



The Library Chronicle

Volume 1

Number 2 *University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle*

Article 3

6-1-1933

Ptolemaic Studies

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the "Gerusalemme Liberata" beginning with three published in 1581 at Ferrara, Casalmaggiore, and Lyons, the last of which is especially rare. We have also a nearly complete collection in original editions of the controversial works written to criticize and defend Tasso's epic. The many editions of the "Rime" begin with those printed at Venice and at Ferrara in 1582; and the collection includes many texts of the "Aminta," beginning with the Aldine of 1581, and the first edition of "Il Re Torrismondo" of Bergamo, 1587.

Aside from the works of the four masters, the Library furnishes good facilities for the study of Italian literature and linguistics, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of particular note is the collection of Italian lyric poets of that period, a collection which we have been gradually gathering for many years. This includes early editions of almost all the lyric poets from Serafino dall'Aquila and Tebaldeo, to Giambattista Marino and his contemporaries, as well as a valuable collection of the many anthologies printed during that period.

PTOLEMAIC STUDIES

By Dr. Walter Woodburn Hyde

Two additions to the Library have been made recently from the Lamberton Fund which are notable enough, from the point of view of cost and importance, to be worthy of rather extended notice:

I. *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*. Translated into English and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson, with Introduction by Prof. Joseph Fischer, S. J. Folio, New York, 1932, pp. xvi, 167, 29 double plates.

This is the first complete translation into any modern language of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, the last of the Greek geographers, who worked at Alexandria 1700 years ago, notwithstanding that there have appeared over fifty editions of the Greek text since the *editio princeps* of Erasmus at Basel in 1533. The translator is widely known for his many contributions to the fields of historical geography and cartography. The size and cost of this sumptuous volume, published by the New York Public Library, are largely due to the cartographic supplement which takes up nearly half of it. The paper, typography, and binding in half-leather are superb. Only 250 copies have been issued.

The translation is based on Greek and Latin manuscripts of the *Geography*, the former dating from the eleventh century, the latter from the Renaissance or from the early fifteenth century;

on important printed editions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; and on the critical studies especially of F. G. Wilberg and Carl Müller. As a supplement to the translation, are added twenty-seven photo-gelatine reproductions of maps recognized as essentially Ptolemaic. These are taken from the *Codex Ebnerianus*, in the Lenox collection now in the New York Public Library, prepared by Donnus Nicolaus Germanus *ca.* 1460, and the basis of those appearing in early Roman editions of the *Geography* from 1478 to 1508. These are the best reproductions of Ptolemaic maps now published, with the exception of the photographic reproduction of the *Codex Athous graecus* from the cloister of Vatopedi on Athos by Didot, Paris, 1867, and Vol. IV of the *Codex Vaticanus Urbinas graecus* 82 to be discussed below. Two additional maps, made after the discovery of America, are the Ruysch World Map taken from the printed edition of 1508, and the New World Map of Lorenz Fries from that of 1522. The latter shows the name America across what is now South America, where Martin Waldseemüller had placed it in 1507 on the world map which accompanied his famous essay *Cosmographiae introductio*, while on the former that area is marked *Terra sancte sive Mundus novus*, the latter part of that title being the same as Vespucci had used in his Lisbon letter of March or April, 1508.

The chief reason why there has never before been a complete translation of Ptolemy into a modern language—though incomplete versions exist in Italian and French—has been shown by Prof. Fischer to be the lack of a satisfactory critical Greek text or Latin translation. The early printed editions were critically worthless—the first Latin version of 1462 (?), which was followed by others in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the first Greek text of Erasmus already mentioned, and the first Greek text with Latin translation by Bertius, Leyden, 1618. The latter was regarded as the standard text down to the last century, when the first attempt to make a critical edition was made by F. G. Wilberg and C. H. F. Grashof, Essen, 1836-45, followed by that of C. F. A. Nobbe, Leipzig, 1843-5. The latter in its 2nd edition, 1898 and 1913, shares with the Greek text and Latin translation made by C. Müller and C. T. Fischer (Didot), 2nd ed. 1, Pts. 1 and 2, 1883 and 1901, the honor of being the best today.

While the translation purports to be scientifically done, it is not difficult to point out certain omissions which one should not expect in such a publication. As there are over forty Greek and Latin manuscripts known, of various degrees of completeness and value, and many printed editions, the work should be accompanied by an *apparatus criticus*, giving, with some system of proper nota-

tion, the variant readings of all. In this way the reader might know which are "the generally recognized best Latin and Greek texts" (XIII). Moreover, there should be a complete bibliography of manuscripts, editions, and studies of Ptolemy, instead of the few works mentioned by Prof. Fischer in his Introduction (3-15). The analytic Table of Contents of the *Geography* by book and chapter (VII-X) is serviceable, but it is needlessly repeated twice in the translation, at the beginning of each of the eight books and again at the head of each chapter of each book. A systematic index or indexes would have been invaluable—of countries, provinces, lands, tribes, seas, rivers, mountains, and especially of the 8,000 localities taken over by Ptolemy in Bks. II-VII from Marinus of Tyre, with their longitudes and latitudes correct to five minutes.

