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IV

JAAP MANSFELD

DOXOGRAPHI GRAECI

1. One of Hermann Diels' chief claims to fame is his detailed reconstruction of the doxographical traditions in ancient Greek philosophy. In 1879, at the age of thirty-one, he published the investigations collected together in his monumental *Doxographi Graeci* which has dominated the field ever since, and deeply influenced the study of Greek philosophy. In the labyrinthine introduction ("Prolegomena") to this work Diels strove to disentangle the various forms and ways in which ancient writings (or parts of such writings) which purport to record the historiography of philosophy and/or philosophical problems have reached us, and to establish how they relate to each other.

From his later career it is abundantly clear that his capacity for organizing a variety of large scholarly projects with numerous participants was superb. It is also clear, at least in the earlier years, that in this respect he did what was expected of him; witness the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, the direction of which he took over for the Berlin Academy and to which in no small way he contributed himself[1]. The same talent for organizing and presenting immensely complex investigations requiring a monstrous erudition, but also the same aptitude for bringing a task he was presented with to a successful completion, are already present in his early masterpiece on the doxo-

[1] See Stefan REBENICH, above pp.85 ff.

graphical traditions which he composed as a student at Bonn, and next as a young teacher at a gymnasium where circumstances were far from ideal[2].

2. We may begin by listing the members of a family of ancient writings which Diels in the *DG* distinguished and in respect of which he worked out his fundamental and immensely influential Aëtius hypothesis. They are:

(a) ps.Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum* (hereafter P);
(b) the greater part of ps.Galen's *Historia philosopha* (hereafter G);
(c) numerous excerpts concerned with natural philosophy to be found in Stobaeus' *Eclogae physicae* (hereafter S);
(d) similar abstracts in Theodoret's *Graecarum affectionum curatio* (hereafter T).

The name Aëtius (hereafter occasionally abridged to A) is known from one source only, viz. T 2,95; 4,31; and 5,16.

Diels' "Prolegomena" to the *DG* is not only impressive but also to a high degree obfuscating. His solution to the problems presented by the difficult and stubborn material he was dealing with is in large part original. Yet he would never have been able to compose his *opus magnum* if he had worked in a different environment. His debt to his teacher and *Doktorvater* Usener, which is duly acknowledged in the dedication of the *DG*, cannot be overestimated. Moreover via Usener and other earlier scholars he was also indebted to scholarly and philosophical traditions which began as early as the sixteenth century. By the time he wrote, these had largely been forgotten.

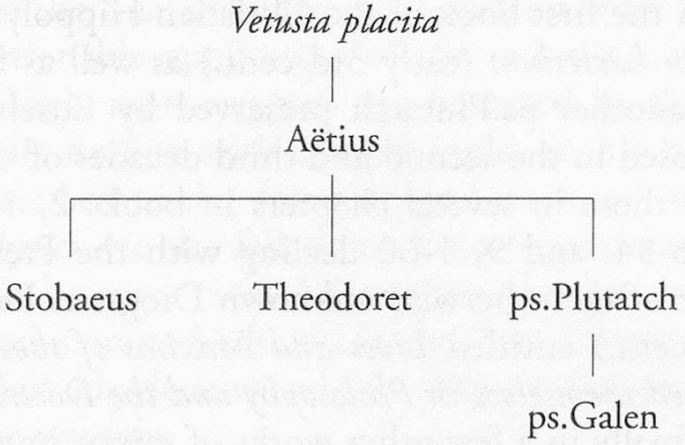
In his final reconstruction Diels made a number of moves which were both innovative and decisive. They may be summarized as follows:

(1) He proved that the chapters on physics in G depend on a slightly fuller version of P[3];

[2] See Wilt Aden SCHRÖDER, above pp.37 ff.
[3] Already in his dissertation (*GPH*), then at *DG* 233 ff.

(2) He established that only part of the excerpts concerned with physics in S can be placed next to what is found in P, and argued that a number of other physical excerpts found in S are to be attributed to a separate source, viz. Arius Didymus (hereafter AD), and that further material in S derives from works dealing with the interpretation of Homer;
(3) For the first time ever he adduced the similar material in T[4];
(4) P, most of these physical excerpts in T, and those in S minus the AD material are proved to derive from a common source, the *Placita* compiled by a person identified by him as Aëtius (hereafter A)[5];
(5) A's material, in its turn, is argued to derive from an earlier source, named *Vetusta placita* by Diels[6], on which also authors such as Cicero and Varro depend.

One may illustrate this reconstruction by means of a stemma:



3. That both P and G, and also P and S, are closely related had been seen by others long before Diels. But he also proceeded in other directions. Following in the footsteps of Usener

[4] *DG* 45 ff.
[5] *DG* 47 ff.; 99 ff.
[6] *DG* 181 ff.

(who himself was following in the footsteps of Brandis and others) he argued in the *DG* that doxography proper began with a topic-oriented treatise in sixteen books, of which only fragments (the smaller ones of which had already been collected by Usener) are extant. This was composed by Aristotle's pupil and successor Theophrastus: the *Physikôn Doxai* or 'Tenets of the Natural Philosophers'. (Almost certainly, however, the title is *Physikai Doxai*, 'Physical Tenets'). Accordingly Diels argued that the fragmentary information on the Presocratics to be found in his reconstructed Aëtius, though debased and modified in the course of transmission, is linked to Theophrastus' great work in a direct and vertical line of descent. This, in its turn, lends an air of historical reliability to what we find there. A similar conditional credibility is postulated for the fragmentary evidence found in the authors who used the hypothetical intermediary *Vetusta placita*, whether directly or at one or more removes.

Diels further argued that also a number of doxographical passages in the first book of the Christian Hippolytus' *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (early 3rd cent.) as well as in the *Stromateis* of another ps.Plutarch preserved by Eusebius (in the *PE*, composed in the second and third decades of the 4th century), also those in several chapters in books 2, 1-17, 8, 51-77, 8, 83b-84, and 9, 1-60 dealing with the Presocratics in the treatise of the otherwise unknown Diogenes Laërtius (also early 3rd cent.) entitled *Lives and Maxims of those who have distinguished themselves in Philosophy and the Doctrines of Each Sect*, and finally in a few other works of minor importance, in some way or other for the most part in the final resort go back to Theophrastus himself. This material was included in the *DG*, either in the form of editions of whole texts or parts of texts, or by means of substantial quotations in the "Prolegomena".

