

Artes Liberales Lectures

No. 4

Walther Ludwig

**CICERO'S *DE OFFICIIS*
IN HUMANIST SCHOOL INSTRUCTION –
THE *PHILOLOGUS INCOMPARABILIS*
HIERONYMUS WOLF
AND HIS GREAT COMMENTARY (1563)**

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Wydział „Artes Liberales”

Warszawa 2020

Series Editor
Jerzy Axer

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ISSN 2658-1752 (print)
ISSN 2658-1760 (online)
ISBN 978-83-63636-93-7 (paperback)
ISBN 978-83-63636-94-4 (online pdf)

Wydział „Artes Liberales” Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
ul. Nowy Świat 69, Warszawa
www.al.uw.edu.pl

This book was published with the financial support
of the “*Artes Liberales* Institute” Foundation (www.ial.org.pl).

Printed in Poland in 150 copies.
Paper: Olin Regular Natural White (120 & 250 gsm). Fonts: Adobe Garamond Pro & Museo Sans Cond.

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Jerzy Axer

Foreword

Published in the “Artes Liberales Lectures” series, Professor Walther Ludwig’s text “Cicero’s *De officiis* in Humanist School Instruction – The *Philologus incomparabilis* Hieronymus Wolf and His Great Commentary (1563)” was presented at the University of Warsaw’s Faculty of “Artes Liberales” as the keynote lecture during the *Cicero, Society, and the Idea of Artes Liberales* Ciceronian Congress in December 2019.

The Congress was a momentous event not just for academic reasons. It also had a symbolic aspect, referencing the Ciceronian Congress held in Warsaw 30 years earlier, in 1989, whose significance went far beyond strictly philological issues. At the time, Cicero was treated as a figure personifying Poland’s turn towards the West on the eve of the June 1989 elections which were to be decisive for the fall of the Iron Curtain and in which Solidarity was the triumphant victor. That was when our community came up with the idea of building an autonomous unit to study the reception and functioning of ancient culture in Poland. The present-day

incarnation of that idea comprises two permanent units at the Faculty of “Artes Liberales”: the Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition (OBTA) and the Collegium Artes Liberales.¹

Professor Ludwig played a significant role in putting the above idea into practice, and we developed a warm friendship at the time. The core of the plan was to form an interdisciplinary team to work on the edition of sources and build a database connected with research on the role of Latin in the history of Europe, with a special focus on Central-Eastern Europe – a region previously ignored in comprehensive research on the reception of ancient culture.

As a member of the International Committee of the Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreis für Renaissanceforschung, Professor Ludwig enabled me to present the concept of a long-term project called “Latin in Central-Eastern Europe” to that community.² This project laid the foundation for establishing the OBTA centre at the University of Warsaw.

At the Academia Europaea meeting in 1993, Professor Ludwig and I presented a verbal interchange on the importance of this subject area for studying the diversity of European history.³ Since then, I and my colleagues have always been able to count on the advice and interest of Professor Ludwig – one of the greatest researchers of

1 Jerzy Axer, “Antiquity and We – The Perspective of the Period of Transformation”, in: Katarzyna Marciniak, ed., *Antiquity and We*, Warsaw: Faculty of “Artes Liberales”, University of Warsaw, 2013, pp. 23–47 (online: www.al.uw.edu.pl/antiquity_and_we, retrieved: 23 February 2020).

2 Cf. Jerzy Axer, ed., *Tradycje antyczne w kulturze europejskiej – perspektywa polska*, in the series “Eseje i Studia” edited by Jerzy Axer, Warszawa: OBTA, 1995.

3 Cf. Walther Ludwig, “Classical Antiquity in Contemporary Europe” and Jerzy Axer, “Latin in Poland and East-Central Europe: Continuity and Discontinuity”, *European Review* 2.4 (1994), respectively pp. 282–287 and pp. 305–309.

Humanism. Walther also agreed to be a member (from 1995) of the International Scientific Board of the Programme “Registration and Publication of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence (1485–1548)” which, under European Union patronage, is working on the edition of neo-Latin sources in a project overseen by Professor Anna Skolimowska and myself.⁴

Professor Ludwig’s outlook on Poland’s culture and his profound understanding of the role of common heritage are a living component of our thinking about the present and the past as well as the future.

⁴ Cf. the website of the Laboratory for Source Editing & Digital Humanities: <http://fontes.ibi.uw.edu.pl/?page=staff#mrn> (retrieved: 23 February 2020).

Cicero's De officiis
in Humanist School Instruction –
The *Philologus incomparabilis*
Hieronymus Wolf
and His Great Commentary (1563)

Hieronymus Wolf, who lived from 1516 to 1580, was one of the most prominent Classicists of the 16th century.¹ He edited and interpreted various Greek, Latin and Byzantine authors. His most important scholarly achievement was the edition, translation, and annotation of all transmitted works of the Greek orators Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Aeschines, which reached their ultimate form in two very big folio volumes of 1570 and 1572.² These works had

1 Helmut Zäh, Ein Gelehrter und Pädagoge von europäischem Format: Hieronymus Wolf, Rektor 1557–1580, in: Gymnasium bei St. Anna Augsburg, Ed., Eine Augsburger Schule im Wandel der Zeit. Das Gymnasium bei St. Anna. Begleitbuch zu der gleichnamigen Ausstellung vom 8.11.–17.12.2000, Augsburg 2000, pp. 29–41.

