A first stumbling step toward Ancient Greek dialectology in Western Europe.

An edition and brief discussion of Johann Reuchlin's *De quattuor Graecae linguae differentiis libellus* (1477/1478)*

<div align="right">

Si te tot Graiae terrent idiomata linguae,
haecque, uelut Tiphys naufraga saxa, fugis?
Aude animo et fidens hunc delibato libellum:
scilicet, et Pollux et tibi Castor erit.

If the so many idioms of the Greek language terrify you,
and you flee them, as Tiphys flees shipwrecking rocks,
have courage in your mind and enjoy this booklet confidently;
undoubtedly, it will be both Pollux and Castor for you.

Millangius' epigram to Baïllius' 1588
De Graecorum dialectis libellus

</div>

It is widely known that the Ancient Greek language was dialectally utmost fragmented, to which both the existence of canonical-literary dialects and inscriptional evidence testify. This plurality of dialects has also been variously approached and interpreted by Early Modern scholars, who focused on the literary varieties.[1] The first Western European attempt at a discussion of the main Ancient Greek speech varieties is to be ascribed to the Pforzheimer Humanist Johann(es) Reuchlin (Greco-Latinized also Ioannes Capnion; 22 February 1455–1522). However, his *De quattuor Graecae linguae differentiis libellus* (from here on referred to as *Libellus*) turned out to be no more than a Latin rendering of a Byzantine Greek treatise of questionable quality, even though he made every effort to make his *opusculum* look like a compilation rather than a mere translation of his (probably lost) manuscript model. A closer look at the work will not only allow to clarify its historical context and its genesis (section 1.), but also to point out some terminological tendencies in Humanist discourse on 'dialects' (2.3.). In addition, some elements of Förstel's (1999) discussion of the work need to be relativized (2.3.). Sections 2.1.-2.2. offer a new edition of the dedicatory letter and of the *Libellus*, which takes into account an earlier and not yet investigated manuscript.

[1] Contrast e.g. Claudius Salmasius' (1588–1653) view on 'dialects' as speech varieties proper to a certain nation and region (most notably in his 1643 *De Hellenistica commentarius*) with Petrus Antesignanus' (ca. 1525–1561) additional focus on register variation in his 1554 commentary on Nicolaus Clenardus' (1493/1495–1542) Greek grammar.

1. Reuchlin's *Libellus*: context and genesis[2]

After his studies with a number of pupils of Gregory Tifernas (1414–1464) in Paris (1473–1474) and with Andronicus Contoblacas (*fl.* in the 1450s–1470s) in Basel (1474–1477), Reuchlin returned to Paris where he continued his study of Greek with the Spartan George Hermonymus (ca. 1430–ca. 1509).[3] In 1477, a 'didactic turn' occurred, incited by his former teacher Contoblacas[4] and evidenced by his authorship of two brief grammatical writings.[5] Only the chronologically first booklet, our *Libellus* on the Greek 'dialects', survives (1477/1478), while the other writing, a (probably) brief grammar entitled *Micropaedia* (Μικροπαιδεία; composed in Poitiers between 1479 and 1481), is known solely through two brief comments.[6] The *Micropaedia* was more than likely based on book one of Theodore Gaza's (ca. 1400–ca. 1475) grammar, so that its importance mainly lies in the fact that it was the first Greek grammar written by a Western European, only preceded by Roger Bacon (1214/1220–ca. 1292).[7] A similar credit may be accorded to his *Libellus*, the very first Western treatise on the Greek dialects.[8] Thus, in the light of the fact that before 1500 barely any Greek grammatical writings were produced outside of Italy,[9] it is remarkable to find that the first Western treatise on the Ancient Greek 'dialects' was written at such a comparatively early stage and – moreover – in non-Italian territory. However, Reuchlin's *Libellus* has exclusively received negative evaluations. The contents have been described as disappointing, a verdict most elaborately substantiated by

---

[2] The history of Ancient Greek dialectology in Western Europe has not yet attracted much attention from contemporary scholars. This aspect of Early Modern language studies, although at least dating back to a Parisian winter night of 1477/1478, suffers from several research lacunas. I am aiming to partially meet these lacunas through my PhD research on the twin concepts 'language' and 'dialect', with special reference to the Ancient Greek background, which is funded by the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO). Johann Reuchlin's Greek studies and grammar works have received due attention in some recent publications (mainly Förstel 1999, who also pays attention to the *Libellus* and its sources on pp. 51-56 – cf. *sub* 2.3., and Botley 2010: 31-33; see also Wyss 1970: 273-275 and Preisendanz 1994: 58-60; for biographical information, consult, among others, Geiger 1871; Scheible 1987; Cizek 1997; Pätzold 2005). Largely drawing on these accounts, I will try to cast more light on the coming into being of the *Libellus*.

[3] Cf. Pagliaroli (2002) for Trifernas, Monfasani (1990) for Contoblacas, and Omont (1885) and Irigoin (1977) for Hermonymus. The latter used his own grammar in his teaching, which largely derives from Manuel Chrysoloras' (ca. 1355–1415) grammar (finished by 1406; cf. Botley 2010: 7-12), but which is also influenced by the grammar of the anti-Roman Catholic George Scholarios (Gennadius II; ca. 1400–ca. 1473; Förstel 1999: 48).

[4] Contoblacas exhorted Reuchlin in 1477 to teach Greek, so that 1477 may be seen as the start of his career as a teacher of Greek. See Contoblacas' 1477 letter to Reuchlin in Legrand (1892: 238): "[…] magnopere optamus atque hortamur ut alios Graecas litteras edoceas, quod multum conducet."

[5] Cf. Preisendanz (1994: 60-61) and Cizek (1997: 670). He also wrote a booklet with elementary Greek conversations (cf. *infra*).

[6] The first comment can be found in his 1506 Hebrew grammar (pp. 2-3): "Simul enim et didici Latinorum iura et docui Graecorum praecepta, de quibus tunc artem grammaticam Graece conscripsi cui titulus extabat Μικροπαιδεία, id est *Micropaedia*. Eam anno post Pictonibus Galliae Aquitanis publice legi atque illic in iure ciuili cathedram merui." See also Förstel (1999: 46) and Botley (2010: 31-32). The second testimony appears in a 1512 letter to Jakob Lemp. See Reuchlin (1875: 174): "Quare pio amore ductus, cum antea docuissem multos in Graecis literis, et per grammaticam artem, cui titulum inscripsi *Micropaedia*, dolauissem quicquid potui, nouissime ad decorum et splendorem sacratissimae theologiae et theologicorum uirorum utilitatem, ipse ego totam linguam Hebraicam primus omnium in literis, in dictionibus et regulis collectiue, legibus mancipaui Latinis."

[7] Bacon's *Grammatica Graeca* is edited in Nolan-Hirsch (1902). Cf. also Botley (2010: 32).

[8] While Bacon did not produce a whole writing on this topic, he did pay much attention to the concept of 'dialect' (*idioma*) as opposed to 'language' (*lingua*; see e.g. Lusignan 1986: 62-77), which was possibly triggered by his knowledge of Greek (cf. Van Rooy forthcoming a).

[9] Cf. Geanakoplos (1962: 4) and Alinei (1984: 171, note 9).

Förstel (1999). In what follows, I will briefly discuss this commonly accepted negative evaluation of Reuchlin's *Libellus*,[10] taking into account the historical circumstances in which he operated.

The historical setting of the composition of the *Libellus* is the Parisian winter of 1477/1478.[11] The *terminus ante quem* seems to be 8 February 1478, when Hermonymus – writing from Paris – sent a letter to Reuchlin (see Hermonymus in Geiger 1875: 5), probably indicating that Reuchlin already left Paris for Orléans.[12] Although Reuchlin's later pupils – most notably Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), who wrote a Greek grammar himself – praised his knowledge of Greek unanimously and Reuchlin himself indeed played an important role in the development of Humanist Greek studies, one must not forget that, in 1477/1478, he was very young (only 22) and rather unexperienced, still polishing his Greek knowledge.[13] Moreover, it is not inconceivable that he only perfected his Greek competence once he studied in Italy with, among others, Ioannes Argyropulus (1415–1487) and Demetrius Chalcondyles (1423–1511),[14] all the more since the reputation of Hermonymus as a teacher of Greek was not unequivocally positive.[15] Reuchlin, however, seems to have valued his teacher highly. Moreover, his Greek handwriting also seems to be influenced by Hermonymus (Förstel 1999: 50).

Adequate grammar books were also scarce at that time (if not absent in Northern Europe; see Botley 2010: 120) and the earliest grammatical writing he seems to have owned was Gaza's grammar, which he acquired in February 1478 from Hermonymus.[16] Furthermore, the first book containing a more or less systematized account of Greek dialectological data was only printed in 1488 as part of the Florentine *editio*

---

[10] See also Geiger (1871: 100): "Erhalten ist nur die kleine, schon von Tritheim erwähnte Schrift: über die vier Idiome des Griechischen, die aber höchstens als Zusammenstellung der Ansichten der alten griechischen Schriftsteller eine Bedeutung beanspruchen darf [...]."

[11] A passage in the dedicatory letter accompanying the *Libellus* points to this direction (l. 10: "cum apud Pariseos in Galliis hiemarem"). Botley (2010: 31-33 & 179, note 348) fails to date it, whereas Saladin (2000: 320) erroneously assigns it to 1518 (cf. Pontani 2002 for a critical assessment and correction of other elements of Saladin's monograph). Geiger (1875: 25, note 2) already dated it correctly (see also Morneweg 1887: 129, Wyss 1970: 275, Preisendanz 1994: 59, and Förstel 1999: 51).

[12] Cf. Geiger (1871: 19) and Botley (2010: 31).

[13] Cf. Förstel (1999: 45 & 56) and Botley (2010: 45-47). It has been pointed out that, despite the appraisals of his Greek knowledge, Reuchlin authored only a limited number of Greek-related writings (Förstel 1999: 45).

[14] See Reuchlin (1875: 96-97): "Sicut enim non apud Ionas neque ulla in Graecia, sed Basileae primum ab Andronico Contoblaca, deinde Parisiis a Georgio Hermonymo Spartiate, post Romae ab Argyropylo publice in Vaticano Thucydidem legente Xysto IV. Pont., ad extremum Florentiae Mediolanique a Demetrio Chalcondyle Graecorum linguam frustillatim et quasi micas de mensa domini cadentes accepi, connumerarem illis Hermolaum Barbarum Innocentio, insignem et mei amantissimum, nisi plus ex eo Romae Latinitatis quam Graecitatis hausissem, [...]." It seems clear that Reuchlin considered his Parisian study to be only the second stage of his study of Greek, being conscious of his gradual progress ("frustillatim"). Moreover, Hermonymus himself praises Reuchlin's advancement (see Hermonymus in Geiger 1875: 5).

[15] See Förstel (1999: 49) for the rather depreciatory comments on Hermonymus by his former students Desiderius Erasmus (1466/1467/1469–1536) and Guillaume Budé (1467–1540).

