WALLACE MARTIN LINDSAY

1858–1937

ON 21 February 1937 Professor W. M. Lindsay was taking his accustomed walk near St. Andrews when he was struck down and mortally injured by a motor-car. His death, which followed in a few hours, left all his affairs in that minutely correct order which his friends had long ago learned to associate with him. His department will use, in this year's examinations, papers which he had drafted; the writer of this memoir takes up his task in consequence of a request made by its subject some years ago; and the facts of his career are summarized by himself in a memorandum, written in his characteristically neat and legible hand, which he had prepared against the time when it should be wanted. For he was always a lover of exact truth and never inclined to burden other people with work which he could do better himself. His *commentarii* are printed in full on the following pages, for it may be said of them as was said of an older work, 'nudi sunt, recti et uenusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam ueste detracta. sed dum uoluit alios habere parata unde sumerent qui uellent scribere historiam . . . sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit'.[1] Like his classical models, he speaks throughout of himself in the third person, with that perfect detachment which is the privilege of a man too genuinely modest to fall into the vice of false modesty.

Here, then, are the bare facts as recorded by himself.

'Born 1858 at Pittenweem (Fife), youngest child of Rev. Alexander Lindsay, Presbyterian minister there, and Susan Martin. His eldest brother, Thomas, became principal of the Theological College, Glasgow; another, Alexander,

[1] Cicero, *Brutus*, 262, speaking of the Commentaries of Caesar. The *Brutus* was held in high esteem by Lindsay, who would always have his Honours class read it as part of their course.

became Secretary of the Bank of Bengal. His father's health failing, the family removed to Peffermill house, outside Edinburgh, the old house of Earl Bothwell, lover of Mary, Queen of Scots, not far from Craigmillar Castle; and finally to the town of Edinburgh. Here he attended the Edinburgh Academy, and, at the advice of the Rector, chose for his University Glasgow, not Edinburgh, that he might get the Snell Exhibition for Oxford.

'Between School and University he studied with Dr. Veitch, author of *Greek Verbs Irregular and Defective*, and got a glimpse at the methods of research-work. The veteran scholar put into his hands all the materials collected after the book's appearance, and these he entered in his copy of Liddell and Scott. They were used, after Veitch's death, in a new edition of the dictionary.

'At Glasgow University first Lushington, Tennyson's brother-in-law, then Jebb held the Greek Chair. The Professor of Latin was George Ramsay, whose lively lectures on Plautus caught his youthful imagination. But of all the Professors the one who most fascinated him was Lord Kelvin, who was—it is true—an unintelligible lecturer, but yet a world-wide authority on the science which he taught and friend of the savants of Germany and France.

'Before going to Oxford, he was "coached" by J. H. Onions, Student of Christ Church, who was then beginning an edition of Nonius Marcellus. At Balliol he duly got a "First" in "Mods" and "Greats", but was not attracted by the trend of the College—the "cramming" for examinations, the disregard of the claims of Learning, the lecturers' frequent remark "I know nothing about this, but the German pundits say so-and-so". When he asked his Greek tutor what was the best book on Greek pronunciation, he got the reply "Isn't there some book by Blackie?" (Blass's book was unknown). So, after taking the degree at Oxford, he spent two semesters in the more congenial atmosphere of Leipzig University, where he was in Ribbeck's Latin Seminar, and attended lectures on Sanscrit, Celtic, Greek

Palaeography, etc. The battle between the "new school" of comparative Philology and the "old school"—Brugmann against Georg Curtius—was just beginning; and he eagerly joined the ranks, with the secret hope that he might in time write the needed book on the Latin language. In the Philologischer Verein he met students who had wandered from one University to another; and he borrowed their notes of lectures, that he might transcribe all the lectures on Bibliography with which German professors always begin their courses. A workman needs to know the tools.

'Returning to Oxford, he gained a fellowship at Jesus College, but instead of taking tutorial work there at once, he spent two years as Assistant to the Latin Professor at Edinburgh, Sellar, the author of *The Republican Latin Poets*, etc. In the second year Butcher succeeded the "harum-scarum" Blackie in the Greek Chair, and Edinburgh University had ideal professors of Greek and Latin. Sellar was horrified by his Assistant's attendance at lectures on Gaelic (by Mackinnon) and Sanscrit (by Eggeling) and a protracted collation of the famous manuscript of Martial in the Advocates' Library, but could not win him wholly from the "scientific side" of the study of Latin.

