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Isaac Casaubon's *Observationes* and his Lost Treatise *De Critica*

Paul Botley

Isaac Casaubon's treatise on textual criticism *De critica* was apparently completed, but it was never published and no manuscript of the work has come to light. Since it appears to have been a substantial work on textual criticism by one of the most eminent and capable scholars of the period, its loss is tantalising. This article uses new manuscript evidence to throw light on its content and purpose.

Five pieces of manuscript evidence are presented here. Three of these are documents which Casaubon himself composed while preparing the work: two leaves outlining the contents of the work, and two sets of notes intended for the first book. The final part of the article will look at the role of Johannes Woverius of Hamburg (1574-1612) in the later fortunes of this work, and publish a suppressed passage from a letter from Casaubon showing that Woverius had seen a copy of the treatise. Many of the editions used by Casaubon when making his notes are identified below, as are a number of printed books annotated in Casaubon's hand.

This new evidence illustrates the evolution of Casaubon's early scholarship in the 1580s and 1590s. It allows a first description of his *Observationes*, an unpublished work which lay beneath, and evolved into, *De critica*. An outline of *De critica* enables an assessment of the place of Casaubon's lost work in the critical literature of the late renaissance, and a new account of its relationship to an extant work, Woverius' treatise *De polymathia*.

1. Casaubon's *Observationes*

The origins of Casaubon's treatise *De critica* lie in a shifting collection of *Observationes* on classical authors begun by Casaubon in Geneva in the 1580s. In 1583 he was granted a licence to print a book under the title *Observationum liber*, and the *Observationes* are mentioned in Casaubon's notes on

Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*, published the same year.¹ In April 1590, Casaubon speaks of the *Observationes* as a work which will soon be published.² This publication never appeared, and in the late 1590s it seems that the project was repurposed as the more ambitious treatise *De critica*. Casaubon stops talking of his *Observationes* in the later 1590s, at around the same time he starts talking of *De critica*, and the former seems to have been recast and reconceived as the latter.

Casaubon's *Observationes* have hardly been noticed by later students of his work: it does not appear in published lists of his lost or unfinished works, such as those published by his son Meric in the seventeenth century, or by Nazelle in the nineteenth.³ The invisibility of the *Observationes* is partly due to the fact that when Casaubon talks of them it is often unclear whether he is thinking of a discrete work which he is preparing for publication, or more vaguely of the components of his extensive and ever-expanding body of working notes and marginalia. The judgement often turns on whether it was Casaubon, or his copyist, or his printer, who capitalised the noun 'observationes', and what, if anything, its capitalisation might mean.

The project has also attracted little attention because it was unstable: components came and went as Casaubon's interests changed, and as the scholarly landscape changed around him. For example, in 1590 the project seems to have included a set of notes on the plays of Plautus. In August of that year, Casaubon wrote to Justus Lipsius of a new plan to publish an anthology of his existing notes on classical authors, apparently to include a selection of notes on Plautus.⁴ In an undated but probably contemporary letter, he

¹ For the licence, dated 12 February 1583, see M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon 1559-1614*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1892, pp. 47-48, 585. For the *Observationes* in Casaubon's work on Diogenes, see Casaubon, *Notae, ad Diogenis Laertii libros de vitis, dictis, et decretis principum Philosophorum*, Geneva 1583, p. 11: 'de hoc loco diximus in *Observationibus* nostris'. See also below, note 10. The prefatory letter to the *Notae* is dated 20 February 1583.

² Casaubon to Dirk Canter, 20 April 1590: 'In Athenaeo totus nunc sum, cuius optima nactus exemplaria. Interea vero dum eius editionem paro, *Observationum* nostrarum libros exspecta' (Casaubon, *Epistolae, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt Curante Theodoro Ianson ab Almelooven*, Rotterdam 1709, p. 4).

³ Meric Casaubon, *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis, et religionis hostes*, London 1621, pp. 158-64; L. J. Nazelle, *Isaac Casaubon, sa vie et son temps*, Paris 1897, pp. 195-201. Pattison noticed it: see above, note 1.

⁴ Casaubon to Lipsius, 23 August 1590: 'Cum igitur cepissem nuper ex variis scidis meis quasdam colligere et in unum quasi corpus redigere, quod proximis, si Deus daret, nundinis ederetur, tanquam δειγμα quoddam *Observationum* nostrarum quas habemus quamplurimas, reperimus etiam in Plautum quaedam quae non indigna fortasse luce viderentur' (S. Sué and H. Peeters,

wrote to Jean-Antoine Sarrasin with a very similar set of notes on Plautus, and we learn from this letter that Sarrasin approved of Casaubon's plans to publish a work along these lines.⁵ But when Casaubon wrote to Jacques Auguste de Thou in 1593, listing the works he had in hand, he did not mention this project.⁶ Casaubon ultimately published no work on Plautus; it seems that there are no collected notes on Plautus surviving in Casaubon's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library; and Plautus does not appear in the list discussed in the next part of this article. The project was quietly dropped, probably because Casaubon had received a copy of Jan Gruter's *Suspiciones* of 1591, which dealt at length with the text of Plautus.⁷ In such circumstances, students of the *Observationes* find it hard to identify exactly what they are studying.

The evolution of Casaubon's early studies in the 1580s and 1590s is obscure, but it may be illuminated by Casaubon's expanding work on Diogenes Laertius. His *Notae* on Diogenes were first published in 1583, and ten years later he published a substantially revised and extended version of the work under the same title.⁸ He seems to have projected an even more ambitious work on Diogenes which he names a 'Commentarium', but no such work ever appeared.⁹ Some notes filed in 1583 among his *Observationes* had migrated into published works by 1593.¹⁰ The differences between the two versions of the *Notae*, separated by a decade, are a valuable source for Casaubon's reading in the intervening years, a

ed. *Iusti Lipsii Epistolae*, III, Brussels 1987, no. 786, pp. 299-302).

⁵ Casaubon to Sarrasin, no date but c. August 1590: 'Serione dicebas modo, vir doctissime, tibi probari ut nugarum nostrarum, quas in multos multorum autorum locos sumus commentati, editionem quam primum publici iuris faceremus?' (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 619). Casaubon's earlier letter to Sarrasin outlining his plan has not come to light.

⁶ Casaubon to De Thou, 27 October 1593 (Casaubon (as in note 2), no. 9, pp. 5-6).

⁷ *I. Gruteri suspicionum libri IX. ... In quibus varia scriptorum loca, praecipue vero Plauti, Apuleii, et Senecae Philosophi, emendandi, illustrandi, conatus*, Wittenberg 1591. Casaubon's copy of the work has not been identified, but it seems to have been sent with an extant letter from the author: Gruter to Casaubon, 4 September 1592 (London, BL MS Burney 364, fol. 198r).

⁸ *Diog. Laert. De vitis, dogm. et apophth. clarorum philosophorum, Libri X. ... Omnia Graece et Lat. ex editione II. Is. Casauboni notae ad lib. Diogenis, multo auctiores et emendatiores*, [Geneva] 1593. The leaves of this edition were also issued under a title page bearing the date 1594.

⁹ Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1), sig. *4v.

¹⁰ See, for example, Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1), p. 11: 'de hoc loco diximus in *Observationibus* nostris'; Diogenes 1593 (as in note 8), part 2, p. 12: 'de hoc loco diximus ad Strabonem'.

period for which most of his correspondence is lost.¹¹

Throughout the 1590s Casaubon maintained a steady stream of dense and well-regarded publications, but he kept his project of publishing his *Observationes* alive, and a letter from Conrad Rittershausen in January 1595 urges him to publish them.¹² In 1597, Casaubon moved to Montpellier, and published the same year an edition of the Greek work of Athenaeus of Naucratis, *The Banquet of the Philosophers*.¹³ Despite this extraordinary labour – the edition of Athenaeus ran to more than 700 folio pages – by the end of 1598 he had begun to feel unproductive. On 14 December 1598, he recorded in his diary that he had read the rhetorical works (which he called the ‘critica scripta’) of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.¹⁴ The following day, he wrote:

Today I have at last decided to steel myself and put an end to simply reading authors. Whenever I recall how little I know, I bury myself in my books and put aside any thought of writing. Now I have decided, God willing, to begin in earnest to gather my notes on various authors into commentaries of *Observationes variae*. I hope to start on the first book right now. It will deal with Theophrastus on plants and other writers on similar matters such as Dioscorides.¹⁵

¹¹ From the 1580s, just ten letters survive, of which four are published prefatory letters. I am preparing an edition of Casaubon’s correspondence in Geneva, 1583-1596.

¹² Rittershausen to Casaubon, 1 January 1595: ‘Tu vero ... perge tuarum *Observationum* editione et publicam utilitatem, et tui nominis honestissimam famam augere’ (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 640).

¹³ *Athenaei Deipnosophistarum libri XV. ... Cum interpretatione Latina Iacobi Dalechampii Cadomensis*, [Heidelberg] 1597. The leaves of this edition were also issued under a title page bearing the date 1598.

¹⁴ ‘XIX Kal. Ian. Mane post pensum exactum in sacris literis, ad Dionysii Halicarnassei critica scripta animum appuli. Totum enim mane in iis fui’ (J. Russell, ed. *Ephemerides Isaaci Casauboni cum praefatione et notis*, 2 vols, Oxford 1850, I, p. 111).

¹⁵ ‘XVIII Kal. Ian. ... hoc die demum constitui animum obfirmare, et modum aliquem facere auctores lectitandi tantum. Quoties subit animum quam nihil sciam, involvo me in meos libros, et omne scribendi consilium pono. Nunc constitui, faciente Deo optimo maximo, serio incipere quae sunt nobis in varios auctores observata referre in Commentarios Observationum Variarum. Primum librum iam iam animus est aggredi. Is erit in Theophrasti φυτικά et alios eiusdem fere argumenti auctores, ut Dioscoridem, Γεωπονικά, quorum hic in manibus amici est mei exemplar’ (*Ephemerides* (as in note 14), I, p. 112). All translations in this article are my own.

These *Observationes variae* on ancient Greek works of natural science were never published, but they provide some context for the manuscript leaves examined below.¹⁶

The death of Casaubon's father-in-law Henri Estienne in January 1598 may have allowed Casaubon to reorient his *Observationes* so that it became a work which dealt with more broadly with the history and practice of *Critice*. Estienne had published a substantial treatise in 1587 on the subject, *De criticis veteribus*.¹⁷ Estienne's treatise is verbose and poorly organised, and it focusses primarily on Latin authors.¹⁸ That Casaubon saw his own treatise as an advance on Estienne's work appears from a gently critical remark in a letter to Jacques Bongars, decently buried in a Greek allusion so that only the learned could feel its force.¹⁹ From 1598, any treatise by Casaubon on the subject of *Critice* could now disagree freely and publicly with the work of his late and irascible father-in-law.

2. Casaubon's *De critica*

Casaubon first spoke publicly of a work entitled *De critica* in his commentary on the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus of Naucratis, published in 1600.²⁰ Casaubon mentions *De critica* at least three times in this enormous collection.²¹ It occurs first at the beginning of his prefatory letter *Ad lectorem*, where he points

¹⁶ Casaubon may have made notes for this project in 1599: see *Ephemerides* (as in note 14), I, pp. 135, 199-200.

¹⁷ *De criticis veteribus Graecis et Latinis, eorumque variis apud poetas potissimum reprehensionibus, dissertatio*, Paris 1587. See D. G. Coleman, 'Reflections around a Treatise by Henri Étienne on Critics', *French Studies*, XXXV, 1981, pp. 129-34.

¹⁸ For brief comments on Estienne's *De criticis*, see B. Bravo, 'Critice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Rise of the Notion of Historical Criticism', in C. R. Ligota and J.-L. Quantin, ed. *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute*, Oxford 2006, pp. 135-95 (159-60); N. Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters*, Oxford 2017, pp. 39-40.

¹⁹ Casaubon wrote on 15 December 1595 to Bongars: 'nos aliud molimur in eo genere, et de criticis veteribus ea parata habemus ex antiquis Hebraeis, Graecis et Latinis quae non promit in suo *De criticis* libello ὁ πάλαι ποτὲ ἄλκιμος Stephanus' (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 15; autograph Munich, Universitätsbibliothek MS 663, no. 26). For the Greek phrase, compare Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1002.

²⁰ Casaubon, *Animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas libri XV*, Lyon 1600.

²¹ Besides the three passages considered here, a further reference to *De critica* in Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus is

the reader to a discussion ‘in that book *De critica*, which we have made with such careful precision’.²² Two other references appear relatively early in the collection: in the notes on Athenaeus, book 1, chapter 2, Casaubon states that he will explain fully in his *De critica* Athenaeus’ words about ‘critical and Socratic knowledge’.²³ In his notes on Athenaeus, book 3, chapter 1, Casaubon expands on the distinction between the ‘grammaticus’ and the ‘philologus’ or ‘criticus’.²⁴ These three notices can be dated precisely: Casaubon recorded in his diary that he finished revising his notes on Athenaeus book 1 on 11 May 1599, and that he began work on the third book on 1 June 1599.²⁵ The reference to *De critica* in the letter *Ad lectorem* may look casual, but Casaubon has deliberately placed it in a prominent position. The gathering which contains the letter was probably printed last, apparently in August-September 1600, so it constitutes an announcement of Casaubon’s next project. A reader of Casaubon’s work on Athenaeus may have reasonably supposed that by the end of 1600 *De critica* was largely complete.²⁶

These notices may be supplemented by a handful of later appearances of *De critica* in Casaubon’s correspondence with his friend Joseph Scaliger. Now that this correspondence has been published in a modern critical edition, the subsequent fortunes of the treatise can be placed on a systematic footing. Scaliger confirmed that he had received Casaubon’s commentary on Athenaeus, and had begun to read it,

considered in section 3, below.

²² ‘Nos autem in eo libro quem accuratissima diligentia *De critica* fecimus, plurimos in vitam errores ab hoc fonte manasse vero vicimus’ (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), sig. ¶4v). For an English translation of this part of Casaubon’s preface, see Bravo (as in note 17), p. 169.