[16] See Preisendanz (1994: 60) and Botley (2010: 178, note 343); cf. *supra*. At the end of his life, Reuchlin had many grammar books in his possession (see Preisendanz 1994: 60 and Botley 2010: 32-33 for an overview; I only mention the most important ones). He owned Gaza's grammar in manuscript form (acquired from Hermonymus in February 1478, as mentioned above; not February 1479 as Förstel 1999: 51 has). Moreover, we know that his library contained the 1480 Milan edition of Constantine Lascaris' (1434–1501) grammar. He also possessed the 1495 Aldine edition of that same grammar (see Botley 2010: 30 & 32). However, the only grammar he seems to have used in his classes – apart from his own *Micropaedia* – is that of Chrysoloras (Botley 2010: 33).

princeps of Homer.[17] Due to this scarcity of printed source material, Reuchlin had to rely on the kind of material which he could lay hands on during the Parisian winter of 1477/1478, *i.e.* manuscripts. It is, however, very unlikely that he had many Greek manuscripts at his disposal, since these were still scarce and largely restricted to Italy, where they were being recovered from the Greek-speaking confines of southern Italy or being imported by Byzantine scholars. Moreover, the quality of some of them was all but satisfactory, which indeed seems to have been the case with Reuchlin's manuscript model for his *Libellus*.[18] In addition, the very subject matter – linguistic variation within Greek – was bound to be blurred by the inherent variability of manuscript texts.

We may conclude that it was not an easy task for Reuchlin to deliver a pioneering dialectological treatise, since Greek studies were only starting to boom in the Western Europe of 1477/1478. Nevertheless, certain particularities of the *Libellus* do seem to reveal some of the restrictions of Reuchlin's knowledge of Greek, since, when one takes into account both extant manuscripts, some shared faults clearly surface.[19] Whereas it is very likely that Reuchlin's (probably lost) *Vorlage* already exhibited (some of) these mistakes, it is still telling that he was not able to correct them.[20]

This brings us to the dedicatory letter, which sheds light on the way Reuchlin himself conceived – or rather pretended to conceive – of his *opusculum*. After having compared his small gift to Dalberg with all kinds of sacrifices from the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew traditions (ll. 3-9), he claims to have collected it from a number of Greek grammarians (ll. 10-12: "ex plerisque praeclaris auctoribus, Planudem dico et Georgium Choeroboscum Theodoretumque ac alios grammaticos, collectam"), "when he was overwintering in Paris" (cf. *supra*). However, section 2.3. will reveal that it cannot be much more than a Latin translation of a Greek original. He presents it as a *lucubratiuncula* ('a nocturnal study'), a topos among Humanist scholars.[21]

The *Libellus* is in both manuscripts preceded by a work entitled *Quotidiana colloquia Graeca* along with the dedicatory letter accompanying it.[22] Apart from the fact that it bears some similarity to the *Libellus*, in that both booklets are translations rather than original contributions to Greek learning, this writing is not relevant to our main thread.[23] The Stuttgart manuscript (B) also contains a letter in questionable Greek,

---

[17] It concerns pseudo-Plutarch on the 'dialects' included in the *Vita Homeri* (cf. Homerus 1488: BIII[V] *et sqq.* and Van Rooy forthcoming b). For the *editio princeps* of Gregory of Corinth's (Gregorius Pardus; 11th/12th centuries AD) *De dialectis*, we have to wait until 1493/1494 (Xhardez 1991: II, 61-62; Botley 2010: 121). Unless mentioned otherwise, passages from and titles of Ancient Greek and Byzantine works are taken from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* online database.
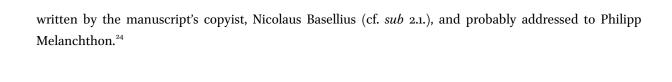
[18] Cf. *sub* 2.3. and Förstel (1999: 52-53).

[19] Cf. *sub* 2.2.-2.3. Thus, the corrupted dialectal forms are not merely to be attributed to Basellius' bad Greek knowledge (*pace* Förstel 1999: 51-52).

[20] He was not even able to do so later on, in 1489, when he probably sent his *Libellus* to the bishop of Worms, Johann Kämmerer/Kemmer von Dalberg (Ioannes Camerarius Dalburgius; 1455–1503), his friend and patron. On Dalberg, see Morneweg (1887), Guenther (1985), and Walter (2005). Cf. also Geiger (1871: 100), Wyss (1970: 273), Pätzold (2005: 30), and Walter (2005: 110). Many Humanist scholars, among whom the Frisian Rodolphus Agricola (Latin alias of Roelof Huusman; 1443/1444–1485), frequented his court in Heidelberg. In December 1497, after having sent two invitations to Reuchlin, Dalberg managed to get him to Heidelberg, where he became Palatine councilor (Guenther 1985: 374).

[21] See l. 12: "non sine insigni perseuerantia totas ad lucernam noctes lucubraui." Cf. also Erasmus' 1509 *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* and Preisendanz (1994: 60).

[22] Cf. Wyss (1970: 274 *et sqq.*) and Walter (2005: 111, note 94). The *Colloquia* – a collection of Greek conversations, which Reuchlin compiled and translated into Latin, but of which he is not the author – are edited by Horawitz (1884: 441-445) and Wyss (1970: 282-287). The dedicatory letter preceding this work is edited by Geiger (1875: 23-24).

[23] Thus, Botley's (2010: 32) statement that Reuchlin's first Latin translation of a Greek work dates from 1488 cannot be maintained. The *Libellus* proves that he was already translating Greek in 1477/1478, even though he did not present it as such.

written by the manuscript's copyist, Nicolaus Basellius (cf. *sub* 2.1.), and probably addressed to Philipp Melanchthon.[24]

---

[24] See Förstel (1999: 52). The address of the letter goes as follows, rendered diplomatically: "Νικόλαος ὁ βασέλλιος μοναχος ἡρσαοῦγένσις τῶ φιλιππω συνφιλόσοφω εὐπραττεῖν [Nicolaus Basellius, monk from Hirschau, [wishes] welfare to Philipp, his colleague-philosopher]".

2. *Editio critica* and discussion

In spite of the fact that both the dedicatory letter and the *Libellus* already have been published during the last decades of the 19th century,[25] a modern critical edition seemed necessary for several reasons. First, the editions of both Geiger (1875) and Horawitz (1884) are based on only one manuscript (B), even though Geiger (1875: 25) clearly knew of the existence of the Basel manuscript (A). Second, Horawitz' (1884) edition is not a critical, but a diplomatic one.[26] Third, the *Libellus* has not yet been published along with the dedicatory letter to Dalberg; yet, their joint presence in both manuscripts clearly indicates that these two texts were perceived as one ensemble. Fourth, a closer examination will allow me to correct some textual errors in these two editions (which have been included in the *apparatus criticus* – for the *sigla*, cf. *sub* 2.2.2.). Apart from these 'editorial' motivations, the contents of the *Libellus* also call for more attention, as will be clear from the discussion *sub* 2.3.

2.1. Testimonies

Walter (2005: 111, note 94) mentions two extant manuscripts:

(A) the earlier manuscript (dating from March 12, 1498) is currently preserved in the *Universitätsbibliothek* in Basel, Switzerland (F VI 54, ff. 35^V-42^V). It was copied by Johannes Drach (Ioannes Draco Spirensis), probably the son of the printer Peter Drach (see Scarpatetti 1977: 264);

(B) the later manuscript (dating from September 1, 1508) is currently preserved in the *Württembergische Landesbibliothek* in Stuttgart, Germany (*Codices poetici et philologici 4°*, 76, ff. 6^R-9^R). It was copied by the monk Nicolaus Basellius, for whom, see Irtenkauf (1962).

However, there appears to have been a third manuscript, which carried the title "De diuersitate quattuor idiomatum linguae Graecae Li. I." and which was in the library of the *Jakobskloster* in Mainz, since it is mentioned in Wolfgang Trefler's catalogue (completed in 1512).[27] The entry on Reuchlin in Trefler's catalogue is written in 1511 and is clearly inspired by Ioannes Trithemius' (Latin alias of Johann Heidenberg; 1462–1516) catalogue of ecclesiastical writers (1494: 133^V), where mention is made of Reuchlin's "De diuersitate quattuor idiomatum Graecae linguae Li. I.".[28]

---

[25] In Geiger (1875: 24-25) and Horawitz (1884: 445-450) respectively.

[26] Cf. Wyss (1970: 273), where it is stated that the treatise is printed "fast unverändert". The spelling has not been made uniform and the Greek forms are not spelled or accentuated correctly. They are rendered as Horawitz found them in manuscript B. I have corrected them on the basis of related texts mentioned in Hoffmann (1891-1898: II, 204-222 & III, 197-212) and Bolognesi (1953) and printed in Manutius (1496: 235^R-245^V [reprinted in Consani 1991]), Schneider (1894), and Cengarle (1971). See also the *Scholia Londinensia* (*partim excerpta ex Heliodoro*), which are part of the *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem grammaticam* (cf. *sub* 2.2.1.).

[27] This catalogue is edited by Schillmann (1913; see p. 143). Cf. also Christ (1924: 30, note 2).

[28] Trithemius was a member of the *Sodalitas litteraria Rhenana*, a Humanist circle to which Reuchlin and other Humanists such as Dalberg and Agricola also belonged (cf. *sub* 1. and especially note 20; Brann 1981: 15). Reuchlin perfected Trithemius' knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and was a personal friend of his (Brann 1981: 16, 206 & 216). Trefler nor Trithemius offer further comments on the *Libellus*.

2.2. *Editio critica*

2.2.1. Methodology

In order to approximate the *archetypus* as closely as possible, both manuscripts are accorded due attention, since they are independent and thus valuable textual testimonies. B cannot be a direct copy of A, since it has variants and extra elements that are not in A. Conversely, A cannot be a direct copy of B, since it is the earlier manuscript and has variants and extra elements that are not in B. Even though B is the later manuscript, it is taken as the textual basis, because Basellius seems to have understood the original text better than Drach, the scribe of A. In general, B also presents a larger text, in that Greek examples are given completely and not elliptically as A occasionally does. The text of B is preferred when no significant variation in contents occurs (or simply when its text appears more plausible). However, forms of A are introduced, wherever these seem to offer a better and/or more extensive text or a more common form (e.g. the adoption of *Phorcensis* [A] instead of *Pfortzensis* [B]).