2 (1.) Hieronymus Wolf, *ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ*. *Isocratis Scripta, quae quidem nunc extant, omnia. Graecolatina, postremo recognita, Annotationibus novis et eruditius illustrata [...]* Hieronymo Wolfio Oetingensi interprete et auctore [...]. Basileae: ex officina Oporiniana 1570. (2.) Hieronymus Wolf, *Demos-*

no rivals at that time, and they were not superseded until the 19th century. No other Classicist ever tried alone to edit, translate, and comment all the works of the three *Principes Oratorum Graecorum*. Wolf, who was professor and rector of the Gymnasium at Augsburg and chief librarian of the city library in the years 1557–1580, completed this extraordinary work. Wolf earned much recognition for it. Nicolaus Reusner, another great humanist of the time, called him after his death *Philologus incomparabilis*.³

He had been taught at the University of Tübingen by Joachim Camerarius, and at the University of Wittenberg by Melanchthon. He speaks several times in his commentary on Cicero's *De officiis* about him, and he is enthusiastic about Melanchthon's guides for the various liberal arts. When Wolf is giving an outlook on the sources and the guides of the four faculties, he names – for theology – only the Bible and Melanchthon's often printed *Loci communes theologici*.

Wolf compares Cicero's viewpoints with the Christian faith several times. He was convinced that the statements of Cicero and of the Holy Scriptures agree with each other to a very high degree. Of course, the Christian religion has priority in the cases where they disagree. In regard to the Christian denominations, Wolf was irenic. He once wrote: *et Catholici et Evangelici sumus. Christiani*

thenis et Aeschinis Principum Graeciae Oratorum Opera, cum utrisque auctoris Vita, et Ulpiani commentariis, novisque Scholiis, ex Quarta, eaque postrema recognitione, Graeco Latina [...] Per Hieronymum Wolfium Oetingensem, utriusque linguae in Augustana professorem [...]. Basileae: ex officina Herwegiana, per Eusebium Episcopum M. D. LXXII.

3 Nicolaus Reusner, *Icones sive Imágenes virorum literis illustrium*, Straßburg 1587, f. Z3 r.

*vero quid ni essemus?*⁴ (that is: we are Catholics and Protestants, but why not Christians?), and he complained at another time that the followers of the two denominations do not fulfill their Christian mandate because of their controversies and their sins, thus being *Pseudevangelici* and *Pseudocatholici*.⁵

It is no wonder that Wolf, being a pupil of Melanchthon, was included in the Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum*. He was listed as an *auctor primae classis* with all its editions from 1559 up to 1862 (only in the last *Index* of 1946, he does not appear again). In this way, he was defined as an heretic from the 16th to the 19th century, and all his works were forbidden to be read by Catholics. He suffered under that Roman condemnation and wrote 1570 in his autobiography: “The papal anathematization was added, in order that I had not only one bad luck.”⁶ But it astonishes and is to be noticed that the Protestant scholar was nevertheless highly esteemed by many Catholics. The fact that his works were read by Catholics and even recommended by clerics is documented by two copies of his editions of Isocrates and Demosthenes from 1570 and 1572, which I have seen.⁷

4 Hieronymus Wolf, M. T. Ciceronis libri tres de Officiis, una cum Hieronymi Wolfii Commentariis, quibus ea potissimum tractantur, quae sunt huius argumenti propria, quaeque et a vitiis atque erroribus revocant, et ad veritatis et virtutis amorem ingenia non distorta impellunt, quatenus id quidem oratione mediocri consequi licet [...]. Basileae: per Ioannem Oporinum 1563, p. 313. The copies of the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, signature 4 LR 60, and of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, signature 4 A lat. b 191, are digitalized available in the Internet: https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11217463_00025.html, and: https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11217463_00005.html (seen 2019).

5 Wolf, as footnote 4, pp. 604f.

6 Helmut Zäh, Wolf, Hieronymus, Epistolae familiares et dedicatariae, cap. XXIII, 29, Heidelberg Camena, Online-Version 2013, https://www2.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/cera/autoren/wolf_cera.html (seen 2019).

7 The editions are private property.

This edition of Isocrates was for a time in the possession of a Protestant Austrian nobleman, Baron Rudolf Wilhelm von Stubenberg, who lived in the 17th century.⁸ The book must have come after his death into the possession of a cloister of Carmelites at Regensburg. The cloister was dissolved in 1810.⁹

The copy of the edition of Demosthenes from 1572 was for a time in the possession of a French Archbishop¹⁰ and came afterwards into the possession of a bishop of Vannes in the Bretagne. According to an entry written by the Rector of the Jesuit College at Vannes in 1696, this book was given by that bishop to a student of the Rhetoric class of that Jesuit College as first school prize in Greek prose. It seems that the copy remained in Jesuit possession. There is a stamp of the Jesuit residence at Nantes from the early 19th century on the endpaper.