²³ ‘Quaenam est ista quaeso scientia critica et Socratica? Aut Socratem criticum quis fando accepit unquam? In eo libro quem *De critica* fecimus, expositus est a nobis fuse hic locus’ (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 5).

²⁴ ‘Seneca et sapientes omnes discrimen ingens, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ’ ἀπὸ γαίης, statuunt inter grammaticum et philologum Itaque etiam e Graecis nonnulli inter grammaticum et philologum aut criticum non distinguunt. Hoc sensu separabat Philo Iudaeus τὴν γραμματικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γραμματιστικῆς, sicut diximus in commentario nostro *De critica*’ (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 92). Casaubon did not usually distinguish between the *philologus* and the *grammaticus*: ‘... professio philologorum, quos vulgo etiam Graeci “grammaticos” vocarunt ...’ (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 429). For the debate, see A. Scaglione, ‘The Humanist as Scholar and Politian’s Conception of the *Grammaticus*’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII, 1961, pp. 49-70.

²⁵ *Ephemerides* (as in note 14), I, pp. 157, 161.

²⁶ Richard Thomson’s reading of the commentary led him to this conclusion: see P. Botley, *Richard ‘Dutch’ Thomson, c. 1569-1613*, Leiden and Boston 2016, pp. 73-75.

in a letter of November 1600.²⁷ In September 1601, Casaubon noted that *De critica* would contain details of Hebrew ‘critica’, and he asked Scaliger whether he knew of any relevant rabbinic sources which might supplement his account.²⁸ Scaliger replied that he thought Casaubon’s plans for the work were excellent, and asked when it would be published.²⁹ The following year, Scaliger urged Casaubon to prioritise *De critica* over other works he had in hand.³⁰ Casaubon replied a few weeks later that he must see his edition of the *Historia Augusta* through the press in Paris before he could turn to *De critica*.³¹ This is the last time the work is mentioned anywhere in the correspondence published in 2012 but, as we will see later, the work was mentioned one final time, in a suppressed passage in a letter of 1604. After that letter of 1604, Scaliger’s extant correspondence speaks no more of Casaubon’s *De critica*.³²

The very latest mention of the work by its author appears to belong to the spring of 1605, when Casaubon tells Charles Labbé that *De critica* discusses the ‘Lex Pythagoraea’ at some length.³³ The reference is not to the geometrical theorem studied by generations of schoolchildren, but rather to a textual principle attributed to Pythagoras: that the works of authors should not be supplemented or expanded, but must be transmitted as they were originally written.³⁴ It must be supposed that Casaubon

²⁷ Scaliger to Casaubon, 17 November 1600 (P. Botley and D. Van Miert, ed. *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, 8 vols, Geneva 2012, III, pp. 520-21).

²⁸ Casaubon to Scaliger, 8 September 1601: ‘Cum in eo libro quem *De critica* fecimus, omnem Hebraeorum κριτικὴν explicare sit animus, σὺν γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ εἰπεῖν, velim indices mihi, si quem Rabbiorum vidisti qui in eo argumento operam non poenitentiam posuerit. Ego praeter notas Biblicorum Venetorum, et eruditissimi Eliae libellum, novi nihil huius generis’ (Botley and Van Miert (as in note 27), IV, pp. 65-66).

²⁹ Scaliger to Casaubon, 6 November 1601: ‘Quando tuum opus de critica prodibit? Laudo consilium de critica Masoritica. Nam nullam aliam habent Iudaei, et posterior est editione Talmudis’ (Botley and Van Miert (as in note 28), IV, p. 106).

³⁰ Scaliger to Casaubon, 6 August [1602]: ‘oro te ut omnibus opusculis tuis praebeat illud de vera critica, cuius mentionem facis in divinis tuis notis in Athenaeum’ (Botley and Van Miert (as in note 27), IV, p. 355).

³¹ Casaubon to Scaliger, 23 September [1602]: ‘Commentarium *De critica* pridem affectum habemus, sed labore isto prius defungamur necesse est quam aliud quid suscipimus. De illo igitur tecum plura: neque enim leviter praeclaram illam hypothesin sumus tractaturi, si dabitur nobis οὐρανόθεν perficere quod instituimus’ (Botley and Van Miert (as in note 27), IV, p. 413).

³² The project is discussed in Bravo (as in note 19), pp. 163-71; Hardy (as in note 18), pp. 29-32.

³³ Casaubon to Charles Labbé, 11 March 1605: ‘Pythagoraeam legem, de qua alicubi mentionem fecimus (nam et de hoc quaerere te memini) in nostro *De critica* tractatu fuse exponimus’ (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 235).

³⁴ Casaubon’s source for the ‘lex Pythagoraea’ is Synesius, *Dio*, 14.1.

had a manuscript of *De critica* with him in Paris at this date, and we may guess that this manuscript went with him to England in 1610. It has since disappeared: in 1621, Casaubon's son Meric, the heir of his father's papers, described it among the lost works;³⁵ no item corresponding to *De critica* appears in the lists of manuscripts made in England after Casaubon's death;³⁶ and no corresponding work appears among Casaubon's papers in Oxford, to which we now turn.

3. The 'contents page' of *De critica*

In 1708-1709 an energetic young German Johann Christoph Wolf (1683-1739), later known for his Hebrew scholarship and well-stocked library, studied and transcribed many long passages from Casaubon's notes in the Bodleian Library.³⁷ These were subsequently reworked and published in a small volume in Hamburg in 1710, under the title *Casauboniana*. The book is difficult to navigate, but one of Wolf's claims is striking. While discussing the lost *De critica*, he says:

I remember seeing among one man's manuscripts the title and the chief divisions of this work, from which it could be guessed that Casaubon had wanted to undertake the correction of many works, particularly Greek ones.³⁸

³⁵ 'Liber accuratissimus de critica, in quo etiam Hebraeorum Criticam fuse explicabat' (Meric Casaubon (as in note 3), p. 161). Meric's description contains nothing which he could not have gathered from his father's correspondence.

³⁶ For these lists, see P. Botley and M. Vince, ed. *The Correspondence of Isaac Casaubon in England*, 4 vols, Geneva 2018, I, pp. 45-50.

³⁷ For Wolf, see C. Bertheau, 'Wolf, Johann Christoph', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XLIV, 1898, pp. 545-48. For his visit to the Bodleian Library, see Wolf, *Casauboniana*, Hamburg 1710, p. 48: 'In quod Musarum sacrarium cum superiori anno exeunte superiorum indulgentia essem admissus, ad Casauboni schedas, ut ad alia omnia, viri clarissimi Io. Hudsoni ... prolixo in me favore aditus mihi patuit ...'.

³⁸ 'Inter manuscripta viri optimi videre me memini designationem et summa capita huius operis, ex quibus coniectura fieri poterat eum plurimorum atque inprimis Graecorum scriptorum emendationem in hoc opere suscipere voluisse' (Wolf (as in note 37), p. 249).

Since the document seen by Wolf had been available to him in the early years of the eighteenth century, it is very likely to have survived. Casaubon's collected papers in the Bodleian, now bound in over forty volumes, are a daunting mass of penetrating observations, cryptic notes, and almost entirely illegible memos. Their disarray has discouraged systematic study of the collection, and closer acquaintance with the material has only increased the present author's respect for the nineteenth-century cataloguer.³⁹ In all of this collection, only one document corresponds to Wolf's description: he seems to have been looking at Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 22, fols 12r-13v. This item is actually a bifolium, two conjoint leaves in Casaubon's hand.

³⁹ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens*, Oxford 1853, cols 823-50.

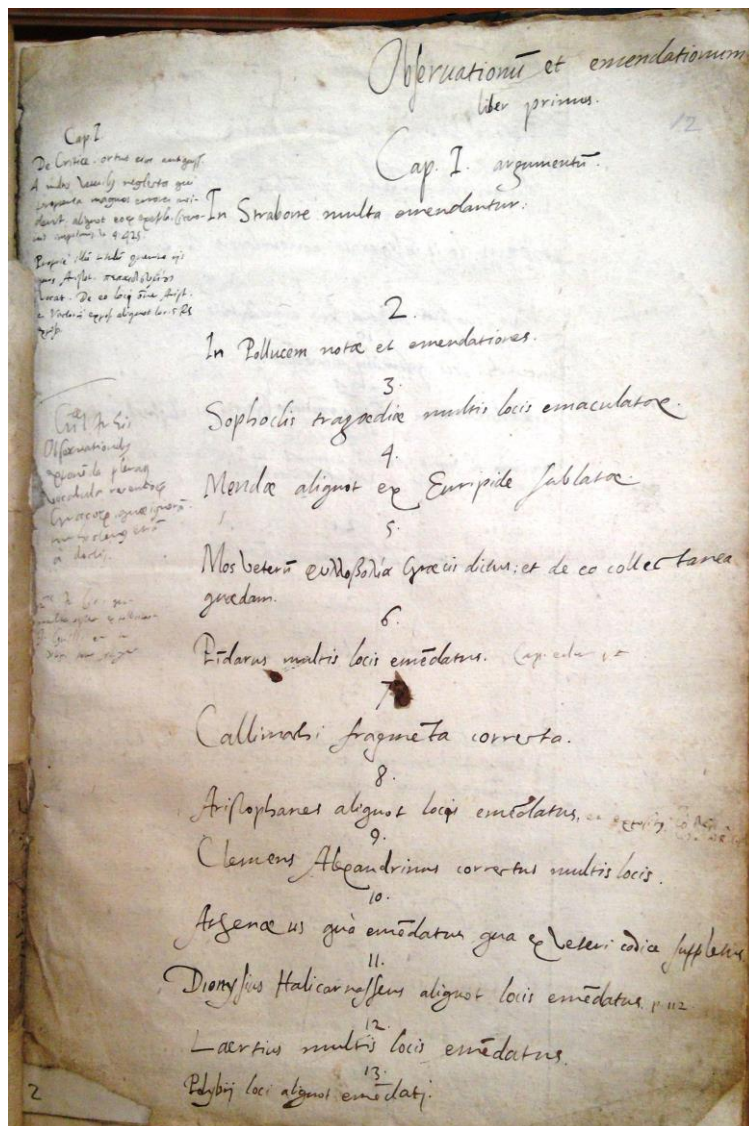


Fig. 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 22, fol. 12r (with permission).

Before turning to its contents, it is useful to examine the fortunes of these pages inside the Bodleian Library. When Casaubon's son Meric died in 1671 he bequeathed his father's papers to the Bodleian, and they entered the library in 1673. In 1697 many of the papers were still unbound, and were kept in a large container divided into 'partitiones'. The leaf which Wolf saw was probably the very first item in the first 'partitio': 'Isaaci Casauboni observationum et emendationum ὕλη indigesta continens theologica, philologica etc. in fol.'⁴⁰ That is, it was regarded, perhaps by the cataloguer Richard Parker, as a list

⁴⁰ *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, 2 vols, Oxford 1697, I, part 1, p. 264.

which organised and coordinated a large portion of the collection as a whole.⁴¹

Casaubon's loose manuscripts were arranged for binding around 1708 by Thomas Hearne, and it was probably at this time that the bifolium migrated to its present position in volume no. 22 of the Casaubon manuscripts.⁴² Volume 22 is devoted to early handwritten catalogues of manuscripts and printed books; that is, to documents which organise collections of notes, rather than the notes themselves. When a new description of the collection was compiled in 1853, this bifolium was described as a 'catalogus', a description which continued to misrepresent its origins and intentions. This document has not been identified since Wolf's day as the title page of *De critica* – or indeed of any work – because it does not look much like a title page. Its current position among lists of Casaubon's books and manuscripts has obscured its purpose. Because it appears among dry bibliographical records, earlier explorers of the papers have supposed that it is *merely* bibliographical.

In order to determine whether Wolf was indeed looking at the title page of *De critica*, we must examine the bifolium. It helps explain the evolution of Casaubon's early studies, and his conception of them, and as such it is transcribed here in full. The text below transcribes deleted passages because they are evidence for the ways Casaubon continued to revise his plans for the work. The marginal notes, central to the contention that these leaves are associated with *De critica*, will be examined later.

Observationum et emendationum liber primus.

Cap. 1. Argumentum. In Strabone multa emendantur.

2. In Pollucem notae et emendationes.

⁴¹ This cataloguer seems to be Richard Parker of Warwickshire (1671-1728), for whom see *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, 4 vols, Oxford 1891-92, III, p. 1115; N. Drake, *Essays Biographical, Critical, and Historical, Illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator and Guardian*, 3 vols, London 1805, III, pp. 350-52. For his later career, see J. C. Shuler, 'The Pastoral and Ecclesiastical Administration of the Diocese of Durham 1721-1771', Ph.D. thesis, Durham University 1975, pp. 32-33.

⁴² For Hearne's career, see T. Harmsen, 'Hearne, Thomas (bap. 1678, d. 1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. An account of the early fortunes of the Casaubon manuscripts is in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols, Oxford 1895-1953, II, part 2, pp. 793-97.

3. Sophoclis tragoediae multis locis emaculatae.
4. Mendae aliquot ex Euripide sublatae.
5. Mos veterum φυλλοβολία Graecis dictus; et de eo collectanea quaedam.
6. Pindarus multis locis emendatus. Cap. editum est.
7. Callimachi fragmenta correcta.
8. Aristophanes aliquot locis emendatus, et expositus. τὸ δεῖγμα. Vide ad R[.ph..].
9. Clemens Alexandrinus correctus multis locis.
10. Athenaeus qua emendatus qua ex veteri codice suppletus.
11. Dionysius Halicarnasseus aliquot locis emendatus. p. 112.
12. Laertius multis locis emendatus.
13. Polybii loci aliquot emendati.
14. Theophrasti *Characteres* qua emendati qua explicati.
15. E Platone sublatae aliquot maculae.
16. Apollonii *Argonautica* emendata.
17. Stobaeus locis aliquot emendatus. Ἀναψυχή. Glossa sublat[a] + pag. 160.
18. Cicero cursim aliquot locis emendatus.
19. Plutarchi loci plurimi emendati.
20. Emendantur Epigrammata Graeca et illustrantur.
21. ~~Collectanea de variis hominum formis et eorum appellationibus, idem lectis,
ex Graecis Latinisque script. tum veteribus tum recentioribus~~
21. Cicero iterum multis locis emendatus.
22. Diogenes Laertius ~~multis locis emendatus~~. in catalogo Lae. Διδασκαλ[ίαι].
23. Platonis aliquot loci in *Theaeteto*. ~~ἀνεπίστα vox ex falsa lectione scholiastae
Aristopha. 395. in omnia L. irrepsit. vel furta explodenda. Locus
Platonis est in *Theaeteto* 151. leg. ἀνεπίστος~~
24. Glossarium vetus multis locis emendatum.
25. ‘Strabonem’ esse non ‘Stratonem’ quo ut circumfertur.
26. Specimen emendationum in Stephani *Ethnica*.
27. Aeschyli aliquot loci emendati.

