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**Wilcken's Greek Palaeography *Tafeln zur aelteren Griechischen Palaeographie nach originalen des Berliner Koenigl. Museums, zum akademischen Gebrauch und zum Selbstunterricht*, herausgegeben von Dr. Ulrich Wilcken. Leipzig u. Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient, 1891. 10 Mk.**

E. Maunde Thompson

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may get almost the same meaning if we take *πρὸς φόβον* = *φθονῶς* with the Greek commentators, and there are many parallels for this adverbial use, e.g. *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ἡδονήν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, *πρὸς χάριν*.

iv. 9 *ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενθήσατε καὶ κλαύσατε*. 'The first verb refers to their inward feeling of wretchedness, the other two to the outward expression of it.' But neither in the LXX. nor in classical Greek do we find *ταλαιπωρεῖν* so used: cf. *Thuc. ii. 101 ἡ στρατιὰ σῖτόν τε οὐκ εἶχεν καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει*, *Jerem. v. 20 τεταλαιπώρηκε πᾶσα ἡ γῆ* ('is spoiled' R.V.). It seems best to understand it with Erasmus and Grotius *affligite ipsos vosmet jejuniis et aliis corporis scληραγωγίαις*, especially when we consider that St. James was himself noted for his austerities.

v. 11. *πολύσπλαγχνος*. The word 'was possibly coined by St. James himself; it occurs nowhere else.' It is remarkable how many words are used apparently for the first time by St. James: it is not however correct to say that this is found nowhere else. It occurs in the writings of Hermas, that most diligent student of St. James, see *Mand. iii. 5*, *Sim. v. 7. 4*.

In one or two passages there is perhaps a tendency to press unduly the force of words. Thus in ii. 25 Rahab is introduced as a second example of faith proved by action—*ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥαὰβ ἡ πορνὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη*; on which the comment is: "The readers of the epistle might think 'Heroic acts are all very suitable for Abraham, but...we cannot imitate his acts.' 'But,' St. James replies (and he

writes *ὁμοίως δέ*, not *καὶ ὁμοίως*) 'there is Rahab ...at least you can imitate her.' Is there however any reason to suppose that St. James meant any thing more than 'and also' by his *δὲ καί*? Dr. Plummer himself is content to translate *δέ* by 'and' in i. 13, 15, ii. 2, 3. On ii. 4 *ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ πλοῖα* the note is: 'In order to bring out the fact that the ships are a stronger illustration than the horses we should translate 'Behold even the ships' rather than 'Behold the ships also.' First the statement of the case (ver. 2), then the illustration from the horses (ver. 3), then 'even the ships' (ver. 4), and finally the application 'so the tongue also' (ver. 5)." But does the Greek give any hint that *καί* is to be translated differently in the two verses? I should prefer 'also' in both cases.

v. 15. *κἂν ἀμαρτίας ἢ πεποιηκός*. Dr. Plummer here seems to yield to the authority of Alford, Huther and others who have denied that *κἂν* can mean 'and if.' The contrary is proved by *Mark xvi. 18*, *Luke xiii. 9* *Dem. F.L. 411. οὗτος ἐκτρέπεται με νῦν ἀπαντῶν, κἂν ἀναγκασθῇ πον συντυχεῖν, ἀπεπήδησεν εὐθέως*, *Xen. Anab. i. 8, 12, iii. 36* &c. and several instances in the newly discovered 'Constitution of Athens.'

It is to some extent a drawback to the use of the book, considered as a commentary, that some verses, and those not always the easiest or the least interesting, are passed over without remark, such as i. 19—21, 26, 27, ii. 11—13, 18. On the whole however it is one which may be most strongly commended to all educated readers.

J. B. MAYOR.

#### WILCKEN'S GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY.

*Tafeln zur älteren Griechischen Palaeographie nach originalen des Berliner Koenigl. Museums, zum akademischen Gebrauch und zum Selbstunterricht*, herausgegeben von DR. ULRICH WILCKEN. Leipzig u. Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient, 1891. 10 Mk.