Thus, German Carmelites and French Jesuits, and an archbishop and a bishop in France did not conceal their possession of works of Hieronymus Wolf, but esteemed them publicly without ever mentioning that these works were on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

Wolf, being *Professor utriusque linguae* at the Augsburg Gymnasium, had to give Latin instruction too. He esteemed Cicero more than any other author, as one may see from his following sentence: “The writings of Cicero are totally a golden stream of eloquence (a praise which he himself attributed to Aristotle); and I believe

8 Constantin von Wurzbach, Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserreichs Oesterreich, 40. Theil, Wien 1880, pp. 117–146., here 136f.

9 Peter Morsbach, Die Karmeliten am alten Kornmarkt, in: Klöster in Bayern, www.hdbg.eu/kloster/index.php/detail/geschichte?id=KSo328 (seen 2019).

10 It has as Supralibros the coat of arms of an archbishop.

that I have not read anything similar in other Greek or Latin authors.”¹¹ The parenthesis (“a praise which he himself attributed to Aristotle”) brings the origin of the picture of the golden stream to the attention of the reader. Cicero wrote in his *Academica* (II, 38, 119): *veniet, flumen orationis aureum fundens, Aristoteles*. Wolf redirected the Ciceronian picture of the golden stream to its inventor.

In early modern times, Cicero's *De officiis*, which he had written to his son Marcus, and Aristotle's *Nicomachian Ethics*, which had the Latin title *De moribus ad Nicomachum libri X* and which was believed to be written to Aristotle's son Nicomachus, were regarded to be the most important books on moral philosophy which were transmitted from antiquity. *De officiis* was even the first classical text ever printed. It appeared at Mainz in 1465 and was there designated as *Marci tulij clarissimum opus*.¹² At least seven editions of *De officiis* were printed in the years 1465–1470. The first German translation was published at Augsburg in 1531. Erasmus gave his fictive Timotheus the following words in his dialogue *Convivium religiosum*: “Pliny wrote [in: Nat. Hist. Praefatio 22] that Cicero's *Officia* should never be left out of hands; and they are indeed – according to my opinion – worthy to be memorized word by word by all, but especially by those who are destined to administer states.”¹³ Johann Albert Fabricius at Hamburg calls Cicero's *De officiis* in his *Bibliotheca Latina* the most beautiful book on the law of nature and

11 Wolf, as footnote 4, p. 22.

12 GW 06921.

13 Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Colloquia familiaria*. Vertraute Gespräche, übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Werner Welzig, Darmstadt 1967, pp. 48–51.

on moral philosophy,¹⁴ and he quotes from medieval manuscripts the two rhyming hexameter lines:¹⁵

*Excellunt libros cunctorum Philosophorum
Isti quos fecit tres Tullius Officiorum.*

That is: These three books of *Officia*, composed by Cicero, surpass the books of all philosophers. The *Nicomachian Ethics* of Aristotle was the compendium for the university instruction leading to the grade of Magister artium. *De officiis* of Cicero was read in the higher classes of Latin schools. Therefore its text was often printed, with and without commentaries.

Wolf commented on that text to his students too. He explicitly informed his printer Johannes Oporinus in Basel about that in a letter of June 1562, where he also wrote to him, that he might receive a manuscript of his commentary to Cicero's *De officiis* very soon.¹⁶ He adds that many of his pupils asked for a printing of his explanations after his treatment of the *Officia* in the class room and that they even threatened to publish them from their own notes if he himself would not publish them. He would, as he wrote, be uncertain, if he could publish something worthwhile after the commentaries to the *Officia* by so many great scholars, but he had to assume that it would be better, if he himself would give his annotations to the printing press in a revised and enlarged form. Therefore, he had started a revision of his comments. Wolf gave a similar justification for the publication of his commentary in the dedication letter of his edition, dated March 2, 1563.

¹⁴ Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, Hamburg 1721, p. 121.

¹⁵ Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliothecae Latinae Volumen alterum*, Hamburg 1721, p. 136.

¹⁶ Zäh, as footnote 6, Epist. No. 218.

According to these remarks, Wolf's commentary is the revised and enlarged version of the explanations which he gave to his pupils when they read Cicero's *De officiis*. Wolf did not reveal an important circumstance in this argumentation, in which he represented the publication of his commentary as forced by the wishes of his pupils and not as consequence of his conviction that this commentary would surpass all former commentaries. His predecessor in the office of Rector of the Augsburg Gymnasium, Xystus Betulius (1501–1554),¹⁷ had also read the *Officia* of Cicero with his pupils and had also published a commentary and even in the same press of Oporinus at Basel in 1544.

Wolf spoke generally of the existence of commentaries, earlier composed by great scholars, but did not mention one of them specifically. But he must have had in mind especially the commentary of Betulius, which was now replaced by his own commentary. Wolf did not want to criticize the former commentators, mainly because of respectful considerations towards their authors. But it is clear that he would neither have written his much bigger commentary nor would have given it to the press, if he had not been convinced that it would surpass all the former commentaries on *De officiis*.