28. De variis occulte aliquod procul significandi rationibus Polybii et Iulii Africani locis.
29. Eusebius multis locis emendatus.
30. Apuleius multis locis emendatus.
31. Musaei carmen quod hodie extat non esse veteris illius Musaei sed recentis alicuius
poetae qui Nonnum paene v[er]um expresserit. adversus Iul. Caes. Scaligerum.
32. Edita a Marcellino vita Thucydidis versa et emendata.
3. De lectis veterum.
4. De fullonibus.

The title of the work, ‘Observationum et emendationum liber’, emphasises the role of the collection as a tool which first identifies a textual problem then remedies it. The metaphor running through many of these items is of a text to be cleansed and corrected, returned to a pristine state. The list contains thirty-four items. A variety of genres are represented: history, biography, comedy, tragedy, philosophy, rhetoric, epigram, epic, and works of reference. The genres are not collected together: Sophocles and Aeschylus, for example, are located near the beginning and the end of the list respectively. The variety and distribution of these genres in this list may be a deliberate attempt by Casaubon to showcase his wide-ranging expertise.

Almost all of the items – twenty-nine in total – are focussed on a specific author or work. Only one of these is not a Greek author: Cicero, who appears twice in quick succession (nos. 18 and 21). Greek was Casaubon’s strong suit, and by the 1590s he was probably the most acute Greek scholar in Europe. This is a selection of authors which plays to his distinctive strengths, and remedies the weaknesses of contemporary works.

Several authors appear more than once. The double appearance of Cicero, marked by the word ‘iterum’, seems to be a decision not an oversight. Strabo appears twice: he is the first author in the list, and the form of his name is discussed in no. 25. Plato appears twice, first in a rather general way (no. 15), and then with a focus on a single dialogue, *Theaetetus* (no. 23). Diogenes Laertius appears twice, and in Casaubon’s first draft the item used the same formula both times: ‘Laertius multis locis emendatus’ (nos 12 and 22). A wish to avoid this repetition may account for Casaubon’s later revision of the second title. We may also notice what the list excludes: there are no Hebrew works, and with the possible exception of

Clement of Alexandria (no. 9), the list avoids theology and patristic literature entirely. The absence of Theocritus is notable, given his position among Greek authors in whom Casaubon is known to have had a well developed interest in the 1590s. The distribution of the material on this list is artful, not accidental.

Items 6, 8 and 17 and 22 have later additions in Casaubon's hand. The addition to item 6, on Pindar, is difficult to read, but must refer to the pages printed at the end of the edition of Pindar published by Estienne in 1586. Thus the compilation of Casaubon's list appears to predate Estienne's edition, and his later manuscript addition appears to postdate it.⁴³ In item 23 Casaubon deleted the note on the word ἀνεμιαῖον, 'wind egg', that is, an empty thing, a word which occurs in Plato's dialogue *Theaetetus*.⁴⁴ He did not delete the brief associated marginal note which recorded the text-critical 'rule' that the Greek letter delta (δ) was often mistranscribed as the letter alpha (α).⁴⁵ These additions and deletions indicate that this was a document to which Casaubon returned, and which he revised, over time.

The list shows some evidence of later reorganisation. Casaubon corrected the numbering of items 31 and 32 to make them start a new sequence. He also deleted his outline of no. 21, a more discursive chapter, and seems to have redistributed its material into this second 'book'. Item no. 3 in this new sequence, 'On the beds of the ancients', was never published but was still an active project in 1600.⁴⁶

⁴³ These printed notes appear under the title 'ex Observationibus Isaaci Casauboni', and Casaubon presented them as a sample of a larger collection of notes on Pindar: 'Apud Pindarum cum alia observavimus legi parum (ut putamus) emendate ... eius rei exempla hic aliquot proferre institui Non enim omnia placet afferre quae observavimus, sed ex iis pauca tantum quaedam' (*Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, [Geneva] 1586, p. 411). Casaubon annotated two extant copies of Pindar: Rome 1515 (BL shelfmark C.77.c.13); *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, Leiden 1590 (BL shelfmark 997.b.19 (1)). The pocket edition of Henri Estienne, printed in 1560 and later inscribed to Casaubon's son Jean (b. 1590), is also extant: *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia. Caeterorum octo lyricorum carmina Omnia graece et latine*, [Geneva] 1560. It is inscribed on the title page: 'Is. Casaubonus Ioanni filio d.d.' (catalogue entry, National Trust, Ham House).

⁴⁴ Plato, *Theaetetus*, 151E.

⁴⁵ 'δ in α [...]' (Oxford, Bodleian Library [hereafter OBL] MS Casaubon 22, fol. 12v).

⁴⁶ In his commentary on Athenaeus, Casaubon states: 'Haec et alia multa huius argumenti in hoc auctore pluribus explicamus in accuratissimo commentario *De lectis veterum*, si modo ita a Deo videatur ut illum aliquando perpolitum edere possimus' (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 60). Casaubon to Elmenhorst, 9 November 1602: 'In his est prope iam absolutus commentarius *De lectis et stragula veterum veste*; qui liber non leviter nos aliquando exercuit. Sequetur postea is, de quo nuper scripsisti ...' (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 165). The latter work is Casaubon's *De critica*.

Item no. 4, ‘On fullers’, may have been a component in the substantial but unfinished work on ancient clothing, *De re vestiaria*, for which we have many notes.⁴⁷ The list in the bifolium is clearly unfinished, but its direction of travel is away from the purely textual and towards the more discursive. The relocation of chapter 21 accentuates this direction.

Next, we may consider some of the individual items in this list. Casaubon had published an edition of Strabo in 1587 with an extensive commentary, and Strabo appears at the top of the list and again at no. 25.⁴⁸ The latter is cryptic – “‘Strabonem’ esse non ‘Stratonem’ quo ut circumfertur” – but fortunately its meaning is clarified by a passage in Casaubon’s commentary on Strabo. There Casaubon notes that unnamed charlatans, ‘quaedam tenebriones’, had claimed that the work which circulated under Strabo’s name was in fact the work of one Strato; that the controversial anti-Aristotelian Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597) had attempted to prove this claim in his published *Discussiones peripateticae*; that others had since started to call Strabo ‘Strato’; and that Casaubon’s full refutation of Patrizi was in a work against Patrizi which he was preparing for publication.⁴⁹ Casaubon reprises this point briefly in his commentary on

⁴⁷ See in particular OBL MS Casaubon 8, and MS Casaubon 29, fols 169r-173v. Casaubon wrote to Philipp Pareus in 1596: ‘Paramus enim *De re vestiaria* opus sane luculentum; verum id nostro more, hoc est, βοεῖω ποδῖ’ (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 590).

⁴⁸ Casaubon, ed. *Strabonis Rerum geographicarum libri XVII. ... Adiecta est etiam Guilielmi Xylandri Augustani Latina versio*, [Geneva] 1587.

⁴⁹ ‘Restabat ut de Strabonis aetate aliquid diceremus; quae quidem quaestio, et per se satis est difficilis ... et quorundam tenebrionum culpa ita nonnullis obscura fuit ut non defuerint qui negarint Strabonem esse qui hodie in studiosorum manibus versatur, sed alium nescio quem, quem ipsi ‘Stratonem’ indigitant. Primus huius sententiae autor Franciscus Patricius, homo Italus, qui in suis *Peripateticis discussionibus* longa digressionem hoc paradoxum probare conatus est, et – si stamus quorundam sententiae – abunde probavit. Deinde secuti sunt alii, qui ut omnia sibi esse lecta ostenderent, hunc praestantissimum autorem non ‘Strabonem’, ut reliqui mortales, veteres, recentiores, omnes, sed ‘Stratonem’ appellare ceperunt. Ac quanquam non ita diffidimus doctorum hominum iudiciis ut longa oratione ad horum sententiam refellendam opus esse putemus, diceremus tamen ea de re quid nobis videatur, et Achillea illa Patricii argumenta dilueremus; nisi et temporis premeremur angustiis, et factum id a nobis esset in eo scripto quod adversus Patricii librum paramus; quodque brevi, faciente Deo optimo maximo ederemus ...’ (Strabo (as in note 47), sig. ¶2v). For ‘Achillea argumenta’, see *Adagiorum D. Erasmi Roterodami epitome*, Oxford 1666, p. 69: ‘Rationem et argumentum Achilleum vocabimus quod sit insuperabile et insolubile’. The passage to which Casaubon objected is in Patrizi, *Discussiones Peripateticae*, Venice 1571, book III, fols 19v-20v; *ibid.* Basle 1581, book I, ch. 3, p. 31. See L. Deitz, ‘Francesco Patrizi da Cherso’s Discussion of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*’, *Intellectual History Review*, XXIX, 2019, pp. 545-60

Athenaeus, but no fuller account was ever published.⁵⁰ It would have fitted well into an account of *Critice* which included among the duties of the critic the identification of *spuria*.

Item 31, on Musaeus, has had its number corrected to '1', apparently when it was reconceived as the first chapter in the second book of the collection. Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), author of the influential *Poetics* and father of Casaubon's friend Joseph, had identified the composer of the ancient Greek poem *Hero and Leander* with the legendary Musaeus, companion of Orpheus.⁵¹ Casaubon had refuted this in 1583 in a note on Diogenes Laertius.⁵² He continued to work on the issue, and by the time his notes on Diogenes were published again in 1593, he had fortified his position with further references, including to the Suda Lexicon and to the scholia on Aristophanes' *Frogs*.⁵³ In both versions of the note, Casaubon ascribed the poem to Nonnus of Panopolis. Casaubon's familiarity with Nonnus' paraphrase of John's Gospel appears from Casaubon's notes on the Greek New Testament, published in 1587.⁵⁴ As has been shown, Casaubon derived some of his inspiration for this note on Musaeus from Michael Sophianos and Henri Estienne.⁵⁵ The ascription of the poem to Nonnus, however, was Casaubon's own contribution, and he wanted to draw attention to it.

Item no. 11 concerns Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁵⁶ Casaubon had published 'Animadversiones' on the historical work of Dionysius at Geneva in 1588, and we have seen that he was reading the 'critica scripta' of Dionysius in Montpellier in December 1598.⁵⁷ At the end of this commentary he promised his

(551 n.12).

⁵⁰ *Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 591.

⁵¹ J. C. Scaliger, *Poetics libri septem*, [Lyon] 1561, book V, chapter 2.

⁵² Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1), pp. 3-4.

⁵³ Diogenes 1593 (as in note 8), part 2, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁴ *Novi Testamenti libri omnes recens nunc editi, cum Notis Isaaci Casauboni*, [Geneva] 1587, pp. 412-32.

⁵⁵ See A. Grafton, 'Protestant versus Prophet: Isaac Casaubon on Hermes Trismegistus', this *Journal*, XLVI, 1983, pp. 78-93 (86-87).

⁵⁶ The significance of 'p. 112' later added to item 11 is unclear.

⁵⁷ *Dionysii Halicarn. Antiquitatum Rom. Libri XI. Ab Aemilio Porto recens et post aliorum interpretationes Latine redditi, et notis illustrati. ... Henr. Steph. Operae variae in Dionysii Antiquitatum libros, et Is. Casauboni Animadversiones in eosdem*, [Geneva 1588], part 5 (36pp). The work had been printed in the spring of 1588 without Casaubon's notes. The printer's note to the reader states that he had had to publish without Estienne's Latin translation of *De legationibus*: 'quo itidem tempore non illas

readers that he would publish more, but no such work emerged, and there are no notes on Dionysius in the Bodleian manuscripts.⁵⁸ The published commentary provides us with a brief digression on the practices of contemporary ‘critici’ which illustrates the tenor of Casaubon’s thought in 1588:

Certainly, I condemn as much as the next man their rashness in changing the ancient reading; but I think that even their withholding of judgement is intolerable. Such people profess themselves critics, but they propound nothing except their own uncertainties to their students, and indeed they hardly dare to affirm that the sun shines at midday. So that, in short, one who reads what they write may become even more uncertain than they were before. Clearly, this is what it means to teach!⁵⁹

Casaubon uses here a word from the lexicon of Greek philosophy, ἐποχή, ‘suspension of judgement’.⁶⁰ His implicit claim is that the invincible uncertainty of this breed of textual critic is presented as though it were a principled philosophical position when it is in fact a dereliction of the critic’s proper duty. The critic, according to Casaubon, should be a teacher who removes uncertainty from the minds of the reader wherever possible.

Casaubon had prepared notes which correspond to some of the items on the list. Thus item 26, on Stephanus of Byzantium, seems to be the same as a collection mentioned in a letter of 1586 to Dirk Canter: ‘I also have notes prepared on Stephanus which will one day, God willing, save that poor author

tantum legationes (Deo favente) sed eiusdem Stephani *Observationes* quoque in ipsum Dionysium et eius interpretes, necnon Isaaci Casauboni *Animadversiones* in eundem tibi daturus sum’ (sig. 4v). By the end of 1588, Casaubon’s work had been printed and the printer had rewritten his note to the reader. For the ‘critica scripta’, see above, p. [2].

⁵⁸ Dionysius (as in note 56), p. 36: ‘quae in reliquis eiusdem scriptis sunt a nobis observata et emendata, alias, si videbitur, Deo iuvante, edemus’.

