

Modern States and Ancient Greek History

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La storiografia della Grecia antica ha inizio molto più tardi rispetto alla rinascita degli studi greci. La prima storia di argomento greco è del 1541, segue quindi di circa duecento anni il risveglio dell'interesse per la lingua greca, se si assume come data simbolica l'istituzione a Firenze nel 1396 della prima cattedra di greco. In questo testo, si accennerà solo ad una minima parte delle molte personalità, eruditi, letterati, archeologi, linguisti, e anche avventurieri, implicate. La nuova storiografia, orientata a scopi eruditi o incline a rilevare aspetti letterari o alla ricerca di modelli "scientifici", nasce spesso in stretta connessione con la realtà politica contemporanea, in ambienti specifici.

Punto fondamentale da sottolineare è che la storiografia greca nasce dal repubblicanesimo. Le prime due opere dedicate alla Grecia non a caso hanno temi ateniesi e sono legate all'ambiente veneziano. Venezia con la sua potente flotta e il dominio dei mari richiama immediatamente la città antica, inoltre ha rapporti continui con paesi greci e a Venezia arrivano anche reperti antichi da paesi di lingua greca. Prevalgono indubbiamente interessi antiquari, ma sono anche presenti interessi cronologici, relativi al problema dell'accordo tra la cronologia biblica e quella antica anche in rapporto alle tensioni religiose.

La riforma protestante ha ulteriormente favorito gli studi di greco, soprattutto nei Paesi Bassi, dove troviamo due eminenti figure: Jan de Meurs e Ubbo Emmius, il fondatore dell'Università di Groningen, autori il primo di varie opere su Atene, il secondo della prima vera opera di storia greca basata sugli storici antichi più importanti: Erodoto, Tucidide, Senofonte, Diodoro Siculo. Pur riprendendo il modello antico l'opera di Emmius introduce un notevole cambiamento: fino a lui la storia greca era solo inserita in storie universali, dipendendo perciò da autori tardi e attingendo alle fonti più antiche indirettamente. La connessione con il repubblicanesimo veneziano e olandese è confermato da studi recenti. Il rapporto tra repubbliche antiche e moderne, il cui mito, nato a Venezia e a Firenze, fu accolto in particolare negli ambienti ostili agli imperi e alla Chiesa. A Venezia e nelle Province Unite regnavano tolleranza ed una relativa libertà politica.

Un modo diverso di concepire la storia greca sulla spinta di un forte interesse per il dibattito politico interno ci sarà molto tardi in Scozia e Inghilterra. La prima storia greca scritta interamente da un moderno è quella di Stanyan del 1707, completata solo nel 1739, di un livello tale per i tempi che fu tradotta in francese da Diderot; altre due furono prodotte in Inghilterra e in Francia, una collettiva, l'altra, celeberrima, di Rollin. Si tratta di studiosi tutti impegnati nelle lotte politiche. Nel secolo XVIII si delineano due modelli storiografici diversi: la storia greca considerata in sé e quella inserita nelle storie universali. Di queste ultime una, *Universal History*, opera colossale alla quale coopera per la storia greca arcaica e quella ebraica un curioso personaggio, di origine francese, Psalmanazar, vissuto sfruttando le controversie religiose. Questa storia, superando il vecchio modello, abbraccia tutte le popolazioni antiche non limitandosi allo schema delle quattro grandi monarchie e della successione degli imperi. È opera erudita che risente fortemente di una sorta di integralismo anglicano. La seconda, con pregi letterari e forti finalità pedagogiche è l'*Histoire Ancienne* di Rollin che si mantiene a lungo come opera standard.

Due personaggi di alto livello, entrambi insigniti del titolo ufficiale di storiografo e molto noti, sono Robertson e Gillies. Di pochi anni più tarda è la storia di Mitford. Tutti sono animati da motivazioni politiche, due di essi in particolare, Gillies e Mitford; rappresentano il primo la reazione all'indipendenza delle colonie americane e il secondo soprattutto alla rivoluzione francese.

La storia di Gillies, fortemente conservatrice, è decisamente ostile alla democrazia ateniese, da lui molto studiata, nella quale si coglie chiaramente non solo l'opposizione alla democrazia, quanto quella alla repubblica e all'indipendenza delle colonie. Opera molto tradotta, anche in Italia, ma qui soltanto dopo la fine dell'indipendenza veneziana. Il problema fondamentale di Gillies si coglie nel titolo dell'opera del 1786, *History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquest*. Contro libertà, democrazia e repubblica, si esaltano i più crudeli tiranni. Opere "scientifiche", ma ispirate dalla storia contemporanea.

Dopo alcuni decenni si ha in Inghilterra una reazione, con le opere di Thirlwall e Grote. Entrambe famose, quella di Grote ancora oggi da leggere. Grote identifica, come è noto, democrazia ateniese e democrazia parlamentare inglese.

