limits of power and in fact can serve to reinforce the boundaries of authority that ultimately empower Jews *under* Rome — exemplified in Augustus and, even more so, in Vespasian and Titus (134).'

Chapter Five follows the same pattern as Chapter Four. The Romans idealized their past as a golden age that had been lost with their moral decline (139-142). Josephus' Moses, as lawgiver of the Jews, created a constitution so excellent that it remained pure and uncorrupted. According to E's understanding of the context, Josephus' summary of Moses' achievement would 'undoubtedly' recall the Spartan Lycurgus, Solon of Athens, and Numa Pompilius of Rome. E. then compares Plutarch's Numa and Josephus' Moses, even though he must concede that there is no evidence that Josephus was acquainted with Plutarch, especially as most of the latter's writings postdate *AJ*. However, E. solves this dilemma: 'it is certainly reasonable to suppose that the Numa traditions standing behind Plutarch's biography were well known in literary circles of Flavian Rome and had even left traces on Josephus' image of Moses as *nomothetēs* (144).' Context, again — supported by problematic rhetorical markers such as 'undoubtedly' and 'certainly reasonable to suppose' — supplies the link for which there is no direct evidence. Based on this foundation, E. can argue that both Numa and Moses were associated with legislation prohibiting images, and can conclude that Josephus' portrayal of the ancient Jewish past echoed traditions of Rome's aniconic golden age. Moses' legislation thus is meant to correspond with the Roman notion of *mos maiorum*. Both legal systems collectively maintained societal order, stability, and harmony (172).

E.'s arguments will convince the reader if s/he is willing to accept the premise of a Flavian context for Josephus' works in order to supply missing evidence to cover gaps in the direct evidence. To his credit, one must note that E. is in excellent company, as this method has proved its value in the works of other scholars.[1] I, however, am left wondering at what point that trend has been stretched too far.

Albert I. Baumgarten Bar-Ilan University

Botley, Paul, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529, Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 100, Pt. 2, Philadelphia, 2010. 270 pp. ISBN 978-1-60618-002-0.

The revival of ancient Greek in Western Europe appears to have been a decisive turning-point in the history of the Renaissance, and consequently in the progress of Western civilization. After nearly a millennium of occasional lingual and cultural encounters between the Latin West and the Greek East, Greek studies have become a conventional part of the Western educational curriculum since 1396, a phenomenon which cannot to be assumed as self-evident *ipso facto*.

The revival of Greek seems to have lasted about a hundred and thirty years (1396-1529). Without such a lingual and cultural process in the West, the last generations of Byzantine scholars would have had no partners to whom they could transmit Greek heritage, which they had devotedly kept for centuries until that period. The timing of this revival was most fortunate since nearly six decades after the launching of Greek studies in the West, the Greek capital of the East, Constantinople, fell to the Turks (1453). Within a few years the rest of the former Byzantine empire had been conquered, which marks the end of independent Greek culture in the East. Nonetheless, already by that date, a number of able native scholars had been active in the West.

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1 See, for example, J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives, *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

These Westerners had learnt ancient Greek, and thus were capable of gradually taking over the Greek heritage from their Byzantine contemporaries, who had been forced into exile after 1453. Thus, the revival of Greek studies in the West became a matter of life and death to the following transmission of ancient Greek culture, which was now preserved for later generations in the West.

Most studies that deal with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries refer to this revival. However, the question how the regular teaching and study of Greek proceeded in the course of those hundred and thirty years appears to have attracted less attention. The present work' aim is to close this gap, and describe both the revival of Greek in the West and the study of it and its literature by Renaissance scholars and students. Botley's (henceforth B.) work offers the reader an insight into the development of this interesting process in the course its first hundred and thirty years. His research presents important information previously unnoticed and preserved in various libraries that the author diligently compiled over the years. This information explains how such a unique revival of an ancient language proved so successful in an entirely foreign cultural environment so as to survive for more than six centuries down to the present day.

Apart from a short preface and epilogue (XI-XIII, and 115-117 respectively), the book consists of three main chapters, supplemented by two detailed appendices (119-162) and notes (163-232). A bibliography and index (233-270) conclude this work.

Teaching ancient Greek has always been a real challenge, predominantly on account of its complicated verbal structure. The enormous difficulty of teaching ancient Greek to Latin speakers in the West was facilitated by an impressive number of twenty-one Greek grammar books that appeared between 1396 and 1529. A chronological account of those grammars and their authors is outlined in Chapter One: 'Greek Grammars' (1-53).