'When the two years were over, he became Tutor at Jesus College, where he remained for fifteen years, from 1884 to 1899. The other classical Tutor was Wharton, author of *Etyma Graeca* and *Etyma Latina*, and a great friend of Sayce. Sir John Rhys, the Celtic Professor, was Bursar, and Whitley Stokes was Honorary Fellow. So Comparative Philology was "in the air" of the College; and Lindsay began to collect materials for his *Latin Language*, but first wrote, at the request of his former Balliol Tutor, who was editor-in-chief of a school-series, a school edition (1887) of the *Captivi* of Plautus. At the request of the editor-in-chief he used Fleckeisen's text (!); and the small book burdened its author's conscience, until opportunity came (in 1921) for a new edition. He also offered, with youthful audacity, to the Clarendon Press a Bibliography (compiled from German

Professors' lectures) of "The best Books in Classics and Comparative Philology". This was wisely refused—at the instance of Bywater—but found its mission several years later, when put into the hands of J. B. Mayor for the new Supplement to the *Guide to the Choice of Classical Books* (1896). Bywater tried to lead him off from the Latin language to a collection of the Varro-fragments in Augustine and Jerome. In vain. Madan, who most kindly helped him with Latin manuscripts, was more successful in inducing him to venture on giving a few Lectures on Greek Palaeography, attended—*di boni!*—by some Heads of Houses, by Madan himself, and, best of all, by T. W. Allen, "the only Palaeography Lectures yet delivered at Oxford", according to Madan. He had first handled proof-sheets in preparing for the Clarendon Press the edition of the Herculanean Fragments (1885) by his friend, Walter Scott, Professor at Sydney. In the same year he sent to the *Athenaeum* a short account (5 Sept.) of the Bodleian Fayum papyri.

'Lindsay's idea was to use chiefly Celtic for the elucidation of Latin forms; and in 1888 he wrote for the *Classical Review* (founded a year or two before) a sketch of the "Early Italian Declension", with the parallel Celtic forms appended. But the first necessity was to find new material for the study of Early Irish. At Whitley Stokes's suggestion he went to Italy in the Easter Vacation of 1889 and searched the libraries of Rome, Monte Cassino, Verona, Milan for Irish glosses. The Vaticana brought the richest finds and the greatest difficulties, for he tried (and fairly succeeded) to look at every Latin manuscript of the eleventh century or older. That was before Ehrle became librarian; and the impossibility of the task may be imagined. However, he brought back a goodly sheaf of notes for Whitley Stokes, who took them in the following year on a second journey of discovery. The glosses ultimately found their way into Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (1901–3).

'About this time (as one may read in Farnell's charming reminiscences) the Oxford devotees of Learning began to bestir themselves against the reactionaries of Balliol, etc. "The Club", as it was called, was founded in 1889 for monthly dinner and discussion of the plans of campaign, under the wise presidency of Bywater and Pelham. Lindsay, it is to be feared, made himself a nuisance by talking, day and night, of the duty of Research, Research. The reactionaries replied that the slogan "Endowment of Research" usually meant "Research for Endowment". However, he got Sir Edward Maunde Thompson to give some lectures in Oxford on Palaeography; and Sweet to give some on Phonetics which led ultimately to an Oxford Lectureship in Phonetics.

'His friend Onions died, leaving the edition of Nonius Marcellus unfinished and the Escurial and Zurich MSS. uncollated. The Clarendon Press asked him to collate these, that Nettleship might complete the edition; so he went with Neubauer, who had to examine some Hebrew manuscripts of Spain, in the Easter Vacation to Madrid and the Escurial. A year or two later appeared an epoch-making book in Plautine research, the *Plautinische Forschungen* (1892) of Franz Skutsch, with whom he ever after maintained correspondence and friendship. He published in the *American Journal of Philology* (1892) two papers on Saturnian Verse, asserting its accentual nature. The accentual theory held the field till Leo's *Saturnischer Vers* (1905) won favour for the quantitative theory, a book which left him unconvinced.