Un altro modello di storiografia greca nasce in Germania: la monografia regionale, colorata da risvolti razziali. La Germania, nonostante il grande apporto dato agli studi antichistici, solo tardi produce una storia greca. Anche in Italia la prima storia greca è della fine del settecento, ne è autore Denina. Le prime opere tedesche, anch'esse legate alla contemporanea situazione politica, sono monografie o studi organizzati per regioni e stirpi: ricordiamo K.O. Müller; più tardi con M. Duncker e soprattutto F. Kortüm ci saranno "visioni" più generali. Contemporaneamente si scrive la prima storia greca in Francia, quella di Duruy, *Histoire de la Grèce Ancienne*; in questo paese dove si è già avuta l'affermazione del principio di nazionalità, esso viene trasferito alle vicende antiche. Si propone il parallelo tra la storia della Prussia e la storia della Grecia di grande successo nella storiografia del XIX secolo e degli inizi del XX. Accolto il modello dello stato nazionale, si discute di questo modello presso i Greci, naturalmente attraverso la lente deformante della discussione sulle unità nazionali e la possibilità di arrivare a confederazioni o stati federali. Il metodo adottato non ha certo migliorato le conoscenze storiche sulla Grecia, che ignora lo stato nazionale, ma ha affinato il metodo di studio.

In conclusione le nazioni europee hanno costruito la loro storia greca in consonanza con i propri problemi contemporanei. Perfino in Grecia infatti la prima storia greca, dovuta a Paparrhigopoulos, è dettata dal problema della Grecia della sua epoca, quella dell'indipendenza dall'impero ottomano. Principio fondamentale in essa è la continuità mai morta, nonostante le cesure straniere, della cultura ellenica.

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This discussion is based on a drastic selection from the enormous documentation that exists, and is limited with a few exceptions, to works that are directly and explicitly historical. For obvious reasons I cannot deal here with problems of political thought and the fundamental relationship that exists between ancient states and the elaboration of modern political thought. It suffices to think

of Machiavelli or the role of politics in Plato, Aristotle or Polybius in the development of political thought.

As you can see from the accompanying list of works, printed at the end of this chapter, the historiography of ancient Greece begins very late with respect to the rebirth of Greek studies in general. If we seek a symbolic date, the establishment of the world's first chair in Greek, in Florence in 1396 (actually beginning in 1397, with the courses of Emanuele Crisolora) it is immediately clear that many years would have to pass before we arrive at the first historical monographs. The very first historical work, relatively unsubstantial even by the standards of the time, was written in 1541 and was written by a Frenchman, Guillaume Postel; the second, much superior, was written by a great humanist, Sigonius (Carlo Sigonio of Modena) in 1564, and represents the real beginning of a new era. Why was there such a wide gap?

The problem is that there had already been a certain continuity of knowledge, in part of the Greek language but mostly of Greek history, thanks to historical works of Latin literature in general and along the lines of universal history. These had become the accepted version of history and of the Christian conception of human events; universal history is a model that lends itself perfectly to Christianity and was by then "exemplary". Therefore, for a long period the histories written by the ancients were used directly or summarized; nobody thought that one could or should rewrite a history already written by the ancients themselves. Therefore they limited themselves to translating the histories compiled by the Greeks, into Latin or into the various European vernaculars; that was enough. The history which they thought should be written was "modern or contemporary" history, that is, the history which had not yet been written or which had not been rendered superfluous by an ancient model.

The need to rewrite began to be felt at a later period in the Renaissance. Sigonius' title, *De Republica Atheniensium* (On the Athenian Republic), which appears in the list below, indicates that the beginning is marked by a monograph on a single state, Athens. The work of Postel – Guillaume Postel was a notable character, more adventurous than Sigonius – also concerns a Athenian subject: to be exact, the political organization of the state and the magistrates or officials of the Athenian system. Why is this a recurring theme? Because it constitutes the appearance of an important factor in the history of historiography: republicanism. It was no accident that Postel had sojourned for a long period in Venice and was linked to the Venetian environment on a personal level as well. After only two years the work, published in Paris, was re-edited in Venice in an Italian version, and soon enjoyed a certain circulation. Sigonius also had very strong bonds with Venice and had taught in the Republic. In the works of both men comparisons are drawn between the ancient Athenian republic, characterized historically by possession of a powerful fleet and dominion over the seas, which guaranteed the survival of a republic with marked mercantile aspects, and Venice, and hence there was an immediate bond between ancient and modern. Thus the attention of the scholars and, in some cases, that of their clients or supporters, linked to the Venetian environment, was drawn to Athens.

The other element which favoured the relationship between Greek and particularly Athenian history and Venice was, naturally, the fact that Venice controlled Greek territories, the island of Crete and then, even after the loss of Crete, vast Greek-speaking areas.

