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

BETWEEN TEXTUAL AND LITERARY CRITICISM

JACOBUS TOLLIUS, ISAAC VOSSIUS AND *PERI HYP SOUS*

5.1 Introduction

In the first decades of the seventeenth century Longinus' treatise had left a mark on various fields of Dutch scholarship, from the literary theories of Daniel Heinsius and Gerardus Joannes Vossius, to the biblical scholarship of Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius, and the art theory of Franciscus Junius. For these scholars Longinus' treatise fulfilled a valuable role in the development of certain arguments, but it hardly claimed a primary place among their wide-ranging scholarly interests. It took until the end of the seventeenth century before Longinus' treatise became an independent object of study in Dutch scholarship. Two Dutch scholars were particularly important for the study of Longinus' treatise in that period: Jacobus Tollius (1633-1696) and Isaac Vossius (1618-1689). In 1677 Jacobus Tollius published his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*, an essay in which he discussed the merits of ancient literature while using Longinus' ideas, and announced that he was working on an edition of Longinus' treatise.¹ In 1694 Tollius published his edition of *Peri hypsous*, which included multiple translations of Longinus' treatise and a wealth of notes and commentary, as well as

¹ The *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* was published as an appendix to Tollius' edition of Cicero's *Pro Archia*: J. Tollius, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia* (Leiden: D. Gaesbeeck, 1677).

an extended version of his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*.² Isaac Vossius in turn had been studying manuscripts of Longinus' treatise, and, by providing his manuscript collations to Jacobus Tollius, made an important contribution to Tollius' version of Longinus' text.³

Neither the making of Tollius' edition nor the edition itself has received much scholarly attention hitherto. From the 18th century onwards Tollius' edition is mentioned in editions of *Peri hypsous*, especially because Tollius had provided some editorial novelties, such as the so-called *Fragmentum Tollianum*.⁴ Carlo Maria Mazzucchi has discussed Tollius' life and highlighted some aspects of Tollius' Longinian studies, especially the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*.⁵ Even though the scholarly activities of Isaac Vossius have received quite some attention in recent years, his Longinian studies have not.⁶ Vossius' work on the Longinian manuscripts is acknowledged in modern scholarship, but has never been discussed extensively.⁷

The present chapter seeks to reconstruct the scholarly activities that led up to the creation of Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous*, including Isaac Vossius' study of Longinus' manuscripts, and to examine Tollius' use of *Peri hypsous* in his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*. To this end I will analyse the manuscript collations of Isaac Vossius, letters exchanged between Tollius and

² J. Tollius, *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque, quæ reperiri potuere Jacobus Tollius e quinque codicibus mss. emendavit; novamque versionem suam Latinam, & Gallicam Boilavii, cum ejusdem, ac Dacierii, suisque notis Gallicis addidit* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1694).

³ Isaac Vossius' contribution to Tollius' edition is evidenced by letters, annotated books and Tollius' preface to his edition. See sections 5.2 and 5.3 for a detailed discussion of these sources.

⁴ Tollius' edition is for instance discussed by Pearce (1733), Toup (1778), and Weiske (1809). In modern scholarship the most important discussion of Tollius' edition is Mazzucchi (2010). E. Crisci and M. Scotti, 'Il fragmentum Tollianum (Περί ὑψους 2.3)', *Giornale italiano di filologia* 32 (1980), 65-75 discuss the *Fragmentum Tollianum*.

⁵ C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Un critico comparativo dei poeti greci e latini alla fine del Seicento: Jacobus Tollius e le sue Animadversiones ad Longinum', in: L. Belloni, G. Milanese and A. Porro (eds.), *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata I* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995), 1345-1367.

⁶ Especially in F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle. His Life until his Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden (1618-1655)* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 2000), and E. Jorink and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689). Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁷ Russell (1964) and Mazzucchi (2010) occasionally refer to Vossius in the critical apparatus of their editions. See also Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

Vossius, and the contents of Tollius' edition. By studying primary sources that have not yet received scholarly attention, or that have not yet been subjected to in-depth analysis, this chapter aims to provide a much more comprehensive view of this episode in Longinian scholarship, which can be seen as a corollary of a century of Longinian studies in the Dutch Republic. The present chapter will address this topic in two stages. After an introduction of Jacobus Tollius and his contact with Isaac Vossius (section 5.2), I will first give an extensive analysis of Isaac Vossius' manuscript studies of *Peri hypsious* (section 5.3), and discuss the place of Vossius' scholarship in Tollius' edition.⁸ Then, in section 5.4, I will discuss Tollius' edition, including his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*, and thus shed light on the way Tollius edited and interpreted Longinus' ideas.

5.2 Jacobus Tollius, Isaac Vossius and Longinus

Jacobus Tollius was born in Rhenen in 1633, in a family that produced several classical scholars.⁹ Jacobus studied philosophy at the University of Harderwijk from 1654 onwards, and continued his academic education in Deventer, where the classicist Joannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671) supervised his philological studies. After having worked for the printer Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam for several years, Tollius became secretary to the classicist Nicolaas Heinsius, and accompanied him to Sweden in August 1662, where Heinsius worked as a librarian for Queen Christina. In the spring of 1663 Tollius was however discharged from his position, after accusations of book theft, and possibly also because of his difficult character, which caused him trouble throughout his career.¹⁰ Tollius briefly held the position of rector of the Latin school in Gouda (in the 1660s), failed to obtain positions in Harderwijk and Leiden, and eventually became professor of History and Eloquence, and later also of Greek, in Duisburg.

⁸ The Leiden University Library has preserved two annotated copies from Isaac Vossius' collection (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8).

⁹ This account of Jacobus Tollius' life is based on A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden. Deel 18.* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1874), 176-177; F. Koldewey, 'Tollius, Jakob' in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 38 (1894), 423-427; P.J. Blok, 'Tollius, Jacobus' in: P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (red.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 5* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1921), 951; and Mazzucchi (1995).

¹⁰ See esp. Koldewey (1894).

In 1687 left Duisburg for a scholarly journey to Italy, which was supported his patron Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg (1620-1688). After returning to the Low Countries in 1692, Tollius lived in Utrecht and tried to make a living by giving private lectures, but was denied permission by the curators of the University of Utrecht. Having fallen out of favour with the intellectual elite, except for his successor in Duisburg, Heinrich Christian de Hennin, and the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen, Tollius died in poverty in 1696. Besides his classical studies, which included editions of Ausonius, Longinus, and Cicero's *Pro Archia*, Tollius' intellectual legacy also consists of several publications on alchemy.¹¹

Tollius' family had contact with prominent Dutch scholars, such as Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Isaac Vossius and (as mentioned above) Nicolaas Heinsius. His father, Johannes Tollius, maintained a close friendship with Gerardus Joannes Vossius, and two half-brothers of Jacobus, Cornelius Tollius (ca. 1628-1654), and Alexander Tollius (ca. 1630-1675), both studied under supervision of the elder Vossius.¹² Cornelius and Alexander were secretaries to Gerardus Joannes Vossius in the late 1640s. Cornelius and Isaac Vossius remained in contact at least until Cornelius' death in 1562.¹³

Jacobus Tollius and Isaac Vossius exchanged letters between 1645 and 1677, and Isaac Vossius contributed to Tollius' edition of Longinus' text, by providing Tollius with manuscript collations of *Peri hypsous*. It is quite likely that Jacobus Tollius learned about *Peri hypsous* through his contact with Isaac Vossius. Of the correspondence between Vossius and Tollius a total of thirteen letters has been preserved, twelve of which are addressed from Tollius to Vossius, and one from Vossius to Tollius. The originals, as well as various copies of these letters, are kept in the university libraries of Leiden and Amsterdam, the Bodleian Library, and the British Library.¹⁴ A few letters have been (partially) reprinted.¹⁵ The imbalance

¹¹ See Mazzucchi (1995), 1347.

¹² Koldewey (1894); Mazzucchi (1995), 1346.

¹³ Blok (2000), 233-234 and 391-392. The relation between the Vossii and Tollii was not always warm: after the death of Vossius sr. Alexander Tollius was accused by Vossius' widow of having stolen an unpublished work from Vossius' collection. The accusation later appeared to be a misunderstanding, since the book, the *Chronologia generalis*, was eventually retrieved and published in 1659 (see Blok, 2000, 339-340). Blok (1921), 951 moreover notes that Isaac Vossius at some point accused Cornelius Tollius of stealing books.

¹⁴ See Appendix 4.

between Vossius' and Tollius' preserved letters should probably be attributed to the fact that the personal documents of Vossius have been preserved in various collections, while most of the personal documents of the lesser-known Tollius (which would probably also have included Vossius' letters) were not preserved in archives.¹⁶

Vossius and Tollius exchanged letters between 1666 and 1677, predominantly on scholarly matters. On several occasions Tollius asked Vossius to share philological insights, and he moreover regularly borrowed books from him.¹⁷ In this context Tollius and Vossius also corresponded about Longinus' treatise. In 1666 Tollius wrote to Vossius that he had read Longinus for the first time:

Longinum nunquam antea lectum nuperrime perlegi: in quo multa invenio, quae non meum, aut similia meo ingenio tantum corroborare, verum etiam viam sternere ad solidum comparandum iudicium videntur.¹⁸

I have recently read Longinus, whom I had never read before: in [this treatise] I found many things that not only seem to corroborate my own ideas, or opinions similar to mine, but even seem to pave the way for establishing a solid judgment [in literary matters].

Given the fact that Tollius explicitly reports his first reading of Longinus to Vossius, it could well have been Vossius who recommended the text to Tollius in the first place. Vossius' role in Tollius' Longinian studies became even more significant when he provided Tollius with valuable readings from a manuscript of *Peri hypsous*. Two letters from 1669 show that Tollius had borrowed (and lost!) a

¹⁵ Several letters have appeared in J.G. Chauffepié (ed.), *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique, pour servir de supplement ou de continuation au dictionnaire historique et critique de Mr. Pierre Bayle, 4 vols.* (Amsterdam/The Hague/Leiden, 1750-56), IV.

¹⁶ Some letters of Jacobus Tollius however appeared in *Jacobi Tollii Epistolae Itinerariae: ex Auctoris Schedis Postumis Recensitae, Suppletæ, Digestæ; Annotationibus, Observationibus & Figuris adornatae* (Amsterdam: J. Oosterwyck, 1714), published by Tollius' friend and successor in Duisburg, Heinrich Christian von Hennin.

¹⁷ In an undated letter (probably from the 1660s) Isaac Vossius provided Tollius with variant readings in some pseudo-Vergilian works (Leiden, UB: BPL 885).

¹⁸ Tollius to Vossius, November 4, 1666 (Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46^v; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461).

copy of Longinus' text from Isaac Vossius. In January 1669 Tollius writes to Vossius and apologises for not being able to return Vossius' copy of *Peri hypsous*.

Longinum tuum necdum quivi reperire: sed aliud coëmi exemplar, in quod collationes tuas transcripturus sum, tibi remissurus.¹⁹

I have not been able to find your Longinus again: but I have purchased another exemplar, into which I plan to transcribe your collations, and then return them to you.

I am not aware of the existence of a copy of Vossius' collations made by Tollius. In any case Tollius would only have been able to make such a copy if he had already made a full transcription of the collations *before* losing Vossius' book. Several months later, on April 24 1669, Tollius again apologises for not having retrieved the lost book.

Longinum hic necdum quivi reperire, utut anxie quaesiverim.²⁰

I have not yet been able to find your Longinus here, even though I have anxiously searched for it.

Vossius' reactions to these letters have not been preserved, and neither can the ending of this awkward affair be reconstructed from the preserved letters of Tollius. We may however conjecture that Tollius eventually did return the copy to Vossius. We know that at the end of his life Vossius possessed two different editions of Longinus' treatise with manuscript collations.²¹ It is likely that one of these editions is the copy that Tollius had borrowed and temporarily lost. Since Tollius however had offered to send Vossius a replacement copy, we may speculate whether Vossius' private collection actually contained Vossius' original and Tollius' copy. As I will demonstrate in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, the collations in both editions are in the same handwriting (that of Vossius). Another reason to

¹⁹ Tollius to Vossius, January 26, 1669 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: hs. III E 10:146; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461).

²⁰ Tollius to Vossius, April 24, 1669 (Leiden, UB: BUR F 11-II, fol. 58^v).

²¹ Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8.

suspect that the lost book was returned eventually is the fact that Tollius later dared to ask Vossius for a manuscript of Artemidorus in 1671.²² Their relationship had apparently not been damaged too much for such a request to be made. Some years later, in 1677, Tollius wrote to Vossius that a first ‘taster’ of his Longinian studies, the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*, had been published.²³

In his edition, which is dedicated to his patron Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, Jacobus expresses his gratitude to several scholars who contributed to the edition by sharing books, notes and other information. Tollius first of all mentions Isaac Vossius, who shared his manuscript collations of *Peri hypsous* with Jacobus Tollius:

Gratias potius agam Viris illis Clarissimis, qui prolixissime, quantum in ipsis fuit, conatus meos adjuvare. In his prima τοῦ μακαρίτου Isaaci Vossii memoriae debentur, qui, ut erat vir summae humanitatis, Codicem mihi suum, quem cum MSto Bibliothecae Regiae Parisinae contulerat, statim, ut consilium meum audiverat, benignissime abtulit.²⁴

I would like to thank those illustrious men, who have, most extensively, insofar as they were able, assisted me in my efforts. Among them I firstly owe gratitude to the memory of the blessed Isaac Vossius, who, as he was a man of the highest erudition, has lent me most willingly, immediately, as soon as he had heard my request, his book, which he had collated with a manuscript from the Royal Library in Paris.