By and large Diels' argument as pertaining to Aëtius, though in need of revision, is correct, but the further we go back, that is to say towards the *Vetusta placita* and Theophrastus, the

more tortuous and insecure it becomes, and the more urgent the task of revision. To mention only a few instances, the relation of the doxographical sections in the person-oriented overviews of Hippolytus, or Diogenes Laërtius, to the purportedly topic-oriented work of Theophrastus (and the certainly topic-directed *Placita* of Aëtius) is more complex than he believed. His analysis of the first book of Hippolytus is flawed, and he failed to deal with the doxographical passages in the later books of the *Refutatio*[7].

Looking at his impressive tabular presentation (on the methodology involved see below) of a *choice* selection of corresponding passages in four or five authors who, as he submits, excerpted Theophrastus, with such passages ascribed to Theophrastus in a fifth or sixth column[8], we observe that this last column is often empty. This entails that 'fragments' in later authors are attributed to Theophrastus merely because passages elsewhere in these same authors do correspond with passages deriving from Theophrastus. By implication, also passages not paralleled in the final columns are linked up with Theophrastus. A questionable application of the technique of *Quellenforschung*[9]. Diels moreover was not bothered by the fact that the fragments dealing with the principles in his last column which he ascribed to the doxographical work are in fact cited from the *Physics*. He also failed to acknowledge the influence of Aristotle. To be sure, most Aristotelian passages dealing with the Presocratics are to be found in the later *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, but his decisive role in shaping the tradition had fallen by the wayside.

[7] See my *Heresiography in Context. Hippolytus'* Elenchos *as a Source for Greek Philosophy*, Philosophia Antiqua 56 (Leiden etc. 1992).

[8] *DG* 133-44. On two occasions Theophrastean fragments are found straddling columns four and five; both are Aëtian lemmata.

[9] Where the doxographies that since Diels are ascribed to Theophrastus are concerned, scholars who are quite severe in other cases, accepting as fragments only passages where a philosopher's name and/or the title of one of his works is found, tend to be soft-boiled.

4. In his autobiography Diels tells us how he came to study the *Placita* literature[10]. His teacher and future *Doktorvater* Hermann Usener gave him the idea and was the great inspiring force behind the project. Usener had started work on the doxographical traditions in his seminal Bonn dissertation of 1858, *Analecta theophrastea* (dedicated to his own *Doktorvater* Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl and to Christian August Brandis). Usener ascribed the majority of the Theophrastean excerpts in Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* to a lost work which he called *Physicorum opiniones*[11], argued that the extant *De sensibus* originally was a section of this treatise[12], and edited the fragments he found in Simplicius and others.

As Diels himself records, in 1868 Usener lectured on the history of Greek literature and in his introductory classes discussed the sources at length. He also spoke of the sources for the history of philosophy. He referred to the "Ergänzung des Stobäus durch das Florilegium des Johannes Damascenus" but made a slip and said "Nikolaus Damascenus" instead. Diels, who recounts that he used to visit the Useners more often than other students, told him about the mistake the same afternoon. Thereupon Usener showed him his working papers and the collations (mostly by Wachsmuth) pertaining to the "Placitafrage", and asked Diels to attempt to work out the traditions involved. Diels immediately set to work. He compared P, G, S, but also a number of other authors[13]:

> "Die wundervollen Anmerkungen der Zellerschen Geschichte der Philosophie waren meine Leitsterne, nach denen ich allmählich die Ertrag gebenden späteren Kommentatoren und Patres aufspürte und durchsah. So wuchs von Woche zu Woche der Haufen der Placita, und Ende Januar [1870] konnte ich an die Ordnung und Gestaltung gehen. Es gelang, der Masse Herr zu werden und Hals über Kopf in flüchtigem Latein die Preisaufgabe zum letzten März fertigzustellen."

[10] KERN 34 ff.

[11] H. USENER, *Analecta Theophrastea* (diss. Bonn 1858), 25 ff., repr. in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig-Berlin 1912, repr. Osnabrück 1965), I 71 ff.

[12] H. USENER, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11), 27 = 72.

[13] KERN 36 f.

The *Preisaufgabe* to which Diels refers here, more on which below, was published by the Philosophische Fakultät of the University of Bonn in 1869; this was a yearly competition. We now are able to read two letters containing information on his researches addressed to Wilamowitz in 1870. In the first of these, dated January 22 1870, Diels speaks of his inquiries into the relation between Stobaeus and Joh. Damascenus ("so habe ich die ganze Florilegienfrage von vorn bis hinten durchgepaukt u(nd) ziemlich nidergeschriben") and lists his preliminary results. We may note that these went much further than the part pertaining to G published in his dissertation[14]:

> "Für die Hauptaufgabe habe ich bis jetzt folgende Resultate erlangt: 1) Pseudogalen ist elende Abschrift aus Ps. Plutarch d(e) placit(is). Was mer darin steht aus Stobäus pp ist moderne Interpolation des 16. [*sic*] Jarhunderts. 2) Hippolytos Abh(andlungen) über griech(ische) Phil(osophie) basiren auf einem Tractat, der aus Sotion (διαδοχαί) und Theophrast περὶ φυσικῶν zusammengesetzt ist. 3) Der Archetypus v(on) Plut(arch) u(nd) Stob(äus) lag Philodem π. εὐσεβείας vor, aus dem Cic(ero) d. nat. deor. I,10 pp geflossen ist. Auch Varro bediente sich warscheinlich dessen in seinen logistoricis."

In a letter dated May 25 1870 Diels triumphantly tells Wilamowitz that he has finished his work[15]:

> "Als ich Dein letztes scriptum bekam, war ich gerade damit beschäftigt, das pretiosum opus in 11stündiger Tagelönerei abzuschreiben, welches saure negotium mir dann auch mit zuhülfename von Kaibel so überraschend gelang, daß ich am 2ten Mai nicht nur die 227 Folioseiten abgeschrieben, sondern sogar eingebunden mit dem Motto iuvat integros accedere fontis aus Lukrez dem verblüfften Sekretariatskaffer an den Kopf schmeißen konnte."

Diels won the prize on August 3 1870; he refers to the theme of the competition in the preface to his edition of G, which was the part of his investigations he published as a doctoral dissertation (the degree was awarded on 22 December

[14] *Briefe Diels* 4 p.17.
[15] *Briefe Diels* 8 p.26. The motto is LUCR. 1, 927.

