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UNVOLLENDETES: THE OXFORD PLATO LEXICON

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In one obvious sense this paper is a misfit within a book that otherwise charts so much achievement. The unfinished project that it describes occupied the attention of two Scottish professors and, in its later reincarnation, a distinguished German academic, himself subsequently a professor, for a total of thirty-six years. Publishing projects that come to nothing are often at least as interesting as those that come to fruition; they will never be able to claim significance, but they may instead provide mystery or perhaps a salutary lesson. I offer two excuses for unearthing the story of the Plato Lexicon. First, it is reasonably well documented; second, it illustrates a number of features about the history of classical scholarship and publishing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although in one sense the story is incomplete and remains a mystery, the answers to several important questions are clear enough: how and why the project came into being, how it was undertaken, and why it failed.

Two of the final letters from Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893), written in September 1893, were addressed to his co-editor of Plato's *Republic*,¹ Lewis Campbell (1830-1908); the second of these includes the following passage:

I want you to be the person who devote[s] your knowledge & experience to this great work. It is a work worthy of the last ten years of a scholar's life ...²

The 'great work' that Jowett had in mind was not only the completion of the *Republic* edition but a more detailed study of Plato's use of language. Jowett realised that his own efforts in this respect were both incomplete and inadequate,³ and asked Campbell not only to remedy this but to produce something more enduring:

My idea of such a book would be, that it would consist, firstly, of only those parts of Ast's Lexicon which one desires to read, or of similar parts of Goodwin's Greek Syntax.⁴ Books of that sort all want reading in the present day & to be made as simple as possible. The gentle Riddell [this is James

Riddell (1823-1866), author of *A Digest of Platonic Idioms*^{5]} is eccentric, & not always intelligible.⁶

In the three-volume edition of the *Republic* Campbell devoted the third of his own essays that constitutes about half of the second volume to Plato's use of language.⁷ Not surprisingly, he followed Jowett's advice only in part: in fact, he made considerable use of Riddell's work, combining it with Goodwin's. He divided the essay into two parts – also against Jowett's advice – these being a discussion of style and syntax and of Platonic diction, the latter subdivided into three sections: first, new derivatives and compounds; second, the selection and use of words; third, philosophical terminology. It is this division that helps to bring to Campbell's discussion the clarity that Jowett had suggested. The essay is also a synthesis and summary of then-current scholarship: Campbell's discussion of particles shows a keen awareness of continental writing on their use as a factor in the relative dating of the dialogues.⁸ The work of preparing this essay, not least the section on particles, would have given Campbell a close acquaintance with Ast's *Lexicon* and its shortcomings. As will become apparent, this was one of the reasons he gave for undertaking a replacement work.

The *Lexicon Platonicum* of Georg Anton Friedrich Ast (1778-1841) was published in three parts from 1835 to 1838, by Weidmann in Leipzig. There is a long tradition of Platonic lexicography, stretching back to the otherwise unknown Timaeus, who – sometime between the second and fifth century A.D. – compiled a lexicon of the more obscure words found in Plato. Although Ast's work had been anticipated more recently in the dictionaries by Johann Jakob Wagner (1775-1841) published at Göttingen in 1799, and by Thomas Mitchell's (1783-1845) *Index Graecitatis Platonicae* of 1832,⁹ his credentials as a Plato scholar had been established by the study of Plato's life and writings published in 1816,¹⁰ and neither the Wagner dictionary nor the Mitchell index achieved the reputation of Ast during the remainder of the Nineteenth Century. Wagner's dictionary is systematic and, according to its preface, was designed to present the 'spirit' of Platonic philosophy.¹¹ Mitchell's on the other hand is alphabetical; it excludes particles, but has a useful index of classical names, both historical and geographical. The principal shortcomings of Ast's *Lexicon* are, first, those of incompleteness, both in the words included and in terms of their

definition, and, second, the arrangement, which is unsystematic and makes no real attempt to classify usages: the article on εἶμι for example occupies thirteen closely printed pages in which neither forms nor usage can be readily distinguished without reading the whole.¹²

The first mention of Campbell's involvement with the Plato Lexicon occurs in a letter dated 13 June 1897 from D.B. Monro (1836-1905), Provost of Oriel, to Campbell. Reporting on a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society where the Polish scholar Wincenty Lutosławski (1863-1954) had given a paper on the chronology of the dialogues, Monro wrote that:

In the discussion that followed there was some talk of a new Lexicon Platonicum, and the Committee was asked to take steps in the direction of getting such a work produced. I believe you have a plan of a more or less definite character in which the first step would be to get up a subscription which would enable some platonic scholar, perhaps Constantin Ritter, to give three years' work to it.

His letter ends with the confession that "it seems to me a larger project than we can expect to carry out, but it can do no harm to try."¹³ Monro was to be proved correct in his first opinion, though not in his second.

We learn most about the course of Campbell's subsequent involvement in the Lexicon from an appeal he addressed to the Trustees of the Ireland & Craven Funds in September 1902.¹⁴ Following the proposal made at the Oxford meeting in 1897, he had proceeded to do what Monro requested, noting that:

Having resolved to do what I could towards this object, I consulted with a small Committee consisting of Sir Richard Jebb ... [and others]¹⁵ ... By their advice I undertook the Editorship, and obtained a grant of £150 from the Hellenic Society for Editorial purposes. Proposals were then circulated and subscriptions from the United Kingdom and America of £300 ... were ultimately received.¹⁶