His edition was printed by Oporinus in Basel as a great Quarto in 1563 with a title which emphasizes its aims. It reads translated:¹⁸ “The three books of Marcus Tullius Cicero *De officiis* together with the commentaries of Hieronymus Wolf, in which above all that is treated, what belongs to this topic and what deters from vices and errors as well as urges the not confused minds to the love of

17 Alfred Hartmann, Birk, Sixt, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 2, Berlin 1955, p. 256.

18 Cf. footnote 4.

truth and virtue, as far this may be achieved by a prose work.” It was and still is the by far biggest commentary to *De officiis*. Text, commentary, paratexts and index need here 770 pages in Quarto.

Wolf mentions Betulius just once. In this case he deviates from a judgement of Betulius, but expresses at the same time his very high estimation of his predecessor with the following words: “our Betulius, the great scholar, who rendered outstanding services to this school as well as for the whole *Respublica literaria* (my work might seem superfluous after his extremely erudite labours to this work).”¹⁹ Yet if Wolf would have agreed with the last opinion, he would not have given his commentary to the press. His recognition of the work of Betulius aims to win the sympathy of those readers, who still had Betulius in good memory.

The edition of 1563 was printed again with revisions in 1569. Reprints appeared 1579 and 1584. It is the only commentary to *De officiis* which was printed four times during the 16th century.

Wolf’s commentary differs essentially from the usual philological commentaries. His Augsburgian colleague Matthias Schenck (1517–1571)²⁰ points out this peculiarity in a letter to Wolf which is placed at the beginning of the Wolf’s commentary of 1563. Schenck explains that various commentaries of the same text often do not have the same aim. He mentions the following types of commentaries and thereafter the distinguishing features of Wolf’s commentary:²¹ “the one excerpted only the rarer words and the more obscure sentences in order to explain them, another noted down

¹⁹ Wolf, as footnote 4, p. 14.

²⁰ Johannes Bolte, Schenck, Matthias, in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 31, Leipzig 1890, p. 56.

²¹ Wolf, f. β2 v–3 r.

various reading variants and histories, and others attempt to bring the structure of a work before the eyes of the readers or they finally collect and compare similar words and statements of other authors; but almost nobody, except you, revealed the motives for the precepts, showed the truth or falsehood, indicated the benefit, adapted the precepts to his own time, and compared them with the rules of conduct of his own century.”

Schenck's first mentioned aims all refer to the text and its understanding, and they are all contained in Wolf's commentary. This commentary is structured in the following way: Wolf continuously quotes one or more sentences of Cicero. Then he adds textual variants under the abbreviation *V. L.* for *Varia Lectio*. Then he gives – after the special *Lemmata* – his annotations in a smaller printing type, whose topics are often indicated by marginal notes. As a rule, his comments surpass the Ciceronian passage quantitatively very much. Three lines of Cicero may be followed by five pages of commentary.

Wolf himself explains the structure of his commentary in his preface, and mentions at first how he handles the *Variae Lectiones*. Wolf secondly speaks of what Schenck called the *οικονομία operis*:²² “The disposition of the text will have to be indicated shortly, in order that the reader realizes how all is connected in order that he finally comprehends the form of the whole work in his mind.” The *dispositio operis* is illustrated in Wolf's commentary by structural hints and by summaries.

He names as third task the *declaratio brevis verborum et rerum*. He also often mentions similar statements of other authors. They

²² Wolf, p. 2.

belong in most cases to the classical antiquity. It would take too much time to name all Greek and Latin poetic and prose authors from Homer and Hesiod to Augustine. Horace and Euripides are favourites among the poets. Besides the ancient and the Christian authors, among whom the letters of Paul are often mentioned, some modern humanist authors occur. They are especially from Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland like his predecessor Betulius, his friend and teacher Camerarius, Desiderius Erasmus, the physician Johannes Fernelius, the philosopher Sebastianus Foxius, the botanist Leonhardus Fuchsius, the physician Laurentius Frisius, Henricus Glareanus, Melanchthon, Vincentius Opsopaeus, Johannes Stigel, Johannes Sturm, Theodor Zwinger and from the other parts of Europe Hermolaus Barbarus, Caelius Calcagninus, Sebastianus Castellio, Urceus Codrus, Coelius Secundus Curio, Thomas Morus, Marcellus Palingenius, Petrarca, the much recommended Jovianus Pontanus, Petrus Ramus, Jacobus Sadoletus, Georgius and the equally recommended Laurentius Valla and Ludovicus Vives. Wolf limited himself in his comments mostly to ancient authors, but his knowledge of modern humanist authors is apparent too.

Most important is for Wolf the question: Does the author make correct statements, and also the admonition to act accordingly and to draw personal benefits from the text. Thus, the commentary becomes instruction to proper action for the young pupils and for adult readers too. Wolf emphasizes this point in his preface with these words:²³ “I regard it as especially necessary and peculiar to our topic to emphasize that which is appropriate to good

²³ Wolf, p. 3.

behaviour. For that is the main business of this work, the other things are minor matters. [...] The real aim is to understand what is true and what is false, what is honourable and what is disgraceful, what is damaging and what is helpful, and to have ready what was understood in all councils at all conversations and all actions, and to show it in one's life and in one's behaviour.”

