

***Vita brevis – ars longa:*
Pauly's beginnings and Wissowa-Kroll-Ziegler's
monumental achievement***

Für Hans Gärtner zum 14.6.2010

In the eighteenth century German school boys consulted Benjamin Hederich's *Reales Schul-Lexicon*, first published in Leipzig in 1717¹ while scholars turned to Basilius Faber's *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticae* (with emphasis on the Latin language), originally published in 1571², several times reprinted and revised, finally by Johann Matthias Gesner in 1726 and 1735³ who, as Professor of eloquence and poetry at the new University of Göttingen, replaced it by 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 his col-

* This article is based on a lecture, given at a conference, organized by the Centre for The Greek Language, Thessaloniki, on *The Lexicography of (Ancient, Byzantine and Modern) Greek Culture; the Contemporary Encyclopedic Lexica* on 22nd November 2003; unfortunately, it has not been possible, hitherto, to publish the proceedings of this conference as originally planned. I am most grateful to our Greek colleagues for allowing me to publish it in advance elsewhere and to the editors of «Eikasmós» for accepting it for publication in their journal. Meanwhile an article by E. Mensching has appeared which covers similar ground, but with different aims and objectives: *Zur Entstehung eines Fortsetzungswerkes: Die ‚RE‘ oder der ‚Pauly-Wissowa‘*, «Latein und Griechisch in Berlin und Brandenburg» XLVII (2003) 142-157 (= Id., *Nugae zur Philologiegeschichte*, XIII, Berlin 2003, 9-29).

¹ B. H., *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 Auctoribus classicis Meldung geschiehet, eine nöthige Nachricht gegeben [...]*, Leipzig 1717; 1731²; 1748³; Benjamin Hederich is best known for his *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum*, Leipzig 1724; 1741², ed. by J.J. Schwabe, Leipzig 1770, repr. Darmstadt 1967 and again 1996; on B. Hederich (1675-1748), Headmaster at Grossenhain, see H. Kämmel, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)*, I-LVI, Leipzig 1875-1912: XI (1880) 221f.; on Johann Joachim Schwabe (1714-1784), see F. Leibrock, in W. Killy (ed.), *Literatur Lexikon*, I-XV, Gütersloh 1988-1993: X (1991) 442f.

² B. F., *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticae*, Leipzig 1571, repr. (with additions or revised) 1587; 1593; 1595; 1599; 1612; 1623; 1625; 1655; 1686; 1691; 1692; 1696; 1710; 1717; 1726, The Hague 1735; on Faber (about 1520-about 1576), «Paedagogiarch» (Head of school-administration) in Erfurt, see H. Kämmel, in *ADB* VI (1877) 488-490.

³ On J.M. Gesner (1691-1761) see U. Schindel, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* I-, Berlin 1953-: VI (1964) 348f.

laborator Johann Andreas Lebrecht Richter⁴; it was published in five volumes in Braunschweig in 1800-1805. A generation later several people being 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 1846-1848⁵, while a shorter *Reallexicon des classischen Alterthums für Gymnasien* was prepared by Friedrich Lübker and first published in Leipzig in 1853-1855⁶; it was more geared to the needs of pupils than scholars and thus very successful, its ninth edition being published as *Reallexikon des klassischen Alterthums* by J. Geffcken and E. Ziebarth in 1914⁷.

