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A South African Classicist at Cornell

— Jeffrey Murray —

Abstract

Barbara Isabella Buchanan (1854–1944), the first Chair of Classics at Huguenot College in Wellington in the Cape Colony, was the first South African-born woman to gain a Master's degree. To date, historians of women's education as well as classical education in South Africa have erroneously credited her with a doctoral degree from Cornell University. This article supplements lesser-known aspects of Buchanan's biography, and in doing so, sheds light on her experiences in South Africa during the Second South African War of Independence (1899–1902).

Keywords

Barbara I. Buchanan, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles E. Bennett, Benjamin I. Wheeler, Cornell University, Huguenot College, classical education, women's education, Second South African War of Independence, concentration camp schools

In 2014, in an article that examined the history of classical scholarship and education at Huguenot College in Wellington, South Africa, I included in my survey Barbara Isabella Buchanan (1854–1944), the first Professor and Chair of Classics at that institution.[1] Following the research of Sylvia Vietzen, I claimed that Buchanan completed her doctoral degree at Cornell University and was the first South African woman to do so. Further archival research, however, has shed light on Buchanan's experiences at Cornell, and revealed that in fact she was not the first South African woman to be admitted to the degree of Ph.D. Letters between Buchanan and several faculty members at Cornell, as well as Theodore Roosevelt, not only touch on the history of classical scholarship and education, particularly in relation to women's education in South Africa, but also refer to significant figures involved in the Second South African War of Independence (1899–1902).[2]

[1] Murray 2014: 105–26.

[2] A large-scale history of the place of women in the history of classical scholarship is needed; however, it is beyond the scope of any single article. Excellent contributions have been made in recent years in the volume edited by Rosie Wyles and Edith Hall (2016), as well as by Judith Hallett (2021). All letters quoted in this article are, unless stated otherwise, found in Box 4, Barbara Buchanan, Cornell University Graduate School student records, 1891–2014, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections,

In her excellent examination of the history of education of White women in the Natal Colony, Sylvia Vietzen wrote the following regarding Buchanan:

> Of a pioneer Pietermaritzburg family, having begun her education at Mrs. London's Hinton House Academy, Miss Buchanan obtained a Natal Government's Certificate in 1879. Under the influence of Miss Day, an American teacher at Adams College at Amanzimtoti, Miss Buchanan proceeded to Oberlin College and Cornell University in the U.S.A. and became the first South African woman to gain the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. She did not apply her advanced training in Natal education on her return from the U.S.A. but taught classics in the pioneer post-school Huguenot College at Wellington.[3]

This error regarding her gaining of the doctoral degree was repeated by Vietzen in the entry that she wrote on Buchanan for the third volume of the *Dictionary of South African Biography*. There she writes,

> While studying for her M.A. she taught Latin and Roman history at Oberlin. After holding the chair of Classics at a college in Texas for two years she went to Cornell University, there gaining a Ph.D., for which her thesis was 'The origin of the middle voice of Greek verbs as deduced from the Iliad and the Odyssey'. She refused an offer to be president of

Cornell University. In the transcriptions of archival material throughout, I have made several small editorial changes for the sake of consistency, corrected minor slips and errors, as well as excluded certain paratextual elements.

[3] Vietzen 1980: 252. Vietzen's book, based upon her 1970 doctorate from the University of Natal, was first published in 1973. I have consulted the second edition, which remains unchanged, apart from the addition of several illustrations. Miss Laura Ann Day (1832–1908) was born in Essex, Vermont, and attended Oberlin College, graduating in 1866. In 1870, she went to Natal under the auspices of the American Mission Board and was involved in education at Inanda Seminary and the Amanzimtoti Institute (later named Adams College). She went back to the U.S. in 1889, because of ill-health and remained in the care of Barbara Buchanan while there. In 1897, she returned to South Africa with Buchanan, to Wellington in the Cape Colony, and stayed on with her after Buchanan's subsequent relocation to Pretoria, where she died; see Oberlin College's *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Oberlin College from 1908–09* (Oberlin, 1909), 378–9; cf. also *The Oberlin Alumni Magazine* 5.1 (October 1908), 44–5. Buchanan's student file from Oberlin College indicates that she too taught at Adams College after passing the first teacher's examination in the Natal Colony in 1879, before she embarked on further studies abroad (Student File, Alumni & Development Records, Box 119, O.C.A., Oberlin College Archives).

> a women's college in Indiana, in order to take the chair of Classics at the pioneer Huguenot College, Wellington, Cape.[4]

Vietzen herself had followed the entry on Buchanan in Thomas Lewis' *Women of South Africa*, published in 1913, but had partly misunderstood its contents.[5]

After her early education in Natal, and influenced by her cousin, Florence Nightingale, Buchanan proceeded to Oberlin College in Ohio, where she graduated BA in 1889 and MA in 1890.[6] As a graduate student she also taught in the preparatory department at Oberlin, before proceeding to Daniel Baker College in Brownwood, Texas. It was from there, after spending three years teaching Latin and Greek, that she entered Cornell to pursue further graduate study. Cornell from its founding in 1856 had admitted women, albeit not without problems, particularly within the context of coeducational debates in the U.S. in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[7] Before returning to South Africa to take up the position of Professor of Classics at the newly formed Huguenot College in Wellington, she also held a professorship at Coates College, Terre Haute, Indiana in 1895–96.[8]

[4] Vietzen 1977: 117–18.

[5] Lewis 1913: 41: 'The first S.A. woman to take the degree M.A., and the only one to qualify for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy'. The slippage here of 'qualify for' and Vietzen's 'gaining' is where the error occurs.

[6] In a letter written in 1931 to her former fellow Oberlin classmates, housed among the papers kept by Oberlin College with her student file, Buchanan writes, 'I remained in Oberlin for a year after graduation to receive M.A. I was the first student to take the degree there for graduate study, and Prof. Hall said jokingly that he and Prof. Frost were experimenting on me to find out how much work should in future be required for the degree. I, however, found no reason to complain. In place of a thesis I annotated, with their approval, the first book of The *Iliad*. During this year I taught a large Latin class — Mrs. Chas Nelson was a member — and a class in Roman History' (Student File, Alumni & Development Records, Box 119, O.C.A., Oberlin College Archives). For the academic year 1889–90, as is indicated in Buchanan's student file, she taught as a graduate student in Oberlin's preparatory department. It is tempting to surmise that she overlapped with another famous Natalian's time in the same department: John Dube, the first president of the South African National Native Congress (the forerunner of the African National Congress), enrolled as a student in the preparatory department in late 1888, and during his time there his studies included Classics, particularly Cicero, Ovid, and Vergil, see Hughes 2011: 50–1. Oberlin College admitted black students from 1835 and was the first to grant bachelor's degrees to women (beginning in 1841) in a coeducational program. On the early history of Oberlin, see Fletcher 1943.

[7] See Conable 1977.

[8] For details on her earlier classical education as well as the remainder of her career in South Africa, see Murray 2014: 107–9.

Buchanan's file in the Graduate School student records of Cornell University contains several letters and documents relevant to the story of her pursuit of, and ultimately failure to achieve, a doctorate in Classics. The earliest letter in the collection dated 17 July 1899 was written to George Prentiss Bristol, Professor of Greek at Cornell from 1888–1927.[9] It reads as follows:

> My dear Professor Bristol,
> It was very pleasant to hear from you and to know that we and our little corner of the world can interest those in faraway America. Though, as you say, we are each year drawing nearer to each other with these wonderful geographical changes. We are perhaps excusable just now for feeling that 'the end of the earth's axis is in our little village'. The situation is so critical that we can think and talk of little else. It is impossible that the crying wrongs of the *Uitlanders*[10] be any longer ignored. The wrong must be righted — but how? Many think that war is inevitable; others say that when war preparations have raised the price of all necessaries, and when Kruger[11] thinks he has made all the money that he can out of the situation he will 'climb down'. The inexcusable action of our Premier and his published letter opposing Sir Alfred Milner have made matters much worse.[12] Dissolution of Parliament will probably result. There is a widespread feeling that Mr Schreiner[13] will find he has overshot the mark and that a general election will be disastrous to the *Bond*.[14] This would do more than aught else to hasten Mr Kruger's descent. He is pinning his faith mainly to support from the *Bond* element. Fortunately, the ministry have seriously discredited themselves. A speech made by Mr Merriman[15] a

[9] George Prentiss Bristol (1856–1927) studied Classics at Hamilton, Johns Hopkins, and Heidelberg, and is cited as one of Cornell's best teachers: see the entry on him by Ward W. Briggs Jr. in the *Database of Classical Scholars* (https://dbcs.rutgers.edu/).

[10] An 'uitlander' (Afrikaans: 'foreigner') denotes an immigrant who at the time was living in the Transvaal and was denied citizenship by the Boers for cultural and economic reasons.

[11] Paul Kruger (1825–1904), a South African politician, was president of the South African Republic at this time.

[12] William Schreiner was the Premier (see the next note). Alfred Milner (1854–1925) was High Commissioner for Southern Africa and Governor of Cape Colony.

[13] William Philip Schreiner (1857–1919), the younger brother of the author, Olive Schreiner, was at this time Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

[14] The 'Afrikaner Bond' was a South African, anti-imperialist political party established in 1881, and very active in the Cape Parliament.

[15] John Xavier Merriman (1841–1926) was the last Prime Minister of the Cape Colony before the formation of Union in South Africa in 1910.

few years ago has just been republished by his opponents. It is a bitter and virulent denunciation of the *Bond* and its disloyalty in supporting Kruger. Mr Schreiner too only about four years ago waged war against the Transvaal when Kruger attempted to close the drifts of the Vaal to Cape merchandise. Often members of the ministry have in a greater or less degree shown their ability to remodel their opinions on short notice. With very few exceptions the educated, thinking Dutch are strongly in favour of Sir Alfred Milner's policy and opposed to the *Bond*. The exceptions are those who have an axe to grind, or who favour the *Bond* because Mr Rhodes[16] is a member of the opposition; and they are either jealous of Mr Rhodes or are under such great obligations to him that they are his enemies. He is one of the kindest, most generous men the world has ever seen; not only ready with sympathy and help for all in need, but he uses his great intellect to plan the minutest details which bear upon the welfare and happiness of others. His kindness is most genuine and unobtrusive, never seeking for acknowledgement or gratitude. He is expected to arrive tomorrow and great preparations are being made to do him honour. All parts of the Colony are vying with each other in the ardour of their addresses of welcome. As one said, 'He so loathes all display, the kindest thing would be to mail all the addresses to him and leave him in peace'. I should like to attend the reception tomorrow evening but my brother's position as judge obliges him to keep aloof from everything which has a political flavour. Miss Day and I are spending the vacation with my brother, who is especially glad to have us since his wife and children are in England. We have almost no social life in Wellington so we doubly enjoy all that we can pack into the vacation. The roads here too are capital for wheeling, and we have had beautiful, bright weather nearly all the time; a Natal rather than a Cape winter. I battled with influenza nearly all last time; a most misfortunate time to do so for the term closed with the University Examinations. Since none of the Colleges have power to grant degrees everything depends on the University Examinations. I fear my pupils will not make a very creditable show this year; the B.A. work was heavy, the *Sophistes*, *Electra*, and Thucydides Bk I for a year's work, in addition to seven other subjects, including psychology and philology.[17] I had one class of ten who had had no Greek and who went up for an

[16] Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902), arch-imperialist in South Africa, was forced to resign his position as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1896 in the aftermath of the failed Jameson Raid. He was a controversial figure even in his own day; see the biography of Maylam 2005, and for his interests in Classics: Hilton 2017: 74–100.

[17] Plato's dialogue, the *Sophist*, is probably meant.

examination in the *Trapeziticus*, *Iliad* XVII, and prose composition.[18] They have done the work in a year in addition to their other seven subjects, including trigonometry, so I cannot expect them to do more than pass. I have registered a very decided refusal ever again to undertake to prepare a class in less than the required time. The work is unsatisfactory and will ruin the reputation of the College for scholarship, but worse still it will prevent the students from becoming true scholars and getting scholarly ideas. There is much about my work that is very pleasant. I have specially enjoyed seeing a genuine enthusiasm for the Greek language and literature which my pupils have shown this year. If I can only help them to see the beauties of Greek so that they will love it and keep it up after they leave College. I shall feel I have not lived in vain. I am convinced that much of the indifference to and even dislike of Greek and Latin is largely if not altogether due to faulty methods of teaching, methods which do not make clear the fact that language is alive and is merely the dress of thought. I have been greatly gratified lately to hear several of my pupils say the *Iliad* is splendid, they must read it all. This is dreadfully shoppy but I believe you are sufficiently interested in the work to forgive the shop. Since the vacation began I have finished my thesis. I have finally included almost all the verbs of the *Iliad*. I am now sending Prof. Wheeler the introduction and conclusion to see if he approves them.[19] Of course he has influence enough as the one under whom the major subject was taken, not only to carry the acceptance of the thesis, but also the conferring of the degree without further examination. This is very little to ask since I was twice ready to take the final examination and was both times arbitrarily refused without cause or reason. It is a matter of considerable importance for me to have the degree now. The University here has not power to confer the degree of Ph.D. but only to confirm it when granted elsewhere. I have protested till I am tired against being called "Dr Buchanan from Cornell", but for the practical advantages of the degree the empty title does not avail. The degree will influence my being elected to the University Council when there is a vacancy and will here help to give our College fair representation in the Council which it will probably not obtain otherwise. Of course the examinations I took at Cornell and the marks as recorded by Mr Hoy are sufficient evidence

[18] The *Trapeziticus*, or a 'speech pertaining to a banker', is an oration (XVII) by Isocrates.

[19] Benjamin Ide Wheeler (1854–1927) having studied at Brown and Heidelberg was, at the time of this letter, Professor of Greek and Comparative Philology at Cornell, and Chair of the Greek Department. He was later President of the University of California from 1899–1919, see the entry by Ward W. Briggs Jr. in the *Database of Classical Scholars*.

of my ability to pass a final examination had it not been refused me.[20] I know you will favour the degree being granted and I hope Prof. Wheeler will see that I am simply asking for justice.

Last year the University recognised my Master's degree; this year it recognises Miss Stoneman's and Miss Veeder's degrees from Cornell; also the B.A. of Miss Kellogg of Wellesley and Miss Simmons of Vassar.[21] The application for recognition from so many American Colleges has quite stirred up the Council on the subject of American colleges, and set them to examine registers, etc. Our work grows. We sent up two for B.A. last year, four this; eight for Intermediate last year nineteen this. The examination results will not be out till next week, so we do not yet know how our pupils have fared. We begin work again on Aug. 1st. Miss Stoneman has been very successful in her work. She won the government prize given to the school sending in the best herbarium of not less than 200 specimens; and one of her pupils won the prize given to a student for the best herbarium. Her pupils have done remarkably well in examinations. This land is paradise for botanists; the profusion and variety of wildflowers are marvellous; though in many respects the Cape Colony falls far short of Natal, the "Garden Colony" and the fairest spot on Earth. But I must not expatiate on Natal for my letter is already too long.

I find I shall not be able to send my thesis to Prof. Wheeler this week, but hope to send it next week.

Hoping you are keeping better than when I left Ithaca and that you are having a restful vacation.

Sincerely yours

Barbara I. Buchanan

Kind remembrances please to Dr Forman.[22]

[20] David Fletcher Hoy, at the time of writing of this letter, was Cornell's Registrar; further, see below.

[21] In 1899, the University of the Cape of Good Hope 'ratified' the degrees earned by these women in the U.S. Bertha Stoneman, D.Sc. from Cornell, became an authority in the field of botany in South Africa and later in 1921 was made principal of Huguenot College; Martha Veeder, Ph.B from Cornell, Professor of Mathematics; Flora Simmons, B.A. from Vassar, and Alice Kellogg, B.A. from Wellesley, were also teachers at Huguenot; see the *Report of the Council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope for the year 1899*: 4.

[22] Lewis Leaming Forman (1857–1933) lectured in Greek at Cornell from 1894–1900. Somewhat bizarrely he moved to Europe when the First World War broke out; he returned to Cornell when Bennett died in 1921 (on whom, see below); he also refused the rank of professor; further, see the entry by Ward Briggs, Jr. in the *Database of Classical Scholars*.

The letter, written only a few months before the outbreak of the Second South African War of Independence, reveals Buchanan's support of British Imperialism and outlines the early stages of the issues involved with regard to her graduate studies at Cornell.[23] It also provides her comments on the role of the University of Cape of Good Hope in ratifying the work of the only women's college in South Africa at the time, and her expressed hope that she might find a place on its council.[24] Roughly a month later, on 15 August 1899, Buchanan wrote to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, the Professor of Greek and Comparative Philology at Cornell. In this letter, she further develops her account of her time there, as well as the position of some South Africans precipitating the war:

> Dear Professor Wheeler,
> I send with this the introduction and conclusion of my thesis. Will you kindly examine them and let me know if you have any corrections or suggestions. It hardly seems necessary to send you the whole thesis as you know so well the plan — since it is your own — of giving the statistics of each verb. The introduction I have not changed since you approved it, but I send it as you will wish to look at it again in connection with the conclusion. Since you last read the thesis, I have added to it the verbs used in both active and middle voice. The arrangement of the thesis is indicated in the summary of statistics given in the conclusion. You may remember that the last time you examined my thesis you wrote me that it was satisfactory except that the results were not summed up in such a way as to show the evidence from which the conclusion was drawn. And you closed your letter with the words 'it only remains for you now to do this and to enter into the reward of your labour'. I hope therefore that you will find I have done this satisfactorily. If you will kindly send me any corrections and suggestions you have to make, I can embody them and then have the thesis printed. As you have already expressed approval of the thesis except in the matter of summing up results, I trust there will be no changes needed of so radical a nature as to require the conclusion to be sent to you again before the thesis is printed. It is of very great importance both to me and to this College that I receive my degree so that it may be recognised by the Cape University. I am tired of explaining that the title is not mine, I am everywhere addressed and spoken of as 'Dr Buchanan' and

[23] Hilton (2014: 48–73) gives an excellent account of the context of the war, and a detailed discussion of the responses to it by several international classicists.

[24] At this time, the University of the Cape of Good Hope was a degree-conferring body only and provided no tuition — this was undertaken by the various colleges in South Africa, including the Huguenot University College, see further: Boucher 1973, esp. chapter 2.

Cornell has the credit or otherwise of my degree, but this is not the requisite official recognition by the Cape University, which, of course, I cannot claim. When I left Cornell, Prof. Bristol advised me to give only the non-completion of my thesis as the reason for not receiving my degree. I have acted on his advice as Prof. Bennett's unreasonable refusal to allow my examination is inexplicable.[25] He himself offered no explanation but simply repudiated the evidence of his own letter arranging my work. The first time he refused the examination (at the end of my second year at Cornell) he said I had not done enough work in his department, though he acknowledged that I had done all he prescribed and that my doing of it was 'eminently satisfactory'. I then obtained from him a written statement of further work he required. I remained at Cornell an extra year in order to do this work. During this year I consulted Prof. Bennett from time to time and he expressed his approval. This was the year you were in Greece. Prof. Dyer would not examine in philology, so I agreed to change my major subject to Homer (including the *Hymns*) and Hesiod.[26] I was prepared to take an examination in all this extra work and called on Prof. Bennett to arrange the final details when, to my astonishment, he declared that he would never consent to my being examined or receiving a degree from Cornell. He added that he had never prescribed any work for me, that I had never consulted him on the subject and that he did not even know I was in Ithaca. This, too, though only three weeks previously I had reported to him and he expressed approval of my work. I afterwards asked Mr Reynolds, who happened to be present when Prof. Bennett refused the examination, his opinion of the interview, he replied, 'He is determined you shan't take the exam. If you force it, he won't pass you even if you answer every question'.[27] I found that Prof. Bennett had announced to others in your office that he would never consent to my going up for examination, but he gave no reason for his extraordinary determination. I consulted several members of the faculty and everyone assured me that I could do nothing, that if I brought the case before the President or the faculty as a whole, it would simply be referred to Prof. Bennett as head of the department. The general opinion was that had you been at home you could and would have controlled the whole affair since my major subject and my thesis were with you. Of course, graduate students are not usually required to take term examinations,

[25] Charles Edwin Bennett (1858–1921) studied at Brown, Harvard, Leipzig, Berlin, and Heidelberg, and was Professor of Latin at Cornell from 1892–1921; see Gordon Kirkwood's entry on him in the *Database of Classical Scholars*.

[26] Louis Dyer (1851–1908), a graduate of Harvard and Oxford, was Acting Professor of Greek at Cornell for the academic year 1895–96.

[27] I have been unable to identify Mr. Reynolds.

but as it happened, I was asked to take them in all my work except Latin which was only seminary work and the papers I wrote for that Prof. Bennett commended highly at the time. Mr Hoy has sent me the marks handed in to him and I am not at all ashamed of them. They at any rate testify that I did creditably all the work Cornell could offer me in my three subjects. Since I have a stainless record as to conduct, a creditable record as to scholarship, since I faithfully performed all that was required of me even to unusual extra work, and since I twice presented myself for examination and was twice refused arbitrarily and for no reason, I do not see how Cornell can now refuse to do the fair and right thing and to grant my degree without further examination. I have gone over these facts at length not because you do not know them but that you may have them before you for reference. Had it not been for your absence my thesis could have been finished and approved before I left Ithaca. But since this could not be as you went to Greece directly after you decided to enlarge the original scope of my thesis subject and you had not returned when I left Ithaca, it did not seem advisable then to lay the whole matter before the Board of Trustees. I realised too that any investigation by them would involve the testimony of other professors for whom it might be unpleasant. Now you are at home and the thesis is finished your personal and official influence will, doubtless, be ample to carry the matter through without its going to the trustees. It is an open secret that your influence is very great and Prof. Bennett knowing this will, I think, when he finds you have taken up the matter, withdraw from his untenable position. Had I known before leaving Ithaca that I should be called out here so soon and so suddenly, I might have thought best to appeal to the trustees. Of course, Prof. Bennett's attitude rendered it impossible for me ever to take an examination under him but the trustees might have appointed some other examiner. That opportunity passed because I expected to remain awhile longer in America and thought that some time when Prof. Bennett was absent on leave I could go to Ithaca and take the examination. But I feel sure that your well-known integrity and sense of justice will ensure your securing for me justice — the degree I have fairly earned. As I have said it is of importance that I receive the degree, as my having it will influence the representation of this College on the University Council. I think you know that this is a young College, only two years old. It is the only women's college in South Africa. The University assigns work, conducts examinations and confers all degrees; all colleges being subject to the University. The two leading men's colleges are represented on the University Council, and it is very necessary for this college to secure representation. Last year we sent up our first class of two for B.A. both passed with honours, the standing in classics and philology deciding the honours. This year we sent up four, two in Science, two in Arts; the

latter two again took honours. As all four of these in Arts had studied philology under me only and I have been their only Greek and Latin teacher since they entered here, their success indicates some knowledge of these subjects on the part of their teacher. Our College is steadily growing. I enjoy my work though it is heavy. It is, of course, very pleasant to be near my own home and home friends.

The Transvaal crisis is, naturally, the absorbing theme here. There is a pretty general feeling that when English troops reach the border pass Kruger will 'climb down'. He has persistently for eighteen years done all in his power to arouse and foster race hatred and may now find that he has roused passions he cannot control, and that when he wishes to yield he cannot induce the people to obey him as they have blindly in the past. It is this contingency which most seriously threatens war. Meantime peaceable, law-abiding citizens, and helpless women, both English and American are suffering all sorts of horrible outrages by Transvaal officials and there is no redress from the Transvaal courts or government. We can but wait to see what the end will be and hope it may come soon.

I suppose your son has by this time ceased to talk pure Indo-European and uses plain United States instead. He must be growing quite a big boy. I hope he continues to be sturdy and that Mrs Wheeler is well. Please remember me to her, and believe me

Yours with kind regards

Barbara I. Buchanan

Chronologically, the next letter in the file is from Dr Thomas Walker, the President of Convocation at the University of the Cape of Good Hope. It is addressed to Prof. Wheeler and expresses the hope that should Buchanan's thesis meet with the approval of the faculty at Cornell, she would be allowed to graduate *in absentia*.[28]

Early the following year, George Bristol wrote to the Dean of the Faculty (1888–1902), Horatio Stevens White.[29] In the letter, Bristol submits a statement made by Buchanan to the graduate committee for their consideration in granting the Ph.D. without examination. Furthermore, Bristol goes on to affirm the truthfulness of Buchanan's statements as far as the Department of Greek was concerned, acknowledges that her thesis had been accepted, but states that he cannot confirm her words in

[28] Walker to Wheeler, 15 August 1899. Walker states in the letter that 'Miss Buchanan has devoted herself with enthusiasm and success to her chosen subject, and she has already called out a responsive enthusiasm in her students. This bids fair to increase. The conferring of the degree at this time would, I believe, meet with approval in a wide circle here'.

[29] Bristol to White, 20 January 1900.

relation to her work in Latin. He ends the letter by reiterating Buchanan's character: 'I will add only this: that Miss Buchanan is a woman of mature age, that she is thoroughly honest in her belief as to the justness of her cause and that I do not believe she would intentionally make a misstatement'. The accompanying statement by Buchanan is included in the file. It is worth quoting in full for the detail it provides in relation to her graduate curriculum:

> When I entered Cornell I chose Classical Philosophy as my second minor, and attended one course of lectures by Prof. Hammond during the first year.[30] Then I was awarded the Graduate Scholarship in Greek and Latin, and Prof. Bennett insisted on changing my second minor to Latin, or he would oppose my holding the scholarship. I was very unwilling to change as I especially wanted the Philosophy; Prof. Hammond sympathized with me and expressed annoyance. I told Prof. Bennett that I had read all and taught most of the Latin read at Cornell so that it seemed a pity for me to spend the time in the Latin classes which could in my case, be spent more profitably in work I much needed. He was obdurate but said he would be quite satisfied with one year's work in the Seminary as sufficient work for a second minor. With this understanding I gave up Philosophy and entered the Latin Seminary. At the end of the year — my second at Cornell — my examination was arranged and published on the bulletin board. Three or four days before the date fixed Prof. Wheeler told me that Prof. Bennett objected to my examination and advised me to call and ask him about it. I called and Prof. Bennett gave as his reason that I had not done enough work. When I reminded him of his having said the Seminary would be enough work, he readily acknowledged that he had agreed to that, but said he had not expected me to take an examination after only two years' residence, though that was the required period very few students went up at the end of the second year. I asked if my work in the Seminary had been satisfactory, his reply was 'eminently satisfactory'. Though I failed utterly to see the validity of his objection, I could find no one who seemed to have authority superior to his in the matter; so perforce submitted. A student who was having a similar experience with Latin advised me to get from Prof. Bennett in writing a list of the work required. I did so and enclose a copy of the letter. After receiving it I called at Prof. Bennett's home and with his approval, decided upon Vergil and arranged all the details of the work. From time

[30] William Alexander Hammond (1861–1938) studied at Harvard and Leipzig and came to Cornell in 1891 as instructor in Philosophy, and was later named Sage Professor of Ancient Philosophy in 1908.

to time I reported progress and he advised me as to texts, critical notes, etc. He expressed satisfaction and our relations were always most cordial, so that I was utterly taken aback by the reception I met on the Saturday morning when I called to arrange for the date of my examination. Directly I stated my errand Prof. Bennett replied very angrily 'You shall never take an examination with my consent'. When I asked in what respect I had failed in the work he had assigned, he declared that he had never assigned me any work, that I had never consulted him and that he did not even know I was in Ithaca. When I attempted to speak of the letter giving the work, he interrupted insisting that he never wrote any such letter. He made some very sweeping remarks as to my inability to pass an examination because of my ignorance of the first principles of Latin. Remarks that I think he would hardly have made had he paused to consider that the Seminary work had been the consideration of the German theories of Case origin, so that he had had absolutely no opportunity of testing my knowledge of Latin.

With regard to the examination suggested I cannot think that the Dean and Faculty will require it when they have considered these facts:

1. While at Cornell I did a great deal of extra work:
   a. Though a graduate student I took (at the request of the professors) a series of examinations; the results of which are on record in the Registrar's Office.
   b. When I entered Cornell Sept. 1893, my subjects chosen in consultation with Profs. Wheeler, Bennett, and A. Emerson were: Major, Philology; Minors, Archaeology and Philosophy.[31] In June 1894 Prof. Bennett insisted on the substitution of Latin for Philosophy; and since I had read all the Latin offered by Cornell, he agreed that the conditions of the change should be that he would require of me no work except that of one year in the Seminary.
   c. In June 1895 Prof. Bennett, though acknowledging that he had agreed to demand only the one year's Seminary work, refused to examine me, and demanded that I prepare five works on Latin Literature, besides the complete works of a Latin author with MSS. and text criticism.
   d. At the beginning of the Spring term of 1896 Prof. Dyer, since he was unwilling to examine in Philology, requested me to change my major subject to Epic Greek, including the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod's works.

[31] Alfred Emerson (1859–1943) received his doctorate from the University of Munich in 1880 and became Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cornell University.

e. The scope of my thesis was enlarged from the 'Deponent verbs of the *Iliad*', to 'The Verbs of the *Iliad*'.

2. Though all this work was done faithfully and without complaint, Prof. Bennett refused to allow me to take the final examination as follows:
   a. In June 1895, he refused on the ground that though he had agreed to require only the Seminary work, he now demanded more. The only reason he gave was that he did not suppose I would wish to be examined after a residence of only two years.
   b. In June 1896 Prof. Bennett again refused to allow me to take the examination, and asserted repeatedly that he would never consent to my receiving the degree. He gave no reason for this determination. With regard to the extra work he had demanded from me, he asserted that he had made no such demand and that the subject had never been discussed between us; when confronted with his own letter assigning the work, he ignored its evidence and consented to an examination only on the basis that I was not entitled to it. But he did not even then retract his frequently reiterated statement that he would never consent to my degree being conferred.
3. The proposed examination is, presumably, to be partly conducted by Prof. Bennett, who has, so far as I know, not changed his attitude toward me, or his determination to withhold the degree.

You, who are familiar with the circumstances of my experience at Cornell, know there is much more which might be said, but I think that enough has been said to show the Dean and Faculty that; since my conduct and scholarship at Cornell were irreproachable, and since I there did a great deal of extra work, and since I twice presented myself for the final examination and was twice refused — the second time in such a way as to effectually debar me from an examination by Prof. Bennett at any time in the future — it is simple justice now to grant the degree without requiring any further work or an examination.

The statement provoked the following response from Charles Edwin Bennett, the Professor of Latin at Cornell from 1892–1921: 'I have read Miss Buchanan's statement. In every essential item, it is unqualifiedly false. Miss Buchanan, in my judgement, is either deliberately mendacious, or mentally unbalanced'.[32] On 5 February 1900, in his capacity as

[32] Bennett to White, 25 January 1900. In respect of his scholarship and his teaching, Professor Bennett appears to have been generally well-regarded, cf. McElwain 1922a: 189; McElwain 1922b: 23–5; Rolfe 1922: 279–80. It is worth noting also that Bennett was later to supervise the doctoral work of Elizabeth Hazelton Haight (1872–1964) at

chairman of the committee on graduate work, Dean White wrote to Buchanan informing her that her request for graduation without final examination had been denied, but offered her the opportunity to renew her candidacy for the degree.[33] Several months later Barbara Buchanan's brother, Sir Ebenezer John Buchanan (1844–1930), a judge in the Cape Supreme Court and member of council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, wrote to the Dean informing him that he had advised his sister to renew her registration for the degree and relayed that he hoped the matter would be brought to a 'satisfactory conclusion' as it was of importance to his sister given the nature of her professional work in South Africa.[34]

On 23 July 1900 Barbara Buchanan wrote to the Dean agreeing to take the examination, offering Professor Thomas Walker of Victoria College, Stellenbosch, and Chairman of Convocation of the University, to act as proctor.[35] She notes in the letter that,

> Under date of May 9 Pres. Schurman wrote to Gov. Roosevelt that Prof. Bennett offered to submit the papers to the Professor of Latin in some sister university. To me this seems quite unnecessary. But if it will be any relief to Prof. Bennett I am willing to substitute Greek for Latin. If however he prefers to give the examination I suppose he will approve of examining in Vergil's *Aeneid*, *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, as that is the task he assigned me at Cornell. Should he prefer that Greek be substituted I suggest Sophocles or Aeschylus. There is no library here so my work must perforce be mainly in text books. Please let me know what ground the examination will cover.

The full exchange between Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell, and Theodore Roosevelt, the future 26th President of the United States, here acting in his former role as Governor of the State of New York, seems

Cornell, whose thesis on *The Sea in Greek Poetry* was completed in 1909; like Buchanan, Haight came to Cornell from another university (in her case from Vassar), and also like Buchanan, Haight worked on Homer; see Lateiner 1996–1997: 153–66. One of the journal's anonymous readers has suggested that Bennett's actions raise the possibility of prejudice against women, and has alerted me to a letter he sent, with his colleagues at Cornell, to Harry Caplan regarding anti-Semitic prejudice in employment practices in higher education in the United States at this time. A transcription of the letter to Caplan is to be found in Coser 1984: 321–2 n. 7; see also the entry by Helen F. North on Harry Caplan in the *Database of Classical Scholars*. Without further evidence on Bennett, however, this must remain speculation.

[33] White to Buchanan, 5 February 1900.

[34] E. J. Buchanan to White, 30 June 1900.

[35] Buchanan to White, 23 July 1900.

not to have survived, but at least three letters are extant. On 1 May 1900, Roosevelt wrote to Schurman asking 'Can anything be done for Miss Buchanan? It seems to me that under all the circumstances it might be worthwhile to give her the degree'.[36] On 9 May 1900, Schurman wrote to Roosevelt (the letter referred to by Buchanan above).[37] In the letter Schurman also states that, as far as he could tell, Buchanan's allegations of unfair treatment at the hands of Cornell were unfounded, claiming that while she may have been 'unofficially' discouraged from sitting the examination, she was not officially refused the privilege. On 10 May 1900, Roosevelt wrote directly to Buchanan herself, and the letter was accompanied with President Schurman's statement.[38]

A response to Buchanan's letter arrived from White indicating that the exam would cover the following subjects: in Latin, Virgil — MSS., editions, history of text, interpretation, with such incidental questions as may naturally suggest themselves; the work of the seminary for 1894/95, viz. the theory of the Latin cases with particular reference to the origin and development of the various constructions of the 'Ablative'; History of Roman literature down to the time of Apuleius; in Greek, the Homeric poems as well as questions on the history of Greek literature; in Comparative Philology, questions of a general nature concerning the history of the science, its main principles and results; and secondly, specific questions concerning the comparative grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.[39]

[36] Roosevelt to Schurman, 1 May 1900, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division. It appears that Roosevelt wrote to Schurman at the prompting of Buchanan's brother, Ebenezer — one letter between him, in his role as Acting Chief Justice, and Roosevelt survives. In the correspondence, Roosevelt refers to an earlier letter from him from the previous month, and states 'Of course, you understand I have no power in the matter beyond doing what I just did — that is, calling the matter to the attention of the faculty and sending on to your sister the papers they sent to me in response'. He ends the letter by claiming, 'Wishing I could have been of more help' (Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Roosevelt to E. J. Buchanan, 18 May 1900).

[37] Schurman to Roosevelt, 9 May 1900, Jacob Gould Schurman Papers, 1867–1942, [1986], Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University.

[38] Roosevelt to Buchanan, 10 May 1900, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

[39] White to Buchanan, 18 October 1900. Buchanan responded by asking for clarity on the time allocation of the examination (Buchanan to White, 11 December 1900); cf. Bristol to White, 17 December 1900: 'As to the question of time allowance for the answering of them, I think she might be allowed as much as she wishes'; Bennett to White, 18 December 1900.

Earlier, White had asked both Bennett and Bristol to submit the scope of their examination questions to him so that he could satisfactorily answer Buchanan's questions. In a letter from Bennett to White, 5 October 1900, he wrote concerning Buchanan:

> I ought to add that while I now am willing (as I have been for four years) to afford Miss Buchanan the opportunity of taking the Latin examination for the Ph.D. degree, I do so in the conviction that she was far from passing the necessary maturity for the degree at the time she ended her studies, and that, unless she has since carried on systematic advanced study under competent direction, she is still deficient in this maturity. She never had any of the spirit of the scholar, nor any conception of what the higher scholarship of the graduate student involves.

By the end of that year, Thomas Walker had received the examination papers.[40] White also wrote to Buchanan stating that, 'Your committee desires that you may have ample time for writing the papers and would suggest that you make your answers as explicit and extensive as you can. Our desire is not so much to secure brief replies to the inquiries, as to give you the opportunity to show the range of your own knowledge'.[41] Walker replied that 'owing to the disturbed state of the country' Buchanan was currently absent from Wellington, and that there might be some delay in hearing from her.[42] By February, however, Buchanan had returned and sat the papers which had been sent out.[43]

The examination papers themselves survive in Buchanan's student file, but unfortunately not her answers. The first Latin paper on Virgil indicates a suggested examination time of 2.5 hours. It consists of 8 questions, including ones on the *Aeneid*'s manuscript and edition history (for example, 'Given an account of the most important manuscripts of Virgil's *Aeneid* with their dates and their value for textual critics', 'When was the *editio princeps* issued?', 'What is the present standard critical

[40] White to Walker, 19 December 1900.

[41] White to Buchanan, 19 December 1900.

[42] Walker to White, 28 January 1901.

[43] Walker to White, 19 February 1901: 'I visited Wellington last Saturday, and gave the papers in my charge to the Vice-Principal of the Huguenot College (Miss Dudley, a graduate of Oberlin), along with your note of instructions. I believe myself to be speaking in the spirit of the commission entrusted to me in saying to Miss Dudley that you desire Miss Buchanan to have all the freedom in writing her papers there was consistent with the guarantee of the integrity of the examination. This guarantee was, I hold, in the interest both of Cornell Univ. and of the candidate herself'.

edition of Virgil? What other contributions to Latin scholarship has the author of this edition made?', 'Who was the most important ancient commentator on Virgil?'); textual criticism ('Classify Virgil's *Eclogues* on the basis of content'), translation (of *Aen.* 10.510–536), metre, and grammar. Next, a paper of 2 hours on the 'Latin Ablative' consisting of 10 questions (e.g. 'Describe the different theories that have obtained concerning the nature of the Latin cases in general. Mention five important works in which the subject has been considered. What theory do you yourself advocate?', 'Explain the elements which go to make up the so-called Latin "ablative". Describe the psychological and formal factors that facilitated the fusion') including example sentences with various ablative constructions needing explanation; a paper on 'Roman Literature', 2 hours for 10 questions, including, for example, 'Discuss the origin of the Prologues to Plautus' plays', 'Explain the sources of the poems that have come down to us under the name of Tibullus', 'Discuss the authorship of the *Aetna*', and 'Mention three important text editions of Horace and the three most important explanatory editions. Who was Porphyrio? Who was the Commentator Cruquianus?'. For Greek, only one paper of 15 questions. On the script the examiner is asked to provide the candidate with a text of the *Iliad* and *Isocrates*, upon which several translation questions are based. The opening question, dazzlingly vague, asks 'What is Greek?', but more specific questions follow, such as, 'Name the plays of Sophocles', 'What is the "Homeric Question"?', and 'Take any ten consecutive verses of Homer's *Iliad* and analyse them metrically'. The final exam, on 'Comparative Philology', is made up of 10 questions. Here the candidate is asked, 'What made a Science of Comparative Philology possible?', 'Define and illustrate "Grassmann's Law"', and 'What have been some of the theories as to the "Indo-European Home"?'.

On 26 February 1901, the Assistant Principal of Huguenot College, Ella Dudley, posted Buchanan's answers to Cornell and wrote to the Dean. In the letter, she states,

> The candidate asks me to point out the fact that Latin was not the chief subject offered but one of the minors. From the large number of questions set within the field of Latin she fears this fact may have been overlooked and she respectfully asks that it be borne in mind in the general evaluation of her papers.[44]

The disappointing outcome of Buchanan's examination was reported to the Dean on 22 May 1901 by Professor Bristol, who was the chairman of

[44] Dudley to White, 26 February 1901.

Buchanan's committee: 'I have to report in the matter of the examination of Miss B. I. Buchanan that she has failed to pass the examination for her degree'. It appears that Bristol also unofficially informed Buchanan of the outcome as she wrote to White on 5 November 1901 stating that she had had no formal notification of her results.[45] In the exchange, Buchanan asked the Dean for more information,

> How many answers of the Latin papers were incorrect? Were the papers unsatisfactory because so many questions were answered as fully as time and physical endurance permitted instead of a few questions at greater length? If so, was the examiner informed that no intimation as to the number of answers desired was given with the questions? Was the examiner informed that the Latin was the second minor subject?

White, who had been away in Europe, replied on 9 December 1901, apologising for the oversight in notifying Buchanan of the results, but he remained firm on the outcome:

> I have been informed that the Latin papers were sent to a competent examiner not connected with the University, and that the papers were marked strictly upon their merits. I do not believe that there is any cause to question the fairness of the test or the impartiality of the report.[46]

Several years appear to have passed before Buchanan took up her complaint once more. In a long letter to David Fletcher Hoy, the registrar at Cornell, which was prompted it appears by the receipt of an alumni 'report blank' information form, Buchanan laid out what she believed was her unjust treatment once more:

> You will see that I have marked the slip 'entitled to Ph.D.' for this is in my opinion, the truth; and I hope that this may reopen my case and obtain for me tardy justice ... papers were sent out to Dr Walker, Chairman of the Convocation of this University and he arranged for an examination. I took exception to these papers and at the close of the examination I lodged a complaint with Dr Walker which he forwarded to Cornell. My second minor subject was Latin and yet to Latin was given an overwhelming preponderance in the examination. The Latin papers were given first and consisted of two papers, 28 questions in all

[45] Buchanan to White, 5 November 1901.

[46] White to Buchanan, 9 December 1901.

> many involving very long replies. I at once saw that if this proposition were fair I should have at least 8 hours of steady writing to complete the three subjects, I therefore answered as concisely as possible. After disposing of the Latin I was surprised to find the first minor paper had only 10 questions and the major paper 15. As I said Dr Walker forwarded my protest against this undue preponderance to Latin, which could not but seem invidious in the light of former experiences … In view of these facts it is perhaps not unnatural that I should consider that I am entitled to the degree of Ph.D. on the ground that I have fairly earned it. Had I been in the United States I should have contested the matter to the bitter end but one cannot fight at this distance. However I have once more stated my case in the hope of justice at last, especially since my proficiency in Latin has never been doubted by any one, and the marked success of my pupils has borne ample testimony.[47]

The latest dated document in Buchanan's file is a memorandum addressed to Edmund Ezra Day, president of Cornell from 1937–1949.[48] In the memorandum Floyd Karker Richtmyer, in his capacity as Dean of Graduate Studies at Cornell, writes,

> I have gone through the rather voluminous records on file in our office concerning Miss Barbara Buchanan. So far as I can see, nothing can be done now to make any adjustment that will satisfy her. Speaking off the record and judging solely on the basis of the files it does seem as if one member of Miss Buchanan's committee may have been unduly prejudiced against her, but there is nothing in the files to indicate the other side of the case. There is one statement in one of the letters written by one faculty member to another that 'Miss Buchanan's statements are unqualifiedly false'.
>
> This is apparently just one of those cases that just 'happens'. You may wish to acknowledge Miss Buchanan's letter and state your regrets over the incident, or you may wish to ignore the letter. I am rather inclined to advise the latter course.

Buchanan resigned from the Chair of Classics at Huguenot College in 1901, citing the distasteful atmosphere in Wellington caused by the tensions in the Cape Colony after the South African War. Her next posting was as Acting-Principal of one of the concentration camp schools established in Pretoria in the Transvaal for Afrikaner women and children in

[47] Buchanan to Hoy, 8 January 1908.

[48] Memorandum for President Day, 18 May 1939.

the last months of the War.[49] The several months that Buchanan spent there are worth recording because, as Eliza Riedi has pointed out, 'the camp schools and their teachers are today almost unknown'.[50] In recounting her past experiences to her former fellow Oberlin classmates in a letter she wrote in 1931, she writes briefly that,

> Mr. Sargent needed me to take the place of a principal who was ill. The school was one of those opened by the Government for the Boers, and so I made my first acquaintance with the genuine back-*velder*.[51] There were more than 600 pupils of all ages, from the prisoner on parole down to the four-year-old. Although peace was not signed till several months later, the Boers were going back to their homes, so every day saw three or four dozen pupils leave for home and a like number enter school. The Government supplied all school material, and ordered that this was to be distributed without restriction or limit to every pupil that asked for it, and yet I had to keep all stores locked for they would rather take a thing than receive it as a gift.[52]

While the full curriculum of Lord Milner's 'Anglicisation' educational project of the Afrikaners in the camps is unknown, it appears to have included at least some Latin.[53]

Buchanan's later years in education in South Africa and her contributions to the field of Natal historiography are beyond the scope of this article, but as we have seen she appears to have remained convinced in later life of her unfair treatment regarding her attempts to gain a Ph.D. in Classics.[54] While the archival record has corrected previous points of fact in biographical scholarship on Buchanan, it has also revealed further aspects of her intellectual formation as a classical scholar and teacher, her place in the history of women's education in South Africa, and her views

[49] Vietzen 1977: 117.

[50] Riedi 2005: 1316.

[51] 'Back-*velder*' refers to a person from a rural area (the Afrikaans 'veld' translating 'field'); hence, someone unsophisticated, or rough, and often used in a derogatory manner of a rural Afrikaans-speaking person.

[52] Student File, Alumni & Development Records, Box 119, O.C.A., Oberlin College Archives.

[53] Riedi 2015: 1339: 'A Bloemfontein teacher reported a more ambitious programme, including Euclid, algebra, Latin ('Caesar, especially the "Invasion of Britain"')'.

[54] See Buchanan 1923; Buchanan 1934; and Buchanan 1941.

on, and involvement in, significant events of the day such as the Second South African War of Independence.[55]

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De epigrammatis Emeritensibus et Salmanticensibus cum Legionensi uno ex codicibus manuscriptis

— Joan Carbonell Manils y Helena Gimeno Pascual —

Abstract

La revisión de la tradición manuscrita para la epigrafía de Mérida, Salamanca y León -y singularmente el uso de los mss. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 2/Ms. 23 y Ciudad del Vaticano, Vat. Lat. 6040- nos permite dar a conocer un nuevo epígrafe inédito (Salamanca) y precisar lecturas y noticias sobre otros, la mayoría perdidos.

The revision of the manuscript tradition for the epigraphy of Mérida, Salamanca and León (Spain) and particularly the use of MSS. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 2/Ms. 23 and Ciudad del Vaticano, Vat. Lat. 6040, allows us to make known a new unpublished inscription (Salamanca) and to specify readings and information about other ones, most of which are lost.

Keywords

Epigrafía romana hispánica, manuscritos epigráficos, Porras de la Cámara, Gaspar de Castro

Roman Epigraphy of Hispania, Epigraphic Manuscripts, Porras de la Cámara, Gaspar de Castro

En este artículo damos a conocer algunas noticias referidas a inscripciones (una de ellas inédita) esencialmente emeritenses y salmanticenses, entresacadas de la tradición manuscrita, que han pasado desapercibidas hasta la fecha y que aportan nuevas precisiones a la epigrafía de estas zonas.

Ad inscriptiones Emeritenses res pertinentes

Siempre ha sorprendido a los epigrafistas que, mientras que las inscripciones romanas de ciudades de la costa oriental de la Península Ibérica como *Tarraco* o *Saguntum* junto con algunas del sur como *Corduba* o *Anticaria*, fueron desde el temprano Renacimiento objeto de gran interés de los humanistas, curiosamente, las emeritenses no entraran plenamente en el circuito de los anticuarios hasta bien entrado el siglo XVI. El hecho resulta especialmente paradójico en tanto en cuanto

en Extremadura se desarrollaron algunas de las principales cortes literarias del humanismo hispano, como la de Juan de Zúñiga; fue en ella donde Antonio de Nebrija se interesó por la Vía de la Plata o por las inscripciones del puente de Alcántara. Contraria y lógicamente los restos arqueológicos, bien visibles, de la ciudad sí habían llamado la atención desde la Edad Media.[1]

La transmisión primigenia de los epígrafes emeritenses, si exceptuamos la inscripción del puente de la ciudad recogida en la Anthologia Hispana,[2] la encontramos en el conjunto que forma parte de lo que González Germain[3] ha convenido en llamar arquetipo *Antiquus Lusitanus*, que sería la tercera y última ampliación del *Antiquus Hispanus* singularizado por Hübner en el *CIL* II.

Se trata únicamente de los textos *CIL* II 6205 y probablemente del miliario *CIL* II 4656, a los que hay que añadir *CIL* II 487, 518, 589 y 506 (solo transmitidos por Konrad Peutinger y atribuidos sorprendentemente a Lisboa)[4] y *CIL* II 551, recogido en el anónimo *codex Chlumczansky* (saec. XVI in.).[5] Esta minúscula colección será replicada y ampliada *de visu* posteriormente por distintos 'viajeros' entre los cuales principalmente Mariangelo Accursio (1527)[6] y Nicolao Mamerano (1533–1535).[7] Más tarde (ca. 1540), en la sección denominada *Libro de Ocampo* que conforma el anónimo *codex Valentinus*,[8] un códice misceláneo epigráfico con textos de distintos autores fundamentalmente hispanos de los siglos XVI y XVII, encontramos *CIL* II 606, 487, 551, 518 y *HEp* 7, 137.

[1] Véase Carlos J. Morán Sánchez, *Piedras, Ruinas, Antiguallas. Visiones de los restos arqueológicos de Mérida siglos XVI a XIX*, Mérida 2009.

[2] Códice de Azagra: Madrid, BNE, ms. 10029, fol. 52 v.

[3] G. González Germain, *El despertar epigráfico en el Renacimiento Hispánico. Corpora et manuscripta epigraphica saeculis XV et XVI*, Faenza 2013, pp. 135–154.

[4] Véase González Germain (2013), p. 184.

[5] Véase González Germain (2013), pp. 109–110.

[6] Milán, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O-125. En el apartado *Itinerarium ab Olmedo ad divam Guadalupiam et inde ad Emeritam*, Accursio copia quince textos emeritenses, once de ellos por primera vez (cf. A. Alvar, "La epigrafía emeritense en las fuentes documentales de los siglos XV–XVI", en J. Mª Maestre et al. (eds.), *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico* VI. Vol. 1 (2019) (en prensa). Agradecemos al Dr. Alvar habernos proporcionado el borrador de su contribución.

[7] Mamerano incorpora trece textos nuevos vistos en Mérida a los que hay que incorporar cuatro de origen emeritense vistos en Galisteo. Vid. Alvar (en prensa) e *infra* nota 9.

[8] Madrid, BNE, ms. 3610. *Inscripciones de memorias romanas y españolas antiguas y modernas, recogidas de varios autores y en particular de Gerónimo Çurita, aragonés, Florián de Ocampo ..., con algunas anotaciones aplicadas a ciudades y familias por Don Gaspar Galcerán de Pinos y Castro, Conde de Guimerá.*

Asimismo, el ms. de Madrid, BNE 5973, de mediados del s. XVI, que perteneció a Alfonso Chacón,[9] dominico al servicio del Papa Alejandro VI, que recoge textos epigráficos romanos de Hispania, aunque no exclusivamente, pero también epigramas renacentistas, se interesa por diecinueve textos, la mayoría ya conocidos. En 1541 contamos con el primer testimonio hispánico de nombre conocido que transmite epígrafes emeritenses *de visu*; se trata de Gaspar de Castro, de quien conservamos una carta dirigida el 26 de abril de 1551 a Antonio Agustín,[10] en la que anota los epígrafes copiados en su viaje "a la provincia de Estremadura [...] en Coria, Caceres, Merida, Placencia, Caparra, y en estos lugares vi y copie las memorias antiguas, que van en este pliego [...]". Las de Mérida son *CIL* II 485, 487, 528, 568, 573, 485, 545 y *CIL* II 513 (que el copista ubica en Plasencia).

1. *CIL* II 588. Buen olfato epigráfico

La pieza que nos ocupa *CIL* II 588 (Fig. 1) nos remite a la segunda mitad del siglo XVI. En efecto, la única fuente independiente que Hübner conoció de ella fue la obra de J. Strada publicada en 1575.[11] L. García Iglesias,[12] al citar el texto transmitido por Forner,[13] indicaba su dependencia de la colección de Aldo Manuzio el Joven, una incongruencia del

[9] Sobre Alfonso Chacón y este manuscrito véase H. Gimeno Pascual, "Alfonso Chacón: Manuscritos y Epigrafía Hispana", en A. Buonopane, G. Baratta, J. Velaza (eds.), *Cultura epigrafica e cultura letteraria nel mondo romano (Epigrafia e Antichità*, Faenza 2020, pp. 228–234. Algunos de los textos que describe Mamerano en Mérida, este autor los vio hacia 1530/1535 en Galisteo, por lo que Chacón tuvo que manejar alguna síloge de la primera mitad de siglo, cf. M. Parada López de Corselas, L. M. Palacios Méndez, *Pedro Dávila y Zúñiga I Marqués de las Navas. Patrocinio artístico y coleccionismo anticuario en las cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II,* Bononia 2020, p. 117.

[10] Ciudad del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 6040, fol. 203 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6040). La edición con el apéndice epigráfico y comentario puede leerse en J. Carbonell, *Epigrafia i numismàtica a l'epistolari d'Antonio Agustín*, Bellaterra 1991, pp. 75–92; sólo el texto de la carta, en C. Flores, *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, Salamanca 1980, p. 227.

[11] *C. Iulii Caesaris rerum gestarum commentarii XIV ..., praeterea addidimus omnes antiquitates ex sepulchris et elogiis veteribus marmoreis desumptas, quae passim in tota Hispania et Portugalia reperiuntur ...*, Francofurti 1575 [cf. HÜBNER II p. IX n. 14].

[12] Tesis doctoral *Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emerita*, Univ. Complutense de Madrid 1973, nº 353.

[13] F. A. Forner y Segarra, *Antigüedades de Mérida: metrópoli primitiva de la Lusitania desde su fundación en razón de colonia hasta el reinado de los árabes*, Mérida 1893.

propio erudito extremeño, que él mismo reconocía indirectamente al afirmar "de cuya [*CIL* II 588] relación con la estradiana hemos hablado ya en nuestra introducción".

Podríamos elucubrar que la causa de la atribución a A. Manuzio se debe a que en la edición de Strada hay unos *scholia* de Aldo *in A. Hirtii de bello Africo lib(ro)* (p. 120) e *in C. Iulium Caesarem in libro de bello Hispaniensi* (p. 121). No obstante, no hay ninguna indicación de autor referida a la relación que empieza en la p. 124 (*nomina antiqua et recentia urbium oppidorum et locorum Hispaniarum Tarraconensis, Bethicarum et Lusitaniae in quibus epigrammata antiqua et epitaphia visuntur*) ni a la que comienza en p. 126 (*inscriptiones aliae nunc et plures sequuntur propter antiquitatem inscriptiones lectu iucundissimae, quae per celeberrimas totius fere Hispaniae urbes magna adhuc ubique cum intuentium admiratione conspiciuntur: His proxime antecedentibus adiunctae, eo quod nominum quorundam propiorum, quae in ipso quoq(ue) C. Iulii Caesaris reperiuntur opere, fiat mentio*). Dentro de esta, las inscripciones de Mérida ocupan las páginas 157–158 y es en este conjunto en el que se encuentra el texto que nos ocupa (p. 157). En la página 176 empieza otra serie de *Antiquitates Hispaniae*, en la que sí consta el origen *ex Petro Appiano collectae*.[14] Y de nuevo aparecen las ciudades de *Hispania*, en el índice *Nomina urbium quarumdam et locorum Hispaniae hispanicis vocabulis relata* (p. 186). De todo ello, pues, nada permite asignar un origen manuziano a los textos hispanos.

Ya demostramos hace tiempo[15] que una fuente de la síloge hispánica de la obra de Strada es el libro de Honorato Juan que transmite el *Codex Valentinus* (fol. 30 v., de ahora en adelante citaremos CVal) y que, en muchas ocasiones, este constituye la primera fuente conocida para los textos. En esta ocasión, verificamos una vez más que ambas tradiciones son coincidentes, incluso en la disposición del texto, pues Strada reproduce exactamente el texto de CVal (Fig. 2). La única diferencia entre ambas es que Strada interpreta como una L el trazo vertical final de la primera línea de CVal (Fig. 3).

[14] Es decir P. Apianus, B. Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae sed totius fere orbis*, Ingolstadt 1534.

[15] H. Gimeno Pascual, *Historia de la investigación epigráfica en España en los siglos XVI y XVII a la luz del recuperado manuscrito del Conde de Guimerá*, Zaragoza 1997.

588 In aede beatae Mariae.

POMPONIA · L . . . . . .
SEX · MARCIO . . . . . .
MARCIA POMPO . . . .
D·S·P·ET MATRI ET
5 . . . . . NON SE
. . . . . .

Strada p. 157, 9 (inde Grut. 737, 10).

Fig. 1.

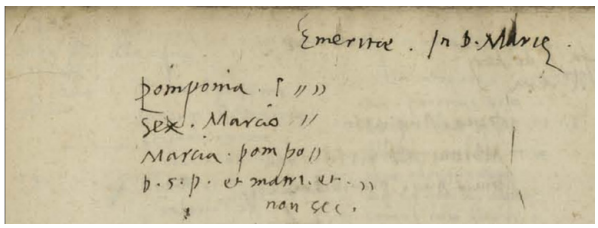


Fig. 2.

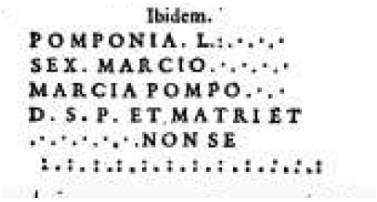


Fig. 3.

En esta ocasión, acude en nuestra ayuda para determinar la exactitud de un texto perdido el nuevo manuscrito de Porras de la Cámara[16] (de ahora en adelante PDLC), que además confirma la propuesta de restitución de García Iglesias. Se interrogaba este autor sobre la fiabilidad de la versión de Strada y planteaba que las dificultades de reconstrucción no se debían solo a las lagunas sino también a la secuencia intercalada nominativo *(Pomponia)*-dativo *(Sex(to) Marcio)*-nominativo *(Marcia Pompo[- - -])* que planteaba Strada. Para solucionar la incongruencia proponía la corrección *Pomponiae* en l. 1 interpretando la L. estradiana como una E. Sugería así esta restitución del texto:

Pomponiae [- - - *et*]
Sex(to) Marcio [- - -]
Marcia Pompo[*nia* - - -]
d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) et matri [*et p(atri) f(aciendum) c(uravit)* vel *f(ecit)*]
5 [*h. m. her.*] *non seq(uetur).*

El dibujo de PDLC (Fig. 4) corrobora y completa dicha lectura. Establece una secuencia *Pomponia F E* que puede interpretarse como *Pomponiae E[---]* en la que E sería la inicial del posible *cognomen* de la

[16] Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2/ms. 23.

difunta; asimismo la O (o eventualmente Q) que sigue al dativo *Sex(to) Marcio*, podría tratarse de la inicial del *praenomen* de su padre o su patrono, suposición esta última que nos parece menos probable. Finalmente, detrás de *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)* el manuscrito transmite la esperable F, que completa la fórmula *f(ecit)*.

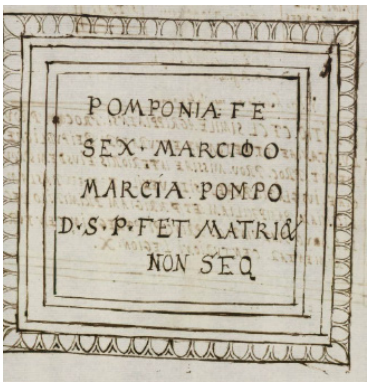


Fig. 4.

Todas estas variaciones nos permiten proponer el siguiente texto que ofrece algunos cambios con respecto al sugerido por García Iglesias:

Pomponiae E[- - -]
Sex(to) Marcio +[- - -]
Marcia Pompo[*niana*]
d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et matri [*et p(atri)*]
5 [*h(oc) m(onumentum) her(edes)*] *non seq(uetur)*.

Si bien el texto no ofrece dudas en cuanto a su autenticidad, no tenemos la misma seguridad respecto al soporte transmitido por PDLC. Y ello por dos razones principales: la primera porque en Mérida, aunque las hay,[17] son muy escasas las placas con campos epigráficos enmarcados por molduras decoradas.[18] Y la segunda, porque en PDLC es una

[17] Como *CIL* II 506, o *NEFAE* p. 311, nº 55, pp. 404 nº 118, 426 nº 133 (= L. Á. Hidalgo Martín, J. Edmondson, J. Márquez Pérez, J. L. Ramírez Sádaba, *Nueva epigrafía funeraria de Augusta Emerita. Tituli sepulcrales urbanos (ss. I–VII) y su contexto arqueológico*, Mérida 2019).

[18] Sobre la tipología de las placas emeritenses véase M. T. Pando Anta, *La sociedad emeritense altoimperial documentada en estelas y placas funerarias*, Mérida 2017, pp. 136 ss.; *NEFAE*, p. 62, fig. 3,7 y M. Murciano Calles, *Monumenta. Tipología monumental funeraria en* Augusta Emerita. *Origen y desarrollo entre los siglos I a. C. y IV d. C.* (Monografías Emeritenses 12), Mérida 2019, que, de entre ciento cinco ejemplos, señala solo uno con decoración vegetal (nº 95).

constante el recurso a enmarcar así los textos, suponemos que por motivos estéticos y para dignificarlos.

El gentilicio *Pomponius* está bien atestiguado en la colonia y su territorio (*NEFAE* p. 113, fig. 5.3) en donde aparecen nueve testimonios frente a siete en el resto de Lusitania. Un miembro de la élite emeritense es *[-. Po]mponius M(arci) f(ilius) Capito* (*AE* 1966, 177) que ejerció como *IIvir, praefectus fabrum*, y *flamen* de la colonia y llegó a ser *flamen* provincial de Lusitania. Otras inscripciones son de libertos (*NEFAE* 120; *CIL* II 589; *EE* IX, 77). La alcurnia de la familia se hace patente en nuestro caso a través del cognomen de la hija, *Pomponiana*, formado evidentemente a partir del gentilicio de la madre más el sufijo *-iana*.[19] No se puede rechazar totalmente que pudiera haberse utilizado el propio gentilicio como cognomen de la hija,[20] pero conviene más *Pomponiana* puesto que al ser más largo completaría mejor la línea.

También es bien conocido en la colonia el gentilicio *Marcius*, el cual se suele considerar un *nomen* muy frecuente en *Hispania*. Sin embargo, los 99 testimonios recogidos en Abascal (1984) representan solo un 0,85%, muy por debajo, por ejemplo, de *Antonius*, su décimo y último puesto en la lista de gentilicios más frecuentes y que representa un 1,75% del total. En una búsqueda en EDCS es muy llamativo también que en Lusitania haya 44 menciones de este gentilicio frente a 33 en la Bética y 37 en la Hispania Citerior. En el atlas onomástico ADOPIA[21] se encuentran 15 *Marcii* en *Augusta Emerita*, ciudad que, junto a la *civitas Igaeditanorum*, es la de mayor concentración de testimonios de este gentilicio en Lusitania.

En definitiva, los padres eligieron para su hija una denominación que pusiera de manifiesto que en ella convergía la solera de dos importantes familias emeritenses, la de los *Marcii* y la de los *Pomponii*.

2. *CIL* II 487 (*ERAEmerita* 118). Un dibujo inédito del ara de *Aelia Agrippina*

La descripción del soporte de *CIL* II 487 varía bastante según el autor que lo trate. Peutinger ubica la inscripción erróneamente en Lisboa

[19] Sobre los *cognomina* femeninos derivados de gentilicios véase T. Nuorluoto, *Roman Female Cognomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women*, Uppsala 2021, pp. 83, 86, en particular para los formados en *-iana* a partir del nombre materno, pp. 203–206.

[20] Sobre este uso véase Nuorluoto 2021, p. 207. En Augusta Emerita también se encuentran testimonios cf. *NEFAE*, p. 131.

[21] http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/1212 (consultado el 21/9/2021).

(*Ulixponae*), sin más detalle (fol. 59v); Accursio: *in domo Bartholomei Sances marm(or) quad(ratum) cu(m) gut. et pat.* (fol. 189);[22] Mamerano: *in aede maiore in lapide qui sustinet aquam benedictam* (fol. 8v); Castro anota: "En la iglesia de S. Maria en una urna de mármol que agora sirve de pila de agua bendita" (fol. 205v); Strada: *in ecclesia metropol(itana) vas aquae lustralis* (p. 157). Vemos cómo quienes pormenorizan la pieza la describen de tamaño cuadrado y de suficiente envergadura para sostener o usarse como pila de agua bendita.

Entre los papeles de un autor anónimo en PDLC fol. 168 dirigidos "al muy mag(nífi)co S(eñ)or Lopebrabo, mi S(eñ)or en Salamanca" se encuentra un dibujo que se añade a la descripción que hicieron los *antiquiores* de esta inscripción (Fig. 5). Según este diseño se trata de un ara cuyo coronamiento presentaba un frontón triangular y sendos *pulvini*. El tránsito hacia el fuste se hacía por medio de una serie de molduras. Es evidente que una fábrica de este tipo difícilmente podría usarse para soportar una pila de agua, antes bien como propia pila, probablemente excavando el *focus* que presumiblemente se situaba en el centro del coronamiento; con todo, la descripción debería añadirse a las actuales informaciones sobre la pieza, sobre todo por lo que respecta a los relieves laterales. Son curiosas también las dos figuras a los lados de los *pulvini* y la argolla en el vértice del coronamiento a modo de tirador de la tapa del sepulcro. Esta fantasía añadida se encuentra en otros dibujos de PDLC.[23]

Parece que el dibujante no calculó bien el espacio al copiar el texto al final de las dos primeras líneas y por tanto las letras añadidas encima de la caja o fuera de línea no deben haber estado así en el original. Lo mismo ocurre en las líneas 4 y 6 con las pequeñas O elevadas detrás de ANN y LIB que pueden ser un añadido del dibujante. Las interpunciones según el dibujo serían *virgulae*. La división de líneas varía también respecto a las lecturas transmitidas conocidas. Respecto al texto cabe señalar la irregular duplicación de la L del gentilicio Aelia y un nexo NA al final de la línea.

[22] Fol. 189.

[23] Véanse los fols. 115, 123, 134 o 138.

Fig. 5

Curioso es que la pieza esté incluida entre una serie de inscripciones de Salamanca con indicación explícita, y que además sea esta la única de la serie en la que el nombre de la ciudad está abreviado Sal[ca] sin datos más precisos, mientras que sí los da en otras inscripciones que el códice transmite de dicha ciudad (fol. 166–176 cf. *infra*).

3. *CIL* II 484. Único testigo

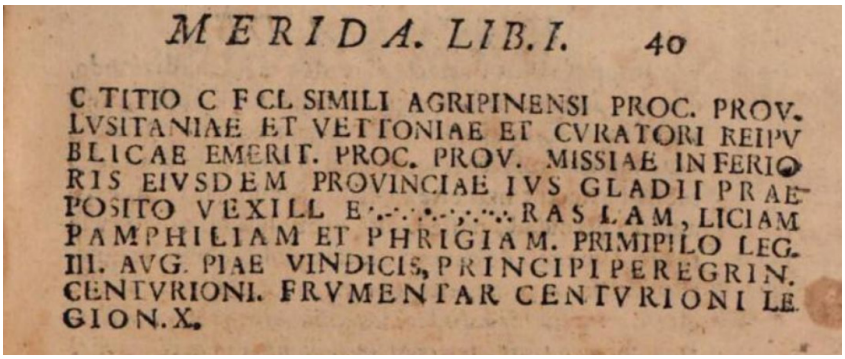
El texto *CIL* II 484 fue editado por B. Moreno de Vargas en 1633 (Fig. 6),[24] la única fuente conocida hasta la fecha para este texto que, afortunadamente, es directa, pues la describió en casa de Juan Antonio de la Vera Zúñiga y Figueroa, Conde de la Roca,[25] hijo de Fernando de Vera, cuyo edificio y jardines albergarían una colección de antigüedades, entre ellas varias inscripciones (*CIL* II 473, 484, 491, 494, 505, 510, 519, 524–525, 534, 544, 550 y 561). Prácticamente todas, salvo tres que permanecieron allí hasta que las copió Hübner, ya habían perecido en época de J. Alsinet[26] (473, 491 y 505, cf. *CIL* II p. 54). Junto con otras

[24] *Historia de Mérida*, 1633, fol. 40.

[25] M. C. Fernández-Daza Álvarez, *El I Conde de la Roca*, Mérida 1995; J. L. de la Barrera Antón, *Estampas de la Mérida de ayer*, Mérida 1999, 64–66; idem http://emeritosdelpatrimonio.blogspot.com/2014/06/del-palacio-del-duque-de-la-roca-al_19.html; J. M. Álvarez Martínez, "Notas de lectura. Los dibujos emeritenses de Richard Ford", *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 72 (2016), nº I, p. 131.

[26] Médico valenciano que desarrolló su profesión en Mérida entre 1750 y 1755 y fue uno de los principales transmisores de las inscripciones de la ciudad en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. Sobre su persona y el círculo de anticuarios ilustrados que se ocuparon de las inscripciones emeritenses, véase J. Edmondson, "A Female Doctor

piezas arqueológicas pasaron al Museo Arqueológico de Mérida cuando el palacio se demolió a finales del siglo XIX. No ocurrió lo mismo con *CIL* II 484 que debió desaparecer muy pronto ya que ningún otro visitante de Mérida la transmitió.


MERIDA. LIB.I. 40

C TITIO C F CL SIMILI AGRIPINENSI PROC. PROV.
LVSITANIAE ET VETTONIAE ET CVRATORI REIPV
BLICAE EMERIT. PROC. PROV. MISSIAE INFERIO
RIS EIVSDEM PROVINCIAE IVS GLADII PRAE
POSITO VEXILL E[illegible]RAS LAM, LICIAM
PAMPHILIAM ET PHRIGIAM. PRIMIPILO LEG.
III. AVG. PIAE VINDICIS, PRINCIPI PEREGRIN.
CENTVRIONI. FRVMENTAR CENTVRIONI LE
GION.X.

Fig. 6

J. Gómez Bravo (1638)[27] cinco años después alude a los comentarios poco afortunados sobre aspectos del texto de su editor. Once años antes de la edición de Moreno de Vargas, Gómez Bravo había escrito una carta a Rodrigo Caro el 30 de agosto de 1627 en la que le decía entre otras cosas:[28]

> Enviome esta inscripcion Bernabe Moreno, y a los legos desta facultad nos hace dificultad: an la visto Steria (?) y Rioxa[29] y discurren lo que yo; copiaronla; todos apelamos para Vm, y se ha de poner en la Historia de Mérida (que ya está acabada) con la declaración de Vm, a quien suplico me la remita con la brevedad posible, porque alcance al ordinario de Merida, que la ha de llevar. Hace a todos dificultad tres cosas: al principio C.L. SIMILI; la segunda IUS Gladii sin dependencia sino es que se suple: la tercera la laguna, y esta es la mayor a mi ver, porque no hay tal Rasiam, ni aquellos acusativos tienen quien los rija, si no se suple en la laguna. La verdad es questo es muy difícil para nosotros, y muy fácil para Vm. De intento no la he querido mostrar al l(i)c(encia)do Torres hasta tener respuesta de Vm, a quien guarde Dios muchos años ... Sevilla 30 de agosto del año 1627.

(*medica*) at *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida)? Re-Examining *CIL* II 497 from Humanist Readings to the Latest Digital Epigraphy Techniques", *Veleia* 39, 2022 (e. p.). Agradecemos al autor haber puesto a nuestra disposición esta contribución.

[27] J. Gómez Bravo, *Advertencias a la istoria de Mérida*, 1638, fol. 8v.

[28] Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, ms. 58-1-9, fols. 100–101.

[29] Francisco de Rioja.

El mismo Gómez Bravo en sus *Advertencias* mencionadas volverá sobre el texto editado:

> En el fol. 40. Pag. I pone B.M. una inscripción mui grande, de la qual solo pondrè el primer renglón, que es este: G. TITIO. C. F. CL. SIMILI. AGRIPINENSI. B.M. la lee asi: A Cayo Titio Simile Agripinense, hijo de Cayo de la Ilustre Familia de los Claudios. Es de advertir, que en esta dicción C.L. abreviada, ni quiere decir de la ilustre familia de los Claudios, ni es puesto en razón afirmar se podia leer Clarissimi. Porque, aunque es verdad uvo en Roma gens Claudia, i desta salieron dos familias, una Patricia, i otra Plebeya, según Ant(onio) Aug(ustin) en sus Familias Romanas, la dicción C.L. id est Claudia, aquí ni significa linage, ni familia, que son dos cosas distintas, según Ant(onio) Aug(ustin) Dial(ogo) 4. i no siendo ninguna destas dos, avrà de ser otra cosa, que es el nombre de la Tribu, en que estaba asignado este Cayo Ticio. Las Tribus en Roma fueron 35 si bien antes de llegar a este numero, las començó en tres Romulo i después se fueron aumentando. Esta división fue al principio para pagar el tributo i señalar a cada una sitio conocido a donde se juntassen, i hiziessen sus sacrificios, i por esto dizen los doctos, que eran las Tribus en Roma en cierto modo, como oi nuestras Parroquias. Vease a Iuan Rosino lib.6. cap. 15; Ant(onio) Aug(ustin) Dial(ogo) 9. Alex, ab 1 ex. lib. I. c. 17.; Paulo Manucio en el Comento de las Epistolas de Ciceron lib. 8 epist. 8; Andreas Schotus in electis Antiq(uitatum) Rom(anarum), que después de Dempstero se añadio a Rosino.[30] I assi se leerà lo de arriba: A Cayo, hijo de Cayo, de la tribu Claudia, por sobrenombre Simile Agripinense. El no(m)bre de la tribu siempre en el sexto caso. Vease a Morales en sus Antigüedades, fol. 13. pag. I y del lib. 9. pag. 225 i 246 i 304; Resende De Antiq(uitatibus) Lusit(aniae); Iulio Iacobin(o) De Prisca Casiorum gente i otros muchos.

También en este caso el testimonio del manuscrito PDLC viene a completar la información con que contábamos hasta ahora (Fig. 7). Es indudable que, si nos fiamos del dibujo de PDLC, el texto -inscrito sobre una placa, figura que también conviene al formato apaisado en Moreno de Vargas- no procede de una fuente distinta a la del transmitido por este autor, aunque presenta ligeras discrepancias. Así, en l. 1 *simile* (PDLC) y *simili* (Moreno), *Agrippinensi* (PDLC) y *Agripinensi* (Moreno); en l. 2

[30] Se refiere a la obra *Johannis Rosini Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum cum notis [...] Thomae Dempsteri I. C. cui accedunt Pauli Manutii Libri II de legibus et de senatu cum Andreae Schotti electis [...]*, Traiecti ad Rhenum 1701.

Vetoniae (PDLC) y *Vettoniae* (Moreno); en l. 5 *Liciniam* (interpolado en PDLC), *Liciam* (Moreno).

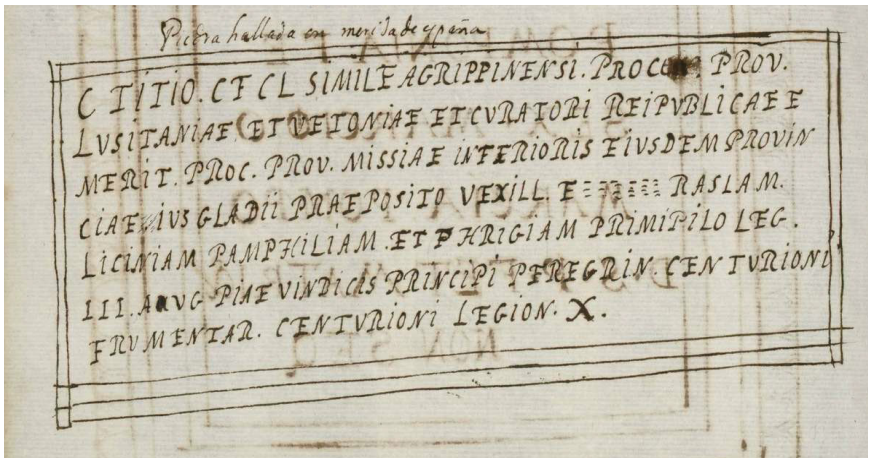


Fig. 7

También varía el número de líneas: 7 en PDLC, 9 en Moreno de Vargas. Convendría mejor a la *ordinatio* el texto de PDLC que colma la línea, mientras que la de Moreno de Vargas obliga, como indica Hübner, a colmarla. Pero en cualquier caso faltaría como mínimo el ejecutor del homenaje y, probablemente seguido de D. D., el decreto de los decuriones. Eso, si no es sepulcral. Desde luego la forma horizontal se avendría mejor con un soporte apaisado a la entrada de un mausoleo. Hübner ya detectó la 'incongruencia' de la *ordinatio* y la dificultad de recomponer las lagunas señaladas por Moreno.[31]

No podemos saber si este fue el texto que gracias a la carta de Gómez Bravo sabemos que recibió Rodrigo Caro, pero no hay que olvidar que PDLC es un códice del círculo sevillano y con muchos papeles que son de la época del cantor de las ruinas de Itálica.

4. Una estela inédita de Salamanca

A propósito de la serie salmantina que mencionábamos antes, en el folio 166 de PDLC hay un dibujo de una estela de Salamanca que parece inédita (Fig. 8).

[31] Cfr. el aparato crítico de *CIL* II 484.

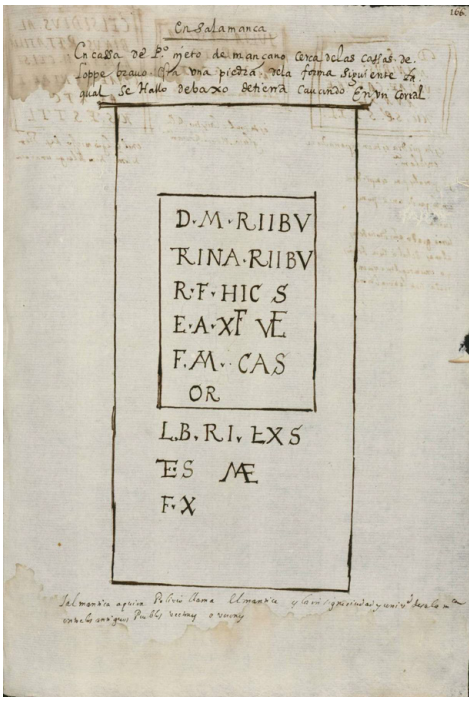


Fig. 8

Según se lee, estaba "en casa de Pedro Nyeto de Mançano", un personaje que aparece citado por Thomas de Herrera en su Historia del convento de S. Agustín de Salamanca (p. 321),[32] donde adquirió un arco en la capilla mayor al lado de la epístola junto con su esposa, Maria Mexia Osorio, en el año 1560. La casa estaba "cerca de las casas de Loppe Bravo"[33] y fue hallada "devaxo de tierra cavando en un corral". No hay más indicaciones.

El soporte denota una estela rectangular –quizá recortada por arriba- con el campo epigráfico posiblemente rehundido más que enmarcado por una moldura. Las últimas líneas se sitúan fuera del campo. El texto parece haber tenido algunos nexos y trazos que el autor no identificó correctamente como se observa a partir de la línea 4; fruto de ello el texto se ha transmitido de forma bastante incoherente. La transcripción de las interpunciones en las últimas líneas tampoco es muy fiable. Respetando la división de líneas del dibujo, interpretamos:

[32] Thomas de Herrera, *Historia del convento de san Agustín de Salamanca*, Madrid 1652.

[33] ¿Podría ser Mateo Lope Bravo el editor de *De rege et regendi ratione libri duo*, Madrid 1616)?

D(*is*) *M*(*anibus*). *Rebu-*
rina Rebu-
r[*i*] *f*(*ilia*) *hic s*(*ita*)
e(*st*) *a*(*nnorum*) *XI* (vel *XL*) *Ve-*
5 ⌜*r*⌝*ňa Cas-*
[*t*]*or*
l̂iĥerŝi exs
ŝes[*t*]*âm̂e*[*nto*]
f(*aciendum*) ⌜*c*⌝(*uraverunt*).

Los nombres de la difunta y del padre aparecen con una sola R, grafía no extraña que aparece en otras inscripciones no muy lejanas.[34] *Rebur(r)us* eligió para su hija un nombre formado con el sufijo *–ina* a partir del suyo, una formación y una moda bien conocidas[35] en la zona, donde se encuentran varios casos homónimos incluso en la propia Salamanca.[36] Los que se encargaron de realizar el monumento, según la disposición testamentaria de la finada, fueron probablemente dos *liberti*.[37] Para el primero proponemos la corrección de la F en R, la única posible teniendo en cuenta las letras anterior y posterior. El antropónimo

[34] Algunos ejemplos: Hinojosa de Duero (*AE* 1992, 130); Ciudad Rodrigo (*CIL* II 868), Moral de Sayago (Zamora, *AE* 1977, 490).

[35] Fresnadillo de Sayago (Zamora): *Flavi/ae Fla(vi) / f(iliae) an(norum) LX // D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Rebu/r[r]in[a]e / Reb(urri) f(iliae) / an(norum) L* (*CIRPZamora* 40 = *CIRPZamora* 41); Moral de Sayago: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Coroll[a]/e Fusci/n(a)e f(iliae) an(norum) [- - -]X // D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Rebu/r(r)ina R(eburri) f(ilia) / an(norum) X* (*CIRPZamora* 97); Yecla de Yeltes: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Reburri/na Rebu(rri) / fi(lia) an(norum) XLV / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* (*ERPSalamanca* 139 = *CIRPSalamanca* 333); Hinojosa de Duero: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Plac/idus / Re(burri?) / an(norum) / VII hi(c) // D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] / Rebu/r[r]i[n]a / Re(burri?) f(ilia) / an(norum) V / h(ic) t(erra) l(evis)* (*CIRPSalamanca* 133 = *Hinojosa* 37). Para la distribución de *REBVRRINVS/A* en Lusitania véase http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/1629.

[36] *Rebu/rrinae / Reburr/i an/n(orum) XVII s(it) / t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) // Firmanil/(l)ae Fir/man/i f(iliae) an(norum) / VIII h(ic) s(ita) / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) // Veg/etin/(a)e Veg/eti f(iliae) / an(norum) LXV / h(ic) s(ita) s(it) t(ibi) / t(erra) l(evis)* (*ERPSalamanca* 89 = *CIRPSalamanca* 228).

[37] Preferimos *liberti* a *liberi* ya que no hemos encontrado el uso de este término para "hijos" en el ámbito funerario donde lo normal es *filii*. Ejemplos lusitanos de *liberti* de ciudadanos *peregrini* que ejecutan el monumento *ex testamento* tenemos en la *Civitas Igaeditanorum*: *Probinae Probi f(iliae) / Tongeta Probinae / lib(erta) ex test(amento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)* (*AE* 1967, 172), o en *Augustobriga*: *Caesio Tan/cini f(ilio) an(norum) LXX / Agilio et T/ancinus li/berti [p]atro/no indulg/entissimo e/x testamen/to f(aciendum) c(uravit) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* (*CIL* II 942; *CPILC* 661; *CILCC* V 1441).

Verna se encuentra, en Lusitania, en *Norba*[38] y *Castor* en *Ossonoba*[39] y *Abelterium*?[40].

Por la fórmula de consagración la fecharíamos en el siglo II.

5. El primer testimonio de otra estela salmantina

Hasta el año 2001 no se editó íntegramente una estela que se conserva en el Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Salamanca (*ERPSalamanca* 86, *HEp* 9, 1999, 497). Según esta edición, la pieza se halló en 1984 durante unas obras en la calle Tostado, en la esquina con la calle Silencio. Una vez más PDLC fol. 169 (Fig. 9) nos proporciona nuevos datos sobre ella, singularmente la noticia de su existencia ya en el siglo XVI.

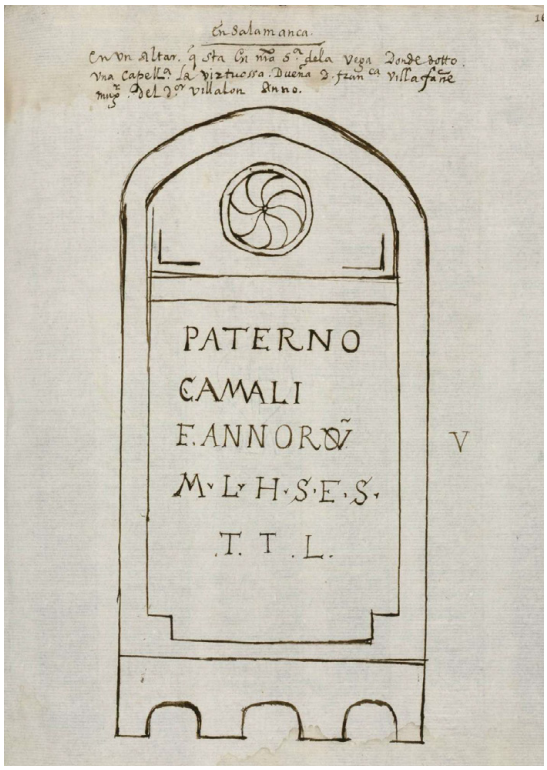


Fig. 9

[38] Torreorgaz: *L(ucius) Iulius / Verna / Rufi li/bertus / an(norum) LV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / L(ucius) Iulius / Max(imi?) lib(ertus) / f(aciendum) c(uravit)* (*CIL* II 5309).

[39] Faro: *Castor / vixsit / annos / VIII dies XV* (*IRCP* 17; C.I.S. Gaspar, *Catálogo das Inscrições Paleocristãs do Território Português*, Lisboa 2006, p. 280, Anexo nº 4).

[40] Alter do Chao: *Verna/culus / fecit / imbrices / Ab[e]lterio / ad Castorem / II(milia) / |(mille) / DCCCCL / DCCC* (*AE* 2014, 573).

Según el manuscrito, la estela se encontraba íntegra "en un altar que esta en N(uestr)a S(eño)ra de la Vega donde dotto una cap(ellani)a la virtuossa dueña Dª Fran(cis)ca Villafañe mug(e)r del D(octo)r Villalon. Anno [*sic*]".[41]
Nada sabemos de cómo la estela pudo acabar en la casa en que se encontró en 1984 cuando ya había sufrido graves daños en toda su superficie y había perdido la parte superior de la cabecera. La comparación con la pieza conservada nos permite afirmar la calidad del dibujo de PDLC, cuyo autor de momento permanece anónimo.

6. *CIL* II 4966/2 (León)

El mencionado ms. Ciudad del Vaticano. Vat. Lat. 6040 (fol. 45–46) copia dos inscripciones hispanas que Hübner quiso de la mano de Gaspar de Castro (a pesar de que reconoció *ego in schedis Gasparis de Castro non inveni*), inducido seguramente por el comentario de Smet (fol. 33, 16) también erróneo *haec duo Alfonsus de Castro Hispanus*.[42] El motivo de la atribución a Castro emana del hecho de que los dos folios se encuentran en el manuscrito mencionado, que recoge una serie de inscripciones hispanas que sí pertenecen a la mano de Gaspar de Castro (fols. 205r-212v).

Sobre la segunda de ellas (*CIL* II 2694 = 5726 cf. add. P. 709) no tenemos más noticias de las que ya escribimos los autores en sendas publicaciones anteriores, donde quedó establecida una más que probable

[41] Sobre ella, véase L. Vasallo Toranzo, "La capilla de Francisca de Villafañe, un ejemplo de patronato artístico a mediados del siglo XVI en Valladolid", *BARC* 53 (2018), 35–49. Se trataría de la salmantina Fca. de Villafañe, primera esposa de Andrés González de Villalón, "hermana del regidor Cristóbal de Villafañe, con quien no tuvo hijos" (Vasallo Toranzo, p. 46, nota 4). No debe, pues, confundirse con Fca. de Villafañe, esposa de Diego Osorio († 1542) e hija de María Villafañe, una sobrina del matrimonio González de Villalón-Villafañe. Esta Fca. de Villafañe de Osorio fue la responsable de edificar la capilla funeraria familiar en el convento de San Benito de Valladolid. Existe un Joan de Villafañe, eventual miembro de la familia, que fue prior de San Isidoro de León de quien dependía el convento salmantino de Nuestra Señora de la Vega, al que hizo una visita en 1577 (véase A. Suárez González, "El patrimonio bibliográfico comunitario de Sta. Mª de la Vega (Salamanca) en 1577", *Estudios Humanísticos. Filología* 27 (2005), pp. 209–232 (209).

