THE GREAT IDEAS ONLINE

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THE GREAT BOOKS: 2

This is the second half of Chapter Sixteen of Professor Adler's new book, How to Read a Book, published by Simon and Schuster on March 5 at \$2.50. An appendix listing more than one hundred important, or "great" books, compiled by Mr. Adler from various sources, starts on Page 26. The first half of this article was printed in the February issue of the MAGAZINE.

I said before that I was going to make smaller groupings of books according as their authors appeared to be talking about the same problems, and conversing with one another. Let's begin at once. The easiest way to begin is with the themes that dominate our daily conversation. The newspapers and radio will not let us forget about the world crisis and our national role in it. We talk at table and in the evening, as well as probably during office hours, about war and peace, about democracy against the totalitarian regimes, about planned economies, about Fascism and Communism, about the next national election, and hence about the Constitution, which both parties are going to use as a platform and as a plank with which to hit the other fellow over the head.

If we do more than look at the newspapers or listen to the radio, we may have read such books as Walter Lippmann's *The Good Society* or James Marshall's *Swords and Symbols*. We may even have been induced by these books, and other considerations, to look at the Constitution itself. If the political problems with which current books deal interest us, there is more reading for us to do in relation to them and the Constitution. These contemporary authors probably read some of the great books, and the men who wrote the Constitution certainly did. All we have to do is to follow the lead, and the trail will unwind by itself.

First, let us go to the other writings of the men who drafted the Constitution. Most obvious of all is the collection of pieces, arguing for the ratification of the Constitution, published weekly in *The Independent Journal* and elsewhere by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. To understand *The Federalist Papers*, you should read not only the Articles of Confederation, which the Constitution was intended to supplant, but also the writings of the Federalists' major opponent on many issues, Thomas Jefferson. A selection of his political

utterances has recently been made and published.

Unfortunately, it is more difficult to get the writings of another great participant in the argument, John Adams; but you will find his collected works in the library. Look especially at his *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*, written in answer to an attack by the French economist and statesman, Turgot; and also at his *Discourses on Davila*. The writings of Tom Paine are available in many editions. His *Common Sense* and his *Rights of Man* throw light on the issues of the day and the ideologies which controlled the opponents.

BOOKS THE FOUNDING FATHERS READ

These writers, because they were readers as well, lead us to the books which influenced them. They are *using* ideas whose more extended and disinterested exposition is to be found elsewhere. The pages of *The Federalist Papers*, and the writings of Jefferson, Adams, and Paine, refer us to the great political thinkers of the eighteenth and late seventeenth century in Europe. We should read Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, Locke's essays *Of Civil Government*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*. To savor the rationalism of this Age of Reason, we must also read here and there in the voluminous papers of Voltaire.

You may suppose that the laissez-faire individualism of Adam Smith also belongs in our revolutionary back ground, but remember that *The Wealth of Nations* was first published in 1776. The founding fathers were influenced, in their ideas about property, agrarianism, and free trade, by John Locke and the French economists against whom Adam Smith wrote.

Our founding fathers were well read in ancient history. They drew upon the annals of Greece and Rome for many of their political examples. They had read Plutarch's *Lives* and Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*—the war between Sparta and Athens and their allies. They followed the fortunes of the various Greek federations for what light they might throw on the enterprise they were about to undertake. They were not only learned in history and political thought, but they went to school with the ancient orators. They reveal the influence of Cicero's orations. As a result, their political propaganda is not only magnificently turned, but amazingly effective even today. With the exception of Lincoln (who had read a few great books very well), American statesmen of a later day neither speak nor write so well.

The trail leads further. The writers of the eighteenth century had been influenced in turn by their immediate forebears in political thought. The *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes and the political tracts of Spinoza deal with the same problems of government-the formation of society by contract, the justifications of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, the right of rebellion against tyranny. Locke, Spinoza, and Hobbes are, in a sense, involved in a conversation with one another. Locke and Spinoza had read Hobbes. Spinoza, moreover, had read Machiavelli's *Prince*, and Locke everywhere refers to and quotes "the judicious Hooker," the Richard Hooker who wrote a book about *Ecclesiastical Government* at the end of the sixteenth century, and of whom Isaak Walton, the fisherman, wrote a life.