Consequently, republicanism is the key to understanding this kind of beginning. Along with this model of the historic monograph, which emphasized particularly the antiquarian aspect of the study of Greek institutions, there was an affirmation of interest in chronology, both in the field of universal history and in that focused on each single ancient state. Chronology is another key point, and is very important because it needed to resolve the problem of reconciling, if possible, biblical chronology with ancient chronology; not an easy task, but one to which enormous energies were dedicated. It is here that the great philologist Giuseppe Giusto Scaligero presented a lengthy comment on Eusebius in his chronological work. Thus he opened a new era; but the same train of thought, aimed at single states, had already been followed by Sigonius, and would continue for centuries; I will not discuss it here further because it is a field which had important and relevant developments and which would lead us away from our central theme. But chronology also has a kind of priority, next to the study of institutions; both are “modern” demands, and chronology had a direct relationship to the wars of religion.

An obvious consequence of republicanism was the fact that when the development of the Protestant reform had further favoured the study of Greek, in Germany but above all in Holland, in the Low Countries, this line of inquiry, which had originated in Venice, moved to a very high level in the United Provinces. Here we encounter two eminent figures (their works appear in the list below). The first is Mersius (Jan de Meurs), author of a series of monographs on institutions, chronology and well known figures of the Athenian Republic; not by chance, to furnish an example, the study of the Athenian Areopagus was dedicated to the Venetian senate. The other is Ubbo Emmius, an eminent man, founder of the University of Groningen, who elaborated the first Greek history ever, within an ample monograph in three volumes, published posthumously by his son. It had been written some years previously, in 1626, and contained a systematic treatment of Greece; of the three volumes, one is dedicated to the republics and to the various institutions, but another includes the first general Greek history ever written. It is a Greek history which derives explicitly from the sources, the ancient authors – with an eye to quality, choosing the best and most important historians, arranging them in succession as the ancients did, in a sort of historic cycle: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus and Polybius. Therefore it is a history that turns once again to the models and contents of the ancients but represents in any case a decisive change. Up until this moment in order to have a general idea of Greek history one had to turn to the universal histories, therefore to authors who came later or in some instances were indebted to other sources, with mediations – sometimes simple, sometimes infinite – but which did not represent the ideal source on the subject, although there are some notable exceptions.

This relation between Venetian republicanism and especially that of the United Provinces, is now confirmed by a recent Italian monograph, which studied the Elzevir series on the republics, in which the section of the works of Ubbo Emmius dedicated to the *Graecorum Respublicae* was reprinted. I will confine myself to mentioning the relationship between the ancient and modern republics, whose legend, born in Venice and in Florence, then spread and was accepted in all areas that wanted to distance themselves from, or fight against an empire (in particular, obviously, the Roman-Germanic empire) or the Church; it arose and developed as a sort of defence, and many of these studies, particularly the early ones, are

full of allusions and comparisons. The tolerance and the relative political liberty that existed in Venice and in Holland, could only reinforce this tendency. I confine myself to one quote, from the great French philosopher Salmasius: "Vive Venise et la Hollande, qui sont les deux seuls lieux de l'Europe ou il y a encore quelque reste de liberté, car partout hors de là ce n'est que tyrannie et moinerie".

Before another way of understanding Greek history, that is, a complete development of the Greek histories with a strong emphasis on internal politics and political debate, more time would have to pass. I will not pause over many erudite works, even though of considerable value, but instead go on to the historiography of England and of Scotland. The first Greek history entirely written by a modern with a lively interest in politics is that of Stanyan, little-known even in Great Britain. In 1707, therefore, several decades after the English revolution, he published the first volume of his *Grecian History*, which would be completed, after a long gestation period of the second part, much later, in 1739. This was probably due to the influence of several universal histories which appeared in the meantime: a collective work, including contributions by different authors, in England and the other by Rollin in France. Here we note a new atmosphere, that of a fresh and lively taste for political conflict and debate. The scholars of the United Kingdom were individuals who participated in different ways in political discussion or were in some cases, such as that of Stanyan, in the entourage of important political personages. I will not pause further over this work except to emphasize its significance and to remark that this was of such a high level for the times that it was translated by Diderot in French.

Therefore, in this period, the 18th century, several different historiographic models regarding Greece begin to be delineated more clearly. On one hand, there is a new development of Greek history itself, but observed with a more modern spirit; on the other hand there was Greek history inserted into the model of universal history. Two very great universal histories appeared in this period. The first is that of a group of English scholars, and goes by the name of *Universal History*, a colossal work, and the largest editorial undertaking up until the *Encyclopédie*. It includes a very important part on Greek history written by a curious individual, a forger who led an adventurous life and went by the pseudonym of Psalmanazar. He was a Frenchman from the south, possibly from the area of Avignon, who lived by exploiting the religious controversies of the time. He presented himself as a victim of persecution, sometimes by Catholic and sometimes by Protestants, sometimes in Catholic and sometimes in Protestant countries; and finally he arrived in Anglican England. He wrote the sections of the on ancient Greek and Jewish history in the *Universal History*. This is an erudite work, strongly conditioned by religious factors, full of hateful comments on and reprimands towards paganism or any other deviation from orthodoxy; a work, that is, which reflects a sort of Anglican integralism; nonetheless it remains a notable work from a scholarly point of view. It has the advantage, with respect to many other universal histories, of having widened the historical field far beyond the scheme of the four great monarchies and of imperial succession; it reveals a desire for totality for the first time, and proposes to embrace all peoples, ancient and modern. The other great universal history, of literary value and strongly pedagogical aims, was Rollin's *Histoire Ancienne* which for a long time remained a standard work.