From this remark in Tollius’ preface we learn that Isaac Vossius apparently compared (*contulerat*; from *confero*, ‘to bring together for comparison’) a manuscript (*manuscriptus*) of Longinus’ treatise that was located in Paris, with another version of Longinus’ text that he possessed (*codex suus*), and noted down the textual differences in this copy. Jacobus Tollius then borrowed this ‘collated’

²² Tollius to Vossius, October 1, 1671 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:125).

²³ Tollius to Vossius, July 13, 1677 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:107; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 463).

²⁴ Tollius (1694), *preface*, **2^v.

copy and used it for preparing the Greek text of *Peri hypsous* for his own edition. Throughout his edition Tollius refers to Vossius' variant readings of Longinus' text.

So much is clear now: in the 1660s Tollius borrowed a *Peri hypsous* from Isaac Vossius (according to the epistolary record). Tollius also acknowledges his use of Vossius' collations in the preface to his edition. The Leiden University Library moreover holds two collated editions of Longinus' treatise bearing Isaac Vossius' *ex libris*.²⁵ In the following section, after a brief introduction of Isaac Vossius, I will identify from which manuscript Vossius took his variant readings, which copy Tollius borrowed from Vossius, and how Tollius used Vossius' material in his edition.

5.3 Isaac Vossius' textual criticism of Longinus' text

Isaac Vossius, a son of Gerardus Joannes Vossius and Elisabeth Junius, was born in Leiden, in 1618. His mother, Gerardus' second wife, was the daughter of Franciscus Junius the elder, and half-sister of Franciscus Junius F.F.²⁶ Vossius was educated at home, and studied philology under the supervision of Claude Saumaise (1588-1653), who succeeded J.J. Scaliger at the University of Leiden. In the 1640s Isaac Vossius undertook a grand tour to England, France and Italy, visiting famous scholars and browsing through library collections in search of (unknown) classical texts.²⁷ In 1649 Vossius was accepted into the service of Queen Christina of Sweden as her librarian and tutor.²⁸ In 1655 Vossius resigned his position in Christina's entourage, and settled in The Hague. From 1670 until his death in 1689 Vossius lived in England, serving as canon of Windsor between 1673 and 1688. Vossius published extensively on chronology and engaged in heated

²⁵ Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8.

²⁶ This account of Isaac Vossius' life is based on S.G. de Vries, 'Vossius, Isaac', in: P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (red.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 5* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911), 1519-1525; Blok (2000); T. Seccombe and F.F. Blok, in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28356>, accessed May 12, 2018); H.J.M. Nellen and D. Imhoff, 'Isaac Vossius' in: J. Bloemendal en C. Heesakkers (eds.), *Bio-bibliografie van Nederlandse Humanisten* (Digitale uitgave DWC/Huygens Instituut KNAW; Den Haag, 2009).

²⁷ F.F. Blok and C.S.M. Rademaker, 'Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, 1641-1644. The correspondence between Isaac and his parents', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 33.2 (2006), 150-216.

²⁸ Blok (2000), 259-262.

debates on scriptural authority.²⁹ Vossius edited several classical texts, among which the geographies of Scylax and Pomponius Mela, the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, and Catullus' *carmina*.³⁰ His world-famous library was bought by the States of Holland in 1690 for the University Library of Leiden.³¹ Among the books previously owned by Isaac Vossius are two annotated editions of Longinus' text: the edition of Gabriele De Petra (1612, Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) and the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre (1663, Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). Both editions have been annotated from beginning to end with variant readings of Longinus' Greek text. In the following sections I will analyse the annotations in these two editions, and identify their source.

5.3.1 *Catullus and Sappho*

The practice of collating, or collecting and comparing different variants of the same text, eventually serves the purpose of establishing a version of the text that approximates the original text as closely as possible.³² Vossius' collations of different versions of *Peri hypsous* would logically point towards an intended edition of Longinus' text. The collations may also reflect Vossius' general fascination for philology, as is also witnessed by the vast collection of manuscripts that Vossius gathered over the course of his life.³³ Like many other early modern scholars, Vossius appears to have been interested in the textual fragments preserved in *Peri hypsous*. One of Vossius' notebooks contains 'lists of authors praised' (*indices scriptorum laudatorum*) in various Greek and Latin texts, which also

²⁹ See for instance S. Mandelbrote, 'Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint', in: E. Jorink and D. van Miert, *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 85-117, and D.S. Katz, 'Isaac Vossius and the English biblical critics, 1670-1689', in: R.H. Popkin and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and irreligion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 142-184.

³⁰ De Vries (1911), 1523.

³¹ C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna commoditas: Leiden University's great asset* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 97-107.

³² See S. Timpanaro, *The genesis of Lachmann's method. Edited and translated by Glenn W. Most* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 45-57 for a discussion of the development of this method in the Renaissance. M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique. Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), 7-59 provides an insightful discussion of manuscript transmission and the basics of textual criticism. See also E.J. Kenney, *The Classical Text. Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 47-104.

³³ Berkvens-Stevelinck (2012), 97-107.

include an overview of all authors mentioned or cited in *Peri hypsous*.³⁴ Although Vossius did not publish an edition of *Peri hypsous*, his collations in any case proved to be quite useful for his edition of another classical author: Gaius Valerius Catullus.

As I have discussed in Chapter One, the rediscovery of Longinus' treatise, and with it a fragment of Sappho's poetry, meant a breakthrough in the study of the Roman poet Catullus, as scholars found out that Catullus' *carmen* 51 was actually a creative adaptation of Sappho's poem.³⁵ In 1684 Vossius published an edition of Catullus in which he also included a full and emendated version of Sappho's Greek poem.³⁶ Since Sappho's *fragment* 31 had only been transmitted as a citation in Longinus' treatise, the Longinian manuscripts were Vossius' most important source to turn to for establishing a reliable version of Sappho's Greek text. In the notes to Sappho's poem Vossius remarks that he relied on readings in a Parisian manuscript of *Peri hypsous*.³⁷ Vossius annotated at least two editions of Catullus, in which he noted down variants of Sappho's Greek text.³⁸ The annotations in Vossius' copy of De Petra's edition of Longinus (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) also betray a particular interest in Sappho's fragment. One of the flyleaves of this volume contains a full transcription Sappho's *fragment* 31 (= *Peri hypsous* 10.2, see below fig.

³⁴ Leiden, UB: VGO 3.

³⁵ See section 1.4.1.

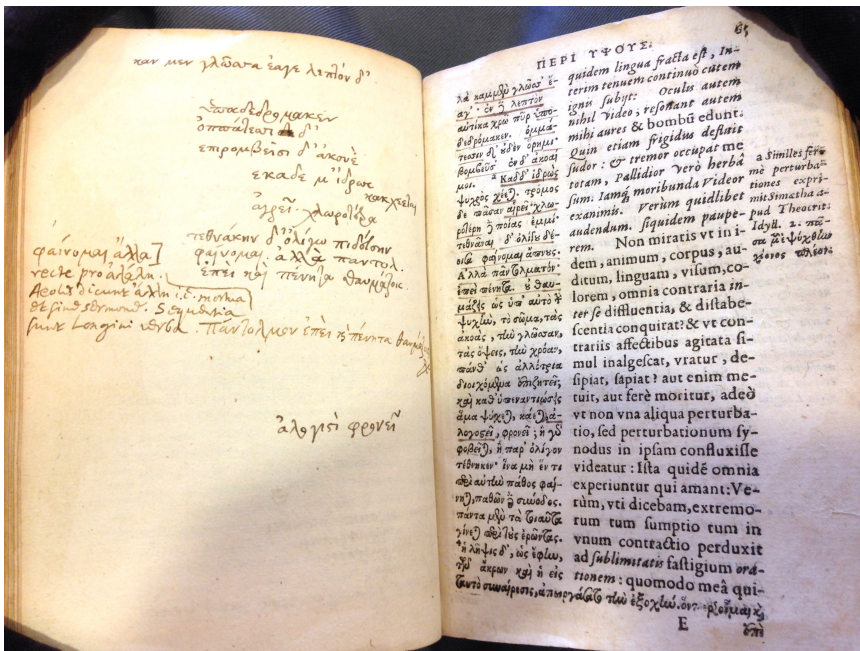
³⁶ I. Vossius, *Cajus Valerius Catullus et in eum Isaaci Vossii observationes* (London: I. Littlebury, 1684), 113: *Sed ipsam nunc Lesbiam Musam loquentem audiamus, cujus odam relictam nobis Longini beneficio, emendatam adscribemus* ("But let us now hear the Lesbian Muse herself speak, whose poem, which has been preserved for us thanks to Longinus, I here present in emendated version").

³⁷ Vossius (1684), 114. *Mox dein, ubi vulgo legitur, καὶ γελώσας ἰμερόεν, secuti lectionem libri scripti Dionysii Longini, qui adservatur in bibliotheca Regia Lutetiae, fecimus καὶ γελάϊς ἰμερόεν*. ("Then, where editions commonly read καὶ γελώσας ἰμερόεν, I have written καὶ γελάϊς ἰμερόεν, according to the reading in the manuscript of Dionysius Longinus that is preserved in the Royal Library in Paris").

³⁸ Vossius has annotated the editions of Muret and Scaliger: M.A. de Muret, *Catullus et in eum commentarius M. Antonii Mureti: ab eodem correcti, & scholiis illustrati, Tibullus, et Propertius* (Venice: P. Manuzio, 1558) (Leiden, UB: 758 E 33); J.J. Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Properti nova editio* (Heidelberg: In bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1600) (Leiden, UB: 758 F 4 and Leiden, UB: 758 F 3, from which the pages containing Catullus have later been cut out). In Scaliger's edition, which does not contain the Greek text of Sappho, Vossius has written his Greek variants next to the Latin text of Catullus' *carmen* 51. Vossius moreover annotated Sappho's poem in the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1660) (Leiden, UB: 676 F 3). Other items in Vossius' library also reflect Vossius' interest in Catullus and Sappho, as Vossius also possessed editions of Catullus annotated by Joannes Castelius (Leiden, UB: 758 F 8), Janus Gruterus (Leiden, UB: 755 H 22), and anonymous annotators (Leiden, UB: 758 F 2; 685 E 10).

6).³⁹ Also striking is the density of the annotations in De Petra's edition to page 65, which contains the second half of Sappho's fragment (see fig. 3, the poem runs until the middle of the page). Vossius appears to have used the collations of *Peri hypsous* for the text of Sappho's poem, which he included in his edition of Catullus.⁴⁰ Even if Vossius did not publish an edition of *Peri hypsous* himself, his collations would eventually form an important basis for the edition of Jacobus Tollius. Before discussing the role of Vossius' notes in Tollius' edition (section 5.3.4), I will give a detailed analysis of the collations in Vossius' copies of the edition of De Petra (section 5.3.2) and Le Fèvre (5.3.3).

Fig. 3. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), p. 65 and facing blank page



5.3.2 De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10)

Vossius' copy of De Petra's edition has been interleaved (bound with additional blank pages) to accommodate for the handwritten notes to Longinus' text (see fig.

³⁹ See below section 5.3.2.

⁴⁰ In a small digression in his edition of Catullus, Vossius also referred to the text of a passage from Plato's *Timaeus*, which is quoted in *Peri hypsous* 32.5. Vossius (1684), 98.

3). The Greek text has been annotated from beginning to end, with ca. 350 textual variants. The Leiden online catalogue of *libri annotati* attributes the notes to Isaac Vossius.⁴¹ Indeed, the handwriting of these notes matches the handwriting in Vossius' letters (see figs. 4 and 5 for a sample).

Fig. 4. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (*De Petra*, 1612), p. 39 (facing blank page)

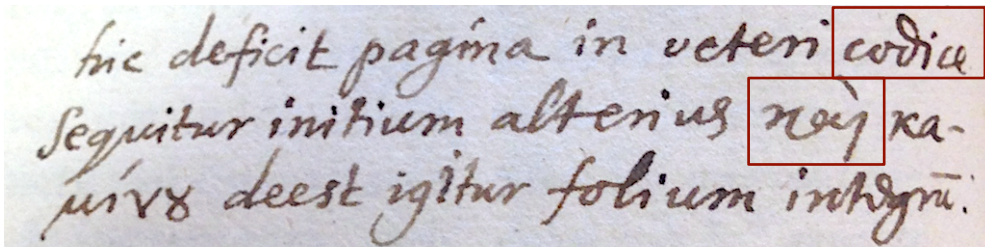
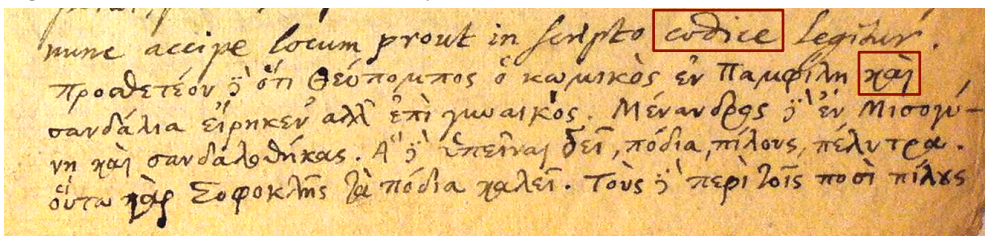


Fig. 5. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijz. Collecties: OTM: hs. D 69 (Vossius to Graevius)



Several elements of Isaac Vossius' annotations in *De Petra*'s edition point towards an identification of the original manuscript as MS Parisinus Graecus 2036. A clue is given on the flyleaf of *De Petra*'s edition: Isaac Vossius indicates that he took his transcription of Sappho's poem from a 'very old manuscript' or 'the oldest manuscript' (*codex vetustissimus*) (see fig. 6). Throughout his annotations Vossius regularly refers to his source as *v.c.* (*vetus* or *vetustissimus codex*). In humanistic Latin the term *codex vetustissimus* covers a very wide period: early modern scholars use the term to denote manuscripts made from the 4th until the 11th century.⁴²

⁴¹ Collectie libri annotati, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Shelfmark: ubl318).