1870)[16]. Wachsmuth, in his important review-article on this dissertation[17], printed the theme of the contest, which it is worthwhile to quote, because the original document has been lost in the last war:

> "naturalium quaestionum a philosophis Graecis agitatarum historiam constat doctissimo quodam opere et gravissimo enarratam fuisse, cuius hodieque tres extant epitomae, quinque Plutarchi qui inscribuntur de philosophorum opinionibus libri, personati Galeni φιλόσοφος ἱστορία, Eclogae a Stobaeo inter physicas receptae; idem illud opus iam Ciceronis aetate cognitum lectitatum compilatum esse indiciis haud obscuris proditur. optat igitur ordo, ut quaecunque sive ex integro fonte sive ex epitomis inde ab illo aevo usque ad J. Damascenum[18] veteres scriptores petisse videntur, omnia conquirantur" etc.

In the detailed and precise question formulated in this *Preisaufgabe*, therefore, a common source is postulated for P, G, and the excerpts in S. Furthermore, it is assumed that this source was already available in the time of Cicero. Evidently the *status quaestionis* had not advanced much beyond Krische's formulation in his study of the Epicurean doxography concerning the gods at Cic.*nat.deor.*1, 25-41, published in 1840. Krische argued that Cicero's source is the Epicurean Phaedrus, and compared Cicero's account of Thales' theology with the parallels in P (which he takes to be an epitome of a treatise by Plutarch of Chaeronea), S ("Stobäus, der anerkannt seinen Gewährsmann am vollständigsten excerpirt"), and G[19]. He concluded that these accounts are sufficiently similar to warrant the postulation of a common source for P, S and G which has to be dated before Cicero, and which moreover was dependent on Phaedrus, the same way as Cicero himself, but added that this was as far as he was able to go.

[16] *GPH* 1. This publication is to be distinguished from the manuscript he sent to the *Fakultät* which was lost in the last war.

[17] C. WACHSMUTH, rev. *GPH*, in *GGA* 1 (1871), 709 f.

[18] A misascription.

[19] A.B. KRISCHE, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der alten Philosophie*, I (the only published): *Die theologischen Lehren der griechischen Denker. Eine Prüfung der Darstellung Cicero's* (Göttingen 1840), 39 f.

In his now forgotten dissertation Diels proved[20] that the Greek text of ps.Galen's *Historia philosopha* available in Kühn's edition is unreliable, because Kühn reprints the unreliable text of Chartier. He further showed that Chartier had reprinted the Latin translation of the Venetian physician and scholar Julius Martianus Rota. A number of times Chartier had modified his Greek text in accordance with this translation, and added further passages from the text of P. Diels further argued that the substantial sections of G which correspond in a striking way to large chunks of P derive from a slightly fuller version of the latter's text than we have, and so eliminated the rather widespread assumption that P and G derive from a common ancestor *pari passu*. Comparison with the far richer collections of lemmata preserved by S, he somewhat awkwardly argued, shows that G depends on P, because they both provide the same selections from this richer material.

5. As has been noticed above, a major aspect of the ultimate solution formulated in Diels' *DG* is that the common source of P and S is to be *distinguished* from the work available in the time of Cicero. The common source of P and S he called Aëtius, the latter *Vetusta placita*, arguing that Aëtius based himself on this earlier work and adding that Aëtius was not only excerpted by P and S, but also by T, and that (a version of) P — as already argued in the dissertation of 1870 — in its turn was excerpted by G. Diels in fact was the first scholar ever to notice that T too must have used the source excerpted by P and S. But in the dissertation of 1870 the distinction between the common source of P + S on the one hand and the *Vetusta placita* on the other is not yet to be found. Here Diels still speaks of an "original work, which I believe was produced in the last century before Christ" and says that it is an established fact that this work was excerpted by P and S ("from the original work from which it is agreed that Stobaeus and Plutarch

[20] *GPH* 4 ff.

drew")[21]. This simply reproduces the point of view of the Bonn *Preisaufgabe*. That he stuck to this view for some time is also clear from a remark in a review of papers on the *Florilegia* by Wachsmuth published in 1872[22]. One may however note that in 1870 he had already rejected the novel view of Meineke and Volkmann that the common source of P, (G) and S is to be identified as AD, though later, in the *DG*, he is very grateful to Meineke for having put AD on the map.

What Diels' final analysis, for all its learning, resembles most is a successful military operation[23]. The *DG* are the published and revised version of the manuscript (lost) he in 1877 submitted to the Berlin Academy for the *Preisfrage* for this year which was advertised in 1874. In the preface[24] he refers to this *Preisfrage*, but only quotes (in Latin) the final paragraph, so that it is worthwile to reprint the whole text[25]:

> Da von den zahlreichen Schriften der griechischen Philosophen nur der kleinere Theil auf uns gekommen ist, und da namentlich aus der vorsokratischen Zeit und den drei letzten Jahrhunderten v.Chr. von der philosophischen Literatur der Griechen sich nur Bruchstücke erhalten haben, die im Verhältniss zu dem Umfang dieser Literatur dürftig zu nennen sind, bilden die Schriften der römischen und byzantinischen Zeit eine der hauptsächlichsten, und in Betreff der nacharistotelischen Schulen fast die einzige Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der griechischen Philosophie. Unter

[21] *GPH* 12: "pristinum opus, quod novissimo ante Christum saeculo conditum esse credo; [...] ex pristino [...] opere [...], unde Stobaeum et Plutarchum (hausisse) constat".

[22] H. DIELS, "Zur Literatur der griechischen Florilegien", in *Neue Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 105 (1872), 192.

[23] Comparisons of this nature have also occurred to others. See W. WARDE FOWLER, *Theodor Mommsen. His Life and Work* (Edinburgh n.d.[= 1909]), 19: the direction of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* "showed him [*scil.* Mommsen] as something more than a great historian—as a great organiser, I might almost say as a great general". Or J. FEST, *Wege zur Geschichte. Über Theodor Mommsen, Jacob Burckhardt und Golo Mann* (Zürich 1992), 60, who compares Mommsen's organisation with the "preußischen Generalstab".

[24] *DG* p.v.