I have normalized Latin orthography (*e > ae*; *ig > ing*; *ci > ti*; *pth > phth*), including the variants offered in the *apparatus criticus*, unless – in the case of Greek loan words – the forms reveal that the author and/or scribe(s) were unfamiliar with them. The Greek examples are rendered in their customary orthography. However, Greek words significantly deviating from the correct form (*i.e.* which are written with the wrong letters) are corrected on the basis of other extant Greek dialectological treatises (cf. *sub* 1. and 2.3.) and are included in the *apparatus criticus* under the form as they appear in the manuscripts, so as to give the reader an idea of the sort of errors that were committed in our source texts. The dieresis as a distinctive scriptural mark is not adopted from the manuscripts, unless it has a dialectally relevant phonetic value (see I.16, II.5, III.4, and IV.14). Accentual mistakes are not indicated separately, this in order to avoid an exceedingly extensive *apparatus*. I added capital letters wherever suit and introduced punctuation in accordance with current practice. All abbreviations are solved and the most obvious slips of the pen are corrected silently, unless both manuscripts show the same fault and/or the faults are significant, (possibly) indicating a lack of textual understanding.[29] Errors of content have not been corrected (cf. IV.11, where A and B have "uerbis", but "aduerbiis" should be read), but are – where necessary and relevant – marked in the *apparatus*. As indicated above, mistakes in the editions by Geiger (1875) and Horawitz (1884) are also included in the *apparatus*. The dedicatory letter has received in addition an *apparatus fontium*, since it contains a number of passages taken from ancient sources. I have not provided an *apparatus* for the sources of the dialectal examples in the *Libellus* itself, so as to keep the edition surveyable. Besides, these can be found in the editions of the Greek dialectological treatises mentioned above (cf. *sub* 2.). I have proposed a division into chapters and paragraphs, while line numbers are added as a system of reference for the *apparatus*. I have translated the dedicatory letter for the readers' benefit, but I refrained from translating the *Libellus* itself. For not only is this a "Herculean labor" – to put it with the words of Aldus Manutius in the preface to his translation of three Greek 'dialectological' treatises (cf. Manutius in Lascaris-Manutius 1512: x[R]). Also, I believe that the readers' understanding of the text will benefit more from the discussion *sub* 2.3. than from a translation that runs the risk of being unreadable.

---

[29] Cf. l. 11 of the dedicatory letter, where A and B (but also G) read "Planuelem" instead of "Planudem". See also I.17, where A and B have "hiberbato" instead of "hyperbato", possibly indicating that this technical term was not understood.

2.2.2. *Sigla*

A = codex Basiliensis (F VI 54, ff. 35ᵛ-42ᵛ) (1498)

B = codex Stutgardiensis (Codices poetici et philologici 4° 76, ff. 6ᴿ-9ᴿ) (1508)

G = editio Ludwigi Geiger (1875: 24-25)

H = editio Adalberti Horawitz (1884: 445-450)

Tre = catalogus Wolfgangi Trefler (1511 in Schillmann 1913, uide paginam 143)

Tri = catalogus Ioannis Trithemi (1494, uide folium 133ᵛ)

2.2.3. *Editio critica* [<u>Beware!</u> *For the correct line numbers in the edition, consult the official published version.*]

Epistola dedicatoria

1 Reuerendo patri et illustri domino Ioanni Camerario Dalburgio, Vuormaciensi Episcopo, Ioannes Reuchlin Phorcensis salutem plurimam dicit.

Solebant, illustris pontifex, maiores nostri, cum ad aras offerri libuisset, alii tauros ut Aeneas apud Vergilium, alii agnos ut Atrides apud Homerum, plerique capros ut Abraham apud Moysen, aut **5** denique uinum cum pane ut Melchisedech apud eundem, partim thura cum thymiamate ut Pythagoras apud Philostratum, reliqui placentulas cum lacte praesto litare. Vnde Bucolicum illud extat: *Sinum lactis et haec †te† liba craterasque duos statuam tibi pinguis oliui.* Ego uero, unus ex minimorum turba, nunc tibi, sacro antistiti, perinde ac doctissimorum hominum deo cuiquam, quid offeram non habeo, nisi meorum quondam laborum decimas, uidelicet hanc in lingua Graeca **10** differentiarum editionem, quam olim, cum apud Pariseos in Galliis hiemarem, ex plerisque praeclaris auctoribus, Planudem dico et Georgium Choeroboscum Theodoretumque ac alios grammaticos, collectam non sine insigni perseuerantia totas ad lucernam noctes lucubraui. Quia uero ceterorum nihil possideo quo te oblectare putem, speraui equidem uel ex hoc saltem munusculo te cognoscere obseruantiam in te meam illam admirandam. Itaque mox idiomata **15** diiudicamus. Vale, pontifex sacer.

3-4 Vergilius, *Aeneis* 3.21 & 6.38-39 **4** Homerus, *Ilias* 3.267-294 | *Genesis* 15.9-10 & 22.13 **5** *Genesis* 14.18 **5-6** Flauius Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 1.1 **7** Sinum … liba: Vergilius, *Eclogae* 7.33 | craterasque … oliui: Vergilius, *Eclogae* 5.68

---

2 Pfortzensis *B* **4** Virgilium *A* Vergelium *B* | Abraam *B* **5** Melchisedec *A* | thimiamite *B* **6** Pytagoras *AB* | Buccolicum *A* Buccolicon *B* **7** *Cum A* hoc quidam *et B* haec qu<?> *habeant, quod textum non alias repertum et sine sententia reddit, textus receptus Vergilii hic adoptatur. Fieri potest ut Reuchlin hunc locum ex memoria afferat* | Ceterasque, *quod habent ABG, lectio recta non esse potest congruentiae grammaticalis metrique causa. Itaque hic etiam textus receptus Vergilianus legitur. Hoc alioqui scribarum erratum mihi esse uidetur et non Ioanni Reuchlin ascribendum est* **8** inimicorum *A* | nunc *omittit B* **10** editorum *G* **11** Planuelem *habent ABG, quod lectio falsa est. Vide, e.g., Förstel* (1999: 53) | Chirobuscum *AB* **14** obseruaninte *A* **15** Vale pontifex sacer *omittit A, sed* Feliciter finit *addidit, cum* Incipit feliciter *manu altera subscriptum sit*

Dedicatory letter

1   To the revered father and the honorable sir Ioannes Camerarius of Dalberg, bishop of Worms, Ioannes Reuchlin of Pforzheim says many greetings.

Some of our forefathers, honorable bishop, when it had pleased that something be offered at the altars, used to instantly sacrifice bulls (as Aeneas with Vergil). Others offered lambs (as the Atreides

5   with Homer), while very many opted for goats (as Abraham with Moses) or apart from that wine with bread (as Melchizedek with the same). Still others offered thus with incense (as Pythagoras with Philostratus), whereas the remaining used to sacrifice little cakes with milk. Whence this passage from the *Bucolica* is extant: *A bowl of milk and these cakes and two mixing-vessels filled with rich olive oil I will set for you.*[30] But I, one of the mob of the least, do not know what to offer to you

10   now, sacred bishop, just as if to some god of the most learned of men, except for the tithes of my past exertions, viz. this publication on the differences in the Greek language. At the time when I spent the winter with the Parisians in France, this booklet was gathered from very many splendid authors (Planudes, I mean, and George Choeroboscus, Theodoret, and other grammarians) and I composed it not without a remarkable perseverance during whole nights close by a lamp. Because I indeed do

15   not possess anything remaining in which I believe you might take pleasure, I hoped by all means that you recognized at least out of this small gift this admirable reverence of mine towards you. And under these circumstances we are presently distinguishing the particularities.[31] Farewell, sacred bishop.

---

[30] My English translation is loosely based on Trevelyan (1944: 23 & 18 respectively). In the edition as well as here, I interpret the two different Virgilian passages cited by Reuchlin as constituting one sentence, both because the first passage does not have a verb governing the two accusatives and because Reuchlin himself refers to the passages as "Bucolicum illud" in the singular and not to "Bucolica illa" in the plural.

[31] *I.e.* the particularities of the varieties of the Greek language.

Ioannis Reuchlin Phorcensis de quattuor Graecae linguae differentiis libellus

I 1 Lingua Ionica dicitur, quia Iones, hoc est Asiani et habitantes Peloponnesum, utuntur. Scripsit autem in ea Homerus et consimiles. Dinoscitur autem his ferme modis atque differentiis sequentibus.

2 Ionica consuetudo nomina in ας terminata mutat in ης, nisi fuerint Dorica, ut Ἑρμείας Ἑρμείης, Σωσίας Σωσίης.

3 Nomina in ης desinentia quorum fit genitiuus in ου solent Iones in εω uertere, ut Πέρσης Πέρσεω, Ξέρξης Ξέρξεω.

4 Nominum masculinorum quorum genitiuus in ους saepe terminatur, eum illi in εος finiunt, ut Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένεος, et accusatiuum in εα desinere, ut Δημοσθένεα, in ης desinentibus, et neutrum in ες facientibus illi consueuerunt in εος proferre, ut εὐσεβὲς εὐσεβέος.

5 Nominatiuorum in ευς terminantium genitiuos solent in ηος proferre, ut Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀχιλλῆος, βασιλεὺς βασιλῆος. In Herodoto autem inuenitur βασιλέος per ο secundum iuniores Ionas.

6 Neutra in ος suos formant genitiuos in εος, ut πλῆθος πλήθεος, τεῖχος τείχεος.

7 Quorum nominum in ευς desinentium plurales nominatiui in εις terminantur, eos solent nominatiuos plurales diuidere et in ηες proferre, ut βασιλῆες uel alias βασιλέες.

8 Pluralia in αι desinentia ita declinant ut eorum genitiuos diuisim proferant, ut Περσέων, Θηβέων.

9 Datiuos uero plurales in αις desinentes eosdem in ῃσι terminant, ut καλαῖς καλῇσι.

10 Nomina singularem nominatiuum in α desinentia ipsi consueuerunt per η proferre, ut Ἥρα Ἥρη, χώρα χώρη, συμφορά συμφορή.

11 Nomina feminina in ω μέγα desinentia sic declinant ut accusatiuum singularem in ουν terminent, ut Λητὼ Λητούν.

12 Vocalem ι quandoque per diaeresin auferunt, ut πονεῖσθαι πονέεσθαι.

13 Feminina nomina in ις desinentia non per εος sed per ιος declinant, ut πόλις πόλιος et non πόλεως.

14 Transpositione in dictionibus frequenter utuntur, ut pro καρδία dicentes κραδίη.

15 Sunt etiam hi reduplicationis syllabarum in dictionibus auctores, ut κλῦθι κέκλυθι.

16 Datiuos quoque per diaeresin proferunt, ut pro ἔγχει ἔγχεϊ, βέλει βέλεϊ.

---

1 Ioannis Reuchlin Pfortzennsis de quattuor Graecae linguae differentiis Liber incipit *B* De diuersitate quattuor idiomatum Graecae linguae Li. I. *Tri* De diuersitate quattuor idiomatum linguae Graecae Li. I. *Tre* **3** Pelopoprsum *A* Peloponesum *B* **6** as *AB* | mutant *B* **7** Σωσάς *AB* **8** sit *H* **9** Χέρχης Χερχέω *AB* **11** ος *A* α *B* | δημοσθένα *AB* **14** βασιλής *A* βασιληος *B* **15** τεῖχος *omittit A* **19** Θηβαίων *AB* **20** uero *omittit A* non *H* **21** αι *A* **22** χώρα *omittit A* | συμφορά *omittit A* | συμφορή *A* συμφωρη *B* **23** magnum *A* mega *B* **25** diaerisin *A* diaerisim *B* **27** πόλεος *A* πολεος *B* **28** Transpocionebus *A* **29** reduplicationes *B* **30** diaeresim *B*

17 Praepositionibus per appositionem ubi ceteri frequenter per compositionem, sic anastropha et hyperbato creberrime utuntur, ut δῶρ᾽ ἀπὸ αἱρεῖσθαι pro ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

18 Ex diphthongo saepe ι adimunt, dicentes Ἑκτόρεος, χρύσεος pro Ἑκτόρειος, χρύσειος.

19 Aduerbia etiam in ως a nominibus deriuata quae in ης desinunt, quorum neutra in ες finalem syllabam faciunt, ea solent Iones diuisim proferre, ut pro ἀτρεκῶς dicentes ἀτρεκέως.