⁵⁹ Dionysius (as in note 56), p. 34: ‘Temeritatem equidem in mutanda veteri lectione, ut si quis alius, damno; sed ne eorum quidem ἐποχὴν ferendam puto, qui quum criticos se profiteantur, nihil aliud quam dubitationes suas studiosis proponunt, et ne solem quidem meridie lucere affirmare audent. Prorsus ut qui eorum scripta legerit, incertior sit futurus quam ante. Hoc scilicet docere est’.

⁶⁰ Sextus Empiricus defines the term: ἐποχὴ δέ ἐστι στάσις διανοίας δι’ ἣν οὔτε αἰρομέν τι οὔτε τίθεμεν (*Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, 1.4.10).

from a vast number of faults'.⁶¹ Casaubon had studied Stephanus' work closely in connection with his edition of Strabo, and he appeared regularly in the commentary published in 1587. Item 32 (which subsequently became part of 'book 2') concerns Marcellinus' Greek *Life of Thucydides*. Casaubon had published his Greek text and parallel Latin translation in 1588.⁶² He states in his brief postscript that he had wanted to do more with this text, but that time pressures had prevented him. He later annotated a copy of the printed text, which survives to indicate some of his intentions for the work.⁶³

Items 12 and 22 both concern Diogenes Laertius, an author Casaubon regularly revisited. We have seen that he published notes on Diogenes in 1583, and an expanded version of these notes in 1593. It was Diogenes' life of Plato which first kindled Casaubon's interest in the critical marks used by ancient textual critics. Casaubon printed six ancient critical sigla in the margin of his notes on the life of Plato in the edition of 1583, woodcuts which must have been made specifically for the edition; in 1593 he appended the same sigla, newly cut, to his expanded notes.⁶⁴ In 1583, he knew of the lost work by Diogenes of Cyzicus on ancient critical sigla; by 1593 he knew that Suetonius and Aristonicus of Alexandria had written lost works on the same subject.⁶⁵ A passing comment in a work published in 1604 suggests that *De critica* was to include an account of the ancient critical marks used to distinguish the interlocutors in literary dialogues.⁶⁶

Casaubon's work on Diogenes Laertius stimulated his interest in the lost works of Aristotle. In 1583, his notes on Diogenes included a digression on the Aristotelian work on the constitutions of ancient city states, *Πολιτεῖαι*. Casaubon used surviving fragments from many sources to compile a list of the cities it

⁶¹ Casaubon to Dirk Canter, 7 May 1586: 'Habeo et in Stephanum paratas notas quae miserum illum scriptorem ab infinitis mendis aliquando, si Deo visum fuerit, vindicabunt' (Casaubon (as in note 2), p. 3).

⁶² *Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco Libri VIII. Iidem Latine, ex interpretatione Laurentii Vallae, ab Henrico Stephano recognita*, [Geneva] 1588, sigs ¶¶1r-¶¶4r.

⁶³ OBL MS Casaubon 11, item 39.

⁶⁴ Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1), pp. 121-22; Diogenes 1593, (as in note 8), unsigned leaf appended to the notes, referring to the discussion on p. 59. Diogenes, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 3.65-66.

⁶⁵ Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1), p. 119; Diogenes 1593, (as in note 8), pp. 58, 59.

⁶⁶ He talks of 'certae notae' which have been omitted by scribes 'quibus auctores uti erant ad designandam mutationem personarum; de quibus accurate disputamus in libro *De critica*' (F. Morel, ed. *Dionis Chrysostomi orationes LXXX ... cum Is. Casauboni Diatriba*, Paris 1604, part 2, p. 38).

once included, an early attempt to reconstruct the contents of one of the lost works of the philosopher.⁶⁷ When Casaubon's prepared the works of Aristotle for publication in 1590, the edition included his Latin translation of Diogenes' *Life of Aristotle*, accompanied by a small number of textual notes.⁶⁸ An appendix contained fragments from lost works of Aristotle, and it was here that the collected fragments of the *Πολιτεῖαι* found a new home.⁶⁹ Casaubon, naturally, had further plans for the fragments of Aristotle. In 1593, Casaubon's revised notes on Diogenes referred his readers to his published collection of fragments, but suggested that it was a forerunner of a more ambitious one.⁷⁰ He published no such work, but the *De critica* may have been envisaged as a home for this work on the fragments of Aristotle.

Some traces of this unpublished treatment of the lost works of Aristotle seem to survive in the Bodleian bifolium. Item no. 22 was later revised by Casaubon to read 'in catalogo Lae. Διδασκαλ[ίαι]'. This cryptic phrase refers to the list of the works of Aristotle recorded in Diogenes' fifth book, and in particular to Aristotle's lost work on the ancient records of the plays staged in Greek cities, the *Didascaliae*.⁷¹ In his *Animadversiones* on Athenaeus, Casaubon devoted one chapter to a brief but remarkable essay on the *Didascaliae*, in which he used ancient scholia to set the term on entirely new foundations. He brusquely dismissed the translation of 'doctrina' usually applied to διδασκαλία, the meaning which appears in Henri Estienne's monumental *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*.⁷² Casaubon instead identified two quite different meanings of the term in antiquity: the first refers to the performance of a

⁶⁷ Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1), pp. 163-66; Diogenes, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 5.27.

⁶⁸ Casaubon, ed. *Operum Aristotelis stagiritae philosophorum omnium longe principis, nova editio, Graece et Latine*, 2 vols, Lyon 1590, II, sigs .:3r-:6r. For Casaubon's role in this edition, see J. Glucker, 'Casaubon's Aristotle', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXV, 1964, pp. 274-96. Casaubon owned an earlier edition: *Aristotelis ... opera quaecunque hactenus extiterunt omnia*, 2 vols, Basle 1550, BL shelfmark 518.m.1.

⁶⁹ Aristotle (as in note 68), 1590, II, sigs EEE2v-EEE3v.

⁷⁰ 'Apparet e fragmentis quae studiosissime sunt a nobis conquisita, nec sine magna voluptate collecta. Eorum nos veluti γεῦμα quoddam nuper exhibuimus: omnia autem aliquando σὺν τῷ Θεῷ edemus' (Diogenes 1593 (as in note 8), part 2, p. 76).

⁷¹ See *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, p. 466, s. v. 'Didaskalia'; G. Jachmann, *De Aristotelis Didascalii*, Göttingen 1909.

⁷² 'Διδασκαλία, ας, ἡ: doctrina, disciplina, instructio' (*Thesaurus Graecae linguae ab Henrico Stephano constructus*, 4 vols, Geneva 1572, I, col. 986). 'Nulla vox est magis usu trita aut notior ista candidatis Graecae literaturae; et tamen paucissimos scio esse qui illam hoc et similibus aliis locis recte sint interpretaturi. Magna sane interpretum hallucinatio qui vertunt ubique "de doctrinis"' (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 260).

play; the second to a written record of when, where, how, and on what occasion the play was performed.⁷³ Casaubon went further by arguing that dramatic productions had been central to the moral and political education of ancient Greek citizens. From these plays, he wrote, they learnt how to speak well, about current events, and about the character of their leading figures. The central role of drama in the life of the πόλις ensured that ‘critici’ have always been concerned to elucidate it. ‘Aristotle’, said Casaubon, ‘was the first such *criticus*, as I have shown elsewhere’.⁷⁴ This ‘elsewhere’, ‘alibi’, appears to allude to *De critica*, and taken in conjunction with the item in the Bodleian bifolium, it seems that Casaubon intended to include some treatment of the *Didascaliae* in *De critica*. The *Didascaliae* was a work which sat on the boundary of the literary and the scholarly, and it was thus an object which Casaubon found congenial: much of his own published work occupied a similar position. In the context of *De critica*, it is worth stressing that Casaubon’s reconstruction of Aristotle’s lost work places the role of the ‘criticus’ at the heart of ancient life by connecting him with the education of the citizen.

Some items in the Bodleian list may be connected to material later published by Casaubon. In addition to the publications already mentioned, he published work on Polybius (no. 13), Theophrastus (no. 14), and Apuleius (no. 30). Casaubon’s many years working on the text of Polybius culminated in an edition and translation in 1609. Although he never published his projected commentary, a portion was printed posthumously in 1617, and large quantities of material survive in the Bodleian, as does his densely annotated printed copy of Polybius.⁷⁵ Theophrastus’ *Characters* were published with an extensive

⁷³ ‘Duobus modis haec vox in hac re solet accipi: primum pro actione ipsa fabulae, et editione, quae dicitur etiam κάθ' ἑσιν. ... Altera significatio vocis διδασκαλία est, cum accipitur pro eo scripto quo explicatur ubi, quando, quomodo, et quo eventu fabula aliqua fuerit acta’ (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 260).

⁷⁴ ‘Studiorum ea fuit quondam ratio ut maxima eruditionis pars in dramaticorum poetarum, ac praesertim comicorum, lectione et intelligentia poneretur. Inde puriorem Hellenismum, inde notitiam eorum quae in republica erant gesta, inde vitam et mores primorum civitatis Atheniensium hauriebant. Itaque ad illustranda huius generis veterum scripta, certatim viri magni contenderunt, iam inde ab incunabulis criticae professionis, sive grammaticae, aut quocumque modo appellare volueris, eam disciplinam quae rectam veterum scriptorum interpretationem profitetur, et divinum Aristotelem, ut docemus alibi, auctorem habet primum’ (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), book 6, cap. 7, p. 260; translation in Bravo (as in note 18), p. 170). See too *Animadversiones* (as in note 20), book 7, cap. 14, p. 332. No note on the *Didascaliae* appears in Diogenes 1583 (as in note 1) or Diogenes 1593 (as in note 8).

⁷⁵ Casaubon, *Ad Polybii Historiarum Librum Primum Commentarii*, Paris, apud Antonium Stephanum, 1617. Among the

commentary by Casaubon in 1592. He annotated a surviving copy of this edition with further material, and a revised edition of 1599 acquired still more.⁷⁶ Casaubon's edition of, and commentary on, Apuleius' *Apologia* was published in 1594.⁷⁷ More often, items on the list can be associated with extant printed books which belonged to Casaubon and which are annotated in his hand. For example, the second item in the list is a set of notes on the ancient Greek Atticist lexicographer Julius Pollux.⁷⁸ We may form some idea of Casaubon's ideas for this chapter from his annotated copy of the Basle edition of Pollux now in Cambridge.⁷⁹ The notes which Casaubon added to this volume caught the eye of his son Meric, who copied them in his own hand after his father's death.⁸⁰ The title page of the printed Pollux has a note in Casaubon's hand, dutifully transcribed by Meric: 'with God's help this book should soon be published with annotations'.⁸¹ Casaubon's notes on Pollux included an eye-catching component which may have featured in plans for *De critica*: a section devoted to animal noises.⁸²

Items 3, 4, 8 and 27 survey the giants of Greek drama, with notes on the tragedies of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus, and the comedies of Aristophanes. Here too we have abundant evidence of Casaubon's engagement with these plays in the margins of his printed books. One volume of the dramatists, belonging to Casaubon's library and annotated in his hand, survives today in Oxford, two annotated volumes are in Cambridge, and a further four are in London.⁸³ There are three items in the

manuscripts, see especially OBL MSS Casaubon 12 and 21; *Polybii ... historiarum libri priores quinque, N. Perotto interprete*, Basle 1549, OBL shelfmark C 8.15 Art.

⁷⁶ 1592, BL shelfmark 525.a.10; 1599, BL shelfmark 1089.h.7 (2). OBL MS Casaubon 11, fols 6-9, 'Notae in Empedoclem, Euripidem et Theophrastum'; *ibid.* fols 72-73, 'variae lectiones in Theophrasti *Characteres*'.

⁷⁷ *L. Apuleii Madaurensis philosophi Platonici Apologia. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, Graeca supplevit, et castigationum libellum adiecit*, [Heidelberg] 1594. Casaubon's commentary is pp. 127-82.

⁷⁸ For the fortunes of the work of Pollux in the early renaissance, see P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529*, Philadelphia 2011, p. 58.

⁷⁹ *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticon: hoc est, instructissimum rerum ac synonymorum dictionarium, decem libris constans*, Basle 1536, Cambridge University Library [hereafter CUL] shelfmark, Adv. c.3.1.

⁸⁰ 'Τὰ τοῦ μ. Is. C. ad oras (et in chartis quibusdam) sui Pollucis, edit. Basil. 1536' (OBL MS Casaubon 34, part 3, 13 leaves).

⁸¹ 'Σὺν Θεῷ brevi edendus hic liber cum castigationibus' (OBL MS Casaubon 34, part 3, fol. 1r).

⁸² OBL MS Casaubon 29, part 3, fols 77-94: 'Notata ad Iulii Pollucis lib. vii c. 13 περὶ φωνῶν ζώων'.

⁸³ In the Bodleian: *Sophoclis tragaediae [sic] septem cum commentariis*, Venice 1502, shelfmark Auct. 2 R 5.5. In Cambridge:

Casaubon manuscripts in Oxford which contain notes on Euripides, and one of these probably dates from the 1580s because it uses the early form of Casaubon's name, 'Hortusbonus'.⁸⁴ A set of notes on Aristophanes, dated January 1593, may have been intended for this section.⁸⁵ Casaubon's work on Aristophanes' *Knights*, and his work on Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, belong to his time in Paris, 1600-1610, but he was advertising a projected edition of Aeschylus as early as 1587.⁸⁶

The number of annotated volumes can be extended. For item number 7 on Callimachus, we can turn to Casaubon's extant annotated copy of Callimachus in Cambridge.⁸⁷ For item 9, we have his annotated

[1] Piero Vettori, ed. *Aeschyli tragoediae VII Scholia in easdem, plurimis in locis locupletata, et in pene infinitis emendata*, [Geneva] 1557, shelfmark Adv. b.3.3. [2] W. Canter, ed. *Aeschyli tragoediae VII*, Antwerp 1580, shelfmark Adv. e.3.2. In the BL: [1] *Henrici Stephani annotationes in Sophoclem et Euripidem Eiusdem Tractatus de orthographia quorundam vocabulorum Sophocli cum caeteris tragicis communium. Eiusdem Dissertatio de Sophoclea imitatione Homeri*, [Geneva] 1568, shelfmark 1067.e.17. [2] *Scholia in septem Euripidis Tragoedias ... nunc primum in lucem edita*, Venice 1534, shelfmark 1067.e.10. [3] W. Canter, ed. *Euripidis tragoediae XIX*, Antwerp 1571, shelfmark 1067.b.18. [4] *Aristophanis comoediae novem*, Basle 1547, shelfmark C.77.g.12.