The third new work was called *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung*, planned and edited for the learned («das gelehrte Publikum») as is explicitly stated in the preface of the first volume) by August Friedrich Pauly, a Professor at the gymnasium in Stuttgart⁸. It claims to be a *Handlexicon*, yet – like Funke's – on a much larger scale than the others; the first fascicle appeared in 1837, the first volume was complete in 1839. However, *vita brevis*: Pauly died in 1845, and one of his critics took over, Wilhelm Sigismund Teuffel, Privatdozent and later Professor of Classics at the University of Tübingen⁹, who in his preface stressed his intention to raise the scholarly standard

⁴ C.P. F., *Neues Real=Schullexicon enthaltend die zur Erklärung der alten Klassiker notwendigen Hilfswissenschaften, vornämlich Geographie, Geschichte, Philosophie, Alterthümer und Mythologie*, I-V, Braunschweig 1800-1805; a shorter version was published as *Kleines Real-Schullexicon, ein bequemes Hilfsmittel für die studierende Jugend zum Verstehen der alten Classiker*, I-II, Hamburg 1804-1806, also 1818; on K.P. Funke (1752-1807), schoolinspector at Dessau, see F.A. Eckstein, in *ADB VIII* (1878) 202f.; 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 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/93 (Januar-März 1801) 1-8; and «Leipziger Jahrbuch der neuesten Literatur vom Jahre 1801» IV/245-247 (April-Junius 1802) 63-75.

⁵ K.F. K.-C. M., *Real=Schul=Lexicon. Ein Hilfsmittel zum Verständnis der alten Classiker, für die studirende Jugend bearbeitet*, I-II, Altona 1846-1848, also Hamburg 1853; on Karl Friedrich Kraft (1786-1866), best known for his German-Latin Dictionary, see R. Hoche, in *ADB XVII* (1883) 8f., and on Cornelius Friedrich Gottfried Müller (1793-1879), *ADB XXII* (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 C.E. Carstens, in *ADB XIX* (1884) 331-333.

⁷ On Johannes Geffcken (1861-1935), Professor at Rostock, see R. Helm, «JAW» LII/4 (254. *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde (Nekrologe)*, Leipzig 1936) 80-104; on Erich Ziebarth (1868-1944), Professor of Ancient History at Hamburg, see H. Bengtson, «HZ» CLXIX (1949) 665f.

⁸ On August Friedrich (von) Pauly (1796-1845) see W.S. Teuffel in the preface of vol. IV (1846) VI-XII and in *ADB XXV* (1887) 297f.; M. Balzert, *Wer war August von Pauly?*, «Mitteilungsblatt des Deutschen Altphilologenverbandes Baden-Württemberg» XXIV (1996) 15-21.

⁹ For Teuffel's review see «Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung» III/157-159 (1.-3. Juli 1844) 625-634, criticizing occasional unevenness, gaps, absence of subdivisions in long articles, poor articles, etc., but welcoming the work as a whole.

of the work¹⁰. 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 ἀρχόμεσθα I don't know; anyway, it was not a bad start. The work was completed in 1852, a second edition of the first volume (in two parts) in 1861.

A generation later, in 1890, the publisher approached first Otto Crusius, Professor of Classics at Tübingen¹¹, later Professor Georg Wissowa, Professor of Classics at Marburg, later at Halle¹², suggesting a new encyclopedia, and Wissowa agreed to prepare one. In 1894 the first volume appeared with 119 collaborators being named in the preface (pp. VI-XII), 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 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»; and 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 offer 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 literature¹³. 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

¹⁰ See vol. IV, IV; on Wilhelm Sig(is)mund Teuffel (1820-1878) see «JAW» I (11. *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Alterthumskunde (Nekrologe)* 1878, Berlin 1879) 2f. and F. Koldewey, in *ADB XXXVII* (1894) 611-615, on Ernst Christian Friedrich Walz (1802-1857) see W. Schmid, *ADB XLI* (1896) 127-129.

¹¹ On Otto Crusius (1857-1918), Professor at Tübingen 1886-1898, subsequently at Heidelberg, see K. Preisendanz, «JAW» XL (185. *Biographisches Jahrbuch für die Altertumswissenschaft* 1920, Leipzig 1921) 1-57.

¹² On Georg Otto August Wissowa see O. Kern, «JAW» LX/4 (245. *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Alterthumskunde (Nekrologe)*, Leipzig 1934) 120-145 and «Gnomon» VII (1931) 398-400.