20 Eadem prolatione in praesenti indicatiui et in imperfecto, ut ἔχω ἔχον.

21 Nominatiuos plurales in εις desinentes ab ης illi commutant in εες. Similiter ab υς, ut ὀξέες, ἡδέες.

22 Ionicum est: liberor a timore istiusque illiusque pro eo quod dicimus a timore istiusque et illius quod nos et istius et illius.

23 Prothesis ipsius ι dicitur Ionum esse, ut κενὴ κεινή.

24 Mutatio οι diphthongi in ες Ionicorum est propria, ut υἱέες pro υἱοὶ uel υἱεῖς.

25 Quae pluralem nominatiuum in η mittunt illi diuisim per εα et genitiuum in εων proferunt, ut τείχη τείχεα, τειχῶν τειχέων.

26 Vocalem υ saepius in prima dictionis syllaba consueuerunt apponere, ut οὔνομα pro ὄνομα, οὖρος pro ὄρος.

27 Saepe duplex σ in ξ mutant, ut διξὰ pro δισσά.

28 Quandoque auferunt iota a diphthongo, ut δείξω δέξω, ἀπόδειξις ἀπόδεξις.

29 Participia passiua diuisim plerumque proferunt, ut λυπεόμενος pro λυπούμενος et ποιεόμενος pro ποιούμενος.

30 Participia in ων desinentia a prima coniugatione uerborum circumflexorum deriuata illi diuisim pronuntiant, ut φρονῶν φρονέων, ποιῶν ποιέων.

31 Coniunctionem illam οὖν ipsi ὦν terminant.

32 Praepositiones uerborum per compositionem cum alias aspirantur, tum apud Iones solent pure ac sine aspiratione dici, ut κατὰ, ὁρῶ, κατορῶ καθορῶ.

33 Articulis praepositiuis utuntur loco pronominum subiunctiuorum, ut τὸν θέλω pro eo quod dicimus ὃν θέλω, τὴν ἔπεμψα pro ἣν ἔπεμψα.

34 Vtuntur etiam quandoque ipso κ pro π, ὁκότε dicentes pro ὁπότε et κου pro που, ut ὁκόσος pro ὁπόσος etc.

35 Item ω et α inuicem commutant, ut ὤνθρωπον pro ἄνθρωπον et ἄριστον pro ὤριστον.

---

2 hiberbato *AB* hiperbato *H* | δ᾽᾽ω᾽ρα, ποαιρεῖσθαι *AB* 4 etiam *omittit A* 6 imperatiuo *B* | ἔχων *A* 7 nominatiuus *H* | ες *habent AB pro* ης 9 et *omittit A* | *Pro* et *habet H* a 12 υἱες *A* υιες *B* 13 illud *B* 15 con consueuerunt *B* 18 *Inter* δείξω *et* δέξω *A addidit* pro, *quod lectio recta esse non potest* | ἀπόδειξω ἀπόδεξω *B* 19 ποιέομος *A* 22 enuntiant *A* | φρονῶ *A* | ποίω *A* | ποιέεων *A* 25 κοτὰ *B* 26 subiectiuorum *A* 28 etiam *omittit A* | ~~ετκου~~ εικου *A* 28-29 ὁκούσος *pro* ὁπούσος *B* 29 etc. *omittit A* 30 *Pro* ὤνθρωπον *habet A* ανθραπον *et B* ἄνθραπον | *Pro* ἄνθρωπον *et* ἄριστον *pro* ὤριστον *omittit A*

36 Item pro diphthongo αυ solent aliquando ω ponere, ut θῶμα pro θαῦμα.

37 Disiunctio uocabulorum propria est Ionicorum, ut Πέλοπος νῆσος pro Πελοπόννησος.

38 Additiones iunctas infinitis uerbis ponunt pro uerbis imperatiuis, ut ἀγορευέμεν pro ἀγόρευε.

39 Pro eo quod nos dicimus: "Ecce duo scopeli", ipsi dicunt: "Ecce duo scopelorum".

40 Transmutatio ipsius η in α breue Ionicorum est, ut μεμακυῖα pro μεμηκυῖα, λελασμένον pro λελησμένον.

41 Consueuerunt Iones antiquissimi α longum in η conuertere, ut Ἥρα Ἥρη. Iuniores etiam idem faciunt de α breui, ut ἀληθείην pro ἀλήθειαν dicentes.

42 Ablationibus in principio dictionum Ionici utuntur crebrius, ut pro λεῖβεν εἶβεν, pro ἐκεῖνος κεῖνος et pro ἑορτὴ ὀρτή.

43 Item ων syllabam superfluam in medio compositorum quandoque reponunt, ut ἐξ ὧν εἷλον pro ἐξεῖλον et ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο pro ἀπέδοντο.

44 Auxesi non utuntur τίκτεν, λέγεν, τρέχεν dicentes pro ἔτικτεν, ἔλεγεν, ἔτρεχεν.

45 Item π pro φ utuntur, ut pro ἀφικόμην ἀπικόμην et pro ἀφεῖλον dicentes ἀπεῖλον.

46 Composita uerba disiungunt et aliquid interponunt.

47 Item ν finale non solent apponere uerbis tertiae personae et datiuis pluralibus, nisi tamen causa metri et hoc secundum iuniores Iones. Et haec de Ionica lingua sufficiant.

II De secunda lingua quae dicitur Aeolica

1 Lingua Aeolica profert genitiuos plurales a nominatiuis in αι desinentibus deriuatos diuisim per α paenultimam, ut νύμφαι νυμφῶν νυμφάων, θυράων, παρθενικάων.

2 Syncoparum usus frequens est apud Aeolicos, ut ὦρσεν pro ὥρμησεν.

3 Adiunctio huius syllabae θα quae fit quandoque in uerbis subiunctionis Aeolica est, ut εἴπησθα pro εἴπῃς, εὔδησθα pro εὔδῃς.

4 Quando uocalis υ alteri uocali adiungitur quae uergit super α, Aeolica tunc dicitur prothesis, ut χέαντες dicunt χεύαντες.

5 Quae in αις desinunt monosyllaba consueuerunt ab illis diuisim proferri, ut παῖς ipsi dicunt πάϊς, Δαῖς Δάϊς, quod et Dorica lingua facere solet.

6 Vtuntur ω μέγα loco υ, id est ου diphthongi, ut μῶσαι pro μοῦσαι, λιπῶσαι pro λιποῦσαι.

7 Pro o breui quandoque υ ponunt, ut pro ὅμοιον ὕμοιον dicentes.

8 Pro ει diphthongo solent frequentius η ponere, ut ἐλθῆν pro ἐλθεῖν, λαβῆν pro λαβεῖν.

---

2 πελοπως ρησιος pro πελοποννήσως *A* πελοπος νησιος pro πελοπόννησως *B* 5 ut *omittit A* | μεμάκυα *A* μεμακῦα *B* | μεμηκῦα *B* 5-6 λεγασμενον pro λεγησμενον *B* 8 ἠληθίην *A* ἤληθιην *B* 10 et *omittit A* | ἑορτη ωρτη *A* ἑορτη ὠρτη *B* 11 συλλάβην *A* | quandoque reponunt *omittit B* | ἐξωνειλὸν *A* ἐξωνειλον *B* 12 ἀπωριδοντο *A* απωριδοντο *B* | ἀπειδόντο *A* 14 αφιχούμην ἀπικούμην *A* | et ἀφεῖλον pro ἀπεῖλον *A* 16 Item: *Rubricator I initialis oblitus est in A* 17 Finis Ionicae linguae *habet A pro* Et haec de Ionica lingua sufficiant 22 ὤμησεν *A* 23 subiunctonis *B* | edita *H* | εἴπησθαυ *A* ἔιπηθα *B* 24 εὐδισθα *B* 25 super *omittit A* 26 χέαυτες dicunt χεύαυτες *AB* 27 es *habet B pro* αις | monisyllaba *B* 28 facit *habet B pro* facere solet 29 λιπῶσαι pro λιποῦσαι: *uide Gregorii Pardi De dialectis librum 5, 8* | λυπῶσαι pro λυπουσαι *A* λυπωσαι pro λυπουσαι *B* 30 dicentes *omittit A* 31 Pro: *Rubricator P initialis oblitus est in A*

III De tertia lingua quae dicitur Dorica

1 Lingua Dorica quandoque duplicat consonantes mutabiles quae sunt quattuor λ μ ν ρ. Simul etiam aliquando π σ τ, ut ἀγείρω ἀγέρρω, ἐγείνατο ἐγέννατο, ἐνείματο ἐνέμματο, ὅτι ὅττι, ὅπος ὅππος, ὅσος ὅσσος.

2 Vtuntur Dores quandoque π pro μ, ut ὅππατα dicentes pro ὄμματα.

3 Vocatiuos nominum in ων corripiunt in fine, ut χελιδὼν χελιδὸν, Μακεδὼν Μακεδόν.

4 In secunda coniugatione circumflexorum solent ipsum αι proferre, ut βοάϊς βοάϊ, νικάϊς νικάϊ.

5 Dores etiam consueuerunt a diphthongo αι, cum eam uocalis subsequitur, auferre ι, ut Ἀλκαῖος Ῥωμαῖος, Ἀλκάος Ῥωμάος dicentes.

IV De quarta lingua quae dicitur Attica

1 Lingua Attica conuertit σ modo in τ, modo in ξ, nam θάλασσαν θάλατταν dicunt et σεῦτλον τεῦτλον et συμφορὰν ξυμφορὰν et σύμπαν ξύμπαν et σύμβολον ξύμβολον et tamen non plerumque alias nisi in compositione sola.

2 Semper Attici solent nominatiuos plurales in εις a nominibus masculinis in ευς deriuatos per η proferre, ut pro γονεῖς γονῆες, βασιλεῖς βασιλῆες.

3 Nomina terminata in ος quae uel acutum habent accentum in antepaenultima uel certe in ultima non per αος proferunt, sed per εως, ut Μενέλαος Μενέλεως, Νικόλαος Νικόλεως, ναὸς νεώς, λαὸς λεώς.