⁸⁴ OBL MS Casaubon 11, item 3, fols 6-9, 'Notae in Empedoclem, Euripidem et Theophrastum'; ibid. item 35, fols 119-20, 'Nonnulla in Euripidis Medeam, praefatio scilicet et argumentum'; OBL MS Casaubon 25, item 3, fols 12-37, 'Nonnulla ex commentariis in Euripidem'. Casaubon called himself 'Hortusbonus', but several contemporaries mistakenly called him 'Hortibonus': see Pattison (as in note 1), p. 475.

⁸⁵ OBL MS Casaubon 23, fols 81r-85v: 'In Aristophanem observata', dated at the end 26 January 1593.

⁸⁶ The former was published in: L. Kuster, ed. *Aristophanis Comoediae undecim, graece et latine: ex codd. mss. emendatae Accedunt notae virorum doctorum in omnes comoedias; inter quas nunc primum eduntur Isaaci Casauboni in Equites; illustriss. Ezech. Spanhemii in tres priores, et R. Bentleii in duas priores comoedias observationes*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1710, II, pp. 76-103. The notes on *Knights* are in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Lat. 8181, where they are dated to 1601 (fol. 29r). For Casaubon's work on Aeschylus, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Gr. 2791, dated 1610 (fol. 1r); E. Fraenkel, ed. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, Oxford 1950, vol. 1, pp. 62-78; M. Mund-Dopchie, 'Les frères Dupuy et l'*Agamemnon* inédit d'Isaac Casaubon', *L'antiquité classique*, L, 1981, pp. 578-83. Casaubon announced his edition of Aeschylus in his commentary on Strabo: '... quod nos aliquando Deo dante ostendemus quando illum poetam cum nostris Annotationibus edemus' (Strabo (as in note 47), p. 15); 'nos autem, si Deus dederit, in nostra illius poetae editione explicabimus' (ibid. p. 87).

⁸⁷ *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni (cum suis scholiis Graecis) et Epigrammata. Eiusdem poematum De coma Berenices, a Catullo versum. ... Henrici Stephani partim emendationes partim annotationes in quosdam hymnorum locos. Eiusdem duplex interpretatio Hymni primi*, [Geneva] 1577, CUL shelfmark Adv. B.3.3.

copy of Clement of Alexandria in Dublin.⁸⁸ For item 16, on Apollonius of Rhodes, we have Casaubon's annotated copy the edition of 1574, now in Cambridge.⁸⁹ For item 17, on Stobaeus, we have Casaubon's annotated copy in London.⁹⁰ The abundance and richness of this material precludes its study here. Casaubon's notes and marginalia have been plundered by generations of classical scholars looking to improve, or ornament, their editions of ancient works, but they have rarely been studied as a coordinated set of working notes, compiled by an extraordinarily alert reader thinking as he read.⁹¹ We cannot reconstruct the *Observationes* or *De critica* in detail, but Casaubon's notes allow us to form an idea of the texture of the work, and how it took shape in the mind of its author.

For the purposes of this article, a series of marginal notes in the Bodleian bifolium are of particular importance. They show that the *Observationes* acquired a discursive first chapter at a later stage in their development. Alongside the first item in the list, 'Cap. 1', Casaubon has written the word 'argumentum'. In the margin besides this are four notes in Casaubon's smallest hand which seem to relate to the 'argumentum' rather than to any one item on the list. In the first note, he outlines an account of *Critice*: 'On critical judgement; its very ancient origin; its neglect by many of the ancients, who for that reason may fall into great errors. Some examples of these errors, and Cicero in particular'. The second note claims that 'the title of Critic properly belongs to those whom Aristotle calls "educated"'. A third note states 'in these *Observationes* should be explained many more recent Greek words, which are still unknown even to the learned'. A fourth note, difficult to read, speaks again of the works of Cicero.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Clementis Alexandrini Opera quae exstant*, [Heidelberg] 1592, Dublin, Marsh's Library, Stillingfleet Collection. For possible work by Casaubon on Clement, see the letter of Philippe Canaye de Fresnes to Casaubon, 5 June 1593: 'De Clemente quod cogitas, admodum probo et suadeo et rogo' (London, BL MS Burney 364, fol. 64v).

⁸⁹ *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon libri IIII. Scholia vetusta in eosdem libros, ... cum annotationibus Henrici Stephani*, [Paris] 1574, CUL shelfmark Adv. b.3.3.

⁹⁰ *Ioannis Stobei Sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum delectae ... et in sermones sive locos communes digestae, nunc primum a C. Gesnero ... in Latinum sermonem traductae*, Zurich 1559, BL shelfmark 1348.1.1.

⁹¹ For Casaubon's Hebrew studies, we have A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, "*I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue.*" *Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*, Cambridge, MA, and London, 2011.

⁹² [1] 'Cap. 1. De critica. Ortus eius antiquissimus. A multis veteribus neglecta, qui propterea magnos errores incidunt. Aliquot eorum exempla, Ciceronis imprimis, ut 4.425'. [2] 'Proprie illum titulum convenire iis quos Aristoteles πεπαιδευμένους vocat. De eo loquutione Arist. De Victorii expositione aliquot locis [...] expos.'. [3] 'Σημείωσαι. In his Observationibus exponenda

These notes appear to represent late additions to the bifolium, added around the time that Casaubon decided to preface the work with an ‘argumentum’. The notes are closely connected to those in two other sets of manuscript notes, to which we turn now.

4. Casaubon’s notes for *De critica*

The marginalia in the Bodleian bifolium allow two sets of Casaubon’s manuscript notes to be connected to the same project. The first manuscript is a single leaf. **[Fig. 2]** It has been overlooked by cataloguers partly because it is difficult to read, and partly because its central preoccupations are buried beneath numerous later accretions. The leaf is to be found in Casaubon manuscript number 11, numbered by two later hands as fol. 95 and fol. 128. It hides between two unrelated and accurately catalogued items, item 28 (notes on Themistius) and item 29 (notes on Ammianus Marcellinus). Parenty noticed this leaf in 2009, but believed that it was not connected to *De critica*.⁹³ Some, probably all, of these notes were made after 1592, for Casaubon cites Theodoret from a copy of the text printed in that year. Like all of Casaubon’s densely-packed pages of notes, it is a challenge to read.

pleraque vocabula recentiorum Graecorum, quae ignorantur hactenus etiam a doctis’. [4] ‘Σημείωσαι. In Cicerone nonnulla esse ex pollicita[tione], id est, Gr. [...] et in editis totum per[...]um’. The edition of Cicero used by Casaubon has not been identified. Casaubon regularly uses an abbreviation of the Greek word σημείωσαι, ‘note’, to introduce single pieces of information.

⁹³ H. Parenty, *Isaac Casaubon helléniste*, Geneva 2009, pp. 384-87; Parenty, ‘Philologie et pratiques de lecture chez Isaac Casaubon’, *Philologie als Wissensmodell / La philologie comme modèle de savoir*, ed. D. Thouard, F. Vollhardt and F. Mariani Zini, Berlin 2010, pp. 139-164 (145 n.21).

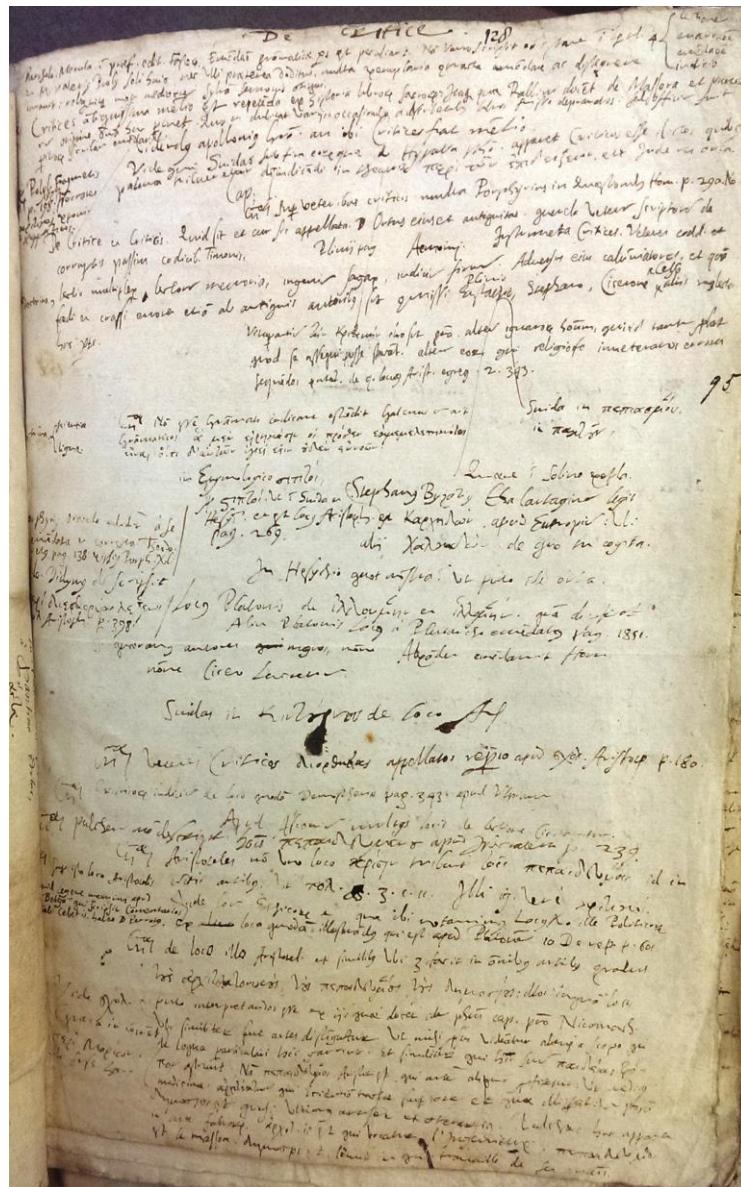


Fig. 2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 11, fol. 95r (with permission).

The second manuscript contains a small collection of notes closely related to the single leaf above. It consists of eight leaves, now Bodleian, Casaubon ms. 23, fols 71r-78v. These leaves were numbered 1-8 by Casaubon himself, but in the current binding the final leaf, no. 8, now occupies the first place. This probably came about through the misfolding, and subsequent misbinding, of the conjoint outermost leaves of the gathering, leaves 1 and 8. This makes more confusing what is already a confusing collection of densely written notes in Greek and Latin. Some notes for the prefatory matter of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus appear in the manuscript, a circumstance which suggests that Casaubon had it with him in

the late 1590s, after he had left Geneva.⁹⁴

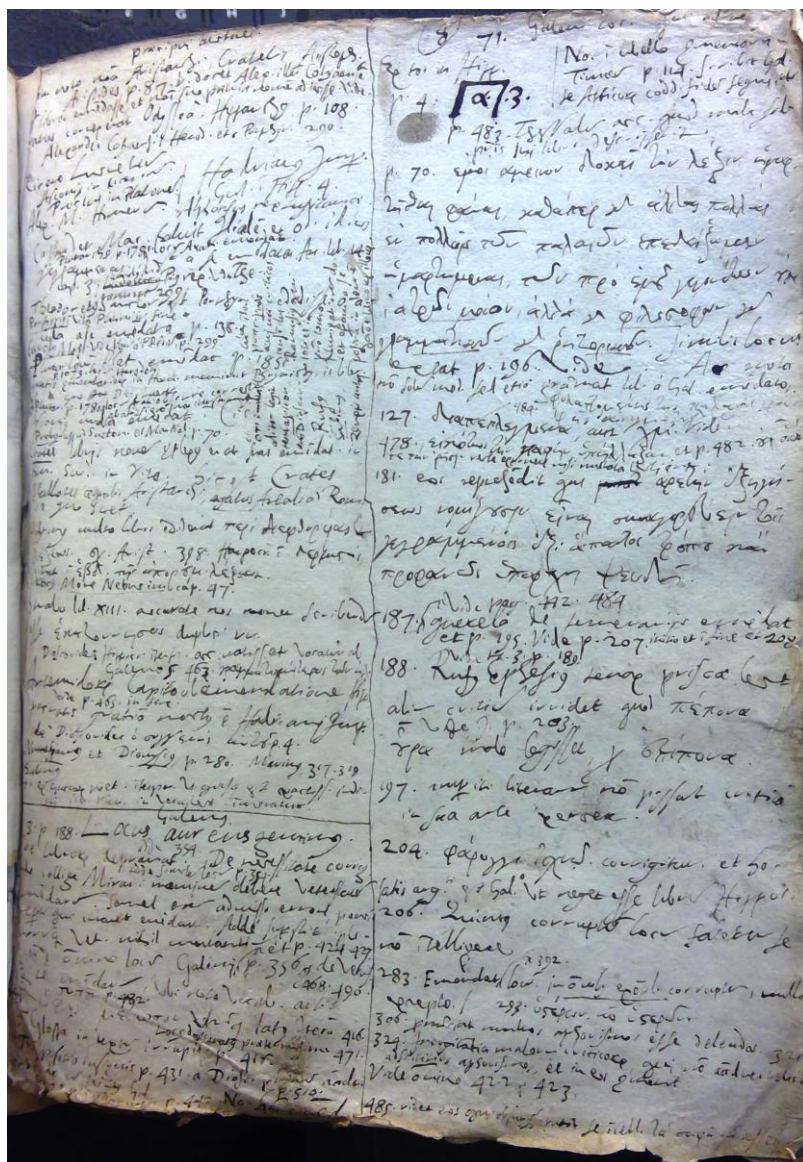


Fig. 3: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 23, fol. 71r (with permission).

