

## The Berlin Graeca: a Further Note

*William M. Calder III*

FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN in *GRBS* 20 (1979) 89–122 provides a welcome description of Wilamowitz’s Graeca, a group of young scholars who, every second Saturday in term, read a selected Greek author under his guidance at Eichenallee 12 in Charlottenburg. The group is important for two reasons. For about a decade it served to train younger scholars of ability to textual criticism of the highest order. This point is beautifully emphasized by Solmsen. Further it was a source for a number of publications of Wilamowitz’s old age. *Hesiodos Erga* (1928) is merely the best known.<sup>1</sup> The American parallel would be W. A. Oldfather’s Illinois Greek Club, the club that resulted in the publication of the Loeb Aeneas Tacticus.<sup>2</sup> Solmsen is one of the four survivors of the Graeca, with Harald Fuchs, Werner Peek and Luise Reinhard. His extensive, authoritative account will be the *Hauptquelle* for how the group worked.

This note is meant in no way to denigrate a remarkable feat of memory that goes back over fifty years. Solmsen candidly admits (89 n.1): “my memory is bound to have erred in a number of instances.” Thus Wilamowitz was taken to Germany by the Italians not in a “submarine” (97) but in a “gunboat”<sup>3</sup>—I assume a small cruiser. The story (92–93 n.5) that Theodor Mommsen, when offered the title *Exzellenz*, hastily wrote “an article scathingly critical of some official policies” and sent it “to a progressive news-

<sup>1</sup> I wrote at *GRBS* 16 (1975) 453: “Schadewaldt had suggested in 1927, while still Dozent at Berlin, that he and Wilamowitz read the *Erga* together.” My source was *Erga*, 1: “Da schlug mein Kollege Schadewaldt vor, wir sollten die *Erga* gemeinschaftlich lesen.” I thought *gemeinschaftlich* meant a private reading by the two. It conceals a reference to the Graeca: see Solmsen 91.

<sup>2</sup> The Illinois Greek Club, *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander* (Cambridge [Mass.]/London 1948). For Oldfather and Wilamowitz see *CJ* 72 (1976/77) 115–27.

<sup>3</sup> Josefine von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Meine wenigen Erinnerungen an Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff* (unpublished ms. in my possession): “Natürlich waren wir alle 1927 mächtig stolz, als man uns erzählte, die italienische Regierung habe Onkel Ulrich ein Kanonenboot zur Verfügung gestellt, damit er nach einem offiziellen Besuch in der Kyrenaika termingerech zu einer Vorlesung zurück sein könnte.” So too Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, at *HSCP* 83 (1979) 393 n.136.

paper with the request for immediate publication” to avoid the honor is surely legend. Mommsen would never have endangered his family and embarrassed his son-in-law in that way; there was no need. He simply wrote the government that he would decline the honor. His daughter Adelheid tells us what happened:<sup>4</sup>

Wenige Tage vor dem achtzigsten Geburtstage<sup>5</sup> las er in der Zeitung, daß ihm der Titel Exzellenz verliehen werden sollte. Schleunigst musste Briefkarte und Umschlag herbeigeschafft werden, er schrieb an Ministerialdirektor Althoff,<sup>6</sup> und die Sache unterlieb. Er liebte die Alterstitel nicht, wie er von seinen vielen Orden nur den Pour le Mérite schätzte. Er brauche, so sagte er wohl scherzweise, keine Bestätigung, daß er keine silbernen Löffel gestohlen habe.

In matters of perspective there is room for disagreement—for example, Solmsen’s contention—which attests ‘the official view’—that Wilamowitz’s opinion of Jaeger endured amiable throughout the Berlin period. Wilamowitz did not reveal to a student fifty-seven years younger than himself what he really thought. This he reserved for letters to old friends and for his family. Of course he remained ‘*treu*’ to the *collega proximus*; that does not mean approval. “To jealousy and academic intrigue he was a stranger” (111). As an admiring student’s encomium of a great old man the sentence is understandable.<sup>7</sup> There were other views. Friedrich Meinecke has described the control that ‘the Göttingen Clique’ exerted over the Berlin Faculty.<sup>8</sup> Wilamowitz led them. The others were the Ger-

<sup>4</sup> Adelheid Mommsen, *Theodor Mommsen in Kreise der Seinen: Erinnerungen seiner Tochter* (Berlin 1936) 18.

