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CHAPTER ONE

FOOTPRINTS OF LONGINUS

THE DISSEMINATION OF *PERI HYP SOUS* 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.

² The *exemplum 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 copies³

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

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.

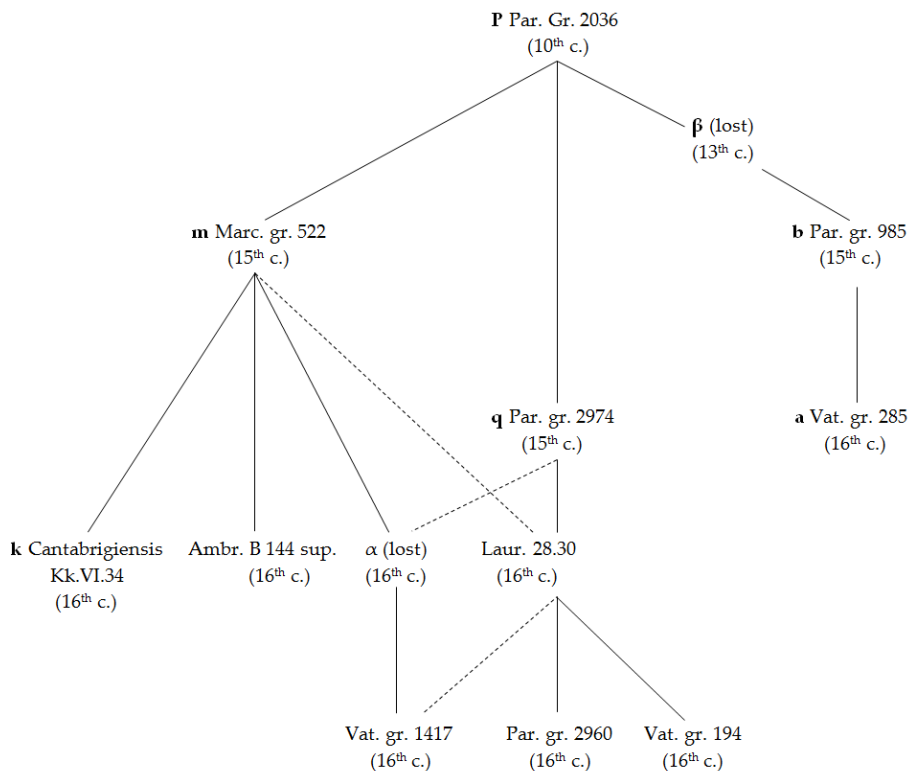
⁹ Mazzucchi (1989), 219-221.

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), I, 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,

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 will 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,

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

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

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.

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 ὑψους 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

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*,

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 Olympica, 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

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 εὐρέσεως* (*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: Λογγίνος, ὁ Κάσσιος, φιλόσοφος, διδάσκαλος Πορφυρίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, πολυμαθῆς καὶ κριτικὸς γενόμενος. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀνηρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς σύμπνου Ζηνοβία τῆ Ὀδυνάθου γυνακί. ἔγραψε Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου, Απορήματα Ὀμηρικά, Εἰ φιλόσοφος Ὁμηρος, Προβλήματα Ὁμήρου καὶ λύσεις ἐν βιβλίοις β', Τίνα παρὰ τὰς ἱστορίας οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὡς ἱστορικὰ ἐξηγοῦνται, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρου πολλὰ σημαινουσῶν λέξεων δ', Ἀττικῶν λέξεων ἐκδόσεις β', εἰσι 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*, Λογγίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον, καὶ κρίνειν γε τοὺς παλαιούς ἐπετέτραπτο, καθάπερ πρὸ ἐκείνου πολλοὶ τινες ἔτεροι. *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 Περί ὑψους λόγου ('On the sublimity of speech'), while it is titled Περί ὑψους ('On sublimity') at the beginning of the text itself (fol. 211r.), in keeping with the title given to the treatise

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. 211r, 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

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 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

⁷¹ Le Fèvre (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: Librairie 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

⁸² Horace, *Ars Poetica* 323-324: *Graii 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 ὑψος 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 ὑψους), 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 ὑψους 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' (ισχνότης) or 'sublimity' (ὑψος), 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).

φαίνεται μοι κήνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν
ἔμμεν' ὦνηρ, ὅτις ἐναντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδυ φωνεί-
σας ὑπακούει

He seems as fortunate as the gods
to me, the man who sits opposite
you and listens nearby to your
sweet voice

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν.
ὥς γὰρ ἔς σ' ἴδω βρόχε', ὥς με φώναισ'
οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει·

and lovely laughter. Truly that sets
my heart trembling in my breast.
For when I look at you for a
moment, then it is no longer
possible for me to speak;

ἀλλὰ κάμ μὲν γλῶσσα τῆραγε· λέπτον δ'
αὐτίκα χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν·
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ-
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι·

my tongue has snapped, at once a
subtle fire has stolen beneath my
flesh, I see nothing with my eyes,
my ears hum,

τεκαδε μ' ἰδῶς ψυχρός† κακχέεται,
τρόμος δὲ

sweat pours from me, a trembling
seizes me all over, I am greener

παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
ἔμμι· τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης
φαίνομαι ...

than grass, and it seems to me that
I am little short of dying.

ἀλλὰ πᾶν 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

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 Περί ὕψους, qui nondum à quoquam editus est, hortante eodem, qui me ad haec scribenda impulit, singularis doctrinae, eximiaequè 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 fact¹⁰⁵ – 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

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 (Vindelinius 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 ἂ 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 Wendelin's 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 of 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

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 Longinus' use of the word *nanoi* (*Peri hypsous* 44) in the commentary (Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Properti, nova editio. Eiusdem 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. Eiusdem 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*.

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

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

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; 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, poema 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 Douza 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

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 menigste 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 III. Gr. Paris. Theophr. De causis plantarum gr. De lapidibus gr. Lat. Typus Regiis. Virgilio 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

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 Eusthathius 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

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 oratoria* [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 Doussa 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).

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*

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-

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 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

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 hypsous*.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

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 excerpit*). The British Library holds a copy of Robertello'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.