A selection of Casaubon's notes from these manuscripts are edited and translated below. For convenience, the first manuscript is labelled [a] and the second [b]. Documents like these pose unusual editorial difficulties. The notes are often rapidly written, many are heavily abbreviated, and some are

⁹⁴ Notes at the top of OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 74r, list the components of the prefatory material for the *Animadversiones* (as in note 20), although much of this material was never published.

grammatically incomplete. Casaubon's notes accumulated in his notebooks over time, and as his papers grew more crowded he added later notes in the spaces available. Sometime he connected later notes to their referents using a line; sometimes a connection between two items is indicated by their proximity on the page; but sometimes two notes sit together simply because that was where a suitably sized piece of blank space presented itself. In these circumstances, it would be misleading to present the notes in the sequence in which they appear in the manuscript.

In the analysis below, I have grouped the notes into categories, and attempted to place them in a sequence Casaubon may have envisaged for them. The division below is based on the identification of three areas which Casaubon wished to address: [1] the definition of *Critice*; [2] the calumniators of *Critice*; and [3] prominent *Critici*. Where the meanings of Casaubon's abbreviations are clear, they have been silently expanded.

5. The definition of *Critice*

Casaubon's *De critica* was to start with a definition of *Critice*, before moving on to a discussion of its origins, and ancient debates about it. His first note reads: 'Chapter one. On *Critice* and on critics. What it is, and why it is so called. Its origin and antiquity. The complaint of the ancients over corrupt manuscripts. Timon. Pliny. Aimoin'.⁹⁵ The words echo those Casaubon wrote in the margin of the Bodleian bifolium examined above, and they connect the two documents to the same project.

The bald references in [a] to Timon, Pliny and Aimoin are explained in [b]. 'Timon' is clarified by a citation in [b] of a passage from Diogenes Laertius. Timon 'asked by Aratus how he might obtain the genuine poetry of Homer, he replied "if you manage to find the ancient copies and not ones already corrected"'.⁹⁶ A note in [b] shows that the reference to Pliny in [a] is to the encyclopedic *Natural History*

⁹⁵ 'Cap. I. De Critice et Criticis. Quid sit, et cur sic appellata. Ortus eius et antiquitas. Querela veterum scriptorum de corruptis passim codicibus. Timonis. Plinii pag. []. Aemoini' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). Casaubon left a space after 'pag.' so that he could insert the page reference later.

⁹⁶ 'Interrogatus ab Arato πῶς τὴν Ὅμηρου ποίησιν ἀσφαλῶς κτήσαιοτο, resp. εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυχάνοι καὶ μὴ τοῖς

of Pliny the Elder: ‘Pliny’s complaint about corrupt books’.⁹⁷ A note on the verso of [a] refers to the same Pliny: no one can be regarded as learned, it claims, who has not read his work from start to finish.⁹⁸ The reference in [a] to ‘Aimoin’ is clarified in [b]. Casaubon, rather surprisingly amid so much classical learning, adduces the words of the medieval monk Aimoin of Fleury (950-1008), author of *De gestis Francorum*: Aimoin had complained of critics who would attribute to the author of a work the errors made by the copyists of his sources.⁹⁹ Casaubon’s annotated copy of Aimoin’s chronicle survives in the British Library, but this passage is unmarked by his pen.¹⁰⁰

We have seen that in 1601 Casaubon asked Scaliger about rabbinic material he could use to illustrate *De critica*.¹⁰¹ The Bodleian manuscripts confirm that Casaubon intended to highlight the prominent position of Hebrew scholarship in the history of *Critice*. Casaubon’s work was to include an examination of Rabbinic literature on the origins of the Hebrew vowel points, and a discussion of the transmission of the Hebrew Bible. ‘For who doubts’, he writes, ‘that its books were distorted at different times by its scribes? But it was the duty of more learned scribes to correct them’.¹⁰² A cryptic note in [b] suggests that Casaubon’s account was to include an unidentified passage from Maimonides’ *Guide for the Perplexed*.¹⁰³ *De critica* was to include a discussion, based on Eusebius of Caesarea, of how the heretical

ἡδὴ διωρθωμένους’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 78r; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, ‘Timon’, 113).

⁹⁷ ‘Plinii de libris corruptis querela. Possunt multi loci notari, ut lib. VI, ubi de Iubae libris loquitur. Item Xiphilini in Ant. Pium de libris Dionis’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71v).

⁹⁸ ‘Dictum sapientis viri et docti confido: Doctus iure haberi nemo potest, qui Plinium non perlegit’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95v).

⁹⁹ ‘Aimoinus monachus in operis praefatione: negligentiam librariorum ad auctorem referent ...’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 78v). The full passage reads: ‘Calumniabuntur in tempora: convertent ordinem, res arguent, syllabas eventilabunt, et (quod accidere plerumque solet) negligentiam librariorum ad auctorem referent’ (Aimoinus, *De gestis Francorum*, Praefatio; J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, vol. CXXXIX, Paris 1853, col. 628).

¹⁰⁰ *Aimoini monachi, qui antea Annonii nomine editus est, Historiae Francorum Lib. V*, Paris 1567, British Library [hereafter BL] shelfmark 1059.c.8.

¹⁰¹ See above, note 26; Hardy (as in note 18), pp. 44-45.

¹⁰² ‘Critices antiquissima mentio est repetenda ex historia librorum sacrorum. Itaque quae Rabbini docent de Massora et punctorum origine omnia huc pertine[n]t. Quis enim dubitat variis occasionibus a scribentibus libros fuisse depravatos? Sed officium fuit peritiorum scribarum emendare’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r).

¹⁰³ ‘Locus More Nebucim cap. 47’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). Casaubon may intend book II, chapter 47, which discusses

theology of Artemon and Paul of Samosata (third century AD) was sustained by deliberately corrupted copies of the Scriptures. Eusebius' account was intended to show that careful collation of extant copies of the Scriptures convicted these heretics of dishonesty and vindicated orthodox theology; but his account inadvertently illustrates the confusing abundance of subtly different copies of the Scriptures circulating in late Antiquity, and shows the profound theological consequences of this confusion.¹⁰⁴ Casaubon must have intended in *De critica* to discuss potentially corrupt passages in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and he must have known that he would not be permitted to publish such a book in Geneva.

Casaubon's notes list the tools of the critic. They are: 'ancient manuscripts; learning; wide reading; a tenacious memory; innate shrewdness, and robust judgement'.¹⁰⁵ We can see how this list was developed and expanded: one of the tools, learning or 'doctrina', is a late addition, added in the margin, and 'doctrina' itself was subsequently subdivided into two categories which correspond to 'scientific learning' and 'rhetorical learning'.¹⁰⁶ For the key term 'emendatio', Casaubon turned to a fragment of a lost work of Varro. Casaubon took Varro's words from an intermediary, Bartolomeo Merula's preface to his edition of Ovid's *Fasti*:

Emendation is a component of grammar. Varro wrote that *Grammatica* 'consisted of four parts: reading, interpretation, emendation, and judgement'. Probus was a dedicated *Grammaticus*. He undertook the correction and clarification of many volumes, and he left many observations on ancient usage.¹⁰⁷

figurative scriptural language.

¹⁰⁴ 'Παραδιόρθωσις librorum sacrorum. Vide Eusebium in *Historia*, p. 57, lib. 5, cap. ult.' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71v). The reference is to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, book V, ch. 28, 13-19.

¹⁰⁵ 'Instrumenta Critices: veteres codices; doctrina; lectio multiplex; lectorum memoria; ingenium sagax; iudicium firmum' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). For the turn of phrase, compare Cicero, *De legibus*, I.22: [homo] 'animal hoc providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, memor, plenum rationis et consilii'.

¹⁰⁶ 'Doctrina: scientiae / linguae' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r).

¹⁰⁷ 'Bartholomaeus Merula in praefatione editionis *Fastorum*: Emendatio grammaticae pars est peculiaris. Nam Varro scripsit eam constare in partibus 4: lectione, enarratione, emendatione, iudicio. Et M. Valerius Probus, soli huic nec ulli praeterea deditus, multa exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere curavit; reliquitque non mediocrem sylvam sermonis antiqui' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). The line from Varro is in Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*, book II (H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. I, Leipzig

Casaubon seems to have planned to discuss objections to Varro's fourfold scheme. We have already seen the discussion of the role of the *Grammaticus* in Casaubon's notes on Athaenaeus.¹⁰⁸ In the notes for *De critica*, he points to an obscure figure in the fragments of Polybius to highlight the close relationship between the *Criticus* and the *Grammaticus* in the ancient world.¹⁰⁹

The ascription to the *Criticus* of Varro's fourth term, *iudicium*, judgement, was contested in Antiquity. Cicero ironically distanced himself from the idea, and Quintilian's studied vagueness on the matter suggests that he is writing cautiously in a controversial area.¹¹⁰ Casaubon's notes for *De critica* record Galen's forthright opinion on the matter: 'Galen showed that it was *not* the job of the *Grammaticus* to judge when he said that *Grammatici* carefully study what earlier writers have said; and that a sensible man will conclude that nothing good comes of them'.¹¹¹ Casaubon must have intended to treat critical judgement in at least three senses in *De critica*: distinguishing the correct reading from among the incorrect ones, distinguishing the genuine works from the spurious, and distinguishing the good from the bad. Casaubon's work, noticed above, on the identity of the author of *Hero and Leander* is an example of the second sense. Casaubon illustrates the third sense in his note on a passage in the Suda Lexicon.

1857, p. 426). Casaubon quotes it from Bartolommeo Merula's preface, first printed in 1508: Ovid, *Fastorum libri diligenti emendatione typis impressae aptissimisque figuris ornate*, Venice 1508, fol. 1v. Casaubon's copy of Merula's work has not been identified. The comments on Probus paraphrase Suetonius, *De grammaticis*, 24.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. [3].

¹⁰⁹ 'Σημείωσαι. Polybii fragmentis p. 197 et 198, Isocrates κριτικός exponi[tur] γραμματικός' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). The reference here is not to the famous Athenian orator Isocrates, but to another Isocrates, mentioned in the fragments of Polybius, *History*, book XXXI, 33, and book XXXII, 2-3. In the first passage he is called κριτικός; in the second he is called γραμματικός. Casaubon's annotated edition of 1549 is in the Bodleian (see above, note 68), but it does not include these fragments. The reference does not correspond to Casaubon's edition of Polybius: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris 1609.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Cicero: 'Ego tamquam criticus antiquus iudicaturus sum utrum sint τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀν παρεμβεβλημένοι' (*Ad familiares*, IX.10.1). Quintilian: 'scribendi ratio coniuncta cum loquendo est, et enarrationem praecedat emendata lectio, et mixtum in his omnibus iudicium est' (*Institutio oratoria*, I.4.2-3).

¹¹¹ 'Non esse Grammatici iudicare ostendit Galenum cum ait Grammaticos ἃ μὲν εἰρήκασιν οἱ πρόσθεν ἐκμελετηκότες εἶναι ὅτι δ' αὐτῶν ὑγιές ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἐννοῶν' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r; Galen, *De optima doctrina*, cap. 3; *Galen de optimo docendi genere liber*, Bonn 1906, p. 8).

Casaubon had, of course, read the famous account in the Suda of the ancient philosopher Hypatia, but in this context he was not interested in Hypatia, but in the coda of the story which explains the role of Isidore of Alexandria as a critic: ‘it seems that *Critici* were learned men who had been granted the privilege of casting judgement in the theatres on literary performances. *Critice* emerged from this’.¹¹² Casaubon is interested in the social context in which literary-critical judgements were made in late Antiquity. His note positions him as an historian of *Critice*: he was not arguing that the *Criticus* should be a judge of what was good, simply demonstrating that he had in fact been regarded as such a judge.

The heart of Casaubon’s position on the role of the *Criticus* seems to have been constructed around Aristotle. In a brief note he says: ‘in several places, Aristotle ascribes judgement to those with a well rounded education. These people are the true *Critici*’.¹¹³ In a much longer note, Casaubon makes use of

¹¹² ‘Vide quae Suidas sub fine eorum quae de Hypatia philosopho. Apparet Criticos esse doctos quibus palma tribueretur diiudicandi in theatris περί τῶν ἐπιδείξεων etc. Inde res orta’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). Casaubon is thinking of this passage: Τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα διηκρίβωτο, καὶ τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων λόγων τε καὶ ποιημάτων κρίσιν ἐποιεῖτο διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τινὶ λογιῇ ἀκροάσει θεάτροις ὀλίγα μὲν ἐπὶ νηὶ τοὺς ἐπιδεικνυμένους, καὶ πάντῃ ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ ἐπαίνῳ· καίρως δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ κατὰ λόγον. Ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ θέατρον, ὡς εἶπεῖν, τῇ ἐκείνου κρίσει γνώμονι διεχρήτο τῶν ἁμεινον ἢ χεῖρον λεγόντων (A. Adler, ed. *Suidae Lexicon*, 5 vols, Munich and Leipzig 1928-1938, IV, p. 645, s. v. Ὑπατία). Isidore of Alexandria ‘carefully distinguished everything, and he gave a more judicious verdict than others on the performances of poems and speeches; and when in the theatres, at some literary recitation, he praised the performances with restraint; and his praise, though very understated, was both timely and proportionate. Consequently, the entire theatre (so to speak) used the judgment of that man as an indication of the better or worse speaker’. Casaubon’s copy of the Suda Lexicon is: *Tò μὲν παρὸν βιβλίον, Σουΐδα*, Basle 1544, Leiden, University Library, shelfmark 759 B 16.