Official discussion of the project by the Delegates seems to have taken place initially on 6 May 1898 when, in response to a formal proposal drawn up by Campbell and dated 4 May 1898, “A Concordance to the Text of Plato” is mentioned in the Order Book, under proposals considered. It was resolved to ask Ingram Bywater (1840-1914), Regius Professor of Greek and a Delegate of the Press, to prepare a report together with Charles Cannan (1858-1919), Acting Secretary to the Delegates.¹⁷ The proposal was considered further on 8 July and Bywater undertook “to confer with Mr. Burnet [John Burnet (1863-1928)] in the meantime”.¹⁸ The result of this conference was twofold: to set certain conditions, and to prepare a specimen of what at that stage was still being referred to as a concordance. The conditions were as follows:

- a) The references to be all of them classified under their proper heads.
- b) A set of rules to be drawn up for the direction of the readers, to ensure the requisite unity of scale and plan in the work of the various collaborators. These rules to be submitted to the Delegates.
- c) The work to be sent in in a complete form within seven years.
- d) The whole not to exceed 900 pages like the pattern.¹⁹

The schedule for its production reveals that the work was officially accepted by the Press on 21 October 1898,²⁰ and this is supported by the entry in the Delegates’ Order Book for that date: “On the motion of Mr. Bywater, seconded by Dr Sanday,²¹ it was resolved that the work [the Lexicon] be accepted on the terms set forth in Mr. Campbell’s letter [of 20 October] and in the Delegates’ resolution of July 29 last: on the further undertaking that the book shall in no case exceed a maximum of 600 pages.”²² Already by late August the work was being referred to as a lexicon not a concordance, a fact reflected in the reduction by one third of the length; a concordance is nearly always more extravagant in space than a lexicon, given the need for repetitive contextual material.

Cannan wrote to Campbell on 1 November, setting out the detailed conditions that the Delegates had laid down, and adding the end of 1905 as the date for delivery of the complete work. Campbell replied immediately, accepting the conditions, and adding that “it will be my own fault if we do not produce something more useful than Ast. The time allowed seems ample – in looking forward.”²³

In 1899 a further meeting was held in Oxford at Queen's College at which rules for the guidance of contributors were drawn up, and thereafter in November 1900 the Press issued a prospectus, which included on the reverse a specimen sheet.²⁴ Campbell set out five objectives in the prospectus, all of which in some way point to the shortcomings in Ast's work:

- 1) To Verify and Correct the materials collected by AST.
- 2) To include all the Proper Names which occur in Plato.
- 3) To treat Particles and Prepositions much more fully than AST has done.
- 4) To Distinguish and Classify the Various Uses and Constructions of words.
- 5) To complete the work of AST with Examples and References derived from a fresh examination of the whole text.

As I remarked at the beginning, we know a good deal about the method of compiling the Lexicon initially. The 1839 Zürich edition of Johann Georg Baiter (1801-1877), Johann Kaspar von Orelli (1787-1849) and August Wilhelm Winckelmann (b. 1810)²⁵ was adopted as the textual basis. At first sight, it may seem odd that Campbell decided on this, when he knew that Burnet's Oxford text was imminent; his health however was no longer good (the Campbells had acquired a home in Italy at Alassio for this reason), and he could not have known that Burnet would produce a complete Plato as quickly as he did.²⁶ Cannan, I suspect, felt uneasy about the decision and on at least two occasions expressed the hope that Burnet's text would be available for use by the project.²⁷ Campbell decided to work on the revision of Ast's *Lexicon* himself, and to farm out slips for the ordering of the entries under the appropriate lemmata to a team of contributors who would read through an allotted section of the text. Two lists of names survive, one started by Campbell in 1899 and a revised list from 1903,²⁸ and they include scholars (such as A.W. Mair [1875-1928], subsequently Professor of Greek at Edinburgh) as well as others, probably schoolmasters or clergymen. Overseas helpers were enlisted from America, including Henry Rushton Fairclough (1862-1938) of Stanford, the editor of Vergil (1916-1918) and of Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles* (1926) for the Loeb series; Fairclough was to offer particular service in the indexing of prepositional forms. The actual form of the slips was identical to those used by James Murray for the *New English Dictionary*; Cannan wrote to Campbell on the subject in May 1899:

As to slips I think we shall probably do best to reproduce Dr. Murray's exactly. There is a difficulty in printing the dialogue on each slip, as some are longer than others; and it is best to print on sheets and then cut. But if it would be of any considerable advantage we could furnish a first supply to everybody.²⁹

Campbell wrote to Gilbert Murray in February 1900 and gave an account of his progress:

I plod away with my work on the Plato Lexicon and sheaves of slips have begun to pour in. My own part in it is straightforward but tedious. I take the material between the boards of Ast, correct his numerous slips (as to paging, letters etc.) and recast each article, classifying uses and constructions. In this way I have overtaken 850 pages, and hope to end the first volume in another fortnight.³⁰

The appeal for funds of 1902 notes the further progress made. Campbell recorded that:

In the revision of Ast ... I have now overtaken 1,600 pages out of 1,974 ... The following dialogues have been completely indexed by contributors [he gives a list of 14 together with two books of the *Republic* and three of the *Laws*] ... Fair progress has been made with the following, which remain unfinished [another ten together with the remaining books of the *Republic* and *Laws* and the *Epistles*]. The following have not yet been allotted [a list of nine] ... The slips, so far sent in, have been sifted so as to distinguish references not included in Ast, from those contained in his work.