[42] Sobre una posible solución al problema generado por la concurrencia de dos personajes eventualmente coetáneos (Gaspar y Alonso de Castro) véase Joan Carbonell, "Las supuestas síloges epigráficas de Alfonso y Gaspar de Castro. A propósito de los papeles de J. Matal y A. Agustín del ms. Vat. Lat. 6040", en José Mª Maestre *et al.* (eds.), *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico* V, vol. 1, Madrid 2015, pp. 477–495.

autoría de la copia por parte de Gerónimo Zurita.[43] Abordamos, pues, la información correspondiente a *CIL* II 4966/2.

Hübner transcribió solo la primera parte del texto del manuscrito correspondiente a esta inscripción,[44] omitiendo la segunda parte que transcribimos a continuación (Fig.10):

Fig. 10 © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

"Querrà decir a mi parecer *Valerii Natalis pondo duarum librarum* <u>*semiunciarum octo*</u> porque aquella nota [dibujo adjunto de los dos caracteres que aparecen después de P·II] dize Volusio Metiano que es figura de media onça. Peso en el contraste de la corte dos marcos y cinco oncas [*sic*] y una ochava y tres quartillos, que son veinte y un oncas y una ochava y tres quartillos".

El subrayado es del original y remite a una nota de distinta mano, referida a las palabras subrayadas: *Cur trientem tam inepte notasset?* Ciertamente el anotador constata que 'ocho medias onzas' son exactamente una tercera parte (*triens*) de una libra y se extraña de una anotación tan rebuscada.

Hübner interpretó: *Erit fere Val(erii) Natalis p(ondo) duarum librarum s(emunciae)? (scriptulorum) octo* y añadió: *Semiunciae nota male excepta est*.

Si consultamos la obra de Volusio Meciano *Distributio partium* 48 que cita el redactor de la nota se recogen claramente los dos caracteres que reproduce y que, efectivamente, son abreviatura de *semiuncia*. Veámoslo:

> *Infra quam divisionem* [hoc est sestertii] *sequitur alia quaedam subdivisio, notas aeque et propria vocabula habens. Quare, si ad denarium rationem conficias, assem hac nota scribas ac voces:*

[43] Joan Carbonell 1993, p. 93–95; Helena Gimeno, Armin U. Stylow, "Analecta epigraphica Hispanica: manuscritos, calcos, dibujos, duplicaciones", *SEpB* 3 (1993), pp. 85–112 (89–92).

[44] Puede verse el documento original en el enlace https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6040 (consultado el 03/09/21).

semuncia sicilicus X £Ɔ; semiunciae enim sedecim et sicilici sedecim assem efficiunt.[45]

En el pesaje la pieza de plata, de acuerdo con el sistema de medidas de peso para el oro, la plata y otros metales vigente en la época, pesó 2 marcos (460,092 gr.) + 5 onzas (143,775 gr.) -equivalente, en efecto, a 21 onzas- 1 ochava (3,594 gr.) y 3 cuartillos (0,593 gr.). O sea 608,053 gr.

Los ejemplos aportados corroboran una vez más la necesidad de revisar continuamente las síloges manuscritas, no solo con el objetivo de descubrir epigrafía inédita hoy perdida, sino también con el de completar la información que tenemos sobre algunos epígrafes transmitidos por la tradición, pero conocidos parcialmente. Este es el valor de acometer el estudio de los manuscritos, que sirve también para ir trazando un panorama de la historiografía de la epigrafía, lo más completo posible.

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[45] Efectivamente una libra o as tiene 12 onzas (= 24 medias onzas) y el *sicilicus* equivale a ¼ de onza (por tanto, una libra tiene 48 *sicilici*), luego, 16 medias onzas + 16 cuartos de onza suman 12 onzas.

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La prima serie dei prefetti d'Egitto: documenti inediti sul contributo di Bartolomeo Borghesi alla raccolta di Giovanni Labus*

— Alfredo Sansone —

Abstract

Nel saggio si pubblica la copia inedita di una lettera di Bartolomeo Borghesi (1781–1860) a Giovanni Labus (1775–1853), riguardante lo studio di 25 prefetti d'Egitto in epoca romana. L'analisi del documento consente di rilevare l'importante contributo di Borghesi a tale campo di studi, nonché il debito metodologico di Labus nei confronti delle ricerche prosopografiche di Borghesi. Questi può ormai essere considerato a buon diritto il primo studioso che impostò su basi scientifiche la serie dei praefecti Aegypti.

This paper presents the first edition of the draft of a letter from Bartolomeo Borghesi (1781–1860) to Giovanni Labus (1775–1853) concerning the study of 25 prefects of Roman Egypt. By analysing this document, it is possible to appreciate the important contribution provided by Borghesi to this research field, as well as Labus' methodological debt towards the prosopographical investigations carried out by Borghesi. The latter can now rightly be considered the first scholar who drew up the series of the praefecti Aegypti *on a scientific basis.*

Keywords

Bartolomeo Borghesi, Giovanni Labus, Prefects of Egypt, Roman prosopography, Latin epigraphy

1. Introduzione

Nel suo studio sui prefetti d'Egitto[1], edito nel 1906, Luigi Cantarelli (1858–1931)[2] prendeva posizione in merito alla questione, evidentemente ancora aperta tra la fine dell'Ottocento e gli inizi del

* Nella stesura del lavoro mi sono avvalso degli utili consigli di N. Bellucci, M. Buonocore, L. Calvelli, D. Faoro, F. Santangelo e due anonimi revisori, che ringrazio per gli stimoli e la cortese disponibilità.

[1] L. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti d'Egitto, I. Da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Roma 1906 [ristampa 1968].

[2] G. Mosca, *Commemorazione del socio Luigi Cantarelli*, in *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 7, 5–10 (1931), 254–256.

Novecento, relativa all'identificazione dell'effettivo autore della prima serie dei prefetti di questa provincia, da Augusto a Caracalla, alla base dell'opera poi pubblicata da Giovanni Labus (1775–1853) nel 1826[3]. Cantarelli, confutando le opinioni di Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) e Seymour de Ricci (1881–1942)[4], che sostenevano un ruolo non marginale di Bartolomeo Borghesi (1781–1860)[5] nell'allestimento della successione

[3] G. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe latina scoperta in Egitto dal viaggiatore G. B. Belzoni e in occasione di essa dei prefetti di quella provincia da Ottaviano Augusto a Caracalla*, Milano 1826. Su G. Labus vd. G. Morelli, *I manoscritti bresciani del «Fondo Labus» della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Mantova*, in *Quaderni Camuni* XXXII (1985), 239–270; A. Bellezza, *Testimonianze inedite dai carteggi del tempo sull'allestimento del museo romano bresciano*, in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedicazione del Capitolium e per il 150° anniversario della sua scoperta. Brescia 27–30 settembre 1973*, Brescia 1973, I, 95–113; I. Calabi Limentani, *Tra epigrafia antica e moderna: Giovanni Labus negli anni in cui fu segretario dell'Istituto Lombardo. Note dalla sua corrispondenza con Camillo Vacani*, in *Archivio storico lombardo* 123 (1997), 377–402 = I. Calabi Limentani (ed.), *Scienza epigrafica: contributi alla storia degli studi di epigrafia latina*, Faenza 2010, 475–498; I. Calabi Limentani, *Tre aspetti del rapporto di Giovanni Labus con il Morcelli*, in *Stefano Antonio Morcelli. Un gesuita tra ancien régime ed età contemporanea*, Chiari 2001, 41–48 = Calabi Limentani (ed.), *Scienza epigrafica*, 499–509; G. Schingo, *Labus, Giovanni*, in *DBI* 63 (2004), 10–12; M. Reali, *L'officina dell'epigrafista: da un apografo di Giovanni Labus*, in A. Donati, G. Poma (edd.), *L'officina epigrafica romana. In ricordo di Giancarlo Susini*, Faenza 2012, 153–165; C. Bazzani, A. Bertoli, *Il dotto archeologo. Lettere, ricerche, epigrafi e notazioni inedite di Giovanni Labus (1775–1853)*, in *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia* CCXIV (2015), 339–429; F. Bono, *Erudizione e storia locale. «Con ammirevole diligenza e invitta costanza». Defendente Sacchi e Giuseppe Robolini nel carteggio di Giovanni Labus*, in *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria* CXX (2020), 169–190. Cfr. anche M. Buonocore (ed.), *Lettere di Theodor Mommsen agli Italiani*, Città del Vaticano 2017, 215–216; C. Franco, *L'archeologia e l'immagine di Venezia tra XIX e XX secolo*, in *Mefrim* (2021), 679–701, in particolare 682.

[4] Cantarelli, *La serie*, 50, nota 2. Se Mommsen si limitava a suggerire come alcune proposte integrative fossero più probabilmente da attribuire a Borghesi (ad esempio in *CIL* III 24), S. de Ricci, *Bulletin Papyrologique*, in *REG* 15 (1902), 420 si dimostrava più esplicito, affermando: «l'honneur d'avoir le premier établi la succession des préfets d'Auguste à Septime Sévère, revient à Borghesi».

[5] Su Borghesi restano fondamentali G. Gasperoni, *Bartolomeo Borghesi minore*, Bologna 1936; G. Gasperoni, *Un grande maestro di antichità classiche: Bartolomeo Borghesi nel centenario della morte*, Città di Castello 1961; A. Campana, *Borghesi, Bartolomeo*, in *DBI* 12 (1971), 624–643 = A. Campana, *Borghesi, Bartolomeo*, in R. Avesani, M. Feo, E. Pruccoli (edd.), *Augusto Campana. Scritti. Storia, civiltà, erudizione romagnola*, III, 2, Roma 2014, 483–518 e i contributi raccolti in G. Susini (ed.), *Bartolomeo Borghesi: scienza e libertà*, Bologna 1982. Cfr. anche A. Fraschetti, *B. Borghesi, Th. Mommsen e il 'metodo combinatorio' (in margine alle parentele di Seiano)*, in *Helikon* XV–XVI (1975–1976), 253–279; i saggi riuniti nel numero XIII dei *Quaderni della Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatridi*, Savignano sul Rubicone 1981;

dei prefetti, difendeva con fermezza la responsabilità pressoché esclusiva di Labus, da lui ritenuto l'iniziatore di queste ricerche[6].

Secondo il suo giudizio, Labus si sarebbe solo limitato a consultare le schede che Borghesi, generosamente, gli aveva messo a disposizione. Questo è, in effetti, quanto si ricava da un passaggio della prefazione dello stesso Labus:

> Quindici di questi prefetti notati furono dal ch. Letronne[7]; non pochi altri furono scoperti da me sui marmi e nei libri; ma li più debboli al ch. amico Borghesi, che porger mi volle cortesemente la mano, e mi confortò a dar fuori questa fatica, affermandomi, «essere dell'onore italiano, che poiché gli antiquari delle altre nazioni sono tutti rivolti alla illustrazione delle cose egiziane, anche fra noi alcuno sorga a mostrare non esserci ramo di erudizione archeologica in cui non amiamo di esercitarci»[8]. Il valentuomo, che da più anni è inteso a raccogliere le iscrizioni ipatiche, ed a riordinare i fasti consolari, onde a buon diritto fu appellato principe dei cronografi, tanto più volentieri, per favorirmi, spogliò le sue schede, quanto che i prefetti d'Egitto quasi mai giunsero a stringere i fasci; onde non sono persone di cui egli abbia a trattare. Bramava però che ne conducessi la serie sino all'invasione de' Saraceni in cui finì quest'ufficio, o per lo meno sino all'impero di Costantino; ma sebbene io tenga in serbo assai cose anche a quest'uopo, il breve tempo concedutomi dalle attuali mie occupazioni non vuole che proceda più innanzi[9].

Le argomentazioni sviluppate da Cantarelli, sulla base di questa premessa di Labus, risultarono soddisfacenti e sembrarono aver definitivamente chiarito i sospetti sulla faccenda, che non pare esser stata più ripresa o

A. Fraschetti, *Appunti su Karl Otfried Müller e gli "Antiquari"*, in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 14, 3 (1984), 1097–1127; Buonocore (ed.), *Lettere di Theodor Mommsen*, 82.

[6] Cantarelli, *La serie*, 49: «ma l'onore di avere stabilito, per il primo, sopra basi scientifiche, la successione di coloro che ressero la provincia da Ottaviano Augusto a Caracalla, spetta ad un italiano, l'insigne archeologo Giovanni Labus». Cfr. ancora Cantarelli, *La serie*, 51: «Or bene [...] risulta chiaramente dimostrato che il Borghesi si limitò a comunicare al Labus le sue schede; che la serie dei prefetti di Egitto è lavoro originale dell'insigne archeologo bresciano, e che il volerne attribuire invece la paternità, come fanno il Mommsen e il de Ricci, al Borghesi, sarebbe cosa ingiusta e contraria al *suum cuique tribuere*».

[7] M. Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte*, Paris 1823.

[8] Quanto riportato da Labus nella prefazione alla sua opera corrisponde alla parte iniziale della lettera di Borghesi qui trascritta al paragrafo 2.

[9] Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 50–51.

discussa negli studi successivi. Del resto, l'opera di Labus, rapidamente invecchiata già nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento in virtù delle nuove scoperte effettuate[10], fu superata proprio dall'importante lavoro condotto da Cantarelli, che divenne ben presto opera di riferimento[11].

Tuttavia, la recente scoperta in un archivio privato[12] della minuta di una lettera di Borghesi diretta a Labus (figg. 1–4), che qui di seguito si trascrive integralmente per la prima volta, fornisce nuovi e interessanti dettagli, se non sulla responsabilità finale dell'opera, almeno sull'entità del contributo, nient'affatto secondario, elargito da Borghesi anche in questo filone di studi.

2. La minuta di Borghesi a Labus

2.1. *Premessa alla trascrizione*

Per la trascrizione della minuta si è ricorso al carattere tondo, mentre il *corsivo* è stato impiegato solo per le parole o frasi sottolineate e per le citazioni testuali di passi di autori latini. Il carattere maiuscolo è stato invece conservato per la trascrizione dei testi epigrafici. Per le iscrizioni e i prefetti riportati da Borghesi, ci si è limitati a citare i principali e più

[10] Già Borghesi si rivolgeva a Labus in questi termini in una lettera del 2 luglio 1850: «veramente sarebbe desiderabile che applicaste l'animo ad una nuova edizione della vostra serie di quei prefetti attesochè la prima, a motivo della quantità delle scoperte posteriori, rimane ora quasi inutile» (*Oeuvres complètes de Bartolomeo Borghesi*, Paris 1872, vol. VIII, 242).

[11] De Ricci, *Bulletin*, 420 per la bibliografia successiva al 1826. Cfr. anche G. Bastianini, *Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30 al 299*, in *ZPE* 17 (1975), 263, nota 1 e P. Bureth, *Le préfet d'Egypte (30 av. J.C.-297 ap. J.C.): Etat présent de la documentation en 1973*, in *ANRW* II, 10, 1 (1988), 472–502, che nel richiamare i lavori fondamentali sull'argomento non risalgono oltre l'opera di Cantarelli. Così più di recente anche D. Faoro, *I prefetti d'Egitto da Augusto a Commodo*, Bologna 2016, in generale nell'illustrazione della bibliografia preposta al catalogo di ciascun prefetto censito.

[12] Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare l'erede di B. Borghesi per aver gentilmente concesso lo studio dei documenti qui pubblicati. Da questo imponente e interessante archivio (al cui interno sono presenti non solo le lettere a Bartolomeo, le sue minute e le sue numerose schede di lavoro epigrafico, prosopografico e numismatico, ma anche il carteggio del padre Pietro) il cui spoglio, avviato nell'estate del 2017, è tuttora in corso per la redazione di un inventario generale, è stato ricavato un primo lavoro in A. Sansone, *Un nuovo testimone di CIL XI, 6160 da una lettera inedita di Francesco Maria Torricelli a Bartolomeo Borghesi*, in *Sibrium* 33 (2019), 141–161. Altri studi, in corso di elaborazione, comprendono l'edizione del ricco e vario carteggio (oltre 300 epistole) fra B. Borghesi e l'archeologo Luigi Nardi (1777–1837) e l'attività di postillatore condotta da Borghesi sui volumi del *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum* di Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750).

recenti repertori epigrafici e prosopografici. Allo stesso modo, non sono stati effettuati confronti stringenti fra quanto proposto da Borghesi e quanto sostenuto, dopo circa due secoli di avanzamento negli studi, dall'odierno dibattito scientifico, che su più punti manifesta, come si può ben immaginare (già solo per il fondamentale apporto della documentazione papiracea), posizioni nettamente diverse. Esse potranno, in ogni caso, essere recuperate dal lettore attraverso la consultazione dei repertori segnalati in nota. Le informazioni bibliografiche fornite da Borghesi non sono state sistematicamente sciolte secondo i canoni odierni di citazione, tranne i casi in cui tali coordinate non siano immediatamente intuibili. Infine, per quanto concerne incertezze di lettura, si è adoperato il simbolo (?).

2.2. *Il testo della lettera* (figg. 1–4)[13]

[1r]

Al dottor Labus

Voi mi chiedete che io vi comunichi ciò che avessi potuto raccogliere nelle mie schede, onde ampliare la serie dei prefetti dell'Egitto che mi avete trascritta, ed io lo farò volentierissimo, tanto più che costoro quasi mai arrivarono al consolato, onde sono fuori della sfera di coloro, di cui debbo trattare. Io non me n'era occupato se non perché questa carica era uno dei gradini per salire alla prefettura del Pretorio[14], la serie dei quali è quasi intatta finora, e che ho una lontana idea d'illustrare fino alla sua divisione sotto Costantino. Altronde è dell'onore dell'Italia, che nel mentre che gli antiquari dell'altre nazioni sono tutti rivolti alla storia d'Egitto esca fuori alcuno fra noi a mostrare, che non v'erano erudizioni, in cui siamo per restar loro addietro. Vi conforto adunque grandemente a questo lavoro, e per incoraggiarvi vi mando un copioso elenco di nomi da accrescersi a questa serie. D'una sola cosa debbo pregarvi, ed è di annunziare nel vostro scritto che queste aggiunte le avete ricevute da me, e ciò non già per qualche

[13] La minuta è sfortunatamente priva di indicazione cronologica. Tuttavia, poiché Labus pubblicò l'opera nel 1826, la lettera può essere datata con certezza al 1825, anche perché Borghesi entrò in possesso del libro di M. Letronne (per cui vd. *supra* nota 7), più volte citato in questa epistola, solo nel gennaio di quell'anno, come si evince dalla lettera inviata all'amico Girolamo Amati il 28 gennaio 1825: «Ho avuto di Francia un bel libro di M. Letronne *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte*. Vi sono raccolte quasi tutte le iscrizioni, in numero sopra ottanta, che si sono recentemente scoperte in Egitto, e che in Italia erano quasi tutte ignote, perché non publicate che in opere Inglesi» (*Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VI, 279).

[14] Vd. *infra* nota 118.

gloriola letteraria, che voi sapete ch'io non curo gran fama, ma per un accidente che non debbo tacervi. Sono poco più di sei mesi, che un mio amico d'Inghilterra[15] mi domandò appunto la serie di questi prefetti, ch'io gli mandai, non indicando però che i nomi e gli anni senza alcuna citazione. Si dà la combinazione che alcuno dei prefetti da voi citatimi non mi è sconosciuto, e quindi la serie che voi dareste verrebbe ad essere l'istessissima della mia. Quando adunque il vostro libro capitasse in Inghilterra, essendo nota per la stampa la nostra amicizia questa identità porterebbe di conseguenza ch'io vi fossi giudicato un plagiaro, come che avessi spacciata per mia una cosa di un altro, il che soffrirei di malavoglia, pretendendo di mantenere in ispecie presso gli stranieri quell'opinione di onestà che troppo spesso rifiutano a noi Italiani.

Ora dunque venendo al nostro proposito, eccovi gli altri prefetti ch'io conosco:

1. *Aquila* sotto Augusto[16]. Apparisce da un editto di Claudio riferito da Giuseppe Ebreo Antiq. Iud. l. 14. c. 5. p. 1. *Cognitum habuimus*

[15] Il personaggio resta ignoto. Si potrebbe forse pensare a figure come Sir William Richard Hamilton (1777–1859), Sir John Barrow (1764–1848) e Thomas Young (1773–1829), i cui lavori di egittologia sono richiamati da Borghesi, sebbene dagli inventari dei fondi borghesiani non sia nota al momento l'esistenza di un rapporto epistolare con questi studiosi (cfr. E. Desjardins, *Publication des Oeuvres complètes de Bartolomeo Borghesi. Troisième rapport du Secrétaire de la Commission*, Paris 1864; G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, Forlì 1890; *Catalogo degli autografi Manzoni-Borghesi appartenuti al fu Conte Giacomo Manzoni*, Roma 1894; A. Adversi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti n. 77–284 e degli incunaboli della Biblioteca della Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatridi e del comune di Savignano sul Rubicone*, Savignano sul Rubicone 1965; P. Brigliadori, L. Elleni, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia. Forlì, Biblioteca comunale "A. Saffi", Collezioni Piancastelli — Sezione "Carte Romagna"*, XCIII–XCVIII, Firenze 1979–1980; A. Adversi, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia. Macerata — Biblioteca comunale "Mozzi-Borgetti"; Savignano sul Rubicone - Biblioteca della R. dei Filopatridi*, CIII, Forlì 1987). Una possibile seconda alternativa potrebbe essere rappresentata dall'archeologo e numismatico James Millingen (1774–1845), l'unico corrispondente inglese di cui sia stato possibile finora reperire un riscontro concreto negli inventari (due lettere a Borghesi, una del 16 giugno 1814 e l'altra dell'11 agosto 1843, sono custodite presso la Biblioteca Aurelio Saffi di Forlì, *Carte Romagna*, B 75.73–74) e che sembra aver coltivato alcuni interessi nel campo dell'egittologia. Egli fu infatti, negli anni '30 del XIX secolo, il principale consulente del British Museum nella valutazione del materiale egizio (cfr. A. Dodson, *The British Isles*, in A. Bednarski, A. Dodson, S. Ikram (edd.), *A History of World Egyptology*, Cambridge 2021, 92) ed è inoltre noto per aver acquistato il papiro egizio che porta il suo nome e contiene gli insegnamenti di *Amenemhat* (per cui vd. da ultimo M. Geoga, *New Insights into Papyrus Millingen and the Reception History of* The Teaching of Amenemhat, in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 107, 1–2 (2021), 225–238).

[16] *PIR*² I 165 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 8. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 63.

Iudaeos.... postquam imperio nostro per Augustum subiecta fuisset Alexandria, sua illis (Iudaeis) integra mansisse iura, conservata per missos illo diversis temporibus praefectos, nullamque de illo iure controversiam motam fuisse, etiam quando (Ἀκύλας) *Aquila praeerat Alexandriae, et cum mortuus esset Iudaeorum ethnarcha Augustum non vetuisse alios deinceps ethnarchas fieri.* Nominatosi prima e dopo Augusto pare che sotto di lui fosse dunque prefetto costui, e veramente in quale impero abbiamo una grande lacuna.

2. *Cn. Virgilius Capito*[17]. Risulta da un suo decreto[18] pubblicato dal Letronne nel Journal des Savants 1822 p. 671 e della Rivista Enciclopedica[19] di febbraro del 1823 pag. 360. Reggeva l'Egitto nel nono anno dell'impero di Claudio, e quindi sarà stato il successore di C. Giulio Claudio Postumo[20].

4 3. *Galerius*[21]. Viene ricordato da Plinio seniore nel proemio del libro 19. *In tantum ut Galerius a freto Siciliae Alexandriam septima die pervenerit, Balbillus sexta, ambo praefecti.* Sembra adunque che precedesse Ti. Claudio Balbillo[22], cui fu concesso quel governo da Nerone nell'804.

3 4. *M. Mettius Modestus*[23]. Scrive Suida[24] alla voce Ἐπαφρόδιτος: *Epaphroditus Cheronensis Grammaticus Archiae Alexandrini Grammatici alumnus apud quem institutus a Modesto Aegypti Praefecto emptus est, et cum eius filium Pitelinum instituisset, Roma claruit sub Nerone ad Nervam usque.* Costui dunque governò l'Egitto

[17] *PIR*² V 403 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 19; D. Faoro, *Carriere parallele: Cn. Vergilius Capito e Ti. Claudius Balbillus*, in *ZPE* 199 (2016), 213–217. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 77.

[18] *IGR* I 1262 = *OGIS* II 665 = *SB* V 8248 = G. Purpura, *Gli editti dei prefetti d'Egitto*, in *Annali del Seminario Giuridico dell'Università di Palermo* XLII (1992), nr. 7 = S. Pfeiffer, *Griechische und Lateinische Inschriften zum Ptolemäerreich und zur römischen Provinz Aegyptus*, Berlin 2015, nr. 54.

[19] Si intenda la *Revue Encyclopédique ou analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans la littérature, les sciences et les arts*, Paris 1819–1835.

[20] *PIR*² I 483 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 18. Cfr. Faoro, *Carriere parallele*, 216, nota 34.

[21] *PIR*² G 25 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 12. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 79.

[22] *PIR*² C 813 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 21; Faoro, *Carriere parallele*, 213–217.

[23] Borghesi sta qui ipotizzando che il *M. Mettius Modestus*, procuratore sotto Claudio in Siria (*PIR*² M 566), sia stato anche prefetto d'Egitto (cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 78). Tuttavia, non si attribuisce oggi credito alla notizia tramandata dalla Suda riguardo a un prefetto d'Egitto sotto Nerone di nome *Modestus* (cfr. F. Cairns, *Epaphroditus, Φαινιανοκορίοις and 'Modestus' (Suda E 2004)*, in *ZPE* 124 (1999), 218–222; Faoro, *I prefetti*, 68).

[24] Suda E 2004.

o sulla fine dell'impero di Claudio, o sul principio di quello di Nerone. Il Visconti[25] nell'Iconografia Greca p. 346 della nostra edizione ha dai nomi di questo liberto Epafrodito provato, che il prefetto chiamavasi M. Messio Modesto, ed ha confrontata a suo giudizio con un bel titoletto[26] del Muratori[27] p. 1467 n. 11, che niente impedisce che possa a lui attribuirsi.

5. *L. Iulius Vestinus*[28]. Balbillo e Vestino sono memorati come suoi predecessori da Ti. Giulio Alessandro[29] nel suo decreto[30] pubblicato dal Letronne nel Giornale des Savants 1822 p. 671 e dalla Rivista Enciclopedica di febbraro 1823 p. 360. Egli è indubitatamente quello di cui parla Tacito nell'824 Hist. l. IV c. 53 *Curam restituendi Capitolio in L. Vestinum confert equestris ordinis virum sed auctoritate famaque inter proceres*. Non so bene se sia egli stesso oppure suo padre quello di cui parla Claudio nella sua orazione[31] pro Gallis *Ex qua colonia* (*Viennensi*) *inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo*. E ne accresce il sospetto il sapersi (?) da Marziale[32] l. 4 ep. 72, che questo nostro morì non vecchio. Conviene però guardarsi dal confonderlo col L. Giulio Vestino[33], segretario d'Adriano, di cui parla un'iscrizione[34] del Fabretti[35] p. 213 n. 538 e pag. 679 n. 48[36] e Suida[37] alla voce Οὐηστῖνος. Non difficulterei però a credere, che fosse un servo di questo nostro, quel Nicone del Fabretti p. 213 n. 538, la cui iscrizione ho io veduta nel museo Vaticano

[25] E. Quirino Visconti, *Iconografia Greca*, voll. 3, Milano 1823–1825.

[26] *CIL* VI 19321.

[27] L. A. Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, voll. 4, Mediolani 1739–1743.

[28] *PIR*² I 622 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 22. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 81. Cfr. anche D. Faoro, *Claudio e i suoi* comites. *Nota alla* tabula Clesiana, in *ZPE* 207 (2018), 247–248.

[29] *PIR*² I 139 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 24.

[30] *IGR* I 1263 = *OGIS* II 669 = *SB* V 8444 = Purpura, *Gli editti*, nr. 12 = Pfeiffer, *Griechische und Lateinische Inschriften*, nr. 58.

[31] *CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212 = *AE* 1983, 693 = HD065779.

[32] L'epigramma in cui si cita Vestino è però IV, 73 nelle edizioni moderne.

[33] *PIR*² I 623.

[34] *CIL* VI 9520 = *ILS* 7401.

[35] R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et additamentum una cum aliquot emendationibus gruterianis et indice rerum, et verborum memorabilium*, Roma 1702.

[36] *IGUR* I 62.

[37] Suda O 835.

DIS. MANIBV

NICONI. L. IV

LI VESTINI

SER. LIBRAR

MATER. FEC

F. CARISS[38]

6. *Maximus*[39]. Non so altro di costui, se non che resse l'Egitto avanti Plinio, che scrive di lui nell'Hist. Nat. l. 36 c. 9. *Obeliscum a Ptolomaeo Philadelpho in Arsinoe positum Maximus quidam praefectus Aegypti transtulit in forum, reciso cacumine, dum vult fastigium addere auratum, quod postea omisit.*

[1v]

7. *C. Laelius Africanus*[40]. Nel primo anno dell'impero di Domiziano. Si memora in una assai guasta iscrizione della statua di Memnone: però confrontando le copie che se ne hanno dal Pococke Description of the East[41] tav. 38, dall'Jablonski[42] p. 83, dal Jacobs[43] p. 70, dal Muratori T. 4. append. pag. 11, e dal Gerard nella Description de l'Egypte-Antiquités-descriptions[44] T. I. p. 107 parmi che possa così ristaurarsi

FVNISVLANA TERTVLLA

C. LAELI. AFRICANI. PRAEF

VXOR. AVDIVI. MEMNONEM

[38] *CIL* VI 9520 = *ILS* 7401.

[39] *PIR*² M 89 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 10. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 91. Il capitolo del libro di Plinio, cui Borghesi si riferisce, è però il 69.

[40] *PIR*² T 136 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 30 = M. L. Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona da Augusto a Costantino*, Roma 2020, nr. 8. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 93. L'onomastica del personaggio è oggi correttamente letta in *C. Tettius Africanus*.

[41] R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, voll. 2, London 1743–1745.

[42] P. E. Jablonski, *De Memnone Graecorum, et Aegyptiorum, huiusque celeberrima in Thebaide statua syntagmata III. Cum figuris aeneis*, Francoforti 1753.

[43] Fr. Jacobs, *Ueber die Gräber des Memnon und die Inschriften an der Bildsäule desselben*, in *Denkschriften der Akademien der Wissenschaften zu München* 2 (1809–1810), 3–76.

[44] *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, Antiquités, Descriptions*, vol. I, Paris 1809–1822.

PR. ID. FEBR. HORA. I. S

ANNO. I. IMP. DOMITIANI. AVG

CVM. IAM. TERTIO. VENISSEM[45]

Infatti che il cognome Africano non fosse ignoto alla gente Lelia si prova da un'altra lapide[46] del Muratori pag. 2059. 7. A lui pure appartiene il seguente frammento d'Assisi divulgato dal Pre. Abbate di Costanzo[47] nella sua disamina dei monumenti di S. Rufino p. 487.

. . . . . .

. . . . . F. AFRICANO

PraeF. VIGILVM

PrAEF. ANNONAE

PraeF. AEGYPTI

. . . . . ISSIMO

BENEFICENTISSIMO

. . . . M . . . . .[48]

8. *C. Septimius Vegetus*[49] nel sesto anno di Domiziano. CLASSICIS. QVI. MILITANT. IN. AEGYPTO. SVB. C. SEPTIMIO. VEGETO. ET CLAVDIO. CLEMENTE. PRAEFECTO. CLASSIS. dicesi nell'onesta missione [50] presso il Marini[51] Fr. Arv. p. 456. Se Claudio Clemente[52] è il comandante della flotta, l'altro non può essere che il preside della provincia.

[45] *CIL* III 35 = *ILS* 8759 = A. Bernard, E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon*, Paris 1960, nr. 8. Rispetto alla lettura riportata da Borghesi, alla l. 2 deve ora leggersi *C. Tetti Africani Praef. Aeg*.

[46] *CIL* VI 21033 = EDR158503. Su questa iscrizione e, più in generale, sui *Marci Laelii*, vd. ora L. Chioffi, *Breve storia dell'epigrafe sepolcrale nel giardino dell'Ambasciata di Finlandia a Roma e i Marci Laeli Romani*, in K. Mustakallio, M. Silver, S. Örmä (edd.), *"Mehr Licht", More Light, Più luce*, Turku 2020, 207–214.

[47] G. Di Costanzo, *Disamina degli scrittori e dei monumenti risguardanti S. Rufino*, Assisi 1797.

[48] *CIL* XI 5382 = EDR025333.

[49] *PIR*² S 349 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 32. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 94.

[50] *CIL* XVI 32 = M. Buonocore, *Le iscrizioni latine e greche*, Città del Vaticano 1987, nr. 14.

[51] G. Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli Arvali scolpiti già in tavole di marmo ed ora raccolti diciferati e comentati*, voll. 2, Roma 1795.

[52] *PIR*² C 835.

9. *T. Petronius Secundus*[53] nel settimo anno di Domiziano. Si ha una sua lapide[54] scritta nel colosso di Memnone nella Description de l'Egypte — Antiquités — Descriptions T. 1. p. 109, ed un poco più mutila nell'Aegyptiaca dell'Hamilton[55] p. 173. Fu poi prefetto del Pretorio di Domiziano e di Nerva.

10. *Maecius Rufus*[56]. Viene ricordato da Svetonio in Domitiano c. 4, che dice di questo imperatore: *Auditus est certe: dum ex eo quaerit, ecquid sciret, cur sibi visum esset ordinatione proxima Aegypto praeficere Maecium Rufum.*

11. *Pompeius Planta*[57] sul principio dell'impero di Traiano. Si memora da Plinio giuniore nell'ep. 6 e 7 del libro X. Sarà egli morto poco dopo, s'egli è quel Planta contro cui Massimo aveva scritto un libro, come appare dalla lettera 1 del libro 9 dello stesso autore se pure non è quel L. Avillio Planta memorato[58] nel Fabretti p. 274. 158.

12. *C. Minicius Italus*[59]. A lui è dedicata la bella base di Aquileia[60] pubblicata dal Marini Fr. Arv. p. 5. Essa fu eretta nell'858, come consta dalla data, e la prefettura dell'Egitto è l'ultima carica che se gli attribuisce, per lo che sembra che a quel tempo ancora conseguisse quell'ufficio.

13. *T. Haterius Nepos*[61] nell'anno V di Adriano. Fu uno di quelli che lasciò il suo nome sulla statua di Memnone, e questa iscrizione[62] vien riferita dal Pococke p. 81. 1, dal Jacobs p. 72, dal Jablonski p. 85, da Gio. Enrico Leichio Sepulchralia carmina[63] p. 75, dal Muratori T. 4

[53] *PIR*² P 308 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 34. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 95.

[54] *IGR* I 1198 = *SB* V 8896 = Bernard, Bernard, *Les inscriptions*, nr. 13.

[55] W. R. Hamilton, *Remarks on several parts of Turkey. Aegyptiaca, or some account of the ancient and modern State of Egypt as obtained in the Years 1801–02*, Part 1, London 1809.

[56] *PIR*² M 572 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 33 = Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona*, nr. 11. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 95. *Maecius Rufus* era congettura di F. Oudendorp, *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus*, Lugduni 1751, 903. Il nome è oggi corretto in *M. Mettius Rufus*.

[57] *PIR*² P 637 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 36. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 97.

[58] *CIL* VI 621 = *ILS* 3532 = EDR158763.

[59] *PIR*² M 614 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 37 = Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona*, nr. 12. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 98.

[60] *CIL* V 875 = *ILS* 1374 = EDR093912 = HD033173.

[61] *PIR*² H 29 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 42. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 107.

[62] *CIL* III 39 = Bernard, Bernard, *Les inscriptions*, nr. 16.

[63] H. J. Leich, *Sepulcralia carmina ex anthologia m. s. Graecorum epigrammatum delecta cum versione Latina et notis. Accedunt ad Graecas Muratorii inscriptiones in*

Append. p. 11, e nella descrizione dell'Egitto — Antiquités descriptions T. I. p. 107, ma a mio parere la miglior copia è quella che ne ha data il Langles nel magazzino enciclopedico di Millin 1796 T. 3. p. 334[64].

14. *Petronius Mamertinus*[65]. Sotto Adriano. SACRA. MAMERTINO. SONVERVNT. PRAESIDE. SIGna leggesi in una lapide[66] metrica pubblicata dal Niebuhr nelle Iscrizioni Nubiensi p. 24[67]. Fu per prefetto del Pretorio sotto Antonino Pio, noto per altre due iscrizioni[68] date dal Fabretti p. 131. n. 68 e Marini Fr. Arv. p. 728, a cui Frontone diresse una lettera, ch'è la 13 del libro 1 ad amicos[69], ben cognito per la parentela contratta da suo figlio colla casa imperiale[70].

15. *Felix*[71]. Sub Antonino Pio. Questo prefetto d'Alessandria viene nominato nella seconda apologia di S. Giustino, e viene fissato circa l'anno 903 dal Tillemont[72] Hist. Eccl. T. 3. p. 846 edizione di Venezia.

16. *L. Furius Victorinus*[73]. Sub Antonino Pio. Egli è quel medesimo che fu poi prefetto del pretorio, e ucciso dai Marcomanni sotto M. Aurelio.

miscellaneis Lipsiensisibus T. I. P. III. explicatas, curae secundae et novae emendationes, Lipsiae 1745.

[64] L. M. Langlès, *Suite de l'extrait d'une dissertation sur la statue vocale de Memnon, lue à la classe de littérature de l'Institut national*, in *Magasin encyclopédique, ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts* 3 (1796), pp. 324–364.

[65] *PIR*² P 288 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 44. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 109.

[66] *CIL* III 77 = 6631 = 12076 = *CLE* 271.

[67] B. G. Niebuhr, *Inscriptiones Nubienses commentatio lecta in conventu Academiae Archaeologiae*, Roma 1821.

[68] *CIL* VI 1009 = *ILS* 2012 = EDR104063; *CIL* VI 1488 = 31666 = 41110 = EDR093384 = HD030499, ma il personaggio citato in questa seconda iscrizione è *[Sex.?] Petronius Mamertinus [- - -]* (PIR² P 289), probabilmente un figlio o nipote del nostro prefetto (cfr. Faoro, *I prefetti*, 94).

[69] Nell'edizione di M. P. J. Van de Hout (ed.), *M. Cornelii Frontonis Epistulae adnotatione critica instructae*, Leipzig 1988. l'epistola di Frontone ha la numerazione 1, 10. Il destinatario di Frontone è però il console del 150 d.C. (*PIR*² P 287), che non sappiamo se sia con certezza da identificare con il nostro prefetto (cfr. Faoro, *I prefetti*, 93–94), come sembrerebbe più convintamente sostenere Borghesi.

[70] Se questo prefetto è da identificare con il console suffetto del 150 d.C. (*PIR*² P 287), allora egli sarebbe anche il padre di *M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus* (*PIR*² P 311), genero di Marco Aurelio (cfr. Faoro, *I prefetti*, 94), cui Borghesi si riferiva a proposito dei rapporti di parentela con la famiglia imperiale.

[71] *PIR*² M 723 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 49. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 114.

[72] L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, voll. 16, Venise 1732.

[73] *PIR*² F 584 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 51. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 116.

La sua prefettura dell'Egitto apparisce dalla Gruteriana[74] 414. 8, mutila, mal letta, e quel che è peggio interpolata

[2r]

dal Ligorio[75], che vi aggiunse se non altro le due ultime righe che troverete nel Muratori, e nel Corsini[76] de Praef. Urb.

17. *M. Bassaeus Rufus*[77]. Sub divis fratribus. Ecco un altro dei prefetti del Pretorio di M. Aurelio cognito presso Dione l. 71. c. 5, Filostrato de vitiis sophistarum l. 2. c. 1, Volcazio nella vita di Avidio Cassio c. 13, e altrove, che si fa strada alla prefettura del Pretorio con quella dell'Egitto. Debbo questa notizia ad una molto miglior lezione della Gruteriana p. 375. 1, che mi fu somministrata dal Codice Vaticano[78] n. 5253 p. 181, che voi non dubiterete essere senza contradizione molto più fida. Eccovela anche supplita.

M. BASSAEO. M. F. S*tel*

RUFO. PR. PR.

*Im*PERATORVM. M. AVRELI. ANTONINI. ET

L. AVRELI. VERI. ET. L. AVRELI. COMMODI. AVGG.

*C*ONSVLARIBVS. ORNAMENTIS. HONORATO

*E*T. OB. VICTORIAM. GERMANICAM. ET. SARMATIC

*A*NTONINI. ET. COMMODI. AVGG. CORONA

*M*VRALI. VALLARI. AVREA. HASTIS. PVRIS. IIII

*TO*TIDEMQVE. VEXILLIS. OBSIDIONALIBVS

ab iisdem DONATO. PRAEF. AEGYPTI. PRAEF

Ann. PROC. A. RATIONIBVS. PROC. BELGICae

[74] J. Gruter, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in corpus absolutissimum redactae*, Heidelberg 1602. Cfr. *CIL* VI 41143 = EDR093413 = HD030586.

[75] Sulle interpolazioni vd. *CIL* VI 41143. A proposito delle opinioni di Borghesi su Ligorio cfr. G. Ramilli, *Un giudizio di Bartolomeo Borghesi su Pirro Ligorio nel contesto di una polemica ottocentesca*, in G. Susini (ed.), *Bartolomeo Borghesi: scienza e libertà*, Bologna 1982, 489–502; G. Vagenheim, *Bartolomeo Borghesi, Theodor Mommsen et l'édition des inscriptions de Pirro Ligorio dans le* Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum *(*CIL*)*, in *Journal of the History of Collections* 26 (2014), 363–371.

[76] E. Corsini, *De praefectis Urbis sive series praefectorum Urbi*, Pisa 1796.

[77] *PIR*² B 69 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 56. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 117.

[78] Vat. Lat. 5253, f. 181r.

*et du*ARVM. GERMANIARVM. PROC. REGNI

*Nori*CI PROC. ASTVRIAE. ET. GALLECIAE. TR*ib*

Coh II. PR. TRIB. COH. X. VRB. TRIB. COH. V. VIGIL. P. P. BIS

*Huic. Sen*ATVS. AVCTORIBVS. IMPP. ANTONINO. ET

CommODO. AVGG. STATVAM. AVRATAM. IN. FORO

Divi TraiaNI. ET. ALIAM. CIVILI. AMICTV. IN. TEMPLO

Divi. Pii. TERTIAM. LORICATAM. IN. TEM

plo. . . . . PONENDAS. CENSVIT[79]

18. *Flavius Titianus*[80]. Sub divis fratribus. Voi conoscevate il T. Flavio Tiziano[81] prefetto d'Egitto sotto Adriano nell'829 mentovato in una delle iscrizioni del colosso di Memnone[82], ripetuta da infiniti. Sarà questi un suo figlio che aveva il medesimo governo nel sesto anno dell'impero dei due fratelli, ossia nel 920, come ci ha insegnato un recente marmo[83] pubblicato nella Quarterly Review[84] vol. XIX p. 414 e dal Letronne nelle sue ricerche per servire alla memoria d'Egitto[85] p. 242.

19. *Avidius Maecianus*[86]. Fu costui un figlio di Avidio Cassio[87], e resse l'Egitto durante la breve tirannia usurpata dal Padre, come consta da Capitolino nella vita di Marco[88], e da Volcazio in quella di Avidio[89].

[79] *CIL* VI 1599 = 41141 = EDR093411 = HD030580.

[80] *PIR*² F 257 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 54. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 120.

[81] *PIR*² F 385 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 43.

[82] *CIL* III 41 = Bernard, Bernard, *Les inscriptions*, nr. 24.

[83] *IGR* I 1273 = *SB* V 8640 = A. Bernard, *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989, nr. 19.

[84] J. Barrow, T. Young, *Observations Relating to Some of the Antiquities of Egypt, from the Papers of the late Mr. Davison. Published in Walpole's Memoirs 1817*, in *The Quarterly Review* 19 (1818), 391–424.

[85] Vd. *supra* nota 7.

[86] *PIR*² A 1406. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 122; Faoro, *I prefetti*, 112–113. Dall'*Historia Augusta* sappiamo solo che gli fu *commissa* la città di *Alexandria* durante l'usurpazione del padre, ma non sappiamo se questo abbia comportato l'assunzione ufficiale dell'incarico prefettizio.

[87] *PIR*² A 1402.

[88] Hist. Aug. *Marc.* 25, 4.

[89] Hist. Aug. *Avid.* 7, 4.

20. *M. Aurelius Papirius Dyonisius*[90] sub Commodo. Costui viene ricordato con tutti i suoi titoli in una lastra bilingue[91] dal palazzo Capponi di Roma pubblicata dal Marini Fr. Arv. p. 798, la quale ci mostra che prima di andar Prefetto nell'Egitto era stato Prefetto dell'Annona. Questa notizia serve egregiamente a fissare la sua età. Imperocché nel 942 scriva Dione l. 72. c. 13 *Nam cum esset forte magna inopia rei frumentariae, eamque Papirius Dionysius praefectus annonae fecisset maiorem eo consilio, ut populus Romanus culpam in Cleandrum propter furta quae faciebat, praecipue coniiceretur*. Ond'è evidente che il suo governo dell'Egitto fu posteriore a quest'epoca.

A tutti questi di data o certa, o presso che certa altri cinque ne aggiungerò, dei quali non so come fissare l'età. Sono questi:

21. *Turannius*[92]. Proviene da un'iscrizione[93] metrica e malconcia del tempio di Philae pubblicata nell'Aegyptiaca dall'Hamilton Part. 1. pag. 52. L'imperatore non è nominato che colla sola indicazione di Cesare, per lo che sembrerebbe dovere appartenere ai primi Cesari[94]. Sarebbe dunque mai costui il C. Turannio prefetto dell'annona al principio dell'impero di Tiberio memorato da Tacito[95] An. I. c. 7. e Annal. XI. c. 31?

22. Un ΓΑΙΟΣ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΕΙΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ[96] trovasi pure in un'altra iscrizione[97] dello stesso tempio di Philae edita dallo stesso Hamilton nella stessa pagina[98], e dal Walpole Travels in Various Countries.

[90] *PIR*² A 1567 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 65 = Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona*, nr. 27. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 131.

[91] *IG* XIV, 1072 = *IGUR* I 59.

[92] *PIR*² T 410 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 5 = Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona*, nr. 1. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 61.

[93] *IGR* I 1295 = *I.Philae* 142 = *SB* V 8420 = Pfeiffer, *Griechische und Lateinische Inschriften*, nr. 50.

[94] Ora sappiamo che *C. Turranius* (*Gracilis*?) fu prefetto d'Egitto negli anni 7–4 a.C. (Faoro, *I prefetti*, 21). Borghesi riportava il gentilizio *Turannius* sulla base dell'edizione di Hamilton.

[95] La pionieristica suggestione di Borghesi è ora generalmente accolta per il riferimento a Tac. *Ann*. I, 7, ma maggiori dubbi sono palesati più di recente per Tac. *Ann*. XI, 31 da Faoro, *I prefetti*, 22. Cfr. anche Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona*, nr. 1.

[96] Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 142. L'iscrizione che ricorda questo *ἔπαρχος* si data al 32 a.C., prima dunque dell'istituzione della provincia d'Egitto e dell'incarico prefettizio, avvenuta nel 30 (cfr. Aug. *R.G.* 27, 1; Suet. *Aug*. 18, 2).

[97] *IGR* I 1300 = *OGIS* I 196 = *I.Philae* 63 = *SB* V 8427.

[98] Hamilton, *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey*, 52.

London 1820 p. 591 n. 57, ma ho gran sospetto che ne sia corrotto il cognome.

23. *Epaphroditus*[99] liberto di Cesare e governatore dell'Egitto è ricordato in un'iscrizione[100] di un piccol tempio di Belet-Kebye[101] edita nella rivista Enciclopedica di Febbraio 1824 pag. 458. È celebre un liberto[102] di Nerone con questo nome, ma parmi che il nostro debba essere di un'età inferiore perché nella stessa lapide si ammira un M. Ulpius Chresimus, e il nome Ulpio non cominciò a divenir comune se non dopo la promozione di Traiano all'impero.

[2v]

24. Un *Lucius*[103] praefectus Aegypti è ricordato nel nilometro[104] dell'isola d'Elefantine riportato nella Descrizione dell'Egitto Antiquités-Memoires[105] T. 1. pag. 11, ma per la frattura del marmo si sono perduti i nomi susseguenti. In questa iscrizione tuttavia si è salvato il nome di un Antonino.

25. *M. Petronius Honoratus*[106]. Costui proviene da una bella lapide edita dal Gudio[107] p. 135. 6, e dal Reinesio[108] cl. VI n. 126, che la guastò con pochi felici supplementi. Io ve la restituirò nell'antica frattura,

[99] Il prefetto relativo all'iscrizione citata da Borghesi non è *Epaphroditus*, bensì *Q. Rammius Martialis* (*PIR*² R 20 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 41), attivo sotto Adriano. Il fraintendimento fu generato dalla mancanza di un'edizione accurata dell'iscrizione, che era nota al tempo solo «per una infelice traduzione francese» (Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 107).

[100] *IGR* I 1256 = *SB* V 8320 = *SEG* XIII 601.

[101] Oggi Gebel Dokhan.

[102] *PIR*² E 69.

[103] Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 142. Forse da identificare con *L. Munatius Felix* (Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 49), ma non si possono escludere altre soluzioni, ad esempio *L. Valerius Proculus* (*PIR*² V 178) e *L. Volusius Maecianus* (*PIR*² V 973), come avvertiva già A. Stein, *Praefecti Aegypti*, in *Hermes* 32 (1897), 665 (cfr. anche Bureth, *Le préfet*, 486).

[104] *IGR* I 1290 = *SB* V 8392 = Bernard, *De Thèbes*, nr. 251.

[105] *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, Antiquités, Memoires*, vol. I, Paris 1809.

[106] *PIR*² P 281 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 48 = Caldelli, *I prefetti dell'annona*, nr. 19. Cfr. Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 123.

[107] M. Gude, *Antiquae inscriptiones quum Graecae, tum Latinae, olim a Marquardo Gudio collectae*, Leouardiae 1731.

[108] T. Reines, *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquarum cum primis Romae veteris*, Lipsiae 1682, che pubblicava però l'iscrizione al nr. 123.

secondo che trovasi nel codice Vaticano del Manuzio[109] 6035 pag. 49, e vi darò poi per garante del mio ristauro l'altra lapide[110] che al medesimo fu eretta un poco prima di questa, e che si trova nel Muratori p. 1088. 4

M. PETRONIO. M. F.

QVIR. HONORATO

PRAEF. COH. I. RAET*orum*

TRIB. MIL. LEG. I. MINER*viae*

P. F. PRAEF. ALAE. AVG. II. T*hrac*

PROC. MONETAE. PROC. XX. H*ered*

PROC. PROV. BELG. ET. DVARum

GERMANIAR. PROC. A. RATIO*ni*bus

AVG. PRAEF. ANNONAE. PRAEF

AEGYPTI. PONTIF. MINOR*i*

NEGOTIATORES. OLE*arii*

EX. BAETICA. PATRON*o*

CURATORIBV*s*

CASSIO. FAVST. . . .

CAECILIO. FLO. . . .[111]

Il Reinesio l'integrò che questi era il Petronio[112] Prefetto di Egitto sotto Augusto, ma è facile d'accorgersi quanto egli sia fuori di strada, insegnandoci Dione l. 55 cap. 24 che Domiziano *legionem primam Minerviam instituit* in Germania inferiore, onde questa lapide è posteriore evidentemente a tal epoca. Piuttosto io aveva pensato a quel ΜΗΟΥΙΟΥ ΟΝΩΡ[113]. . . . prefetto sotto Alessandro Severo ricordato

[109] L'esistenza del testo epigrafico in Vat. Lat. 6035, f. 49r è segnalata nell'*addendum* di *CIL* VI 31834 (mancava infatti in *CIL* VI 1625b) proprio sulla base della serie di Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 25, ma, come si può intuire da questo passaggio della lettera, si tratta di un'informazione che risaliva già alle ricerche di Borghesi.

[110] *CIL* VI 1625a = 31834a = EDR111434.

[111] *CIL* VI 1625b = 31834 = EDR111437.

[112] *PIR*² P 270 = Faoro, *I prefetti*, nr. 3.

[113] *PIR*² M 576 = Bastianini, *Lista dei prefetti*, 310–311; G. Bastianini, *Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30 al 299: Aggiunte e correzioni*, in *ZPE* 38 (1980), 87.

nella lapide[114] d'Antinoes, ma poiché vedo dal Letronne Recherches[115] p. 280 che le molte lacune avutesene colpirono nella lezione MHOYIOY ne ho desistito, ed ho creduto di lasciarlo fra gli incerti, finché non appaia luce migliore[116].

3. Borghesi, Labus e i prefetti d'Egitto

L'interesse di Borghesi per i prefetti d'Egitto, risalente almeno agli inizi degli anni Venti del XIX secolo[117], era principalmente legato alle loro possibilità di raggiungere la prefettura del pretorio[118], ma si dileguò progressivamente man mano che le sue energie furono assorbite dalle ricerche prosopografiche sui personaggi di rango consolare. Il lavoro di schedatura fu comunque condotto, com'era abitudine di Borghesi, con attenzione e meticolosità e, come si può evincere da queste carte inedite, egli trasmise al suo corrispondente i profili di almeno 25 prefetti di questa provincia[119]. Essi, sulla base di quanto è lecito intuire dalle stesse parole

[114] *IGR* I 1143 = *SB* V 8312 = Pfeiffer, *Griechische und Lateinische Inschriften*, nr. 77.

[115] Cfr. *CIG* III 4705.

[116] La nuova luce attesa da Borghesi arrivò solo agli inizi del '900, quando, grazie ad *AE* 1904, 218, fu possibile assegnare con precisione la prefettura d'Egitto di *M. Petronius Honoratus* al 147 d.C. L'assunzione dell'incarico prefettizio dovette, però, verificarsi già un anno prima, nella seconda metà del 146 (cfr. Faoro, *I prefetti*, 103).

[117] Gli studi di Borghesi sui prefetti d'Egitto emergono già da una lettera a Basilio Amati del 23 gennaio 1821 (*Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VI, 190–191), in cui parla di una propria serie. Cfr. anche l'epistola a Kellermann del 13 novembre 1834 (*Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VII, 57–58).

[118] Le schede manoscritte di Borghesi sui prefetti del pretorio, rimaste allo stadio embrionale, furono poi organizzate per la pubblicazione dalla commissione francese delle *Oeuvres complètes*, che le riservò al tomo X edito a Parigi nel 1897. In questo catalogo prosopografico Borghesi, nell'illustrare le varie tappe della carriera dei prefetti del pretorio, richiamava in più occasioni le proprie schede sui prefetti d'Egitto (cfr. ad esempio *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. X, 45; 49; 59; 105).

[119] Ma altri ancora è presumibile siano stati condivisi nel corso della loro fitta corrispondenza insieme ad ulteriore documentazione (cfr. in proposito *infra* nota 120). Da Desjardins, *Publication des Oeuvres complètes*, 54 sappiamo essere conservate a Parigi (ora presso la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Ms. 3451–3458), 95 lettere di Borghesi a Labus, di cui solo una parte (36 esemplari) fu edita nella serie delle *Oeuvres complètes de Bartolomeo Borghesi* (vd. in particolare gli indici del vol. VIII, 624–625 per la distribuzione delle lettere). Dal *Catalogo degli autografi Manzoni-Borghesi*, 75, nr. 697 risultano inoltre «117 lettere al Borghesi con 30 minute di risposta, delle quali 19 sono inedite», andate tuttavia disperse in una vendita all'asta del 1894. Grazie alla generosa disponibilità dell'avvocato Alessandro Bertoli e del dott. Carlo Bazzani è stato poi possibile verificare l'assenza (confermata anche per il "Fondo Labus" del Seminario Vescovile di Mantova, per cui vd. Morelli, *I manoscritti*

dell'erudito savignanese («Voi mi chiedete che io vi comunichi ciò che avessi potuto raccogliere nelle mie schede, onde ampliare la serie dei prefetti dell'Egitto che mi avete trascritta [...] Si dà la combinazione che alcuno dei prefetti da voi citatimi non mi è sconosciuto [...] Ora dunque venendo al nostro proposito, eccovi gli altri prefetti ch'io conosco»), non comparivano nel primo elenco mostratogli da Labus, che grazie a queste utili indicazioni ebbe così modo di accrescere la propria serie (che alla fine conterà 56 *praefecti*). A giudicare poi dal tenore e dall'impostazione metodologica di questa raccolta prosopografica di Borghesi, il termine "schede" potrebbe risultare riduttivo, se venisse inteso solo con riferimento a una semplice raccolta di nomi e fonti. Il materiale collazionato si rivela infatti ricco di spunti interpretativi, dei quali Labus beneficiò ampiamente non solo per aggiornare e integrare la propria lista, con i dati essenziali relativi a onomastica, fonti (epigrafiche e letterarie) e altra bibliografia utile, ma anche per tutta una serie di proposte d'identificazione dei prefetti, successione cronologica dei funzionari e varie argomentazioni, alcune delle quali furono da lui riprese pressoché alla lettera. Oltre a ciò, i dati raccolti comprendevano la trascrizione completa di alcuni documenti epigrafici connessi ai prefetti, alle loro famiglie o ai loro servi, iscrizioni che Borghesi si era impegnato a "restaurare" (si vedano ad esempio i nrr. 7, 17 e 25 della sua lista) a favore di Labus senza tralasciare lo spoglio di codici manoscritti[120], come i Vaticani Latini 5232 e 6035, che avrebbero potuto fornire lezioni migliori.

Senza dilungarsi, come già anticipato, sul divario fra il dibattito ottocentesco e quello attuale, si cercherà ora invece di evidenziare più nello specifico, attraverso alcuni rapidi confronti, il debito scientifico e metodologico che Labus nutrì nei confronti delle indagini di Borghesi sui prefetti d'Egitto. Tale legame è ravvisabile in diversi punti della raccolta labusiana, ma, per ragioni di spazio, saranno qui osservati solo alcuni casi esemplari, lasciando al lettore la facoltà di individuarne eventualmente

bresciani, 239–270) dell'originale della minuta qui trascritta e di altri scambi epistolari sui prefetti d'Egitto all'interno di quello che rimane dell'archivio privato di Labus, oggi custodito a Brescia (per cui vd. Bertoli, Bazzani, *Il dotto archeologo*, 339–429). Lo spoglio qui effettuato ha però consentito di rintracciare un'altra lettera di Borghesi a Labus del 30 gennaio 1848 e una copia di risposta dello studioso bresciano dell'8 dicembre 1843, entrambe inedite, su cui ci si propone di tornare in altra sede.

[120] Evidentemente da altra lettera di Borghesi, Labus dichiarava inoltre di aver ricevuto la trascrizione di *CIL* VI 1640 = 41185 = EDR093451 = HD030700, ricavata dal codice Vat. Lat. 6039 f. 243r: «Ne debbo l'apografo al comune amico Borghesi, il cui nome suona sempre soavissimo sul mio labbro, amandolo io e stimandolo assai, non meno per il suo raro sapere, che per la sua esimia bontà» (Labus, *Di un'epigrafe*, 143).

altri attraverso i riferimenti alla serie di Labus indicati nelle note al paragrafo precedente.

Per quanto riguarda il prefetto *C. Tettius Africanus* (nr. 7 della lista borghesiana), ad esempio, sebbene l'onomastica all'epoca fosse erroneamente letta *C. Laelius Africanus*, la trattazione di Labus (pp. 92–94) per ricostruire la *gens* di appartenenza del personaggio ricalcava fedelmente i ragionamenti, le fonti e la bibliografia trasmesse da Borghesi, nonché i medesimi accostamenti epigrafici. Si confrontino poi, a proposito di *C. Septimius Vegetus* (lista nr. 8), l'affermazione di Labus «se il comandante della flotta è Claudio Clemente; di certo Settimio Vegeto è il Prefetto, cioè il Governatore supremo della provincia» (p. 94) e l'asserzione di Borghesi «se Claudio Clemente è il comandante della flotta, l'altro non può essere che il preside della provincia», che testimoniano una stretta connessione anche per quanto riguarda lo stile espositivo, riscontrabile ancora nel giudizio espresso sulla versione di *CIL* VI 1625b data da Reines a proposito del prefetto *M. Petronius Honoratus* (lista nr. 25). Labus, infatti, nel dichiarare che Reines, alle corruttele risalenti a Pirro Ligorio, «altri guasti vi aggiunse co' suoi supplementi infelici» (p. 123), non faceva che riprendere parimenti la valutazione che Borghesi esponeva con la frase «che la guastò con pochi felici supplementi».

Labus faceva dunque proprie non solo le parole di Borghesi, che talvolta ripeteva senza variazioni o con leggere modifiche, ma anche le stesse integrazioni testuali proposte dal suo corrispondente. Con l'intento di emendare il testo di *CIL* VI 1625b, l'epigrafista bresciano così scriveva: «frattanto basti al nostr'uopo il raffrontarla coll'anzidetta dataci dal Reinesio, la quale per chiarire se i pochissimi supplementi che vi ho aggiunti possano essere più sicuri voglio qui riportare come sta nel codice Vaticano del Manuzio, n. 6035» (pp. 124–125). Ma la trascrizione che ne seguiva, se si eccettuano le ultime due righe (dove Borghesi si era dimostrato più prudente, non integrando la frattura FAVST[- - -] e FLO[- - -] con FAVST*o* e FLO[RO][121], come suggeriva Labus), così come la conoscenza della lezione contenuta nel codice vaticano, erano desunti ancora una volta dalle carte di Borghesi. Identico percorso seguiva pure l'iscrizione di *M. Bassaeus Rufus* (lista nr. 17) riedita da Labus (p. 118), il quale recuperava quasi pedissequamente la lettura[122] migliorata da

[121] La lezione oggi accolta prevede, alle ultime due linee, *Cassi<u>o</u> <u>Fausto</u>* / *Caec<u>ilio</u> <u>Ho</u>*[*spitale*] (vd. *CIL* VI p. 4722 ad 1625b).

[122] Qualche anno più tardi, nel 1834, Borghesi trasmise l'iscrizione anche a Kellermann (vd. *infra* nota 123), che stava preparando il suo lavoro sui vigili (O. C. Kellermann, *Vigilum Romanorum latercula duo Coelimontana*, Roma 1835). Essa compare inoltre, con alcune differenti soluzioni (come *in tem/plo Martis Ultoris*, proposta dubitativamente per l'ultima linea già nella lettera a Kellermann), nei fogli

Borghesi, rispetto all'edizione gruteriana, attraverso l'ausilio del codice Vat. Lat. 5253. Anche qui si nota un minimo, ma infelice[123], dissenso di Labus, che avvalendosi degli apografi di Celso Cittadini preferiva ad esempio *amicto* ad *amictu* alla linea 17 e *censuere* a *censuit* all'ultima linea.

Questi due episodi testimoniano però, almeno in parte, come Labus, pur dipendendo in larga misura dall'impianto complessivo disegnato da Borghesi, approdasse anche a soluzioni personali, non rinunciando ad aggiungere i frutti delle proprie ricerche o a esprimere la propria opinione. Nel caso di *L. Iulius Vestinus* (lista nr. 5), ad esempio, Labus era incline a identificare il prefetto con il figlio del *Vestinus* citato nella tavola di Lione, mentre Borghesi palesava maggiori sospetti, non sapendo decidere se costui fosse il prefetto stesso o piuttosto suo padre. Ad ogni modo, l'ipotesi che un servo di questo prefetto fosse menzionato in *CIL* VI 9520 era ancora una volta ricavata, senza riserve, a partire dalle schede di Borghesi e ripresentata da Labus con la frase «un servo librario di lui ravviso in Nicone di questa lapide del Fabretti» (p. 82).

I pochi casi qui selezionati e brevemente illustrati possono essere ritenuti già sufficienti per dichiarare che, senza le preziose informazioni comunicate da Borghesi[124], Labus avrebbe prodotto un'opera senza dubbio meno completa e aggiornata. Il debito[125] nei confronti dello studioso savignanese, sia sul piano delle conoscenze, sia su quello argomentativo ed espositivo, fu dunque consistente e andò oltre la semplice

preparatori per la serie sui prefetti del pretorio lasciata incompiuta da Borghesi (*Oeuvres complètes*, vol. X, 60).

[123] Come si era accorto già lo stesso Borghesi nella lettera del 13 novembre 1834 inviata a Kellermann, dove si legge: «Molto bene fu data questa lapide dal Labus, traendola dal paragone della stampa del Grutero, degli apografi di Celso Cittadini e della copia che io gli somministrai ricavata da un codice Vaticano. Meglio però avrebbe fatto se si fosse fidato interamente di quel codice, ove mi sembra trascritta con tutta esattezza, quantunque non neghi che il secondo pezzo possa essere stato veduto dal Fulvio quando era più intero» (*Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VII, 66).

[124] L'episodio conferma ulteriormente quanto già osservato con lucidità da Augusto Campana, che rimarcava «la generosità spontanea e l'assoluto disinteresse con cui il Borghesi metteva a disposizione dei suoi corrispondenti, non solo vecchi amici, ma talvolta semplici ignoti, i tesori della sua dottrina e della sua capacità eccezionale di cogliere subito il centro dell'interesse, la sostanza dell'apporto scientifico di ogni piccola o grande scoperta, e anche quando le indagini e i risultati che le risposte comportavano gli richiedevano giorni e giorni di lavoro e andavano molto al di là della natura dei quesiti che gli venivano rivolti. Egli sembra essere stato del tutto indifferente a sollecitazioni di vanità o di soddisfazione personale: la sola cosa che veramente gli stesse a cuore era il progredire delle conoscenze e della ricerca scientifica come patrimonio comune» (Campana, *Borghesi*, 631).

[125] Cfr. *supra* nota 9.

consultazione di schede informative. Questo aspetto, tuttavia, non deve indurre a credere che l'opera di Labus sia stata solo una mera riproposizione delle carte borghesiane, perché, come si è in parte già osservato, egli rielaborò in chiave personale alcuni passaggi, ampliandoli altresì attraverso proprie considerazioni di carattere prosopografico e cronologico. Ciò è ben visibile, fra gli altri casi, per il prefetto *L. Munatius Felix* (lista nr. 15), per il quale Labus (pp. 114–115) estendeva il succinto resoconto di Borghesi (limitato a fonti, cronologia e bibliografia) e correggeva anche la svista nella citazione del passo di S. Giustino, visto che il prefetto è registrato nella prima Apologia e non nella seconda, o ancora per la cronologia di *M. Petronius Honoratus*, collocato da Labus negli ultimi anni del principato di Marco Aurelio (p. 123).

In ogni caso, la possibilità di vagliare ora più concretamente l'importante contributo offerto da Borghesi per la realizzazione di questa prima raccolta prosopografica fornisce nuovi validi elementi per rivedere e ridimensionare le considerazioni di Cantarelli e corroborare, al contrario, le affermazioni di Mommsen e soprattutto di de Ricci, il quale per primo aveva indicato apertamente in Borghesi l'autore della prima serie dei prefetti d'Egitto su basi scientifiche. Un giudizio sul valore pionieristico delle ricerche di Borghesi che, sulla base di quanto si è cercato di illustrare e senza per questo rinnegare l'apporto personale di Labus, credo possa essere oggi più consapevolmente riconosciuto e condiviso.

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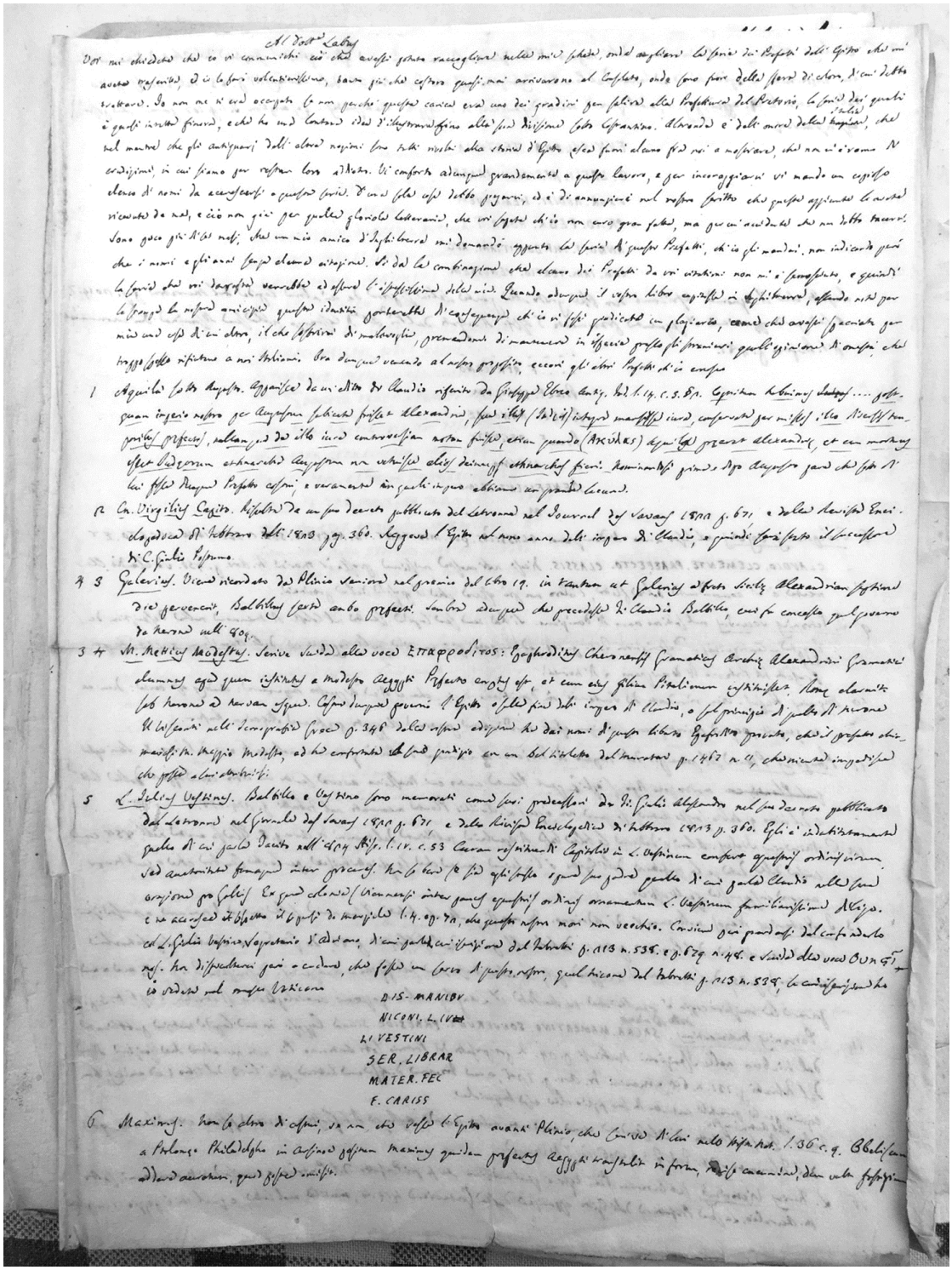

Fig. 1. Archivio privato, lettera di Bartolomeo Borghesi a Giovanni Labus, f. 1r.

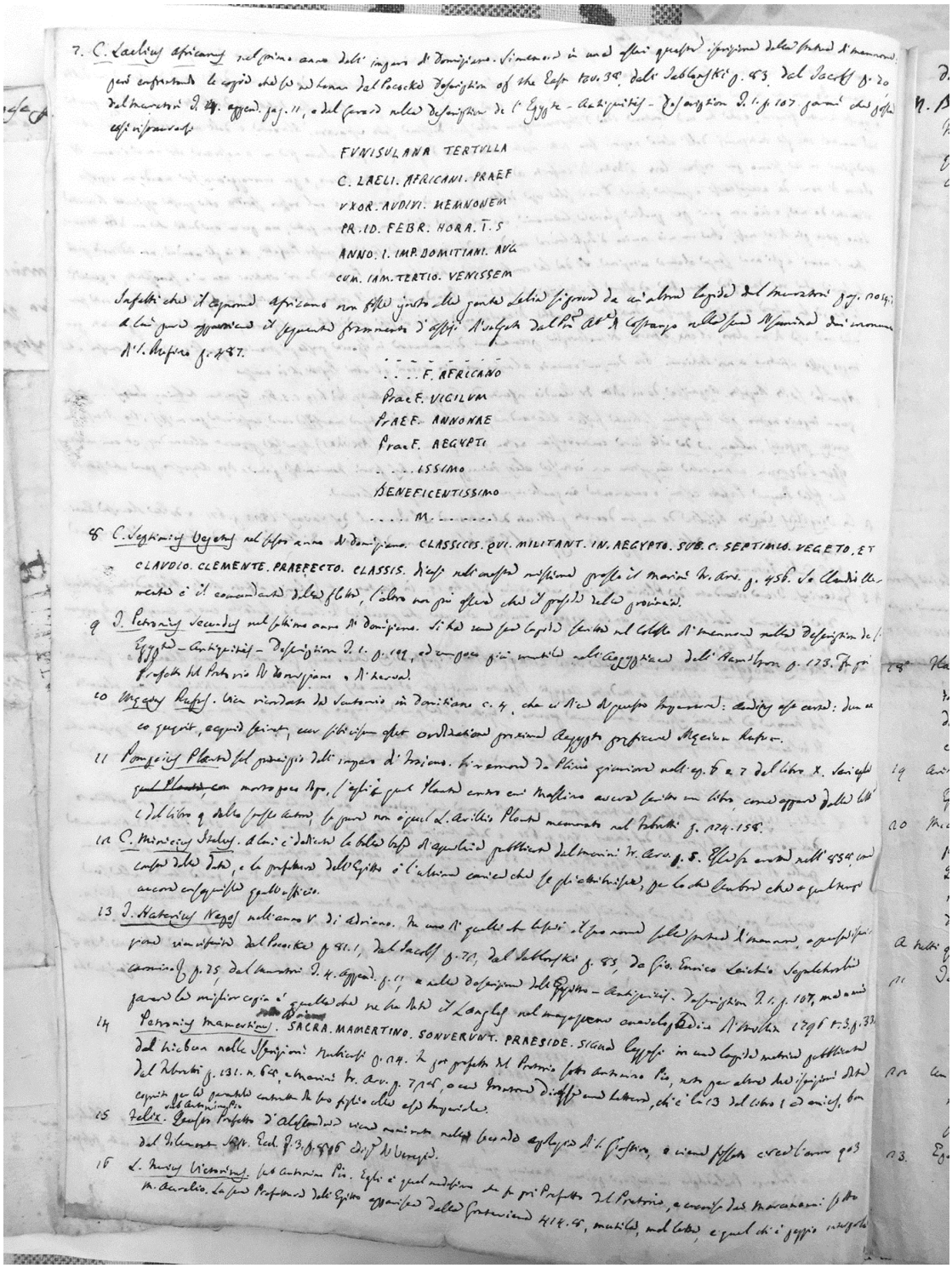

Fig. 2. Archivio privato, lettera di Bartolomeo Borghesi a Giovanni Labus, f. 1v.

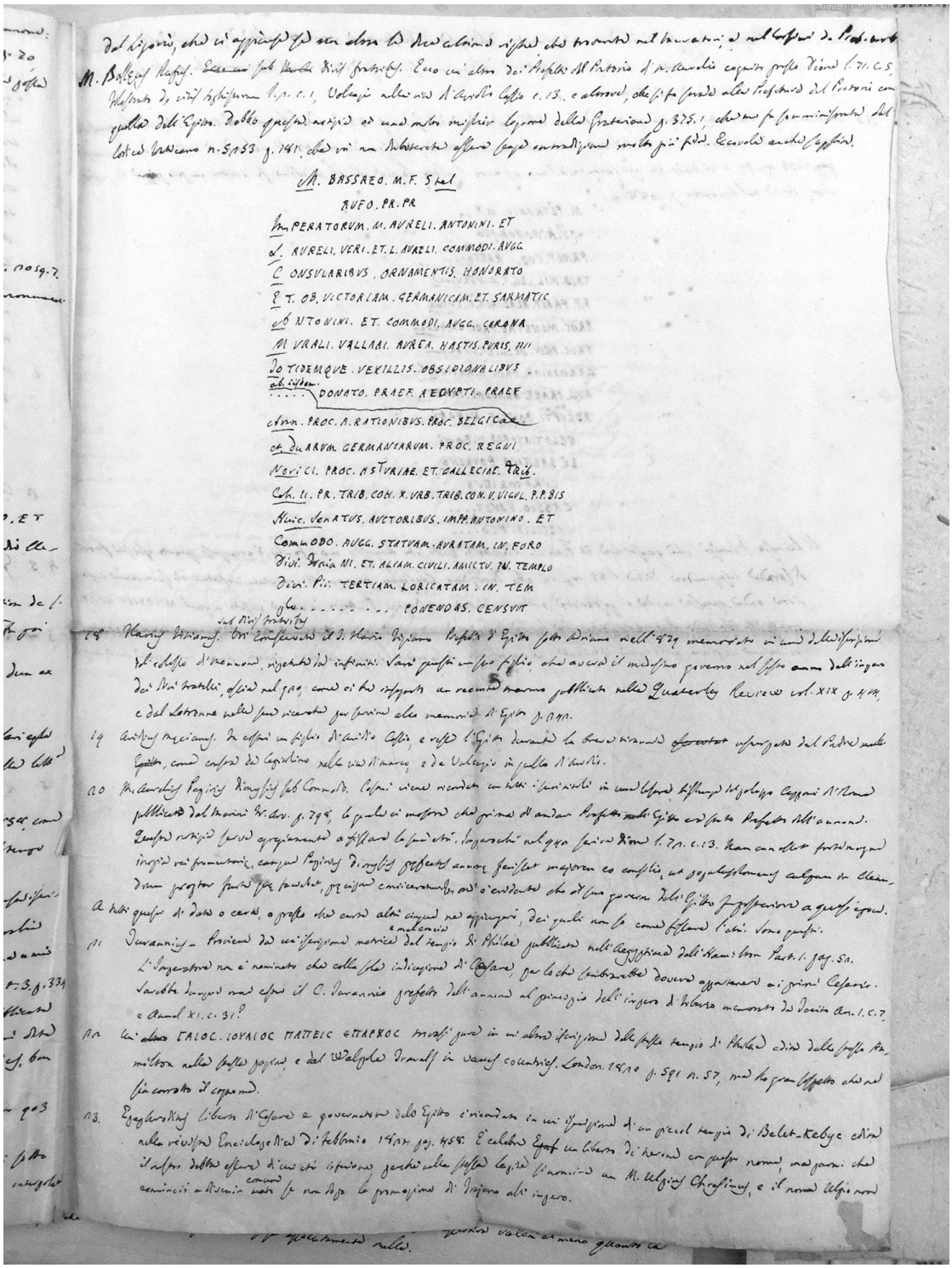

Fig. 3. Archivio privato, lettera di Bartolomeo Borghesi a Giovanni Labus, f. 2r.

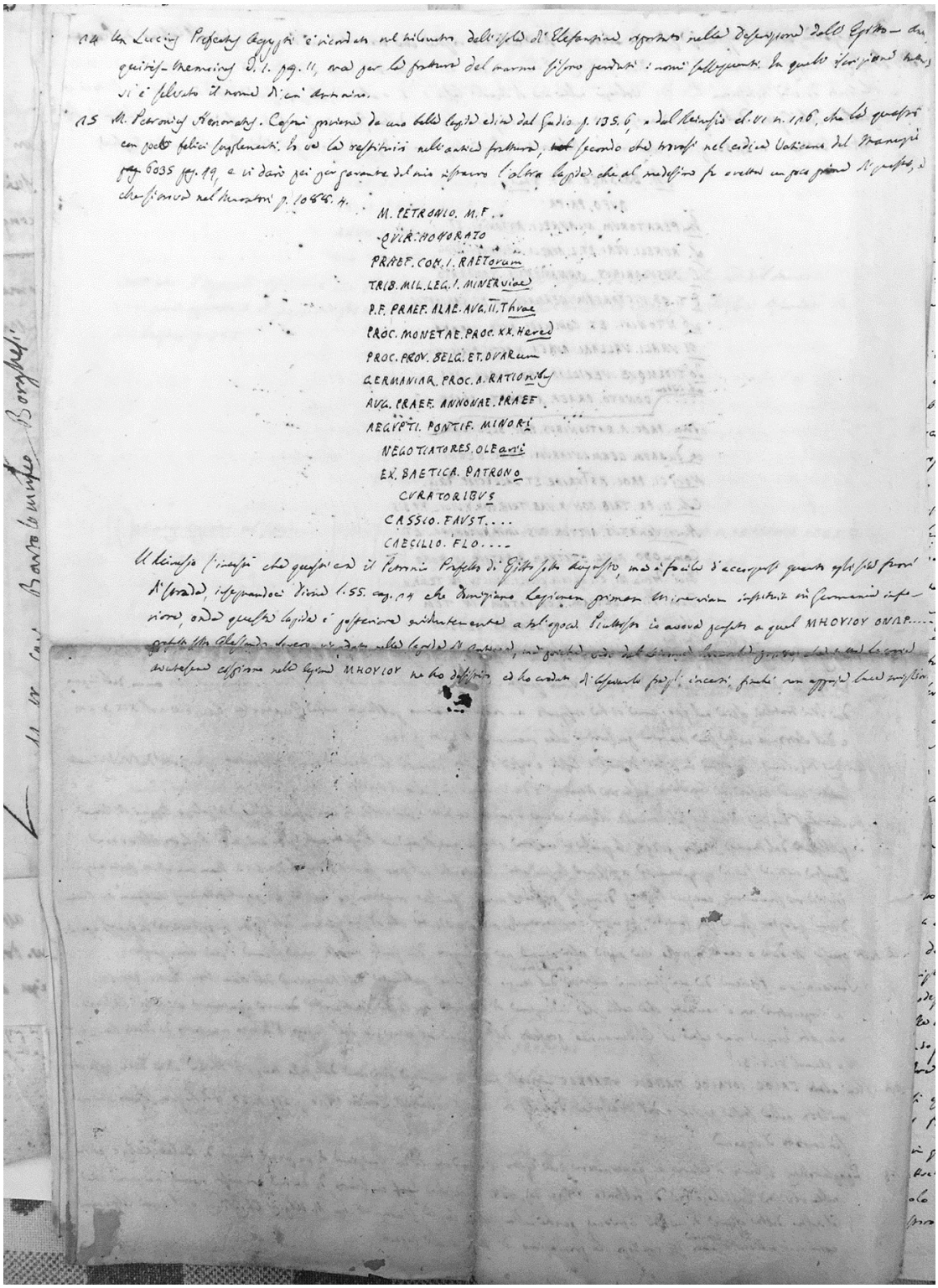

Fig. 4. Archivio privato, lettera di Bartolomeo Borghesi a Giovanni Labus, f. 2v.

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I *MARGINALIA* DELL'INCUNABOLO MARCIANO 507 DELLA *MISCELLANEORUM CENTURIA PRIMA* DI ANGELO POLIZIANO*

— ALBERTO LONGHI —

ABSTRACT

Quando Angelo Poliziano consegnò alle stampe la sua Miscellaneorum centuria prima *(1489), era ben consapevole che si trattava di un'edizione 'incompleta', contenente numerosi errori di stampa e omissioni nei testi greci. Negli anni successivi il Poliziano stesso corresse e modificò il testo a margine di alcune copie del libro; anche dopo la sua morte amici e allievi seguirono l'esempio del loro mentore e continuarono ad annotare l'*editio princeps*, pur avendo a disposizione l'edizione di Aldo Manuzio (1498), che fornisce un testo 'migliore', redatto secondo le indicazioni dello stesso Poliziano. Scopo del presente contributo è esaminare e fornire l'edizione dei* marginalia *che tre mani, nel corso dei primi tre decenni del Cinquecento, scrissero ai margini dell'esemplare dell'incunabolo oggi conservato presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia con segnatura Inc. 507.*

When Angelo Poliziano published his Miscellaneorum centuria prima *(1489), he was aware that it was an imperfect edition, and that the Greek texts contained numerous typos and omissions. Over the years, Poliziano himself corrected and amended it on the margins of some copies; after his death, his friends and pupils continued that revision work, and went on annotating the* editio princeps*, even though they had access to Manutius' edition (1498), which offered a 'better' text and implemented the instructions of Poliziano himself. The purpose of this paper is to analyse and edit the* marginalia *which three hands, over the first three decades of the 16th century, wrote on the margins of the copy now preserved at the Marciana Library in Venice (shelf mark Inc. 507).*

KEYWORDS

Angelo Poliziano, Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, Marginalia, Renaissance Philology, Italian Literature, Incunabulum, Marciana Library, Venice*

* Ringrazio sentitamente gli anonimi revisori per i preziosissimi consigli datimi e la prof.ssa Mirella Ferrari per i suggerimenti paleografici. È mio desiderio, inoltre, dedicare il contributo alla memoria del prof. Attilio Bettinzoli, mio correlatore triennale nel 2014 e maestro di studi polizianei, prematuramente scomparso nel maggio 2021 dopo una lunga malattia: se, durante un nostro colloquio, egli non mi avesse suggerito quasi per caso lo studio dell'incunabolo marciano, questo contributo non avrebbe mai visto la luce.

Introduzione

A chiunque abbia familiarità con la trasmissione delle opere di Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) è ben noto che l'edizione principe dei primi *Miscellanea*[1], edita a Firenze il 19 settembre 1489 presso la tipografia di Antonio Miscomini[2], fu oggetto di studio e correzioni successive da parte sia dell'autore sia di altri umanisti[3]. Il censimento di questi incunaboli, già avviato da più di trent'anni, sta dimostrando che le correzioni marginali e interlineari «vanno crescendo progressivamente nel tempo, segno evidente che venivano apposte di volta in volta in forma sempre più completa sugli esemplari che ancora non avevano lasciato la tipografia o la casa del Poliziano»[4].

Tale insieme di annotazioni va ben oltre il Poliziano e la cerchia dei suoi *familiares*[5]. Di fatto, benché dopo il 1498 fosse possibile leggere una redazione migliore dei *Miscellanea* nella stampa aldina[6], alcuni eruditi continuarono a utilizzare come 'copia di studio' l'edizione principe.

È il caso dell'Inc. 507 conservato presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, annotato da più mani. Come si vedrà nelle righe successive, l'incunabolo fu postillato a più riprese presumibilmente a partire dal 1500 (*terminus post quem* desumibile da una citazione poetica al f. D 1v[7]) per circa un trentennio, quando, il 26 maggio 1530, esso fu acquistato al prezzo di tre giulii (monete d'argento estensi[8]) da Prospero Zinelli (*Prosper Zinelleus presbyter Regiensis*). Tale *terminus ante quem* è ricavabile dal f. II (Tav. 1), dove si possono leggere, sia l'atto d'acquisto sia (in forma di distico elegiaco) la nota di possesso.

[1] *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, impressit ex archetypo Antonius Miscominus Florentiae 1489. Nr. ISTC ip00890000 (https://data.cerl.org/istc/ip00890000) [IGI 7959].

[2] Cfr. P. Avigliano, *Miscomini, Antonio*, «DBI» 75, 2011, pp. 28–31.

[3] Per uno sguardo sinottico a questa 'tradizione' umanistica, vd. V. Fera, *Il dibattito umanistico sui* Miscellanea, in V. Fera – M. Martelli (curr.), *Agnolo Poliziano poeta scrittore filologo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Montepulciano, 3–6 novembre 1994)*, Firenze 1998, pp. 333–364. Nel repertorio online MEI vengono segnalate dodici copie postillate di questa edizione (cfr. https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search?query=data.hostItemId:ip00890000).

[4] Fera, *Il dibattito umanistico*, cit., p. 343.

[5] Uso il termine proprio facendo riferimento al colofone dell'edizione del Miscomini (f. P 3v): *Familiares quidam Politiani recognovere*.

[6] *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani et alia quaedam lectu digna* ..., Venetiis apud Aldum Manutium Romanum 1498.

[7] Vd. sotto la sezione II.

[8] Cfr., e. g., F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La zecca di Reggio nell'Emilia*, Milano 1894, pp. 92–95 e *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, vol. IX, Bologna 1971, pp. 680–681.