4 Iota finale dictionibus apponunt ut νυνὶ pro νῦν, τουτονὶ pro τοῦτον, οὑτοσὶ pro οὗτος.

5 Nomina in ευς apud illos genitiuum in εως mittunt, ut Ἀριστεὺς Ἀριστέως, Πηλεὺς Πηλέως.

6 Synaloephae sunt Atticorum propriae, ut τῷ ᾿μῷ pro τῷ ἐμῷ et ἔρχομ᾿ἔχων pro ἔρχομαι ἔχων.

7 Eripiuntur quandoque a diphthongis uocales aliquae postpositiuae, quod est apud Atticos creberrimum, quamuis sit etiam Aeolicum Doricumque, ut ἑτάρων pro ἑταίρων, ἐς Χρύσαν pro εἰς Χρύσαν.

8 Assumptio uocatiuorum loco nominatiuorum propria est Atticis, ut νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς pro νεφεληγερέτης.

9 Subintellectiones seu suppletiones in metris maxime sunt Atticorum propriae – tamen etsi sunt Doricorum et Ionum, ut laborat ambabus, subauditur manibus.

10 Attici passiuis uerbis utuntur pro actiuis, ut γράφομαι, ποιοῦμαι pro γράφω et ποιῶ. Item ποιείσθων et νοείσθων pro ποιείτωσαν et νοείτωσαν.

---

1 De lingua 3a *A* **2** quinque *H* **3** ἀγείρο *AB* | ἐννεματο *AB* | ὅπος *omittit A* **5** *Pro* Dores quandoque *habet B* etiam | ὅπτατα *AB* | ὄματα *B* **6** corripiuntur *A* | et μακεδὼν pro μακεδὸν *B* **7** In 2a coniugatione *A* | circumflexa *H* | α *B* | βοαῖς βοάινικαῖς νίκαι *A* **8** ea *B* **8-9** ἀλκαῖος αλκάος ῥώμαιος ρωμάος *A* **9** dicentes *omittit A* **13** τεῦλον *B* | et *ter omittit A* **14** sola *omittit B* **18-19** λαός λεώς *omittit A* **20** dictionis *B* | ut *omittit A* **21** Πιλευς ~~pro~~ Πιλεως *B* **22** Synalaphae *AB* | θῶμω *AB* | θῶ ἐμῶ *B* | ἐρχομ᾿ένων pro ἔρχομα ἔχων *A* ἐρχομἔχον pro ἔρχομαι ἔχον *B* **23** arripiuntur *H* | quoque *H* **24** etiam et *A* **24-25** pro ἐσχίσιν pro εἰσχρήσιν *A* ἐσχρίσιν pro εἴσχρισιν *B* **26** νεφελ/ηγενέτα *A* νεφέληγενετα *B* **27** νεφεληγενέτης *AB* **28** tametsi *H* **29** *Inter* sunt *et* Doricorum *habet A* ut **31** *Pro* νοείσθων *habent AB* ποείσθων | ποιείτοσαν *B* | et *omittit B* | νοείτοσαν *AB*

1   **11** Pro aduerbiis in εως alias desinentibus quae sunt qualitatis seu medietatis Graece uocatis τῆς μεσότητος Attici terminatione ον utuntur. Nam eo loco nominibus pro uerbis soliti sunt uti, ut δέον, πρέπον pro δεόντως, πρεπόντως et aliis similibus.

12 Vocatiuos comparatiuorum nominum in ες Attici solent finiri in ους, ut μείζους, καλλίους, χείρους pro μείζονες, καλλίονες, χείρονες.

13 Synaloephis, ut dictum est, saepissime utuntur, ut τὸ ἱμάτιον θοἰμάτιον, τὸ ἔλαιον τοὔλαιον.

14 Solent quandoque uocabula indiuisim proferre, ut cum dicunt πατρῷος, μητρῷος, σῷος pro πατρώϊος, μητρώϊος, σώϊος.

15 Aliquando consueuerunt ρ uti pro σ, nam quod θάρσος deberent, id θάρρος dicunt, et ἄρσεν ἄρρεν.

16 Item υ pro ε, ut cum dicunt τοὔνδυμα pro τὸ ἔνδυμα et τοὔγκλημα pro τὸ ἔγκλημα et τοῦπος pro τὸ ἔπος.

17 Nominatiuis pro uocatiuis utuntur, ut ὦ φίλος pro ὦ φίλε, λόγος pro λόγε.

18 Comparatiuis pro superlatiuis saepe utuntur, ut θηριοδέστερος πάντων pro θηριοδέστατος.

19 E quandoque in η conuertunt, ut ἠδυνάμην pro ἐδυνάμην. Similiter ἠβουλόμην pro ἐβουλόμην.

---

1 qualitate *B* **2** ων *AB* | uerbis *AB: lege* aduerbiis*, uide Schäfer (1811: 673), ubi* ἀντὶ ἐπιρρημάτων *inuenitur* **3** δέοντος *A* δεοντος *B* | πρεποντος *AB* πρεπον *H* **4** *A primum habuit* ευς*, quod in* ες *mutatum est, cum B* ευς *habet* | Attici solent finiri in ους *omittit A* | εος *B* **5** χείους *AB* | χείρονες *omittit A* | χειονες *B* **6** Sinalaphis *A* Sinalephis *B* **7** quinque *H* **8** πατροίος μητροίος σοιός *A* πατρροίος μητροιος σοιος *B* **9** nam *omittit A* | quid *H* **11** θοὔνδυμα *B* **13** Nominatiuos *A* | λωγος *B* | *A habet* etc. *pro* pro λόγε | λωγε *B* **14** Comparatiuis et superlatiuis *B* **15** quoque *H* **postscriptum** Gratias deo. Χάρις τῷ θεῷ. Deo gratias Ioannes Drach scripsit hunc libellum. *A* Ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ η' Καλενδῆς Σεπτέμβριος. Ἐγὼ, Νικόλαος ὁ Βασέλλιος μόναχος Ἡρσαυήενσις, τὸν [*sic*] παρὸν βιβλίον γέγραφα. Τῷ θεῷ χάριτας. Anno a Christi natiuitate millesimo quingentesimo octauo Kalendis Septembris. Ego, Nicolaus Basellius monachus Hirsougiensis, praesentem librum scripsi. Deo gratias. *B*

2.3. Brief discussion of contents, sources, and terminology

As regards contents and sources, we can be rather succinct. Förstel (1999: 51-56) offers the most relevant information by indicating that a Byzantine dialectological treatise preserved in the *Codex Monacensis Graecus* 529 (referred to as *Monacensis* from here on – currently in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*) is to a large extent similar to Reuchlin's Greek source text, which has as yet not come to light and is possibly not extant.[32] The *Libellus* offers phonetic and morphological particularities of Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, and Attic vis-à-vis the κοινή (a comparison not made explicit, but clear from forms such as "dicimus" in I.22, I.33, and I.39), thus belonging to the so-called 'second family' of dialectological treatises, which is often closely connected with the names of John Philoponus, Manuel Moschopulus, and Gregory of Corinth.[33] The text of the mutilated *Monacensis*, the first paragraphs of which are not extant, is printed in Schäfer (1811: 667-674). The first paragraph of the *Monacensis* corresponds to I.24 of the *Libellus*. Similar texts, which have preserved the initial paragraphs, can be read elsewhere.[34] Reuchlin's *Libellus*, although showing many similarities in the order and contents of the paragraphs,[35] does, however, differ in a number of respects from the *Monacensis*, viz.:[36]

(1) by the use of more nuancing phrases with the adverbs *aliquando*, *frequenter*, *frequentius*, *plerumque*, *quandoque*, *saepe*, and *saepius* (cf. Förstel 1999: 53) and with the verbs *consuescere* and *solere*, which do not have any equivalents in the *Monacensis* (nor in the other treatises);

(2) by formally introducing a section on the *lingua Dorica*, which only contains Aeolic traits;

(3) by exhibiting more mistakes (common to A and B) in the Greek examples;

(4) by showing differences in exemplification (sometimes more elaborate examples – cf. I.28, sometimes less detailed – cf. I.38), and

(5) by displaying an alleged Ionic characteristic not found in other extant sources (I.22).

(2) and (3) seem to indicate that Reuchlin's source text, which he possibly lent from his teacher, Hermonymus, was of lower quality than the treatise in the *Monacensis*, whereas (1) suggests it was more cautious in its formulating of 'dialectal' changes (possibly a relic from Choeroboscus' *Canones*).[37] It also remains possible that these characteristics are to be ascribed to Reuchlin's interventions (especially (1), which may be influenced by Humanist emphasis on *usus*; see note 40 below). This issue is, however, difficult to resolve without the manuscript model.

As to the curious introduction of the Doric section containing only Aeolic traits (III; not problematized by Förstel 1999), in which the Byzantine compiler or Reuchlin was more than likely misled by the phrase

---

[32] The few comments in Preisendanz (1994: 60) are mainly based on Geiger's (1875: 25) notes. The *Monacensis* and the *Libellus* occasionally show a common mistake. Cf. e.g. the *lectio falsa* ἐννέματο instead of correct ἐνείματο in Schäfer (1811: 670) and III.1 respectively. Due to the highly derivative character of the booklet, I am limiting myself to its most important idiosyncrasies without extensively discussing its dialectological contents.

[33] See also Förstel (1999: 52). For a discussion of the three families, see – among others – Hoffmann (1891-1898: II, 204-222 & III, 197-212) and Bolognesi (1953). The first family only contains phonetic particularities, while the third offers remarks on syntactical, lexical, and accentual peculiarities of the individual dialectal varieties (see also Xhardez 1991: III, 126).

[34] Mainly in Schneider (1894; see especially pp. 4-5 for most of the first 24 paragraphs) and Cengarle (1971: 237 *et sqq.*).

[35] Reuchlin has also preserved the structural pattern [dialectological rule + exemplification] of his source text. Only paragraphs III.3 and III.4 are switched in the *Libellus* (see Schäfer 1811: 670-671). Paragraph 10 of the section on Attic in Schäfer (1811: 673) is omitted in the *Libellus*, possibly because it was felt to be too difficult. It contains a syntactic particularity on the use of cases and a complex example, *i.e.* Homer, *Ilias* 1.275 (cf. the parallel passage in Gregory of Corinth, *De dialectis* 2.40).

[36] The list aims at completing Förstel's (1999) account of the particularities of Reuchlin's *Libellus*.

[37] See Preisendanz (1994: 60) and Förstel (1999: 55).