'At length the last materials for the *Latin Language* had been collected. He had visited Berlin and persuaded Mommsen to show him some unfinished sheets of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions. Mommsen, probably hoping to shake him off, fixed six o'clock a.m. as his time for his inspection of them; and he had the delightful experience of sitting for an hour each morning of a week in the famous study where the great man was working. The *Latin*

Language appeared in 1894 and got a "very good Press". Osthoff was enthusiastic, and had it translated by an old student, Dr. Nohl. "Lindsay-Nohl" was accepted in Germany as the standard work and passed out of print some years earlier than the English original. He now found himself *en rapport* with Continental scholars and was constantly asked for articles by German magazine-editors, such as Woelfflin of the *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie*, Crusius of *Philologus*, Hinneburg of the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Seyffert of the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*.

'Nettleship had died in 1893, after making no progress with the edition of Nonius Marcellus. Onions' friends were annoyed and impatient. Lindsay set himself at once to prepare for press all that had been left complete, and in 1895 appeared *Nonius I–III* as a posthumous work of Onions. In the same year the *Latin Language* was reduced, for school use, to a *Short Historical Latin Grammar*, which soon went out of print. (It was not reprinted till 1915.) The following years were a very busy time and taxed his strength; for he added the preparation of a full edition of Nonius Marcellus to the other works he had on hand—an edition of Plautus and an edition of Martial, both of them for the Clarendon Press series of Oxford Classical Texts.

'In 1896 he made a close investigation of the Codex Vetus and other manuscripts of Plautus and published a pamphlet, *The Palatine Text of Plautus* (Oxford, Parker), a paper in the *Classical Review*, *The MSS. of the first eight plays of Plautus*, and another in the *American Journal of Philology* on the *Truculentus*. The quotations of Plautus (and other ancient writers) by Isidore had to be verified: he longed for Kübler's promised edition of the *Etymologiae*, and set himself to collect the readings of as many Isidore manuscripts as possible. The study of Etruscan, too, occupied his time; for he had realised its importance for Latin during his work on *The Latin Language*. He was convinced of the necessity of finding bilingual inscriptions by means of excavation in the borderland between Etruria and Rome, and

had much correspondence with Pauli and Lattes about it. A plan of getting American funds for the purpose had been favoured by his friend Minton Warren, when Director at the American School at Rome, but came to nothing, to Pauli's great disappointment. The need of bilinguals he emphasized later in a Preface he wrote at the request of Messrs. Dent for the republication in their Everyman's Library (1907) of Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*; but, to his horror, found that the first, not the greatly improved second edition, had been chosen for the republication. He had, in his first visit to Rome, seen a great deal of Dennis and could imagine what Dennis's shade would be thinking of this.

'In 1897, as a preliminary to his edition of Plautus, he wrote an *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* (published by Macmillan) which was translated into French by Waltzing in the following year. He felt strongly that an editor of Plautus (and other editors too) should make a close study of what the Germans call *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte* and state the corruptions to which the text would be liable in this or that stage of its transmission. Of conjectural emendation "at large" or, as he called it, "feet-on-the-hob emendation" he had always a great distrust. Schoell, at this time, was recklessly emending the text especially of the Cantica. Another book published this year (meant as a companion-volume for his *Short Historical Latin Grammar*) was a *Handbook of Latin Inscriptions* (Boston, U.S.A., Allyn & Bacon).

'Next year came his great discovery in the Bodleian Library of a collation of part of the Codex Turnebi of Plautus. The Clarendon Press published a photographic reproduction, with a long preface and appendix, *The Codex Turnebi of Plautus* (1898). Lindsay, relying on a Latin congratulatory poem on the Adversaria, declared the pronunciation of Turnèbe's Latin name to be Turnēbus, but Bywater later (*Journ. Phil.* xxxiii. 88) shewed that the really correct form in French was De Tournebu and in Latin

Turnĕbus. The collation was transcribed by Fr. Duaren (from Turnèbe's original) in the margins of a Gryphius edition (1540) of Plautus; and this edition passed from Scaliger to Dan. Heinsius, was sold at the auction of Nic. Heinsius' library, and bought by Dr. Bernard. It reveals, more or less, the "Palatine" archetype of Plautus, but is blurred for us by Duaren's difficulty in transcribing Turnèbe's illegible writing. Lindsay carefully and faithfully described its merits and defects in his preface and in a number of magazine articles. The full record of the collation he published in Supplement volume vii of *Philologus*. The codex used by Turnèbe belonged to the Library of the St. Colombe Monastery at Sens, and might be called Codex Senonensis. Sonnenschein, the only adverse critic, absurdly tried to connect it with the Ambrosian Palimpsest of Bobbio, Columban's foundation in N. Italy. All others hailed the discovery with acclamation; and although recently Marx, in his edition of the *Rudens*, vilipends some of the new readings, they are satisfactorily defended by Thierfelder in a review of Marx in *Gnomon*.