¹³ Vol. I, preface V.

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 1st, 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 took in fact 90 years, six editors and 68 volumes plus 15 supplements and an index.

As early as 1903 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, as 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 Erlangen¹⁵; his name does not appear till 1914, 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 Breslau¹⁶, later teacher at the Johannes-Gymnasium at Breslau, joined the editors in 1923; his name does not appear till 1927 (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) on the back of the title-page, 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

¹⁴ On Wilhelm Kroll (1869-1939) see H. Drexler, «Gnomon» XV (1939) 590-592; H. Lietzmann, in *RE* XVIII/1 (1939, printed before the title-page without pagination); U.W. Scholz, *Die Breslauer Klassische Philologie und die Realencyclopädie*, «Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau» XLII/XLIV (2001/2003) 311-336.

¹⁵ On Kurt Witte (1885-1950), Professor of Classics at Erlangen 1920-1950, see E. Pöhlmann, in H. Kössler (ed.), *250 Jahre Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg*, Erlangen 1993, 524f. and W. Srb, in S. Koster (ed.), *Horaz-Studien*, Erlangen 1994, 103-114: 105; the years 1911-1923 are given as period of his editorship by G. Winkler, in *RE, Register der Nachträge und Supplemente*, ed. by H. Gärtner-A. Wunsch, München 1980, 250.

¹⁶ On Karl Mittelhaus see K. Ziegler, in *RE* VII A (Waldsee 1948, printed before the title-page without pagination), who dates his editorship as from 1925; G. Winkler, in *RE, Register der Nachträge* cit. 245 as from 1923.

author, Otto Kern, deals with the subject in nine lines, the other, Anders Lennart Kjellberg in 163 lines, i.e. taking nineteen times as much space: two editors, two contributors, and obviously also (not one, 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 1st, 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 consult¹⁷, in 1937 and 1938 he publishes volumes XIX/1 and XIX/2 before volume XVIII has been completed 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 *RE* 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 1943¹⁸. But in October 1943 the publisher's offices were destroyed together with all documents and correspondence relating to the *RE* and the printed sheets of volume VII A/2 at the Press. In 1944 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 Druckenmüller¹⁹, the owner of the Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (later Alfred-Druckenmüller-Verlag), who devoted all his energy to the survival of Pauly-Wissowa. Already early in 1946 he enlisted the services of Konrat Ziegler, formerly Professor of Classics at Greifswald, 1933 deprived of his chair by the Nazis and later teaching at the University of Göttingen²⁰. Supported by the «Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft» (later «Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft») they brought the *RE* back to life, and in 1948 the first volume (VII A/2, second half) appeared at a time when most people in Germany thought about basic food and clothing 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*

¹⁷ *Nachtragsregister*, in vol. XV/2 (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 (*o.c.* [n. 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 K. Ziegler, *RE Suppl.* XI (Stuttgart 1968) 1-5.

²⁰ On Konrat Julius Fürchtegott Ziegler see L. Wickert, «Gnomon» XLVI (1974) 636-640 and H. Gärtner, in *RE, Register der Nachträge* cit. V-XXII.

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 *RE* 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, often one is 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, others are 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 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 e.g. neither *Geschichtsschreibung* nor *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 as 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*, it has *Bewaffnung* (rather brief) and *Geschütze*, furthermore *arma decretoria*, *arma lusoria*, *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*, *Ἐγγύησις* and *Ἐκδοσις* and *Ehe im Recht der Papyri* as well as *Gamos* as personification, furthermore *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*, also on *Wachs* and *Zone* (as 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 advised, therefore, to try any concept in Greek or Latin or German, before giving up in disappointment.