I mention Hooker because he, more than the men of a later generation, had read the ancients well, especially the Ethics and Polities of Aristotle, He had certainly read them better than Thomas Hobbes, if we can judge by the references in the latter's work. Hooker's influence on Locke partly accounts for the difference between Locke and Hobbes on many political questions.

One other stream of influence upon our founding fathers came through a Catholic political thinker of the sixteenth century, Robert Bellarmine. Like Locke, he opposed the theory of the divine right of kings. Madison and Jefferson were acquainted with Bellarmine's arguments. I mention Bellarmine for the same reason I mentioned Hooker, because it was through him that other books enter the picture, Bellarmine reflected the great medieval works on political theory, especially the writings of Thomas Aquinas, who was an upholder of popular sovereignty and the natural rights of man.

The conversation about current political issues thus enlarges itself to take in the whole of European political thought. If we go back to the Constitution and the writings of '76, we are inevitably led further, as each writer reveals himself to be a reader in turn. Little has been left out. If we add Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* which Aristotle read and answered, and Cicero's *Republic* and *Laws* which influenced the course of Roman law throughout medieval Europe, almost all the great political books have been drawn in.

BOOKS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

That is not quite true. By returning to the original conversation, and taking a fresh start, we may discover the few major omissions. Suppose there is a Nazi in our midst, and he quotes *Mein Kampf* at us. Since it is not clear that Hitler ever read the great books, the political utterances of Mussolini might be more productive of leads. Let's

shift to Fascism. We may be able to detect the influence of the French philosopher, Sorel, who wrote *Reflections on Violence*. We may remember that Mussolini was once a socialist. If we pursue these lines in all their ramifications, other books inevitably find their way into the conversation.

There would be Hegel's *Philosophy of History* and *Philosophy of Right*. Here we would find the justifications of state absolutism, the deification of the state. There would also be the writings of Nietzsche, especially such books as *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, *Beyond Good and Evil*, and *The Will to Power*. Here we would find the theory of the superman as above the canons of right and wrong, the theory of a successful use of might as its own ultimate justification. And behind Hegel, on the one hand, and Nietzsche, on the other—in the latter case through the influence of Schopenhauer—would be the greatest of German thinkers, Immanuel Kant, Any-one who reads Kant's *Philosophy of Law* will see that he cannot be held responsible for the positions of his currently more influential followers.

There might also be a Communist at our table, either Trotskyite or Stalinist. Both sorts swear by the same book. The conversation would not get very far without Karl Marx being mentioned. His great work, *Das Kapital*, would also be mentioned, even though no one would read it, not even the Communist... But if anyone had read *Das Kapital*, and other literature of revolution, he would have found a trail which led, on the one hand, to Hegel again—a starting point for both Communism and Fascism—and, on the other hand, to the great economic and social theorists of England and France: to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, to Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, and Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty*.

A lawyer present might turn the discussion away from economic theory by turning it to the legal aspects of business and government. He may have just read Mr. Thurman Arnold's book on *The Folklore of Capitalism*, or his earlier one on *The Symbols of Government*. That might remind someone that Mr. Jerome Frank had also written a book called *Law and the Modern M*ind. These books would bring others in their train, if they had been read with an eye on the books hidden in their backgrounds.

Becoming interested in these legal matters, we might soon leave Arnold and Frank for the company of the late Justice Holmes and that great English law reformer, Jeremy Bentham. We would go especially to Bentham's *Theory of Legislation* and his *Theory of Fictions*. Bentham would recall the whole utilitarian movement and his

prize students, John Austin and John Stuart Mill. Austin's *Jurisprudence* and Mill's essays on *Liberty* and on *Representative Government* are being paraphrased every day, with approval or disapproval, by men who have not read them, so much have they become a part of contemporary controversy about liberalism. Bentham might also revive Blackstone, and with him the basic issues of the common law.

Blackstone, you remember, wrote the *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which Lincoln studied so carefully. Bentham attacked him unmercifully in a book called *Comment on The Commentaries*. If this line were pursued further, we would go b ack to Hobbe's *Dialogue of the Common Laws* and to the great medieval and ancient writings on law and justice. Again we would find Plato and Aristotle, Cicero, and Aquinas in the background.