From this it can be calculated that somewhere between one third and one half of the total had been indexed in this way by October 1902. The Press, or more particularly Cannan, had also been active in thinking about the project since its acceptance by the Delegates in 1898. As early as May of that year he wrote to Campbell suggesting a typographical layout:

We should be glad to know whether you have formed any definite idea of the type to be used; it has occurred to us [Cannan means himself] that Dunbars concordance to the Odyssey might serve in the first instance as a pattern; there could be a slight economy of space as the Homer lines each take a line of the print, whereas the prose quotations would run on.³¹

August 1898 saw the change in conception from concordance to lexicon, and with it a suggested change in style to that of the Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*, the eighth edition of which had been published in the preceding year. Enclosing a specimen sheet, Cannan noted:

Under Prof[essor] Bywater's directions we have tried experiments in reprinting Ast, with a view to determining more exactly the number of pages which a new lexicon may be expected to occupy ... The style, you will notice, is very much that of Liddell & Scott. Except that the names of the dialogues might be abbreviated as suggested by you ... I cannot think of other mechanical economies.³²

I mentioned the role played by Burnet at the outset, both as consultant and as editor of the text that Cannan at least hoped would form the basis of the Lexicon. The May 1898 proposal from Campbell to the Delegates of the Press mentions Burnet as one of a number of distinguished scholars who had promised their help. From at least April 1903, when Campbell became seriously ill, Burnet continued to act as an unofficial sub-editor, with responsibility for revising the whole work, until a few weeks before Campbell's death in 1908.³³ Thereafter his first act was to issue a report on the work and a financial statement that shows the generous support offered by the American Philological Association.³⁴ The report drew attention to the underestimate in Campbell's proposal of the labour required to complete the Lexicon. Two things in particular had caused problems: first, the treatment of particles and prepositions, omitted by Ast; second, the other deficiencies of Ast, including incorrect references and incomplete treatment of philosophical terms. Despite this, the report shows remarkable progress. Campbell had managed to correct all the misprints and incorrect references in Ast and to complete the proper names. The reclassification according to meanings and constructions was also largely complete, having being undertaken by

Burnet himself. The indexing of slips had been completed to the word *μοχθηρός*. Overall, about 5/8 of the total had been achieved. The most important section remaining to be done was that on the particles, and it was for financial help to achieve this that Burnet's report was specifically written. Otherwise, as he remarked, "if ... I have to do it all myself, with such help as may be gratuitously offered, the completion of the *Lexicon* will be delayed some years." The Delegates had already agreed to an extension of the date proposed for delivery (to the end of 1906). Another incentive for continuing the work as swiftly as possible was its link – in Burnet's view - to the proposed *Thesaurus Graecus* that had been in discussion since 1904. He noted in a letter of December 1908 that:

Both Diels and Cronert of Göttingen³⁵ keep writing to me on the subject [of the *Lexicon*] and I want to get support from them, as this is going to be the foundation of the *Thesaurus*.³⁶

In the event, agreement was not reached over the form which the latter might take. Though Burnet was able to raise sufficient funds through additional subscriptions, work seems to have dragged on to little purpose. His own Oxford text now became the basis for the *Lexicon* and this necessitated a certain amount of adjustment or revision. R.W. Chapman (1881-1960), later Secretary to the Delegates, contributed substantially in the form of detailed work on the particles which he sent to Burnet in April 1914.³⁷ During the First World War, collaborative work became almost impossible. After the War, Burnet's enthusiasm for the project waned, while during the 1920s his health deteriorated. The War had also brought to the Press a new realism in respect of its long-standing projects. A memorandum from Chapman to Humphrey Milford (1877-1952) in May 1922 records that:

Burnet ... called. He spent the best years of his life on the *Plato Lexicon* (though it wasn't his pigeon), but that can't be helped. He does not see that we could possibly do it now or in the proximate future, and therefore does not propose to waste his last years upon it. A great deal has been done and is in order, if posterity wants to use it.³⁸

Burnet turned instead to other projects, including an edition of the scholia to Plato,³⁹ and, following his retirement from the Greek chair at St Andrews in 1926, accepted an invitation to be the Sather Professor at the University of California. In September 1931, three years after his death, his widow contacted the Press about the accumulated material for the Lexicon and Chapman asked if it could be sent for storage at the Press.⁴⁰ Some of the material was damaged by water from a burst pipe during the time that the Burnets were in America, according to Mrs Burnet. On receipt of it, Chapman wrote further to Burnet's literary executor William Laughton Lorimer (1885-1967) and his letter details the material as received. It consisted of i) Burnet's manuscript, "incorporating a certain amount of Campbell's", from alpha to omega ii) copies of the Oxford Text volumes, in which Burnet had erased in the text with a blue pencil those words that were complete in the manuscript iii) Chapman's own materials on the particles, which (as he noted ruefully) were "in a horrid mess". Apart from this, the position of the other slips that had been accumulated by Burnet is unclear; Lorimer claimed to remember having seen them, but they may have been destroyed by Burnet as he worked on the manuscript, or at some later time.⁴¹ It seems certain that, after its arrival in Oxford, the material was used by other scholars; the same letter to Lorimer includes Chapman's opinion that it would be useful for the new [ninth] edition of Liddell & Scott, and that he had "told J.A. S[tewart] (1846-1933) about it and expect he will come in eager to look up logos." In December, Chapman wrote to J.D. Denniston (1887-1949), inviting him to consult the material on particles, and the preface to Denniston's 1934 study acknowledges the debt to Chapman.⁴²

Apart from a flickering of interest in November 1935, matters rested there until after the Second World War. In July 1948 Bruno Snell (1896-1986) wrote to the Press;⁴³ Snell was the director of the Archiv für Griechische Lexikographie that was (and, as the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, still is) attached to the Seminar für Klassische Philologie of Hamburg University. He had learned from Paul Maas (1880-1964) of the existence of the Plato Lexicon project and asked whether the surviving materials could be sent on loan for the use of a similar project, the planning of which had begun in Germany under the direction of the Archiv. Curiously enough, Burnet had reviewed – not very favourably – one of Snell's earliest published works in the *Classical Review*.⁴⁴ In his request Snell stated that:

The actual work will mostly be done in Hinterzarten near Freiburg (Baden) by Dr. Georg Picht, the director of a Landerziehungsheim, his colleagues, and other collaborators, that we shall send there from here.