<sup>5</sup> 30 November 1897.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Theodor Althoff (1839–1908): see Franz Schnabel, *s.n.* *NDB* 1 (Berlin 1953) 222–24, and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen 1848–1914*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1929) 249–51.

<sup>7</sup> Also that he was “basically uncomplicated” (103): see Eduard Schwartz at *Quaderni di storia* 7 (1978) 211: “Er war keine so durchsichtige Persönlichkeit wie Mommsen; es gab in ihm Sprünge und Nebel, zum Mindesten seit der Übersiedelung [*sic*] nach Berlin, deren Notwendigkeit er dem Schicksal nie verziehen hat.” *Sprünge* means ‘cracks’, not ‘leaps’ here. Jaeger attests Wilamowitz’s jealousy of Harnack (*SM* II 145).

<sup>8</sup> “Autobiographische Schriften,” ed. Eberhard Kessel, *Friedrich Meinecke Werke* VIII (Stuttgart 1969) 249. The philological cabal that kept Wilhelm Dörpfeld out of the Berlin Academy is another example: see my “Wilamowitz on Schliemann,” *Philologus* forthcoming, and Conrad Grau and Leo Stern, “Die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Zeit des Imperialismus: Teil 1, Von den neunziger Jahren des 19. Jahr-

manist Gustav Roethe, the philologist Wilhelm Schulze and the indologist Heinrich Lüders.

The Graeca was not a Wilamowitzian innovation, founded in 1921 to strengthen Wilamowitz's contact with younger scholars.<sup>9</sup> He had already in 1919 decided to form his Graeca. The evidence is a postcard of 11 March 1919 from Wilamowitz to Paul Friedländer (1882–1968).<sup>10</sup> He has written on its front: "Betr: Gründung der Graeca."<sup>11</sup>

Lieber Herr College. An Kranz<sup>12</sup> hatte ich auch schon gedacht, natürlich wenn er Lust hat, was Sie ja erkunden werden. Hippokrates<sup>13</sup> wird wegen des Textes schwierig; ich würde sonst als Anfang π. τροφή<sup>14</sup> vorschlagen, das ein seltenes stilistisches Problem stellt. Thukydides<sup>15</sup> wird sicherlich vielen gefallen. Plutarchs Delphika sind es wert.<sup>16</sup> Aber ich denke auch an Aristeides ὑπὲρ τῶν τεσσάρων, damit sich jemand findet, der den ersten Band mit Keils vollständigem Material macht.<sup>17</sup> Wir haben auch noch zwei schöne Reden,

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hunderts bis zur Grossen Sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution," *Studien zur Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR* 2/1 (Berlin 1975) 146. For Wilamowitz's hostility to Hildebrandt, Ulrich Karl Goldsmith cites Kurt Hildebrandt, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George und seinen Kreis* (Bonn 1965) 144, 189.

<sup>9</sup> Solmsen 90: "as the Graeca began to meet in 1921 the prevailing opinion was that it was designed to make up for his lessened contact with younger minds."

<sup>10</sup> See Winfried Bühler, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 619–23. For Friedländer and Wilamowitz see my "The Credo of a New Generation: Paul Friedländer to Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf," *AuA* 26 (1980).

<sup>11</sup> The date, as regularly with Wilamowitz's postcards, is provided by the cancellation on its front. I am grateful to Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and to Dr. K. Haenel of the Göttingen Library for permission to publish this postcard. My colleague Professor Ernst A. Fredricksmeier generously made a first transcription.

<sup>12</sup> Walther Kranz (1884–1960): see H. Herter, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 782–84. For his bibliography see Walther Kranz, *Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Fortwirken: Kleine Schriften*, ed. Ernst Vogt (Heidelberg 1967) 501–08.