'Lindsay accepted an invitation from Harvard to give a course of lectures on Plautus, and spent the happiest time of his life with a small class of advanced students, whose dissertations were published in vol. ix of the *Harvard Studies*, and in seeing as many base-ball matches as he could. He stayed for a time at Baltimore with Minton Warren, who afterwards became Latin Professor at Harvard. Unluckily, a cold in his ear caught at the Harvard University Club, where he used to breakfast beside a slightly opened window, began that deafness from which he suffered increasingly (his father, too, had been deaf) till the end of his life.

'On his return to Oxford he was elected Senior Proctor, an office which brought the privilege of nomination for the D.C.L. Degree. He nominated Ehrle, who came to the Encaenia, was honoured (by a conversation with royalty), edified (by inspection of the Clarendon Press methods of photography), and vastly delighted by "the golden dream

which the Encaenia 1899 will be for me all my life". The suavity of Ehrle's talk charmed everyone; and it seemed unfortunate that the suggestion of Cicero's line:

quidquid come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens,

was rejected by the Public Orator, who doubted the old-time use of *quidquid* for *quidque*.

'Another benefit of the Proctorship was that Lindsay had easy access to the Bodleian and its treasures. Bywater, who had two copies of the Bibliotheca Heinsiana catalogue, gave him one; and with its help he made a list of all the old editions of the Classics in the library which contained written marginalia, and presented it to the Bodleian. In 1901 he sent a short account of these Bodleian marginalia to the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (xviii. 159). Madan joined him in a projected "Autographa Philologorum", a useful book for librarians but refused by the Clarendon Press.

'Before the first Term (the Summer Term) of his Proctorship was over, he was elected to the Latin Chair at St. Andrews, and bade adieu to his Oxford College (of which he was many years later made Honorary Fellow). The Principal of St. Andrews University, Sir James Donaldson, was a warm supporter of learned research, and readily accepted the suggestion of a University Publication Series, in which members of the staff could get their research work printed. Each and every number of the series was by Lindsay himself until No. VII, and a large portion of the rest; for the series gave opportunity for discussing in detail problems for which there was not room enough in the preface of an *opus magnum*. The first was *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin* (1901), an account of how Nonius had collected and arranged the *Compendiosa Doctrina*. It served as preliminary to Lindsay's edition (based on "copiae Onionsianae") of Nonius (Teubner, 1902). The second was *The Ancient editions of Martial, with Collations of the Berlin and Edinburgh MSS.* (1903). It prepared the way for his edition of Martial (Clar. Press, 1903). The third,

Ancient Editions of Plautus (1904), subserved his edition of Plautus (Clar. Press, 1904–5). The fourth was a *Syntax of Plautus* (1907), which soon went out of print.

'The appearance of three editions of Latin authors in four years seemed surprising. But, in reality, the shortness of the Scottish University Session in that golden time, before the Three Terms were introduced, gave him the opportunity of publishing books for which the material had been amassed many years before. In 1900 he had published (with Methuen) a large edition of Plautus' *Captivi*, which embodied his Harvard lectures, also (in the *Classical Review*) a *Supplement to the Apparatus Criticus of Martial*. Hearing that the Berlin Library had acquired a new manuscript of Martial, he hurried to Berlin and, after much entreaty, got from Wilmanns the first use of the manuscript (thereby anticipating Traube by one day!). It presented the ancient edition of Torquatus Gennadius untarnished by the conjectural emendations of Italian Renaissance scholars, and so enabled Lindsay to make a satisfactory *apparatus criticus* for Martial once for all. Nonius had engaged him ever after the death of Onions, and the MSS. of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* had been fully discussed in 1901 in articles in *Philologus* and the *Revue de Philologie*. The apparatus of the Teubner edition was almost wholly taken from the papers of Onions.