Ai margini del testo si possono distinguere tre mani postillatrici: la prima (M1; Tavv. 2.1–2) e la seconda (M2; Tavv. 3.1–2) sono corsive umanistiche molto simili, di modulo largo, che si differenziano fra loro per l'uso di inchiostri diversi (più chiaro M1, più scuro M2) e per l'angolo d'inclinazione (leggermente inclinato a destra M1, dritto M2); la terza mano (M3; Tavv. 4.1–2), infine, presenta un modulo più piccolo e posato, che sembra imitare ora le forme del testo a stampa, ora la minuscola umanistica 'tradizionale'. A causa dell'estrema similarità di M1 e M2 (Tavv. 5.1–2), si potrebbe però supporre che esse siano in realtà la medesima mano che ha postillato la stampa in due momenti diversi; tuttavia, non ritengo opportuno avanzare ulteriori ipotesi di distinzione, né di attribuzione, in quanto la profonda similarità delle mani dei dotti di fine Quattrocento e inizio Cinquecento non potrebbe consentire una, per così dire, "*reductio ad unum studiosum*". Di fatto, per M1 e M3 non ritengo opportuno avanzare ipotesi e preferisco limitarmi a indicare un arco temporale di quarantun anni (tra l'uscita della stampa e l'acquisto da parte del prete reggiano), mentre per M2 si può posporre il *post quem* al 1500 con relativa certezza in virtù della suddetta citazione al f. D 1^{v}. Pur asserendolo con la dovuta cautela, credo che chi volesse approfondire lo studio su questi tre postillatori dovrebbe indagare i loro rapporti con la cerchia dei *familiares* del Poliziano: a titolo puramente esemplificativo, le postille marciane non sono così differenti tipologicamente da quelle ai margini della copia dell'edizione bolognese (1477) delle *Ad Familiares* ciceroniane, oggi conservata a Heidelberg con segnatura D 7620 qt. Inc.[9], annotata da Agostino Vespucci, cugino del più celebre Amerigo e allievo del Poliziano stesso[10].

Nello studiare queste postille è necessario che esse siano categorizzate secondo diversi filoni: la quantità e la qualità delle note, infatti, non consentono un'analisi univoca, ma si prestano a diverse interpretazioni, ovvero a fili conduttori che dovranno poi essere tessuti assieme. Nello specifico, ci si trova di fronte a quattro categorie di note che, per motivi di semplificazione, racchiuderei sotto le seguenti denominazioni:

I. estratti;
II. volgarismi;
III. citazioni;
IV. emendazioni.

[9] Nr. ISTC ic00517400 (https://data.cerl.org/istc/ic00517400) [GW 6821].

[10] Su Agostino Vespucci e sulle sue annotazioni nell'incunabolo di Heidelberg, vd. M. Versiero, *L'epistolario ciceroniano postillato da Agostino Vespucci: Leonardo a Firenze, tra Poliziano e Machiavelli*, in L. Secchi Tarugi (cur.), *Pio II nell'epistolografia del Rinascimento. Atti del XXV Convegno Internazionale (Chianciano Terme – Pienza, 18–20 luglio 2013)*, Firenze 2015, pp. 339–350.

I.

Con la denominazione «estratti» intendo la tradizione umanistica di annotare a margine alcuni termini notevoli e degni di attenzione per il postillatore; in termini moderni, tale pratica può essere paragonata alla sottolineatura con evidenziatore. Alcuni esempi:

- il proverbio *Conscientia mille testes* (f. A 1) viene riportato a margine da M1 in quanto citazione che può suscitare l'interesse del lettore per comprendere il valore contestualizzato nell'opera polizianea[11];
- la *Ioannis Pici laus* (f. A 5^{v}) non è citazione vera e propria, perché nel testo (per l'esattezza, nel finale della *Praefatio*) il Poliziano esprime un apprezzamento per l'amico Pico e, probabilmente per questo motivo, M3 ritenne utile segnalare l'elogio;
- f. B 7^{v}: la frase polizianea (dal cap. 1) *quando etiam Didymus sex libros adversus eundem composuit Sillographos*, viene resa a margine con *Didymus sex libros adversus Ciceronem scripsit: Sillographos*. Si tratta di una semplice nota esplicativa, che non implica alcuna volontà di modifica del testo e serve al lettore per ricordare l'esistenza di un'opera scritta contro Cicerone.
- f. L 3: a margine M2 annota il nome di Manilio Rallo[12], ricordato dal Poliziano nel cap. 73 per avergli fatto leggere un *fragmentum sane quam vetustum* di Festo, traendo così ispirazione per una congettura al testo di Catullo (carme 17, v. 19).

Vi sono poi numerose postille che evidenziano alcune parole inusitate: tra queste, *Girafa* (f. B 8^{v}), *Durateum* (f. C 2), *Hecalesion* (f. E 4^{v}), *melanpodion* (f. H 4) e così dicendo.

[11] Molto probabilmente il Poliziano trasse il proverbio da Quint. *inst*. V, 11, 41 (cfr. M. Winterbottom [ed.], *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, vol. I, Oxonii 1970, p. 288); a mio parere, M1 ritenne questa citazione degna di nota, avendone letto l'interpretazione fornita da Erasmo nell'*Adagio* 991 (cfr. E. Lelli [cur.], Erasmo da Rotterdam, *Adagi*, Milano 2013, pp. 904–905, ma vd. anche *Adagio* 3040, pp. 2667–2668).

[12] Cfr. M. Manoussacas, *Cabacio Rallo, Manilio*, «DBI» 15, 1972, pp. 669–671 e H. Lamers, *Manilio Cabacio Rallo*, in *Repertorium Pomponianum* (https://repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/rallo.htm).

II.

Con la categoria dei «volgarismi» alludo alla presenza di note in idioma volgare, il cui uso a margine non costituisce certamente una novità, soprattutto se si considerano i costanti e necessari rimandi analogici ai 'contemporanei' di cui gli studiosi del tardo Quattrocento e del Cinquecento si servivano[13].

Nell'incunabolo marciano la presenza del volgare si limita soltanto a due postille.

Nel primo caso, al già citato f. A 5^{v} compare *A situ, idest a corruptione, ex otio et pigritia, scilicet dalla muffa*; M3 qui trascrive le prime due parole dal testo polizianeo, un'esortazione a Lorenzo de' Medici (*perge a situ recipere rem latinam*), poi non aggiunge solo una spiegazione in latino di come debba essere inteso il termine *situs* nel contesto, ma ne fornisce anche una possibile resa in idioma volgare.

L'altra nota in volgare (f. D 1^{v}) riguarda il cap. 11, *de Venere dea rosas purpureas colligente*. Al di là della questione sulle traduzioni polizianee dal greco[14], si può notare che ad un certo punto il Poliziano cita il v. 183 della sua *Rusticus*[15], premettendo *Attigimus ipsi quoque fabellam hanc in Rustico nostra versiculo illo*; proprio a fianco di questa sezione di testo M2 annota:

> Pamphilus etiam loquens ex rosa hanc fabulam attigit sic inquens:
> Tu sei proprio quel fiore che Cytharea
> tinse col sangue suo quando l'amante
> volse campare da morte acerba e rea.

Si tratta di tre versi del sonetto CCLXXVI di Panfilo Sasso[16], poeta sia latino sia volgare vissuto tra Verona e Brescia a cavallo tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento, che M2 cita probabilmente a memoria (vista l'ipermetria dell'ultimo verso, che legge «campare» invece di «campar» delle stampe).

Queste due postille in volgare testimoniano che lo scopo delle annotazioni non era soltanto enfatizzare alcuni *notabilia*, ma anche da un

[13] Cfr., e. g., R. Drusi, *«Ricercando scrittori e scritture». Studi su Vincenzio Borghini*, Padova 2012, pp. 15–38.

[14] Cfr. S. Fiaschi, *Traduzioni dal greco nei* Miscellanea*: percorsi di riflessione*, in P. Viti (cur.), *Cultura e filologia di Angelo Poliziano. Traduzioni e commenti. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Firenze, 27–29 novembre 2014)*, Firenze 2016, pp. 35–50: 40–42.

[15] *Idalio pudibunda sinum rosa sanguinem tinguit*, sul quale vd. anche F. Bausi (cur.), Angelo Poliziano, *Poesie*, Torino 2006, p. 568.

[16] Edito nel 1500 nei *Sonetti e capituli del clarissimo poeta miser Pamphilo sasso modenese*, Brixiae opera et impensa Bernardini Misintae impressum, sui quali vd. M. Malinverni, *Sasso, Panfilo*, «DBI» 90, 2017, pp. 700–703: 701.

lato proporre interpretazioni del testo latino polizianeo, dall'altro collocare la auto-citazione polizianea in un filone letterario, anche se potrebbe sembrare alquanto forzato, al di fuori del richiamo al mito dell'anemone, inserire nel medesimo filone il verso di una *praelectio* polizianea e quelli di un sonetto espressione di letteratura cortigiana, cioè due composizioni pensate per contesti completamente diversi. Non si può escludere, però, la possibilità che in queste due note si celi un intento didattico, come dimostrerebbe d'altro canto la postilla al f. I 6[17].

III.

Per «citazioni» intendo i rimandi diretti a opere classiche o cristiane, che il Poliziano non inserisce all'interno del testo. Se ne riportano qui alcune a titolo esemplificativo:

- due rimandi ai ff. D 3 e I 4: *Vide Iosephum VII capite XII Antiquitatum* e *Vide Valerium Maximum II capite de prostitutis*, due semplicissimi approfondimenti su quanto il Poliziano dice (nello specifico, capp. 14 e 58);
- due sono poi le citazioni che M2 trae dai versi ovidiani, dal primo libro dei *Fasti*: f. I 6 (vv. 499–502) e f. K 6 (una "parafrasi" del v. 691). Se la seconda citazione può essere facilmente spiegata come una glossa esplicativa, la prima è degna di un maggior interesse di studio, soprattutto osservando la frase da cui i versi ovidiani vengono anticipati: *Ne quis carmina Ovidiana desideret adscribam*, che potrebbe essere una conferma indiretta dell'ipotesi secondo cui l'intento scoliastico sarebbe didattico: non si spiegherebbe altrimenti, infatti, per quale motivo M2 abbia voluto citare versi non presenti nel testo polizianeo (cap. 58) «perché nessuno vada a cercare»[18] l'opera di Ovidio e, d'altro canto, non si riesce a vedere la ragione del loro inserimento al fianco di un elenco di citazioni con cui il Poliziano parafrasa quanto già da lui stesso affermato in riferimento a un verso di Stazio[19];

[17] Cfr. *infra*.

[18] Intendo il verbo *desideret* come suggerito nel *ThLL* V, 1 s. v. *desidero* (nel quale si riportano come sinonimi *quaerere* e *ζητεῖν*).

[19] Stat. *silv.* I, 4, v. 8, sul quale vd. L. Cesarini Martinelli (ed.), A. Poliziano, *Commento inedito alle Selve di Stazio*, Firenze 1978, pp. 316–317. Il Poliziano stesso, tra l'altro, nel commentare questi versi dai *Fasti* (cfr. F. Lo Monaco [ed.], A. Poliziano, *Commento inedito ai Fasti di Ovidio*, Firenze 1991, p. 115), rimanda all'esegesi dei versi staziani. Considero dunque più probabile che M2 abbia voluto annotare i versi avendo in mente l'esegesi di Antonio Costanzi (1436–1490), sulla quale vd. F. Toscano, *Il*

- una citazione indiretta di Lucilio che, alla stessa stregua dei versi volgari del Sasso, M2 riporta dal ciceroniano *De finibus* II, 24[20] al f. N 3 per ampliare il cap. 86 (*De fluctu decimo seu decumano*). Il secondo verso citato si conclude con la parola *decumano*, che dovrebbe in realtà essere *decimano*: tale variante non è attestata da Reynolds, né da Moreschini[21], ma ne dà notizia l'edizione Belles Lettres[22] in riferimento al codice Par. lat. 6331 (sec. XII)[23]. Lungi dal postulare che M2 abbia avuto a disposizione il codice parigino, ritengo più probabile che egli abbia riportato i versi a memoria e quindi, come nella citazione da Panfilo Sasso *campare* rende il verso ipermetrico[24], così in questo caso la 'variante' *decumano* dev'essere più semplicemente considerata frutto di analogia con il testo polizianeo (*Sed de fluctu decimo sive decumano etiam* ...).

IV.

Prima di descrivere l'ultima categoria di note da me definite, una premessa. Non ascrivo a essa tutta la serie di aggiunte a mano di accenti e spiriti ai testi greci: trascurando che in molti esemplari di questo incunabolo sono presenti le stesse identiche aggiunte ortografiche (non vi sono però elementi per asserire che il lavoro manuale sia stato fatto nella tipografia stessa), non si tratta in ogni caso di una novità, perché molti tipografi quattrocenteschi stessi ammisero di aver avuto difficoltà con la stampa di caratteri greci, che resero necessaria una correzione o a mano o con una nuova stampa[25]. Di ciò era consapevole anche l'Ambrogini, il quale appunto «sostiene di non garantire né la corretta

commento di Antonio Costanzi da Fano ai Fasti *di Ovidio. Edizione critica del commento a* Fast. *I–III*, Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Salerno A.A. 2015/2016, p. 356.

[20] Cic. *fin.* II, 24, 18–19 (L. D. Reynolds [ed.], *M. Tulli Ciceronis De finibus bonorum et malorum libri quinque*, Oxonii 1997, p. 50 = 1239–1240 Marx = 1134–1135 Krenkel).

[21] C. Moreschini (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis De finibus bonorum et malorum*, Monachii – Lipsiae 2005, p. 46.

[22] S. Martha (éd.), *Ciceron, Des termes extrêmes des biens et des maux*, Tome I, Paris 2002, p. 71.

[23] Descritto in B. M. Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Tome I, Paris 1982, pp. 254–255.

[24] Cfr. *supra*.

[25] Il problema è già stato sollevato dal Rosen (vd. *infra*). F. Pontani (ed.), *Il* liber epigrammatum Graecorum *di Angelo Poliziano*, Roma 2002, p. LXXVIII, riassumendo lo studio di Rosen, riporta a titolo esemplificativo proprio l'incunabolo marciano oggetto di questo studio.

grafia né l'errore altrui»[26]; una frase che, tuttavia, ha più il sapore di una *captatio benevolentiae* da parte della tipografia che di un'ammissione sincera del Poliziano nel segnalare la presenza di errori: se anche così fosse stato, il Poliziano avrebbe indubbiamente cominciato a correggerli di persona.

Ciò detto, la categoria delle emendazioni riguarda specificamente quattro parole: *entelechian* (f. B 4^{v}), *entelechos* (f. B 5), *suppernata* (f. L 3) e *imola* (f. K1^{v}), rispettivamente emendate a margine come *endelechian*, *endelechos*, *expernata* e *feri*. Vi sono poi altre due emendazioni più 'corpose': nel verso *O puerae sed enim rubor emicuit* (f. M3) *sed enim* è sottolineato come a cancellatura e sostituito a margine con *haud mora* da porre dopo *rubor*, mentre la sezione di verso *Vecta iugis visens Boeotiae* (f. M 3^{v}) è anch'essa sottolineata e sostituita a margine con *Boeotum visens vecta iugis*. A un primo impatto, chiaramente, non vi sarebbe alcuna motivazione logica a modificare un testo la cui cura fu supervisionata dall'autore stesso, se non fosse per il fatto che queste sei emendazioni marginali trasmettono esattamente le lezioni incluse nell'edizione aldina del 1498: Alessandro Sarti, curatore delle opere polizianee per Aldo, aveva infatti avuto a disposizione numerosi materiali autografi del filologo mediceo stesso, fra cui un incunabolo parzialmente annotato dal Poliziano e a lui dedicato, oggi conservato alla Harvard University Library sotto la segnatura Inc. 6149A, 'scoperto' da Ernest Wilkins e approfonditamente studiato da Karl Rosen[27], i quali tuttavia non «hanno individuato con esattezza i limiti della presenza del Poliziano in questo incunabolo, in quanto sono pochissime le correzioni ascrivibili alla mano dell'umanista»[28].

In sintesi, l'incunabolo marciano contiene postille che rientrano appieno nel solco della tradizione umanistica di annotazione dei testi: 'trascrizione', più o meno *verbatim*, di parole o brevi frasi che compaiono nel testo, o 'ampliamento' di testo, con rimandi a passi specifici, citati o

[26] La frase, lapidaria, ma dal forte impatto, compare nel già citato colofone: *Politianus ipse nec hortographian se ait nec omnino alienam praestare culpam*.

[27] Cfr. E.H. Wilkins, *A Presentation Copy of the* Miscellanea, in Id., *The Invention of the Sonnet and Other Studies in Italian Literature*, Roma 1959, pp. 225–228, e K. Rosen, *Two Copies of the First Edition of Politian's* Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima, in *Ecumenismo della cultura I. Teoria e prassi della poesia dell'Umanesimo ...*, Firenze 1981, pp. 93–100. Quest'ultimo si occupa anche dell'*Inc. 6149B*, anch'esso copia della principe dei *Miscellanea*, tuttavia ignorando completamente la presenza della mano di Bartolomeo Fonzio, per il quale vd. L.A. Ciapponi, *Bartolomeo Fonzio e la prima centuria dei* Miscellanea *del Poliziano*, «IMU» 23, 1980, pp. 165–197.

[28] Fera, *Il dibattito umanistico*, cit., p. 344 n. 43.

meno dall'autore. Si tratta di correzioni e 'ristrutturazioni' dell'opera eseguite a partire dalla volontà diortotica del Poliziano stesso, che con la sua prematura scomparsa non fece in tempo a vedere un'edizione del suo capolavoro meglio curata e corretta. A tale compito si dedicarono invece i suoi successori. Nel caso specifico dell'incunabolo qui esaminato si è di fronte al lavoro di tre studiosi sicuramente competenti della materia e capaci di fornire una chiave di lettura ai *Miscellanea*, che segue una metodologia ben precisa e delineata.

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EDIZIONE DEGLI SCOLII

Nel presentare l'edizione dei marginali dell'incunabolo, sono stati adottati i seguenti criteri:

- grassetto: capitoli dei *Miscellanea*;
- stampatello: testo della stampa;
- corsivo: mani degli scoliasti (la mano postillatrice è indicata a fine riga tra parentesi);
- //: testo a stampa ricopiato nella postilla.

f. II: *Iesus*
Hunc ego Prosper Zinelleus presbyter Regiensis librum possideo emptum a me ipso tribus Iuliis 1530 die 26° madii.
Hunc ego Zinelleus Prosper sic nonime dictus / librum possideo.
Omnibus unus Amor.

Praefatio

f. A 1: //] *Conscientia mille testes* (M1)

f. A 1v: romani pontificis, apostolicique viri] *Alexandrini Stromatis*[29] (M1)
//] *Varietas* (M1)

f. A 2: //] *purere videatur* (M1)
Nihil autem forsan intolerabilius quam ut de te sententiam ferat indoctus] *Nihil intolerabilius quam ut de te sententiam indoctus ferat*[30] (M2)
credamus hanc quoque essse legem novi operis] *Novi operis conditio* (M3)
//] *Insolentis naturae* (M1)
//] *veritatis vicaria consuetudo* (M1)
//] *Consuetudo sine veritate vestustas erroris est*[31] (M1)
//] *pene de calcaria in carbonariam decucurrimus*[32] (M1)

f. A 2v: //] *Aliud homini aliud humanitati satis*[33] (M1)
suum palatum cuique] *Cuique suum palatum* (M1)

[29] La sezione di testo è sottolineata: è correzione derivante dal Poliziano stesso.
[30] Cfr. cap. 90 dei *Miscellanea*.
[31] Cfr. Cypr. *epist*. 74, 9.
[32] Cfr. Tert. *carn*. 6, 1; vd. anche Erasmo, *Adagio 1396*.
[33] Varro *ling*. VIII, 31.

f. A 3v: versuram fecimus] *Versuram facimus* (M1)
f. A 4: //] *Usque a stirpe* (M3)
//] *rabiosuli vitiligatores* (M1)
//] *Blattarii* (M1)
f. A 5: libri ipsi monumenta vocantur] *Monumenta libri* (M3)
//] *tunica proprior pallio* (M1)
tamen ut imitari simias nolimus] *Simia in filios* (M3)
f. A 5v: admirando non Pico iam sed ... phoenice potius] *Ioannis Pici Laus* (M3)
perge a situ recipere rem] *A situ, idest a corruptione, ex otio et pigritia, scilicet dalla muffa* (M3)

I

f. B 4v: //] *Cyclicae*[34] (M2)
Hic et apud Medicem ... insigni fuit et auctoritate et gratia] *laus Laurentii Medicis* (M2)
//] *Graeciam verborum inopem*[35] (M2)
entelechian] *endelechian*[36] (M2)
f. B 5: //] *Endelechos* (M2)
//] *atque aurem mordaci lotus aceto*[37] (M2)
//] *Extra ictum supra iniuriam* (M2)
quis Boetio ... locupletior ...] *Boetii laus* (M2)
f. B 5v: //] *extra omnem aleam* (M2)
Etenim tanta ingenii constat eum ... praecipitur] *laus magna Divi Augustini || Augustinus quidquid scivit praecepit sine magistro* (M2)
calumniam conflare homini] *Calumnian* (!) *conferre* (?) *homini* (M1)
f. B 6: hispida aure] *Aure hispida* (M2)
//] *Eulabian* (M2)
f. B 6v: Ego vero te quidem, Cicero, cum laudo tum admiror] *Laus maxima Marci Tullii* (M1)
sed me graecorum ... Romanis arrogantur] *Verba Apollonii de Cicerone*[38] (M2)
f. B 7: Neleus ille Corisci filius et Aristotelis Theophrastique non solum auditor sed et successor bibliothecae et heres] *Neleus scepsius bibliothecae Aristotelis successor* (M2)

[34] Mart. Cap. IX, 998.
[35] Cfr. Cic. *fin.* I, 3, 10 e III, 15, 51.
[36] La t è barrata e corretta *supra lineam* in d.
[37] Pers. 5, 86.
[38] Cfr. Plut. *Cic.* 4, 5.

//] *scepsin* (M2)
//] *exotericos* (M1)

f. B 7v: etiam Didymus sex libros adversus eundem composuit: Sillographos imitatus maledicos scriptores] *Didymus sex libros adversus Ciceronem scripsit: Sillografos*[39] (M2)

f. B 8: adversus genorosissum leonem ... canes baubantur] *lucernarii canes adversus leones saepe baubantur* (M1)

II

f. B 8: Quidam autem plani et tenebriores in litteris ... ex hara productas] *Tenebriores in litteris ex hara productas* (M1)
//] *Carbatinae*[40] (M1)

III

f. B 8v: //] *Girafa* || *panthera graeci pardalim* (M1)

f. C 1: //] *Nabus* (M1)
//] *feras oves*[41] (M1)

IV

f. C 1v: //] *Aristophanis lucernam* (M1)
Picus Mirandula noster amor] ***[42] *noster amor* (M1)

V

f. C 2: //] *Durateum* (M1)
nox duria sit apud illum] *Duria nox, Locus Valerii Flacci identicus*(?)[43] (M1)

VII

f. C 2v: pathicus et draucus aliquis designatur] *Pathicus homo* (M1)

XI

f. D 1v: Attigimus ipsi quoque fabellam hanc in Rustico nostra versiculo illo] *Pamphilus etiam loquens ex rosa hanc fabulam attigit sic inquens: «Tu sei proprio quel fiore che*

[39] Cfr. M. Schmidt (ed.), *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici alexandrini Fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, Amsterdam 1964, pp. 399–400.

[40] Cfr. Poll. VII, 88.

[41] Cfr. *HA* XX, 33, 1.

[42] Lo scolio è suddiviso su due righe, la prima delle quali non è leggibile: occupava tutto il margine sinistro del foglio e, osservando i residui d'inchiostro, pur con estrema cautela, avanzerei l'ipotesi che a sinistra della riga fosse scritto *Iohannis Pici* o qualcosa di simile.

[43] Cfr. Val. Fl. II, 572.

Cytherea / tinse col sangue suo quando l'amante / volse campare da morte acerba e rea» (M2)

XIV

f. D 3: Naulia dimminutivum puto ... vel nabla dicimus] *Nabla etiam qualia sint. Vide Josephum VII capite XII Antiquitatum*[44] (M1)

XVI

f. D 5: Est autem Surenas apud Persas magistratus nomen] *Quid Surenas apud Persas*[45] (M1)

f. D 5v: *οἴκοτὰ* Μιλήσια *μὴ γὰρ ἐνθάδε*] *Adagium pulchrum*[46] (M1)

XVII

f. D 6v: Manium illic a Persio nominatur] *Manius unde* (M1)

XX

f. E 2: //] *Ascopera* (M1)

XXI

f. E 2v: //] *Quinquatria*[47] (M1)
Saturnalium sportulas] *Saturnaliorum sportulas*[48] (M1)

f. E 3: Axius ... idest caenam] *Locus Varonis*[49] (M1)
//] *Minerval* (M1)

XXIV

f. E 4v: //] *Hecalesion* (M1)

f. E 5: Si contentus ... anus hospitium tenue] *locus Apulei*[50] (M1)

XXVIII

f. F 1v: Panica vocantur ... a graecis repentini quidam terrores] *panici terrores* (M1)

f. F 2: Cochlos] *Cochloσ*[51] (M1)

[44] Cfr. Joseph. Flav. *ant. Iud.* VII, 12, 1.
[45] Cfr. Zos. *hist.* III, 15, 5; vd. anche il cap. 58 dei *Miscellanea*.
[46] Cfr. Michele Apostolio, *Paroemiae* (ed. 1619) XIV, 8; vd. anche Zen. V, 57.
[47] Vd. righe successive del capitolo, ove si cita Hor. *epist.* II, 2, 197–198.
[48] Vd. righe precedenti del capitolo, ove si cita Hier. *in Eph.* 6, 4.
[49] Varro *rust.* III, 2, 18.
[50] Apul. *met.* I, 23.
[51] Cfr. Schol. *Arat.* 283.

XXXIV
f. F 6v: Sciamachiae] *Scimachiae*[52] (M1)

XXXVII
f. G 2: //] *Oaxem* (M1)

XLVII
f. H 2v: *Σέλευκος βασιλεὺς Λύσιππος ἐποίει*] *Seleucus rex faciebat Lisippus* (M1)

XLVIII
f. H 3: //] *melida* (M1)
//] *loqui supra his quae non didiceris*[53] (M1)

L
f. H 4: //] *melanpodion*[54] (M1)

LII
f. H 5v: scotinos] *Scotinoσ* (M1)

LIV
f. I 1v: //] *Ceratinae* (M1)
//] *Quod non perdidisti habes*[55] (M1)
//] *Cerata* (M1)

LV
f. I 2: //] *πρίωνα*[56] (M1)
f. I 2v: Crocodiliten] *Crocodilotem* (M1)

LVI
f. I 2v: apud Pausaniam solum legi] *Pausanias autor*[57] (M2)
f. I 3: ut cornu sit dativi non ablativi casus] *cornu dativi* (M1)

[52] Cfr. Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* II, 10, 1.

[53] Entrambe le note sono estratte dalla traduzione polizianea di Plut. *mor*. 58d–e.

[54] Estratto dalla citazione di Plin. *nat*. XXV, 47.

[55] Estratto dalla citazione di Sen. *epist*. V, 49, 8.

[56] Cfr. lo scolio anonimo al *De statibus* di Ermogene di Tarso in C. Walz (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. VII, Onsabrück 1968 (anast.), p. 163 rr. 4–10 e 14–16.

[57] Cfr. Paus. IX, 21, 2. Lo scolio fa riferimento a una citazione di Domizio Calderini inserita in testo dal Poliziano, sulla quale vd. H. Walter, *Contributi sulla recezione umanistica della zoologia antica: nuovi documenti per la genesi di "1515 RHINOCERVS" di Albrecht Dürer*, «RPL» 12, 1989, pp. 267–275: 272.

LVII

f. I 3: Tetraones in Caligula Suetoni] *Hermolaus Tetragonas || Merula Erythrotaonas*[58] (M2)

LVIII

f. I 3v: //] *Quidam monstrosa specie* (M1)
Quo paterrefacti ... contexterunt] *Plutoni ac Proserpinae Ara in subterraneis aedificatur a Romanis*[59] (M2)

f. I 4: Valesus Valesius ... Valeriae familiae] *Valesus Valesius Valeriae familiae nomen dedit* (M2)
aram hanc ... inveniret] *Ara Plutoni a Valeso Valesio invenitur* (M2)
Nec multo post ... laborabant] *Vide Valerium Maximum libro II capite de prostitutis*[60] (M2)
//] *Tarentus in extrema Iapygia* (M2)
primo] *pergens*[61] (M2)
//] *Tarentus* (M2)

f. I 4v: ex eoque Manius ... quidam tradiderunt] *Quare Valerius Manius Tarentinus appellatus fuerit* (M2)
Hactenus de origine ... consuetudo usurpat] *Quare saeculares dicantur prius Censorinus dixit*[62] (M2)
//] *Rumon* (M2)
//] *Serra* (M2)

f. I 5://] *Qui primus consul* (M2)
Etenim laborantibus pestilentia ...] *Vide Censorinum in libro de die natali*[63] (M2)
P. Valerius Publicola ... ergo feci] *Verba in ara Plutonis ac Proserpinae scripta a Publio Valerio Publicola* (M2)

f. I 5v: Nec tantum ... ara Tarenti] *Papinius loquens de his ludis*[64] (M2)

f. I 6: in Fastis Ovidius] *Ne quis carmina Ovidiana desideret adscribam: «Iamque ratem doctae monitu Carmentis in amnem / egerat et Tuscis obvius ibat aquis. / Fluminis illa*

[58] Cfr. V. Fera (ed.), *Una ignota* Expositio Suetoni *del Poliziano*, Messina 1983, pp. 109–110 n. 4.

[59] Cfr. Zos. *hist*. II, 3, 1–2.

[60] Val. Max. II, 4, 5.

[61] Nel testo a stampa, *primo* è sottolineato e sopra vi è un segno di rimando ^ all'annotazione.

[62] Cens. XVII, 12–13.

[63] Cens. XVII, 10.

[64] Stat. *silv*. I, 4, 17–18.

laus cui sunt vada iuncta Tarenti / aspicit et sparsa per loca sola casas[65] (M2)
quamquam primus ... creditur] *Philippus primus imperator christianus* (M2)
//] *Philippus Iunior numquam risisse creditur*[66] (M2)
Instantibus itaque ... iterum forent] *De ritu ludorum* (M2)
Quindicemviri ... piamina dividebant] *Piamina ludorum* (M2)

f. I 6v: //] *Ilythyias* (M2)

f. K 1v: Ilithyias[67] (M2)
imola] *feri*[68] (M2)

LX

f. K 3: //] *Ni tragicum corrugaris* (M1)
//] *Agon* (M1)

LXI

f. K 3v: Divus igitur Ambrosius ... composuit] *Venenum vino excluditur non vinum veneno*[69] (M1)
quod esset ... verterit] *Locus Macrobii*[70] (M1)

LXII

f. K 4: medico testiculos arietinos tenentem] *digitus arietinus*[71] (M1)
//] *Marsippia*[72] (M1)

LXIII

f. K 4v: //] *Scortatur* (M1)

LXIV

f. K 5: //] *Rectus iambicus* (M1)

[65] Ov. *fast*. I, 498–502.

[66] Cfr. Eutr. IX, 3.

[67] Il testo a stampa riporta *Ilythyias*: la prima y è barrata e corretta con i *supra lineam*.

[68] In testo *imola* è sottolineato e corretto a margine.

[69] Ambr. *Hel*. 14, 52.

[70] Macr. *sat*. VII, 6, 5.

[71] Cfr. Rhet. *Her*. III, 20, 33.

[72] Cfr. T. Stangl (hrsg.), *Pseudoasconiana: Textgestaltung und Sprache der anonymen Scholien zu Ciceros vier ersten Verrinen* ..., London – New York 1967 (anast.), p. 212 r. 7.

LXVI

f. K 6: Dice*r*e[73] (M2)
connivere dicuntur qui dormitant] *Connivere pro dormire* (M1)
lolio vitiari oculos etiam ait Ovidius] *Lolium oculos vitiat*[74] (M2)
//] *Lusciosi* (M1)

LXXII

f. L 2: //] *philyra*[75] (M1)

LXXIII

f. L 3: //] *Manilius Rallus* (M2)
suppernata] *expernata*[76] (M2)

LXXX

f. M 3: sed enim] *haud mora*[77] (M2)
f. M 3^{v}: Vecta iugis visens Boeotiae] *Boeotum visens vecta iugis*[78] (M2)

LXXXVI

f. N 3: //] *Decumanus fluctus* (M1)
//] *Ova decumana* (M1)
decumana in castris porta ab hoste aversa] *Porta hostibus aversa decumana* (M1)
in undecimo Metamorphoseon poeta idem meminit] *Lucillus etiam in Saturis meminit cum ait: «Cenasti in vita numquam bene. Cum omnia in ista / consumi squilla atque acupenserecum decumano»*[79] (M2)

[73] Correzione di un errore di stampa: il testo riporta *dicete*; la t è barrata; questa correzione, tuttavia, è un errore di tipografia che si trova emendato anche in altre copie della *princeps*: a titolo esemplificativo, si rimanda al medesimo foglio della copia *Magl.2.27bis* presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

[74] Cfr. Ov. *fast*. I, v. 691.

[75] Cfr. Theophr. *hist. plant*. III, 10, 4–5 e Plin. *nat*. XVI, 65.

[76] Nella stampa, *suppernata* è sottolineato e *sup* barrato.

[77] In testo: *O puerae sed enim rubor emicuit matutinus*. Mentre *sed enim* è sottolineato per indicare espunzione, *haud mora* è affiancato da un segno di rimando dopo *emicuit*. Si segnala inoltre la presenza di un'ulteriore b sopra *rubor* e di una a sopra la m di *emicuit*.

[78] Testo a stampa sottolineato e corretto a margine.

[79] Cic. *fin*. II, 24.

LXXXVIII
f. N 3v: //] *Philotheorus* (M1)

LXXXVIII
f. N 3v: //] *Chorus Lacedaemoniorum trifarius* (M1)

LXXXIX
f. N 4v: ex solo Iove Minerva dicitur] *Minerva ex Iove solo nata*[80] (M1)
suum genium suamque Iunonem vitae praesides] *Genius ut Iuno praesides vitae* (M1)
//] *Lucinae lectus / Herculis mensura in atrio*[81] (M1)
f. N 5: Et per Iunonem ... ministro] *Versus Iuvenalis*[82] (M1)

XC
f. N 5v: Qualis est ... fastigium accipiet] *Laus Ioannis Pici*[83] (M1)

C
f. O 6v: //] *Silentia lunae*[84] (M3)
ultima chorda] *Ultima citharae chorda*[85] (M3)
f. P 1: vox apud poetas aliqua complectitur] *Poetarum voces* (M3)

Coronis
f. P 1v: //] [*L*]*inea alba* (M1)
f. P 2: allectus princeps ... cumulatissimus] *Ioannis Pici laus: vide in epistula dedicata finali* (M3)
f. P 2v: //] *Nullo non praeconio maior*[86] (M1)
f. P 3: ab homine amicissimo] *Philippum Beroaldum videtur hic insinuare*[87] (M3)
//] *Sus Minervam*[88] (M1)

[80] Cfr. Hom. *Il.* I, 577–579 e Hes. *Theog*. 927–928.

[81] Cfr. Varro *De pueris educandis* fr. 10 Riese.

[82] Iuv. 2, 98.

[83] Cfr. P. Viti, *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 4 novembre–31 dicembre 1994*, Firenze 1994, pp. 287–302.

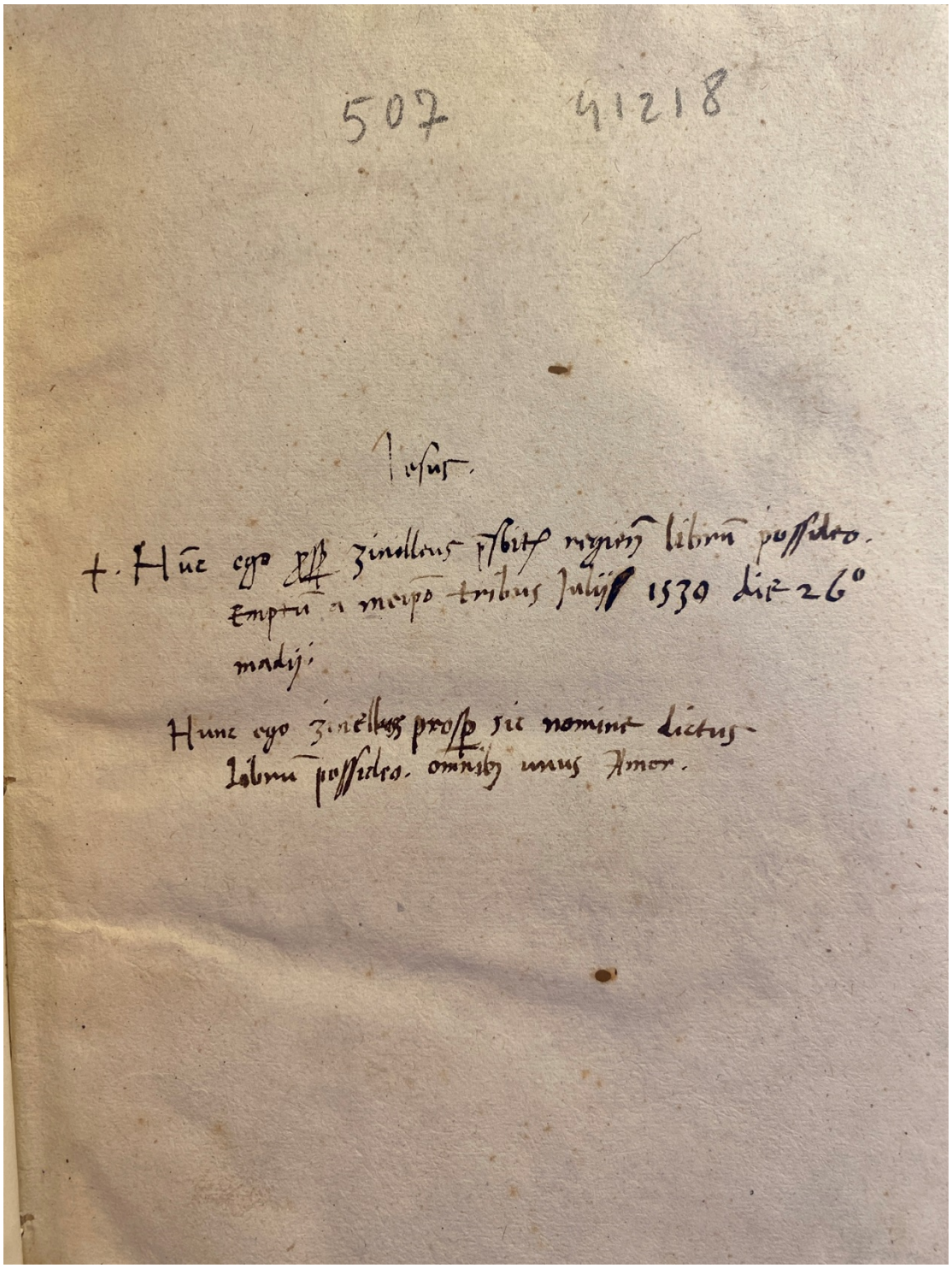
[84] Estratto dalla citazione di Verg. *Aen*. II, 255.

[85] Estratto dalla citazione di Serv. *Comm. in Aen. II, 255*.

[86] Il riferimento è sempre a Pico della Mirandola.

[87] Cfr. cap. 81 dei *Miscellanea*.

[88] Cfr. Cic. *ac*. I, 5 e *fam*. IX, 18.



Tav. 1. Atto d'acquisto e nota di possesso di Prospero Zinelli (f. II)

in assiduis periculis: maximeq; ciuilibus/neutriq̃ fiebat. Nã & ar
duum iprimis/purã rebus his omnibus/diem seruare: & perq̃ ab
surdũ uideri poterat/ultro seditionibus detrimẽta sibi ipsos ire
dibilia conciliare: cũ & uictis/ea res futura esset: & itẽ uictoribus
pernitiosa. Mox autẽ salutẽ a dis imortalibus petere. Ceterum/
tum fieri qdẽ auguriũ eiusmodi potuit/ Sed ne id qdẽ purũ pro
cessit: quoniã aduersæ quæpiã aues deuolarunt/ unde augurium
captũ/aliaq; item signa inauspicata apparuerũt. Idẽq; etiam libro
qnquagesimo scribit/ ab Augusto/pace/ terra/ mariq; parta Ianũ
clusum: neq; non Saluris augurium factũ: quod ante/multis cau
sis/fuerat omissum.

Caput xiiii.

Naulia quę sint in Ouidi artibus: atq; inibi de barbaris organo
rum appellationibus: quibus greci nostriq; utantur: quodq; etiã
Chaldęi greca iterum nostraq; id genus uocabula nõ aspernãt.

Disce etiam duplici genialia naulia palma
Vertere: conueniunt dulcibus illa modis.

n Aulia dimminutiuũ puto/siue nablia ab illis/ quę uel nau
la/ uel nabla dicimus. Etenim. b. litteras &. u. ferme p eisdẽ
positas inuicẽ sępe ueteribus monimẽtis adnotauimus. Suidas
etiã nabla organi species ait: & idem alio loco Psalteriũ iquit or
ganum est musicũ: quod naula etiã uocãt: Quin & Sophoclis/
uersum Plutarchus adducit.

ὀυ ναὺλα κωκύτοισιν ὀυ λύρα φίλα

libro eo quẽ super. ei. delphico fecit/ Sed & Theodoritus in psal
mos de eo meminit/ & Plutarchus i libris Symposiacis: Ex quo
nos in Nutrice.

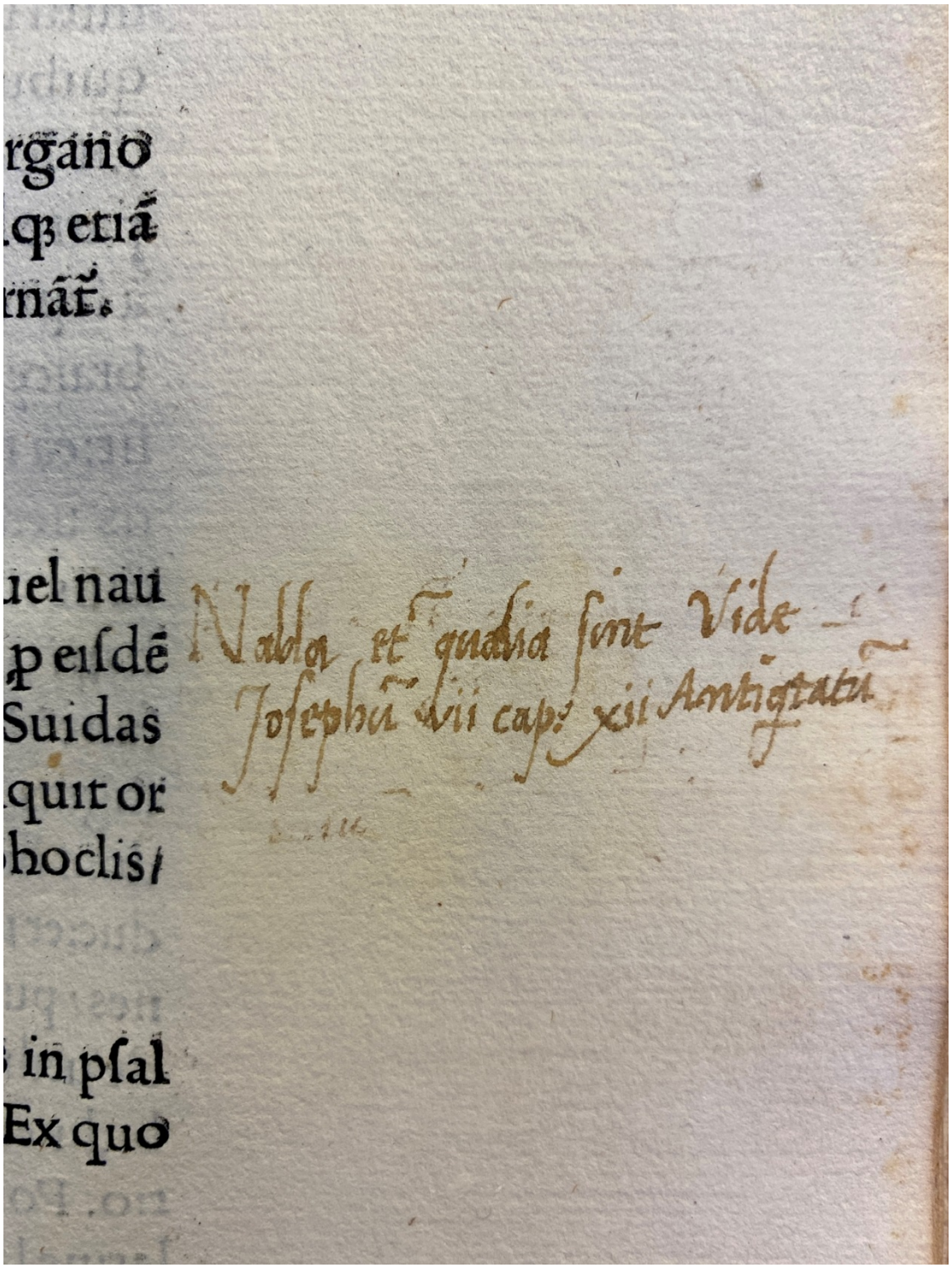
Non quæ duplici geniale resultant
Naula citata manu.

Sũt aũt multa organorum barbara nomina: sicuti Strabo narrat

d iii

Nabla et quadia sunt Vide Josephũ vii capi xii Antiquitatũ

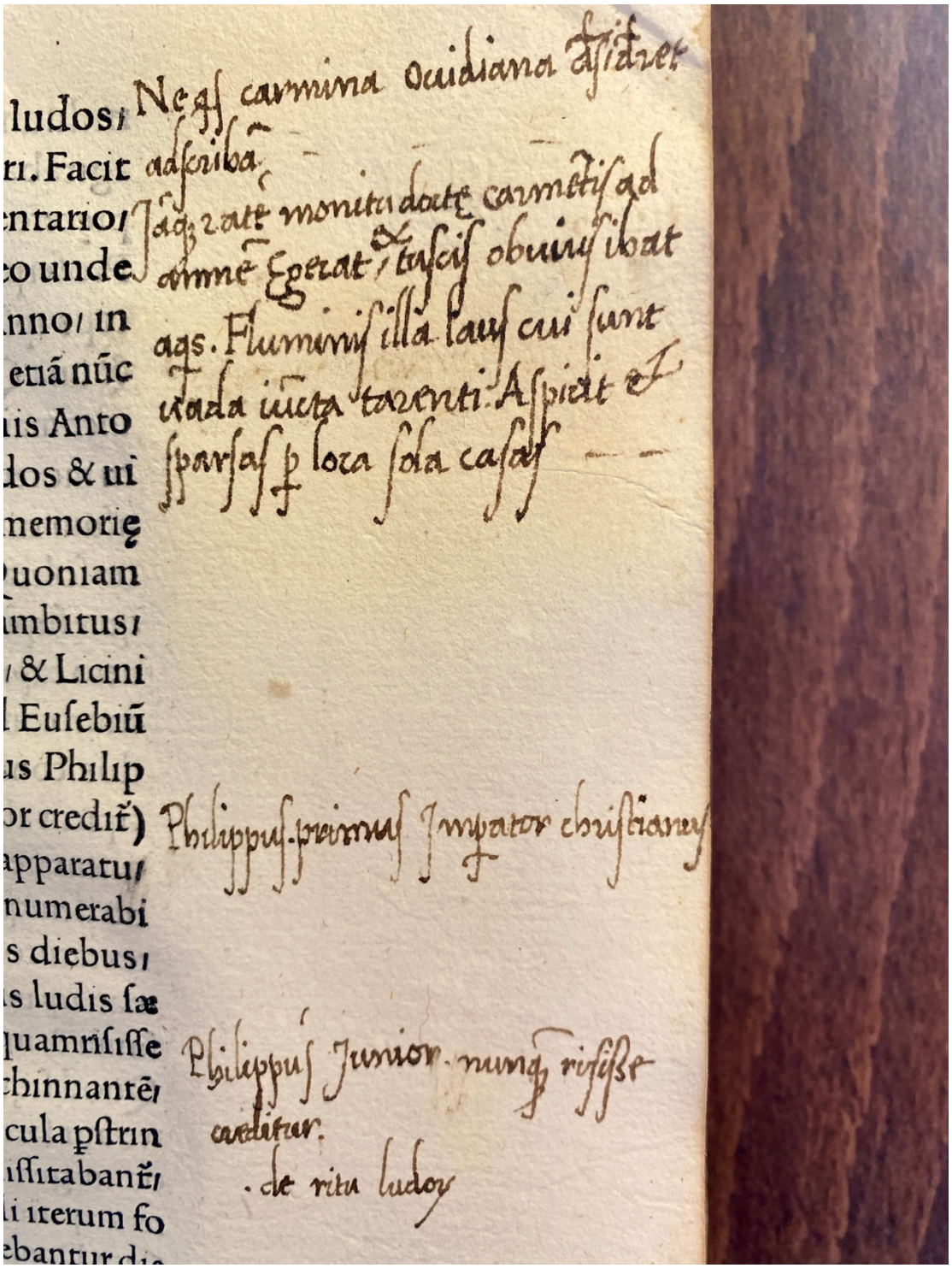
Tav. 2.1. Mano di M1 (f. D 3)



Tav. 2.2. Dettaglio della mano di M1

etiam posteriorem diiungit a priore/ & uti ĩ illo ſęculares ludos/ ita in hoc commenticia iſta tricenaria ſacra putat inſinuari. Facit autem Tarenti huius etiam Varro i latinę linguę commentario/ etiamq; uel iterum in faſtis Ouidius mẽtionem. Sed redeo unde digreſſus. Centeſimo decimoq; poſt Domitiani ludos anno/ in ſtaurauit & eos imperator ille Septimius Seuerus/ cuius etiã nũc Romę pulcherrimus ſpectatur triũphalis arcus/ cum filiis Antonino & Geta/ Chilone & Vibone conſulibus: Quos ludos & ui diſſe ſe memorat Herodianus/ & Dion ætate ſua factos memorię prodidit. Poſt Seuerum negat inſtauratos Zoſimus: Quoniam hic annorum cẽtum & decẽ pene receptus auctoritate ambitus/ in conſulatum Conſtantini chriſtiani principis tertium/ & Licini quem dein bello ipſe uicit incurriſſet. Nos tamen apud Euſebiũ ĩ chronicis: & Eutropiũ in hiſtoriarũ libro nono legimus Philippo iperante (quãquã primus fuiſſe chriſtianus imperator crediť) milleſimum annum Romanæ urbis ingenti ludorum apparatu/ & ſpectaculorum fuiſſe celebratum: beſtiaſq; in circo innumerabiles interfectas: & ludos ĩ Cãpo Martio theatrales tribus diebus/ ac noctibus populo peruigilãte concelebratos: quibus ludis ſæcularibus etiam dicitur Philippus Iunior/ is qui nunquam riſiſſe creditur: patrem Philippum ſeniorem petulantius cachinnantẽ/ uultu auerſato notauiſſe. Reſtat uti de ritu carpti paucula pſtringamus. Inſtãtibus itaq; ludis/ tota Italia pręcones miſſitabanť/ conuocatum ad ludos/ qui nec ſpectari/ nec ſpectandi iterum forent. Tum ęſtatis tẽpore/ paucis anteq̃ ſpectacula edebantur diebus/ Quindecẽuiri ſacris faciundis in Capitolio & Palatino templo/ pro ſuggeſtu conſidẽtes/ piamina diuidebant populo/ quę erant/ Teda: ſulfur: & bitumen/ nec tamẽ ad ea ſeruis quoq; accipienda ius ullum. Coibat autẽ populus/ cum in quæ ſupra tetigimus loca: tum præterea in Dianæ templum/ quod erat in Auentino: & cuiq; triticum: faba: hordeũq; dari mos. Tum ad iſtar Cereris initiorũ peruigilia fiebãt. Vbi uero iam aduenit feſtus dies

Tav. 3.1. Mano di M2 (f. I 6)



Tav. 3.2. Dettaglio della mano di M2

Ioannis Pici Laus.

A situ. i. à corruptione, ex otio, et pigritia. s. dalla muffa.

Et hercule ueluti bellaria/ sint ista/ secundis accepta mensis: Quoniam rectæ cenæ/ speciem/ uicemq; grauiora illa occupant/ qualia tibi multa/ uel Marsilius Ficinus Platonis: uel Aristotelis interpres Argyropylus Byzantius e philosophiæ penu congesserunt. De isto enim pręcunctis admirando/ non Pico iam! sed (ut ipse appellare soleo) phoenice potius: qui nunc ĩ tua lauru nidificat: tanta mea quidem expectatio est: ut ausim Propertio succinere: Cedite romani scriptores/ cedite grai. Tu uale patrone iucundissime: & (quod facis) perge fauere doctis/ perge litteras excitare: perge a situ recipere rem latinam: ab interitu græcam/ quo tui memoria nominis/ ab iniuria prorsus obliuionis asseratur.

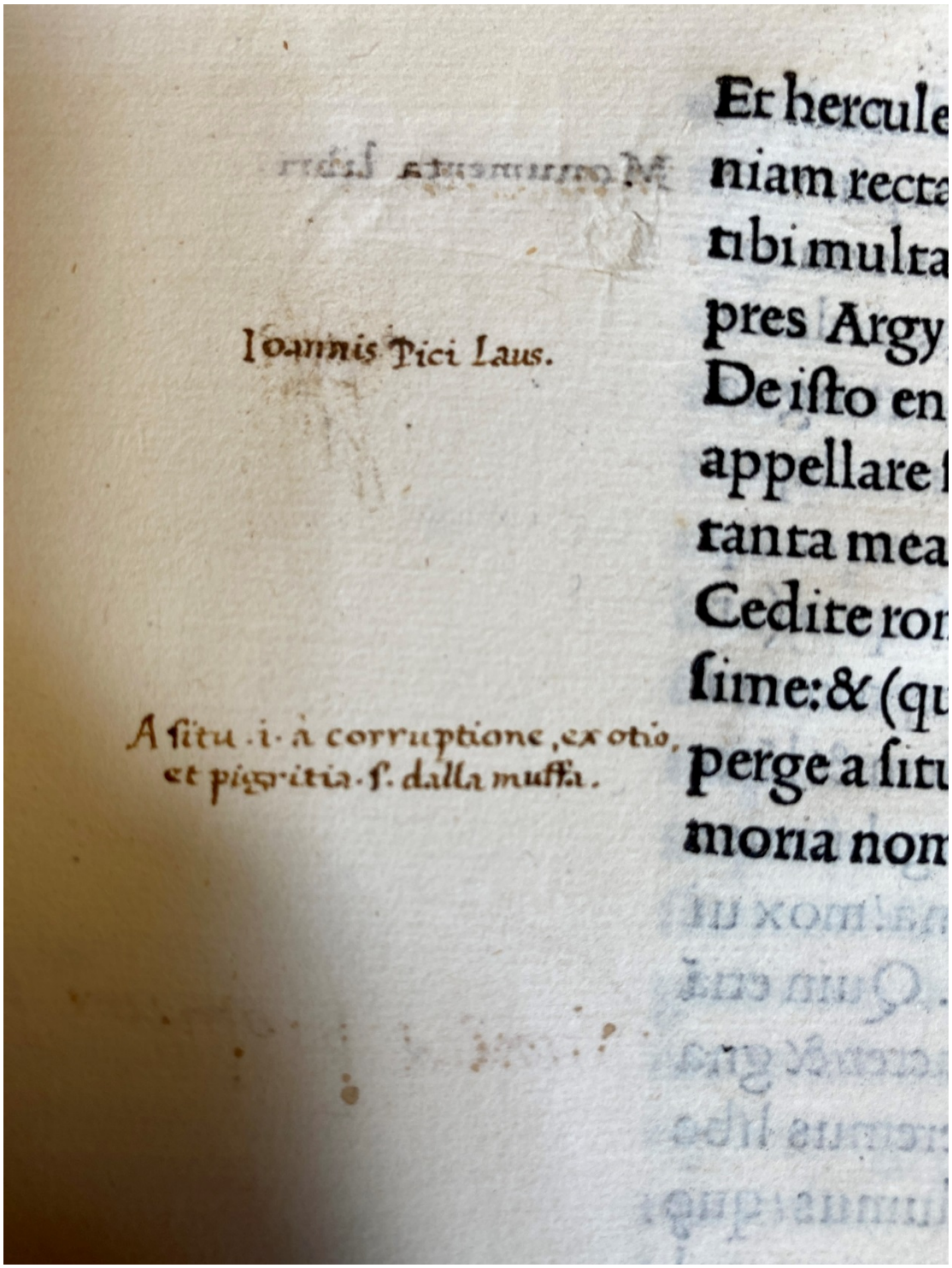
LATINI GRAMMATICI

Seruius
Priscianus
Donatus
Acro
Porphyrio
Marcellus
Sex. Pompeius Festus
Iunius philargyrius
Probus
Gellius
Fulgentius
Pedianus
Persi uatis innominatus interpres

POETAE

Vergilius

Tav. 4.1. Mano di M3 (f. A 5v)



Tav. 4.2. Dettaglio della mano di M3

De fluctu decimo ſeu decumano: cuius permulti poetæ memine
runt.

o Vidi poetæ uerſiculi ſunt in primo triſtium uolumine
Qui uenit hinc fluctus/fluctus ſupereminet omnes:
Poſterior nono eſt: undecimoq; prior.

Decumanum intelligit fluctum: qui fieri maximus dicitur/ſicuti oua quoq; decumana dicunt: quæ maxima. Nã & ouum decimũ maius naſcit. Ex hoc ſcuta quoq; decumana/ quæ eſſent ampliſſima ſunt appellata. Et decumana i caſtris porta/ ab hoſte auerſa. Sicutiq; decumanus i agro limes ab onere ad occaſum non mihi ꝓpterea uidet dictus/ quoniã quaſi duocimanus/ ut. M. Iunius Nypſus opinatur: id. n. nimis durũ/ & coactũ/ ſed quoniã longiſſimus/ & maximus. Nam cardo ipſe iã dimidiatus decumano ſcilicet anticipãte/ cõſideraret. Sed de fluctu decimo/ ſiue decumano/ et i undecimo Methamorphoſeõ poeta idẽ meminit his uerbis.

Vaſtius inſurgens decimæ ruit impetus undæ
Et Silius italicus libro. xiiii.
Non aliter Rhodopes boreas a uertite preceps:
Cum ſeſe imiſit/ decimoq; uolumine pontum/
Expulit in terras.
Sed & Seneca in tragoedia Agamemnone
Hæc onere ſidit: illa conuulſum latus
Sũmittit undis: Fluctus hanc decimus regit.
Valerius etiã Flaccus argonauticon ſecundo ſic ait.
Quanta quoties & Palladis arte
Incaſſum decimæ cecidit tumor arduus undæ.
Lucanus quoq; in quinto pharſaliæ.
Hæc fatum decimus dictu mirabile fluctus
Inualida cum puppe leuat.
Vt uel hoc ipſum notabile ſit atque inſigne tantopere decimum iſtum fluctum uelut a conſpirante poetarũ choro celebrari.

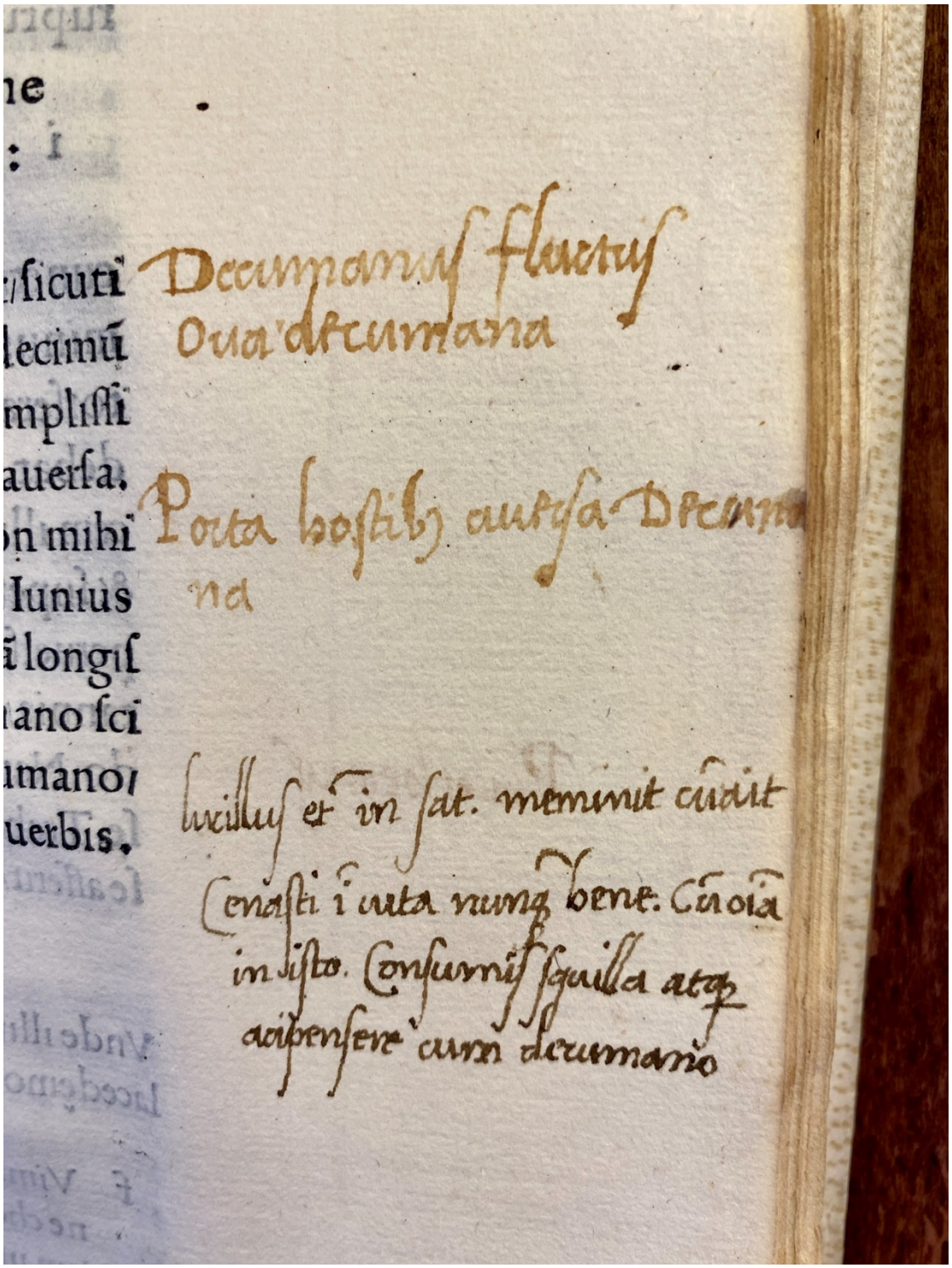
a iii

Decumanus fluctus
Oua decumana

Porta hoſtib; auerſa Decumana

Lucillus et in ſat. meminit cuiit
Cenaſti i uita nunq; bene. Cũ oia
in liſto. Conſumiſ ſquilla atq;
acipenſere cum decumano

Tav. 5.1. Confronto delle mani di M1 e M2 (f. N 3)



Tav. 5.2. Dettaglio del confronto fra M1 e M2

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PER LA STORIA DI UN "ROMPICAPO": A PROPOSITO DELLA TERZA REGOLA DEL LACHMANN. UN CARTEGGIO INEDITO TRA SEBASTIANO TIMPANARO ED ENZO CECCHINI*

— ALESSANDRO FABI —

ABSTRACT

Nel suo La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Sebastiano Timpanaro si sforzò di dimostrare come la terza regola del Lachmann risultasse controversa e non potesse essere pienamente applicata, se non attraverso l'impiego di consistenti correzioni. Tra i filologi che cercarono di emendarne il testo, Enzo Cecchini propose alcune modifiche, ritenendole meno invasive delle soluzioni fornite da altri (Bornmann, Grassi e La Penna): benché Timpanaro non fosse convinto dell'emendazione, la menzionò nella ristampa della seconda edizione del suo lavoro, comprensiva di* addenda*. Questo contributo comprende una trascrizione commentata della corrispondenza tra Cecchini e Timpanaro, in cui i due studiosi ebbero modo di chiarire i rispettivi punti di vista sulla questione.*

In his The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, Sebastiano Timpanaro tried to demonstrate that Lachmann's third rule could not be fully applied unless substantially revised. Among the philologists who attempted to amend its text, Enzo Cecchini proposed few corrections, considering them to be less invasive than the solutions offered by others (Bornmann, Grassi and La Penna): although Timpanaro was not convinced of this emendation, he mentioned it in the reprint of the second edition of his work, which included some addenda. This paper includes a transcription of the epistolary correspondence between Cecchini and Timpanaro, in which the two scholars discussed their own points of view about this problem.*

* Oltre ai revisori anonimi della rivista, cui sono debitore per segnalazioni non solo puntuali, ma in più di un caso per me provvidenziali, tengo a ringraziare tutti gli studiosi che, a vario titolo, mi sono stati d'aiuto nell'orientamento bibliografico necessario allo svolgimento di questa ricerca, che del loro apporto ha beneficiato anche dal punto di vista contenutistico: si tratta di Barbara Allegranti, Sergio Audano, Lorenzo Calvelli, Rita Degl'Innocenti Pierini, Settimio Lanciotti, Walter Lapini, Enrico Magnelli e Orazio Portuese. Sono inoltre grato ad Alessandro Russo, il cui incoraggiamento è risultato decisivo affinché mi decidessi a lavorare sul carteggio. Voglio poi esprimere la mia più profonda riconoscenza a Paolo e Giovanna Cecchini, figli del professor Enzo, che mi hanno permesso di accedere all'archivio privato del padre già nell'estate del 2018. A Simone Cecchini, amico carissimo, vanno il mio affetto e tutta la mia gratitudine: senza la sua mediazione, il presente studio non sarebbe mai nato. Rimango, ovviamente, il solo responsabile di quanto scritto.

KEYWORDS

Sebastiano Timpanaro, Enzo Cecchini, Lachmann's method, recensio

Il carteggio qui analizzato, che ho avuto occasione di consultare — e poi ricevuto in regalo — per gentile concessione della famiglia Cecchini di Urbino, offre una significativa testimonianza del rinnovato interesse per la stemmatica che fece séguito all'uscita della seconda edizione del celebre *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (1981), pubblicata da Sebastiano Timpanaro a diciotto anni dalla prima[1]: valga, a riprova di tale fermento, il fatto che una ristampa aggiornata del volume — comprensiva cioè di *addenda* inseriti per volontà dello stesso Timpanaro[2], consistenti in un corredo di segnalazioni e aggiornamenti

[1] Per ragioni pratiche si farà ricorso ad alcune abbreviazioni: la sigla Timpanaro 1963 sta ad indicare S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Firenze 1963; Timpanaro 1981 si riferisce alla seconda edizione, pubblicata a Padova, mentre Timpanaro 1985 è abbreviazione che rimanda alla ristampa di quest'ultima, riveduta ed aggiornata, affidata anch'essa ai tipi della casa editrice Liviana. Con Timpanaro 2003 si segnala la terza e ultima edizione, uscita per la UTET con prefazione (e una postilla) di Elio Montanari.

[2] Sulla monumentale produzione di Sebastiano Timpanaro jr. (1923–2000) — e sul ruolo che questi ha ricoperto nel panorama culturale europeo dal secondo dopoguerra a oggi — moltissimo è stato già detto altrove: mi pare opportuno segnalare, in prima istanza, la dettagliata bibliografia ad opera di Alessandro Russo in S. Timpanaro, *Contributi di Filologia Greca e Latina* (a cura di E. Narducci), Firenze 2005, pp. 473–504, che riprende e aggiorna M. Feo (a cura di), *L'opera di Sebastiano Timpanaro, 1923–2000*, supplemento a «Il Ponte» LVII (10–11), 2001, a sua volta ristampato in calce a R. Di Donato (a cura di), *Il filologo materialista: studi per Sebastiano Timpanaro*, Pisa 2003, pp. 191–293. Oltre alla silloge allestita da Di Donato, vanno ricordati i numerosi volumi celebrativi èditi tra 2002 e 2010: F. Arduini – L. Gamberale – M. Geymonat (a cura di), *Sebastiano Timpanaro e i virgilianisti antichi*, Firenze 2002; F. Gallo – G. Iorio Giannoli – P. Quintili (a cura di), *Per Sebastiano Timpanaro: il linguaggio, le passioni, la storia*, Milano 2003; E. Ghidetti – A. Pagnini (a cura di), *Sebastiano Timpanaro e la cultura del secondo Novecento*, Roma 2005; N. Ordine (a cura di), *La lezione di un maestro. Omaggio a Sebastiano Timpanaro*, Napoli 2010. Non mancano inoltre numeri monografici di riviste integralmente dedicati a Timpanaro: M. Feo (a cura di), *Per Sebastiano Timpanaro*, «Il Ponte» LVII (10–11), 2001; M. Feo (a cura di), *La morte di Spinoza: scritti di e su Sebastiano Timpanaro*, «Il Ponte» LX (10–11), 2004; W. Lapini (a cura di), *Omaggio a Sebastiano Timpanaro*, «Sileno», XXXIX (1–2), 2013. Tra i contributi più recenti, cfr. F. Santangelo, *«Voler capire tutto». Appunti sullo stile di Sebastiano Timpanaro*, «Anabases» XX, 2014, pp. 49–67 e A. Fabi, *Il magistero di un "maestro senza cattedra". Sebastiano Timpanaro tra didattica e filologia classica*, «Materialismo Storico» VIII (1), 2020, pp. 204–220.

bibliografici circoscritti al periodo 1973–’85[3] — si sia resa necessaria già nel 1985. Ed è non meno rilevante, in questa prospettiva, che le pagine oggetto del presente lavoro siano state rinvenute all’interno dell’esemplare della riedizione del 1981 di proprietà di Enzo Cecchini[4], all’epoca ordinario di Letteratura latina medievale nonché autore, nel 1982, di un

[3] La cronologia è desumibile dal contenuto degli stessi *addenda*, stampati nel 1985 alle pp. 151–153 e nel 2003 alle pp. 161–165 (sulla questione della collocazione di questi cfr. la *Presentazione* di Elio Montanari in Timpanaro 2003, p. ix). Il riferimento più antico (p. 164) è a P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften*, München 1973; il più recente (p. 164) rimanda invece a S. Timpanaro, *‘Recentiores’ e ‘deteriores’, ‘codices descripti’ e ‘codices inutiles’*, «Filologia e critica» X (2–3), 1985, *Omaggio a Lanfranco Caretti*, pp. 164–192, che l’autore avrebbe pubblicato di lì a poco. Vi è inoltre un accenno (p. 162) alle lezioni tenute da Timpanaro nell’ambito dei seminari fiorentini organizzati da Antonio Rotondò nel triennio 1983–’85, per i quali sia concesso un rinvio ad A. Fabi, *Il magistero*, cit., pp. 207–209.

[4] Enzo Cecchini (1929–2010), filologo, fu in una prima fase insegnante alle scuole medie, per poi ricoprire diversi incarichi presso l’Università di Urbino, culminati — nel 1975 — con il raggiungimento dell’ordinariato. Diplomatosi all’istituto magistrale, si specializzò in latino all’università e studiò il greco da autodidatta. Allievo di Alessandro Ronconi — per il quale si veda R. Pierini in A. Tonelli (a cura di), *Maestri di Ateneo. I docenti dell’università di Urbino nel Novecento*, Urbino 2013, pp. 462–467 —, nel 1952 discusse la propria tesi di laurea (*Questioni di aspetto verbale nel De bello gallico*) con il giovane Scevola Mariotti, che a Ronconi era subentrato in qualità di relatore dopo il trasferimento di questi a Firenze. Tra le pubblicazioni più significative di Cecchini spiccano le edizioni di testi umanistici: cfr. L. Pulci, *Versione del Pluto di Aristofane (vv. 1–269)*, introduzione e testo critico di M. Cecchini – E. Cecchini, Firenze 1965; E. S. Piccolomini, *Chrysis*, introduzione e testo critico di E. Cecchini, Firenze 1966; D. Alighieri, *Epistola a Cangrande*, a cura di E. Cecchini, Firenze 1995; *Uguccione da Pisa. Derivationes*, edizione critica a cura di E. Cecchini – G. Arbizzoni – S. Lanciotti – G. Nonni – M. G. Sassi – A. Tontini, 2 voll., Firenze 2004. Molti *adversaria* di argomento filologico sono stati raccolti in E. Cecchini, *Scritti minori di filologia testuale*, a cura di R. Raffaelli – S. Lanciotti – A. Tontini, Urbino 2008, di cui sono note tre recensioni: cfr. G. Cupaiuolo in «BStudLat» XXXIX (2), 2009, pp. 756–758; A. Bisanti in «StudMed», n. s., LI (2), 2010, pp. 987–993; P. Ascheri in «RFIC» CXXXIX (1), 2011, pp. 249–250. Su un livello diverso da quello della semplice recensione si colloca il contributo di P. Paolucci, *Undici regole dagli Scritti minori di filologia testuale di Enzo Cecchini*, «Athenaeum» CI (1), 2013, pp. 293–299: ci si concentra, oltre che sull’applicazione pratica di norme e criteri essenziali della critica testuale, sugli studi lachmanniani. Un profilo di Cecchini — cui si è attinto per gran parte delle informazioni riportate in questa nota — è stato redatto da Giorgio Nonni in A. Tonelli (a cura di), *Maestri di Ateneo*, cit., pp. 195–202 (una bibliografa parziale alle pp. 201–202). La copia del libro, come l’originale del carteggio, mi è stata donata dai familiari del professore ed è ora in mio possesso. Quanto all’archivio personale di Cecchini, apprendo da Orazio Portuese come esso sia stato acquisito dalla Scuola Superiore di Catania nel febbraio 2021: in attesa di un aggiornamento dei cataloghi con l’indicazione “ufficiale” del fondo, i libri sono temporaneamente conservati alla Società di Storia Patria di Catania e verranno prossimamente sottoposti a inventariazione.

articolo che si proponeva di ridiscutere le cosiddette "quattro regole" del Lachmann[5] (con particolare riguardo alla terza), cui è integralmente dedicata, come è noto, l'*Appendice* A dello studio timpanariano[6]. Il contributo di Cecchini, ripubblicato nel 2008 all'interno di una miscellanea dedicata al latinista da una *équipe* di colleghi, costituisce una delle aggiunte alla ristampa e alla terza edizione, ove è citato senza che si faccia menzione dello scambio epistolare[7]; questa singola questione lachmanniana — ed è un'informazione che ricavo da una testimonianza diretta di Settimio Lanciotti — fu argomento di un seminario tenuto da Cecchini all'Università di Urbino, presso la biblioteca dell'Istituto di Civiltà Antiche[8].

La corrispondenza consta di tre lettere risalenti all'autunno del 1981: due di esse — redatte rispettivamente il 30 settembre e il 27 ottobre — sono a firma di Timpanaro, mentre l'unica a nome di Cecchini si colloca cronologicamente in posizione intermedia (10 ottobre). Manca, nonostante ve ne sia traccia nel messaggio con datazione più alta (a tutti gli effetti già una replica), la missiva con cui Cecchini diede avvio allo scambio e alla quale Timpanaro fa esplicito riferimento: su questo punto si avrà modo di ritornare più avanti. A proposito dell'epistolario, una copia dello stesso si trova depositata presso l'archivio della corrispondenza di Timpanaro, conservata presso la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: trattandosi di una riproduzione ottenuta mediante xerografia, è lecito supporre che le lettere siano state spedite da Cecchini in risposta all'appello, diffuso dalla Consulta Universitaria di Studi Latini alla morte di Timpanaro, con cui si invitavano i possessori di carteggi con il celebre studioso a farne pervenire copia all'archivio della biblioteca[9]. Rispetto

[5] E. Cecchini, *Sulle "quattro regole" di Lachmann*, «Orpheus», n. s., III, 1982, pp. 133–139, poi incluso con lievi correzioni (vd. *infra*, n. 26) in E. Cecchini, *Scritti minori*, cit., pp. 11–19.

[6] L'appendice, intitolata *Un primo tentativo di «recensio» meccanica compiuto dal Lachmann nel 1817*, è alle pp. 93–99 di Timpanaro 1963. In Timpanaro 1981 — come pure in Timpanaro 1985 — si trova alle pp. 105–110; in Timpanaro 2003 occupa le pp. 111–116. Essa era originariamente parte di S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann. II*, «SIFC», n. s., XXXII, 1960, pp. 38–63, in particolare pp. 52–56. Tale contributo preparatorio costituisce uno dei nuclei alla base del libro, trattandosi di fatto del seguito di *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann. I*, «SIFC», n. s., XXXI, 1959, pp. 182–228.

[7] Timpanaro 2003, p. 164: l'articolo è definito «intelligente», ma «non risolutivo».

[8] Lanciotti, latinista ed esperto di lingua tedesca, fu interpellato da Cecchini a proposito del testo delle regole.

[9] L'avviso è stato divulgato tramite le maggiori riviste di antichistica italiane e si rivolge «Ai lettori»: «La commissione nominata dalla CUSL in data 21.11.2001, formata dai professori Renato Badalì, Silvano Boscherini, Antonio Carlini, Paolo

alla catalogazione dei materiali reperibile on-line, che certifica la presenza di quattro lettere contro le tre riprodotte in questa sede, è d’obbligo una rettifica. La dottoressa Barbara Allegranti, bibliotecaria della Scuola, mi informa di come le epistole in questione siano in realtà tre e non aggiungano nulla di estraneo alle carte urbinati[10]: vi è compresa, semplicemente, una duplice copia della prima lettera superstite, inviata da Timpanaro dalla residenza di via Ricasoli.

Il dialogo tra Cecchini e Timpanaro andrà ricondotto, in ultima analisi, al *trait d’union* rappresentato da Scevola Mariotti[11] e Augusto Campana[12]. Proprio al carteggio tra Campana e Timpanaro, curato da Michele Feo, si deve un prezioso riferimento — ancorché indiretto — a un possibile contatto tra i due studiosi. In una lettera a Campana — coeva alle tre qui trascritte — Timpanaro annotava tra parentesi: «sto lavorando alla mia bibliografia, beninteso non da pubblicare nella miscellanea urbinate»; Feo, in nota, precisa come si stesse alludendo alla «*Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, Padova, Antenore, 1981, voll. 2, che fu promossa da Enzo Cecchini, Adriano Gattucci, Piergiorgio Parroni,

Carrara, Michele Feo, Leopoldo Gamberale, Walter Lapini, Luigi Lehnus, Giovanni Orlandi, Giuseppe Ramires, coordinata dal Presidente della Consulta Ferruccio Bertini, è stata incaricata di istruire nel miglior modo possibile il materiale di archivio relativo ai molteplici carteggi di Sebastiano Timpanaro con alcuni fra i più prestigiosi studiosi italiani e stranieri, viventi o defunti, ed ha concordato sull’opportunità di richiedere a tutti coloro che siano in possesso di lettere scritte da Timpanaro, di volerlo cortesemente comunicare al prof. Walter Lapini (...). Tale operazione, che riscuote la più calda adesione da parte della signora Maria Augusta Timpanaro, viene compiuta nella prospettiva di affidare tutto il materiale raccolto e ordinato ad un archivio centrale in via di costituzione presso la biblioteca della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Piazza dei Cavalieri 6, 56126 Pisa. La commissione sarà grata se le lettere o le fotocopie di esse, da cui vanno naturalmente tolti tutti i riferimenti di carattere personale a persone viventi, fossero inviate, unitamente ad alcuni elementi utili alla schedatura (date del carteggio, contenuto sommario, ecc.), al suddetto prof. Walter Lapini».

[10] L’inventario della corrispondenza di Timpanaro depositata presso l’archivio fu curato, in origine, da Alessandro Marucelli.

[11] Scevola Mariotti (1920–2000) è stato uno dei massimi latinisti italiani. Per il pluridecennale rapporto con Timpanaro — che ebbe inizio a partire dai rispettivi *Enniana*, nati sotto il segno del magistero di Pasquali — si rimanda al densissimo S. Timpanaro, *Scevola Mariotti*, «Belfagor» XLVIII, 1993, pp. 271–326. Il carteggio tra i due studiosi è di imminente pubblicazione per le edizioni della Scuola Normale Superiore ed è già possibile fornirne gli estremi: *Sebastiano Timpanaro — Scevola Mariotti. Carteggio (1944–1999)*, a cura di G. Donati – P. Parroni, Pisa 2022.

[12] Per Augusto Campana (1906–1995), umanista *tout court*, è ora utilissimo O. Portuese, *Una lettera inedita di Augusto Campana per la tradizione di Cic. Scaur. 4 ed Epigr. Bob. 63*, «History of Classical Scholarship» II, 2020, pp. 55–67 (un approfondito quadro d’insieme sulla figura di Campana è a p. 58 n. 8).

Piergiorgio Peruzzi, dei quali erano insegnanti a Urbino Cecchini e Gattucci»[13]. Di altro tenore è, per contro, un'esplicita menzione di Cecchini che si trova all'interno del profilo di Scevola Mariotti redatto da Timpanaro per «Belfagor», nel contesto di un *excursus* sulla compresenza, nel percorso di Mariotti, tra filologia latina e medievale: «Bisogna anche accennare agli allievi di Mariotti nel campo della filologia umanistica, a due almeno: Enzo Cecchini, un allievo del periodo urbinate, e Silvia Rizzo»[14].

Quanto ai quattro precetti lachmanniani, va detto che gli sforzi dello studioso tedesco non si concentrarono sulla ricostruzione di un testo "originale", ma sul ramo della tradizione dei *Nibelungi* — più complesso rispetto alla redazione più breve e più genuina del cod. *B* — costituito dal capostipite indicato come ϕ, a sua volta alla base dei mss. *G*, *E* e *M* ed interpolato da una seconda mano (ϕ^2)[15]: precisava Timpanaro come, seguendo Lachmann, il compito dell'editore consista in sostanza nel «ricostruire le lezioni di ϕ^2»[16]. Riportiamo per comodità il testo delle regole, presentato nella forma in cui fu stampato nel 1817, senza i successivi rimaneggiamenti[17]:

1) Drey Handschriften unter unseren vieren überstimmen alle Mal eine.
2) Wo je zwey übereinstimmen, ist *BG* < *EM* (d. h. in Stellen, wo *B* mit *G* übereinstimmt, die einstimmige Lesart von *E* und *M* vorzuziehen), *GE* > *BE*, *GM* > *BE*.

[13] M. Feo, *Il carteggio tra Augusto Campana e Sebastiano Timpanaro. Terza edizione riveduta e ampliata*, s.d., p. 56 n. 247. Lo studio è di fatto un aggiornamento di M. Feo, *Il carteggio tra Augusto Campana e Sebastiano Timpanaro. Nuova edizione accresciuta*, «Campi immaginabili» LII–LIII, 2015, pp. 368–452.

[14] S. Timpanaro, *Scevola Mariotti*, «Belfagor» XLVIII, 1993, pp. 271–326: cfr. in particolare p. 287 n. 19. Silvia Rizzo (1946–2022), ai cui lavori Timpanaro si è riferito in più di un'occasione, ha ricoperto il ruolo di professore ordinario tra le università di Perugia e "La Sapienza" di Roma. Tra le sue molte pubblicazioni di filologia latina e medievale, spicca senz'altro *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Roma 1973 (un elenco piuttosto recente dei suoi studi è consultabile sul sito della Società dei Filologi della Letteratura Italiana: http://www.sfli.it/soci/silvia-rizzo/).

[15] Per i *sigla codicum* adottati cfr. Timpanaro 2003, pp. 110–111.

[16] Timpanaro 2003, 111.

[17] K. Lachmann, rec. F. H. von der Hagen (hrsg.), *Der Nibelungen Lied*, Breslau 1816 e G. F. Benecke (hrsg.), *Der Edel Stein von Bonerius*, Berlin 1816, «Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung» XIV (3), 1817, pp. 113–142 (la terza regola è alla p. 118); la recensione è ristampata in K. Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie* (a cura di K. Müllenhoff), Berlin 1876, pp. 81–114; per la terza regola si veda nello specifico p. 87.

3) Wo drey Lesarten sind, da ist *BG* > *E* – *M* (die Lesart, welche *B* und *G* gemeinschaftlich haben, die beiden andern in *E* und *M* vorzuziehen), *GE* > *B* – *M*, *GM* > *B* – *E*; hingegen *EM* = *B* – *G* (die Übereinstimmung von *E* und *M* führt gegen die zwey Lesarten von *B* und *G* zu keiner sicheren Entscheidung), *BM* = *G* – *E*, *BE* = *G* – *M*.
4) Eben so ungewiss bleibt die ursprüngliche Lesart, wo alle vier uneinig sind.

La seconda legge — che, in caso di presenza di due lezioni, ciascuna attestata due codici, sanciva la preferibilità dell’accordo tra *E* e *M* per risalire al testo di f^2 — non sollevava di per sé particolari problemi; lo stesso può dirsi per la quarta, relativa all’assenza di certezze in caso di concordanza tra tutti i manoscritti. Di contro, se già la prima regola — riferita all’accordo di tre manoscritti contro uno — risultava inaccettabile, fu la terza a comportare le maggiori difficoltà interpretative, anche per ragioni di incompatibilità con la seconda[18]. La prima modifica alla terza regola si ritrova nelle *Kleinere Schriften* di Lachmann, in cui, al sintagma «da ist *BG* > *E* – *M*», fu sostituita la formulazione «da ist *BG* < *E* – *M*»: il mutamento fu verosimilmente introdotto dal Müllenhoff, curatore del volume in questione[19]. Tra i tentativi di correzione, è poi significativo quello ad opera di Fritz Bornmann, il quale aveva sanato il testo per congettura incontrando il favore di Timpanaro: «Wo drey Lesarten sind, da ist *BG* < *E* – *M* (der Lesart, welche *B* und *G* gemeinschaftlich haben, die beiden andern in *E* und *M* vorzuziehen), *G* – *E* > *BM*, *G* – *M* > *BE*; hingegen *EM* = *B* – *G* (die Übereinstimmung von *E* und *M* führt gegen die zwey Lesarten von *B* und *G* zu keiner sicheren Entscheidung), *B* – *M* = *GE*, *B* – *E* = *GM*»[20]. La regola aveva inoltre beneficiato di una proposta dello stesso Cecchini, che suggeriva di correggere in «*B* – *G* < *EM*» il

[18] Timpanaro 2003, pp. 113–116.

[19] Su questo punto cfr. E. Cecchini, *Sulle “quattro regole”*, cit., p. 135 n. 8 e Timpanaro 2003, pp. 112–114.

[20] F. Bornmann, *Sui criteri di ‘recensio’ meccanica enunciati da Lachmann nel 1817*, «Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Comparate» XV, 1962, pp. 45–53, specie p. 50. L’attività di Fritz Bornmann (1929–1997), filologo italo-tedesco, si svolse prevalentemente presso l’Università di Firenze: oltre alle traduzioni italiane di lavori specialistici in lingua tedesca e ai contributi di storia degli studi classici (specie per Nietzsche e Pasquali), sono fondamentali i suoi studi di filologia greca. Al Bornmann è stato di recente dedicato un volume, frutto di un convegno fiorentino del novembre 2017, che si rivela già imprescindibile per rigore e profondità di analisi: E. Magnelli (a cura di), *Fritz Bornmann, maestro e studioso. Storia della filologia, riflessioni di metodo e ricordi personali*, Alessandria 2021; cfr. in particolare E. Magnelli, *Fritz Bornmann (1929–1997). Un profilo biografico*, pp. 13–18 e M. Canzani – E. Magnelli, *Bibliografia degli scritti di Fritz Bornmann*, pp. 19–24.

primo esempio della prima serie («*BG* < *E* – *M*») e in «*E* – *M* = *BG*» il primo esempio della seconda serie («*EM* = *B* – *G*»)[21]. Tale soluzione pareva a Cecchini più economica dell'emendazione che Grassi e La Penna — l'uno indipendentemente dall'altro — avevano comunicato a Timpanaro, con la quale intervenivano però non solo sui segni, ma sull'ordine di successione delle sigle: «Wo drey Lesarten sind, da ist *EM* > *B* – *G* (die Lesart, welche *E* und *M* gemeinschaftlich haben, den beiden andern in *B* und *G* vorzuziehen), *GE* > *B* – *M*, *GM* > *B* – *E*; hingegen *BG* = *E* – *M* (die Übereinstimmung von *B* und *G* führt gegen die zwey Lesarten von *E* und *M* zu keiner sicheren Entscheidung), *BM* = *G* – *E*, *BE* = *G* – *M*»[22]. Va infine registrato, tra le diverse interpretazioni, il tentativo con cui Magdalene Lutz-Hensel cercò di difendere la formulazione originaria dei principi senza apportarvi correzioni[23].