"καὶ ἡ Δωρίς",[38] two hypotheses come to mind. Either Reuchlin has copied this error from his Greek original or he himself has introduced it, because he was aware of the fact that Greek consisted of four varieties, thus attempting at completing the text, or because he interpreted his source text wrongly. The first scenario seems more likely, for it is not at all sure that Reuchlin would have had the confidence to change a Greek text in such a drastic way at a time when he was still polishing his Greek knowledge and his acquaintance with Doric and Aeolic – the 'lesser-known' Greek varieties – must have been still limited (if not non-existent). Moreover, several years later, when he sent the *Libellus* to Dalberg, he still did not conceive of this aspect as problematic – an argument, which can, however, also be reversed and used to support the second hypothesis. In addition, he claims to have collected – rather than adapted – the dialectological material in the *Libellus*, which seems to be in favor of the first view. It must be said, however, that this statement nevertheless remains problematical, since he is exaggerating his own contribution (cf. *sub* 1. and Förstel 1999: 53). Be that as it may, Reuchlin was clearly not able to perceive the mistake he had allowed (or had committed himself), not even years later when he started to translate Greek *literary* works in 1488 (cf. Botley 2010: 179, note 346). This reveals in all probability that he did not have a thorough knowledge of the Aeolic and Doric literary varieties.

It remains curious that Reuchlin claims to have 'collected' the dialectological data from authors such as Maximus Planudes (ca. 1255–ca. 1305),[39] George Choeroboscus (*fl.* in the middle of the ninth century),[40] Theodoret (a late antique author, whose life dates are unknown),[41] and 'other grammarians',[42] while he is in fact merely translating – or at best paraphrasing – a dialectological treatise.[43] It seems that he had two main reasons for this statement: (1) when he read these Byzantine grammarians during his later Greek studies (probably after his first stay in Italy), he encountered passages reminding him of his dialectological treatise and (2) he wanted to connect his *Libellus* with the authority of these grammarians.[44] Förstel (1999: 53-56)

---

[38] This phrase was wrongly interpreted as introducing a separate Doric section (see the end of paragraph eight in the *Monacensis*; cf. Schäfer 1811: 670).

[39] Geiger (1875: 25) incorrectly follows the manuscripts and reads "Planuelem" instead of "Planudem". He even states: "Über Planuelis finde ich nichts" (note 2). Wyss (1970: 274) and Preisendanz (1994: 60, note 197), on the other hand, read the correct form "Planudem". Planudes has written one 'dialectologically relevant' work, viz. the *Dialogus de grammatica*, which passim discusses dialectal forms. It does not have any exact correspondences to Reuchlin's treatise, except for a passage on the so-called ν ἐφελκυστικόν (*i.e.* I.46 of the *Libellus*; see Förstel 1999: 54).

[40] Choeroboscus composed *Canones* on the nominal and verbal system proposed by Theodosius of Alexandria (*fl.* ca. 400), in which many dialectal forms are mentioned and formulas such as "Ἴωνες εἰώθασιν" and "ἔθος ἔχουσιν" are frequent, a tendency also visible in Reuchlin's *Libellus* (Förstel 1999: 55; cf. *supra* and see also "Ionica consuetudo" and "solent Iones" in I.2 and I.3 respectively). This stress on 'usage' ties up well with Renaissance Latin grammar, in which the *usus* of Classical Latin authors was taken as a point of reference to speak and write elegant Latin. Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae Latinae* are the most famous exponent of this train of thought, which is often based on Quintilian (ca. AD 35–100) 1.6.27: "Quare mihi non inuenuste dici uidetur aliud esse Latine, aliud grammatice loqui" (cf. Tavoni 1998: 3-5). Unless mentioned otherwise, passages from and titles of pre-Renaissance Latin works are based on Brepolis' *Library of Latin Texts*.

[41] One work of Theodoret on accents and spiritus has been preserved, *i.e.* Περὶ πνευμάτων, which is largely based on Herodian's (second century AD) Καθολικὴ προσῳδία. Reuchlin's *Libellus* I.34 resembles a passage in this work by Theodoret (cf. Förstel 1999: 53-54).

[42] Förstel (1999: 56) suggests that Reuchlin is referring to relatively recent Greek grammarians active in Renaissance Europe (Manuel Chrysoloras, Constantine Lascaris, Theodore Gaza, George Scholarios) as well as to Manuel Moschopulus (ca. 1265–1316; see also Preisendanz 1994: 60, note 196). The *Libellus* indeed seems closely connected to treatises attributed to Moschopulus and others such as John Philoponus (ca. AD 490–575; see the texts edited in Cengarle 1971 and especially *recensio A* on pp. 237-254).

[43] The fact that he knew these authors was remarkable for that time (Förstel 1999: 56).

[44] Cf. *infra* and Förstel (1999: 53-56).

already offers an adequate account of the very limited extent to which the writings of these *praeclari auctores* show similarities to the contents of the *Libellus*, making it unnecessary for us to elaborate upon this issue (for some brief indications, see notes 39-42 above).

In the present paragraph, some aspects of Förstel's (1999: mainly p. 52) analysis will be recapitulated and adjusted, so as to complement his account and to offer a more precise picture of the contents of the *Libellus*. First, from the perspective of 15th- and 16th-century readers of the *Libellus*, there must indeed have been some incomprehensible passages (cf. the considerable amount of mistakes against Greek words in the text; e.g. I.35 and I.43), both due to the inferior quality of the source text and a lack of understanding of the translator's and/or copyists' part (e.g. the A variant of "Peloponnesum" in I.1 and the variants of "εα" in I.4; see also the *apparatus criticus* of e.g. I.17, I.35, I.41, and I.45). It is, however, difficult to determine which errors are to be ascribed to whom, although it seems safe to acquit the copyists from most mistakes common to both manuscripts (e.g. "Σωσάς" and "Χέρχης" in I.2 and I.3 respectively). Förstel (1999: 52) overemphasizes Basellius' role (B), since he does not know the other manuscript (A). However, since nowadays many similar texts are known (e.g. the *Monacensis*), by means of which most parts of the *Libellus* can be clarified, the number of incomprehensible passages is restricted.[45] Moreover, the bulk of the particularities in the *Libellus* have parallels in other sources, except for the (not wholly clear) paragraph I.22, which most likely discusses the Ionic use of coordinate conjunctions and reads as follows: "Ionicum est: liberor a timore istiusque illiusque [= ... τε ... τε] pro eo quod dicimus a timore istiusque et illius [= τε καὶ] quod nos et istius et illius [= καὶ ... καὶ ...]", for which I found no parallels.[46] Second, the swap of κοινή and dialect forms seems to be rare. Moreover, it is mainly found in A, the manuscript Förstel (1999) did not know about (cf. I.28: "δείξω pro δέξω" and I.45: "ἀφεῖλον pro ἀπεῖλον"). Third, Förstel's (1999: 52) claim that some Greek words are merely transcribed in Latin script does not seem to be well-founded. The number of examples is restricted to the name of the letter "ω mega" (I.11 in B) and to the syllables which undergo dialectal changes (cf. I.2, where "ας" is written as "as", and II.5, where "es" is found instead of "αις"). In addition, the use of Greek technical terms in Latin (such as *diaeresis* in I.12) is due to the process of loaning (and not merely transcribing).

Reuchlin's *Libellus* is of interest for two additional reasons. First, by (claiming that he is) drawing on earlier grammarians, Reuchlin seems to be prefiguring a topos among later Greek 'dialectologists' such as Adrien Amerot (Hadrianus Amerotius; 1490s–1560),[47] Martin Ruland (Martinus Ru(e)landus; 1532–1602),[48]

---

[45] An exception is I.17, where the second part of the dialectological rule (where mention is made of a hyperbaton) cannot apply to the example (which does not exhibit a hyperbaton). This rule was already blurred in the Greek original (cf. e.g. the passage in Manutius 1496: 240ᵛ). The part on the conjunctions (I.22) is not very clear either, since there are two different forms ascribed to "nos". I propose the following interpretation, which is all but certain: "istiusque illiusque [= ... τε ... τε]" is typically Ionic, while the κοινή normally has "istiusque et illius [= τε καὶ]" or "et istius et illius [= καὶ ... καὶ ...]". Another possibility is that Reuchlin is referring to the Latin *usus* ("et ... et ..."). See note 26 above for important parallel texts other than the *Monacensis*.

[46] Cf. *sub* 2. and note 45 above. In later Latin renderings of Byzantine dialectological treatises, Greek examples are also translated, often leading to rather awkward Latin phrases. See e.g. Aldus Manutius' (Aldo Manuzio; ca. 1449/1451–1515) translation of "τὰ εἰς οῦς οὐδέτερα κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν εἰς ἐος [*sic*] ποιοῦσιν Ἴωνες πλῆθος πλήθους πλήθεος" (1512: ξiiii ᵛ) in Lascaris-Manutius (1512: xvᴿ): "In ους neutra in genitiuo in εος faciunt Iones: multitudo multitudinis multitudinis." It is probably for this reason that Manutius (in Lascaris-Manutius 1512: xᴿ) called the translation of these treatises a "labor Herculeus" (cf. *sub* 2.2.1.). See also I.39 and IV.9.

[47] I am limiting myself to examples from the 16th century and the first decade of the 17th. See Amerotius (1520: Riiiᴿ): "Haec de linguarum diuersitate, quantum ad inflexiones nominum et uerborum pertinent, sufficere uidentur. Reliqua uero de uerborum ac nominum syntaxi dictionibusque primitiuis, quae cuique idiomati propria sunt, ex Corintho, Plutarcho, Ioanne Philopono ac caeteris cognoscere poteris", and the title of Amerotius (1530), *De dialectis diuersis*

Otto Walper (Otho Gualtperius; 1546–1624),[49] and Erasmus Schmidt (1570–1637).[50] The names and number of grammarians mentioned may, however, vary. Gradually, they also came to include Early Modern scholars (cf. Schmidt 1604 who mentions, among others, Philipp Melanchthon). Of course, this was used as a means of granting authority to one's handbook on the Greek dialects.

Second, the *Libellus* allows us to point out some terminological tendencies in 15th- and early 16th-century Humanist Latin too, an aspect which has not yet received due attention, even though it shows great variation. What may seem astonishing at first sight, but is in fact wholly to be expected, is the absence of the at that time still very technical and 'un-Ciceronian' term *dialectus*, the Latinized counterpart of ἡ διάλεκτος. It was also very uncommon in Latin antiquity and the Western Middle Ages, which is clear from the fact that it was in most cases transcribed (retaining the original Greek ending) and very often glossed during these two periods. With one exception, *i.e.* pseudo-Sosipater (or pseudo-Fronto; *terminus ante quem*: eighth century AD), who defines "loquela" as "cuiusque gentis propria dialectos [the own 'dialect' of each nation]",[51] it always refers to the Greek context. The term became common only during the first half of the 16th century through publications such as the 1502 *Calepinus* and the 1512 Latin translations of Greek 'dialectological' writings issued by Manutius.[52] Vernacular attestations are from an even later date.