<sup>13</sup> Not included among authors mentioned by Solmsen, 91.

<sup>14</sup> Hippocrates, *De alim.*, IX 94–121 Littré.

<sup>15</sup> Also missing at Solmsen 91; both Hippocrates and Thucydides may never have been read by the Graeca.

<sup>16</sup> These were in fact later read by the Graeca with the result of frequent improvements of the text: see Solmsen 91 n.3.

<sup>17</sup> That is, Aristeides, *Or.* 46 Dindorf. The four are Miltiades, Kimon, Themistokles and Perikles: see Schmid-Stählin II.2 704–05. Wilamowitz's interest in Aristeides began in 1875 (*Kleine Schriften* III 424–25). He warmly reviewed André Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la Sophistique dans la Province d'Asie au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère* (Paris 1923) at *Litteris* 2 (1925) 125–30 = *Kl.Schr.* III 420–25, and the same year published his Academy address *Der Rhetor Aristeides* (*Kl.Schr.* III 426–53). For his discussion of *Or.* 46 Dindorf see *Kl.Schr.* III 449–50.

wohl Deklamationen, die sich als demosthenischer Zeit angehörig aufspielen, in den Papyri.<sup>18</sup> Das liesse sich *unitis viribus*<sup>19</sup> vielleicht erledigen, aber dazu müsste etwas Rednerisches vorher abgetan sein.<sup>20</sup> Ich rede so, als würd aus dem Ganzen etwas. Und dem traue ich nicht; Stimmung wird bei uns immer flauer und trüber.<sup>21</sup> Am liebsten grabe ich.<sup>22</sup>

εὖ πράττειν Ihr

UWILAMOWITZ

But Wilamowitz was not founding the Graeca; he was reviving it. His father-in-law Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) had regularly shared in meetings of the Graeca on Fridays, not Saturdays, presumably until his death in 1903. Adelheid reports:<sup>23</sup>

Weniger trat für die Jugend die Graeca in Erscheinung, an der der Vater an zwei Freitagen im Monat teilnahm. Ich entsinne mich nur des langausgezogenen, sehr ernsthaft anmutenden Tisches, auf dem einzelne Bücher und einige Tintenfüßer standen. Bei der Lektüre der griechischen Schriftsteller war ausser den Herren niemand, bei dem anschliessenden Abendbrot nur die Hausfrau zugegen.

But the origins of the Berlin Graeca or Graecitas extend far beyond Mommsen's arrival in Berlin (1858).<sup>24</sup> Christian Ludwig Ideler (1766–1846) and the Quintilian editor Georg Ludwig Spalding (1762–1811) founded the society at the end of the eighteenth century. It met at first Wednesday and Sunday evenings from six to seven o'clock. Oddly, the first author read was Manilius.<sup>25</sup> Gradually the traditional format evolved. It met once a week Friday evenings, the place of meeting revolving among the homes of

<sup>18</sup> I suppose he means *BKT* 7.4–13=2511 Pack<sup>2</sup> and *BKT* 7.31–34=2512 Pack<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Dr W. Buchwald informs me that *unitis viribus* is the *Wahlspruch* chosen by the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I on 12 February 1848. Its author was Joseph Ritter von Bergmann (1796–1872).

<sup>20</sup> Before reading the papyri we should have to read Demosthenes. For Wilamowitz's lifelong detestation of Demosthenes see *CW* 72 (1978/79) 239–40.

<sup>21</sup> Simply a further expression of Wilamowitz's depression at this time: see his letter to Werner Jaeger of 26 November 1918 at *HSCP* 82 (1978) 323–25 with notes.

<sup>22</sup> In her letters of the post-war period to Ellen S. Drachmann, Marie Mommsen alludes repeatedly to her husband's increased devotion to gardening. He turned to it in despair.

<sup>23</sup> Adelheid Mommsen, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 23.