La copia della seconda edizione appartenuta a Cecchini, allo stato in cui è stata conservata, presenta una serie di annotazioni alle pp. 105–110 (*Appendice* A, a matita e a penna rossa) e 123–150 (*Appendice* C, a matita). Essa ha inoltre delle piegature in concomitanza con le pp. 40 (in cui si parla dell'edizione dei *Nibelungi* del 1826 a cura di Lachmann) e 142 (nel corpo del testo si sviluppa una riflessione sull'importanza del dato statistico nella stemmatica; in nota ci si sofferma sugli errori trasmessi per via orizzontale). In allegato al libro sono stati acclusi diversi documenti, da considerarsi come presupposti necessari alla lettura del carteggio:

[21] E. Cecchini, *Sulle "quattro regole"*, cit., p. 136 n. 9. Un accenno alla correzione di Cecchini è in G. Fiesoli, *La memoria 'lunga' del maestro: storia, filologie, prassi ecdotiche*, in E. Magnelli (a cura di), *Fritz Bornmann*, cit., p. 73.

[22] Per la poligenesi dell'ipotesi si veda Timpanaro 2003, p. 114 n. 5. Eugenio Grassi (1927–1959) fu un filologo classico attivo a Firenze, la cui prematura scomparsa condusse a due corpose pubblicazioni curate, tra gli altri, dall'amico Timpanaro: cfr. E. Grassi, *Inediti di Eugenio Grassi*, I, a cura di V. Bartoletti – F. Bornmann – M. Manfredi – S. Timpanaro, «A&R», s. V, VI, 1961 ed E. Grassi, *Inediti di Eugenio Grassi*, II, a cura di V. Bartoletti – F. Bornmann – M. Manfredi – S. Timpanaro, «A&R», s. V, XV, 1970. Per la sterminata produzione di Antonio La Penna (1925) è senz'altro utile il profilo dello studioso pubblicato in *Premi "Antonio Feltrinelli" 1987*, Roma 1987, pp. 27–32; un aggiornamento sulla bibliografia più recente è ora in A. La Penna, *La favola antica. Esopo e la sapienza degli schiavi. Con una bibliografia degli scritti dell'autore (1995–2021)*, a cura di G. Niccoli – S. Grazzini, Pisa 2021.

[23] Cfr. M. Lutz-Hensel, *Lachmanns textkritische Wahrscheinlichkeitsregeln*, «Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie» 90, 1971, pp. 394–408 e M. Lutz-Hensel, *Prinzipien der ersten textkritischen Editionen mittelhochdeutscher Dichtung. Bruder Grimm, Benecke, Lachmann: eine methodenkritische Analyse*, Berlin 1975, pp. 228–239.

- un riassunto in dieci pagine — diviso per capitoli e redatto a penna blu — de *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (II ed.);
- una fotocopia della recensione di Lachmann del 1817 — ma tratta dalla ristampa del 1876 —, con note a margine e traduzioni interlineari di alcuni termini dal tedesco (tutto a matita);
- tre fogli di appunti riferiti alla rec. del 1817, in cui sono indicati numeri di pagina che seguono quelli delle *Kleinere Schriften* (uno, redatto a matita, in cui sono schematizzati tutti i possibili rapporti tra i mss.; tre, con annotazioni a penna nera, che contengono osservazioni puntuali sulle pp. 82–87);
- una riproduzione in fotocopia della III ed. lachmanniana del *Nibelungenlied* (1851), in particolare delle pp. vii-xi (dalla *Vorrede*) e 118–119 (quartine 851–864);
- due pagine fotocopiate dall’edizione del *Nibelungenlied* ad opera di Michael Stanley Batts (pp. 276 e 277), con il testo delle quartine 859–862 (nei codd. indicati dal Lachmann come *G* ed *E*)[24];
- una fotocopia dell’*Appendice* A nella sua versione originaria del 1960 (uscita per gli «Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica»), con annotazioni sul margine a penna rossa (alle pp. 53–54 e 56);
- una fotocopia dell’articolo in cui Fritz Bornmann formulò l’emendazione al testo della terza regola (1962)[25], con indicazione a penna nera di alcuni numeri di pagina mancanti (pp. 46–49), qualche segnalazione a matita sul margine (pp. 50–51) e il timbro della Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino;
- una fotocopia dell’articolo di Cecchini, con due lievi modifiche a penna nera[26].

[24] Si tratta di M. S. Batts (hrsg.), *Das Nibelungenlied. Paralleldruck der Handschriften A, B und C nebst Lesarten der übringen Handschriften*, Tübingen 1971.

[25] F. Bornmann, *Sui criteri*, cit.

[26] Si tratta di due minuzie confluite nella versione dell’articolo inclusa nel volume del 2008: a «da Müllenhoff» (p. 136 n. 9) si preferisce la forma «dal Müllenhoff» (p. 14 n. 9); da «Timpanaro» (p. 137) si passa a «il Timpanaro» (p. 15). Si può supporre che le correzioni siano piuttosto “tarde” e siano state apportate proprio in previsione degli *Scritti minori*.

1. Sebastiano Timpanaro a Enzo Cecchini

Due fogli di carta da lettere 22 cm x 28 cm, piegati al centro; otto facciate totali, tutte numerate dal mittente eccetto la prima. Scrittura a penna con inchiostro nero.

[1]

Firenze, 30.9.81
via Ricasoli 31

Caro Professore,
Le sono grato della lettera e dell'articolo lachmanniano[27]. Come Lei sa, ho avuto sempre la più alta stima per i suoi lavori; e sono lieto che un critico testuale del suo valore si sia sentito invogliato ad affrontare il «rompicapo»[28] di quella recensione del Lachmann a H. von der Hagen e delle famigerate «regole».
In questi ultimi mesi ho ricevuto una ~~altra~~ lettera sullo stesso argomento, da un grecista tedesco mio amico, Rudolf Führer (il cognome non tragga in inganno: è un sincero democratico e un uomo d'oro!)[29], il
[2]
quale sostiene che le regole del L. vanno bene così, senza bisogno di correzioni (secondo lui, le regole dovevano servire, nelle intenzioni del Lachmann, a ricostruire il ϕ e non il ϕ^2). Il tentativo di Führer mi sembra disperato, tuttavia egli insiste, anche in un successivo scambio di lettere che abbiamo avuto.
Molto meglio argomentato è il suo articolo. Quanto ad acutezza, merita il massimo apprezzamento, ed è certo degno di pubblicazione. Le confesso tuttavia che non sono rimasto convinto. Che l'ipotesi Grassi —

[27] Il passaggio documenta l'esistenza di una precedente lettera da parte di Cecchini; la forma dell'articolo che vi allegò non era, forse, ancora definitiva (vd. *infra*, n. 33).

[28] Per la stessa espressione cfr. Timpanaro 2003, p. 113; per il ricorso alla definizione di «pasticciaccio» cfr. G. Fiesoli, *La memoria 'lunga'*, cit., p. 73.

[29] Un analogo esempio del tono ironico con cui Timpanaro si riferì ai *leader* nazifascisti è rintracciabile nella ricostruzione dell'episodio dello scambio tra «Anassagora» e «Protagora», che ebbe luogo in occasione di un pubblico discorso tenuto da Mussolini: cfr. S. Timpanaro, *Il lapsus freudiano. Psicanalisi e critica tesuale*, Torino 2002² [1974], pp. 55–56 e 133–136. Rudolf Führer (1936), studioso prevalentemente di testi greci e di lessicografia, nell'ultimo decennio è stato attivo presso il *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (con sede ad Amburgo) e collaboratore per il *Gesamtkommentar* all'*Iliade*, pubblicato a Basilea. La corrispondenza tra Führer e Timpanaro consta, come risulta dall'archivio, di 43 lettere; cfr. anche il ringraziamento in Timpanaro 2003, p. 8. Tra le maggiori pubblicazioni ricordiamo perlomeno *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der fruhgriechischen Lyrik*, München 1967 e *Zur slavischen Übersetzung der Menandersentenzen*, Königstein 1982.

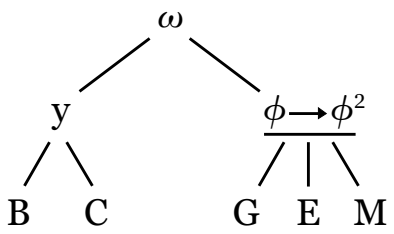
La Penna sia migliore dell’ipotesi Bor~~m~~nmann[30], può essere: io stesso mi decisi a favore di Bornmann dopo molte esitazioni. Ma mi rende dubbioso il fatto che Lei è costretto ad attribuire al Lachmann
[3]
troppi presupposti sottintesi; e, anche ammessi questi presupposti, non mi pare che tutto torni agevolmente. Può darsi che il Lachmann pensasse che le correzioni di ϕ^2 fossero molto «drastiche», così da imporsi all’attenzione molto più delle lezioni di prima mano. Ma in tal caso ci aspetteremmo che quasi sempre tutti e tre i discendenti di ϕ - ϕ^2 avessero riproposto la lezione di ϕ^2, e che i casi di «due contro uno» fossero eccezionali. Tutto ciò il Lachmann non lo dice. D’altronde, se i casi di «due contro uno» sono, come pare,[31] abbastanza frequenti, mi pare piuttosto azzardato supporre che più volte uno dei 3 codici (e non sempre il medesimo, ma ora l’uno ora l’altro) abbia riproposto la lezione
[4]
semi-illeggibile, o chiaramente «rimaneggiata», di ϕ^1. Mi pare un po’ sofistico dire: non a caso, la maggioranza dei 3 codici sceglie ϕ^2 e non ϕ. Il concetto di maggioranza, in un caso come questo (diverso è il caso dell~~a~~’accordo di due contro uno per ricostruire un cod. perduto: lì davvero l’accordo dei due è cogente), avrebbe valore per «grandi numeri», con forti distacchi tra maggioranza e minoranza, per es. 20 contro 1. Qui invece avremmo delle correzioni ϕ^2 molto drastiche, le quali però, più volte, seducono soltanto due copisti, e uno no.
Inoltre, sia ~~in~~ nella regola 3ª, sia, ancor più nella 1ª, dobbiamo presupporre (~~e~~ anche questo, nonostante le Sue giustificazioni, mi
[5]

[30] Su questa istintiva “anticipazione” nella trascrizione del cognome del Bornmann, sono di grande rilevanza le pagine che lo stesso Timpanaro riservò alla grafia «Niebhur» in luogo di «Niebuhr», fenomeno più che frequente tra gli studiosi italiani del primo Ottocento: cfr. S. Timpanaro, *Il lapsus*, cit., pp. 115–117. L’errore continua, d’altra parte, a essere commesso, come risulta chiaro da E. Palandri, *Karl Bunsen sul primo incontro di N i e b h u r e Leopardi*, in S. Fornasiero – S. Tamiozzo (a cura di), *Studi sul Sette-Ottocento offerti a Marinella Colummi*, Venezia 2015, pp. 157–165 (cfr. anche la *Premessa*, specialmente le pp. 14–15). Vero è che, come mi suggerisce Lorenzo Calvelli, Timpanaro potrebbe aver pensato, sia pure per un istante, alla figura di Eugen Bormann (1842–1917), noto antichista; d’altra parte, sconfinando dalla storia degli studi classici e tenendo conto del tenore della prima parte della lettera in questione (cfr. anche la n. 29), nulla vieta di supporre che una qualche confusione possa essere scaturita a partire da Martin Bormann (1900–1945), segretario e successore di Adolf Hitler.

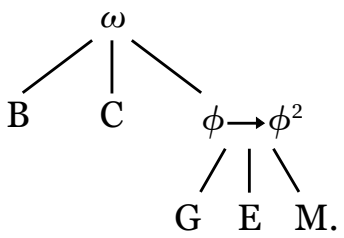
[31] La parentetica è stata inserita, a integrazione del periodo, solo in un secondo momento.

pare un presupposto stranamente illogico) che B non entri in giuoco. ~~Che~~ Come poteva il L. scrivere (regola 1ª) che «Drei Handschriften unter unseren vieren überstimmen alle Mal eine», e poi sottintendere che B era fuori giuoco?
È soprattutto la prima regola che, a mio parere, è assolutamente ingiustificabile e "inguaribile": sarà duro rassegnarsi ad ammettere che il L. abbia scritto una mera assurdità, eppure è così: la 1ª regola non deve essere interpretata, deve essere respinta (anche la giustificazione di Bornmann è pur sempre giustificazione della genesi di un errore nella mente del Lachmann, e quindi è ammissione dell'esistenza dell'errore stesso). Ciò non implica, per parte mia, alcuna svalutazione dell'ingegno del
[6]
Lachmann: implica solo il riconoscimento che il L. era un grande ingegno impaziente, disattento, troppo disprezzatore di quelle che a lui parevano minuzie filistee. Quelle regole, egli le scrisse stans pede in uno, e non si curò mai di riesaminarle con calma. Io Le confesso che, se — cosa che non farò certamente più! — riscrivessi per l'ennesima volta quell'Appendice A del mio volumetto, sarei propenso a rinunciare anche a tutte le proposte di correzione della 3ª regola, e ad ammettere che anche lì il L. abbia sragionato. Se sragionò così terribilmente nella 1ª regola, che cosa ci obbliga a cercare rimedi alla 4ª regola?
Un'altra osservazione. Lei dice, all'inizio del Suo articolo, che il Lachmann considera non
[7]
ricostruibile il capostipite del ramo a cui appartiene B, in mancanza di un altro codice. In effetti il L. dice così (e sbaglia: cfr. Mariotti negli Studi in memoria di Leone Traverso)[32]. Ma Lei aggiunge che, se avessimo il codice di cui il L. lamenta la mancanza, ci troveremmo dinanzi a un fortunato stemma tripartito. Non mi pare. Indicando con C il codice desiderato dal Lachmann, avremmo uno stemma di questo tipo:

[32] Cfr. S. Mariotti, *"Codex unicus" e editori sfortunati*, in G. Paioni – U. Vogt (a cura di), *Studi in onore di Leone Traverso*, «StudUrb (B)», n. s. B, XLV (2), 1971, pp. 837–840. Come è evidente dagli estremi bibliografici dello studio, Timpanaro incorre qui in un'imprecisione: la silloge in tre volumi non è «in memoria» di Leone Traverso, ma «in onore».



e <u>non</u>, come Lei se non erro suppone, uno stemma



La tradizione sarebbe quindi sempre, all’origine, bipartita.
[8]
Non vorrei che queste mie osservazioni suonassero invito alla rinuncia. Ho già detto e ripeto che considero consigliabilissima la pubblicazione del suo articolo[33]. Prossimamente, Bornmann (io no!) ritornerà sulla questione. Desidera che io faccia vedere a Bornmann il Suo dattiloscritto? O preferisce che io Glie lo rimandi, e magari Lei stesso si metta in contatto con Bornmann (via Caracciolo 35, Firenze)? Bornmann non è un dogmatico, e certo il Suo articolo lo interesserebbe, anche se non so prevedere se rimarrà convinto.
Se Le sembra — come è possibilissimo — che io Le abbia risposto in modo insoddisfacente o abbia frainteso il Suo pensiero, torni alla carica!
Intanto grazie e un cordialissimo saluto dal Suo

Sebastiano Timpanaro

2. Enzo Cecchini a Sebastiano Timpanaro

Un unico foglio in formato A4; lettera dattiloscritta in fronte e retro, senza numerazione delle facciate. Caratteri greci inseriti a penna con inchiostro nero.

[33] È questo il passo che induce a credere come il contributo inviato da Cecchini a Timpanaro fosse in una forma ancora provvisoria.

[1]

Urbino, 10/10/1981[34]

Caro Professore,

La ringrazio vivamente per l'attenzione dedicata al mio dattiloscritto e per la Sua lettera così ricca di osservazioni. Devo dirLe che il mio tentativo mi sembra ancora proponibile, e che l'ipotesi su cui esso si fonda appare ancora ai miei occhi l'unica che ci consenta di ravvisare nel frettoloso ed ellittico discorso del Lachmann un minimo di coerenza.

Vorrei dirLe in primo luogo che i "presupposti sottintesi" che io attribuisco al Lachmann si riducono a uno solo, cioè alla convinzione che gli interventi del revisore fossero abbastanza "drastici" da imporsi all'attenzione dei copisti di GEM (o di eventuali intermediari), sì che in linea di principio almeno due dei tre dovessero essere indotti ad accoglierli. Se non si ammette questo, non si capisce come mai il Lachmann indicasse come compito dell'editore quello di individuare (per accettarli, a quanto par di capire, non già per rifiutarli) proprio tali interventi.

Certo, resta da chiedersi perché mai allora ora l'uno ora l'altro dei tre apografi di ϕ potesse non tenerne conto (volutamente o per svista?), ma il Lachmann sarà stato propenso a considerare tal casi piuttosto rari. Essi erano effettivamente documentabili solo quando uno dei tre apografi di ϕ concordasse con B contro l'accordo degli altri due. Per il resto, verso la lezione isolata di uno dei tre apografi non appoggiata da B (sia che questo si unisse agli altri due apografi, sia che se ne distaccasse) sarà prevalso, anche qui in linea di principio, il sospetto che si trattasse di errore o di arbitrio singolare.

Il Lachmann lamenta la mancanza di collazioni complete ed esatte dei codd. del Nibelungen Lied, ed afferma che, di conseguenza, solo per pochi passi del poema è possibile sottoporre a verifica delle regole di recensio quali quelle da lui elaborate. Esse hanno dunque un carattere d'indicazione metodologica piuttosto astratta, riferita a una situazione non perfettamente nota, tanto che il L. stesso ammette che le sue regole sono più facili da enunciarsi che da applicarsi.

Quanto all'inserimento di B in tutte le combinazioni possibili, io non sostengo che sia inutile, ma che talvolta arreca qualche complicazione e rende più oscure le regole; né credo che il L. abbia molto riflettuto sulla possibilità di lasciare, almeno in certi casi, B "fuori giuoco": egli aveva a disposizione quattro testimoni ed era, tutto sommato, naturale che li schierasse tutti sul campo. Ed ogni volta che un intervento del revisore non solo non si potesse accertare, ma apparisse improbabile,

[34] Manca l'indirizzo del mittente.

il testo da darsi era quello di ϕ, per la cui determinazione l’apporto di B era spesso essenziale.
Le Sue osservazioni circa lo stemma che io ho troppo ellitticamente definito “tripartito” sono giustissime: io stesso mi ero chiesto se non fosse il caso di discutere più minutamente la cosa, ma purtroppo mi capita di patire anch’io brevi crisi d’insofferenza. Forse animato da
[2]
eccessiva fiducia nel Lachmann, intendevo che il suo auspicio circa il ritrovamento di almeno un altro codice affine a B dovesse significare il ritrovamento di un codice non soltanto non interpolato come GEM, ma anche non legato da un particolare rapporto di “parentela” con B (o con ϕ^1). Anche in tal caso si sarebbe allora caduti da un “tripartitismo perfetto” in un “tripartitismo imperfetto”, ma per la maggior parte del testo lo stemma sarebbe stato effettivamente tripartito rispetto a ω. Riconosco che avrei dovuto essere più esplicito.
Sarei lieto se Lei, come si offre di fare, mostrasse al Bornmann le mie pagine.
Nel ringraziarLa ancora, Le porgo i miei più cordiali saluti.

Il Suo dev.mo
Enzo Cecchini[35]

3. Sebastiano Timpanaro a Enzo Cecchini

Un unico foglio di carta da lettere, 22 cm x 28 cm, piegato al centro: quattro facciate totali, non numerate dal mittente. Scrittura a penna con inchiostro nero.

[1]

Firenze, 27.X.81[36]

Caro Professore,
pur continuando — devo confessarlo — a non essere convinto della Sua ipotesi quanto alle «regole nibelungiche» del Lachmann (la questione di B continua a costituire per me una difficoltà insormontabile, e la 1ª regola...continua a non tornare; credo ancora valida, inoltre, l’osservazione che Le
[2]
espressi quanto alla non-validità del criterio del «due contro uno» trattandosi di piccoli numeri: credo che uno studioso di calcolo delle probabilità mi darebbe ragione), ritengo tuttavia utilissima la pubblicazione del Suo articolo. In una questione così intricata, è bene

[35] Commiato e firma aggiunti a penna.

[36] Manca, anche in questo caso, l’indirizzo del mittente.

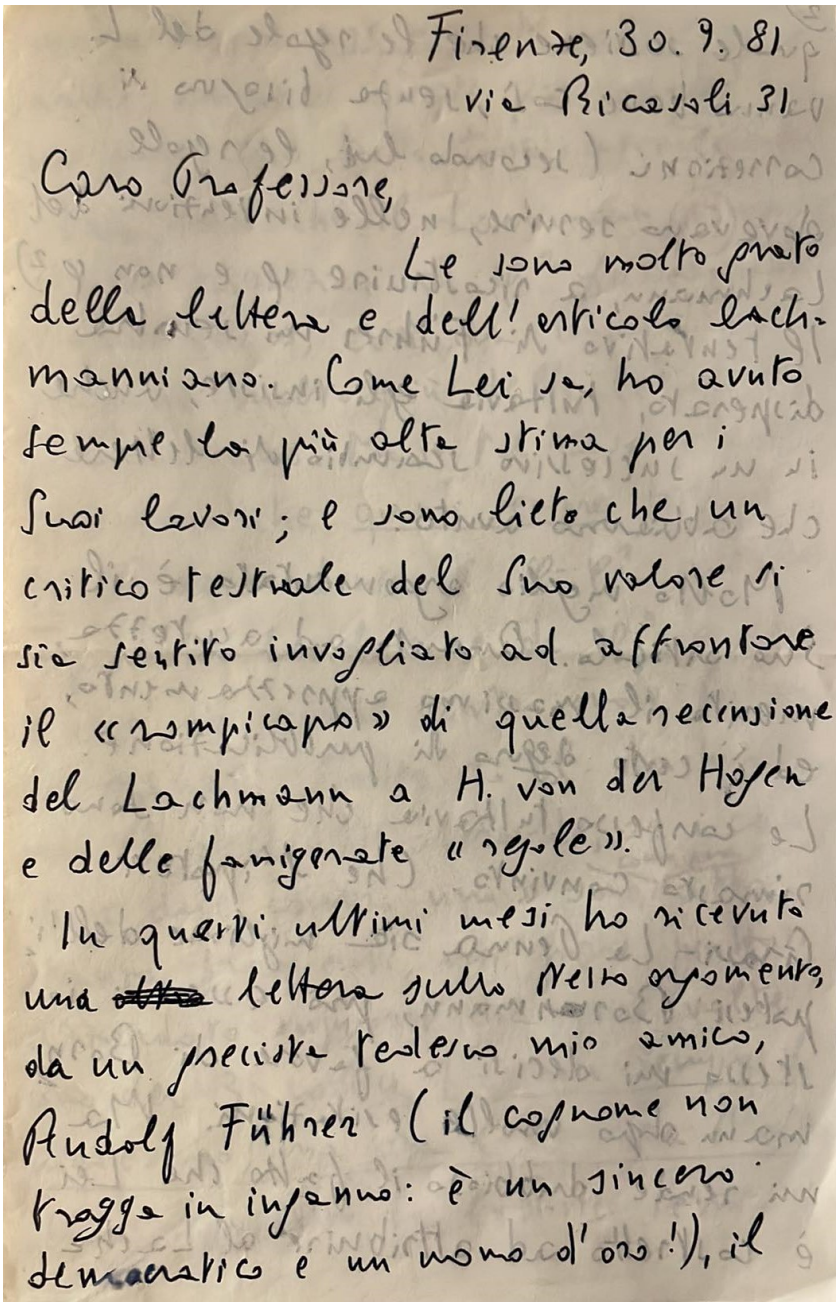
che tutte le proposte d'interpretazione vengano enunciate, discusse, messe alla prova; ed io son ben lontano dal credermi autorizzato
[3]
a scoraggiare un tentativo come il Suo, la cui acutezza, al di là del dissenso, considero indubbia, come già Le dissi.
Ho passato il Suo dattiloscritto a Bornmann, ma non ho ancora avuto occasione di parlarne con lui[37]. Ad ogni modo ho dato a Bornmann il Suo indirizzo, e Le comunico (non ricordo se già lo feci) l'indirizzo di Bornmann: via Caracciolo 35, 50133 Firenze[38].
[4]
Coi più cordiali saluti e auguri di buon lavoro, e con l'espressione della mia costante, vivissima stima per la Sua attività di studioso

Sebastiano Timpanaro

Alessandro Fabi
Liceo Linguistico Internazionale "C. Boldrini" — Bologna
alessandro.fabi@linguisticointernazionale.it

[37] A quel che mi risulta, non vi sono notizie sul parere riservato da Bornmann allo scritto di Cecchini. L'articolo di Bornmann per «Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie», preannunciato in Timpanaro 2003, pp. 116 n. 11 e 164, non venne peraltro mai pubblicato: si veda a tale riguardo M. Canzani – E. Magnelli, *Bibliografia*, cit., ma soprattutto G. Fiesoli, *La memoria 'lunga'*, cit., p. 78 e n. 30. Vi si ritrova una lettera del giugno 1981, nella quale Bornmann comunicava a Timpanaro la propria intenzione di mettere mano allo studio «appena licenziate le bozze del 1° volume degli scritti filologici di Nietzsche».

[38] Timpanaro non mancò di far avere a Cecchini l'indirizzo di Bornmann già nella missiva spedita il 30 settembre 1981 (vd. *supra*).



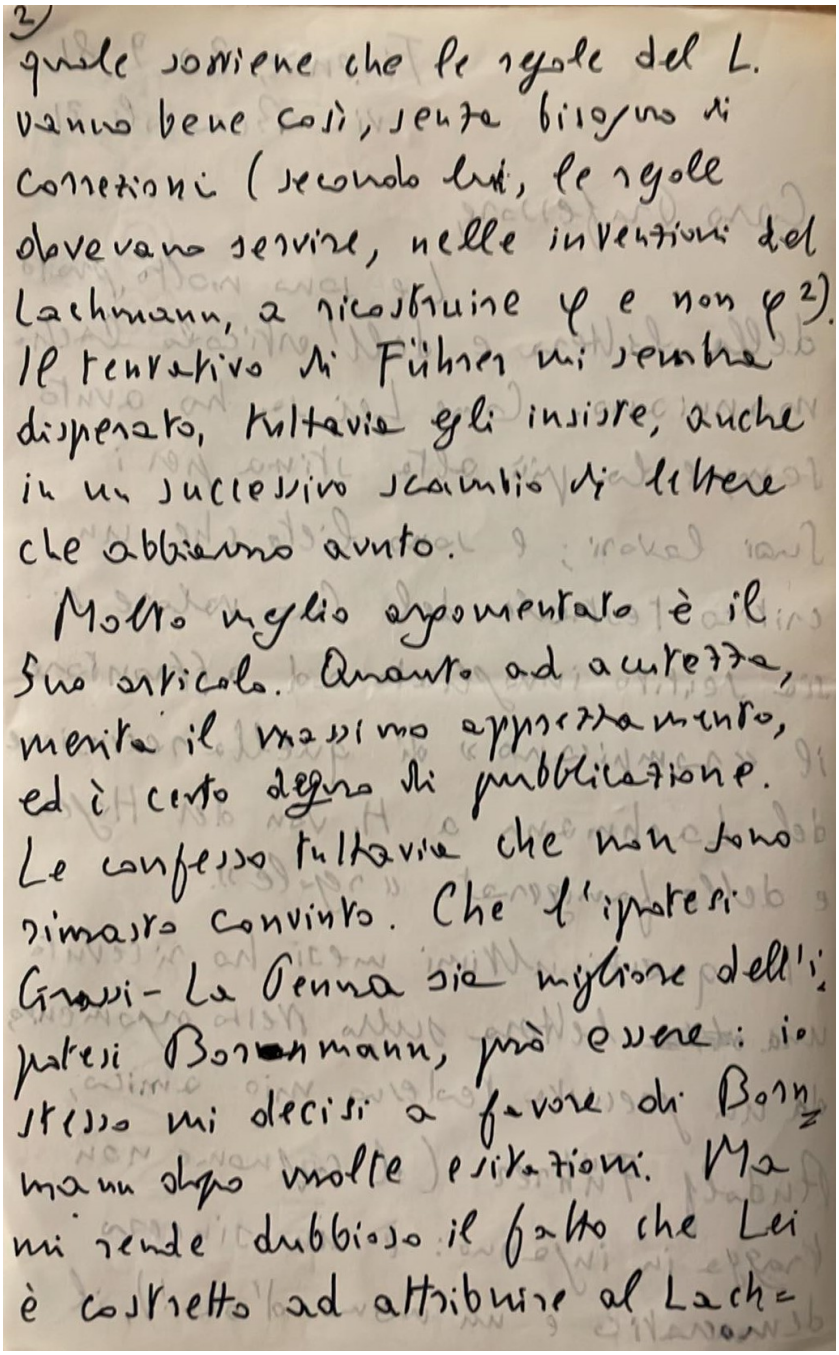
Firenze, 30. 9. 81
via Ricasoli 31

Caro Professore,

Le sono molto grato della lettera e dell'articolo lachmanniano. Come Lei sa, ho avuto sempre la più alta stima per i suoi lavori; e sono lieto che un critico testuale del suo valore si sia sentito invogliato ad affrontare il «rompicapo» di quella recensione del Lachmann a H. von der Hagen e delle famigerate «regole».

In questi ultimi mesi ho ricevuto una ~~altra~~ lettera sullo stesso argomento, da un specialista tedesco mio amico, Rudolf Führer (il cognome non tragga in inganno: è un sincero democratico e un uomo d'oro!), il

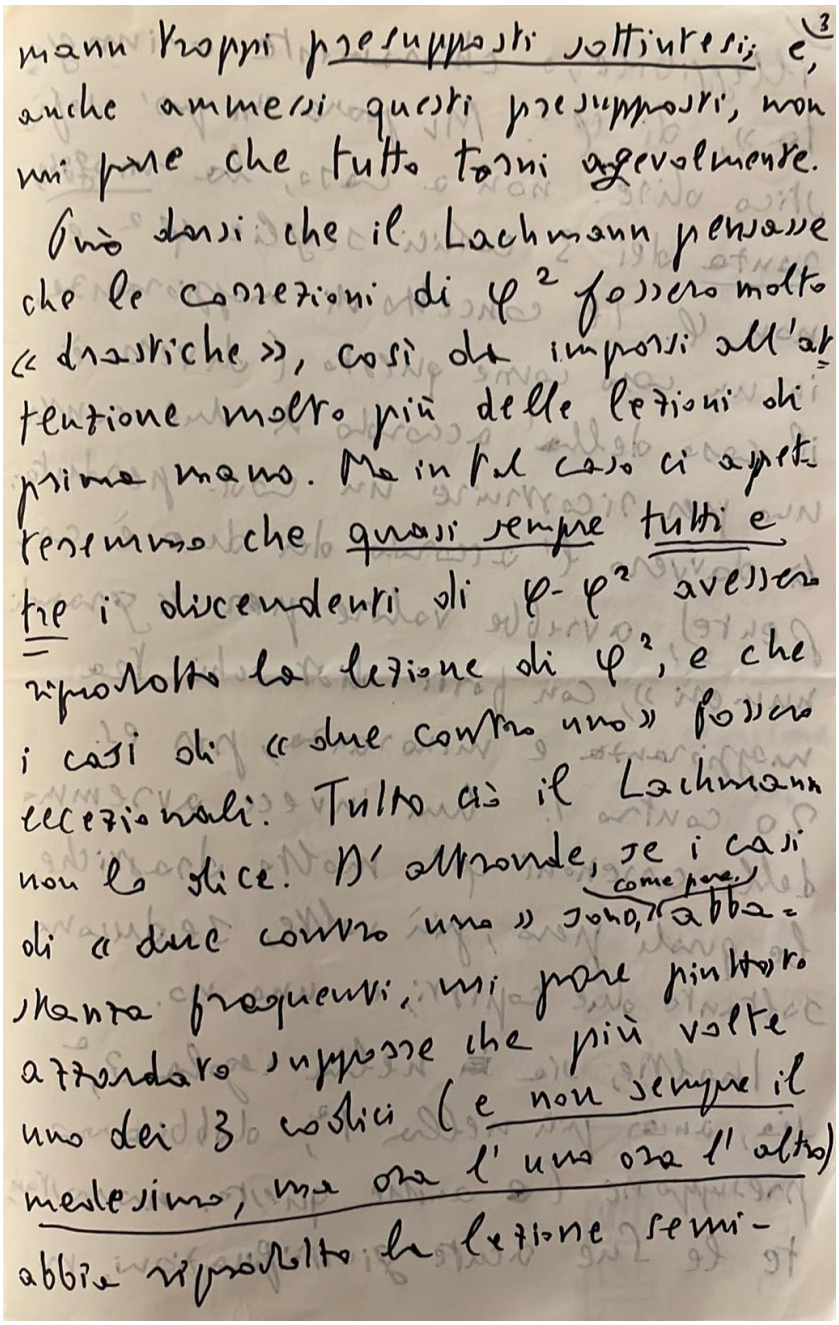
Fig. 1.1 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 1)



2)
quale sostiene che le regole del L.
vanno bene così, senza bisogno di
correzioni (secondo lui, le regole
dovevano servire, nelle intenzioni del
Lachmann, a ricostruire φ e non φ²).
Il tentativo di Führer mi sembra
disperato, tuttavia egli insiste, anche
in un successivo scambio di lettere
che abbiamo avuto.

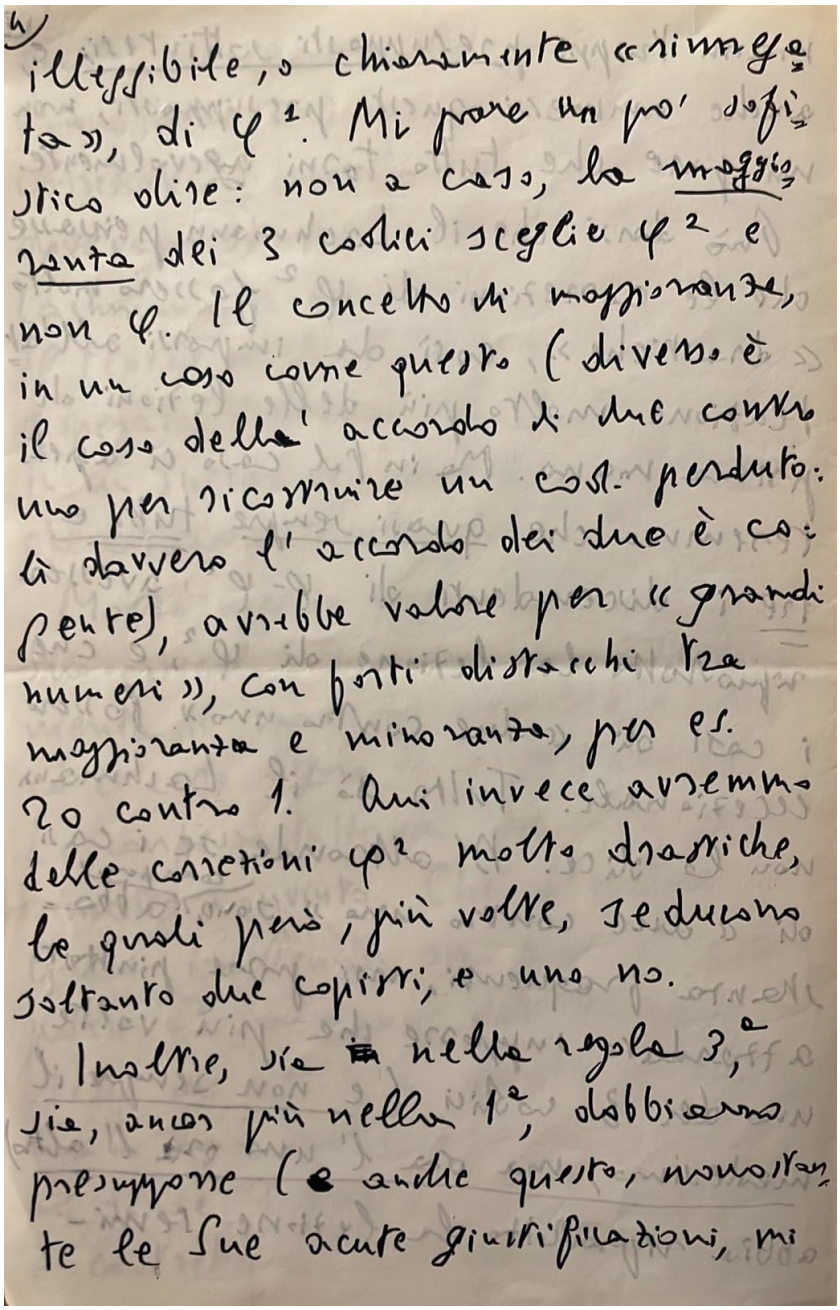
Molto meglio argomentato è il
suo articolo. Quanto ad acutezza,
merita il massimo apprezzamento,
ed è certo degno di pubblicazione.
Le confesso tuttavia che non sono
rimasto convinto. Che l'ipotesi
Grassi-La Penna sia migliore dell'i-
potesi Bornmann, può essere: io
stesso mi decisi a favore di Born-
mann dopo molte esitazioni. Ma
mi rende dubbioso il fatto che Lei
è costretto ad attribuire al Lach=

Fig. 1.2 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 2)



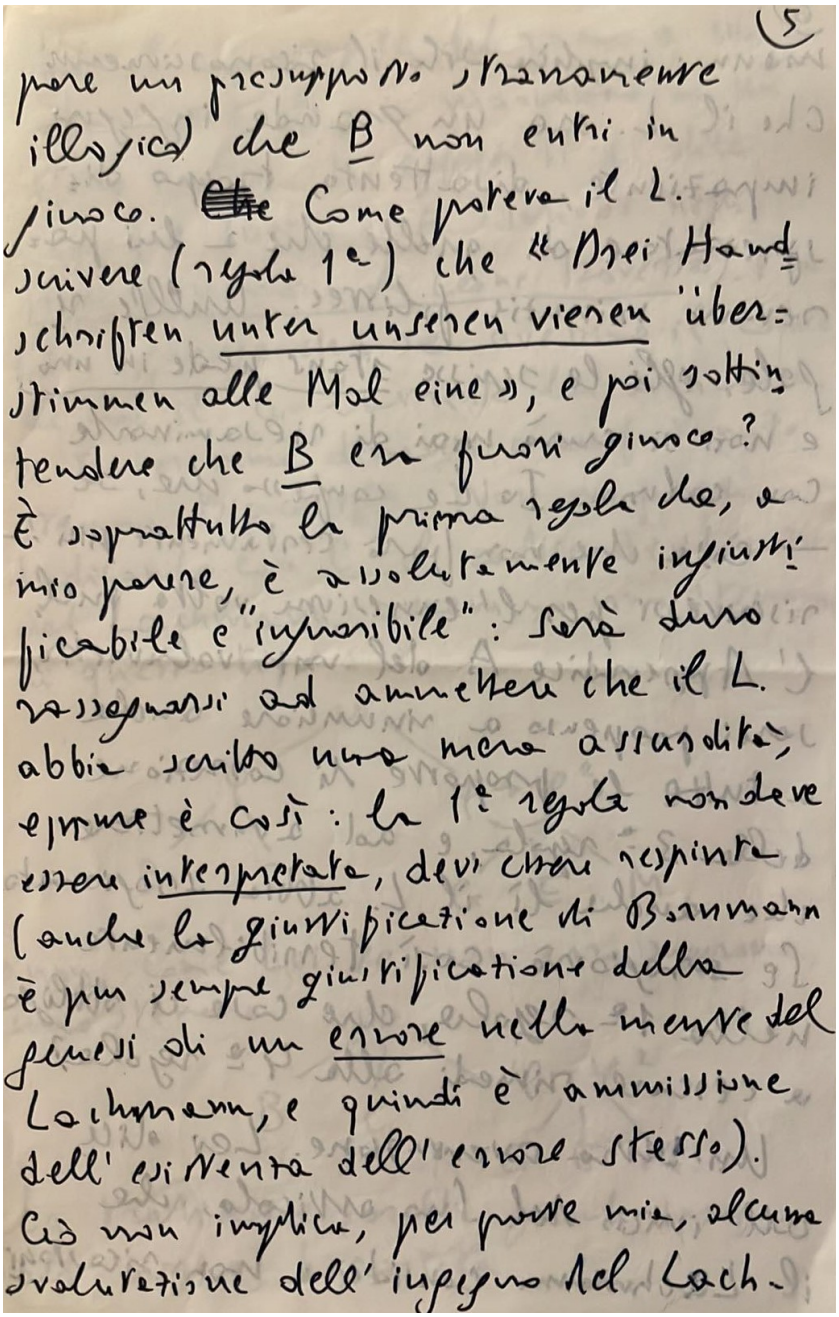
mann troppi presupposti sottintesi; e, 3
anche ammessi questi presupposti, non
mi pare che tutto torni agevolmente.
Può darsi che il Lachmann pensasse
che le correzioni di φ^2 fossero molto
« drastiche », così da imporsi all'at-
tenzione molto più delle lezioni di
prima mano. Ma in tal caso ci aspet-
teremmo che quasi sempre tutti e
tre i discendenti di φ-φ^2 avessero
riprodotto la lezione di φ^2, e che
i casi di « due contro uno » fossero
eccezionali. Tutto ciò il Lachmann
non lo dice. D'altronde, se i casi
di « due contro uno » sono, come pare, abba-
stanza frequenti, mi pare piuttosto
azzardato supporre che più volte
uno dei 3 codici (e non sempre il
medesimo, ma ora l'uno ora l'altro)
abbia riprodotto la lezione semi-

Fig. 1.3 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 3)



4)
illeggibile, o chiaramente «rimeg-
ta», di φ^1. Mi pare un po' sofi-
stico oltre: non a caso, la maggio-
ranza dei 3 codici sceglie φ^2 e
non φ. Il concetto di maggioranza,
in un caso come questo (diverso è
il caso dell'accordo di due contro
uno per ricostruire un cost. perduto:
lì davvero l'accordo dei due è co-
pente), avrebbe valore per «grandi
numeri», con forti distacchi tra
maggioranza e minoranza, per es.
20 contro 1. Qui invece avremmo
delle correzioni φ^2 molto drastiche,
le quali però, più volte, seducono
soltanto due copisti, e uno no.
Inoltre, sia nella regola 3ª,
sia, anzi più nella 1ª, dobbiamo
presuppone (e anche questo, nonostan-
te le Sue acute giustificazioni, mi

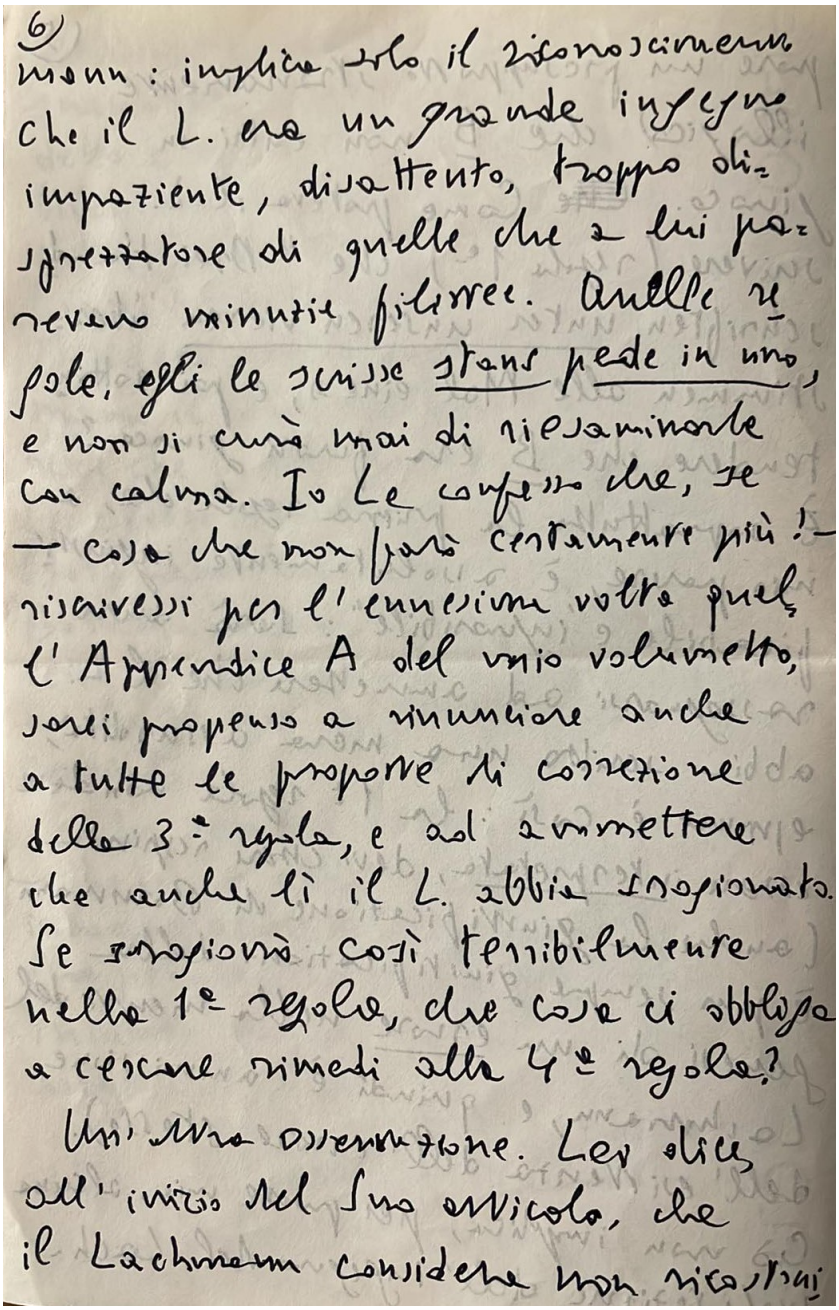
Fig. 1.4 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 4)



(5)

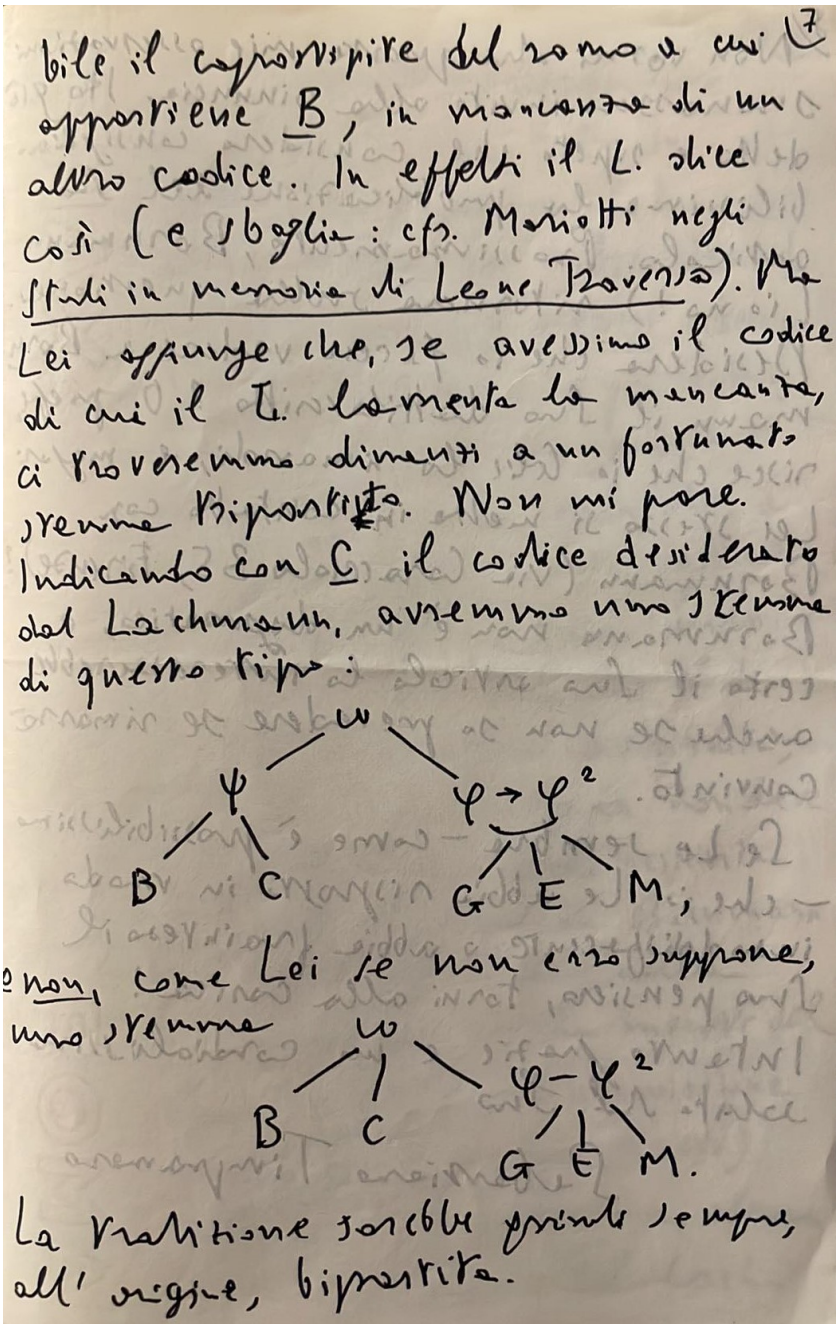
pare un presupposto stranamente illogico) che B non entri in giuoco. ~~Che~~ Come poteva il L. scrivere (regola 1ª) che «Drei Handschriften unter unseren vieren übersteimmen alle Mal eine», e poi sottintendere che B era fuori giuoco? È soprattutto la prima regola che, a mio parere, è assolutamente ingiustificabile e "ingnorabile": sarà duro rassegnarsi ad ammettere che il L. abbia scritto una mera assurdità, eppure è così: la 1ª regola non deve essere interpretata, deve essere respinta (anche la giustificazione di Baumann è pur sempre giustificazione della genesi di un errore nella mente del Lachmann, e quindi è ammissione dell'esistenza dell'errore stesso). Ciò non implica, per parte mia, alcuna svalutazione dell'ingegno del Lach-

Fig. 1.5 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 5)



6)
mann: implica solo il riconoscimento
che il L. era un grande ingegno
impaziente, disattento, troppo di-
sprezzatore di quelle che a lui pa-
revano minutie filologiche. Quelle re-
gole, egli le scrisse stans pede in uno,
e non si curò mai di riesaminarle
con calma. Io Le confesso che, se
— cosa che non farò certamente più! —
riscrivessi per l'ennesima volta quel
l'Appendice A del mio volumetto,
sarei propenso a rinunciare anche
a tutte le proposte di correzione
della 3ª regola, e ad ammettere
che anche lì il L. abbia sragionato.
Se sragionò così terribilmente
nella 1ª regola, che cosa ci obbliga
a cercare rimedi alla 4ª regola?
Un'ultima osservazione. Lei dice,
all'inizio del Suo articolo, che
il Lachmann considera non ricostruì

Fig. 1.6 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 6)

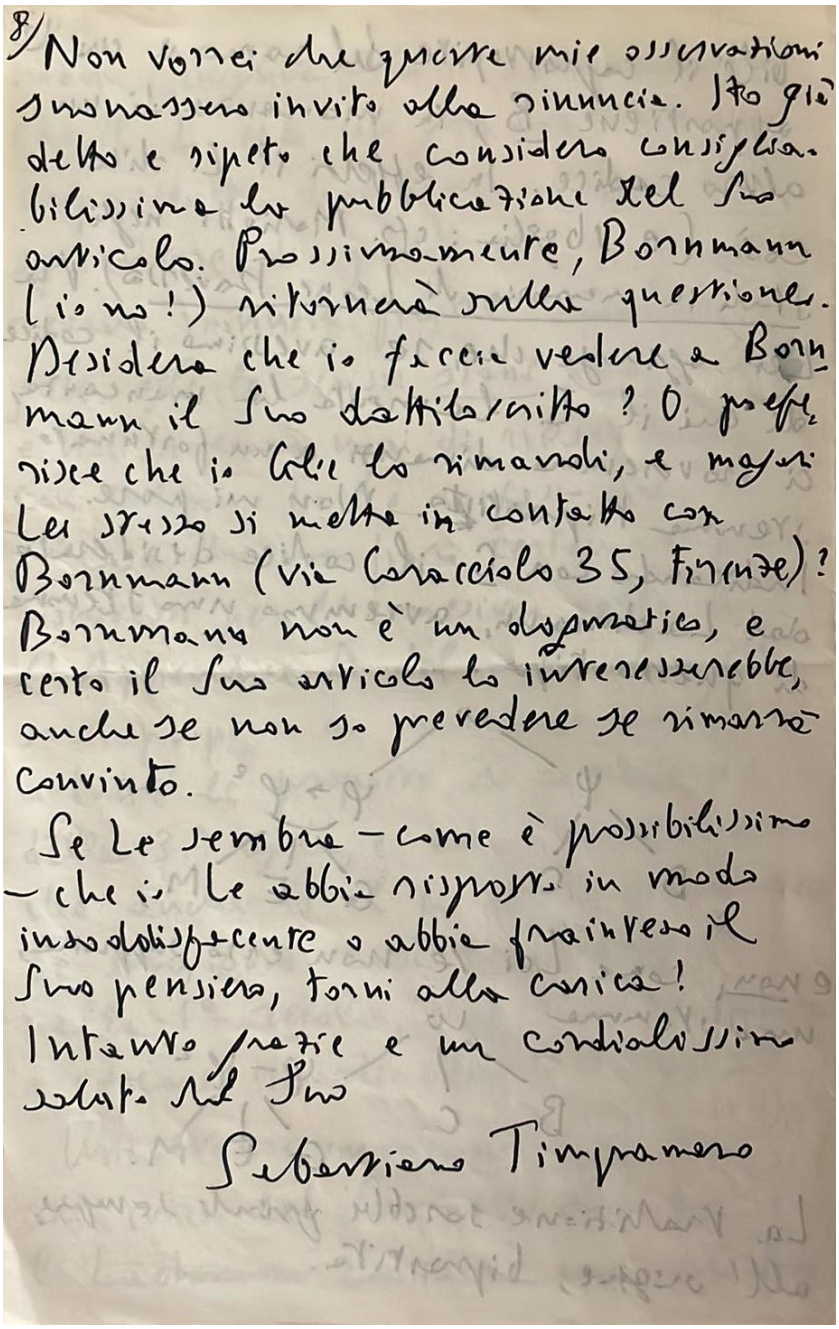


bile il capovolgere del ramo a cui appartiene B, in mancanza di un altro codice. In effetti il L. dice così (e sbaglia: cfr. Mariotti negli Studi in memoria di Leone Traverso). Ma Lei aggiunge che, se avessimo il codice di cui il L. lamenta la mancanza, ci troveremmo dinanzi a un fortunato stemma bipartito. Non mi pare. Indicando con C il codice desiderato dal Lachmann, avremmo uno stemma di questo tipo:

e non, come Lei se non erro suppone, uno stemma

La tradizione sarebbe quindi sempre, all'origine, bipartita.

Fig. 1.7 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 7)



8/ Non vorrei che queste mie osservazioni suonassero invito alla rinuncia. Ho già detto e ripeto che considero consigliabilissima la pubblicazione del Suo articolo. Prossimamente, Bonnmann (io no!) ritornerà sulla questione. Desidera che io faccia vedere a Bonnmann il Suo dattiloscritto? O preferisce che io Glie lo rimandi, e magari Lei stesso si metta in contatto con Bonnmann (via Caracciolo 35, Firenze)? Bonnmann non è un dogmatico, e certo il Suo articolo lo interesserebbe, anche se non so prevedere se rimarrà convinto.

Se Le sembra – come è possibilissimo – che io Le abbia risposto in modo insoddisfacente o abbia fraintesa il Suo pensiero, torni alla carica!

Intanto grazie e un cordialissimo saluto dal Suo

Sebastiano Timpanaro

Fig. 1.8 = Lettera 1, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 8)

Urbino, 10/10/1981

Caro Professore,

La ringrazio vivamente per l'attenzione dedicata al mio dattiloscritto e per la Sua lettera così ricca di osservazioni. Devo dirLe che il mio tentativo mi sembra ancora proponibile, e che l'ipotesi su cui esso si fonda appare ancora ai miei occhi l'unica che ci consenta di ravvisare nel frettoloso ed ellittico discorso del Lachmann un minimo di coerenza.

Vorrei dirLe in primo luogo che i "presupposti sottintesi" che io attribuisco al Lachmann si riducono a uno solo, cioè alla convinzione che gli interventi del revisore fossero abbastanza "drastici" da imporsi all'attenzione dei copisti di GEM (o di eventuali intermediari), sì che in linea di principio almeno due dei tre dovessero essere indotti ad accoglierli. Se non si ammette questo, non si capisce come mai il Lachmann indicasse come compito dell'editore quello di individuare (per accettarli, a quanto par di capire, non già per rifiutarli) proprio tali interventi.

Certo, resta da chiedersi perché mai allora ora l'uno ora l'altro dei tre apografi di φ potesse non tenerne conto (volutamente o per svista?), ma il Lachmann sarà stato propenso a considerare tali casi piuttosto rari. Essi erano effettivamente documentabili solo quando uno dei tre apografi di φ concordasse con B contro l'accordo degli altri due.

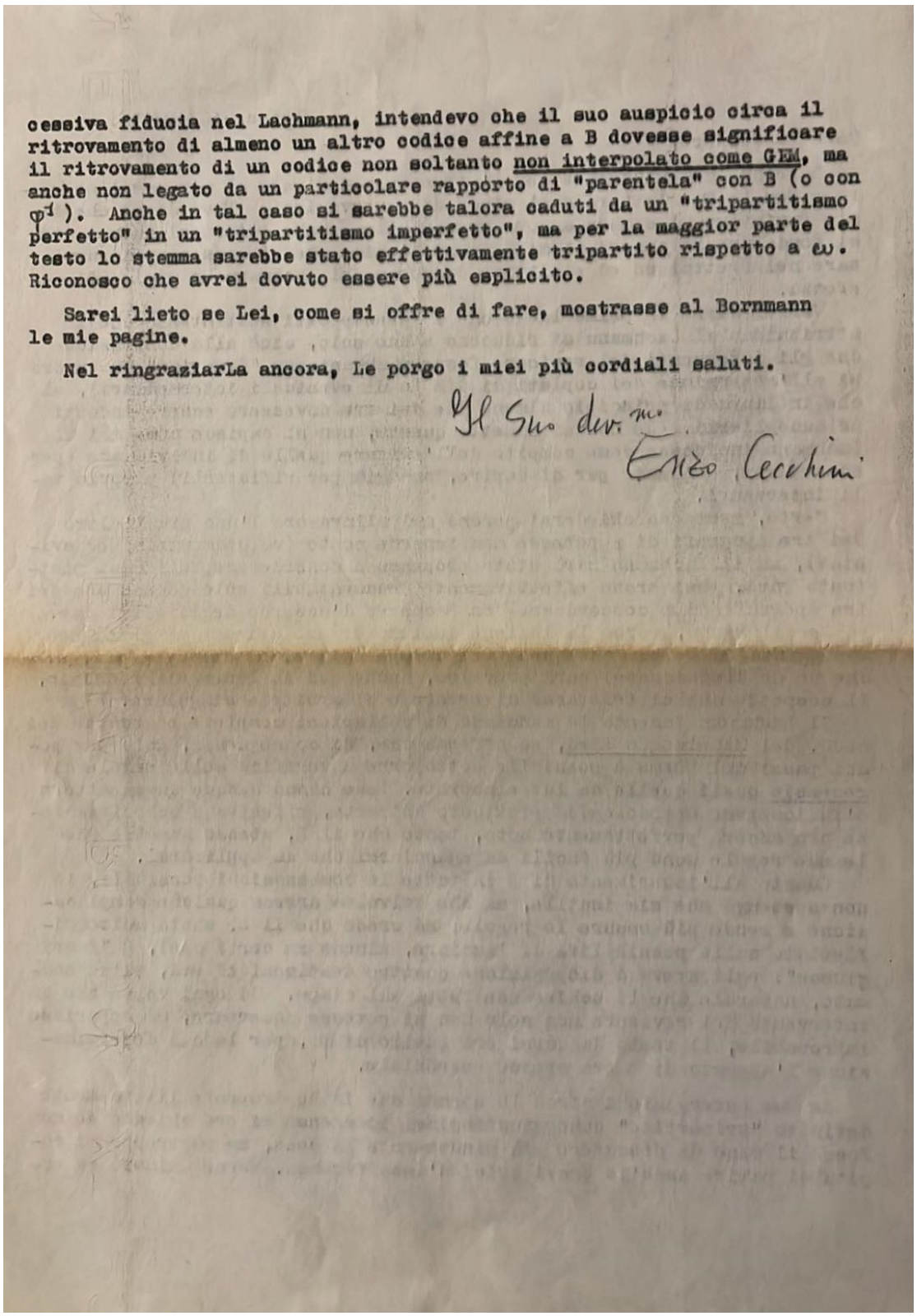
Per il resto, verso la lezione isolata di uno dei tre apografi non appoggiata da B (sia che questo si unisse agli altri due apografi, sia che se ne distaccasse) sarà prevalso, anche qui in linea di principio, il sospetto che si trattasse di errore o di arbitrio singolare.

Il Lachmann lamenta la mancanza di collazioni complete ed esatte dei codd. del Nibelungen Lied, ed afferma che, di conseguenza, solo per pochi passi del poema è possibile sottoporre a verifica delle regole di recensio quali quelle da lui elaborate. Esse hanno dunque un carattere d'indicazione metodologica piuttosto astratta, riferita a una situazione non ancora perfettamente nota, tanto che il L. stesso ammette che le sue regole sono più facili da enunciarsi che da applicarsi.

Quanto all'inserimento di B in tutte le combinazioni possibili, io non sostengo che sia inutile, ma che talvolta arreca qualche complicazione e rende più oscure le regole; né credo che il L. abbia molto riflettuto sulla possibilità di lasciare, almeno in certi casi, B "fuori giuoco": egli aveva a disposizione quattro testimoni ed era, tutto sommato, naturale che li schierasse tutti sul campo. Ed ogni volta che un intervento del revisore non solo non si potesse accertare, ma apparisse improbabile, il testo da darsi era quello di φ , per la cui determinazione l'apporto di B era spesso essenziale.

Le Sue osservazioni circa lo stemma che io ho troppo ellitticamente definito "tripartito" sono giustissime: io stesso mi ero chiesto se non fosse il caso di discutere più minutamente la cosa, ma purtroppo mi capita di patire anch'io brevi crisi d'insofferenza. Forse animato da ec-

Fig. 2.1 = Lettera 2, Cecchini a Timpanaro (p. 1)



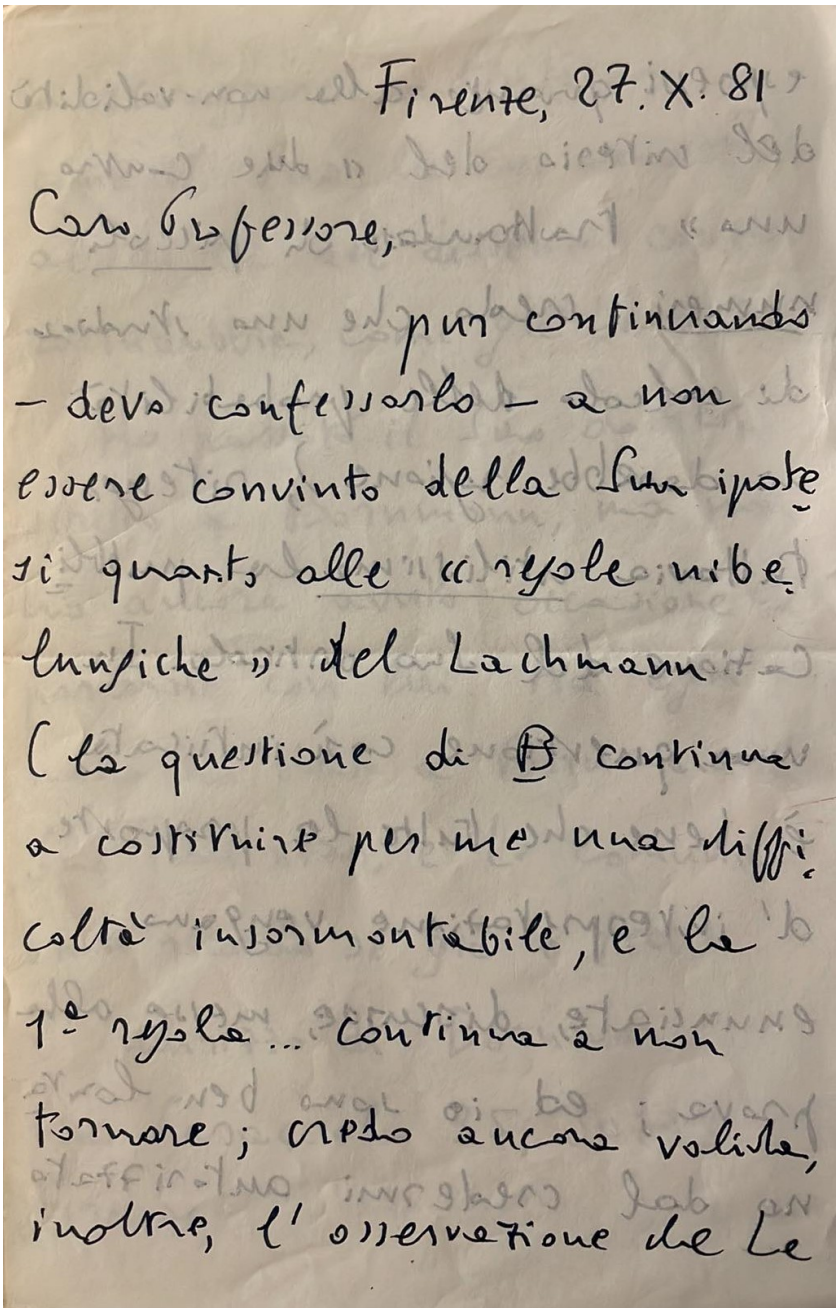
cessiva fiducia nel Lachmann, intendevo che il suo auspicio circa il ritrovamento di almeno un altro codice affine a B dovesse significare il ritrovamento di un codice non soltanto non interpolato come GEM, ma anche non legato da un particolare rapporto di "parentela" con B (o con φ^1). Anche in tal caso si sarebbe talora caduti da un "tripartitismo perfetto" in un "tripartitismo imperfetto", ma per la maggior parte del testo lo stemma sarebbe stato effettivamente tripartito rispetto a ω. Riconosco che avrei dovuto essere più esplicito.

Sarei lieto se Lei, come si offre di fare, mostrasse al Bornmann le mie pagine.

Nel ringraziarLa ancora, Le porgo i miei più cordiali saluti.

Il Suo dev.mo
Enzo Cecchini

Fig. 2.2 = Lettera 2, Cecchini a Timpanaro (p. 2)

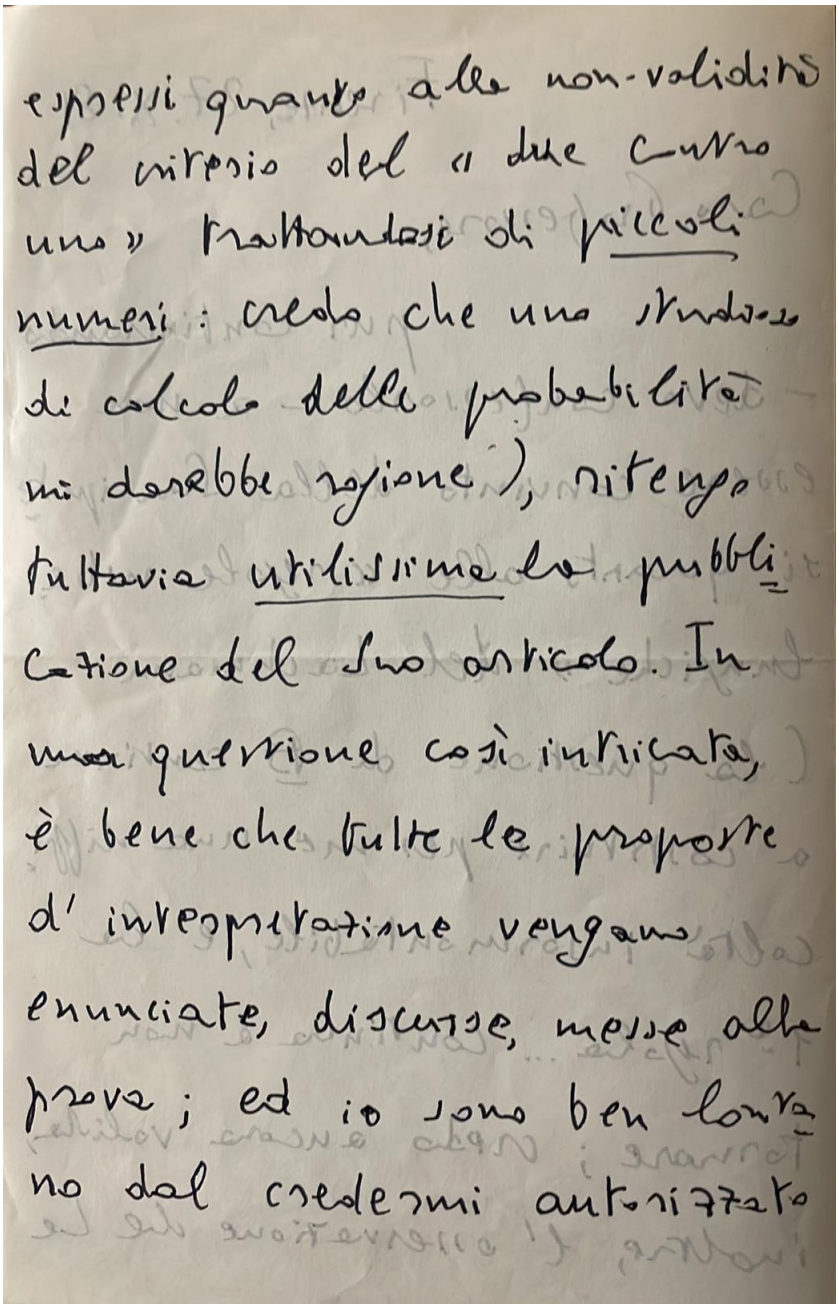


Firenze, 27. X. 81

Caro Professore,

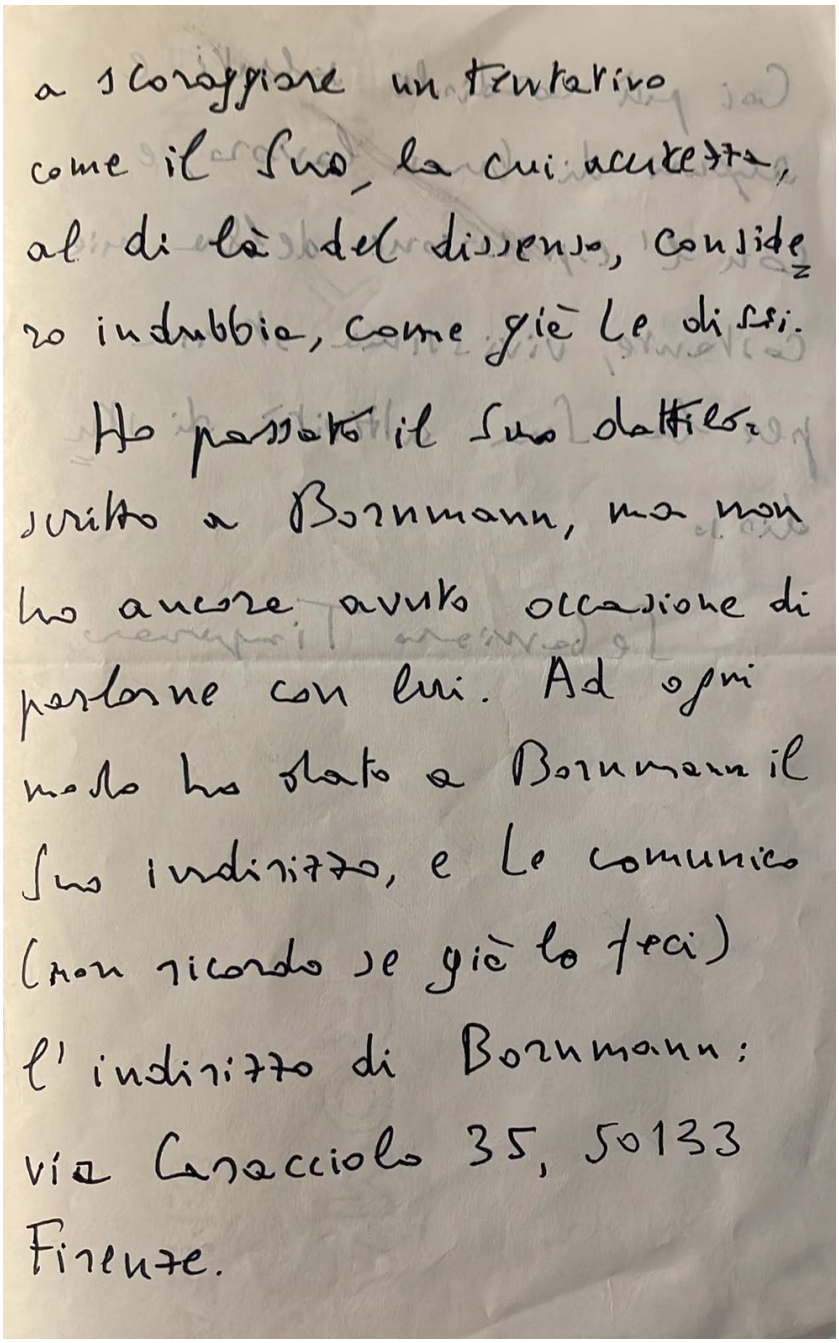
pur continuando – devo confessarlo – a non essere convinto della Sua ipotesi quanto alle «regole nibelungiche» del Lachmann (la questione di B continua a costituire per me una difficoltà insormontabile, e la 1ª regola... continua a non tornare; credo ancora valida, inoltre, l'osservazione che Le

Fig. 3.1 = Lettera 3, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 1)



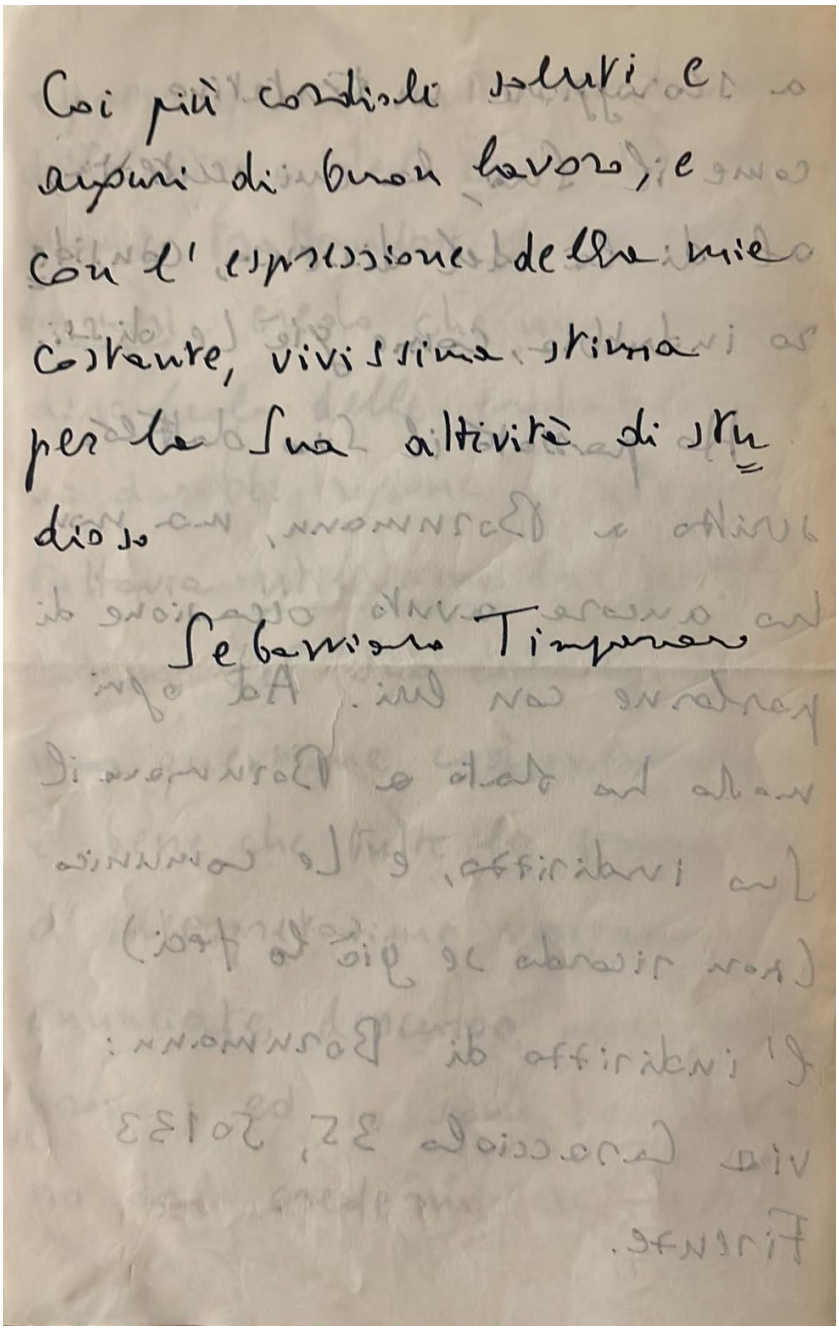
espressi quanto alla non-validità
del criterio del « due contro
uno » trattandosi di piccoli
numeri: credo che uno studioso
di calcolo delle probabilità
mi darebbe ragione), ritengo
tuttavia utilissima la pubbli-
cazione del suo articolo. In
una questione così intricata,
è bene che tutte le proposte
d'interpretazione vengano
enunciate, discusse, messe alla
prova; ed io sono ben lon-
tano dal credermi autorizzato

Fig. 3.2 = Lettera 3, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 2)



a scoraggiare un tentativo
come il suo, la cui acutezza,
al di là del dissenso, conside=
ro indubbia, come già le dissi.
Ho passato il suo dattilo=
scritto a Bornmann, ma non
ho ancora avuto occasione di
parlarne con lui. Ad ogni
modo ho dato a Bornmann il
suo indirizzo, e le comunico
(non ricordo se già lo feci)
l'indirizzo di Bornmann:
via Caracciolo 35, 50133
Firenze.

Fig. 3.3 = Lettera 3, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 3)



Coi più cordiali saluti e
auguri di buon lavoro, e
con l'espressione della mia
costante, vivissima stima
per la sua attività di stu-
dioso

Sebastiano Timpanaro

Fig. 3.4 = Lettera 3, Timpanaro a Cecchini (p. 4)

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Zwischen Herrschertypus und Epochenbegriff. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Archäologie des Burckhardtschen Pseudoneologismus ‚Soldatenkaiser'.*

— Matthias Haake —

Abstract

Es gibt Begriffe, die scheinen selbsterklärend zu sein. ‚Soldatenkaiser' ist solch ein Fall. Seit nunmehr über einhundert Jahren insbesondere in der deutschen althistorischen Forschung zum dritten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert präsent, hat er jahrzehntelang ein Schattendasein gefristet, wenn es um seine konzeptionelle Fassung geht. Während sich dieser Umstand in der jüngeren Forschung markant geändert hat, sind trotz einiger weniger Studien die Begriffsgeschichte des gleichermaßen schillernden wie — allerdings nur vermeintlich — eindeutigen Wortes ‚Soldatenkaiser' und seine wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Entwicklungslinien in vielerlei Hinsicht immer noch eine terra incognita*, was noch weit mehr als für die deutschsprachige Altertumswissenschaft für die nicht-deutschsprachigen Forschungen zum dritten Jahrhundert gilt.*

There are terms that seem self-explanatory. 'Soldatenkaiser' is one such case. Present for over a hundred years now, especially in German research on the third century CE*, it has for decades led a shadowy existence when it came to its conceptual definition. While this circumstance has changed markedly in recent research, the conceptual history of the equally iridescent and opaque word 'Soldatenkaiser' and its lines of development in the history of scholarship remain* terra incognita *in many respects. This is even more true for non-German-speaking research on the third century than it is for scholarship produced in German.*

* Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt ein geringfügig überarbeitetes Kapitel aus meiner gegenwärtig in Vorbereitung zur Drucklegung befindlichen Habilitationsschrift *Von Commodus zu Constantin. Untersuchungen zur Strukturgeschichte der römischen Monarchie zwischen Prinzipatsordnung und spätantikem Kaisertum im ‚langen dritten Jahrhundert n.Chr.'* (Münster 2019) dar. — Für Auskünfte zu Aspekten der italienischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte und zum Begriff ‚Soldatenkönig' danke ich Lorenzo Calvelli (Venedig) und Jürgen Luh (Potsdam); ebenso gilt den beiden anonymen GutachterInnen mein Dank für konstruktive Hinweise.

KEYWORDS

Soldatenkaiser, Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts, Franz Xaver Boos, Jacob Burckhardt, Franz F. Fiedler, Michail I. Rostovtzeff

I.

Nicht nur Bücher haben ihr Schicksal, auch Begrifflichkeiten haben ihre Geschichte. Und ebenso wenig wie der wohl im dritten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert wirkende Grammatiker Terentianus Maurus die Rezeption und Interpretation seines Halbsatzes *habent sua fata libelli* vorauszusehen und zu lenken vermochte,[1] so konnte dies im neunzehnten Jahrhundert Jacob Burckhardt in Hinblick auf eine Wortschöpfung, für deren Verbreitung seine Verwendung *à la longue* als von nicht geringer Bedeutung anzusehen ist. Der Baseler Kulturhistoriker konnte nicht ahnen, welche späterhin epochemachenden Folgen es haben sollte, als er in seinem zuerst Ende des Jahres 1852 unter dem Erscheinungsjahr 1853 veröffentlichten Werk *Die Zeit Constantin's des Großen*, „nicht vorzugsweise für Gelehrte geschrieben, sondern für denkende Leser aller Stände",[2] die Begriffe „Soldatenkaiser" und „Soldatenkaiserthum" verwendete.[3]

Entgegen einer verbreiteten Ansicht war Burckhardt, zeit seines Lebens „am Rande des althistorischen Bereichs" verortet und einzuordnen,[4] allerdings keineswegs derjenige, der diese modernen, zwar durchaus aus den antiken Quellen extrapolierbaren, nicht jedoch auf antiker Terminologie basierenden Begriffe als erster zur Bezeichnung römischer Kaiser nutzte und in den ‚altertumswissenschaftlichen' Sprachgebrauch einführte.[5] Und erst recht war es auch nicht erst, wie verschiedentlich behauptet, Franz Altheim mit seiner 1939 erschienenen

[1] Ter. Maur. 1286 (= Gramm. lat. VI, p. 363 ed. Keil). Zu Terentianus Maurus s. SALLMANN 1997; zu dem zu einem der berühmtesten antiken ‚(Wander-)Zitate' gewordenen zitierten Halbsatz, seiner autorialen Intention sowie seiner Rezeption und seinen Deutungen vgl. BECK 1993, 518–520 *ad loc.*

[2] So BURCKHARDT 2013 [1853], 5 [VI], der anschließend aber auch die Hoffnung äußert, dass es ihm „von größtem Werthe sein" würde, „wenn die neuen Resultate [...] auch bei den Männern vom Fach Billigung" fänden.

[3] Einen ausführlichen Überblick zur Geschichte der Erforschung der Soldatenkaiserzeit, der ausdrücklich nicht das Ziel der nachfolgenden Ausführungen ist, bietet GERHARDT 2008.

[4] Vgl. CHRIST 1983, 75.

[5] So aber HEIL 2006, 413; s. etwa auch JOHNE 2008a, 601; JOHNE – HARTMANN – GERHARDT 2008, 6; MECELLA 2008, 658, die alle davon ausgegangen sind, dass es Burckhardt war, der den Begriff Soldatenkaiser zuerst verwendete.

Monographie *Die Soldatenkaiser*, dem ersten Band der Reihe *Deutsches Ahnenerbe*.[6] Vielmehr hatten dies nämlich bereits in den dreißiger Jahren des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zwei (heute) wenig bekannte, durch die Arbeiten der ‚Großmeister' des Faches im vorvergangenen Jahrhundert in Vergessenheit geratene Forscherpersönlichkeiten getan, ohne dass sie allerdings den Begriff Soldatenkaiser näher definiert oder dessen Verwendung auch nur thematisiert hätten: Franz Xaver Boos und Franz F. Fiedler.

Boos, ein ausgewiesener Erforscher der Geschichte des Raums zwischen Rhein und Maas und insbesondere der Eifel, gab zwischen 1827 und 1830 die von ihm begründete Zeitschrift *Eufalia: Beiträge zur Geschichte d(er) Länder zwischen d(em) Rhein u(nd) d(er) Maas* heraus[7] und veröffentlichte in diesem Organ eine Serie von Beiträgen mit dem Titel ‚Kaiser X in Gallien' oder ‚X, Kaiser in Gallien', beginnend mit Augustus[8] und endend mit Constantius Chlorus.[9] In diesen Beiträgen verwendete er zumindest zweimal den Begriff Soldatenkaiser, und zwar für Maximinus Thrax[10] und Aurelius Victorinus.[11] Das Jahr 1830 ist somit der früheste (bislang) bekannte Zeitpunkt, zu dem das Wort

[6] So HARTMANN 1982, 11 Anm. 1, der die Ansicht vertrat, der Begriff ginge auf ALTHEIM 1939 zurück; s. ebenso FRANKE 2001; JACOB 2004, 77. Zu Altheims Forschungen im Kontext der ‚SS-Forschungseinrichtung' *Deutsches Ahnenerbe* sowie zu seinem Buch über die Soldatenkaiser s. LOSEMANN 1977, 123–132, bes. 126–128; vgl. zu Altheim allgemein außerdem CHRIST 1982, 246–254. Zur *Forschungsgemeinschaft Deutsches Ahnenerbe e. V.* vgl. KATER 2006. Vgl. unten S. 141 zu Altheims Buch *Die Soldatenkaiser*.

[7] Näheres zur Person vermochte der Verfasser nicht in Erfahrung zu bringen. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, jedoch nicht unbedingt wahrscheinlich, dass er mit einer im Jahre 1759 geborenen, verbürgt publizistisch tätigen homonymen Person mit nachweislich historischen Interessen identisch ist. Zu dieser homonymen Person vgl. KALLABIS 2020, 491 mit Anm. 350: „Boos stammte ursprünglich aus Baden. Nach Stationen als Hofmeister und Archivar lehrte er seit 1792 als Professor für Literatur an der Universität Freiburg. Da er die französische Besetzung von Freiburg unterstützte, wurde er nach Abzug der französischen Truppen vertrieben. Seit 1798 war er zunächst Kommissar bei der Munizipalität Schönberg (bei Thalfang) und war anschließend als Notar tätig. Vermutlich betrieb er in Schönberg später Landwirtschaft. In preußischer Zeit wurde er Hauptzollamtskontrolleur in Trier. [...] Im selben Jahr (1820; Verf.) gab Boos auch ein Wochenblatt mit dem Titel *Das Käseblatt* heraus, in dem Artikel aus den Bereichen Geschichte, Geographie, Länderkunde, Naturkunde und Dichtkunst veröffentlichte werden sollten." Zu dieser Person namens Boos vgl. zudem STEIN 2002, 346; zu seinem *Käseblatt* s. auch ZENZ 1952, 55–56.

[8] BOOS 1829.

[9] BOOS 1830c.

[10] Vgl. BOOS 1830b, 13.

[11] Vgl. BOOS 1830a, 25.

Soldatenkaiser in Bezug auf seine Verwendung für römische Kaiser belegt ist, mithin also fast ein viertel Jahrhundert vor dem Erscheinen von Burckhardts *Constantin*.