Instead, to express the notion of intralingual speech varieties, Reuchlin opts for 'approved' and general terms such as *lingua* (I.1, I.47, II.1, II.5, III.1, and IV.1) and the widely accepted Greek loan word *idioma* (< τὸ ἰδίωμα, 'particularity'),[53] which at that time still had the generic meaning of 'language', but was steadily acquiring an additional meaning, *i.e.* that of 'local speech'.[54] *Lingua* was already used in Latin antiquity to refer to the Greek varieties,[55] while *idioma* seems to be a more recent Humanist development, even though the word was common from the Early Christian era onwards, mainly in the meaning of 'idiom' and especially within the context of Bible translations (cf. Banniard 1992: 58, note 213). The original meaning of 'particularity' still seems apparent in Reuchlin's statement "[...] mox idiomata diiudicamus [we are presently distinguishing the particularities]". In the catalogues by Trithemius (1494: 133[v]) and Trefler (1511 in

---

declinationum Graecanicarum tam in uerbis quam nominibus, ex Corintho, Ioan. Grammatico, Plutarcho, Ioan. Philopono atque aliis eiusdem classis.

[48] Cf. Rulandus (1556: α3[R]): "Siquidem ex istis, Chalcondyla (dico), Chrysolora, Gaza, Lascare, Tryphone, Moschopulo, Hephaestione, Aristophane, Constantino, Plutarcho, Ioanne Grammatico, Corintho et aliis eiusdem classis tantummodo Graecis, ueluti primis ac certis auctoribus mea sunt deprompta et faciliore intellectu confecta. Sed rursum obicies tu conuiciator conuicium, cur mea esse haec audeam dicere, cum tamen a Graecis sint profecta?", after which he starts to defend his contribution to Ancient Greek dialectology. Note that – just like Reuchlin – Rulandus uses the verb "dico" to initiate his enumeration of sources of dialectal information.

[49] Cf. Gualtperius (1589: †7[R]): "Cumque uiderem studiosae iuuentuti tractationem illam non solum gratam, sed et fructuosam fuisse, coepi deinceps paulatim, si quid obscurum in poetarum lectione occurreret, id ipsum quoque adicere, ut tandem ex optimis optimorum auctorum interpretibus atque grammaticis Eustachio, Tzeze, Didymo, Gaza, Chalcondyla, Moschopulo et aliis multis recentioribus eiusmodi conficere labellum conarer, [...]."

[50] See Schmidt (1604: 1): "De dialectis Graecorum. Ex Plutarcho, Gaza, Vrbano, Philippo, Clenardo, Antesignano, Stephano et aliis auctoribus probatissimis."

[51] Cf. the edition of Barwick (1964: 389). See also Trovato (1984: 205-206). For the ethnic aspect within the Greek 'dialectological' tradition, see Van Rooy (forthcoming a).

[52] Cf. Alinei (1984) and Trovato (1984).

[53] Cf. Trithemius (1494: 133[v]), Trefler (1511 in Schillmann 1913: 143), and ll. 14-15 of the *epistola dedicatoria*.

[54] Cf. Tavoni (1984: 77-78, note 8). This is already foreshadowed by Bacon's use of *idioma* (see note 8 above).

[55] Cf. e.g. Quintilian 12.10.34: "at illis non uerborum modo, sed linguarum etiam inter se differentium copia est" (see Fögen 2000: 174).

Schillmann 1913: 143), on the other hand, the term seems to be restricted to the meaning of '(local) speech variety', possibly subordinated to the term *lingua*.[56]

Anyhow, the term *idioma* brings us to the semantic field of diversity. It carries with it not only a notion of 'particularity', but it is also relational. A 'particularity' of speech always implies the existence of a touchstone (in Reuchlin's *Libellus* and in his source text to be identified with the κοινή; cf. *supra*). Other terms Reuchlin used to highlight this diversity are *differentia*, *diiudicare*, *dinoscere*, and – according to Trithemius and Trefler – *diuersitas* (all with the *dis-* prefix!). Whereas *diiudicare* refers to the analytical explanation of Greek dialectal differences to the reader, Reuchlin relies on the passive of *dinoscere* to denote the particular ways in which the Ionic *lingua* is diversified from the κοινή (I.1: "Dinoscitur autem his ferme modis atque differentiis sequentibus", a phrase probably to be attributed to Reuchlin himself, since I found no Greek equivalents in the extant dialectological treatises). The two remaining terms, *differentia* and *diuersitas*, would become very frequent in discussions of linguistic variation in general and intralingual diversity in particular. This is not to say that Reuchlin was the first to have used them – or lexically cognate terms – within a 'dialectological' context.[57] By way of conclusion, we may state that Reuchlin's terminology is in line with certain terminological tendencies in 15th-century 'dialectological' discourse (most importantly the absence of *dialectus*).

---

[56] See "De diuersitate quattuor idiomatum Graecae linguae Li. I." and "De diuersitate quattuor idiomatum linguae Graecae Li. I." respectively. Cf. also the epigram at the head of this article, in which Simon Millanges (Simon Millangius; 1540?–1623) designates the Greek 'dialects' as *idiomata* of the *lingua Graia*. It can be found in the *De Graecorum dialectis libellus* (1588: 1) by the Jesuit Guillaume Baile (Guilielmus Baïllius; 1557–1620).

[57] Quintilian already referred to the Greek abundance of tongues with the collocation *inter se differre* ("linguarum etiam inter se differentium copia est"; cf. note 55). Later on, Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), for example, in his translation of Clement of Alexandria's († before AD 215/221) comments on the 'dialect' concept, also relies on the term *differentia* to indicate dialectal diversity, even though the original text does not contain a Greek equivalent. Cf. Clement, *Stromata* 1.21.142.4: "Φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλέκτους εἶναι τὰς παρὰ σφίσι ε', Ἀτθίδα, Ἰάδα, Δωρίδα, Αἰολίδα καὶ πέμπτην τὴν κοινήν" vs. "Graeci quidem dialectorum suae linguae differentias quinque annotant, Atticam, Ionicam, Doricam, Aeolicam et quintam communem" (1555: 1ᵛ-2ᴿ). As regards *diuersitas*, Roger Bacon (1214/1220–ca. 1292) already made extensive use of the term when theorizing on his *lingua-idioma* distinction. See e.g.: "Et uoco has diuersitates idiomata et non linguas ut multi utuntur, quia in ueritate non sunt linguae diuersae sed proprietates diuersae quae sunt idiomata eiusdem linguae" (1902: 27); "Nam et Picardi, qui sunt ueris Gallicis uicini, habent tantam diuersitatem in moribus et in lingua ut non sine admiratione possit esse unde sit tanta diuersitas locorum propinquorum" (1900: 138; cf. Lusignan 1986: 71-72); "et sic in aliis diuersitatibus accidentalibus eiusdem linguae diuersificantur" (1964: 89; on the close resemblance of the Semitic tongues; cf. Dahan-Rosier-Valente 1995: 275). For a 16th-century example of the use of *diuersitas* within the context of intralingual variation, see Georges d'Haluin (Georgius Haloinus; ca. 1470–1536/1537), whose aversion from grammar and rules led him to stress the variability of Latin and other tongues. Mapping out the contemporary French dialectal diversity, he states: "In lingua Gallica sunt Parisienses, Lugduni, Burgondiones, Aquitani, Vasconi, Normanni, Picardi, Arthesii, Hannonienses, Leodienses et alii multi qui, licet omnes Gallica lingua utantur, tanta in locutione eorum diuersitas est, ut plerique uicinos non intelligant" (Haloinus 1533 as edited by Matheeussen 1978: 55). *Diuersitas* is also used by Amerotius (1520: Riiiᴿ); cf. note 47 above.

3. Conclusions

The present article aimed at achieving two main goals, viz. (1) establishing a more correct text than is offered by previous editions (Geiger 1875; Horawitz 1884) and (2) coming to a more accurate assessment of Reuchlin's *De quattuor Graecae linguae differentiis libellus*. This first treatise on the Ancient Greek 'dialects' composed by a Western European scholar must be seen as one of Reuchlin's early finger exercises. For it cannot claim to be more than a retouched translation or – at best – a paraphrase of a low quality manuscript, provided that one may ascribe some features to Reuchlin's intervention (the most likely candidates being the introduction of nuancing adverbs and the frequent use of the verbs *consuescere* and *solere*). I think it is justified to characterize this *opusculum* as a first stumbling step toward Ancient Greek dialectology, since Reuchlin does not make any actual progress vis-à-vis the Byzantine dialectological tradition on which he relies. He refrains from any personal input or conceptual considerations. To put it with Millangius' image: he chose not to flee from the terrifying "idioms of the Greek language", but rather to face those "shipwrecking rocks", albeit in a badly equipped and poorly maintained vessel. The secondary nature probably explains to a large extent why the booklet did not reach print and was not widely used or known and why it was overshadowed later on by influential dialectological treatises such as the 1530 *De dialectis diuersis* of Adrien Amerot (first published as an appendix to his 1520 Greek grammar; cf. Hummel 1999 for the success of this treatise) or by editions of Ancient Greek 'dialectological' treatises such as the 1496 *Thesaurus cornu copiae*.

Nevertheless, even though Reuchlin's *Libellus* is not as innovative as he suggests in his dedicatory letter to Dalberg, it supplies independent evidence of some aspects of his Greek learning. First, in the 1477/1478 winter, although probably writing with didactic motives, he did not yet bring his Greek competence to perfection himself. Second, his limited (or even non-existent?) acquaintance with the lesser-known Aeolic and Doric varieties has become clearly apparent (at least as far as the 1470s and 1480s are concerned) through the odd (Aeolic) contents of the Doric chapter. Finally, a closer investigation of the *Libellus* has allowed me to point out a 'dialectologist topos' already prefigured by Reuchlin and to confirm certain terminological tendencies of Humanist discourse on intralingual variation.

4. Bibliography

4.1. Primary sources

Amerotius [Amerot], Hadrianus [Adrien]. 1520. *Hadriani Amerotii Suessionensis Compendium Graecae grammatices, perspicua breuitate complectens, quicquid est octo partium orationis*. Louanii: apud Theodoricum Martinum Alostensem.

————. 1530. *De dialectis diuersis declinationum Graecanicarum tam in uerbis quam nominibus, ex Corintho, Ioan. Grammatico, Plutarcho, Ioan. Philopono atque aliis eiusdem classis*. Parisiis: ex off. Gerardi Morrhii.

Anonymus. 1894. *Excerptum Περὶ διαλέκτων. E codicibus Baroccianis LXXII et CIII Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*. Edited by Richardus Schneider. Beigabe zu dem Jahresbericht des königl. Gymnasiums zu Duisburg. Leipzig: Teubner.

Antesignanus [Davantès], Petrus [Pierre]. 1554. "De dialectis appendix." In *Institutiones linguae Graecae, N. Cleonardo auctore, cum scholiis P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis*, 11–16. Lugduni: apud Matthiam Bonhomme.

Bacon, Roger. 1900. *The 'Opus majus' of Roger Bacon*. Edited by John Henry Bridges. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London, Edinburgh & Oxford: Williams and Norgate.

————. 1902. *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of His Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Edmond Nolan and S. A. Hirsch. Cambridge: at the University Press.