A model of greater interest to us here is that of national history, which began to gain ground in England. In 18th-century England there was a marked interest in ancient

Greece, which was accentuated in the second half and especially the last few decades of the century. Even Oliver Goldsmith, well-known to literary scholars and also to a wider public, wrote a Greek history – on commission in order to pay his debts. It is interesting that he also wrote an English history which paid a handsome 500 guineas, a Roman history for 300 guineas, and then a Greek history for only 150 guineas, which gives an idea of their order of importance and the publisher's predictions for commercial success in the various fields. Aside from this writer, whose history lies between divulgation for an educated public and good journalism, there were also individuals of a very high level, among them two Scottish historians (both awarded the official title of Historiographer of Scotland): Robertson, a noted 18th-century historian, and also the more famous Gillies, of whom I wish to speak. A few years later, another *Greek history* was superimposed on that of the better known Mitford. These individuals, some of whom have a more solid philological base, also demonstrate the political spirit which we have already indicated in Stanyan, particularly Gillies and Mitford. But they write under the influence of the great events of the times and represent in one way or another reactions to them: Gillies, the reaction to the independence of the American colonies and Mitford, not only to American independence, but even more to the French Revolution.

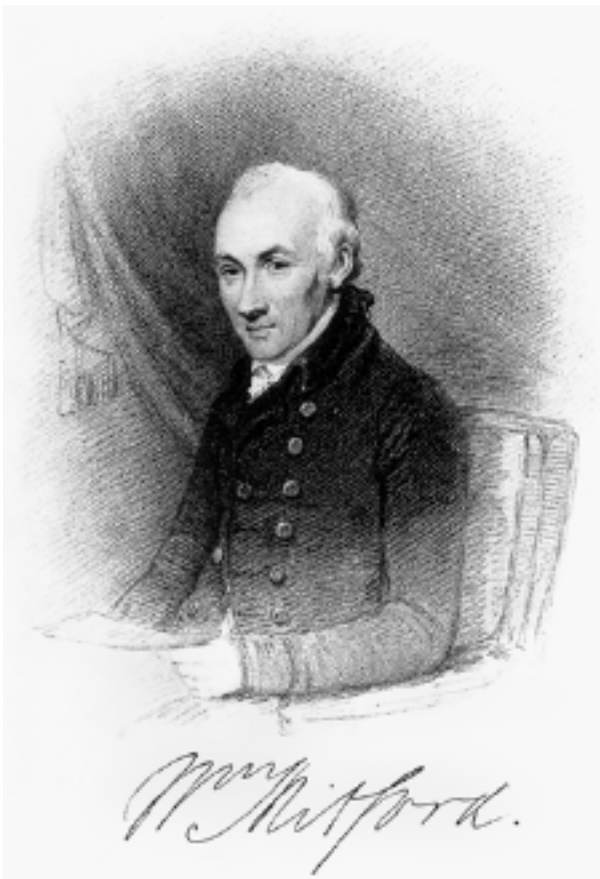


Fig. 2
William Mitford (1743-1827).

Let us consider a short example, not concerning Mitford who is more famous and cited more often in many historiographic studies, but rather Gillies, whose work enjoyed a wide circulation in Europe some years later. The Greek history of Gillies is characterized, as I have said, by a marked conservatism; it is one of the most strongly Tory histories. Gillies too was endowed with a sensitivity towards the reconstruction of the ancient political world, but his true enemy was Athenian democracy, which he studied in depth. But if one reads his history and the work from which it derives, which was simply a very lengthy introduction to the Athenian orators, one sees that the objective of his criticism is not so much democracy in itself as the republic and the independence of the colonies; therefore, there is radical criticism of Athenian democracy as a model republic. Interestingly, this work was translated at various times, in different European countries, certainly into French and Italian, but it was translated only when it served a purpose. Thus for example the Italian translation of the *Greek History* as well as the introduction to the orators (with the significant title “Discourse against Democracy” but which was in reality a discourse against republics), naturally could never have been published in Venice during the period of the Republic of San Marco or in any other republic, but it is no accident that it was translated in 1800, that is, three years after Venice lost its independence and became part of the Hapsburg empire. Here is a very short quote in order to give an idea of the anti-republican and anti-democratic hatred and of the problem that colonial independence represented:

If this turbulent form of government were established in a new hemisphere – as, in America – and if the popular meetings, the senates, were there invested with the right to exercise power, why could they not abuse this as once happened? (that is, as in Athens) why could the ancient barbarisms not reawaken? stain again the customs of men with a wild ferocity? and those enormities, the naked description of which horrifies, and causes humanity to shudder with dread, not introduce itself, repeat itself, and little by little become familiar?