⁴² S. Rizzo, *Lessico Filologico degli Umanisti* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1973), 147-168.

Fig. 6. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), flyleaf

Ἰχ Longino περὶ ὑψους νεκυστῆς.
cod. hymnus Sarrhus.

Φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμεν ἄνηρ
οὐκ ἐναντίος τῷ ζῆναι κ' πλησίον ἄδυστων. σὰς
ὑπακούει καὶ γεραίς ἡμέρῃσιν τὸ μὴ ἔριον κατ-
δίαν ἐν σπῆρατιν ἐπῆρασεν ὡς γὰρ οἶδα βρο-
χῆος με φωνὰς οὐδὲν εἴ' εἶχε. ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν
γλῶσσαι ἔαγε λεπτόν δ' ἀντίκα χρεὶ πῦρ ὑπαδε-
δρομάκεν ὀππᾶλασι δ' οὐδὲν ὀρήμη ἐπιρροβεῖσι
δ' ἀκούε' ἑκάδε μῖδρωι ψυχρὸς κακχέσταυ φῆμος
δ' ἐπάσαν ἀγρεῖ χλωροτέρα δ' πόνος ἐμμι
τθανάκω δ' ολιγῶ πιδεύσων φαινομοι. ἄμμο
παντόλημαδον ἐπι κ' πένηλας ὁ θαυμάζοις.

καὶ μήποτε περῆσαντες ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον
vulgo legitur καὶ δήποτε.

πειθόμενοι τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀπολιθαίνειν ὁμῶς
εὐγενεῖ ἀμαρτήμα. ita lege in v. c.

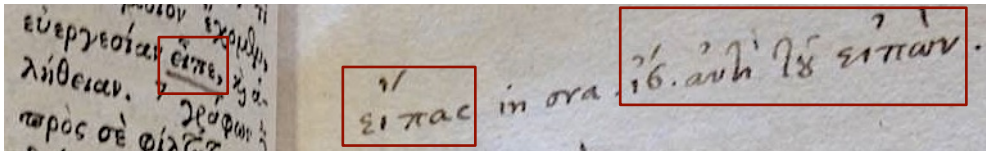
ὑπο πρὸς ἐργασίας. vulgo περιεργίας. sed aliud
est περιεργασία, aliud περιεργία.

εἰς τὸ ῥοπικὸν καὶ κακαζήλον. vulgo εἰς ῥοπτι-
κόν. lege εἰς τὸ ῥοπικόν.

τῆς τυραννίδος ἀφείλοντο, vulgo τῶ τυραννίδα.
ἦτον δ' αἰ ὀμάτα σφραῖς. vulgo μελασρέψαις.
καὶ τὰ κακά γεννάδαυ φιλέ. vulgo γεννάδαυ.
τοιούτων πῶς καὶ αἰ μεταβολαί, καὶ τὰ πλαν-
θωλικά. vulgo ὑπερβολαί.

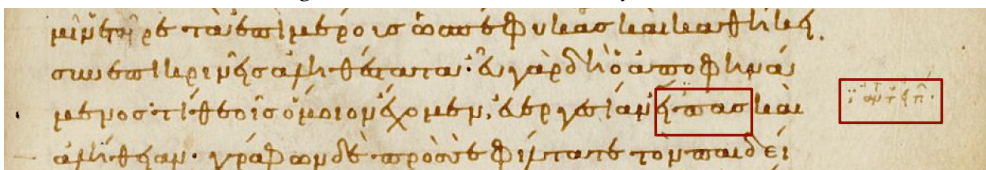
The extant Longinian manuscripts were all made in the early modern period (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), except for the Parisinus Graecus 2036, a tenth-century manuscript of Byzantine origin, which is the ancestor of all known manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.⁴³ It is unlikely that Vossius would call one of the early modern manuscripts of Longinus' treatise *vetustissimus*. We may therefore assume that Vossius' transcription of Sappho's ode was indeed taken from the Parisinus Graecus 2036.⁴⁴ Other evidence pointing towards the Par. Gr. 2036 as the source for Vossius' collations are the marginal notes that Vossius appears to have transcribed from the original manuscript (see fig. 7).

Fig. 7. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (*De Petra*, 1612), p. 36 and facing blank page



Vossius wrote down εἶπας as a variant reading of De Petra's εἶπε, but also copied the marginal note from the original manuscript, saying *in ora. ἴθ' αὐτι τοῦ εἰπων* ("in the margin [there is] ἴθ' αὐτι τοῦ εἰπων"). This appears to be a reference to a marginal note in the Byzantine manuscript, in which a scribe added a note to the word εἶπας in the margin of the page: ἴθ' αὐτι τοῦ εἰπων (*fol. 179r*, see fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Parisinus Graecus 2036, *fol. 179r*

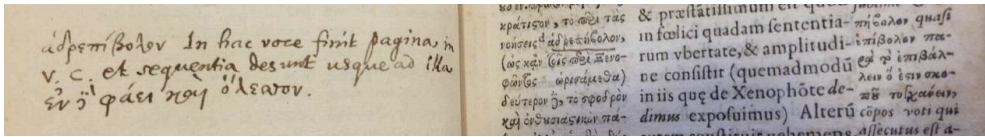


⁴³ See Mazzucchi (1989), 205-226 and Mazzucchi (2010), xxxix-xliv and Chapter One for a discussion of the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.

⁴⁴ There are however a few small differences between Sappho's poem in the Par. gr. 2036 and Vossius' transcription of the poem on the flyleaf of his annotated copy (see fig. 6). While the Par. gr. 2036 (*fol. 184*) has μῖδρος, ποίας and τρώμος, Vossius has μῖδρωι, πούας and τριμός. The collations written next to the printed text (pp. 64 and 65 of De Petra's edition) however do concur with the manuscript. The transcription on the flyleaf possibly contains some conjectures, as the reading πούας also appears in Vossius' version of Sappho's poem in his edition of Catullus (Vossius, 1684, 114). But see below n. 105 for the possibility that Vossius transcribed this excerpt from another source.

A particular characteristic of the Parisinus Graecus 2036, which is reflected in Vossius' notes, is its lacuna between chapters 8 and 9 of *Peri hypsous* (between *folios* 182^v and 183^r). Three bifolia (six leaves) were already missing when the first copies of the Par. gr. 2036 (Marc. Gr. 522 and Par. Gr. 2974) were made. After these copies had been made another bifolium (two leaves) was lost.⁴⁵ As a result, the Parisinus Graecus 2036 has a larger gap in the text than its Renaissance copies as well as the printed editions of *Peri hypsous*. In Par. Gr. 2036 the text breaks off (in the modern numbering of the treatise) in section 8.1 and resumes in section 9.10. The copies and editions have a substantial lacuna in section 9.4 but preserve the intermediate sections 8.1-9.3 and 9.5-9.10. Vossius reports this particular lacuna in his annotations. He noted down that the text ends at ἀδρεπίβολον (*Peri hypsous* 8.1) and resumes at ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεατον (*Peri hypsous* 9.10) (see fig. 9).⁴⁶ This corresponds directly to the words surrounding the lacuna in the Parisinus Graecus 2036.⁴⁷

Fig. 9. Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (*De Petra*, 1612), p. 51 and facing blank page



Vossius' qualification of the manuscript as a *codex vetustissimus*, combined with the textual correspondences and the identical placement of the big lacuna in chapters 8 and 9 are a clear indication that the collations in his copy of *De Petra*'s edition are indeed taken from MS Parisinus Graecus 2036.⁴⁸ To this may be added that Vossius identifies the source as a manuscript located in the 'Bibliotheca Regia'.⁴⁹ On p. 155 of the edition (at the last section of *Peri hypsous*), Vossius notes *huc usque v[etus] lib[er] R[egiae] B[ibliothecae]* ("[the text of] the old book in the Royal Library [runs]

⁴⁵ See also Russell (1964), xlix and section 1.2.1 for a discussion of this lacuna.

⁴⁶ The Par. gr. 2036 and Vossius' notes have ἀδρεπίβολον, while modern editions print ἀδρεπίβολον.

⁴⁷ Russell (1964), 8.

⁴⁸ There are a few collations that do not concur with the text of the Par. gr. 2036. I will discuss these in section 5.3.4.

⁴⁹ Vossius' edition of Catullus (1684, 114) refers to a manuscript in the 'Bibliotheca Regia Lutetiae' (see above note 37).

until here”).⁵⁰ This can only refer to the royal library in Paris. The Royal library held four manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, one of which (Par. gr. 985) only contains the first chapters of *Peri hypsous*, while two others (Par. gr. 2974 and its ‘grandson’ Par. gr. 2960), do not have the lacuna in chapters 8.1-9.3 and 9.5-9.10, which is found in Par. gr. 2036 and which was reported by Isaac Vossius.⁵¹ It is therefore very likely that Vossius took his notes from the Par. Gr. 2036. Vossius commenced his work on Catullus already in the early 1650s, and visited Paris again in the early 1660s, during which time he possibly made this collation.⁵²

5.3.3 Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8)

Vossius’ collection holds yet another copy of Longinus’ text that contains collations, namely the 1663 edition of Tanneguy le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). Vossius’ intentions to use this particular edition for making collations had already been signalled by Le Fèvre himself in the preface to this edition:

Hoc quoque accipe & gaude: Isaacus Vossius, μέγα κλέος Αονίδεσσι θεῆσιν, pollicetur transmissurum se Salmurium Longini codicem cum exemplari quodam collatum, quod & purius & uberius sit, quam quae adhuc visa sint.

Hear this too and be delighted: Isaac Vossius, “great honour to the Aonian goddesses [the Muses]”, promises that he plans to hand over the Salmurian edition of Longinus, [after having] collated [it] with an exemplar that is more pure and rich than those seen hitherto.⁵³

It seems that Vossius had promised Le Fèvre to enrich a copy of his edition – *codex Salmurius* probably refers to Le Fèvre’s own edition, which was printed in Saumur – with collations from an important manuscript of *Peri hypsous*. In his *Ad Lectorem*

⁵⁰ Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (De Petra, 1612), 155.

⁵¹ See section 1.2.1 for a discussion of the *stemma codicum* of *Peri hypsous*.

⁵² Seccombe and Blok (2006) report that Vossius visited Paris in 1641, 1643-1644, 1650, and in the early 1660s. According to Blok (2000), 405-408 and Seccombe and Blok (2006), Vossius mainly worked on his edition of Catullus in 1652 and 1653.

⁵³ Le Fèvre (1663), ‘Ad lectorem’.

Le Fèvre furthermore writes that he did not study manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, but instead consulted the editions of Portus, De Petra and Langbaine.⁵⁴ In his *Ad lectorem* Le Fèvre therefore appears to announce the next step in the textual criticism of Longinus' text.⁵⁵

Le Fèvre's announcement that Vossius intended to enrich his edition with collations seems to point at Vossius' annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). This particular volume bears Vossius' *ex libris* and contains collations in the same handwriting.⁵⁶ The remark that Vossius planned to take these collations from "a very rich and pure manuscript" in turn seems to refer to the Parisinus Graecus 2036. On p. 99 of his copy of Le Fèvre's edition, Vossius identifies the source as a manuscript from the *Bibliotheca Regia*, with a note that recalls his comment in De Petra's edition: *huc usque cod[ex] Bib[liothecae] Reg[iae]* ("[the text of] the book in the Royal Library [runs] until here").⁵⁷ While the collations in the edition of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) are almost certainly derived from the Parisinus Graecus 2036 (as I discussed in the previous section), the collations in the edition of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) however appear to be somewhat different. The collations in Le Fèvre's edition are first of all less extensive, as about a third of the variants recorded in De Petra's edition are not found in Le Fèvre's.⁵⁸ The annotations in Le Fèvre's edition moreover do not

⁵⁴ Weinberg (1950), 151. See also section 1.3.3 for a discussion of Le Fèvre's edition. In a letter of 1682 the French theologian Richard Simon criticises Le Fèvre for not having made any improvements to Longinus' text (or its Latin translation) in his 1663 edition. See M. Bruzen de la Martinière, *Lettres choisies de M. Simon. Où l'on trouve un grand nombre de faits Anecdotes de Literature. Nouvelle edition, Vol. II* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1730), 167-172. More on Richard Simon and the manuscripts of *Peri hypsous* will be discussed in section 5.3.5.

⁵⁵ Like Vossius, Le Fèvre was also particularly interested in the Greek text of Sappho (= *Peri hypsous* 10.2), as he published an edition of Sappho's poetry in 1660: T. Le Fèvre, *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina* (Saumur: J. Lenerius, 1660).

⁵⁶ See section 5.3.2 on the handwriting of Vossius.

⁵⁷ Leiden, UB: 755 G 8 (Le Fèvre, 1663), 99. See also section 5.3.2.