B.'s list of twenty one grammarians clearly shows the slow but steady growth of the number of Western students of Greek, as well as the transition from Byzantine to Renaissance scholarship described above. The first six were in reality Byzantine scholars, who produced their works between ca. 1391-1396 and 1463-1466 (in manuscript, but later brought out in print). These had been composed in mediaeval Greek in the East for native speakers of that language, and were thus not adapted for Western students more conversant in Latin. Nonetheless, in the absence of any other grammars, these Byzantine works were still used in the course of the subsequent eight decades down to around 1480, when the first Western scholars composed Greek grammars on their own. As a matter of fact, although Western grammars had already begun to appear, Byzantine grammars were still used at the turn of the fifteenth century and even later on. At this time, the last generation of Byzantine scholars was still composing grammars for Western students. Two of these scholars also published their grammars, the one in 1493, and the other in 1518. By that year, ancient Greek studies seem to have been totally relegated to Western hands.

The beginning of Greek studies in the West involved the use of available Byzantine lexica. Seven of these are discussed in Chapter Two: 'Greek Lexica' (55-70). Although these lexica were first available to the West in the fifteenth century, work on critical editions of some of them is still in progress, as in the case of Hesychius, begun by Kurt Latte (1891-1964) nearly nine decades ago, and not yet completed.

Chapter Three: 'Student Texts' (71-113) will be of special interest in relation to the teaching of classics. This chapter describes the fortunes of seventeen Greek authors whose works served as student texts employed in the classroom together with the various grammars described in the first chapter. The choice of the ancient authors, who composed either poetry or prose, gives an idea of the curriculum of Greek studies in the Renaissance. Moreover, it illustrates both the literary taste of the Byzantine teachers and their Western successors who taught Greek. For reasons of space, I would like to comment briefly on B.'s description of the *nachleben* of Plutarch's *Lives* (97), relying on my work on this ancient author.

B. states: 'The *Lives* were not printed in Greek until 1517, and no *life* was printed alone in Greek before 1530. The *Lives* do seem to have had a role in educating Greek students in the first

half of the fifteenth century, but they played no part in educating their successors over the following decades'.

These conclusions appear to have overlooked some of the crucial facts. As attested by the still extant Greek manuscripts, such as the tenth-century Florentine *Codex Laurentianus Conventuum Suppressorum* 206, the *Lives* seem to have been one of the first Greek texts that were brought over from the East to Italy at the turn of the fourteenth century. From the story of the grammars it may plausibly be inferred that at the beginning of the fifteenth century Western students who could read Greek may have numbered just a few dozen. Western students of the first generation of *Hellenists*, together with some of their Byzantine masters, later became the teachers of the second generation. Moreover, a considerable number of those students set out to translate the twenty-three pairs of the *Lives* into Latin, an enterprise that took nearly six decades to complete. These translations in turn became the source from which the first vernacular translations of the *Lives* were made. The story of this unparalleled reception of the *Lives*, which clearly shows growing contemporary interest in these works, has been told by Marianne Pade in her two-volume work, published in 2007.[1] Plutarch therefore appears to have indirectly influenced the learned society of the Renaissance, that is, through the many Latin translations of the *Lives*, despite their various defects. At this point it may be added that due to the ever growing interest shown by general readers, the Latin translations of the *Lives* were reprinted again and again after 1470.

It is true that the first Greek edition of the *Lives* appeared only in 1517, namely, the *Iuntina*, perhaps in answer to the considerable interest of a Greek reading public, traceable from 1490 onwards, when the Aldine press first began printing Greek texts. At that time, this public was indeed coming of age, but its size still remained limited, as indicated by the history of the second Greek edition of the *Lives*, the *Aldina*, which appeared in 1519. The publishing of the second Greek edition of the *Lives* after just two years may be explained by a growing demand for this text, the first edition of which appears to have been relatively quickly sold out. Yet, the appearance of the second edition, despite its many qualities, was too much for that limited public. Hence, fourteen further years passed until a third edition, the first *Basiliensis* of 1533, was printed in Switzerland.

The revival of Greek in the West is the story of many scholars, some of them known, while others shadowy figures or even anonymous. They were Byzantine instructors and their Western students, who later on became teachers and translators of Greek texts into Latin. Many of them became the editors of the first printed Greek editions in turn, and hence cooperated with publishers and printers. The joint work of all made that unique revival possible. Although the story of Renaissance Hellenism (cf. 117) still awaits to be told, the present work is a significant contribution.

Yitzhak Dana Nir Eliyahu

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[1] M. Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy.* Copenhagen, 2007.