discrepantibus veluti profectum judicium & approbatio unanimis ei, quod habetur in admiratione, fidem certam & minime dubiam acquirit.[157]

It is worth our labour to observe out of *Longinus* an infallible marke of true magnificence. *That is geat indeed* sayth he [Longinus], *which doth still returne into our thoughts, which we can hardly or rather not at all put out of our minde, but the memorie of it sticketh close in us and will not be rubbed out: esteeme that also to be a most excellent and true magnificence, which is liked always and by all men: for when all such men as differ in their studies, course of life, purposes, and ages, doe all agree in their opinion about one and the same thing, the judgement and approbation of so many diversly minded folks, must needs gain a constant and certaine estimation of the thing so much admired.*[158]

Junius attributes this magnificence to 'greatness of mind', and presents it as a mental capacity that is to be attributed to innate talent rather than learned skill. In a series of references to *Peri hypsous* Junius argues that magnificent thoughts cannot be taught and are given by nature (*Peri hypsous* 2.1), that greatness is the echo of a great mind (*Peri hypsous* 9.2)[159], that great ideas come to elevated minds (*Peri hypsous* 9.3)[160], and that those who entertain servile thoughts may never attain greatness (*Peri hypsous* 9.4).[161] In the case of the references to *Peri hypsous* 9, Junius'

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[157] The 1694 translation removes *in oratione aliqua* (*DPV* 1694, 3.1.16, p. 155).

[158] *TPA* 1638, 3.1.15, p. 246.

[159] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 149: Quumque certum sit hanc Imaginum sublimitatem nihil aluid esse, quam ἀπήχημα quoddam μεγαλοφροσύνης, sequitur etiam animum artificis ad maxima haec se accingentis, omnem humilium ac sordidarum rerum curam deponere debere, atque iis potissimum cogitationibus vacare, unde eum non id agentem vivus quidam augustae majestatis decor furtim prosequatur ("And because it is certain that this sublimity of images is nothing else than a certain 'echo of a noble mind', it also follows that the mind of an artificer, who prepares himself for these great things, should lay aside any concern with lowly and ignoble matters, and above all dedicate himself to those thoughts, from which a vivid kind of elegance will stealthily accompany the artist if he does not actively aim at it").

[160] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 148-149: εἰς τοὺς μάλιστα φρονηματίας ἐμπίπτει τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ. *In elati spiritus homines maxime cadunt, quae sunt grandia.* (*TPA* 1638, 3.1.15, p. 247: "*Great minded men are most of all given to entertain stately conceits*").

[161] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 149: recte Longinus Περὶ ὕψους, §.7 [9.3] οὐχ οἷόν τε μικρὰ καὶ δουλοπρεπῆ φρονοῦντας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντας παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον θαυμαστόν τι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐξενεγκεῖν ἄξιον. *Neque enim fieri potest, ut qui parva, & quae servitiorum sunt propria, obeunt per omnem*

rendition is congruent with Longinus' argument. In his reference to *Peri hypsous* 2.1 Junius however makes a crucial alteration to the passage:

> "Natura quae magna sunt constant, nec ulla doctrina comparari possunt, & una ars ad illa consequenda, ita a natura comparatum esse."[162]

> "Magnificent thoughts come by nature, and cannot be taught, **sayth Longinus**, yea the onely art to attaine unto the same, is that Nature should fit us to high conceited and lofty things."[163]

This citation is taken from section 2.1 of *Peri hypsous*, in which Longinus raises the question whether sublimity is due to natural abilities or learning. In this passage Longinus reacts to the ideas of other critics, who argued that sublimity could only spring from natural talent:

> Ἡμῖν δ' ἐκεῖνο διαπορητέον ἐν ἀρχῇ, εἰ ἔστιν ὕψους τις ἢ βάθους τέχνη, ἐπεί τινες ὅλως οἴονται διηπατῆσθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄγοντας εἰς τεχνικὰ παραγγέλματα. γεννᾶται γάρ, **φησί**, τὰ μεγαλοφυῆ καὶ οὐ διδακτὰ παραγίνεται, καὶ μία τέχνη πρὸς αὐτὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι·

> We must begin now by raising the question whether there is an art of sublimity or emotion, for some think those are wholly at fault who try to bring such matters under systematic rules. Greatness, **it is said**, is born and does not come of teaching, and the only art for producing it is nature.[164]

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vitam, admiratione & dignum omni aevo quidquam edant (*TPA* 1638, 3.1.15, p. 248: "I*t is impossible that those*, sayth Longinus, who busie the thoughts and studies of there whole life about vile and servile matters, *should bring forth any thing that might deserve the admiration of all ages*"). The 1694 translation is phrased somewhat differently: *Fieri non potest, ut exilia quaedam ac servilia per omnem vitam cogitantes curantesque admirabile quid atque omni aevo dignum producant* (*DPV* 1694, 3.1.17, p. 155).

[162] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 148. The 1694 translation replaces *constant* with *proveniunt* (*DPV* 1694, 3.1.17, p. 155).

[163] *TPA* (1638) 3.1.15, p. 247.

[164] *Peri hypsous* 2.1.

Junius however presents this citation as if these are Longinus' own words. In his quotation of the Greek text and in his Latin translation the word φησί ('it is said', or 'so they say') is left out. In the English and Dutch versions Junius moreover translates φησί as 'sayth Longinus' and 'seght Longinus'. In the Latin version of 1637 (see above), Longinus' addition *it is said* is simply left out (in the original Greek citation as well as Junius' Latin translation).[165] In doing so, Junius places a larger emphasis on the importance of natural talent than the source text itself.

The remainder of Junius' section on 'magnificence' focuses on the attainment of greatness through emulation of predecessors. Since invention is first and foremost a mental process, the painter's inspiration can come from studying paintings and poetry alike.[166] Junius explains the process of drawing inspiration from predecessors by quoting Longinus' description of the divine inspiration of the Pythian priestess (*Peri hypsous* 13.2, 13.4)[167] as well as Longinus' advice that one

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[165] *TPA* (1638) 3.1.15, p. 247: *Magnificent thoughts come by nature, and cannot be taught,* sayth *Longinus, yea, the onely art to attaine unto the same, is that Nature should fit us to high conceited and lofty things. SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 233: *Ghelijck de hooghdraeghende dinghen uyt de nature oorspronckelick voordkomen,* seght *Longinus, soo en konnense ons door de leeringhe niet worden inghestort; ja de eenighe Konst om tot dese grootse dapperheyd te gheraecken, bestaet voornaemelick daer in, datmen van de Nature daer toe bequaem worde gemaeckt.*

[166] Junius explains that many painters drew inspiration from poetry (*DPV* 1637, 3.1.15, p. 150-151).

[167] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 151: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ θεοφοροῦνται πνεύματι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν λόγος ἔχει τρίποδι πλησιάζουσαν, ἔνθα ῥῆγμά ἐστι γῆς ἀναπνέον, ὥς φασιν, ἀτμὸν ἔνθεον, αὐτόθεν ἐγκύμονα τῆς δαιμονίου καθισταμένην δυνάμεως παραυτίκα χρησμῳδεῖν κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν· οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μεγαλοφυΐας εἰς τὰς τῶν ζηλούντων ἐκείνους ψυχὰς ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερῶν στομίων ἀπόρροιαί τινες φέρονται, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπιπνεόμενοι καὶ οἱ μὴ λίαν φοιβαστικοὶ τῷ ἑτέρων συνενθουσιῶσι μεγέθει. ἔστι δ' οὐ κλοπὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ καλῶν ἠθῶν ἢ πλασμάτων ἢ δημιουργημάτων ἀποτύπωσις. καὶ τῷ ὄντι καλὸς οὗτος καὶ ἀξιονικότατος εὐκλείας ἀγών τε καὶ στέφανος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἄδοξον. *Multi alieno seu divino spiritu afflati rapiuntur eodem prorsus modo, quo fama est Pythiam tripodi admotam corripi: ubi ut perhibent hiatus quidam est terrae vaporem inde auramque exhalans divinam: factamque Deo plenam numinis instinctu, consulentibus responsa dare & oracula reddere: sic ab illis priscorum magnis ingeniis in animos imitantium ipsos, tanquam ex sacris ostiis rivi quidam feruntur a quibus afflati etiam qui suapte natura non isto Phoebeo aguntur furore, aliorum, magnitudine impulsi rapiuntur simul. Factum porro hoc non est censendum furtum, sed tanquam ab honestis & praeclaris moribus, aut figmentis efficta expressaque forma. Et revera praeclarum hoc & victoria dignissimum pro gloria certamen & proelium: quippe in quo a majoribus vinci non sit inglorium.* Cf. *Peri hypsous* 13.2, 13.4: "For many are carried away by the inspiration of another, just as the story runs that the Pythian priestess on approaching the tripod where there is, they say, a rift in the earth, exhaling divine vapour, thereby becomes impregnated with the divine power and is at once inspired to utter

should formulate the standards of perfection by envisioning the judgment of one's predecessors (*Peri hypsous* 14.2).[168]

Notwithstanding the presence of references to other sources, especially Quintilian, Junius' discussion of magnificence in 3.1.15 reads as a summary of the early chapters of *Peri hypsous*, drawing on Longinus' discussion of the role of art and nature (*Peri hypsous* 2), the vices associated with failed sublimity (*Peri hypsous* 3), the universal nature of the sublime (*Peri hypsous* 7), the importance of greatness of thought (*Peri hypsous* 9), as well as inspiration and emulation (*Peri hypsous* 13 and 14). Longinus' ideas on sublimity thus constitute an important basis for Junius' discussion of magnificence. In my next section I will moreover shed light on the choice that Junius makes in rendering the vocabulary of sublimity in *DPV* 3.1.15.

4.6.2 "Gantsch treffelicke ende waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd"

In the Latin version of his book, Junius starts his discussion of magnificence with an overview of several relevant Greek and Latin terms.

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oracles; so, too, from the naturel genius of those old writers there flows into the hearts of their admirers as it were an emanation from those holy mouths. Inspired by this, even those who are not easily moved to prophecy share the enthusiasm of these others' grandeur. […] Such borrowing is no theft; it is rather like the reproduction of good character by sculptures or other works of art. […] Fair indeed is the crown, and the fight for fame well worth the winning, where even to be worsted by our forerunners is not without glory."

[168] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 152: sed hoc ipsum plus etiamnum habebit momenti, si praesentis ac futuri saeculi de nobis aestimationem ex eorum, quibus nos reformandos ac velut recoquendos tradidimus, judicio pendere sentiamus: neque enim fieri potest, ut humile quid sapiat animus aeternitatem cogitans τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μέγα τὸ ἀγώνισμα, τοιοῦτον ὑποτίθεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων δικαστήριον καὶ θέατρον, καὶ ἐν τηλικούτοις ἥρωσι κριταῖς τε καὶ μάρτυσιν ὑπέχειν τῶν γραφομένων εὐθύνας, καὶ μὴ παῖξαι. *Revera enim illud decus magnum, & quod palmarium ducendum, tale operum suorum constituere judicium & theatrum; nec non apud tantos heroas arbitros & testes pro scriptis causam dicere, eademque illorum judicio citra omnem jocum subjicere.* Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, §12 [14.2]. vide locum. The 1694 translation is phrased somwhat differently: *Revera enim certamen est ingens tale operum suorum constituere judicium & theatrum* (*DPV* 1694, 3.1.20, p. 158). Cf. *Peri hypsous* 14.2: "Great indeed is the ordeal, if we suppose such a jury and audience as this to listen to our own utterances and make believe that we are submitting our work to the scrutiny of such heroes as witnesses and judges". In this citation Junius has replaced the word λόγων with ἔργων, in order to make the passage applicable to artworks rather than text.

> "**Σεμνότης**, sive **μεγαλοπρέπεια** Quintiliano lib. iv, cap. 2. dicitur **magnificentia**.[169] Plinio juniori lib. vi. epist. 21. & lib. ix. ep. 26 **granditas** vocatur, & maximam arti **gratiam autoritatemque** conciliat.[170] debet enim Pictura plurimum **gravitatis** habere, & omnino omnia in se continere, quae pertinent ad amplificandam **dignitatem**: splendoris tamen, festivitatis, & quaesitae concinnitudinis minimum prae se ferat."[171]
>
> "'**Solemnity**' or '**greatness**' is called '**magnificence**' by Quintilian. It is called '**grandeur**' by Pliny the Younger, and gives art its greatest **charm and distinction**. A painting should have much **gravity**, and should altogether contain in itself everything that adds to its **dignity**. It should display as little splendour, witticism and artificial beauty as possible."

Throughout his discussion of invention in 3.1.15, Junius uses a very broad spectrum of terms denoting 'greatness' or 'sublimity', including *gravitas*, *dignitas*, *sublimitas*, *magnitudo*, *augusta majestas*, and the adjectives *excelsis*, *grandis*, *elatus*, *sublimis*. This compilation of Latin and Greek terms indicating sublimity strongly resembles the discussion of the *character grandis* ('high style') in the rhetorical handbooks of Junius' time, as for instance in the *Commentarii Rhetorici* of Gerardus Joannes Vossius.[172] Both Vossius and Junius include Longinus' term ὕψος in a

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[169] Quint. *Inst. Or.* 4.2. Σεμνότης ('solemnity') is the term usually associated with Hermogenes' *On types of Style*. See for instance Wooten (1987), xiii-xiv and 19-26.

[170] Pliny, *Letters* 6.21 and 9.26.

[171] *DPV* (1637) 3.1.15, p. 147.

[172] In his discussion of the grand style in writing (*character grandis*) Vossius explains that this style is indicated with a wide range of Greek and Latin terms. Longinus' term ὕψος is also mentioned. Vossius (1630), II, 432-433: *Character magnificus varias, cum apud Latinos, tum Graecos, appellationes sortitus est. Nam Latine alii vocant magnificum, vel magniloquum, vel altiloquum; alii magnum, vel altum, vel summum, vel sublimem; quidam etiam plenum, vel uberem.* […] *Apud Graecos similiter character is vocacitur* μεγαλοπρεπὴς, *quia in eo, uti in divitum aedificiis, omnia sunt exquisita, non vulgaria aut quotidiana.* […] *Denique Dionysio Longino, Rhetori* κριτικωτάτῳ, *qui sub Aureliano Caesare de hoc charactere ablectum et plane aureolum reliquit libellum, appellatur* ὕψος ("The grand style is called by many names, in Latin as well as Greek. For in Latin some call it 'magnificent', 'speaking eminently', 'speaking highly', others call it 'grand', 'high', 'lofty', or 'sublime'; some even 'full' or 'copious'. […] By the Greeks this style is similarly called 'magnificent', because in this style, like in palaces of the rich, everything is exquisite,

broader discussion of 'magnificence', and both use a wide spectrum of different terms, from different Latin and Greek sources.[173]

Junius' English and Dutch introductions of the topic of 'magnificence' in *The Painting of the Ancients* (1638) and *De Schilder-konst der Oude* (1641) omit the explicit discussion of the Greek and Latin terms, but do provide a range of virtual synonyms of the word:

> "**Magnificence** doth shew it selfe in a well-conceived invention, and there is added a **wonderfull great authoritie** unto the worke, when Truth, Occasion, and Disposition are duly observed in it: for as the whole Art of painting is not much worth, unlesse it be accompanied with much **gravitie** and doe containe all such kinde of things as are full of **grace and dignitie**, so must shee make but a small shew of elegancie, pleasantnesse, and too much laboured gayness."[174]

> "Nu komen wy eyndelick tot de **Magnificentie** ofte **staetelickheyd**, die sich ghemeynlick in een welbeleyde *Inventie* laet vinden, ghemerckt het d' *Inventie* altijd een **sonderlinghe aensienlickheyd** toebrenght, dat den Konstenaer bevonden wordt de waerheyd, d' occasie en de discretie omsichtiglick daer in waerghenomen te hebben. Want ghelijck de gantsche Schilder-Konst niet vele om 't lijf en heeft, 't en sy saecke datse met een **sonderlinghe stemmigheyd** vergeselschapt sijnde, d'aenschouwers door den aenghenaemen schijn van een **hoogwaerdighe bevalligheyd** beroere, soo maghse evenwel niet al te seer op d' opgheprónckte verlustinghe van een overarbeydsaeme nettigheyd steunen."[175]

When comparing the various terms that Junius uses in his three introductions of the topic of 'greatness' we can observe that *De Schilder-konst der Oude* employs

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not vulgar or common. […] Lastly, by Dionysius Longinus, a most critical rhetorician, who in the time of Caesar Aurelian wrote an excellent and truly golden booklet on this particular style, it is called 'sublimity'").

[173] See Nativel (1991a), on the role of rhetorical theory in the *De pictura veterum*.

[174] *TPA* (1638) 3.1.15, p. 245.

[175] *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 232.

slightly more elaborate terms. Particularly striking is the addition of the word *sonderlingh* ('special' 'singular', 'peculiar'), which in the Dutch version adds a mysterious air to the words *aensienlickheyd* ('authority') and *stemmigheyd* ('gravity', solemnity').

Junius' creativity in his Dutch version of the *De pictura veterum* can also be observed in his rendering of terminology from Longinus' treatise, as for instance in the following passage (*Peri hypsous* 7.3), here quoted in Junius' English translation, with the original Greek and Junius' Latin and Dutch renderings inserted into the text:

> It is worth our labour to observe out of Longinus an infallible marke of true magnificence [Gr. ἀληθὲς ὕψος; Lat. *genuinam magnificentia ac granditas*; Du. hooghstaetelicke grootse dinghen]. That is great indeed sayth he, which doth still returne into our thoughts, which we can hardly or rather not at all put out of our minde, but the memorie of it sticketh close in us and will not be rubbed out: esteeme that also to be a most excellent and true magnificence [Gr. καλὰ ὕψη καὶ ἀληθινὰ; Lat. *praeclarum granditatem et veram*; Du. treffelicke ende waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd], which is liked always and by all men: for when all such men as differ in their studies, course of life, purposes, and ages, doe all agree in their opinion about one and the same thing, the judgement and approbation of so many diversly minded folks, must needs gain a constant and certaine estimation of the thing so much admired.[176]

The Latin version translates Longinus' Greek term ὕψος with (*magnificentia ac*) *granditas*.[177] The English version uses the word *magnificence*, in keeping with the term that Junius used in the introduction of *DPV* 3.1.15 (as discussed above). The Dutch version however introduces the terms *hooghstaetelicke grootse dinghen* and *hoogh-staetelickheyd* to render the Greek word ὕψος.

The noun *hoogh-staetelickheyd* and the adjective *hooghstaetelick* are compounds of *hoogh* ('high') and *staetelick* ('stately') or *staetelickheyd* ('stateliness'). These two

[176] *TPA* (1638) 3.1.15, p. 246.

[177] This corresponds to De Petra's Latin translation of this passage: De Petra (1612), 50.

compounds are rarely found in Dutch literature. Given the fact that Junius is probably the first one in history who translated parts of Longinus' treatise into Dutch – and thus had to invent much of his terminology – the word *hooghstaetelick* appears to be a neologism that is designed to give an accurate rendering of especially the Longinian vocabulary.[178] The words *hoogh-staetelickheyd* or *hooghstaetelick* occur a total of thirteen times in the Dutch version of Junius' book.[179] In six instances these words are used to translate terms from Longinus' treatise. Three of these cases are translations of the Greek word ὕψος. Junius also uses *hoogh-staetelick*(*heyd*) to translate Longinus' terms τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ ('extraordinary things') and μεγαλοφυΐα ('greatness of nature'), and in a clarifying remark about one of Longinus' passages in 3.1.15 (*Peri hypsous* 13.2, 13.4).[180]

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[178] Weststeijn suggests that *hoogh-staetelickheyd* is a neologism, see T. Weststeijn, 'The Sublime and the "Beholder's Share": Junius, Rubens, Rembrandt,' *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 8:2 (2016), 21n.1. Indeed, the cognate words *hooghstaetelick* and *hoogh-staetelickheyd* do not seem to occur in any text prior to the publication of Junius' *Schilder-konst der Oude* in 1641. They do however occur in the work of Junius' nephew, Jan de Brune de Jonge (in his *Wetsteen der Vernuften*, 1644, and *Jok en Ernst*, 1644). De Brune was responsible for the publication of Junius' Dutch translation of the *De pictura veterum* in Middelburg, and also wrote the preface to this edition. De Brune had visited Junius in England in 1638 and it seems that De Brune's own work was influenced by Junius. See J.A. Worp, 'Jan de Brune de Jonge', *Oud Holland* 8 (1890), 81-103, and P. Koning (ed.), *Jan de Brune de Jonge, Wetsteen der vernuften* (Querido: Amsterdam, 1990), 102. The occurrence of the words *hooghstaetelick* and *hoogh-staetelickheyd* in a source that is so close to Junius' work could certainly be an indication that these words originated in Junius' and De Brune's milieu, and quite possibly that they were coined by Junius in his *De pictura veterum*.

[179] *SKDO* (1641) 1.3.7, p. 30: 'de hooghstaetelicke grootscheydt van Nicophanes'; *SKDO* (1641) 1.4.1, p. 39: 'hooghstaetelickheydt van Euphranor'; *SKDO* (1641) 2.8.5, p. 117: 'hoogh-staetelicke vercierselen der Kercken'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 233: 'het rechte merckteycken van hooghstaetelicke grootse dinghen'; 'gantsch treffelicke ende waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd'; 'groote hoogh-staetelicke ghedachten'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 234: 'allerley hooghstaetelicke en wonderbaerlicke bedenckinghen'; 'de hooghstaetelickheyt der Inventien'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 238: 'de hoogh-staetelickheyd der ouder schrijvers'; 'allerley hoogh-staetelicke ghedachten'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.16, p. 242: 'tot allerley hooghstaetelicke Inventien onbequaem'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.3.13, p. 276: 'de rechte hoogh-staetelickheyd'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.7.6, p. 336: 'hoogh-staetelickheyd'.

[180] *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 233: 'het rechte merckteycken van hooghstaetelicke grootse dinghen'; 'gantsch treffelicke ende waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd'; 'groote hoogh-staetelicke ghedachten'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 234: 'allerley hooghstaetelicke en wonderbaerlicke bedenckinghen'; 'de hooghstaetelickheyt der Inventien'; *SKDO* (1641) 3.1.15, p. 238: 'de hoogh-staetelickheyd der ouder schrijvers'; 'allerley hoogh-staetelicke ghedachten'.

In the introduction of the topic of 'magnificence' at the beginning of *DPV* 3.1.15, Junius used the words *magnificentie* (a loan word) and *staetelickheyd* as the Dutch equivalents for the terms σεμνότης, μεγαλοπρέπεια, *magnificentia* and *granditas* (found in the Latin version of the *De pictura veterum*) and *magnificence* (found in *The Painting of the Ancients*). When seeking a Dutch translation of Longinus' word ὕψος in the same section, why did Junius not use *magnificentie* or *staetelickheyd* again? Apparently these words did not provide a rendering of this term that was accurate enough for Junius. The 1599 etymological dictionary of Cornelis Kiel, which is the first in its kind and contains a wealth of knowledge about the Dutch language, renders *staetigh, staetelick* with the Latin words *grauis, severus, constans, auctoritate et reverentia valens, magnificus, elatus*, and the English word *stately*.[181] Likewise *staetigheyd* is rendered by Kiliaan as *grauitas, seueritas, constantia, decentia,* or *magnificentia*.[182] Junius' words *hoogh-staetelickheyd* and *hoogstaetelick* however explicity convey an additional aspect: the metaphor of 'height'. By combining 'greatness' and 'height' in one word, Junius has designed a term that does justice to Longinus' complex vocabulary of sublimity in *Peri hypsous*, which in itself includes a great variety of terms indicating 'greatness', 'grandeur', 'height', and 'elevation'.[183]

As I have noted above in section 4.2, the Latin version of Junius' work is the most extensive, but the Dutch version contains explanations and paraphrases that elaborate the ideas put forward in the earlier versions of his work. Junius' relative consistence in rendering Longinus' terminology with *hoogh-staetelick(heyd)* – the English and Latin version use a greater variety of terms – could therefore be a reflection of the maturity of his study when he completed his Dutch edition. Having examined his sources yet another time, and spurred on by the need to invent proper Dutch words for rendering Longinus' vocabulary of sublimity – as

[181] F. Claes (ed.), *Cornelis Kiel, Etymologicum teutonicae linguae* (Den Haag: Mouton, 1972), s.v. *staetigh, staetelick*.

[182] Claes (1972), s.v. *staetigheyd*.

[183] See Porter (2016), 180-183. That Longinus' term ὕψος was difficult to translate can for instance also be seen in the Latin title of the treatise in Francesco Robortello's *editio princeps*: *Dionysii Longini praestantissimi liber de grandi sive de sublimi orationis genere* (Basel, 1554).

well as aided by his creative abilities in his mother tongue – Junius further developed his translations of Longinus in the Dutch version of his work.[184]

In *DPV* 3.1.15 Junius presents his readers with a reconstruction of the ancients' views on 'magnificence', following his usual method of juxtaposing excerpts from a variety of sources. In the case of *Peri hypsous* however, Junius gives a rather comprehensive reading of some of the treatise's key themes in *DPV* 3.1.15, and in the Dutch version of his book the Longinian vocabulary of magnificence is translated several times with a specifically coined term (*hooghstaetelick*), indicating that for Junius *Peri hypsous* provided a particularly relevant contribution to his definition of magnificence in painting.

4.7 Grace and judgment (*DPV* 3.6 and 3.7)

After having described the basic principles of art (*DPV* 3.1-5), Junius discusses 'grace' (*gratia*), the overarching quality of art that ultimately makes an artwork successful (*DPV* 3.6). In the subsequent section Junius explains the proper way to judge artworks (*DPV* 3.7).[185] It has been argued that Junius' discussion of grace is greatly informed by Longinus' ideas about the creative genius, inspiration, and artistic licence.[186] In Junius' discussion of grace *Peri hypsous* is indeed adduced explicitly several times, and some of Junius' arguments seem to align with parts from *Peri hypsous*, especially Longinus' defence of the flawed genius and rejection of flawless mediocrity (*Peri hypsous* 33-36). In *DPV* 2.11.7, in which Junius briefly comments on grace as well, *Peri hypsous* 33 also plays an important role.[187] In his

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[184] Junius moreover dedicated much of his life to the study of the Germanic languages, and described his Dutch translation of the *De pictura veterum* as an embellishment to his mother tongue. See Weststeijn (2015), 124 and 124-143.

[185] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.1, p. 197. *Quinque capita haec, quae recensuimus, ita sunt inter se connexa et indiscreta, ut, si quid ex his defuerit, frustra in caeteris laboretur. Nec possumus quolibet uno eorum esse contenti ad consummationem picturae, nisi porro ex omnibus his rite observatis eluceat certa quaedam Venustas ac Gratia, qua non singula haec, sed, ut semel dicam, pariter omnia decent* ("These five princples, which we have discussed, are mutually connected and inseparable, in such a way that, if one of these is absent, all work on the others will be in vain. Nor can we be content with just one of them for the consummation of a picture, if not, in turn, from the due observation of all these, shines a certain charm or grace, of which not only one, but all principles are equally fitting").

[186] Ellenius (1960), 85-86; Weststeijn (2008), 155; Sheers Seidenstein (2016), 4-5.

[187] See section 4.4.2.

discussion of grace (both in *DPV* 2.11.7 and 3.1.6-7) Junius however draws on material from numerous other sources, and some of his ideas do not correspond to Longinus' arguments, and rather seem to be derived from a broader ancient and early modern discussion of grace.

