

VITA BREVIS – ARS LONGA:
PAULY'S BEGINNINGS AND WISSOWA-KROLL-ZIEGLER'S MONUMENTAL
ACHIEVEMENT

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In the eighteenth century German school boys consulted Benjamin Hederich's *Reales Schul-Lexicon*, first published in Leipzig in 1717,¹ while scholars turned to Basilius Faber's *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticae* (with emphasis on the Latin language), originally published in 1571,² several times reprinted and revised, finally in 1726 and 1735³ by Johann Matthias Gesner, who, as Professor of eloquence and poetry at the new University of Göttingen, replaced it with his own *Novus linguae et eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus* (Leipzig 1749).

At the turn of the century the need for a new work was felt, and Karl Philipp Funke planned a *Neues Real-Schullexicon*, leaving most of the work to

¹ Benjamin Hederich, *Reales Schul-Lexicon, Worinne nicht allein Von den Ländern. Städten, Schlössern, Meeren, Seen, Flüssen, Brunnen u. d. g. wie auch von den Zeiten, Völckern, Geschlechtern, Personen, alten Gebräuchen und Seltenheiten, Göttinnen und anderen ... Derer in den Griechischen und Lateinischen auf den Schulen üblichen Autoribus classicis Meldung geschieht, eine nöthige Nachricht gegeben ...*, Leipzig 1717, 1731², 1748³. Hederich is best known for his *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum*, Leipzig 1724, 1741², with new edition by Johann Joachim Schwabe, Leipzig 1770, rep. Darmstadt 1967, 1996. On Hederich (1675-1748), Headmaster at Grossenhain, see Kämmel 1880, 221-222. On Johann Joachim Schwabe (1714-1784) see Leibrock 1991, 442-443.

² Basilius Faber, *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticae*, Leipzig 1571, rep. (with additions or revised) 1587, 1593, 1595, 1599, 1612, 1623, 1625, 1655, 1686, 1691, 1692, 1696, 1710, 1717, 1726, The Hague 1735. On Faber (c.1520-c.1576), Paedagogiarch (Head of school-administration) in Erfurt, see Kämmel 1877, 488-490.

³ On J. M. Gesner (1691-1761) see Schindel 1964, 348-349.

his collaborator Johann Andreas Lebrecht Richter;⁴ it was published in five volumes in Braunschweig in 1800-1805. A generation later, several people who were no longer satisfied with what was available again began to work on new dictionaries: Karl Friedrich Kraft and Cornelius Müller edited a *Real Schul-Lexicon* in two volumes in Altona in 1846-1848,⁵ while a shorter *Reallexicon des classischen Altertums für Gymnasien* was prepared by Friedrich Lübker and first published in Leipzig in 1853-1855;⁶ it was more geared to the needs of pupils than scholars and was thus very successful, its ninth edition being published as *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums* by J. Geffcken and E. Ziebarth in 1914.⁷

The third new work was called *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung (R.E.)*, planned and edited for the learned (“das gelehrte Publikum” as is explicitly stated in the preface to the first volume) by August Friedrich Pauly, a Professor at the gymnasium in Stuttgart.⁸ It claimed to be a *Handlexicon*, yet –like Funke’s– on a much larger scale than the others; the first fascicle appeared in 1837, and the first volume

⁴ Karl Philipp Funke, *Neues Real-Schullexicon enthaltend die zur Erklärung der alten Klassiker nothwendigen Hilfswissenschaften, vornemlich Geographie, Geschichte, Philosophie, Altertümer und Mythologie* I-V, Braunschweig 1800-1805; a shorter version was published as *Kleines Real-Schullexicon, ein bequemes Hülfsmittel für die studierende Jugend zum Verstehen der alten Classiker* I-II in Hamburg in 1804-1806, also in 1818. On K. Ph. Funke (1752-1807), school inspector at Dessau, see Eckstein 1878, 202-203; on Johann Andreas Lebrecht Richter’s part who was responsible for the collection of the material see vol. I, V and Richter’s own Vorrede to vol. V, II-VI; otherwise little seems to be known about him. For a review, see *Leipziger Jahrbuch der neuesten Literatur vom Jahre 1800* II, Januar-März 1801, Leipzig, Stück 93, 1-8; and ... *vom Jahre 1801* IV, April-Junius 1802, Leipzig, Stück 245, 246 and 247. 63-75.