'An edition of Festus followed soon (Teubner, 1912). But here, too, Lindsay merely built on another's labours. The Hungarian scholar, Thewrewk de Ponor, had brought into service the MSS. of Paulus Diaconus and the Apographs of the lost portions of the MS. of Festus, and published a text in 1889, entitled "Pars I". Lindsay at last wrote to him about Pars II, and was asked to complete the *app. crit.* by a collation of the Escurial and Cheltenham MSS. and to relieve the Hungarian of the task of the edition. Hence the Teubner Festus, based on "Copiae Thewrewkianae", a good enough presentation of all that manuscripts could give us, but lacking the information to

be derived from such glosses as had been taken from a full Festus. Lindsay saw that the proper use of glosses would require a prolonged study of Latin Glossaries, an appalling subject known to Goetz and to Goetz only, and put off the evil day till a second volume.

'A medieval book had been edited by him in 1911, Isidore's *Etymologiae*. He had again an inheritance by default. Kübler had become a Law Professor and relinquished the idea of an edition. Lindsay got part of the *app. crit.* from Kübler; part he had collected at the Escurial and other libraries; a most valuable part came into his hands by the lucky purchase from a German second-hand bookseller of a copy in whose margins Klein had entered a minutely accurate collation of the Wolffenbüttel MS. Lindsay told the Clarendon Press Delegates that the edition would be a mere stop-gap until the large edition of all Isidore by Anspach in the Vienna series of Church Fathers. How many years have now passed, and when will the Vienna edition appear?

'In 1907 Latin Palaeography had suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Traube. Lindsay, though profoundly conscious of his own ignorance of Medieval History, felt the duty of trying to continue the study of this subject. In 1908 he published, as a St. Andrews University Publication, *Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule MSS.* embodying partly his (subsequent) Sandars Lectures at Cambridge. In the same series in 1910 *Early Irish Minuscule Script* and in 1912 *Early Welsh Script*. But, above all, it was necessary to treat the abbreviation-symbols of minuscule (at least early minuscule), as Traube had treated those of majuscule; therefore he devoted his vacations to tours through Continental libraries, until in 1915 the Cambridge University Press published his *Notae Latinae*, collected from "all existing minuscule manuscripts of the eighth century and a large portion of those of the ninth". In the following year he wrote *Palaeographical Notes on the Cathach of St. Columba* for the Irish Academy's *Proceedings*, and in the American

Classical Philology (xi. 270) (*A New Clue to the Emendation of Latin Texts*), he shewed from a manuscript of Marius Victorinus in the Vaticana that Notae Juris were used in the early writing of Grammatical works, etc.

'For a completion of his small Teubner edition of Festus by a second volume which should use Festus-glosses, he had seen the necessity for a close study of medieval Latin Glossaries. What were these Glossaries? How had they been compiled? At what time and with what purpose? To answer these questions he needed opportunity for publishing a number of magazine-articles. The opportunity came with the Great War when his friend Godley, who was editor of the *Classical Review*, appealed to him for articles on any subject, "to keep the Review going". Lindsay supplied a number of papers on the chief Glossaries and got a characteristic letter of thanks in a Sapphic stanza:

> scrinio grates agimus perennes
> quod laborantes iuvat editores
> magna ceu rupes sitiente campo
> porrigit umbram.

It soon became clear that Goetz had missed the true explanation, that these Glossaries were mere conglomerations of *glossae collectae* (in Henry Bradshaw's phrase); that is to say, the marginal explanations of difficult words in MSS. of Virgil, Terence, Orosius, the Bible (or any other monastery class-book) had been collected from the margins and put into a special book, a glossary, which played the part of a monastery-dictionary. Glossaries do *not* contain ancient lore, but merely the valueless interpretations written by monastery teachers in the margins of class-books. Lindsay determined to make this clear by editing a glossary and tracing each gloss to the source. The famous Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, seemed the most suitable; and, with the help of Henry Bradley, was published in 1921 by the Cambridge University Press. The Prolegomena had to be published separately. Bradley had them printed as a Philological Society Pub-

lication (No. VIII), *The Corpus, Epinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries*.

'Meanwhile the International Academic Union had begun work on a Dictionary of Medieval Latin, to replace Du Cange; and Lindsay seized the opportunity of getting all the leading glossaries published (with the help of some dozen collaborators) under the patronage of the British Academy and the Association G. Budé. That was done in five volumes, under the title *Glossaria Latina*; and in volume iv he found a place for a large annotated edition of Festus, in which Festus-glosses were for the first time fully utilized. The twenty years (1914–34) spent on the unattractive study of glossaries were relieved by a book on Plautine Prosody and Metre, *Early Latin Verse* (Clar. Press, 1922) and by an edition of Terence, for which Kauer supplied the *apparatus criticus* and Lindsay the text (Clar. Press, 1926). Vollmer, when editor of the Thesaurus linguae Latinae, asked him to revise in its proof-sheets all mention of glosses. Lindsay did this regularly year after year, but never insisted on his corrections if the dictionary-staff were indisposed to accept them: he knew that Germans must be loyal to Goetz.