————. 1964. *The 'Opus Majus' of Roger Bacon*. Edited by John Henry Bridges. Supplementary volume: containing revised text of first three parts; corrections; emendations; and additional notes. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva.

Baïllius [Baile], Guilielmus [Guillaume]. 1588. *De Graecorum dialectis libellus numquam excussus*. Burdigalae: ex officina Simonis Millangii.

Barwick, Carolus, ed. 1964. *Flauii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae libri V*. Editio stereotypa correctior editionis prioris. Addenda et corrigenda collegit et adiecit F. Kühnert. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri.

Brepolis' *Library of Latin Texts* <http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/pages/Search.aspx>.

Calepinus [Calepino], Ambrosius [Ambrogio]. 1502. *Calepinus*. Rhegii Lingobardiae: industria presbyteri Dionysii Berthochi impressoris.

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1509. *Lucubratiunculae aliquot*. Hantuuerpiae: opera Theoderici Martini.

Gualtperius [Walper], Otho [Otto]. 1589. *De dialectis Graecae linguae praecipuis, Attica, Ionica, Dorica, Aeolica et coronidis uice nonnulla de proprietate poetica* [...]. Francofurti ad Moenum: ex officina typographica Ioannis Spiessii.

Haloinus [Haluin], Georgius [Georges de]. 1533. *Restauratio linguae Latinae per D. Georgium Haloini Cominiique Dominum edita*. Symon Coquus Antuerpianus excudebat.

Homerus. 1488. *Ἡ τοῦ ὁμήρου ποίησις ἄπασα. ἐν φλωρεντία: ἀναλώμασι* [...] *βερνάρδου καὶ νηρίου ταναίδος τοῦ νεριλίου φλωρεντίνων· πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι δημητρίου μεδιολανέως κρητὸς* [...].

Horawitz, Adalbert. 1884. "Griechische Studien. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Griechischen in Deutschland." *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archaeologie* 1 (4): 409–450.

Lascaris, Constantinus, and Aldus Manutius [Aldo Manuzio]. 1512. *Constantini Lascaris Byzantini de octo partibus orationis lib. I. Eiusdem de constructione liber secundus. Eiusdem de nomine et uerbo liber tertius.* [...]. Venetiis: apud Aldum.

Legrand, Émile, ed. 1892. *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe, publiées intégralement pour la première fois, d'après le* Codex trivulzianus 873*, avec traduction, notes et commentaires*. Paris: Leroux.

Manutius [Manuzio], Aldus [Aldo], ed. 1496. Θησαυρός. Κέρας ἀμαλθείας καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος | *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis*. Venetiis: in domo Aldi Romani summa cura laboreque praemagno.

Matheeussen, Constantinus, ed. 1978. *Georgii Haloini Cominiique domini De restauratione linguae Latinae libri III*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner.

Reuchlin, Ioannes. 1506. *Principium libri*. Phorcae: in aedib. Tho. Anshelmi.

———. 1875. *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel*. Edited by Ludwig Geiger. Tübingen: Fues.

Ru(e)landus [Ruland], Martinus [Martin]. 1556. *De lingua Graeca eiusque dialectis omnibus libri V*. Tiguri: apud Andream Gesnerum F. et Iacobum Gesnerum, fratres.

Salmasius [Saumaise], Claudius [Claude de]. 1643. *Claudii Salmasii De Hellenistica commentarius, controuersiam de lingua Hellenistica decidens et plenissime pertractans originem et dialectos Graecae linguae*. Lugduni Batauorum: ex officina Elseuiriorum.

Schäfer, Godofr. Henr. 1811. *Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum libri De dialectis linguae Graecae. Quibus additur nunc primum editus Manuelis Moschopuli libellus De uocum passionibus*. Lipsiae: sumptibus Io. Aug. Gottl. Weigel [reprographic reprint in 1970. Hildesheim & New York: Olms].

Schillmann, Fritz. 1913. *Wolfgang Trefler und die Bibliothek des Jakobsklosters zu Mainz. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Bibliotheksgeschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters*. Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 43. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.

Schmidt, Erasmus. 1604. *Tractatus de dialectis Graecorum principalibus, quae sunt in parte λέξεως*. [...]. Wittebergae: imprimebat Laurentius Seuberlich. Impensis Samuel Selfisch.

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae <http://www.tlg.uci.edu>.

Trithemius [Heidenberg], Ioannes [Johann]. 1494. *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*. Basileae: [apud Ioannem de Amerbach].

Virgil. 1944. *The Eclogues and the Georgics*. Translated by Robert Calverley Trevelyan. Cambridge: at the University Press.

4.2. Secondary sources

Alinei, Mario. 1984. "1. 'Dialetto'. Un concetto rinascimentale fiorentino." In *Lingua e dialetti: struttura, storia e geografia*, 169–199. Studi linguistici e semiologici. Bologna: Il Mulino. [= Alinei, Mario. 1981. "Dialetto: un concetto rinascimentale fiorentino. Storia e analisi", *Quaderni di Semantica* 2:147-173.]

Banniard, Michel. 1992. *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en Occident latin*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Paris: Institut des Études Augustiniennes.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo C. 1953. "Sul Περὶ διαλέκτων di Gregorio di Corinto." *Aevum* 27 (2): 97–120.

Botley, Paul. 2010. *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529. Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Brann, Noël L. 1981. *The Abbot Trithemius (1462-1516). The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism*. Leiden: Brill.

Cengarle, Sante A. 1971. "Ps. Moschopuli compendium de dialectis linguae Graecae." *Acme. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università degli Studi di Milano* 24 (2-3): 213–292.

Christ, Karl. 1924. *Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim*. Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 52. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.

Cizek, Alexandru. 1997. "Reuchlin (Johannes) (1455-1522)." In *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, edited by Colette Nativel, 667–678. Genève: Droz.

Consani, Carlo. 1991. *ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΣ. Contributo alla storia del concetto di "dialetto"*. Testi linguistici 18. Pisa: Giardini.

Dahan, Gilbert, Irène Rosier-Catach, and Luisa Valente. 1995. "L'arabe, le grec, l'hébreu et les vernaculaires." In *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, edited by Sten Ebbesen, 265–321. Tübingen: Narr.

Fögen, Thorsten. 2000. *Patrii sermonis egestas. Einstellungen lateinischer Autoren zu ihrer Muttersprache. Ein Beitrag zum Sprachbewusstsein in der römischen Antike*. München: Saur.

Förstel, Christian. 1999. "Die griechische Grammatik im Umkreis Reuchlins. Untersuchungen zur „Wanderung" der griechischen Studien von Italien nach Deutschland." In *Reuchlin und Italien*, edited by Gerald Dörner, 45–56. Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 7. Stuttgart: Thorbecke.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1962. *Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Geiger, Ludwig. 1871. *Johann Reuchlin. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

Guenther, Ilse. 1985. "Johann von Dalberg." In *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Peter Gerard Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher, 1:374. Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.

Hoffmann, Otto. 1891. *Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen*. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Hummel, Pascale. 1999. "Un opuscule-relais. Le *De dialectis* (1520/1530) d'Adrien Amerot." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 61 (2): 479–494.

Irigoin, Jean. 1977. "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte. Ses manuscrits et son enseignement à Paris." *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé. Revue de culture générale* 1: 22–27.

Irtenkauf, Wolfgang. 1962. "Bausteine zu einer Biographie des Nikolaus Basellius." *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 21: 387–391.

Lusignan, Serge. 1986. *Parler vulgairement. Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Études médiévales. Paris & Montréal: Vrin & Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Monfasani, John. 1990. "In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino. Andronicus Contoblacas's Invective against Niccolò Botano and the Citizens of Brescia." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 52 (2): 309–321.

Morneweg, Karl. 1887. *Johann von Dalberg, ein deutscher Humanist und Bischof (geb. 1455, Bischof von Worms 1482, † 1503)*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Omont, Henri. 1885. "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte. Maître de grec à Paris et copiste de manuscrits (1476)." *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 12: 65–98.

Pagliaroli, Stefano. 2002. "Gregorio da Città di Castello." *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.

Pätzold, Stefan. 2005. "'Zu seiner Zeit ein Wunderzeichen'. Johannes Reuchlin aus Pforzheim. Philologe, Jurist, Humanist und Streiter wider die Dunkelmänner." *Concilium medii aevi* 8: 25–52.

Pontani, Anna. 2002. "Jean Christophe Saladin, *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2000 (Histoire. Collection dirigée par M. Desgranges et P. Vidal-Naquet). Un vol. di pp. 546." *Aevum* 76 (3): 852–867.

Preisendanz, Karl. 1994. "Die Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins." In *Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522)*, edited by Manfred Krebs, Hermann Kling, and Stefan Rhein, Nachdruck der 1955 von Manfred Krebs herausgegebenen Festgabe, 35–82. Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 4. Sigmaringen [Pforzheim]: Thorbecke [im Selbstverlag der Stadt].

Saladin, Jean-Christophe. 2000. *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*. Paris: Les belles lettres.

Scarpatetti, Beat Matthias von. 1977. *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Dietikon & Zürich: Graf.

Scheible, Heinz. 1987. "Johann Reuchlin." In *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Peter Gerard Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher, 3:145–150. Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press.

Tavoni, Mirko. 1984. *Latino, grammatica, volgare. Storia di una questione umanistica*. Padova: Antenore.

———. 1998. "1 Renaissance Linguistics. 1.2 Western Europe." In *History of Linguistics*, edited by Giulio Lepschy, 3 [Renaissance and Early Modern Linguistics]:2–108. Longman Linguistics Library. London & New York: Longman.

Trovato, Paolo. 1984. "'Dialetto' e sinonimi ('idioma', 'proprietà', 'lingua') nella terminologia linguistica quattro- e cinquecentesca (con un'appendice sulla tradizione a stampa dei trattatelli dialettologici bizantini)." *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 2: 205–236.

Van Rooy, Raf. Forthcoming a. "'What Is a "Dialect"?' Some New Perspectives on the History of the Term διάλεκτος and Its Interpretations in Ancient Greece and Byzantium." *Glotta*.

———. Forthcoming b. "Plutarque dialectologue. La 'pseudo-autorité' de Plutarque dans le discours dialectologique préscientifique."

Walter, Peter. 2005. "„Inter nostrae tempestatis Pontifices facile doctissimus". Der Wormser Bischof Johannes von Dalberg und der Humanismus." In *Der Wormser Bischof Johann von Dalberg (1482-1503) und seine Zeit*, edited by Gerold Bönnen and Burkard Keilmann, 89–152. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 117. Mainz: Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte.

Wyss, Bernhard. 1970. "Pseudo-Dositheus bei Reuchlin. Zur Basler Handschrift F VI 54." *Museum Helveticum* 18: 273–287.

Xhardez, Didier. 1991. *Περὶ διαλέκτων. Le traité des dialectes de Grégoire de Corinthe édité et traduit. Contribution aux méthodes d'analyse d'une tradition textuelle*. 4 vols. Louvain-la-Neuve: unpublished doctoral dissertation.