[25] Preisfragen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1877. Bekanntgemacht in der öffentlichen Sitzung am Leibnizischen Jahrestage, den 2. Juli 1874, p.II.

denselben befindet sich eine bei der Lückenhaftigkeit der sonstigen Überlieferungen für uns sehr wichtige Gruppe von Schriften, welche sich durch ihre weitgehende Verwandtschaft nur als verschiedene Bearbeitungen oder Ableger eines und desselben älteren Werks darstellen: die Plutarchos zugeschriebenen fünf Bücher über die Lehrmeinungen der Philosophen, die Eklogen des Stobäos und die Galenos beigelegte Geschichte der Philosophie. Es wäre von grossem Werth, über den Ursprung dieser Schriften, über ihre Verhältnisse zu einander, zu den uns durch Eusebios bekannten Στρωματεῖς des Plutarchos, und zu den verschiedenen andern Schriftstellern (wie Sextos der Empiriker, Hippolytos, Clemens von Alexandria, Theodoretos, Kyrillos, Epiphanios, Nemesios) wahrscheinlich gebrauchten ähnlichen Zusammenstellungen, sowie über die von ihren Verfassern benützten Quellen und die Art ihrer Benützung genaueres zu ermitteln. Zu einer solchen, zunächst von der ältesten der drei genannten Schriften ausgehenden, Arbeit wünscht die Akademie den Anstoss zu geben, indem sie die Preisaufgabe stellt[26]:

Der Ursprung und die Abfassungszeit der uns unter Plutarchos' Namen überlieferte Schrift περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ihr Verhältniss zu den uns bekannten verwandten Darstellungen, die für sie benützten Quellen und die Art ihrer Benützung sollen untersucht werden.

In this *Preisfrage* the ultimate common source for P and S (and G) is again postulated, but the assumption found in the Bonn *Preisaufgabe* of 1869 that this source was already available in the time of Cicero has been abandoned. It is replaced by the more general recommendation to inquire into the sources of P and the related literature. One may believe that this *Preisfrage* was formulated in order to support the research of Diels. Zeller's review of the dissertation, published in 1871, had been very laudatory, and he had expressed his desire to see Diels' researches continued[27].

6. Since the publication of the correspondence between Diels and Usener and between Diels and Zeller by Ehlers

[26] What follows was quoted in Latin *DG* p.v.

[27] E. ZELLER, rev. *GPH*, in *Philolog.Anz.* 3 (1871), 165.

(1992) we are capable of following the slow gestation of the *opus magnum*, involving a number of changes of mind and plan, in some detail. According to an interesting scheme set out in a letter to Usener of July 10 1872, Diels at one time thought of reconstructing a unified text of A, an idea he did not carry out in the *DG*. I quote this 'Schema', in which the reconstructed text of A is on the left pages, with sources other than P and S listed as testimonia, and the texts of P and S (in two columns, as subsequently in the *DG*) on the right pages, G being printed on the bottom of such a page. To borrow the terminology used in two important varieties of presentation of the *Gospels*, he planned to present an Aëtius *harmony* on the left-hand and an Aëtius *synopsis* (consisting of P and S in parallel columns, with G underneath) on the right-hand pages[28].

Aetius	Plutarch	Stobaeus
Text		
Testimonia	Krit. Appar.	Krit. Appar.
Abweichg. Plut. u. Stobaeus	Galeni hist. phil.	

In May 1874 Diels writes to Usener that the texts of P, S and G are ready and that he is studying the old translations, esp. that of 'Nicolaus Rhegius'[29]. The following years he continued working on the texts and carried out the investigations which were included in the "Prolegomena". But he is quite secretive about his activities; he only informs Usener of his final results in the letter of March 22 1877 in which he tells him that he has sent his three volumes of manuscript to Berlin, and only then gives a rather full description of their contents[30]. Though in his defense it may be pointed out that copies of one's work of necessity had to be written by hand (something we tend to forget in our xeroxing age), he might have communicated such

[28] In a Gospel harmony the Gospels have been coalesced into a single text; a Gospel synopsis puts the texts of the Gospels in parallel columns and juxtaposes those passages which are practically the same or sufficiently similar (cf. *infra*, n.44). The quotation of the letter is from *DUZ* I 31 p.70.

[29] *DUZ* I 52 p.102.

[30] *DUZ* I 61 p.121 ff.

a summary before. It is clear that he wanted to be independent. What he writes to Usener is that he now wishes to date A, "so nenne ich das Urwerk der Placita", to the first cent. CE. "Die Ähnlichkeiten mit Cicero, Varro und Aenesidem [...] sind aus gemeinsamen Quellenschriften zu erklären"[31]. Note the plural: "Quellenschriften"; in the summary in the letter, Diels goes into some detail about these presumed sources. This is by no means yet the *Vetusta placita* hypothesis. Usener disagreed[32]:

> Ihre Aetios-Hypothese findet vorläufig in mir einen ungläubigen Thomas. Auch in ihrer neuen Gestalt macht sie kaum einen anderen Eindruck auf mich als in ihrer ursprünglichen. Die Frage ist, wenn Sie Recht behalten sollten, einfach nicht gelöst, und es wird dann das vor-Varronische Werk zu ermitteln bleiben, das auf den Schultern Theophrasts eine umfassendere Revue über die Lehrmeinungen des physiol(ogischen) Gebiets hielt.

Usener was of course right in that the issue originally formulated in the Bonn competition of 1869 had not yet been entirely solved, because the source of Cicero etc. had still to be determined. So in fact it is, most surprisingly, Usener who postulates that *if* A is *the* source of P etc. and has to be dated to the first century CE, another *single* source has to be assumed between Theophrastus and the age of Varro. It is this single source which Diels in the published version of the *DG* was to call *Vetusta placita*. On 22 July 1877 he writes to Usener about the revision of his work and says that this will "näher auf die voraetianische Quelle eingehen". Observe the singular: "die... Quelle". Perhaps the fact that this single source was Usener's idea rather than his own explains to some extent why Diels' treatment of the *Vetusta placita* in the *DG* as published remains puzzling and unsatisfactory. The *Vetusta placita* hypothesis is, in fact, what is left of the hypothesis underlying the *Preisaufgabe* of 1869 when Diels' novel Aëtius has been subtracted.

[31] *DUZ* I 61 p.123.
[32] Reply of 27 March 1877, *DUZ* I 62 p.126.

7. Regenbogen in his biographical notice is probably right when he affirms that the "epochal significance" of the book was not widely grasped[33]:

> Es braucht jetzt kaum mehr gesagt zu werden, daß eigentlich eine neue Wissenschaft, mit einem neuen Stoffgebiet und einer so noch nie gehandhabten Methode damit begründet war: die Wissenschaft von der Tradition der griechischen Philosophie.

That this was Diels' own aim is clear from a letter he wrote to Zeller thanking him for the review of his book[34]. But he admits that much remains to be done and much will remain obscure. It was not until the publication of *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* that the earlier work was really established as the foundation upon which a good part of the history of ancient philosophy was built, although already the *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* of 1901, which unfortunately has never been reprinted, is based on the *DG*.