Snell planned to take part in the project himself and his postcard also reveals something of Picht's working method that had begun "with excerpts from commentaries and other works on Plato, where the meaning of Platonic words is analysed".

Georg Picht (1913-1982) is perhaps scarcely known in Britain in the annals of classical scholarship; in Germany and beyond, however, he occupied a distinguished position as an educational theorist and theologian. He was born in Strassburg into an intellectual family – his mother was the sister of the scholar of French and European literature Ernst Robert Curtius (1886-1956) – and died at his family home in Hinterzarten, South-West Germany.⁴⁵ Picht had an unconventional education: he was taught at home by his mother, then attended the private school Birklehof at Hinterzarten, of which more later. He studied with Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) at the Philosophisches Seminar at Freiburg and subsequently worked as an assistant at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. His reaction against what had happened to the German educational system under the Third Reich led him in 1946 to establish an international school in the buildings formerly occupied by his school at Hinterzarten. This became part of the Vereinigung Deutscher Landerziehungsheime, a network of specialist schools reconstituted by Picht in 1947, hence the reference in Snell's request. The school's outlook was international, and it gave Picht an opportunity to put his educational ideas into operation; these included the close relationship of knowledge and training – 'Wissenschaft' and 'Bildung' in German – and one way he tried to achieve this was by establishing on site a Plato archive, where work on the planned lexicon could be carried out by the research staff working alongside the staff of the school; the research staff could then also take a part in the school's curriculum.

Although he continued to live in Hinterzarten, Picht accepted an appointment in 1958 to develop and extend the activities of the Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft (FEST) in Heidelberg. There, in association with the German

protestant churches, he brought together applied theology and other disciplines, such as law or economics, and developed research programmes in areas such as peace studies, ecology and the politics of energy, that have retained or reclaimed their significance since that time. In 1965 he was appointed to a personal chair in the philosophy of religion at the University of Heidelberg. While these appointments led him away from his direct involvement with Plato – and it is certain that any work on the lexicon ceased once his activities were concentrated in Heidelberg – he still conducted seminars on Plato, particularly during the nineteen sixties, and his work on the *Laws* and *Symposium* that derived from these was published posthumously in 1990.⁴⁶ He also worked on a commentary, incomplete and still unpublished, to the *Laches*.

Before the Press sent any of the material, Kenneth Sisam (1887-1971) decided to consult with senior Oxford scholars who might have an interest and accordingly wrote to Sir David Ross (1877-1971), Lord Lindsay of Birker (1879-1952), the Master of Balliol, and Colin Roberts (1909-1990). Roberts suggested that E.R. Dodds (1893-1979) should also be asked for an opinion. The letters to Ross and Dodds are preserved at OUP, together with the replies from Lindsay and Dodds, in addition to that from Roberts.⁴⁷ Dodds, incidentally, disagreed with Roberts over the continuing worth of the *Ast Lexicon*, describing it as “incomplete for many words, maddeningly ill arranged and generally inadequate to the needs of modern research”. This is much closer to Campbell’s original view as contained in the prospectus than Roberts’s verdict that *Ast* was “an excellent and thoroughly useful work”.

The material was dispatched at the beginning of August and addressed to Snell in Hamburg. A letter from Peter Spicer (1921-1993) to Snell details the contents, which accord with those in the 1931 letter from Chapman to Lorimer, but with the addition of “various files of MS. lists and notes”.⁴⁸ This is the last item in the OUP Archive file; there is no acknowledgment from Hamburg but, assuming the materials reached Germany safely, a number of questions arise. Were they forwarded to Picht in Hinterzarten? If Picht received the materials, what use was he able or did he choose to make of them before his own project was abandoned? Are they still extant?

The first of these can, I think, be answered in the affirmative. There seems no reason to suppose that Snell would have failed to do this, given that the project there was being conducted under the auspices of the Archiv für Griechische Lexikographie. For whatever reason, however, Picht seems to have decided to begin his lexicon *de novo*. The ten-year period from 1949 to 1958/9 when funding was received from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for research assistants to work at Hinterzarten on the project resulted in a vast card index-file (776 drawers) which is preserved in the Platon-Archiv at the Philologisches Seminar, University of Tübingen. The format of the cards is generally the same: in the top left corner, the abbreviated name of the work and reference from the Stephanus edition; in the top right, the appropriate lemma; below, a four or five-line extract from Burnet's OCT pasted on, or the text hand-written, with the occurrence of the word-form underlined in red pencil. By the time that regular work on this index stopped in about 1958 (for reasons which will be discussed below), most of the Platonic corpus seems to have been indexed in this way. By themselves indexes do not a lexicon make, however, and in this instance the arrangement of the cards did not even extend to interfiling occurrences other than within the same work (or book of the larger dialogues). This had to wait until the next stage in the history of the archive - or Archiv, as it now becomes appropriate to call it.

In correspondence with scholars in Germany, some of whom worked with Picht, I have at least been able to confirm what happened to the Birklehof Archiv. The project to produce a lexicon remained active on the school site until the middle of the 1950s. By that time, there were increasing demands on Picht's own time – both from the school and from his developing work more generally in educational theory. These conflicting demands led to health problems, and he came to the conclusion that the project could not be completed under his direction. In this general sense therefore the Plato Lexicon had now claimed a third victim. But to ensure the survival of the work that had been undertaken at Hinterzarten, Picht contacted Konrad Gaiser (1929-1988) at Tübingen, whose outlook as a Platonist he found the most sympathetic to his own. The date of transfer of the materials is now uncertain, but they were certainly at Tübingen by the late nineteen sixties.⁴⁹ Gaiser was to set up his own Archiv, which he dated in a memorandum to 1970.⁵⁰ The memorandum stated that he saw this as a direct continuation of the Birklehof Archiv, although his own priorities were now different.⁵¹ The principal aims of the Tübingen Platon-Archiv were first, to collect

publications of Plato editions, commentaries and of the literature relating to Plato in a special library; second, to use this library, augmented from sources such as *L'Année philologique*, to prepare a regular Plato bibliography; and only third, to work on the Birklehof material, and then only to bring it into a single alphabetical sequence so that it could act as a reference tool. The first of these continues; the second has given way to the annual surveys now produced under the direction of Luc Brisson (1946-); the third was completed in the early 1970s.