Athenian democracy was criticized, as well as Sparta, which came to be considered, perhaps on purpose, almost on the same level as Athens, because it was the independence of the American colonies, and therefore the new republican model which had to be destroyed. It was no accident that Gillies was the first to introduce a reference to the colonies directly in the title. In 1786 in fact he had written a *History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquest*. That was the central problem for Gillies; in the case of Mitford the central problem became any kind of liberty, of democracy, of republic, and he finally comes to exalt the cruellest Greek tyrants, for example Dionisius. These are “scientific” works, but as almost always happens, the true motive which inspired their authors is to be found in contemporary history.

The reaction to this reactionary and anti-democratic historiography begins in England some decades later, with the history of Thirlwall and that of George Grote, which appeared almost in the same years – in reality publication of the latter began shortly after and the two works are partially superimposed. The two are famous histories; today, that of Grote is a standard work and is still worth reading. They represent the reaction to histories in which democracy was seen in an extremely negative way. Grote goes to the opposite extreme, that is he identifies Athenian democracy with parliamentary English democracy, but the merits of his study are naturally beyond question. It must be noted that in this model of political histori-



Fig. 3
George Grote (1794-1871)

ography no real interest in economics had yet taken hold. George Grote, who was also a banker and financial expert, wrote a Greek history essentially limited to politics and culture and there was practically no space dedicated to economic aspects; this might seem paradoxical but was the norm. Interests in economics could instead be found in antiquarian works.

The other models which developed in Greek historiography are a German model, which also took a racial turn, and that of the regional monograph, organized by regions and *stirpes*, often with an ethnic background, while instead the most general historiography dedicated to Greece was produced afterwards, either in response to Grote or in imitation of him. It may be surprising that Germany, the country responsible for a great part of antique studies, in reality furnished a comprehensive Greek history later than other nations. Also, in Italy the first Greek history is from the end of the 18th century and is that of Denina. In Germany the weight of the regional model, probably a reflection of the specific German situation divided between the empire and smaller entities, conditioned its development. The first important works are rather particular monographs or studies organized by *stirpes* (K.O. Müller). It was only later, with M. Duncker and then especially with F. Kortüm, that a general vision was born. For other reasons, something of the sort was to occur in France as well. There, leaving aside some immense compilations, we must arrive at Duruy, with his *Histoire de la Grèce Ancienne* of 1868, in order to have a general Greek History. Evidently, in this era the assertion of the principle of nationality had already occurred, and this principle is almost directly transferred to ancient events; therefore a parallel is developed, as



Fig. 4
Karl Otfried Müller (1787-1840)

had been drawn by the English, between the history of Prussia and the history of Greece, which was to have enormous success in the historiography of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The model of the national state was by now accepted; in fact models of such states under the ancient Greeks were discussed in the light – or better, through the deforming lens – of discussions on national units in the 19th century and on the possibility of arriving at federal states or confederations. Perhaps all this did not improved our knowledge of ancient Greece, having superimposed inappropriate models since a national state – a “nation-state” with a common citizenship – simply did not exist in Greece, but it did bring with it the adoption of ever more advanced and sophisticated techniques for the “scientific” analysis of Greek history.

Therefore every modern state, aside from the adoption of techniques of philological or historic inquiry, has in some way constructed its own vision of the Greeks and their history and this, naturally, is true for modern Greece also. Only in 1865 did the first modern history of ancient Greece appear in Greece, written by Paparrhigopoulos, but in this case the problem was in part different. The problem, which was being resolved, was that of Greek independence, that is, of an independent Greece whose territory was supposed to be continuously expanding in order to subtract territory from the Ottoman empire and to include as many Greek-speaking areas as possible. The real aim of Paparrhigopoulos was to affirm

and support the idea that there was continuity between ancient and modern Greece. This work leans on the principle that Hellenism had always been preserved, uninjured by the “interruptions” created by foreign rule. The idea of continuity is dominant.

Once again the constructions of Greek history vary with the changes in the national situation and negotiations taking place in different countries. It is almost frustrating to be reduced to confirming a phrase of Benedetto Croce, which is quoted far too often, in which he states his view that history is always contemporary history – but in fact, with regard to the reconstruction of Greek history, it can be verified almost one hundred percent of the time. This takes nothing away from the enormous influence that the development of cognitive techniques has had, from the Renaissance until today, in improving our knowledge, both because of the increase in available data and for our interpretation of it.