⁵ Karl Friedrich Kraft and Cornelius Müller, *Real Schul-Lexicon. Ein Hülfsmittel zum Verständnis der alten Classiker, für die studierende Jugend bearbeitet* I-II, Altona 1846-1848, also Hamburg 1853; on Karl Friedrich Kraft (1786-1866), best known for his German-Latin Dictionary, see Hoche 1883, 8-9, and on Cornelius Friedrich Gottfried Müller (1793-1879) *ibid.* 1885, 522; both taught at the Gelehrtenschule des Johanneum in Hamburg.

⁶ On Friedrich Heinrich Christian Lübker (1811-1867), Director in Parchim and Flensburg, see Carstens 1884, 331-333.

⁷ On Johannes Geffcken (1861-1935), Professor at Rostock, see Helm 1936, 80-104; on Erich Ziebarth (1868-1944), Professor of Ancient History at Hamburg, see Bengtson 1949, 665-666.

⁸ On August Friedrich (von) Pauly (1796-1845) see Teuffel in the Preface of vol. IV (1846, VI-XII) and Teuffel 1887, 297-298.

was completed in 1839. However, *vita brevis*: Pauly died in 1845, and one of his critics took over. This was Wilhelm Sigismund Teuffel, Privatdozent and later Professor of Classics at the University of Tübingen,⁹ who in his preface stressed his intention to raise the scholarly standard of the work.¹⁰ The new editors –Teuffel was joined by another professor from Tübingen, Christian Walz– started from the lemma *Juppiter* (p. 587), whether accidentally or remembering Aratus' ἐκ Διὸς ἄρχεσθαι I don't know; anyway, it was not a bad start. The work was completed in 1852, and a second edition of the first volume (in two parts) appeared in 1861.

A generation later, in 1890, the publisher approached first Otto Crusius, Professor of Classics at Tübingen,¹¹ later Georg Wissowa, Professor of Classics at Marburg, later at Halle,¹² suggesting a new encyclopedia, and Wissowa agreed to prepare one. In 1894 the first volume appeared with 119 collaborators being named in the preface (VI-XII). The collaborators included university professors, but also schoolmasters, school administrators, librarians and young scholars, most of them from Germany, a few from Austria and Switzerland, and François Cumont from Brussels. Many great names are absent from the list, such as e.g. Hermann Usener or Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Friedrich Leo or Hermann Diels, but one finds Georg Kaibel, Eduard Meyer, Paul Natorp, Richard Reitzenstein, Carl Robert, Eduard Schwartz, Carl Wachsmuth and others.

In his preface Wissowa points out that the foundations of the first edition had been laid two generations earlier so that there could be no doubt that a

⁹ For Teuffel's review see *Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1844, 157-159, criticizing occasional unevenness, gaps, absence of subdivisions in long articles, poor articles etc., but welcoming the work as a whole.

¹⁰ See vol. IV, IV; on Wilhelm Sig(is)mund Teuffel (1820-1878) see Bursian 1879, 2-3 and Koldewey 1894, 611-615. On Ernst Christian Friedrich Walz (1802-1857) see Schmid 1896, 127-129.

¹¹ On Otto Crusius (1857-1918), Professor at Tübingen (1886-1898), subsequently at Heidelberg, see Preisendanz 1921, 1-57.