⁵⁸ In a few (rare) cases this could be due to the fact that the printed text of the edition simply concurred with the reading of the manuscript. In *Peri hypsous* 3.2 (μικροῖς μὲν ἀλίσκοισι, φορβειᾶς δ' ἄτερ; "on scrannel pipes, yet wasting all his wind"), the manuscript reads φορβειᾶς. The edition of De Petra reads βορβειᾶς, whereas Le Fèvre has φορβειᾶς. The text of De Petra is corrected by Vossius into φορβειᾶς, according to the manuscript, whereas the text of Le Fèvre has no annotation, since none was

indicate the locations of the lacunae in the Par. Gr. 2036. On a few occasions the collations present different readings than the Par. Gr. 2036.⁵⁹

There are however some striking similarities between the collations in both editions. Virtually all of Vossius' collations in Le Fèvre's edition are also found in De Petra's edition, which points towards a common origin or close relationship of these collations. Most significant are the few cases in which the collations in both editions are identical, but do not concur with the reading of the Par. gr. 2036. The following table provides a few examples:

Ch.	Par. Gr. 2036	De Petra (printed text)	ann. Vossius	Le Fèvre (printed text)	ann. Vossius
3.2 ⁶⁰	μικροῖς	μικροῖς	μακροῖς μὲν ἀλίσκοισι φορβείας δ' ἄτερ ita leg[endum est]. vide apud Suetonium τι μοι καὶ μακροῖς ἀλοῖς. Vet[us] tamen codex habet μικροῖς.	μικροῖς	μακροῖς
3.4 ⁶¹	τὸ ῥωπικόν	τροπικόν	εἰς τὸ ῥωπικόν. leg[e] ρωπικόν	τροπικόν	ρωπικόν v[etus odex]
10.7 ⁶²	φλοιῶδες	φλοιῶδες	φλειῶδες	φλοιῶδες	φλειῶδες

In the case of μικροῖς (*Peri hypsous* 3.2) and φλοιῶδες (*Peri hypsous* 10.7) the printed text in the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre concurs with the text of the

necessary. This does however not explain the majority of differences between the annotations in the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre.

⁵⁹ These differences will be discussed in section 5.3.4.

⁶⁰ *Peri hypsous* 3.2: φλοιῶδης γὰρ ἀνήρ καὶ φυσῶν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα “μικροῖς μὲν ἀλίσκοισι, φορβείας δ' ἄτερ” (“an affected creature, blowing, as Sophocles says, ‘on scrannel pipes, yet wasting all his wind’”).

⁶¹ *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικόν καὶ κακόζηλον (“Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation”).

⁶² *Peri hypsous* 10.7: ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐξοχάς, ὡς <ἄν> εἶποι τις, ἀριστίνδην ἐκκαθήραντες ἐπισυνέθηκαν, οὐδὲν φλοιῶδες ἢ ἄσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάττοντες διὰ μέσου (“What they have done is to clean up, as it were, the very best of the main points, and to fit them together, allowing nothing affected or undignified or pedantic to intervene.”).

manuscript. Vossius' annotations (μακροῖς and φλειῶδες) differ from the manuscript as well as the printed text in the editions. Instead of collations, Vossius' notes therefore appear to be proposed emendations to Longinus' text. In the case of μικροῖς/μακροῖς Vossius explicitly acknowledges the reading μικροῖς in the *vetus codex*, but proposes μακροῖς on the basis of a similar passage in Suetonius.⁶³ In the case of *Peri hypsous* 3.4, the manuscript reading τὸ ῥοπικὸν makes little sense.⁶⁴ From the edition of Manuzio onwards, editors have read τὸ ῥοπικὸν as τροπικὸν ('figurative', as in 'figurative expressions').⁶⁵ Vossius in turn proposed to read τὸ ῥοπικὸν as τὸ ῥωπικὸν ('cheap affectation').⁶⁶ The appearance of these emendations in De Petra's as well as Le Fèvre's edition implies a close relationship between the notes in both copies.

The overlap between the collations and emendations, as well as the omission of about a third of the notes in Le Fèvre's edition suggest that these annotations (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) are an abbreviated version of the annotations in De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 11), rather than a full collation of the Parisinus Graecus 2036 (or one of the other Parisian manuscripts). In the early 1660's Vossius resided in Paris, and was highly regarded by the French intellectual and political elite.⁶⁷

⁶³ Vossius refers to Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 7.7.2 (*Life of Otho*): τί γὰρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς ἀυλοῖς; ("With long flutes what concern have I?") (translation: Rolfe 1914). The emendation φλειῶδες (a non-existent word) is peculiar, since the Par. gr. 2036 unambiguously reads φλοιῶδες. The Par. gr. 2974 en 2960 also have φλοιῶδες.

⁶⁴ The adjective ῥοπικός means 'inclined', which makes no sense in this context.

⁶⁵ Robortello printed τὸ ῥοπικὸν (1554, p. 8). The emendation τροπικὸν originated in the circle of Manuzio and Portus; the manuscript related to their editions (Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34) has the conjecture τροπικὸν *in margine*. The editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre, which are based on the text of Portus' edition, also have τροπικὸν.

⁶⁶ Modern editions credit Vossius for this emendation. See for instance Russell (1964), 2 and Mazzucchi (2010), 8. It is somewhat peculiar that the annotation in 755 G 8 reads ῥωπικὸν *[vetus odex]* ("ῥωπικὸν [is the reading] in the old codex"). In both annotated editions the abbreviations *v.* and *v.c.* are used to indicate the reading of the 'old manuscript' (*vetustissimus codex*). In the case of ῥωπικὸν this is strange, since the manuscript has ῥοπικόν, while the annotation in Le Fèvre's edition indicates that the manuscript has ῥωπικόν. I imagine that the annotator (Vossius) deemed the substitution of ω with ο a simple misspelling, which one could assume to be the intended reading of the manuscript.

⁶⁷ From 1663 until 1671 Isaac Vossius received an annual pension of 1,200 *livres* from Louis XIV, which had been arranged by the influential French politician Jean-Baptiste Colbert. See Nellen and Imhoff (2009), and E. Jorink, 'In the Twilight Zone: Isaac Vossius and the Scientific Communities in France,

Around this time Vossius was probably granted access to the manuscript collections in the French royal library, which enabled him to take collations of the Par. Gr. 2036, using the edition of Gabriele De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10). In the same period Vossius probably had contact with Tanneguy Le Fèvre, who was working on an edition of *Peri hypsous* and expressed his enthusiasm at Vossius' intentions of collating Longinus' text.⁶⁸ Some time later Vossius probably transcribed a selection of his annotations into another copy of Longinus' text (the edition of Tanneguy Le Fèvre; Leiden, UB: 755 G 8).⁶⁹ As I will argue in the next section, this probably is the copy that Jacobus Tollius used for preparing his edition.

5.3.4 Vossius' notes in Tollius' edition

In the preface to his edition Tollius remarked that he borrowed a book that Vossius had collated with a manuscript from the Royal Library in Paris.⁷⁰ This applies to both of Vossius' annotated copies: in his original collation (De Petra; Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) as well as the abbreviated collation (Le Fèvre; Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) Vossius identifies the source of his notes as a manuscript in the *Bibliotheca Regia*. An indication that Tollius used the annotated edition of Le Fèvre, rather than the edition of De Petra, is found in a reference of Tollius' to Vossius' annotated copy, which says: *In Vossiani libri margine pro varia lectione fuit...* (In the margin of Vossius' book there is the variant reading...).⁷¹ Since the annotations in De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) are not written in the margins but on added blank pages (see fig. 3 for an example), this remark points at the annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8). Tollius moreover does not mention the existence of the conspicuous lacuna in the *vetus codex* between chapters 8 and 9 of

England and the Dutch Republic', in: E. Jorink and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119-156: 121, 142-144.

⁶⁸ Le Fèvre (1663), 'Ad lectorem'. See also section 5.3.3.

⁶⁹ The Bodleian Library holds an annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition that contains Nicolas Heinsius' collations of "two codices Vossii" (Auct. S V 19), according to P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum vol IV, Alia Itinera II. Great Britain to Spain* (London: Warburg Institute and Leiden: Brill, 1989), 264. This annotated copy may well be related to Isaac Vossius' collations in Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 and Leiden, UB: 755 G 8.

⁷⁰ Tollius (1694), *preface*, **2^v, see above section 5.2.

⁷¹ Tollius (1694), 42.

Peri hypsous, which is observed in the annotations in De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), but not in Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8).

In the notes to his edition, Tollius sometimes refers to the variant readings in the manuscripts that he consulted (indirectly) in the making of his edition. Interestingly, some of the readings that Tollius attributes to the 'Parisian manuscript', do not concur with the readings found in the MS Par. Gr 2036, or to those in Vossius' annotations in De Petra's edition, but instead correspond to variants annotated by Vossius in Le Fèvre's edition. In the four cases presented in the following table, Tollius' notes report the readings found in the annotations to Le Fèvre's edition, while attributing them to the 'Parisian manuscript'. Both printed editions have συννοικοδομούμενα (from συννοικοδομέω, 'to build together' – this emendation originates in Manuzio's edition).⁷² The Par. Gr. 2036 has συννοικονομούμενα (from συννοικονομέω, 'to govern jointly'). In his edition of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10) Vossius writes συννοικονούμενα, which appears to be a misreading of συννοικονομούμενα in the Par. Gr. 2036. In his edition of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) Vossius writes συνκονιούμενα, which is a non-existent word and probably results from his misreading of the original note in his other copy of *Peri hypsous*. In the text of his edition Jacobus Tollius maintained the emendation of Manuzio (συννοικοδομούμενα), but in the notes to his edition Tollius remarks: *Parisinus [habet] συγκονιούμενα* ("the Parisian manuscript has συγκονιούμενα").⁷³ This remark indicates that Tollius used Vossius' annotated copy of Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) and mistakenly regarded it as an accurate rendering of the variant readings in the manuscript that Vossius had studied (the Par. Gr. 2036). Likewise Tollius remarks that the "old Parisian manuscript in the Bibliotheca Regia (V.C. *Parisin. Bibl. Regiae*) has Ποστούμιε φλώρε Τερεντιανέ", and also attributes the reading *περι τ' αἰδνὰ τέλματα* to the 'Parisinus'.⁷⁴

⁷² This conjecture appears in the margin of Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34 and in Manuzio's edition.

⁷³ Tollius (1694), 88.

⁷⁴ Tollius (1694), 3 and 69. Mazzucchi (2010), 2 notes that Tollius has falsely attributed the reading φλώρε to the manuscript. Weiske (1809), 282 rightly observes that the reading *περι τ' αἰδνὰ τέλματα*, which Tollius attributes to the manuscript, in fact originates in Vossius' annotated copy in the Leiden University Library.

Ch.	Par. Gr. 2036	De Petra (printed text)	ann. Vossius	Le Fèvre (printed text)	ann. Vossius
1.1 ⁷⁵	Ποστούμιε Φλωρεντιανέ	Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανέ	φλωρεντιανε Unde fac ποστουμιέ φλώρης τερεντιανε Id est Postumie Florens Terentiane	Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανέ	φλώρε[...] ⁷⁶
3.4 ⁷⁷	τὸ ῥοπικόν	τροπικόν	εἰς τὸ ροπικόν. leg[e] ρωπικόν	τροπικόν	ρωπικόν v[etus odex]
9.13 ⁷⁸	περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα ἐρημουμένου	περὶ τὰ ἴδια τέρματ' ἐρημουμένου	περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα ἐρημουμένου	περὶ τὰ ἴδια τέρματ' ἐρημουμένου	τ' αἰδὸνὰ τέλματα
10.7 ⁷⁹	συν- οικονομούμενα	συν- οικοδομούμενα	συν- οικονούμενα	συν- οικοδομούμενα	συνκοιού μενα

Vossius' correction ῥωπικόν for ῥοπικόν (which I discussed in the previous section) is likewise interpreted by Tollius as a variant reading in the Parisian manuscript.⁸⁰ Each of these examples strongly suggests that Tollius consulted

⁷⁵ *Peri hypsous* 1.1: Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Καικιλίου συγγραμμάτιον, ὃ περὶ ὕψους συνετάξατο, ἀνασκοπούμενοις ἡμῖν ὡς οἴσθα κοινῇ, Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανέ φίλτατε, ταπεινότερον ἐφάνη τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ... (“You know, my dear Postumius Terentianus, that when we were studying together Caecilius’ little treatise on the Sublime it appeared to us to fall below the level of the subject...”).

⁷⁶ Some letters have been crossed out by the annotator.

⁷⁷ *Peri hypsous* 3.4: ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικόν καὶ κακόζηλον (“Writers fall into this fault through trying to be uncommon and exquisite, and above all to please, and founder instead upon the rock of cheap affectation”).

⁷⁸ *Peri hypsous* 9.13: ... ἀλλ' οἶον ὑποχωροῦντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα τέρημουμένου τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνονται τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμπώτιδες κἀν τοῖς μυθώδεσι καὶ ἀπίστοις πλάνος (“... it is rather as though the Ocean had retreated into itself and lay quiet within its own confines. Henceforth we see the ebbing tide of Homer’s greatness, as he wanders in the realm of the fabulous and incredible.”).

⁷⁹ *Peri hypsous* 10.7: λυμáινεται γάρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον, ὡσανεὶ ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικοδομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἀλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα (“These things ruin the whole, by introducing, as it were, gaps and crevices into masses which are built together, walled in by their mutual relationships”).

⁸⁰ Ὁν ῥοπικόν/ῥωπικόν see section 5.3.3. Other misattributions in Tollius’ edition are (besides the ones already discussed), are the readings τῶν ἀκροτάτων (*Peri hypsous* 10.1; Tollius, 1694, 74), πούας (*Peri hypsous* 10.2; Tollius, 1694, 80), and ἀλαζόνειαν (*Peri hypsous* 44.7; Tollius, 1694, 236, 237). Tollius’ notes to the poem of Sappho (*Peri hypsous* 10.2) constitute an issue that is even more complex. Tollius’ notes to Sappho’s poem attribute some variants to the *vetus codex* that are *not* present in Vossius’ annotated copy

Vossius' annotations in Le Fèvre's edition (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8) rather than the annotations in De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), or the Par. Gr. 2036 itself.