Wolf placed two relevant quotes from Aristotle and Cicero on the title page right at the beginning. Aristotle wrote at the beginning of the second book of his *Nicomachian Ethic* that the aim of ethics is not only a theoretical knowledge, but a corresponding action: “We do not look at it in order to see what virtue is, but in order to become morally good.”²⁴ Under that sentence of Aristotle is placed the following sentence of Cicero: “All glory of virtue consists in its action.”²⁵ When Wolf reaches this sentence later in the text of *De officiis*, he notes in his commentary:²⁶ “A memorable sentence” and quotes in addition a similar statement from Cicero's *Laelius* 19: “the fruit of the mind and the virtue of each excellence is best apprehended, when it is used for the next one,” and after it Wolf, following a letter of the apostle Paul (Gal. 5), writes: “he is giving evidence of his faith, which is made effective by love” and he adds the word of Christ from Matthew 7 that one should evaluate the faith from the works as the tree from its fruits. Wolf returns in the epilogue of *De officiis* to that sentence of Cicero and declares:²⁷ “Each glory for a virtue consists in its action, as Cicero said at the beginning of this work. For the doctrine about

24 N. E. 2, 2, Becker p. 1103b 28.

25 Cicero, *De off.* 1, 19, 3.

26 Wolf, as footnote 4, p. 114.

27 Wolf, p. 669.

the correct behaviour, about the protection of property, about the administration of the state has a practical aim, not a theoretical; that means, it is not enough to know it and to be able to discuss it, but these things have to be executed through actions and have to be represented by actions.” Wolf made this principle that ethics are not only a theoretical discipline but an admonition for corresponding action to be the main focus of his whole commentary. By this, his commentary distinguishes itself from the usual commentaries which only aim to an understanding of the text. Thus, the reading of *De officiis* became part of the moral education which the Latin school delivered.

The fact that Cicero wrote *De officiis* to his son Marcus who was studying at Athens and that he dealt with the correct behaviour of humans within the human community, made it possible that Wolf addressed his pupils in his commentary and that he discussed the correct behaviour in human life in an encyclopedic way together with admonitions to act correspondingly. This made his commentary more extensive and at the same time more easily readable than the usual philological commentaries to ancient authors. A consequence of its predominantly moral orientation had – on the other side – the consequence that modern research regarded his commentary to be not important for the history of philology. Thus, it was not mentioned in the standard histories of Latin literature or in the lengthy article on the philosophical writings of Cicero in Pauly-Wissowa and not even in Zielinski’s *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* or in the histories of Classical Philology by Sandys or Pfeiffer.

The commentary of Wolf is so rich that it is difficult to illustrate it by a selection of examples. The most different aspects could

be shown. Because the addressees are primarily elder pupils at secondary schools and their teachers, he often added passages which deal with the education and the spiritual development of the students, matters which were for him of primary importance. Therefore, I shall show in the following by eight excerpts how he imagined an ideal humanist education.

First example: When Cicero states that the search for truth is peculiar to human beings (De off. 1, 4), Wolf writes about the schools as necessary for the youth and quotes poems of Ovid, Urceus Codrus and Stigel:²⁸ «The Greek word σχολή means leisure, and places which are destined for studies and learning are named with that word. Those, who are pressed by physical work or by psychical excitements are not free to visit them. Ovid is correct, when he says: «Poems are a cheerful work and want peace of mind» [Ov. Trist. 5, 12, 3–4]. «They require the seclusion of the writer and leisure» [Trist. 1, 1, 41]. One may conclude that boys and adolescents should spend all their time on studies, because they are still free of business and cares [...] and stand out by the strength of their mind and their good memory. There is also health and physical agility as never in their later life. Urceus Codrus rightly admonishes in a poem: «Boys, do learn, as long a you still have that faculty! You will not have that faculty forever.»²⁹ Stigel says not less elegant: «If you will have been negligent of these things in the spring of your youth, you will not be able to harvest in the time of autumn.» Therefore, the young people should remember

²⁸ Wolf, p. 84.

²⁹ Antonius Urceus Codrus, In hoc Codri volumine hec continentur. Orationes, seu Sermones ut ipse appellabat. Epistolae. Silve. Satyre. Ecloge. Epigrammata, Venedig 1506, f. 65 v.

that the seeds of piety and erudition should be sowed in that age in order that one may get a rich harvest in adult age.”³⁰

Second example: To the remarks of Cicero about the things which belong to human life (*De off.* 2, 3), Wolf gives additional annotations about schools and recommends the establishment of boarding schools in the former cloisters which had been dissolved by the Protestants:³¹ “The cloisters could be transformed to this purpose, after superstition and idle luxury have been banned and piety, honest discipline and the study of the liberal arts moved in, by which the youth became erudited and useful and decorous for churches and communities. Then monks and superstitious people and useless burdens of the earth would not be produced, but theologians, jurists, physicians, philosophers and schoolmasters. Thus, neither would talented children be neglected because of their poverty nor communities be burdened by new expenses.”