'Finally must be mentioned a quasi-magazine, *Palaeographia Latina*, started by Lindsay (at Ehrle's suggestion), of which six parts appeared between 1922 and 1929 (when Lindsay's aggravated deafness made Continental travel difficult). Most of it came from his pen, though Heraeus contributed a notable article (iv. 1), *Ueber einige Variantenzeichen*, such as *i.a.* "in alio codice", mistaken by scribes for *iam*; and Rand another (v. 52), *How many leaves at a time?*, on the practice of ruling pages of manuscripts as a clue to date and place. It was included in the St. Andrews University Publications Series, although not financed by the University but by Dr. M. James, Dr. Cunningham and Lindsay himself. It is a pity that Latin Palaeographers did not contribute more articles and keep it in life; but the appearance of the American magazine *Speculum*, the palaeographical publications by the Mediaeval Academy of

America, and, above all, the announcement of Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores* had really made it superfluous.

'In 1930 E. Carusi made him co-editor of a Vatican folio, *Monumenta Palaeographica Veronensia*, of which Part II (1934) was almost wholly his work. The New Palaeographical Society put him on the title-page of its concluding issues. And he was elected Member of the Institute of France, the Danish Academy, the Lombard Academy, the Accademia dei Lincei, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the Academy of Lund, the Associazione Archeologica Romana. The British Academy he joined in its fourth year. In 1926 he shared with Norden the Vallauri Prize. He was unmarried.'

One thing will at once be evident; the main interest in his life was work, hard, minute, incessant. Once, and once only, I heard him speak in a tone of discouragement, quite unlike his usual brightness. The reason was that he had finished his larger edition of Festus and could think of no other task to begin. A little later he was cheerful again; an idea had occurred to him that more light could be thrown, by patient investigation and much learning, upon the sources of Fulgentius and the original form of his *expositio sermonum antiquorum*. It is a pity he did not see his way to examine further into the matter; if nothing else, the contrast between the lying, muddled author and the clear-headed, truth-loving commentator would have been piquant.

But it would be a gross mistake to suppose that he was a pedantic recluse, living in a world of dry tomes and caring nothing for anything which did not bear on ancient philology. One of the oldest members of the Senatus Academicus of his University, he retained the healthy and joyous mind which he must have had as a boy. The most likely thing to find in a letter from him, next perhaps to a short remark which solved one's difficulties, was a joke, and these were often caustic, though never bitter. 'X has sent me a copy

of his book. I must restrain an impish desire to send him a waste-paper basket for Christmas.' Or, on a post-card (his commonest vehicle), when some one whom he wanted to consult had gone on the Continent and left no address: 'Illi—scis quem dicam—in Austria latitanti male male male sit.' It was as likely as not to be in Latin verse, classical or otherwise; an excuse from an old acquaintance that a cold prevented his keeping an engagement brought back in a few minutes some marvellous doggerel; the gift of a book which he apparently thought worthy of something better than a waste-paper basket was acknowledged in a one-line parody of Catullus,

accepi lepidum nouum libellum.

Indeed, one line or a very few lines often formed the whole contents; he never wasted words, and if he expanded a little it was generally because the case of some student whom he wanted to befriend could not be stated persuasively in one line. How many young men, and men now past their youth, have owed their academic chances to him is no more to be calculated than the sum of those whom he helped in other ways; for it was impossible for him to be anything but kind.

Conversation with him, in his later years, was something of an ordeal to the shy. It was impossible to make him hear, so he always carried with him a quantity of paper, which was presented to the interlocutor. One became used to writing everything in the briefest and most pithy form, and he, as befitted a palaeographer, had great skill in making out the most illegible scrawls; but it needed a little practice. On one point he was always most scrupulous: every scrap of the paper was carried away with him to be destroyed, for such writings were not *littera scripta*, it would seem, and therefore did not remain. There was no check on freedom of expression at all events, whatever there may have been on fluency. His own answers were, of course, oral.