As is well known, Diels in the *Vors.* divided the evidence on the Presocratics into A, B and C fragments, but it is less well known that this important innovation is first to be found in the *PPF*[35]. In the preface to this work Diels justifies the fact that his collection contains a lot more than verbatim fragments and context in the following words[36]:

> sic poetas usque ad Empedoclem paene permensus eram, cum vidi, nisi difficillimos illos poetas aut inexplicatos in gravissimo quoque loco relinquere aut nimia interpretatione quasi obruere vellem, doctrinam mihi ipsam philosophorum adscribendam esse. namque etsi poetas edere, non philosophos, huius Corporis[37] instituto iubeor, tamen sine philosophiae luce caeca fore haec carmina intellexi. itaque selecta *doxographorum* capita vitis

[33] REGENBOGEN 545.

[34] *DUZ* II 39 p.45.

[35] For the relation of this lay-out to that in an earlier volume of the Corpus (below, n.37) see Burkert, below p.169 ff.

[36] *PPF* p.VI. Individual texts often include a reference to the page in the *DG*, just as in the *Vors.* The earlier edition of the fragments of Parmenides (*Lehrgedicht*) was a preliminary effort in view of the *PPF*, but here the A fragments are still lacking.

[37] The Corpus (never completed) of the *Poetarum Graecorum Fragmenta*.

singulis adnexui; quo facto quantum aequabilitate detrahetur, tantum perspicuitati additum iri spero.

In the *Vors.* and the *PPF* the B fragments, containing the *ipsissima verba* of the philosophers are and remain the primary sources. The status of the A fragments, however, depends in the first instance on the analysis of the tradition made in the *DG*. In the preface to the first edition of the *Vors.* Diels announces that the doxographical material which it contains will be ordered (in each person-oriented chapter) in accordance with the structure of its foundational work, the (so-called) Φυσικῶν δόξαι of Theophrastus[38]. This alludes to the hypothesis that, as we have seen, forms the foundation of the earlier work. But it is most remarkable that in the preface to the *Vors.* Diels neither refers explicitly to the earlier *DG*, nor draws attention to the hypothetical nature of its conclusions. Presumably he believed they were not hypothetical at all[39].

A brief glance at numerous authoritative studies on the history of Greek philosophy will reveal how immense the influence of the *DG* proved to be. Naturally this holds above all for the study of the Presocratics, but it also had profound repercussions for many other areas of ancient thought. If proof be required, one might point to today's standard textbook on Presocratic philosophy. When recently, after a quarter of a century, a revised second edition was published not a word of the introductory account, which leans heavily on Diels, was thought to be in need of change[40]. To give another example, by a most

[38] *Vors.* p.VI, reprinted in all subsequent editions. The preface to the second edition, also printed in all subsequent editions, adds that the doxographical A fragments in the *Vors.* unlike those in the *PPF* are far from complete.

[39] Cf. H. DIELS, "Ueber die Excerpte von Menons *Iatrika* in dem Londoner Papyrus 137", in *Hermes* 28 (1893), 409: "So schuf [...] Theophrast die Geschichte der Philosophie in den 18 Büchern seiner Φυσικῶν δόξαι, *von deren Auffassung und Stoff die ganze spätere Ueberlieferung abhängig ist*" (my italics).

[40] G.S. KIRK and J.E. RAVEN, *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* (Cambridge 1957 and later repr.), 1 ff.; G.S. KIRK, J.E. RAVEN and M. SCHOFIELD, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1983), 1 ff.

remarkable *actio in distans* the *DG* even spawned a counterpart, the voluminous *Dossografi di etica* of Michelangelo Giusta. In his preface Giusta acknowledges the canonical status of the *DG*, and he follows its example by the application of the synoptic method throughout[41].

The aims and methods used by Diels in his great work are indeed particularly interesting. His research is based on a conception of philology as a rigorous science. Its aim is to impose clarity on transmitted material that, as he believes, has become confused, deformed, inaccurate. Diels is a child of the 19th century with a strongly developed sense of history and historical development. His primary aim is *bloß (zu) zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen,* to use the famous (and often misunderstood) formula of Ranke, although he does not scorn the other, more traditional offices (*Aemter*) which were rejected by Ranke, viz. *die Vergangenheit zu richten* and *die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahren zu belehren.* Diels has great confidence in the efficacy of certain *philological techniques.* The first half of the 19th century saw an important development in classical and germanistic philology which is usually, though quite simplistically, associated with the figure of Karl Lachmann. Fundamentally the method can be regarded as the mechanical quest for the archetype and other, i.e. later, ancestors of the stemmatically related manuscripts that are extant and the attempt to reconstruct the original from which this archetype derives.

Scholars were impressed by the scientific accuracy and certainty that purportedly could be attained by this straightforward and objective technique. Today we are of course aware of the fact that it cannot be applied with equal success to the textual history of all authors, and know that neither *recensio* nor *emendatio* can be purely mechanical processes. But a number of predecessors and contemporaries of Diels subscribed to the crucial assumption that transmission of groups of texts in a tradition (and indeed

[41] M. GIUSTA, *I dossografi di etica* I-II, Pubbl. Fac. Lett. e Filos., Univ. di Torino 15, 3-4 (Torino 1964-7).

also of the ideas contained in them) followed a course similar to the vertical history of the manuscripts of a single text. This is a variety of *Quellenforschung*. It is thus not for nothing that the basic schema of the *Doxographi Graeci* resembles the genealogical stemma of a manuscript tradition according to the Lachmannian method. It seemed, indeed, as if the Aëtian tradition furnished a perfect vindication of the stemmatic technique, since it appeared possible to reduce six later texts, or parts of these texts, viz. P, S, T, G, Achilles *On the All*, and Nemesius *On the Nature of Man* to a single archetype, i.e. A. The crucial assumption, again, is that one can follow a mechanical method to determine the nature of the original source.