¹² On Georg Otto August Wissowa see Kern 1931, 398-400; 1934, 120-145.

completely new work was called for, both comprehensive and new in the sense that experts from all fields should put together the most recent results of their own research and of that of others to create something both new and up-to-date. As areas to be dealt with he lists history, geography, “antiquities” in the broadest sense, mythology, history of literature and art, and as aim “to codify the present state of knowledge of classical antiquity”. He plans to deal with all events and names of people of some importance up to the time of Cassiodorus and Justinian (without wishing to compete with a complete index of all personal names), with the last centuries, however, not so fully represented as the earlier ones, but with a few later personalities such as Isidorus or Photius included. He also points out that selection is necessary in such areas as the Orient, Egypt, the history of the Church, and Christian literature.¹³ As regards the degree of dependence upon, or independence from, the earlier work, Wissowa stresses that the new encyclopedia is completely independent, but adds that it has been left to the individual author to refer to or quote verbatim from the earlier work. This may seem surprising at first; but of course, the height of a mountain or the date of a battle or of someone’s death need not have changed, even after decades of research. In general Wissowa is clearly inclined to give preference to more specific lemmata rather than comprehensive articles which make the reader work through a great deal of information before hitting upon the particular detail he is looking for. Maps are included, illustrations are not. At the end of his preface, dated July 1, 1894, Wissowa expresses his hope to complete the entire work in ten volumes (twenty “Halbbände”) and twelve years. The original Pauly took six volumes and thirteen years –with three editors working on it– the monumental new work in fact took 90 years, six editors and 68 volumes, plus 15 supplements and an index.

¹³ Vol. I preface V.

As early as 1902, the first volume of supplements was published with additional information on existing lemmata and a few new articles. In the list of contributors one now finds a number of foreign scholars as well as two students. In 1912 the title-page informs the reader that Wilhelm Kroll, Professor of Classics at Münster, and from 1913 at Breslau, had assumed editorship¹⁴ –he had in fact done so in 1906– but invariably it takes a long time to prepare a new volume and to complete the complicated process of handing over. In 1911 Kroll was joined as editor by Kurt Witte, who also studied at Breslau before teaching at Münster, Greifswald and Erlangen;¹⁵ his name does not appear until 1920, and it is only on the title-pages of volumes I and II of the second series which Kroll started with the letter R to speed up the completion of the whole undertaking.

Karl Mittelhaus, like Wissowa, Kroll, Witte (and Ziegler), a Silesian and brought up in Breslau,¹⁶ later a teacher at the Johannes-Gymnasium at Breslau, joined the editors in 1923; his name does not appear till 1929 (vol. III A) and again on the title-page of the second series only, while the title-page of the first series remained unchanged till Kroll's death; clearly, he was the editor-in-chief. There is a brief note in the seventh volume (1912) also that the change of editor resulted in two articles having been printed on the same subject (*Galeoi*). However, what is most striking is not this mistake as such, but the fact that one author, Otto Kern, deals with the subject in nine lines, while the other, Anders Lennart Kjellberg, takes 163 lines, i.e. nineteen times as much space: two editors, two contributors, and obviously also (not one,

¹⁴ On Wilhelm Kroll (1869-1939) see Drexler 1939, 590-592; Lietzmann 1939.

¹⁵ On Kurt Witte (1885-1950), Professor of Classics at Erlangen (1920-1950), see Pöhlmann 1993, 524-525 and Srb 1994, 103-114, esp. 105; the years 1911-1923 are given as period of his editorship by G. Winkler, in: *R.E., Register der Nachträge und Supplemente*, edited by Hans Gärtner and Albert Wünsch 1980, V.

¹⁶ On Karl Mittelhaus see Ziegler 1948, who dates his editorship from 1925, whereas G. Winkler in *R.E., Register der Nachträge* (see n. 15), 245 dates it from 1923.

but) two policies, the new editor presumably giving as much space to contributors as they wanted.