Nor can the reviewer whole-heartedly accept the translator's praise of Ptolemy as a geographer. It should be remembered that Ptolemy's fame both in geography and astronomy has been largely adventitious. Though in both fields he wielded absolute authority for centuries, an influence on later science only second to that of Aristotle—the "geocentric" theory in the *Almagest*, already disproved by Aristarchus nearly four centuries before but unfortunately accepted by the Church, not being destroyed till the time of Copernicus and the later Kepler and Newton, his geographical system gradually waning in face of the rise of modern geographical discovery—nevertheless his chief merit in both branches of science was neither originality nor discovery, in which respects he stood far behind several of his predecessors, but merely industry and learning. He was only a collector, reviser, and editor of works by men far his superiors, the *Almagest* resting on the labors of Hipparchus, the founder of scientific astronomy, the *Geography* being merely a corrected and amplified version of the work of his immediate forerunner, Marinus of Tyre, to which he made only slight additions.

His *Geography*, a dry and technical work, is neither complete nor satisfactory. At best it is only mathematical in scope, rigidly excluding descriptions of lands, products, climate, physical features, and peoples. Strabo, over a century before, understood far better the importance of rivers and mountains in "geographizing" a given country. Both physical and descriptive geography were practically unknown to Ptolemy. Moreover, his faults are as great as those which he condemned in the work of Marinus (I, chs. 6-20). He exaggerates the extent of the habitable world, the length of the Mediterranean, the size of Taprobane (Ceylon), and, worst of all, he encloses the Indian ocean by joining south-

eastern Asia to southern Africa, a mistake of far-reaching influence, since it sadly retarded modern efforts to reach the Indies by circumnavigating Africa, though Phoenician sailors sent out by the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho over seven centuries before his time had successfully accomplished the feat. Many of his faults can be explained by the fact that he was more of a mathematician and astronomer than geographer, but they were faults nevertheless.

Thus his importance as a geographer is due merely to the scientific form of the *Geography* and the systematic organization of its material. These things have made it in a sense the foundation of Moslem and modern cartography, which may be said to be developed from his maps and their spherical projection. In this sense only may his be called "the most considerable attempt to place the study of geography on a scientific basis, giving him, therefore, the first place among ancient writers on the subject" (XIII).

Despite the shortcomings already noted, the present translation, and especially the reproductions of Ebner's maps to illustrate the text of the *Geography* chapter by chapter, will prove of inestimable value to every student of Ptolemy or of ancient geography in general. It is hoped that the translation will appear in the near future in a more convenient and less costly publication.

II. *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas graecus 82 phototypice depictus consilio et opera curatorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*. Ed. by Joseph Fischer, S. J., and dedicated to Pius XI, Pont. Max. Two volumes in four: I, Pt. 1, Pp. xvi, 605; I, Pt. 2, *Tabulae geographicae* LXXXIII; II, Pt. 1, 37 double pages, 78; II, Pt. 2, viii, *Tabulae geographicae* LVII. Lugduni Batavorum et Lipsiae, 1932.

This sumptuous and costly work by the well-known geographer and cartographer, Prof. Fischer of Feldkirch, forms Vol. XVIII of the famous series *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*. It purports to be the first complete edition of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, based on the most important and influential of all Greek mss. of that work, whose importance for Ptolemaic studies the editor was the first to point out.

It is in two main sections, each of which is subdivided into a text and map volume: I, Pt. 1, is a comprehensive *Commentatio*—albeit in German—on what is known of the life of Ptolemy, though properly speaking a biography is non-existent; his works, of which no critical edition of the *Geography* exists; and his influence on geographical science, with a historico-cartographic bibliography (491-513), list of manuscripts used in the work (555-7), and various indexes (559-607). I, Pt. 2, reproduces 83

maps from 53 different Mss.; 24 Greek from 14 Mss.; 2 Arabic from 1 Ms.; and 57 Latin from 38 Mss. II, Pt. 1, is a facsimile reproduction of *Codex Urbinas graecus* 82, the Greek text of Bks. I-VIII of the *Geography*, with a critical apparatus in Latin, the work of the well-known Italian Hellenist Dr. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri. Here the captions of books, chapters, and sections follow those of the last two revisions of the *Geography*, those by C. Müller and C. T. Fischer, I, Pt. 2, 2nd ed., Parisiis, 1883 and 1901, and by C. F. A. Nobbe, I, II, 2nd ed., Lipsiae, 1898-1913. II, Pt. 2, the costliest part of the work, is a facsimile reproduction in original size of 57 maps of the *Geography*—27 from *Cod. Urbinas* 82, followed by 27 from *Cod. Vaticanus latinus* 5698, and 3 from *Cod. Urbinas graecus*, 83, accompanied by introductory remarks by Dr. Fischer (VII-VIII).