Third example: When Cicero confesses that he spent all his free time in reading and writing (*De off.* 2, 1), Wolf writes a passage in which he condemns the premature stopping of learning Latin by the order of parents – such Latin knowledge would only be a pretence in order to cheat the people:³² “It is easy and joyful for a student and for someone who is somewhat knowledgeable in the *artes liberales*, to read much. But those who have no sufficient knowledge of the peculiarity of the language and who have no summary conception of the *artes liberales*, for which there are many excellent books, seem to be more negligent of what they do

30 Johannes Stigel, *Poematum ex recensione Adami Siberi volumen primum*, Jena 1577, f. 230 v.

31 Wolf, p. 408.

32 Wolf, p. 382f.

not understand when reading. The parents are in great error, who draw their children to other business after they hardly learned the basics of Latin. What is the use of Latin for those who are not able to write and understand that language well? This is a poor pretence, useless for the boys, perhaps a bit useful to cheat the people, but ridiculous and hateful to erudites.”

Fourth example: When Cicero declares that he always combined Greek and Latin (*De off.* 1, 1), Wolf restricts the learning of Greek to the more talented pupils:³³ “If pupils start their studies late or if they are less talented or if they do not aim for a solid education, for those pupils, I may recommend to spend the time and labour, which they would use in vain for the Greek, better for a more perfect knowledge of Latin.”

Fifth example: When Cicero mentions the battle of Marathon and other Greek battle grounds (*De off.* 1, 18), Wolf urges a private reading of historians, because not all what is needed may be treated in school:³⁴ “One must go for the histories to their authors, to Herodotus, Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Livy, Florus and Justin. These authors are to be read in private by the boys according to their age, inclusive of geography and chronology (historical texts are blind without them). For all cannot be taught by a teacher or at the same time. Therefore private study and a longer time is necessary.”

Sixth example: And when Cicero discusses the question, whether a seller has to tell all deficiencies of a certain object to its potential buyer and there is one opinion that the buyer has only to

³³ Wolf, p. 14.

³⁴ Wolf, p. 192.

be informed about that which the civil law prescribes (De off. 3, 12), Wolf adds in a digression that certain basics of the scholarly disciplines should be learned even outside of one's professional discipline. Here he gives a survey on the disciplines of the universities and the basic literature of their faculties:³⁵ "It has been said at another place that each student should select a certain field for his studies, in which he spends his time and with which he earns his living, and that he should try to be outstanding in it, and that he should read in his leisure hours basic books of other disciplines too, not in the way that he should be able to decide difficult controversies and complex problems (that would be an endless undertaking), but in such a way that he is not totally ignorant of any honest and useful scholarly discipline. Prominent authors in theology are the Holy Scriptures themselves, in the study of law the so-called Corpus Iuris Civilis and the canon law, in medicine Hippocrates and Galenus, in philosophy Plato and Aristotle, in mathematics, although they deter because of their alleged difficulty, Euclid and Ptolemy, and so forth. Guides exist in philosophy especially those of Philipp Melanchthon, who also wrote a guide to theology. In civil law, there are the books of Constantin Hermenopulus, Joachim Hopper and Christoph von Ehem, in medicine those of Fuchs, Fernelius and others. But I do not wish that these readings serve for an ostentatious display of omniscience (there is nothing more empty than that). I do wish instead that one acquires a certain solid and surely not totally unwelcome basic knowledge."

Seventh example: When Cicero mentions the building of a house (De off. 1, 39), Wolf names a few fundamental books on architecture

³⁵ Wolf, p. 617.

by Vitruvius, Leo Baptista Albertus, and Sebastianus Serlius, and then describes how a private study, which he – like Erasmus – calls a *musaeum*,³⁶ should be structured in this way:³⁷ “It would perhaps not be totally useless to describe the private study room of a studying man, if it would not be the fate of our order that we have to act mostly according to the will of somebody else and that we have to endure as we can, because we cannot do what we want. But if somebody has the possibility to select a private study room, I am of the opinion that he has to take care for the healthy location

36 The Greek word *Μουσείον* for a holy place of the Muses has been transferred to schools and libraries at Alexandria or Athens in ancient times already. But it was not used for a private study room in antiquity. Plinius is in his *Epist.* 1, 9 in his estate Laurentinum at the coast of the sea. He is praising to be alone with his books and says: *o mare, o litus, verum secretumque μουσεῖον, quam multa invenitis, quam multa dictatis* (Oh sea, oh coast, true and secret place of the Muses, how much are you inspiring me, how much are you giving me to write!). This passage has been used in the often printed *Dictionarium* of Ambrosius Calepinus (I saw the editions from Reggio 1502, Venice 1509, Vienna 1512, Venice 1513 and Hagenau 1522) under the word *Musea* (1513 and 1522: *Musaea*) in the following way: *Mus(a)eum etiam a graecis dicitur domicilium Musis dicatum. Accipiturque pro diversorio eruditorum.* (The word *Mus[a]eum* was used by the Greeks too for a house of residence for the Muses. It is being used for a room for scholars.) Calepinus quotes the sentence of Pliny as evidence that *Mus(a)eum* designates a place for erudites, where they may read and write in tranquillity. Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus writes in his *Syntagma de Musis*, Straßburg 1511 und 1512, f. ciiiiv: *Loca etiamnum ubi studemus et de studiis agimus, τὰ μουσεῖα adpellantur a Musis* (Places, where we study and follow our studies, are called *musēia* from the Muses). Erasmus gave 1522 in his dialogue *Convivium religiosum* the following sentence to the fictive Eusebius: *Adiunctum est bibliothecae museion quoddam angustum, sed elegans* (Connected with the library is the library is a small, but elegant *museion*; cf. Erasmus, as footnote 13, pp. 118f.). Heinrich Bullinger, *Studiorum ratio*. Studienanleitung, ed. by Peter Stotz, Zürich 1987, 1. Teilbd., pp. 136f., calls his study room *musęum*. Wolf uses the word *Musaeum* for a study room and a class room too (as footnote 4, p. 408). Thus, the word *μουσεῖον* or *musaeum* got during the 16th century the meaning of a room for humanist study. It is the origin of the modern use of the word *Museum* with the meaning ‘building for the exhibition of collections of cultural objects’.