A second powerful philological technique that Diels extensively exploits is the juxtaposition of passages side by side in tabular form, i.e. in parallel columns. In the "Prolegomena" this synoptic technique reaches its apotheosis in the famous five columns of the "Theophrasteorum apud excerptores conspectus" mentioned above. We should observe that "conspectus" translates the Greek word σύνοψις, which presumably shows that Diels was aware that the technique he applied is indeed indebted to what had become known as the synoptic method. And the juxtaposition of columns of text, this time united by an elegant horizontal brace (with apparatus of further excerpts), is of course the form in which he presents Aëtius for nearly two hundred pages. This typographical device derives from the presentation of stemmata of manuscripts: in nineteenth-century literature it is found above several manuscripts belonging to the same family, and/or on top of and uniting several families. It is further evidence of the relation between stemmatology and the synoptic method[42]. An example

[42] For this relation see the largely forgotten book of E. BERNHEIM, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie. Mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte* I-II (Leipzig [5-6]1908, undated repr. New York), II 430, 434, 437 (on texts), 454 (on mss.), 521 ff. (on how to practice *Quellenforschung*). On the geneticist paradigm see A.C. CROMBIE, *Styles of Scientific Thinking in the European Tradition* III (London 1994), 1547 ff. See further my paper cited *infra*, n. 52.

of the latter, of particular relevance because accompanied by an explanation of its purpose, is found in the seminal article on Apollodorus' *Chronica* published by Diels in 1876, the year before he sent in the manuscript of the *DG* to the Academy. Here he shows himself to be fully aware of the relation of the synoptic format to the Lachmannian method, because he explicitly calls the source upon which the two vertically juxtaposed texts are dependent their *archetype*, and he highlights their points of correspondence by a variety of type-faces[43].

But elsewhere too in the *DG*, starting on the very first page of the "Prolegomena", the synoptic technique is omnipresent. The reader is supposed to conclude, by a process of easy and unimpeded apprehension, that there is a direct and significant relation between the passages that are juxtaposed. This relation is then accepted as evidence for some aspect of the wider theory involving relationships between texts in general. Thus it supplies the main evidence for the relationships which underlie the stemma encapsulating the entire theory.

Without any doubt, classics in this case (as in that of stemmatology itself) is ultimately indebted to the scholarly study of the New Testament. The German theologian Johann Jacob Griesbach (1745-1812), who was the first to use the term "synopsis" in the technical sense described above, was also the first to argue from the corresponding passages in the synoptically presented Gospels to the problem of these correspondences as a question of *sources*: he believed that Mark is for the most part an excerpt from Matthew and Luke[44]. The influential Lach-

[43] H. DIELS, "Chronologische Untersuchungen über Apollodors *Chronika*", in *RhM* 31 (1876), 43 ff., two columns with passages from Diogenes Laërtius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus concerned with the chronology of Aristotle's life, with the comment: "[...] (richtet) sich hier unser Augenmerk hauptsächlich auf die Form der Ueberlieferung. Zu dem Behufe stellen wir die beiden Recensionen einander gegenüber und heben den *aus der Vergleichung reconstruierten Archetypus* durch den *Druck* hervor" (my italics).

[44] See B. ORCHARD and T.R.W. LONGSTAFF (Eds.), *J. J. Griesbach. Synoptic and Text-critical Studies 1776-1976* (Cambridge etc. 1978), and M. H. DE LANG, *De opkomst van de historische en literaire kritiek in de synoptische beschouwing van de Evangeliën van Calvijn (1555) tot Griesbach (1774)* (Diss. Leiden 1993).

mann himself, in a famous article, intervened in this discussion; rejecting the Griesbach hypothesis he postulated a common oral or written source for the three synoptic Gospels and argued that Mark followed the narrative sequence of this source more closely than either of the others. He moreover used the method of presentation in two parallel columns to set out the differences between Mark and Matthew in the narrative order of corresponding passages[45].

8. It has already been noted how much Diels was indebted to his *Doktorvater* Usener, who had himself sketched out the main lines of research, but encouraged his pupil to fill in the details and bring the project to completion. The theory of the central role of Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν δόξαι as *fons et origo* of the *Placita* is taken over without modification. But Usener's influence in fact had the effect of causing a *blind spot* in Diels' approach, which in retrospect was of great significance for the development of his theory. He concentrated on the lost Theophrastus and, as we have noticed, failed to include the latter's *Doktorvater*, Aristotle. He also, perhaps even more importantly, failed to enquire for what purpose doxographies were composed, or what are the meaning and background of the structure of Aëtius at the level of a series of chapters, or within a single chapter[46].

[45] C. LACHMANN, "De ordine narrationum in evangeliis synopticis", in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1835), 574 ff., repr. in the introduction to *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, rec. C. LACHMANN, II (Berlin ²1850). Engl. transl. of important sections at N.H. PALMER, "Lachmann's argument", in *New Testament Studies* 13 (1966-7), 370 ff.

[46] On these issues see D.T. RUNIA, "Xenophanes on the moon: a *doxographicum* in Aëtius", in *Phronesis* 34 (1989), 245 ff.; D.T. RUNIA, "Xenophanes or Theophrastus? An Aëtian *doxographicum* on the sun", in *Theophrastus: His Psychological, Doxographical and Scientific Writings*, ed. by W.W. FORTENBAUGH and D. GUTAS, RUSCH 5 (New Brunswick N.J.-London 1992), 112 ff., and my papers "Chrysippus and the Placita", in *Phronesis* 34 (1989), 311 ff., "Doxography and Dialectic: The *Sitz im Leben* of the 'Placita'", in *ANRW* II 36, 4 (Berlin-New York 1990), 3056 ff., and "*Physikai doxai* and *Problemata physica* from Aristotle to Aëtius (and beyond)", in *Theophrastus*, ed. by W.W. FORTENBAUGH and D. GUTAS (cited above), 63 ff. The reliability, or rather unreliability, of Aëtius is discussed in these papers as well.

One may further point out that Diels never published a *revised edition* of his youthful *opus magnum*, in contrast to his later *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, of which he prepared no less than four editions. There is evidence to show that he did keep a lookout for material that could be added to his argument or enable it to be refined. His *Handexemplar* of the *DG* (preserved at Padua) contains numerous marginalia and other minor additions, including references to the secondary literature. Bound with it is a letter from his publisher De Gruyter dated July 29 1914, i.e. only a few days before the beginning of the first World War, in which Diels learns that only 20 copies are left of the first printing and is asked whether he considers publishing a revised second edition. His diplomatic reply, dated July 31 1914, is worth quoting[47]:

> Ich bin gerne bereit mit Ihnen die Modalitäten einer Bearbeitung der zweiten Auflage der Doxographi zu besprechen, die freilich sehr einschneidend sein würde. Vor allem würde eine Verkürzung in das Auge zu fassen und die Einleitung übersichtlicher zu gestalten sein.
>
> Ich muß mir über diesen Umwandlungsproceß, den ich nicht mehr vornehmen zu müssen glaubte und der ziemlich überraschend auf mich eindringt, genauer überlegen. Wenn es Ihnen recht ist, werde ich nach meiner Rückkehr aus den Ferien (freilich alles dies ist ja jetzt unsicher) im September mich mit Ihnen in Verbindung setzen.