This great publication, wherein the best of the Ptolemaic Mss. is compared with many others, both Greek and Latin, found in various libraries and collections, is the result of labors extending over a quarter of a century. To the interruption caused by the world war and its immediate aftermath we are indebted for the inclusion of several publications and source material. We might especially note the texts and maps of the *Geography* recently discovered by Dr. A. Deissmann, of the University of Berlin, in the Seraglio Library in Constantinople. First, the badly injured parchment folio of the thirteenth century, *Cod. Constant. Seragl. gr.* 57, in 122 sheets and 27 maps (Comm. 515-23), which reproduces the entire eight books of the *Geography*. Here the World Map is given in modified spherical projection, such as was used by Ptolemy, but it is not the latter's genuine map, since its contents do not correspond with the data of Ptolemy as given in Bk. VII, chs. 5-7, but is to be assigned rather to the modified projection by Agathodæmon (516f.), the Alexandrine geographer of the second century, who made a recension of Ptolemy's maps. Secondly, the *Cod. Constant. Seragl. lat.* 44 (524-6), a splendidly preserved parchment of 98 folio sheets known to be one of the oldest Latin translations of the *Geography*, by Jacobus Angelus, first published by Friedrich Blass in *Hermes*, XXIII, 1888, 227f. Thirdly, important parts of *Cod. Constant. Seragl. lat.* 84 (385 and 528-51), printed by Francesco Berlinghieri and dedicated to the conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Mohammed II, who reigned 1451-81. There are also included from recently discovered sources Dr. E. L. Stevenson's reproductions of the text and maps of *Cod. Escorialensis lat.* (414-15); the well-preserved parchment *Cod. Constant. Arabicus* 2610 (523-4) now in the church of St. Sophia, first photographed in 1928 for the State Library at Berlin; and 26

rotographs of Ptolemaic Ms. maps from *Cod. Newberriensis lat.* (527-8), in the Newberry Library in Chicago, which are shown to be essentially copied from the Ulm printed edition of the *Geography* of 1482 or 1486, and so going back to Donnus Nicolaus Germanus; and several others.

The most attractive part of the work to the layman interested in ancient geography is I, one. Here in three books are discussed all questions relating to (a) Ptolemy, man and scholar, geographer and cartographer (10-171); (b) the manuscript tradition of the *Geography* with a list of the chief Greek and Latin Mss. of the so-called A and B redactions conforming in the main with the division into Byzantine and Asiatic by C. Müller in his first edition of the Greek text in 1867 (171-415); and (c) the secular influence of the *Geography* down to the Renaissance, a millenium after his day—first on the Greeks and Byzantines, especially Agathodaemon, Pappas, and Marcian of Heraclea; then on the Syrians, Arabians, and Armenians; and lastly on the Romans and Germans (417-490). Under b is an extensive section on the history and date of the *Cod. Urbinas gr.* 82 (219-234). This Ms., undated and unsigned, has been known to scholars only since 1895, when the catalog of the Greek Urbinas Mss. was made, and was named after the second Duke of Urbino (1482-1502). It seems to have been brought to Urbino by the latter's father Federico, who died in 1482, from the Orient, and probably from the great cloister of the Studium, founded in the fifth century at Constantinople, where it may hitherto have reposed. On the ground of lettering, literature, etc., it has been assigned by Dr. Fischer to the twelfth, or at latest to the beginning of the thirteenth century, conformably with the date earlier fixed by the great German Byzantine scholar, Karl Krumbacher and his pupil Dr. S. G. Mercati, and accepted by Dr. de' Cavalieri, though an earlier date, the eleventh century, has been recently argued by J. L. Heiberg and Otto Cuntz.

This great work, then, along with the first complete translation of the *Geography* into any modern language discussed above, has placed Ptolemaic studies on a new basis. We are now ready for a complete critical Greek text of the *Geography*, which will supersede the imperfect earlier attempts by F. G. Wilberg and C. K. F. Grashof, Essen, 1836-45, and those of C. Müller and C. T. Fischer, and of C. F. A. Nobbe, already mentioned. The critical text of Ptolemy's works by J. L. Heiberg and others is still in progress, vol. I, Pts. 1, 2, *Syntaxis mathematica*, having appeared in 1898-1903, and II, *Opera astronomica minora*, in 1907. It is hoped that the third concluding volume will give us the long needed text of the *Geography*.