In chapter 3.6 Junius discusses the nature and attainment of grace, while chapter 3.7 is concerned with the proper way of judging an artwork, and recognising grace.[188] According to Junius, grace emanates from the proper design of the five primary aspects of art (*DPV* 3.6.1). Although it cannot be taught by rules, and is spoiled by excessive care, it nonetheless requires the cooperation of art and nature (*DPV* 3.6.2.). Grace springs from ease (*facilitas*; 3.6.3) and should above all be natural and simple, while avoiding careful diligence and affectation (*DPV* 3.6.4). A graceful artwork moreover stirs the minds of spectators, and invokes astonishment (*stupor*) and admiration (*admiratio*) (*DPV* 3.6.5). Grace moreover transcends the subtleties of artistic precepts; its effects are ruined by too much care (3.6.6). The only way of attaining grace, is to combine art with nature, and to adjust one's skill to one's natural disposition (3.6.7). Junius continues in chapter 3.7 with a discussion of judgment, which entails a comprehensive study of the artwork in its entirety, and not just its individual elements (3.7.1-2). Small mistakes should sometimes be forgiven, and criticism should not be a limiting factor for the artist (3.7.3). It is moreover important to observe an artwork under the right conditions, with the proper lighting and distance (3.7.4), and through the informed observation of the events and figures depicted (3.7.5). One should moreover not be lost in the study of every little detail, but observe the greatness and magnitude of the whole artwork (3.7.6). Observing an artwork conjures up images and memories in the minds of spectators (3.7.7), and, like the artists themselves, the spectators should have a storehouse of images in their mind (*DPV* 3.7.8), which they acquire through repeated observation of images, and which enables them to recognise grace (*DPV* 3.7.9). The facility of judging (*consuetudo oculorum*) moreover enables spectators to distinguish originals from copies, and older from newer works (DPV 3.7.10-11). Lastly, Junius remarks that *parerga* ('by-works'), which are often made with less accuracy than the principal work, are worth studying as well (*DPV* 3.7.12), and stresses that it is important to always

[188] See also Nativel (1983), 28-30 for a discussion of the contents of *DPV* 3.6 and 3.7.

study the ancients, and renew their knowledge and artworks (*DPV* 3.7.13). Throughout Junius' discussion of (the critical assessment) of 'grace' in *DPV* 3.6 and 3.7, *Peri hypsous* serves to illustrate the balance between nature and art (*DPV* 3.6.2) and the process of critical judgment (*DPV* 3.7.1 and 3.7.9).

4.7.1 Art, nature, and observation

In chapters 3.6 and 3.7 Junius adduces four different passages from *Peri hypsous*. The first appears in *DPV* 3.6.2, where Junius defines grace as a quality that cannot be described by rules:

> "Atque haec est proculdubio Venus illa quam, ex ingenio artificis sponte sua nascentem, nullae regulae artis tradunt, quamque nulla vel morosissima praeceptorum sedulitate artifices assequi valeant."[189]

> "This is questionlesse that grace, which readily and freely proceeding out of the Artificers spirit, cannot be taught by any rules of art: no more can assiduity of importunate studies helpe us to it."[190]

With a series of quotations from Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae* and Cicero's *De Oratore*, Junius bolsters his argument that grace cannot be taught by rules, and points out that extreme carefulness leads to 'false affectation' (κακοζηλία).[191] Junius moreover argues that grace can only arise from concealed art, but also stresses that both art and nature contribute to the attainment of grace. In this context Junius adduces Longinus' take on the cooperation of nature and art:

> Etenim haec duo natura arcte adeo sunt inter se copulata ac devincta, ut separari atque intervelli salvo lepore operum non possint.[192] (…) καὶ ἡ

[189] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.2, p. 199.

[190] *TPA* (1638) 3.6.2, p. 323.

[191] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.2, p. 199.

[192] Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or*. 10.7.5: *Nota sit primum dicendi via: neque enim prius contingere cursus potest quam scierimus quo sit et qua perveniendum. Nec satis est non ignorare quae sint causarum iudicialium partes, aut quaestionum ordinem recte disponere, quamquam ista sunt praecipua, sed quid quoque loco primum sit ac secundum et deinceps: quae ita sunt natura copulata ut mutari aut intervelli sine confusione non possint* ("First,

> ἀλληλουχία τούτων ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ τέλειον. *Ipsorum sane cohaerentia est ipsa pulchritudo*.[193] Dionys. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, §32 [36.4].[194]
>
> For these things are inherently so closely coupled and connected, that they cannot be separated or taken apart, if the attractiveness of the work is to be preserved. (…) Their coherence may well result in their very beauty.

Both Junius and Longinus develop the argument that extreme carefulness spoils an artwork and that grace or sublimity benefits from a certain freedom. In *Peri hypsous* this point is made in an extensive digression in the chapters 33-36, which defends the erratic outbursts of genius and rejects flawless mediocrity, thus suggesting that natural talent should not be confined by care or judged according to artistic precepts.[195] At the end of this digression, Longinus however balances this point by insisting on the cooperation of art and nature in *Peri hypsous* 36.3. Similarly Junius, by adducing this passage, argues that both art and nature contribute to grace, and this balances his earlier statements that grace cannot be taught by rules and arises from genius only.

In chapter 3.7 Junius explains that it can be very difficult to judge an artwork properly:

> ἀμίμητον τὸ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπαφρόδιτον[196], inimitabilis illa Venustas per totum opus aequabiliter interspersa atque diffusa, non nisi arguta quadam

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the line to be taken must be understood. We cannot have a successful run until we know where we have to go and by what route. It is not enough to know the parts of judicial Causes, or to put the Questions in the right order, important as these things are; what we have to know is what comes first, what second, and so on, under each head, for all these points are so closely linked by nature that they cannot be changed round or separated without causing confusion.").

[193] The 1694 translation is phrased somewhat differently: *Mutua tamen horum cohaerentia futura forte est perfectio operum* (*DPV* 1694, 3.6.2, p. 199).

[194] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.2, p. 200. Cf. *Peri hypsous* 36.4: ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τέχνης ἐστὶ κατόρθωμα, τὸ δ' ἐν ὑπεροχῇ, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμότονον, μεγαλοφυΐας, βοήθημα τῇ φύσει πάντη ποριζεσθαι τὴν τέχνην· ἡ γὰρ ἀλληλουχία τούτων ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ τέλειον. ("Since impeccable correctness is, generally speaking, due to art, and the height of excellence, even if erratic, to genius, it is proper that art should always assist Nature. Their cooperation may well result in perfection").

[195] See also my discussion of this theme in *Peri hypsous* in Chapter Two.

[196] *Peri hypsous* 34.2.

perspicacia deprehenditur. Nam ut gravis, ut suavis, ut erudita, ut admirabilis, ut polita, ut copiosa sit Pictura, ut affectus habeat, quantum opus sit: non est singulorum articulorum; in toto spectantur haec corpore. Recte itaque Dionysius Longinus Περὶ ὕψους §1 [1.4], τὴν μὲν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς εὑρέσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς οὐδ' ἐκ δυεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου ὕφους μόλις ἐκφαινομένην ὁρῶμεν.[197] *Cognitionem interventionis, rerumque ordinem & oeconomiam, non ex uno neque ex duobus solum, sed ex toto contextu effulgere videmus.*[198]

This inimitable grace, equally diffused and dispersed through the whole worke, as it is not had so easily, cannot be discerned so easily. Whether a picture be copious, learned magnificent, admirable, sufficiently polished, sweet, whether the affections and passions are therin seasonably represented, cannot bee perceived in any one part; the whole worke must shew it. Dionys. Longinus speaketh well to the purpose when he sayth: We see the skil of invention, the order and disposition of things, as it sheweth itself, not in one or two parts only, but in the whole composition of the worke, and that hardly too.[199]

Junius here combines two passages from *Peri hypsous*: Longinus' description of the charm in the works of Hyperides (*Peri hypsous* 34.2), and his argument that the basic principles of the art of speaking are visible in all elements of a textual composition (*Peri hypsous* 1.4). In illustrating his argument on exercising proper judgment, Junius has aptly chosen two passages from Longinus' treatise that pertain to judgment as well, while however using them in a way that is slightly different from their original context. In *Peri hypsous* 1.4, Longinus sketches a contrast between the basic principles of invention (εὕρησις) and disposition (τάξις), which appear in the work as a whole and not just in one or two places, and well-timed sublimity (ὕψος καιρίως ἐξενεχθέν), which manifests itself in one

[197] *Peri hypsous* 1.4.

[198] *DPV* (1637) 3.7.1, p. 207. The 1694 translation is phrased somewhat differently: *Peritiam inventionis, rerumque ordinem & oeconomiam, non ex uno neque ex duobus, sed ex toto contextu vix elucentem cernimus* (*DPV* 1694, 3.7.1, p. 204). The word *interventionis* is corrected into *inventionis*.

[199] *TPA* (1638) 3.7.1, p. 335.

single moment.[200] Junius chooses the first half of Longinus' remark, as it fits his earlier argument that grace may arise from the proper execution of the five principles of art (invention, proportion, colour, motion, disposition), while the part on sublimity is left out. Similarly, Junius' quotation of *Peri hypsous* 34.2 focuses on the element of charm (τὸ ἐπαφρόδιτον), which in Longinus' argument is compared unfavourably to the sublimity of Demosthenes.[201]

Junius again adduces Longinus treatise in *DPV* 3.7.9, when he describes the process of sharpening one's critical judgment:

> Ex hac frequentiore atque intentiore Picturarum inspectione provenit minime fallax judicandi facilitas: κρίσις illa, quae Dionysio Longino Περὶ ὕψους, §4 (6), dicitur πολλῆς πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα, *quam per multam experientiam consequimur*.[202]

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[200] *Peri hypsous* 1.4: καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς εὑρέσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς οὐδ' ἐκ δυεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου τῶν λόγων ὕφους μόλις ἐκφαινομένην ὁρῶμεν, ὕψος δέ που καιρίως ἐξενεχθὲν τά τε πράγματα δίκην σκηπτοῦ πάντα διεφόρησε καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος εὐθὺς ἀθρόαν ἐνεδείξατο δύναμιν ("Again, experience in invention and the due disposal and marshalling of facts do not show themselves in one or two touches but emerge gradually from the whole tissue of the composition, while, on the other hand, a well-timed flash of sublimity shatters everything like a bolt of lightning and reveals the full power of the speaker at a single stroke").

[201] *Peri hypsous* 34.2: ὁ μέν γε Ὑπερείδης πρὸς τῷ πάντα, ἔξω γε τῆς συνθέσεως, μιμεῖσθαι τὰ Δημοσθένεια κατορθώματα καὶ τὰς Λυσιακὰς ἐκ περιττοῦ περιείληφεν ἀρετάς τε καὶ χάριτας. καὶ γὰρ λαλεῖ μετὰ ἀφελείας ἔνθα χρή, καὶ οὐ πάντα ἑξῆς [καὶ] μονοτόνως ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει· τό τε ἠθικὸν ἔχει μετὰ γλυκύτητος [ἡδύ,] λιτῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον· ἄφατοί τε περὶ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἀστεϊσμοί, μυκτὴρ πολιτικώτατος, εὐγένεια, τὸ κατὰ τὰς εἰρωνείας εὐπάλαιστρον, σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἅλας ἐπικείμενα, διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πολὺ τὸ κωμικὸν <ἔχων> καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εὐστόχου κέντρον, ἀμίμητον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπαφρόδιτον· ("Besides reproducing all the virtues of Demosthenes, except his skill in word arrangement, Hyperides has embraced all the excellences and graces of Lysias. He talks plainly, where necessary, does not speak always in the same tone, as Demosthenes is said to do, and has the power of characterization, seasoned moreover by simplicity and charm. Then he has an untold store of polished wit, urbane sarcasm, well-bred elegance, supple turns of irony, jests neither tasteless nor ill-bred, well-dressed with wit like the Attic masters, clever satire, plenty of pointed ridicule and well-directed fun, and in all this a quite indescribable charm").

[202] *DPV* (1637) 3.7.9, p. 216. The 1694 translation is phrased somewhat differently: *Postrema jugis experientiae superfoetatio* (*DPV* 1694, 3.7.9, p. 210).

> This frequent and attentive viewing of pictures engendreth in our minde an undeceivable Facilitie of Judging, the last brood of great experience, as Dionys. Longinus calleth it.

Junius argues that one should build experience in observing artworks in order to develop the ability to judge them, just like Longinus emphasises that experience is necessary for recognising true sublimity.[203]

4.7.2 Mistakes and admiration

Besides these explicit references to *Peri hypsous*, some parts of Junius' discussion of grace and judgment appear to align implicitly with elements from Longinus' treatise. In *DPV* 3.6.4 Junius argues that the grace of an artwork is spoiled by too much diligence, while it is enhanced by 'ease' (*facilitas*) and 'negligence' (*neglegentia*).[204] The argument in *DPV* 3.6.4 echoes *DPV* 2.11.7, in which Junius likewise warned against excessive carefulness and stated that negligence or small mistakes may confer grace on an artwork.[205] Both *DPV* 3.6.4 and 2.11.7 refer to Cicero's remarks on 'negligence' in the *Orator*.[206] The connection between these two passages is made explicit by Junius in the English and Dutch versions of his book, in which section 3.6.4 contains an explicit reference to *DPV* 2.11.7.[207] Both *DPV* 3.6.4

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[203] *Peri hypsous* 6: ἔστι δέ, ὦ φίλος, εἴ τινα περιποιησαίμεθ' ἐν πρώτοις καθαρὰν τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὕψους ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἐπίκρισιν. καίτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα δύσληπτον· ἡ γὰρ τῶν λόγων κρίσις πολλῆς ἐστι πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα ("And this, my friend, is the way: first of all to obtain a clear knowledge and appreciation of what is really sublime. But this is not an easy thing to grasp: judgement in literature is the ultimate fruit of ripe experience").

[204] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.4, p. 201: Deturpat ergo nimia cura totam emendatissimarum quoque picturarum Gratiam, quemadmodum facilitas eam auget. *DPV* (1637) 3.6.4, p. 202: Tullius quoque in Oratore, *quaedam etiam negligentia est diligens*, inquit (…).

[205] See section 4.4.2.

[206] Cicero, *Orator* 78: "[…] *quaedam etiam neglegentia est diligens*" ("[…] There is such a thing even as a careful negligence").

[207] The fact that this reference is absent from the first (Latin) edition, suggests that Junius, in reworking his material for the English and Dutch versions, recognised the connection and similarities between these two parts of his book and added an explanatory reference. *TPA* (1638) 3.6.4, p. 327: "A heavie and difficult diligence doth then marre and quite kill the grace of the worke; whereas a light an nimble Facilitie of working addeth life to the worke: and it concerneth an Artificer very much that he should resolve to do with ease whatsoever he doth: see our second book, cap. XI, §7, where we touch this point

and 2.11.7 might be interpreted as a rejection of stylistic overelaboration and excessive carefulness and hence resonate with Longinus' defence of the flawed genius (*Peri hypsous* 33.2). In *DPV* 2.11.7 Junius explicitly referred to this part of Longinus' treatise, which makes this particular passage a subtext of *DPV* 3.6.4 as well, even if it is not cited explicitly.[208]

Junius' argument that grace produces astonishment (*stupor*) and admiration (*admiratio*) in spectators (*DPV* 3.6.5), moreover reminds of Longinus' remark in *Peri hypsous* 15.2 that the aim of poetry is ἔκπληξις, which Junius translates as *admiratio* in *DPV* 1.4.6, and explains with an additional note as *admiratio, vel consternatus attonitae admirationis stupor* ('admiration, or the perplexed astonishment of a thunderstruck admiration') in his edition of 1694.[209] Junius' discussion of *stupor* as part of grace (*DPV* 3.6.5), which employs the same vocabulary and treats a similar topic as in *DPV* 1.4.6 (ἔκπληξις, *stupor*, *attonitus*, *admiratio*) however does not mention *Peri hypsous*, but is based on citations from other authors, such as Philostratus and Callistratus.

In his discussion of 'judgment' (*DPV* 3.7), Junius moreover insists that small mistakes should be forgiven (*DPV* 3.7.3):

> Non sum ex judicibus severissimis, qui omnia ad exactam redigam regulam: multa donanda ingeniis puto: sed donanda vitia, non portenta sunt.[210]

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a little." *SKDO* (1641) 3.6.4, p. 321: "Gelijck het dan blijckelick is, dat een verdrietighlick swaermoedighe maniere van wercken d' aenghenaeme *Gratie* des wercks door een onlieffelicke hardigheyd gantsch en gaer verdooft; dat oock de wackere lichsinnigheyd der gener die haere wercken met een meesterlicke en gantsch mannelicke kloeckheyd aentasten, ghemeynlick met een vaerdighe vloeyenheyd vergheselschapt is, die 't gheheele werck met een levendighe kracht der bevalligheyd plaght te vervullen en d' aenschouwers door een soete aenlockelickheyd sonderbaerlick te bekoren; soo is het daer uyt lichtelick af te nemen dat sich den Konstenaer al met den eersten daer toe ghewennen moet, dat hy de bysondere ghedeelten sijnes wercks met sulcke stoute penceel-streken soo kluchtigh henen swiere, datmen daer in d' ervaerenheyd van een vaste en vaerdighe handelinghe verneme. Siet ons tweede Boeck, Cap. XI.7."

[208] In 4.7.3 I will however show that there are also some significant differences between Junius' and Longinus' arguments.

[209] *DPV* (1694), 1.4.6, p. 33.

[210] Seneca Maior, *Controversiae* 10, preface 10.

> Quibusvis certe erroribus veniam denegare, humanitatem est exuere. Horat. in Arte, *quandoque dormitat bonus Homerus*.[211]
>
> I'm not one of those very rigid judges, determined to direct everything by a precise rule. I think that many concessions must be made to genius – but it is faults, not monstrosities that we must concede. Surely, to deny pardon for any kind of fault, is to lay aside one's humanity.[212] Horace, *Ars Poetica*: "whenever good Homer nods."[213]

By citing Seneca Maior and Horace, Junius constructs a plea for forgiving small mistakes that corresponds to Longinus' defence of the faulty genius (*Peri hypsous* 33-36).[214] In the case of the *Ars poetica*, the reference to 'Homer nods' (*dormitat Homerus*; referring to occasional mistakes in Homer's works) suffices to adduce Horace's discussion of which faults should or should not be forgiven.[215] Horace's argument shares similarities with Longinus' defence of the faulty genius in *Peri hypsous* 33 as well as Longinus' critical attitude towards Homer's *Odyssey* in *Peri hypsous* 9.11-15.[216] Junius' remarks in *DPV* 3.7.3 are moreover closely associated

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[211] *DPV* (1637) 3.7.3, p. 207-208.

[212] Translation: Winterbottom (1974).

[213] Horace, *Ars Poetica* 347-359.

[214] *Peri hypsous* 33.2: see above note 61.

[215] Horace, *Ars Poetica* 347-359: *Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus: nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem volt manus et mens, poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum; nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus. Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fuditaut humana parum cavit natura. quid ergo est? Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque, quamvis est monitus, venia caret, et citharoedus ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem: sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille, quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus, verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum* ("Yet faults there are which we can gladly pardon; for the string does not always yield the sound which hand and heart intend, but when you call for a flat often returns you a sharp; nor will the bow always hit whatever mark it threatens, but when the beauties in a poem are more in number, I shall not take offence at a few blots which a careless hand has let drop, or human frailty has failed to avert. What, then, is the truth? As a copying clerk is without excuse if, however much warned, he always makes the same mistake, and a harper is laughed at who always blunders on the same string: so the poet who often defaults, becomes, methinks, another Choerilus, whose one or two good lines cause laughter and surprise; and yet I also feel aggrieved, whenever good Homer "nods," but when a work is long, a drowsy mood may well creep over it") (Translation: Rushton Fairclough, 1926).

[216] See for instance Russell (1964), 99 on the parallellism in Horace's and Longinus' arguments.

with his warning against excessive self-criticism (*DPV* 2.11.7), in which he adduced *Peri hypsous* 33 and argued that small mistakes, or negligence, may eventually produce grace.[217] Longinus' treatise is however not adduced in this particular section (*DPV* 3.7.3). Instead, Junius refers to the far more famous passage of Horace on Homer's mistakes.[218]

In the same paragraph (*DPV* 3.7.3), Junius paraphrases and cites Pliny the Younger on the difficulty of distinguishing excellence from excess, or greatness from bombast:

> Frequenter enim inconsulte judicantes in exquisitissimis summorum artificum operibus carpunt quaedam ut tumida, quae prudentioribus sublimia videntur; ut improba, quae sobrie judicantibus audentia sunt; ut nimia, quae rectis judiciis plena putantur. *Plurimum autem refert, reprehendenda annotes an insignia. Omnis enim advertit, quod eminet et exstat; sed acri intentione dijudicandum est, immodicum sit an grande, altum an enorme*. Plin. junior, IX, 6.
>
> For often those who judge inconsiderately define in the most exquisite works of the greatest artists as pompous those things, which would seem sublime to more prudent people; they call shameless, what to reasonable judges appears daring; they consider excessive, what by the right judgments is deemed copious. "But it is important to determine whether you are attacking genuine faults or only striking phrases; for, though anyone can see what stands out above the average, it needs a keen judgement to decide whether this is extravagant and disproportionate or lofty and sublime." Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 9.26.6.[219]

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[217] See section 4.4.2.

[218] Karel van Mander (one of Junius' predecessors), who was far less versed in ancient literature than Junius, for instance refers to Horace's 'nodding Homer' in *Het Schilder-Boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe jueght den grondt der edel vry schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen* (Haarlem: P. van Wesbusch), fol. 148r: "En te segghen, dat onse Constenaers (hoe sy hun bevlijten, en arbeydt doen) zijn onderworpen ghebreken en dwalingen, also wel als ander in ander wetenschappen doen, gelijck men seght, dat den goeden *Homerus* self somtijden slaperigh wort, oft in slaep valt."

[219] Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 9.26.6: *Cur haec? Quia visus es mihi in scriptis meis adnotasse quaedam ut tumida quae ego sublimia, ut improba quae ego audentia, ut nimia quae ego plena arbitrabar. Plurimum autem*

This citation from Pliny not only resembles Longinus' defence of the faulty genius (*Peri hypsous* 33-36), but also ties in with Longinus' discussion of the vices that lie close to sublimity (*Peri hypsous* 3-5).[220] Both passages play an important role elsewhere in the *De pictura veterum*, such as *DPV* 1.3.11, 1.4.6 and 2.11.7.[221]

4.7.3 Simplicity and the ineffable

Junius' discussion of grace and judgment in *DPV* 3.6 and 3.7 contains several arguments that are very similar to certain key themes in Longinus' treatise, such as the defence of the flawed genius (*Peri hypsous* 33-36), as well as Longinus' discussion of ἔκπληξις (*Peri hypsous* 15.2), and his rejection of stylistic vices (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), topics that recur throughout the *De pictura veterum*. It is tempting to consider *Peri hypsous* as the basis for these elements in Junius' discussion of grace and judgment in *DPV* 3.6 and 3.7. Junius however tells his story using a variety of other sources, which contain very similar arguments. The passages in which Longinus is quoted directly in turn insist on the balance between art and nature (*Peri hypsous* 36.3; *DPV* 3.6.2), the importance of judging an artwork comprehensively (*Peri hypsous* 1.4 and 34.5; *DPV* 3.7.1), and the development of judgment through experience (*Peri hypsous* 6; *DPV* 3.7.9). All of these passages hardly function as the source for Junius' discussion of genius, admiration, and artistic licence in *DPV* 3.6 and 3.7, which Junius instead bases on excerpts from Cicero, Seneca the Elder, Horace, and Pliny the Younger.

While Longinus' treatise indeed comments on inspiration, greatness and artistic licence, Junius' discussion of grace and artistic judgment is not necessarily or

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refert, reprehendenda adnotes an insignia. Omnis enim advertit, quod eminet et exstat; sed acri intentione diiudicandum est, immodicum sit an grande, altum an enorme. ("I write as I do because I had an idea that you had criticized some passages in my writings for being pompous, though I thought them splendid, and what I imagined to be a full treatment of a bold enterprise you dismissed as redundant and exaggerated. But it is important to determine whether you are attacking genuine faults or only striking phrases; for, though anyone can see what stands out above the average, it needs a keen judgement to decide whether this is extravagant and disproportionate or lofty and sublime") (Translation: Radice 1969).

[220] See F. Quadlbauer, 'Die genera dicendi bis Plinius d. J.', *Wiener Studien* 71 (1958), 55-111: 108-109 for a discussion of some of the similarities between *Peri hypsous* 33-36 and Pliny's *Epistula* 9.26.

[221] See also sections 4.3.3 and 4.4.2.

primarily derived from *Peri hypsous*, and rather reflects contemporary debates on grace, and the nature, history and effect of the (visual) arts. Examples of this are Junius' insistence that grace shines through naturalness and simplicity, or the absence of artistic elaboration (*DPV* 3.6.4) and the characterisation of grace as something 'ineffable' (*DPV* 3.6.5-6). In *DPV* 3.6.4 Junius states that an artwork should not be 'impure' (*maculosus*) or 'swollen' (*turgidus*), but possess natural beauty (*naturalis pulchritudo*), as well as 'artless and unaffected simplicity' (*ἀφέλεια simplex et inaffectata*).[222] From rejecting carefulness and its neighbouring vices, Junius here moves on towards identifiying 'grace' as the very absence of stylistic contrivances, which is 'simplicity' or 'naturalness'. In *DPV* 3.6.5 Junius discusses the astonishment caused by grace and describes how the spectator is rendered *attonitus* and *stupefactus* ('dumbfounded', 'stunned') and captured by *ἀφασία* ('speechlessness'). Several citations from Callistratus' *Descriptions*, describe ancient artworks as 'ineffable'.[223] In his introduction of the topic of 'grace' in *DPV* 3.6.1 Junius moreover includes the following quote from the poet Martial: "There is something more (*nescioquid plus est*) that gives lasting fame to a book", suggesting that grace is to be regarded as a certain 'I don't know what'.[224]

Although Longinus rejects overelaboration and stresses the importance of 'greatness of thoughts' over stylistic elements, *Peri hypsous* does not embrace

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[222] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.4, p. 201: Grande, et, ut ita dicam, pudicum exactae consummataeque artis specimen, non est macolusum, nec turgidum, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit, calamistrorum fucique impatiens. […] ἀφέλεια *simplex et inaffectata*, inquit idem ille Quintil. Viii,3, *habet quendam purum, qualis etiam in foeminis amatur, ornatum; et quasdam velut e tenui diligentia munditias*. Cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 8.3.87.

[223] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.5, p. 205: Callistratus, *Descriptions 2, On the Statue of A Bacchante*: Πρόσωπόν γε μὴν ἰδόντες ὑπὸ ἀφασίας ἔστημεν· […] καὶ ὅσα φέρει μανίας οἰστρῶσα ψυχὴ τοσαῦτα πάθους διέλαμπε τεκμήρια ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἀρρήτῳ λόγῳ κραθέντα ("When we saw the face we stood speechless; […] and so strikingly there shone from it, fashioned by art in a manner not to be described, all the signs of passion which a soul goaded by madness displays"). Callistratus, *Descriptions 5, On the Statue of Narcissus*: Τὸ δὲ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ῥητὸν λίθος εἰς ὑγρότητα κεχαλασμένος καὶ ἐναντίον σῶμα τῇ οὐσίᾳ παρεχόμενος ("Indeed, words cannot describe how the marble softened into suppleness and provided a body at variance with its own essence") (Translation: Fairbanks 1931).

[224] Martial, *Epigrams* 6.61.9-10: *nescioquid plus est, quod donat saecula chartis / victurus genium debet habere liber* ("There is something more (*nescioquid plus est*) that gives lasting fame to paper. A book that is to live must have a Genius") (Translation based on Shackleton Bailey, 1993). The same passage was later adduced by Bouhours in his explanation of the *je ne sais quoi*. See Litman (1971), 17-28 on Bouhours and the *je ne sais quoi*.

simplicity, ineffability or charm as essential features of the sublime.[225] If anything, Longinus rather seems to exclude them from his theory as he portrays Hyperides (the counterpart of sublime Demosthenes) as the master of 'charm' (χάρις), 'simplicity' (ἀφέλεια), 'sweetness' (γλυκύτης) and 'grace' (τὸ ἐπαφρόδιτον).[226] Junius' association of grace with 'ease', 'negligence', 'simplicity' and the 'ineffable' rather corresponds to broader ideas about 'grace' in Antiquity as well as the Renaissance. Samuel Monk has argued that Junius' dicussion of grace belongs to a wider seventeenth-century discourse about 'grace', *sprezzatura* and the *je ne sais quoi*, discussions of which are which are found, for instance, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528), as well as in the works of several of Junius' predecessors, such as Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo.[227] Instead of an authority on 'grace' Longinus rather serves as the source for Junius' ideas on the balance between boldness and care, on 'how to judge art'. In Junius' chapters on (the critical assessment of) grace (*DPV* 3.6-7) *Peri hypsous* likewise underpins Junius' emphasis on balance in the process of *creating* as well as *judging* an artwork.[228] But instead of *founding* his definition of grace on arguments from *Peri hypsous*, Junius rather *connects* some of Longinus' ideas on critical

[225] See also my Introduction and Chapters Two and Three. Porter (2016), 302n.56 observes that "ineffability is not a common attribute of sublime criticism". See also Porter (2016), 7n.11 on Boileau's introduction of Bouhours' *je ne sais quoi* into the interpretation of *Peri hypsous*.