In 1913 the new editor prints a list of collaborators as of May 1, 1913, and one counts 211 now, about twenty from countries other than Germany, Switzerland and Austria. In the fifteenth volume Kroll adds a list of Addenda and Corrigenda to make the work easier to consult;¹⁷ in 1937 and 1938 he publishes volumes XIX 1 and XIX 2 before volume XVIII has been completed in order to get as much of the collected material published as possible, as if he had a foreknowledge of the events to come. Indeed, in April 1939 Kroll died, and a few months later the war broke out. K. Mittelhaus, now the only editor, steered the *R.E.* successfully through the last years of political censorship and the endless problems caused by the war (difficulties of communication first with other countries, then within Germany, shortage of paper, etc.). As editor he saw the publication of Supplement VII in 1940, of the first half of volume XX in 1941, of the first third of XVIII 2 in 1942, of the first half of VII A 2 as late as autumn 1943.¹⁸ But in October 1943 the publisher's offices were destroyed, together with all documents and correspondence relating to the *R.E.* and the printed sheets of volume VII A 2 at the press. In 1945 Mittelhaus had to leave his home in Silesia, leaving behind all his material and correspondence so that he had to start from zero when the war ended in 1945. He did try, but he died in January 1946. It was Dr. Alfred Druckenmüller,¹⁹ the owner of the Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (later Alfred-Druckenmüller-Verlag), who devoted all his energy to the survival of *Pauly-Wissowa*. Early in 1946 he enlisted the services of Konrat Ziegler, formerly Professor of Classics at Greifswald, deprived in 1933 of his chair by the Nazis,

¹⁷ Nachtragsregister in vol. XV, 1932, 2521-2560 for vols. I-XV, I A-IV A and supplements I-IV.

¹⁸ Moreover, the second half of VII A 2 was completed by K. Mittelhaus in 1944, see K. Ziegler in his necrology (above note 16), and the first sheets of vol. VIII A 1 were printed before 1945, see the note in vol. VIII A 1 (back of the title-page).

¹⁹ On A. Druckenmüller see Ziegler 1968, 1-5.

later teaching at the University of Göttingen.²⁰ Supported by the Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft (later: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) they brought the *R.E.* back to life, and in 1948 the first volume (VII A 2, second half) appeared at a time when most people in Germany were thinking about basic food and clothing needs rather than scholarship. Dr. Druckenmüller died in December 1967, but Ziegler saw first the completion both of the first series (including letter Q) in 1963 and then of the second series in 1972; and when he died in January 1974 a few days before his ninetieth birthday, the work which should be called *Wissowa-Kroll-Ziegler* was complete except for Addenda and Corrigenda which Ziegler had collected and which were published in the last two supplements (XIV and XV) by Hans Gärtner, Professor of Classics at Regensburg.

When one looks at the eighty-odd volumes of Pauly-Wissowa's *R.E.* one wonders whether there is anything –whether there could be anything– from the ancient world that has escaped the care and scrupulousness of the editors and contributors; and indeed, when looking up a particular name or term, one is often faced not only with a good deal of information, but plunged into a scholarly debate – problems of authenticity, questions of chronology, controversies over institutions. At once one realizes that scholars are at work here, in the later volumes scholars from all parts of the world. Obviously, all editors tried –in accordance with the principles laid down by Wissowa– to do justice to all aspects of Greek and Roman life and culture and its background: the geography of the whole area including meteorology, climate, flora and fauna, the history, institutions, law, business life, daily life, religion, philosophy, literature and the other arts, paintings and sculptures, buildings and temples – of the Greeks and Romans, but also of numerous other peoples. Some articles are so informative that they will always be useful, other are

²⁰ On Konrat Julius Fürchtegott Ziegler see Wickert 1974, 636-640 and Gärtner 1980, V-XXII.

dated where new discoveries have been made – new evidence, inscriptions, coins, papyri or manuscripts have come to light or new theories have been developed and thus research has changed our views. But the general structure has remained unchanged and is clear: There are particular lemmata and general articles, and these (as well as other long articles) are –at least in later volumes– convincingly and helpfully structured, often with a table of contents at the beginning. Indeed, taking any volume of *Pauly-Wissowa* and browsing through it a little, one cannot help wondering after a minute or two how the editors came to think of all the lemmata, names, terms, events, general topics and particular items. And again when one looks for general subjects, e.g. “Rhetorik” or “Tragödie”, one will not be disappointed; yet there is no entry for either “Geschichtsschreibung” or “Historiographie”.