To return to my second and third questions: if Picht received the materials, what use was he able or did he choose to make of them before his own project was abandoned? And are they still extant? There is just one piece of evidence in the Archiv at Tübingen which may suggest both that Picht received the materials and that he deliberately decided against using them, although it is by no means conclusive. As an appendix to the unfinished typescript commentary on the *Laches* mentioned previously, Picht added some observations on the particle οὐκουν which at least show a lexicographical approach at work and contain criticism of Burnet: “The usage is simple, but through the use of completely arbitrary punctuation Burnet has introduced unnecessary confusion [= Der Gebrauch ist einfach, aber Burnet hat durch völlig willkürliche Zeichensetzung unnötige Verwirrung hineingebracht].” This is accompanied by discussion of some of the nineteen relevant passages in the *Laches* together with Picht’s interpretation and classification of them. Though it is possible that Picht could simply have compiled a list of occurrences himself from Burnet’s edition, the evidence of his own copy does not wholly suggest that he did so. Picht’s library is preserved at the FEST in Heidelberg, and I had an opportunity to examine his copy of the relevant volume of the OCT in November 2006. He was a compulsive annotator, in a minute but clearly legible hand, and so it can be seen that there is only a partial correlation between the *Laches* manuscript and the passages he marked in his own text. This at least suggests the alternative possibility that he may have worked as well, or instead, from Burnet’s manuscript, with its ready classification of uses. Either way, his expressed opinion suggests that he did not necessarily regard Burnet as the final authority on the text of Plato.

On the third question, no clear answer can be given although it seems extremely doubtful that any of the original Oxford Plato Lexicon material now survives. Before

the presentation of this paper in July 2006, I was able to establish in correspondence with the current Director of the School, Dr Christof Laumont, that nothing remains any longer on the Birklehof School site.⁵² It is also certain that no such material was sent back by Picht to the Archiv/TLG in Hamburg, and there is no reference to Burnet's material in any extant correspondence in the TLG files.⁵³ Since July I have been able to confirm that neither is there any sign of the Oxford material at the FEST in Heidelberg, nor at Tübingen, the other two likeliest places. It has to be remembered that projects of this nature gather a vast amount of material; and that, when assistants are working in succession, there may sooner or later come a stage when no-one can quite remember the significance of a particular group of documents or how they came to be acquired. That Picht himself was away from Hinterzarten during part of the 1950s – he travelled to Italy to recover his health – may have made this more likely. My best guess, therefore, is that Picht or his assistants may have used the Oxford material initially in so far as it could be used – which may not have been very far – and then laid it aside and later discarded it.⁵⁴

In the period since the 1950s, much has happened in the publication of lexicographical aids to Plato, even allowing for the availability of Plato in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* canon. In 1964, Father Édouard Des Places (1900-2000) published a lexicon, in association with Budé edition, of which it forms volume fourteen. This concentrates on philosophical terminology and is therefore selective. Twelve years later in 1976, Leonard Brandwood published a computer-generated *Word Index to Plato* (Leeds: W.S. Maney). It has an interesting historical preface, setting out what was, at least in Britain, an early application (from 1955 onwards) of computer processing to the indexing of a classical text. Brandwood's work was known to Gaiser well in advance of its publication, since there are two documents in the Tübingen Archiv from 1971/2 which refer to it.⁵⁵ More recently the first few volumes of a concordance to Plato by Mauro Siviero have been issued in the Alpha-Omega series published by Olms (1994-). Finally, in 2003 the first volume in the *Lexicon* series under the general direction of Roberto Radice was issued.⁵⁶ This is devoted to Plato and based on Burnet's OCT. Despite its series title, however, the printed volume and accompanying cd-rom only provide an index and concordance respectively, although there is a facility to add subject headings to the text database. In addition a number of subject or thematic dictionaries have appeared, such as

Morris Stockhammer's *Plato Dictionary* (London: Vision Press, 1963). None of these compilers seems to have been aware of the proposed Oxford Plato Lexicon; none of their works sets out to do quite what the Oxford work could have achieved.

I will briefly summarise the main points of this history in drawing a few conclusions. The work was conceived at the end of a century – the nineteenth – that had seen so much effort devoted to lexicography by both amateurs and professional scholars, this to serve the interests both of students and of a wider readership that the issue of standard texts in uniform series had reached. Though Lewis Campbell may not have proposed the idea of the Plato Lexicon in its original form, the work would not have progressed without him; he brought to it not only a detailed knowledge of Platonic language, but – I suspect – a sense of mission which derived from his association with Jowett. Similarly, it could not have been continued without Burnet, whose experience of editing Plato for the Oxford Classical Texts series was equally vital. It was sheer bad luck that both editors should have succumbed to ill-health before the project was realised, and that the First World War intervened. This hindered the collaborative effort that had been such a distinctive feature of the method of compilation, drawing something from the experience of Murray's English Dictionary. It also led to a reassessment at the Press, where priority now lay with the new (ninth) edition of Liddell and Scott during the twenties and thirties, and other more specialised works such as the *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961-1968) thereafter. Sufficient interest remained in the idea of a Plato lexicon for it to be considered a viable project elsewhere after the Second World War; but while the nature and extent of the work undertaken in Germany is known, the relationship between it and the Oxford material apparently sent to support it remains unclear. What does emerge clearly from the surviving evidence is that the care and attention brought to Campbell's and Burnet's unfinished Plato Lexicon in both planning and preparation entitle it, in my opinion, to be considered as one of the great 'might-have-been' projects of classical scholarship.⁵⁷