Our. interest in Mr. Frank's book might lead in still another direction. Mr. Frank has a great deal to say about the neuroses of the lawmakers and judges. He had read Freud, and if we started on that, the whole history of psychology might unfold in another list of great books including Pavlov's work on *The Conditioned Reflexes*, William James's *Principles of Psychology*, Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, Schopenhauer's *World as Will and Idea*, Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, Descartes' work on *The Passions of the Soul*, and so forth.

If we followed Mr. Arnold to his sources, we would go off on a different tangent. He is not only influenced by Bentham as a lawyer, but by Bentham's theory of language and symbols. Bentham, you will recall, is the father of the present-day semanticists, Ogden and Richards, Korzybski and Stuart Chase. If we pursued that interest, all the great works in the liberal arts would eventually have to be rediscovered, for the modern works are insufficient as an analysis of language and the arts of communication.

A list of required readings for amateur semanticists would include Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, especially Book III on language; Hobbe's *Leviathan*, especially the first book, and his *Rhetoric*, which closely follows Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. It should include also Plato's dialogues about language and oratory (the *Cratylus, Gorgias*, and *Phaedrus* especially), and two great medieval works on teaching and being taught, one by St. Augustine and one by St. Thomas, both called *Of the Teacher*. I dare not start on logical works, because the list might be too long, but John Stuart Mill's *System of Logic*, Boole's *Laws of Thought*, Bacon's *Novum Organum*, and Aristotle's *Organon* must be mentioned.

One other direction is possible. The consideration of political and economic issues tends to raise the basic ethical problems about pleasure and virtue, about happiness, the ends of life, and the means thereto. Someone may have read Jacques Maritain's Freedom in the Modern World and noticed what this living follower of Aristotle and Aquinas had to say about contemporary problems, especially the moral aspects of current political and economic issues. That would not only lead us back to the great moral treatises of the past—Aristotle's Ethics and the second part of Aquinas's Summa Theologica—but it might also get us into a many-sided dispute. To see it through, we would have to consult Mill's Utilitarianism, Kant's Critique of Practical Reason, and Spinoza's Ethics. We might even return to the Roman stoics and epicureans, to the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, and Lucretius' On the Nature of Things.

METAPHYSICS AND SCIENCE

You should have observed a number of things in this ramification of conversation or reflection about current problems. Not only does one book lead to another, but each contains implicitly a large diversity of leads. Our conversation or thought can branch out in many directions, and each time it does another group of books seems to be drawn in. Notice, furthermore, that the same authors are often represented in different connections, for they have usually written about many of these related topics, sometimes in different books, but often in the same work.

Nor is it surprising that, as one goes back to the medieval and ancient worlds, the same names are repeated many times. Aristotle and Plato, Cicero and Aquinas, for instance, stand at the fountainhead. They have been read and discussed, agreed with and disagreed with, by the writers of modern times. And when they have not been read, their doctrines have filtered down in many indirect ways, as through such men as Hooker and Bellarmine.

So far we have dealt mainly with practical matters—politics, economics, morals—although you probably observed a tendency to get theoretical. We turned to psychology by way of Freud's influence on the lawyers. If the ethical controversy had been followed a bit further, we would soon have been in metaphysics. In fact, we were, with Maritain's discussion of free will and with Spinoza's *Ethics*. Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason* might have led us to his *Critique of Pure Reason*, and all the theoretic questions about the nature of knowledge and experience.

Suppose we consider briefly some theoretical questions. We have

been concerned with education throughout this book. Someone who had read Mr. Hutchins' book about *The Higher Learning in America* or Cardinal Newman's *Idea of a University* might raise a question about metaphysics and its place in higher education. That usually starts a discussion about what metaphysics is. And usually someone says there is no such thing. We would probably be referred to John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* and his *Quest for Certainty* to see that all valid knowledge is scientific or experimental. If all the leads therein were followed, we might soon find ourselves back to the sources of the current antimetaphysical trend Auguste Comte's *Positive Philosophy* and Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, and perhaps even Kant's *Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics*.