PROFESSOR WILCKEN has issued what we may hope is only the beginning of a very useful work. He is already so well known as an authority on early Greek writing that a series of facsimiles, such as this, accompanied with his comments, is a very welcome contribution to Greek Palaeography. The work will appeal to a much wider circle of students than those for whom the editor

modestly designs it. Indeed he only invites beginners to learn something of early Greek documents, and more particularly of cursive hands, with a view to a better understanding of the principles of the minuscule writing of the Middle Ages; and in order to encourage them he refrains 'aus pädagogischen Gründen' from giving transcripts of more than a few lines of each document, leaving the student to puzzle out the rest for himself 'mit eigenem Kopfzerbrechen.' Now, this is all very well in a work in which the facsimiles are produced from MSS. in good condition and are therefore sufficiently legible; but here we have quite a different state of things. Papyri are seldom in perfect, or even good,

condition—from the very nature of the material, the majority are fragmentary, torn, and discoloured, and their reproduction by photography, in a manner at all satisfactory, is by no means a simple matter. Dr. Wilcken's facsimiles leave much to be desired; they could certainly have been made better; some indeed are good, but others are decided failures, as he himself admits. It is, then, cruel kindness to set such difficult pieces before the beginner and to refuse him the assistance of transcriptions. In reading an obscure original, one has the advantage of being able to turn it about to catch the light on it at favourable angles; but a photographic facsimile can only represent it in a fixed position and under only one condition of light, in which faint lines may disappear or be absorbed in the dark background of the material. But, as we have already said, Dr. Wilcken's work will be used by others besides palaeographical students. The recent discoveries of classical works and fragments in Egypt raise hopes of a resurrection of a fair number of the lost works of early Greek writers; and scholars will find it useful and even necessary to know something of the branch of palaeography which Dr. Wilcken has undertaken to illustrate. It is to be hoped therefore that in the future issues, which we are confident will be called for, he will extend the usefulness of his work by giving those aids which will obviate unnecessary 'head-breaking.'

The minuscule hand of the Middle Ages, as Dr. Wilcken observes, was not a new creation. It was nothing more than the cursive hand of the day adopted as a literary hand and written with care by skilled penmen. For the earliest form of this cursive hand we must go back as far as Greek writing exists, to the third century B.C. A few documents of this period have for years been in European libraries and have been published, but their extreme antiquity has not always been recognized. Many of them have hitherto been generally thought to belong to the Roman period; but the recent discovery by Mr. Flinders Petrie of many dated specimens of the third century B.C., a selection of which has just now been edited by Professor Mahaffy, gives the clue to their real age. It is most important to find, at this early time, a cursive hand side by side with a formal literary hand, written in a variety of styles and with the greatest freedom: an absolute proof of its existence at a still earlier period. Indeed there is no reason why the Greeks, almost as

soon as they had got their alphabet and had learnt to write, should not have used a cursive hand; on the contrary there is every reason why they should have done so. The only extant specimens of Greek writing of archaic times are a few painfully engraved inscriptions on stone or metal; and we are apt to regard these as the standard of writing of the period. But supposing that all written documents of our own day were to perish, and that some centuries hence the only surviving records of the nineteenth century were to be found in our churchyards and on one or two monuments, ought our descendants then to infer that we knew nothing of a current hand? If a party of Greek mercenaries some six hundred years B.C. had knowledge enough of writing to inscribe not only their own names but also inscriptions on the statues of Abu Simbel, it is not too much to assume that they could also use their pens with dexterity.

The first six plates of his series Dr. Wilcken devotes to specimens of uncial writing; the rest, to examples of cursive. We do not agree with him when he speaks of the attempt to date uncial writing as an idle enterprise. It is true, as he says, that this style of writing is a copyist's hand which naturally may become stereotyped; but even in formal writing there is a character of the period which may generally be recognized. As regards cursive writing his view is certainly correct that it is impossible to fix accurate dates for forms of certain letters. The same form may run on for centuries; may disappear from some documents, and may reappear in others. It is necessary, however, for palaeography to classify documents; and Dr. Wilcken's three periods, the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine, will appeal to all who have experience as the three main divisions under which early Greek documents seem naturally to group themselves.