Tollius' edition is probably the first to extensively compare several manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, but it appears that Tollius' knowledge of these manuscripts was rather indirect. The title page of the edition proudly announces that it established the text of *Peri hypsous* from five different manuscripts. In the preface to his edition Tollius expresses his gratitude for the editions and manuscript collations provided to him: a collation of three Vatican manuscripts (Vat. Gr. 285, 194 and 1417), the collation of a manuscript from the Library of San Marco in Venice (Marc. Gr. 522), and Vossius' collations of a Parisian manuscript (Par. Gr. 2036). It thus seems that Tollius saw neither of these manuscripts with his own eyes, but was only informed of their variant readings through the collations of other scholars. At one point Tollius however suggests he *did* consult the Parisian manuscript himself, for his emendation of Sappho's poem (*Peri hypsous* 10.2).

Codicem primum nacti Vossianum ipsius Vossii beneficio, in quem variantes carminis hujus lectiones e MS. bibliothecae Regiae Parisinae transcriptae erant; deinde et ipso illo Codice MS Parisiis consulto: post et excerpta quaedam alia e Longini vetere alio Codice adepti, emendare jam olim hoc Sapphus carmen conati sumus. Prodiit interea Vossiana Catulli editio, et in ea viri eruditissimi in idem carmen notae atque emendationes (...). Qua de causa monendum lectorem existimavimus, ne aliena sublegisse videamur.⁸¹

First I consulted Vossius' *codex*, which I obtained through the kindness of Vossius himself, in which variant readings of this poem have been transcribed from a manuscript in the Royal Library in Paris. This Parisian manuscript was then consulted as well [by myself?].⁸² Later, after having obtained some other excerpts from another old codex of Longinus, I have

of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8), but that do appear on the flyleaf of Vossius' annotated copy of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10). On this matter, see below note 83.

⁸¹ Tollius (1694), 75.

⁸² Tollius (deliberately) leaves out by whom the manuscript was consulted, and seems to suggest that he himself had access to it (which seems unlikely, on which see below).

tried to emend this poem of Sappho, already some time ago. In the meantime Vossius' edition of Catullus has come out, which contains the notes and emendations on this poem of that very learned man. This is why I deemed it wise to clarify this for my readers, so that I may not appear to have stolen another man's work.

These remarks serve to emphasise the comprehensiveness of Tollius' source material as much as his originality and independence in establishing the text of Sappho's poem. Before Tollius could publish his edition, Vossius' edition of Catullus, which also included Sappho's fragment, had already come out (in 1684). Tollius probably felt the need to emphasise that he did not plagiarise Vossius' work, and sought to enhance the authority of his version of Sappho's poem by claiming that he, besides Vossius' collations, had studied some excerpts as well, and by suggesting that he consulted the Parisian manuscript himself.⁸³

In my opinion it is very unlikely that Tollius would have had access to this particular manuscript in the Bibliotheca Regia in Paris. Unlike Vossius, Tollius did not have the best of reputations in the scholarly world. Before obtaining his position in Duisburg he had undertaken several failed attempts to secure a position at universities in the Dutch Republic.⁸⁴ Whereas Vossius, member of an esteemed family of scholars, had close contacts to the French intellectual and political elite (such as Jean-Baptiste Colbert), Tollius could not profit from such a network.⁸⁵ For the making of his edition Tollius was very much dependent on the

⁸³ I am not entirely sure which document Tollius means when referring to *excerpta quaedam alia e Longini vetere alio Codice* ("some other excerpts from another codex of Longinus"). It appears that Tollius had seen excerpts containing Sappho's fragment (other than the collations and editions mentioned in his preface). Interestingly, Tollius' notes to Sappho's poem contain some peculiar readings that correspond to Vossius' transcription of the poem on the flyleaf of De Petra's edition (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), which is the copy that Tollius *did not* use (as I have argued in this chapter). The similarities between the transcription and Tollius' notes is however too conspicuous to be coincidental. I therefore surmise that Tollius might have seen excerpts that are closely related to Vossius' transcription on the flyleaf of his copy of De Petra. Perhaps Vossius transcribed these notes for Tollius in a letter, or Vossius' transcription and Tollius' excerpt originate from a common source. See also below on the possibility that there existed certain excerpts containing Sappho's ode.

⁸⁴ See section 5.2 for Tollius' biography.

⁸⁵ As noted above in note 67. Vossius received an annual pension from Louis XIV, which had been arranged by the influential Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

favours of a few scholars, such as Isaac Vossius and Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni.⁸⁶ Another indication that Tollius did not actually consult the Parisinus Graecus 2036 himself, is (as I have discussed above) the frequent misattribution of certain variant readings to the “old Parisian manuscript”, which are in fact emendations of Isaac Vossius.

It has been noted by later scholars that Tollius’ edition contains some faulty readings of the Par. Gr. 2036. In his 1733 edition of *Peri hypsous* Zacharias Pearce expressed his astonishment at Tollius’ attribution of the reading Ποστούμει φλῶρε Τερεντιανὲ to the Parisian manuscript, and speculated whether this is Tollius’ or Vossius’ mistake (since Tollius’ acknowledges he borrowed Vossius’ book).⁸⁷ Pearce moreover remarks that “Tollius is almost always mistaken in his rendering of the readings of this manuscript.”⁸⁸ Carlo Maria Mazzucchi similarly notes the discrepancy, and suggests that the reading might be a conjecture of Isaac Vossius.⁸⁹ If we assume that Tollius took his readings of the Par. Gr. 2036 from Vossius’ annotated edition of Le Fèvre (Leiden, UB: 755 G 8), instead of the MS itself, this misattribution as well as many other ‘false readings’ in Tollius’ edition are explained instantly. This also means that some of the readings that modern editions attribute to Tollius are in fact conjectures of Isaac Vossius.⁹⁰ Isaac Vossius’ textual studies of *Peri hypsous* thus constituted a significant contribution to Jacobus Tollius’ edition of Longinus, and may be valuable for modern editions of Longinus’ treatise as well.

⁸⁶ Zaccagni provided Tollius with collations of three Vatican manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.

⁸⁷ Pearce (1733), 216: *Editio prima, & MSi Ven. Ambr. & Vat. tres, habent Ποστούμει φλῶρεντιανὲ: et ad eundem modum legimus in MSo Par. quamvis dicat Tollius ibi legi Ποστούμει φλῶρε Τερεντιανὲ: Nescio suane id fecerit incuria, an Vossii, cujus codice cum MSo. Par. collato usus est.*

⁸⁸ Pearce (1733), 216: *semper fere deceptus est in proferendi illius MSi lectionibus.* Weiske (1809), 282, 491 also observed that Tollius’ edition contains several faulty attributions that should probably be regarded as Vossius’ conjectures.

⁸⁹ Mazzucchi (2010), 2. Mazzucchi makes similar observations on the readings ἀλαζόνειαν (*Peri hypsous* 44.7; Mazzucchi, 2010, 120) and κἀδεκαστον (*Peri hypsous* 44.9 (Mazzucchi, 2010, 122)).

⁹⁰ Attributions to Tollius that are probably Isaac Vossius’ conjectures include: Φλῶρε (*Peri hypsous* 1.1; Mazzucchi, 2010, 2), τέλματα (*Peri hypsous* 9.13; Russell, 1964, 13), ιστορία (*Peri hypsous* 30.2; Russell, 1964, 37; Russell, 1999, 258; Mazzucchi, 2010, 80), καὶ τόλμης (*Peri hypsous* 32.1; Russell, 1964, 37; Mazzucchi, 2010, 82), κἀδεκαστον (*Peri hypsous* 44.9; Russell, 1999, 305), δάπανον (*Peri hypsous* 44.11; Russell, 1964, 56; Russell, 1999, 306; Mazzucchi, 2010, 124).

5.3.5 Liber vetustissimus

After almost a century Isaac Vossius appears to have been the first to draw attention to the importance of the Par. Gr. 2036 for the text of *Peri hypsous*. In the 1582 edition of his *Variae Lectiones* Pietro Vettori had referred to the manuscript as a *liber antiquissimus* ('a very old book'), thus acknowledging its antiquity.⁹¹ The French scholar Jean Boivin is credited for establishing that the Par. Gr. 2036 was not only the oldest, but also the archetype of all extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*.⁹² Boivin's observation was however predated by findings of the French theologian Richard Simon, who also studied various editions and manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, and observed in a letter of 1682, on the basis of their common lacunae, that all extant manuscripts must have been derived from the Par. Gr. 2036.⁹³

Both Jean Boivin and Richard Simon were aware of Isaac Vossius' studies of Longinus' text. Simon, who was involved in a dispute with Vossius over the chronology of the Septuagint⁹⁴, remarked in a letter (dated 1682) that he had heard that Vossius, when he was in Paris some years ago, had collated a manuscript of *Peri hypsous* and extracted some valuable insights from it.⁹⁵ Simon continued the investigation started by Vossius, and studied the manuscript himself. Comparing it with other extant manuscripts of *Peri hypsous*, Simon concluded on the basis of

⁹¹ P. Vettori, *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII* (Florence: Giunti, 1582), 331 (in the context of an emendation of a passage in Hecataeus). See Rhys Roberts (1899), 167. Rhys Roberts argues that Vettori must have made his collation before 1569, when the first edition of the *Variae Lectiones* appeared. The earliest version of Vettori's *Variae Lectiones* that includes this particular discussion however appeared in 1582. Mazzucchi (2010), xl notes that Vettori consulted the manuscript in 1559, when it was still in Rome.

⁹² Rhys Roberts (1899), 168. Boivin's observations appeared in the 1701 edition of Boileau's *Oeuvres*, which also included the *Traité du Sublime*.

⁹³ Simon in: Bruzen de la Martinière (1730), 167-172.

⁹⁴ In 1685 Simon for instance published critical observations on Vossius' ideas (*Opuscula critica adversus Isaacum Vossium*). See Seccombe and Blok (2006), and Jorink (2012), 105-106.

⁹⁵ Simon in: Bruzen de la Martinière (1730), 167-8: Il y en a cependant un très-beau, et qui a plus de six cens ans d'antiquité dans la Bibliothèque du Roi. J'ai fu que Mr. Isaac Vossius étant à Paris il y a plusieurs années, avoit consulté ce manuscrit et que l'ayant conféré avec les editions communes de Longin, il en avoit tiré tout ce qu'il contenoit de particulier ("There is, however, a very handsome one, which has more than six hundred years of antiquity in the King's Library. I learned that Mr. Isaac Vossius, when he was in Paris several years ago, had consulted this manuscript, and that he, having collated it with the common editions of Longinus, had drawn from it all that was peculiar").

the lacunae in the manuscripts, that all of the other manuscripts must have been derived from the manuscript in the Royal Library.⁹⁶ Jean Boivin became librarian in the Royal Library in 1692. His observations about the Par. Gr. 2036 are attached to the flyleaves of the codex containing the manuscript. Like Simon, Boivin observed that the lacunae in the other manuscripts and editions correspond to the missing pages in the Par. Gr. 2036.⁹⁷ Boivin's findings were published as an appendix to Boileau's translation of *Peri hypsous* in the 1701 edition of Boileau's *Oeuvres*.⁹⁸ In this essay Boivin signals the presence of an old manuscript (Boivin estimates 700 or 800 years), which contains a great number of variant readings that were once collected by Vossius and published by Tollius.⁹⁹ Boivin discusses the number and size of the lacunae in the manuscript, and moreover provides an extensive analysis of Vossius' emendations on the ode of Sappho.¹⁰⁰

That Vossius' studies of Longinus sparked Boivin's interest also appears from an annotated copy of Tollius' edition, which was in Boivin's possession

⁹⁶ Simon in: Bruzen de la Martinière (1730), 170: Les Manuscrits que Portus avoit lus à Ferrare et à Venise, font semblables à celui de la Bibliothèque du Roi. On trouve dans tous également les mêmes lacunes, et s'il y a quelque variété, elle est de nulle importance ce, toutes ces copies ne venant que d'un seul Exemplaire, qui est apparemment celui de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Il y a d' autres Livres Grecs dont on trouve dans les Bibliothèques plusieurs Exemplaires Mss. mais qui ne font tous que des copies différentes d'un seul Exemplaire; et c'est pour cette raison qu'on y voit les mêmes lacunes ("The manuscripts that Portus read in Ferrara and Venice are similar to the MS in the Royal Library. In all manuscripts we find the same lacunae, and if there is any variety, it is of no importance, as all these copies derive from only one archetype, which is apparently that in the Royal Library. There are other Greek books in which one finds several other manuscript versions, but these are all different copies of one single archetype; and that is why they contain the same lacunae").