[226] *Peri hypsous* 34.2, cited in note 201.

[227] S.H. Monk, 'A Grace Beyond the Reach of Art', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5.2 (1944), 131-150: 133-136. Henry Peacham, author of *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), a book inspired on Castiglione's *Il cortegiano,* was a member of Arundel's household. See Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), xxxvi. The phrase *non so che* (Italian for 'I don't know what') is used by Junius' predecessors Karel van Mander, and Giorgio Vasari. See Weststeijn (2008), 395n.198 and H. Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander, Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const, Uitgegeven en van Vertaling en Commentaar Voorzien door H. Miedema. 2 Vols.* (Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), 440. See L. Viidebaum, 'Dionysius and Lysias' Charm', in: R. Hunter and C.C. de Jonge (eds.), *Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Augustan Rome: Rhetoric, Criticism, and Historiography* (Cambridge, 2018, forthcoming) χάρις ('grace') as a certain inexplicable quality in ancient literary criticism, and particularly in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' work *On Lysias.* Junius quotes from Dionysius' *On Lysias* in *De pictura veterum* 3.6 (*DPV*, 1637, 3.6.2, p. 200).

[228] *DPV* (1637) 3.6.2, 3.7.1, 3.7.9.

judgment to an existing debate about grace, studied negligence, *sprezzatura* or the *je ne sais quoi*.[229]

The relation between Junius' discussion of grace (*DPV* 3.6) and Longinus' treatise is complex. Although several aspects of Junius' concept of grace resonate well with parts of *Peri hypsous* (such as the rejection of rules, a distaste for certain stylistic vices, the emphasis on astonishment), Junius builds his argument on a multitude of other sources in which these ideas are conveyed as well. Junius' emphasis on simplicity, ineffability and ease rather points towards another, well established, aesthetic tradition: that of grace, *sprezzatura*, and the *je ne sais quoi*. Instead of identifying *Peri hypsous* as the source of Junius' idea of grace, we may regard the *De pictura veterum* as an example of the association of Longinus' treatise with concepts such as grace and the *je ne sais quoi*, and its dissociation from artistic refinement and stylistic contrivances.

The *De pictura veterum* is often seen as an important mediator in the diffusion of the Longinian sublime in the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding the successful reception of the *De pictura veterum* in England, the Netherlands as well as France, its role in propagating Longinus' ideas must not be overstated. Art theoreticians that extensively drew on Junius' work, such as Roger de Piles and Samuel van Hoogstraten refer to *Peri hypsous* considerably less than the *De pictura veterum*. Moreover, although Junius' discussion of grace did play a role in seventeenth-century debates on taste and aesthetics, the kernel of Junius' ideas on grace is not formed by *Peri hypsous*. As the case of Junius' *De pictura veterum* shows, *Peri hypsous* was certainly not the primary catalyst of the seventeenth-century debates on grace and the *je ne sais quoi*, but instead was associated with and appropriated by them.

4.8 Conclusion

Junius' *De pictura veterum* presents us with a unique and multifaceted interpretation of Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous*. It draws on a great range of citations and uses them in a variety of contexts. I have discerned three different

[229] See Monk (1944), 143-144, Ellenius (1960), 84-87 and Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl (1991), lv-lvi on Junius and seventeenth-century discussions of grace. See also Weststeijn (2008), 154-160 on Van Hoogstraten's *ik en weet niet wat* and seventeenth-century discussions of 'grace' and the *je ne sais quoi*.

functions of *Peri hypsous* in the *De pictura veterum*. The first and most prominent is Longinus' contribution to Junius' discussion of the imaginative or creative aspects of painting: *phantasia*, and magnificence (a part of *inventio*). Both in *DPV* 1.4.6 and *DPV* 3.1.15 Junius employs multiple citations from *Peri hypsous* to illustrate the painter's mental capacity to respectively form a vivid image of the events described, and to achieve greatness in choosing the right subject matter. The centrality of *Peri hypsous* in Junius' discussion of magnificence (3.1.15), is moreover underpinned by Junius' use of the new or very rare word *hoogh-staetelick* or *hoogh-staetelickheyd* (in the *Schilder-konst der Oude*), which is used predominantly in this section and especially as a translation of Longinus' terminology of sublimity. In Junius' discussion of *phantasia* and magnificence a prominent place is thus given to Longinus' ideas about greatness of thought, inspiration, in short, the psychological aspects of artistic production.[230]

A very different function of *Peri hypsous* is found in Junius' discussion of the technical aspects of painting (proportion, colour, motion, and collocation, *DPV* 3.2-5). Having to cope with the relative scarcity of ancient treatises on the visual arts, Junius fills the void by focusing on visual metaphors in ancient treatises on rhetoric and literary criticism. The underlying assumption of this method is the idea that visual metaphors can reveal something about ancient aesthetics. By using (among others) Longinus' comments on the proportions of the human body, architecture and painting, thus effectively reversing the *Ut pictura poesis*-theme, Junius is able to provide a reconstruction of the ancient views on artistic techniques.

The third function of *Peri hypsous* in the *De pictura veterum*, which ties in with one of the central themes of Longinus' treatise itself, is judgment (κρίσις). As we have seen, *Peri hypsous* is adduced throughout the *De pictura veterum* to illustrate the balance between boldness and care, nature and art, freedom and restraint, grace and κακοζηλία, as for instance in Junius' discussion of *phantasia* (*DPV* 1.3.11 and 1.4.6), the historical development of the visual arts (*DPV* 2.11.7), magnificence (*DPV* 3.1.15), and grace (*DPV* 3.6-7). By oscillating between these poles Junius eventually aims to demonstrate the fine line between failure and success, and to

[230] See also Nativel (2016), 165 on the psychological aspects of Junius' discussion of *phantasia* and magnificence in the first and third book of the *De pictura veterum*.

sharpen the critical judgment that is necessary to discern either. Junius' emphasis on this balanced judgment also explains his frequent reference to Longinus' discussion of stylistic vices (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), which throughout the *De pictura veterum* appears as an illustration of artistic failure, bad taste, or as the counterpart of successful art.[231] In serving as the example of what should be avoided, these references moreover at the same time paint a picture of the paradigm of success. In the case of Longinus the aesthetic ideal is sublimity, or the right kind of grandeur; in the *De pictura veterum* it is grace, or the absence of excessive care (as is seen most clearly in *DPV* 2.11.7).

To an early modern reader who seeks to define grace as the absence of stylistic contrivances, Longinus' rejection of bombast, overelaboration, and false affectation (*Peri hypsous* 3-5) provides a fitting source. The prominence of Longinus' discussion of stylistic vices in the *De pictura veterum* indicates how the interpretation of *Peri hypsous* in some contexts slowly tilts from 'sublimity' towards 'grace'. A similar appropriation of Longinus' ideas is for instance found in Daniel Heinsius' *Prolegomena* on Hesiod (as I have discussed in Chapter Two), in which the pure and genuine simplicity of archaic Greek poetry is contrasted with the stylistic vices as described in *Peri hypsous* 3-5.[232] Junius' (and Heinsius') appropriation of these arguments corresponds to a broader early modern interest in these chapters of *Peri hypsous*, as exemplified not only by Junius and Heinsius, but also by several other scholars and critics.[233] Its use as an illustration *a contrario* of the concept of grace moreover engendered Longinus' later association with concepts such as simplicity, the *je ne sais quoi*, and possibly lies at the basis of the separation of the Longinian sublime from 'the sublime style'.

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[231] *DPV* (1637) 1.3.11, 1.4.6, [2.11.7], 3.1.15, 3.2.4, 3.4.8 and 3.9.20.

[232] See also Chapter Two. In *DPV* (1637) 2.6.1 (p. 68) and 3.6.6 (p. 206) Junius moreover mentions the (decay of the) simplicity of the earliest artists, which also plays a central role in Heinsius' *Prolegomena*.

[233] See above section 4.3.2, as well as section 2.8.

CHAPTER FIVE

BETWEEN TEXTUAL AND LITERARY CRITICISM

JACOBUS TOLLIUS, ISAAC VOSSIUS AND *PERI HYPSOUS*

5.1 Introduction

In the first decades of the seventeenth century Longinus' treatise had left a mark on various fields of Dutch scholarship, from the literary theories of Daniel Heinsius and Gerardus Joannes Vossius, to the biblical scholarship of Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius, and the art theory of Franciscus Junius. For these scholars Longinus' treatise fulfilled a valuable role in the development of certain arguments, but it hardly claimed a primary place among their wide-ranging scholarly interests. It took until the end of the seventeenth century before Longinus' treatise became an independent object of study in Dutch scholarship. Two Dutch scholars were particularly important for the study of Longinus' treatise in that period: Jacobus Tollius (1633-1696) and Isaac Vossius (1618-1689). In 1677 Jacobus Tollius published his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*, an essay in which he discussed the merits of ancient literature while using Longinus' ideas, and announced that he was working on an edition of Longinus' treatise.[1] In 1694 Tollius published his edition of *Peri hypsous*, which included multiple translations of Longinus' treatise and a wealth of notes and commentary, as well as

[1] The *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* was published as an appendix to Tollius' edition of Cicero's *Pro Archia*: J. Tollius, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia* (Leiden: D. Gaesbeeck, 1677).

an extended version of his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*.[2] Isaac Vossius in turn had been studying manuscripts of Longinus' treatise, and, by providing his manuscript collations to Jacobus Tollius, made an important contribution to Tollius' version of Longinus' text.[3]

Neither the making of Tollius' edition nor the edition itself has received much scholarly attention hitherto. From the 18th century onwards Tollius' edition is mentioned in editions of *Peri hypsous*, especially because Tollius had provided some editorial novelties, such as the so-called *Fragmentum Tollianum*.[4] Carlo Maria Mazzucchi has discussed Tollius' life and highlighted some aspects of Tollius' Longinian studies, especially the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*.[5] Even though the scholarly activities of Isaac Vossius have received quite some attention in recent years, his Longinian studies have not.[6] Vossius' work on the Longinian manuscripts is acknowledged in modern scholarship, but has never been discussed extensively.[7]

The present chapter seeks to reconstruct the scholarly activities that led up to the creation of Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous*, including Isaac Vossius' study of Longinus' manuscripts, and to examine Tollius' use of *Peri hypsous* in his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*. To this end I will analyse the manuscript collations of Isaac Vossius, letters exchanged between Tollius and

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[2] J. Tollius, *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque, quæ reperiri potuere Jacobus Tollius e quinque codicibus mss. emendavit; novamque versionem suam Latinam, & Gallicam Boilavii, cum ejusdem, ac Dacierii, suisque notis Gallicis addidit* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1694).

[3] Isaac Vossius' contribution to Tollius' edition is evidenced by letters, annotated books and Tollius' preface to his edition. See sections 5.2 and 5.3 for a detailed discussion of these sources.

[4] Tollius' edition is for instance discussed by Pearce (1733), Toup (1778), and Weiske (1809). In modern scholarship the most important discussion of Tollius' edition is Mazzucchi (2010). E. Crisci and M. Scotti, 'Il fragmentum Tollianum (Περὶ ὕψους 2.3)', *Giornale italiano di filologia* 32 (1980), 65-75 discuss the *Fragmentum Tollianum*.

[5] C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Un critico comparativo dei poeti greci e latini alla fine del Seicento: Jacobus Tollius e le sue Animadversiones ad Longinum', in: L. Belloni, G. Milanese and A. Porro (eds.), *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata I* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995), 1345-1367.

[6] Especially in F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle. His Life until his Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden (1618-1655)* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 2000), and E. Jorink and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689). Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[7] Russell (1964) and Mazzucchi (2010) occasionally refer to Vossius in the critical apparatus of their editions. See also Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

Vossius, and the contents of Tollius' edition. By studying primary sources that have not yet received scholarly attention, or that have not yet been subjected to in-depth analysis, this chapter aims to provide a much more comprehensive view of this episode in Longinian scholarship, which can be seen as a corollary of a century of Longinian studies in the Dutch Republic. The present chapter will address this topic in two stages. After an introduction of Jacobus Tollius and his contact with Isaac Vossius (section 5.2), I will first give an extensive analysis of Isaac Vossius' manuscript studies of *Peri hypsou*s (section 5.3), and discuss the place of Vossius' scholarship in Tollius' edition.[8] Then, in section 5.4, I will discuss Tollius' edition, including his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus,* and thus shed light on the way Tollius edited and interpreted Longinus' ideas.

5.2 Jacobus Tollius, Isaac Vossius and Longinus

Jacobus Tollius was born in Rhenen in 1633, in a family that produced several classical scholars.[9] Jacobus studied philosophy at the University of Harderwijk from 1654 onwards, and continued his academic education in Deventer, where the classicist Joannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671) supervised his philological studies. After having worked for the printer Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam for several years, Tollius became secretary to the classicist Nicolaas Heinsius, and accompanied him to Sweden in August 1662, where Heinsius worked as a librarian for Queen Christina. In the spring of 1663 Tollius was however discharged from his position, after accusations of book theft, and possibly also because of his difficult character, which caused him trouble throughout his career.[10] Tollius briefly held the position of rector of the Latin school in Gouda (in the 1660s), failed to obtain positions in Harderwijk and Leiden, and eventually became professor of History and Eloquence, and later also of Greek, in Duisburg.

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[8] The Leiden University Library has preserved two annotated copies from Isaac Vossius' collection (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8).

[9] This account of Jacobus Tollius' life is based on A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden. Deel 18*. (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1874), 176-177; F. Koldewey, 'Tollius, Jakob' in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 38 (1894), 423-427; P.J. Blok, 'Tollius, Jacobus' in: P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (red.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 5* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1921), 951; and Mazzucchi (1995).

[10] See esp. Koldewey (1894).

In 1687 left Duisburg for a scholarly journey to Italy, which was supported his patron Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg (1620-1688). After returning to the Low Countries in 1692, Tollius lived in Utrecht and tried to make a living by giving private lectures, but was denied permission by the curators of the University of Utrecht. Having fallen out of favour with the intellectual elite, except for his successor in Duisburg, Heinrich Christian de Hennin, and the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen, Tollius died in poverty in 1696. Besides his classical studies, which included editions of Ausonius, Longinus, and Cicero's *Pro Archia*, Tollius' intellectual legacy also consists of several publications on alchemy.[11]

Tollius' family had contact with prominent Dutch scholars, such as Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Isaac Vossius and (as mentioned above) Nicolaas Heinsius. His father, Johannes Tollius, maintained a close friendship with Gerardus Joannes Vossius, and two half-brothers of Jacobus, Cornelius Tollius (ca. 1628-1654), and Alexander Tollius (ca. 1630-1675), both studied under supervision of the elder Vossius.[12] Cornelius and Alexander were secretaries to Gerardus Joannes Vossius in the late 1640s. Cornelius and Isaac Vossius remained in contact at least until Cornelius' death in 1562.[13]

Jacobus Tollius and Isaac Vossius exchanged letters between 1645 and 1677, and Isaac Vossius contributed to Tollius' edition of Longinus' text, by providing Tollius with manuscript collations of *Peri hypsous*. It is quite likely that Jacobus Tollius learned about *Peri hypsous* through his contact with Isaac Vossius. Of the correspondence between Vossius and Tollius a total of thirteen letters has been preserved, twelve of which are addressed from Tollius to Vossius, and one from Vossius to Tollius. The originals, as well as various copies of these letters, are kept in the university libraries of Leiden and Amsterdam, the Bodleian Library, and the British Library.[14] A few letters have been (partially) reprinted.[15] The imbalance

[11] See Mazzucchi (1995), 1347.

[12] Koldewey (1894); Mazzucchi (1995), 1346.

[13] Blok (2000), 233-234 and 391-392. The relation between the Vossii and Tollii was not always warm: after the death of Vossius sr. Alexander Tollius was accused by Vossius' widow of having stolen an unpublished work from Vossius' collection. The accusation later appeared to be a misunderstanding, since the book, the *Chronologia generalis,* was eventually retrieved and published in 1659 (see Blok, 2000, 339-340). Blok (1921), 951 moreover notes that Isaac Vossius at some point accused Cornelius Tollius of stealing books.

[14] See Appendix 4.

between Vossius' and Tollius' preserved letters should probably be attributed to the fact that the personal documents of Vossius have been preserved in various collections, while most of the personal documents of the lesser-known Tollius (which would probably also have included Vossius' letters) were not preserved in archives.[16]

Vossius and Tollius exchanged letters between 1666 and 1677, predominantly on scholarly matters. On several occasions Tollius asked Vossius to share philological insights, and he moreover regularly borrowed books from him.[17] In this context Tollius and Vossius also corresponded about Longinus' treatise. In 1666 Tollius wrote to Vossius that he had read Longinus for the first time:

> Longinum nunquam antea lectum nuperrime perlegi: in quo multa invenio, quae non meum, aut similia meo ingenio tantum corroborare, verum etiam viam sternere ad solidum comparandum judicium videntur.[18]
>
> I have recently read Longinus, whom I had never read before: in [this treatise] I found many things that not only seem to corroborate my own ideas, or opinions similar to mine, but even seem to pave the way for establishing a solid judgment [in literary matters].

Given the fact that Tollius explicitly reports his first reading of Longinus to Vossius, it could well have been Vossius who recommended the text to Tollius in the first place. Vossius' role in Tollius' Longinian studies became even more significant when he provided Tollius with valuable readings from a manuscript of *Peri hypsous*. Two letters from 1669 show that Tollius had borrowed (and lost!) a

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[15] Several letters have appeared in J.G. Chauffepié (ed.), *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique, pour servir de supplement ou de continuation au dictionnaire historique et critique de Mr. Pierre Bayle, 4 vols.* (Amsterdam/The Hague/Leiden, 1750-56), IV.

[16] Some letters of Jacobus Tollius however appeared in *Jacobi Tollii Epistolae Itinerariae: ex Auctoris Schedis Postumis Recensitae, Suppletae, Digestae; Annotationibus, Observationibus & Figuris adornatae* (Amsterdam: J. Oosterwyck, 1714), published by Tollius' friend and successor in Duisburg, Heinrich Christian von Hennin.

[17] In an undated letter (probably from the 1660s) Isaac Vossius provided Tollius with variant readings in some pseudo-Vergilian works (Leiden, UB: BPL 885).

[18] Tollius to Vossius, November 4, 1666 (Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46^{v}; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461).

copy of Longinus' text from Isaac Vossius. In January 1669 Tollius writes to Vossius and apologises for not being able to return Vossius' copy of *Peri hypsous*.

> Longinum tuum necdum quivi reperire: sed aluid coëmi exemplar, in quod collationes tuas transcripturus sum, tibique remissurus.[19]
>
> I have not been able to find your Longinus again: but I have purchased another exemplar, into which I plan to transcribe your collations, and then return them to you.

I am not aware of the existence of a copy of Vossius' collations made by Tollius. In any case Tollius would only have been able to make such a copy if he had already made a full transcription of the collations *before* losing Vossius' book. Several months later, on April 24 1669, Tollius again apologises for not having retrieved the lost book.

> Longinum hic necdum quivi reperire, utut anxie quaesiverim.[20]
>
> I have not yet been able to find your Longinus here, even though I have anxiously searched for it.

Vossius' reactions to these letters have not been preserved, and neither can the ending of this awkward affair be reconstructed from the preserved letters of Tollius. We may however conjecture that Tollius eventually did return the copy to Vossius. We know that at the end of his life Vossius possessed two different editions of Longinus' treatise with manuscript collations.[21] It is likely that one of these editions is the copy that Tollius had borrowed and temporarily lost. Since Tollius however had offered to send Vossius a replacement copy, we may speculate whether Vossius' private collection actually contained Vossius' original and Tollius' copy. As I will demonstrate in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, the collations in both editions are in the same handwriting (that of Vossius). Another reason to

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[19] Tollius to Vossius, January 26, 1669 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: hs. III E 10:146; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461).

[20] Tollius to Vossius, April 24, 1669 (Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fol. 58^{v}).

[21] Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8.

suspect that the lost book was returned eventually is the fact that Tollius later dared to ask Vossius for a manuscript of Artemidorus in 1671.[22] Their relationship had apparently not been damaged too much for such a request to be made. Some years later, in 1677, Tollius wrote to Vossius that a first 'taster' of his Longinian studies, the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus,* had been published.[23]

In his edition, which is dedicated to his patron Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, Jacobus expresses his gratitude to several scholars who contributed to the edition by sharing books, notes and other information. Tollius first of all mentions Isaac Vossius, who shared his manuscript collations of *Peri hypsous* with Jacobus Tollius:

> Gratias potius agam Viris illis Clarissimis, qui prolixissime, quantum in ipsis fuit, conatus meos adjuvere. In his prima τοῦ μακαρίτου Isaaci Vossii memoriae debentur, qui, ut erat vir summae humanitatis, Codicem mihi suum, quem cum MSto Bibliothecae Regiae Parisinae contulerat, statim, ut consilium meum audiverat, benignissime abtulit.[24]
>
> I would like to thank those illustrious men, who have, most extensively, insofar as they were able, assisted me in my efforts. Among them I firstly owe gratitude to the memory of the blessed Isaac Vossius, who, as he was a man of the highest erudition, has lent me most willingly, immediately, as soon as he had heard my request, his book, which he had collated with a manuscript from the Royal Library in Paris.

From this remark in Tollius' preface we learn that Isaac Vossius apparently compared (*contulerat;* from *confero*, 'to bring together for comparison') a manuscript (*manuscriptus*) of Longinus' treatise that was located in Paris, with another version of Longinus' text that he possessed (*codex suus*), and noted down the textual differences in this copy. Jacobus Tollius then borrowed this 'collated'

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[22] Tollius to Vossius, October 1, 1671 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:125).

[23] Tollius to Vossius, July 13, 1677 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:107; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 463).

[24] Tollius (1694), *preface*, **2^{v}.

copy and used it for preparing the Greek text of *Peri hypsous* for his own edition. Throughout his edition Tollius refers to Vossius' variant readings of Longinus' text.

So much is clear now: in the 1660s Tollius borrowed a *Peri hypsous* from Isaac Vossius (according to the epistolary record). Tollius also acknowledges his use of Vossius' collations in the preface to his edition. The Leiden University Library moreover holds two collated editions of Longinus' treatise bearing Isaac Vossius' *ex libris*.[25] In the following section, after a brief introduction of Isaac Vossius, I will identify from which manuscript Vossius took his variant readings, which copy Tollius borrowed from Vossius, and how Tollius used Vossius' material in his edition.

5.3 Isaac Vossius' textual criticism of Longinus' text

Isaac Vossius, a son of Gerardus Joannes Vossius and Elisabeth Junius, was born in Leiden, in 1618. His mother, Gerardus' second wife, was the daughter of Franciscus Junius the elder, and half-sister of Franciscus Junius F.F.[26] Vossius was educated at home, and studied philology under the supervision of Claude Saumaise (1588-1653), who succeeded J.J. Scaliger at the University of Leiden. In the 1640s Isaac Vossius undertook a grand tour to England, France and Italy, visiting famous scholars and browsing through library collections in search of (unknown) classical texts.[27] In 1649 Vossius was accepted into the service of Queen Christina of Sweden as her librarian and tutor.[28] In 1655 Vossius resigned his position in Christina's entourage, and settled in The Hague. From 1670 until his death in 1689 Vossius lived in England, serving as canon of Windsor between 1673 and 1688. Vossius published extensively on chronology and engaged in heated

[25] Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8.

[26] This account of Isaac Vossius' life is based on S.G. de Vries, 'Vossius, Isaac', in: P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (red.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 5* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911), 1519-1525; Blok (2000); T. Seccombe and F.F. Blok, in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography* (2006; https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28356, accessed May 12, 2018); H.J.M. Nellen and D. Imhoff, 'Isaac Vossius' in: J. Bloemendal en C. Heesakkers (eds.), *Bio-bibliografie van Nederlandse Humanisten* (Digitale uitgave DWC/Huygens Instituut KNAW; Den Haag, 2009).

[27] F.F. Blok and C.S.M. Rademaker, 'Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, 1641-1644. The correspondence between Isaac and his parents', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 33.2 (2006), 150-216.

[28] Blok (2000), 259-262.

debates on scriptural authority.[29] Vossius edited several classical texts, among which the geographies of Scylax and Pomponius Mela, the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, and Catullus' *carmina*.[30] His world-famous library was bought by the States of Holland in 1690 for the University Library of Leiden.[31] Among the books previously owned by Isaac Vossius are two annotated editions of Longinus' text: the edition of Gabriele De Petra (1612, Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) and the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre (1663, Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). Both editions have been annotated from beginning to end with variant readings of Longinus' Greek text. In the following sections I will analyse the annotations in these two editions, and identify their source.

5.3.1 Catullus and Sappho

The practice of collating, or collecting and comparing different variants of the same text, eventually serves the purpose of establishing a version of the text that approximates the original text as closely as possible.[32] Vossius' collations of different versions of *Peri hypsous* would logically point towards an intended edition of Longinus' text. The collations may also reflect Vossius general fascination for philology, as is also witnessed by the vast collection of manuscripts that Vossius gathered over the course of his life.[33] Like many other early modern scholars, Vossius appears to have been interested in the textual fragments preserved in *Peri hypsous*. One of Vossius' notebooks contains 'lists of authors praised' (*indices scriptorum laudatorum*) in various Greek and Latin texts, which also

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[29] See for instance S. Mandelbrote, 'Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint', in: E. Jorink and D. van Miert, *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 85-117, and D.S. Katz, 'Isaac Vossius and the English biblical critics, 1670-1689', in: R.H. Popkin and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and irreligion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 142-184.

[30] De Vries (1911), 1523.

[31] C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna commoditas: Leiden University's great asset* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 97–107.

[32] See S. Timpanaro, *The genesis of Lachmann's method. Edited and translated by Glenn W. Most* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 45-57 for a discussion of the development of this method in the Renaissance. M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique. Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), 7-59 provides an insightful discussion of manuscript transmission and the basics of textual criticism. See also E.J. Kenney, *The Classical Text. Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 47-104.

[33] Berkvens-Stevelinck (2012), 97–107.

include an overview of all authors mentioned or cited in *Peri hypsous*.[34] Although Vossius did not publish an edition of *Peri hypsous*, his collations in any case proved to be quite useful for his edition of another classical author: Gaius Valerius Catullus.

As I have discussed in Chapter One, the rediscovery of Longinus' treatise, and with it a fragment of Sappho's poetry, meant a breakthrough in the study of the Roman poet Catullus, as scholars found out that Catullus' *carmen* 51 was actually a creative adaptation of Sappho's poem.[35] In 1684 Vossius published an edition of Catullus in which he also included a full and emendated version of Sappho's Greek poem.[36] Since Sappho's *fragment* 31 had only been transmitted as a citation in Longinus' treatise, the Longinian manuscripts were Vossius' most important source to turn to for establishing a reliable version of Sappho's Greek text. In the notes to Sappho's poem Vossius remarks that he relied on readings in a Parisian manuscript of *Peri hypsous*.[37] Vossius annotated at least two editions of Catullus, in which he noted down variants of Sappho's Greek text.[38] The annotations in Vossius' copy of De Petra's edition of Longinus (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) also betray a particular interest in Sappho's fragment. One of the flyleaves of this volume contains a full transcription Sappho's *fragment* 31 (= *Peri hypsous* 10.2, see below fig.

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[34] Leiden, UB: VGO 3.

[35] See section 1.4.1.