<sup>24</sup> See G. Parthey, *Origines Graecitatis Berolinensis*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin 1876); Martin Hertz, *Karl Lachmann: Eine Biographie* (Berlin 1851; repr. Osnabrück 1972) 211ff; and Wolfhart Unte, "Berliner Klassische Philologen im 19. Jahrhundert," *Ergänzungsband zum Katalog 'Berlin und die Antike'* (Berlin 1979) 9ff.

<sup>25</sup> Hertz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 211.

its members. A Greek author was read and elucidated. After the reading (Herodotus was one of the first authors read) the members dined cheerfully together. Membership was not limited to professional philologists; a love for antiquity and a fastidious feeling for classical education were required. New members were “ins Griechische übersetzt.” Early members included great men like Wolf, Boeckh, Heindorf, Buttman, Schleiermacher, Niebuhr, Immanuel Bekker, later Lachmann and Meineke.<sup>26</sup> Leopold von Ranke became a member.<sup>27</sup> Because Lachmann was a bachelor, after the reading he would take the group to a splendid Berlin restaurant, Beyer-  
mann’s, later Schott’s, “und oft liess er Champagner fliessen, die frohe Stimmung zu erhöhen.”<sup>28</sup>

By Mommsen’s time the Graeca met only twice a month but still circulating with dinner among its members. By 1919 the original Graeca must have become moribund.<sup>29</sup> Otherwise Wilamowitz would never have appropriated the name. He instituted several changes while retaining the name and purpose of the original group. He substituted alternate Saturday afternoons for Friday evenings and dinner.<sup>30</sup> It no longer revolved but always met at his home. This was necessary, for it obviously could not meet at a student’s room. Membership regularly was restricted to students and younger colleagues, often themselves former students.<sup>31</sup> Men like Diels, Harnack, Jaeger, Lietzmann, Norden, Schulze, obvious candidates for the original Graeca, were not included. But now women were admitted.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Unte, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 9, with a fuller list.

<sup>27</sup> Hertz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 211. Wilamowitz would not have missed that Ranke and Meineke were both Schulpforte graduates.

<sup>28</sup> Hertz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 212.

<sup>29</sup> This is not inconsistent with Unte, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 9: “Der hier von Savigny angesprochene Kreis war zugleich die berühmte Berliner Graeca oder Graecitas, die in dieser Zeit gegründet wurde und über Generationen hin bis in die Gegenwart bestanden hat.”

<sup>30</sup> Solmsen 91: “every second Saturday afternoon.” Two Saturdays a month would more closely parallel Mommsen. Dinner would have been impossible. Food was scarce. Wilamowitz depended heavily on food packages from A. B. Drachmann in Denmark.

<sup>31</sup> Friedrich Spiro appears the sole exception (Solmsen 91).

<sup>32</sup> At least Dr Luise Reinhard (Solmsen 91). Revealingly Solmsen says nothing of Eva Sachs: see *HSCP* 82 (1978) 318 n.92. This confirms the tradition of *Hausverbot*.

## Professor Solmsen's Reply

THE NEW EVIDENCE provided by Professor Calder shows that Wilamowitz's idea for his Graeca goes back at least to 1919, and it may indeed have little or no causal connection with his emeritation.<sup>1</sup> Calder errs, however, in regarding Wilamowitz's Graeca as a revival or continuation of Mommsen's. 'Graeca' is a generic, not a proprietary word, and every Graeca that I know of was a private enterprise. There was no question of a *διαδοχή*, and during the years in which Wilamowitz's Graeca met there were in Berlin surely any number of other Graecas, whether under this name or any other, differing in interests, habits and procedures and without mutual contact. So for example Norden in the "Vorrede" of his *Agnostos Theos* refers to "unsere Graeca" in Berlin, where the *Acta Apostolorum* were read in the winter of 1910/1 and whose membership consisted of classicists and theologians. Of Graecas elsewhere the *Hallensis* was known on account of its occasional publications; that of Freiburg concentrated on the study of papyri; and in Strassburg, where Eduard Schwartz and the philosopher Windelband were members, literary and philosophical texts were read and discussed. It is thus misleading to speak of Wilamowitz as "appropriating the name" and "instituting changes." I should add that no student was at any time a member of the Graeca.