⁹⁷ BNF: MS Par. gr. 2036, flyleaf (Jean Boivin): *Ex hoc descripta sunt omnia quae hodie extant manuscripta Longini Περί ὑψους exemplaria, ut patet ex lacunis, quarum originem prodit hic codex. Nam ubi lacunam habent alii codices, ibi desunt in hoc codice folia integra, vel duo, vel quatuor, vel etiam plura. Secunda tamen lacuna maior est in hoc quam in aliis: hoc vero ideo factum, quod cum alii codices descripti sunt nondum hic codex compactum foret, haberetque hunc amplius quam hodie folia duo, quam cum compingeretur excidisse verisimile est.*

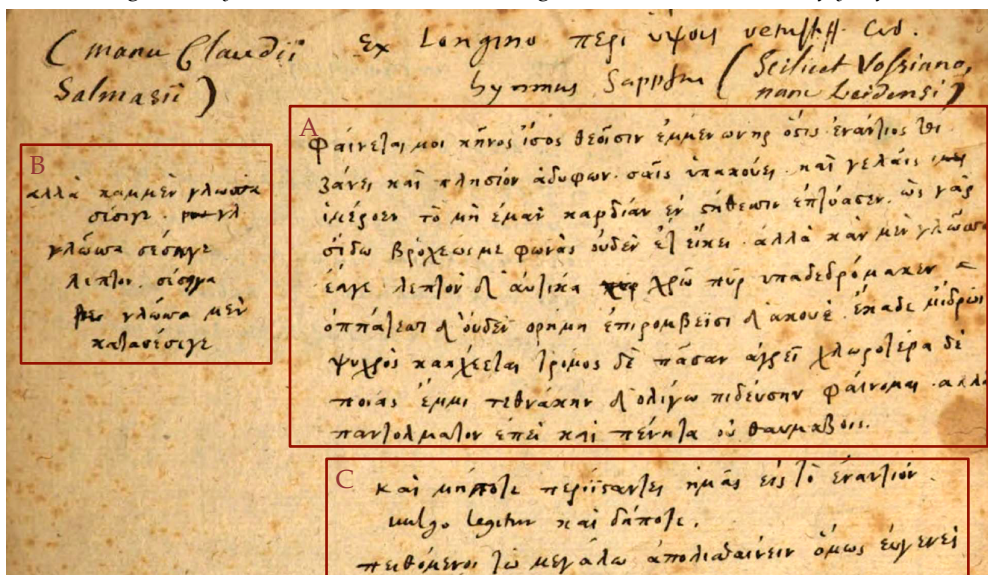
⁹⁸ J. Boivin, 'Remarques' in: N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours* (Paris: D. Thierry, 1701), 'Traité du Sublime', 142-147.

⁹⁹ Boivin in: Boileau (1701), 142: Le Roy a dans sa Bibliothèque un Manuscrit de sept à huit cens ans, où le Traité de Sublime de Longin se trouve à la suite des Problèmes d'Aristote. (...) Il fournit lui seul un grand nombre de leçons, que Vossius a autrefois recueillies, et que Tollius a publiées.

¹⁰⁰ Boivin in: Boileau (1701), 144-147.

(Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 A.gr.b. 858). According to the notes on the flyleaves of the edition the book was given to Jean Boivin in 1696 by his assistant, the Danish scholar Frederik Rostgaard.¹⁰¹ Rostgaard, a legal scholar by profession, was an eager collector of books and manuscripts.¹⁰² He came to Leiden in 1692 and lived there until he moved to Oxford in 1693. Between 1695 and 1698 Rostgaard lived in Paris and worked for Jean Boivin. One of the flyleaves of the copy that he gave to Boivin contains a quite interesting set of notes (see fig. 10). The flyleaf, of which the top half is shown here, contains a transcription of Sappho's fragment 31 (fig. 10, A), with some variant readings (fig. 10, B), as well as some other excerpts (fig. 10, C). The contents of these notes are identical to the notes that Isaac Vossius made on the flyleaf of his edition of De Petra (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10, see above fig. 6). Rostgaard possibly transcribed the Greek text when he was in Leiden (between 1692 and 1693), and gave his book to Boivin when he resided in Paris.¹⁰³

Fig. 10. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 A.gr.b. 858, (Tollius, 1694), flyleaf



¹⁰¹ BSB 4 A.gr.b. 858, flyleaf: *Hunc librum dono mihi dedit humanissimus et eruditissimus juvenis Fridericus Rostgaardus, nobilis Danus. Anno Dni 1696 4^o Non. April.*

¹⁰² See K. Larsen, *Frederik Rostgaard og Bøgerne* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1970), 20-27 and 150-151.

¹⁰³ Boivin noted on one of the volume's flyleaves that Rostgaard gave this book to him in April of 1696, see above note 101. Weiske notes the presence of a copy of Tollius' edition with collations of Frederik Rostgaard. See Weiske (1809), xviii, as well as Mazzucchi (2010), xl.

I believe that the attributions to Claude Saumaise (*manu Claudii Salmasii*; ‘the handwriting of Claude Saumaise’) and Isaac Vossius (*scilicet Vossiano, nunc Leidensi*; ‘obviously Vossius’ [codex?], now part of the Leiden collection’) are not Rostgaard’s, but Boivin’s, as they appear to have been written in another hand.¹⁰⁴ Boivin identifies the source as a book that belonged to Isaac Vossius, and the notes as Saumaise’s. The transcription and textual variants in Leiden, UB: 756 F 10 (Vossius’ annotated copy of De Petra’s edition) are however both written by Vossius (see fig. 6), which either means that Boivin’s attribution of the original notes to Saumaise is mistaken, or that Rostgaard did not take these notes directly from Vossius’ book (Leiden, UB: 756 F 10), but from another book or document. In that case Rostgaard’s and Vossius’ notes would have had a common source, a manuscript or notebook that was in Vossius’ possession.¹⁰⁵

Even if this matter cannot be fully resolved, it seems clear that Vossius’ textual studies enjoyed a certain amount of fame in French intellectual circles. In 1663 Tanneguy Le Fèvre jubilantly announced that Vossius was to take collations from a “very rich and pure manuscript”, while Richard Simon and Jean Boivin exhibited a clear interest in Vossius’ textual studies, and built on his investigation of “the oldest manuscript of *Peri hypsous*”, eventually confirming its status as the archetype of all extant manuscripts of Longinus’ treatise.¹⁰⁶ Vossius’ textual criticism of *Peri hypsous* appears to have been a desideratum as well as a catalyst of the study of Longinus’ text, as it not only served as the groundwork for the edition of Jacobus Tollius, but also pointed towards the importance of the Par. Gr. 2036 for the text of *Peri hypsous*. Vossius did not explicitly identify the Par. Gr. 2036 as the oldest manuscript and archetype of all others, but by drawing attention to this

¹⁰⁴ This handwriting concurs with other notes of Boivin on the flyleaves of this copy.

¹⁰⁵ A interesting clue is found in some additional excerpts transcribed in Rostgaard’s and Boivin’s copy. On one of the other flyleaves Rostgaard transcribed passages titled *De Marmoribus* (possibly from Didymus’ Περί μαρμάρων), *De pontificiis nomine apud Latinos* (of Johannes Laurentius Lydus), *De vestis sericae usu*. One of Isaac Vossius’ notebooks indeed contains these three passages, which are identical to the passages transcribed by Rostgaard (Leiden, UB: VMI 47). This notebook however does not contain the ode of Sappho or any of the other excerpts found on the flyleaves of Rostgaard’s and Vossius’ copy of *Peri hypsous*, which means that Rostgaard transcribed the poem from UB: 756 F 10, or from yet another book or document that had been in Vossius’ possession.

¹⁰⁶ For Le Fèvre’s announcement, see section 5.3.3.

particular manuscript his studies stood at the basis of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century advancements in the textual criticism of *Peri hypsous*.

5.4 Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous*

Jacobus Tollius' edition of *Peri hypsous* is more extensive than any of the previous editions of Longinus' treatise. The volume, in quarto format, comprises over 430 pages, and includes, among other materials, the Greek text of *Peri hypsous*, a Latin translation by Tollius, the French translation of Boileau, and the notes of previous editors, as well as Tollius' *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* ('a sample of critical observations on Longinus'). From the epistolary record we know that Tollius had been working on Longinus since 1666.¹⁰⁷ In his edition of Cicero's *Pro Archia*, which also contained the *Gustus*, Tollius likewise wrote that he had been detained from his work on the edition of Longinus by the "needy poverty of a scholar" (*literati angusta pauperies*).¹⁰⁸ In 1677 Tollius wrote to Vossius that a first sample of his studies on *Peri hypsous* (the *Gustus*) had appeared, a so-called 'taster' for his edition, and that he, after a period of distraction, had resumed his work on the edition of Longinus, and was working on a translation of Longinus' text.¹⁰⁹ After the publication of the *Gustus* in 1677 it took quite some years before Tollius' edition came out in print.¹¹⁰ Tollius dedicated his edition to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, who died in 1688, six years before Tollius' edition was published.

¹⁰⁷ Tollius to Vossius, November 4, 1666 (Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46v; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461). See above section 5.2.

¹⁰⁸ Tollius, *Gustus* (1677), 1.

¹⁰⁹ Tollius to Vossius, July 13, 1677 (Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties: OTM: hs. III E 10:107; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 463): *Spe mihi namque nuper facta, publice in hac Academia Literas Humaniores sine stipendio praelegendi facultatem concessum iri, resumsi pristinos spiritus, meque ad editionem hactenus intermissam Longini mei, veluti discusso languentis animi sopore, excitavi. In quo vertendo dum sum occupatus (...). Viderat jam publicum mearum in Longinum lucubrationem specimen quoddam, et integras eas cum nova versione, aliorumque et meis notis, in hanc aetatem fueram pollicitus.*

¹¹⁰ Jules Brody mentions how Tollius had trouble finding a publisher for his edition, and argues that this delay is an indication of the limited popularity of Longinus' treatise in the second half of the 17th century (Brody, 1958, 10-11). We may however also entertain the possibility that Tollius' difficult character, which had caused him trouble on various occasions, and his poor financial situation were equally obstructing.

5.4.1 Contents of Tollius' edition

Tollius' edition relies on collations of the Par. Gr. 2036 (via Vossius), the Marc. Gr. 522 (via an unnamed colleague) and Vat. Gr. 194, 285 and 1417 (via Zaccagni), as well as earlier printed editions.¹¹¹ To Tollius' inclusion of the Vat. Gr. 285 we owe a section of *Peri hypsous* 2.3 that has been lost in all other extant manuscripts of Longinus' treatise.¹¹² This section, the *fragmentum Tollianum*, is only preserved in Par. Gr. 985 and its copy Vat. Gr. 285.¹¹³ Tollius has made some modifications to the chapter divisions. Instead of 40 chapters in the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre, Tollius' edition has 44 different chapters, which are virtually identical to the chapters divisions in the modern editions of *Peri hypsous*.¹¹⁴ In his preface Tollius praises the translation of Gabriele De Petra, which has produced beautiful renderings of some passages of *Peri hypsous*, but which also contains several mistakes, for which reason Tollius decided to make his own Latin translation. Tollius also prefixes a preface to Boileau's *Traité du Sublime* (also included in Tollius' edition) in which he praises but also criticises the French translation. Tollius also added notes to Boileau's translation, which exhibit an equally critical opinion. Tollius' edition and translation are accompanied by the combined notes of Robortello, De Petra, Langbaine, Le Fèvre, and Tollius himself. The notes added by Tollius mainly provide textual-critical remarks and reflect on the notes and

¹¹¹ In the preface (**2^v-**3^r) Tollius expresses his gratitude to all scholars who have supplied him with variant readings and editions of *Peri hypsous*. The editions of Robortello (1554), Manuzio (1555) and Portus (1569) are probably based on the Marc. Gr. 522. De Petra based his edition on the text of Portus. Langbaine (1636) in turn used the text of De Petra, and consulted a manuscript of *Peri hypsous* that librarian Patrick Junius pointed out to him (quite possibly the manuscript that is nowadays known as Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.34). According to his *Ad lectorem*, Le Fèvre (1663) used the Greek text from the editions of Portus, De Petra and Langbaine. See Chapter One for a discussion of the manuscripts and early editions of *Peri hypsous*.

¹¹² Mazzucchi (2010), xlii-xliii.

¹¹³ See Crisci and Scotti (1980), 65-75 for a discussion of the origin and authenticity of the *Fragmentum Tollianum*.

¹¹⁴ The only difference is the division between chapters 4 and 5, in which Tollius takes the word ἅπαντα as the last word of section 4, whereas modern editions take it as the first word of section 5. Chapter 39 is accidentally numbered 38, as a result of which the edition appears to have 43 chapters, whereas in fact there are 44.

Fig. 11. Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist, Engraved title page to J. Tollius, Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1964).



Overview of the contents of Tollius' edition

[*1r]	Frontispiece by Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist
[*2r]	Title page
[*3r-**2r]	Dedication to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg
2v-3r]	Preface of Jacobus Tollius
3v-*1r]	Preface and notes to <i>Peri hypsous</i> by Tanneguy le Fèvre
1v-3r]	Biographical account of Longinus by Gerard Langbaine
3v-4v]	Ancient and early modern <i>testimonia</i> about Longinus
****1r-****2v]	Index of the sections of Longinus' treatise
1-243	Greek text of <i>Peri hypsous</i> with translation, and notes of Robortello, De Petra, Langbaine, Le Fèvre, and Tollius
244-257	Fragments ascribed to Longinus, with Latin translation
[258]	Title page of Nicolas Boileau's <i>Traité du sublime</i>
[259-263]	Nicolas Boileau's preface to his translation
[264]	Preface of Mr. Dacier
[265-268]	Preface of Jacobus Tollius to Boileau's translation
269-344	Boileau's translation, with notes of Boileau, Dacier and Tollius
345	Title page of Tollius' <i>Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus</i>
346-347	Dedication to Friedrich Spanheim (the Younger)
348	Tollius' preface to the <i>Gustus</i> (1677)
349-360	<i>Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus</i> (1677)
361	Tollius' preface to the <i>Gustus</i> (<i>accessio</i> , 1694)
361- 381	<i>Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus</i> (<i>accessio</i> , 1694)
382-392	<i>Variae lectiones</i> in three Vatican MSS (Vat. Gr. 194, 285 and 1417)
393-404	Frontmatter from Gabriele De Petra's edition of <i>Peri hypsous</i>
405-408	Frontmatter from Tanneguy le Fèvres edition of <i>Peri hypsous</i> ¹¹⁵
[Fff1r-Ggg2r]	<i>Index rerum et verborum</i>

¹¹⁵ See also section 1.3.3 on the contents of the editions of De Petra and Le Fèvre.

editorial choices of his predecessors. An exception is Tollius' discussion of the Genesis citation in *Peri hypsous* 9.9, on which he comments quite extensively.