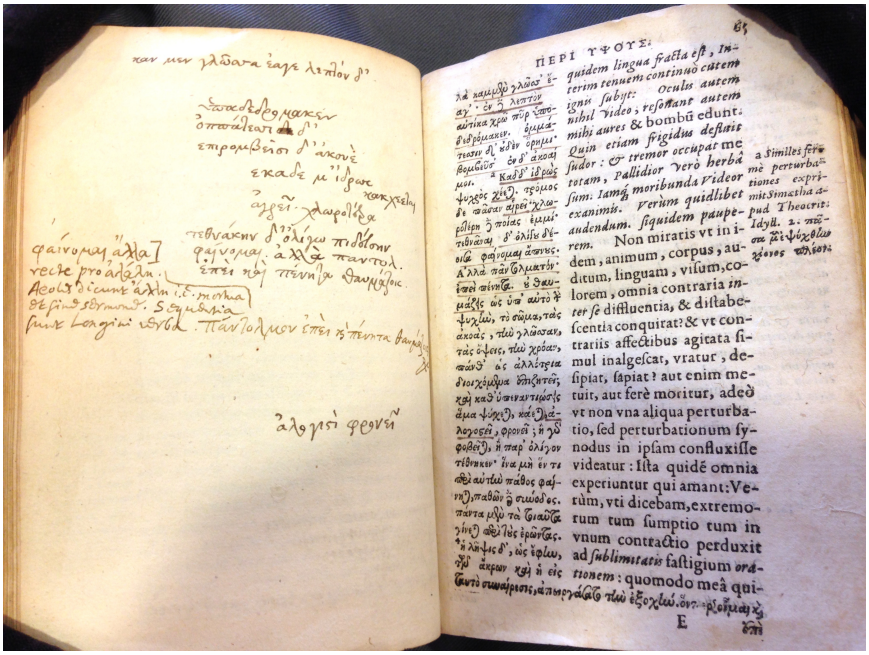
[36] I. Vossius, *Cajus Valerius Catullus et in eum Isaaci Vossii observationes* (London: I. Littlebury, 1684), 113: *Sed ipsam nunc Lesbiam Musam loquentem audiamus, cujus odam relictam nobis Longini beneficio, emendatam adscribemus* ("But let us now hear the Lesbian Muse herself speak, whose poem, which has been preserved for us thanks to Longinus, I here present in emendated version").

[37] Vossius (1684), 114. *Mox dein, ubi vulgo legitur,* καὶ γελώσας ἱμερόεν, *secuti lectionem libri scripti Dionysii Longini, qui adservatur in bibliotheca Regia Lutetiae, fecimus* καὶ γελάϊς ἱμερόεν. ("Then, where editions commonly read καὶ γελώσας ἱμερόεν, I have written καὶ γελάϊς ἱμερόεν, according to the reading in the manuscript of Dionysius Longinus that is preserved in the Royal Library in Paris").

[38] Vossius has annotated the editions of Muret and Scaliger: M.A. de Muret, *Catullus et in eum commentarius M. Antonii Mureti: ab eodem correcti, & scholiis illustrati, Tibullus, et Propertius* (Venice: P. Manuzio, 1558) (Leiden, UB: 758 E 33); J.J. Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Properti nova editio* (Heidelberg: In bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1600) (Leiden, UB: 758 F 4 and Leiden, UB: 758 F 3, from which the pages containing Catullus have later been cut out). In Scaliger's edition, which does not contain the Greek text of Sappho, Vossius has written his Greek variants next to the Latin text of Catullus' *carmen* 51. Vossius moreover annotated Sappho's poem in the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1660) (Leiden, UB: 676 F 3). Other items in Vossius' library also reflect Vossius' interest in Catullus and Sappho, as Vossius also possessed editions of Catullus annotated by Joannes Castelius (Leiden, UB: 758 F 8), Janus Gruterus (Leiden, UB: 755 H 22), and anonymous annotators (Leiden, UB: 758 F 2; 685 E 10).

6).[39] Also striking is the density of the annotations in De Petra's edition to page 65, which contains the second half of Sappho's fragment (see fig. 3, the poem runs until the middle of the page). Vossius appears to have used the collations of *Peri hypsous* for the text of Sappho's poem, which he included in his edition of Catullus.[40] Even if Vossius did not publish an edition of *Peri hypsous* himself, his collations would eventually form an important basis for the edition of Jacobus Tollius. Before discussing the role of Vossius' notes in Tollius' edition (section 5.3.4), I will give a detailed analysis of the collations in Vossius' copies of the edition of De Petra (section 5.3.2) and Le Fèvre (5.3.3).

Fig. 3. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 65 and facing blank page



5.3.2 De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10)

Vossius' copy of De Petra's edition has been interleaved (bound with additional blank pages) to accommodate for the handwritten notes to Longinus' text (see fig.

[39] See below section 5.3.2.

[40] In a small digression in his edition of Catullus, Vossius also referred to the text of a passage from Plato's *Timaeus*, which is quoted in *Peri hypsous* 32.5. Vossius (1684), 98.

3). The Greek text has been annotated from beginning to end, with ca. 350 textual variants. The Leiden online catalogue of *libri annotati* attributes the notes to Isaac Vossius.[41] Indeed, the handwriting of these notes matches the handwriting in Vossius' letters (see figs. 4 and 5 for a sample).

Fig. 4. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 39 (facing blank page)

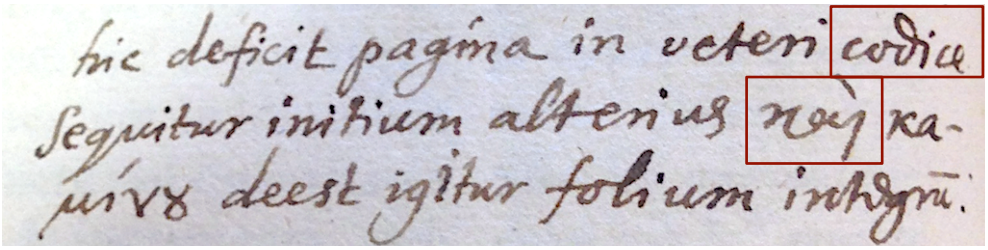
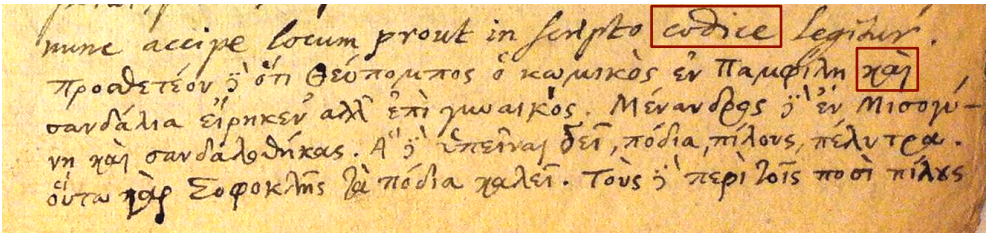


Fig. 5. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. D 69 (Vossius to Graevius)

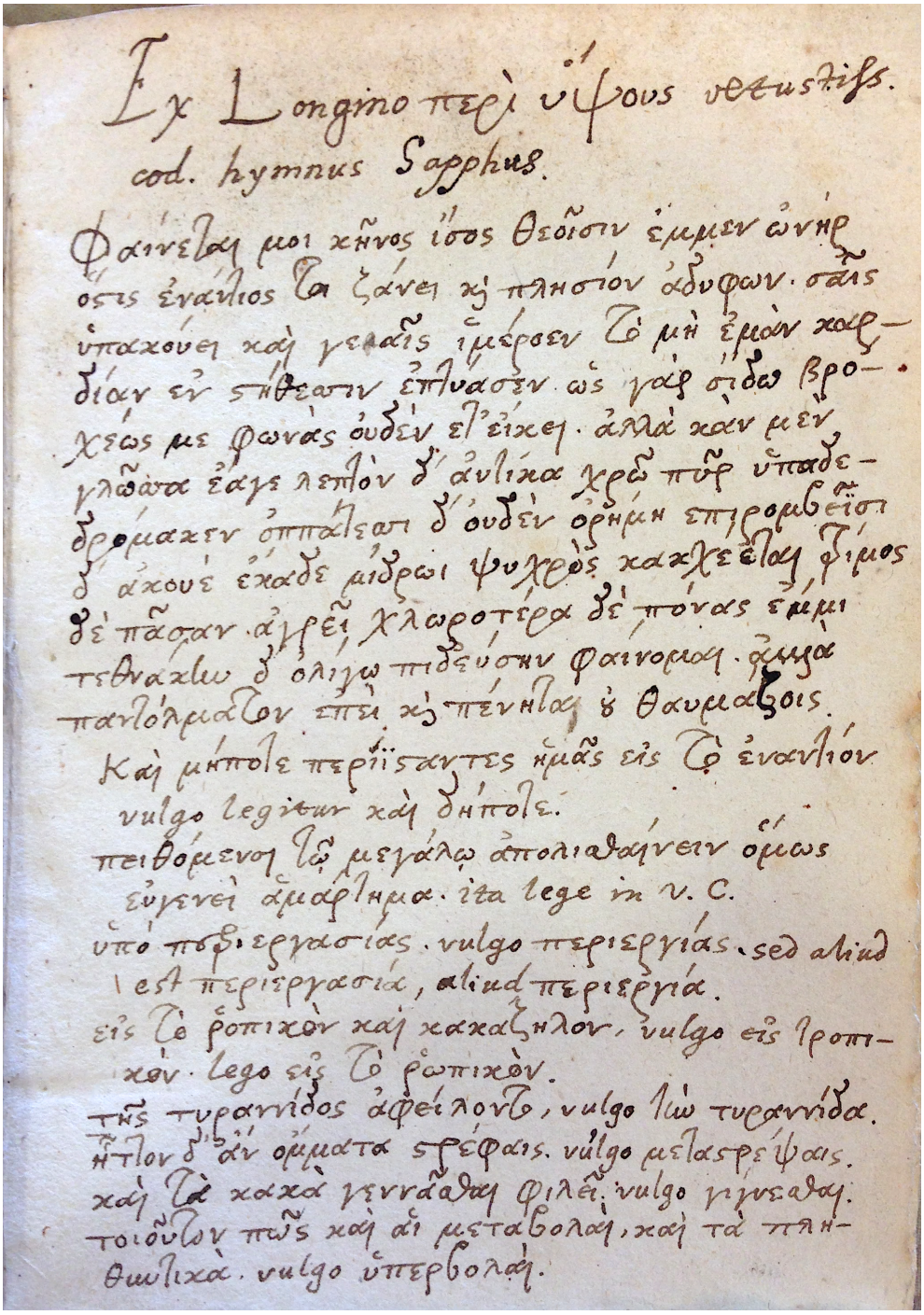


Several elements of Isaac Vossius' annotations in De Petra's edition point towards an identification of the original manuscript as MS Parisinus Graecus 2036. A clue is given on the flyleaf of De Petra's edition: Isaac Vossius indicates that he took his transcription of Sappho's poem from a 'very old manuscript' or 'the oldest manuscript' (*codex vetustissimus*) (see fig. 6). Throughout his annotations Vossius regularly refers to his source as *v.c.* (*vetus* or *vetustissimus codex*). In humanistic Latin the term *codex vetustissimus* covers a very wide period: early modern scholars use the term to denote manuscripts made from the 4th until the 11th century.[42]

[41] Collectie libri annotati, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Shelfmark: ubl318).

[42] S. Rizzo, *Lessico Filologico degli Umanisti* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1973), 147-168.

Fig. 6. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), flyleaf

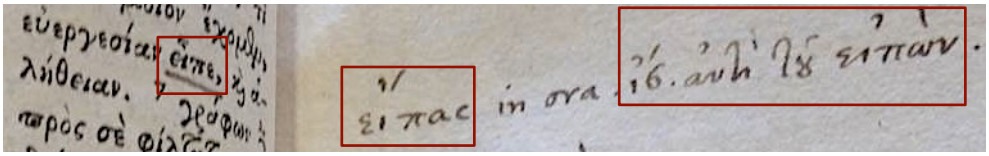

Ex Longino περὶ ὕψους vetustiss. cod. hymnus Sapphus.

Φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμεν ὤνηρ
ὅστις ἐνάντιος Τοι ξάνει τ' πλησίον ἆδυφων. σᾶις
ὑπακούει καὶ γελαίσᾶις ἵμερόεν Τό μὰ ἔμαν καρ-
δίαν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἐπτόασεν. ὡς γάρ σ' ἴδω βρο-
χέως με φωνᾶς οὐδέν ἔτ' εἴκει. ἀλλὰ κὰν μὲν
γλῶσσα ἔαγε λέπτον δ' αὔτικα χρῶ πῦρ ὐπαδε-
δρόμακεν ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ' ἐπιρόμβεισι
δ' ἀκούαι ἔκαδε μὰδρωσι ψυχρὸς κακχέεται φοβος
δὲ πᾶσαν ἀγρεῖ χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι
τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω πιδεύσην φαίνομαι ἄμμα
πὰντολμάτον ἐπεὶ κὰ πένητα ἰ θαυμαζοις.

Καὶ μήπολε περῒσαντες ἡμᾶς εἰς Τὸ ἐναντίον
vulgo legitur καὶ δήπολε.
πειθόμενος Τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀπολιαθαίνειν οἴμως
εὐγενεὶ ἁμαρτημα. ita lege in v. c.
ὑπὸ πορφυρᾶς ἀργασίας. vulgo περισεργίας. sed aliud
est περισεργασία, aliud περισεργία.
εἰς Τὸ ῥοπικὸν καὶ κακαζηλον, vulgo εἰς ῥοπι-
κὸν. lego εἰς Τὸ ῥωπικὸν.
τῆς τυραννίδος ἀφείλοντο, vulgo Τὼν τυραννίδα.
ἦτλον δ' ἂν ὁμματα στρέφαις. vulgo μετάστρεψαις.
καὶ Τὰ κακὰ γεννᾶσθαι φιλεῖ. vulgo γίγνεσθαι.
τοιοῦτον πῶς καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ, καὶ τὰ πλη-
θωλιχὰ. vulgo ὑπερβολαὶ.

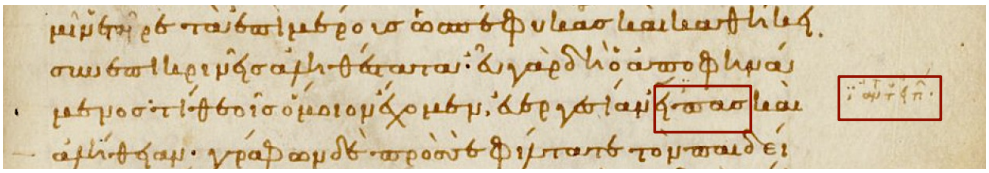
The extant Longinian manuscripts were all made in the early modern period (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), except for the Parisinus Graecus 2036, a tenth-century manuscript of Byzantine origin, which is the ancestor of all known manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.[43] It is unlikely that Vossius would call one of the early modern manuscripts of Longinus' treatise *vetustissimus*. We may therefore assume that Vossius' transcription of Sappho's ode was indeed taken from the Parisinus Graecus 2036.[44] Other evidence pointing towards the Par. Gr. 2036 as the source for Vossius' collations are the marginal notes that Vossius appears to have transcribed from the original manuscript (see fig. 7).

Fig. 7. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 36 and facing blank page



Vossius wrote down εἴπας as a variant reading of De Petra's εἶπε, but also copied the marginal note from the original manuscript, saying *in ora*. ἴθ' αὐτι τοῦ εἰπων ("in the margin [there is] ἴθ' αὐτι τοῦ εἰπων"). This appears to be a reference to a marginal note in the Byzantine manuscript, in which a scribe added a note to the word εἴπας in the margin of the page: ἴθ' αὐτι τοῦ εἰπων (*fol*. 179[r], see fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Parisinus Graecus 2036, fol. 179[r]

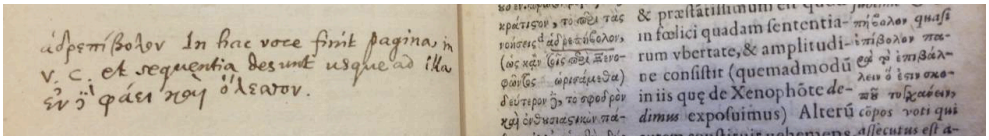


[43] See Mazzucchi (1989), 205-226 and Mazzucchi (2010), xxxix-xliv and Chapter One for a discussion of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.

[44] There are however a few small differences between Sappho's poem in the Par. gr. 2036 and Vossius' transcription of the poem on the flyleaf of his annotated copy (see fig. 6). While the Par. gr. 2036 (fol. 184) has μ'ἴδρως, ποίας and τρόμος, Vossius has μ'ἰδρωι, πούας and τρίμος. The collations written next to the printed text (pp. 64 and 65 of De Petra's edition) however do concur with the manuscript. The transcription on the flyleaf possibly contains some conjectures, as the reading πούας also appears in Vossius' version of Sappho's poem in his edition of Catullus (Vossius, 1684, 114). But see below n. 105 for the possibility that Vossius transcribed this excerpt from another source.

A particular characteristic of the Parisinus Graecus 2036, which is reflected in Vossius' notes, is its lacuna between chapters 8 and 9 of *Peri hypsous* (between *folios* 182[v] and 183[r]). Three bifolia (six leaves) were already missing when the first copies of the Par. gr. 2036 (Marc. Gr. 522 and Par. Gr. 2974) were made. After these copies had been made another bifolium (two leaves) was lost.[45] As a result, the Parisinus Graecus 2036 has a larger gap in the text than its Renaissance copies as well as the printed editions of *Peri hypsous*. In Par. Gr. 2036 the text breaks off (in the modern numbering of the treatise) in section 8.1 and resumes in section 9.10. The copies and editions have a substantial lacuna in section 9.4 but preserve the intermediate sections 8.1-9.3 and 9.5-9.10. Vossius reports this particular lacuna in his annotations. He noted down that the text ends at ἀδρεπίβολον (*Peri hypsous* 8.1) and resumes at ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὅλεατον (*Peri hypsous* 9.10) (see fig. 9).[46] This corresponds directly to the words surrounding the lacuna in the Parisinus Graecus 2036.[47]

Fig. 9. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 51 and facing blank page



Vossius' qualification of the manuscript as a *codex vetustissimus*, combined with the textual correspondences and the identical placement of the big lacuna in chapters 8 and 9 are a clear indication that the collations in his copy of De Petra's edition are indeed taken from MS Parisinus Graecus 2036.[48] To this may be added that Vossius identifies the source as a manuscript located in the 'Bibliotheca Regia'.[49] On p. 155 of the edition (at the last section of *Peri hypsous*), Vossius notes *huc usque v[etus] lib[er] R[egiae] B[ibliothecae]* ("[the text of] the old book in the Royal Library [runs]

[45] See also Russell (1964), xlix and section 1.2.1 for a discussion of this lacuna.

[46] The Par. gr. 2036 and Vossius' notes have ἀδρεπίβολον, while modern editions print ἀδρεπήβολον.

[47] Russell (1964), 8.

[48] There are a few collations that do not concur with the text of the Par. gr. 2036. I will discuss these in section 5.3.4.

[49] Vossius' edition of Catullus (1684, 114) refers to a manuscript in the 'Bibliotheca Regia Lutetiae' (see above note 37).

until here").[50] This can only refer to the royal library in Paris. The Royal library held four manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, one of which (Par. gr. 985) only contains the first chapters of *Peri hypsous*, while two others (Par. gr. 2974 and its 'grandson' Par. gr. 2960), do not have the lacuna in chapters 8.1-9.3 and 9.5-9.10, which is found in Par. gr. 2036 and which was reported by Isaac Vossius.[51] It is therefore very likely that Vossius took his notes from the Par. Gr. 2036. Vossius commenced his work on Catullus already in the early 1650s, and visited Paris again in the early 1660s, during which time he possibly made this collation.[52]

5.3.3 Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8)

Vossius' collection holds yet another copy of Longinus' text that contains collations, namely the 1663 edition of Tanneguy le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). Vossius' intentions to use this particular edition for making collations had already been signalled by Le Fèvre himself in the preface to this edition:

> Hoc quoque accipe & gaude: Isaacus Vossius, μέγα κλέος Αονίδεσσι θεῇσιν, pollicetur transmissurum se Salmurium Longini codicem cum exemplari quodam collatum, quod & purius & uberius sit, quam quae adhuc visa sint.
>
> Hear this too and be delighted: Isaac Vossius, "great honour to the Aonian goddesses [the Muses]", promises that he plans to hand over the Salmurian edition of Longinus, [after having] collated [it] with an exemplar that is more pure and rich than those seen hitherto.[53]

It seems that Vossius had promised Le Fèvre to enrich a copy of his edition – *codex Salmurius* probably refers to Le Fèvre's own edition, which was printed in Saumur – with collations from an important manuscript of *Peri hypsous*. In his *Ad Lectorem*

[50] Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), 155.

[51] See section 1.2.1 for a discussion of the *stemma codicum* of *Peri hypsous*.

[52] Seccombe and Blok (2006) report that Vossius visited Paris in 1641, 1643-1644, 1650, and in the early 1660s. According to Blok (2000), 405-408 and Seccombe and Blok (2006), Vossius mainly worked on his edition of Catullus in 1652 and 1653.

[53] Le Fèvre (1663), 'Ad lectorem'.

Le Fèvre furthermore writes that he did not study manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, but instead consulted the editions of Portus, De Petra and Langbaine.[54] In his *Ad lectorem* Le Fèvre therefore appears to announce the next step in the textual criticism of Longinus' text.[55]

Le Fèvre's announcement that Vossius intended to enrich his edition with collations seems to point at Vossius' annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). This particular volume bears Vossius' *ex libris* and contains collations in the same handwriting.[56] The remark that Vossius planned to take these collations from "a very rich and pure manuscript" in turn seems to refer to the Parisinus Graecus 2036. On p. 99 of his copy of Le Fèvre's edition, Vossius identifies the source as a manuscript from the *Bibliotheca Regia*, with a note that recalls his comment in De Petra's edition: *huc usque cod[ex] Bib[liothecae] Reg[iae]* ("[the text of] the book in the Royal Library [runs] until here").[57] While the collations in the edition of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) are almost certainly derived from the Parisinus Graecus 2036 (as I discussed in the previous section), the collations in the edition of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) however appear to be somewhat different. The collations in Le Fèvre's edition are first of all less extensive, as about a third of the variants recorded in De Petra's edition are not found in Le Fèvre's.[58] The annotations in Le Fèvre's edition moreover do not

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[54] Weinberg (1950), 151. See also section 1.3.3 for a discussion of Le Fèvre's edition. In a letter of 1682 the French theologian Richard Simon criticises Le Fèvre for not having made any improvements to Longinus' text (or its Latin translation) in his 1663 edition. See M. Bruzen de la Martinière, *Lettres choisis de M. Simon. Où l'on trouve un grand nombre de faits Anecdotes de Literature. Nouvelle edition, Vol. II* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1730), 167-172. More on Richard Simon and the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* will be discussed in section 5.3.5.

[55] Like Vossius, Le Fèvre was also particularly interested in the Greek text of Sappho (= *Peri hypsous* 10.2), as he published an edition of Sappho's poetry in 1660: T. Le Fèvre, *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina* (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1660).

[56] See section 5.3.2 on the handwriting of Vossius.

[57] Leiden, UB: 755 G 8 (Le Fèvre, 1663), 99. See also section 5.3.2.

[58] In a few (rare) cases this could be due to the fact that the printed text of the edition simply concurred with the reading of the manuscript. In *Peri hypsous* 3.2 (μικροῖς μὲν αὐλίσκοισι, φορβειᾶς δ' ἄτερ; "on scrannel pipes, yet wasting all his wind"), the manuscript reads φορβειᾶς. The edition of De Petra reads βορβεῖας, whereas Le Fèvre has φορβειᾶς. The text of De Petra is corrected by Vossius into φορβειᾶς, according to the manuscript, whereas the text of Le Fèvre has no annotation, since none was

indicate the locations of the lacunae in the Par. Gr. 2036. On a few occasions the collations present different readings than the Par. Gr. 2036.[59]

There are however some striking similarities between the collations in both editions. Virtually all of Vossius' collations in Le Fèvre's edition are also found in De Petra's edition, which points towards a common origin or close relationship of these collations. Most significant are the few cases in which the collations in both editions are identical, but do not concur with the reading of the Par. gr. 2036. The following table provides a few examples:

Ch.	**Par. Gr. 2036**	**De Petra (printed text)**	**ann. Vossius**	**Le Fèvre (printed text)**	**ann. Vossius**
3.2[60]	μικροῖς	μικροῖς	μακροῖς μὲν αὐλίσκοισι φορβείας δ' ἄτερ ita leg[endum est]. vide apud Suetonium τι μοι καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς. Vet[us] tamen codex habet μικροῖς.	μικροῖς	μακροῖς
3.4[61]	τὸ ῥοπικὸν	τροπικὸν	εἰς τὸ ροπικὸν. leg[e] ρωπικὸν	τροπικὸν	ρωπικὸν v[etus odex]
10.7[62]	φλοιῶδες	φλοιῶδες	φλειῶδες	φλοιῶδες	φλειῶδες

In the case of μικροῖς (*Peri hypsous* 3.2) and φλοιῶδες (*Peri hypsous* 10.7) the printed text in the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre concurs with the text of the

necessary. This does however not explain the majority of differences between the annotations in the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre.

[59] These differences will be discussed in section 5.3.4.

[60] *Peri hypsous* 3.2: φλοιώδης γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ φυσῶν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα "μικροῖς μὲν αὐλίσκοισι, φορβειᾶς δ' ἄτερ" ("an affected creature, blowing, as Sophocles says, 'on scrannel pipes, yet wasting all his wind'").

[61] *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον ("Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation").

[62] *Peri hypsous* 10.7: ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐξοχάς, ὡς <ἂν> εἴποι τις, ἀριστίνδην ἐκκαθήραντες ἐπισυνέθηκαν, οὐδὲν φλοιῶδες ἢ ἄσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάττοντες διὰ μέσου ("What they have done is to clean up, as it were, the very best of the main points, and to fit them together, allowing nothing affected or undignified or pedantic to intervene.").

manuscript. Vossius' annotations (μακροῖς and φλειῶδες) differ from the manuscript as well as the printed text in the editions. Instead of collations, Vossius' notes therefore appear to be proposed emendations to Longinus' text. In the case of μικροῖς/μακροῖς Vossius explicitly acknowledges the reading μικροῖς in the *vetus codex*, but proposes μακροῖς on the basis of a similar passage in Suetonius.[63] In the case of *Peri hypsous* 3.4, the manuscript reading τὸ ῥοπικὸν makes little sense.[64] From the edition of Manuzio onwards, editors have read τὸ ῥοπικὸν as τροπικὸν ('figurative', as in 'figurative expressions').[65] Vossius in turn proposed to read τὸ ῥοπικὸν as τὸ ῥωπικὸν ('cheap affectation').[66] The appearance of these emendations in De Petra's as well as Le Fèvre's edition implies a close relationship between the notes in both copies.

The overlap between the collations and emendations, as well as the omission of about a third of the notes in Le Fèvre's edition suggest that these annotations (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) are an abbreviated version of the annotations in De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 11), rather than a full collation of the Parisinus Graecus 2036 (or one of the other Parisian manuscripts). In the early 1660's Vossius resided in Paris, and was highly regarded by the French intellectual and political elite.[67]

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[63] Vossius refers to Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 7.7.2 (*Life of Otho*): τί γάρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς; ("With long flutes what concern have I?") (translation: Rolfe 1914). The emendation φλειῶδες (a non-existent word) is peculiar, since the Par. gr. 2036 unambiguously reads φλοιῶδες. The Par. gr. 2974 en 2960 also have φλοιῶδες.

[64] The adjective ῥοπικός means 'inclined', which makes no sense in this context.

[65] Robortello printed τὸ ῥοπικὸν (1554, p. 8). The emendation τροπικὸν originated in the circle of Manuzio and Portus; the manuscript related to their editions (Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34) has the conjecture τροπικὸν *in margine*. The editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre, which are based on the text of Portus' edition, also have τροπικὸν.

[66] Modern editions credit Vossius for this emendation. See for instance Russell (1964), 2 and Mazzucchi (2010), 8. It is somewhat peculiar that the annotation in 755 G 8 reads ρωπικὸν *v[etus odex]* ("ρωπικὸν [is the reading] in the old codex"). In both annotated editions the abbreviations *v.* and *v.c.* are used to indicate the reading of the 'old manuscript' (*vetustissimus codex*). In the case of ῥωπικόν this is strange, since the manuscript has ῥοπικόν, while the annotation in Le Fèvre's edition indicates that the manuscript has ῥωπικόν. I imagine that the annotator (Vossius) deemed the substitution of ω with ο a simple misspelling, which one could assume to be the intended reading of the manuscript.