¹¹³ ‘Aristoteles non uno loco κρίσιν tribuit τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις, id [est], in cunctis artibus, ut Πολ. [lib.] 3, cap. ii. Illi igitur vere κριτικοί. Vide locum *Ethicorum* et quae ibi notavimus. Locus vero ille *Politicorum* ex loco quodam illustrandus qui est apud Platonem 10 *De republica*, p. 601’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). For Casaubon’s editions of Aristotle, see note 68. The second reference is to Plato, *Republic*, 10.4 (601.d): Περί ἑκαστον ταύτας τινὰς τρεῖς τέχνας εἶναι χρησομένην, ποιήσουσαν, μιμησομένην. Casaubon used: *Platonis opera quae extant omnia*, 3 vols, [Geneva], excudebat Henr. Stephanus, 1578, 2, p. 601. Casaubon’s own copy of this edition has not been identified. A marginal note seems to relate to this passage: ‘Super isto loco Aristotelis aliquid legere memini apud illum Belgam qui scripsit Commentarios in Tabulam Cebetis. Habet D. Perrotus’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). The work in question is: Justus Velsius, *In Cebetis Thebani tabulam commentariorum libri sex, totius moralis philosophiae thesaurus*, Basle, apud Michaellem Isingrinium, 1551. The passage Casaubon has in mind has not been located. The owner of Velsius’ book was probably Denis Perrot, who was in Geneva in the 1590s and with Casaubon in Montpellier in the spring of 1597: see Botley (as in note 26), index p. 382.

Aristotle to assign a place to the critic in the community of literary craftsmen. First, he says that Aristotle ascribes critical judgement to those who have been educated in all the arts. Second, Casaubon extracts a general threefold division of every art from Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*: the expert or master-craftsman (ἀρχιτέκτων), the well-educated layman (πεπαιδευμένος), and the humble practitioner of the art (which he calls here δημόσιος). To illustrate how Casaubon understands these three categories, he aligns them, now in French, to the architect of a house who conceives its design, the skilled mason who shapes its elements, and the construction worker who assembles its parts.¹¹⁴ Casaubon replaces one of Aristotle's terms, and reorders them in a hierarchy of expertise, but his intention here seems clear: Casaubon sees the critic as an intermediary between the author or creator of a work, and the reader or user of it. In this conception, it is the critic's general education, his polymathic grasp of the bigger picture, which qualifies him for his role. Casaubon's use of Aristotle's categories is unexpected, ingenious, and not what Aristotle intended; but it is a striking attempt to integrate the role of the critic into a broadly conceived intellectual culture.

¹¹⁴ 'De loco illo Aristotelis et similibus, ubi 3 facit in omnibus artibus gradus: τοὺς ἀρχιτεκτονικούς, τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους, τοὺς δημοσίους. Illos, inquam, locos puto interpretandos esse ex iis quae docet idem philosophus capite primo *Nicomachiorum*, ubi similiter fere artes distinguuntur; ut mihi prorsus videantur alieni a scopo qui de logica particulari hic garriunt; et similiter qui hinc suum παιδείας τρόπον astruunt. Nam πεπαιδευμένος Aristotelis est qui artem aliquam profitetur, ut medicus medicinae; ἀρχιτέκτων qui scientiam tractat superiorem et quae illi imperat, ut [fabr]um; δημόσιος est quasi ultimus artifex et operarius. Pulchre hoc apparet in arte fabrorum: ἀρχιτέκτων is est qui vocatur l'ingenieur; πεπαιδευμένος est le masson; δημόσιος est l'ouvrier qui travaille de ses mains' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). Casaubon seems to refer to Aristotle, *Politics*, III.6.10 and *Nicomachean Ethics*, I.3.5. Compare Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, I.1.10-17.

6. The calumniators of *Critice*

Casaubon says in [a] that he intends to include in *De critica* a rebuttal of the critics or ‘calumniatores’ of *Critice*, and to provide examples of ancient writers who have blundered when they neglected to cultivate it. Among those who neglected it, he includes Pliny, Eustathius, Stephanus of Byzantium, Cicero and Celsus.¹¹⁵ He names none of the calumniators of *Critice*.

Casaubon divides the anonymous calumniators into two groups: the genuinely ignorant and the rigidly conservative.¹¹⁶ Casaubon expands upon this portion of the argument in [b] where he writes: ‘I have decided today, God willing, to undertake the argument of the preface’. He then writes a title: ‘Against the slanderers of *Critice*’. This clearly relates to, and expands upon, the item on the ‘calumniatores’ of *Critice* in [a]. Casaubon sets out here the argument of the slanderers: first, that *Critice* is a modern phenomenon; second, that it is useless; and third, that it is a matter for mere grammarians.¹¹⁷ Casaubon subsequently adds a fourth argument against *Critice*: that those who emend texts are motivated by a love of competition and a desire for victory, φιλονεικία.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ ‘Adversus eius calumniatores, et quam foedi et crassi errores etiam ab antiquis autoribus sunt commissi Plinio, Eustathio, Stephano, Cicerone, Celso, aliis, neglecta hac parte’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). The words ‘Plinio’ and ‘Celso’ are both written above the line, indicating that they are later additions to this list. Two notes are connected to this argument on the same leaf by lines. The first reads: ‘Suida in πεπιασμενόν, in πακτοῦν’; the second ‘Quaere in Solino exempla’. For πακτοῦν, see *Suidae Lexicon* (as in note 112), IV, p. 4. The word πεπιασμενόν, an ambiguous participle, has no entry. Casaubon’s annotated copy of Solinus is: *Dionysii Alex. et Pomp. Melae situ orbis descriptio. Aethici cosmographia. C. I. Solini polyhistor. In Dionysii poematum commentarii Eustathii. ... In Melam annotationes Ioannis Olivarii. In Aethicum scholia Iosiae Simleri. In Solinum emendationes Martini Antonii Delrio*, [Geneva] 1577, CUL shelfmark Adv. b.3.4.

¹¹⁶ ‘Vituperantium τὴν κριτικὴν duo sunt genera: alter ignarorum hominum, qui tantum probant quod se assequi posse sperant; alter eorum qui religiose inveteratos errores sequendos putant. De quo, locus Aristotelis egregius 2.343’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). Casaubon seems to refer to Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, II.1, where the contribution of superficial thinkers is evaluated; Aristotle, *Opera quaecunque hactenus extiterunt omnia*, 2 vols, Basle 1550, II, p. 343. For Casaubon’s copy of this edition, see note 68.

¹¹⁷ ‘Constitui hodie, favente Deo, praefationis argumentum sumere. Contra Critices calumniatores. 1. ὅτι hanc q. cal. 2. Rat. eorum ~~Inutilem esse~~ recens [.....] esse. 3. inutilem esse. 4. gramaticorum [sic] autem esse’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 78r).

¹¹⁸ ‘Emendatoribus obiicitur φιλονεικία, quo genere incendii pene eflagravit [sic] Hieronymus accusans Rufino. Vide t. 4. p. 230’

In connection with the first argument, Casaubon plans to quote saint Augustine on the growth of human capacities with time.¹¹⁹ To the second argument, on the uselessness of *Critice*, Casaubon opposes not an idea but an image: ‘We will argue that *Critice* cannot be removed from education any more than the sun can be removed from the universe’.¹²⁰ This is a playful variation on a playful saying ascribed to Socrates and preserved in the anthology of Stobaeus.¹²¹ It shows that Casaubon was not only concerned in these notes with the validity of his argument, but also with the rhetoric of its presentation.

7. Casaubon’s *Critici*

Casaubon’s rhetorical concern to make his treatise appealing appears in other notes. He says that he wants to connect criticism with names his readers would recognise, such as Alexander the Great and the Homeric poems, and Cicero and Lucretius’ famous Epicurean poem *On the Nature of Things*.¹²² In this spirit, he notes, following Athenaeus, that King Cassander of Macedon transcribed Homer in his own hand.¹²³ Casaubon’s commentary on Athenaeus explains why he felt this passage belonged in a discussion of *Critice*. Casaubon believed that Cassander did not just transcribe Homer, but that he corrected the text, as Alexander and Aristotle had done before him.¹²⁴ Casaubon seems not to want to say simply that *Critice*

(OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 78r).

¹¹⁹ ‘Novitatis accusatio facile ref[utatur]. Adde locum Augustini *De civitate Dei*, p. 562: ‘Sicut unius hominis, ita humani generis quod ad Dei populum pertinet, recta eruditio per quosdam articulos temporum tamquam aetatum profecit accessibus ...’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 78r) The reference is to Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, X.14.

¹²⁰ ‘Nos contra exp. οὐτ’ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τὸν ἥλιον, οὐτ’ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας τὴν κριτικὴν ἀρτέον’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 78r).

¹²¹ Stobaeus, III.13.63: Οὐτε ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τὸν ἥλιον οὐτε ἐκ τῆς παιδείας ἀρτέον τὴν παρησίαν.

¹²² ‘Quaeramus autores magnos. Nonne Alexander emendavit Homerum, nonne Cicero Lucretium?’; ‘Apud Asconium multis locis de lectione Ciceronis agitur’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). ‘Cicero Lucretium; Asconius in Ciceronem; Proclus in Platonem; Alexander Magnus Homerum’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r).

¹²³ ‘Cassander Mac. habuit *Iliadem* et *Odysseam* ἰδίως γεγραμμένα [...] Ath. lib. 14’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). The reference is to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIV.620b.

¹²⁴ ‘Puto hoc velle Athenaeum: Homeri poemata a Cassandro fuisse emendata, quemadmodum ante fuerant ab Alexandro et Aristotele. Cassander igitur poesin utramque Homericam habuit non ex publicis et vulgatis codicibus descriptam, sed propria

was a royal and aristocratic activity, but that there was an ancient tradition of its application.

Casaubon's notes indicate that he planned to include a large number of famous names among his ancient *critici*. They are recorded here in chronological order, although this list tends to make Casaubon's scattered notes appear more orderly than they really are. He knew that Aratus (d. c. 240 BC), author of the *Phaenomena*, had corrected the *Odyssey*.¹²⁵ He intended to discuss the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium (d. c. 180 BC), of Aristarchus of Samothrace (d. c. 143 BC), and of Crates of Mallos (fl. 2nd cent. BC).¹²⁶ Casaubon knew of the lost work of Didymus Chalcenterus (d. c. 10 AD) from the scholia on Aristophanes.¹²⁷ He was going to include the Roman grammarian Marcus Valerius Probus (d. 105 AD), the last author discussed in Suetonius' brief work on *Grammatici*.¹²⁸ Plutarch of Chaeroneia (d. after 119 AD) would make an appearance because Plutarch discussed corrections to the text of Plato and to Aratus' *Phaenomena*.¹²⁹ A passage in Porphyry's *Homeric Questions* led Casaubon to consider the grammarian Alexander of Cotiaeum (d. c. 150 AD).¹³⁰ Casaubon evidently intended to discuss Porphyry himself (d. c.

ipsius industria correctos' (*Animadversiones* (as in note 20), p. 564).

¹²⁵ '[Ar]atus correxerat *Odysseam*. Hipparchus, p.108' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). Casaubon consulted: *Hipparchi Bithyni in Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena libri III*, Florence 1567: καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν δὲ διόρθωσε, καὶ καλεῖται τις διόρθωσις οὕτως Ἀράτειος, ὡς Ἀριστάρχειος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνειος (p. 108). Casaubon's copy has not been identified.

¹²⁶ 'Praecipui auctores. [Iam nota] nomina Aristarchi, Cratetis, Aristophanis'; 'Crates libris novem complexus erat suas emendationes in Homerum. Suid. in Vita. Hic est Crates Mallotes, aequalis Aristarchi, legatus Attaliae Rom. de quo Suetonius' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). Casaubon's references are to *Suidae Lexicon* (as in note 112), III, p. 182; Suetonius, *De grammaticis*, 2.

¹²⁷ 'Nota. Didymus olim scripsit περὶ διεφθορίας λέξεως, σχόλια Aristophanis, p. 398' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r); 'Didymus [multos] libros ediderat περὶ διεφθορίας λέξεως, σχόλια Aristophanis, 398' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). For Casaubon's annotated edition of Aristophanes, see note 83. Casaubon underlined the passage on p. 398, and marked it in the margin with a single word: 'Did.'. The *scholium* refers to Aristophanes, *Birds*, 768.

¹²⁸ 'Probus apud Suetonium, et Martialem, p. 70' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r).

¹²⁹ 'Plutarchus p. 1781 locum Arati emendat' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r); 'Platonis locus a Plutarcho emendatus pag. 1851' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r). The page references are to *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae extant opera, cum Latina interpretatione*, [Geneva] 1572. Casaubon's annotated copy is CUL, vols 1-6 only, shelfmark Adv. d.3.8-. Casaubon refers to Plutarch, 'Whether Land or Sea Animals are Cleverer', 967-68, which considers Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 956; and to Plutarch, *Platonic Questions*, 8.2, which considers Plato, *Timaeus*, 42.d.4-5.

¹³⁰ 'Σημείωσαι. Super veteribus criticis multa Porphyrius in *Quaestionibus Homericis*, p. 290' (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r);

305 AD) in two capacities: first, because Porphyry is said to have published a corrected version of the ancient oracles;¹³¹ and, second, because Porphyry described his editorial practices on the work of Plotinus: ‘But now I shall go once more through each book, attempting to insert the punctuation, and correct any verbal errors there may be’.¹³² Finally, Casaubon intended to give a place to Plato’s commentator Proclus (d. 485 AD) as a practitioner of *Critice*.¹³³

It appears that after a survey of ancient *Critici*, Casaubon planned to move on to an account of Italian textual scholarship in the fifteenth century. In this context, he noted that Italians such as Domizio Calderini (d. 1478), had made very poor use of *Critice* to make unwarranted changes to ancient texts. Angelo Poliziano (d. 1494), Casaubon claimed, was the first to complain about such practices in his *Miscellanies*.¹³⁴ The notes which can be certainly connected to Casaubon’s treatise *De critica* say no more

‘Aristides p. 87b docet Alexandrum illum Cotyaensem libros emendasse et nomini suo patriae nomen adiecisse. Alexander Cotyaensis Herod. etc. Porphyry. 290’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). Casaubon’s annotated copy of Homer includes Porphyry’s *Homeric Questions: Opus utrumque Homeri Iliados et Odysseae*, 2 vols, Basle 1541, CUL shelfmark Adv. b.3.1. For the passage, which concerns Philemon of Athens and Alexander of Cotiaeum, see R. Sodano, ed. *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum liber I*, Naples 1970, pp. 35-36. An English translation is in R. Schlunk, *Porphyry: The Homeric Questions*, New York 1993, pp. 31-33.