The uncial specimens chiefly represent classical fragments; but the third is an exception and is interesting as having been identified, since its publication here, as a fragment of the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. The first cursives are from papyri of the second century B.C., for, although Dr. Wilcken quotes specimens of the third century B.C., none appear to have been available for his work. It is curious that the Berlin collection affords no papyrus dated in the first century after Christ, and that only a few examples of this period exist at Vienna. Dr. Wilcken therefore falls back upon ostraka to furnish material for that time;

and he follows them up with specimens of the second and third centuries from Arsinoë. As in all times, the official hand of the papyri is quite distinctive, as seen in a contract for the sale of a camel in A.D. 289 (No. xiv.), and in a curious document of the year 359, written at Askalon and relating to the purchase of a slave (No. xvi.), a certain Argutis, apparently a Gaul, who passed from one Flavius Agemundus, a Roman officer, to

Flavius Vitalianus, who held a command in the garrison of Arsinoë, where the papyrus was found. The series closes with specimens of the seventh and eighth century, the last being two of the diminutive receipts on vellum, of which a fair number have been recovered, and the writing of which is to be compared with the early minuscule literary hand.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

### GRAUX'S FACSIMILES OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS IN SPAIN.

*Fac-Similés de Manuscrits Grecs d'Espagne*, gravés d'après les photographies de CHARLES GRAUX, avec transcriptions et notices par M. ALBERT MARTIN. Paris: Hachette. 1891. 25 frcs.

THIS work consists of a series of plates from Greek MSS. in Spain, originally prepared by Charles Graux, whose untimely death cut short this as well as other tasks which he would have completed to the advantage of Greek Palaeography. The series has been supplemented and described by Monsieur Albert Martin. M. Graux's design was to place in the hands of students a set of facsimiles which he considered would be of the greatest practical utility; and he accordingly confined his field within the limits of the ninth century on the one side and the date of the fall of Constantinople on the other.

Of the fifty-four specimens contained in the fifteen plates which are due to M. Graux's selection, twenty-five are taken from fifteen dated MSS. ranging between the years 1100 and 1436. The undated examples are mostly from MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries. They present among them examples of the later styles of uncial writing, as found in the MS. of the Gospels in the Camarino (nos. 1, 2) or chamber of relics in the Escorial, of the ninth or tenth century, written in a large character; a volume of Homilies (nos. 3, 4), in smaller sloping letters, of the ninth century; an especially interesting MS. of glosses on the *Iliad* (nos. 5, 6) in very neat writing, both sloping uncial and minuscule, attributed to the ninth or tenth century; and a copy of the Gospels with Catena (nos. 10-14) of the same period. An attempt to reproduce a palimpsest page (no. 7) is not altogether successful; but a better effect is produced in

nos. 9, 10. The most beautiful specimens of the undated series come from an exquisite minuscule MS. of the Gospels (nos. 16, 17) assigned to the tenth century.

Of the dated MSS. the examples naturally fall into two groups of minuscule writing: the set formal hand carrying on the traditions of the ecclesiastical style of older periods; and the more cursive and untrammelled writing of natural development. The former adds to our stock of facsimiles of their kind, the most noteworthy specimens being taken from a MS. of ascetic writings (nos. 28, 29) of the year 1035, the writing of which imitates the upright characters of the two preceding centuries. The other group contains examples of the more or less intricate writing of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, taken from three paper MSS.: a lexicon of Zonaras (nos. 44, 45), of the year 1256; an Aristotle of 1286; and an *Iliad* of 1309. The text of the last is arranged in a peculiar manner, in two columns of verses, to be read across the page, the first column having the even numbers of the lines, and the second column the odd numbers (xxiv. 738-804).

To illustrate the decoration of MSS. M. Graux has included some reproductions of miniatures; but they are quite insufficient for the purpose. Had the photographs been taken recently, no doubt we should have had really good representations of the paintings, the art of photographing colours being now better understood. As they stand, the plates only serve to register the existence of the illuminated pages. One of them (no. 42), from a book of Hymns of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is of interest as it contains Italian accessories in the ornamentation.

The three plates which are added by M. Martin contain facsimiles from the MS. of Plutarch, of the fourteenth century, which