[67] From 1663 until 1671 Isaac Vossius received an annual pension of 1,200 *livres* from Louis XIV, which had been arranged by the influential French politician Jean-Baptiste Colbert. See Nellen and Imhoff (2009), and E. Jorink, 'In the Twilight Zone: Isaac Vossius and the Scientific Communities in France,

Around this time Vossius was probably granted access to the manuscript collections in the French royal library, which enabled him to take collations of the Par. Gr. 2036, using the edition of Gabriele De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10). In the same period Vossius probably had contact with Tanneguy Le Fèvre, who was working on an edition of *Peri hypsous* and expressed his enthusiasm at Vossius' intentions of collating Longinus' text.[68] Some time later Vossius probably transcribed a selection of his annotations into another copy of Longinus' text (the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre; Leiden, UB: 755 G 8).[69] As I will argue in the next section, this probably is the copy that Jacobus Tollius used for preparing his edition.

5.3.4 Vossius' notes in Tollius' edition

In the preface to his edition Tollius remarked that he borrowed a book that Vossius had collated with a manuscript from the Royal Library in Paris.[70] This applies to both of Vossius' annotated copies: in his original collation (De Petra; Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) as well as the abbreviated collation (Le Fèvre; Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) Vossius identifies the source of his notes as a manuscript in the *Bibliotheca Regia*. An indication that Tollius used the annotated edition of Le Fèvre, rather than the edition of De Petra, is found in a reference of Tollius' to Vossius' annotated copy, which says: *In Vossiani libri margine pro varia lectione fuit…* (In the margin of Vossius' book there is the variant reading…").[71] Since the annotations in De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) are not written in the margins but on added blank pages (see fig. 3 for an example), this remark points at the annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). Tollius moreover does not mention the existence of the conspicuous lacuna in the *vetus codex* between chapters 8 and 9 of

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England and the Dutch Republic', in: E. Jorink and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119-156: 121, 142-144.

[68] Le Fèvre (1663), 'Ad lectorem'. See also section 5.3.3.

[69] The Bodleian Library holds an annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition that contains Nicolas Heinsius' collations of "two codices Vossii" (Auct. S V 19), according to P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum vol IV, Alia Itinera II. Great Britain to Spain* (London: Warburg Institute and Leiden: Brill, 1989), 264. This annotated copy may well be related to Isaac Vossius' collations in Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8.

[70] Tollius (1694), *preface*, **2^{v}, see above section 5.2.

[71] Tollius (1694), 42.

Peri hypsous, which is observed in the annotations in De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), but not in Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8).

In the notes to his edition, Tollius sometimes refers to the variant readings in the manuscripts that he consulted (indirectly) in the making of his edition. Interestingly, some of the readings that Tollius attributes to the 'Parisian manuscript', do not concur with the readings found in the MS Par. Gr 2036, or to those in Vossius' annotations in De Petra's edition, but instead correspond to variants annotated by Vossius in Le Fèvre's edition. In the four cases presented in the following table, Tollius' notes report the readings found in the annotations to Le Fèvre's edition, while attributing them to the 'Parisian manuscript'. Both printed editions have συνοικοδομούμενα (from συνοικοδομέω, 'to build together' – this emendation originates in Manuzio's edition).[72] The Par. Gr. 2036 has συνοικονομούμενα (from συνοικονομέω, 'to govern jointly'). In his edition of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) Vossius writes συνοικονούμενα, which appears to be a misreading of συνοικονομούμενα in the Par. Gr. 2036. In his edition of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) Vossius writes συνκονιούμενα, which is a non-existent word and probably results from his misreading of the original note in his other copy of *Peri hypsous*. In the text of his edition Jacobus Tollius maintained the emendation of Manuzio (συνοικοδομούμενα), but in the notes to his edition Tollius remarks: *Parisinus [habet]* συγκονιούμενα ("the Parisian manuscript has συγκονιούμενα").[73] This remark indicates that Tollius used Vossius' annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) and mistakenly regarded it as an accurate rendering of the variant readings in the manuscript that Vossius had studied (the Par. Gr. 2036). Likewise Tollius remarks that the "old Parisian manuscript in the Bibliotheca Regia (*V.C. Parisin. Bibl. Regiae*) has Ποστούμιε φλῶρε Τερεντιανὲ", and also attributes the reading περὶ τ' ἀϊδνὰ τέλματα to the 'Parisinus'.[74]

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[72] This conjecture appears in the margin of Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34 and in Manuzio's edition.

[73] Tollius (1694), 88.

[74] Tollius (1694), 3 and 69. Mazzucchi (2010), 2 notes that Tollius has falsely attributed the reading φλῶρε to the manuscript. Weiske (1809), 282 rightly observes that the reading περὶ τ' ἀϊδνὰ τέλματα, which Tollius attributes to the manuscript, in fact originates in Vossius' annotated copy in the Leiden University Library.

Ch.	Par. Gr. 2036	De Petra (printed text)	ann. Vossius	Le Fèvre (printed text)	ann. Vossius
1.1[75]	Ποστούμιε Φλωρεντιανὲ	Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανὲ	φλωρεντιανε Unde fac ποστουμιέ φλώρης τερεντιανε Id est Postumie Florens Terentiane	Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανὲ	φλῶρε[..][76]
3.4[77]	τὸ ῥοπικὸν	τροπικὸν	εἰς τὸ ροπικὸν. leg[e] ρωπικὸν	τροπικὸν	ρωπικὸν v[etus odex]
9.13[78]	περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα ἐρημουμένου	περὶ τὰ ἴδια τέρματ' ἐρημουμένου	περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα ἐρημουμένου	περὶ τὰ ἴδια τέρματ' ἐρημουμένου	τ' ἀϊδνὰ τέλματα
10.7[79]	συν-οικονομούμενα	συν-οικοδομούμενα	συν-οικονούμενα	συν-οικοδομούμενα	συνκονιού μενα

Vossius' correction ῥωπικὸν for ῥοπικὸν (which I discussed in the previous section) is likewise interpreted by Tollius as a variant reading in the Parisian manuscript.[80] Each of these examples strongly suggests that Tollius consulted

[75] *Peri hypsous* 1.1: Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Καικιλίου συγγραμμάτιον, ὦ περὶ ὕψους συνετάξατο, ἀνασκοπουμένοις ἡμῖν ὡς οἶσθα κοινῇ, Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε, ταπεινότερον ἐφάνη τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως … ("You know, my dear Postumius Terentianus, that when we were studying together Caecilius' litte treatise on the Sublime it appeared to us to fall below the level of the subject…").

[76] Some letters have been crossed out by the annotator.

[77] *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον ("Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation").

[78] *Peri hypsous* 9.13: … ἀλλ' οἷον ὑποχωροῦντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα †ἐρημουμένου τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνονται τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμπώτιδες κἀν τοῖς μυθώδεσι καὶ ἀπίστοις πλάνος ("… it is rather as though the Ocean had retreated into itself and lay quiet within its own confines. Henceforth we see the ebbing tide of Homer's greatness, as he wanders in the realm of the fabulous and incredible.").

[79] *Peri hypsous* 10.7: λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον, ὡσανεὶ ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικοδομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα ("These things ruin the whole, by introducing, as it were, gaps and crevices into masses which are built together, walled in by their mutual relationships").

[80] On ῥοπικὸν/ῥωπικὸν see section 5.3.3. Other misattributions in Tollius' edition are (besides the ones already discussed), are the readings τῶν ἀκροτάτων (*Peri hypsous* 10.1; Tollius, 1694, 74), πούας (*Peri hypsous* 10.2; Tollius, 1694, 80), and ἀλαζόνειαν (*Peri hypsous* 44.7; Tollius, 1694, 236, 237). Tollius' notes to the poem of Sappho (*Peri hypsous* 10.2) constitute an issue that is even more complex. Tollius' notes to Sappho's poem attribute some variants to the *vetus codex* that are *not* present in Vossius' annotated copy

Vossius' annotations in Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) rather than the annotations in De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), or the Par. Gr. 2036 itself.

Tollius' edition is probably the first to extensively compare several manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, but it appears that Tollius' knowledge of these manuscripts was rather indirect. The title page of the edition proudly announces that it established the text of *Peri hypsous* from five different manuscripts. In the preface to his edition Tollius expresses his gratitude for the editions and manuscript collations provided to him: a collation of three Vatican manuscripts (Vat. Gr. 285, 194 and 1417), the collation of a manuscript from the Library of San Marco in Venice (Marc. Gr. 522), and Vossius' collations of a Parisian manuscript (Par. Gr. 2036). It thus seems that Tollius saw neither of these manuscripts with his own eyes, but was only informed of their variant readings through the collations of other scholars. At one point Tollius however suggests he *did* consult the Parisian manuscript himself, for his emendation of Sappho's poem (*Peri hypsous* 10.2).

> Codicem primum nacti Vossianum ipsius Vossii beneficio, in quem variantes carminis hujus lectiones e MS. bibliothecae Regiae Parisinae transcriptae erant; deinde et ipso illo Codice MS Parisiis consulto: post et excerpta quaedam alia e Longini vetere alio Codice adepti, emendare jam olim hoc Sapphus carmen conati sumus. Prodiit interea Vossiana Catulli editio, et in ea viri eruditissimi in idem carmen notae atque emendationes (…). Qua de caussa monendum lectorem existimavimus, ne aliena sublegisse videamur.[81]

> First I consulted Vossius' *codex*, which I obtained through the kindness of Vossius himself, in which variant readings of this poem have been transcribed from a manuscript in the Royal Library in Paris. This Parisian manuscript was then consulted as well [by myself?].[82] Later, after having obtained some other excerpts from another old codex of Longinus, I have

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of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8), but that do appear on the flyleaf of Vossius' annotated copy of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10). On this matter, see below note 83.

[81] Tollius (1694), 75.

[82] Tollius (deliberately) leaves out by whom the manuscript was consulted, and seems to suggest that he himself had access to it (which seems unlikely, on which see below).

> tried to emend this poem of Sappho, already some time ago. In the meantime Vossius' edition of Catullus has come out, which contains the notes and emendations on this poem of that very learned man. This is why I deemed it wise to clarify this for my readers, so that I may not appear to have stolen another man's work.

These remarks serve to emphasise the comprehensiveness of Tollius' source material as much as his originality and independence in establishing the text of Sappho's poem. Before Tollius could publish his edition, Vossius' edition of Catullus, which also included Sappho's fragment, had already come out (in 1684). Tollius probably felt the need to emphasise that he did not plagiarise Vossius' work, and sought to enhance the authority of his version of Sappho's poem by claiming that he, besides Vossius' collations, had studied some excerpts as well, and by suggesting that he consulted the Parisian manuscript himself.[83]

In my opinion it is very unlikely that Tollius would have had access to this particular manuscript in the Bibliotheca Regia in Paris. Unlike Vossius, Tollius did not have the best of reputations in the scholarly world. Before obtaining his position in Duisburg he had undertaken several failed attempts to secure a position at universities in the Dutch Republic.[84] Whereas Vossius, member of an esteemed family of scholars, had close contacts to the French intellectual and political elite (such as Jean-Baptiste Colbert), Tollius could not profit from such a network.[85] For the making of his edition Tollius was very much dependent on the

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[83] I am not entirely sure which document Tollius means when referring to *excerpta quaedam alia e Longini vetere alio Codice* ("some other excerpts from another codex of Longinus"). It appears that Tollius had seen excerpts containing Sappho's fragment (other than the collations and editions mentioned in his preface). Interestingly, Tollius' notes to Sappho's poem contain some peculiar readings that correspond to Vossius' transcription of the poem on the flyleaf of De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), which is the copy that Tollius *did not* use (as I have argued in this chapter). The similarities between the transcription and Tollius' notes is however too conspicuous to be coincidental. I therefore surmise that Tollius might have seen excerpts that are closely related to Vossius' transcription on the flyleaf of his copy of De Petra. Perhaps Vossius transcribed these notes for Tollius in a letter, or Vossius' transcription and Tollius' excerpt originate from a common source. See also below on the possibility that there existed certain excerpts containing Sappho's ode.

[84] See section 5.2 for Tollius' biography.

[85] As noted above in note 67. Vossius received an annual pension from Louis XIV, which had been arranged by the influential Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

favours of a few scholars, such as Isaac Vossius and Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni.[86] Another indication that Tollius did not actually consult the Parisinus Graecus 2036 himself, is (as I have discussed above) the frequent misattribution of certain variant readings to the "old Parisian manuscript", which are in fact emendations of Isaac Vossius.

It has been noted by later scholars that Tollius' edition contains some faulty readings of the Par. Gr. 2036. In his 1733 edition of *Peri hypsous* Zacharias Pearce expressed his astonishment at Tollius' attribution of the reading Ποστούμιε φλῶρε Τερεντιανὲ to the Parisian manuscript, and speculated whether this is Tollius' or Vossius' mistake (since Tollius' acknowledges he borrowed Vossius' book).[87] Pearce moreover remarks that "Tollius is almost always mistaken in his rendering of the readings of this manuscript."[88] Carlo Maria Mazzucchi similarly notes the discrepancy, and suggests that the reading might be a conjecture of Isaac Vossius.[89] If we assume that Tollius took his readings of the Par. Gr. 2036 from Vossius' annotated edition of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8), instead of the MS itself, this misattribution as well as many other 'false readings' in Tollius' edition are explained instantly. This also means that some of the readings that modern editions attribute to Tollius are in fact conjectures of Isaac Vossius.[90] Isaac Vossius' textual studies of *Peri hypsous* thus constituted a significant contribution to Jacobus Tollius' edition of Longinus, and may be valuable for modern editions of Longinus' treatise as well.

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[86] Zaccagni provided Tollius with collations of three Vatican manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.

[87] Pearce (1733), 216: *Editio prima, & MSi Ven. Ambr. & Vat. tres, habent* Ποστούμιε φλῶρεντιανὲ*: et ad eundem modum legimus in MSo Par. quamvis dicat Tollius ibi legi* Ποστούμιε φλῶρε Τερεντιανὲ*: Nescio suane id fecerit incuria, an Vossii, cujus codice cum MSo. Par. collato usus est.*

[88] Pearce (1733), 216: *semper fere deceptus est in proferendi illius MSi lectonibus*. Weiske (1809), 282, 491 also observed that Tollius' edition contains several faulty attributions that should probably be regarded as Vossius' conjectures.

[89] Mazzucchi (2010), 2. Mazzucchi makes similar observations on the readings ἀλαζόνειαν (*Peri hypsous* 44.7; Mazzucchi, 2010, 120) and κἀδεκαστον (*Peri hypsous* 44.9 (Mazzucchi, 2010, 122).

[90] Attributions to Tollius that are probably Isaac Vossius' conjectures include: Φλῶρε (*Peri hypsous* 1.1; Mazzucchi, 2010, 2), τέλματα (*Peri hypsous* 9.13; Russell, 1964, 13), ἱστοριᾳ (*Peri hypsous* 30.2; Russell, 1964, 37; Russell, 1999, 258; Mazzucchi, 2010, 80), καὶ τόλμης (*Peri hypsous* 32.1; Russell, 1964, 37, Mazzucchi, 2010, 82). κἀδεκαστον (*Peri hypsous* 44.9; Russell, 1999, 305), δάπανον (*Peri hypsous* 44.11; Russell, 1964, 56; Russell, 1999, 306; Mazzucchi, 2010, 124).

5.3.5 Liber vetustissimus

After almost a century Isaac Vossius appears to have been the first to draw attention to the importance of the Par. Gr. 2036 for the text of *Peri hypsous*. In the 1582 edition of his *Variae Lectiones* Pietro Vettori had referred to the manuscript as a *liber antiquissimus* ('a very old book'), thus acknowledging its antiquity.[91] The French scholar Jean Boivin is credited for establishing that the Par. Gr. 2036 was not only the oldest, but also the archetype of all extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.[92] Boivin's observation was however predated by findings of the French theologian Richard Simon, who also studied various editions and manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, and observed in a letter of 1682, on the basis of their common lacunae, that all extant manuscripts must have been derived from the Par. Gr. 2036.[93]

Both Jean Boivin and Richard Simon were aware of Isaac Vossius' studies of Longinus' text. Simon, who was involved in a dispute with Vossius over the chronology of the Septuagint[94], remarked in a letter (dated 1682) that he had heard that Vossius, when he was in Paris some years ago, had collated a manuscript of *Peri hypsous* and extracted some valuable insights from it.[95] Simon continued the investigation started by Vossius, and studied the manuscript himself. Comparing it with other extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, Simon concluded on the basis of

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[91] P. Vettori, *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII* (Florence: Giunti, 1582), 331 (in the context of an emendation of a passage in Hecataeus). See Rhys Roberts (1899), 167. Rhys Roberts argues that Vettori must have made his collation before 1569, when the first edition of the *Variae Lectiones* appeared. The earliest version of Vettori's *Variae Lectiones* that includes this particular discussion however appeared in 1582. Mazzucchi (2010), xl notes that Vettori consulted the manuscript in 1559, when it was still in Rome.

[92] Rhys Roberts (1899), 168. Boivin's observations appeared in the 1701 edition of Boileau's *Oeuvres*, which also included the *Traité du Sublime*.

[93] Simon in: Bruzen de la Martinière (1730), 167-172.

[94] In 1685 Simon for instance published critical observations on Vossius' ideas (*Opuscula critica adversus Isaacum Vossium*). See Seccombe and Blok (2006), and Jorink (2012), 105-106.

[95] Simon in: Bruzen de la Martinière (1730), 167-8: Il y en a cependant un très-beau, et qui a plus de six cens ans d'antiquité dans la Bibliothèque du Roi. J'ai fu que Mr. Isaac Vossius étant à Paris il y a plusieurs années, avoit consulté ce manuscrit et que l'ayant conféré avec les editions communes de Longin, il en avoit tiré tout ce qu'il contenoit de particulier ("There is, however, a very handsome one, which has more than six hundred years of antiquity in the King's Library. I learned that Mr. Isaac Vossius, when he was in Paris several years ago, had consulted this manuscript, and that he, having collated it with the common editions of Longinus, had drawn from it all that was peculiar").

the lacunae in the manuscripts, that all of the other manuscripts must have been derived from the manuscript in the Royal Library.[96] Jean Boivin became librarian in the Royal Library in 1692. His observations about the Par. Gr. 2036 are attached to the flyleaves of the codex containing the manuscript. Like Simon, Boivin observed that the lacunae in the other manuscripts and editions correspond to the missing pages in the Par. Gr. 2036.[97] Boivin's findings were published as an appendix to Boileau's translation of *Peri hypsous* in the 1701 edition of Boileau's *Oeuvres*.[98] In this essay Boivin signals the presence of an old manuscript (Boivin estimates 700 or 800 years), which contains a great number of variant readings that were once collected by Vossius and published by Tollius.[99] Boivin discusses the number and size of the lacunae in the manuscript, and moreover provides an extensive analysis of Vossius' emendations on the ode of Sappho.[100]

That Vossius' studies of Longinus sparked Boivin's interest also appears from an annotated copy of Tollius' edition, which was in Boivin's possession

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[96] Simon in: Bruzen de la Martinière (1730), 170: Les Manuscrits que Portus avoit lus à Ferrare et à Venise, font semblables à celui de la Bibliothèque du Roi. On trouve dans tous également les mêmes lacunes, et s'il y a quelque variété, elle est de nulle important ce, toutes ces copies ne venant que d'un seul Exemplaire, qui est apparemment celui de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Il y a d' autres Livres Grecs dont on trouve dans les Bibliothèques plusieurs Exemplaires Mss. mais qui ne font tous que des copies différentes d'un seul Exemplaire; et c'est pour cette raison qu'on y voit les mêmes lacunes ("The manuscripts that Portus read in Ferrara and Venice are similar to the MS in the Royal Library. In all manuscripts we find the same lacunae, and if there is any variety, it is of no importance, as all these copies derive from only one archetype, which is apparently that in the Royal Library. There are other Greek books in which one finds several other manuscript versions, but these are all different copies of one single archetype; and that is why they contain the same lacunae").

[97] BNF: MS Par. gr. 2036, flyleaf (Jean Boivin): *Ex hoc descripta sunt omnia quae hodie extant manuscripta Longini* Περὶ ὕψους *exemplaria, ut patet ex lacunis, quarum originem prodit hic codex. Nam ubi lacunam habent alii codices, ibi desunt in hoc codice folia integra, vel duo, vel quatuor, vel etiam plura. Secunda tamen lacuna maior est in hoc quam in aliis: hoc vero ideo factum, quod cum alii codices descripti sunt nondum hic codex compactum foret, haberetque hunc amplius quam hodie folia duo, quam cum compingeretur excidisse verisimile est.*

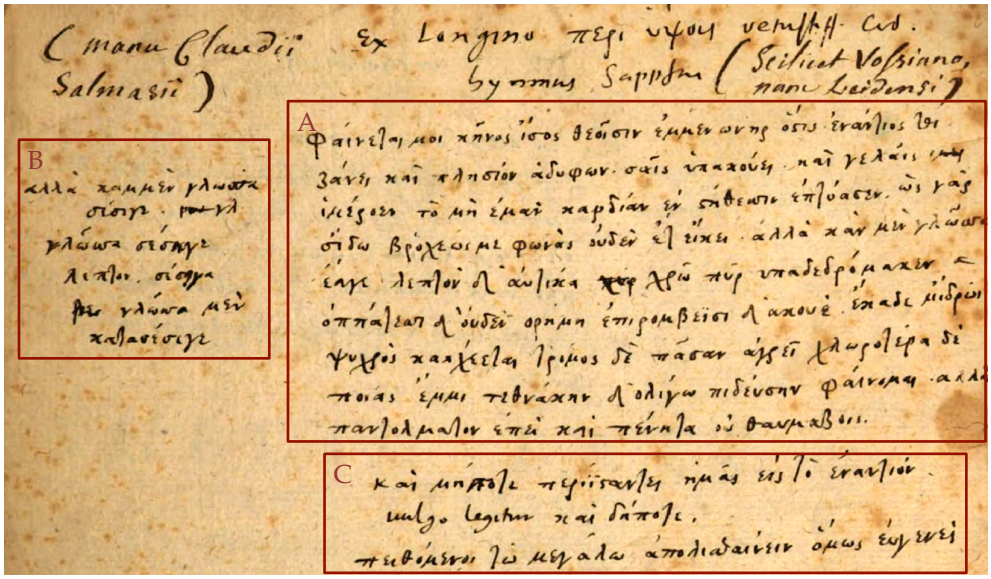
[98] J. Boivin, 'Remarques' in: N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours* (Paris: D. Thierry, 1701), 'Traité du Sublime', 142-147.

[99] Boivin in: Boileau (1701), 142: Le Roy a dans sa Bibliotheque un Manuscrit de sept à huit cens ans, où le Traité de Sublime de Longin se trouve à la suite des Problêmes d'Aristote. (...) Il fournit lui seul un grand nombre de leçons, que Vossius a autrefois recueillies, et que Tollius a publiées.

[100] Boivin in: Boileau (1701), 144-147.

(Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 A.gr.b. 858). According to the notes on the flyleaves of the edition the book was given to Jean Boivin in 1696 by his assistant, the Danish scholar Frederik Rostgaard.[101] Rostgaard, a legal scholar by profession, was an eager collector of books and manuscripts.[102] He came to Leiden in 1692 and lived there until he moved to Oxford in 1693. Between 1695 and 1698 Rostgaard lived in Paris and worked for Jean Boivin. One of the flyleaves of the copy that he gave to Boivin contains a quite interesting set of notes (see fig. 10). The flyleaf, of which the top half is shown here, contains a transcription of Sappho's *fragment* 31 (fig. 10, A), with some variant readings (fig. 10, B), as well as some other excerpts (fig. 10, C). The contents of these notes are identical to the notes that Isaac Vossius made on the flyleaf of his edition of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10, see above fig. 6). Rostgaard possibly transcribed the Greek text when he was in Leiden (between 1692 and 1693), and gave his book to Boivin when he resided in Paris.[103]

Fig. 10. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 A.gr.b. 858, (Tollius, 1694), flyleaf



[101] BSB 4 A.gr.b. 858, flyleaf*: Hunc librum dono mihi dedit humanissimus et eruditissimus juvenis Fridericus Rostgaardus, nobilis Danus. Anno Dni 1696 4° Non. April.*

[102] See K. Larsen, *Frederik Rostgaard og Bøgerne* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1970), 20-27 and 150-151.

[103] Boivin noted on one of the volume's flyleaves that Rostgaard gave this book to him in April of 1696, see above note 101. Weiske notes the presence of a copy of Tollius' edition with collations of Frederik Rostgaard. See Weiske (1809), xviii, as well as Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

I believe that the attributions to Claude Saumaise (*manu Claudii Salmasii*; 'the handwriting of Claude Saumaise') and Isaac Vossius (*scilicet Vossiano, nunc Leidensi*; 'obviously Vossius' [codex?], now part of the Leiden collection') are not Rostgaard's, but Boivin's, as they appear to have been written in another hand.[104] Boivin identifies the source as a book that belonged to Isaac Vossius, and the notes as Saumaise's. The transcription and textual variants in Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (Vossius' annotated copy of De Petra's edition) are however both written by Vossius (see fig. 6), which either means that Boivin's attribution of the original notes to Saumaise is mistaken, or that Rostgaard did not take these notes directly from Vossius' book (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), but from another book or document. In that case Rostgaard's and Vossius' notes would have had a common source, a manuscript or notebook that was in Vossius' possession.[105]

Even if this matter cannot be fully resolved, it seems clear that Vossius' textual studies enjoyed a certain amount of fame in French intellectual circles. In 1663 Tanneguy Le Fèvre jubilantly announced that Vossius was to take collations from a "very rich and pure manuscript", while Richard Simon and Jean Boivin exhibited a clear interest in Vossius' textual studies, and built on his investigation of "the oldest manuscript of *Peri hypsous"*, eventually confirming its status as the archetype of all extant manuscripts of Longinus' treatise.[106] Vossius' textual criticism of *Peri hypsous* appears to have been a desideratum as well as a catalyst of the study of Longinus' text, as it not only served as the groundwork for the edition of Jacobus Tollius, but also pointed towards the importance of the Par. Gr. 2036 for the text of *Peri hypsous.* Vossius did not explicitly identify the Par. Gr. 2036 as the oldest manuscript and archetype of all others, but by drawing attention to this

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[104] This handwriting concurs with other notes of Boivin on the flyleaves of this copy.

[105] A interesting clue is found in some additional excerpts transcribed in Rostgaard's and Boivin's copy. On one of the other flyleaves Rostgaard transcribed passages titled *De Marmoribus* (possibly from Didymus' Περὶ μαρμάρων), *De pontificiis nomine apud Latinos* (of Johannes Laurentius Lydus), *De vestis sericae usu*. One of Isaac Vossius' notebooks indeed contains these three passages, which are identical to the passages transcribed by Rostgaard (Leiden, UB: VMI 47). This notebook however does not contain the ode of Sappho or any of the other excerpts found on the flyleaves of Rostgaard's and Vossius' copy of *Peri hypsous*, which means that Rostgaard transcribed the poem from UB: 756 F 10, or from yet another book or document that had been in Vossius' possession.

[106] For Le Fèvre's announcement, see section 5.3.3.

particular manuscript his studies stood at the basis of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century advancements in the textual criticism of *Peri hypsous*.

5.4 Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous*

Jacobus Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous* is more extensive than any of the previous editions of Longinus' treatise. The volume, in quarto format, comprises over 430 pages, and includes, among other materials, the Greek text of *Peri hypsous*, a Latin translation by Tollius, the French translation of Boileau, and the notes of previous editors, as well as Tollius' *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* ('a sample of critical observations on Longinus'). From the epistolary record we know that Tollius had been working on Longinus since 1666.[107] In his edition of Cicero's *Pro Archia*, which also contained the *Gustus*, Tollius likewise wrote that he had been detained from his work on the edition of Longinus by the "needy poverty of a scholar" (*literati angusta pauperies*).[108] In 1677 Tollius wrote to Vossius that a first sample of his studies on *Peri hypsous* (the *Gustus*) had appeared, a so-called 'taster' for his edition, and that he, after a period of distraction, had resumed his work on the edition of Longinus, and was working on a translation of Longinus' text.[109]. After the publication of the *Gustus* in 1677 it took quite some years before Tollius' edition came out in print.[110] Tollius dedicated his edition to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, who died in 1688, six years before Tollius' edition was published.