Von größerer Bedeutung, zumindest für Burckhardt, ist allerdings vermutlich der „Philolog und Alterthumsforscher" Fiedler, der lange Jahre in der am Niederrhein gelegenen Stadt Wesel als Gymnasiallehrer und -professor wirkte, zu den Mitbegründern des *Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* zählte und eine zwischen 1821 und 1839 dreimal aufgelegte *Geschichte des römischen Staates und Volkes* verfasste.[12] Während sich in der Erstauflage dieses Werkes der Begriff Soldatenkaiser noch nicht findet,[13] ist er hingegen in der zweiten sowie dritten Auflage verwendet[14] — und es ist zumindest keine gänzlich abwegige, wenn auch nicht beweisbare Vermutung, dass Fiedler in dieser Hinsicht von Boos abhängig gewesen ist, auch wenn er dessen Arbeiten nirgends in seinem Werk zur römischen Geschichte zitiert hat. Für Burckhardt darf hingegen zumindest hypothetisch angenommen werden, dass er Fiedlers Werk den Begriff Soldatenkaiser verdankt, war ihm doch dessen *Geschichte des römischen Staates und Volkes* in der dritten Auflage aus dem Jahr 1839 bekannt, ja er hat sie nachweislich in seinem *Constantin* sogar genutzt.[15]

Ist somit auch Burckhardt nicht als diejenige Person anzusehen, die erstmalig den Begriff Soldatenkaiser mit Bezug auf römische Kaiser im deutschen Sprachgebrauch verwendete, so ist sein Aufgreifen der Begrifflichkeit in seinem *Constantin* auf Grund der späteren starken Rezeption dieses Werkes dennoch folgenreich gewesen.[16]

[12] Zur Biographie Fiedlers und dessen Bezeichnung als „Philolog und Alterthumsforscher" s. BURSIAN 1878.

[13] FIEDLER 1821.

[14] Fiedler hatte in der ersten Auflage die römische Kaiserzeit nur nach ‚Zeiträumen' unterteilt („Vierter Zeitraum. Geschichte der römischen Monarchie bis auf den Kaiser Diocletian [Von 30 v.Ch. bis 284 n.Ch. = 314 Jahre]" und „Fünfter Zeitraum. Von der Regierung des Kaisers Diocletian bis auf den Untergang des weströmischen Reiches [Von 284 bis 476 n.Ch. = 192 Jahre]"; FIEDLER 1821, XI u. 263 [263–331] sowie XII u. 332 [332–364]. In der zweiten und dritten, jeweils stark überarbeiteten Auflage von 1832 respektive 1839 hingegen, in der Fiedler die ‚Zeiträume' in (historische bzw. epochale) ‚Abschnitte' untergliederte, verwendete er den Begriff Soldatenkaiser: „Dritter Zeitraum. III. Die Zeit der Kaiserherrschaft (Von 30 v.Ch. bis 476 n.Ch. = 506 Jahre). Dritter Abschnitt. Die Soldaten- und Gegenkaiser bis zur Reichstheilung, von 235–395)"; vgl. Fiedler 1832, XIII u. 301 [301–330]; FIEDLER 1839, XI u. 410 [410–455].

[15] Vgl. BURCKHARDT 2013, 400.

[16] Der von HEIL 2006, 413 Anm. 16 geäußerten Ansicht, dass „es letztlich auch von untergeordneter Bedeutung" sei, „welcher moderne Forscher die Wendung

II.

Um das begriffsgeschichtliche Profil des Wortes Soldatenkaiser klarer zu erfassen, ist es von Relevanz, dass es zwar durchaus zutreffend ist, dass es „jederzeit eigenständig aus den Quellen neu abgeleitet werden" konnte,[17] dass der Begriff allerdings nicht zuerst auf römische Kaiser im deutschen Sprachgebrauch Anwendung gefunden hat.

Seine womöglich erstmalige Verwendung kommt nämlich nun weder — erwiesenermaßen — Burckhardt noch aber bereits Boos oder erst Fiedler zu: Dies hat vielmehr der aus einer alten adeligen Tiroler Familie stammende Politiker und Publizist Joseph von Hormayr getan, ein gelernter Jurist mit starken historischen Interessen.[18] Er bezeichnete in seiner in den Jahren 1817–1819 erschienenen, dreibändigen *Allgemeine[n] Geschichte der neuesten Zeit, vom Tode Friedrich des Großen bis zum zweyten Pariser Frieden* den seinerzeit im Exil auf Sankt Helena weilenden vormaligen französischen Kaiser Napoleon I., den er in den Jahren 1809 bis 1813 bekämpft hatte, mit einer negativen Konnotation als Soldatenkaiser.[19] Ob Hormayr damit die Rolle eines ‚*protos heuretes*' des Wortes Soldatenkaiser für die deutsche Sprache zugeschrieben werden kann, kann nicht mit Sicherheit entschieden werden, auch wenn dem Verfasser zumindest kein früherer Beleg dieses Wortes im Deutschen bekannt geworden ist.

Daneben ist ein weiterer, zweiter Beleg für die Verwendung des Terminus Soldatenkaiser hier zu nennen:[20] Nach Boos' und Fiedlers, jedoch vor Burckhardts Nutzung der Begrifflichkeit hat der evangelische Theologe Ludwig Friedrich Otto Baumgarten-Crusius in seinem im Jahre 1840 erschienenen *Compendium der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*

‚Soldatenkaiser' als allererster benutzt hat", wird man nicht unbedingt vorbehaltlos zustimmen wollen.

[17] So HEIL 2006, 413 Anm. 16.

[18] Zur Person Hormayrs s. WAGNER 1972.

[19] S. HORMAYR 1817–1819, II 157. Gut ein Jahrzehnt später verwendete Napoleons ehemaliger erster Kammerdiener, Louis Constant Wairy, in seinen Memoiren das Wortpaar ‚empereur soldat' für den Kaiser (WAIRY 1830, VI 80 u. 418). Ob Burckhardt Hormayrs Etikettierung von Napoleon als Soldatenkaiser bekannt war, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit entscheiden. Es ist es zumindest auffällig, dass er in seinem Manuskript *Geschichte des Revolutionszeitalters* (BURCKHARDT 2009) den Begriff Soldatenkaiser nicht im Zusammenhang mit Napoleon benutzt hat, obschon er ausweislich des Verzeichnisses der von ihm erwähnten Literatur Hormayrs Werk kannte; s. BURCKHARDT 2009, 1135. Die Etikettierung Soldatenkaiser findet sich für Napoleon bis in die jüngste Zeit: vgl. beispielsweise HESKO 1856, 3 u. 135; SYBEL 1873, 10; ONCKEN 1884–1886, I 685; WOLSELEY 1895, 91 („soldier-Emperor"); BLEIBTREU 1910, 41; FRIEDELL 1927–1931, III 30; PLATTHAUS 2013, 8.

[20] Zu einem weiteren Zeugnis s. unten S. 136.

den im achten Jahrhundert lebenden und herrschenden byzantinischen Kaiser Konstantin V. als Soldatenkaiser bezeichnet.[21]

Und noch ein drittes Zeugnis ist hier anzuführen, das ebenfalls aus der Feder eines evangelischen Theologen stammt: In diesem Falle ist es auffällig, dass Ferdinand Hitzig in seinem Kommentarwerk *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten* in der ersten Auflage aus dem Jahr 1838 den Begriff Soldatenkaiser anders als in der überarbeiteten Fassung aus dem Jahr 1852 noch nicht genutzt hat, in der die Verwendung dieses Wortes als Übersetzung einer hebräischen Wendung anstelle von „Kriegsfürst" abgelehnt wird.[22]

Dieser — keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhebende — Überblick über die Verwendung des Terminus Soldatenkaiser in den ersten Jahrzehnten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zeigt, dass dieser keineswegs auf römische Kaiser begrenzt gewesen ist, sondern auch in Bezug auf einen byzantinischen Kaiser sowie — anscheinend — zuallererst auf Napoleon I. Anwendung gefunden hat und sogar als allgemein verfügbare Begrifflichkeit verwendet werden konnte. Während es zumindest möglich ist, ein hypothetisches Stemma für den ‚römischen Soldatenkaiser' von Burckhardt über Fiedler hin zu Boos in Erwägung zu ziehen, müssen eventuelle Interdependenzen zwischen dieser Rekonstruktion und den beiden anderen angeführten Beispielen der Nutzung des Wortes Soldatenkaiser offenbleiben.

Grundsätzlich festzuhalten ist bei aller gebotenen Vorsicht, dass die Zeugnisse für die Verwendung des Begriffs Soldatenkaiser jenseits ihrer Nutzung in Bezug auf römische Kaiser als ein Indikator für eine prinzipielle Verfügbarkeit des Terminus um die Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts angesehen werden können — wie auch immer die Entwicklungspunkte sich im Einzelnen zueinander verhalten haben mögen.

III.

Mit der Begrifflichkeit Soldatenkaiser, der in zwei grundverschiedenen Klassikern der ‚Vor-Burckhardt-Zeit', nämlich Louis-Sébastien Le Nain

[21] Vgl. BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS 1840, 227 Anm. f. Zu Baumgarten-Crusius s. STRATHMANN 1953. Ob Burckhardt, der in seinen aus dem Nachlass herausgegebenen *Weltgeschichtlichen Betrachtungen* Konstantin V. kurz behandelt hat (BURCKHARDT 2000, 431), Baumgarten-Crusius' Werk bekannt war, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit verneinen — zumindest ist das Werk nicht im Verzeichnis der von Burckhardt erwähnten Literatur angeführt; s. BURCKHARDT 2000, 559–563.

[22] Vgl. HITZIG 1838, 93 und HITZIG 1852, 26 *ad* Hos 5,13. Zu Hitzig s. MACHOLZ 1972.

de Tillemonts *Histoire des empereurs et autres princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers siècles de l'Eglise* aus dem Jahre 1691 und Edward Gibbons in den Jahren 1776 bis 1788 erschienenen *History Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, weder vorkommt noch begrifflich angelegt ist,[23] bezeichnete Burckhardt in seinem Werk explizit ebenso einzelne römische Kaiser aus der Zeit zwischen Septimius Severus und Probus wie er generalisierend von Soldatenkaisern des dritten Jahrhunderts sprach.[24] Dass Burckhardt dies im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes eher beiläufig und ohne größere Ambitionen tat, manifestiert sich zum einen darin, dass weder im Titel des ersten Abschnitts — „Die Reichsgewalt im dritten Jahrhundert" — noch in den Marginalien beziehungsweise den Unterkapitelüberschriften der Begriff Soldatenkaiser auftaucht;[25] zum anderen darin, dass in seinem Register kein entsprechender Eintrag zu finden ist;[26] und schließlich hat er es — wie schon zuvor Boos und Fiedler — auch nicht unternommen, den Begriff in seine Darstellung einzuführen oder näher zu bestimmen.[27] Vielmehr verwendet er diesen supplementär etwa zu Wörtern wie „Kriegsfürstenthum" oder „Militärdespotismus".[28]

In inhaltlicher Opposition steht er zum ebenfalls von Burckhardt benutzten Terminus „Senatskaiser", dessen Verwendung — durchaus gemäß seiner wohl auf Herodian basierenden Herleitung[29] — jedoch

[23] Dies ergeben Volltextrecherchen in LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT 1691 und in der von John B. Bury besorgten Ausgabe von Gibbons Werk aus den Jahren 1896–1900: GIBBON 1896–1900.

[24] BURCKHARDT 2013 [1853], 18 [14] („das bewußte Soldatenkaiserthum des Septimius Severus"), 27 [27] („ Postumus, Lollianus [oder Lälianus] und Victorinus [...] als bloße Soldatenkaiser"), 33 [36] („Der große Fürst [...] [*i.e.* Probus], den man für einen ausschließlichen Soldatenkaiser halten sollte") u. 46 [52] („von den großen Soldatenkaisern des dritten Jahrhunderts").

[25] Vgl. BURCKHARDT 2013 [1853], 9 [1].

[26] S. BURCKHARDT 2013, 583–589. Dies gilt auch für das Register der zweiten Auflage aus dem Jahre 1880: BURCKHARDT 1880, 451–456. Die Beiläufigkeit wird besonders deutlich, wenn man berücksichtigt, wie sich BURCKHARDT 2013 [1853], 40 [43] mit dem Begriff „Cäsarismus" auseinandersetzt; s. dazu MOMIGLIANO 1966b.

[27] Vgl. in Bezug auf Burckhardt HEIL 2006, 413.

[28] Z.B. BURCKHARDT 2013, 15 [9] („Kriegsfürstenthum") u. 19 [15] („Militärdespotismus"); s. dazu HEIL 2006, 413.

[29] Vgl. Hdn. 7,10,3–5 (Übers.: F. L. Müller): *τοῦ πλείστου τῆς γνώμης* Μάξιμόν *τε καὶ* Βαλβῖνον *ἀνειπόντος αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίησαν*. [...] *τῆς οὖν χειροτονίας ἐκείνους ἀνειπούσης* Σεβαστοί *τε ἀνηγορεύθησαν, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς ἡ σύγκλητος διὰ δόγματος αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμησεν*. — „erklärte sich doch, als die Wahl durchgeführt war, die weitaus größte Zahl für Maximus und Balbinus; und diese machten sie zu Kaisern. [...] Nachdem nun die Wahl diese beiden herausgehoben hatte, wurden sie zu Augusti ernannt, und der Senat zeichnete sie durch einen förmlichen Beschluß mit allen kaiserlichen Ehren aus."

seinerzeit und noch lange darüber hinaus auf zwei der kurzzeitigen Herrscher des Jahres 238, nämlich die beiden 99-Tage-Kaiser Pupienus und Balbinus, beschränkt gewesen ist und der darauf verweisen sollte, dass es der Senat gewesen war, der die beiden aus seinen Reihen zu Kaisern gemacht hatte. Erst in jüngerer Zeit entwickelte sich das Wort Senatskaiser zu einem Begriff mit (einem eher als gering und vage zu veranschlagenden) herrschaftstypologischen Potential.[30]

Lässt man den Terminus Senatskaiser einmal außen vor: Auch wenn alle genannten Begriffe von Burckhardt für die gleiche Epoche der Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit verwandt worden sind, nämlich die Zeit zwischen Septimius Severus und der Tetrarchie, und auf die von ihm ausgemachte zunehmende Bedeutung des Militärs für das Kaisertum verweisen sollen,[31] so eignet dem Wort Soldatenkaiser doch ein höheres Maß an Spezifität als den Begriffen, für die die Wendung komplementär verwendet wird.[32] Während es sich bei jenen nämlich um etablierte

[30] Vgl. BURCKHARDT 2013 [1853], 22 [19]; s. in diesem Zusammenhang erneut HEIL 2006, 413 mit Anm. 18. Mehr noch als im Falle seines terminologischen Pendants Soldatenkaiser fehlt in Hinblick auf den Terminus Senatskaiser bislang eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Den Begriff Senatskaiser verwendete vor Burckhardt ebenfalls bereits FIEDLER 1821, 307 („spöttisch Senatskaiser genannt") in Bezug auf das Kaiserpaar Pupienus und Balbinus. Burckhardt ist, wie bereits angemerkt, Fiedlers Werk nachweislich in der dritten, überarbeiteten Auflage bekannt gewesen, in der der Begriff Senatskaiser allerdings nicht mehr auftaucht; vgl. FIEDLER 1839, 411–412. Seit der Jahrtausendwende hat sich die Verwendung des Begriffs Senatskaiser insbesondere auf Tacitus ausgeweitet; s. z.B. KREUCHER 2003, 118; ZIEGLER 2003, 228; JOHNE 2008b. HARTMANN 1982, 61 hat versucht, den Senatskaiser als Kaisertypus zu etablieren; vgl. dazu zu Recht kritisch JOHNE 2008a, 602–603.

[31] S. dazu etwa SOMMER 2015, 18.

[32] Der Begriff Soldatenkaiser kann nicht von der Bezeichnung ‚Soldatenkönig' für den preußischen König Friedrich Wilhelm I. abgeleitet werden: Dieser Begriff ist erstmalig von Arthur Moeller van den Bruck in seinem *Preußischen Stil* verwandt worden (MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK 1916, 47, 69, 72–74, 78); zum Synonym für Friedrich Wilhelm I. wurde die Bezeichnung jedoch eigentlich erst in Folge von Jochen Kleppers 1937 erschienenem Roman *Der Vater. Der Roman des Soldatenkönigs* (KLEPPER 1937), dessen Untertitel seit 1950 *Roman eines Königs* lautet (KLEPPER 1950), und seinem im darauffolgenden Jahr herausgegebenen Band *Der Soldatenkönig und die Stillen im Lande* (KLEPPER 1938). Nicht zu Friedrich Wilhelms Lebzeiten, sondern erst seit dem 19. Jahrhundert ist die Begrifflichkeit ‚roi sergeant' für ihn geläufig, auch wenn nach Friedrich dem Großen der englische König George II. Friedrich Wilhelm „Mon Frère le Sergent" (FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE 1751, 58) genannt haben soll; s. etwa in eher despektierlich-spöttischer Weise WEBER 1832–1840, III 247 u. X 315 sowie gewissermaßen mit charakterisierend-analytischem Ansatz VEHSE 1851–1860, II.2 285.

Ausdrücke im deutschen Sprachgebrauch handelt,[33] die von Burckhardt zur allgemeinen Charakterisierung einer bestimmten Epoche der römischen Kaiserzeit verwandt werden, ist dem in gewisser Weise als Pseudoneologismus anzusehenden Wortpaar Soldatenkaiser und Soldatenkaisertum der Sinn zuzuschreiben, das aus Burckhardts Sicht Spezifische von Kaisern in der Zeit zwischen Septimius Severus und Diocletian in besonderer Weise zum Ausdruck zu bringen: nämlich das Regiment von Kaisern, das sich massiv auf das Militär stützte und in dem der Senat keine relevante Rolle (mehr) spielte.[34]

IV.

Die Geschichte des Begriffs Soldatenkaiser ist zu weiten Teilen eine sehr deutsch(sprachig)e Geschichte. Und so nimmt es denn auch nicht Wunder, dass man sich bislang nicht die Frage gestellt hat, ob es vor Burckhardts Verwendung — beziehungsweise genauer gesagt: vor dem Auftreten des Begriffs Soldatenkaiser in der deutschsprachigen Altertumswissenschaft seit 1830 — in anderen Sprachen dieser Terminus entsprechend Verwendung gefunden hat. Zumindest im Italienischen und Französischen wird man in einem Einzelfall fündig — und zwar in den Jahren unmittelbar vor der Französischen Revolution. Der einer im Veneto ansässigen Adelsfamilie entstammende Politiker und Gelehrte Francesco Mengotti bezeichnete den spätantiken Kaiser Julian in seiner im Jahre 1787 erschienenen einflussreichen Schrift *Del Commercio de' Romani dalla prima guerra punica a Costantino*, im Jahr zuvor von der Pariser Academie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres preisgekrönt, als „imperatore soldato",[35] auf Französisch „empereur soldat".[36]

Ziemlich genau fünfzig Jahre später war es der Trentiner Arzt und Historiker Giovanni Battista Garzetti, der in seinem im Jahre 1836 veröffentlichten Werk *Della condizione dell'Italia sotto il governo degli*

[33] Dies ergibt beispielsweise eine Recherche in dem von den Gebrüdern Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm initiierten ‚Großprojekt' des *Deutschen Wörterbuchs*; s. z.B. *s. v.* Kriegsfürst, in: *DWB* XI, 1873, 2267–2268.

[34] Dies zeigen die Ausführungen von BURCKHARDT 2013 [1853], 11–35 [3–37] über „[d]ie Reichsgewalt im dritten Jahrhundert"; s. dazu HEIL 2006, 413. Burckhardts grundsätzliche Einschätzungen zum dritten Jahrhundert blieben Zeit seines Lebens weitestgehend die gleichen; s. dazu CHRIST 1983, 107–108.

[35] Vgl. MENGOTTI 1787, cvii; s. auch PETRETTINI 1822, 71. Zu Person und Werk Menottis, insbesondere seiner hier erwähnten preisgekrönten Schrift, vgl. VENTURI 1990, 433–449; GABBA 1995, 63–71 mit CAMBIANO 2018, 74; MARCONE 2007, 95–98.

[36] S. MENGOTTI 1800 [= MENGOTY 9], 172.

imperatori romani die Begrifflichkeit „imperatori soldati“ allem Anschein nach erstmalig in italienischer Sprache als Kollektivbezeichnung für Kaiser des dritten Jahrhunderts verwendete.[37] Von der nur wenige Jahre später erschienenen erweiterten zweiten Auflage dieses Werkes[38] erschien im Jahre 1842 eine Übertragung ins Deutsche, in der einmal der Begriff Soldatenkaiser verwendet wird — allerdings nicht dort, wo das italienische Pendant im Original Anwendung gefunden hatte.[39]

Ob Burckhardt dies bekannt war, wird sich kaum mehr sicher feststellen lassen. Auch wenn die besagten Arbeiten Mengottis und Garzettis grundsätzlich recht weit verbreitet waren, so hat Burckhardt sie zumindest ausweislich des Verzeichnisses der in der ersten und zweiten Auflage verwandten Literatur nicht zitiert — und auch in seinem Handexemplar sind sie nicht verzeichnet.[40]

V.

Aus der Retrospektive, zumal wenn sie im deutschsprachigen Raum unternommen wird, wo der Begriff Soldatenkaiser im Verlauf des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts trotz eines gewissen, insbesondere rezenten partiellen Unbehagens, das sich insbesondere durch die Nichtverwendung des Begriffs äußert,[41] eine nicht unbeträchtliche heuristische Plausibilität bis auf den heutigen Tag zu entfalten vermochte,[42] mag es durchaus verwundern: Nach der Verwendung dieses Terminus durch Burckhardt in seinem 1853 erschienenen *Constantin* fand er zunächst — abgesehen von der exzeptionellen Ausnahme der beiläufigen Verwendung in der *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung* des sächsischen Politikers

[37] Vgl. GARZETTI 1836, II 75; s. auch II 34. Zu Garzetti und seinem Werk s. die knappen Bemerkungen von GABBA 1993, 416–418; MIGLIARIO 2015, 343–344.

[38] GARZETTI 1838–1839 — der Terminus „imperatori soldati“ ist zu finden GARZETTI 1838–1839 II 252 u. 216.

[39] S. Garzetti 1842, 106.

[40] Vgl. BURCKHARDT 2013, 371–409.

[41] Vgl. explizit LEPPIN 2012, 63.

[42] Vgl. dazu HEIL 2006, 413–418. Verwiesen sei neben dem monumentalen Gemeinschaftswerk JOHNE 2008 exemplarisch auf BLECKMANN 2002; KÖRNER 2002; JACOB 2004, bes. 31–34 u. 77; BABUSIAUX – KOLB 2015; BERRESSEM 2018; MAIER 2019, 20; HÄCHLER 2021; SOMMER 2020 sowie BRANDT 2021, 482–585 („VIII. ‹Krise› oder ‹Transformation›? Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser [235–284]“). Aus der älteren Forschung sei exemplarisch auf MÓCSY 1977 („Pannonien und die Soldatenkaiser“) verwiesen, der zugleich ein Beispiel für die Rezeption des Begriffes durch einen nichtdeutschsprachigen Autor in einem deutschen Beitrag ist.

und Historikers Eduard von Wietersheim[43] — allem Anschein nach mehrere Jahrzehnte keinerlei Resonanz in Darstellungen zur römischen Geschichte mit einem zumindest gewissen wissenschaftlichen Anspruch.

Etwas anders hingegen stellt sich der Befund in wissensvermittelnden Werken für den Schulgebrauch dar.[44] Erklären lassen dürfte sich dies neben der zunächst einmal wenig prominenten Positionierung der Begrifflichkeit im Text von Burckhardts *Constantin* zumindest auch mit der vom Autor primär adressierten nicht-gelehrt-wissenschaftlichen Leserschaft[45] sowie der grundsätzlich — entgegen dessen Hoffnung — äußerst zurückhaltenden, vielfach skeptisch-kritischen Aufnahme des Werkes in Fachkreisen.[46]

Erst gut drei Jahrzehnte nach dem Erscheinen von Burckhardts *Constantin* und damit mehr als fünfzig Jahre nach seiner ersten Verwendung im Deutschen in Bezug auf römische Kaiser, nämlich seit den achtziger Jahren des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, lässt sich der Terminus Soldatenkaiser, zunächst noch stärker in auf ein breiteres Publikum zielenden Arbeiten denn in fachwissenschaftlichen deutsch(sprachig)en Publikationen zur römischen Kaiserzeit, nachweisen.[47] Diese Entwicklung ist womöglich ursächlich zumindest auch mit dem Erscheinen der zweiten Auflage des Burckhardtschen Werkes im Jahre 1880 in Verbindung zu setzen.[48]

[43] Vgl. WIETERSHEIM 1859–1864, II 174, III 152. Zur Person Wietersheims vgl. MÜLLER 1910. Felix Dahn hat die entsprechenden Formulierungen in seiner ‚zweiten vollständig umgearbeiteten Auflage' beibehalten: DAHN 1880–1881, I 155 u. 346.

[44] Zwei frühere Ausnahmen stellen die *Geschichtstabellen zum Auswendiglernen* und die *Geschichtstabellen zum Gebrauch auf Gymnasien und Realschulen* dar: SCHAEFER 1866, 22; CAUER 1871, 17.

[45] Hierzu und zum nachfolgenden s. oben S. 128.

[46] Zur unterschiedlichen Rezeption von Burckhardts Werk s. etwa ZIEGLER 1879, 19; STÄCKEL 1880, 9. Zur zeitgenössischen Aufnahme von Burckhardts *Zeit Constantin's des Großen* in der Fachwelt vgl. grundsätzlich KAEGI 1947–1982, III 416–420. Für eine kurze Zusammenstellung von Bewertungen aus der Zeit nach dem 2. Weltkrieg bis in die frühen achtziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts s. MAZZARINO 1971, 25–26; CHRIST 1982a, 374–375. Zu einer massiven Kritik an Burckhardts *Constantin* vgl. jüngst BARNES 2016, lviii-lxi.

[47] Vgl. HEIL 2006, 413–414; s. ferner auch BERRESSEM 2018, 9. Genannt sei beispielhaft in diesem Zusammenhang JÄGER 1887–1891, I 507, der in seinem von ihm selbst als „Familienlektüre" (JÄGER 1887–1891, I 4) charakterisierten Werk in einer Zwischenüberschrift für die Zeit zwischen 235 und 285 den Begriff Soldatenkaiser verwendet.

[48] BURCKHARDT 1880. Neben den im Folgenden im Text genannten Beispielen sei auch verwiesen auf SITTL 1882, 77 (für Septimius Severus); VIERORDT 1893, 18 (für Maximinus Thrax); FUCHS 1895 [1896], 230 (für Commodus). Diese drei Fälle mögen hinlänglich illustrieren, wie der Begriff Soldatenkaiser auch in althistorischen

So verwendete beispielsweise der fortschrittliche Pädagoge, Gymnasialdirektor und zeitweilige Gießener Universitätsprofessor, wegen seiner Kritik am hessischen Bildungssystem vom Dienst suspendierte Hermann Schiller den Begriff Soldatenkaiser verschiedentlich im ersten Band seiner 1883 erschienenen *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*,[49] und auch Theodor Mommsen, der den heute weithin in Vergessenheit geratenen Schiller mit der ihm eigenen Schärfe in einem Brief des Stumpfsinns zieh,[50] hat ihn, was bislang kaum Beachtung gefunden hat, zumindest ausweislich von Mitschriften in seinen Vorlesungen zur *Römischen Kaisergeschichte* in den Jahren 1882/83 und 1885/86 genutzt.[51] Niemals tat er dies jedoch, bezeichnenderweise, sonst: weder etwa in seinem zwischen 1871 und 1888 erschienenen dreibändigen *Römischen Staatsrecht*[52] noch beispielsweise im fünften, den — so der Untertitel — *Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian* gewidmeten und erstmalig 1885 veröffentlichten Band seiner vierbändig gebliebenen *Römischen Geschichte*.[53]

Nachbardisziplinen — hier der historischen Linguistik, Medizingeschichte und Philologie — aufgegriffen wurde.

[49] Vgl. SCHILLER 1883–1887, I.2 658 („unter einem Soldatenkaiser würde die Lage des Reiches besser werden" [*i.e.* Avidius Cassius im Vergleich zu Marc Aurel]), 725 („Severus war ein Soldatenkaiser"), 741 („Das Soldatenkaisertum lag durch den Ursprung der Dynastie [*sc.* der Severer] als charakteristischer Zug in derselben"), 755 („da die Reaktion gegen den Soldatenkaiser [*i.e.* Caracalla]"), 790 („den Soldatenkaiser Maximin [*i.e.* Maximinus Thrax]"), 800 („Gordian [*i.e.* Gordian III.] war kein rechter Soldatenkaiser gewesen"), 848 („ein Soldatenkaiser wie Maximinus [*i.e.* Maximinus Thrax]"), 853 („unter einem Soldatenkaiser [*i.e.* Aurelian]"), 875 („und dem Soldatenkaiser [*i.e.* Aurelian]") u. 916 („die Soldatenkaiser"). Vgl. auch SCHILLER 1883–1887, I.1 259, II 19 u. 21. Zur schillernden Person Schillers, bislang kaum in der wissenschaft(sgeschicht)lichen Literatur behandelt, vgl. FRANK 1906–1908; DAUERNHEIM 2014, 211–212.

[50] So Mommsen in einem Brief an den Rechtswissenschaftler Heinrich Degenkolb vom 19.11.1883; s. WICKERT 1959–1980, III 661 Anm. 193 und vgl. dazu auch CHRIST 2009, 7.

[51] Vgl. MOMMSEN 2005, 182 („beim ersten Soldatenkaiser" [*i.e.* Claudius]), 211 („Konsequenzen der Soldatenkaiser" [*i.e.* Vitellius und Otho]), 432 („Unter den Soldatenkaisern sind keine Italiener, vor allem finden wir Illyriker") u. 470 („Soldatenkaiser [...]: Claudius [*i.e.* Claudius II. Gothicus], Aurelian, Probus und Carus").

[52] MOMMSEN 1871–1888. Die Aussagen zum *Römischen Staatsrecht* und zur *Römischen Geschichte* (s. die nachfolgenden Bemerkungen) stützen sich auf eine entsprechende Volltextrecherche in Mommsens Œuvre, das digital zur Verfügung steht.

[53] MOMMSEN 1854–1885, V.

VI.

Die in den 1880er Jahren einsetzende — hier lediglich exemplarisch aufgezeigte, jedoch keineswegs umfassend dokumentierte — Verwendung des Terminus Soldatenkaiser, der auch in Houston Stewart Chamberlains 1899 erschienenes, antisemitisch-rassentheoretisches Werk *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* Eingang fand,[54] darf jedoch über eines nicht hinwegtäuschen: seine damalige nach wie vor bestehende, ja sogar noch zunehmende Unschärfe.

Hatte Burckhardt — ebenso wie Boos — den Begriff nur für Kaiser des dritten Jahrhunderts angewandt, so findet sich bis in die zwanziger Jahre des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts hinein seine Applikation auch auf Kaiser des ersten, zweiten und — wie bei Fiedler — vierten Jahrhunderts,[55] die auf die ein oder andere Weise in besonderem Maße als mit dem Heer und dem Militärischen verbunden angesehen wurden — sei es aufgrund der Involvierung des Militärs in den Prozess der Kaisererhebung, sei es aufgrund einer Herrschaftspraxis, die in hervorstechendem Maße durch das Führen äußerer (und im Falle des vierten Jahrhunderts auch innerer) Kriege geprägt war. Als ebenso markante wie instruktive Beispiele seien hier der nicht nur von Mommsen als Soldatenkaiser bezeichnete vierte römische Kaiser, nämlich Claudius,[56] der erste ‚Adoptivkaiser', Traian,[57] sowie der von allen römischen Kaisern wohl sowohl in Bezug auf seine Herrschaftspraxis wie auch in Hinsicht auf seine herrscherliche Repräsentation kriegerischste aller römischen Herrscher, Konstantin, angeführt.[58] Und auch hinsichtlich des dritten Jahrhunderts ergibt bereits eine kursorische Analyse der Verwendung des Wortes Soldatenkaiser den Befund, dass seinerzeit in der Forschungsliteratur keineswegs

[54] Vgl. CHAMBERLAIN 1899, I 139 („selbst die rohen Soldatenkaiser ") u. 147 (in Bezug auf die Severer: „Und nun ergriffen andere Ausländer die Gewalt, diesmal freilich leidenschaftsvolle, aber ohne Verstand, afrikanische Mestizen, Soldatenkaiser, die in dem römischen Staatsgedanken vor allem eine riesige Weltkaserne erblickten und nicht begriffen, warum gerade Rom das permanente Hauptquartier sein sollte.").

[55] S. zu Burckhardt, Boos und Fiedler S. 3–4 u. 7.

[56] Vgl. MOMMSEN 2005, 182; s. auch KUHN 1901, 127, der Claudius als den ersten „Soldatenkaiser im eigentlichen Wortsinne" bezeichnet.

[57] Vgl. FURTWÄNGLER 1897, 272, der — wie zuvor PETERSEN 1896, 316 („imperatore soldato") — Traian in einer Publikation zum Tropaeum Traiani in Adamklissi als Soldatenkaiser bezeichnet.

[58] Vgl. etwa SEECK 1895–1920, I 53 u. 55–56, der Constantin, „Diocletian[s] und alle[r ...] folgenden Soldatenkaiser" bzw. Constantin und „alle andern Soldatenkaiser seiner Zeit" formuliert.

Einigkeit dahingehend bestand, welche Kaiser mit diesem Label belegt werden konnten beziehungsweise sollten.[59]

Diese Unschärfe des Begriffes Soldatenkaisers in Bezug auf seine zeitliche Verwendung in der altertumswissenschaftlichen deutschen Forschungslandschaft des ausgehenden neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und seine noch nicht erfolgte feste Etablierung im wissenschaftlichen Sprachgebrauch zeigen sich auch darin, dass sich alternativ etwa der Begriff „Heerkaisertum“ findet.[60]

VII.

Wie schon sehr vereinzelt in der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, so fand der Begriff Soldatenkaiser auch im frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert in einigen wenigen Fällen Verwendung für nicht-römische Herrscher — mit differierenden Bedeutungsnuancen —, was im Folgenden in aller Kürze und ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit anhand einiger instruktiver Beispiele aufgezeigt werden soll. Erneut stößt man dabei auf einen byzantinischen Kaiser, nämlich den im zehnten Jahrhundert lebenden und herrschenden Nikephoros II. Phokas.[61] Daneben findet sich eine Charakterisierung des Sultanats von Dehli unter Herrschaft der Tughluqiden, der Sayyiden und der Lodi, also der Zeit zwischen 1320 und 1540, als „Zeit der Soldatenkaiser“;[62] und der habsburgische Herrscher Joseph II. ist im späten 19. Jahrhundert[63] ebenso wie der österreichische Kaiser Franz Josef I. und der deutsche Kaiser Wilhelm II. zeitgenössisch gelegentlich als Soldatenkaiser bezeichnet worden.[64]

Auf hinlängliche Weise mögen diese drei Fälle aufzeigen, wie epochal und monarchie-spezifisch ungebunden die Wendung Soldatenkaiser im frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert gewesen ist.

[59] So handelt es sich etwa für DOMASZEWSKI 1895, 77 bei Postumus um den „ersten reinen Soldatenkaiser“; SCHULZ 1903, 38 und SPECK 1900–1906, III 2B, 521 hingegen bezeichnen bereits Septimius Severus als Soldatenkaiser. DELBRÜCK 1900–1908, III 195 wiederum schreibt von „wackeren Soldatenkaisern von Pertinax bis Aurelian und Probus“ und GROSSE 1920, 188, 260 u. bes. 318 noch allgemeiner von „große[n] Soldatenkaiser[n] des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts oder auch der nachfolgenden byzantinischen Epoche“

[60] S. HERZOG 1884–1887, II 399, 501, 512 u. 595.

[61] Vgl. HARTMANN 1897–1915, IV.1 25.

[62] So WETZEL 1918, 9.

[63] Vgl. OTTENFELD – TEUBER 1895, 187; s. zu dieser Perspektive — wenn auch nicht umfassend — HOCHEDLINGER 2000, 331.

[64] Vgl. etwa RENÉ 1908, 34 bzw. FRIED 1910, 44, 115 u. 155.

VIII.

Nachdem im späten neunzehnten Jahrhundert der Pädagoge und Gymnasialprofessor Otto Jäger allem Anschein nach den Terminus Soldatenkaiser erstmals als Epochenbegriff in seiner populärwissenschaftlichen *Weltgeschichte in vier Bänden* verwendet hatte,[65] begann sich in Teilen der Forschung seit etwa 1900 allmählich die Praxis zu etablieren, in Bezug auf das dritte Jahrhundert mit der Etikettierung ‚Zeit der Soldatenkaiser' zu operieren.[66]

Diese zunehmende Etablierung der Begrifflichkeit Soldatenkaiser führte etwa dazu, dass Andreas Alföldi zwischen 1927 und 1930 eine Serie von drei Aufsätzen unter dem gemeinsamen Obertitel *Zur Kenntnis der römischen Soldatenkaiser* vorlegen konnte, ohne diesen Terminus in irgendeiner Weise problematisieren oder auch nur thematisieren zu müssen.[67] Gleiches gilt für Franz Altheim, der 1939 seine bereits erwähnte Monographie unter dem Titel *Die Soldatenkaiser*.[68] Unabhängig von der Frage nach dem wissenschaftlichen Wert dieses Werkes ist zu konstatieren,[69] dass es nicht unwesentlich zur Verbreitung des Begriffs Soldatenkaiser beigetragen hat,[70] auch wenn sein Verfasser in späteren Auflagen andere Titel wählte, in denen der Terminus Soldatenkaiser keine Erwähnung mehr findet.[71]

Hält man sich darüber hinaus vor Augen, dass im gleichen Jahr, in dem Altheims *Soldatenkaiser* erschienen, auch Johannes Straubs wirkmächtige Studie *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* und der zweite Band von Ernst Kornemanns sich als überaus populär erweisender *Römischer Geschichte*, *Die Kaiserzeit*, veröffentlicht wurden, in denen ebenfalls von Soldatenkaisern respektive dem Soldatenkaisertum die

[65] Vgl. JÄGER 1887–1891, I 507; s. HEIL 2006, 413 mit Anm. 19 sowie insbesondere GERHARDT 2008, 130. Zu Jäger s. MARCKS 1930.

[66] Vgl. beispielsweise SACKUR 1898, 156; SPECK 1900–1906, III 2B, 1030; WISSOWA 1908, 9. STÜCKELBERG 1916, x ist unter den ersten, die in den Kaiserporträts der Soldatenkaiser eine Gemeinsamkeit erkennen vermeinten — deren „Gewöhnlichkeit".

[67] Vgl. ALFÖLDI 1967b; ALFÖLDI 1967c; ALFÖLDI 1967d.

[68] ALTHEIM 1939. Für Altheim umfasste das „Jahrhundert der Soldatenkaiser" die Zeit „vom Ausgang des Commodus bis zum Regierungsantritt Diocletians"; s. ALTHEIM 1939, 13.

[69] Vgl. MOMIGLIANO 1966a.

[70] Vgl. auch die unter dem Titel „Die Soldatenkaiser" erschienene Rezension von ENSSLIN 1941; s. außerdem ENSSLIN 1943, 40 u. 46.

[71] ALTHEIM 1943; ALTHEIM 1952. Vgl. HEIL 2006, 416. Zu den Titelveränderungen und zur (späteren) Geschichte dieses Werkes vgl. auch CHRIST 1982b, 251–253; HEIL 2006, 416–417; GERHARDT 2008, 140–142

Rede ist,[72] so geht man kaum fehl in der Aussage, dass im deutschen Sprachgebrauch spätestens seit den späten dreißiger Jahren der Terminus Soldatenkaiser, der allerdings kein Lemma in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften* erhalten hat,[73] auch wenn er verschiedentlich in diesem Werk von Autoren verwendet worden ist,[74] seinen festen Platz im altertumswissenschaftlichen Sprachrepertoire gefunden hatte.[75] Und dies ist auch bis in die Gegenwart hinein so geblieben.[76] Zur Konsequenz hatte diese Entwicklung, dass nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in den ‚großen' deutschsprachigen Lexika und Enzyklopädien das Lemma ‚Soldatenkaiser' Eingang fand.[77]

IX.

Diese zunehmende Etablierung der Begrifflichkeit in der deutschsprachigen Forschung ging lange Zeit allerdings keineswegs mit einer terminologischen Profilierung oder tiefergehenden analytischen Konzeptualisierung einher:[78] Weit mehr jedenfalls, als dass die Arbeit an einer Erfassung dessen, was Soldatenkaiser typologisch ausmacht (und folglich von anderen Kaisern strukturell unterscheidet), im Zentrum der Forschung gestanden hätte, nahm lange Zeit die stets vorhandene Fokussierung auf den Zustand des Imperium Romanum in allumfassender Weise immer weiteren Raum ein, und die Instabilität kaiserlicher Herrschaft wurde als Ausdruck der Krisenhaftigkeit der des dritten Jahrhunderts, als eine ihrer Facetten gedeutet,[79] das Auftreten von

[72] Vgl. STRAUB 1939, 30–32; KORNEMANN 1938–1939, II 378 u. 382. Zur Rezeption von Straubs Buch sowie zum langanhaltenden Erfolg von Kornemanns Werk, das bis 1977 in sieben Auflagen erschien, s. CHRIST 1982b, 243 u. 137.

[73] Dies geht aus ERLER ET AL. 1997 hervor.

[74] S. etwa bereits HOHL 1918, 858 u. 860. Lothar Wickert hingegen verwendet den Begriff in seinem umfangreichen, mittlerweile ein wenig in Vergessenheit geratenen Lemma *Princeps* nur an einer Stelle (WICKERT 1954, 2214), an der er zustimmend HARTKE 1951, 170 zitiert. Zu Wickerts Lemma *Princeps* s. die Würdigung von CHRIST 1982b, 295–296.

[75] Verwiesen sei etwa auf DELBRUECK 1940, 36–37; GERKE 1940, 3.

[76] Neben den in Anm. 42 genannten Arbeiten sei beispielsweise auch verweisen auf ALFÖLDY 1989b, 278 u. 281; HEUSS 1998, 418[–421] u. 603; DAHLHEIM 2003, 167, 363 u. 378; CHRIST 2009, 650–702.

[77] Vgl. etwa *Meyers Neues Lexikon*, Bd. 7, Leipzig 1964, 567, *s. v.* Soldatenkaiser; *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, Bd. 20, Mannheim [19]1993, 426, *s. v.* Soldatenkaiser.

[78] Vgl. dazu zuletzt KÖRNER 2011, bes. 91–92.

[79] Dazu etwa HARTMANN 1982, 12, 15 u. 182–183.

Soldatenkaisern geradezu als eine Manifestation der Krise angesehen. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Entwicklung weg von einer herrscherzentrierten Kaisergeschichte hin zu einer allumfassenden Reichsgeschichte begann man die ‚Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts' im Sinne einer „Weltkrise" oder ‚totalen Systemkrise' zu entdecken,[80] wie es späterhin beispielsweise insbesondere und prägnant Alföldi und dann Geza Alföldy formulieren sollten.[81]

Damit standen die beiden Exilungarn zwar keineswegs allein, jedoch haben sie auf Grund ihrer einflussreichen Positionen in den Altertumswissenschaften besonders wirkmächtig und nachhaltig eine teilweise bis heute überaus kontrovers geführte Debatte um die Existenz und den Charakter der ‚Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts' geprägt.[82]

In gewisser Weise als Ironie der Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft mag man in diesem Zusammenhang erachten, dass ausgerechnet Burckhardt, der einflussreiche Verfechter einer historisch-anthropologischen Krisologie,[83] in seinen posthum veröffentlichten *Weltgeschichtlichen Betrachtungen* seinerzeit nachdrücklich verneint hatte, das dritte Jahrhundert als eine Zeit der Krise zu charakterisieren.[84]

[80] Vgl. in aller Deutlichkeit HOMO 1904, 189: „La grande crise de l'Empire, au IIIe siècle, avait été une crise morale tout autant qu'une crise matérielle."

[81] Alföldi wählte das Wort ‚Weltkrise' als Bestandteil des Titels seiner ausgewählten, zwischen 1927 und 1950 erschienenen Aufsätze zur Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts: ALFÖLDI 1967a; s. zudem auch ALFÖLDI 1938. Auch wenn die Bezeichnung ‚totale Systemkrise' für die ‚Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts' von Alföldy selbst zumindest schriftlich allem Anschein nach nicht verwendet wurde (sondern ihm von WITSCHEL 1999, 4–5 und STROBEL 2001, 240 zugeschrieben wurde), so steht völlig außer Zweifel, dass dieses Begriffspaar Alföldys Vorstellungen vom dritten Jahrhundert sehr genau trifft; s. in dieser Hinsicht ALFÖLDY 1984, 134; ALFÖLDY 1989a, bes. 328–335; ALFÖLDY 2015, 213.

[82] Genannt seien hier exemplarisch lediglich die Arbeiten von MOREAU 1964; MAZZA 1973; CHARANIS 1975; KOLB 1977; STROBEL 1993; BIRLEY 1999; WITSCHEL 1999; DE BLOIS 2002; ECK 2007; LIEBESCHUETZ 2007; NICOLS 2007; JOHNE – HARTMANN 2008, bes. 1031–1053; MECELLA 2008; LE BOHEC 2010; KÖRNER 2011, bes. 92–95; BRAVO 2016; vgl. auch die substantiellen, in Teilen von massiver Polemik geprägten Ausführungen von ALFÖLDY 2011, 218–272.

[83] Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang SCHIEDER 1962; KOSELLECK 1972–1997, VII 639.

[84] Vgl. BURCKHARDT 2000, 468: „keine wahren Krisen. Niemand will die Form des Reiches ändern, große Kaiser beschäftigen die Armeen durch große Kriege; vollends ist die Usurpation des III. Jahrhunderts wesentlich eine rettende; alles Erdenkliche geschieht, damit Rom erhalten werde als das, was es ist."

X.

Diese grob skizzierte wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Entwicklung ist nachfolgend kurz hinsichtlich ihrer Auswirkungen auf die Soldatenkaiser als Forschungsthema und heuristisches Konzept nachzuzeichnen. Auch wenn etwa Léon Homo[85] sowie beispielsweise auch Franz und Eugène Cumont[86] und Ernst Speck[87] bereits vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg den Begriff ‚Krise' in Bezug auf das dritte Jahrhundert verwendeten und schon Mommsen im letzten Band seiner *Römischen Geschichte* wiederholt Phänomene und Ereignisse im Verlauf des dritten Jahrhunderts als Krisen bezeichnet hatte,[88] so sind als entscheidend für die Etablierung der Idee sowie der Konzeptualisierung einer umfassenden Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts die Jahre nach dem Ende des ‚Großen Krieges' und der Russischen Revolution anzusehen.[89]

Zwei Namen sind hier vor allem zu nennen: Zum einen ist dies der italienische Gelehrte, Schriftsteller und Intellektuelle Guglielmo Ferrero, der zwischen 1919 und 1921 eine Serie von vier Aufsätzen unter dem Obertitel *La ruine de la civilisation antique* vorlegte,[90] deren zweiter Teil den Titel *La crise du troisième siècle* trägt; die Aufsatzserie erschien zwischen 1921 und 1926 auch als Buchform in einer Reihe europäischer

[85] Neben HOMO 1913 vgl. auch bereits HOMO 1904, 50 Anm. 1, 129–130 Anm. 1, 130 u. 174 („la [grande] crise du IIIe siècle"). Homo verwendet den Begriff Krise jedoch nicht allein in Bezug auf das dritte Jahrhundert, sondern auch hinsichtlich der Jahre 69 und 193 sowie des vierten Jahrhunderts: HOMO 1904, 42 u. 212.

[86] Vgl. CUMONT – CUMONT 1906, 203: „la grande crise du IIIe siècle"

[87] Vgl. SPECK 1900–1906, III 2B, 557: „Im 3. Jahrh. vollzog sich von innen heraus die gewaltige Katastrophe, der Untergang des antiken Staates, das Ende der alten Geschichte. Die ungeheure Krisis unter den Soldatenkaisern steigerte den Verfall ins Unendliche."

[88] S. z.B. MOMMSEN 1854–1885, V 247: „Krisen des dritten Jahrhunderts." Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Ausführungen von GERHARDT 2006, 394–396.

[89] Zum historischen Kontext und der vermehrten Verwendung des Krisenbegriffs nach 1918 s. KOSELLECK 1982, 648.

[90] FERRERO 1919; FERRERO 1920a; FERRERO 1920b; FERRERO 1921b.

Sprachen.[91] Und zum anderen ist dies selbstverständlich der russisch-stämmige Altertumswissenschaftler Michail I. Rostovtzeff.[92]

Nachdem Rostovtzeff im Jahre 1923 einen programmatischen Text unter dem Titel *La Crise sociale et politique de l'Empire Romain au IIIe siècle après J.-C.* vorgelegt hatte, hervorgegangen aus einem im gleichen Jahr auf dem *Ve Congrès international des sciences historiques* in Brüssel gehaltenen Vortrag,[93] erschien im Jahre 1926 Rostovtzeffs monumentales Werk *Social & Economic History of the Roman Empire*.[94] Dieses Werk bewegt sich trotz aller Differenzen in gewisser Weise in den Fahrwassern von Max Webers seinerzeit nicht in der Bewertung der Spätantike, sondern hinsichtlich des methodischen Vorgehens neue Bahnen vorgebendem Beitrag *Die sozialen Gründe des Untergangs der antiken Kultur* aus dem Jahre 1896.[95] In seinem Opus legte Rostovtzeff nach einer profunden Analyse der politischen, insbesondere aber der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen während des ‚langen dritten Jahrhunderts' die These vor, die von ihm ausgemachte soziale Revolution — in seiner Deutung ist Rostovtzeff nachhaltig geprägt von den Erfahrungen im Zusammenhang mit der Russischen Revolution[96] — sei

[91] FERRERO 1921a. S. MONNIER 1966, 165–172 u. CEDRONI 1993, 70–71 mit den Hinweisen auf die englische, italienische und kroatische Übersetzung in den Jahren 1921 bzw. 1926; zu ergänzen ist die in mindestens zwei Auflagen erschienene deutsche Übersetzung, in der der Kapiteltitel *La crise du troisième siècle* mit *Die große Wende im dritten Jahrhundert* übersetzt ist: FERRERO 1922, 44. Vgl. zu Ferreros Arbeit zur Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts die Bemerkungen von CEDRONI 2006, 55–56; GERHARDT 2008, 136–137 sowie insbesondere MECELLA 2019, 14–20.

[92] Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang GERHARDT 2006, 396–398; HEIL 2006, 414–415; ALFÖLDY 2015, 201–202.

[93] ROSTOVTZEFF 1995.

[94] ROSTOVTZEFF 1926. Vgl. zu diesem Werk MOMIGLIANO 1966c, 98–101; BOWERSOCK 1974, hier bes. 17–22; s. auch SHAW 1992, v.a. 219–228. Zu Rostovtzeff und Momigliano vgl. MICHELOTTO 1993; zu Rostovtzeff und seinem Einfluss auf die italienische Forschung s. MARCONE 2021.

[95] Vgl. WEBER 2006, 82–127, bes. 99–127. Zur forschungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung dieses Beitrags von Weber s. MEIER 1988, 12–13. Zum Verhältnis von Rostovtzeffs *Social & Economic History of the Roman Empire* zu Webers *Sozialen Gründen des Untergangs der antiken Kultur* vgl. SOMMER 2015, 20–21. Auch wenn Weber durchaus in seinem Œuvre gelegentlich auf Arbeiten Rostovtzeffs rekurrierte und Rostovtzeff seinerseits verschiedentlich auf Webers Werk Bezug genommen hat: In der *Social & Economic History of the Roman Empire* erwähnt der Autor kein einziges Mal Weber und dessen Arbeiten. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang grundsätzlich BRUHNS 2008, bes. aber 165; s. außerdem DEININGER 2004.

[96] Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang etwa CHRIST 1972, 347; PELLIZZARI 2014, 229–230. Zu Rostovtzeffs Erfahrungen im Revolutionsjahr 1917 sowie zu deren Nachwirkungen s. FICHTNER 2020, 229–329.

in ihren allumfassenden Auswirkungen der zentrale Faktor für den Untergang der ‚Alten Welt'.[97]

Der Charakter dieser sozialen, von Rostovtzeff aus einer im deskriptiven (und nicht im pejorativen) Sinne bourgeoisen Perspektive gedeuteten Revolution wurde bei Anhängern und Verfechtern des Historischen Materialismus beispielsweise aus marxistisch-leninistisch-stalinistischer Perspektive in der sowjetischen Althistorie in den frühen fünfziger Jahren intensiv diskutiert.[98] Dies ist zwar heute nicht viel mehr als eine forschungsgeschichtliche Adnote, verdient aber auf Grund der aus dieser Diskussion resultierenden Impulse vielleicht doch mehr Aufmerksamkeit als diesem Umstand für gewöhnlich zugekommen lassen wird: Schließlich hat die marxistische respektive marxistisch inspirierte Lesart der ‚Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts' grundsätzlich partiell auch stark entsprechende Forschungen außerhalb des Ostblocks etwa in Italien in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren — man denke etwa an Mario Mazzas teilweise stark rezipierte Studie *Lotte sociali e restaurazione autoritaria nel III secolo d.C.*[99] — beeinflusst,[100] die verästelt bis heute, in dieser Hinsicht für gewöhnlich eher subkutan denn explizit, nachwirkt.[101]

[97] Vgl. ROSTOVTZEFF 1926, 344–487, bes. 477: „The social revolution of the third century, which destroyed the foundations of the economic, social, and intellectual life of the ancient world, could not produce any positive achievement." S. auch — mit anders gelagertem Zielpublikum – ROSTOVTSEFF (*sic*) 1930, 208.

[98] Prägnant dazu HEINEN 1980, 308. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang die Ausführungen von SHTAERMAN 1957, 119–120 u. 153–155; KOVALEV 1957, bes. 159–164 u. 178; s. auch SEYFARTH 1967, bes. 271–272. Ein nicht in jeder Hinsicht unproblematischer Überblick über diese Diskussion — v. a. in der Brechung der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung in der DDR — findet sich bei KOCH 1970, bes. 440–446.

[99] MAZZA 1973. Zu diesem Werk, das Alföldy — man wird sagen dürfen — bezeichnenderweise nicht in seiner *Römischen Sozialgeschichte* berücksichtigt hat (ALFÖLDY 1975; ALFÖLDY 2011) — und ihm in gewisser Weise folgend STROBEL 1993; WITSCHEL 1999 —, s. die aufschlussreichen Bemerkungen aus der Feder des ‚DDR-Staats-Althistorikers' Rigobert Günther: GÜNTHER 1974, 239 u. 241.

[100] Eine nicht geringe Anzahl einschlägiger Arbeiten wurde seinerzeit ins Deutsche, Französische oder Italienische übersetzt. Neben den genannten Arbeiten sei hier exemplarisch verwiesen auf Sergei Kovalevs *Storia di Roma*, die seit 1953 wiederholt in italienischer Übersetzung aufgelegt worden ist, und Elena Shtaermans auch auf Deutsch erschienene *Krise der Sklavenhalterordnung im Westen des Römischen Reiches*: KOVALIOV 1982; SCHTAJERMAN 1964.

[101] Vgl. etwa GNOLI 2009, 216: „Fondamentale, con ampia e approfondita disamina della storiografia moderna sulla crisi del III secolo, M. Mazza, Lotte sociali e restaurazione autoritaria nel III secolo d.C. [...]." Instruktiv ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch Mazzas kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Rostovtzeffs Ansatz einer Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit: MAZZA 2013, bes. 273–276, 291–300, 310.

XI.

Mit seinem Bemühen, den ‚Nieder- und Untergang der alten Welt' zu erklären, reiht sich Rostovtzeff prominent in die lange Reihe derjenigen ein, die darum bestrebt waren und sind, Aufschluss über die Verwandlung der Mittelmeerwelt zu geben, sei es in den Bahnen eines eine lange Zeit die Forschung prägenden Verfalls- oder aber eines mittlerweile seit geraumer Zeit dominierenden (und modernen), jedoch keineswegs allgemein akzeptierten Transformationsnarrativs. Die Ansätze, die dabei so verschieden wie deren Autoren zahlreich sind,[102] sind an dieser Stelle im Einzelnen und in ihren Einzelheiten nicht weiter von Belang.

Von größerer Bedeutung ist in vorliegendem Zusammenhang folgender Aspekt: Nicht erst seit, aber insbesondere auch durch Rostovtzeffs wirkmächtige Arbeit mit ihrem vorrangigen Fokus auf sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekten der ‚Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts' ist in den auf die Publikation folgenden fünf Jahrzehnten die Perspektive von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen — zu nennen sind hier insbesondere Alföldis 1970 in Buchform erschienenen Studien zur ‚monarchischen Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche' aus den 1930er Jahren[103] — nur selten (konzeptionell) auf Strukturen der römischen Monarchie im dritten Jahrhundert ausgerichtet gewesen.[104]

Der Grund für diesen Umstand dürfte insbesondere in zwei Ursachen zu suchen sein — und beide haben ihren Niederschlag auch in Rostovtzeffs Werk gefunden: der lange Schatten Mommsens und seiner Konzeption sowie seiner (statischen) Periodisierung des römischen Kaisertums[105] und, durchaus damit in Zusammenhang stehend, ein generell stärkeres, jedoch letztlich eingeschränktes Interesse am Zustand des römischen Kaisertums als Ausdruck der ‚Krise des dritten Jahrhunderts' denn an einer analytischen Beschäftigung mit den herrschaftsstrukturellen Aspekten, die diesen Zustand bedingten.

[102] Vgl. in dieser Hinsicht das mittlerweile selbst zu einem Klassiker gewordenen Werk von MAZZARINO 1959 sowie auch die überaus materialreiche Zusammenstellung von DEMANDT 2014. S. außerdem den prägnanten und klarsichtigen Überblick von PIGANIOL 1972, 455–466.

[103] ALFÖLDI 1970.

[104] Dies zeigt etwa der Forschungsüberblick von WALSER – PEKÁRY 1962, 58–61; s. auch HARTMANN 1982, 11–16.

[105] Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang WIEMER 2006, 18–19.

XII.

Doch nicht nur hinsichtlich der lange Zeit die Forschung zum dritten Jahrhundert dominierenden sozial- und wirtschaftshistorischen Perspektive hat Rostovtzeff eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt. Ihm und der in mancherlei Hinsicht kanonischen Wirkung seiner *Social & Economic History of the Roman Empire* ist zweifelsohne wohl auch wesentlicher Anteil daran zuzuschreiben, wie die fünf Jahrzehnte zwischen den Jahren 235 und 284 im angelsächsischen Sprachraum bis heute ganz überwiegend begrifflich erfasst werden, auch wenn er in dieser Hinsicht nicht der erste, sondern der einfluss- und folgenreichste gewesen ist.[106] Dem Narrativ des „sinkenden Römerreiches im dritten Jahrhundert nach Christo" verhaftet,[107] charakterisierte Rostovtzeff die „Zeit zwischen dem Tode des Severus Alexander und der Thronbesteigung Diocletians" als „eine der dunkelsten in der Geschichte des römischen Reiches"[108] und verwendete für sie — analog zur severischen „military monarchy"[109] — den weit mehr wertenden denn heuristisch wertvollen Begriff „military anarchy",[110] womit er sich einer Begrifflichkeit bediente, die bereits Victor Duruy für die Zeit zwischen den Jahren 235 und 268[111] sowie Otto Theodor Schultz für die zwei Jahrzehnte zwischen den Jahren 248 und

[106] Vgl. dazu partiell HEIL 2006, 414; MECELLA 2008, 658 mit Anm. 7.

[107] Die Formulierung stammt von BURCKHARDT 2013, 11.

[108] S. ROSTOVTZEFF o.J. [1931], II 143. Vgl. ROSTOVTZEFF 1926, 381: „The period between the death of Alexander Severus and the accession of Diocletian is one of the darkest in the history of the Roman Empire." Anders als oftmals zu finden, sind beide Bände von L. Wickerts Übersetzung nicht im Jahre 1929 — so etwa MOMIGLIANO 1966c, 101; CHRIST 2006, 92 —, sondern im Jahre 1931 erschienen; s. WELLES 1956, 368 Nr. 176; GIARDINA 1999, 120.

[109] Vgl. ROSTOVTZEFF 1926, 344–380 (Kap. IX: „The Military Monarchy").

[110] Vgl. ROSTOVTZEFF 1926, 381–415 (Kap. X: „The Military Anarchy") u. 416–448 (Kap. XI: „The Empire during the Anarchy").

[111] Vgl. DURUY 1870–1879, VI 261–362. Duruys Werk in der (Pracht-)Ausgabe von 1879–1884 wurde sowohl ins Englische als auch ins Deutsche übersetzt — für die entsprechende Passage vgl. DURUY 1884–1887, VII.1 145–272; DURUY 1885–1889, IV 355–508.

268 benutzt hatten[112] und den unlängst etwa Juli B. Tsirkin noch einmal programmatisch aufgegriffen hat.[113]

Obschon Rostovtzeff den Begriff ‚soldier-emperor' kannte und in Bezug auf Maximinus Thrax auch verwendete[114] — gleiches gilt etwa für John B. Bury, der den Terminus in Zusammenhang mit Septimius Severus gebrauchte[115] —, hatten sein Fokus auf das dritte Jahrhundert, der eindeutig auf eine Zustandsbeschreibung des Kaisertums, nicht aber auf eine analytische Durchdringung der römischen Monarchie zielte, und seine Begriffswahl in der englischsprachigen Forschung weitreichende Folgen. Dies gilt umso mehr, da sich einflussreiche Stimmen wie etwa Arnold H. M. Jones in seinem magistralen Werk *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* später gleichfalls des Begriffs ‚anarchy' bedienten, um die Jahrzehnte zwischen dem Herrschaftsantritt des Maximinus Thrax und dem Diocletians zu etikettieren:[116] Die Wortkombination ‚soldier emperor' — obgleich sie etwa in der englischen Übersetzung von Burckhardts *Zeit Constantin's des Großen* verwendet worden ist[117] — findet bis heute nur vereinzelt,[118] in der jüngeren Vergangenheit allerdings in stärkerem

[112] Vgl. SCHULZ 1919, 77–132. Zu Schultz' Ansatz s. GIZEWSKI 1988, 19–20; vgl. auch CHRIST 1982b, 155.

[113] TSIRKIN 2010. Exemplarisch verwiesen sei außerdem etwa auf HARRIES 2012, 222.

[114] Vgl. ROSTOVTZEFF 1926, 388 u. 403. In der deutschen Übersetzung wird der Begriff Soldatenkaiser verwendet: ROSTOVTZEFF o.J. [1931], II 149 u. 164.

[115] So Bury in einem Appendix seiner Ausgabe von Gibbons *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; s. GIBBON 1896–1900, I 455: „He (*sc.* Septimius Severus) was more than a mere soldier-emperor; he was a considerable statesman." Vgl. auch STUART-JONES 1908, 352 („soldier Emperors of Illyrian stock"); PARKER 1935, 185 („three soldier-Emperors [*i.e.* Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Probus], who were all natives of Illyricum").

[116] Vgl. JONES 1964, I 21–36. Jones' Begriffswahl dürfte nicht zuletzt auch mit seiner Behandlung des Kaisers in seinem Werk zusammenhängen; s. in diesem Zusammenhang WHITBY 2008, bes. 65–67, 92.

[117] Vgl. BURCKHARDT 1949, 34, 40 u. 51 (= BURCKHARDT 2013, 27, 33 u. 46). Bemerkenswert ist, dass in der englischen Übersetzung an einer Stelle, an der Burckhardt das Wort Soldatenkaiser benutzt (BURCKHARDT 2013, 18), nicht ‚soldier Emperor' verwendet wird, sondern mit „soldier's regime" übersetzt wird; s. BURCKHARDT 1949, 24: Es handelt sich dabei bezeichnenderweise um eine Aussage in Bezug auf Septimius Severus. Die Übersetzung darf als Indikator dafür angesehen werden, wie der Begriff Soldatenkaiser im Laufe der Zeit weniger fluide einsetzbar, sondern sich verfestigte und in seiner Anwendung beschränkt wurde.

[118] Hervorgehoben zu werden verdient der Beitrag des deutschen Althistorikers Wilhelm Ensslin in der 1939 erschienenen ersten Auflage der *Cambridge Ancient History* zu „Imperial Crisis and Recovery, A.D. 193–324", in dem der Verfasser den

Maße, wenn auch nicht systematisch, denn früher Anwendung,[119] ohne sich allerdings bislang wirklich durchgesetzt zu haben.[120] Der im Jahre 2005 erschienene Band der *Cambridge Ancient History* zu den Jahren zwischen 193 und 337, der „Crisis of Empire" gewidmet, mag dies beispielhaft illustrieren: Nur in drei Beiträgen findet er Verwendung.[121] Auch wenn sich der Begriff ‚soldier emperor' in der angelsächsischen Forschung bislang nicht wirklich etabliert hat, so erfreut sich der Begriff ‚barrack(s) emperor' großer Beliebtheit in englischsprachigen Netzbeiträgen und hat es sogar zu einem eigenen Wikipedia-Eintrag gebracht.[122]

XIII.

Ähnlich wie in der englischsprachigen Forschung ist das Bild hinsichtlich der Verwendung des Begriffs Soldatenkaiser respektive seiner entsprechenden Übersetzungen in zwei anderen maßgeblichen Wissenschaftssprachen, dem Französischen und dem Italienischen — wenn auch mit in gewisser Weise gegenläufigen Entwicklungen.

Terminus ‚soldier-emperor' prominent verwendet; s. ENSSLIN 1939, 72 („III. The First Soldier-Emperor and the Senatorial Opposition: Maximinus Thrax, the Gordians, Pupienus and Balbinus") u.74. S. auch ALFÖLDI 1939, 196 u. 197. Trotz des autoritativen Publikationsortes führte die Verwendung des Begriffs ‚soldier emperor' in den Beiträgen von Alföldi und Ensslin nicht zu einer weiteren Verbreitung in der angelsächsischen Forschung.

[119] Vgl. etwa HEKSTER 2008, 12, 57–58, 61; SARRIS 2011, 14–17; WOOLF 2012, 236; DAVENPORT 2016, bes. 381 mit Anm. 5 („Fashioning a Soldier Emperor" — so der Titel; HARRIS 2016, 136; KULIKOWSKI 2016, 117, 179–193 (Kap. XI: „The Last of the Soldier Emperors"), Texte zu Abb. 3 u. 26, 229 (= KULIKOWSKI 2018, 77 [Text zu Abb. 3], 181, 263–281 [= Kap. 11: „Der letzte Soldatenkaiser"], 278 [Text zu Abb. 26], 331); PEARSON 2016, 85–99 (Kap. VI: „Soldier-Emperor"); HARPER 2017, 121; HEBBLEWHITE 2017, 11, 12, 61 Anm. 8; PETKAS 2018, 143; DAVENPORT 2019, 20; DE BLOIS 2019, 28 Anm. 34, 94, 110 Anm. 224, 198, 229 u. 255. Beispiele für die vereinzelte frühere Verwendung sind neben den im Verlaufe des Artikels angeführten Belegen etwa DE BLOIS 1976, 25–26, 53, 87, 210; WOOD 1986, x, 19, 23, 24, 70, 66–87, 117; BROWN 2001, 82; MATTHEWS 2010, 46; genannt sei in diesem Zusammenhang auch das populärwissenschaftliche Buch von BRAUER 1975.

[120] Als bezeichnend ist es in diesem Kontext anzusehen, dass etwa DE STE. CROIX 1981; MILLAR 1992; ANDO 2012 und POTTER 2014 den Terminus ‚soldier-emperor' nicht verwenden.

[121] Vgl. CAMPBELL 2005, 27; DRINKWATER 2005, 50, 59–61; HUSKINSON 2005, 681, 685.

[122] Vgl. etwa HELDAAS SELAND 2022, 129; s. auch https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barracks_emperor.

So findet sich im Italienischen im späten neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert gelegentlich der Begriff ‚imperatore soldato',[123] dann jedoch lange Zeit kaum, bis er in jüngster Zeit stärker in der italienischen Forschung Verwendung zu finden scheint,[124] in der allerdings eher der Terminus Soldatenkaiser als Fremdwort Verwendung findet.[125] Im Französischen hingegen ist für die Verwendung des Begriffs ‚empereur-soldat' zu beobachten,[126] dass in der Literatur seit der Jahrtausendwende diese Begrifflichkeit in höherem Maße gerade seitens jüngerer WissenschaftlerInnen Anwendung findet,[127] obwohl etwa Ern(e)st Stein in seinem in den 1950er Jahren ins Französische übersetzten, einflussreichen Werk *Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate* das Wort Soldatenkaiser zumindest einmal verwendet hatte, das in der Übersetzung mit „empereurs-soldats" wiedergegeben worden ist.[128]

XIV.

Prominent genutzt — zumindest aus der Retrospektive — wurde der Begriff ‚Soldatenkaiser' zwar erstmals von Jacob Burckhardt in seinem 1853 erschienenen Werk *Die Zeit Constantin's des Großen*. Anders als die *communis opinio* der Forschung jedoch annimmt, ist dies keineswegs der Anfang der Geschichte, die in vorliegendem Aufsatz nachzuzeichnen versucht worden ist und die im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Bezug auf die römischen Kaiser ihren Anfang Franz Xaver Boos und Franz F. Fiedler in den 1830er Jahren nimmt.

[123] Vgl. etwa GATTA 1865, 44–50 („III° periodo — Gli imperatori soldati"); ALBIZZATI 1914, 256. Zur Verwendung der Begrifflichkeit im späten achtzehnten und frühen neunzehnten Jahrhundert s. oben S. 135–136.

[124] S. allerdings etwa GNOLI 2009, 168; MAZZARINO 2010, II 467; GALIMBERTI 2017, bes. 141 („Caracalla imperatore soldato" — so der Titel); s. auch CAPPELLI 2021 mit dem Untertitel „Come Roma fu salvata dagli imperatori soldati".

[125] Vgl. MAZZARINO 2010, II 529; BRIZZI 1978; BRIZZI 2004; RAMBALDI 2007–2009 [2013]; MECELLA 2008.

[126] CHRISTOL 1988, 169 bietet eine Zusammenstellung der Begrifflichkeiten, die im Französischen zur Charakterisierung des dritten Jahrhunderts gebräuchlich sind.

[127] Vgl. z.B. SINAPI 2004, 101; GRANDVALLET 2007, 344; PANAGET 2014, 70–71, 151, 343–344, 379–380, 382, 458, 476; s. aber auch CHRISTOL 2001, 225. HILALI 2007, 65 verwendet die Begrifflichkeit „'l'empereur des soldats'". Instruktiv ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass CARRIÉ 1999 in seinem einführenden Essay zum thematischen Block *La crise du IIIe siècle* in den *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 1999 das Wort ‚empereur-soldat' nicht verwendet hat; gleiches gilt für LE BOHEC 2009.

[128] Vgl. STEIN 1928, 81; s. auch STEIN 1959, 57.

Überraschenderweise hat man — von sehr vereinzelten Ausnahmen abgesehen — der Geschichte des Begriffe Soldatenkaiser und Soldatenkaiserzeit in der Forschung bislang kaum Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, ganz zu schweigen von der Frage nach der Existenz von entsprechenden Termini wie ‚soldier-emperor', ‚empereur soldat' oder ‚imperatore soldato' in anderen Wissenschaftssprachen. Die begriffsgeschichtliche Analyse und die Verwendung des Wortes Soldatenkaiser und seiner nicht-deutschen Entsprechungen lassen sich dabei nicht nur in grundsätzliche Entwicklungslinien und Forschungsperspektiven einbinden sowie mit unterschiedlichen Praktiken im Umgang mit der besagten Terminologie als Analysekategorie oder ‚Schlagwort' in Verbindung bringen[129] — sie können zugleich auch einen wichtigen Grundstein für eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem heuristischen Wert dieser nur vordergründig eindeutigen, tatsächlich jedoch überaus fluiden Terminologie für die Geschichte der römischen Monarchie darstellen. Aber das ist Thema für einen anderen Beitrag.

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[129] Besonders instruktiv in dieser Hinsicht ist SOMMER 2015, 15: Während er in der deutschen Zusammenfassung den Begriff Soldatenkaiserzeit verwendet, spricht er in der englischen Zusammenfassung hingegen von „the time of military anarchy". Anders hingegen verhält es sich in einem vergleichbaren Fall, in dem im Deutschen „Epoche der «Soldatenkaiser»" und in der englischen Übersetzung „age of the soldier-emperors" Verwendung findet: GEHRKE 2017, 571 = GEHRKE 2020, 669. Eine in gewisser Weise zum ersten Fall umgekehrte Beobachtung, wenn auch mit anderer Bedeutungsnuance, lässt sich hinsichtlich des spätantiken / frühbyzantinischen Kaisers Herakleios machen: In einem englischen Beitrag bezeichnet ihn RAUM 2019 u. a. im Titel ihres Beitrags als „soldier-emperor", während er in ihrer deutschen Monographie als „[d]er soldatische Kaiser" in einer Kapitelüberschrift firmiert: RAUM 2021, 177–186. Auch jenseits der etablierten Vorstellung der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser hat der Begriff ‚soldier emperor' in der angelsächsischen Forschung in der neueren Forschung vereinzelt und unscharf Anwendung gefunden: Als ‚soldier-emperor' wird Valentinian I. von MCEVOY 2013, 1 charakterisiert; in Bezug auf Honorius' Darstellung auf dem Probus-Diptychon schreibt die Autorin (MCEVOY 2013, 205) von „its double representation of Honorius as soldier emperor." CAMERON – LONG 1993, 81 bezeichnen Theodosius I. als ‚soldier-emperor'.

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The Exploration of Asia Minor: Kiepert Maps Unmentioned by Ronald Syme and Louis Robert

— Richard J. A. Talbert —

Abstract

The starting point is a tribute to Anthony Birley's studies of Ronald Syme, with attention to his map consciousness; Asia Minor becomes the focus, and comparison is made with Louis Robert. There emerges the puzzling outcome that neither Syme nor Robert shows awareness of several map series derived from Heinrich and Richard Kiepert's Karte von Kleinasien. *Hence investigation of this neglected cartography follows: its accuracy is probed, as well as its prolonged impact through the half-century 1890–1940, with particular reference to World War I and the subsequent Greco-Turkish War. All this activity (primarily by British, Greek, Italian and Ottoman military agencies), together with the successive obstacles to completing a triangulated map of Turkey, gives reason to question the long-held consensus that after Heinrich Kiepert's death (1899) his work quickly lost its significance.*

Keywords

Asia Minor, maps; cartography, military; Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922); Karte von Kleinasien *(*KvK*); Kiepert, Heinrich (1818–1899); Kiepert, Richard (1846–1915); Robert, Louis (1904–1985); Syme, Ronald (1903–1989)*

in memoriam Anthony R. Birley

This paper was drafted initially for inclusion in the forthcoming Gedenkschrift to honor Professor Anthony R. Birley (1937–2020), but an online journal is a better fit for its length and color images. Publication here in *HCS* is all the more appropriate, because one impetus for the choice of topic was *HCS* Supplementary Volume 1, *Select Correspondence of Ronald Syme, 1927–1939* (2020). Edited by Birley, it stands as the culmination of his tireless efforts over many years to document Syme's life (1903–1989) and career, and to understand the development of his scholarship.

My first concern is to probe a seemingly neglected dimension never addressed by Birley: map consciousness in Syme's writings, both in general and with specific reference to Asia Minor, a region which greatly preoccupied him. No-one with an interest in Syme's scholarship will be

surprised to learn that he proves as unforthcoming in print about his use of maps as about much else.[1] However, some findings can be assembled, and there is instructive comparison to be made with the map consciousness of Syme's contemporary Louis Robert (1904–1985). He not only shared a preoccupation with Asia Minor, but was also noted for amply disclosing and assessing the scholarly materials he drew upon, maps among them. An unanticipated, and puzzling, outcome of this comparison is that neither Syme nor Robert appears to have become aware of certain maps of Asia Minor by Heinrich and Richard Kiepert sure to interest them, even though such awareness might fairly be expected. These maps and their remarkably prolonged impact are in any case overdue for fresh recognition and re-evaluation, which the paper then proceeds to offer.

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The keen sense of geography manifest throughout Syme's work is duly singled out for praise by Fergus Millar (in 1981) and by Stephen Mitchell.[2] For central and eastern Europe this sense must have been honed by Syme's extensive travels there between 1931 and 1935.[3] In consequence it was timely for the *Journal of Roman Studies* to approach him for reviews of Walter Hyde's *Roman Alpine Routes* and of two *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslavien* fascicles, published in its 1936 and 1938 issues respectively.[4] Both reviews reflect firsthand knowledge of the relevant landscapes, as well as informed appreciation of features essential for rendering a map useful.

For Syme's own use and making of maps before World War II, the Preface to *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. X (1934, p. xi) records that he supplied material for its Map 11 ("Spain"), and that he and George Stevenson were responsible for Map 13. In compliance with economical *CAH* policy no doubt, both maps are only overviews which allow for little detail. Despite its title, "Central Europe", Map 13 stretches further, from the Pyrenees to the Danube delta and Byzantium west–east, Hamburg to Rome north–south. Although "Spain" is grayscale with only sketchy

[1] His 1981 conference paper "The Subjugation of Mountain Zones", for instance, makes no specific reference to maps (*Roman Papers* V. 648–60).

[2] Millar (2004) 402; Mitchell (1989).

[3] Cf. Birley (2020) 15. By contrast, Syme did not visit Spain until 1955 (*Roman Papers* VI. xi).

[4] For the first review, see *JRS* 26 (1936) 113–14 (= *Roman Papers* VI. 5–8); the second, *JRS* 28 (1938) 258–59.

representation of physical elevation, "Central Europe" at least renders lower-elevation landscape in green, and higher elevation in two shades of brown. Together, these maps illustrate Syme's chap. XII "The Northern Frontiers under Augustus" (also Spain and Africa), as well as his three sections of chap. XXIII "The Northern Frontiers from Tiberius to Nero" (Roman frontier policy, Rhine, Danube). In Syme's bibliography for chap. XII (p. 936), Heinrich Kiepert's *Formae Orbis Antiqui* (1894–1914) is the one atlas among the few works listed for general reference; it was an appropriate recommendation, although lacking coverage of Africa.[5] For Map 4 in *CAH* vol. XI (1936) the base of vol. X's Map 13 was reused, with material again supplied by Syme (Preface, p. viii), including sites in Dacia, for example, not needed for vol. X. This Map 4 serves to illustrate, among others, Syme's own chap. IV "Flavian Wars and Frontiers".

According to notes Syme made later, his work for *CAH* vol. XI was finished by 1934; to the best of my knowledge, thereafter he never again assembled materials for the compilation of a map, nor included one in any other work he published.[6] To be sure, this does not mean that he ignored maps, or failed to recognize their potential value. Far from it. Once in Turkey (Asia Minor) from 1941 onwards,[7] and at work on the *Anatolica* chapters published posthumously by Birley (1995), he cites maps in works by Sir William Ramsay, for example (157 n. 33),[8] René Dussaud (98 n. 27), and Heinrich Swoboda, Josef Keil and Fritz Knoll (211 n. 37). He also cites one sheet — CII *Afiun-Karahisar*, ed. 2, 1912 — of Richard Kiepert's uniquely comprehensive *Karte von Kleinasien* issued (and then revised) in 24 sheets at 1:400,000 scale by Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, between 1901 and 1916.[9] [**Fig. 1**]

KvK incorporates findings made, as well as routes taken, since the early 19th century by around 200 travelers, both named individuals — with interests ranging from antiquities and botany to missionary work and mining — and a few anonymous groups such as railroad engineers

[5] See Talbert (2019) 61–68, 96–97.

[6] 1934: Birley (2020) 201. The unattributed sketch-map of the Balkans prefacing papers by Syme from the mid-1940s first published by Birley would seem to be his editorial addition: see Syme (1999) xiv, 128.

[7] Ibid. 183. Initially (1941–1942), Syme was assistant press attaché at the British Embassy, Ankara. In August 1941, when the Foreign Office proposed him as "sufficiently efficient and energetic" to become director of a relaunched Information Bureau in Istanbul, Ambassador Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen countered that he should head a new Press Department there (with staff of three). The Ministry of Information, however, installed its nominee: Berridge (2009) 195–96.

[8] Also in Syme (1934) 136 n. 6.

[9] Syme (1995) 201–202 nn. 60, 61, 65; 214 n. 55.

and English officers.[10] This mass of data (modern and ancient) was synthesized first by Heinrich Kiepert until his death in 1899; he had already fulfilled commissions to map the routes taken by at least a dozen of the travelers named.[11] His son Richard (d. 1915) thereafter expanded and updated the data, while also striving to take account of several contemporary travelers' routes.[12] John Anderson — later Oxford's Camden Professor of Ancient History 1927–1936,[13] whose scholarship and guidance Syme greatly valued — is among the travelers: he is named on as many as five sheets of *KvK*'s first edition, and on three more of the second. In *Anatolica* Syme's repeated, respectful attention to Anderson's opinions is unmistakable, although he may still differ.[14] Once aware of Syme's interest in Asia Minor, Anderson would surely have checked that he knew of *KvK*.

Syme might equally have been informed about *KvK* by Anderson's former pupil William Calder.[15] Anderson and Calder had much in common: both were born in Edinkillie, Morayshire (in 1870 and 1881 respectively), and both were inspired by Ramsay at the University of Aberdeen before proceeding to Oxford. As well as editing *Classical Review* from 1923 to 1935, Calder was active in Turkey almost every year between 1924 and 1936, and — as Birley demonstrates[16] — kept in frequent touch with Syme during the 1930s. Calder published five reviews by him in *CR*, and sought his help in dealing with an unsatisfactory contribution that Ramsay had submitted for a Festschrift in honor of William Buckler (Calder's collaborator in Turkey).

Before World War I, Calder had been active in Turkey from 1908 onwards. During the War he was among the scholars recruited to produce

[10] I am completing a study of *KvK* which includes identifications of the individuals named, many on just a single sheet.

[11] In addition, during the early 1840s he had gathered the published itineraries of around 100 European travelers in Asia Minor: see Débarre (2021) 2. However, the only pre-1800 traveler that *KvK* names is Alexander Drummond (mid 18th century) on sheets DIV and DV. As early as the 1850s Heinrich Kiepert no longer trusted distance figures reported in the 17th and 18th centuries: see Débarre (2016) 111.

[12] For the working relationship between father (1818–1899) and son (1846–1915), and their respective roles in Reimer's service, see Espenhorst (2008) 772–78.

[13] See Gill (2004); (2011), especially 149, 300–301. For the value that Syme attached to Anderson's lectures, see the jotting in Birley (2020) 199. Notes apparently taken at Anderson's lectures on the Principate and the Flavians in 1935–1936 (in all likelihood the last time they were delivered before his retirement) are preserved among John G. Griffith's papers at Jesus College, Oxford (JC:F5/MS3/1; *non vidi*).

[14] For example, 138 n. 15; 298 n. 52.

[15] Gill (2011) 310.

[16] Birley (2020) 20–21.

maps of Turkey for the British War Office's General Staff, Geographical Section, as well as to compile (anonymously) the Naval Staff Intelligence Department's Admiralty Handbook *Asia Minor*.[17] Calder kept an astonishing quantity of materials (including unfinished drafts) from this stage of his career. After his death in 1960 these were donated by his family — along with extensive epigraphic materials — to the University of Aberdeen, where they are held in the library's Special Collections (GB 0231: MS 3286).[18] Included with them — although not always identified as such in the catalog entries — are map materials that had belonged to Anderson (d. 1952) and at some stage were passed to Calder.[19] Anderson evidently did not return to Asia Minor after World War I, nor was his war-work related to it; instead he was employed in the Ministries of Munitions and Labour.

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Louis Robert — whose successive explorations in Turkey in 1932 and 1934, and from 1946 to 1964, are painstakingly mapped by Fabrice Delrieux[20] — often stressed the unique, outstanding value of *KvK*: "un monument scientifique admirable .... le compagnon de travail des historiens et des archéologues",[21] the culmination of travelers' work, "très souvent ignoré et méconnu".[22] Indeed,

> L'expérience de ces voyages[23] comme des précédents a montré combien il serait faux de croire que la carte au 1:400.000 de Kiepert est périmée et n'est plus qu'un glorieux ancêtre à conserver dans la salle des

[17] Heffernan (1996) 517 n. 103. The Handbook was to appear in four volumes, with III in three parts, and IV in two. In the event, III.1 (for north of the Bosphorus to the Halys) and IV.2 (for the area between the Black Sea and Kaisari) never appeared. The rest were issued in 1918–1919.

[18] See further Roueché (2013).

[19] For example, the first of the MS 3286/8/2 items, where Anderson wrote his name at the head of the index. Also the three items MS 3286/8/16, the first two annotated, not for *MAMA*, but by Anderson for his *Asia Minor* map (1903a); for the third, see Fig. 18a, b below.

[20] Delrieux (2011). In addition, Robert served as director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie in Istanbul from 1956 to 1964 (since 1975 Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes).

[21] Robert and Robert (1954) 448; cf. (1962) 435 n. 1, "l'oeuvre grandiose et admirable".

[22] Id. (1980) 32.

[23] By Robert in 1962: Delrieux (2011) map 24.

> momies. Quand elle avait pu être dressée — c'est-à-dire en dehors des morceaux de pays inexplorés et laissés en blanc, — elle rend encore les plus précieux services, à la fois pour l'antique et pour le moderne, et elle n'a proprement été remplacée pour ces parties par aucune des cartes qui ne sont pas secrètes.[24]

Again in 1962 Robert concludes: "Quant aux cartes de géographie historique, depuis les Kiepert, on reste très dépourvu".[25] He recognizes the availability since 1957 of the partial revision (1:2,000,000) by Calder and George Bean of Anderson's 1903 Handy Classical Map *Asia Minor* (1:2,500,000),[26] but he finds multiple shortcomings in the content, and is justifiably disappointed by the omission of physical elevation.[27] At the same time, he acknowledges with regret that he himself had hardly helped by declining an invitation from Calder to compile the western part, because he had already agreed to assist a more ambitious mapping project commissioned by the Turkish Antiquities Service — one which unfortunately was never to achieve publication. With alternatives lacking, the readily accessible (albeit inadequate) map by Calder and Bean continued to be much used by scholars, Syme among them.[28]

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The surprise is that neither Syme nor Robert shows awareness of maps of Asia Minor produced by military agencies during the World War I period that were more or less copies of *KvK*. Robert in particular, if he had come to know of these, would surely have wished to cite them as further

[24] Robert (1974) 248. Note that even in 2000 Didier Marcotte in his Budé *Géographes Grecs* I. 99 can describe *KvK* as "toujours un instrument indispensable" for Turkey. It is still recommended (ed. 1 only!) in *Guide de l'Epigraphiste*, ed. 4 (2011) 253.

[25] Robert (1962) 434.

[26] For Anderson's map, itself in fact envisaged as a revision of Carl Müller's map 29 in Smith and Grove (1872–1874), see Talbert (2019) 16–18, 72–73, 93–94. Calder and Bean's map appeared first as a supplement to *AnatSt* 7 (1957), and was then issued separately in 1958 (with text and notes).

[27] This omission is curious insofar as the map was printed by Bartholomew's in Edinburgh, where Calder had been professor till 1951, and Mary Gough (who drew it) resided during the 1950s. Bartholomew's was ideally qualified to advise about the rendering of landscape. Later, Calder is acknowledged (p. ix) among the experts consulted for *The Times Atlas of the World*, vol. II (Bartholomew, 1959), which includes two handsome maps (36, 37) covering Turkey at 1:2,000,000, Calder's choice of scale for his own map.

[28] See his "Isauria in Pliny" (1986) in *Roman Papers* V. 664 n. 14, 666 n. 28.

demonstration of *KvK*'s continuing value during the Inter-War period. Quite possibly, Syme was never made aware of British military map-makers' use of *KvK*. If he had been, the most likely informant is Calder, whose work during World War I (above) exploited it extensively.[29] As early as 1906 the north-west of Asia Minor was included in a British War Office series at 1:250,000 *Balkan States* (General Staff, Geographical Section 2097). The relevant three sheets — *Gallipoli*, *Constantinople*, *Ismid* — had been produced by 1909 (none based on surveys). But only after the outbreak of war in 1914 was the decision taken to extend the series across Turkey to longitude 36 00. Not until 1915 and early 1916 were 14 sheets covering the west and south coasts issued; the final 18 for the entire center and north only appeared in 1919. [**Fig. 2**] Needless to stress, this work became a matter of urgency because Britain — like most states entering the War — lacked adequate maps of where its forces might be sent. Moreover, surveys in enemy territory were out of the question, and few had been made by the Ottoman authorities, let alone published (see below). The sole practical recourse therefore was to rely mainly on the best of whatever maps were available. German though it was, *KvK* not only stood out as an attractive choice, but also had no rival, and so was adapted for the purpose.