This leads to the general problem of selecting and naming the headings or lemmata. One finds *Athen* (though relegated to the supplements to do justice to recent excavations) and *Sparta*, *Rom*, *Jerusalem* and *Konstantinopel*, but neither *Griechen* nor *Hellenes* nor *Griechenland* nor *Italien* (or *Italia*) nor *Römer* (or *Romani*). The editors seem to have felt that such general articles had no place within the framework of their encyclopedia – but such lemmata as *Griechenland* do occur in smaller works of reference, e.g., in the *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich 1965). A few more examples may illustrate the problems involved. The original *Pauly* had *arma*; *Pauly-Wissowa* has neither *arma* nor *Waffen*, but it has *Bewaffnung* (rather brief) and *Geschütze*, as well as *arma decretoria*, *arma lusoria* and *arma pugnatoria*. It has *Befestigung* but not *Belagerung*; neither *Arbeit* nor *Labor*; and *Ponos* appears as an (evil) personification only. Instead of *Ehe* there are *Ἐπιγαμία*, *Ἐγγύασις* and *Ἐκδοσις*, and *Ehe im Recht der Papyri* as well as *Gamos* as personification; furthermore, there are entries for *Matrimonium*, *Divortium* and *Ehescheidung*, *Παλλακή* and *Paelex*, *Hetairai* and *Meretrix*, but not *Liebe*, only *Eros* (with *Amor*) as god or proper name, and *Knabenliebe*. There are very long articles on

Biene and *Eiche*, *Gartenbau* and *Gemüsebau*, as well on *Wachs* and *Zone* (as an astronomical-geographical term); but under *Dynamis* one meets with a queen of Pontus at the time of Augustus only.

One could go on endlessly, of course, and express surprise both at the items omitted and those included. The problems I have observed I would summarize in the following way:

a) Some information is not given where one would look for it and is sometimes given where one would not look for it; cross-references are in some cases provided, e.g., both under *Geburtstag* and *Natalis* to *Γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*, but by no means always, and the reader is therefore advised to try any concept in Greek or Latin or German before becoming disappointed and giving up.

b) In other cases much more information is given than people would expect, indeed would want. No doubt, everybody values the full treatment e.g. of *Herodotos* (F. Jacoby), *Plutarchos* (K. Ziegler), *Poseidonios* (K. Reinhardt) or *Thukydides* (O. Luschkat), *M. Tullius Cicero* (M. Gelzer, W. Kroll, R. Philippson and K. Büchner) or *P. Vergilius Maro* (K. Büchner). But who expects fifty columns on *Panyassis* (F. Stoessl), or more than three hundred on the *Pontos Euxeinus* (Ch. Danov)? If all ancient authors and all regions of the ancient world had been given such extensive treatment we would probably still be waiting for the completion of the whole; we would see our shelves bursting and –as individual scholars– we would no longer be able to pay for the whole.

c) In some cases one finds items which very few people will look for and most scholars can easily do without; e.g., see the fifty columns on *Paranatellonta* (Astrologisches Schlagwort: W. Gundel) .

d) Occasionally one and the same person appears twice, e.g. the sceptic and member of the empirical school of medicine *Menodotos*, who is dealt with

by Hans Raeder in ten lines and by Wilhelm Capelle in fifteen columns.²¹ For the historian *C. Velleius Paterculus* the account of Albrecht Dihle was printed in vol. VIII A (637-659) in 1955. But I have also seen the proofs of the account by Rudolf Helm amongst the papers left behind after his death in 1966; this illustrates the problems and difficulties of the new beginning after World War II.²²

e) Sometimes contributors indulge in citing impressions and judgments which should have no place in such an encyclopedia: Johanna Schmidt in her article (of almost a hundred columns) on Mount *Parnassos* quotes several travellers, one of whom claims to see in its shape “den Sinn (sc. der Griechen) für weises Maß und klare Form, für Grenze und Geschlossenheit” (Schmidt 1949, 1663).