¹³¹ ‘Porphyrius Oracula edidit a se emendata et correctata. Theodoretus pag. 138 ex ipsius Porphyrii versione’ (OBL MS Casaubon 11, fol. 95r); ‘Theodoretus auctor est Porphyrium edidisse Oracula a se emendata, p. 138’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). Casaubon’s annotated copy is: *Theodoreti Cyrensis Episcopi Graecarum affectionum curatio; seu, Evangelicae veritatis ex Graeca philosophia agnitio. Graece nunc primum ... edita*, [Heidelberg] 1592, Dublin, Marsh’s Library, Stillingfleet Collection. The reference here, p. 138, is to chapter 10, ‘De veris et falsis oraculis’. Theodoret quotes Porphyry’s statement that he did not change the meaning of the oracles he cited, but he corrected faulty words, clarified obscurities, and improved the metre. Casaubon owned and annotated other works of Theodoret: *Theodoriti ... Dialogi tres contra quasdam Haereses. Contra haereticos liber in quo illorum nugae, et fabulas narrat et redarguit. Divinorum dogmatum epitome*, Rome 1547, BL shelfmark 1125.f.2.

¹³² ‘Porphyrii in Vita Plotini in fine’ (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71r). Casaubon refers to the final part of the work, which summarises Porphyry’s editorial work and concludes: Νυνὶ δὲ πειρασόμεθα ἕκαστον τῶν βιβλίων διερχόμενοι τὰς τε στιγμὰς αὐτῶν προσθεῖναι, καὶ εἴ τι ἡμαρτημένον εἴη κατὰ λέξιν διορθοῦν (Plotinus, tr. A. H. Armstrong, 7 vols, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA, 1989, I, pp. 84-85).

¹³³ See above, note 122.

¹³⁴ ‘Critici primi Italorum renatis literis. Observatum dignum est Domitium Calderinum Veronensem et alios Italos nascentibus literis Criticam flagitiosissime exercuisse, cum quidlibet mutarent, supponerent, falsa pro veris impune assererent. Inter primos

about modern *Critici*, but Casaubon's comments elsewhere in his papers indicate that he also had in his sights the work of Francesco Robortello (1516-1567). Robortello had published a short treatise on the method of correcting ancient texts, *De arte, sive ratione, corrigendi veteres authores disputatio*, alongside examples of his principles in practice, *Emendationum libri duo*.¹³⁵ The parallel with Casaubon's plans to add a treatise *De critica* to his own *Emendationum libri* is striking. In his manuscript notes, Casaubon speaks sharply of Robortello's boasting, and of his ungracious attitude to his fellow scholars. He was evidently reading Robortello to discover what he had to say about *Critica*, and he discovered that Robortello did not use the word at all in his treatise, resorting instead to paraphrases: 'nescivit una voce *Criticam* dicere'.¹³⁶ Robortello's avoidance of the word is surely a decision.¹³⁷ Casaubon's own title *De critica* highlights a concept missing from Robortello's treatise: the role and scope of critical judgement.

vidit hoc Angelus Politianus, vir ingenuus, qui in admirabilem praefationem *Miscellaneorum* fuse de hoc queritur; necnon cap. 9, ubi de Domitio Calderino multa' (OBL MS Casaubon 23, fol. 71v).

¹³⁵ Robortello, *De convenientia supputationis Livianae ann. cum marmoribus Rom. quae in Capitolio sunt. Eiusdem De arte, sive ratione, corrigendi veteres authores disputatio. Eiusdem emendationum libri duo*, Padua 1557; G. Pompella, ed. and tr. *Francisci Robortelli Utinensis De arte sive ratione corrigendi antiquorum libros disputatio*, Naples 1975.

¹³⁶ OBL MS Casaubon 27, fol. 179r. For Robortello, see M. Venier, 'Robortello, Francesco', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, LXXXVII, 2016, pp. 827-31; M. Sgarbi, *Francesco Robortello (1516-1567): Architectural Genius of the Humanities*, New York 2020. Casaubon annotated copies of Robortello's edition of Longinus, *On the Sublime*, Basle 1554, BL shelfmark 1088.m.2; and Robortello's edition of Aelian, Zurich 1556, BL shelfmark C.78.e.18. Part of Casaubon's notes on Robortello are in Wolf (as in note 37) pp. 38-39, but Casaubon's extant notes are more extensive (OBL MS Casaubon 27, fols 179r-180v).

¹³⁷ The word is not entirely unciceronian, but it is a little unroman. Cicero's use of 'criticus' in *Ad familiares* (see note 110) is recorded in the dictionary of Ciceronian usage compiled by Marius Nizolius (1498-1576) and regularly reprinted.

8. Johannes Woverius and Casaubon's *De critica*

It has long been suspected that Johannes Woverius' treatise *De polymathia*, published in 1603, plagiarised Casaubon's *De critica*.¹³⁸ In 1665 Jakob Thomasius (1622-1684) assessed the available evidence and acquitted Woverius.¹³⁹ In the absence of Casaubon's treatise, the charge has been difficult to confirm or refute; but now that we have some idea of the content of Casaubon's treatise, and some evidence unavailable to Thomasius, it may be reassessed.

Casaubon wrote two extant letters to Leiden on 29 June 1604 about Woverius' *De polymathia*. One was addressed to Petrus Scriverius, who had evidently urged Casaubon to publish *De critica*. Casaubon replied that he did not have time to complete the work, in part because some passages which deal with Scripture were delicate. Casaubon noted that *De polymathia* covered some but not all of the ground he intended to cover in *De critica*.¹⁴⁰ On the same day, Casaubon addressed another letter to Scaliger. A substantial passage from this letter was censored on its first publication in 1638, and the censored text was reprinted in subsequent editions. When Scaliger's complete correspondence was published in 2012, the censorship also passed unnoticed, but a manuscript in Leiden allows the passage to be restored here. In the suppressed passage, Casaubon wrote to Scaliger as follows:

For you have seen that it was the argument of one part of our treatise *De critica*. Many years ago, I

¹³⁸ Woverius, *De polymathia tractatio. Integri operis de studiis veterum ἀποσπασμάτων*, [Hamburg] 1603. The leaves printed in 1603 were reissued under a new title page in 1604. For the contents of the work, see L. Deitz, 'Ioannes Wower of Hamburg, Philologist and Polymath: A Preliminary Sketch of his Life and Works', this *Journal*, LVIII, 1995, pp. 132-51 (142-51).

¹³⁹ J. Thomasius, ed. *Ioan. a Wower De polymathia tractatio: integri operis de studiis veterum ἀποσπασμάτων. Editio nova*, Leipzig 1665, sigs a2r-b1v.

¹⁴⁰ 'Quod me adeo obnixe rogas ut *De critica* quae polliciti sumus publicemus, agnosco etiam in eo affectus tui vehementiam. Neque enim eiusmodi nostra sunt, quorum causa vos docti vadimonia deseratis. Illa autem lucubratio peculiarem habet difficultatem, cum et spinosa sit tota, et quaedam in eo contineantur liberiorius adversus eos disputata, qui scelere immani de Sacra Pagina audent detrahare. Adde quod otium desiderat adhuc is noster foetus, si volumus ὑπηνέμιον eum non esse. Laetatus sum nuper, cum viderem Ioannem Wouwerium, iuvenem eruditissimum, ex parte idem argumentum suscepisse tractandum: magis vero laetatus essem, si, quae paramus omnia, essent ab illo occupata, ut legitimam occasionem haberemus supersedendi ab eo labore' (Casaubon (as in note 2), no. 400, p. 213; autograph London, BL MS Harley 4935, fols 81r-82v, no. 56).

had the entire mass collected together in certain papers, which I know Woverius transcribed. He did so with my permission: I gave him the key to my study while I was away for many months so that he could make that catalogue of my books which I still have in his hand. But he seems to have wanted to improve on my work; and I am glad if he has succeeded. I can confirm that he now has outlines of all the works I have ever announced. I am not aggrieved, but there are some works which I would rather were published only by me, in particular my *De coloribus* which cost me much labour¹⁴¹

The circumstances mentioned here belong to the late 1590s, when Woverius stayed with Casaubon in Montpellier. Woverius was certainly there from November 1597 until his departure for Paris on 19 June 1598.¹⁴² *De critica* must have been extant in some form at this date: Casaubon could not have suspected Woverius of copying the treatise had it not been available in his study in Montpellier.

The recovery of this passage in Casaubon's letter has enabled a further discovery: the catalogue which Woverius compiled in Casaubon's study in Montpellier survives among the manuscript catalogues bound together in the bibliographical collection discussed above.¹⁴³ This document is in Woverius' hand, and it provides us with a snapshot of a portion of Casaubon's library at a pivotal moment in his career. It was made in connection with the transportation of the books for Casaubon's departure from Montpellier to a new post, presumably in Paris.¹⁴⁴ The books are gathered in thirteen packages or 'basles', and

¹⁴¹ 'Nam vidisti id erat argumentum partis unius nostrorum *De critica* commentationum. Ante multos annos totam ὅλην congestam habemus [*sic*] in scidis quibusdam, quas scimus Woverium descripsisse; quod nobis volentibus ab illo factum, per multos cum menses cum museo exhibamus illi clavem tradebamus ut nostrorum librorum catalogum efficeret, quem eius manu conscriptum habemus. Sed videtur nostra voluisse meliora facere; quod si assecutus est, laetor. Hoc vero possum affirmare: omnium librorum quos unquam promisimus τὴν ἱερογραφίαν penes illum iam esse. Neque id moleste fero; quaedam sunt tamen quae ab alio quam a me edi nolim, in primis *De coloribus* operosissima commentatio cuius sylvam congestam pridem habeo, imo vero iam habemus. Moror te' (Leiden, University Library MS Gro. 55, fols 62v-63r). For the rest of the letter, see Botley and Van Miert (as in note 27), V, pp. 356-59.

¹⁴² 'XIII Kal. Iul. [1598] Mane summo surreximus ob discessum amplissimi viri Iohannis a Wouveren et alterius nobilis eius comitis. Deus illis benedicat' (*Ephemerides* (as in note 14), I, p. 95).

¹⁴³ OBL MS Casaubon 22, fols 60r-63v.

¹⁴⁴ Casaubon added a note at the top of the list, apparently after its completion: 'Catalogue des livres qu'ay fait emporter partant

Woverius was apparently making a list of the books as he packed them. In the twelfth container, Casaubon put all his manuscript papers, making a note to this effect in his own hand in Woverius' list.¹⁴⁵ The rest of the catalogue continues in Woverius' hand, so it appears that the two men were together at this point, and it appears that Casaubon intervened to take careful charge of his manuscript papers, probably including his manuscript of *De critica*. This note may indicate that Casaubon did not entirely trust Woverius with his manuscripts.

Casaubon's caution is consistent with a Latin letter Woverius wrote from Montpellier to his friend Heinrich Lindenbrog on 1 January 1598: 'I am staying with Casaubon, whom you know to be the most learned man of our age ...; I would call him the most generous too were it not that he maintains that some scholarly matters should not be shared'.¹⁴⁶ This is a gently phrased criticism of Casaubon's attitude to his unpublished work, and Woverius turns to a Greek word at the moment of maximum delicacy: ἀκοινώνητον, 'unshared'. We can be sure that Woverius took a keen interest in Casaubon's unpublished work, that Casaubon was aware of this interest, and that it made him cautious around Woverius. Woverius had undoubtedly seen a draft of *De critica* by 1599, but the work by Casaubon outlined above bears little resemblance to the work published by Woverius in 1603.

9. Conclusion

This new evidence allows a history of Casaubon's *De critica* to be outlined for the first time. The work was a development of his earlier collection of critical commentaries known collectively as the *Observationes*. The *Observationes* had been projected for publication as early as 1583, but they did not emerge, and instead they continued to evolve alongside Casaubon's studies over the following decade. In

de Montpellier' [*sic*] (OBL MS Casaubon 22, fol. 60r).

¹⁴⁵ 'La 12 Basle. Elle contient tous les papiers miens et autres de mon estude. Item plusieurs ms grecs. Item plusieurs livres imprimés comme Inscriptiones Antiq. etc.' (OBL MS Casaubon 22, fol. 63r).

the late 1590s Casaubon reconceived the *Observationes* as the *De critica*, and began to compose an ambitious treatise to introduce the chapters of his *Observationes*. The document which Wolf saw in Oxford in the eighteenth century is an incomplete record of this reorientation. The surviving notes for *De critica* suggest that Casaubon's treatise was primarily a history of textual criticism, rather than a manual of how to be an effective textual critic, and that it made ground-breaking use of the ancient scholia on Greek poetry. *De critica* was extant in some form by 1599, and Casaubon speaks of it as of a work in an advanced state in his commentary on Athenaeus in 1600. Casaubon mentioned the work regularly as an ongoing project over the next five years while he was in Paris, but it seems that he did not speak of it at all after 1605. His reasons for abandoning the treatise are unclear, but the break with this earlier phase of his studies seems to have been decisive. Casaubon's extant letters from his final years have recently been located and published, and we can see that he used the word 'critica' and its cognates just four times in his letters of the years 1610-1614, twice in a stock Greek phrase, and twice in the very limited sense of 'critici' as hostile commentators.¹⁴⁷ The absence of the word from the letters of the period seems to be a choice rather than an accident. Whatever Casaubon felt he was doing in England in his detailed commentary on the historical work of Cesare Baronio, he chose not to call it 'critice' in his letters.

¹⁴⁶ 'Ego apud Casaubonum haereo, quem noris doctissimum nostri aevi esse ...; addo humanissimum, nisi quod optime servet in studiis esse quid ἀκοινώνητον' (autograph Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek MS Supellex epistolica 102, 2^o, fol. 2r; *Ioannis Wowerii epistolarum centuriae II*, Hamburg [1619], cent. 2, no. 27, pp. 264-65).

¹⁴⁷ Botley and Vince (as in note 36), II, pp. 29, 480; III, p. 173; IV, p. 56 (1611 11 27, 1612 06 25 and 1612 10 31, to De Thou; 1613 08 19, to P. Dupuy).