Around the same time Germany's own extensive (Ireland to Persia) new 1:800,000 *Operationskarte* series compiled by the Kartographische Abteilung des stellvertretenden Generalstabes der Armee also gives the impression of reliance on *KvK* for its ten sheets covering Asia Minor, some issued as early as 1914. [**Fig. 3**] Yet in view of the Ottomans' alliance with Germany (thus making campaigns within Asia Minor a remote prospect), no further German series for the region was developed until 1917–1918, when five of the northernmost sheets for a new 1:400,000 scale *Karte von Mesopotamien und Syrien* (extending to Lake Van and beyond) were produced.[30] Finally, in mid-1918, German versions were made of four Ottoman 1:200,000 *tipo nuovo* (see below) sheets for a new *Karte der asiatischen Türkei* at this scale.[31]

For Britain's GSGS 2097 series, however, *KvK*'s scale was enlarged from 1:400,000 to 1:250,000, thus matching that of the *Eastern Turkey in Asia* series (Intelligence Division, War Office 1522), an earlier initiative entrusted to Capt. Francis Maunsell which provided coverage East of

[29] On British mapping of the entire Middle East since the 1850s, note Foliard (2017).

[30] See Espenhorst (2016) 112–13, 122; Demhardt (2021) 2, 6. Sources are not stated on the sheets.

[31] For both these German series, ibid. 10. The 1:200,000 sheets are *Adana*, *Biredschik*, *Mar'asch*, *Membidsch*.

longitude 36 00.[32] For GSGS 2097, Turkish names were re-transliterated into English style rather than German, and the names of travelers dropped from routes — Kiepert's scholarly apparatus of no military relevance. However, some classical placenames were retained. Unlike IDWO 1522 sheets, GSGS 2097 ones do not state the sources from which the cartography is derived, but its character gives every impression of being largely a reproduction of *KvK*. [**Fig. 4a**, **b**]

The Asia Minor sheets of the smaller-scale 1:1,000,000 series (GSGS 2555) made at around the same time leave no doubt.[33] [**Fig. 5**] Most name just a single source:

> Compiled from: Karte von Kleinasien (Kiepert) 1:400,000, with much additional information from various sources. Note: Turkey in Asia is not topographically surveyed, and the detail is unreliable.[34]

The 1918–1919 *Asia Minor* Admiralty Handbook volumes are similarly explicit about their reliance on both *KvK* and GSGS 2097. In addition, an Admiralty War Staff Intelligence Division 1:500,000 map series *Asia Minor* — designed, it seems, specifically to accompany the Handbook volumes — was no doubt derived from both, even though none of the three sheets known to me (only from the Calder Collection) carries any statement about sources or accuracy; each is numbered, but not named, and their sizes vary.[35] Conceivably, this ambitious series drawn and printed at the Ordnance Survey was never completed, nor any of its sheets actually issued.

Even during World War II the Naval Intelligence Division's April 1942 Geographical Handbook *Turkey* vol. 1 still lists GSGS 2555 and 2097 among map resources along with IDWO 1522 (pp. 441–42), although with the warning: "The maps are of very little use today." However, most

[32] Issued from 1901, its sheets were substantially revised during World War I and six again afterwards (1920–1923), not least in order to take into account *KvK* (cited on a dozen of the revisions) and captured Turkish maps (below): see Jewitt (1992) xii, xvi, 351, 509, and illustration immediately following 462. Foliard (2017, 204) overrates the merits of the original edition, pathbreaking though it was. For a sounder assessment, note Hamm (2014) 884–86, 899.

[33] Heffernan (1996) 511–22 traces the struggles surrounding the compilation of the series, and considers its impact.

[34] Calder kept copies of GSGS 2555 *Izmir (Smyrna)*, *Konia* and *Sinob* issued in 1916, and of *Batum*, *Erzerum* and *Istambul (Constantinople)* revised in 1918: see MS 3286/8/6 and 3286/8/11. *Istambul* was first issued in 1912.

[35] MS 3286/8/8/1: VIII, approximate coverage Angora to Kaisarie (November 1919); XIII Konia to Selefke (December 1918); XIV Cilicia and north Syria (June 1918). See further below, n. 57.

of the relevant 2555 sheets (but not K-37 *Batum*) had been revised and reissued in 1932, still citing *KvK*. Thereafter both the 2097 and 2555 series were included in the GSGS 1938 *Catalogue of Maps* (along with IDWO 1522),[36] and GSGS 2097's *Boli* and *Sinope* were reprinted in 1938 and 1940 respectively (no doubt other sheets too).[37] Syme could well have seen such sheets while based at the British Embassy in Ankara, as noted above.[38] Even if by then largely outdated, they would have been appealing to consult for areas into which Kiepert crammed more detail than his scale of 1:400,000 could comfortably accommodate. There is no clue to what maps Syme used on his journeys from Istanbul to Phrygia and Pisidia in September-October 1944, or to eastern Turkey a little earlier when he "had cursory autopsy of Martyropolis".[39]

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Like Britain five years previously, in 1919 Greece faced a sudden wartime need for maps of Asia Minor. In its case, plenty of the sheets produced were soon put to use on campaigns which during mid-1921 advanced almost as far as Ankara in hopes of fulfilling the 'Megali Idea'.[40] In principle, it seems plausible enough that Syme and Robert could have become aware of some of these maps; sooner or later, several reached

[36] GSGS 1938 *Catalogue of Maps*, p. 10 and Diagram VII; p. 9 and Diagram V.

[37] Copies of both these reprints are held by the British Library. During 1940 there was reprinting of IDWO 1522 sheets too. Early in that year twenty or more were also made available to France's Service Géographique de l'Armée for it to reprint, no doubt in connection with efforts "to rush Turkey on to the Allied side": Denniston (1997) 37. Humboldt University of Berlin holds copies. Online see, for example, http://dx.doi.org/10.25673/39821 (*Divrik*, Universitätsbibliothek, Halle; n.b. ed. 1 1902, not the 1921 redrawing!).

[38] Its "formidable team of service attachés" struck a new colleague in May 1941: Berridge (2009) 178.

[39] Syme (1995) xviii–xix. From the establishment of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara in 1947, Syme served on its Council: Mitchell (1989). Mitchell (personal communication) recalls from the 1960s that one Turkish map series in Oxford's Ashmolean Library was marked as the joint gift of Syme and Oliver Gurney, his Assyriologist colleague and fellow Institute Council member. Recent generous efforts by Nick Millea (Map Curator, Bodleian Libraries) to identify this series have proved unsuccessful, however.

[40] The background is well summarized by Mac Sweeney (2020) 224–32. For an official account in English, see Kakoudakis (2003); note also Prince Andrew's memoir (1930).

Oxford's Sackler Library, where they came to Timothy Mitford's attention.[41] But equally these were materials which Greeks preferred to forget after the catastrophe of 1922. Syme must have witnessed its impact firsthand during his visit to Turkey in 1925.[42] For certain, the Greek cartographers' reliance on *KvK* would have greatly interested Robert.

Such records as there may have been from which to grasp the initial thinking of the Greek army's Cartographic Service were no doubt lost along with its entire archives during World War II. The only way forward, it seems, is to seek clues in such maps as can be assembled from holdings identified in Europe and North America, all of them seemingly random; I have yet to identify any library with an organized, fairly complete collection.[43] Some further light is shed by the Prolegomena and Introduction to the Cartographic Service's detailed and impressively presented report for the year 1921.[44] This report — *The Year 1921* — must be treated with caution, however, because of strong anti-Venizelist bias on the part of the Royalist staff who took control precipitately in November 1920 after the stunning outcome of that month's elections (which Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos had expected to win).[45] No opportunity is lost to disparage their Venizelist predecessors. Even so, the maps made after October 1920 leave the impression that the approach presented in the Royalist staff's report as their own was not so very different from that already in place.

Both staffs in succession evidently concluded that, because of the urgent need for maps, their best initial recourse would be simply to copy the required sheets of the British GSGS 2097 series (maintaining its 1:250,000 scale).[46] This step can be documented first by four sheets produced in 1920 as Provisional Editions (ΠΡΟΣΩΡΙΝΗ or ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ): *Nikomedeia* (lacking any representation of physical elevation), *Dorylaion*, *Aphion Karaisar* and *Sparte*. All carry the statement ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΓΛΙΚΟΥ as well as a warning that the contours

[41] Mitford (2018) 582, and personal communication.

[42] Remarked upon to him by Calder in 1953: Birley (2020) 20 n. 64.

[43] Extensive holdings are to be found in the ELIA/MIET library, Athens, the University of Cincinnati's Burnam library, and (also online) the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Sheets are often torn, stained, and marked up for troop movements on campaign.

[44] Chartographike Hyperesia (1922); drawn to my attention by George Tolias, who most kindly lent his own copy.

[45] See McMeekin (2015) 449–51; Gallant (2016) 197.

[46] For Greek cartographic units' recent (1916–1918) interaction with their counterparts among the Allies based at Thessalonica, see Sabbaïdes and Demertzes (2017) 111–15.

drawn have no hypsometric value. Thereafter the Venizelist staff for the most part continued to copy GSGS 2097 sheets. Similarly in 1921, among the Royalist staff's early sheets are *Nicomidia (Ismid)* (dated January) and *Bilejik* (February). Both render names in English (thus in the Latin alphabet), with coverage that replicates GSGS 2097 *Ismid* and *Bilejik* respectively, thereby differing from both the Venizelist sheet-configuration here and the configuration that the Royalists would soon adopt. [**Fig. 6a**, **b**]

The Year 1921 explains (p. 20) that next, because GSGS 2097's representation of physical elevation came to be considered inferior to that on *KvK*, a shift was made to copying direct from the latter (enlarged). Eight sheets *Tsagkri*, *Agkyra*, *Seberek*, *Karaman*, *Merzephoune*, *Ioskate*, *Kaisareia* and *Oulou Kisla-Nigde* demonstrate the start of this step. The first four are dated March 1921, the latter four April, and all use the Latin alphabet: *Agkyra* reproduces bottom left "Winterlager von Kurden", for example, and *Kaisareia* even faithfully retains along routes Kiepert's abbreviated names of travelers (such as "Ainsw. Tschi. St."), which would have been meaningless in this context. Later, *Kastamone* (June 1921) specifically states use of *KvK*.

After such preliminary experiment, both staffs in succession then proceeded to issue sheets often marked First Edition (ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ Α), rendering physical elevations with contours as best they could. In some instances, when further data became available, an Improved (ΒΕΛΤΙΩΜΕΝΗ) Edition was issued, such as *Sparte* dated May 1921.[47] Even so, typically the contours drawn had to remain impressionistic. Both staffs shared the goal of gaining sufficient data to provide accurate contours. This the Venizelist staff was somehow able to achieve for five sheets with 100 m contours all issued in July 1920: *Konstantinoupolis*, *Kallipolis*, *Kos*, *Rodos*, *Attaleia*.[48] According to *The Year 1921*, nine revised sheets with 50 m contours could eventually be issued that year, and five more prepared. The report's locator for 1:250,000 maps duly marks nine sheets as having accurate contours, but to date the only 1921 sheet specifying a 50 m contour interval that I have encountered is *Nikomedeia-Mpiletzik* (June 1921); it also notes the incorporation (top left) of data from Turkish General Staff maps at 1:50,000 scale.[49] The *Prousa* sheet issued in August 1921 states a 100 m interval.

[47] Improved editions of *Dorylaion*, *Aphion Karachissar*, *Ak Secher* and *Mpei Secher* also appeared in May.

[48] Also *Adrianoupolis* (August 1920), but its coverage lies mainly within Europe, not Asia.

[49] ELIA/MIET MPGYS 053. *Kandra* sheets dated both June and August 1921 likewise note use of these Turkish maps.

Two further findings indicate that the successive staffs adopted much the same approach, despite the Royalists' claim to the contrary. First, the style of the *Smyrne* and *Alikarnassos* sheets (dated January and February 1921 respectively) seems characteristic of the Venizelist staff's work, prompting the likely supposition that these two — doubtless already in progress by November 1920 — were finished and issued by the Royalists rather than discarded in favor of a fresh start.[50] [**Fig. 7**] Second, even though the Royalists modified the sheet-configuration, the four tall sheets *Kastamone*, *Agkyra*, *Ikonion* and *Ermenek* in their predecessors' configuration were still issued in March, January, February and April 1921 respectively, thus matching the four tall ones immediately to the west — *Pontoerakleia*, *Sibri-Chissar*, *Ak Secher*, *Korakesion* — all issued in October 1920. Meantime, nonetheless, in order to implement their own sheet-configuration, the Royalists promptly embarked upon making new sheets for the entire region already covered by the eight. As already mentioned, *Tsagkri* and seven other sheets were issued as early as March and April 1921, all using the Latin alphabet. *Tsagkri*, *Agkyra* and *Seberek* were then reissued in July using the Greek alphabet, and *Kastamone* and *Mersina* likewise were added in June and October respectively.[51]

A final, striking confirmation of the Greeks' reliance upon *KvK* is to be found in the *Chartes tou Pontou*, eleven maps — also at 1:250,000 — issued between July and October 1921 to show the territory and boundaries of the Republic of Pontos proposed to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. *The Year 1921* (p. 21) reflects nervousness that the exertions expended on these eleven called for justification in view of the staff's more pressing priorities. By then the Republic was plainly a lost cause, with mass expulsion of Greeks from the region having already begun.[52] But given that Venizelos had rejected the proposal in Paris,[53] production of this *Chartes* naturally appealed to his opponents, and it did at least advance further the coverage already extended by the Royalist staff. *The Year 1921* and the locator appended to it [**Fig. 8**] explain that captured Turkish General Staff maps at 1:200,000 were used, although taking Greenwich (not Constantinople) as prime meridian, and — to maintain

[50] Provisional editions of these two had been produced earlier, but neither sheet carries a date.

[51] A composite sheet — with Ankara top right — entitled *Carte des Opérations de Sangarius* and using the Latin alphabet, was produced in October 1921 to accompany a booklet by Deputy Chief of General Staff Xenophon Stratigos (1921). The sheet was subsequently remade using the Greek alphabet in November 1923 (ELIA/MIET MPGYS 039).

[52] McMeekin (2015) 462; Sjöberg (2017) 38–39.

[53] McMeekin (2015) 431.

clarity at the reduced Greek scale — drawing contours at 100 m intervals instead of the Turks' 50 m. However, only the sheets themselves disclose that, for areas where no Turkish map had been secured, *KvK* was again used, namely for the western parts of *Amaseia-Tokat*, *Sampsous* and *Sebasteia*, as well as for *Sinope* and *Merzephoune* in their entirety.[54] [**Fig. 9**]

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By the Treaty of London (May 1915) Italy — already in occupation of the Dodecanese islands since 1912 — was promised a "just share in the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia [Antalya]", an area that by the subsequent St-Jean-de-Maurienne agreement (April 1917) was permitted to expand westward to the Aegean even as far as Aydin and Smyrna.[55] So, when Italy began to seek fulfillment of these promises in March 1919 by landing troops at Antalya, Kaş and Silifke, it comes as no surprise that the Supreme Command made an urgent call for maps.[56] Evidently it was to Britain's GSGS 2097 series and to *KvK* that it turned, soon deciding that the former was preferable because of these maps' clarity; as it happens, some of those for relevant inland areas (such as *Isbarta* and *Konia*) had only just been issued in March. Requests went to the War Office in London not only for help with map production but also for guidance on further sources of information.[57] In July, when the line between the Greek and Italian zones of occupation was to be demarcated (along the Menderes river) by the British General George Milne, the Italian proposal was that it should be recorded on *KvK* CI *Smyrna*, ed. 2, 1911.[58] Ultimately, because the Italian occupiers left Adalia in June 1921,[59] the six sheets of a *Carta Corografica dell'Asia Minore* (1:500,000) issued by the Istituto Geografico Militare — *Adalia*, *Cónia*, *Costantinopoli*, *Smirne* all in 1921, *Rodi*, *Scárpanto* both in 1922

[54] Nothing is said about sources for the 100 m contours wherever *KvK* was used.

[55] McMeekin (2015) 424.

[56] For an overview of Italy's short-lived interventions in Constantinople and Anatolia, see Cecini (2014) 9–30; fuller account of the latter intervention in id. (2010).

[57] Cecini (2010) 95–96. I am uncertain whether Italian maps derived directly from GSGS 2097 or *KvK* were in fact produced. There is no knowing whether the War Office offered a copy of sheet XIII (December 1918) in the Admiralty War Staff Intelligence Division 1:500,000 map series *Asia Minor* mentioned above (n. 35); in scale and coverage it is a close match for the *Cónia* sheet which the Istituto Geografico Militare was to produce.

[58] Cecini (2010) 238.

[59] Ibid. 407; Mango (2009) 117.

— mostly appeared too late to assist operations. [**Fig. 10a**, **b**] The sources used are not stated; *KvK* must have been among them (many ancient names are marked), but the presentation is distinct. While comprehensive coverage of Asia Minor was planned in principle, it seems that these six sheets alone were issued.

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If neither Syme nor Robert ever became aware of Italy's maps, that is only to be expected. Less so, however, is their evident lack of awareness — on Robert's part especially — of the Ottomans' (later Turks') own efforts to map Asia Minor with heavy reliance on the work of both Heinrich and Richard Kiepert. The springboard was an initiative by Colmar von der Goltz in 1892–1893, about which he informs his friend Heinrich Kiepert in a letter quoted by Ségolène Débarre. Her indispensable study of the mapping of Asia Minor between 1835 and 1895 gives special attention — from a modern historian's perspective — to Heinrich's contribution.[60] The Ottomans' efforts thereafter are explained by General Mehmet Şevki [Ölçer] in a report delivered to the Ministry of War in 1917, and published in Italian translation by the Istituto Geografico Militare in 1920.[61]

Following the publication of Heinrich Kiepert's *Specialkarte vom Westlichen Kleinasien* in 1890–1891 (15 sheets at the unprecedented scale of 1:250,000, extending as far East as longitude 31 00), Goltz as head of the German military mission based in Constantinople arranged for Ottoman officers to produce an enlarged version of the entire map in Turkish, using the 1:210,000 scale favored by Russia and also adopted by the Ottomans in their European territories. From the state's perspective, such creative re-use of the *Specialkarte* can hardly have been controversial in view of its persistent reliance on Kiepert's work at this period for the provision of maps in both civil and military schools empire-wide; pupils' instruction in geography and cartography at all levels became a focus of radical reform.[62] Goltz tells Heinrich in March 1893 that his

[60] Débarre (2016), with review in Talbert (2019) 110–12.

[61] Şevki (1920). Note that the conversion of dates on the locator following p. 130 is incorrect: add two years to each Western figure (thus 1909 = Ottoman 1325). See further Débarre (2015); (2021). Şevki's leadership, together with maps and equipment of his time, is featured at the Haritacılık Müzesi, Ankara.

[62] See the revealing chapter "Maps" in Fortna (2002), especially 174, 179 n. 32, 188 and Fig. 9 for Kiepert. Earlier, at Erzerum in 1876/1877, Fezzee Pacha, an elderly general (Hungarian by origin), impressed the British officer Frederick Burnaby (1996, 229–30) by showing him: "one of Kiepert's maps of Asia Minor, dated 1856, but with numerous corrections, which had been made subsequently by European officers in the

initiative will be completed in a further two months or so[63] — thus presumably in as many as 60 small sheets, since the only five known to me are each one quarter the size of a *Specialkarte* sheet.[64] [**Fig. 11**] However, there is no mention of who produced them, nor a series name or sheet numbers; to what extent they were put into circulation is also unclear. [**Fig. 12a**, **b**]

During the next 15 years or so, little more could be done while the military cartographers were preoccupied with efforts to establish a trigonometric base for Anatolia (although Sultan Abdülhamid II forbade surveys),[65] and with urgently providing maps for the succession of wars in which the empire became embroiled. Further progress could only be achieved after the 1908 revolution. According to Şevki, a policy of two standard scales (for the entire empire in fact) was then established for the provision of maps: 1:25,000 based on surveys, and 1:200,000. For Anatolia/Asia Minor, urgency made it impossible to base the maps at the latter scale on surveys in the first instance. Thus, this first "tipo vecchio", explains Şevki:

> rappresenta una rabberciatura di carte vecchie per ovviare immediatamente alla assoluta mancanza di carte turche, mentre si stava allestendo il cosiddetto tipo nuovo. Esso non è infatti che il ridisegno, al 200 000 della carta del Kiepert, con tutte le sue lacune e imperfezioni, migliorato poi con aggiornamenti speditivi della rete stradale, con qualche quotazione barometrica di aree montuose di una certa importanza, e con la trascrizione dei nomi con la grafia turca dopo una rapida revisione toponomastica. È una carta turca, ma non è un rilievo.[66]

In a 1910 discussion of cartographic developments in Turkey, Walther von Diest reports that during fall 1909 at the request of the Turkish General Staff he had checked (and also updated from his own findings) 24 1:200,000 sheets based on the *Specialkarte*, thus almost all of it (with

Turkish service. The Pacha had enlarged this map by photography, he had then distributed facsimiles of it to the officers under his command."

[63] Débarre (2016) 301; (2021) 5. Şevki was not involved, because he was in training at the Ecole Militaire, Paris, from 1890 to 1894: see Débarre (2015) 12.

[64] All five are held by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Taksim Atatürk Library and accessible online.

[65] Note Leonhard's assertion (1915, 159) that during his travels around 1900 he was constantly watched by spies, as well as being in danger of arrest for photographing landscapes and recording observations.

[66] Şevki (1920) 133.

the sheet-size now larger than Goltz's); according to Diest, 11 of the 24 were available for purchase by September 1910.[67] A sheet with series title and key was issued in 1911.[68] [**Fig. 13**] In the West, the General Staff did not extend its 1:200,000 coverage further than just short of longitude 31 00, and the *tipo vecchio* sheets with their impressionistic representation of elevation (but some spot heights) continued to be issued (with revisions) into the 1920s. [**Fig. 14**] For the North-east by contrast — a likely war zone where *KvK* did not extend sufficiently far, but Russian maps could be consulted — *tipo vecchio* sheets were issued initially.[69] However, surveys by the military cartographers were made a priority here, and these then permitted *tipo vecchio* sheets to be superseded by contoured 1:200,000 *tipo nuovo* ones. It was captured sheets of the latter type that were used subsequently by the Germans for their series *Karte der asiatischen Türkei* (above, n. 31), by the British to revise their series IDWO 1522 (above, n. 32), and by the Greeks (above) to map the proposed Republic of Pontos.

Finally, Şevki explains that for the center and South-east of Anatolia — a vast expanse of territory — from 1915 the military cartographers began to issue a series of 14 maps at 1:400,000 using only three colors. [**Fig. 15**] Further reliance on the Kieperts is not specifically mentioned, but it can hardly be accident that the scope of each sheet has a *KvK* match.[70] Comparison of the sample segment provided by Şevki with the corresponding *KvK* sheet only confirms that broadly speaking *KvK* is being copied. [**Fig. 16a**, **b**] Like its enlarged British and Greek counterparts, the Ottoman series was produced under intense pressure to meet wartime needs; understandably, the quality of both drafting and printing varies.[71] In addition, although Şevki does not refer to it, from 1914 the

[67] Diest (1910) 445–46. He is named on seven *KvK* sheets; his own published maps are praised by Robert (1962) 433 n. 7.

[68] It and many others at 1:25,000 and 1:200,000 in the SALT Research Collection, Istanbul, are accessible online (City, Society, and Economy/City/Maps/Erkan-ı Harbiye). Visit https://gallica.bnf.fr for IFEA/BNF holdings; also the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

[69] To date, I have found seven: *Artvin*, *Erzurum*, *Hasan Qala*, *Ispir*, *Nahcivan*, *Olti*, *Rize*, none dated later than 1912, and several surviving only because a decade or so later their blank reverses were used to print quite different maps. Hence, for example, at BSB Munich *Vaty* 1920 appears on the reverse of *Ispir* 1910.

[70] Şevki (1920) 134. Three of the westernmost sheets — *Zonguldak*, *Ankara*, *Antalya* — are extended by approximately 10 minutes to ensure satisfactory overlap with the 1:200,000 series.

[71] Over- and under-inking of sheets on press also suggest haste and unreliable equipment; paper is often low-grade. Compare the Greeks' warning on *Dorylaion*

Ottomans produced a 1:1,000,000 series for Turkey: the sheet *Izmir* specifies the 1:200,000 *tipo vecchio* series as its source (as does *Istanbul* for its Anatolian part), and *Ankara* and *Konya* specify *KvK*, "due to there being no other means at this time".[72] [**Fig. 17a**, **b**, **c**]

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Even if both Syme and Robert happen to be silent on the matter, there can be no mistaking the widespread long-term impact of the Kieperts' maps of Asia Minor during World War I and its aftermath through to the early stages of World War II.[73] At least five sheets of the Ottoman 1:1,000,000 series just mentioned were reissued in 1927, with the references to sources on *Izmir* and *Ankara* unchanged.[74] Reimer, *KvK*'s publisher, enterprisingly relaunched it in March 1929 with a revision of the original 1901 brochure, but without clarifying that no sheet had been updated since 1916 at the latest, and the three oldest (including *Smyrna*) not since 1911. This initiative was perhaps timed in hope of fresh demand following the mandatory shift to use of the Latin alphabet in Turkey from January 1, 1929.[75] The fact is, however, that by then widespread, often wrenching, change had swept the country.[76] Robert's generalization even later, in 1962, that *KvK* could still prove useful for journeys invites scepticism.[77]

Indeed Robert's high regard for *KvK* seems curiously uncritical, the more so when he also cites Guillaume de Jerphanion's assessment of its first edition, a magisterial balanced account.[78] But still Robert, though himself acutely conscious of explorers' many practical difficulties, never addresses Jerphanion's meticulous and authoritative dissection of *KvK*'s shortcomings, ones stemming primarily from reliance upon unverifiable

(June 1921) that atmospheric conditions may prevent stable printing of colors (ELIA/MIET MPGYS 045).

[72] The *Trabzon*, *Van Halep*, and *Moussoul* sheets do not specify any source.

[73] The Turkish General Staff supplied many 1:200,000 *tipo vecchio* sheets (and other maps) to Britain's GSGS in May 1940; these were later donated to the Royal Geographical Society Library, where they remain today.

[74] *Ankara*, *Halep*, *Izmir*, *Moussoul*, *Trabzon*, all reproduced in Öner (2016) vol. 3. 249–53.

[75] Mango (1999) 464–67.

[76] For the dire plight of the population, with focus primarily on civilians, see Akın (2018).

[77] Robert (1974) 248, quoted above.

[78] Id. (1962) 434 n. 2; Jerphanion (1909).

reports by passing foreign travelers using inadequate instruments.[79] Of course, this was a problem all too familiar to Heinrich Kiepert,[80] and by no means unique to the mapping of Turkey, as Richard Kiepert also knew well from his own initiatives elsewhere (Africa especially).[81] Ramsay points to it with characteristic bluntness in commenting on errors in the first edition of *KvK* CIII *Konia* (1901):

> The country has never been surveyed: Kiepert has only loose and careless notes of travellers to go upon, and often their descriptions are so inaccurate that they seem to be describing different roads when they have really been traversing all the same path. For every mistake in Kiepert's map there is a foundation in the carelessness (or, I should rather say, the deadly fatigue and weariness) of a traveller.[82]

For certain, by contrast, Robert's praise for Jerphanion's own 1:200,000 *Carte du bassin moyen du Yéchil Irmaq* (1913) is merited, not least because its maker untypically resided year-round in Pontus (at Tokat) from 1903 to 1907. [**Fig. 18a**, **b**] He served as a teacher, as well as member of 'Jesuit doctor' groups who traversed the mountain country even in winter, offering villagers free medical care.[83] Much later, he and Robert evidently struck up a friendship.[84] Nonetheless Jerphanion could only achieve so much: he too is limited to impressionistic physical elevation, but does identify village populations by ethnicity (six in all). In 1909 he rightly hailed *KvK*, for all its flaws, as an altogether outstanding advance and fit basis for further progress.

[79] The experiences of Anderson in 1899 and of Goltz in 1889 come to mind: see Anderson (1903b) 5–6; Débarre (2016) 295–96 and (more generally) 55–59. For a portable barometer (from New York) to continue functioning reliably despite 41 days' travel on horseback called for comment by Van Lennep (1870) iii–iv. *KvK*'s initial erroneous placement of Kastamuni on AIV rather than AIII (because of inaccurate co-ordinate data) was an embarrassment.

[80] He dwells on it in the text accompanying his 1:800,000 wall-map *Asiae Minoris Antiquae Tabula in Usum Scholarum Descripta* (Berlin: Reimer, 1888; text known to me only in the French version held by BNF). Much of this text might be thought better suited to accompany the *Specialkarte*, for which nothing comparable was provided.

[81] Note his contribution (pp. 161–63) dated 1908 to Richard Leonhard's *Paphlagonia* (1915), elaborating upon the remarkable mosaic drawn from five *KvK* sheets to map both the topography and the geology of the extensive area explored by Leonhard. For Richard Kiepert's mapping of Africa, see Demhardt (2000), 65–73, 148–49 and Register, s.v. Kiepert; Bodenstein (2015).

[82] Ramsay (1906) 254.

[83] Ruggieri (2010) 108–12; and (1997) for Jerphanion's photographic record.

[84] Id. (2010) 114 n. 30.

***

Unfortunately, however, Turkey's prolonged vicissitudes were to create serious delay for progress towards a triangulated map with a terrestrial geodetic basis; not until 1941 was the Turkish General Staff able to complete one for the entire country.[85] Meantime, for want of better resources, some use continued to be found for the Kieperts' maps, or ones extensively derived from them, both in Turkey itself and elsewhere (Britain in particular). To this extent, therefore, Ulrich Freitag (and others before him) have too sweepingly underrated Heinrich Kiepert's posthumous impact: "Trotz der vielen Vorzüge seiner Karten, Atlanten und Globen verloren sie nach dem Tode H. Kieperts durch die zahlreichen Veränderungen der Welt schnell an Bedeutung."[86] For Turkey both ancient and modern, this verdict is not valid.[87] Indeed more generally, through World War I Reimer continued to exploit Heinrich's exceptional reputation as a cartographer by reissuing his maps in order to show war zones.[88] For example, his 1:1,500,000 *Nouvelle Carte générale des provinces asiatiques de l'empire Ottoman (sans l'Arabie)*, drawn in 1883, appears as late as 1917 with railroads updated to that year, but with the wording of the title unmodified.[89] [**Fig. 19**]

Similar observations might be made about Richard Kiepert. It can only have been with Reimer's permission and assistance that in 1921 an arresting 6-sheet 1:500,000 *ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ* — an initiative by the Athenian publisher Eleutherodakes — was presented as the joint compilation of R. Kiepert and O. Melching. Nothing is done to correct the viewer's natural assumption that Richard is still alive.[90] [**Fig. 20a**, **b**] Equally, at the time of his death in 1915 there was no predicting that the Reimer 1:300,000 *Karte von Deutsch-Ostafrika* (40 sheets, 1895–1911), which he had begun, would continue to be valued there during the Inter-War period by the successor British

[85] Débarre (2021) 8.

[86] Freitag (1999) 28.

[87] To be sure, within Turkey itself the Kieperts' contribution has always been recognized, even while persistently escaping notice elsewhere: see, for example, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 25 (2002) 563–64 s.v. Kiepert.

[88] For his reputation, note Débarre (2016) 1. Cf. (with reference to *KvK*) the frustration vented by Ramsay (1906) 254.

[89] For the genesis of this map, see Débarre (2016) 288.

[90] Princeton University Library's copy is accessible online. The dates of other Reimer maps credited to Oswald Melching suggest that quite possibly he was still living in 1921. He is named as co-compiler with Richard on many *KvK* sheets issued from 1905 onwards; on the rest, from the outset, this role is credited to K. Werner. It seems that Melching and Werner never collaborated on a sheet.

(primarily) and Belgian administrations.[91] Both this series and *KvK* in one form or other remained in use for the same reason: better resources were lacking. Syme's summation in 1968 of his pragmatic approach to prosopography applies: "One uses what one has, and there is work to be done."[92]

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[91] Demhardt (2000) 186–89.

[92] *Roman Papers* II. 711, with Millar (2004) 409–10. My thanks to UNC Chapel Hill and to its Ancient World Mapping Center for research support; also especially to Ségolène Débarre, Michelle Gait, Lindsay Holman, Pascal Lebouteiller, Stephen Mitchell, Mathilde Pyrli, Peter Raleigh, Charlotte Roueché, George Tolias, Ross Twele, and the *HCS* anonymous readers, and to Safiatou Bamba, Till Knobloch and Georgia Tsouvala for translations from Ottoman Turkish, German and Greek respectively.

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FIGURES

1 Richard Kiepert's *Karte von Kleinasien* 1:400,000 series locator.

2 British GSGS 2097 1:250,000 series locator for Asia Minor.

3 German *Operationskarte* 1:800,000 series locator for Asia Minor.

4a Detail from GSGS 2097 *Aidin* (June 1915).

4b Corresponding detail from *KvK* DI *Budrum* (ed. 1, 1904).

5 British GSGS 2555 1:1,000,000 series locator for Asia Minor.

6a Greek 1:250,000 series locator adopted in 1919–1920.

6b Modified Greek 1:250,000 series locator adopted in 1921.

7 Detail from Greek 1:250,000 *Alikarnassos* (February 1921) corresponding to Fig. 4a, b above.

8 Greek *Chartes tou Pontou* 1:250,000 series locator.

9 Thumbnail locator and caption in left margin of Greek 1:250,000 *Amaseia-Tokat* in *Chartes tou Pontou* series (September 1921).

10a Italian *Carta corografica dell'Asia Minore* 1:500,000 series locator.

10b Detail from Italian *Carta corografica dell'Asia Minore* 1:500,000 *Smirne* (1921).

11 Locator for Heinrich Kiepert's *Specialkarte* 1:250,000 sheets (I–XV).

12a Goltz's 1:210,000 *Izmir*.

12b Corresponding detail from Heinrich Kiepert's *Specialkarte* sheet VII (1:250,000).

13 Ottoman 1:200,000 *tipo vecchio* locator for western Turkey.

14 Mosaic of Ottoman 1:200,000 *tipo vecchio* sheets *Çanakkale* and *Edremit*.

15 Locator for Ottoman 1:400,000 series to cover Turkey East of longitude 31 00.

16a Detail ("La regione di Alaia") from Ottoman 1:400,000 series.

16b Corresponding detail from *KvK* DIII *Ermenek* (ed. 2, 1914).

17a Ottoman 1:1,000,000 series for Turkey locator.

17b Ottoman 1:1,000,000 *Izmir* (1916) caption specifying the "western Anatolian" 1:200,000 series as source.

17c Ottoman 1:1,000,000 *Ankara* (1916) caption specifying Kiepert 1:400,000 series [*KvK*] as source.

18a Title and locator for G. de Jerphanion, *Carte du bassin moyen du Yéchil Irmaq*, 4 sheets at 1:200,000 scale, published in 1913 (Paris: Barrère).

18b Detail from G. de Jerphanion, *Carte du bassin moyen du Yéchil Irmaq* (1:200,000) sheet IV *Sivas*.

19 Title on Heinrich Kiepert's 1:1,500,000 scale *Nouvelle Carte générale des provinces asiatiques de l'empire Ottoman (sans l'Arabie)* drawn in 1883, as reissued in 1917.

20a Title and key on 1:500,000 *ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ*, published by Eleutherodakes, Athens, 1921.

20b Detail from 1:500,000 *ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ.*

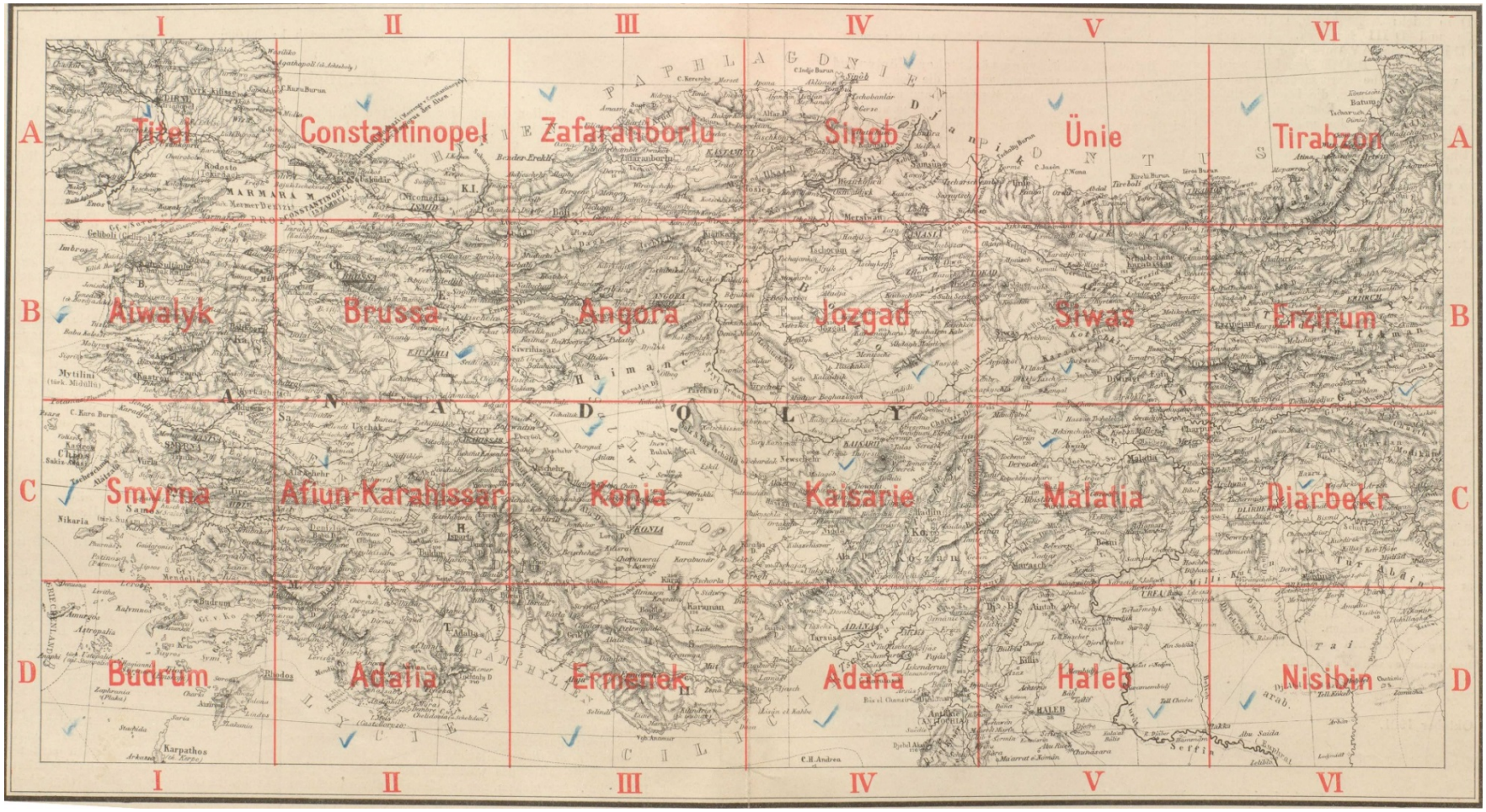


Fig. 1 Richard Kiepert's *Karte von Kleinasien* 1:400,000 series locator attached to the October 1901 launch brochure. Some names are spelled differently on the sheets themselves, issued from 1901 onwards; only from 1904, however, do they carry dates. (Library of Congress, Washington, DC)

Fig. 2 British GSGS 2097 1:250,000 series locator for Asia Minor.
Calder kept copies of all 35 sheets; see his Collection, University of Aberdeen, Sir Duncan Rice Library, MS 3286/8/6/3 and 7/4. (Ancient World Mapping Center)

Fig. 3 German *Operationskarte* 1:800,000 series locator for Asia Minor.
University of Wrocław Library offers online access to these sheets, although not always to the earliest issue.
At least *Adrianopel*, *Aidin*, *Angora* and *Erzerum* were first issued in 1914 (and once or more later, with updates).
(Ancient World Mapping Center)

Fig 4a Detail from GSGS 2097 *Aidin* (June 1915).
Observe the oversight top left: the label "Sandama Halbins" (in German), derived from *KvK* DI *Budrum*, has not been translated into English.
(Princeton University Library, accessible online)

Fig. 4b Corresponding detail from *KvK* DI *Budrum* (ed. 1, 1904).
(New York Public Library, accessible online)

Fig. 5 British GSGS 2555 1:1,000,000 series locator for Asia Minor.
Stanford University Library offers online access to these sheets.
(Ancient World Mapping Center)

Fig. 6a Greek 1:250,000 series locator adopted in 1919–1920.
(Ancient World Mapping Center)

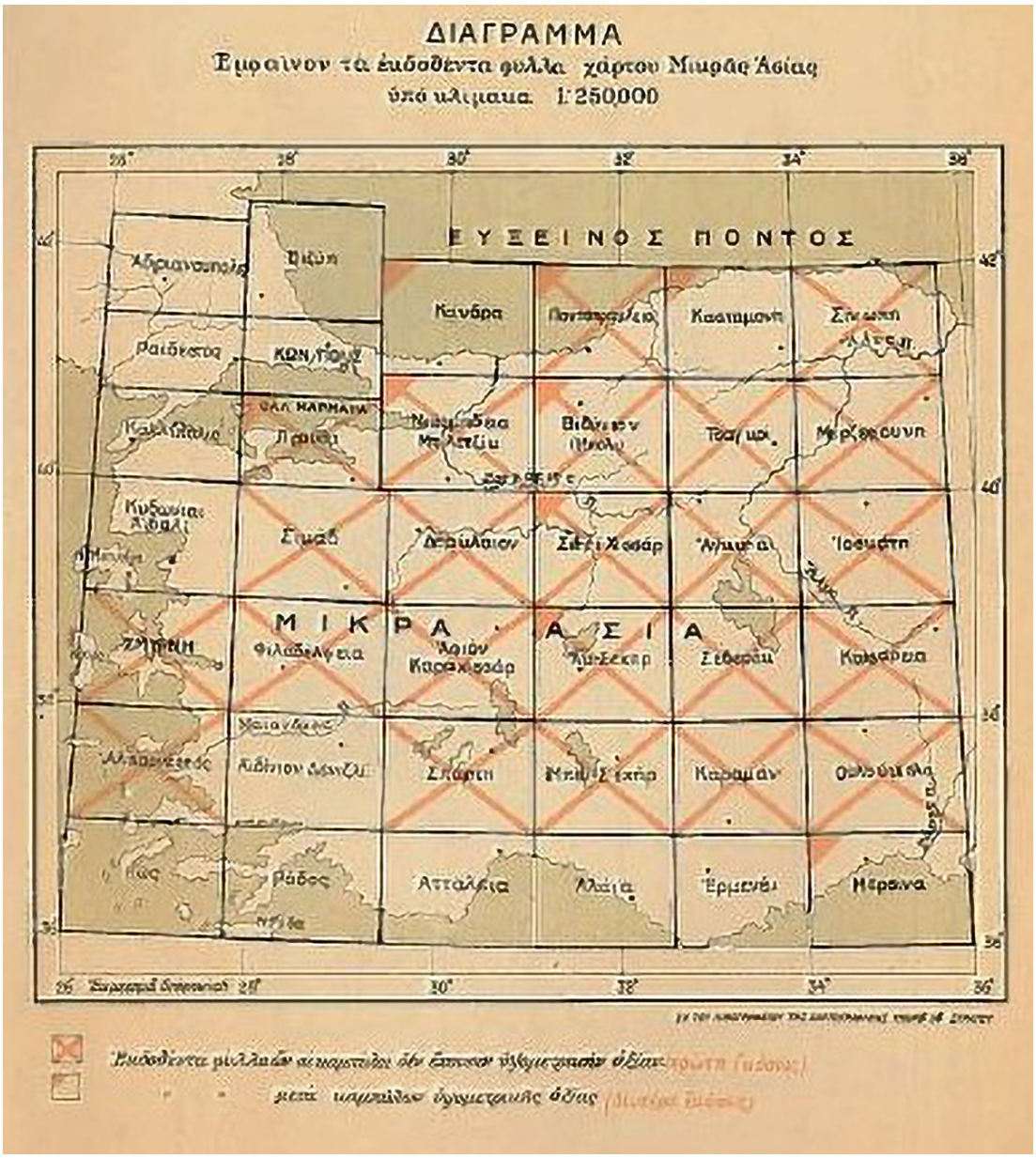
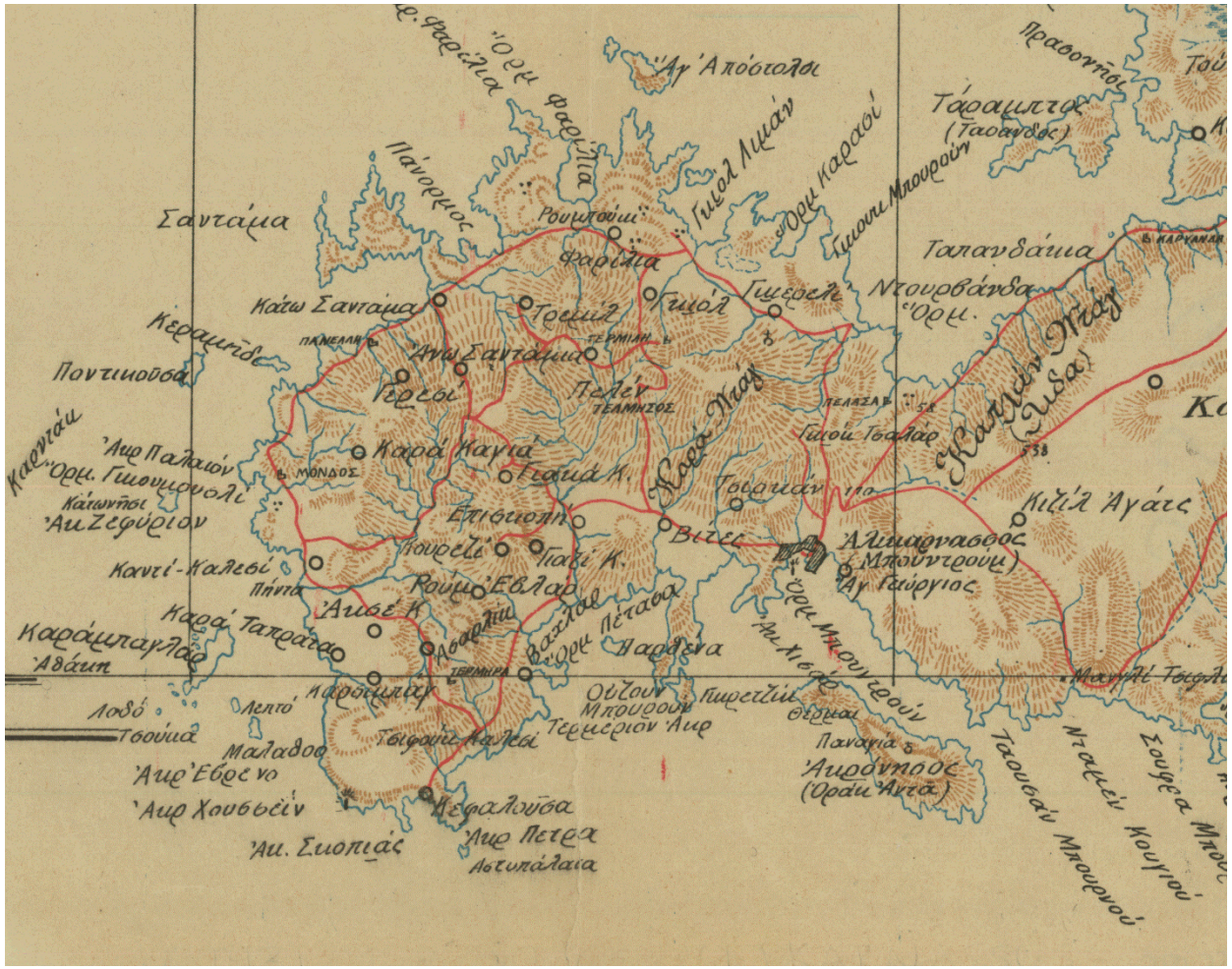


Fig. 6b Modified Greek 1:250,000 series locator adopted in 1921.
(Chartographike Hyperesia, *The Year 1921*, unnumbered page)


Σαντάμα
Κάτω Σαντάμα
Πόντιοδα
Κεφαμίδα
Φαρίλια
Γιοϊλ
Πελέν
Γιοϊ Τσαλάρ
Κιζίλ Αγάτς
Αλικαρνασσός
Μπουντρούμ
Ταπανδάμα
Ντουρβάνδα
Κάρα Κάγια
Γιαμά Κ.
Βιτσί
Κουρέζ
Ρούμ Εβλάρ
Αμπέ Κ.
Καρά Ταρσάλαρ
Αδάμπ
Λοδό
Τσούμα
Μαλαδό
Αμπ Χουδεϊν
Αμ. Σιοπιάς
Κεφαλοῦδα
Αμπ Πετρα
Αγ Γεώργιος
Παναγία
Αμφόνηδος
Ορμ. Φαρίλια
Πάνορμος
Γιοϊ Λιμάν
Ορμ. Καρά
Ορμ. Μπουντρούμ
Ορμ. Πέτρα
Ορμ. Αγ Γεώργιος
Ορμ. Αγ Αποστόλου
Πρασονήσι
Τάρσαμπτρα
Ρουμτούμ
Τρεμίλ
Γιοϊ
Γιμπερλί
Πελέν
Γιοϊ Τσαλάρ
Γιαμά Κ.
Βιτσί
Κουρέζ
Ρούμ Εβλάρ
Αμπέ Κ.
Αδάμπ
Τσιφούτ Κάλεσι
Τσιφούτ Κάλεσι
Τερμίρ Αμπ
Ούζουν Μπουρούν
Πιρεζίκ
Θέρμα
Μαλαδό
Λεπό
Μαρμαρίδα
Πόντιοδα
Κεφαμίδα
Καρά Ταρσάλαρ
Καντί-Καλεσί
Πήντα
Αμπ Παλαιόν
Ορμ. Γιουμρουλί
Κάτω Νῆσοι
Αμ Ζεφύριον
Μόνδος
Γιοϊ Τσαλάρ
Τσιφούτ Κάλεσι
Τσιφούτ Κάλεσι
Τσιφούτ Κάλεσι

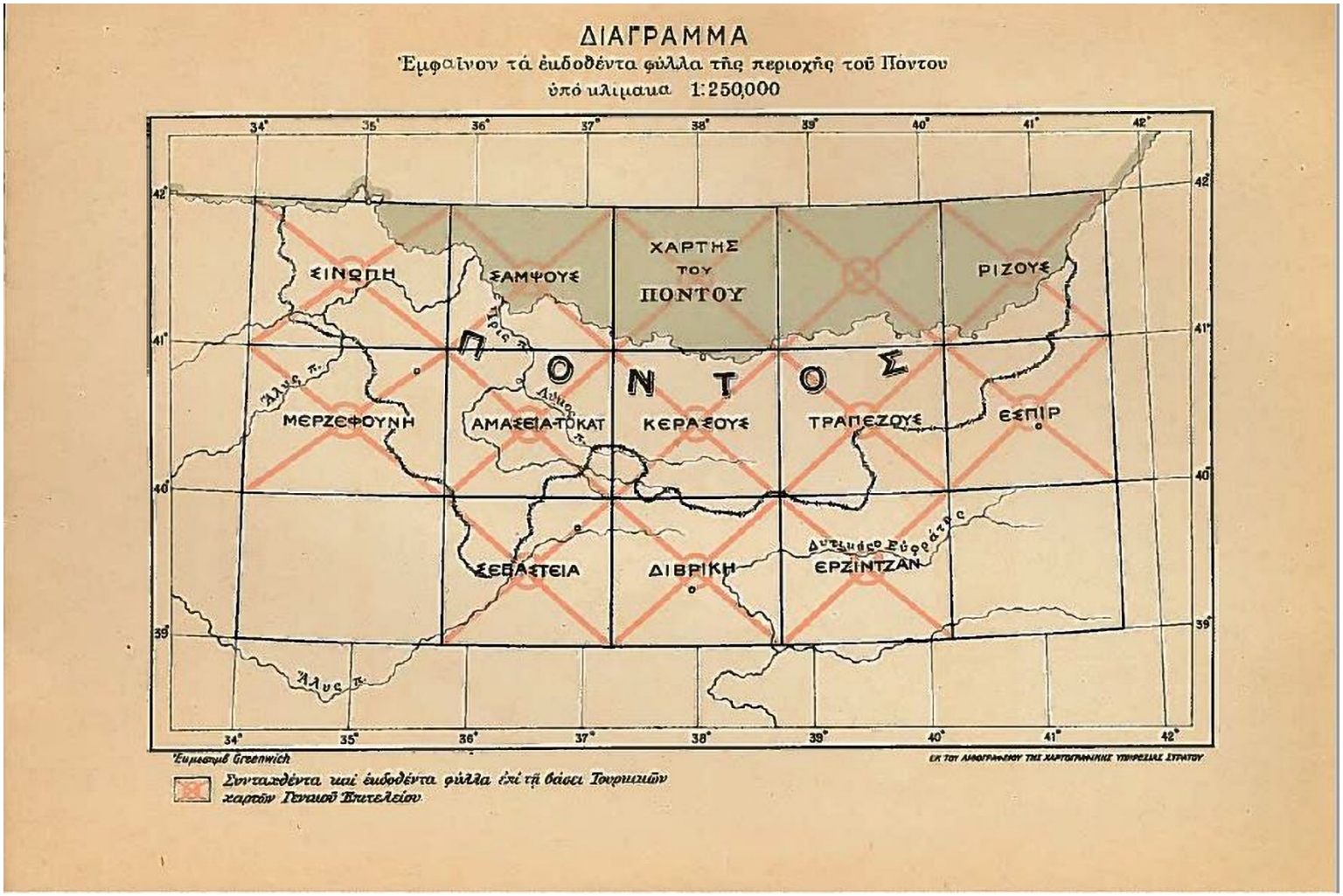


Fig. 8 Greek *Chartes tou Pontou* 1:250,000 series locator.
Although all 11 sheets are marked here as based on Turkish General Staff maps, several in fact specify otherwise: see Fig. 9 below.
(Chartographike Hyperesia, *The Year 1921*, unnumbered page)

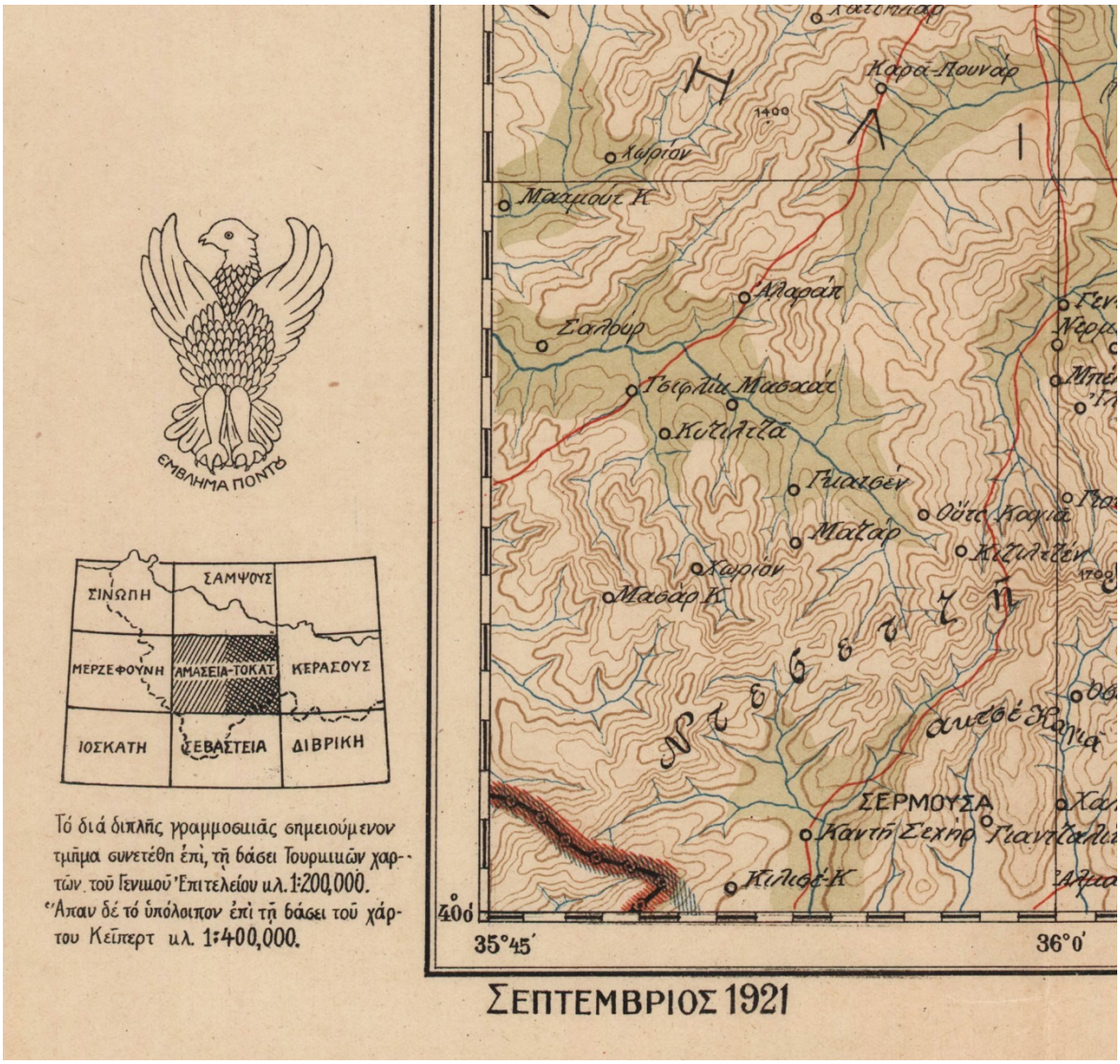


Fig. 9 Thumbnail locator and caption in left margin of Greek 1:250,000 *Amaseia-Tokat* in *Chartes tou Pontou* series (September 1921). (ELIA/MIET MPGYS 059)

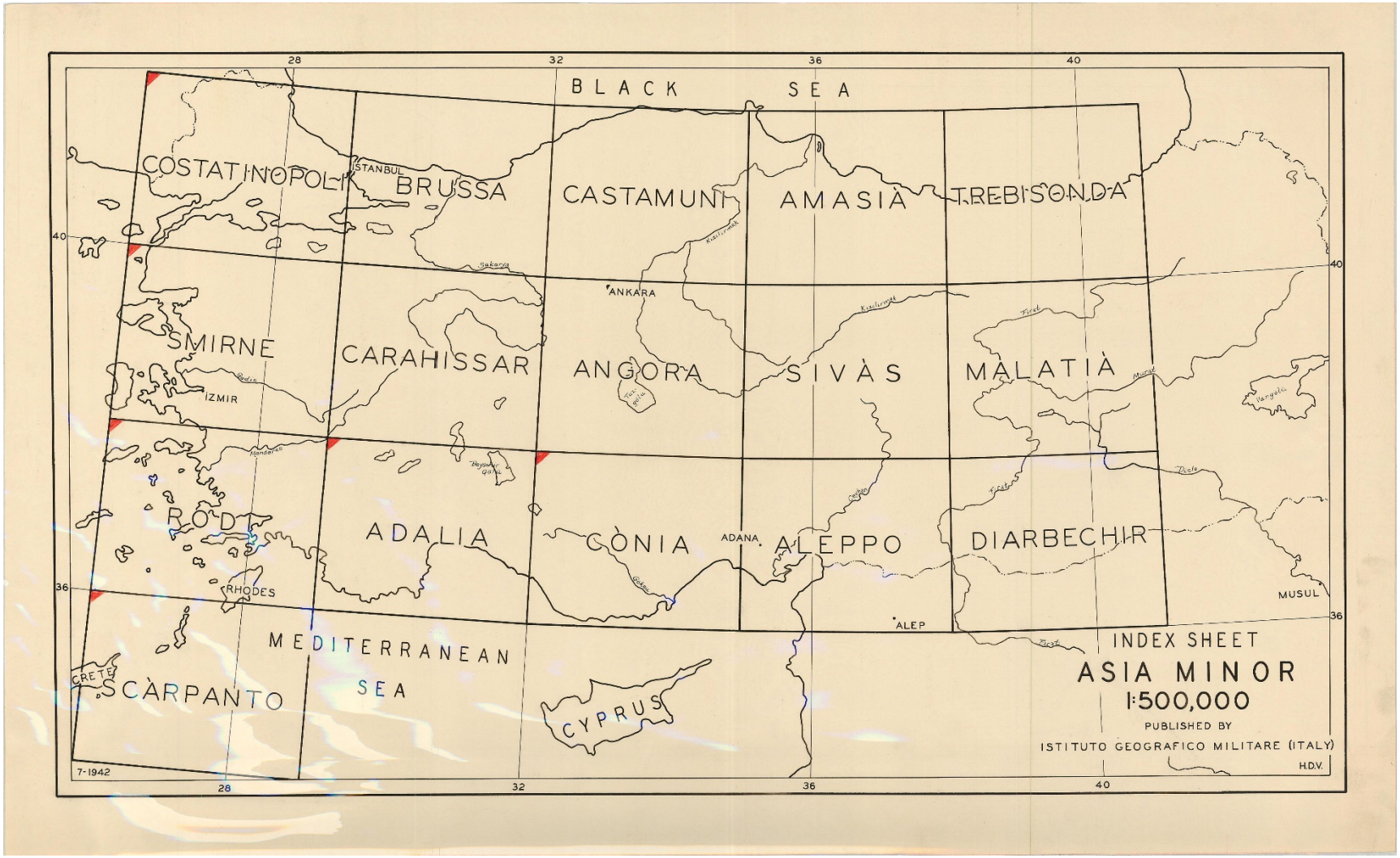


Fig. 10a Italian *Carta corografica dell'Asia Minore* 1:500,000 series locator.
(University of Chicago Library, accessible online)

Fig. 10b Detail from Italian *Carta corografica dell'Asia Minore* 1:500,000 *Smirne* (1921); compare Fig. 12a, b below. (University of Chicago Library)

Fig. 11 Locator for Heinrich Kiepert's *Specialkarte* 1:250,000 sheets (I–XV), with the 5 known sheets of Goltz's 1:210,000 Turkish version also outlined and named. (Ancient World Mapping Center)

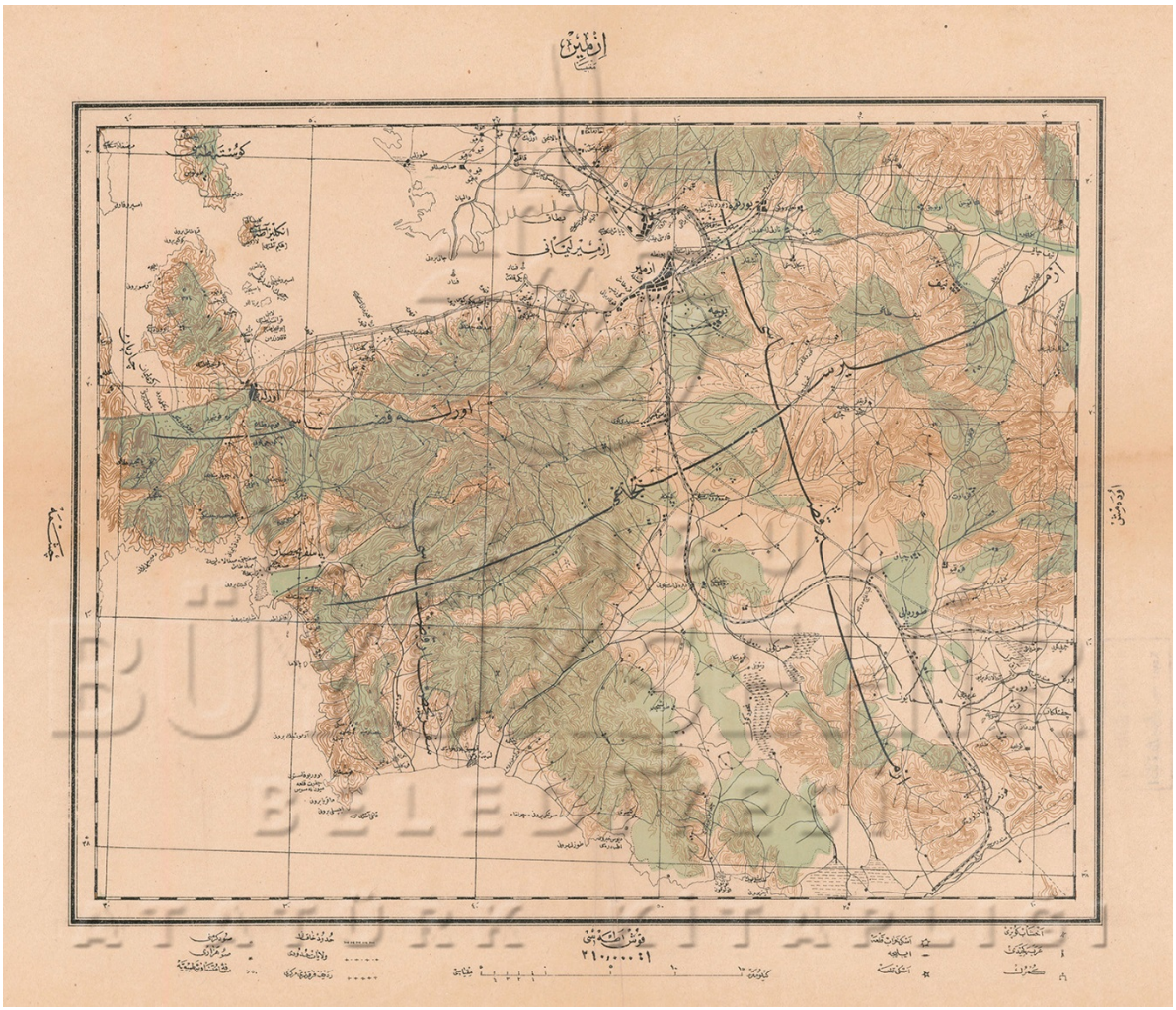


Fig. 12a Goltz's 1:210,000 *Izmir*, based on Heinrich Kiepert's *Specialkarte* sheet VII (1:250,000), with additions such as boundaries of administrative regions and more settlements and spot heights.
(Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Taksim Atatürk Library)

SMYRNA
(tk. IZMIR)
Budja
Takhtaly D.
Nymphio
(tk. MEL)
Sevdikioi
Vurla
(tk. Urla)
KLAZOMENAI
Sivrihissar
TEOS
Sighajik
LEBEDOS
KOLOPHON
METROPOLIS
NOTION
NEA KOLOPHON
MAKRIA AKRA
Kiosaynii
DRYMUSSA
LEUKAI
TEMNOS
Kurdslio
Dumrabad
Kordjadere
Gülbaghdeh
Kyzil D.
Sabanja Göl
Magnisa Dagh
Koraku
KORYKEION AKR.
Aspro Kavo
Kilissaly
(Istronisi)
Ak Kaya
Kara Kaya
Furbaize
Tepekoi
Mashat
Tultem
Kaystros
Ak-alan
Tokambel
Tokat
Kitchi Kale
Tchulfa Burnu
Tchakmak
Karagajak D.
Hypnia
Mikra Kimituria
Mezala Kimituria
Tchakmak
Tchakmak D.
Tchakmak Burnu
Kaplandji
Kaplandji D.
Tchakmak Oba
Kaplandji Oba
Kaplandji Kiöi
Kaplandji Kiöi
Kaplandji Kiöi

Fig. 13 Ottoman 1:200,000 *tipo vecchio* locator for western Turkey.
(Ancient World Mapping Center)

Fig. 14 Mosaic of Ottoman 1:200,000 *tipo vecchio* sheets
Çanakkale and *Edremit* (see locator, Fig. 13 above).
This map belonged to Otto Liman von Sanders, commander of the Ottoman Turkish Fifth Army, who signed it on the reverse. He added notes marking the positions held on the Gallipoli peninsula around April 1915, before the Allies' landings.
See further Sagona et al. (2016) 68 n. 53 and Plate 4.5.
(Australian War Memorial, Canberra)

Fig. 15 Locator for Ottoman 1:400,000 series to cover Turkey East of longitude 31 00.
By 1921, however, a *Bursa* sheet was added, providing a westward extension.
(Ancient World Mapping Center)

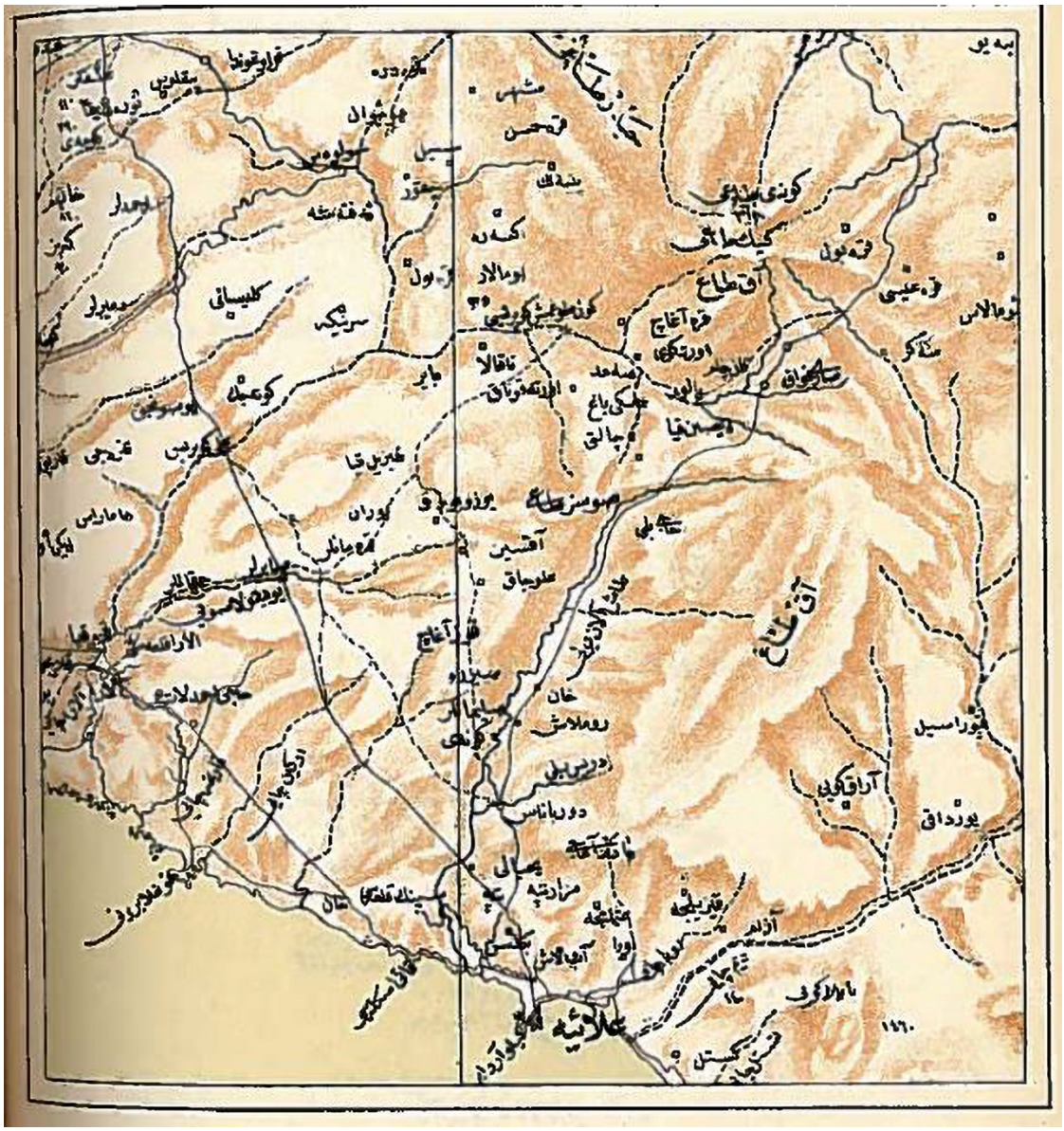


Fig. 16a Detail ("La regione di Alaia") from Ottoman 1:400,000 series to illustrate the Italian translation of Şevki's 1917 report: *L'Universo* 1 (1920) following p. 134.

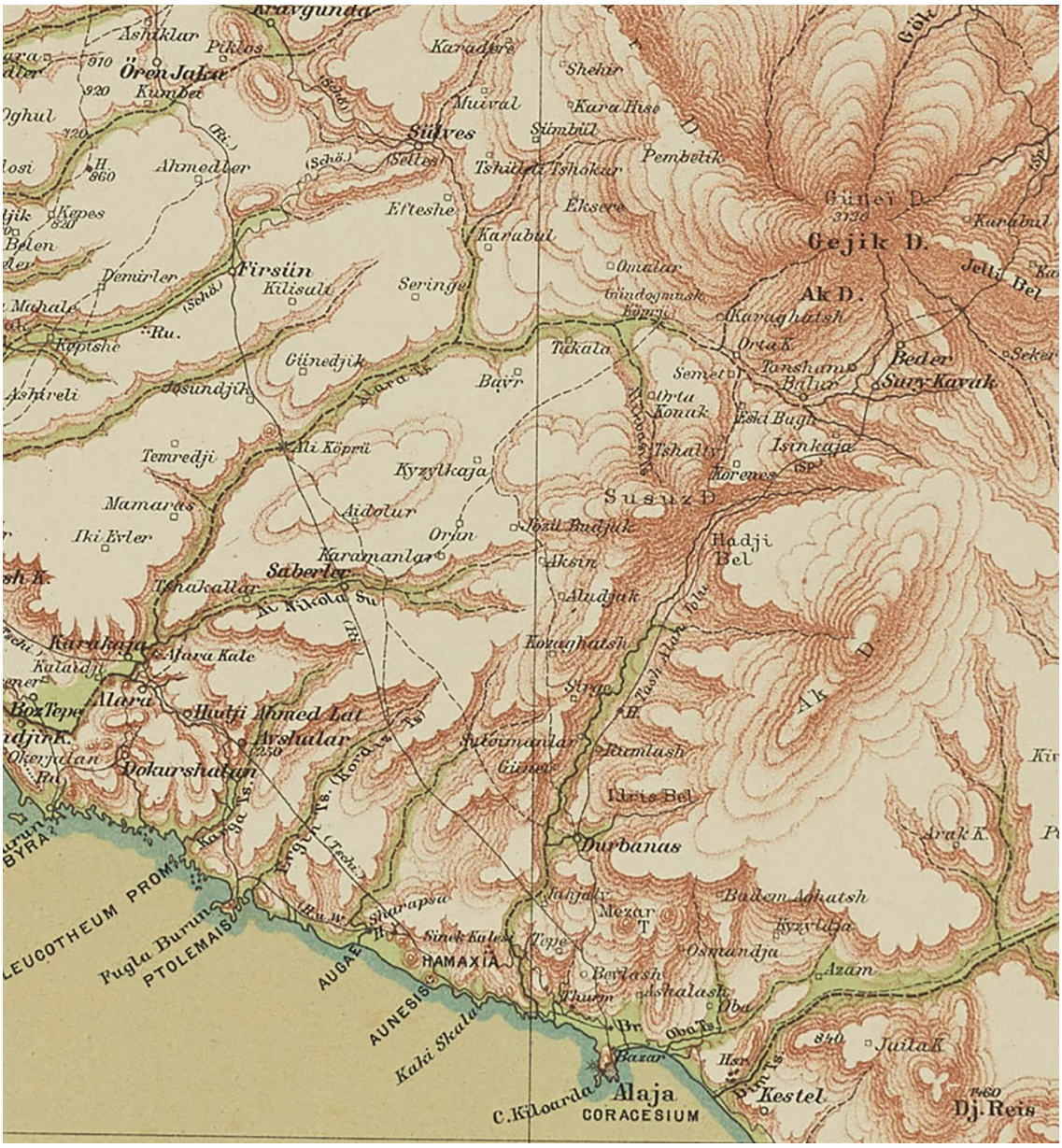


Fig. 16b Corresponding detail from *KvK* DIII *Ermenek* (ed. 2, 1914).
(Stanford University Library)

Fig. 17a Ottoman 1:1,000,000 series for Turkey locator.
(Ancient World Mapping Center)

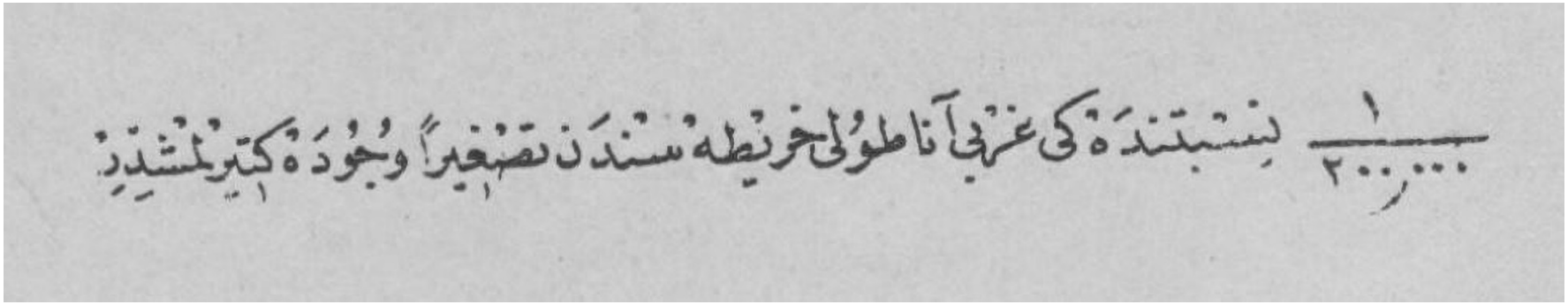


Fig. 17b Ottoman 1:1,000,000 *Izmir* (1916) caption specifying the "western Anatolian" 1:200,000 series as source (*tipo vecchio* in fact). (IFEA/BNF)

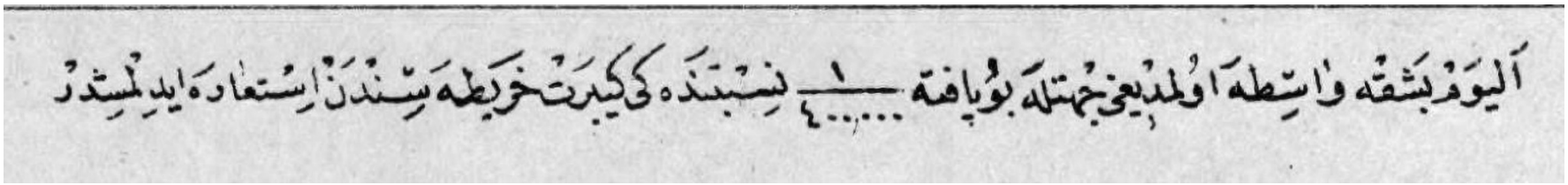


Fig. 17c Ottoman 1:1,000,000 *Ankara* (1916) caption specifying Kiepert 1:400,000 series [*KvK*] as source, "due to there being no other means at this time".
(IFEA/BNF, miscataloged as *Zonguldak*; *Konya* and *Trabzon* are likewise miscataloged as *Muğla* and *Samsun* respectively)

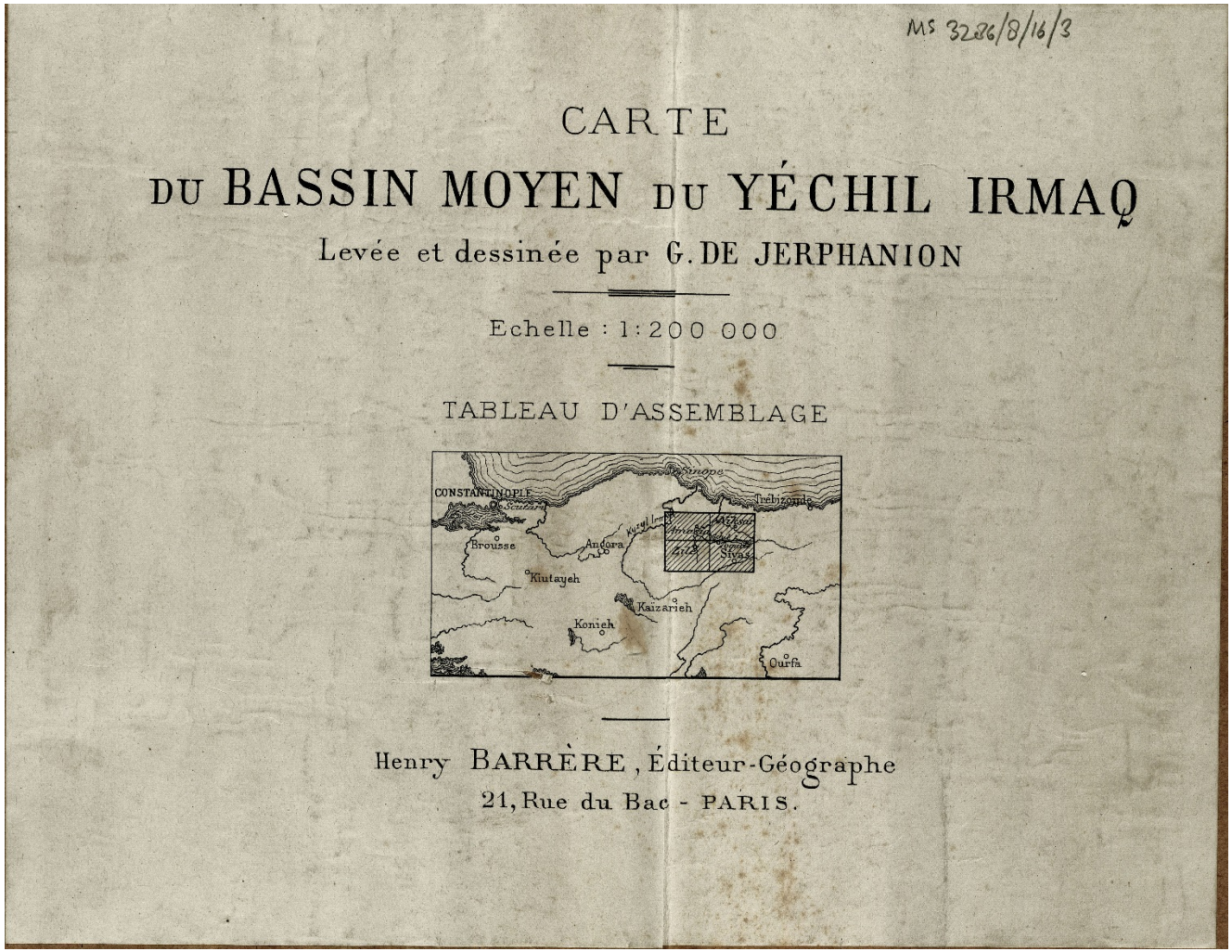


Fig. 18a Title and locator for G. de Jerphanion, *Carte du bassin moyen du Yéchil Irmaq*, 4 sheets at 1:200,000 scale, published in 1913 (Paris: Barrère). (Calder Collection MS 3286/8/16/3; this copy had in all likelihood belonged to John Anderson)

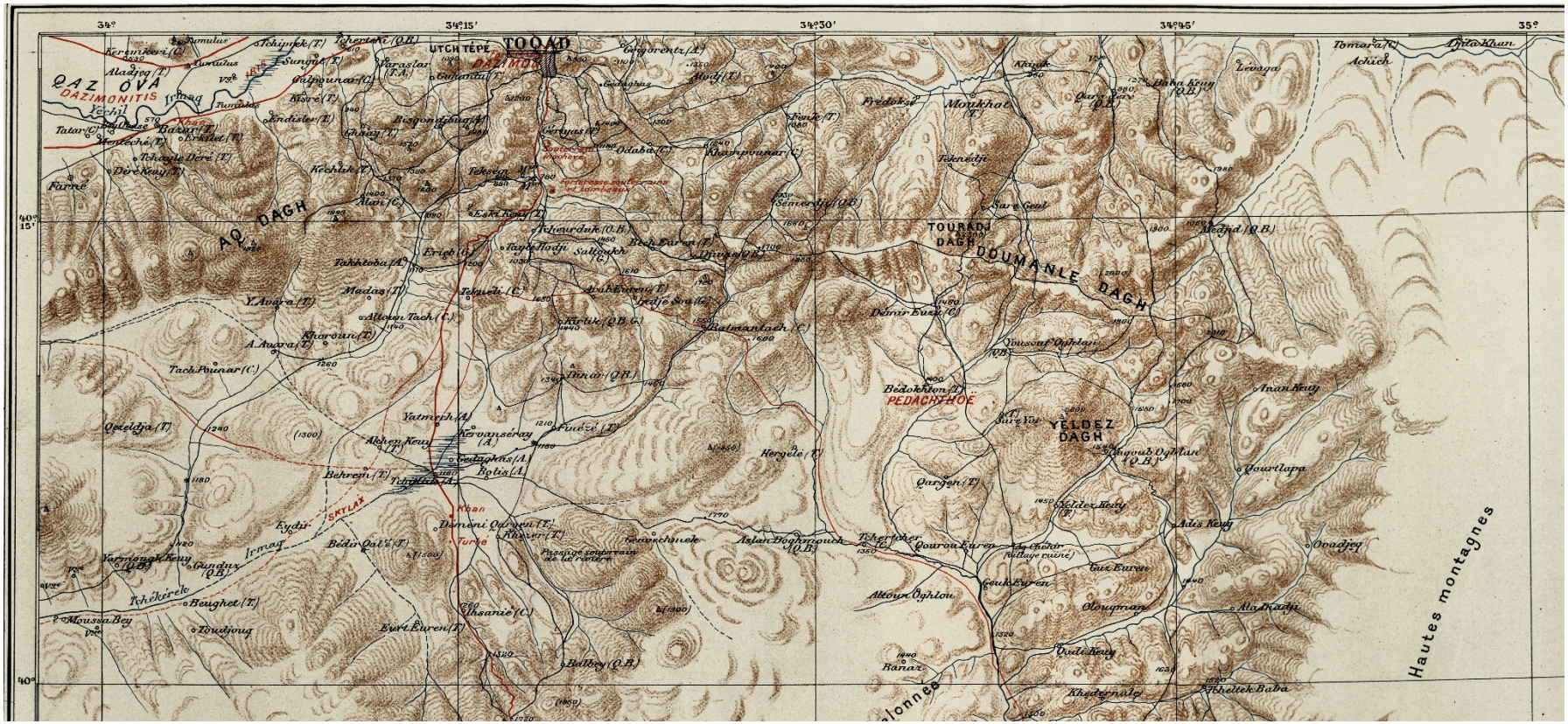


Fig. 18b Detail from G. de Jerphanion, *Carte du bassin moyen du Yéchil Irmaq* (1:200,000) sheet IV *Sivas*. Tokat (Toqad) is close to the top margin. (ibid.)