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[107] Tollius to Vossius, November 4, 1666 (Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46^{v}; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461). See above section 5.2.

[108] Tollius, *Gustus* (1677), 1.

[109] Tollius to Vossius, July 13, 1677 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:107; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 463): *Spe mihi namque nuper facta, publice in hac Academia Literas Humaniores sine stipendio praelegendi facultatem concessum iri, resumsi pristinos spiritus, meque ad editionem hactenus intermissam Longini mei, veluti discusso languentis animi sopore, excitavi. In quo vertendo dum sum occupatus* (…). *Viderat jam publicum mearum in Longinum lucubrationem specimen quoddam, et integras eas cum nova versione, aliorumque et meis notis, in hanc aestatem fueram pollicitus.*

[110] Jules Brody mentions how Tollius had trouble finding a publisher for his edition, and argues that this delay is an indication of the limited popularity of Longinus' treatise in the second half of the 17th century (Brody, 1958, 10-11). We may however also entertain the possibility that Tollius' difficult character, which had caused him trouble on various occasions, and his poor financial situation were equally obstructing.

5.4.1 Contents of Tollius' edition

Tollius' edition relies on collations of the Par. Gr. 2036 (via Vossius), the Marc. Gr. 522 (via an unnamed colleague) and Vat. Gr. 194, 285 and 1417 (via Zaccagni), as well as earlier printed editions.[111] To Tollius' inclusion of the Vat. Gr. 285 we owe a section of *Peri hypsous* 2.3 that has been lost in all other extant manuscripts of Longinus' treatise.[112] This section, the *fragmentum Tollianum,* is only preserved in Par. Gr. 985 and its copy Vat. Gr. 285.[113] Tollius has made some modifications to the chapter divisions. Instead of 40 chapters in the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre, Tollius' edition has 44 different chapters, which are virtually identical to the chapters divisions in the modern editions of *Peri hypsous*.[114] In his preface Tollius praises the translation of Gabriele De Petra, which has produced beautiful renderings of some passages of *Peri hypsous*, but which also contains several mistakes, for which reason Tollius decided to make his own Latin translation. Tollius also prefixes a preface to Boileau's *Traité du Sublime* (also included in Tollius' edition) in which he praises but also criticises the French translation. Tollius also added notes to Boileau's translation, which exhibit an equally critical opinion. Tollius' edition and translation are accompanied by the combined notes of Robortello, De Petra, Langbaine, Le Fèvre, and Tollius himself. The notes added by Tollius mainly provide textual-critical remarks and reflect on the notes and

[111] In the preface (**2^{v}-**3^{r}) Tollius expresses his gratitude to all scholars who have supplied him with variant readings and editions of *Peri hypsous*. The editions of Robortello (1554), Manuzio (1555) and Portus (1569) are probably based on the Marc. Gr. 522. De Petra based his edition on the text of Portus. Langbaine (1636) in turn used the text of De Petra, and consulted a manuscript of *Peri hypsous* that librarian Patrick Junius pointed out to him (quite possibly the manuscript that is nowadays known as Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34). According to his *Ad lectorem*, Le Fèvre (1663) used the Greek text from the editions of Portus, De Petra and Langbaine. See Chapter One for a discussion of the manuscripts and early editions of *Peri hypsous*.

[112] Mazzucchi (2010), xlii-xliii.

[113] See Crisci and Scotti (1980), 65-75 for a discussion of the origin and authenticity of the *Fragmentum Tollianum.*

[114] The only difference is the division between chapters 4 and 5, in which Tollius takes the word ἅπαντα as the last word of section 4, whereas modern editions take it as the first word of section 5. Chapter 39 is accidentally numbered 38, as a result of which the edition appears to have 43 chapters, whereas in fact there are 44.

Fig. 11. Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist, Engraved title page to J. Tollius, Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius *(Utrecht: F. Halma, 1964).*



Overview of the contents of Tollius' edition

[*1r]	Frontispiece by Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist
[*2r]	Title page
[*3r-**2r]	Dedication to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg
[**2v-**3r]	Preface of Jacobus Tollius
[**3v-***1r]	Preface and notes to *Peri hypsous* by Tanneguy le Fèvre
[***1v-***3r]	Biographical account of Longinus by Gerard Langbaine
[***3v-***4v]	Ancient and early modern *testimonia* about Longinus
[****1r-****2v]	Index of the sections of Longinus' treatise
1-243	Greek text of *Peri hypsous* with translation, and notes of Robortello, De Petra, Langbaine, Le Fèvre, and Tollius
244-257	Fragments ascribed to Longinus, with Latin translation
[258]	Title page of Nicolas Boileau's *Traité du sublime*
[259-263]	Nicolas Boileau's preface to his translation
[264]	Preface of Mr. Dacier
[265-268]	Preface of Jacobus Tollius to Boileau's translation
269-344	Boileau's translation, with notes of Boileau, Dacier and Tollius
345	Title page of Tollius' *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*
346-347	Dedication to Friedrich Spanheim (the Younger)
348	Tolllius' preface to the *Gustus* (1677)
349-360	*Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (1677)
361	Tolllius' preface to the *Gustus* (*accessio*, 1694)
361- 381	*Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (*accessio*, 1694)
382-392	*Variae lectiones* in three Vatican MSS (Vat. Gr. 194, 285 and 1417)
393-404	Frontmatter from Gabriele De Petra's edition of *Peri hypsous*
405-408	Frontmatter from Tanneguy le Fèvres edition of *Peri hypsous*[115]
[Fff1r-Ggg2r]	*Index rerum et verborum*

[115] See also section 1.3.3 on the contents of the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre.

editorial choices of his predecessors. An exception is Tollius' discussion of the Genesis citation in *Peri hypsous* 9.9, on which he comments quite extensively.

As I have discussed in Chapter Three, Tollius responded in his notes to the debate over the supposed sublimity of the biblical *Fiat Lux* between Nicolas Boileau and Pierre-Daniel Huet. While Boileau adduced the *Fiat Lux* as a paragon of sublimity, because of its inherent greatness, Huet argued that 'sublime' is an inappropriate qualification of the Bible, since the word of God has nothing to do with rhetorical artifice. Tollius in turn explains that Longinus adduced this example in the context of his discussion of 'greatness of thought', the first of the five sources of the sublime, and hence that it served to illustrate the aspects of sublimity located within the ideas themselves, and not the aspects that pertain to verbal expression.[116] Tollius, implicitly siding with Boileau, was in turn briefly mentioned and rebuked by Huet in his *Lettre de M. Huet à M. le Duc de Montausier*.[117]

Tollius expounded his views on Longinus' theory of sublimity mainly in his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*, which was published for the first time in 1677 and reappeared, in expanded form, in his edition of *Peri hypsous* in 1694. An intriguing specimen of the seventeenth-century Dutch reception and appropriation of *Peri hypsous*, the *Gustus* merits our further attention.

5.4.2 Critical observations on Longinus

On 4 November 1666 Jacobus Tollius wrote to Isaac Vossius that he had read Longinus for the first time, and that Longinus' treatise not only corroborated his own opinions, but also provided a more general method for judging literature.[118] Tollius elaborated this idea in an essay that was published in 1677, his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum gustus* ('a sample of critical observations on Longinus'). The *Gustus*, dedicated to the Leiden professor of Theology Friedrich Spanheim the Younger, consists of a series of comparisons between Greek and

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[116] Tollius (1694), 61-62. See also ection 3.3.4.

[117] 'Lettre de M. Huet à M. le Duc de Montausier, Dans laquelle il examine le sentiment de Longin sur le passage de la Genèse: Et Dieu dit: Que la lumière soit faite, et la lumière fut faite', in: *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1706), vol. 10, 211-260. See section 3.4.4.

[118] Tollius to Vossius, November 4, 1666 (Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46^{v}; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461). See above section 5.2.

Roman authors.[119] In his introductory remarks, Tollius explains that he was prompted by some of his friends to provide a small specimen of his Longinian studies, while his promised edition was still in the making.[120] Tollius moreover explains that he has a personal fondness for Greek writers, and therefore chose to confront eminent Greek poets of their respective genres with their Roman counterparts, to the end of demonstrating that Greek poetry surpassed Latin poetry, while at the same time illustrating Longinus' ideas.[121] In the *Gustus* Tollius compares Pindar with Horace, Theocritus with Vergil, and Apollonius with Ovid.

Tollius published his *Gustus* as an appendix to his edition of Cicero's *Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia poeta* (*The speech on behalf of Archias the Poet*), in which Cicero defends the Greek poet Archias, who had been denied Roman citizenship.[122] Tollius does not explicitly connect the *Pro Archia* with his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*; his notes to Cicero's text only include two brief references to *Peri hypsous*.[123] Tollius probably saw his edition of Cicero's speech (the defence of a Greek poet in a Roman context) as a suitable opportunity to include his observations on Greek and Roman poetry.[124] Another set of comparisons appeared as part of a collection of essays, which Tollius published in 1687 under

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[119] On Tollius' *Gustus* see also Mazzucchi (1995), 1347-1348 and 1355-1358.

[120] Tollius (1694), 349: *Longini* Περὶ ὕψους *novam pollicitus editionem, rogor identidem ab amicis, ut eam, quantum pote, maturem: aut, si vel ipsa diffusae curae difficultas, vel otii me literati pauperies angusta retineat, specimen minimum aliquod, ac veluti Gustum quendam mearum ad hunc Auctoren animadversionum praebeam, ex parte occurram.*

[121] Tollius (1694), 349: *Sed quod ipse in Graecos maxime Scriptores propendeam […] tres mihi Graecae poëseos, Homero excepto, in suo genere principes cum totidem Latinis delegi, e quorum collatione et Longinus illustraretur.*

[122] J. Tollius, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia. Jacobus Tollius emendavit, notulisque, & expositione rhetorica illustravit* (Leiden: D. Gaesbeeck, 1677).

[123] Tollius (1677), 73 commenting on the expression *pingue quoddam sonantibus*, refers to Longinus' remark on triviality and grossness in *Peri hypsous* 29.1 On p. 117-118 Tollius briefly refers to *Peri hypsous* 9.11.

[124] The *Pro Archia* touches upon a number of themes that resonate well with the overall idea of *Peri hypsous*. Cicero's plea for the value of (Greek) poetry in general and the poetry of Archias in particular concurs with Longinus' fondness for the Greek classics. Both Cicero and Longinus moreover adduce Homer as a prime example, and reflect on the divine inspiration belonging to poetic production (Cf. *Peri hypsous* 14.2 and Cicero, *Pro Archia* 18). See the commentary in Vretska and Vretska, *Pro Archia poeta: ein Zeugnis fuïr den Kampf des Geistes um seine Anerkennung* (Darmstadt: Wissensch. Buchges., 1979).

the title *Fortuita* ('accidental essays').[125] In the *Fortuita* Tollius compares Virgil with Petronius, Homer with Virgil, and Sophocles with Seneca. These later essays were reprinted as an appendix (*Accessio*) to the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* in Tollius edition of 1694.[126] In the following I will refer to the first version of the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (printed for the first time in 1677) as '*Gustus*', and to the additional essays (printed for the first time in 1687) as '*Accessio*'.

5.4.3 Predecessors and imitators

Each of the comparisons in the *Gustus* and the *Accessio* roughly follows the same scheme: Tollius confronts earlier (Greek) authors of a particular genre with their later (Roman) equivalents, to the end of demonstrating the superiority of the former over the latter. In the *Gustus* the odes of Pindar and Horace are examples of lyric poetry, while Theocritus' *Idylls* and Vergil's *Eclogues* represent bucolic poetry, and Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* represent the genre of epic. In the *Accessio* Tollius adds to his discussion of epic with comparisons of Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Troiae Halosis* ('Fall of Troy') in Petronius' *Satyricon*, and touches upon the genre of tragedy with a comparison of Sophocles and Seneca.

Central to Tollius' analysis is the literary play between the original and the imitation, which consists of textual allusions, thematic similarities and genre conventions. In his comparisons Tollius aims to counter the idea that later representatives of a particular genre are better than their predecessors, and that their works constitute improved and corrected versions of their earlier counterparts. In the first comparison in the *Gustus*, Tollius for instance confronts a passage from Pindar's second *Olympian Ode* with Horace's imitation of the same passage:

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[125] J. Tollius, *Fortuita, In quibus praeter Critica nonnulla, tota Fabularis Historiae Graeca, Phoenicia, Aegyptiaca, ad Chemiam pertinere asserritur* (Amsterdam: J. Janssons van Waesberge, 1687).

[126] Tollius (1694), 348-381.

ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι,
τίνα θεόν, τίνᾰ ἥρωα, τίνα δᾰ ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;[127]

Hymns that rule the lyre,
what god, what hero, and what man shall we celebrate?[128]

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
quem deum?[129]

What man or hero do you choose to celebrate
with lyre or shrill pipe, Clio?
What God?[130]

Horace's imitation follows the original quite closely, but makes a significant change in word order. Horace has rearranged Pindar's sequence 'what god, what hero, what man' (τίνα θεόν, τίνᾰ ἥρωα, τίνα δᾰ ἄνδρα) into 'what man or hero, … what god' (*quem virum aut heroa … quem deum*). Tollius remarks that this could be interpreted as if Horace has corrected Pindar: by presenting three elements in descending order of importance, Pindar would have neglected the 'rule of gradation' (*regula gradationis*), which would dictate that such elements should be

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[127] Pindar, *Olympian* 2.1-2.

[128] Translation: Race, 1997. In his second *Olympian Ode* Pindar celebrates the victory of Theron of Sicily in the chariot races of in Olympia in 476 BC. See also M. Willcock, *Olympians 2, 7, and 11; Nemean 4; Isthmians 3, 4, and 7* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 133-140 on the structure and contents of the ode.

[129] Horace, *Ode* 1.12.1-3.

[130] Translation: Rudd, 2004. Horace's *Ode* 1.12 is a hymnic poem that subsequently praises gods, heroes and men, and which culminates in the laudation of emperor Augustus. R.G.M. Nisbet, and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace's Odes: Book I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 142-146 discuss its reminiscence to Pindar, and engage in a critical comparison of both poems: "We can accept the encomia of Pindar, who was writing in a simpler age; but Horace's exclamations evoke the derisive response of Ezra Pound: 'O bright Apollo, / τίνᾰ ἄνδρα, τίνᾰ ἥρωα, τίνα θεόν, / What god, man, or hero / Shall I place a tin wreath upon!'" While Tollius' disapproved of Horace's 'correction' of Pindar's opening lines, Nisbet and Hubbard in turn criticise Horace's naïve laudation of Augustus (in light of the complexity of Augustan politics).

presented in ascending order.[131] Tollius however dismisses this argumentation by stating that Horace cannot aspire to emulate Pindar, as Pindar's greatness is sincere and natural, while Horace's is sophistic and artificial.[132] The opening lines of Pindar's ode are marked by an inborn simplicity and genuine beauty, which provides the sentence its unique elegance.[133] Horace's rendering cannot hold up to the sublimity of its predecessor.[134]

In his comparison of Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 and Vergil's second *Eclogue* Tollius similarly argues that the phrasing of Vergil's poem does not come close to the dignity of the Greek text of Homer.[135] One of Tollius' objections consists of the freedom of Vergil's adaptations of the Greek original, which, in Tollius' opinion, render the text obscure.[136] More generally, Tollius argues that diligent and accurate Roman poets such as Vergil and Horace do not hold up to the *ingenium* of their Greek predecessors, and that Ovid, who polishes and even loves his own faults, is even worse.[137] In his comparison of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* Tollius aims to discern true sublimity (*vera sublimitas*) from bombast (*inflatus tumor*) and childishness (*lascivia puerilis*).[138] According to Tollius, Apollonius has more aptly portrayed Medea's amorous feelings in his *Argonautica*, than Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, because he has observed τὸ πρέπον ('what is

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131 Tollius (1694), 349: *Quid igitur? an peccavisse censendus est Pindarus, quasi regulam gradations, et a potiore persona ad inferiores delapsus praecepta rhetorum neglexerit* (...). Tollius here explicitly refers to Longinus' discussion of αὔξησις (amplification) in *Peri hypsous* 43.3.

132 Tollius (1694), 350: *Advertite igitur sinceram naturalemque in Pindaro magnitudinem, quam ipsa veritas suppeditabat. Verum in Horatio Sophistica est, ficta, elaborata arte ad veri similitudinem; et consequenter ad illius fastigium non accedit.*

133 Tollius (1694), 350: *In hac autem, quam produximus, sententia, addita est illis duabus orationis virtutibus nativa quaedam simplicitas, atque ingenuus decor, quae singularem illi sententiae gratiam conciliant.*

134 Tollius (1694), 351: *Nam neque sic Horatius sublimitatem assecutus est, et dulcedine praeterea ac lepore, cujus copia floret Pindarus, excidit.*

135 Tollius (1694), 351: *At si cum superioribus conferantur, longe videbuntur infra Graeci carminis dignitatem.*

136 Tollius (1694), 352: *Ergo dum brevis esse laborat, fit obscurus.*

137 Tollius (1694), 354: *Quod si et Horatium et Virgilium, diligentissimos accuratissimosque Poëtas, ingeniorum Graecorum non videmus esse assecutos; quid Ovidio fiet, qui tantum abfuit, ut emendarit vitia sua, ut etiam amaverit?*

138 Tollius (1694), 354: *Sed de hoc postea viderimus, cum […] in eorum unoquoque veram sublimitatem ab inflato tumore, ac puerili lascivia discernemus.*

fitting', 'propriety').[139] Ovid however has not observed the proper magnificence (*magnificentia*) or the power of poetic imagination (*vis phantasiae poeticae*).[140] To illustrate Ovid's ineptitude even further Tollius moreover adduces Vergil's depiction of Dido's lovesickness in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. Unlike Ovid's portrayal of Medea, Tollius argues, Vergil's depiction of Dido is magnificent and fitting, and is an example of Longinus' observation that "sublimity is the echo of a great mind".[141] Throughout the *Gustus* Tollius thus paints a contrast between Greek authors and their Roman counterparts. The case of Ovid and Vergil moreover shows that this contrast is not only a matter of language, but a chronological issue as well, as Tollius explicitly places earlier, original works above later derivatives.

In the *Accessio* Vergil's *Aeneid* is discussed twice; it is first compared favourably with Petronius' *Satyricon*, then however contrasted unfavourably to its predecessor, the *Iliad* of Homer. The *Troiae Halosis*, a poem performed by one of the characters in Petronius' *Satyricon* presents a description of the fall of Troy that alludes to the Laocoön episode in the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid*.[142] Tollius, using terminology from *Peri hypsous* 3.4, describes passages from the *Troiae Halosis* as *cacozelon* ('tasteless'), σχολαστικὴ νόησις ('a pedantic idea'), and as en example of 'tumidity'.[143] As Mazzucchi notes, Tollius apparently fails to recognise the parodistic tone of Petronius' poem.[144] Tollius draws on Longinus' discussion of stylistic faults and applies its ideas to Petronius' poem. Vergil on the other hand is said to steer clear of these faults.[145] When compared to Homer however, Vergil in

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[139] Tollius (1694), 355: *Ergo quod ipsam evvoian spectat, longe est Ovidius inferior Apollonio, qui si quis alius, in amoribus Medeae* τὸ πρέπον *servat*.

[140] Tollius (1694), 357: *Non assequuntur magnificentiam styli Heroïci, nec vim Phantasiae Poeticae, quae in loco tam praecipiti, ac in re tanti momenti atque periculi, poëtae in amoris agnitione ludentis lasciviam admittere non potest.*

[141] Tollius (1694), 360: *Quam hac diversa ab Ovidianis, quam plena decoris et magnificentiae? Adeo verissimum est illud Longini effatum,* τὸ ὕψος εἶναι τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα. Tollius refers to *Peri hypsous* 9.2.

[142] See F.I. Zeitlin, 'Romanus Petronius. A study of the *Troiae halosis* and the *Bellum civile*', *Latomus* 30 (1971), 56-82: 58-67 for a discussion of the Vergilian intertext in the *Troiae Halosis* and Petronius' ironic appropriation of his source.

[143] Tollius (1694), 366-368. *Peri hypsous* 3.4: Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἰδεῖν ὑπεραίρειν βούλεται τὰ ὕψη ("but tumidity seeks to outdo the sublime").

[144] Mazzucchi (1995), 1358.

[145] Esp. Tollius (1694), 370-371.

turn is the lesser of two, as his portrayal of the main characters in his work (Aeneas and Turnus) falls short in comparison to Homer's depiction of his heroes (Achilles and Hector). Vergil's work may be 'splendid' (*splendidus*), 'magnificent' (*magnificus*), and 'adorned with care and refinement' (*omni cultu curaque exornata*); it however lacks Homer's 'truthful depiction of emotion' (*affectuum veritas*) and 'forcefulness' (δεινότης).[146] In his comparison of two tragedies about Hercules, Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* (which is now no longer attributed to Seneca), Tollius describes Seneca's work as the bombastic and puerile version of Sophocles.[147] Tollius presents his comparison of Sophocles and Seneca as an illustration of Longinus' chapters on imitation (*Peri hypsous* 13 and 14), without however interweaving these chapters into his argument. Tollius rather reflects on failed imitation more generally, by discussing Seneca's unsuccessful imitation of Sophocles.

As Tollius announced in the introductory remarks to the *Gustus*, his comparisons serve as an illustration of *Peri hypsous*. Most of his observations however are not related directly to *Peri hypsous*, but rather take up some general elements of Longinus' theory. Tollius first of all adopts a method that Longinus himself employs throughout his treatise: the comparison (σύγκρισις) of two authors.[148] Tollius and Longinus share their fondness for Pindar, Homer, and Sophocles, but hold divergent opinions of Theocritus and Apollonius. In *Peri hypsous* these two Hellenistic poets serve as examples of 'perfect, yet mediocre

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[146] Tollius (1694), 373: *In Virgilio omnia comta magis, et omnu cultu curaque exornata: grandia tamen, et magnifica, splendida, illustria, et quamvis laudem vincentia: sed ad illam Homericorum affectuum veritatem ac* δεινότητα *non accedentia*.

[147] Tollius (1694), 376-377 refers to *Peri hypsous* 3.2: οὐχ ὑψηλά, ἀλλὰ μετέωρα (…) πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐνθουσιᾶν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες οὐ βακχεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ παίζουσιν. ("These things are not sublime, but highfalutin (…) For often when they think themselves inspired, their supposed ecstasy is merely childish folly"). Sophocles however is free of these faults. Tollius (1694), 375: *Praeterea, utut diligenter tota examinetur oratio, nihil in ea puerile, nihil frivolum, nihil ineptum, nihil tumidum, nihil non ex ipsa ductum veritate reperietur: omnia denique sobria, casta, praeclara, et decorum servantia*.

[148] See Mazzucchi (1995), 1348-1351, F. Focke, 'Synkrisis', *Hermes* 58.3 (1923), 327-368, D.A. Russell, 'De imitatione', in: D. West and T. Woodman (eds.), *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1-16, and A.D. Vardi, '*Diiudicatio locorum*: Gellius and the history of a mode in ancient comparative criticism', *Classical Quarterly* 46.2 (1996) 492-514 on συγκρίσεις in ancient literary criticism. See also Chapter Two on the comparison of Vergil and Homer in J.C. Scaliger's *Poetics* and Daniel Heinsius' *Prolegomena* on Hesiod.

writers' that fall short when compared to their 'flawed yet sublime' counterparts, whereas Tollius contrasted them favourably with their Roman imitators Vergil and Ovid.[149] The general principle however is the same: underlying Longinus' *synkrisis* of Homer, Pindar and Sophocles with Apollonius and Theocritus in *Peri hypsous* 35 is the implicit contrast between earlier, 'original' representatives of particular genres, and later imitators. Whereas Longinus is however generally positive about imitation – he describes *mimesis* as one of the roads to sublimity in *Peri hypsous* 13.2 – Tollius always seems to prefer the predecessor over the imitator.

In the *Gustus* and the *Accessio* Tollius selects certain passages and ideas from Longinus' treatise to construct an argument about the superiority of earlier (Greek) writers, over later (Roman) authors. As we have seen, Tollius praised his favourite authors in terms of 'magnificence' and 'forcefulness', used Longinus' discussion of stylistic faults (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), referred to Longinus' discussion of greatness of thought (*Peri hypsous* 9), and connected his comparison between Seneca and Sophocles to Longinus' discussion of imitation (*Peri hypsous* 13 and 14). Appended to his comparison of Seneca and Sophocles, Tollius moreover added some observations on various authors, which he presents as illustrations of Longinus' chapters on *phantasia* (*Peri hypsous* 15), and dignified language (*Peri hypsous* 30).[150] Instead of providing a commentary of *Peri hypsous*, Tollius loosely connects his own literary judgments to parts of *Peri hypsous*, engaging in, we might say, a rather opportunistic, or instrumental interpretation of Longinus' treatise.

5.4.4 A book for corroborating judgment

Tollius already confessed to his own opportunism in his letter to Isaac Vossius, when he stated that Longinus' treatise corroborated an already established opinion.[151] In Tollius' *Gustus* and *Accessio* Longinus' treatise served to underpin Tollius' opinion that earlier (Greek) authors are superior to their later (Roman) equivalents. Tollius' argument bears a striking resemblance to Daniel Heinsius'

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[149] See P*eri hypsous* 33.4.

[150] Tollius (1694), 378-381 consists of a discussion of passages in classical authors such as Ovid and Pindar, which only loosely refers to *Peri hypsous*.

[151] See above section 5.2.

argumentation in the preface to his edition of Hesiod (1603).[152] Heinsius similarly adapted arguments from Longinus' treatise in order to celebrate the genuine simplicity of archaic Greek poetry and to condemn the sophistic elaboration of its later (Roman) imitators. Both Heinsius and Tollius adapted elements from *Peri hypsous* to underpin their argument that (Greek) originals are to be preferred over later (Roman) imitations.

Heinsius' and Tollius' opportunistic interpretation of Longinus' treatise in turn belongs to a broader seventeenth-century practice of appropriating *Peri hypsous*.[153] Whether it is the strategic use of Longinus' citation of Genesis in biblical scholarship, or the application of Longinus' ideas to the visual arts, Longinus' treatise was used as an argument in various early modern discussions on literature and art.[154] In the same period in which Tollius published his comparative essays, *Peri hypsous* was brought into the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. The *Anciens*, represented by critics such as Nicolas Boileau, defended the great classics of Antiquity, while the *Modernes*, among which Charles Perrault, championed the literature of their own time.[155] In reaction to Perrault, who had criticised Homer's rudeness and Pindar's obscurity in his *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1688), Boileau published a series of essays, titled *Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rheteur Longin, où, par occasion, on répond à quelques objections de Monsieur P** contre Homère et contra Pindare* (1694).[156] Boileau's *Réflexions* do not so much provide

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[152] See Chapter Two for a discussion of Heinsius' *Prolegomena*.

[153] Tollius' comparative essays were for instance reprinted in J. Palmerius, R. Rapin, D. Blondel, J. Tollius and J. Van Berkel, *Dissertationes selectae criticae de poetis Graecis et Latinis* (Leiden: C. Boutesteyn and J. Luchtmans, 1707), which contained, besides Tollius' *Gustus* and *Accessio,* comparative studies of René Rapin and François Blondel, which also used *Peri hypsous* in the development of their arguments. Like Tollius' essays the observations of Rapin and Blondel had also been published earlier. See also Mazzucchi (1995), 1347-1348. The combined *Dissertationes selectae* in turn were reprinted several times.

[154] See Chapters Three and Four.

[155] See Cronk (2002), 118-171 and Gilby (2006), 132-142.

[156] N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours* (…) *et les Reflexions critiques sur ce Rheteur: où l'on répond aux objections faites contre quelques Anciens* (Paris: C. Barbin, 1694), Vol. 2, 'Traité du Sublime', [135-219]. On Perrault's criticism of Homer, see K. Simonsuuri, *Homer's Original Genius: Eighteenth-Century Notions of the Early Greek Epic (1688-1798)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 37-45. On Pindar, see: J.T. Hamilton, *Soliciting darkness: Pindar, obscurity and the classical tradition* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979), 151-184. See also Cronk (2002), 146-150 on Perrault's criticism, and 150-152 on Boileau's response.

a discussion of Longinus' ideas, as much as they serve to defend the sublimity of the ancients and to rebuke Perrault.[157] Printed directly after the *Traité du sublime* in Boileau's *Oeuvres*, the *Réflexions* as it were extend Longinus' treatise and bring it into the contemporary debate on literary judgment. As Emma Gilby has pointed out, Boileau's response effectively portrayed Perrault as a petty censor, whose narrow views prohibit him from valuing anything outside his own preconceptions.[158] By thus constructing his argument, Boileau frames any criticism of the ancients (Homer, Pindar) as a failure to understand the sublime.