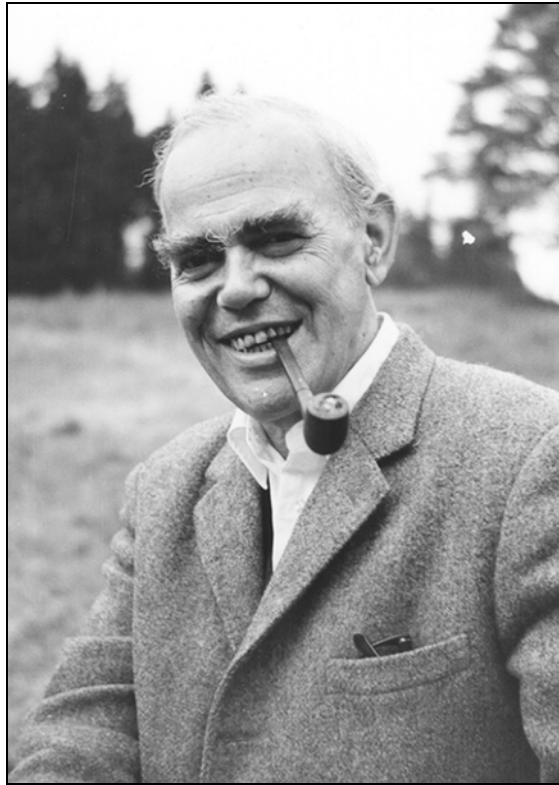
Accompanying Photographs



1) Lewis Campbell (1830-1908)
Portrait photograph by G.C. Beresford
By permission of Getty Images



2) John Burnet (1863-1928)
Portrait photograph by Lafayette?
Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library



3) Georg Picht (1913-1982)
Photograph copyright Dr Constanze Eisenbart



4) Lexicon card file in the Platon-Archiv, Philologisches Seminar,
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen November 2006
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Note on citations

All references are to documents in the Archive at Oxford University Press, unless otherwise stated. Quotations from these are included by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press and the copyright holders (where the Press does not hold the copyright). Reasonable attempts have been made to identify the estate or copyright holder of letters written to the Press. Quotations from the Jowett Papers at Balliol College are included by permission of the Jowett Copyright Trustees; from the Murray Papers by permission of Dr Alexander Murray and the Keeper of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

The papers in the relevant OUP file (CP38/695) are numbered sequentially from 000001 to 000082; I have simplified this by omitting the four initial zeros. DOB refers to the relevant Delegates' Order Book; PLB to the Bartholomew Price letter books, with following volume and folio number.

Notes

¹ *Plato's Republic* / the Greek text edited, with notes and essays by ... B. Jowett ... and Lewis Campbell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894). 3 vols.

² Balliol College, Oxford. Jowett Papers III C 224: Benjamin Jowett to Lewis Campbell, 11 September 1893 [in the hand of Martha Knight, signed by BJ].

³ His essay 'On the Text of Greek Authors, and Especially of Plato' is printed at the front in the second volume of the *Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), iii-xxix.

⁴ W.W. Goodwin: *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. Revised ed. (London: Macmillan, 1889).

⁵ This originally formed part of Riddell's commentary on the *Apology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867) and was first published separately in 1967 (Amsterdam: Hakkert). For an alternative view of Riddell's work, see the entry on him (by Mark Joyal) in *The Dictionary of British Classicists*, vol. 3 ([Bristol]: Thoemmes Continuum, [2004]), 819-820.

⁶ See note 2.

⁷ The other two essays are 'On the Structure of Plato's Republic and its Relation to Other Dialogues' and 'On the Text of this Edition of Plato's Republic'.

⁸ He cites Constantin Ritter's *Untersuchungen über Plato* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1888).

⁹ Johann Jakob Wagner, *Wörterbuch der platonischen Philosophie* (Göttingen: J.C. Dieterich, 1799); T[homas] Mitchell, *Index Graecitatis Platonicae* (Oxonii: E typographeo academico, 1832). On Timaeus, see now Timée le Sophiste, *Lexique platonicien / texte, traduction et commentaire* par Maddalena Bonelli (Leiden: Brill, 2007), with additional bibliography. The introduction by Jonathan Barnes, incorporating earlier work by Bonelli, discusses the question of authorship on p. 19-21; the 'probable' date-range for the Lexicon is given (30) as A.D. 150-350.

¹⁰ *Platons Leben und Schriften* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1816). One of its emphases was on the chronology of the dialogues.

¹¹ "It was not my intention in this work to add to the total of those writings in which the text of an ancient author serves merely as a vehicle for a load of philological and historical learning, and accordingly my book has nothing in common with the Platonic dictionary of Timaeus Sophista and the copious commentary on it by Ruhnken. It was my wish not exactly to explain words, but to represent the spirit of Platonic philosophy and at the same time to supply a reliable explanatory handbook for the reader of the writings of this philosopher. [= Es war nicht meine Absicht, durch dieses Werk die Anzahl derjenigen Schriften zu vermehren, in welchen der Text eines alten Autors bloß zum Vehikel für eine Last philologischer und historischer Gelehrsamkeit dient, und mein Buch hat daher mit dem Platonischen Wörterbuche des Timaeus Sophista, und dem reichen Ruhnken'schen Commentare dazu, gar nichts gemein. Ich wollte nicht eigentlich Worte erklären, sondern den Geist der Platonischen Philosophie darlegen, zugleich aber auch ein brauchbares erläuterndes Handbuch für die Leser der Schriften dieses Philosophen liefern.]" – J.J. Wagner, *Wörterbuch ...*, Vorbericht, v-vi. Wagner's substantial introduction following this (xi-lxxii) is an essay in three sections: Ueber Studium der Philosophie überhaupt, und insbesondere der alten; Kurzer Abriß der Platonischen Philosophie; Uebersicht der Politik Plato's.