As I have discussed in Chapter Three, Tollius responded in his notes to the debate over the supposed sublimity of the biblical *Fiat Lux* between Nicolas Boileau and Pierre-Daniel Huet. While Boileau adduced the *Fiat Lux* as a paragon of sublimity, because of its inherent greatness, Huet argued that 'sublime' is an inappropriate qualification of the Bible, since the word of God has nothing to do with rhetorical artifice. Tollius in turn explains that Longinus adduced this example in the context of his discussion of 'greatness of thought', the first of the five sources of the sublime, and hence that it served to illustrate the aspects of sublimity located within the ideas themselves, and not the aspects that pertain to verbal expression.¹¹⁶ Tollius, implicitly siding with Boileau, was in turn briefly mentioned and rebuked by Huet in his *Lettre de M. Huet à M. le Duc de Montausier*.¹¹⁷

Tollius expounded his views on Longinus' theory of sublimity mainly in his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*, which was published for the first time in 1677 and reappeared, in expanded form, in his edition of *Peri hypsous* in 1694. An intriguing specimen of the seventeenth-century Dutch reception and appropriation of *Peri hypsous*, the *Gustus* merits our further attention.

5.4.2 Critical observations on Longinus

On 4 November 1666 Jacobus Tollius wrote to Isaac Vossius that he had read Longinus for the first time, and that Longinus' treatise not only corroborated his own opinions, but also provided a more general method for judging literature.¹¹⁸ Tollius elaborated this idea in an essay that was published in 1677, his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum gustus* ('a sample of critical observations on Longinus'). The *Gustus*, dedicated to the Leiden professor of Theology Friedrich Spanheim the Younger, consists of a series of comparisons between Greek and

¹¹⁶ Tollius (1694), 61-62. See also section 3.3.4.

¹¹⁷ 'Lettre de M. Huet à M. le Duc de Montausier, Dans laquelle il examine le sentiment de Longin sur le passage de la Genèse: Et Dieu dit: Que la lumière soit faite, et la lumière fut faite', in: *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1706), vol. 10, 211-260. See section 3.4.4.

¹¹⁸ Tollius to Vossius, November 4, 1666 (Leiden, UB: BUR F11-II, fol. 46^v; Chauffepié, 1756, IV, 461). See above section 5.2.

Roman authors.¹¹⁹ In his introductory remarks, Tollius explains that he was prompted by some of his friends to provide a small specimen of his Longinian studies, while his promised edition was still in the making.¹²⁰ Tollius moreover explains that he has a personal fondness for Greek writers, and therefore chose to confront eminent Greek poets of their respective genres with their Roman counterparts, to the end of demonstrating that Greek poetry surpassed Latin poetry, while at the same time illustrating Longinus' ideas.¹²¹ In the *Gustus* Tollius compares Pindar with Horace, Theocritus with Vergil, and Apollonius with Ovid.

Tollius published his *Gustus* as an appendix to his edition of Cicero's *Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia poeta* (*The speech on behalf of Archias the Poet*), in which Cicero defends the Greek poet Archias, who had been denied Roman citizenship.¹²² Tollius does not explicitly connect the *Pro Archia* with his *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus*; his notes to Cicero's text only include two brief references to *Peri hypsous*.¹²³ Tollius probably saw his edition of Cicero's speech (the defence of a Greek poet in a Roman context) as a suitable opportunity to include his observations on Greek and Roman poetry.¹²⁴ Another set of comparisons appeared as part of a collection of essays, which Tollius published in 1687 under

¹¹⁹ On Tollius' *Gustus* see also Mazzucchi (1995), 1347-1348 and 1355-1358.

¹²⁰ Tollius (1694), 349: *Longini Περί ὕψους novam pollicitus editionem, rogor identidem ab amicis, ut eam, quantum pote, matrem: aut, si vel ipsa diffusae curae difficultas, vel otii me literati pauperies angusta retineat, specimen minimum aliquod, ac veluti Gustum quendam mearum ad hunc Auctorem animadversionum praebeam, ex parte occurram.*

¹²¹ Tollius (1694), 349: *Sed quod ipse in Graecos maxime Scriptores propendeam [...] tres mihi Graecae poëseos, Homero excepto, in suo genere principes cum totidem Latinis delegi, e quorum collatione et Longinus illustraretur.*

¹²² J. Tollius, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Licinio Archia. Jacobus Tollius emendavit, notulisque, & expositione rhetorica illustravit* (Leiden: D. Gaesbeeck, 1677).

¹²³ Tollius (1677), 73 commenting on the expression *pingue quoddam sonantibus*, refers to Longinus' remark on triviality and grossness in *Peri hypsous* 29.1. On p. 117-118 Tollius briefly refers to *Peri hypsous* 9.11.

¹²⁴ The *Pro Archia* touches upon a number of themes that resonate well with the overall idea of *Peri hypsous*. Cicero's plea for the value of (Greek) poetry in general and the poetry of Archias in particular concurs with Longinus' fondness for the Greek classics. Both Cicero and Longinus moreover adduce Homer as a prime example, and reflect on the divine inspiration belonging to poetic production (Cf. *Peri hypsous* 14.2 and Cicero, *Pro Archia* 18). See the commentary in Vretska and Vretska, *Pro Archia poeta: ein Zeugnis für den Kampf des Geistes um seine Anerkennung* (Darmstadt: Wissensch. Buchges., 1979).

the title *Fortuita* ('accidental essays').¹²⁵ In the *Fortuita* Tollius compares Virgil with Petronius, Homer with Virgil, and Sophocles with Seneca. These later essays were reprinted as an appendix (*Accessio*) to the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* in Tollius edition of 1694.¹²⁶ In the following I will refer to the first version of the *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (printed for the first time in 1677) as '*Gustus*', and to the additional essays (printed for the first time in 1687) as '*Accessio*'.

5.4.3 Predecessors and imitators

Each of the comparisons in the *Gustus* and the *Accessio* roughly follows the same scheme: Tollius confronts earlier (Greek) authors of a particular genre with their later (Roman) equivalents, to the end of demonstrating the superiority of the former over the latter. In the *Gustus* the odes of Pindar and Horace are examples of lyric poetry, while Theocritus' *Idylls* and Vergil's *Eclogues* represent bucolic poetry, and Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* represent the genre of epic. In the *Accessio* Tollius adds to his discussion of epic with comparisons of Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Troiae Halosis* ('Fall of Troy') in Petronius' *Satyricon*, and touches upon the genre of tragedy with a comparison of Sophocles and Seneca.

Central to Tollius' analysis is the literary play between the original and the imitation, which consists of textual allusions, thematic similarities and genre conventions. In his comparisons Tollius aims to counter the idea that later representatives of a particular genre are better than their predecessors, and that their works constitute improved and corrected versions of their earlier counterparts. In the first comparison in the *Gustus*, Tollius for instance confronts a passage from Pindar's second *Olympian Ode* with Horace's imitation of the same passage:

¹²⁵ J. Tollius, *Fortuita, In quibus praeter Critica nonnulla, tota Fabularis Historiae Graeca, Phoenicia, Aegyptiaca, ad Chemiam pertinere asserritur* (Amsterdam: J. Janssons van Waesberge, 1687).

¹²⁶ Tollius (1694), 348-381.

ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι,
τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;¹²⁷

Hymns that rule the lyre,
what god, what hero, and what man shall we celebrate?¹²⁸

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
quem deum?¹²⁹

What man or hero do you choose to celebrate
with lyre or shrill pipe, Clio?
What God?¹³⁰

Horace's imitation follows the original quite closely, but makes a significant change in word order. Horace has rearranged Pindar's sequence 'what god, what hero, what man' (τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα) into 'what man or hero, ... what god' (*quem virum aut heroa ... quem deum*). Tollius remarks that this could be interpreted as if Horace has corrected Pindar: by presenting three elements in descending order of importance, Pindar would have neglected the 'rule of gradation' (*regula gradationis*), which would dictate that such elements should be

¹²⁷ Pindar, *Olympian* 2.1-2.

¹²⁸ Translation: Race, 1997. In his second *Olympian Ode* Pindar celebrates the victory of Theron of Sicily in the chariot races of in Olympia in 476 BC. See also M. Willcock, *Olympians 2, 7, and 11; Nemean 4; Isthmians 3, 4, and 7* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 133-140 on the structure and contents of the ode.

¹²⁹ Horace, *Ode* 1.12.1-3.

¹³⁰ Translation: Rudd, 2004. Horace's *Ode* 1.12 is a hymnic poem that subsequently praises gods, heroes and men, and which culminates in the laudation of emperor Augustus. R.G.M. Nisbet, and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace's Odes: Book I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 142-146 discuss its reminiscence to Pindar, and engage in a critical comparison of both poems: "We can accept the encomia of Pindar, who was writing in a simpler age; but Horace's exclamations evoke the derisive response of Ezra Pound: 'O bright Apollo, / τίν' ἄνδρα, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα θεόν, / What god, man, or hero / Shall I place a tin wreath upon!'" While Tollius' disapproved of Horace's 'correction' of Pindar's opening lines, Nisbet and Hubbard in turn criticise Horace's naïve laudation of Augustus (in light of the complexity of Augustan politics).

presented in ascending order.¹³¹ Tollius however dismisses this argumentation by stating that Horace cannot aspire to emulate Pindar, as Pindar's greatness is sincere and natural, while Horace's is sophistic and artificial.¹³² The opening lines of Pindar's ode are marked by an inborn simplicity and genuine beauty, which provides the sentence its unique elegance.¹³³ Horace's rendering cannot hold up to the sublimity of its predecessor.¹³⁴

In his comparison of Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 and Vergil's second *Eclogue* Tollius similarly argues that the phrasing of Vergil's poem does not come close to the dignity of the Greek text of Homer.¹³⁵ One of Tollius' objections consists of the freedom of Vergil's adaptations of the Greek original, which, in Tollius' opinion, render the text obscure.¹³⁶ More generally, Tollius argues that diligent and accurate Roman poets such as Vergil and Horace do not hold up to the *ingenium* of their Greek predecessors, and that Ovid, who polishes and even loves his own faults, is even worse.¹³⁷ In his comparison of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* Tollius aims to discern true sublimity (*vera sublimitas*) from bombast (*inflatus tumor*) and childishness (*lascivia puerilis*).¹³⁸ According to Tollius, Apollonius has more aptly portrayed Medea's amorous feelings in his *Argonautica*, than Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, because he has observed τὸ πρέπον ('what is

¹³¹ Tollius (1694), 349: *Quid igitur? an peccavisse censendus est Pindarus, quasi regulam gradations, et a potiore persona ad inferiores delapsus praecepta rhetorum neglexerit (...)*. Tollius here explicitly refers to Longinus' discussion of αὐξησις (amplification) in *Peri hypsous* 43.3.

¹³² Tollius (1694), 350: *Advertite igitur sinceram naturalemque in Pindaro magnitudinem, quam ipsa veritas suppeditabat. Verum in Horatio Sophistica est, ficta, elaborata arte ad veri similitudinem; et consequenter ad illius fastigium non accedit.*

¹³³ Tollius (1694), 350: *In hac autem, quam produximus, sententia, addita est illis duabus orationis virtutibus nativa quaedam simplicitas, atque ingenuus decor, quae singularem illi sententiae gratiam conciliant.*

¹³⁴ Tollius (1694), 351: *Nam neque sic Horatius sublimitatem assecutus est, et dulcedine praeterea ac lepore, cujus copia floret Pindarus, excidit.*

¹³⁵ Tollius (1694), 351: *At si cum superioribus conferantur, longe videbuntur infra Graeci carminis dignitatem.*

¹³⁶ Tollius (1694), 352: *Ergo dum brevis esse laborat, fit obscurus.*

¹³⁷ Tollius (1694), 354: *Quod si et Horatium et Virgilium, diligentissimos accuratissimosque Poetas, ingeniorum Graecorum non videmus esse assecutos; quid Ovidio fiet, qui tantum abfuit, ut emendarit vitia sua, ut etiam amaverit?*

¹³⁸ Tollius (1694), 354: *Sed de hoc postea viderimus, cum [...] in eorum unoquoque veram sublimitatem ab inflato tumore, ac puerili lascivia discernemus.*

fitting', 'propriety').¹³⁹ Ovid however has not observed the proper magnificence (*magnificentia*) or the power of poetic imagination (*vis phantasiae poeticae*).¹⁴⁰ To illustrate Ovid's ineptitude even further Tollius moreover adduces Vergil's depiction of Dido's lovesickness in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. Unlike Ovid's portrayal of Medea, Tollius argues, Vergil's depiction of Dido is magnificent and fitting, and is an example of Longinus' observation that "sublimity is the echo of a great mind".¹⁴¹ Throughout the *Gustus* Tollius thus paints a contrast between Greek authors and their Roman counterparts. The case of Ovid and Vergil moreover shows that this contrast is not only a matter of language, but a chronological issue as well, as Tollius explicitly places earlier, original works above later derivatives.