Greek Histories and selected works regarding the Greek world:

- 1541 G. Postel, *Tractatus de republica, seu Magistratibus Atheniensium*
- 1564 C. Sigonius, *De republica Atheniensium*
- 1583 J.J. Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum* (2nd edn. 1598)
- 1606 J.J. Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum complectens Eusebii Pamphili Chronicon*
- 1622 J. Meursius, *De archontibus Atheniensium*
- 1623 G.J. Vossius, *De historicis Graeci libri tres*
- 1626 U. Emmius, *Vetus Graecia illustrata*
- 1632 U. Emmius, *Graecorum respublicae*
- 1632 J. Meursius, *Solon*
- 1681 J.B. Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*
- 1697-1702 J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*, I-XII
- 1699 J. Potter, *Archaeologia Graeca*
- 1707-1739 T. Stanyan, *The Grecian History*, I-II
- 1719-1724 B. Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figure*, I-V/2
- 1730-1738 Ch. Rollin, *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Mèdes et de Perses, des Macédoniens, des Grecs*. I-XIII
- 1735-1771 A. Calmet, *Histoire universelle sacrée et profane depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à nos jours*, I-XVII
- 1736-1744 *The Universal History, Ancient and Modern from the Earliest Account to the Present Time*, I-VII
- 1749 Mably, *Observations sur les Grecs*
- 1752 D. Hume, *Of the Populousness of the Ancient Nations*
- 1766 Mably, *Observations sur l'histoire de Grèce ou des causes de la prospérité et des malheurs des Grecs*
- 1774 O. Goldsmith, *The Grecian History from the earliest state to the Death of Alexander the Great*, I-II
- 1780-1789 L. Cousin-Despreaux, *Histoire générale et particulière de la Grèce*, I-XVI
- 1781-1782 C. Denina, *Istoria politica e letteraria della Grecia*
- 1784-1818 W. Mitford, *The history of Greece*, I-V
- 1786 J. Gilles, *History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests*, I-II
- 1788 C. De Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Grecs*, I-II
- 1809 E. Clavier, *Histoire des premiers temps de la Grèce*, I-II

- 1817 A. Boeckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, I-II (2nd edn.1850)
- 1820 K.O. Müller, *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, I, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*
- 1824 K.O. Müller, *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, II/1-2, *Die Dorier*
- 1827-1828 *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I (Boeckh)
- 1827-1830 H.F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, I-III
- 1833 J.G. Droysen, *Geschichte der Nachfolgers Alexanders*
- 1843 J.G. Droysen, *Geschichte der Bildung des hellenistischen Staatensystem*
- 1843-1877 *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, II-IV (Boeckh, Franz, Curtius)
- 1846-1856 G. Grote, *History of Greece*, I-XII
- 1847-1851 B.G. Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, I-III
- 1852-1857 M. Duncker, *Geschichte der Altertums*, I-IV
- 1854 F. Kortüm, *Geschichte Greichenlands von der Urzeit bis zum untergang des Achäischen Bundes*, I-III
- 1857-1867 E. Curtius, *Greichische Gerschichte*, I-III
- 1861 V. Duruy, *Histoire de la Grèce ancienne*, I-II
- 1863 E.A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government*
- 1864 N.D. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*
- 1865 K. Paparrhigopoulos, I, *Ιστορία του Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιότατων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς σήμερον*, I-II
- 1873 *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Kirchhoff, Koehler, Dittenberger)
- 1877-1878 J.G. Droysen, *Geschichte der Hellenismus*, I-III
- 1884-1902 E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I-V
- 1885-1888 G. Busoldt, *Griechichte Geschichte bis zur Schlacht von Chaironeia*, I-II (2nd edn., I-III/2. 1893-1904)
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SOURCES

The opening paragraphs of Jacob Burckhardt's Griechische Kulturgeschichte [Greek Cultural History]:

Indem wir es unternehmen, die griechische Kulturgeschichte zum Gegenstand eines akademischen Kurses zu machen, bekennen wir zum voraus, daß dieser Kurs ein Probestück ist und immer bleiben wird, und daß der Dozent hier beständig ein Lernender und Kommilitone sein und bleiben wird; zugleich machen wir zum voraus darauf aufmerksam, daß er ein Nichtphilologe ist, dem man hier und da ein philologisches Versehen zugute halten möge.

Unserm Kolleg sind scheinbar zunächst das über griechische Altertümer und das über griechische Geschichte verwandt, und von deren Aufgabe ist die seine vorerst abzugrenzen. Die "Altertümer", wie sie in unserer Jugend Böckh in seinem großen Kolleg darstellte, begannen mit geographischen und historischen Übersichten, stellten darauf den Charakter des Volkes im allgemeinen fest und behandelten dann die einzelnen Verhältnisse des Lebens: zuerst den Staat im allgemeinen nach seinen Hauptformen, dann eine Anzahl besonders wichtiger Staaten im einzelnen mit ihren politischen, administrativen und juridischen Einrichtungen und endlich die völkerrechtlichen Verbindungen und Hegemonien, sodann das Kriegswesen zu land und zur See, hierauf das Privatleben (Maß, Gewicht, Handel, Industrie, Landbau, Hauswirtschaft samt Nahrung, Kleidung und Wohnung, Ehe, Familienwesen, Sklaventum, Erziehung, Begräbnis, Totenehren), weiterhin die Religion, den Kultus und die Feste und von den Künsten, die man im übrigen der besonderen Kunstgeschichte überließ, die Gymnastik, Orchestik und Musik; zum Schluß wurde eine Übersicht der von den Griechen gepflegten Wissenschaften gegeben. Dies alles wurde antiquarisch, d.h. mit einem bestimmten, gleichmäßig durchzuführenden Grad der sachlichen Vollständigkeit und Reichhaltigkeit für jedes einzelne Lebensverhältnis – als Fachwerk für künftiges Spezialwissen – behandelt; es war und ist für den Philologen unentbehrlich und kann auch nur durch den Philologen und Antiquar vom Fache mitgeteilt werden, schon weil nur dieser die relative Ökonomie des Stoffes wird handhaben können.