So Diels really agreed that *if* a second edition would have to be made this would have to be a *revised* one, an idea which, it would seem, he did not like. We may observe that he did not believe that a *retractatio* of the theory developed in the "Prolegomena" would be necessary. One entirely agrees that a less labyrinthine exposition would have been helpful. What abridgement or abridgements he had in mind one can only guess. The sections containing the edited texts and indexes

[47] I am grateful to the firm of Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin, for putting this letter from their *Verlagsarchiv* at my disposal and granting permission to quote (letter of Dr. H.-R. Cram dated May 25 1996).

would hardly have been amenable to cuts, so one can only assume that the "Prolegomena" would have been shorter, perhaps less polemical, while on the other hand the literature published after 1879 would have had to be accounted for. Furthermore, if we go back some years in time, his comment in a paper published in 1893 that the reservoir of material to which he gave the name *Vetusta placita* could be more accurately designated as "Posidonianische Ἀρέσκοντα" and that Aëtius should be dated to the reign of Trajan is quite interesting[48]. The important information that he dropped the idea that Achilles was dependent on P has to be culled from a personal communication cited in the footnote of an article written by Pasquali[49]. Yet in themselves the *addenda et corrigenda* to be found in his personal copy seem hardly sufficient to justify a *revised* second edition; they are quite similar to those found at *DG* 850 ff., and it seems that Diels did not like *Nachträge*[50].

What is more, as his colleague and friend Wilamowitz noted and as is confirmed by the letter to his publisher, Diels did not gladly change his mind or easily develop his thought[51], a fact that clearly emerges from these additions. Diels never felt the need to revise his grand theory of the development of the doxographical traditions. Nor was this encouraged by the critical responses of other scholars. So the *Doxographi Graeci* can still be purchased in an expensive and unaltered reprint of the original edition[52].

[48] H. DIELS, "Über das physikalische System des Straton", in *SB* 1893, 102 = *KS (Diels)* 240.

[49] G. PASQUALI, "Doxographica aus Basiliosscholien", in *Nachr. Göttingen,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 1910, 221; there are several references to this paper in Diels' *Handexemplar.* The marginalia and other materials in this copy have been published by F. ONIGA FARRA, *H. Diels. Doxographi graeci. Supplementum* (Tarvisii 1985).

[50] Witness the preface to the 4th edition of *VS* of 1922.

[51] *Erinnerungen* 284: "Das schloß nicht aus, daß er in eigener Sache empfindlich sein konnte und nicht leicht vergaß. Eine Behauptung zurückzunehmen, überhaupt das Umlernen ward ihm schwer".

[52] Up to this point the present paper is an epitome of parts of chs. 1 and 2 of *Aëtiana*, to which book the reader is referred for treatment on a more generous scale, and full documentation. It is dedicated to my partner in Aëtian

Epimetrum

In a recent article my colleague Jan Bremmer[53] of Groningen has argued that Diels was wrong in arguing that the author of the source of P and S is to be called Aëtius because this name is late, and that Mansfeld and Runia[54] were wrong to accept Diels' view. But his onomastic material is (unavoidably) almost exclusively based on what was preserved in the sands of Egypt. Egyptocentrism is not a good idea where the early centuries of the Roman empire are concerned. The epigram celebrating an Aëtius (by no means necessarily the same person as the author of the *Placita*) already cited by Diels[55] is dated by Bremmer to Byzantine times; I fail to see why this has to be so. What, moreover, he forgets to take into account is (1) that the heroic name Aëtius is *several* times found in Pausanias[56] and (2) that in the case of the doxographer it probably is a *nom de plume*. Think of the author of the *Didascalicus*, the otherwise unknown Alcinous, traditionally dated to the second century CE (but there is no cogent argument against the first century, and whether Aëtius' *Placita* has to be dated to the first or to the beginning of the second century remains a moot point), or of the person who called himself Diogenes Laërtius. It is not without interest to note that these posh ἐπιγραφαί are all to be found on works which one may place in genres that are related as to their subject-matter, for all of them deal with earlier philosophies from a later point of view.

research, David T. Runia, who unfortunately was prevented from attending the Entretiens. I have also included some material from my paper "Doxographical studies, *Quellenforschung*, tabular presentation and other varieties of comparativism", in W. BURKERT *& al.* (Eds.), *Fragmentsammlungen philosophischer Texte der Antike — Le raccolte dei frammenti di filosofi antichi*, Aporemata 3 (Göttingen 1998), 16 ff.

[53] J. BREMMER, "Aëtius, Arius Didymus and the Transmission of Doxography", in *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998), 154 ff.

[54] In *Aëtiana*.

[55] *DG* 49 n. 1. See further *Aëtiana* 322 f.

[56] 2, 30, 8 (twice); 2, 30, 9; 2, 31, 10.

DISCUSSION

W. Burkert: Die Aetios-Rekonstruktion der *DG* ist von Mansfeld-Runia (*Aëtiana*) fast über die Erwartung hinaus bestätigt worden.

Für die früheren Stadien, die *Vetusta placita*, bleibt ein großer Bereich des Unsicheren. Es gibt einige wenige Instanzen, diese Unsicherheit einzugrenzen. Genannt sei von der einen Seite W. Rösler, in *Hermes* 101 (1973), 48 ff., mit dem Nachweis, daß Lukrez zumindest für Anaxagoras ein nach-aristotelisches, nach-theophrasteisches doxographisches Werk benützt; dies zeigt der Terminus *homoiomeria* (ὁμοιομέρεια), gegenüber τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ bei Aristoteles/Theophrast. Von der anderen Seite sei das Auftauchen des Anaximander-Titels im hellenistischen Tauromenion genannt, in genauer Übereinstimmung mit (Theophrast bei) Simpl.*in Phys.* p.24, 13 Diels (*CAG* IX) (dazu Burkert in diesem Band).

W. Rösler: Wenn Diels es in den *Doxographi Graeci* nicht unternommen hat, den Einfluß des Aristoteles auf die doxographische Tradition zu dokumentieren, so mag dies auf den Systemzwang zurückzuführen sein, dem er sich mit der Übertragung der Lachmannschen Methode auf die Quellenforschung aussetzte. Denn mit der Etablierung von Theophrasts *Physikôn Doxai* als Ursprungstext aller späteren doxographischen Überlieferung mußte für Diels das Untersuchungsziel erreicht sein. Daß hinter Theophrast Aristoteles steht, war dann zwar allgemein festzustellen (*DG* 102), bildete aber in diesem Rahmen kein Thema.