37 Wolf, p. 338.

and the quietness and the amenity of the outlook and the garden (here Epicurus was not in error!). A pleasant habitation is indeed important for the nourishment of love for studies and for the relaxation and the incitement of the mind and for the strengthening of our memory. Then, I recommend a middle sized study room in which the books are in such an order that all are ready at hand and the ones in daily use lie in shelves easy to access. The table and the shelves should be so structured that it is possible to read and write while one is sitting or standing. Attention is to be given to the kind of light in order that neither does sunshine weaken the eyes nor does darkness impede the view. But everybody will be able to take care for this and other things even better, if opportunity actually arises. Yet it would not be wrong here to say something about the library, if we had not this done already elsewhere. The young student is to be urged to acquire the best Greek and Latin and vernacular dictionaries and to read them carefully. And if he is reading something that is worth to be noted, he should enter it according to the alphabet or at least note down the number of the book. Empty pages should be interspersed everywhere in order that it is possible to enlarge the dictionary. And the passages for the things and the words should be entered into the dictionary in their natural order. In this way, a kind of a general continuous index should support the weak and imperfect memory. Then, one should acquire a few but very good authors in order to read them much, but not a lot of authors, as Pliny is saying, until one has found a certain place with strengthened judgement in mature age, where one may live honestly and continuously. Then one should finally increase the number of the useful books according to one's own decision and despise the stupid and superfluous books, which

come to the public in our century in such great numbers and which are full of quarellings and curious disputations or bring nothing of their own, but mutilate and secretly change the texts of the ancients and have the only use to cheat the buyer out of his money and to cause a loss of his time which he will consume with their reading.”

And the eighth and last example, which is especially touching. When Cicero declares that the mind is nourished by learning (*De off.* I, 30), Wolf enthusiastically confesses that he is possessed by an extreme feeling of happiness by his “meeting with the Muses” (that is, by his studies). He is calling the study of the liberal arts a paradise and he wishes that his pupils and other young people will get the same emotional experience. He wrote:³⁸ “What, I ask you, are the studies of the good liberal arts other than a Paradise, filled with all kind of delights? Here is the Helicon, here the Parnassus, here the long-haired Apollo with his golden lyre, here are the Muses, here the Graces. Knowing this sweetness, the shepherd of Theocritus calls out full of joy as if he were drunk [*Theocr.* 9, 31–36]: «A cicada is dear to other cicadas, an ant to other ants, a hawk to other hawks; and so to me the Muse and her song are dear, for they fill my house. For not more sweet to me is sleep or spring’s sudden coming or flowers to bees than are the Muses. For whom they saw with cheerful eyes, Circe never harms by her potions».³⁹ This happiness has been granted to me by divine generosity. For although I don’t own a house, the small habitation which I have is so full of Muses that I almost miss a place, where I could deposit

³⁸ Wolf, p. 260.

³⁹ Circe changed men by her potions into beasts, like Odysseus’ men into swine (*Hom. Od.* 10, 135ff.), that is they lost their humanity by her.

new books. Oh, I wish that the Muses direct their cheerful eyes to me, that they enjoy to look at me and that they protect me from the cups of Circe! Because I loved them so since the beginning of my life, and still love them so that neither the cicada is equally loving the cicada nor the ant the ant, nor the hawk the hawk, and that neither the flowers are sweeter to the bees, nor is the sudden spring or the sleep more pleasing to anybody. You young people will experience the same, as soon as you will have conquered the basics of the two languages. «Endure these troubles and hold on for happier times!».” Thus, he is ending with a famous line of Vergil (Aen. I, 207).

These eight excerpts may show which thoughts about schools, private studies, general education, study rooms and libraries and which sensations of happiness during studies were expressed by Wolf in his commentary – in connection with Ciceronian statements as well as in free digressions. These were important topics for him which he wanted to bring to the attention of his young and adult readers. They illustrate the great variety of thoughts and themes in this work. One does not expect such discussions in a commentary to Cicero’s *De officiis*. Wolf is offering here a humanist method of moral education under the protective umbrella of Cicero.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The text of the lecture was presented to the International Congress “Cicero, Society, and the Idea of *Artes Liberales*” in the lecture room of the Faculty of “*Artes Liberales*” of the University of Warsaw on December 14, 2019.