Wie weit der Kurs noch als ein akademischer existiert, ist uns nicht bekannt. Vielfach wird er durch die Handbücher verdrängt sein, unter denen die drei Bände C.F. Hermanns und Wachsmuths Hellenische Altertumskunde noch immer oben an stehen. Was in ein Handbuch gehört und kaum noch Gegenstand eines Kurses sein kann, zeigt ganz besonders deutlich ein Blick in das Inhaltsverzeichnis von Hermanns Privataltertümern; wir finden da lauter Dinge,

welche unter Umständen gewußt werden müssen und deren Behandlung in einem zusammenhängenden Buche von größtem Werte ist. In unseren Zusammenhang gehören davon nur wenige Paragraphen, und diese in ganz anderer Verbindung. Von diesem ganzen Material brauchen wir nur das, was in ganz besonderem Maße die Lebensauffassungen der Griechen belegen hilft.

Warum aber lesen wir nicht "griechische Geschichte", und zwar wesentlich politische Geschichte, wobei die allgemeinen Zustände und Kräfte in bloßen Exkursen mitbehandelt werden könnten? -- Abgesehen davon, daß für die griechische Geschichte allmählich durch treffliche Darstellungen gesorgt ist, würde uns die Erzählung der Ereignisse und vollends deren kritische Erörterung in einer Zeit, da eine einzige Untersuchung über Richtigkeit einzelner äußerer Tatsachen gerne einen Oktavband einnimmt, die beste Zeit vorwegnehmen. Auch sind die "Ereignisse" das, was am ehesten durch Bücher zu erlernen ist; wir dagegen haben Gesichtspunkte für die Ereignisse aufzustellen. Wenn also in wenig über sechzig Stunden das wirklich Wissenwürdigste über das griechische Altertum, und zwar auch für Nichtphilologen mitgeteilt werden soll, so wird kaum anders als kulturgeschichtlich zu verfahren sein.

Unsere Aufgabe, wie wir sie auffassen, ist. Die Geschichte der griechischen Denkweisen und Anschauungen zu geben und nach Erkenntnis der lebendigen Kräfte, der aufbauenden und zerstörenden, zu streben, welche im griechischen Leben tätig waren. Nicht erzählend, wohl aber geschichtlich, und zwar in erster Linie, insofern ihre Geschichte einen Teil der Universalgeschichte ausmacht, haben wir die Griechen in ihren wesentlichen Eigentümlichkeiten zu betrachten, in denen, worin sie anders sind als der alte Orient und als die seitherigen Nationen, und doch den großen Übergang nach beiden Seiten bilden. Hierauf, auf die Geschichte des griechischen Geistes, muß das ganze Studium sich einrichten. Das Einzelne, zumal das sogenannte Ereignis, darf hier nur im Zeugenverhör über das Allgemeine, nicht um seiner selbst willen, zu Worte kommen; denn dasjenige Tatsächliche, das wir suchen sind die Denkweisen, die ja auch Tatsachen sind.

Introduction

The subject of this course of lectures is Greek cultural history. It should be understood at the outset that the course is and must always remain a tentative piece of work, and that the lecturer is and will remain a learner and a fellow student; and it must also be pointed out that he is not a classical scholar and begs to be forgiven any philological lapses.

The courses which seem most nearly related to the present one are those on Greek antiquities and on Greek history, and the dividing line between their task and ours must first be drawn. 'Greek Antiquities', as presented in my youth by August Boeckh in his great series of lectures, began with a geographical and historical survey, established the general character of the Greek people, and went on to treat of the different aspects of their life; first the State in general in its main outlines, then a number of particularly important states with details of their political, administrative and legal institutions, then alliances and hegemonies established between states. There followed the arts of war on land and at sea, and private life including weights and measures, trade, industry, agriculture, housekeeping (with food, clothing and dwellings), marriage, the structure of the family, slavery, education, burial and rites in honour of the dead. Next came religion, with cults and festivals, and the arts (further study of these was left to specialists in the history of art), gymnastics, drama and music; finally there was a survey of the branches of learning cultivated by the Greeks. All this was treated by the antiquarian method, that is to say with a predetermined and constant degree of factual detail and completeness for each separate aspect of ancient life, as the groundwork for future specialized study; it was and still remains indispensable for the classicist, and also requires a professional classicist and antiquarian to teach it, because only an expert is capable of making full use of the relatively slender material available.