Perhaps Calder is right to doubt the story of Mommsen's article in a progressive newspaper to ward off the title 'Exzellenz', although one version does not necessarily exclude the other; for Wilhelm II was tenacious in such matters. The prime example is Bismarck's vain protests against raising his status (on the occasion of his dismissal) to 'Herzog von Lauenburg'. In the version which I heard (in 1923) Mommsen actually prided himself on having for once done better

<sup>1</sup> As for publications which grew out of the Graeca, *Hesiodos Erga* is the only book of which this may be said; for *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus* (1927) was written in reaction to Eduard Schwartz's *Die Odyssee* (Munich 1924), and the study of the latter books of the *Odyssey* with the Graeca merely helped him to test and clarify his convictions. There are, however, a number of articles and "Lesefrüchte" which grew out of his reading with the Graeca. Of these I mention only two which appeared too late for inclusion in the *Wilamowitz-Bibliographie*: "Die *Καθαρμοί* des Empedokles" (*SB Berl.* 1929, 626-61) and emendations to Empedocles' *Περὶ φύσεως* included in "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* 65 (1930).

than Bismarck, who had so often gotten the better of him in the political arena.

Concerning Wilamowitz's relations with his colleagues, I am not persuaded that my impressions are wrong. As to Harnack,<sup>2</sup> frictions with Wilamowitz in the early Berlin years related mainly to the Kirchenväter-Kommission, where Harnack held out as long as he could against classicists (Eduard Schwartz, Paul Wendland *et al.*) as editors. In the 1920's their relationship was friendly, although Wilamowitz was sometimes critical of Harnack's scholarship (*e.g.*, of his reconstruction of Porphyry's *Adversus Christianos*), and Harnack could be mildly ironical about *ὁ πόνυ*, as he liked to call him. On Dörpfeld Wilamowitz was unduly hard. As far as I know, the Leukas thesis sufficed to make him forget all indisputable merits of Dörpfeld. Kurt Hildebrandt had provoked Wilamowitz by his aggressiveness and dilettantish arrogance. More interesting than Wilamowitz's reaction to this (self-appointed?) spokesman for the Stefan George circle would be his opinion of the master himself. Here the information is unfortunately very scarce, conflicting and unreliable.<sup>3</sup>

"Wilamowitz did not reveal to a student . . . what he really thought" (*scil.* of Jaeger). I might add: "nor to a young Ph.D. or Privatdozent." All of this, while true, is irrelevant. I believe I have emphasized sufficiently (98ff *supra*) how discreet Wilamowitz was and how rarely he allowed himself a critical remark on Jaeger or for that matter any of his colleagues. Channels by which such remarks would reach younger people, including advanced students, were by no means lacking; but Wilamowitz saw to it that there was nothing to pass through them. Nobody, least of all Jaeger, had illusions about Wilamowitz's critical attitude. On proceedings in the Berlin faculty I cannot report much. It is certain that Wilamowitz's influence was great and that the 'Göttinger' were united by close ties of friendship. Roethe had been one of his best friends in Göttingen, and the friendship with Schulze went back to Greifswald, where Schulze had been

<sup>2</sup> The warm friendship between Mommsen and Harnack was something unique, described most perceptively by Agnes Zahn-Harnack in the biography of her father.

<sup>3</sup> I for one am not convinced that the parody of George's early poetic style attributed to Wilamowitz is really his. The poem ends on the lines ". . . alles lacht so blau; | ja, glaub mir, Stefan, alles lacht so blau." This has enough of Wilamowitz's irony and wit to pass as genuine, but there are chronological difficulties.

one of his most distinguished students. However, three or four men were a minority in a Faculty whose membership must have ranged between fifty and a hundred. Influence is not invariably exerted through 'intrigue'.

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