Photo. Jan Krzysztof Miziolek

Prof. Walther Ludwig during his lecture
at the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" UW,
Ciceronian Congress "Cicero, Society, and the
Idea of *Artes Liberales*," December 14, 2019.



School Prize of the Augsburg Gymnasium

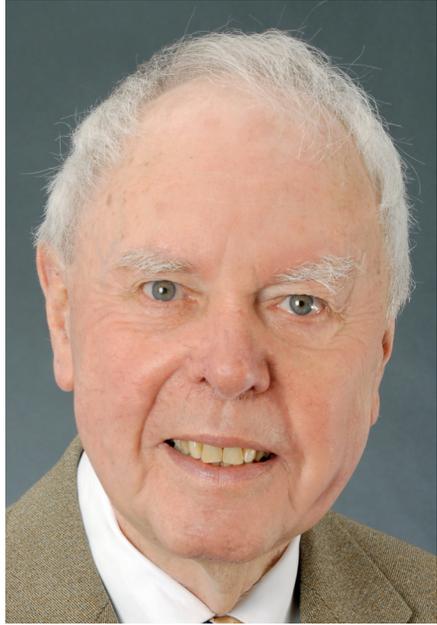
← A school prize medal given in the 18th century to good pupils of the Augsburg Gymnasium, at which Hieronymus Wolf had been professor and rector.

On the one side at the centre there is the big Gymnasium building which was built next to the church St. Anna, the tower of which is visible on the left side. Above the Gymnasium is the eye of God in rays with the inscription ISTO FAVENTE. The sentence is completed by VIGET below the Gymnasium. The two horseshoes below VIGET are the sign of the medal maker.

On the backside there is the inscription MERENTIBVS and the personification of Augsburg (AVGVSTA VINDELICORVM, identified by the fruit of a pine tree on the left, which is the sign of Augsburg). She is offering a laurel crown to a boy on the right. Behind him there are a globe and another boy reading a book. An open book and compasses with an angle are located on the ground as symbols of the *artes liberales*.

The medal measures 24,7 mm and has 3,1 g silver.

Albert Forster and Richard Schmid, *Die Münzen der freien Reichsstadt Augsburg, Augsburg 1897*, No. 206. Reproduction by Jalost Fotografie, Hamburg.



Walther Ludwig

Walther Ludwig was born in Stuttgart/Germany on February 9, 1929, and he is living in Hamburg/Germany (Walther.Ludwig@uni-hamburg.de). After his study of Classics and History at the Universities of Tübingen and Munich (Dr. phil. Tübingen 1955), he was Lecturer and Reader for Classical Studies at the Free University of Berlin and the University of Munich (1955–1964), Professor at the University of Frankfurt/Main (1964–1970), at the Columbia University in the City of New York (1970–1976, Chairman of the Department of Greek and Latin 1971–1976), and at the University of Hamburg (since 1976, Dean of the Faculty for Historical Studies 1992–1994, Emeritus 1994, Ombudsman for the faculties of Humanities and Social Studies 2000–2003). He had Visiting Professorships at the Stanford University/Calif. (1966), the Columbia University (1969), the University of Tartu/Estonia (2002), the University of Western Australia at Perth (2005), and the University of Warsaw (2007).

The fields of his research were especially Greek tragedy and comedy, Hellenistic epigrams, Roman comedies, Cicero, Horace, Ovid and Prudentius. Since 1966 he concentrated his studies more and more on the reception of Greek and Roman antiquity in modern times and the new Latin literature from the 15th until the 19th century, and he contributed also to the history of Classical Studies and the German regional history and genealogy. He published ca. 440 scholarly articles and books and was supervisor of 25 doctoral dissertations. He was *Schriftleiter* of the “*Gnomon, Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte Klassische Altertumswissenschaft*,” co-founder of the “*Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition*,” founder of the “*Hamburger Beiträge zur Neulateinischen Philologie*,” and is member of the Editorial Board of the “*Tatti Renaissance Library*,” Harvard University Press. He was President of the *Mommsen-Gesellschaft*, the Society of German Scholars in the field of Greek and Roman antiquity, Vice-President of the *Fédération Internationale des Associations des Études Classiques*, President of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, and member of the *Comité Scientifique* and the *Conseil de la Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique*, Genève-Vandoeuvres. He is member of the *Academia Europaea*, London, the *Akademie der gemeinnützigen Wissenschaften*, Erfurt, the *Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* and the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Hamburg*.

He received the following scholarly distinctions: Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University (1962), Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (1970), Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies (1974), Medal of the University Helsinki/Finland (1989), Honorary Member of the Philological Society of Poland (1990), Joachim Jungius Medal of the Joachim-Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Hamburg (2004), Carl-Friedrich Gauß Medal of the Braunschweigische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft (2009), Honorary Member of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (2012), Doctor honoris causa of the University of Vienna (2016).