The 'instrumental' use of *Peri hypsous*, as seen in Heinsius, Tollius and Boileau, does not necessarily start from Longinus' ideas, but rather takes these ideas as an anchor for observations on ancient literature. Longinus' affinity with the great Greek classics and his development of a subtle method for exercising κρίσις ('judgment') constituted an excellent starting point for Heinsius', Tollius' and Boileau's defence of the 'old' versus the 'new'. In their hands *Peri hypsous* becomes an effective weapon for refuting unfavourable criticism.

5.5 Conclusion

Tollius' *Gustus* was not received very favourably, and did not enjoy the fame of the *Réflexions* of his contemporary, Nicolas Boileau.[159] Tollius' Longinian studies and his edition of *Peri hypsous* however do constitute an important chapter in the early modern reception of Longinus' treatise. A key figure in this episode was Isaac Vossius, who probably brought *Peri hypsous* to Tollius' attention and moreover provided an important textual basis for Tollius' edition by sharing his collations. Vossius' work on 'an old manuscript' of *Peri hypsous* moreover sparked the interest of several French scholars: Tanneguy le Fèvre, Richard Simon and Jean Boivin.

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[157] On the rather 'loose' connection of Boileau's *Réflexions* to Longinus' treatise, see e.g. Cronk (2002), 151 and Gilby (2006), 135.

[158] Gilby (2006), 135-136.

[159] Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632-1703) writes to Nicolaas Heinsius in a letter of March 1677: *Tollii gustus ad Longinum, quem modo accepi, non est ad meum gustum, nec in orationem pro Archia quae notavit, respondent expectationi meae* ("Tollius' taster of Longinus, which I have just received, is not to my taste. Neither do any of the things he notes to the *Pro Archia* live up to my expectation"). P. Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum. Tomus IV. Quo Nicolai Heinsii, Johannis Georgii Graevii, et Jacobi Perizonii epistolae maximam partem mutuae exhibentur* (Leidae: S. Luchtmans, 1727), 485-486.

After a century of neglect, Vossius appears to have renewed the attention for the Par. Gr. 2036 and this revived interest in the manuscript that is the most important basis for our modern editions of *Peri hypsous*.

In Tollius' *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (and the *Accessio*) elements of Longinus' treatise are applied to the comparison between older (Greek) poetry and later (Roman) imitations. In this 'quarrel of the ancients and slightly less-ancients' Longinus was brought in by Tollius to defend the ancients, in a way similar to Boileau's use of *Peri hypsous* in his *Réflexions Critiques*. Both Boileau and Tollius, like Heinsius did more than seven decades earlier, reacted to the notion that the oldest (Greek) poetry was somehow inferior to later (Roman, or modern) poetry. The archetypal *synkrisis* between Vergil and Homer, which has sparked debates since Antiquity, as well as similar comparisons, such as the ones found in the works of Heinsius, Tollius and Boileau, found a new set of arguments in Longinus' relatively unknown treatise. Longinus' focus on the emulation of the great classics, the works of Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, Pindar and Sophocles provided fresh ammunition for those defending the 'ancients' against charges of rudeness, primitivism, and a lack of sophistication. In seventeenth-century debates Longinus' treatise was thus given an significant role in matters of literary judgment.

CONCLUSION

In this book I have shed light on the various ways and contexts in which Longinus' treatise *Peri hypsous* was read, interpreted and appropriated by Dutch scholars, from the earliest references to the treatise in scholarly works in the second half of the sixteenth century, until the publication of an edition of *Peri hypsous* in the Dutch Republic in 1694. I have examined the dissemination and reception of Longinus' treatise in the Dutch Republic by working out several case studies. In these final remarks I would like to present a brief summary of the most important observations of each of these case studies, and add several overarching reflections in which the result of my research converge.

Before *Peri hypsous* became known to Dutch scholars in the second half of the sixteenth century the early modern reception of the treatise had started in Renaissance Italy. In my first chapter I have sketched how the Par. Gr. 2036 and its early modern copies travelled through Italy, France and England, and were taken up in the library collections in which they have remained until the present day. Although manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* were circulating from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, the treatise did not leave traceable footprints in the scholarship of that time. The rediscovery of the Greek model of Catullus' *carmen* 51 (Sappho's *fragment* 31) in *Peri hypsous* in the 1550s by Marc-Antoine de Muret, illustrates that the contents of the treatise remained quite obscure until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the first editions of Longinus' treatise were printed in Basel and Venice. While the early editions of *Peri hypsous* were modest, and contained little more than the Greek text of Longinus, the seventeenth-century editions contained a wealth of material, which contextualised the treatise and its alleged author, Cassius Longinus. The sixteenth-century reception of *Peri hypsous* took off in the

circles in which the treatise had first been published, the milieu of Robortello and Manuzio in Northern Italy, the intellectual network of scholars and printers in Basel, where the *editio princeps* was published, and the tradition of Greek scholarship in Geneva, which was passed on from Franciscus Portus, via Isaac Casaubon to Gabriele de Petra.

Peri hypsous became known in the Dutch context via Hadrianus Junius, who probably learned about the treatise through his contacts in Basel, and Willem Canter, who travelled to Italy and visited Marc-Antoine de Muret and other Italian scholars. Through a study of Dutch book sales catalogues I have examined the presence of *Peri hypsous* in private libraries in the Dutch Republic between 1600 and 1650, which is centred mostly on the circle of academics around Leiden University. To this network, which is held together by family ties, tutorships and professional relationships, belonged scholars such as Bonaventura Vulcanius, Josephus Justus Scaliger and Janus Dousa (all of which almost certainly owned copies of *Peri hypsous*), as well as scholars who demonstrably studied parts of the treatise, such as Janus Rutgersius, Daniel Heinsius, Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Hugo Grotius and Franciscus Junius the Younger. The next generation of Dutch scholars, who were involved with Longinus' treatise after 1650, included Isaac Vossius, who provided valuable collations to Jacobus Tollius for his edition of *Peri hypsous*.

Three of my case studies have shed light on adaptations of *Peri hypsous* in the first half of the seventeenth century. Chapter Two examined Daniel Heinsius' appropriation of Longinus' treatise for the defence Homer and Hesiod, in his *Prolegomena* on Hesiod's works (1603). Reacting to scholars such as J.C. Scaliger, who valued later (Roman) poets over their Greek predecessors, Heinsius reworked parts of *Peri hypsous* into an argument about the unspoiled simplicity of the earliest Greek poets. Heinsius used Longinus' rejection of stylistic vices in *Peri hypsous* 3-5, the defence of the 'flawed genius' in *Peri hypsous* 33-36, and Longinus' dialogue on the gradual decay of literature (*Peri hypsous* 44); passages that also attracted the attention of other scholars in early modern Europe. Heinsius' *Prolegomena* are an early example of the creative interpretation of *Peri hypsous* that emphasised and amplified aspects of genius and the rejection of stylistic rules in Longinus' theory of sublimity.

In Chapter Three I have traced the famous controversy over Longinus' reference to Genesis (also known as the *Querelle du Fiat Lux*) back to early seventeenth-century discussions in rhetorical works and biblical scholarship. Longinus' inclusion of the Mosaic account of the Creation among his examples of 'greatness of thought' sparked the interest of early modern scholars and biblical critics, as it presented a pagan's judgment of the Biblical text. Hugo Grotius adduced the example in the context of his discussion of the Bible's simplicity of style and majestic subject matter in his essay *Meletius* (1611) and he adduced the passage as pagan testimony on Scripture in his famous *De veritate religionis Christianae* (first ed. 1627), which was reprinted multiple times throughout the seventeenth century. Grotius' discussion of the example was one of the factors – besides Nicolas Boileau's remarks on the quotation in the preface to his translation of *Peri hypsous* – that brought the French theologian Pierre-Daniel Huet to refute the validity of Longinus' judgment in this matter in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679). In the subsequent quarrel between Boileau and Huet (who was supported by Jean Leclerc), both parties increasingly stressed the centrality of 'simplicity' in Longinus' discussion of the *Fiat Lux*. This interpretative shift, which has influenced readers of *Peri hypsous* ever since, exemplifies the complex interplay between text and context in the process of reception. While Longinus' citation of Genesis gave rise to a fierce debate in seventeenth-century criticism, the debate itself in turn left an interpretative mark on Longinus' treatise as a whole.

In my Fourth Chapter I have examined the place of *Peri hypsous* in Franciscus Junius' reconstruction of the ancient's views on the visual arts in his *De pictura veterum* (Latin edition 1637; English edition 1638; Dutch edition 1641). My analysis has uncovered three functions of *Peri hypsous* in Junius' work. Firstly, *Peri hypsous* contributes extensively to Junius' discussion of the 'psychological' aspects of artistic production: the artist's imagination (*phantasia*) and the selection of great subject matter (*magnificentia*). The second function of *Peri hypsous* is of a more technical nature. In order to make up for the scarcity of ancient theoretical treatises on the visual arts, Junius has recreated the ancient discussion artistic techniques from visual metaphors in rhetoric and literary criticism. Thirdly, Junius frequently adduces Longinus' treatise in discussions about the intricacies of literary judgment and the fine line between carefulness and excess. Several times Junius juxtaposes passages from *Peri hypsous* that respectively illustrate the limits of boldness (*Peri*

hypsous 3-5), and permissible licence (*Peri hypsous* 33). In the chapters on 'grace', which Junius defines as a special quality of art, *Peri hypsous* likewise serves to bolster Junius' argument on sound critical judgment, while the core of Junius' discussion of grace (which comprises elements such as 'astonishment', 'simplicity', 'ease' and 'negligence') is largely based other sources. While these aspects of Junius' concept of grace do resonate well with some of Longinus' ideas, they do not necessarily originate in Longinus' treatise. Junius' discussion of grace rather exemplifies the kind of interpretation that early modern scholars tended to impose on *Peri hypsous*.

In each of the case studies in Chapters Two, Three and Four, Longinus' treatise is adduced to support a particular point, either to defend the earliest Greek poets, to serve as pagan testimony on Scripture, or to supplement the reconstruction of the ancient's ideas on the visual arts. In neither of these cases the interpretation of the treatise itself took centre stage. Instead, *Peri hypsous* was flexibly adjusted to the purpose it meant to serve. One of the reasons why Longinus' treatise was open to such appropriation is the fact that, unlike many other classical texts, such as for instance Horace's *Ars poetica, Peri hypsous* did not yet have an established interpretative tradition. Many, especially early seventeenth-century scholars, could be seen as 'first readers' of *Peri hypsous*; unimpeded, but also unsupported, by a body of scholarship on the treatise.

Even Jacobus Tollius, who read Longinus for the first time in the 1660s, engaged with *Peri hypsous* as a new discovery, and found in the treatise arguments which supported his (already established) views on ancient literature, as we have seen in Chapter Five. Rather than following the general argument of the treatise, Tollius used parts of *Peri hypsous* to bolster his comparisons between Greek and Roman literature, which were published as the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum gustus* (first ed. 1677), and a set of essays published a decade later (the *Accessio*; first ed. 1687). The complete set reappeared in Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous* in 1694. Tollius' edition is one of the results of the late seventeenth-century upswing of the textual criticism and manuscript studies of *Peri hypsous*, which were largely initiated by Isaac Vossius. Vossius appears to be the first since Pietro Vettori to have made a full collation of the Par. Gr. 2036. His studies of the text of *Peri hypsous* were taken up, although somewhat erratically, in the edition of

Jacobus Tollius (1694), and constitute a valuable source on the textual criticism of *Peri hypsous* to the present day.

Between the late sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century, Longinus' treatise underwent a radical interpretative shift, in which Dutch scholarship played a significant role. In my case studies I have shed light on some of the key factors that engendered this transformation. In the absence of an established scholarly tradition, *Peri hypsous* functioned as an interpretative shape-shifter, which could be used in and adjusted to a variety of contexts. The often polemic nature of these debates resulted in the amplification or redefinition of certain elements of *Peri hypsous*. We may, in conclusion, discern six main trends in the early modern appropriation of *Peri hypsous*. Firstly, *Peri hypsous* was 'harvested' as a source of textual fragments of ancient authors, among which Sappho, Euripides, Theopompus, and Hecataeus. The second and most obvious context in which *Peri hypsous* was appropriated are the theoretical treatises dealing with the whole spectrum of ideas on 'sublimity', 'the sublime style', the power of speech and poetic imagination, such as in the rhetorical and poetical works of Gerardus Joannes Vossius, but also quite extensively in the art theory of Franciscus Junius. A third, and slightly less obvious element of the early modern reception of *Peri hypsous*, which has been largely overlooked hitherto, is the popularity of Longinus' rejection of stylistic vices (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), as for instance in Heinsius' *Prolegomena* on Hesiod, *De tragoediae constitutione* and *Aristarchus sacer*, Junius' *De pictura veterum*, as well as works of various other scholars. These chapters of *Peri hypsous* were often interpreted as an advice to avoid artificial elaboration, and thus provided fertile ground for the redefinition of the Longinian sublime as a matter of 'simplicity' or the absence of stylistic contrivances. Closely related to this is the fourth aspect of Longinus' early modern fortunes, which is found at the intersection of biblical scholarship and literary theory: the reference to Genesis in *Peri hypsous*. From the early seventeenth century onwards Longinus' praise of Scripture was adduced in discussions of biblical stylistics, and eventually became conflated with the tradition of the 'sublime simplicity' of the Bible. The fifth aspect arises from Longinus' fondness for the great Classics, such as the works of Homer, Pindar and Sophocles. Longinus' defence of the 'flawed genius' was frequently used (for instance by Heinsius and Tollius, as well as Boileau) to subvert criticism and to praise the original genius of one of more 'ancients', and hence became

became a topic in its own right and a *locus classicus* on artistic licence. Lastly, and most importantly, the opportunistic and argumentative context in which *Peri hypsous* was often appropriated invited a focus on the elusiveness, subjectivity, or 'self-evident' nature of the Longinian sublime. A popular argument in the debates that I have analysed is the idea that it takes genius to create as well as value the 'sublime', and anyone who fails to appreciate it simply lacks the critical capacities to form the proper judgment of it. Its lack of a fixed interpretative canon as well as the pliability of its subject made *Peri hypsous* the ideal support for subjective literary judgments. In the seventeenth century *Peri hypsous* served its polemical purposes best by escaping systematic categorisation or definition, and eventually transformed into the epitome of the mysterious workings of literature, art and nature.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1. References to *Peri hypsous* in printed media (1550-1600)

The following table lists all references to *Peri hypsous* that I have encountered in early modern sources up to 1600. The information was gathered through the study of early modern books as well as modern scholarship on the reception of *Peri hypsous*.

Author	Date	Title	Place	Pages	Passages
Marc-Antoine de Muret	1554	*Catullus et in eum commentarius*	Venice	56-58	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho)
Henri Estienne	1556	*Anacreontis et aliorum Lyricorum aliquot poëtarum Odae*	Paris	68	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho)
Francesco Robortello	1557	*De convenientia supputationis Livianae annorum cum marmoribus Romanis quae in Capitolio sunt. Eiusdem de arte sive ratione corrigendi veteres authores disputatio. Eiusdem emendationum libri duo*	Padua	8r, 9^{r-v}	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho)
Hadrianus Junius	1558	*Adagiorum centuriae octo, cum dimidia*	Basel	A3^{v}, 396, 690, 787, 800-803, 844, 847	*Peri hypsous* 3.2, 3.4, 31.1, 44.3-5, Eunapius[1]

[1] 'Eunapius' refers to the biography of Cassius Longinus (to whom *Peri hypsous* was sometimes attributed), in Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers*.

Author	Date	Title	Place	Pages	Passages
Antonius Lullus Balearis	1558	*De oratione libri septem. Quibus non modo Hermogenes ipse totus, verum-etiam quicquid fere a reliquis Graecis ac Latinis de Arte dicendi traditum est, suis locis aptissime explicatur*	Basel	422, 448-53	general reference
Andreas Dudith	1560	*Dionysii Halicarnassei de Thucydidis historia iudicium*	Venice	B2^{v}-B3^{r}	*Peri hypsous* 39-42
Pietro Vettori	1560	*Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis De arte poetarum*	Florence	149, 295	*Peri hypsous* 9.7, 15.7
Pietro Vettori	1562	*Commentarii in librum Demetrii Phalerei de elocutione*	Florence	ad lectorem, 77, 87, 105, 236, 246, 268	*Peri hypsous* 3-5, 15.10, 32.3, 13.3, 39.4
Hadrianus Junius	1565	*Emblemata*	Antwerp	62, 146-7	*Peri hypsous* 44.3-5
Francesco Robortello	1567	*De artificio dicendi*	Bologna	16^{v}-17^{r}, 17^{v}, 26^{r-v}, 30^{r}, 31^{v}, 36^{v}-37^{r}, 38^{v}, 42^{r}, 43^{v}	*Peri hypsous* 2.1-2, 4, 10.1, 10.7, 16.2, Eunapius
Fulvio Orsini	1568	*Carmina novem illustrium feminarum*	Antwerp	283-284	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho)
Johannes Caselius	1569	*Pro arte poetarum oratio*	Rostock	c2^{v}-c3^{r}	general reference
Pietro Vettori	1569	*Variarum lectionum XIII novi libri*	Florence	32, 71, 140, 175	*Peri hypsous* 1.2, 9.5, 10.6, 27.2 (Hecataeus)
Antonio Zeno	1569	*In concionem Periclis et Lepidi ex libro primo historiarum Thucydidis et Sallustii Commentarius*	Venice	11	general reference
Dionysius Lambinus	1570	*T. Lucretii Cari de rerum natura libri sex*	Paris	d3^{r}	*Peri hypsous* 12.4
Dirk Canter	1570	*Fragmenta poetarum Graecorum* (Oxford: BL MS D'Orville 121)	n/a	n/a	*Peri hypsous* 15.4 (Euripides)
Willem Canter	1571	*Novarum lectionum libri octo*	Antwerp	142-143, 354-356	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho), 43.2 (Theopompus)

Author	Date	Title	Place	Pages	Passages
Henri Estienne	1572	*Thesaurus graecae linguae: in quo, praeter alia plurima, quae primus praestitit (paternae in thesauro latino diligentiae aemulus), vocabula in certas classes distribuit, multiplici derivatorum serie ad primigenia tanquam ad radices unde pullulant*	Paris	passim	div.
Joshua Rainolds	1573	*Orationes duodecim; cum aliis quibusdam opusculis* (published: Oxford, 1614)	Oxford	327-8	*Peri hypsous* 17.1
Josephus Jus-tus Scaliger	1577	*Catulli, Tibulli, Properti nova editio, Josephus Scaliger recensuit, ejusdem in eosdem castigationum liber*	Paris	247 (*castiga-tiones*)	*Peri hypsous* 44.5
Henri Estienne	1577	*Pseudocicero, dialogus in hoc non solum de multis as Ciceronis sermonem pertinentibus, sed etiam quem delectum editionum eius habere, et quam cautionem in eo legendo debeat adhibere, lector monebitur*	Paris	162-64	*Peri hypsous* 4.4-5
Pietro Vettori	1579	*Commentarii in tres libros Aristotelis de arte dicendi*	Florence	572, 575, 579, 614, 733	*Peri hypsous* 3.2, 32.1 32.3, 40
Pietro Vettori	1582	*Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII*	Florence	15, 331, 354, 395, 415	*Peri hypsous* 1.2, 4.7, 9.6, 10.6, 27.2 (Hecataeus)
Josephus Justus Scaliger	1582	*Catulli, Tibulli, Properti nova editio, Josephus Scaliger recensuit, ejusdem in eosdem castigationum liber*	Antwerp	69, 235 (*castiga-tiones*)	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho), 44.5
Franciscus Portus	1584	*Francisci Porti Cretensis in omnes Sophoclis tragoedias prolegomena*	Bern	7	general reference
Paolo Manuzio	1585	*Adagia quaecumque ad hanc diem exierunt*	Venice	1871-1872, 1926-1927	*Peri hypsous* 3.4, Eunapius
Friedrich Sylburg	1586	*Dionisii Halicarnassei scripta quae exstant, omnia, et historica, et rhetorica*	Frankfurt	*Praefatio*	Eunapius

Author	Date	Title	Place	Pages	Passages
Francesco Patrizi	1586	*Della poetica* (published by Aguzzi-Barbagli, 1969-1971)	n/a	I: 44; II: 64, 259, 263-265, 267, 268, 303, 304, 316, 324-326); III: 112, 258, 259, 293, 367, 387	1.4, 15.2, 15.9, 35.5, 36.3
Henri Estienne	1587	*De criticis veteribus Graecis et Latinis eorumque variis apud poetas potissimum reprehensionibus dissertatio*	Paris	18, 296	general reference
Jacopo Mazzoni	1587	*Della difesa della Comedia di Dante, distinta in sette libri*	Cesena	20 (intro.), 678, 686	*Peri hypsous* 10.6
Lorenzo Giacomini	1587	*Del furor poetico. Discorso fatto ne l'Academia degli Alterati ne l'anno MDLXXXVII* (published in *Orationi e discorsi*, 1597).	Florence	72	*Peri hypsous* 9.1, 14.2-3
Isaac Casaubon	1587	*Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*	Geneva	20 (comment.)	*Peri hypsous* 38.5 (anon. fragment)
Ludovico Carbone	1592	*De elocutione oratoria libri IIII*	Venice	699	general reference
Janus Dousa (filius)	1592	*Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, jampridem viri docti judicio castigati*	Leiden	264, 33-34 (notes)	*Peri hypsous* 10.2 (Sappho)
William Thorne	1592	*Ducente deo. Willelmi Thorni Tullius seu Rhetor in tria stromata divisus*	Oxford	5	general reference
Pedro Juan Nuñez	1593	*Institutionum rhetoricarum libri quinque*	Barcelona	pro-oemium, 304, 325	*Peri hypsous* 16.2
Johanne Caselius	1595	*Phalereus, sive de elocutione liber*	Rostock	C4^{r}	*Peri hypsous* 9.9
Johannes Meursius	1597	*Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra, poëma obscurum*	Leiden	268	*Peri hypsous* 9.5

Appendix 2. Dutch Book Sales Catalogues containing *Peri hypsous* (1599-1650)

The following table provides an overview of all Dutch Book Sales Catalogues between 1599 and 1650 containing one or more editions of *Peri hypsous*.[1]

	Date	Place of auction	Type of catalogue	Owner	Edition
1	1601-06-04	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Meulen, Daniel van der	Portus
2	1604-10-05	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Dousa, Janus, filius & Dousa, Georgius	Portus
3	1605-05-02	The Hague	auction cat. private library	Casembroot, Leonard	Portus
4	1607-10-08	Leiden	stock catalogue	Commelinus, Johannes	Portus
5	1609-03-11	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Scaliger, Joseph	Portus
6	1610-11-15	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Vulcanius, Bonaventura	Portus
7	1612-04-04	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Potter, Ludolf (Alkmaar)	Unidentified[2]
8	1612-09-19	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Wynand, Cornelius	Unidentified, Portus (2x)
9	1614-10-22	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Dam, Johannes van (+2 anon.)	Portus
10	1617-10-17	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Canter, Dirk (Utrecht)	Portus
11	1628-06-28	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Niraeus, Richard Jan & Quesnoy, Daniel	Petra
12	1629-03-06	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Snellius van Royen, Willebrord & Segeth, Thomas	Portus (2x)
13	1630-06-03	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Codde, Willem	Portus
14	1630-06-12 1633-03-07	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Rutgers, Janus (Dordrecht)	Manuzio, De Petra, Portus
15	1630	Dordrecht	auction cat. private library	Lydius, Balthazar	Portus
16	1631	Amsterdam	stock catalogue	Laurensz, Hendrick	De Petra
17	1634	Leiden	stock catalogue	Elzevier, Bonaventura & Elzevier, Abraham (I)	De Petra
18	1636	Leiden	cat. institutional library	Leiden University Library	Portus

[1] The metadata provided here are based on the information in *Book Sales Catalogues Online - Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500-ca. 1800*. Advisor: Brill, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015. http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online. If the previous owner is from another city than where the auction was held, the home town is indicated.

[2] For the 'unidentified' cases, see section 1.5.2.

	Date	Place of auction	Type of catalogue	Owner	Edition
19	1637-02-09	Leiden	auction cat. private library	anonymous	Portus
20	1637-10-08	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Nevius, Johannes (Venlo)	Portus
21	1640-05-24	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Elichmann, Johannes	Langbaine
22	1641-08-20	Dordrecht	auction cat. private library	Roover, Jacob	Portus
23	1641-10-04	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Gomarus, Franciscus (Groningen)	Portus
24	1642	Copenhagen	stock catalogue	Elzevier, Bonaventura & Elzevier, Abraham (I)	Langbaine
25	1643-04-21	The Hague	auction cat. private library	Schotte, Appollonius	Portus
26	1646-05-15	Leiden	stock catalogue	Commelinus, Abraham	Langbaine, De Petra
27	1647-01	The Hague	auction cat. anon. collection & private library	Hubert, Andreas de & anonymous	Portus
28	1647	Amsterdam	stock catalogue	Janssonius, Johannes	Manolesius
29	1649-02-08	The Hague	auction cat. private library	Swartius, Eusthathius	Unidentified
30	1649-04-28	Leiden	auction cat. anon. collection	anonymous	Pinelli
31	1650-03-21	Leiden	auction cat. private library	Walaeus, Johannes	Langbaine
32	1650-05-16	The Hague	auction cat. anon. collection	anonymous	Unidentified
33	1650-06-07	Amsterdam	auction cat. private library	Sixtinus, Suffridus	Portus
34	1650-06-13	Rotterdam	auction cat. private library	Assche, Justinus van	Portus
35	1650-10-24	The Hague	auction cat. anon. collection	anonymous	Langbaine

Appendix 3. References to *Peri hypsous* in Franciscus Junius' *De pictura veterum*

The following table lists all identified references to *Peri hypsous* in the Latin (*DPV*), English (*TPA*) and Dutch (*SKDO*) versions of Junius' *De pictura veterum*.[3]

Section	*DPV* (1637)	page no.	*DPV* (1694)	page no.	*TPA* (1638)	page no.	*SKDO* (1641)	page no.
1.1.1	35.2	**2**	35.2	**2**	(35.2)	**4**	(35.2)	**4**
1.2.1	15	**8**	15	**8**	--	**--**	--	**--**
Summary of 1.3.11	--	**--**	(33.2)	**13**	--	--	--	**--**
1.3.11	5	**22**	5	**20**	5	**41**	5	**32**
	2.2	**22**	2.2	**20**	--	**--**	--	**--**
	(33.2)	**22**	(33.2)	**20**	--	**--**	--	**--**
	12.3	**22**	12.3	**20**	--	**--**	--	**--**
1.4.6	(15.4)	**36**	(15.4)	**33**	(15.4)	**61**	(15.4)	**49**
	(15.1)	**36**	(15.1)	**33**	(15.1)	**62**	(15.1)	**50**
	3.2	**37**	3.2	**33**	3.2	**63**	3.2	**50**
	15.2	**37**	15.2	**33**	15.2	**63**	15.2	**50**
	15.8	**37**	15.8	**33**	15.8	**63**	15.8	**50**
	15.2	**37**	15.2	**34**	15.2	**63**	15.2	**51**
	15.9	**37**	15.9	**34**	(15.9)	**64**	(15.9)	**51**
2.1.3	22.1	**54**	22.1	**49**	--	**--**	--	**--**
2.9.6	44	**109**	44	**120**	44	**189**	44	**171**
2.11.7	33.2	**119**	33.2	**128**	(33.2)	**205**	(33.2)	**188**
3.1.15[4]	3.1	**147**	3.1	**154**	3.1	**245**	3.1	**232**
	7.3-4	**148**	7.3-4	**155**	7.3-4	**246**	7.3-4	**233**
	2.1	**148**	2.1	**155**	2.1	**247**	2.1	**233**
	9.4	**149**	9.4	**155**	9.4	**247**	9.4	**233**
	(9.2)	**149**	9.2	**155**	--	**--**	(9.2)	**234**
	9.3	**149**	9.3	**155**	9.3	**248**	9.3	**235**
	13.2-4	**151**	13.2-4	**157**	13.2-4	**250**	13.2-4	**237**
	14.2	**152**	14.2	**158**				

[3] Paraphrases or implicit references to Longinus' treatise are given between brackets.