In the *Accessio* Vergil's *Aeneid* is discussed twice; it is first compared favourably with Petronius' *Satyricon*, then however contrasted unfavourably to its predecessor, the *Iliad* of Homer. The *Troiae Halosis*, a poem performed by one of the characters in Petronius' *Satyricon* presents a description of the fall of Troy that alludes to the Laocoön episode in the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid*.¹⁴² Tollius, using terminology from *Peri hypsous* 3.4, describes passages from the *Troiae Halosis* as *cacozelon* ('tasteless'), *σχολαστική νόησις* ('a pedantic idea'), and as an example of 'tumidity'.¹⁴³ As Mazzucchi notes, Tollius apparently fails to recognise the parodistic tone of Petronius' poem.¹⁴⁴ Tollius draws on Longinus' discussion of stylistic faults and applies its ideas to Petronius' poem. Vergil on the other hand is said to steer clear of these faults.¹⁴⁵ When compared to Homer however, Vergil in

¹³⁹ Tollius (1694), 355: *Ergo quod ipsam evnoian spectat, longe est Ovidius inferior Apollonio, qui si quis alius, in amoribus Medae τὸ πρέπον servat.*

¹⁴⁰ Tollius (1694), 357: *Non assequuntur magnificentiam styli Heroïci, nec vim Phantasiae Poeticae, quae in loco tam praecipiti, ac in re tanti momenti atque periculi, poëtae in amoris agnitione ludentis lasciviam admittere non potest.*

¹⁴¹ Tollius (1694), 360: *Quam hac diversa ab Ovidianis, quam plena decoris et magnificentiae? Adeo verissimum est illud Longini effatum, τὸ ὕψος εἶναι τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα.* Tollius refers to *Peri hypsous* 9.2.

¹⁴² See F.I. Zeitlin, 'Romanus Petronius. A study of the *Troiae halosis* and the *Bellum civile*', *Latomus* 30 (1971), 56-82: 58-67 for a discussion of the Vergilian intertext in the *Troiae Halosis* and Petronius' ironic appropriation of his source.

¹⁴³ Tollius (1694), 366-368. *Peri hypsous* 3.4: *Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἰδεῖν ὑπεραίρειν βούλεται τὰ ὕψη* ("but tumidity seeks to outdo the sublime").

¹⁴⁴ Mazzucchi (1995), 1358.

¹⁴⁵ Esp. Tollius (1694), 370-371.

turn is the lesser of two, as his portrayal of the main characters in his work (Aeneas and Turnus) falls short in comparison to Homer's depiction of his heroes (Achilles and Hector). Vergil's work may be 'splendid' (*splendidus*), 'magnificent' (*magnificus*), and 'adorned with care and refinement' (*omni cultu curaque exornata*); it however lacks Homer's 'truthful depiction of emotion' (*affectuum veritas*) and 'forcefulness' (δεινότης).¹⁴⁶ In his comparison of two tragedies about Hercules, Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* (which is now no longer attributed to Seneca), Tollius describes Seneca's work as the bombastic and puerile version of Sophocles.¹⁴⁷ Tollius presents his comparison of Sophocles and Seneca as an illustration of Longinus' chapters on imitation (*Peri hypsous* 13 and 14), without however interweaving these chapters into his argument. Tollius rather reflects on failed imitation more generally, by discussing Seneca's unsuccessful imitation of Sophocles.

As Tollius announced in the introductory remarks to the *Gustus*, his comparisons serve as an illustration of *Peri hypsous*. Most of his observations however are not related directly to *Peri hypsous*, but rather take up some general elements of Longinus' theory. Tollius first of all adopts a method that Longinus himself employs throughout his treatise: the comparison (σύγκρισις) of two authors.¹⁴⁸ Tollius and Longinus share their fondness for Pindar, Homer, and Sophocles, but hold divergent opinions of Theocritus and Apollonius. In *Peri hypsous* these two Hellenistic poets serve as examples of 'perfect, yet mediocre

¹⁴⁶ Tollius (1694), 373: *In Virgilio omnia comta magis, et omni cultu curaque exornata: grandia tamen, et magnifica, splendida, illustria, et quamvis laudem vincentia: sed ad illam Homericorum affectuum veritatem ac δεινότητα non accedentia.*

¹⁴⁷ Tollius (1694), 376-377 refers to *Peri hypsous* 3.2: οὐχ ὑψηλά, ἀλλὰ μετέωρα (...) πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐνθουσιᾶν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες οὐ βακχεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ παίζουσιν. ("These things are not sublime, but highfalutin (...) For often when they think themselves inspired, their supposed ecstasy is merely childish folly"). Sophocles however is free of these faults. Tollius (1694), 375: *Praeterea, utut diligenter tota examinetur oratio, nihil in ea puerile, nihil frivolum, nihil ineptum, nihil tumidum, nihil non ex ipsa ductum veritate reperietur: omnia denique sobria, casta, praeclara, et decorum seroantia.*

¹⁴⁸ See Mazzucchi (1995), 1348-1351, F. Focke, 'Synkrisis', *Hermes* 58.3 (1923), 327-368, D.A. Russell, 'De imitatione', in: D. West and T. Woodman (eds.), *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1-16, and A.D. Vardi, 'Diudicatio locorum: Gellius and the history of a mode in ancient comparative criticism', *Classical Quarterly* 46.2 (1996) 492-514 on συγκρίσεις in ancient literary criticism. See also Chapter Two on the comparison of Vergil and Homer in J.C. Scaliger's *Poetics* and Daniel Heinsius' *Prolegomena* on Hesiod.

writers' that fall short when compared to their 'flawed yet sublime' counterparts, whereas Tollius contrasted them favourably with their Roman imitators Vergil and Ovid.¹⁴⁹ The general principle however is the same: underlying Longinus' *synkrisis* of Homer, Pindar and Sophocles with Apollonius and Theocritus in *Peri hypsous* 35 is the implicit contrast between earlier, 'original' representatives of particular genres, and later imitators. Whereas Longinus is however generally positive about imitation – he describes *mimesis* as one of the roads to sublimity in *Peri hypsous* 13.2 – Tollius always seems to prefer the predecessor over the imitator.

In the *Gustus* and the *Accessio* Tollius selects certain passages and ideas from Longinus' treatise to construct an argument about the superiority of earlier (Greek) writers, over later (Roman) authors. As we have seen, Tollius praised his favourite authors in terms of 'magnificence' and 'forcefulness', used Longinus' discussion of stylistic faults (*Peri hypsous* 3-5), referred to Longinus' discussion of greatness of thought (*Peri hypsous* 9), and connected his comparison between Seneca and Sophocles to Longinus' discussion of imitation (*Peri hypsous* 13 and 14). Appended to his comparison of Seneca and Sophocles, Tollius moreover added some observations on various authors, which he presents as illustrations of Longinus' chapters on *phantasia* (*Peri hypsous* 15), and dignified language (*Peri hypsous* 30).¹⁵⁰ Instead of providing a commentary of *Peri hypsous*, Tollius loosely connects his own literary judgments to parts of *Peri hypsous*, engaging in, we might say, a rather opportunistic, or instrumental interpretation of Longinus' treatise.

5.4.4 A book for corroborating judgment

Tollius already confessed to his own opportunism in his letter to Isaac Vossius, when he stated that Longinus' treatise corroborated an already established opinion.¹⁵¹ In Tollius' *Gustus* and *Accessio* Longinus' treatise served to underpin Tollius' opinion that earlier (Greek) authors are superior to their later (Roman) equivalents. Tollius' argument bears a striking resemblance to Daniel Heinsius'

¹⁴⁹ See *Peri hypsous* 33.4.

¹⁵⁰ Tollius (1694), 378-381 consists of a discussion of passages in classical authors such as Ovid and Pindar, which only loosely refers to *Peri hypsous*.

¹⁵¹ See above section 5.2.

argumentation in the preface to his edition of Hesiod (1603).¹⁵² Heinsius similarly adapted arguments from Longinus' treatise in order to celebrate the genuine simplicity of archaic Greek poetry and to condemn the sophistic elaboration of its later (Roman) imitators. Both Heinsius and Tollius adapted elements from *Peri hypsous* to underpin their argument that (Greek) originals are to be preferred over later (Roman) imitations.

Heinsius' and Tollius' opportunistic interpretation of Longinus' treatise in turn belongs to a broader seventeenth-century practice of appropriating *Peri hypsous*.¹⁵³ Whether it is the strategic use of Longinus' citation of Genesis in biblical scholarship, or the application of Longinus' ideas to the visual arts, Longinus' treatise was used as an argument in various early modern discussions on literature and art.¹⁵⁴ In the same period in which Tollius published his comparative essays, *Peri hypsous* was brought into the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. The *Anciens*, represented by critics such as Nicolas Boileau, defended the great classics of Antiquity, while the *Modernes*, among which Charles Perrault, championed the literature of their own time.¹⁵⁵ In reaction to Perrault, who had criticised Homer's rudeness and Pindar's obscurity in his *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1688), Boileau published a series of essays, titled *Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rheteur Longin, où, par occasion, on répond à quelques objections de Monsieur P** contre Homère et contra Pindare* (1694).¹⁵⁶ Boileau's *Réflexions* do not so much provide

¹⁵² See Chapter Two for a discussion of Heinsius' *Prolegomena*.

¹⁵³ Tollius' comparative essays were for instance reprinted in J. Palmerius, R. Rapin, D. Blondel, J. Tollius and J. Van Berkel, *Dissertationes selectae criticae de poetis Graecis et Latinis* (Leiden: C. Boutesteyn and J. Luchtmans, 1707), which contained, besides Tollius' *Gustus* and *Accessio*, comparative studies of René Rapin and François Blondel, which also used *Peri hypsous* in the development of their arguments. Like Tollius' essays the observations of Rapin and Blondel had also been published earlier. See also Mazzucchi (1995), 1347-1348. The combined *Dissertationes selectae* in turn were reprinted several times.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapters Three and Four.

¹⁵⁵ See Cronk (2002), 118-171 and Gilby (2006), 132-142.

¹⁵⁶ N. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres Diverses du Sieur D. Avec le Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours (...) et les Reflexions critiques sur ce Rheteur: où l'on répond aux objections faites contre quelques Anciens* (Paris: C. Barbin, 1694), Vol. 2, 'Traité du Sublime', [135-219]. On Perrault's criticism of Homer, see K. Simonsuuri, *Homer's Original Genius: Eighteenth-Century Notions of the Early Greek Epic (1688-1798)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 37-45. On Pindar, see: J.T. Hamilton, *Soliciting darkness: Pindar, obscurity and the classical tradition* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979), 151-184. See also Cronk (2002), 146-150 on Perrault's criticism, and 150-152 on Boileau's response.

a discussion of Longinus' ideas, as much as they serve to defend the sublimity of the ancients and to rebuke Perrault.¹⁵⁷ Printed directly after the *Traité du sublime* in Boileau's *Oeuvres*, the *Réflexions* as it were extend Longinus' treatise and bring it into the contemporary debate on literary judgment. As Emma Gilby has pointed out, Boileau's response effectively portrayed Perrault as a petty censor, whose narrow views prohibit him from valuing anything outside his own preconceptions.¹⁵⁸ By thus constructing his argument, Boileau frames any criticism of the ancients (Homer, Pindar) as a failure to understand the sublime.

The 'instrumental' use of *Peri hypsous*, as seen in Heinsius, Tollius and Boileau, does not necessarily start from Longinus' ideas, but rather takes these ideas as an anchor for observations on ancient literature. Longinus' affinity with the great Greek classics and his development of a subtle method for exercising κρίσις ('judgment') constituted an excellent starting point for Heinsius', Tollius' and Boileau's defence of the 'old' versus the 'new'. In their hands *Peri hypsous* becomes an effective weapon for refuting unfavourable criticism.

5.5 Conclusion

Tollius' *Gustus* was not received very favourably, and did not enjoy the fame of the *Réflexions* of his contemporary, Nicolas Boileau.¹⁵⁹ Tollius' Longinian studies and his edition of *Peri hypsous* however do constitute an important chapter in the early modern reception of Longinus' treatise. A key figure in this episode was Isaac Vossius, who probably brought *Peri hypsous* to Tollius' attention and moreover provided an important textual basis for Tollius' edition by sharing his collations. Vossius' work on 'an old manuscript' of *Peri hypsous* moreover sparked the interest of several French scholars: Tanneguy le Fèvre, Richard Simon and Jean Boivin.

¹⁵⁷ On the rather 'loose' connection of Boileau's *Réflexions* to Longinus' treatise, see e.g. Cronk (2002), 151 and Gilby (2006), 135.

¹⁵⁸ Gilby (2006), 135-136.

¹⁵⁹ Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632-1703) writes to Nicolaas Heinsius in a letter of March 1677: *Tollii gustus ad Longinum, quem modo accepi, non est ad meum gustum, nec in orationem pro Archia quae notavit, respondent expectationi meae* ("Tollius' taster of Longinus, which I have just received, is not to my taste. Neither do any of the things he notes to the *Pro Archia* live up to my expectation"). P. Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum. Tomus IV. Quo Nicolai Heinsii, Johannis Georgii Graevii, et Jacobi Perizonii epistolae maximam partem mutuae exhibentur* (Leidae: S. Luchtmans, 1727), 485-486.

After a century of neglect, Vossius appears to have renewed the attention for the Par. Gr. 2036 and this revived interest in the manuscript that is the most important basis for our modern editions of *Peri hypsous*.

In Tollius' *Animadversionum criticarum ad Longinum Gustus* (and the *Accessio*) elements of Longinus' treatise are applied to the comparison between older (Greek) poetry and later (Roman) imitations. In this 'quarrel of the ancients and slightly less-ancients' Longinus was brought in by Tollius to defend the ancients, in a way similar to Boileau's use of *Peri hypsous* in his *Réflexions Critiques*. Both Boileau and Tollius, like Heinsius did more than seven decades earlier, reacted to the notion that the oldest (Greek) poetry was somehow inferior to later (Roman, or modern) poetry. The archetypal *synkrisis* between Vergil and Homer, which has sparked debates since Antiquity, as well as similar comparisons, such as the ones found in the works of Heinsius, Tollius and Boileau, found a new set of arguments in Longinus' relatively unknown treatise. Longinus' focus on the emulation of the great classics, the works of Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, Pindar and Sophocles provided fresh ammunition for those defending the 'ancients' against charges of rudeness, primitivism, and a lack of sophistication. In seventeenth-century debates Longinus' treatise was thus given an significant role in matters of literary judgment.