Someone, who had read such recent books by Whitehead as his *Process and Realty* and his *Science and the Modern World*, or Santayana's *Realm of Essence* and *Realm of Matter*, or Maritain's *Degrees of Knowledge*, might object to the dismissal of metaphysics. The protagonist might defend the claims of theoretic philosophy to give us knowledge about the nature of things, of a different sort and apart from science. If he had read those books well, he would have been led back to the great speculative works of modern and ancient times: to Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*; to Spinoza's *Ethics*, Descartes' *Principles of Philosophy*, Leibnitz's *Discourse on Metaphysics* and his *Monadology*; to Aquinas' little work on *Being and Essence*; to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and to Plato's dialogues, the *Timaeus*, the *Parmenides*, and the *Sophist*.

Or let us suppose that our theoretic interests turn to the natural sciences rather than to philosophy. I have already mentioned Freud and Pavlov. The problems of human behavior and human nature open into a lot of other questions, of the sort recently treated by Alexis Carrel and J. B. S. Haldane. Not only man's nature but his place in nature would concern us. All these roads lead to Darwin's *Origin of Species* and thence, on bypaths, to Lyell's *Antiquity of Man* and Malthus's *Essay on Population*.

Recently, as you know, there have been a lot of books about the practice of medicine, and a few about the theory of it. Man's normal hypochondria makes him abnormally interested in doctors, health, and the functioning of his own body. Here there are many routes in reading, but they would all probably go through Claude Bernard's *Introduction to Experimental Medicine* and Harvey's book on *The Motion of the Heart*, all the way back to Galen's *Natural Faculties* and Hippocrates' amazing formulations of Greek medicine.

Einstein and Infeld's recent book on *The Evolution of Physics* refers us to the great milestones in the development of man's experimental knowledge. Here our reading would be deepened if we looked into Poincare's *Foundations of Science* and Clifford's *Common Sense of the Exact Sciences*. They, in turn, would take us to such works as Faraday's *Experimental Researches into Electricity* and Boyle's *Skeptical Chymist*; perhaps even to Newton's *Opticks*, Galileo's *Two New Sciences*, and Leonardo's *Notebooks*.

The most exact sciences are not only the most experimental but also the most mathematical ones. If we are interested in physics, we cannot avoid considering mathematics. Here, too, there have been some recent books, such as Hogben's *Mathematics for the Million*, but I think none *so* good as a little masterpiece by Whitehead called *An Introduction to Mathematics*. Bertrand Russell's great work on *The Principles of Mathematics* has also just been republished.

If we read these books, we might even dare to open Hilbert's Foundations of Geometry, Dedekind's Theory of Numbers, and Peacock's Treatise on Algebra. Through them we could not help returning to the starting points of modern mathematics in Descartes' Geometry and the mathematical works of Newton and Leibnitz. The Mathematical Lectures of Barrow, Newton's teacher, would be extremely helpful, but I think we would also find it necessary to see the whole of modern mathematics in the light of its contrast with the Greek accomplishment, especially Euclid's Elements of Geometry, Nichomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic, and Apollonius' Treatise on Conic Sections.

The connection of the great books and the versatility of their authors may now appear even more plainly than before. Leibnitz and Descartes were both mathematicians and metaphysicians. Malthus's *Essay on Population* was not only a work in social science, but also influenced Darwin's notions about the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Newton was not only a great experimental physicist but also a great mathematician. Leonardo's *Notebooks* contain both his theory of perspective in painting and the record of his mechanical investigations and inventions.

THE NOVEL AND ITS FOREBEARS

I am going to take one step further. Even though we have been primarily concerned with expository works, a recitation of the great books would be sorely deficient if the masterpieces of belles-lettres were not mentioned. Here, too, contemporary works might generate an interest in their forebears. The modern novel has a varied history

which opens up when we go back from Proust and Thomas Mann, James Joyce and Hemingway, to the forms of narration they have tried to modify. Proust and, perhaps, Andre Gide, lead us to Flaubert, Zola, and Balzac, and to the great Russians, Dostoevski and Totstoi. Nor will we forget our own Mark Twain, Herman Melville, and Henry James; or Hardy, Dickens, and Thackery. Behind all these lie the great eighteenth-century novels of Defoe and Fielding. *Robinson Crusoe* and *Tom Jones* would remind us of many others, including Swift's *Gulliver. Our* travels would not be complete, of course, until we came to Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

The plays, both pleasant and unpleasant, by Shaw and other contemporaries follow an even longer tradition of dramatic writing. There would be not only the modern plays of Ibsen, who influenced Shaw considerably, and the earlier comedies of Sheridan and Congreve, Dryden and Moliere; but behind the tragedies of Racine and Corneille, and the plays of Shakespeare and other Elizabethans, there lie the Greek comedies of Aristophanes and the great tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles and Aeschylus.