¹² This is despite Ast's claim in his preface: "In vocum Platoniarum indice conficiendo omnis mea cura versata est in hoc, ut sermonis Platonici, tam veri quam simulati (in scriptis videlicet quae Platonis feruntur), thesaurum recluderem reclusumque ita disponerem, ut et loci Platonici et variae nominum verborumque formae suo quaeque loco facile possent inveniri." – Ast, *Lexicon Platicum*, vol. 1 (Lipsiae: In libraria Weidmanniana, 1835), iii. The problem is also one of poor typographical layout.

¹³ Letter, David Binning Monro to Lewis Campbell, 13 June 1897, printed in *Memorials in Verse and Prose of Lewis Campbell* / [compiled by Frances Pitt Campbell] ([London]: Printed for Private Circulation, 1914), 362.

¹⁴ File CP38/695 [15/20]: Appeal to the Trustees of the Ireland & Craven Funds, Oxford, September 1902.

¹⁵ The other names are those of Ingram Bywater, The Provost of Oriel (D.B. Monro), Revd. Joseph Mayor (1828-1916), Henry Jackson (1839-1921), J.G. [i.e. J.E.?] Sandys (1844-1922), James Adam (1860-1907), Frederic George Kenyon (1863-1952), John Linton Myres (1869-1954).

¹⁶ From the Oxford and Cambridge Philological Societies, the American Philological Association, and from Balliol College.

¹⁷ File CP38/695 [06]: Printed proposal addressed to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, signed Lewis Campbell, 4 May 1898. Noted at the meeting of the Delegates, 6 May 1898 (DOB 1898-1904, p. 7, cl. 5 [1]): Bywater and Cannan asked to report; 3 June 1898 (DOB 1898-1904, p. 17, cl. 4 [1]): report submitted, consideration deferred. Cannan was to be appointed as Secretary to the Delegates on 30 September 1898 (DOB 1898-1904, p. 41, cl. 2) in succession to Philip Lyttelton Gell (1852-1926).

¹⁸ DOB 1898-1904, p. 27, cl. 6 (1).

¹⁹ DOB 1898-1904, p. 33, cl. 7 (2).

²⁰ Predicted in a letter from Lewis Campbell to Sir Richard Jebb, 9 October 1898 (Jebb Papers 71); I owe the reference to Christopher Stray. Campbell refers to the need for continuing and additional subscriptions, at the same time calling in Jebb's own promised £5 for three years. He notes that "I have already spent a considerable amount of time in preparations, and have engaged a secretary, besides purchasing copies of Ast and of the Zurich text at the cost of £23."

²¹ William Sanday (1843-1920), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity.

²² DOB 1898-1904, p. 50, cl. 5 (2).

²³ File CP38/695 [12]: Extract from letter, Lewis Campbell to OUP, received 3 November 1898.

²⁴ File CP38/695 [01]: Printed prospectus and specimen sheet; undated but date-stamped 22 November 1900.

²⁵ *Platonis opera quae feruntur omnia* / recognoverunt Ioa. Geo. Baiterus, Ioa. Caspar Orellius, Aug. Guil. Winckelmannus. Accedunt integra varietas lectionis Stephanianae, Bekkerianae, Stallbaumianae ... et scholia (Turici: Meyer et Zeller, 1839-1842). 2 vols.

²⁶ The first volume was published in 1900, and the fifth (final) volume in 1908.

²⁷ PLB 74, 1: Copy of letter, Charles Cannan to John Burnet, 1 November 1898. "As to the lexicon I am still more sorry, as I thought you saw a way of getting lexicon & text together. After all you will have 2 vols ready before anybody but St. G Stock has begun, and I don't see why those 2 vols should not be used at any rate. You will get to the Laws before the index maker does." Also 74, 264: Copy of letter, Charles Cannan to Lewis Campbell, 5 December 1898.

²⁸ File CP38/695 [04] and [03], respectively; the latter is annotated "Copy of this sent to Prof. Campbell 19/5/03".

²⁹ PLB 75, 611: Copy of letter, Charles Cannan to Lewis Campbell, 24 May 1899.

³⁰ Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gilbert Murray Papers (MS Murray), 7 fol. 24-25. A similar letter was sent to Mary Giles (wife of Peter Giles, Secretary of the Cambridge Philological Society) on 4 March 1900, at the time Campbell was planning a fund-raising visit to Cambridge (St Andrews University Library, MS 30319/1).

³¹ PLB 72, 411: Copy of letter, Charles Cannan to Lewis Campbell, 13 May 1898.

³² PLB 73, 326: Copy of letter, Charles Cannan to Lewis Campbell, 24 August 1898.

³³ File CP38/695 [21]: Letter, Lewis Campbell to Charles Cannan, 15 April 1903.

³⁴ File CP38/695 [07]: Printed memorandum, dated 31 December 1908. A letter (CP38/695 [34]: John Burnet to Charles Cannan, 21 November 1908) is also relevant. This refers to a new specimen page, although there is no copy of this in the file.