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 Euxeinos* (C. Danov)? If all ancient authors and all regions of the ancient world had been given such an extensive treatment, we would probably still be waiting for the completion of the whole, we would see our shelves bursting and – as individual scholars – 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, see e.g. 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 columns²¹. For the historian *C. Velleius Paterculus* the account of Albrecht Dihle has been printed in vol. VIII A (1955) 637-659. But I have also seen the proofs of the account by Rudolf Helm amongst his left papers after his death in 1966; this illustrates the problems and difficulties of the new beginning after World War II²².

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 the shape of mount Parnassos «den Sinn [*scil.* der Griechen] für weises Maß und klare Form, für Grenze und Geschlossenheit»²³.

²¹ *Menodotos*: W. Capelle, in *RE* XV/1 (Stuttgart 1931) 901-916 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 F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, «JAW» LXXX (280. *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde (Nekrologe)*, Leipzig 1942) 133-142.

²³ J. Schmidt, *Parnassos*, in *RE* XVIII/4 (Waldsee 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 overlapping; historical events *e.g.* 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»²⁴ could easily be matched by other missing lemmata. But who could (and would) claim to be infallible in this respect?

d) Lastly: uneven treatment (see above). One has to bear in mind that not only the taste, but also the needs of scholars vary, and editors of encyclopedias have to serve very different needs and expectations. Moreover, to persuade a contributor to shorten his piece is not an easy task, and probably Kroll and certainly Ziegler was far too kind to take drastic measures²⁵. Furthermore, contributors were paid by the line, and during the period of persecution and deprivation of rights by the Nazis (which meant for political opponents and Jews forced early retirement and reduced pension, if any) 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 whose authors were suffering in concentration camps or had died there, were living in hiding or had fled the country²⁶.

While Pauly-Wissowa's *RE* was nearing its completion the indefatigable K. Ziegler and A. Druckenmüller, together with Walter Sontheimer (Stuttgart) started *Der Kleine Pauly*, published between 1964 and 1975²⁷; and 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, and this work, too, has been completed recently²⁸, with an English translation now in the process of being prepared. 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 refer-

²⁴ See R. Syme, *Roman Papers*, I-VII, Oxford 1979-1991, I 315-324 (first published 1956), I 455-460 (first 1959) and II 530-540 (first 1962).

²⁵ 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 «BPhW» XIV (1894) 737-743: 741 and XV (1895) 400-405: 401f. and 1651-1655: 1651f.

²⁶ See K. Ziegler in his necrology of A. Druckenmüller (*o.c.* [n. 19] 5).

²⁷ After K. Ziegler's death it was again H. Gärtner who shouldered the difficult task of completing the work.

²⁸ I-XVI, Stuttgart 1996-2003; Brill's *New Pauly* is being published in twenty volumes with Christine F. Salazar as managing editor.

ence for facts, biographical, historical and geographical, it has served generations of scholars all over the world and is, I think, still indispensable. 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 Posidonius²⁹) in presenting Posidonius in this encyclopedia chose (or was made to choose) a fact and information orientated 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 a piece 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 work of reference for reliable information.

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Abstract

This article starts with a survey of the (little known) predecessors of Pauly Wissowa, beginning with B. Faber’s *Thesaurus* (1571) up to A.F. Pauly’s *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung* (published 1837-1864) with biographical notes on the various editors. Next it turns to what is now generally known as Pauly Wissowa or *RE*, i.e. *Pauly’s Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (published from 1893 till 1978), describing its original intentions and the nature of the earliest volumes, then the works of the later editors, especially W. Kroll (responsible 1913-1939) and K. Ziegler (responsible 1946-1974). The wide scope of the whole is characterized, its merits are pointed, but also its shortcomings such as unevenness, omissions, repetitions, superfluous entries, excessive length of others, misplaced information, personal views instead of objective presentation. At the end brief mention is made of the *Kleine Pauly* and the *Neue Pauly*.

²⁹ See K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides und die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, Bonn 1916; Id., *Poseidonios*, München 1921; Id., *Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Untersuchungen zu Poseidonios*, München 1926.