[4] In the 1694 version of the De pictura veterum section 3.1.15 is divided into several sections (3.1.15-20)

Section	*DPV* (1637)	page no.	*DPV* (1694)	page no.	*TPA* (1638)	page no.	*SKDO* (1641)	page no.
3.2.3	40.1	**156**	40.1	**162**	40.1	**259**	40.1	**248**
3.2.4	3.4	**157**	3.4	**162**	--	**--**	--	**--**
3.2.7	36.3	**160**	36.3	**165**	36.3	**264**	36.3	**253**
3.3.6	17.3	**168**	17.3	**171**	17.3	**275**	17.3	**264**
3.4.7	22.1	**189**	22.1	**186**	22.1	**305**	22.1	**295 (3.4.6)**
3.4.8	3.5	**190**	3.5	**187**	3.5	**306 (3.4.7)**	3.5	**296 (3.4.7)**
3.5.9	10.7	**195**	10.7	**194 (3.5.11)**	10.7	**317 (3.5.10)**	10.7	**311 (3.5.10)**
3.6.2	36.4	**200**	36.4	**199**	36.4	**325**	36.4	**319**
3.7.1	34.2 1.4	**207** **207**	34.2 1.4	**204** **204**	(34.2) 1.4	**335** **335**	(34.2) 1.4	**329**
3.7.9	6	**216**	6	**210**	6	**347**	6	**342**
3.9.20	3.4	**274**	3.4	**257**	--	**--**	--	**--**

Appendix 4. Letters exchanged between Jacobus Tollius and Isaac Vossius[5]

Date	Sender	Recipient	Copies
1666-07-09	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:177. • Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fols 43^{v}-45^{r}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, pp. 80-85. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 461. *Incipit: Irretitus variis negotiis serius atque*
Undated[6]	Isaac Vossius	Jacobus Tollius	• Leiden, UB: BPL 885. *Incipit: Recte judicas, mi Tolli, in*
1666-11-04	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46^{v}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, p. 85-86. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:173. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 461. *Incipit: Remitto quem utendum nuper acceperam*
1667-11-27	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II fols 50^{r-v}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, pp. 91-92. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:161. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 461-62. *Incipit: Dedit nuperrime literas ad me*
1668-03-07	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II fols 51^{v}-52^{r}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, p. 93. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:159. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 462. *Incipit: Remitto librum tuum, quem jam*
1668-03-19	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II fol. 52^{r}. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:158. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, p. 93-94. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 462. *Incipit: Effluxere jam aliquam multi dies*

[5] I am very grateful to Dr. Robin Buning, for sharing his complete database of photographs of Vossius' correspondence. The metadata provided here are based on the information in *Early Modern Letters Online,* Cultures of Knowledge, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

[6] This undated letter appears to be a response to Tollius' letter of 1666-07-09, as Isaac Vossius provides Tollius with some conjectures of Scaliger's *Catalecta Virgiliana* that Tollius had requested.

Date	Sender	Recipient	Copies
1668-04-11	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II fols 52^{v}-53^{r}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, pp. 94-95. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:156. *Incipit: Nullae fere mearum literarum ad*
1668-08-20	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• British Library, Manuscript Collections: Harley MS 7012, fols 480^{r}-481^{v}. • Leiden, UB: BPL 2366 G, fol. 19^{r}-21^{r}. *Incipit: Iamdiu est, vir optime, ex*
1668-12-02	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fol. 57^{r}. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:147. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, p. 101. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 462. *Incipit: Remitto cum ea, quam debeo*
1669-01-26	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:146. • Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fol. 57^{r}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, p. 102. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 461. *Incipit: Et Patris mors inopina, et*
1669-04-24	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fol. 58^{v}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, pp. 103-4. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:142. *Incipit: Remitto, et fortassis aliquanto serius*
1671-10-01	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, pp. 113-15. • Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fols 64r-^{v}. • Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:125. *Incipit: Tametsi mihi perincommoda diutina tua*
1677-07-13	Jacobus Tollius	Isaac Vossius	• Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:107. • Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fols 70^{r}-71^{r}. • Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS D'Orville 470, pp. 123-26. • Chauffepié (1750-56), IV, 463. *Incipit: Si diuturnum silentium immemoris animi*

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Het traktaat *Peri hypsous* ('Over het Sublieme'), dat dateert uit de klassieke oudheid, is door de eeuwen heen op verschillende manieren gelezen en geïnterpreteerd. Dit proefschrift bestudeert de periode waarin *Peri hypsous* van een ternauwernood overgeleverd manuscript uitgroeide tot één van de beroemdste werken in de Westerse literatuurkritiek. In het bijzonder heb ik gekeken naar de rol van de interpretaties van het werk door vroegmoderne Nederlandse geleerden binnen de Europese bestudering van het traktaat.

Peri hypsous is vermoedelijk geschreven in de eerste of derde eeuw van onze jaartelling. Het traktaat lijkt in vergetelheid te zijn geraakt totdat in de vijftiende eeuw een manuscript van het werk opduikt in Italië. Een bescheiden aantal kopieën begint in die periode te circuleren in Italiaanse geleerdenkringen en in 1554 wordt het werk voor het eerst in druk uitgegeven, door Francesco Robortello. In de daaropvolgende decennia wordt *Peri hypsous* in toenemende mate bekend onder geleerden in West-Europa; behalve in Italië ook in Frankrijk, Nederland, Spanje, Engeland en Duitsland. Gedurende de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw wordt met enige regelmaat door geleerden naar *Peri hypsous* verwezen en krijgt het werk een plaats in theorieën over literatuur, kunst, en bijbelkritiek. Na de publicatie in 1674 van een Franse vertaling van het werk, door de literatuurcriticus Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, neemt de bekendheid van *Peri hypsous* sterk toe en krijgt het werk een centrale plaats in de achttiende-eeuwse leer van de esthetica. In mijn proefschrift werp ik licht op de periode vóór de vertaling van Boileau en laat ik zien hoe *Peri hypsous* eind zestiende eeuw en gedurende de zeventiende eeuw op verschillende manieren werd geïnterpreteerd en gebruikt; geleerden waren niet zozeer op zoek naar een 'juiste' of 'correcte' interpretatie van het werk, maar kozen

de passages of thema's die hen het meest aanspraken en die hun eigen ideeën het best konden ondersteunen.

De variëteit aan interpretaties van *Peri hypsous* is deels ingegeven door de vraagtekens die door de geschiedenis van het traktaat lopen. De auteur is onbekend en grote delen van het werk zijn niet overgeleverd. Volgens de aanduiding op het oudste ons bekende manuscript is het werk geschreven door een 'Dionysius', 'Longinus' of 'Dionysius Longinus'. Tegenwoordig wordt ervan uitgegaan dat deze toeschrijvingen onjuiste speculaties zijn, en wordt de auteur doorgaans aangeduid als 'Pseudo-Longinus' of, voor het gemak, als 'Longinus'. In de handgeschreven overlevering is waarschijnlijk een derde van het gehele traktaat verloren gegaan. In de overgeleverde delen bespreekt de auteur de vijf bronnen van wat hij *hypsos* ('het verhevene', 'het sublieme') noemt: een meeslepende en indrukwekkende kwaliteit van literatuur die hij illustreert met citaten uit de antieke literaire canon, van auteurs als Homerus, Sappho, Plato en Demosthenes. Een aantal passages uit *Peri hypsous* heeft op latere lezers een bijzondere aantrekkingskracht uitgeoefend, waaronder Longinus' opvallende verwijzing naar de Bijbel (het 'Fiat lux' uit Genesis 1:3-9) en ook zijn verdediging van het ongebreidelde genie tegenover foutloze middelmatigheid. In mijn proefschrift laat ik zien hoe met name deze passages een bepalende rol hebben gespeeld in de ontwikkeling van de interpretaties van *Peri hypsous* in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw.

Mijn **eerste hoofdstuk** valt in twee delen uiteen. In het eerste deel bespreek ik de verspreiding en vroegste interpretaties van *Peri hypsous* in Europa. Het tweede deel bestudeert de verspreiding en vroegste interpretaties van het traktaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. Centraal in beide delen van het hoofdstuk staat de interactie tussen de fysieke verspreiding van het traktaat en de mate waarin geleerden kennis namen van zijn inhoud. *Peri hypsous* was lange tijd onbekend – gedurende de Middeleeuwen is er nauwelijks naar het werk verwezen. Halverwege de vijftiende eeuw duikt een manuscript van het traktaat op in de kringen rond kardinaal Basilios Bessarion, een van oorsprong Griekse geleerde die sinds ca. 1430 in Italië leefde. Bessarion liet het werk kopiëren en schonk het aan het eind van zijn leven als onderdeel van zijn boekencollectie aan de bibliotheek van Venetië. Gedurende de vijftiende en eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw werd

nog een tiental manuscriptkopieën van het traktaat vervaardigd en merendeels binnen Italië verspreid. In tegenstelling tot wat wel eens is gesuggereerd, was *Peri hypsous* in die periode nog steeds een zeer onbekend werk, getuige het ontbreken van verwijzingen naar het werk in andere bronnen. Pas wanneer in 1554 en 1555 de eerste gedrukte versies van het traktaat verschijnen, in Basel en Venetië, lijken geleerden van het traktaat kennis te nemen. Onder anderen Marc-Antoine de Muret, Francesco Robortello en Franciscus Portus bespreken passages van *Peri hypsous* in hun werken, met name enkele van de citaten die Longinus aanhaalt, zoals de beroemde ode van Sappho (*fragment* 31), die uitsluitend in *Peri hypsous* is overgeleverd. Mijn analyse laat zien dat de eerste verwijzingen naar *Peri hypsous* te relateren zijn aan de geleerdennetwerken rondom Venetië en Basel, waar de eerste edities verschenen, en dat de inhoudelijke receptie van *Peri hypsous* dus in grote mate afhankelijk was van de fysieke verspreiding van het werk. Dit geldt eveneens voor de receptie van *Peri hypsous* in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, die eind zestiende eeuw begint, wanneer het werk daar in gedrukte vorm begint te circuleren. Een analyse van beschikbare veilingcatalogi aan het begin van de zeventiende eeuw laat zien dat *Peri hypsous* met name circuleerde in de geleerdenkringen rond de Universiteit Leiden. Veel van deze geleerden, waaronder de gebroeders Dirk en Willem Canter, Josephus Justus Scaliger en Janus Dousa Filius, waren met name geïnteresseerd in de citaten die in Longinus' werk bewaard zijn gebleven. Waar de eerste receptie van *Peri hypsous*, zowel in Italië als in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, primair gedreven lijkt door een filologische interesse in door Longinus bewaarde tekstfragmenten, ziet in de loop van de zeventiende eeuw een aantal creatieve interpretaties van *Peri hypsous* het licht, zoals ik laat zien in de *case studies* in hoofdstukken 2-4.

In mijn **tweede hoofdstuk** staat het werk van de filoloog en literatuurcriticus Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) centraal. In de *Prolegomena* bij zijn uitgave van de werken van Hesiodus (verschenen in 1603) breekt Heinsius een lans voor de sublieme eenvoud van de archaïsche Griekse poëzie, in het bijzonder die van Homerus en Hesiodus. Heinsius richt daarbij zijn pijlen op een beroemde voorganger, Julius Caesar Scaliger, die in zijn *Poetica* (eerste druk 1566) had betoogd dat de literatuur van de Oudheid zich in een stijgende lijn had ontwikkeld, waarbij de oudste dichters golden als de primitiefste, en het hoogtepunt bereikt werd met de poëzie van Vergilius. In zijn weerwoord tegen

Scaliger maakt Heinsius gebruik van een drietal passages uit *Peri hypsous* die bij uitstek geschikt zijn om zijn betoog te ondersteunen – of die met enige creativiteit daartoe geschikt gemaakt kunnen worden. In *Peri hypsous* 44, het laatste hoofdstuk van het traktaat, schetst Longinus het verval van de welsprekendheid en het verdwijnen van de grootse auteurs van weleer. Dit sluit goed aan bij Heinsius' betoog dat de archaïsche Griekse poëzie grootser is dan de literatuur van latere tijden. Daarnaast maakt Heinsius gebruik van de beroemde passage uit *Peri hypsous* die ook wel 'Regel und Genie' gedoopt is. In die passage (*Peri hypsous* 33-36) betoogt Longinus dat auteurs die literaire grootsheid weten te bereiken, maar door hun grootse natuur ook wel eens dwalen, hoger moeten worden geschat dan auteurs die weliswaar nooit fouten maken, maar de middelmatigheid niet overstijgen. Met deze passage weet Heinsius elke kritiek te ontzenuwen die zijn voorgangers over Homerus en Hesiodus hadden geuit. Elke fout of misser die iemand in hun poëzie aanduidt wordt daarmee door Heinsius omgebogen in een teken van hun grootsheid. Een derde belangrijke passage uit *Peri hypsous* die Heinsius in zijn *Prolegomena* inzet is Longinus' uitleg dat sublimiteit niet hetzelfde is als 'bombast', 'nieuwlichterij' en 'overdreven emotie' (*Peri hypsous* 3-5). Dit zijn stijlfouten die dicht tegen het sublieme aan lijken te liggen, maar die in hun poging tot sublimiteit zijn doorgeschoten. Interessant is dat Heinsius in zijn weergave van deze passage een element toevoegt dat bij Longinus niet aanwezig is. Waar Longinus de stijlfouten contrasteert met 'sublimiteit', maakt Heinsius ze tot een tegenhanger van 'eenvoud'. Heinsius past Longinus' argumenten dus op creatieve wijze aan ter ondersteuning van zijn eigen pleidooi voor de eenvoud van de archaïsche Griekse poëzie. De interpretatie van het Longiniaanse sublieme als iets dat zijn werking haalt uit eenvoud wordt doorgaans toegeschreven aan literatuurcritici uit de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw (met name aan de Fransman Nicolas Boileau), maar het geval van Heinsius' *Prolegomena* laat zien dat die interpretatie al veel eerder de kop opstak.

Mijn **derde hoofdstuk** toont een andere context waarbinnen Longinus' traktaat in de vroege zeventiende eeuw al werd gezien als een werk over 'sublieme eenvoud'. Eén van de passages die Longinus aanhaalt om het sublieme te illustreren – om precies te zijn als voorbeeld van 'grootsheid van gedachte' – is een verwijzing naar Genesis 1:3-9, waarin de schepping beschreven wordt. Longinus geeft een vrije weergave van de Bijbeltekst: "God sprak: 'Er zij licht. En er was

licht. Er zij land. En er was land'" (*Peri hypsous* 9.9). Sinds het eind van de zestiende eeuw hebben geleerden zich verbaasd over een verwijzing naar de Bijbel door een niet-Christen, in een werk over 'heidense retorica'. Een prominente geleerde die zich daarover ook heeft geuit is Hugo Grotius, die naar deze passage uit *Peri hypsous* verwijst in zijn *De veritate religionis Christianae* ('Over de waarheid van het Christelijk geloof'), waarvan de eerste editie in 1627 uitkwam, maar dat sindsdien in talloze nieuwe uitgaven en vertalingen is verschenen. Grotius schreef *De veritate* tegen de achtergrond van de godsdiensttwisten in het zeventiende-eeuwse Holland als een werk dat een brug moest slaan tussen de verschillende Christelijke stromingen. Longinus' positieve waardering van een passage uit de Bijbel diende voor Grotius als een treffende 'externe' getuigenis van de waarde en waarheid van de Bijbel. Opvallend is dat Grotius in zijn werk *Meletius* (1611, een voorstudie van *De veritate*), Longinus' bijbelverwijzing expliciet aanhaalt in de context van de 'verheven eenvoud' van de Bijbel. Grotius sluit hiermee aan bij het idee dat de kracht van de Bijbel schuilt in de eenvoudige stijl waarin zijn boodschap vervat is – een idee dat teruggaat tot de Oudheid en dat ook in de werken van Grotius' voorgangers prominent te vinden is. Door Longinus' Bijbelcitaat in deze context te plaatsen maakt Grotius de passage impliciet tot een voorbeeld van 'sublieme eenvoud'. Grotius' bespreking van Longinus in *De veritate religionis Christianae* geeft in de late zeventiende eeuw indirect aanleiding tot een verhit debat dat voor altijd een stempel op *Peri hypsous* zou drukken. In wat later bekend zou komen te staan als de 'Querelle du Fiat Lux' ('de twist over het *Er zij licht*'), kruisten de Franse theoloog Pierre-Daniel Huet en de literatuurcriticus Nicolas Boileau de degens over de vraag of het citaat bij Longinus als een voorbeeld van 'sublimiteit' of juist van 'eenvoud' geldt. Na de *Querelle* wordt Longinus' Bijbelcitaat (en *Peri hypsous* als geheel), vaak beschouwd als een voorbeeld van 'verhevenheid door eenvoud', een interpretatie die tot vandaag de dag gangbaar is. Mijn hoofdstuk laat zien dat deze interpretatie niet zozeer in het traktaat zelf besloten ligt, maar eerder het gevolg is van de bespreking van Longinus' *Fiat Lux* in de context van de zeventiende-eeuwse Bijbelkritiek.

In mijn **vierde hoofdstuk** bespreek ik de verschillende wijzen waarop Franciscus Junius (1591-1677) Longinus gebruikt in zijn werk *De pictura veterum* (1637). In de *De pictura veterum* brengt Junius de antieke ideeën over de beeldende kunsten bijeen, en maakt daarbij niet alleen gebruik van teksten over visuele

kunsten, maar leunt ook in hoge mate op de antieke theorieën over literatuur en poëzie, waaronder *Peri hypsous*. Junius past passages uit *Peri hypsous* op creatieve wijze toe. Zo neemt hij de vrijheid om citaten uit *Peri hypsous* aan te passen en woorden die betrekking hebben op taal (zoals *rêtorikê*, 'welsprekendheid') simpelweg te vervangen door termen uit de beeldende kunst (zoals *zôgraphikê*, 'schilderkunst'). Ook maakt Junius creatief gebruik van een aantal visuele metaforen die Longinus in zijn werk gebruikt. Waar Longinus bijvoorbeeld het 'uitlichten' van bepaalde tekstelementen uitlegt door middel van een vergelijking met de contrastwerking in een schilderij, presenteert Junius deze passage als een letterlijke bespreking van schildertechniek. Naast de technische aspecten wordt een groot deel van de citaten uit *Peri hypsous* gebruikt ter ondersteuning van bredere kunstzinnige principes, zoals het formuleren van grootse ideeën, verbeelding en artistiek oordeelsvermogen. Zo verwijst Junius uitgebreid naar *Peri hypsous* in zijn bespreking van *magnificentia*, 'grootsheid' (3.1.15) dat een onderdeel is van de *inventio*, de 'vinding van het onderwerp'. In de Nederlandse vertaling van *De pictura veterum*, die in 1641 gepubliceerd werd, vinden we in dit specifieke hoofdstuk de zeldzame termen, 'hooghstaetelick' en 'hooghstaetelickheid', die Junius met name als vertaling van Longinus' terminologie voor het sublieme lijkt te gebruiken. Ook in zijn hoofdstukken over de verbeelding, *phantasia*, leunt Junius in hoge mate op Longinus' bespreking van dit onderwerp. Hoewel *Peri hypsous* een belangrijke bijdrage heeft geleverd aan veel aspecten van *De pictura veterum*, is er één onderdeel waarin de rol van Longinus' traktaat door moderne geleerden overschat wordt. Junius onderscheidt, naast een aantal klassieke elementen van de kunsten (waaronder inhoud, structuur en technische afwerking) een speciale kwaliteit, die een kunstwerk pas echt geslaagd maakt: *gratia* ('charme'). Voor Junius is *gratia* een kwaliteit die gekenmerkt wordt door eenvoud en niet gemakkelijk in woorden te vatten is. Deze kenmerken worden door moderne geleerden vaak in verband gebracht met het sublieme van Longinus, dat ook eenvoudig en onbeschrijflijk zou zijn. Bij nadere beschouwing blijkt echter dat Longinus enerzijds het sublieme niet op deze manier definieert en dat Junius anderzijds deze kenmerken van *gratia* uit andere antieke bronnen haalt. *Peri hypsous* wordt in dit verband daarentegen juist aangehaald als onderstreping van het zorgvuldig oordeelsvermogen dat een kunstenaar moet bezitten om een goede balans te vinden tussen saaiheid en bombast. Met de analyse in dit hoofdstuk heb

ik laten zien dat *Peri hypsous* op creatieve wijze en in uiteenlopende contexten door Junius wordt aangehaald, maar juist minder nadrukkelijk een rol speelt in de ontwikkeling van Junius' concept van *gratia*.

Mijn **vijfde hoofdstuk** beschrijft de academische werkzaamheden van twee Nederlandse geleerden in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw: Jacobus Tollius en Isaac Vossius. Beiden maakten een nauwkeurige studie van de tekst van *Peri hypsous*. Vossius vergeleek verschillende versies van *Peri hypsous* (manuscripten en gedrukte boeken) en formuleerde op basis van die vergelijking tekstuele verbeteringen op Longinus' tekst. Tollius werkte een flink aantal jaren aan een uitgebreide editie van *Peri hypsous*, die in 1694 gepubliceerd werd, en schreef een reeks essays over de inhoud van het traktaat. Vossius en Tollius correspondeerden met elkaar over hun studies, zoals blijkt uit brieven die bewaard zijn in Vossius' archieven. In mijn hoofdstuk laat ik zien dat Tollius' editie voor een belangrijk deel leunt op aantekeningen die hij van Vossius geleend had en dat daardoor kleine vergissingen in Tollius' editie geslopen zijn. Vossius had een, naar hij vermoedde, zeer oud manuscript van *Peri hypsous* bestudeerd in de Koninklijke bibliotheek te Parijs en in één van de edities die hij bezat had hij aangetekend waar de manuscripttekst afweek van de gedrukte tekst. In een andere editie kopieerde hij een groot deel van deze aantekeningen en deed daarbij een aantal verbetersuggesties in gevallen waar hij noch de gedrukte tekst, noch de manuscripttekst bevredigend vond. Deze tweede geannoteerde editie is het exemplaar dat Tollius van Vossius leende en dat een belangrijke basis vormde voor zijn editie. Tollius had (hoewel hij in het voorwoord van zijn editie zelf anders lijkt te suggereren), het oude Parijse manuscript zelf niet gezien, maar maakte gebruik van Vossius' aantekeningen, zonder zich ervan bewust te zijn dat die aantekeningen ook een aantal eigen suggesties van Vossius bevatten. Als gevolg daarvan vinden we in Tollius' editie een aantal tekstuele varianten die Tollius aan het oude manuscript toeschrijft, maar die daarmee helemaal niet overeen komen. Moderne edities beschouwen een aantal varianten zelfs als vindingen van Tollius, terwijl die, zoals mijn hoofdstuk laat zien, in feite aan Vossius moeten worden toegeschreven. Vossius lijkt zich buiten zijn manuscriptstudies verder niet veel met *Peri hypsous* te hebben beziggehouden, maar zijn observaties over het 'oude Parijse manuscript' gaven wel aanleiding voor een iets latere geleerde, Jean Boivin, om de conclusie te trekken dat dit

werkelijk het oudste manuscript van *Peri hypsous* was, en zelfs de bron waarop alle latere manuscripten teruggaan. Jacobus Tollius schreef naast zijn editie een reeks essays die gebruik maken van de ideeën uit *Peri hypsous*, en sluit daarbij opvallend aan bij de interpretatie van Daniel Heinsius (zoals besproken in hoofdstuk 2), die *Peri hypsous* gebruikte als argument dat oudere, eenvoudige poëzie de latere, complexere literatuur overstijgt. Ook Tollius schetst deze tegenstelling tussen oud en oorspronkelijk versus nieuw en 'gemaakt'. Zowel bij Tollius als bij Heinsius krijgt *Peri hypsous* daarmee een instrumentele functie die primair dient om bepaalde bestaande denkbeelden te ondersteunen, een functie die ten grondslag ligt aan een groot deel van de zeventiende Longinusreceptie.

In mijn **conclusie** breng ik de observaties uit mijn *case studies* bijeen en reflecteer ik op een zestal belangrijke kenmerken van de interpretatie van *Peri hypsous* in de late zestiende en zeventiende eeuw. In eerste instantie wordt *Peri hypsous* voornamelijk bestudeerd om de tekstuele fragmenten die in het traktaat bewaard zijn, en minder om de inhoud van het traktaat zelf. Ten tweede wordt *Peri hypsous* regelmatig aangehaald in werken over de welsprekendheid en literatuurtheorie waarin ook de 'verheven stijl' aan bod komt. Een derde, minder in het oog springend aspect van de zeventiende-eeuwse receptie van *Peri hypsous*, is het regelmatige gebruik van Longinus' bespreking van stijlfouten in *Peri hypsous* 3-5, waarin vroegmoderne geleerden zoals Heinsius een argument zagen tegen stilistische verfraaiing en vóór literaire eenvoud. Een vierde, en voor het traktaat zeer bepalende functie, is zijn rol in de zeventiende-eeuwse Bijbelwetenschap. De regelmatige verwijzingen naar het *Fiat lux* in *Peri hypsous* 9.9 in die context zorgden ervoor dat het traktaat sterk geassocieerd werd met het idee van de 'sublieme eenvoud' van de Bijbel. Het vijfde aspect van de zeventiende-eeuwse receptie van *Peri hypsous* komt voort uit Longinus' enthousiasme voor de grote klassiekers uit de Oudheid en zijn verdediging van de 'foutjes van het genie'. Deze delen van *Peri hypsous* werden door zeventiende-eeuwse geleerden gretig aangegrepen om hun favoriete (archaïsche) auteurs te verdedigen en werden het ultieme argument vóór artistieke vrijheid en tegen technische regels en voorschriften. Een rode lijn die tot slot in een groot deel van de zeventiende-eeuwse interpretaties van *Peri hypsous* te herkennen is, is het opportunistische en instrumentele gebruik van de tekst voor het onderstrepen van bredere argumenten over literatuur, de Bijbel, de beeldende kunsten, of poëzie. Het feit dat *Peri hypsous*

voor veel van zijn zeventiende-eeuwse lezers een 'nieuwe' tekst was die nog geen vaststaande interpretatie had, bood mogelijkheden om het traktaat in te zetten voor subjectieve argumenten. In de polemische en argumentatieve setting waarin *Peri hypsous* vaak werd aangehaald, werd veel nadruk gelegd op de subjectiviteit van het sublieme: zowel het creëren als het herkennen van het sublieme is aan het genie voorbehouden, en ieder die het sublieme van een bepaalde auteur niet ziet, beschikt zelf simpelweg over een te gebrekkig oordeelsvermogen. Op basis van deze observatie concludeer ik dat de prominente interpretatie van het Longiniaanse sublieme als een 'subjectieve en ongrijpbare' kwaliteit van literatuur, die na de zeventiende eeuw in zwang komt, niet zozeer in het traktaat zelf besloten ligt, maar zijn wortels heeft in de kritische debatten van zeventiende-eeuwse geleerden.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Wieneke Louise Jansen was born in Amstelveen (The Netherlands) on 22 August 1987. Between 1999 and 2005 she attended the Vossius Gymnasium in Amsterdam. After a propaedeutic degree in Psychobiology at the University of Amsterdam, she received bachelor's degrees in Classics and in Indo-European Linguistics at Leiden University in 2009. She received her Master's degree in Classics and Ancient Near-Eastern Civilisations (with the highest distinction) in 2013. In the same year she started her doctoral research at Leiden University, funded by the European Research Council. Her supervisors were Caroline van Eck, Stijn Bussels, and Casper de Jonge (all affiliated with Leiden University). From 2013 onwards she presented papers at national and international meetings, e.g. in Berlin, Paris, San Francisco, and Amsterdam. In addition to her research, she taught courses on Latin grammar and literature at Leiden University and contributed to the development of an e-learning programme for BA students in Classics. In 2015-2016 she was a member of the University Council of Leiden University. Since 2018 she has been working as a strategy consultant at McKinsey & Company in Amsterdam. She is a passionate and experienced singer – she sang for many years in the Netherlands Youth Choir and is currently a member of Vocaal Ensemble MUSA.