Finally, there are the long narrative poems, the great epics: Goethe's Faust, Milton's Paradise Lost, Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Dante's Divine Comedy, The Song of Roland, the Nibelungenlied, the Norse sagas, Virgil's Aeneid, and Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.

I have not mentioned all the great books and authors, but I have referred to a large number of them as they might group themselves in the course of conversation, or in the pursuit of interests aroused by contemporary issues or current books. There are no fixed barriers between these groups. They flow into one another at every turn.

This is not only true of such obviously related subject matters as politics and ethics, ethics and metaphysics, metaphysics and mathematics, mathematics and natural science. It appears in more remote connections. The writers of *The Federalist Papers* refer to Euclid's axioms as a model for political principles. A reader of Montaigne and Machiavelli, as well, of course, as of Plutarch, will find their sentiments and stories, even their language, in the plays of Shakespeare. *The Divine Comedy* reflects the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, Aristotle's *Ethics*, and Ptolemy's astronomy. And we know how frequently Plato and Aristotle refer to Homer and the great tragic poets.

Perhaps you see now why I have said so often that the great books should he read in relation to one another and in the most various sorts of connection. Thus read, they support each other, illuminate each other, intensify each other's significance. And, of course, they make one another more readable. In reciting their names and tracing their connections, I have gone backward from contemporary books, taking each step in terms of the books an author himself read. That has shown you how the whole tradition of the great books is involved in our life today.

But if you wish to use one great book to help you read another, it would be better to read them from the past into the present, rather than the other way around. If you first read the books an author read, you will understand him better. Your mind has grown as his did, and therefore you are better able to come to terms with him, to know and understand him.

To proceed in the other direction is sometimes more exciting. It is more like doing detective work, or playing hare and hounds. Even when you get this excitement out of reading the books backwards, you will nevertheless have to understand them in the forward direction. That is the way they happened, and they can be understood no other way.

Our wanderings among the great books help some to make another point. It is difficult to say of any contemporary book that it is great. We are too near it to make a sober judgment. Sometimes we can be relatively sure, as in the case of Einstein's work or Freud's, the novels of Proust and Joyce, or the philosophy of Dewey, Whitehead, and Maritain. But, for the most part, we must refrain from such elections. The hall of fame is too august a place for us to send our living candidates, without enclosing return postage.

But current books can certainly be good, even if we cannot be sure they are great. The best sign I know that a current book is good, and that it may even be judged great some day, is the obviousness of its connection with the great books. Such hooks are drawn, and draw us, into the conversation which the great books have had. Necessarily their authors are well read. They belong to the tradition, whatever they think of it, or however much they seem to revolt from it. And the best way for us to read such good contemporary books is in the light of the great books. As you have noticed, conversations started by these books tend naturally to enlarge and encompass others, especially great ones. That indicates the kind of reading these good books deserve.

Let me state one further conclusion. We suffer today not only from political nationalism but cultural provincialism. We have developed the cult of the present moment. We read only current books for the most part, if we read any at all. Not only must we fail to read the *good* books of this year well, if we read only them, but our failure to read the great books isolates us from the world of man, just as much as unqualified allegiance to the swastika makes one a German first, and a man later—if ever. It is our most sacred human privilege to be men first, and citizens or nationals second. This is just as true in the cultural sphere as the political.

It is our privilege to belong to the larger brotherhood of man which recognizes no national boundaries, not any local or tribal fetishes. In fact, I would say it is our duty, I do not know how to escape from the strait jacket of political nationalism, but I do know how we can become citizens of the world of letters, friends of the human spirit in all its manifestations, regardless of time and place.

You can guess the answer. It is by reading the great hooks. Thus the human mind, wherever it is located, can be freed from current emergencies and local prejudices, through being elevated to the universal plane of communication. There it grasps the general truths, to which the whole human tradition bears witness.