- ³⁵ Hermann Diels (1848-1922), Professor of Classical Philology at Berlin and Wilhelm Crönert (1874-1942), the papyrologist, who began a revision of Passow's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1913-1914).
- ³⁶ File CP38/695 [36]: Letter, John Burnet to R.W. Chapman, 6 December 1908; the discussions on the *Thesaurus* are described in the preface to the ninth edition of the Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-1940), v-vi.
- ³⁷ File CP38/695 [46/48]: Copy of letter, R.W. Chapman to John Burnet, 23 April 1914.
- ³⁸ File CP38/695 [62]: Copy of memorandum, R.W. Chapman to H. Milford, 22 May 1922. A later memorandum CP38/695 [64], Chapman to Milford, 21 January 1927, refers to the priorities for the Press by that stage: "If the enterprise were to be resuscitated, I suppose we should reply that the next place in the long queue is occupied by the Patristic Lexicon, which we have said we will not tackle until Liddell and Scott is out of the way ... The answer to enquirers is, I think, 'no prospect whatsoever for twenty years'."
- ³⁹ Published posthumously as *Scholia Platonica / contulerunt atque investigaverunt Fredericus De Forest Allen, Ioannes Burnet, Carolus Pomeroy Parker; ... edidit William Chase Greene* ([Haverford, Pa.]: [American Philological Association], 1938).
- ⁴⁰ File CP38/695 [65]: Copy of letter, R.W. Chapman to Mary Burnet, 26 September 1931. Her reply of 17 November [66] confirms that Burnet ceased working on the Lexicon "more than five years before his death".
- ⁴¹ File CP38/695 [67/68]: Copy of letter, R.W. Chapman to W.L. Lorimer, 7 December 1931.
- ⁴² File CP38/695 [69/70]: Copy of letter, R.W. Chapman to J.D. Denniston, 22 December 1931. J.D. Denniston: *The Greek Particles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), vii. As an example, Denniston points to the entry for $\gamma\epsilon$.
- ⁴³ File CP38/695 [77]: Postcard, B. Snell to K. Sisam, 3 July 1948.
- ⁴⁴ *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924). Burnet reviewed it in *CR*: 39 (1925) 126-127 and was disturbed by what he termed "its very unhistorical character".
- ⁴⁵ For a detailed discussion of Picht's life and work see Peter Noss, 'Georg Picht', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 7 (Hamm, Westf.: T. Bautz, 1994), cols. 565-578; also available at http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/picht_g.shtml (accessed 12/02/2007).
- ⁴⁶ *Platons Dialoge »Nomoi« und »Symposion«* ([Stuttgart]: Klett-Cotta, [1990]). For Picht's approach to Plato more generally, see the Editorisches Nachwort by Constanze Eisenbart in this volume, 553-561.
- ⁴⁷ File CP38/695 [73]: Copy of letter, K. Sisam to Sir David Ross, 14 July 1948; [75], Copy of letter, Sisam to E.R. Dodds, 16 July 1948; [74]: Letter, C.H. Roberts to Sisam, 15 July 1948; [78]: Letter, A.D. (Lord) Lindsay to Sisam, 19 July 1948; [79]: Letter, E.R. Dodds to Sisam, 17 July 1948.
- ⁴⁸ File CP38/695 [81]: Copy of letter, P.J. Spicer to B. Snell, 6 August 1948.
- ⁴⁹ The earliest likely date is 1962. Richard Kannicht (now Professor emeritus at Tübingen) organised the transport of the Archiv.
- ⁵⁰ Platon Archiv [correspondence file], Memorandum by Konrad Gaiser, February 1972.
- ⁵¹ "The Plato Archive at Tübingen has come into being as the successor to the Plato Archive built up by Georg Picht at Hinterzarten. The materials produced there during a ten-year period of activity (1949-1959), with funding from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, as the basis for a new Plato lexicon (a card-file containing the complete Platonic vocabulary) are now in Tübingen. [= Das Tübinger Platon-Archiv tritt die Nachfolge des von Georg Picht in Hinterzarten aufgebauten Platon-Archivs an. Die dort während zehnjähriger Arbeit (1949-1959) mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft als Grundlage für ein neues Platonlexikon erarbeiteten Materialien (Zettelkartei mit dem gesamten Wortschatz Platons) sind nunmehr in Tübingen.]" – *ibid.*
- ⁵² E-mail from the author to Dr Laumont, 16 May 2006; the reply from Dr Laumont is dated 24 May.
- ⁵³ Confirmed by e-mail from Frau Barbara Schönefeld (TLG, Hamburg) to the author, 16 June and 3 July 2006.
- ⁵⁴ In addition to Dr Laumont and Frau Schönefeld, I have been in correspondence with Professor Dr Robert Picht (Georg Picht's eldest son), Professor em. Dr Hellmut Flashar (München), and Professor Dr Karl-Heinz Stanzel (Tübingen), currently responsible for the Archiv at Tübingen. All were most helpful and I wish to record my warm thanks to them. Through the good offices of Herr Bernd Gottschlich (Forschungstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft, Heidelberg), I was able to contact Frau Dr Constanze Eisenbart, Picht's assistant and amanuensis at Heidelberg, who also knew

the Platon-Archiv when it was still at Birklehof; Dr Eisenbart kindly took the time to show me Picht's own library at the FEST in Heidelberg during my visit to Germany in November 2006 and I am most grateful to her for her valuable reminiscences and for the photograph of Georg Picht accompanying this article.

⁵⁵ Platon Archiv [correspondence file], copy of letter, Konrad Gaiser to Professor W. Jacob (Pathologisches Institut, Univ. Heidelberg), 2 March 1971 in reply to one from Jacob, 24 February 1971; Memorandum by Konrad Gaiser, February 1972.

⁵⁶ *Plato* / edited by Roberto Radice in collaboration with Ilaria Ramelli and Emmanuele Vimercati; electronic edition by Roberto Bombacigno (Milano: Biblia, [2003]), 1 volume + cd-rom and English/Italian guides.

⁵⁷ In addition to the German correspondents already noted, I gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of Dr Martin Maw (OUP Archivist) and his staff, Dr Norman Reid of St Andrews University Library and Dr Colin Harris, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford and his staff. My thanks are also due to Christopher Stray for inviting me to present an initial version of this paper at the conference held in Trinity College, Cambridge.