Fig. 19 Title on Heinrich Kiepert's 1:1,500,000 scale *Nouvelle Carte générale des provinces asiatiques de l'empire Ottoman (sans l'Arabie)* drawn in 1883, as reissued in 1917. It still retains (box top right, not shown) Kiepert's original acknowledgements to informants. (David Rumsey Map Collection) Compare the title (not shown) on the 1:3,000,000 scale *Generalkarte des Türkischen Kriegsschauplatzes: auf Grund der Carte générale des provinces européennes et asiatiques de l'empire Ottoman von Heinrich Kiepert* as reissued in 1918. This map, drawn in 1886, merges the *Nouvelle Carte* with a corresponding one of south-east Europe, halving the scale of both. (British Library, Cartographic Items Maps X.12855)

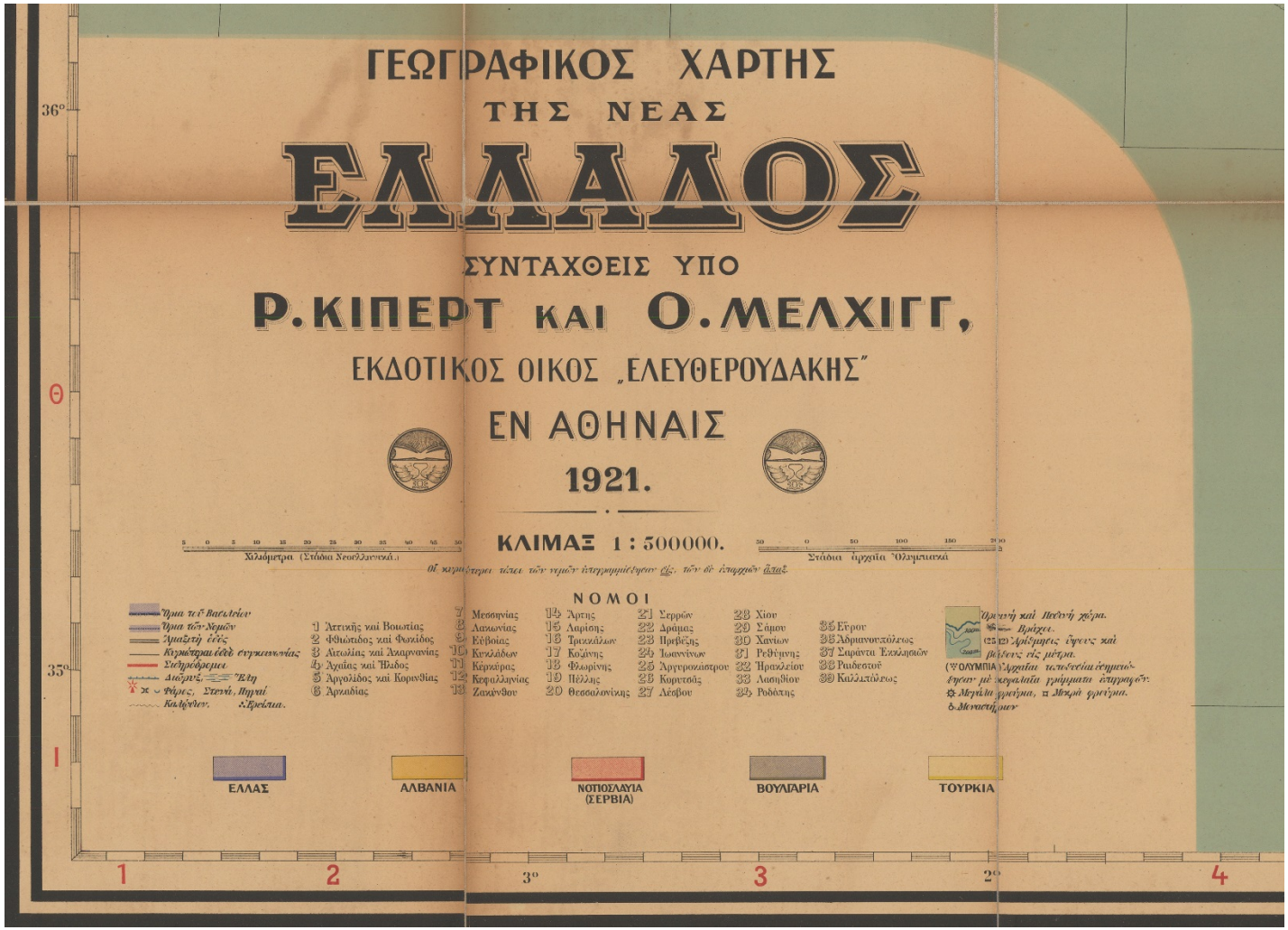


Fig. 20a Title and key on 1:500,000 *ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ*, published by Eleutherodakes, Athens, 1921. The names Kiepert and Melching could hardly be more prominent. (Princeton University Library)

Fig. 20b Note how robustly the map demarcates the area around Smyrna placed under Greek administration by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920) — pending a plebiscite to determine its permanent status — within the *Ὅρια τοῦ Βασιλείου*. *KvK* was no doubt followed for compilation of the part of Asia Minor covered by the map. For Greece, the 1:300,000 scale *General-Karte des Königreiches Griechenland* (13 sheets) issued by the K. u. K. Militär-Geographisches Institut, Vienna, incorporating Heinrich Kiepert's revisions would have been an obvious recourse (1885, reissued in 1916 and again in 1939); see Livieratos (2009) 139.
(Princeton University Library)

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MIND THE GAP. WOMEN AUTHORS IN ANGLOPHONE CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP, 1970–2016*

— THOMAS A. LEIBUNDGUT —

ABSTRACT

Although women have a long history of contributing to classical scholarship, they continue to be a minority both among faculty members and scholarly authors. In this paper, I compare the proportion of women employed at Classics departments in the US, Canada, UK, and Ireland with their proportion among the authors of a sample of English journal articles. While the overall institutional gender balance is approaching parity, women continue to be underrepresented in senior positions, and progress seems to have stalled over the last ten years. In addition, my analysis of the L'Année philologique *database demonstrates that while the share of articles written by women has greatly increased from 1970 to 2009, it has remained stagnant since, hovering just around the 28% mark. I hypothesise that the main reason for women's continued underrepresentation in Classical scholarship, apart from unconscious biases, is the disproportionate share of care responsibilities shouldered by women both within and without academia. In order to improve the situation, I propose a series of interventions to be taken by journal editors and university administrators, particularly the introduction of quotas.*

KEYWORDS

women in classics, gender, discrimination, publishing, statistics, L'Année philologique*, intersectionality, quotas*

Introduction

While women have always been present — and at times prominent — in classical scholarship,[1] their institutional representation has only been growing significantly after the

* I would like to thank all those who helped and assisted me in the composition of this paper, particularly Walter Scheidel, who guided me through both the data collection and the writing stages; Verity Walsh, who provided me with some of her unpublished research relevant to this paper; as well as Manuela Hugentobler, Luisa Jakob, and Liliane Marti, who read and commented on early drafts of this paper. I also would like to express my thanks to the editors and the three anonymous reviewers whose critique and suggestions have made this a much better article. All remaining errors and omissions are my own.

[1] Wyles and Hall 2016.

Second World War. Today, women's institutional representation both as members of university faculties as well as scholarly authors is at a level where some argue that no further efforts are required to make the field of Classics more accessible for women and non-binary individuals, with a few even arguing that any measures to promote non-(cis-)men in academia as a whole and Classics in particular are ideological restrictions on scholarly meritocracy.[2] However, the data on which this paper are based demonstrate that while the overall percentage of women employed by US-American, Canadian, British, and Irish universities is approaching parity to men, women are still a minority with regard to senior positions.[3] What is more, progress seems to have stalled over the last ten years, with women at North American Classics faculties making up 41.02% in 2020 compared to 40.10% in 2012; [4] at this rate, it would take another 70 years until women reached parity to men. In addition to women's employment at universities,[5] women are also still a minority with regard to academic publishing, and there is still significant horizontal segregation between different sub-fields: "subject preference in certain sub-fields of Classical Studies is strongly gendered", with a strong male dominance particularly in the areas of ancient warfare, the ancient economy, and ancient politics, law, and government, whereas women tend to publish more on the reception of antiquity, ancient art, education and family, as well as religion.[6]

In this paper, I analyse the percentage of women publishing in English in (mostly) anglophone academic journals between 1970 and 2016 and compare it to the percentage of women among Classics faculties

[2] See Nielsen 2016.

[3] This paper focusses on the situation in Northern America, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. While there are many more anglophone countries across the world, and millions of native English-speakers outside these countries (to say nothing of the fact that anglophone scholars do not constitute an absolute majority of classicists), some of which, particularly Australia and New Zealand, with a long tradition of classical scholarship, the necessity to retain a manageable sample as well as my personal ignorance with regard to the Australasian educational systems and publication landscape has led me to exclude all other countries. Future research should focus on the countries neglected in this paper, as well as a comparison across (at least) the anglophone global north.

[4] White, Chu, and Czujko 2014: 176.

[5] A note on terminology: in this paper, 'university' is understood to encompass all educational institutions issuing higher or tertiary education degrees corresponding to the levels 6 and above of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). This includes four-year colleges in the US, as well as other institutions granting Bachelor's degrees, or other comparable degrees.

[6] Thonemann 2019: 1.

in the US, Canada, the UK, and Ireland.[7] The publication data were collected from the online database of *L'Année Philologique* and the authors were assigned a gender based on their first name.[8] While not all papers published in English are written by anglophone scholars and not all US-American, Canadian, British, and Irish authors publish in English, I am convinced that the overlap is good enough for my purposes, and that the faculty composition of these four countries is a good enough comparison for papers written in English.[9] In the overall analysis, I found that while the share of articles written by women has greatly increased from 1970 to 2009, it has remained stagnant since, hovering just around the 28% mark. While this is a significant increase from 12% in 1970, 14% in 1980, 17% in 1990 and 22% in 2000, it seems that in parallel to the development among faculty, the percentage of women's publications in academic journals has drastically slowed its increase towards parity with men.

As possible reasons for this slowing development I hypothesise that apart from the overall declining employment situation in the humanities and the constant threat of departmental closure, it is mainly unconscious and implicit gender biases which manifest themselves in virtually all parts of academia — from evaluation to publications to networks to hiring processes and more — as well as the gendered division of labour both

[7] I chose to base the analysis on journal papers as many scholars in our field only publish a relatively small number of books, but a comparably larger number of journal articles, thus limiting distortions based on coincidences with regard to publication year, as scholars might publish several papers a given year, but a book only every few years. Similarly, as journal publications heavily influence hiring and tenure decisions, they seem to be a good indicator for the state of the field. As it happens, the numbers would be broadly comparable if I had taken contributions to edited volumes as the basis for my analysis, and even lower in the case of books (see below).

[8] Given the limitations of the data, this paper focusses almost exclusively on gendered differences within a binary framework. This means that, on the one hand, those of us who do not identify as men or women will nevertheless find themselves assigned to one of these two categories; on the other hand, this means that other axes of inequality such as class, race, or ability are treated only in a most superficial manner—if at all.

[9] Of the 591 papers analysed for 2016, a total of 422 (71.4%) were written by scholars employed at a US-American (284), Canadian (28), British (106), or Irish institution (4). A number of these scholars were born and / or trained outside those countries and some scholars who were born and / or trained in these four countries were not working there in 2016. An additional 24 scholars were employed by institutions in countries where English is an official language (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa). While the percentages will differ from year to year, it seems plausible to assume that two thirds or more of the publications analysed in this paper are in fact written by scholars from the four countries mentioned above.

within families and departments which causes women still to be significantly underrepresented among English-speaking scholars.

In what follows, I will first set out the current gender-ratio at Classics departments in North America, Ireland, and the UK in order to establish a baseline from which I then evaluate the gender-ratio of the publishing landscape. Second, I will describe the way in which I collected the data from the *APh* online database. Third comes the presentation of the results gained in this analysis, and in the fourth section I discuss possible reasons for the still extant disparity between men and women both in academic structures and the publishing landscape as well as the discrepancy between women employed in academia and the gender of authors publishing articles. The paper is completed with a conclusion in which I detail some recommendations on how to further increase women's participation and representation in academic positions and the scholarly literature.

1. Gender-Ratios at Classics Departments in North America, Ireland, and the UK

It will come as no great surprise that women still constitute a minority in North American, Irish, and British Classics Departments. The most recent published data (for 2017) estimate the percentage of women employed at Classics departments at a US university or college at 43.64%,[10] up 3.5 percentage points compared to 2014 when women were estimated to account for 40.1% of all faculty members.[11] However, as this study, conducted for the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, is already somewhat dated (particularly as at the time of data collection the data for 2017 was not yet published) and, as the authors write, their "estimates [...] are based not on a *census* of institutions [...] but on a *sample* of institutions",[12] I felt a need for a more complete and fine-grained set of data, particularly as the 2020 study does not differentiate between full faculty, assistant and associate faculty, and adjunct faculty. Given that the employment situation in the humanities is shifting in favour of adjunct positions, data which are aggregated on the faculty level and do not differentiate between the different categories of positions are not as useful as one would wish for.

[10] Porter, Pold, and White 2020: 220; See also Pedicone 2017; Adler and Jones 2019: 95.

[11] White, Chu, and Czujko 2014: 176.

[12] Porter, Pold, and White 2020: 6; italics in the original.

Table 1 — Gender of Respondents to the 2017 SCS Census

	Total	Tenured	Tenure-Track	Non-TT on renewable contracts	Non-TT on non-renewable contracts	Part-Time
Men	42.25% (428)	46.72% (171)	42.55% (80)	47.47% (79)	28.00% (28)	40.46% (70)
Women	38.80% (393)	40.98% (150)	36.17% (68)	36.02% (67)	41.00% (41)	38.73% (67)
Transgender / Non-Binary	9.48% (96)	6.28% (23)	10.11% (19)	10.22% (19)	16.00% (16)	10.98% (19)
Unknown / No Answer	9.48% (96)	6.01% (22)	11.17% (21)	11.29% (21)	15.00% (15)	9.83% (17)
TOTAL	100% (1013)	100% (366)	100% (188)	100% (186)	100% (100)	100% (173)

Similarly, the census undertaken by the Society of Classical Studies in autumn of 2017 is incomplete, too. Of the 436 institutions surveyed, only 272 replied, some of which only answered to the survey partially, resulting in a response rate of 62.1%. Thus, the "SCS cannot vouch for the accuracy of enrolment numbers provided".[13] That being said, according to the numbers collected by the SCS, of the total of 1,013 respondents there were 393 women (38.80%), 96 "Transgender/Non-Binary" individuals (9.48%), as well as 96 individuals of unknown gender (See Table 1). Given the self-selecting nature of this survey, I assume the number of transgender and non-binary individuals to be greatly overreported,[14] particularly as other studies and general population surveys put the number of transgender and non-binary individuals at 0.39%[15] and 0.4% of the total population,[16] respectively. While different percentages are to be expected as a result of "diversity with regard to language and subcultures", and higher rates of respondents in university settings report their gender as neither male nor female,[17] it seems unlikely that Classics departments, of all places, should have 20 times as many transgender, non-binary, genderqueer, or gender-nonconforming individuals than

[13] Society for Classical Studies 2018.

[14] See also Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 16, 51.

[15] Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017.

[16] Glen and Hurrell 2012.

[17] Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017.

society at large. Even though the figures for men and women largely correspond to those of other studies, I will refrain from using the SCS census data in this paper.

In consequence, I collected data for spring semester 2020 on the basis of the Society for Classical Studies' online list of Graduate Programs in North America.[18] I also gathered information on the situation in Ireland and the UK. This data was built on the 'Classics at UK Universities' statistics collected by the Council of University Classics Departments, whose list of member institutions served as the basis for a web-search similar to the one undertaken for North America.[19] For Ireland, I used the list available on the website of the Irish Department of Education and Skills.[20]

Each departmental website was searched for the faculty members and all members listed in an Excel file noting the country wherein their institution resides (e.g. USA), the name of both the institution (e.g. Stanford University) and the department (e.g. Classics), last and first name of all faculty members (e.g. Scheidel, Walter), their title (e.g. Dickason Professor), their gender (e.g. male), their status (e.g. full faculty) and in case of affiliated faculty their field (e.g. art history), as well as the Carnegie classification of their respective institution. Similarly to other studies on gender ratios among faculties and scholars,[21] gender was assigned based on pronouns used in faculty members' biographies or, if none were readily available, based on their image or the first name of the individual. This search found 1,726 individuals among the faculty of North American Classics departments, almost 300 fewer than the 2,005 individuals estimated by Porter, Pold, and White. This is not surprising given that the list on the SCS website which was the basis for this paper only includes graduate programmes whereas the estimates by Porter, Pold, and White also include 430 faculty members employed at "primarily undergraduate" institutions in the Carnegie classification, or 1,000 individuals at departments where the highest degree offered was a Bachelor's degree; what is more, my data also include 493 individuals

[18] Society for Classical Studies 2020.

[19] Council of University Classics Departments 2020.

[20] An Roinn Oideachais agus Scileanna 2020.

[21] Analysis of authors' names, pronouns, pictures etc.: Padilla Peralta 2019; Steward and Machado 2019; Thonemann 2019. Questionnaires sent to departments: White, Chu, and Czujko 2014; Society for Classical Studies 2018; Porter, Pold, and White 2020. Questionnaire sent to sample of SCS members: Adler and Jones 2019. To my knowledge, there are no published analyses based on employee data, Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Monitoring Forms, or the like, which would provide a more robust dataset—if collected uniformly across all institutions in all countries.

who were listed outside of the 'core' faculty, including 417 individuals categorised as "affiliated faculty". However, as I assume that only a small minority of publications are authored by individuals employed at institutions granting only a Bachelor's degree, I am confident that the data collected and presented in this paper is a reasonably robust dataset with regard to publishing academics.

While the attribution of gender as described above was simple and straightforward in most cases, as the overwhelming majority of individuals' gender was based on gendered self-attribution, there were nonetheless a few individuals whose gender had to be assigned on the basis of first names or a single image on a website. Given that gender continues to be a powerful structural and structuring category of Western society, it is usually signalled quite unambiguously by most individuals, particularly in profile pictures. Thus, I have a high degree of confidence that while there certainly were some individuals whose gender I assigned incorrectly, the data as such is robust enough, as any errors would not significantly skew the overall picture. Nonetheless, I fully acknowledge that gender is neither a simple dichotomy nor something everyone feels comfortable sharing in an employment context, particularly without tenure. Thus, while the data this paper is based on were coded in a manner allowing for non-binary individuals, the overwhelming majority of all individuals was assigned one of two genders, with all the prescriptive consequences this decision entails. The reasons for this decision were that, on the one hand, the group of interest in this paper are women and, on the other hand, that more than 99.6% of the US population identify as either male or female;[22] the same is in all likelihood true for Canada, Ireland, and the UK, too. While it would have been possible to comb through all publications and public statements of each and every current faculty member in order to correctly identify a larger number of non-binary individuals in principle, such an enterprise would not have been practicable within the context of this article. Furthermore, although such an endeavour might have been notionally feasible for active scholars, the success ratio would have been much lower the further back in time this analysis would have gone. Given that such an approach would have entailed an impossible effort and its success would have been questionable at best, I regrettably decided to forgo a more inclusive approach in the interest of a manageable project, hoping that this choice will be understood as an attempt of not letting perfect be the enemy of good.

[22] Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017.

In this way, I believe to have assigned correctly a gender to the overwhelming majority of active scholars, even if there are undoubtedly certain individuals among them who would not self-identify with the gender assigned by me — particularly as I classified only one of the 1,726 faculty members from North America (0.06%) and none of the 708 faculty members from Ireland and the United Kingdom as neither male nor female, whereas 96 of all surveyed individuals in the SCS census identified as transgender and / or non-binary. However, in the absence of a census, for which I anticipated a very low return rate (even below the 61% of the SCS census mentioned above), or an email- or telephone-survey, which I considered to be both too invasive and cumbersome,[23] this approach seemed to be the most productive. I did not, however, gather data concerning race and ethnicity, nor concerning any other axis of inequality, as any such data could only be collected with much greater difficulties than data on gender.[24] While I fully acknowledge that a more intersectional analysis would be highly desirable, particularly as categories such as race,[25] class,[26] or ability[27] (to name but a few) have a strong impact on an individual's education and future economic perspectives, and therefore in all likelihood also on university faculty makeup, it would have been impractical to search for — and probably impossible to find — data for all Classics faculty members with regard to their race, class, ability, and more. This does not mean that gender is the only relevant category of analysis when it comes to faculty makeup and publication gaps, but it is the one on which this paper focuses.

The data collected revealed that while the estimated 40-odd percentage of women faculty at universities held true in many cases, some institutions fell short of even that low threshold. What is more, even at those institutions which had an almost equal number of women faculty members compared to men, women become scarcer further up the career ladder. For example, while there were eleven women among the twenty-

[23] See Stewart and Machado 2019: 53 on their 38% response rate for authors publishing in TAPA within the last 50 years; Adler and Jones 2019: 93 on their 63.2% response rate for randomly selected Classicists; and Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 10f on the 294 responses on their experiences survey, with a 70% completion rate and a median completion time of 12 minutes, as well as the 43% response rate to their departmental survey.

[24] See Adler and Jones 2019; Padilla Peralta 2019; Stewart and Machado 2019: 53f; *cf.* Gutiérrez y Muhs *et al.* 2012; Flores Niemann, Gutiérrez y Muhs, and González 2020.

[25] See e.g. Assari 2018.

[26] See e.g. Sirin 2005.

[27] See e.g. Smith and Andrews 2015.

one members of total faculty at Columbia University listed on the departmental website in March 2020, only 55% were in non-adjunct positions (compared to 70% among men). At Stanford University, the Classics faculty was comprised of fifteen men and eight women, three of whom were full (or endowed) professors (compared to ten men), three were associate professors (two men), one assistant professor (two men), and one lecturer (one man).

These numbers are fairly typical for the North American context as a whole: of a total of 1,726 faculty members listed on departmental websites, 708 (41.02%) were women, which, at first glance, just as the Columbia faculty, looks almost equitable. However, if one considers only full and endowed professors, the percentage of women drops to 30.38% (see Table 2). It was only among assistant professors that women constituted a majority, even if the largest group of women were found to be associate professors. Taken together, this group of associate and assistant professors would almost reach parity (48.5%).

A similar picture presents itself if one considers the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Of the 708 individuals listed as faculty members on the respective websites, 330 were women (46.61%), but among those with the title "professor", the women's ratio dropped to 35.67% (see Table 3). The data situation in the UK is somewhat complicated by the fact that while many universities still use the traditional titles of "lecturer", "senior lecturer" and "reader" and reserve the title "professor" only for the most senior faculty members, some have started using the titles "associate professor" instead of "senior lecturer" and

Table 2 — Gender of North American Classics Faculty Members

	All Faculty	Endowed Professors	Professors	Endowed and Full Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	Adjunct Professors
Men	58.92% (1017)	70.19% (113)	69.19% (375)	69.42% (488)	54.42% (234)	45.66% (100)	52.14% (195)
Women	41.02% (708)	29.81% (48)	30.81% (167)	30.38% (215)	45.58% (196)	53.88% (118)	47.86% (179)
Non-Binary	0.06% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0.46% (1)	0% (0)
Total	100% (1726)	100% (161)	100% (542)	100% (702)	100% (430)	100% (219)	100% (374)

"reader".[28] If lecturers and senior lecturers were to be combined, here, too, one would see almost perfect gender parity (49.2%).

For the final analysis of the English-speaking Classical community in Northern America, the UK, and Ireland, the data has thus been coded to include "reader" and "senior lecturer" in "associate professor", equate "lecturer" with "assistant professor", and "associate lecturer" as well as "teaching fellow" with "adjunct professor", with special consideration to the situation at Oxford. While this assimilation of titles certainly is not perfect, it seemed the most prudent and productive for the purpose of this analysis, particularly as the numbers would be virtually identical if, say, "readers" were to be included in the category of "professor" and not "associate professor" (a difference of less than one percentage point). In the combined analysis of 2433 individuals from North America, Ireland, and the UK, 42.65% (1038) were women, but only 31.51% (271 of 860) of full professors were women (see Table 4), similar to the individual situations in North America and Europe.

Table 3 — Gender of British and Irish Classics Faculty Members

	All Faculty	Professors	Readers	Senior Lecturer	Lecturer	Associate Lecturer
Men	53.39% (378)	64.33% (101)	62.22% (28)	47.80% (76)	52.72% (126)	43.52% (47)
Women	46.61% (330)	35.67% (56)	37.78% (17)	52.20% (83)	47.28% (113)	56.48% (61)
Total	100% (708)	100% (157)	100% (45)	100% (159)	100% (239)	100% (108)

[28] Academic Positions 2020.

Table 4 — Gender of North American, Irish, and British Classics Faculty

	All Faculty	Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	Adjunct Professors
Men	67.31% (1395)	68.49% (589)	53.21% (338)	49.33% (226)	50.21% (242)
Women	42.65% (1038)	31.51% (271)	46.79% (296)	50.44% (231)	49.79% (240)
Non-Binary	0.04% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0.23% (1)	0% (0)
TOTAL	100% (2433)	100% (860)	100% (634)	100% (458)	100% (482)

2. Data Collection

This analysis is based on data collected from the *L'Anneé Philologique* online database, currently owned and administered by Brepols Publishers (Belgium). Until October 2018, the *APh* used to be published by the *Société Internationale de Bibliographie Classique*, founded as a learned society with the name of *Société de Bibliographie Classique* in 1924 by Jules Marouzeau.[29] The *APh* is "a specialized bibliographic database of scholarly works relating to all aspects of Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations" published both in print and online with all volumes (1928–2022) available online. It covers "a wide array of subjects, including Greek and Latin literature and linguistics — which includes early Christian texts and patristics — Greek and Roman history, art, archaeology, philosophy, religion, mythology, music, science, and scholarly subspecialties such as numismatics, papyrology, and epigraphy." While it does not contain the full text of journal articles and books, the online database includes article abstracts in English, German, Spanish, French, or Italian as well as some books' tables of contents.[30] It is "the only complete international and annually published scholarly classical bibliography" including "not only every relevant book published worldwide as well as every review published within five years of publication of the original book, but also all articles from over 1,000 journals including excerpts as well as numerous contributions published in edited volumes".[31]

[29] Société Internationale de Bibliographie Classique 2020.

[30] Brepolis 2020.

[31] Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 2020; author's translation.

All data were collected on January 24th 2020 by using the *APh* online database's advanced search, filtering for "English" concerning the 'Language of Work', "Article in journal" for 'Type of publication", and then the respective year for 'Year of publication', e.g. "2016" to "2016". Data were collected for the years 2000 to 2019, as well as 1970, 1980, and 1990 for historical comparison. This yielded an average of 1911 unique articles per year for the period of 1970 to 2016; the years after 2016 were disregarded as the data collection by the *APh* was obviously yet incomplete, as only 1,677 articles were referenced for 2017, 440 for 2018, and none for 2019.[32] The list of results was then sorted alphabetically by last name of author ("Author a-z") and exported as an XLS-file. Because the online database only allows for 1,000 entries to be exported simultaneously, the list was also sorted alphabetically inversely by last name of author ("Autor z-a") and exported again. For those years containing more than 2,000 entries, the first 1,000 results were skipped and the consecutive 1,000 exported, and so on. The different XLS-files were then merged in Microsoft Excel for Mac and duplicates removed using Excel's "Remove Duplicates" function from the "Data" tab. This resulted in an average of 1,911 articles per year, ranging from 1,776 in 2009 to 2,081 in 2000.

In a second step, the list of journals was adjusted by identifying the most important and widely read ones. Given the different tradition in different subfields, some journals comprise mostly highly specialised short articles of no more than a few pages (e.g. six pages on average in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*) and might thus have skewed the results.[33] This left an average of 642 articles per year, thus greatly reducing the workload of the analysis while at the same time guaranteeing both the inclusion of the most relevant articles and a reasonable representativeness of the sample.[34] In order to limit possible confounding of the results by English-native authors publishing in non-anglophone journals and vice versa, a further reduction was conducted excluding those journals which are not published in an anglophone country (*Hermes*, *Historia*, *Hyperboreus*, *Mnemosyne*, and *Scripta Classica*

[32] For comparison, at the time of writing in August 2020, the database contained 2005 entries for the year 2017, 1451 for 2018, and 161 for 2019.

[33] A full list of all journals indexed in *APh* as well as included journals is available on the HCS website (https://www.hcsjournal.org/ojs/index.php/hcs/article/view/80/JournalListDataSet).

[34] The overall margin of error is ±3.4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. As an example, among the total 1935 papers published in 2016, 25.99% (503) were published by women, compared to 27.07% (160) of the sample of 591 papers, which is a difference of 1.08 percentage points.

Israelica), leaving an average of 552 articles per year. The following analysis was conducted for both the selection with and without the non-English journals but did not yield significant differences, meaning that there exists no meaningful difference between the entire sample and the subsample of English articles from journals published in anglophone countries. While it cannot be ascertained that all articles published in English — in both anglophone journals and not — are written by native English speakers or scholars employed in anglophone countries, and not all scholars from anglophone countries publish in English, meaning that there are certainly some false-positives included and many false-negatives excluded in the narrower sample, this separation was intended to test against the possibility that the two groups were from significantly different populations, such as e.g. continental Europeans publishing in English in non-anglophone journals and English-native authors publishing in anglophone journals. Given that no significant difference could be found, the country in which a journal is published could have been ignored completely and the double analysis was unnecessary; but even so, the two groups are identified where possible in order to be as transparent as possible.

The resulting adjusted list was then sorted by name of author and each author assigned a gender of either 'male', 'female', 'both' (for co-authored publications by teams consisting of both men and women), or 'unknown'. This was done on the basis of the author's first name, and articles written by teams of authors who all were of the same assigned gender were only counted once. While assigning a gender in this way is rather straightforward for individuals named Peter, Paul, or Mary and journal authors with such or similar names were assigned the gender conventionally associated with the respective name, individuals named Andrea, Alex, or Charlie as well as those who initialised their first names or those with whose names I was not immediately familiar were searched for using the Google search engine. Most currently active scholars could thus be found rather quickly and assigned a gender on the basis of the pronouns used in their online biographies or, if none were available, on the basis of their self-presentation on the images in their online profiles. If authors could not be found within a reasonable amount of time, they were assigned the gender 'unknown' (roughly 1% of all authors after 2000). Given trends in academic naming, there was a steady increase of authors who initialised their first names the older their articles were, and due to the difficulty of finding an "S. Miller" or the like publishing in 1970, the number of unknown genders increased significantly for the data sets before the turn of the millennium (7% in 1990, 27% in 1980, and 35% in 1970). However, as the number of authors who could be assigned a

gender was still large enough (>450), I assumed that the initialised authors were similarly distributed with regard to gender as those to whom I could assign a gender. Thus, for the years 1970, 1980, and 1990, I split the authors of unknown gender according to the ratio resulting from those to whom I could assign a male or female one. If anything, I expect men to be overrepresented among initialised authors, thus lowering the number and ratio of women publishing in classical journals even further.

3. Results: Women Writing in English-Speaking Classics Journals

The analysis of the on average 650 annual publications revealed that men still dominate the journal article landscape, but there was a steady increase of women publishing in classical journals: while only 54 individuals (7.81%) could safely be identified as women among those publishing in 1970 (n = 691), there were an average of 182 women (27.99%) publishing for the period of 2014–2016 (n = 649). Among those publishing in journals from anglophone countries, the percentage rose from 8.46% to 28.63% in the same period (see Tables 5 and 6). For the years after 2000, I calculated the average for a three-year period each in order to avoid single years having a disproportionate influence on the data;

Table 5 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in Major Journals in English, 1970–2016

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	57.02% (394)	62.78% (388)	76.45% (552)	73.04% (459)	68.21% (440)	66.59% (432)
Women	7.81% (54)	10.19% (63)	15.93% (115)	22.76% (145)	28.43% (183)	27.99% (182)
Both	0.14% (1)	0% (0)	0.28% (2)	3.06% (19)	2.22% (14)	4.3% (28)
Unknown	35.02% (242)	27.02% (167)	7.34% (53)	1.14% (7)	1.14% (7)	1.12% (7)
Total	100% (691)	100% (618)	100% (722)	100% (630)	100% (645)	100% (649)

Table 6 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in English in Major Journals from Anglophone Countries, 1970–2016

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	56.22% (339)	63.50% (327)	76.35% (468)	72.08% (377)	67.80% (379)	65.68% (377)
Women	8.46% (51)	10.68% (55)	16.64% (102)	23.52% (123)	28.62% (160)	28.57% (164)
Both	0.17% (1)	0% (0)	0.33% (2)	3.25% (17)	2.50% (14)	4.70% (27)
Unknown	35.16% (212)	25.83% (133)	6.69% (41)	1.15% (6)	1.07% (6)	1.05% (6)
TOTAL	100% (603)	100% (515)	100% (613)	100% (523)	100% (559)	100% (574)

while the differences were usually only a few percentage points, I thought it most prudent in order to avoid giving a misleading impression, given that the number of women publishing in a given journal can oscillate quite dramatically over the years: in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, for example, some 50% of all articles published in 2016 were written by women, compared to 0% in 2018.[35] While such spikes are expected to smooth out over the sample, the three-year averages further reduced the effects of such distortions.

However, these numbers are of limited use, since they include a large proportion of "unknowns" for the years before 2000. As described above, these raw numbers were then extrapolated so that the number of "men" and "women" included their respective share of "unknowns". This increased the number of women who published in one of the major English-speaking journals in 1970 from 54 to 83, or from 7.81% to 12.04%. Among those publishing in journals from anglophone countries, the numbers rose from 51 (8.46%) to 79 (13.06%). The numbers for 2000–2016 are unmodified and thus still include authors of unknown gender, but since their number was less than 2% of the total sample, neither the absolute numbers nor the percentages would have changed significantly even if they had been extrapolated, too (see Tables 7 and 8).

[35] Kelly *et al.* 2019.

Table 7 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in Major Journals in English, 1970–2016, extrapolated

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	87.82% (607)	86.03% (532)	82.53% (596)	73.04% (459)	68.21% (440)	66.59% (432)
Women	12.04% (83)	13.97% (86)	17.19% (124)	22.76% (145)	28.43% (183)	27.99% (182)
Both	0.14% (1)	0% (0)	0.28% (2)	3.06% (19)	2.22% (14)	4.30% (28)
Unknown	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.14% (7)	1.44% (7)	1.42% (7)
TOTAL	100% (691)	100% (618)	100% (722)	100% (630)	100% (645)	100% (649)

Table 8 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in English in Major Journals from Anglophone Countries, 1970–2016, extrapolated

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	86.78% (523)	85.60% (441)	81.84% (502)	72.16% (377)	67.83% (379)	65.62% (377)
Women	13.06% (79)	14.40% (74)	17.84% (109)	23.43% (123)	28.60% (160)	28.63% (164)
Both	0.17% (1)	0% (0)	0.33% (2)	3.29% (17)	2.53% (14)	4.69% (27)
Unknown	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.13% (6)	1.07% (6)	1.11% (6)
TOTAL	100 (603)	100% (515)	100% (613)	100% (523)	100% (559)	100% (574)

There are two aspects of the data which are of particular interest; first, the number of women publishing in academic journals, while rising from slightly more than 10% to almost 30% over the time analysed, has stalled and even slightly decreased over the last decade: while women made up 28.43% of all journal authors in 2007–2009 (28.6% of all those

publishing in journals from anglophone countries), an increase of more than five percentage points from 2000–2002, that percentage dropped slightly to 27.99% of all authors (and with 28.63% remained virtually unchanged for authors publishing in journals from anglophone countries). If the trend between 2000-2002 and 2007–2009 had continued linearly, that percentage would have been 34.10% in 2014–2016 (33.77%) and

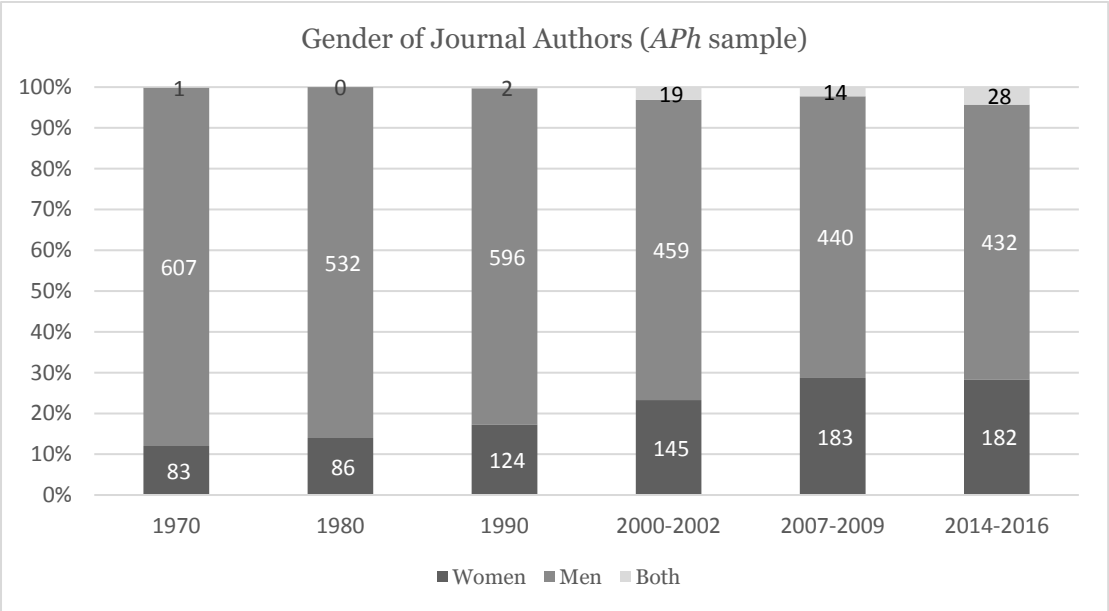

Figure 1 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in Major Journals in English, 1970–2016, extrapolated

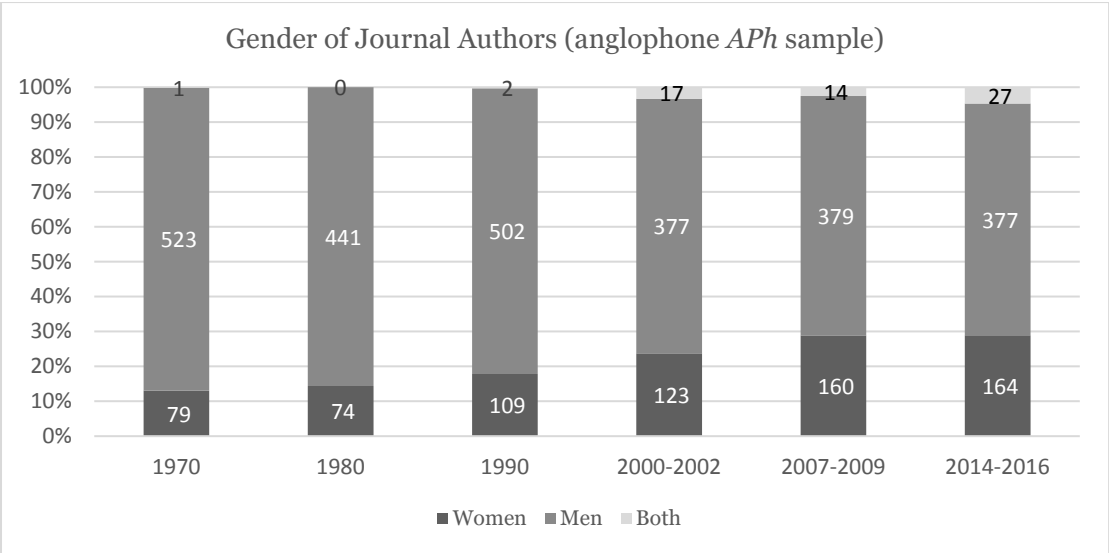

Figure 2 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in English in Major Journals from Anglophone Countries, 1970–2016, extrapolated

would reach parity around 2034 (2036). If the quadratic polynomial trend between 1970 and 2007–2009 had continued, the 2014–2016 percentage of women journal authors would have been ca. 34% (34%), reaching parity around 2030 (2031). While there has been a slight increase in publications authored by multiple scholars of different genders, this small change cannot account for these missing women (see Figures 1 and 2).

Second, even with the extrapolations discussed previously, the number of publications authored solely by women is significantly smaller than the total representation of women among faculty in North America, Ireland, and the UK: the percentage of women among all faculty was 42.65% in 2020, whereas the percentage of women as journal authors was only ca. 28%. The gap shrinks somewhat if the publication data is compared to the 2014 estimates by White, Chu, and Czujko who estimated women to be 40.1% of all faculty, but the overall picture remains the same. As it happens, the percentage of publications authored by women most closely corresponds to the percentage of women among full and endowed professors (31.82%), even though there is still a noticeable gap of several percentage points.

4. Discussion

The data analysed in this paper has demonstrated that, for one, women are still a minority among Classics faculty members in North America, Ireland, and the UK. While the precise numbers and percentages differ slightly from one country to the next, they are similar enough not only to compare them against each other but also to use them as a baseline against which one can compare the publication data. Here, too, as I have demonstrated, women authors are still a minority, and one which not only lags behind the total percentage of women employed at universities, but one which apparently has not made any gains over the last decade. The fact that the increase, which has been easily apparent over the forty years between 1970 and 2010 and has even accelerated in the second half of this period, has now stalled, needs explanation.

At first, one might think that the percentage has not changed significantly due to incomplete underlying data: as mentioned above, there is a certain lag between the time articles are published and the time they appear in the *APh* online database. However, given that for this very reason the analysis was halted at 2016 (for when at the time of data collection there were 1,939 articles recorded, which is slightly more than the 2000–2016 average and almost as many as the numbers for the immediately preceding years), it is unlikely that not only were there hundreds of articles not yet registered in the database but that the

overwhelming majority of them were authored by women. In fact, for 2016 to correspond to the trend discussed above and the percentage of women authoring journal papers to rise to 34%, an additional 203 women would have needed to author journal articles, which is an increase of more than 10% of the total number of articles and an increase of almost 40% of women authors. If the error were just with the sample (n = 591), an additional 62 women would be needed to arrive at the expected percentage, which is equally unlikely. What is more, to minimise effects like these, or simply the random changes in publication from one year to the next, the data had been smoothed out over three years, making it even less likely that such particular effects would distort the data to the extent visible. I thus conclude that the slight decrease in the number and percentage of women authoring journal articles between 2007–2009 and 2014–2016 is real and cannot be explained away by criticising the data's quality.

If one thus assumes that there has been a stall — or even a decrease — of women among authors of journal articles written in English, the question is why — and, more fundamentally, why women publish not only less frequently than men, but also make up a smaller share of published authors than their proportion among university faculty would indicate. The simplest explanation would be that women were discriminated against during the publishing process, either consciously and deliberately or unconsciously and unintentionally. The only data concerning editorial bias I am aware of stems from the analysis conducted by the *JRS* editorial board in 2019, wherein the authors conclude that "the imbalance in published articles is almost entirely due to a similar imbalance in submissions" and that the small differences between the acceptance rates for men and women is due to factors independent from the editorial process.[36] Thus, even if the acceptance rate for women was slightly lower on average, there was no persistent pattern over time indicating systematic bias against women on behalf of the editorial board or the reviewers.[37] However, this analysis is limited to the JRS, and while it is thus not impossible that other journals have discriminatory acceptance policies or practices, until data on the demographic makeup of all authors who submit articles for publication in scholarly journals is public, the only ones who have access to the data needed and thus are in a position to ascertain the truth or falsehood of any such assumption are the members

[36] Kelly *et al.* 2019: 445.

[37] The CUCD report on equality and diversity in Classics describes a similar pattern for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and *Classical Quarterly*; see Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 36.

of each journal's editorial board (see below, Conclusion). Therefore, it is only prudent to consider other explanations, too.

One possible explanation would be that women tend to publish more in different forms of publication, i.e. not so much journal articles but more contributions to edited volumes, companions, or monographs. While a similar analysis compared to the one conducted for this article would also be feasible for the *APh* category "article in book", a quick glance at the 2016 data revealed that women constitute a similar 28.6% of authors also in this category (with 2.3% authored by a team of both men and women and 5.6% of individuals who could not be assigned a gender at first glance). This matches quite well with the data collected by Peter Thonemann, who calculated a ratio of 33.8% women among the contributors of a sample of edited volumes.[38] A similar preliminary analysis for all books and monographs listed in the *APh* database for 2016 revealed that only 18.57% of all books (and 21.89% of all monographs) were written by women, compared to 15.06% (4.15%) by teams of more than one gender and 6.65% (6.22%) by individuals to whom no gender could be attributed at first glance. It seems thus that women are not only underrepresented with regard to the authorship of journal articles, but across the scholarly publishing landscape, particularly with regard to books. The exact details, how the percentage of women publishing in these different formats changed over the years, and the interrelation between them would be a promising avenue of further investigation but unfortunately exceeds the possibilities of this paper.

If it is thus neither editorial bias nor a form-specific preference, it seems likely that there are systemic factors which cause the discrepancy between the respective publication rates of men and women. One well-studied example of such factors are unconscious and implicit gender biases, i.e. gender-specific perceptions and attitudes which lead to the systematic perception of women as less qualified even if their performance is similar to that of men.[39] Such biases manifest themselves subtly but have tremendous effects over time, particularly with regard to women's career development, as a more critical attitude towards women combined with fewer grants awarded, smaller endowments granted, or fewer available positive role-models result in long-term harm to women's careers in academia.[40] In general, women receive less instruction, sup-

[38] Thonemann 2019: 4.

[39] Moss-Racousin *et al.* 2012; Reuben, Sapienza, and Zingales 2014.

[40] Martell, Lane and Emrich 1996; Gibney 2016. Studies have shown that women are, generally speaking, underestimated and less often thought of as excellent than men (Valian 1998; Ledin *et al.* 2007; Leslie *et al.* 2015). Good performance in mixed

port, and opportunities than men, and are disproportionately underrepresented in exclusive and elite settings.[41] Publications by groups of women are systematically less often cited than those of men, with mixed-gender groups citing significantly more literature than male-only groups.[42] Women scholars are less often invited to publish articles by leading journals, are more hesitant to submit papers to high-profile journals,[43] and male conference organisers and session chairs invite disproportionally few women to speak compared to the proportion of women among those submitting abstracts.[44] Both conference abstracts and publications by women are evaluated as less excellent than those of men because of their gender.[45] This corresponds to a general perception of research as male, particularly in subjects with a strong male tradition, and the unconscious belief that women are less suited to research and academia than men.[46] These numerous examples of biases against women in academia exemplify how women receive fewer opportunities to publish and are less generously reviewed when they do. However, there are also other, more direct reasons for why women are underrepresented with regard to publications, a major one being the fact that women tend to perform more care labour both within and without the family, thus affecting their opportunity to publish.

teams tends to be attributed to men rather than women (Rossiter 1993; Stamhuis 1995); female teachers are evaluated much more critically than male ones (MacNell, Driscoll, and Hunt 2015); and receive fewer awards for their scholarship (Association for Women in Science 2015). Women also are more likely to be employed under precarious circumstances and with smaller salaries (Shen 2013; European Commission 2016). Women receive fewer research grants, as well as less well-endowed ones, resulting in fewer resources and opportunities (Bornmann, Mutz, and Daniel 2007; Ceci and Williams 2010; Pohlhaus *et al.* 2011; Head et al. 2013; European Research Council 2016). In letters of recommendation, women are described more negatively than men, and significantly fewer standout adjectives are used to describe women than men, and women are more often described with 'grindstone words' rather than 'ability words' (Trix and Psenka 2003; Schmader, Whitehead, and Wysocki 2007). Although research on this issue has mostly focussed on the sciences, the strength and pervasiveness of the biases observed make it likely that the situation in the Humanities is similar.

[41] Ledin *et al.* 2007; Sheltzer and Smith 2014.

[42] Campbell *et al.* 2013; Maliniak, Powers, and Walter 2013.

[43] Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 34f.

[44] Conley and Stadmark 2012; Ford *et al.* 2018.

[45] Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn, and Huge 2013; Lerchenmueller and Sorenson 2018.

[46] Madera, Hebl, and Martin 2009; See also Leslie *et al.* 2015; Elmore and Luna-Lucero 2017; Smith 2000.

Since societies in North America, Ireland, and the UK are still far from equitable, women continue to be subject to the *double journée* of paid labour in the workplace as well as unpaid labour within their families,[47] in addition to being the ones who become pregnant, give birth or suffer miscarriages, or breastfeed, often with only minimal (paid) pregnancy and/or maternity leave. According to the International Labour Organization, women in the US spend an average of 264 minutes per day caring for children, the elderly, and other dependents, whereas men only spend 168 minutes doing the same work; this corresponds to almost 31 hours per week for women and almost 20 hours per week for men. While the numbers are slightly different for Canada, Ireland, and the UK, the overall trend is the same: women spend a much bigger part of their days caring for others than men.[48] Given women's added care obligations, it is not surprising that women on average simply have less time on their hands to conduct research and publish the results of their studies.[49] The SARS-CoV-2 pandemic has well illustrated this phenomenon: in consequence of lockdowns, shelter-in-place orders, and working from home, traditional divisions of labour were intensified, resulting in women's research plummeting whereas men continued to conduct research and publish at a similar and at times even increased pace.[50]

The peculiarities of academic labour further imply that care-work constitutes a larger share of women's paid work at universities. While teaching requirements are often dependent on the kind of employment one has, and thus should not *per se* discriminate against women, the higher percentage of women working in adjunct positions would also translate into a higher percentage of time spent on teaching and teaching preparation, leaving less time and energy to conduct research and publish one's results. In addition to teaching, women on average also are significantly more invested in academic service, both with regard to formal service in committees and functions as well as with regard to student advising and community engagement.[51] Part of this might be due to similar social structures organising care-work within the family, but part of this is also a consequence of the mismatch between the smaller number of women in academia on the one hand, particularly the smaller number of women in senior faculty positions, and the desire to increase women's

[47] See Delphy 2003.

[48] International Labour Organization 2020.

[49] Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 46f.

[50] Fazackerley 2020; Minello 2020; Power 2020; Viglione 2020; personal communication by Peter Thonemann.

[51] Guarino and Borden 2017; Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 22.

participation in committees and service positions on the other: a policy mandating or encouraging a high participation of women can have the undesired effect of requiring more service from women as the same time and effort is shouldered by fewer individuals, resulting in a higher individual service work load, again reducing the time and energy available for women to conduct research and publish.[52] This is even more true for women of colour.[53] In combination, the higher care-workload women shoulder on average and women's higher participation in academic service could explain why the percentage of articles authored by women is smaller than the percentage of women in academia.

As mentioned above, the percentage of journal articles authored by women corresponds most closely to the percentage of women in tenured positions of full and endowed professors. A possible reason for this could be that once women have made it past the assistant and associate phase and thus are in positions of power from where it becomes easier to reject an offer to serve on a committee, more time can be spent on research and publication. Similarly, as the average age at tenure in the US is 39,[54] nine years after the medium age at birth of first child for women holding a Master's degree or higher,[55] this gain in position corresponds to a time in a (typical) woman's life when not only a first child attends school but in all likelihood also a possible second child. Even though women continue to be underrepresented among tenured faculty, particularly among the older age cohorts,[56] it could be possible that tenured women are most prolific with regard to publishing journal articles, thus explaining the lower publication rate of women *vis-à-vis* their percentage among faculty. However, there is good reason to believe that this is simply a coincidence, particularly as a disproportionate number of women in academia do not have children.[57] The fact that a fair share of faculty service positions can only be held by tenured individuals, as well as the importance of articles during both the tenure-track phase and in the hiring-process in general, work against the conjectured explanation; the latter incentivises non-tenured women to publish as many articles as possible — while tenured faculty are at liberty to focus on longer, book-sized projects — and the former makes them ineligible for many service positions.

[52] Babcock *et al.* 2017.

[53] Hirshfield and Joseph 2011.

[54] European University Institute 2020.

[55] Pew Research Center 2015.

[56] McChesney and Bichsel 2020: 7.

[57] Mason, Wolfinger, and Goulden 2013; Isgro and Castañeda 2015.

Conclusion: Some Ways Forward

In this paper, I have analysed the proportion of women among journal authors within the field of Classics in the English-speaking world. Based on the *APh* online database, I collected publication data for selected years between 1970 and 2016 and compared the percentage of articles authored by women to women's representation among faculty in North America, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. Due to the unsatisfactory nature or quality of the available data regarding the representation of women among faculty, I surveyed the Classics departments in North America, Ireland, and the United Kingdom and collected my own data on the gender ratios of Classics departments. Comparing the two datasets, it became apparent that women are not only underrepresented by some twenty percentage points among journal authors, but that the increase in the proportion of women publishing articles in academic journals has stalled and even slightly reversed over the last decade, compared to a steady and accelerating increase for the period between 1970 and 2010. I hypothesise that, apart from the overall declining economic situation due to the Great Recession of 2007–2009 and the increasingly adverse overall state of humanities departments in general and Classics departments in particular, the reason for both the decline and the underrepresentation of women are social structures causing women to shoulder a disproportionate share of care-work both within university departments and the family. This assumption is bolstered by a large body of existing research as well as the experiences made during the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, which aptly illustrates the gendered effects of deteriorating economic conditions and growing uncertainty: on the whole, women are pushed out of the workplace due to care-responsibilities and thus have less time and energy available to conduct research and publish, or, where they are able to continue their academic work, pressured into academic service and care work as an unintended result of a combination of inclusivity policies and gendered stereotypes.

What this paper did not consider was the situation of other social minorities, particularly gender-nonconforming individuals or people of colour, or other axes of possible discrimination such as class, let alone the intersectional challenges that, for instance, first-generation women academics of colour face in the academic world in general and the publishing landscape in particular.[58] Since women continue to be under-

[58] On the underrepresentation and precarious situation of working-class academics in the UK, and the difficulties of studying this specific group, see Canevaro *et al.* 2021.

represented in academia, they experience discrimination disproportionately more often than men,[59] the share of especially tenured positions held by women grows only very slowly, and the rising proportion of women publishing in academic journals has dwindled from an already slow rise to a sluggish crawl over the last decade, I assume the situation for other minorities to be similar or worse.[60] Further research thus is required not only to document the progress that our disciplines make with regard to increasing the number and percentage of women among (especially tenured) faculty and among authors of journal articles, but also regarding the representation of other minorities in academia in general and in Classics in particular.

However, further research will only be able to document the situation and, at best, raise awareness of the problem of structural underrepresentation of women, but not achieve an improvement in and for itself. While one might argue that the issue will resolve itself given time, at the very latest when women make up an equal share or even a majority of faculty members, the stalling or slightly diminishing proportion of women among journal authors I identified makes it evident that such an approach will simply not do.[61] I thus recommend that all journals, and those publishing scholarship on the ancient Mediterranean in particular, conduct similar analyses as the editorial board of *JRS* undertook in 2019 to identify possible biases among their editorial process. In addition, journal editors should abandon the archaic practice of requiring the use of first name initials in both bibliographies and tables of contents. This would not only greatly facilitate future research on the gendered nature of academic publications, but the increased visibility of women publishing on a specific topic or in a given field would also mitigate the abovementioned perception of science and scholarship as stereotypically male, thus lowering the hurdles for women with regard to publication.

Furthermore, universities are called upon to improve the situation of women already employed, e.g. by granting enough protected time for research, i.e. limiting teaching and administrative duties particularly for junior scholars; by providing free childcare both during weekday workhours and also at weekends and in the evening; by reducing the number of meetings and events in evenings and on weekends; by establishing programmes promoting women in academia across all levels and,

[59] Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 19f., 23f.

[60] See Padilla Peralta 2019: over 90% of all authors who published in TAPA, CA, or AJP between 1997 and 2017 were white, with a slight but not at all steady or sustainable increase in the number of non-white authors over the years. See also Leonard and Lovatt 2020.

[61] See also Holman, Stuart-Fox, and Hauser 2018.

where such programmes already exist, intensifying them; by demonstrably committing themselves to equal pay and a living wage for all individuals regardless of gender, ethnicity, or any other minority status; by restructuring employment and tenure criteria so that such decisions acknowledge the gendered nature of social structures and e.g. decrease the value placed upon publications, increase the importance of service, and are no longer modelled after a typical (white) male biography; by introducing and promoting job-sharing opportunities in faculty positions; by re-evaluating how administrative positions and advising roles are distributed; and by increasing women's opportunities through women-only research sabbaticals, grants, or mentoring for early career scholars.[62] Finally, to increase both the proportion of women among faculty members and among journal authors, I propose the introduction of internal quotas.[63] For universities, I recommend adopting a system similar to the one introduced by the TU Eindhoven (Netherlands): vacancies for academic staff should be opened for women exclusively for at least a given amount of time (e.g. six months) until women represent half of the faculty,[64] and those women should be supported even further so that the retention problem ('leaky pipeline') can be addressed.[65] Where current legislation prevents such a compensations for disadvantages, universities are called upon to step up and insist *vis-à-vis* legislators that they are allowed to treat substantially unequal cases unequally and are not forced to pretend that gender equality (or racial equality, for that matter) has already been achieved. For journals, I recommend the establishment of a self-imposed quota at the very least corresponding to the current number of women working within academia in their respective country, or, more ambitiously, of 50%. Such quotas do not invalidate double-blind peer reviews, as editors would simply be incentivised to both actively search for women whose scholarly profile fits the journal in order to increase submissions by women and be compelled to send out submissions by women to the reviewers until the quota for the journal

[62] See also the recommendations formulated in the San Francisco Declaration on Research Assessment (Declaration of Research Assessment 2013) which includes not only recommendations for institutions and publishers but also for funding agencies, data organisations, and even researchers, or the detailed recommendations in the CUCD report on equality and diversity in Classics (Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 55–65) which specifically address department heads, appointment panels and promotion committees, teaching staff and tutors, supervisors and advisers, editors, conference organisers, and learned societies.

[63] See Gheaus 2015 for rebuttals to many common arguments against quotas.

[64] Technische Universiteit Eindhoven 2019.

[65] Technische Universiteit Eindhoven 2020.

issue (or year) has been met, and would have the added benefit of presumably even rising the quality of the scholarship published: research shows that mandatory gender quotas improve the performance of companies and the quality of corporate boards,[66] and that more gender diversity leads to better science and higher citation rates,[67] making it plausible that mandatory quotas in academia would at the very least not be detrimental to research or faculty performance. In a best-case scenario, such approaches would make themselves redundant as their implementation would cause the academic culture to become more inclusive towards women (and, hopefully, also towards other minorities), and would thus serve only as safety-nets which might not even be needed after they are announced publicly. In a worst-case scenario, journal editors and search committees would face a limited additional workload. Adopting such methods, I am convinced, would thus not only significantly improve the proportion of women among faculty and published authors, but also raise the quality of classical scholarship across the board.

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[66] Hunt *et al.* 2018; Bennouri, De Amicis, and Falconieri 2020.

[67] Nielsen *et al.* 2017.

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SCIPIO TETTIUS AND THE LATIN CLASSICS

— JUSTIN STOVER —

ABSTRACT

Scipio Tettius (d. ca. 1571) is not a household name amongst classical scholars. Nonetheless, his most important work, the Index auctorum nondum editorum, *written in 1553, attempts for the first time to describe the extent of classical literature which survived transmitted in manuscripts, but which had yet to appear in print. This study provides the most comprehensive treatment yet available for Tettius' life and career, and, focussing on the Latin works in his list, situates his achievement as an important landmark in the history of classical scholarship.*

KEYWORDS

Scipio Tettius, Philippe Labbe, Pierre Pithou, Claude Dupuy, manuscripts, Cardinal Angelo Mai

In the spring of 1554, Gelenius died in Basel.[1] A Bohemian humanist and polymath, born Zikmund Hrubý z Jelení in Prague, he had laboured for thirty years in the printing house of Froben at Basel. Largely through his efforts, the press had become one of the foremost in Europe in the publication of ancient texts. Gelenius was a corrector of other people's books, collaborating with more famous scholars who published with Froben, such as Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus. He also published editions of his own, both Latin and Greek. On the Latin side, he published the *editio princeps* of Theodorus Priscianus in 1532, one of the two 1533 editions of Ammianus Marcellinus to print the final books of his history, and another first edition, the anonymous *De rebus bellicis* along with related ancient works in 1552. His 1550 Tertullian included three new tracts: *De monogamia*, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, and *De resurrectione mortuorum*. On the Greek side, he was the first to put some of Stobaeus into print in 1532; he published the *editio princeps* of a whole corpus of *periploi*, including those of the Carthaginian Hanno and

[1] I would like to thank Dmitri Levitin and Ian Maclean for the invitation to the colloquium for which I first put these ideas together, and Noel Malcolm, Gavin Kelly, George Woudhuysen, and Jarett Welsh for comments on various drafts. On Gelenius, see most recently, M. Vaculínová and A. Truhlář, "Zikmund Hrubý z Jelení a Jeho Život v Basileji," *Listy filologické* 135 (2012), 91–124.

Arrian, in 1533. In 1544, he put out the first edition of the original Greek of Josephus' *Opera*. Though uncredited, he may have also been responsible for the 1533 *editio princeps* of Diogenes Laertius.[2]

The years around Gelenius' death mark a generational shift in classical scholarship. Erasmus had died less than twenty years before in 1536, and Beatus Rhenanus less than ten in 1547. After Gelenius, no scholar for more than two hundred years would build a reputation on the publication of multiple first editions of classical texts. In these same decades, some of the luminaries of sixteenth century scholarship were born: Pierre Daniel in 1531, Pinelli in 1535, Pithou in 1539, Scaliger in 1540, Lipsius in 1547, Schott in 1552, De Thou in 1553, and Casaubon in 1559. The difference between these two generations of scholars is substantial. Whereas Gelenius' legacy rested on the edition of texts or parts of texts not previously available in print, the lasting contribution of this later generation of scholars is the improvement of texts, either through identification and use of superior manuscripts or through conjectural restoration.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are in some ways a golden age of classical scholarship, populated by intellectual forces whose names editors still conjure with, and whose legacy continues to inspire debate and discussion: Scaliger, Casaubon, Gruter, Gronovius, Heinsius, Bentley. Without prejudice to the singular accomplishments of each of these scholars, the Carlylean approach to the history of Classical scholarship — still dominant from Wilamowitz, Sandys, and Pfeiffer — obscures some of the broader trends in the development of the study of antiquity.[3] It also implicitly perpetuates the old medieval idea of the *translatio studii*, where learning passed from Greece to Rome to France; the second generation of humanists would add a further journey to Italy.[4] Historians of Classical scholarship trace a further return of (now specifically classical) learning from Italy to France to the Low Countries to England to Germany, in general succession though with various permutations. Alternatives are conceivable. One could just as well define the period from Petrarch to Lachmann in terms of the material modalities of engaging

[2] See the introduction to Tineke L. ter Meer's edition of Erasmus' *Apothegmata* (Leiden 2010), 1.18–19.

[3] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of Classical Scholarship*, trans. A. Harris, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones (Baltimore 1982) and *Geschichte der Philologie, mit einem Nachwort und Register von Albert Henrichs* (Stuttgart 1998); J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vol. (Cambridge 1903–8); and R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vol. (Oxford 1968–76).

[4] On *translatio studii*, see K. Sarah-Jane Murray, *From Plato to Lancelot: A Preface to Chrétien de Troyes* (Syracuse 2008).

with texts, sketching in broad terms an 'Age of Manuscript Hunting' from Petrarch to Poggio, or 1350–1450, an 'Age of Publishing' from 1450–1550, an 'Age of Cataloguing,' from 1550 to 1650, an 'Age of Criticism' from 1650–1750, and at last an 'Age of Editing' from 1750 to 1850. This approach, even were it to be refined from these crude outlines, would still obscure as much as it would reveal, as does the prevailing biographical approach. What it would bring to the fore, however, are the progressive forces behind the accumulation of classical scholarship which permitted individual geniuses like Scaliger and Bentley to emerge. It would also permit discussion of minor figures who have left us no valuable legacies we engage with today, and whose contributions — such as they were — were forgotten within decades of their deaths.

One more preliminary is required. It is useful (and virtually unavoidable) to periodize the history of classical scholarship, and in many ways these periods do correspond to actual historical facts. It is simply true that by the middle of the sixteenth century, most of the classical texts transmitted in manuscripts had been published. For Latin, that happened even earlier: almost no major new classical authors were published after 1520, which saw the *editiones principes* of Velleius Paterculus, Rutilius Namatianus, and Calcidius. But no one knew that at the time. After all, hundred of authors were mentioned by the likes of Gellius and Nonius Marcellus, authors dearly loved by humanists. There was no *a priori* reason to assume that patience and diligence in manuscript hunting would not conjure them up for an eager audience. Only slowly did hopes of a total recovery of antiquity fade.

In this study I would like to draw attention to a little text written perhaps as Gelenius was dying, which illustrates in concrete terms the shift in the way the transmitted corpus of Latin literature was understood, and at the same time is one of the first documents which admits the finitude of surviving ancient literature. The *Index librorum nondum editorum* was composed by an obscure Neapolitan patrician and mediocre scholar, Scipio Tettius (Scipione Tetti or Theti), in 1553 or 54. It is a short alphabetical catalogue of Latin and Greek works which had not yet been edited, with some indication (for most of them) of which libraries contained copies. The author and the work are equally obscure, so here we will seek to illuminate both in succession. First, the author.

Little is known of Tettius' life.[5] We at least know his brother Carlo Tetti was born in Nola in 1529, and their father was the Neapolitan patrician Francesco Tetti. The first we hear of Scipio is in the 1555 *editio*

[5] There is a brief discussion of the testimonia to Tettius in Leonardo Nicodemo's *Addizioni copiose* to Toppi's *Bibliotheca Napoletana* (Naples 1683), 227–8.

princeps of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* by Benedetto Egio, which uses a codex Tettianus and contains a discourse on the various figures named Apollodorus written by Tettius himself, dedicated to the cardinal Otto Truchsess.[6] Around this time, he was in the service of Piero Vettori in Florence and Venice, and figures several times in the correspondence of Ottavio Pantagato throughout the late 1550s and 60s, at one point in conjunction with Carlo, at another as a *homo amabilissimo et virtuoso*.[7] In 1560, Giulio Poggiano mentions him in a letter to Davanzati:

> De Tectio, minime tecto, quid quaeris? valet & illam suam securitatem ac libertatem retinet.[8]

Aldo Manuzio the Younger also mentions him in the preface to his 1563 edition of Sallust, noting that he was endowed with *singulari quadam in peruestigandis ueterum libris diligentia*.[9] He is also mentioned in a poem by Achilles Statius written ca. 1564 (ll. 49–50):

> Quique potest unus scriptores Tettius omnes
> Edere, quos aetas illa vel illa tulit.[10]

[6] Technically, this is preceded by a letter from Tettius to Piero Vettori dated 9 January 1554, in BL Add. MS 10278; cf. R. Mouren, "La lecture assidue des classiques: Marcello Cervini et Piero Vettori," in P. Gilli, ed. *Humanisme et église en Italie et en France méridionale (XVe siècle-milieu du XVIe siècle)* (Rome 2004), 433–63 at 459; and *Iter* IV, 88. Ottavio Pantagato claims to have known Tettius for *sedece o dicidotto anni*, sixteen or eighteen years, in a letter to Vettori, dated 1566, which would take us back to 1548 at the earliest; see A. Soler i Nicolau, *La correspondència d'Ottavio Pantagato (1494–1567)* (PhD. Diss. Barcelona 2000), 338. I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewer who pointed me to Pantagato's letters.

[7] *Ep*. 130, p. 338 Soler i Nicolau and *Ep*. 100, p. 276 Soler i Nicolau.

[8] *Julii Pogiani Sunensis Epistolae et orationes olim collectae ab Antonio Maria Gratiano* … (Rome 1752) ep. 109 (vol. 2, 187–8).

[9] J. T. Welsh and J. Hill, "A Neglected Manuscript of the Glossary of Placidus and the History of the Text," *Classical Quarterly* 71 (2021), 422–39 at 437. His name is misspelled *Pettius*.

[10] See J. Ijsewijn, "Achilles Statius: A Portuguese Latin Poet in late 16th Century Rome," *Humanitas* 43–4 (1991–2), 109–23 at 117. Isewijn, ad loc., claims that Paolo Manuzio mentions Tettius in *Epist*. 7.14 dated 1566 to Antonio Merula, as friends with Statius and Davanzati. I cannot find his name, however, in any published versions of that letter, but Paolo did know Tettius, cf. however, Luigia Ceretta, "Critica testuale a Terenzio in una lettera del Faerno a Paolo Manuzio," *Aevum* 28 (1954), 522–51 at 535. On this poem see also Alejandra Guzmán Almagro, "Consideraciones sobre el poeta laudatório de Aquiles Estaço e vários humanistas," *Humanitas* 54 (2002), 319–32.

This is undoubtedly a reference to the *Index librorum nondum editorum*. That he had a fondness for books has been documented. Not only was he friends with collectors like Statius and librarians like the Farnese curator and Vatican librarian Panvinio, but in Pantagato's letters, we find him actually compiling lists of Greek works. In 1566, he borrowed from Latino Latini the catalogue of a dispersed private library and returned it two years later.[11] Not all of his borrowing was as successful. Apparently at one point, Fulvio Orsini had sent a *libro rarissimo* to Muretus through Tettius; ten years went by — during which time Tettius died — and the book was found with Davanzati. Orsini was upset by Tettius' duplicity, since he had always claimed that the book had been delivered to Muret.

> Mi dispiace haver a dire male dei morti, ma in effetto io ho trovato che quel Theti et il Avanzati in materia di libri havevano la conscienza fatta a lor modo, et un mio libro rarissimo che havevo gia prestato dieci anni sono al Mureto per le mani del Theti, ho trovato hora nelli libri dell' Avanzati, con tutto che io me ne sia doluto molte volte con l'uno e col l'altro, ma particolarmente col Theti, il quale mi diceva sapere che'l Mureto havea quel libro tralli suoi, con tutto che affermasse havermelo restituito, siche tutto questo tempo son stato in quest'errore et resentimento ancora in qualche occasione contra il Mureto. Ho poi trovato che [...] alla sua morte (del Theti), l'havea fatto suo l'Avanzatus con molti altri di esso Theti che ho poi ritrovato in questo numoro de libri, et hanno verificato il proverbio che un barbiere rade l'altro.[12]

This letter was dated 5 June 1573, which means that the event mentioned could have happened no later than 1563, perhaps around 1561.[13] But

[11] Welsh and Hill, "A Neglected Manuscript," 437 n. 68, citing G. Mercati, *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI–XIX* (Vatican City, 1952), 122 n. 2.

[12] Fulvio Orsini to Pinelli, printed from Milan, Ambros. D. 422 by Pierre de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887), 90. *Pace* de Nolhac, Davanzati is not Bernardo Davanzati (d. 1606) but Francesco Davanzati, about whom we know very little. He is mentioned in the letter of Paolo Manuzio cited above, and we also have a letter sent from Venice on 10 August 1555 to Cardinal Sirlet, extant in Vat. lat. 6189, and printed by Graziano and Lagomarsini in their notes to Poggiano, ep. 109, cited above. There is also poetry by Davanzati extant in Parma Pal. 555, 668–9; see *Iter* 36–7.

[13] This completes the references to Tetti. It is possible that he is the Scipione mentioned in a letter by Antonio Casario in Rome to Aldus Manutius the Younger written in 1565; see M. Koortbojian, "A Little-Known Manuscript, an Unpublished Letter to Aldo Manuzio il Giovane, and a Long-Forgotten Humanist-Antiquarian: Antonio Casario," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 46 (2001), 133–52 at 150. The letter is preserved in Vat. lat. 5327, ff. 327r–328r.

Tettius has the misfortune of being remembered more for the manner of his demise than for anything he did in life. We know this because Jacques-Auguste de Thou, at twenty years of age, accompanied the ambassador Paul de Foix to Italy in 1574. In Rome, he met Muret himself.

> Ab eo, de Scipionis Tettij Neapolitani casu cognovit, hominis, vndecumque vt ille aiebat doctissimi, qui delatus quod male de numine sentiret, remo mancipatus fuerat, et tunc an adhuc in viuis esset incertus esset.[14]

Muret went on to lament the fates of other unfortunates: Aonio Paleario, executed in 1570, and Niccolò Franco, likewise executed in 1570. A curious combination: Aonio Paleario was found guilty for his theological affinities to Protestantism (*nimia in pietate simplicitas* is Muret's kind way of putting it) and Niccolò Franco, otherwise famous as a pornographer, for seditious libel in league with Alessandro Pallantieri (one could say *ob invisam coelo Romano in sermocinando libertatem* with Muret).[15] Whatever the truth of the matter, posterity would remember Tettius as the gentle scholar of Apollodorus who was sentenced to the galley. Adrien Baillet in his *Jugemens des Savans* (1685–6, tom. I, 403) paints a picture in pathos:

> Tetti avait employé plusieurs années a son petit Traité des Apollodores, avant qu'on l'envoyàt aux galères. C'est un Ouvrage de deux feuilles.

Tettius' treatise actually comprises eleven leaves in the *editio princeps*, but it is an impressive piece of scholarship.[16] There is, however, nothing in it which suggests particularly freethinking approaches to theology, nor of course could there be anything objectionable in the jejune *Index librorum*. This is all that Tettius published. There is nothing in them to substantiate (De Thou's recounting of) Muret's claim. But what we do see is a man of *libertas* — whatever Poggiano meant by the term, it is surely significant that it is addressed to Davanzati. *Un barbiere rade l'altro*, as Orsini wrote, suggesting that both Tettius and Davanzati were a little too *liber* with other people's possessions.

Perhaps he was possessed of a little bit of Franco's kind of *libertas* as well. Giovanfrancesco Ferrari in 1570 dedicated one his *Rime burlesche*

[14] *Commentariorum de vita sua libri sex* [1621], p. 13.

[15] On the Franco affair, see also N. Badaloni, *Inquietudini e fermenti di libertà nel Rinascimento italiano* (Pisa 2004), 53–89.

[16] See for example L. Canfora, *Il Fozio ritrovato. Juan de Mariana e André Schott* (Bari 2001), 61–5.

to Tettius.[17] Another of these burlesques is dedicated to Franco. In point of fact, the last we hear of Tettius on dry land, so to speak, is in the trial and interrogation of Franco himself.[18] At this time, Tettius was apparently in the retinue of the Conte de Alife. He was interrogated on 5 September 1569, and again on the 13th and 28th of the same month. The following year, 1570, he was interrogated on 11 and 15 February and tortured on the 27th, and interrogated a final time on 7 March. Four documents signed by him are extant in the *Constituta et examina* of the case extant in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Misc, Arm. IX, t. 55, ff. 171, 173, 177, and 181). Tettius admitted that Franco had read parts of the libellous book to him around 1561.[19] Incidentally, it is from these interrogations that we find that Carlo Tetti was Scipione's brother, and that they had another brother hanged under Paul IV, probably in 1564.[20] Tettius also took responsibility for politically indelicate (and poetically disastrous) doggerel of his own, such as this *pasquinata* about Paul IV:

> Se ci è Dio che pur ci è si vede et sente,
> et s'ordini da la sua, legge e misura,
> dunque pensier non ha, dunque non cura
> quel che falli quaggiù la bassa gente.
> Poi che pose in sua vece un rio serpente
> Un mostr'horrend'e sozzo di natura
> Un'aperta de vitii sepoltura
> Un pervers'un malign, un insolente
> [et cetera].[21]

Following his final interrogation, it is very likely that he was shipped off to the galley either that year or the year following. Both Franco and Paleario — whom Muret mentioned with Tettius — were executed in 1570. Being condemned to the oar is not the normal punishment for heretics or libellous scholars, but it may well reflect the unique conditions of 1570–1, when Pope Pius V's primary goal was the strengthening of Christian naval power in the Mediterranean against the Turks, leading up to the

[17] *Le Rime Bvrlesche, Sopra Varii, Et piaceuoli soggetti; indrizzate à diuersi nobili Signori* (Venice 1570), cap. 50, "Contra Cicerone, à M. Cicerone," pp. 105–11. On Ferrari, see C. Lastraioli, "In extremis: la manière burlesque de Giovanni Francesco Ferrari," *Italique* 16 (2013), 233–57.

[18] The documents of the trial were edited by A. Mercati, *I Costituti di Niccolo Franco (1568–170)* (Vatican City 1955).

[19] See Mercati, *Costituti*, 42–3.

[20] See E. Bonora, *Roma 1564: La congiura contro il papa* (Bari 2015), n. 31

[21] See also Badaloni (2004), 88.

victory at Lepanto on 7 October 1571. Under such unique conditions, it may have seemed to the ecclesiastical authorities the ideal solution to rid themselves of an unwanted scholar and get another pair of arms for an oar at the same time.[22] Perhaps he did not survive Lepanto. At any rate, Orsini was quite confident he was dead by 1573, even if Muret claimed he was unaware of Tettius' fate in 1574. Carlo was the only survivor from the wreck of the Tettius family. He achieved great distinction as a military engineer, with his 1575 *Discorsi delle fortificationi*, and his work for such notables as William V, Duke of Bavaria, and the Emperor Maximilian II. He died in 1589 and was buried in honour in the basilica of St Anthony in Padua.

The colourful circumstances of Tettius's life, associations, and demise, seem at first glance a poor fit with the aridity of a work like the *Index*. One thread linking them is the love of books. There is no suggestion that Tettius stole from Orsini for gain — it is not as if the rare, and probably valuable, book was sold — but simply because he burned to possess the book. The same theme is echoed in his *De Apollodoris*:

> Ego plane his meis adijci posse multa confiteor, nec dubitamus multa esse, quae & nos praeterierint, homines enim sumus, librorumque ac necessariorum copia destitute & novercante fortuna, & urbe Roma (in qua aliud spectatur quam genus, & virtus) aliis occupati : succisivisque temporibus ista curamus.[23]

The *Index* is, first and foremost, a monument to bibliomania. But it differs from other contemporary works of bibliography. It is not like Konrad Gessner's pioneering *Bibliotheca universalis* published some eight years before the *Index* (Basel 1545). Gessner's ambition was to bring together all known authors in all languages, without prejudice as to whether their works were transmitted or not. Hence, authors whose works had been printed, authors whose works were still in manuscripts, authors whose works were lost, authors whose names were only known from citations, contemporary authors, medieval authors, ancient authors, all jostle next to each other in Gessner's densely packed pages. The *Index librorum*, by contrast, is a much less erudite and ambitious work. It is also, in one sense, much more useful. It only seems to contain works whose manuscripts Tettius had been apprised of through various means. Aubrey

[22] I thank Noel Malcolm for pointing out to me the relevance of the history of the papal navy to Tettius' fate.

[23] Rome 1555, unpaginated.

Diller, in the most thorough study of Tettius' *Index* published to date, locates his enterprise at a very specific moment in the history of print:

> The invention of printing was at first regarded as an extension of the copying process; it was not realized that a printed text was in an entirely different state of permanence and availability. Catalogues of the fifteenth century usually list printed books and manuscripts codices indiscriminately. As the use of the press increased, however, the distinction between print and manuscript overshadowed the distinction between originals and copies; and the energies of scholars were absorbed merely in getting classical literature into the new medium.[24]

I would go yet further. Getting texts from manuscript into print had been the main glory for scholars for fifty years before the index. It was the foundation of Gelenius' Europe-wide fame. And yet, if one had asked a humanist reader in 1500 to list the Latin works which were yet to be printed, it would look quite a bit like Gessner's *Bibliotheca*. It would not look at all like the work Tettius came up with in 1553. I print here the Latin list from a copy written by Dupuy:

> Libri Latini nondum editi
> Aproniani comment. in Virgilium.
> Appuleii Minuciani de Orthographia lib. ij. v. a. st.
> Adamantii sive Martyrii de B. muta et V. vocali, liber i.
> Balbi vel Frontini vel Augusti Caesaris et Heronis liber de coloniis.
> Cassiodori de libris instituendis et alia. v. Sirlet.
> Cornelii Frontonis exempla elocutionum, per alfab..
> Epaphroditi et Vitruvii Rufi architectonica . liber i.
> Fulgentii Placiadis Virgilianae continentiae liber i.
> Gaudentii sermones.
> Hygeni [*sic*] gromaci liber de munitionibus castrorum.
> Isidori et Ildephonsi de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis libri. v. Ful.
> Iulii Severiani ascitomata artis rhetoricae, lib. i.
> Iunius Philargyrius grammaticus in Virgilium. Flor.
> Placidi grammatici glossae per alphabetum, liber i.
> Plauti Comoedia Philodoxium.[25] a.st.
> Plinii Senioris Historiarum lib. xx. Aug. Vin.
> Publilii Optatiani Porphyrii Panegyricus Constantino dicatus.

[24] A. Diller, "Scipio Tettius' *Index librorum nondum editorum*," *AJP* 56 (1935) 14–27 at 14.

[25] Omitted in the Paris manuscript (and others), supplied at the end, with a caret indicating its placement after Placidus.

> Simplicii vel Nypsi vel Ageni de mensuris liber i.
> Trogi Pompei historiarum libri.
> Varronis Liber de arithmetica.
> Velleii Paterculi liber prior integer.
> Velii Longi de orthographia liber i.[26]

Six out of these twenty-two entries are quite something: Pliny, Varro, Pompeius Trogus, Velleius Paterculus, Plautus, and Apronianus, and will require further discussion. The remaining sixteen represent a fairly a modest lot: some ancient grammarians and rhetoricians, a handful of church fathers, and several technical works. There is no entry for Ennius, or Lucilius, or Livius Andronicus, the lost decades of Livy, no *Consolatio*, or *De Gloria*, or *De Republica* of Cicero, no *Histories* of Sallust. To conceive of this list as comprehensive of the *Libri Latini nondum editi* ca. 1550 is to have a fairly clear-eyed view of Latin literature as it was actually transmitted. Contrast that with the optimism of Aldus Manutius in 1508, reflecting to Alvise Mocenigo, on the occasion of the publication of the tenth book of Pliny's letters:

> Solebam superioribus Annis Aloisi Vir. Clariss. cum aut T. Liuii Decades, quae non extare creduntur, aut Sallustii, aut Trogi historias, aut quemvis alium ex antiquis autoribus inventum esse audiebam, nugas dicere, ac fabulas. Sed … tu è Gallia … has Plinii epistolas in Italiam reportasti.

When indeed new Livy was found by Simon Grynaeus in 1527 and published in Basel in 1531, Erasmus could claim legitimate hope for even further discoveries:

> Utinam faxit Deus Opt. Max. ut hic auctor totus & integer nobis restituatur. Eius rei spem nonnullam praebent rumores per ora quorundam uolitantes: dum hic apud Danos, ille apud Polonos, alius apud Germanos, haberi Liviana quaedam nondum aedita iactitat. Certe posteaquam hasce reliquias praeter omnium spem obiecit fortuna, non video quur desperemus & plura posse contingere.[27]

To go from the 142 books of the complete Livy to listing works like Adamantius (or Martyrius) on the difference between B and V is a considerable diminishment of expectations. True, Tettius did list the

[26] Paris, BNF, Ms Dupuy 651, f. 238r.

[27] Ep. Carolo Montoio in Basel 1531.

perennial unicorn of Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae*, but given the occasionally misleading manuscript headings of copies of Justin's *Epitome*, he may well have heard of what he in good faith thought was a copy. A similar situation obtains with Apronianus. No such commentary survives, although Pomponio Leto does indeed quote such a commentator. The name belongs to Fl. Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, v. c. et inl., cos. 494, who left a subscription in one of most famous ancient manuscripts of Vergil, the *Mediceus* (BML MS 39.1).[28] The Pliny the Elder entry could refer to the twenty books on the German wars mentioned by Pliny the Younger (*ep.* 3.5.4), as it has been interpreted, but Tettius notably does not say that. It could just as well refer to a particular twenty-book copy of the *Historia naturalis*.[29] If it does refer to the German wars, the notice could have been copied from Gessner, who claims that a manuscript of that text was at Augsburg (*Augustae Vindeliciorum*). Plautus, of course, wrote no such comedy *Philodoxium*. Leon Battista Alberti, however, as a very young man put into circulation a Plautine comedy under the name of one Lepidus entitled *Philodoxius*. The claim for Varro's *De arithmetica* is not so outlandish as it seems today: in 1517 Andrea Alciato at Milan claimed to have seen a manuscript of the *gromatici* with the title *M. Varro de arithmetica* and Marcus Vertranius Maurus in his *Libellus de vita M. Varronis* published in the Lyon 1563 edition of Varro's *De lingua latina* claimed to have seen a copy of the text at Rome from the library of Cardinal Ridolfi and then owned by Lorenzo Cardinal Strozzi.[30]

The final surprising Latin entry — that is to say an entry describing a text that we do not think survives — is Velleius Paterculus. Diller was surely correct to associate this entry with a line from 'Gessner': *Vellei Paterculi fragmentum de bello Augusti Caesaris contra Suevos in Noricis et Vindelicia, extat Viennae Austriae apud Vuolffgangum Lazium*. Unfortunately, this is not from Gessner's 1545 *Bibliotheca* but rather from the 1551 update of Gessner by Conrad Lycosthenes, the *Elenchus scriptorum omnium*. This is an important distinction, because in 1551 Wolfgang Lazius published one *Excerptum e Gallica historia*, claiming to have found this *historiam in pervetusto codice membrana literis antiquissimis scriptam dictione plane Caesariana sub titulo Velleji excerpta ex Gallica historia*.[31] Virtually no one has agreed with

[28] Pomponius' quotations are worth further examination.

[29] This was already suggested by Antonio Giuseppe della Torre di Rezzonico in his *Disquisitiones Plinianae* (Parma 1763), 153.

[30] Ritschl, *Kleine philologische Schriften* (Leipzig 1877), III, 433. Cf. R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci* (Florence 1905), 25–6.

[31] *Commentariorum reipub. Romanae libri duodecim* (Basel 1551) lib. I . cap . 8 , p . 85

this assessment of the style of the anecdoton, and despite quite a few manuscripts having been discovered, not one of them attributes it to Velleius.[32] We can hardly blame Tettius for this slip: Lycosthenes' entry has misled people well into the twenty-first century.[33]

While the Greek list may still harbour some items of interest[34], the interest of the Latin list is more in its reception history than its contents. Copies of the list trickled out through learned circles across Europe. I know of nine manuscript copies:

Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes MS 1218, ff. 295–8. See the description in A. Bresson, ed. *Lettres à Claude Saumaise et à son entourage: 1620–1637* (Florence 1992), 425.

Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine MS 1769, 295r–302r. Written by Peiresc.

Lanvellec, Bibliothèque de M. le Marquis de Rosanbo, MS 228 (described by D. Muratore, *La biblioteca del Cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi* (Alessandria 2009), I.227–9). Annotated by Pithou.

Leiden, MS Scal. 58b. Owned and annotated by J. J. Scaliger.

Oxford, Bodleian MS Add. A. 176, ff. 216r–222r. Written by Philippe Labbe.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Dupuy 651. Written by Claude Dupuy.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 17917, pp. 400–8. Written by Peiresc.

Vatican City, Vat. lat. 3958, ff. 155r–162v.

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, H.11958, fourth codicological unit of this miscellaneous manuscript.

[32] The use of rhythmical *cursus* rules out Velleius as an author. Even so, one feature the *Excerptum* shares with Velleius is imitation of Sallust. See J. A. Stover and G. Woudhuysen, "*Historiarum libri quinque*: Hegesippus and the *Histories* of Sallust," *Histos* 16 (2022), 1–27 at 2.

[33] Most recently John A. Lobur, "*Festinatio* (Haste), *Brevitas* (Concision), and the Generation of Imperial Ideology in Velleius Paterculus," *TAPA* 137 (2007), 211–30 at 218, citing M. Elefante, *Velleius Paterculus ad M. Vinicium Consulem Libri Duo* (Hildesheim 2007), 2 n. 11 and 27 n. 17.

[34] See Diller, "Scipio Tettius' *Index*," *passim*.

Besides these nine manuscripts, there may be another currently unlocated in Milan which belonged to Pinelli.[35] Given the brevity of the *Index* — it is just the sort of text to slip the attention of a weary cataloguer — it probably survives in quite a few more.

Pithou, Dupuy, Labbe, and Scaliger used their copies as scoresheets, so to speak, to keep track of the progress of scholarship, marking texts as they appeared in print. Tettius' Latin *Index* does indeed serve as a fairly reliable predictor of the course of scholarship over the next half century. Some of the gromatici were published in Paris in 1554, and more in Leiden in 1607. The first book of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* was published in Antwerp in 1566. Fulgentius, Philargyrius, and Velius Longus were all published together at Heidelberg in 1589. Some excerpts of Gaudentius' sermons were published at Basel in 1569. Hyginus' *Liber* was printed in 1607 at Leiden with Vegetius. Ildephonsus of Toledo was published at Paris in 1576. Severianus was published in 1556 in Basel. Finally, the 'Plautus' was published by Manutius the Younger at Lucca in 1588 as the work of Lepidus, *comicus vetus*. In the Paris manuscript, Dupuy has marked Adamantius, Frontinus, Fulgentius, Isidore, Severianus, Plautus, Philargyrius, Optatian, Simplicius, and Velius Longus with *imp*. (for *impressum*). Similar annotations can be found in the manuscripts of Labbe and Pithou. Peiresc was also a particular enthusiast for Tettius. He commends the *Index* in a letter to Girolamo Aleandro written in April 1617, and it is from this letter that we can date the *Index* to 1553.[36] Three of the extant copies are associated with Peiresc: one of the Paris copies, the one in Carpentras, and the one in Aix.