Other defects seem unavoidable:

a) Some articles, especially in the early volumes, are hopelessly out of date.

b) There is a fair amount of overlap; e.g., historical events often concern two (if not more) parties and are frequently recorded by two or more sources, i.e., authors who have their own entries.

c) Also, “missing” items seem inevitable. Ronald Syme’s “missing persons”²³ could easily be matched by other missing lemmata. But who could (and would) claim to be infallible in this respect ?

d) Lastly: uneven treatment. One has to bear in mind that not only the taste but also the needs of scholars vary, and editors of encyclopedias must serve very different needs and expectations. Moreover, to persuade a contributor to shorten his piece is not an easy task. Kroll (probably) and

²¹ *Menodotos*: W. Capelle vol. XV, Stuttgart 1955, 900-916 and H. Raeder *ibid.* 916; I owe this observation to my colleague Lorenzo Perilli (Rome).

²² On the other hand, some notes seem to have survived all disasters; in vol. XXII 1, which appeared in 1953, one finds articles by Johannes Kirchner who had already contributed to the first volume and died in 1940, see Hiller von Gaertringen 1942, 133-142.

²³ See Syme 1979-1991, I 315-324; I 455-460; II 530-540.

Ziegler (certainly) were far too kind to take drastic measures.²⁴ Furthermore, contributors were paid by the line, and during the period of persecution and deprivation of rights by the Nazis (which meant forced early retirement and a reduced pension –if any– for political opponents and Jews) a little additional money was most welcome. And one of the miraculous achievements of publisher and editor was that they printed numerous articles which had been written by persecuted scholars, Jews or political opponents of the Nazis, scholars who were not allowed to publish at all. Apparently Druckenmüller and Kroll persuaded the authorities that the articles had been submitted a long time ago, and the whole encyclopedia with its prestige not only in Germany, but also abroad, would be in danger if they had to do without them. Thus articles were published by authors who were suffering in concentration camps or had died there, or who were living in hiding or had fled the country.²⁵

While Pauly-Wissowa's *R.E.* was nearing its completion the indefatigable K. Ziegler and A. Druckenmüller, together with Walter Sontheimer (Stuttgart) began *Der Kleine Pauly*, published between 1964 and 1975;²⁶ less than twenty years after Ziegler's death, *Der Neue Pauly*, edited by Hubert Cancik and Herbert Schneider together with Manfred Landfester, began to appear. This work, too, has recently been completed,²⁷ with an English translation now in preparation. Does this mean that we can do without *Pauly-Wissowa* now? That we may forget it? Is it still worth having, buying, consulting? As a work of reference for facts, biographical, historical and geographical, it has served generations of scholars all over the world and is, I think, still indispensable.

²⁴ Already in his reviews of the first volumes M. Hertz complains that some of the articles (by F.C. Andreas) are far too long, see Hertz 1894, 737-743, esp. 741; 1895, 400-405, esp. 401-402; 1651-1655, esp. 1651-1652.

²⁵ See K. Ziegler in his necrology of A. Druckenmüller (Ziegler 1968, 5).

²⁶ After K. Ziegler's death it was again H. Gärtner who shouldered the difficult task of completing the work.

And it is also of the greatest importance as a representative of twentieth century scholarship with its positivistic approach, its attempt to present as much factual information as possible from the world of the Greeks and Romans and their neighbours. Indeed, it is fascinating to see how a scholar like Karl Reinhardt, who developed a new approach in dealing with authors by stressing their “inner form” (as is shown by his books on Parmenides and Posidonius) (Reinhardt 1916; 1921; 1926) in presenting Posidonius in this encyclopedia chose (or was made to choose) a fact- and information-oriented form, and the same applies to Otto Regenbogen and his article on *Theophrastos* 3. On the other hand, one also finds articles like that on *Cn. Naevius* by Eduard Fraenkel, which is still worth reading as an example of valuable literary appreciation.

Thus, I think that as long as classicists base their work on preserved texts, inscriptions and monuments and not on constructions and theories, *Pauly-Wissowa* will hold its place as a work of reference for reliable information.²⁸

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²⁷ 1-16, Stuttgart 1996-2003; Brill’s *New Pauly* is being published in twenty volumes with Christine F. Salazar as managing editor.

²⁸After submitting the text of my lecture to the editors I became aware of an article by E. Mensching (2003, 142-157); the author refers to two articles which should also be mentioned here (though not available to me), one by M. Balzert (1996, 15-21) and the other by U. W. Scholz (2003, 311-336).

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