I am not aware of the extent to which this course still exists as an academic one. It must have

been largely superseded by the handbooks, notably the three-volume *Hellenische Altertumskunde* by C.F. Hermann and Wilhelm Wachsmuth. To ascertain what is the proper province of a handbook, and can scarcely form the subject of a course of lectures, we may glance at the list of contents of C.F. Hermann's *Privataltümer*, consisting mostly of things that one would need to know for particular purposes, and which it is of the greatest value to have in organised book form. For our present course only a few paragraphs are relevant, and those in quite a different order. From all this material we need to select only what most strikingly illustrates the Greek way of life.

But why, it may be asked, not study 'Greek History' and more especially political history, and deal with the general circumstances and forces digressively as they come up? – Because apart from the fact that excellent histories of Greece already exist, the narration of events, let alone any critical discussion of them, would take up most of the allotted time, since nowadays a single investigation of a few external facts may well fill up a whole volume. In addition, the 'events' are exactly what it is easiest to learn from books, while our task is to establish vantage points from which to view the events. If, then, all that it is most worth knowing about ancient Greece is to be conveyed in little more than sixty hours of lecture time – and that to an audience which includes nonclassicists – the method of cultural history is the only practicable one.

The task, as I conceive it, is to treat the history of Greek habits of thought and mental attitudes, and to seek to establish the vital forces, both constructive and destructive, that were active in Greek life. It is not the narrative mode, though indeed primarily through history (since they are part of universal history), that the Greeks must be studied in their essential peculiarities, those in which they differ from the ancient Orient and from the nations that came after them, and yet represent the great transition between the two. It is the history of the Greek mind or spirit that must be the aim of the whole study. The details, and even what are called events, can appear only as supporting testimony to the general, not for their own sake; for the factual knowledge we want relates to habits of thought, which are of course themselves also facts.

The first paragraphs of the chapter on the Greek Polis, from Jacob Burchkhardt's *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*

Die Polis

Per me si va nella città dolente

Dante, *Inferno*

Erörterungen von Uranfängen sind sonst nicht Sache dieses Buches, doch mögen einige Bemerkungen gestattet sein über Tatsachen, welche der Bildung aller Poleis weit vorangehen und das Leben der Nation und ihrer Stämme betreffen.

Die Frage, wo und wie ein Volk beginnt, bleibt dunkel, wie alle Anfänge. Indes scheinen die sozialen Grundlagen des griechischen Lebens, die Familie, die Ehe und das Eigentumsrecht, schon in der vorhellenischen Zeit vorhanden gewesen zu sein, spätestens, als Hellenen und Gräko-Italiker noch ein Volk bildeten. Ein organisiertes grösseres Volkstum setzen sie deshalb nicht mit Notwendigkeit voraus; dagegen müssen sie das Werk (oder der Ausdruck) einer Urreligion sein, die dem Kultus der Väter und Ahnen sowie dem des Herdes eine zentrale Stellung einräumte. Durch diesen ist die Familie zusammengehalten, in der wir uns deshalb mindestens ebenso sehr eine religiöse als eine natürliche Vereinigung zu denken haben. Der

Landteilungen siegreicher Eroberer – waren die Grundstücke unveräußerlich.

The Polis

Through me one enters the sorrowful city

Dante, *Inferno*

This book is not generally concerned with the discussion of origins, but we need to consider some facts that long preceded the formation of any *polis*, and that bear on the life of the nation and its tribes.

The question as to where and how a nation begins is a difficult one, like all questions about beginnings. It can be said, though, that the social foundations of Greek life – family, honour and property rights – seem already to have existed in the pre-Hellenic period, at the latest when the Greeks and the Graeco-Italians still formed one nation. This social basis need not assume uniformity in this extended nationhood; but it must have been the creation (or the expression) of a *primal religion*, which assigned a central place to the cult of fathers and ancestors as well as that of hearth and home. It was this cult that held together the family, which we thus have to think of as being at least as much a religious union as a natural one. The cult of ancestry also determined monogamy, which was present in Greek life from the beginning, as is clear both from the formal ceremonies of marriage and from the severe penalties for adultery. Equally, the right of property in land stands in a causal relationship with veneration of the home and graves. While the Tartars observed property rights only for the home, and the Germanic races made a new division of the land every year, the Graeco-Italians had individual rights in land from the earliest times, not, indeed, for persons, but for families. According to Diodorus (5.68) the hearth taught people house building, and houses were originally separate; there were no party walls. The plot of land contained the family grave, and the plots were inalienable for this reason – not, for instance, merely to secure the ruling caste when victorious invaders divided land.