S. Rebenich: Illustriert bereits Diels' Erstlingsarbeit über die *Doxographi Graeci* beispielhaft seinen wissenschaftlichen Universalismus, der auch seine späteren Arbeiten auszeichnet, und

seine Fähigkeit, über das gesamte literarische Erbe der Antike souverän zu verfügen? Oder war es das Thema der Preisaufgabe, das ihn in der Folge davor bewahrte, sich ausschließlich mit 'klassischen' Autoren und Themen zu beschäftigen?

W.M. Calder III: Why is the *DG* in Latin not German? Clearly he wrote for the international market. The English certainly didn't read German.

How did Diels' *Handexemplar* end up in Padua?

J. Mansfeld: The name Aëtius can only be attached to the late version of the *Placita* that can be reconstructed from ps.Plutarch, (ps.Galen), Theodoret, and Stobaeus.

Rösler's paper is important. The inscription is a big surprise. I have discussed Lucretius' doxographical source(s) at *ANRW* II 36, 4 (Berlin etc. 1990), 3143 ff.; see now also D.T. Runia, "Lucretius and Doxography", in K.A. Algra *& al.* (Eds.), *Lucretius and his Intellectual Background*, Verh. KNAW Afd. Lett. N.R. 172 (Amsterdam etc. 1997), 93 ff.

Much work remains to be done on the reconstruction of the traditions in the centuries between Aristotle/Theophrastus and Aëtius. To the examples given by Burkert one may for instance add the verbatim fragment of Chrysippus concerned with the location of the soul's regent part *ap.* Galen, *De placitis Hippocr. et Platonis* 3, 1, 10-15, corresponding to Aët. 4, 5 Diels: see my paper in *Phronesis* 1989 cited *supra*, n. 46, and T.L. Tieleman, *Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul. Argument and Refutation in the* De placitis, *Books II-III,* Philos. Ant. 68 (Leiden etc. 1996), 141 f., 154 f., 158 ff., 274. At *Aëtiana* p.XIX f. David Runia and I have discussed the fluctuating nature of the *Placita* literature, which both acquired and lost and then again acquired material in the course of transmission, and of which both longer and shorter versions must have existed at the same time (think of e.g. Aëtius himself and ps.Plutarch's *epitome* — or of ps.Plutarch and the even shorter ps.Galen, still available today). Chrysippus may have used a short version already much resem-

bling ps.Plutarch, though we cannot be certain because the corresponding section in Stobaeus has been lost. Another example is Cicero on the principles, *Ac.*2, 118, which Diels *DG* 119 ff. and 202 ff. wanted to derive from Theophrastus. One can prove that major changes have been introduced in the period between Theophrastus and Cicero, see my paper "Gibt es Spuren von Theophrasts *Phys.Op.* bei Cicero?", in *Cicero's Knowledge of the Peripatos*, ed. by W.W. Fortenbaugh and P. Steinmetz, RUSCH 4 (New Brunswick N.J.-London 1989), 133 ff.

To be sure, the argument in the *DG* (if that is what it is; to me it looks like an assumption) about Theophrastus' treatise as the 'archetype' of the *Placita* literature may be defended as sufficient from an outdated 'Lachmannian' point of view. But Diels is inconsistent. In the apparatus to the meteorological chapters of Aëtius (ps.Plutarch, book 3) he occasionally refers to Aristotle's *Meteorologica* (he should have done so on a much larger scale, but this is by the way). But in the apparatus to Aët. 1, 3 Diels, on the principles, such comparisons are lacking (apart from a reference to *DG* 179, where Aristotle's *Metaph.* A is cited for a specific formula). Two years before the *DG* were published E. Zeller, "Ueber die Benützung der aristotelischen Metaphysik in den Schriften der älteren Peripatetiker", in *SB* 1877, 145 ff. had proved that Theophrastus' account of the *archai* is very much dependent on Aristotle. Diels refers to this paper at *DG* 105 f. and hides the parallels in his apparatus to Theophr. *Phys.op.* Frr. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 22 and 23 (cf. *DUZ* II 3 p.18). But he could (or should) have put them in an extra column in the "Theophrasteorum apud excerptores conspectus" at *DG* 133 ff., where the proof of the thesis that Theophrastus' treatise is the "archetype" is almost exclusively provided by passages from the *Phys.op.* dealing with the *archai* (cf. above, n.8).

More could be said. I again refer to the literature cited above, n.46, and for the *De sensibus* add J.N.M. Baltussen, *Theophrastus on Theories of Perception. Argument and Purpose in the* De sensibus (Diss. Utrecht 1993), and my paper "Aristote et la structure du *De sensibus* de Théophraste", in *Phronesis* 41

(1996), 158 ff. Yet I permit myself to say that in my RUSCH paper of 1992 I have proven, or so I believe, that the *Placita* chapters on the earth (Aët. 3, 9-15 Diels) are very much dependent on Aristotle's account at *Cael.* 2, 13. I also have argued that the main lay-out of the *Placita* is ultimately dependent on Aristotle. An unprejudiced comparison of the so-called dialectical passages in Aristotle with the *Placita* literature will be found in volume 3 of *Aëtiana.* Perhaps Diels saw the relation between *Placita* literature (including the mostly hypothesized Theophrastus) and the extant Aristotle as "keinen eigentlichen Untersuchungsgegenstand". If this is what he did, he made a mistake.

As to Diels' "Universalismus", this indeed has to be greatly admired, especially in a person so young. Still, one should not forget that Zeller's equally impressive "Universalismus" initially was a great help in writing the large essay for the Bonn competition. See Diels' autobiography at Kern 36, quoted *supra*, text to n.13.

Why was the *DG* written in Latin? I find it hard to believe that Diels wrote for the international market. From the beginning he had a career in Germany in mind. The Bonn *Preisaufgabe* was in Latin, and the manuscript Diels gave to the "Sekretariatskaffer" was in Latin (the part published as a dissertation is in Latin). The *Preisfrage* of the Academy was in German, but Diels had an unwieldy Latin manuscript that was being revised. Leaving it in Latin must have been less of a bother, and certainly more impressive. One should not forget either that the "Prolegomena" also serves as the introduction to a collection of critical editions of ancient texts, and it is only a very recent (and still by no means universal) phenomenon that such introductions are written in a vernacular language.

The *Handexemplar* of the *DG* was bequeathed to the university of Padova by E. Bodrero, who got it from A. Vogliano (Vogliano lived in Diels' house from January 1st 1921 to April 1st 1922, see e.g. Kern 133). Perhaps Vogliano borrowed it, as reputedly he also borrowed the manuscript of an edition (still unpublished) of a work by Philodemus prepared by Diels.