But whether he wrote or spoke, he was always candid to

a degree. Being learned, he never posed as erudite, nor made the faintest pretence of knowing everything even about his own specialties. Nothing was more common than a request to be informed about something, generally something Latin; he seemed always to know what specialist knowledge every one else had, however remote it might be from his own, as he always seemed to know of the successes of every friend or pupil, however obscure they might be, and gave them recognition, both personal and official. 'If one had some little stroke of luck, for instance,' writes one of his oldest colleagues, 'or wrote a paper or a book, there would be sure to come a post-card from Lindsay, with a few joyous words of unstinted congratulation.' At the same time, he never flattered, but was ready to express the most complete disagreement on any point, scholastic or practical. He never carped; this or that did not seem to him true, and truth was the one thing that really mattered. Hence his praise was something to be treasured.

It perhaps might be said that he was especially loved by three classes of people. Firstly, scholars great and small who honestly tried to come, as he did, to some aspect of truth. These were his friends, whether he saw anything of them personally or not. Secondly, honest folk of all sorts, however unlearned, for they recognized his honesty. Thirdly, children; for he was unboundedly kind to them in a quiet and rather shy way. Women played little part in his life, except the sister who was his inseparable companion; I think he was always a little afraid of women students especially. But his consideration for them was unfailing and his courtesy none the worse for being of an earlier generation.

Physically, the most extraordinary thing about him was his activity. He loved the country, and spent as much time as possible at a house in the Highlands, where he had room to tramp over the hills to his heart's content. Ten miles were no more than a stroll to him, with his sixteenth *lustrum* drawing to an end, and Brae Riach—four thousand odd

feet—a hillock to walk up thrice in a week. How much longer he might have lived in the natural course of things no one can tell, but he showed not the least trace of senility in face or figure, certainly none in his movements. He enjoyed life heartily in its simplest and most wholesome forms.

As to his place in scholarship there can be no doubt: he was of the first rank. Immense powers of concentrated work were joined to a penetrating intellect and a constitutional inability to be satisfied with anything less than the fullest possible knowledge of whatever he studied. It is fairly easy to see, by looking through the list of his publications, how he was led on from one theme to another. Language interested him from first to last, the particular language which he chose being Latin, although he was a very competent Grecian. Therefore he sought its acquaintance especially in its purest form, that which was least overlaid by conventions and foreign borrowings. Hence, it would seem, his early and enduring interest in Plautus, apart from the fact that Plautus has a rugged honesty about him which would of itself recommend him to Lindsay. No doubt the influence of his German teachers counted for a good deal also, for, as Gildersleeve says of a slightly earlier period, every one was 'Plautus-mad and Ennius-mad' for some decades of the nineteenth century. Ennius was being sufficiently dealt with by other hands, therefore Plautus remained. Now to understand Plautus, or any Republican writer of the earlier time, it was necessary to realize exactly what manner of tongue Latin, as near as can be had pure and undefiled, was. Hence the excursions into Keltic and the study of the declensions, leading to the full-dress setting forth of the entire subject in *The Latin Language*. But Plautus and his contemporaries have come a long and uneven road on their way to modern times, and to discover what exactly they wrote it is not enough to know Latin, early or late; it is necessary to study the stages of that journey. So Lindsay early embarked upon what he never ceased to be interested in, the study of *Überlieferungsgeschichte*. To him this was not

simply 'a longer and a nobler word than fudge', but the method, laborious but exact, whereby the student may learn what exactly ancient testimonies to the text of an author are worth, on what basis they rest, and when and how they are untrustworthy. A MS., be it of the fourth or the fourteenth century, is in itself an isolated fact and apt to be as meaningless as all facts are if taken singly. Studied, however, as it should be, it is one of a group of facts which may be put together almost as certainly as the words in a sentence till they give a sense more or less complete. When they have said their say, and not earlier, it is time for modern conjecture and comment to begin. Hence the abiding worth of an edition by Lindsay or any one who works as he did; there may be more to say concerning what the author wrote, but there will be little or nothing to unsay. The facts, so far as available, are all there. Hence the long series of studies, each of them yielding its quota of information concerning ancient Latin texts and their relation to one another and to the original writing which lay behind them; hence also the contempt which shows through Lindsay's studiedly moderate language for the stupid person who caused him, in his first published work on Plautus, to waste his time commenting on what Fleckeisen imagined the dramatist might have written, to the neglect of the primary question of what he really wrote. Hence it was that he came as near to anger as was possible to his mild and sunny nature when he found that his Terence rested on collations partly inaccurate; Kauer had not completed as he should the task of finding out exactly what the tradition tells us. And hence it is also that in editing Plautus he uses comparatively modern spelling. The knowledge at his command enabled him at best to restore the text which Probus read, and even that disfigured by lacunae and corruptions, some of which at least were not in the MSS. of the second century. The text as it came from Plautus's own pen can, in a thousand details, be restored no otherwise than by a series of conjectures of varying degrees of probability, to