This approach to Tettius' index treats it as a list of items to be marked off; another way to approach it would be to treat it as a minimum to which other texts could be added. After all, it is a curious collection, and certainly there were other texts that could be added. The great Jesuit scholar Jacques Sirmond (1559–1651) composed an updated version of Tettius in 1593, extant in London, BL MS Add. 22039.[37] Some of these consisted of more accurate versions of existing entries: he added, for example, *M. Iunii Nypsi de mensuris agrorum liber* where Tettius'

[35] A. Nuovo, "Ritratto di collezionista da giovane: Peiresc a casa Pinelli," in M. Fumaroli (ed.), *Peiresc et l'Italie. Actes du colloque international* (Paris 2009), 1–17 at 5–6.

[36] The Rosanbo manuscript dates the text to 1554.

[37] First identified by P. Petitmengin "Deux 'Bibliothèques' de la Contre-Réforme: le *Panoplie* du Père Torres et la *Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum*," in Dionisotti, Kraye, and Grafton, eds. *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays* (London 1988), 127–53 at 127. The manuscript is available online: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_22039_f039v, last accessed 16.10.21.

original had had *Simplicii vel Nypsi vel Ageni de mensuris liber i*, or *Vitruvii Rufi ex Epaphrodito architectonica* alongside *Epaphroditi et Vitruvii Rufi architectonica. liber i*. In both these cases, Sirmond kept the original in addition to his revision. He also revised the text of individual entries, such as *Gaudentii Brixiani Sermones* or *Trogi Pompei historiarum lib. xliii*. At the end, he added *Eugraphius comment. in Terentium* and *Vetus calendarius*. Intelligent additions — extracts of Eugraphius had been published in Faernus' 1565 edition of Terence, but an independent edition of the commentary would not be printed until Wessner's Teubner of 1908.[38] The *Vetus calendarius* is probably the calendar of the *Chronography of 354*; in 1620 Peiresc appropriated the most important manuscript of this text and it disappeared after his death.[39]

An even more extensive expansion can be found in BAV, Pal. lat. 1952, ff. 1r–6r (s. xvii). This catalogue organizes the much expanded roster of Latin authors (ca. 85, with a few duplicates) by genre under separate headings, i.e. *Grammatici Latini*, *Rhetorica*, *Panegyrici*, *Poetae*, and a catch-all labelled *Ambigui Tituli*.[40] That some of these entries are based on Tettius is clear from the wording, for example, *Publilii Optatiani Porphyrii Panegyricus Constantino dicatus carmine et prosa* and *Hygeni gromaci liber* (f. 1v). At the same time, it excludes ecclesiastical writers entirely (except where they wrote works of secular interest), removing Isidore, Ildefonsus, and Gaudentius from Tettius' list. A number of the entries are underlined and marked in the margin with a forward slash (/).[41]

Grammatici Latini
/ Apuleius Minutianus
/ Adamantius sive Martyrius
/ Cornelius Fronto
/ Consultus Fortunatianus
/ Fulgentius Placiades
/ Luctatius Placidus
/ Martyrius sive Adamantius

[38] See G. Pezzini, "Eugraphius," in J. A. Stover, ed. *The Oxford Guide to the Transmission of the Latin Classics* (forthcoming).

[39] On this manuscript, see M. Schapiro, "The Carolingian Copy of the Calendar of 354," *The Art Bulletin* 22 (19,40), 270–2. The copy Peiresc commissioned is BAV Barb. lat. 2154.

[40] I only discuss the Latin list here, but the same principles seem to hold true with the much more extensive Greek list that follows.

[41] One entry, Donatianus, is underlined but not marked.

/ Velius Longus
Rhetorica
/ Julij Severianj
Panegyrici
/ Publii optatiani Porphyrii panegyricus Constantino dicatus carmine et prosa
Poetae
/ Petronius arbiter
Ambigui tituli
/ Balbi vel Frontinj de Colonijs
/ Hygeni gromacj liber
/ Junius Nypsus
/ Petronius arbiter
/ Epaphroditi architectonica
/ Vitruvij Rufi architectonica
/ Balbus de ponderibus

All of the entries marked in this way, with the exception of the two appearances of Petronius, are conceivably derived from Tettius. This suggests that the list in Pal. lat. 1952 has a double relationship to Tettius: the *Index librorum* was one of its sources, and was then subsequently cross-referenced against the finished list.

Another way to examine the reception of Tettius' *Index* is to examine its imitations. Immediately following his version of Tettius in the London manuscript, Sirmond provides an index to the unedited patristic texts in the *Hoplotheca* of Turresianus, which has been studied by Petitmengin.[42] Almost a century later, Paris sup. gr. 1025 (olim Coislin 352[2]), from before 1671, transmits a *Πίναξ συλλέκτων τινῶν μήπω τετυπωμένων*, or *Index quorundam librorum nondum editorum*, a Tettius-style catalogue of unedited works in the library of the Escorial. Of the same library there is also the 1647 *Catalogus praecipuorum auctorum ineditorum* by Alexander Barvoetius, which he extracted from the full catalogue of David Colville, 1601 graduate of St Andrews, and assistant librarian from 1617 to 1625 at the Escorial, and which was printed in the 1648 Antwerp edition of Cyril's homilies.[43] Barvoetius is probably one of the sources of the list of unedited works from the Escorial Labbe saw in the hand of Nicolas Rigault (d. 1654), selections of which he printed in the *Nova bibliotheca* (385–6). In 1713, Muratori claimed to have in his possession

[42] Petitmengin, "Deux 'Bibliothèques'."

[43] Colville's catalogue is extant in Madrid, El Escorial, k.i.20 and Milan Ambros. Q 114. Sup. Barvoetius' catalogue may be found conveniently in E. Miller, *Catalogue des Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris 1848), 511–28.

a manuscript of a *Catalogus librorum nondum editorum* annotated by Lucas Holstenius (d. 1666).[44] The entry he quotes is very similar to one of Rigault's:

> Menegaldus, vel Menengaldus Latinus Historicus: Historia Ecclesiastica. Qui plurima e Trogo Pompejo & Justino quoad profana transcripsisse videtur ...
> Cf. Rigault, apud Labb. Menegaldi vel Menengardi Historia Ecclesiastica.

Whoever composed this catalogue tried to combine Tettius' humility with grander dreams. The text referred to seems to be a universal history composed by one Manegold, probably Manegold of Lautenbach, one of the foremost scholars of the eleventh century.[45] This notice is sufficiently realistic to consider the text one of the many medieval historical works which remained unedited, but bold enough to dream that it may yet offer access to the long-desired text of Trogus. Holstenius himself would have none of it, noting:

> Io credo che sia un Manigoldo. Auctor nullius iudicii, nec pretii, quorum centuriae reperiuntur passim in Bibliothecis Monasteriorum, qualis Petrus Comestor, Vincentius Belluacensis, aliique farinae consarcinatores, qui quum nullum suis Historiis initium reperire possent, ab exordio Mundi repetebant.[46]

Undoubtedly there are many such catalogues of unedited works yet to be found and identified. None of those discussed here, however, can be shown to predate that of Tettius. Sirmond's catalogue, at least, seemed to be directly inspired by Tettius' *Index*, and it seems likely that the others owe their inspiration to the same source.

Somewhat ironically, the *Index librorum nondum editorum* remained itself *ineditus* for a full century. Eventually, the Jesuit Philippe Labbe arrested the spread of manuscript copies by printing the *Index* in his 1653 manuscript catalogue, the *Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum* (166–74), using the Dupuy manuscript. Labbe recognized that

[44] Muratori, *Anecdota quae ex Ambrosianae Bibliothecae* ... IV, 163. Muratori elsewhere mentions another such catalogue for Vienna (*Rerum italicarum scriptores* VII.524).

[45] On Manegold, see I. Caiazzo, "Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*," in I. Rosier-Catach (ed.), *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XIe–XIIe siècles Textes, Maîtres, Débats* (Turnhout 2011) 317–45.

[46] Apud Muratori, *Anecdota* IV, 163.

printing the text a century later rendered it a touch anachronistic, qualifying it as containing works *nondum editi tempore saltem eiusdem Tettii*. Indeed, as we have seen, more than half of the works listed had already been published. He is also in the dark as to when the text was written, introducing it as a work written eighty years prior, or in 1573. As we have seen, Tettius was likely dead by that date. While his book was in press, Labbe came across a different manuscript version of the *Index*. Seeing this copy had further entries, Labbe printed the additional entries in the addenda (384–5):

> M. Iunij Hypsi de mensuris agrorum liber
> Ildefonsus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis & Isidorus
> Porphyrii Paneg. Constantino Caesari dictus carmine
> Vitruviij Rufi ex Epaphrodito Architectonica
> Eugraphij Commentarius in Terentium cum Veteri Calendario

This is quite clearly Sirmond's version, even if Labbe does not recognize it as the work of his fellow Jesuit, and some of the misunderstandings seem to result from the peculiarities of the London manuscript. The N in Nypsi looks quite a bit like an H, and the layout of the two additional entries, Eugraphius and the Calendar, side by side could easily lead one into thinking they should be combined. Hence, Labbe must have had access to either the London manuscript or an almost identical copy of it.

***

At the beginning I noted that Gelenius was the last scholar whose reputation rested primarily on the editing of texts previously unpublished for the next two hundred years. An astute reader might also note that I only dealt with the fate of seventeen of the twenty-two works in Tettius' *Index*. These two facts are interlinked. Latin literature would have a second age of discovery in the nineteenth century, and most of it due to the prodigious output of a single scholar, Angelo Cardinal Mai (1782–1854). In 1822, he fulfilled the dream of the ages preceding him, and presented the scholarly world with the bulk of Cicero's *De republica*, extracted from a palimpsest in the Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 5757). Fragments of Cicero's speeches had preceded this discovery in 1814. In 1815, he brought back to life an author many had thought gone forever, Fronto, the friend and tutor of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Mai found scores of letters as the undertext in a Milan manuscript. Significantly, however, he also included a little work not from a palimpsest, an alphabetical guide to usage using Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, and Terence,

called the *Exempla elocutionis*. This is the *Cornelii Frontonis exempla elocutionum, per alfab*. of Tettius's catalogue, miraculously having escaped being printed entire the previous quarter millennium despite being extant in some thirteen manuscripts.[47] Unlike the letters, the *Exempla* are not actually by Fronto, but instead by a rhetor named Arusianus Messius, and dedicated to the consuls of the year 395, Olybrius and Probinus. After the edition of the *Exempla*, Mai provides a parergon: two excerpts from works he found in the same manuscript as the *Exempla* (Ambr. D 498 inf., which had belonged to Pinelli). The first is *Adamantii sive Martyrii De b. muta et v. vocali* of which he prints the prologue (pp. 548–9); the second is *Glossae Placidi Grammatici* of which he prints the first three entries and the last (p. 550). Both of these are on Tettius' list, and the manuscript in which Tettius saw the latter has recently been identified.[48] Martyrius (as the grammarian was actually named) was not printed entire until Keil's edition of 1878.[49] Mai himself would later go on to provide the editio princeps of Placidus' *glossarium* in 1831.[50] In 1823, in his *Iuris civilis Anteiustinianei reliquiae ineditae*, Mai published from a manuscript once belonging to Achilles Statius (p. LXXII) one *L. Caecilii Minutiani Apuleii Grammatici De orthographia trium librorum fragmenta* (127–40). This is yet another text in Tettius' *Index*: *Apuleii Minuciani de Orthographia lib. ij. v. a. st.* The *a. st.* stands for *Achilles Statius*, and so Tettius knew of the same manuscript that Mai would use centuries later (now Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana R 26). The *v* seems to stand for *Vaticana*, which would imply that Tettius knew of another manuscript not yet identified. Debate has followed this text since Mai published it. Opinion as to its antiquity and authenticity has gone back and forth over the decades. Current consensus seems to regard it as a Renaissance forgery, by Caelius Rhodiginus (Ludovico Ricchieri, d. 1525), the first scholar to cite it.[51] That leaves a single text in Tettius' *Index* unaccounted for: *Epaphroditi et Vitruvii Rufi architectonica*. This text is transmitted partially with other gromatic texts in the Codex Arcerius, but it was not

[47] See J. A. Stover, "Arusianus Messius," in *The Oxford Guide to the Transmission of the Latin Classics* (forthcoming).

[48] See Welsh and Hill, "A Neglected Manuscript."

[49] See T. Mari, "Martyrius," in the *Oxford Guide to the Transmission of the Latin Classics* (forthcoming).

[50] *Class. auct.* vol. III.

[51] See the most recent edition and discussion by M. Cipriani, *Il* De orthographia *di L. Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius. Introduzione, edizione, traduzione e commento* (PhD. Diss. Rome, 2009).

in fact printed until Cantor's edition of 1875,[52] and then more completely from Clm 13084 by Moret in 1896.[53]

It is not the case that Scipio Tettius set the agenda for the following three hundred and fifty years of Latin scholarship. Nonetheless, his *Index* offers us a bridge between the two ages of discovery, the Renaissance and the nineteenth century, which would bring new texts not only from palimpsests or neglected codices, but from papyri as well. In 1752, workers digging in Ercolano near Pompeii found, quite by accident, an ancient villa preserved from the ashes of Vesuvius' eruption in AD 79. On the floors and tables and shelves of it were ancient books, charred rolls. Eventually some 1806 rolls would be excavated from what came to be known as the *Villa dei Papiri*. Expectations ran wild once again regarding the total recovery of ancient literature. To tell the sequel is to go beyond the matter at hand, but let it suffice to note that what has actually been deciphered has been very different than what anyone expected. At the end of the nineteenth century, Egypt would begin to yield its papyrus fragments, restoring some of the lamented losses of Greek literature, such as Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* and the plays of Menander. Few Latin fragments have been discovered. Even so, the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have seen a steady stream on newly discovered texts from manuscripts, albeit often without much of an impact on the scholarly world.[54]

No longer does discovery — or hope for discovery — play a central role in Latin scholarship. That is the legacy of the seventeenth century classical scholars we have discussed here. Following Tettius, and others, they began the project of seeing the transmitted heritage of antiquity as a whole — cataloguing the great collections of manuscripts, identifying the most ancient and correct codices, picking out little bits of flotsam, snatches of verse and prose, which eluded previous readers. What they

[52] M. Cantor, *Die römischen Agrimensoren und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Feldmesskunst* (Leipzig 1875).

[53] V. Moret, *Un nouveau texte des traités d'arpentage et de géométrie d'Epaphroditus et de Vitruvius Rufus: publié d'aprés le Ms. latin 13084 de la Bibliothèque royale de Munich* (Paris 1896).

[54] See F. Dolbeau, "Découvertes récentes d'oeuvres latines littéraires inconnues," *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998/9), 101–42.

changed through these efforts was the way in which the scholarly world imagined the inheritance of antiquity, a finite inheritance, only partially recoverable, a globe whose continents at least were mapped.

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LILY ROSS TAYLOR ON "THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COINAGE TO THE STUDY OF CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP AND DEIFICATION"[1]

— JANE M. CODY —

ABSTRACT

At the heart of this essay is the transcription of a collection of Lily Ross Taylor's unpublished notes. These were first presented at a colloquium held at Bryn Mawr College in November 2019 as a memorial to the fiftieth anniversary of her death. As presented here, they provide her view of the coins as evidence for Caesar's aims between 49 and 44 BCE and for his later deification. They also clearly articulate her methodology for using numismatic sources in historical research. A short introduction attempts to put these notes in their scholarly context and points toward Miss Taylor's planned work, much of it uncompleted at the time of her death.

KEYWORDS

Lily Ross Taylor, Julius Caesar, Roman Republican coins, deification of the Roman emperor

"The pencil of Miss Taylor is always one to be watched."[2]

Introduction

Lily Ross Taylor's interest in combining the evidence of Roman coins with the historian's other tools for reconstructing Roman Republican history and politics goes back at least as far as her first book, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931).[3] Here copious illustrations of Roman coins dot the pages. In the years that followed, and especially after the 1946 publication of Michael Grant's *From Imperium*

[1] This is the title that Lily Ross Taylor gives to her lectures on this subject in her archive housed in the Special Collections Department of the Canaday Library at Bryn Mawr College. I have added a few scattered working notes of my own toward a future monograph on this subject, but in general have tried to leave her thoughts in their original context.

[2] Potter (2001) 320.

[3] Even earlier in Taylor (1918). Many thanks to Corey Brennan for pointing this out to me. Her consideration of the priestly types of the Caecilii Metelli (1944) is also apparently prior to her notes below.

to Auctoritas, she grew to understand fully that the scholar trained in Roman history often does not understand the complex and very different methodologies of the numismatist and vice versa. One page (Folder 5, p. 10) of her notes that I paraphrase below clearly expresses this:

> A warning against both historians and numismatists on the failure to pool knowledge:
>
> 1. The ignorance of historians — They don't know the full range of types, mints, weights, hoards, etc. and thus often disregard the numismatic evidence. Sometimes when they don't disregard this evidence, they make crass mistakes, e.g., as she says she herself did on p. 71 of *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*!
>
> 2. The ignorance of numismatists — They often are ignorant of historical sources, and thus equally make crass mistakes, e.g. in the notes of Babelon (1885) and Grueber (1910). In addition, in numismatic publications the text and plates are separated and not well labelled, making it hard to relate the two effectively, e.g., Grant (1946) and Cesano (1947–1949).

As a result she, as an historian, consciously cultivated the expertise of numismatists, most especially by reacting to the publication of important numismatic works such as that of Grant, but also by working with numismatists like Aline Boyce, the Curator of Roman and Byzantine Coins at the American Numismatic Society. It is in this spirit that in 1952 she participated as a lecturer in the first Summer Seminar for graduate students at The American Numismatic Society, and it is in this context — and perhaps even for this occasion — that we have her lecture notes on the topic of this presentation now archived in the Canaday Library at Bryn Mawr College.

In *From Imperium to Auctoritas* Grant made a Herculean effort to combine the study of more than 1,000 unpublished issues of the Roman *aes* coinage with an historian's theory of *imperium maius*. However, he was largely unsuccessful, as the reviews by Harold Mattingly (1946), C.H.V. Sutherland (1947), and R.O. Fink (1949) demonstrate. All three agree with Taylor's assessment above as to the difficulty of successfully combining the numismatist's with the historian's skills. That is not to say, however, that Grant's numismatic work did not release fifty years of interest in the *aes* coinage that has led at last to a true comprehensive

catalogue of this material with the publication of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (1966–current).[4]

Not only did Grant's numismatic work fail to provide a much-needed replacement for the more than forty year old encyclopedic catalogue of Grueber, but two important general studies of the Republican coinage by Sydenham and Pink, both published in 1952 and thus contemporary with the notes of Lily Ross Taylor, also failed to erase this deficit.[5]

As Sydenham's Preface to *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* states,[6] his work was never meant to replace the work of Grueber, but rather was intended simply to provide a reorganization and chronological reordering of this coinage based on the advances of numismatists since Grueber. After Sydenham's death in 1948 five additional hands (G.C. Haines, C.A. Hersh, L. Forrer, C.H.V. Sutherland, and H. Mattingly) continued to work on his material, modifying and adding to what he left behind, and this work resulted in the final compendium published some three years later. Sydenham's division of the coinage into nine chronological sections is perhaps most notable for its combination of the various mints of this coinage into the chronology and, even more, for its incorporation of the hoard evidence into the consideration of this sequencing, but it adds little to our understanding of the meaning of the coin types themselves.

Perhaps because Sydenham himself was not an academic and because this work was both published and republished by coin dealers,[7] his *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* did not receive much attention in American academic publications. In Britain a serious review of this publication by Michael Grant appeared rather unusually in *The English Historical Review*,[8] and of American numismatists only Aline Boyce produced an academic assessment of this work, though even that in a British journal.[9] Lily Ross Taylor's relationship with Aline Boyce makes the fact that she does not mention this work anywhere in her notes seem even more unusual, but it may be that the factors mentioned above simply led her not to take this work under consideration.

[4] The same feature is apparent in the more recent work of Woytek (2003).

[5] Pink's work, although nominally a catalogue, falls short in that it does not address the types or mints in any detail. Instead he concentrates on establishing a series of *triumviri monetales* and on identifying them where possible with persons known from other sources. See Aline Boyce's review of Sydenham's *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952).

[6] P. vii.

[7] Spink and Son (1952), reissued by Sanford Durst (1976).

[8] *EHR* 68 (1953) 422–444.

[9] *JRS* 43 (1953) 193–196.

Whereas Sydenham's primary interest lay in the chronology of the *aes grave* and earliest issues of the denarius, Pink's was more attentive in the later denarius coinage where there was a far greater probability of identifying the moneyers with men known from other historical sources and, thus, of these moneyers being grouped together in annual colleges of three. In adopting this approach, however, Pink did not consider the mints or hoards as Sydenham had done and also, like him, had little to say about the types of the coins themselves.[10]

Pink did much of the work on his *The Triumviri Monetales and the Structure of the Roman Republican Coinage* as a curator in Vienna, though the work finally reached publication in New York. In her notes Lily Ross Taylor reacts to it in much the same way as she did to Grant's numismatic work, i.e., as an historian attempting to assess the contribution of the numismatist's work to that of the historian.

One illustrative (and instructive) example of her methodology is the redating and reclassification of Pink's *triumviri* of 48 BCE to an exceptional appointment in 49. She bases this reassignment of the very extensive coinage of C. Vibius C.f. Pansa and Albinus Bruti f. not only on the fact that from the historical sources we know that both men were too old to actually hold the very junior office of *triumvir monetalis* in 48 as it is known from historical sources that Pansa had already held the tribunate in 51 and that Albinus not only had been *quaestor* before 49 (he was over 30), but that he was not even in Rome in 48. She therefore removes this inextricably connected group of coins from Pink's list of *triumviri* for 48 and puts them as a special issue in the year 49. That this is a special issue is undoubtedly the case, but that these coins date to 49 rather than 48 has not met with the agreement of later numismatists (*RRC* 449/1–5, 450/1–3, and 451/1).

As an historian Lily Ross Taylor began her career as a student of Italic cults and from this grew her first book, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931). This work centered on ruler cults of both Italy and the Hellenistic East and their relationships to the conceptions underlying the transition from the Roman Republic to the principate of Augustus.[11] As time went on, she developed what she came to realize was the remarkable connection between Roman religion and Roman politics in the late Republic and began to focus on Cicero and, especially, on Caesar in *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949), a work that is contemporary with, or slightly antedates, the notes in her archive. Although here she notes more than once that Caesar's use of his *cognomen* alone is "almost prophetic,"

[10] See the comments of Aline Boyce (1953) 194.

[11] For her early career see Linderski (1999) and Potter (2001).

an echo of Mommsen's view of Caesar as "an almost messianic figure,"[12] she began in these notes to look much more closely at the typology of the coins to see what the intentions of Caesar and his adherents actually were. Her notes on the numismatic material of 49–42 BCE have exactly this as their ultimate aim. In other words, here Lily Ross Taylor follows her own admonition, and her arguments are far more convincing.

One important illustration of this approach is her consideration of the titles of Caesar that appear on his coins and those of his adherents between 49 and 42 as summarized below.

Caesar

As Miss Taylor notes, the name Caesar has become so familiar to us that it may seem a prophetic look into the future titles of Roman emperors, Tsars, and Kaisers.[13] But, of course, Caesar could have known none of that. With this in mind, what then does Caesar's own use and the use by his adherents of his *cognomen* alone tell us? To answer this question, Taylor presents us with a thorough set of notes on Caesar's and his adherents' coins on which the *cognomen* CAESAR appears alone or in conjunction with other titles.[14]

She notes that on his first issue of 49 BCE (*RRC* 443/1) he, Gaius Julius Caesar, is identified merely with his *cognomen* CAESAR. Although this might be attributed to the fact that at the time the coin was issued Caesar held no office, she also observes that this simple usage appears again on several later issues and, thus, remains a preferred title when others were certainly available for his use: on the reverse of the denarii issued in 48 (*RRC* 452/1–5) that celebrate Caesar's prior military accomplishments at the Battle of Mytilene and in Gaul as well as his position of *pontifex maximus*; again in 47–46 on coins minted in Africa (*RRC* 458/1), and yet again on coins issued in Spain in 46–45 (*RRC* 468/1–2) with Venus Genetrix on the obverse and a reverse that is a variation of his by then familiar military trophy type.[15]

[12] Ehrenberg (1974) 128.

[13] Nearly quoting the thoughts of E. Meyer (1919)

[14] Her (unpublished) views are exactly those expressed by Syme (1958).

[15] In this section I reference the numbers of Crawford (1974) with *RRC* and its number there for the convenience of the contemporary reader. *RRC* 482/1 also has the legend CAESAR IMP that alternates with C.CAESAR. She gives the coin a tentative date of 49, but this rather mysterious and very small issue should probably be dated considerably later (?44). As a result, I have not included it here.

In other words, it is important that Gaius Julius Caesar used his *cognomen* alone to identify himself throughout the 40s BCE, especially when the coins were not issued jointly with another magistrate and when the coins were issued outside of Rome and/or in a military context.[16]

Imperator

The historian's sources state unequivocally that Caesar used the title *imperator* as a *praenomen* (Dio 43.44.2) and also had the privilege of handing down this title to his descendants (Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 76.1). However, in his 1946 *From Imperium to Auctoritas* Michael Grant mustered evidence to argue that it was the position as the individual with *imperium* rather than the *praenomen* that was used and was all-important to Caesar as a late Republican "marshall" or "warlord."[17]

Miss Taylor takes up the evidence of the coins in detail. IMP appears for the only time on Caesar's own coinage in 47 on coins issued in Sicily jointly with A. Allienus, as proconsul there (*RRC* 457/1). Its only possible reappearance during Caesar's lifetime, though probably not, is on the much disputed issues of the *IIIIviri monetales* of 44 (*RRC* 480/3,4,5,17 and 18).

The resultant conclusion is that the single occurrence of the title itself does not confirm Grant's theory that Caesar's self-presentation centered on his position as "marshall" or "warlord," at least when it comes to this series of coins.

Pontifex and Augur

To quote Taylor's notes, "Caesar loved these symbols." In fact, the pontifical and/or augural symbols appear on coins issued in every year from 49 until his death. Although the identification of these symbols with a given priesthood may remain a subject of discussion, the fact that they are religious symbols is not in doubt.

The obverse type of his very first issue of 49 (*RRC* 443/1) gives notice of his position as *pontifex maximus* with a group of symbols visualizing the fact that the very safety of Rome lies, through authority over the preservation of the sacred fire, in this priesthood's power.

[16] This is confirmed by Caesar's statement, recorded by Dio 44.10.1, Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 79.2, and Appian *BC* 2.450 that he was not *rex*, but Caesar. It seems to me that is the case in however many ways one wants to construe the comment: see Gelzer (1968) 319 n. 4.

[17] Grant (1946) 408–453.

The theme continues on the issue celebrating Caesar's completion of his fifty-second year (*RRC* 452/3 of 48–47). Here on the obverse is a veiled head of Vesta facing right and, behind the head of the goddess over whose cult the *pontifex maximus* presided, the dipper (*culullus*) reappears.

Taylor does note that Caesar needed to become an augur (Folder 3 below). Indeed, he did in order for his own power to secure legitimacy for the offices he had held — and hopefully would continue to hold.[18] On the next priestly issue (*RRC* 456/1, of 47 BCE),[19] the symbols of axe and *culullus* reappear and are combined with the reverse augural symbols of jug and *lituus*.[20]

On *aurei* issued as COS.TER (consul for the third time) with Hirtius as PR(aetor) in 46 (*RRC* 466/1) the head of Vesta reappears on the obverse and a mix of priestly symbols on the reverse. In the same year from an unknown mint in Africa (*RRC* 467/1), Caesar issued coins with yet another mix of priestly symbols[21] and the legend AVGVR PONT MAX.[22]

In 45 the theme again appears on *aurei* issued as C. CAESAR DICT. TER with L. Plancius as PRAEF.VRB. Here the jug appears alone and carries us into the issues of early 44 where it reappears scattered through the issues of the *IIIIviri monetales*, in most cases behind or before the portrait of Caesar (*RRC* 480/2,3,6, 19 and 20).

In short, as Miss Taylor rightly saw, these titles are the most persuasive and important of the various ways in which the political power of Caesar is represented on his coins and the coins of his adherents. Indeed, as Taylor says, Caesar "loved these symbols" and they clearly prove her point of the political importance of the Roman priesthoods to Caesar, especially in this period when he was attempting to consolidate and define his power.

[18] See Caesar, *BC* 2.21.5 and Cicero *Att*. 9.9.3 and 9.15.2.

[19] Between these two issues, I would include *RRC* 452/3 (48 BCE) with an obverse of Vesta (or Rhea Silvia, the first Vestal) whose cult, which preserved the safety of Rome, was in the hands of the *pontifex maximus*. Behind the head there is another *culullus*.

[20] On the obverse the axe and *culullus* and on the reverse the *lituus* (wand for reading the omens) and *situla* (pitcher).

[21] *Culullus*, *aspergillum*, *situla* and *lituus*.

[22] She misses the *lituus* behind the head of Venus Genetrix on *denarii* issued in Spain in 46–45 (*RRC* 468/2).

Conclusion

Celia Schulz has pointed out to us how, in the language of scientists, Lily Ross Taylor's solutions to knotty multifaceted problems would be termed "elegant."[23] I would like to add that Taylor's method of solving knotty and complex problems of understanding the Roman Republican world in the language of contemporary scientists, also would be termed "convergent." I quote from the National Science Foundation's website: "Convergent research is a means of solving vexing research problems, especially complex problems focusing on societal needs. It entails integrating knowledge, methods, and expertise from different disciplines and forming novel frameworks to catalyze scientific discovery and innovation, focused on solving a specific, compelling problem."[24] If the accurate reconstruction of our history is a societal problem — and it certainly is — Lily Ross Taylor was not only the master of the elegant solution, but as her last book, *Roman Voting Assemblies* (1966) shows, she was the master of the convergent solution. We are very much diminished by the fact that her death in 1969 abruptly cut off the path to a new work funded by a 1960 grant from the Guggenheim Foundation, but never completed. Its subject was to be Roman Politics in the Late Republic.[25]

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[23] As quoted in Hallett (2021) n. 19.

[24] See the National Science Foundation website (2019).

[25] P. IX of the preface.

TRANSCRIPTION OF LILY ROSS TAYLOR'S NOTES

There are seven folders of notes in box VII of the LRT archive. Folder 1 consists of LRT's notes to herself on Michael Grant's *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946). The notes, which represent what LRT found interesting for her own work on Caesar, are on small pieces of paper as reflected in the format I have adopted below. The attribution to folders and page numbers is mine and reflects the way they are organized in the Bryn Mawr archive.

I have respected her divisions, and tried to replicate the size and shape of the note paper used for each section. In all cases I have indicated new paragraphs to represent underlining or indentations that divide her material and I have italized Latin words in the text, but not in quoted inscriptions. I also have noted the places I find indecipherable with question marks in square brackets that represent the apparent length of each. My comments or additions also in square brackets; hers are in round brackets. There are further introductory notes to folders 2–7. What remains is at times inconsistent, but authentic, although I have regularly italicized where she has not always done so and have at times included references to Crawford (1974) to assist the contemporary reader.

FOLDER 1

Folder 1, p.1

Caesar Grant p. 3
Roman *aes* had not recovered from
its suppression in the 80's
Few pieces struck – A. Hirtius signs
issue in Treveri. IX.25 Fiduciary
currencies not possible in Italy.

p. 4 Efforts to revive coinage under Caesar

Caesar's municipal policy
p. 311
Important
Romanization in provinces parallels
development in Rome

Title *imperator* Grant p. 38
One issue with Anthony imp.
cf. Caesar imp. on his way to imp. Caesar
Only one a*es* of Anthony that shows similar
tendency.

Folder 1, p. 2

Caesar – Grant p. 422.
Commands of 49–28 were diverse, in-
cluding dictatorships, proconsulates, triumvirates
and finally consulships.
all based on *imperium maius*
vision in all this is term *imperator*
in new sense. First an informal
description of *imperium maius*, & had
crept into official parlance of one of the
rival factions in 44. Soon is designation
of the war lords.

Caesar Grant p.11
Amisus
P. Sulpicius Rufus *pro*[*praetor*]
suggests that Sulpicius was governor of Pontus
& Bithynia. Colony led to Sinope
Dates his governorship in 45
Caesar provides *aes* coinage for Empire

Caesar Grant p.16
Numismatic portrait of Julius
appeared in 47–46 under C. Vibius
Pansa Caetronianus in 47–46
See Curtius, *RM* 47 (1932)
p. 231.
Thus 45 is preferable to 44 for
postquam of denarii
I don't follow this.

Folder 1, p. 3

Caesar Grant p. 318
Portrait on coins. Rare in cities except
those he founded or freed.
e.g. Sinope, Apamea, Alexandria
Troas, Lampsacus, Parium, Achulla,
Hadrumentum.
Anthony at Philippi
Caesar in Julio-Antonian foundations
at Lampsacus & Troas
Agrippa, *parens patronus* at Gades.
Special honor for founder.

Grant p.13
Orichalcum-has zinc instead of tin
for alloy of [?word crossed out] copper
used for coins of Clovius, perhaps of Sulpicius,
also of Thessalonica (?)
Can't get the evidence on Thessalonica
p.19 thinks that this coinage [?word crossed out]
in orichalcum was Caesar's
pragmati[sm] & was profitable

Caesar – Thessalonica? Grant p.14

Reverse-	*fiscus*	Obv[verse]
Pl. II.3	*sella quaestoria*	portrait to r.
	hasta	which Grant
		takes to be Caesar
Pl. II.2 or		
Prow	Letter q	*Hasta*=*imperium*
		Therefore official is a *q.pr.pr*
		Don't follow

Exact copy has PRINCEPS.FELIX
Colonia Julia AL[E]=Alexandria Troas
over
[see next p.]

Folder 1, p. 4

[on back of note above]

He does not convince me that *Princeps Felix* is Caesar

Orichalcum Grant. pp. 87ff.

I find this highly uncertain. Tries
to prove that Caesar worked out an alloy
with zinc which was a "relic" of characteristically brilliant &
unethical financial policy" [pp.88–89]
Cicero's scornful remarks –
De Off. 3.23. Look up.

Grant on Spain p. 296
Coinage mainly entrusted to Roman
cit.[izen] communities & a vast peregrine
coinage stopped. p. 474 *Peregrini*
depressed in favor of Romans. Augustus
lavish only in Spain on foreign
colonization.

Folder 1, p. 5

Caesar – Grant – Corduba p. 4
Cn.Iuli L.f..Q.
Venus
Cupid – with *cornucopiae* & *caduceus*
Corduba or Corduba Bal
Corduba alone must precede colony
there, therefore 46–45
Corduba still peregrine with *vicus*
of Roman citizens
Thinks Bal=Balbus

Grant on monetary policy. p. 300
Bronze circulated along with
official orichalcum and copper.
Bronze seems to have been considered less
valuable than orichalcum and even
copper.
Augustus embraced Caesar's plan of
fiduciary currency.

Folder 2

[Folders 2–7 contain notes for an important paper probably delivered in 1952. The heart of the talk is on 22 numbered pages as noted below at the top right of each of LRT's pages.]

Folder 2. p. 1

[Page 1 of this folder is an outline of the paper that is fleshed out on pp. 2ff.]

[The outline:]

1.Recent Bibliography
2.Period and Scope of discussion
  Career of Caesar
3.Coins of the Roman mint
  Efforts to date them
4.Coins of non-Roman mint[s]
5.Bronzes and Grant's theories
6.Coins & their evidence for Caesar's position
  *Impe*r[*ato*r]
  Consul
  Dictator
  Religious offices
7.Caesarian propaganda
  Peace, concord. etc. in 49
  Caesar's family
8.Caesar's deification
 General evidence on coins of 45
 Coins of 44, particularly strong [the latter crossed out]
  Portraits
  Temple
   Star
   D*ivus Iulius*
   Divi filius
   chair
   symbols of new age.
9. General summary
   What coins contribute to Caesar

Folder 2, p. 2

RECENT BIBLIOGRAPHY 2)

Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* 1946
Roman Anniversary Issues
Cesano, Le monete di Cesare, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Acc. di Arch.* 23 (1947) 103–151
Good summary by Mrs. Boyce in *Numismatic Literature*
K. Pink, *The Triumviri monetales and the structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic*

Old article of Ganter [*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*] 19 (1895) 183ff. Of some importance for fixing Caesar's titles

Career of Caesar– follow it out on the sheet [see Folder 7 below]

Coins of Caesar [This and the repetitive section below it is crossed out]
Coins of Caesar - None before 49. Never was *triumvir* of mint. No coinage of Gaul.
None as curule aedile. Curious
Coins of Roman mint.
Important problems
Coinage with symbol <u>I</u>II
Take up Pink's dating of the *triumviri monetales*.

Coins of Caesar [a new start on this section]

Folder 2, p. 4 [voided page 3, the backside of a note; a pencil square with no information]

Coins of Caesar 3}

Curious that there are none before 49
He was not *IIIvir monetalis*
He did not issue special coins as curule
aedile. Curious – We should expect it –
Perhaps senate wouldn't let him
Events of his early career. Civic crown – on female
head on coins of 49
Coinage begins in year 49

Official Roman coins and at same
time issues in Gaul.
Large amounts of gold – issues for
his troops who received 2000 sestertii
each – Aurei significant for that.
Bearing on the date of Caesar's birth. LII [*RRC* 452/1–5]

	Mommsen's suggestion
Cesano	Opposing views
[I.5–7]	Carcopino, *Mel.Bidy* II 64ff., Cesano.
Fig.1 & 2	argue that date is 101.
p. 186	
Gr. 49.13	

My date is 100
Caesar born July 13
Should date coins after July 13th and before Oct. 49
when Caesar was 51 & in his 52nd year.

Folder 2, p. 5

Reasons for my redating of the coins 49–48 [e.g., changing Pink's dates] 4)

Triumviri monetales in Pink's list for
48–47
He puts C. Vibius Pansa and Brutus
Albini f. as *triumviri* in 48
Impossible. Both too old. That was
preliminary office.
Pansa was *trib.pl.* in 51 [??]
D. Brutus had been *quaestor* before 49,
was therefore over 30. However, he was
was not in Rome in 48

Their coinage is special – not stated
Why – no offices existed on Caesarian side.
Moreover their coinage has relations with Caesar
.

Gr. 49.17 Connections with Gaul. *carnyces*
[*RRC* 449/1–
451/5] Relation to propaganda of 49
2 joined hands, Pietas, Libertas
Have transferred coins of 48–47 in Pink –
Reason – Coins of the 3 [3 crossed out] men I have assigned
to 48 have relations to Caesarian coins of 49
Gallic spoils
Lady with oak crown, identical with coins of 52
Perhaps Gallic spoils on reverse

Have put in only one moneyer in 47.
No elections until October that year.
Not much time for coinage.

Folder 2, p. 6

5)

Accept Pink's dates for coins of 46 to
first half of 44, except that I have omitted
coinage of 2 praetors who coined [?55]
They are L. Cestius, C. Norbanus. Can find
no criteria. Pink puts in 45 [*RRC* 491/1–2 dated to 43]

44 *IIII monetales.*
Do not believe Pink's theory of 2
sets of moneyers that year. There was
no second set of elections.

The curious case of L. Flaminius Chilo
pri fl. Should put him in 43. [*RRC* 485/1 dated to 43]

Special reason for such a claim
in that year. Propaganda for Octavian. Plenty of
people against him.
Note that his portrait of Caesar differs
from that on moneyers of 44. To be
considered later.

Other moneyers. Accept Pink for 42.
Will come back to this later.
9 [? more or less] additional names to fill out 43, 41, 40

12 places in those years. One (Chilo) taken
for 43. [*RRC* 485/1–2]. We have nine names for 11 places.
Can't distribute them.

Folder 2, p. 7

NON-ROMAN MINTS ?6]

COINS OF GAUL, ETC.

C. CAESAR IMP.COS.TER Sicilian mint
Den[arius] Venus r. 47
r) A. ALLIENVS PRO COS
Hero Trinacrus
Gr. II 559
&20.44.
[*RRC* 457/1]

Head of Ceres r. DICT ITER coin of Africa 46 B.C.
COS.TERT

Emblems of pontificate & augurate
Simpulum, aspergillum, urceus,
lituus [AVGVR] [Gr.] II 576
[PONT.MAX] Gr .121.13
[*RRC* 467/1]
Coins of Gaul and Spain in year 49. All with
CAESAR, with one CAESAR IMP

Folder 2. p. 8

[A note from Folder 1 possibly misplaced]

[Grsnt] p.7 Bronze of C. Clovius praef
Caesar dict.ter until Dec. 45
Thinks Clovius is *praefectus* under Caesar's *imperium maius*
Was in Cisalpine Gaul [*RRC* 476/1]

[?] Hortensius had title *praef.colon.ded*[?u]
Analogy with Clovius is [???????]
p.33 but title doesn't seem same. I
question
Clovius is convincing – He was working
in Cisalpine Gaul as Caesar's *praefectu*s to
lead colonies.

Folder 2, p. 9

GRANT'S THEORIES ?7)

I take first his theory of Caesar's colonial
policy pp. 302–8, important –
Caesar's great problem was settlement of his
veterans and the surplus city population
to prevent violence; therefore to share treasury
No more public land in Italy. He con-
fiscated & bought what he could but he
had to send colonies overseas. Had done
much
Brutus – see speech after death of Caesar
promised to carry out Caesar's plans – &
did make further settlements.
Triumviri with large numbers of veterans to
reward had to carry out policy & went on
with it
But this great series of settlements –
Sicily, Sardinia, east, west provinces, Africa
was essentially design of Caesar. We have
His charter for Urso – and we have
numerous series of coins. Corinth long
known – but there were many others.

Not cosmopolitan – Did not accept empire –
Took Rome to empire. Roman citizens,
soldiers and civilians – Latin splendidly
attested by inscriptions on coins –
Caesar's grandiose design. Abandoned under Augustus
Series of officers who helped assign
land. Puts in there:
Cesano fig. 3 p. 111 C. Clovius *praefec* (*agr.dand*)
They represent significant new metal
Orichalcum – zinc and copper – cheap.

Folder 2. p. 10

COINS AND THEIR EVIDENCE FOR CAESAR'S POSITIONS 8)

[CAESAR]
Name Caesar alone on coins of 49
Elephant which plays on name
Very significant.
There was no other CAESAR
Prophetic – Kaiser, Czar
Name was enough in 49 when Caesar
had no legal position. Revolution.
Complete absence of Julius
Absence of Gaul
[C.????]
[Gr. II 390–391]
[Gr. 103.5]
[*RRC* 443/1]

IMPERATOR]

But perhaps in that year comes his
first use of *imperator*
Female head to r. with fillet
R) Trophy with arms
CAESAR.IMP
[The following crossed out with NO:]
Cesano I.8
Gr. 100.19
Gr.Spain 70 [references to Cesano and Gr. Crossed out and replaced with this]
[*RRC* 482/1, but dated to 44]

Continuance of title —
On Sicilian mint – coin of A. Allienus in 47
Title comes into its own in Roman mint in 44 on portraits of Caesar
of M. Mettius and L. Buca
[The following crossed out with NO in margin:] Cesano 3.3; Gr. 54.5; replaced with] 4137
Title had according to Dio been given to Caesar and his descendants
according to Suetonius-had been given as
as *praenomen*. No case of it as *praenomen*.
This is a new use. Develops from Pompey.
Had no real meaning before
Pink's theory of *imperium maius*.
Something in it, – but Caesar not
quite so theoretical as Pink makes him
out.
Wish coins could prove when Octavian
began to be called imp.Caesar. I think
in 40 B.C.

FOLDER 3

Folder 3. p. 1

CONSUL

8)

Found on a number of coins with
the enumeration. But in Roman mint
is more apt to be on aurei than on silver
e.g. coin of Hirtius in 46 [*RRC* 466/1] with
C.CAESAR.COS.TER
and aurei of 44 [*RRC* 481/1]

Gr 53.19	Bust of Venus, R
Gr. 54.1	CAES.DIC.QVAR
[?den.] Cesano	
I.6	R) COS. QVINC within laurel wreath

Consulship not on coins of *IIIIviri* of 44

Folder 3. p. 2

DICTATOR

?9)

Great emphasis on this title in issues of
triumviri & of non-Roman mints.
This was real basis of Caesar's power.
Imperium went with it as
well as with consulship
Coin[s] of Clovius &Plancus dict.ter.
Most significant on coins of *IIIIviri* in
in 44 with *dictator* IIII & *dictator perpetuus*
They will be considered later.
Dictator perpetuus also on revivals of
Caesar types in the next years – but only
on issues combined with Octavian.

Gr. 104.10
[*RRC* 490/2]

Anthony destroyed office of dictator.

CONSUL and DICTATOR

Caesar's issue of 44

[*RRC* 481/1]

Folder 3. p. 3

RELIGIOUS OFFICES

Statement on great priests [introcuction to prieshoods by LRT]

Pontifex maximus was only official title
Caesar had in 49. Note there is no
indication of it on coins of Roman mint
in 49.
But it is found in symbols of on Gallic series of
same year. Series with elephant
& symbols on other side.
Pontificate
only
Gr. 103.5
C[esano] I.1;
[*RRC* 443/1] Pontificate
only.
Caesar needed to be an augur.
Augurate acquired by Caesar almost
certainly in elections of Dec. 49.
Coins help to fix date. First is
aureus, attributed by Grueber to
East, by Pink to Rome
capis
axe and *simpulum* CAES.DICT
R) Pitcher, *lituus*. laurel wreath ITER
C[esano] II.8
Gr. 121.1
[*RRC* 456/1]

Inscription fixes date in 47 & to my mind
fixes Caesar's election to augurate in 49.

Others with symbols of both offices –
den. Coin of 46
Gr. 121.13. Female head to r. COS.TER.DIC.ITER
[[*RRC* 467/1] r) AVGVR.PONT.MAX
African mint

IM PM on one of coins of 44, *IIIIviri mon*. [*RRC* 480/4]

Symbols on other coins, e.g., Hirtius C[esano] II. 3 &4
[*RRC* 466/1]
Others of 44. C[esano]. III.1&2; IV.6&7
[*RRC* 480/2]
Caesar loved these symbols.

Folder 3. P.4

[A note from Folder 1 on Grant; seemingly misplaced from notes on Deification below]

Caesar. Grant p.13
Crab on coin of P. Sulpicius Rufus –
Alföldi *RM* 1935 p. 146 associates
it with *cosmocrator* who will inaugurate birth
of nature under the crab.

Folder 3, p. 5

CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA 13)

In 49
D. Iunius Brutus Albinus
C. Vibius Pansa
show on their *denarii* propaganda for
Caesar (both of them his associates)
Emphasize Pax [crossed out], Libertas, Concordia [crossed out],
Pietas. Idea of peace and concord.
Dates – attributed to 48 by Pink
to 49 by Grueber
49 seems to me to suit the propaganda
better. Should suppose that officers of mint
were out of commission & Pansa &
D. Brutus made special issue – (Grueber)
They are too old for *triumviri monetales*
Emphasis on Gallic spoils fits 49

Grant C. Vibius Pansa was *tr. pl.* in 51.

Types – Brutus
den. Head of Mars r. with beard, crested helmet
Grant r.) 2 *carnyces,* oval & round shield
pp. 507 ff. ALBINVS BRVTI F.
Gr. 49.17
[*RRC* 450/1]
PIETAS Head r.
r) 2 right hands joined, holding winged
caduceus. ALBINVS.BRVTI. F.
[Gr.] 49.18
[*RRC* 450/2]

Head of his ancestor
r) Wreath of corn ALBINVS BRVTI F
[Gr.] 49.19–21
[*RRC* 450/3]

Types – Pansa C. Vibius Pansa. C.f C.n Pansa

Folder 3, p. 5 (continued)

Head of Bacchus
R) Ceres, wreath of grain
C.VIBIVS.C.F.C.N.
[Gr.] Pl. 50. 1&2
[*RRC* 449/2]

Mask of Pan [*RRC* 449/1]
Jupiter Anxur

Head of LIBERTAS
R) Roma on Gaulish armor [incorrect description} C.PANSA C.F.C.N.
[*RRC* 449/4]

{Gr. 50.8]
[*RRC* 451/1] Mask of Pan PANSA
Brutus and Pansa r) right hands joined ALBINUS. BRVTI.F

Folder 3. P.6

OTHER CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA 11)

Gallic spoils on coins of 49, esp. there
in Gallic and Spanish mints.
Cesano I.3,4,5,7,8
Caesar & his [??????]
Who is the lady associated with these arms?
On 3 and 4 prob. Venus.
With oak crown? Perhaps Pietas, but
I can't find other examples of the type [crossed out]
Why Pietas? From den.[arius] of Herennius [????]
labeled Pietas, Has Anchises & Aeneas
Gr.30.20 [*RRC* 452/1–4] Does [? 1 2 = *RRC* 454/1] give the clue? Aeneas &Anchises – Is this an advance notice of Pius Aeneas?
Or can the veiled head be Rhea Silvia? [crossed out]

That brings us to aurei of Hirtius in 46
Cesano II. 3 & 4
Gr.51.20,21,22,23, 24 false
[*RRC* 466/1]

Habit of moneyers to celebrate
achievements of ancestors.
But Julii hadn't any good [?crossed out]
legends –
Virgil had to go back to Aeneas
&his immediate descendants

Caesar in pretty much same
state.
Family elements needed.

Folder 3, p. 7

[An unreferenced note on Julus-quoted in Meyer (1919) p. 511

[?????] in Eusebius (p.138 Karst) – Silvius
was made king; Iulus having lost leadership
was put in the high priesthood in which
until today the Julian family is.
Dion.Hal. 1.70. To Iulus in place of
kingdom a priestly office was given which
was superior to this monarchy in security &
tranquility. This office the Julian [crossed out] house
descended from him & called Julian still enjoys
down to my time.

Folder 3, p. 8

[Unreferenced note with Dion. Hal. 1.70 in Greek; translated here]

However, instead of the kingship, a certain sacred power and dignity exceeding that of the monarchy in lack of danger and ease of life was granted to Julus, the fruits of which his family, who are called Julii after him, enjoy even up to my time.

Folder 3, p. 9

Hirtius coins. Aurei 12)

Bahrfeldt pp. 35–37. Pl. IV 1–5
[*RRC* 466/1]

Obv. C.CAESAR.COS.TER
Veiled head right
Rev. A.HIRTIVS PR. *lituus,* pitcher,
axe (pontificate & augurate)

Date clearly 46 B.C. Caesar's triumph
in September. Large donations.
Many examples. One of 80
Variation in weight- from 7.40 to 8.31 gr.

[In left margin:] check in Bahrfeldt
Head now [???] with older features, now
small with younger. In former case inscription
n reverse is more careless. Final S is
either smaller or lacking. Often periods after
COSor PR are lacking on these.
2 groups so different that it has been suggested
that there were different mints and different times.
Suggestion that older head is Caesar – Bahrfeldt
thinks without reason.
Other coins leave COS.ITER off &
Hirtius' name – signs of laurel crown on some
of them – effort to make them like Caesar.
Undoubtedly spurious. Examples in Paris & London
and one or two others [Bahrfeldt] Pl.. 4..6–8]
I suggest Rhea Silvia and Iulus.
Veil fits both. Rhea Silvia a Vestal. Iulus was p.m. of Alba,
Dion.Hal.
[?]
?

Folder 3, p. 10

CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA 14)

Not a coin of Caesar emphasizes popular
politics – liberty, *populi potestas*
But one series gives each emphasis.
Coins of Lollius Palicanus –
Gr. dates in 47, Pink in 46
I prefer 46, for I doubt much
coinage in 47.

Types –
Head of Libertas to R. LIBERTATIS
den. R) Rostra or represented with beaks of ships
subsellium on top
Gr. 517 PALIKANUS
Pl. 50.8
[*RRC* 473/1]

den. Head of Honos to r., HONORIS
R) Curule chair bet. 2 ears of grain
Gr.I 518 Pl. 50.19
Gr.50.19
[*RRC* 473/2]

sest. Voting urn
NO! R) Voting tablet with ring attached PALIKANUS

Refers to family history – son of a promi-
nent tribune – 71 B.C

–

Seems to suggest more popular government
than Caesar permitted.

Voting tablets no longer emphasized
though Caesar was building great *saepta*
for voting units.

FOLDER 4

[Folder 4 continues and completes LRT's notes for this talk (pp. 15–22). Once again, the numbers in the top right corner of each page are LRT's. At times, as before, these are difficult to decipher]

Folder 4 p. 1

KINGSHIP, DEIFICATION & PROPAGANDA FOR THESE 15)

Here it is the merit of Alföldi to have to have seen
relation of coins of 45 to Caesar's
desire (or other's propaganda) for kingship
and to have related these to coins of 42
when propaganda was established.
Sibylline Books. [2 words crossed out] Oracle to be brought
forward that Parthians only to be conquered by
a king. [Suet.] *Jul*. 79; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.110; L. Au-
relius Cotta to bring out oracle – Cicero distressed
about him in summer of 45.

On coins	Sibyl
Of 45	Figures of Apollo and Diana
`	Globe
	Double cornucopia with fillets

Not once the name of Caesar
This would all be meaningless if the
themes did not reappear in 42

Folder 4. p. 2

Coins of 45 *Tr*[*iumviri*] *Mon*[*etales*] 16)

T. Carisius

D Sibyl
R) Sphinx [Gr.] 529; 52.3
[*RRC* 464/1 dated 46]

D Roma
R) celestial globe with cornucopia, scepter & rudder
Laurel wreath around it [Gr.] 531,
[Gr.] 52.6
[*RRC* 464/3 dated 46]

Sest. Head of Diana, diademed
R) Hound running [Gr.] 531
[GR]. 52.11
RRC [464/8]

C. Considius Paetus

D. Head of Apollo, r. laureate [Gr.] 531–2
R) wreath on curule chair [Gr.] 52.12–14
(*RRC* 465/1–2)

Emended at bottom of p. with notation Ref[erence]:

Head of Apollo to r.
R) Chair, draped, wreath
44 B.C. Dio 44.6 A gilded chair
was granted him (crossed out). His golden chair &
crown set with precious stones and
overlaid with gold should be carried
[just as those of the gods – Greek text]
Gr. 52.12–14

Sest. Bust of Cupid, r.
R) Double cornucopia, with fillet on globe
[Gr.] p. 533
[Gr.] 52. 22–23
(*RRC* 465/8)

L.Valerius Acisculus

D Head of Apollo Soranus (last word crossed out]
diademed (?????] headed pick, within laurel wreath
R) female fig[ure] on heifer
[Gr.] 534
Pl. 53.1
[*RRC* 474/1 dated to 45]

D Head of Apollo, r.
R) Sibyl as on obverse of Carisius' coins
[Gr.] 536; 53.7
[*RRC* 474/3]

[In pencil below; should go above under C. Considius Paetus:

Head of Apollo to r.
Gr. 52. 12–14 R) Chair, draped, wreath
(*RRC* 465/1)

Folder 4, p. 3

Coins of the *IIIIviri monetales* in 44 17)

Portraiture. Appears first on coins of
Roman mint in this year.
BMC Pontus Known two or three years earlier in Bithynia.
& Bith. Pl. 31.13
Heads on obverse of Roman coins practically
always gods or kings
though recently there had occasionally been
ancestors of moneyers.
No living man on coins of Roman mint
until 44.
Caesar's own aurei of that year also lack portraits
But the four moneyers all bear portraits
Bildniss redit. Pink p.39.53
On interpreting Dio
I believe in the Bildnis redit
If only because it was withheld until
This year and gods belong there
Represents deification
Not much time to make good portraits.
Gr. Pl. See Cesano plates III&IV
54
[*RRC* 480/*passim*]

Folder 4.P.4

Other signs of deification 18)

Temple. Coin of Sepullius Macer.

	Temple. 4 columns, closed doors CLE-MENTIAE.CAESARIS
Cesano 4.4	R) P.SEPULLIUS 2 horses - desultor
Gr. 54.22	Referred to by Dio 44.6.4, by Appian & Plutarch

RRC 480/20]
Might not have been believed if it were not for coins. No Reference in Cicero.
Was not built.
Instead temple
of Divus Julius

Folder 4, p. 5

Star. Behind Caesar's head
on coin of Sepullius Macer
Cesano 4.1 cf.] 4.2 & 4.3 with Venus
Gr. 54.15–17 scepter on star.
[*RRC* 480/5]
These coins come after Caesar's death.
Appearance of Julian star.
Pliny N.H. 2.94 quotes from Augustus' memoirs: "During the very times of my games a comet was seen for seven days in the northern region of the sky. It would rise about the 11th hour and was very bright and conspicuous in all lands. This comet the people thought indicated that Caesar's soul had been received among the immortal gods. For that reason this symbol was placed above the head of the statue of Caesar which I consecrated in the Forum soon afterwards.["]
Baebius Macer on Ecl 9.47. Some said that star arose to glorify young Caesar; he said it was his father's soul & put star on statue. But haruspex said it was the end of 9th saeculum or beg[inning] of 10th.
First appearance of this star on coins of 44. Historical identification.
Curious that Cesano doesn't use this star in determining dates.
Cesano 4.6 Knows that another coin of Sepullius Macer is
Gr. 54.23 after the Ides of March.
[*RRC* 480/20]

Folder 4, p. 6

DEIFICATION 20)

Coin of Gaul Gr.II 405
Head of Octavian, r. slight beard
CAESAR.III.VIR.R.P.C

[Gr] Pl.104.12
[*RRC* 497/2]

R) Curule chair with wreath inscribed
CAESAR.DIC.PER.
Chair carried into theater with chairs of the gods

Folder 4, p. 7

21)

COINS OF 42 - DEIFICATION

Juilian star in heavens – to bring a new age.

	5th eclogue	
	9th eclogue	poems of 41–40
	4th eclogue	

Alföldi [1930]	Moneyers of 42 have portraits of *triumviri* and	
212	an additional series	Clodius.Anthony
	P.Clodius M.f.	Pink See plate, enlarged
	Head of Sol, radiate	See also Alföldi Plate no. 20

Gr. 57.2&3 [*RRC* 494/ 20–21]	r) crescent moon – 5 stars P.CLODIVS.M.F.

Cicero *N.D.* 2.51 quarum (2 planets) ex
Disparibus motionibus efficitur cum solis et lunae et
quinque errantium ad eandem inter se
comparationem confectis omnium spatiis
est facta conversion. Cesano 18.11

Alföldi[1930]	
24	*Felicitas temporum* of Septimius Severus
[*RRC* 494/	Apollo
22–23]	[r] Standing figure of Diana between torches

Babelon I, p. [3??]
no.14 [crossed out]

C. Vibius Varus
No particular significance

L. Livineus Regulus
No particular significance

L. Mussidius Longus

Folder 4, p. 7 (continued)

21) [continued]

Gr. 56.11 L. MUSSIDIUS LONGUS
{Gr. 56.12] Reverse of coin of Anthony, Lepidus & Oct[avian]
[Gr. 56.]13] Cornucopiae with fillets
[*RRC* 494/14]

Den. Head of Caesar r.
Gr. 57.18 R) cornucopiae on globe between
(*RRC* 494/39] rudder and winged caduceus
L.MUSSIDIUS LONGUS

Look up P[???????].....
& Sall. *Jug* [????}

Folder 4, p. 8

Back of p. 21

Gr. 582 no plate
Winged radiate fig., r. foot on globe;
caduceus in r, cornucopia [?????]
bow & quiver; eagle on cippus; shield

Back of 21)

Gr. p.582
no Plate
(*RRC* 494/5)
Winged radiate fig., r. foot on globe;
caduceus in r. *cornucopiae* in l.
bow & quiver; eagle on cippus; shield

Felicitas – symbols, empire=
caduceus & c*ornucopiae*

Folder 4, p. 9

WHAT DO THE COINS CONTRIBUTE? 22)

Grant's theories

Colonization & Romanization

Development of idea of *imperium*

Value he set on *imperium*

Dictator rather than *consul* – something
that was not to be precedent.

Great importance of his religious offices
p[*ontifex maximus*.
augur when he finally got it. Coins
give the date.

Kingship and deification
Coins of 45 prove the ideas were in
air for both. They went together.

Coins of 44 support sources – portrait
on coins –
Clementia which simply would have been
rejected.
Star. Confirm stories about that.
Chair
And great background for ideas
that are all in Virgil

Background for Secular Games.

Folders 5–6 contain pages of scattered notes on topics related to the talk on pp. 1–22 above and Folder 7 contains handouts and lists of sources of her images for presentations on this subject.

Folder 5, p. 1

Grant on *imperium* 408ff.

Statement of Suetonius that Caesar took *praenomen imperatoris* & of this he got title and privilege of handing it down to his descendants

Not found on Caesar's coins or inscriptions.

Denarii	But on Pompeian coins		
Aurei	CN.MAGNVS.IMP & IMP.F.	46	[*RRC469/1;* 470/1]471/1]
	MAGNVS PIVS.IMP & IMP.F.	45	[*RRC* 478/1]
	IMP.SEX. MAGNVS	``` ``` ```	[477/1–3]
	Latter at end of the year –dealings with senate		
	Title inherited		
Denarii	Urbs Imperatoria Salacia		[*RRC* 477/1–3]

Later Sextus takes MAGNVS as first name [*RRC* 478/1]

One *aes* – Antonius imp. [*RRC* 489/2]
Octavian takes *imperator* as *praenomen* – when?
?38 B.C.

The marshal
The warlord
Commands of 48–28 were diverse – dictatorships, proconsulships, triumvirates, consulships; But peculiarity was subordination of other *imperium* to one supreme

Folder 5, p. 2

Original note of the type of Folder 1 (smaller piece of paper) transferred to this position:

Caesar-
Grant p. 317

Caesar abolished *IIIviri col.ded.* in favor of more personal methods.

Folder 5, p. 3
Coins of 42

L. Mussidius Longus — Gr.573–578
Aurei. A.P.F with names of 3 triumviri — [*RRC* 494/7–9]
Anthony, head
R) Mars, foot on shield

Octavian, slight beard
R) Mars

Lepidus
R) Mars
Denarii
Victory — [*RRC* 494/40]
R) Victory in biga

Aureus for all 3 not A.P.F.
Mark Anthony
R) cornucopiae tied with fillets
[Gr. 56.11
(*RRC* 494/14)
Similar for Octavian and Lepidus
[Gr.] 56.12&13
[*RRC* 494/13&15]
Aureus

Goddess, diadem, necklace
R) Name of moneyer within wreath of corn
[*RRC* 494/46]
Denarii
Concordia, veiled, diadem CONCORDIA
R) 2 right hands joined. Name of moneyer
[Gr.] 56.17
(*RRC* 494/41)
Head of Julius Caesar r., laureate
Cornucopiae on globe bet[ween] rudder, caduceus, apex, name of moneyer
[Gr.] 56.18
[*RRC* 494/39]

Folder 5, p. 3 (continued)

Head of CONCORDIA
R) Circular platform, CLOACIN
[Gr.] 57. 4–5
[*RRC* 494/42]

Bust of Sol
R) CLOACIN [Gr. LVII.4 & 5
[*RRC* 494/43]

Folder 5, p. 4

Coins of 42 (c'd)

L. Livineius Regulus [Gr. 578–82

Aurei

Head of Mark Anthony with inscrip[tion]
Rev) Anton (?). L.REGVLVS.IIIIVIR APF
Gr. 57.6–7
[*RRC* 494/2]

Head of Octavian
R) Aeneas carrying Anchises
L.REGVLVS IIIIVIR APF
Gr. 57.8–9
[*RRC* 494/3]

Head of Lepidus
R) Vestal Virgin Aemilia, l with *simpulum* & sceptre
Same inscript[ion]. [*RRC* 494/1]

Denarii

Head of Octavian
R) Victory, bearing wreath & palm branch
[*RRC* 494/25]

Other types figure pr. Regulus
and Regulus F PRAEF.VR.
[*RRC* 494/31]

None of these have application except one
with head of Julius Caesar r. winged caduceus
& laurel branch – Bull on reverse
[Gr.] 582;57.18
[*RRC* 494/24]

Folder 5, p. 5

Coins of 42

Aurei Gr. 582–586

P. Clodius M.F.

M.ANTONIVS IIIvir R.P.C. Portrait, bearded C.CAESAR IIVIR R.P.F.
r) P.CLODIVS M.F. IIIIVIR A.P.F.
[?????] foot on globe, *caduceus*,
Cornucopiae, bow, quiver, eagle, shield
Alföldi 18
[*RRC* 494/5]

Head of Octavian, r.. C. CAESAR
r) Venus Genetrix – dove, above Cupid
P.CLODIVS M.F. IIII A.P.F.
[*RRC* 494/6]

Head of Lepidus. M.LEPIDUS IIIVIR R.P.C.
r) Concordia – scepter and *cornucopiae*
[*RRC* 494/4]

Denarii

Anthony, rev. Mars [*RRC* 494/17]
Octavian, rev. Mars [*RRC* 494/18]
Julius Caesar, laureate, rev. Mars
[[*RRC* 494/16]
Octavian rev. Ceres [*RRC* 494/19]

Aurei and denarii

Head of Sol, radiate
R) Crescent moon, 5 stars P.CLODIVS M.F.
[*RRC* 494/20–21]
Head of Apollo, r. laureate
R) Diana Lucifera, bow and quiver, lighted
torch in each hand [*RRC* 494/22–23]

Folder 5. P.6

Coins of 42 Gr. 587–590 [*RRC* 494/34–38]

C. Vibius Varus

Aureus	3 series coins with portraits of Anthony, Oct. & Lepidus r) C.VEIBIVS VARVS Two right hands joined	[*RRC* 494/10–12]

Also other types

Den	Head of Anthony, r. D[enrius] Oct. R) Fortuna	[*RRC* 494/32]
	Minerva on Oct. D[enarius]	[*RRC* 494/33]

Also other types with with no connection with *triumviri[* [:]

Bacchus & Panther	[*RRC* 494/36]
Roma & Nemesis	[*RRC* 494/35]
Apollo and Venus	[*RRC* 494/34]
Hercules & Minerva	[*RRC* 494/ 37]
Minerva & Hercules	[*RRC* 494/38]

Folder 5, p. 7 [re. Pietas as reminiscent of Vurgil's Eclogues]

Coins of Gallienus
PIETAS.SAECVL.
r) Heifer nourishing 2 young

Alföldi, Num. Chron. 1929
Jupiter & Gallienus p.268
Pl.X G[allienus]
IOVI EX ORIENTI
Baby Jupiter on goat

Similar fig. therefore implies LAETIT
TEMP X.9
PIET. SAECVLI X.8
IOVI CRESCENTI X.10

Also [X.] 12, 13 14, 15, 16

Circ. 287ff. A.D.

Folder 5, p. 8

Needed [a note to herself].

Mattingly on 5th Ecl[ogue]
Ganter
Grant Anniversary Issues

Folder 5, p. 9

[More of the notes to herself]

Alföldi
Cesano
2 copies of Grueber

Get ref[erence] p. 16 [crossed out]
P. 17 [crossed out]
What is Grueber Pl. 31.13? [crossed out]
Have to find in Nicaea portrait of Caesar [crossed out]
Text of Alfōldi [crossed out]

Folder 5.p.10

Warning against both historians
& numismatists

Failure to pool knowledge
Ignorance of historians – don't know
types, mints, weights, hoards etc.
Often disregard evidence.
Sometimes when they don't,, make
crass mistakes
p. 71 of *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*
Venus & Victory

Warning against numismatists.

Often ignorant of history. Grueber's
footnotes –also Babelon's. Crass
Mistakes. Nothing very different
Also for Grant, Pink, Am. Num. Soc.
Moreover they don't help you in your
investigation.
Failure for instance to explain [last word crossed out]
provide description of plates
Grant
Cesano

Value of present experiment

Folder 6

Folder 6, p. 1

CAESAR AND ISSUES OF BRONZE & ORICHALCUM
(ZINC ALLOY)

In provinces - his governors make issues -
An important one with portrait of Caesar is that
of C. Vibius Pansa in Nicaea in Bithynia
(other types in other cities, Apamea, Nicomedia)

Association with city foundations – Caesar's vast
colonial policy – mingling whole empire
Grant tries to make out a series of officers to
found colonies and allot land – *praefecti*

Thus C. Clovius is interpreted as such an
officer (coin Cesano fig. 3 p. 110)
Grant thinks in Cisalpine Gaul. I wonder.

P. Sulpicius Rufus who seems to have been
governor of Pontus and Bithynia in 45 – found on
bronze of Apamea and Sinope. Pl.8.13. Grant.
Final letters on coin DIC
(D)*eduxit* I(*ussu*) C(*aesaris*)
This may be orichalcum
Hasta
Thessalonica (?) Pl.II.3 Grant. *Sella*
Fiscus
Portrait head often taken as Brutus but
more likely Caesar. Is found on coin of Alexandria
Troas. Princeps Felix (I don't think that is Caesar)

Q. Hortensius Hortalus under Brutus
(Macedonia) PRAEF.COLON.DEDV.

Was carrying out Caesar's policy as Brutus promised he would.

Folder 6, p. 2

Grant.
Caesar's restoration of bronze coins. Grant.
Hirtius' coins among Treveri, c. 50 B.C.

Coins of Corduba. CN.IVLI.L.F. Q
attributed to about 47
[Grant] 1.1

Orichalcum of Clovius

C.CLOVI. PRAEF. Minerva to l.,
Carrying shield with [These two lines crossed out.]
Draped bust of winged Victory, sometimes with star in field
CAESAR.DIC.TER
r) Minerva walking l., shield with gorgoneion,
trophy, arms. C.CLOVI.PRAEF
examples found in Italy, Germany, Bohemia, France,
<u>not</u> in East

Cesano fig. 3 p. 111
[*RRC* 476/1]

What sort of *praefectus*?
Grant identifies him with the Clovius
in Cisalpine Gaul

Folder 6, p. 3

49 B.C.
[may not belong here]

Coins with LII

Roman mint

AV o) Lady with oak crown
r) Trophy of Gallic arms, including *carnyx*
CAESAR Gr. 49.12&
13
Cesano I.5
[*RRC* 452/1]

Den.
o) Same lady with oak crown
r) Trophy & Gallic arms; captives below
Gr. 49.14
Cesano p. 106 fig.1&2
[*RRC* 452/2]

Quin. o) Veiled female head
r) Gallic trophy Gr. 49.16
Cesano I.7
[*RRC* 452/3]

The lady with oak crown also appears
on coins of L. Hostilius Saserna
Gr. 50.9
[*RRC* 448/1]

Is she Pietas?
That is usual identification
The goddess has various attributes, the most common of which is the stork. But veiled head found on imperial coins.
Sestertii of Caligula – veiled.

Folder 6, p. 4

49 B.C.
Gallic and Spanish and Eastern Coins with CAESAR

Den. o) Elephant CAESAR
r) symbols of pontificate
Cesano I.1
Gr.103.5
[*RRC* 443/1]

Den. o) Head of Venus to r.
r) Aeneas with Anchises and palladium CAES
Cesano I.2
Gr. II 469
[Gr.] 110.20
[*RRC* 458/1]

Den. o) Head of Venus to l. *lituus* and Cupid
to r. scepter
[?] at neck
r) Gallic arms, figures
Cesano I.3
Gr. 101.9
Attributes to Spain
& 45 B.C.
[*RRC* 468/2]

Den. o) Female head r. fillet
r) Trophy with arms CAESAR.IMP
Cesano I.8
Gr. 100.19
[*RRC* 482/1]
[This entry is crossed out and reappears below]

Note only one has CAESAR IMP [See above and below]

o) Venus with Cupid at back of neck
r) Gallic trophy, 2 figures CAESAR
Cesano I.4
Gr. 101.9
[*RRC* 468/1]

Folder 6, p. 4 (continued)

o) Female head r. fillet
r) Trophy with arms CAESAR.IMP
Gr.100.19
[*RRC* 482/1]
Others dated later, but Cesano puts it in Spain in 49. possible rival of Pompeian titles at period

Folder 6, p. 5

Character of Coins of 49

Stress Gallic victories
One stresses pontificate with elephant
Stress Venus
Possibly Pietas, but anyway oak crown
Family history in Aeneas and Anchises

Significance of CAESAR without titles
Almost prophetic
But Caesar had no legal title at this time.

Folder 6, p. 6

His generously funded colonies
e.g. P. Sulpicius Rufus now
maybe identified as governor of Pontus and Bithynia
orichalcum Relation to Sinope. Date 45

orichalcum Thessalonica? This isn't clear to me
PRINCEPS.FELIX ought not to be
Caesar– Identification of a portrait as Caesar [??]
Cesano 13 &
II.3

[?Peregrine] Bronze of Nicaea under
Vibius Pansa has first known portrait
of Caesar ca. 46. B.M.C. B&P
153; 31.13

Numerous city foundings – going back
to Caesar – See Grant's appendices 3–6. Grant
pp. 458–62

Folder 6, p. 7

Second aspect of Grant's work concerns
The term *imperium*, *imperator*. To be
discussed here since this is first title of
Caesar I shall take up
Central feature of his work, explanation
of CA on Augustan images
Here he is entirely convincing but
But he builds on it elaborate theory of
The *imperium maius*.

FOLDER 7

Folder 7, p. 1

THE CONTRIBUTION OF COINAGE TO THE STUDY OF
CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP AND DEIFICATION
Conducted by Professor Lily Ross Taylor

1. The importance of the coins of 46–44 for Caesar's position in the state and his titles. Stress on religious offices, notations of dictatorship, the title imperator with consideration of Grant's theories.

2. Symbolism on the coins of 45–42 B.C.in relation to the deification of Caesar and the prospect of a new age.

READING

H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* I, 527–553 (omitting footnotes)
M. Bahrfeldt, *Römische Goldmunzen-prägungen*, 30–40; 50–54.
M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. 408–423

SUGGESTED READING

L.R. TAYLOR, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor,* 65–73, 90–99.
p. 71 fig. 9 wrong
A. Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher der vierten Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes* 65 (1930), 369–384.

LRT-72552-ar

Folder 7, p. 2

Issues of Roman Mint, 49–40
Unquestioned dates are starred; Pink's dates (pp. 42–44)
are given in parenthesis where they differ from mine.

49 B.C.
No issues of *triumviri monetales*
Special issues

*NERI	QVRB		D
CAESAR	LII	AU	D Qu
(48) C. VIBIVS C F C N PANSA			D S
(48) ALBINVS BRVTI F			D
(48) Also a joint issue by these two			D

48 B.C.

(47) L PAPIVS CELSUS	IIIVIR on D	D Qu S
(47) L HOSTILIVS SASERNA		D
(47) L PLAUTIVS PLANCVS		D

47 B.C.

(48) L LICINIVS NERVA	IIIVIR on D	D Qu S

Special Issue

*CAESAR	DICT- ITER	AU

46 B.C.

M' CORDIVS RUFVS	IIIVIR on D	D Qu S
C ANTIVS C F RESTIO		D Qu S
PALIKANVS		D Qu S

Special issues

Cordius, as above	SC	D
*A HIRTIVS	PR	AU

45 B.C.

T CARISIVS	IIIVIR on D and S	D Qu S
C.CONSIDIUS PAETVS		D Qu S
L VALERIUS ACISCULUS		D Qu S

Special Issues

Carisius, as above	SC	D
L PLANC	PRAEF URB	AU

44 B.C. Only one regular issue. Pink tentatively provides two, but his Second issue should come later.

*L AEMILIUS BVCA	IIIIVIR on Qu	D Qu S

Folder 7, p. 2 (continued)

*M METTIVS			D QU S
*P SEPVLLIVS MACER			D Qu S
*C COSSUTIVS MARDIANVS	AAAFF		D
Special issue			
*CAESAR	DIC QVAR-COS-QVINC	AU	

Folder 7, p. 3

II

From 43 on I list below only issues which have an obvious connection with Caesar and his successors. I accept Pink's dates for the moneyers of 42 but do not understand his criteria for the other dates.

43 B.C.

(44) L FLAMINIUS CHILO	IIIIVIR PRI FL or IIIIVIR	D

42 B.C. (copy of Pink's list)

C VIBIVS VARVS	AU D
L (LIVINEIUS) REGULVS	AU D
P.CLODIVS	AU D
L MUSSIDIUS LONGVS	AU D

Special issue. Each has three types. Revival of the "arg.pub" issues.

L REGVLVS (as above	IIIIVIR APF	Au
Clodius as above	IIIIVIR APF	Au
L MVSSIDIUS T F LONGVS (as above)	IIIIVIR APF	Au

Further REGIVS F	PRAEF VR	D

Folder 7, p. 4

Significant Dates for Caesar's Career
and his Deification

Birth 102, 101, or 100 B.C.

Elected *pontifex maximus* 63

Consul. 59

Proconsul of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. And Illyricum 58–50

Proconsulship terminated by senate; Caesar crosses Rubicon January. 49

Dictator for eleven days December49

Elected augur probably. December 49

Consul II 48

Consul II, dictator II October to December. 48

Dictator II 47

Consul III dictator II January to April 46

Consul III dictator II January to April 46

Consul III, dictator III April to December 46

Consul IV, dictator III January to April 45

Consul IV, dictator IV April to December 45

Consul V, dictator IV probably to February 14, 45

Consul V, *dictator perpetuus* February 44

Parens patriae February 44

Senate votes to deify him as Divus Julius and to grant him a priest
and a temple (with Clementia) February 44.

Folder 7, p. 4 (continued)

Anthony, Octavian and Lepidus established as *triumviri rei publicae*

Constituendae November 27, 43

Caesar formally deified as Divus Julius. January 42

Assassinated March 15, 44

Folder 7, p. 5

Cesano
Pl. I

See above in this document for *RRC* numbers.

Den. 1. o) CAESAR. Elephant & *carnyx*
r) Symbols of pontificate. *simpulum*, *aspergillum*, axe with wolf's Head, *apex* (?)
Grueber II 390, attrib. to Gaul
c. 50–49 Pl.103.5

Den. 2. o) Head of Venus to r.
r) Aeneas, *palladium*, Anchises in his arms CAESAR
Grueber II,469 attrib. to East
PL. 110.20

Den. 3. o) Venus to left
r) Gallic arms CAESAR
including *carnyx*
2 figures (prisoners or Gallia & Hispania [????]
Grueber II, 368 ; PL 101.9
dates ca. 45
attrib. to Spain

Den. 4. o) Venus to r.
Cupid behind her neck
r) Positions of 2 figures transposed – shields both oval
[Gr.II, 369 Pl. 101.10]
dates to 45

Au. 5. o) Female head, r. oak crown LII
Den. r) Gallic arms including *carnyx*. CAESAR
Quin.
Gr. 505–506
Pl. .99.13
Date 49
Note female head is much like Pietas
on coin of Albinus Brutus, Pl. 49.18

Den. 6. o) Female head, r. COS .TER .DICT .ITER
r) AVGVR.PONT.MAX *simpulum*, *aspergillum*, pitcher, *lituu*s
Gr II, 576
Attrib. Africa
Gr. Says Ceres

Quin. 7. o) Veiled female head LII [??] oak crown
r) Gallic trophy CAESAR
Gr. 507
Pl. 49.16

Den. 8. o) Female head to r., fillet
r) Trophy, with arms CAESAR IMP
Gr.II. 363 dated 49
Pl. 100.19
attrib. to Spain
[Cesano] dated 45

Fig. 1&2 p.106

Den. o) Female head to r., crowned with oak LII
r) Trophy. Figure of man below. CAESAR
Gr. Pl. 49.16

Fig. 3 p. 111

Aes o) Female head to r. CAES.DIC.TER
r) Minerva with shield, *gorgoneum*, serpent C.CLOVI. PRAEF
GR I. 539
Pl.33. 17 & 18
Dates 45

See Grant

Folder 7, p. 6

Cesano
Pl.II [III crossed out]

Den. 1. o) Female head to r., oak crown LII; variant of I. 5 [above]
r) Gallic arms, CAESAR
Gr 505

Den. 2, o) Female head to r. (Venus) CAESAR IMP. COS.ITER
r) A. ALLIENUS PROCOS Trinacrus standing to left

Gr II 559 [nos.] 5&6

Aur. 3. o) C. CAESAR COS TER Veiled figure to r.
r) A. HIRTIUS PR *lituus*, *urceus*,axe
Gr 525ff.
Bahrfeldt pp.35–37]
[citation incoorect_ no 19]

Au.r 4. Same as 3 with female head

Au.r 5. o) C. CAESAR DIC TER winged figure to r.
r) L. PLANC PRAEF VRB or PR URB [jug with handle]
Gr 537{-538]
Bahrfeldt, 37[ff .no.20]

6. o) Female head to r. CAES DIC QVART
r) Wreath COS QVIN
Gr 54
Pl. 53.19
44 B.C.

7. Same as 5

Quin
Half Au

Aur 8. o) CAESAR DICT axe and *capis*
r) Pitcher & *lituus* ITER
Gr. II, 470
Pl. 111.1
47 B.C.
Attributed to East because
of crude fabric

Folder 7, p. 6 (continued)

Figure 4 p. 135

Bronze	o) Venus diademed to r. r) Q. OPPIVS.PR Victory in flight to r. Cesano would not attribute to Caesar though it is orichalcum. Dates ca. 41

Folder 7, p. 7

Cesano
Pl.3 [4 crossed out]

1. Head of Caesar. laurel crown, r. Behind *capis* and *lituus*. CAESAR IMP
   r. Venus to l. scepter and Victory, shield on globe. M.METTIVS

2. Head of Caesar, r. laurel w[reath]. *Lituus* behind. CAESAR DICT.QVART
   r. Juno Sospita in *biga* to r. M.METTIVS

3. Head of Caesar, r., laurel CAESAR.IMPER
   r. Venus to l., scepter & Victory M.METTIVS
   Gr.543; PL 54.5

4. Head of Caesar, r. laurel. CAESAR DICT.PERPETVO
   r. L.BUCA. Winged *caduceus* & crossed *fasces*. 2 joined hands,
   globe and axe.
   Gr. 546. Pl. 54.11

5. CAESAR IM PM. Laurd head to r., behind crescent
   r. L. AEMILIVS BUVCA Venus to l., resting on scepter
   Gr. 545

6. CAESAR DICT PERPETVO, laureled head to r.
   r. L.BVCA Venus Nicephora, seated to r. with transverse scepter L>AEMILIVS BUCA
   Gr. 548 Pl. 54.10

7. CAESAR DICT PERPETVO, laureled head of Caesar to r.
   r. Venus, standing to left on scepter L.AEMILIVS BUCA
   Gr. 548 Pl. 54.8ff.

8. L.BVCA effigy of Venus, diademed to r.
   r. Venus with Endymion [???]
   Gr. 1, 546 Pl. 54.12
   Gr. Says Sulla's dream. Selene comes
   Crescent on her head. Takes other figure as
   Victoria
   What is story of Sulla's dream? Plut. *Sulla?*

Folder 7, p. 8

Cesano
Pl. 4

1. o) CAESAR.IMP Laureled head of Caesar to r. Behind star
   r) P. SEPULLIVS MACER Venus on standing to left; sceptre on a star
   Gr. 547–8 Pl.54. 15–17

2. o) CAESAR.DICT.PERPETVO, laureled portrait to right
   r) P.SEPULLIVS MACER Venus Nicephora, shield on star
   Gr. 549
3. o) CAESAR. DICT PERPETV Laureled portrait to r.
   r) P SEPVLLIVS MACER Venus Nicephora, sceptre on star
   Gr. 548

4. o) CLEMENTIA CAESARIS Temple, 4 columns, closed doors
   r) P SEPVLLIVS MACER Desultor galloping, 2 horses, laurel crown
   Gr. 549 Pl. 54.22

5. o) CAESAR. DICT PERPETVO or. Caesar's portrait r., laureled
   r) C. MARIDIANVS Venus Nicephora standing left, shield in left, resting on globe.
   Gr. 551 Pl. 55.3

6. 2 different coins [second with no number at bottom of the page]

   o) CAESAR PARENS.PATRIAE Veiled laureate head between *lituus* and *apex*
   r) C MARIDIANUS xi galloping, 2 horses, laurel crown
   Gr. I, 549 from Babelon [Blacas]

   [?????]
   o) Head of Mark Anthony, bearded, veiled [between] *lituus* and <u>urceus</u>
   r) as on no. 6 [above]
   Gr. 550 Pl. 54.23

PATRIAE Veiled laureate head between
lituus and *apex*
r) C MARIDIANUS xi galloping, 2 horses, laurel crown
Gr. 549

Folder 7 P. 8 (continued)

7. o) CAESAR PARENS PATRIAE Laureate veiled head of Caesar bet[ween] *lituus* and *apex*
r) C. COSSUVTIVS MARIDIANVS written in cross in spaces [of] AAAF
Gr. 552 Pl. 55.4

8. Head of goddess [Venus crossed out] to r. IIIVIR.PRI.FL (*primus flammavit*)
Grueber says Juno Moneta ?)
r) Victory in *biga* to r. horses galloping L. FLAMINIVS CHILO
Gr. 565

Folder 7, p. 9

Small change linked by Cesano, not referenced
p. 143

quin. arg. o) Juno Sospita; serpent behind
r) M.METTIVS, *Biga*, Victoria to r.
Gr. [544]
[*RRC* 480/23]

Sest.arg. o) Diademed head of Venus to r.
r) M.METTI Girl in front of serpent
Gr. 544
[*RRC* 480/28]

Quin. arg. o) PAXS Woman to r.
r) L AEMILIVS BVCA IIIIVIR. 2 hands joined
Gr. 547 Pl. 54.14
[*RRC* 480/24]

Sest. o) Venus head, diademed, crescent moon above (Diana) to r.
r) L. AEMILIVS BVCA Star, six rays
Gr. 547 Pl. 54.14
[*RRC* 480/26]

Den. o) Veiled and bearded head of Anthony bet. lituus and urceus
r) P. SEPVLLIVS MACER *Desultor*
Gr 550, Pl. 54.23

Sest. o) Bust of Mercury, with caduceus
r) P.SEPVLLIVS. Winged caduceus

Folder 7, p. 10

Portrait of Caesar
with no inscription
L FLAMINVS CHILO

This is a note on Bryn Mawr College letterhead, not one of the two more usual types of "note cards" that are on either 2x4 or 4x6 inch paper.

o) Head of Caesar, r. laureate; finer more idealized types
r) Pax, l wearing long drapery, *caduceus* in r. hand
on scepter. L. FLAMINIVS CHILO
Gr. 566 55.13
[*RRC* 485/1]

Seems to be later.
His other types, female head & Victory in *biga* & Victory in biga
Has IIIIVIR PRI.FL
Seems to be later like portraits of Caesar in the forties

Folder 7, p. 11

This the back of the sheet of paper with the notes on p. 9. It is an assignment or completed assignment of a ?student Maria Gamble and is thus not reproduced here.

Folder 7, p. 12

Alföldi's [1930] Plate

1. Denarius of L. Manlius Torquatus o[bv of]7 (below) Head of Sibyl, [wreathed]
   [*RRC* 411/1]
2. T. Carisius 45 Head of Sibyl and r. Sphinx
   [*RRC* 464/1]
   T. Carisius
3. T. Carisius 45 Globe with cornucopiae in bet(ween) sceptre and rudder
   [*RRC* 464/3]
4. 44 Denarii of Mussidius Longus, globe, cornucopiae
   Caduceus = felicitas temp(oris) apex = kingship
   [*RRC* 464/39}
5. [???]of 44 Caesar's portrait
6. Aemilius Buca in 44. [?????????} Clasped hands=clementia Caesaris lso caduceus [not here]
   [*RRC* 480/24]
7. [See 1 above. Reverse is amphora on tripod between 2 amphorae; star to left}
8. Egyptian coin. Arsinoe cornucopia with diadem
9. Sullan coin cornucopiae with diadem
10. Considius Paetus 46 [r} Cornucopiae on globe [o] winged child = *nascens puer*
    [*RRC* 465/8]
11. C. Vibius Varus
    [*RRC* 494/*passim*]
12. Domitian [showing] the *felicium temporum reparatio*
13. Cornucopiae with diadem 43–2
14. *Temporum felicitas* Double cornucopiae & c*aduceus* Commodus 190 Mattingly&Sydenham 3, 389
15. Symbols of luck 43–40 (2) denarius of Anthony double cornucopiae
16. L. Antonius – Pietas type

Folder 7, p. 12 (continued)

17. 43–42 Aeneas & Anchises

18. So-called Pantheos type Septmius Severus SAECULUM FRUGIFERUM

19. Tetradrachm of Pharnaces

20. Severus SAECUL(um) FRUGIFER(UM)
Mattingly and Sydenham 4, pp. 180,182

21. L. Antonius – Pietas type

22. C. Clodius 43 Apollo & Diana

23. [Blank]

24. Septimius Severus crescent & 7 stars [??????] FELICITAS TEMPORUM
can't find

25. C. Clodius 43 Sol, crescent & 5 stars - magnus annus

In pencil, two notes at bottom of the page]

Felicitas, *caduceus*, *cornucopiae*

[Gr.] Spain 70 4137

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