Those who can read well can think critically. To this extent, they have become free minds. If they have read the great books—and I mean *really* read them—they will have the freedom to move anywhere in the human world. Only they can fully lead the life of reason who, though living in a time and place, are yet not wholly of it.

APPENDIX: IMPORTANT BOOKS

ULTIMATELY, everyone should make his own list of great books. Professor Adler thinks It would in' wise, how, ever, to read a few of the books which have been unanimously acclaimed before you start. The more you read, of course, the better. This list, reproduced with special permission of Simon and Schuster, is a starter.

KEY

EL: Everyman's library OT: Oxford Translatlions ML: Modern Library

WC: World's Classics (Oxford) LC: Loeb Classical Library OCL: Open Court Library MSL: Modern Student's Library For the convenience of the reader in acquiring copies of the great books, either at a book-store or at a library, this key to the popular editions in which they are available has been prepared. Most of the books available in popular editions are also available in other editions which are not listed. In the case, however, of books which are not avail-able in popular editions, they are listed in the most readily available edition, As all prices are somewhat subject to change, they are not included at all, but the popular editions average about a dollar a volume.

1. Homer (c. 850 B.C.) *Iliad, Odyssey*EL, LC, ML, WC

- 2. The Old Testament
- 3. AESCHYLUS (c. 525-456 B.C.)

Tragedies

(esp. House of Atreus, Prometheus Bound)...EL, LC, WC

4. SOPHOCLES (c. 497-406 B.C.)

Tragedies

(esp. Oedipus the King, Antigone, Electra)...EL, LC, WC

5. EURIPIDES (c. 483-406 B.C.)

Tragedies

(esp. Medea, Electra, Hippolytus, Bacchae)...... EL, LC

- 6. HERODOTUS (c. 484-425 B.C.)
 - History (of the Persian Wars) (c. 444-425 B.C.)....EL, LC
- 7. THUCYDIDES (c. 470-400 B.C.)

History of the Peloponnesian War (c.404-401 B.C).EL, LC, ML

8. HIPPOCRATES (c. 460-357 B.C.)

Collection of Medical Writings (c. 320-300 B.C.)...LC

9. ARISTOPHANES (c. 444-380 sic.)

Comedies (esp. Lysistrata, Clouds, Birds, Frogs) EL, LC, WC

10. PLATO (c.427-347 B.C.)

Dialogues (c. 404-347 B.C.)(esp. Republic, Symposium, Phaedo, Meno, Apology, Lysis, Phaedrus, Protagoras, Gorgias, Cratylus, Sophist, Philebus, Theatetus, Parmenides)..EL, LC, ML, MSL, OT

11. ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.)

Works (c. 335-323 11.c.) (esp. Organon, Physics,

Metaphysics, De Anima, Ethics, Politics, Rhetoric, Poetics) EL, LC, MSL, OT
12. EUCLID (c. 323-283 B.C.) Elements of Geometry, Cambridge Univ. Press, EL
13. CICERO (100-43 B.C.) Orations (c. 60-57 B.C.)
14. LUCRETIUS (c. 95-52 B.C.) Of the Nature of Things (c. 55 B.C.)EL, LC, OT
15. VIRGIL (70-19 B.C.) Aeneid (c. 27-20 B.C.)EL, LC, ML, OT, WC
16. HORACE (65-8 B.C.) Odes and Epodes (22-13 B.C.)EL, LC, ML, OT The Art of Poetry (13 B.C.)LC, ML
17. LIVY (59 B.C A.D.17) <i>History of Rome</i> (c. 27-25 A.D.)EL, LC
18. OVID (43 B.C A.D. 17) <i>Metatorphoses</i> (c. 917)EL, LC
19. QUINTILIAN (c. 40-118) Institutes of Oratory (94-95)LC
20. PLUTARCH (c. 45-120) **Lives***
21. TACITUS (c. 55-117) Dialogue on Oratory (c.84-85)LC, OT Germania (98)EL, LC, OT
22. NICHOMACHUS Introduction to Arithmetic (c. 100) Univ. of Mich. Press
23. EPICTETUS (c. 60-120) **Discourses**

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