which Lindsay would not resort, for they are no more than specious theories, and he wanted only the maximum of sure and ascertained fact. This same dislike of conjecture where fact is to be had is to be seen in his expositions of Latin metre. Many and ingenious theories had been based on the metrical accent or ictus of the verse; Lindsay kept to the only accent which we know certainly that any kind of Latin ever had, the natural stress on certain syllables, and on that alone he founded his theories, which therefore are likely to endure when the others are forgotten.

It was this same desire to elicit the proved facts and add to their number which seems to have been at the base of his vast labours on the lexicographers and glossators. However modestly he may speak of his dependence on others' researches, it remains true that from Nonius in 1895 to Festus in 1931 he furnished the guiding principle on which the editions rested. It was his constant desire to find out exactly what these scholars and sciolists of a past day knew, to distinguish it from what they guessed or moderns had guessed concerning them, and to assess its exact value. If this meant confessing to a scanty harvest, mere mediaeval nonsense and not fragments of ancient learning, so much the worse, but the truth was at least attained and no one need be misled by false lights.

Busy as he was with this department of learning, he left many altogether untouched, although they fell within his capacity. Of all the plays he edited he expounded only one, and that neither the longest nor the hardest. He gave us a text of Martial which rests on a solid foundation, but made no move to replace the somewhat inadequate commentary of Friedländer. There are many authors whom he could have expounded better than any, but he left them to others. It was as if he deliberately chose the uninviting, difficult, and unpopular tasks, leaving all the easier ones to his colleagues. When he could get a worthy pupil to help him, well and good; if not, he laboured alone, undiscouraged and caring nothing for advertisement and

popularity. Hence he was not a familiar or much talked of figure among the students. The best of them knew how good his lectures were, and now and then were startled to find, on the evidence perhaps of a testimonial, how intimately he knew those who had learned from him; but to the average undergraduate he was a remote figure, a little legendary, though the occasional stories concerning him did not turn on the usual topics, absentmindedness or eccentricity, but on his unconventional kindness and good nature. His works were read and will continue to be read by those who can appreciate first-rate scholarship stripped of all adventitious decorations and devices, however legitimate, to make it 'interesting'. Not a line that he ever wrote is needlessly obscure; but also, none is aimed at the reader who gives but half his attention. Those who are willing to study find abundant proof that they are dealing, not only with a lucid and erudite, but with a witty writer. Besides what he printed there survives him a group of younger men, several of them in important academic posts, who learned from him what research and scholarship mean. There is a larger circle of those who were never his pupils nor, what generally amounted to much the same thing, his lecturers or assistants, but whose knowledge has been increased and, still more important, their attitude towards the problems of philology determined or modified by what he wrote, whether for the press or not.

When F. Skutsch died in 1912, Lindsay sent his widow a characteristic letter of comfort, suggesting as a source of consolation the pride she must feel in her husband's achievements.[1] In it he gave a short character of the dead scholar, which may be fittingly used for his own memorial.

He had no peer in knowledge of Latin. He knew more than others knew, he saw down into the heart of things in a way no other could see, he led the way that others were glad to follow on. And with all this pre-eminence he had absolutely no personal

[1] The author thanks Dr. Otto Skutsch, son of Dr. Franz Skutsch, for a sight of this letter.

vanity; he thought only of getting at the truth, without regard to whether the truth was first reached by himself or by anyone else. His place in learning can never be filled, but at least he has left us an example of conduct which we can try to imitate.

Another document left by Lindsay is a bibliography, complete as regards his larger works, select for the rest. It is hardly likely that any one else can improve it, and to add the omissions would merely be to burden this memorial with notes of small writings by which the author apparently did not desire to be remembered. It is therefore given here exactly as he wrote it.

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H. J. Rose